Some psychological aspects of Winston Spencer-Churchill

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SOME PSYCHOLOGICAL ASPECTS
OF
WINSTON SPENCER-CHURCHILL

A Thesis
Presented to
the Faculty of the Department of Psychology
The University of Omaha

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Arts

by
Paula Lee Kennedy
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CHAPTER I
PROBLEM AND ORGANIZATION OF THE STUDY

The life of Winston Spencer-Churchill has received considerable attention during the sixty years he has spent on the political scene. More than forty biographies have been written about this leader of Britain; he has been the subject of hundreds of newspaper and magazine articles; his speeches have been gathered into sixteen volumes, and he himself has produced twenty-nine volumes. Despite this vast output of Churchilliana, there has been no attempt to produce a definitive analysis of the psychological aspects of this world figure. This study was undertaken in an attempt to further a knowledge of Churchill in this area. We must disagree with the biographer who stated: "Winston Churchill will disappoint the seekers after human mysteries. It is the weak and confused characters who provide the greater psychological interest,"¹ for the strength and resolution of Churchill's personality furthered rather than prevented this writer's interest in the subject.

I. THE PROBLEM

Statement of the Problem. It was the purpose of this study to determine the psychological aspects of Churchill's personality, as evidenced by his philosophical beliefs; his attitudes toward government, politics, and science, and his leadership theory and practice.

Importance of the Study. The psychological assumptions of the Communist leader, Nikita Khrushchev, and the Nazi leader, Adolph Hitler have been undertaken.2-3 It was felt that a somewhat similar study of the psychological aspects of the Democratic leader, Winston Churchill, would provide an informative trilogy of the leaders of three ideologies.

II. ORGANIZATION OF THE STUDY

Method of Research. The principal material of this study was obtained from two autobiographies of Winston S. Churchill, from four books containing his speeches from 1936 to 1947, and from three volumes by Churchill of the


second world war. Churchill's ideas and beliefs were assumed from his written statements contained in these books. Harsh and Schrickel hold that an individual's evaluation of himself and of his ego-ideal can often be ascertained to a great degree by a study of his personal documents. The British Information Services of New York and Chicago provided a partial bibliography of these and other works pertaining to the subject.

Supplementary biographical material used in this study was obtained from books and articles by English and American writers, the great majority of whom knew Churchill personally.

Limits of the Study. It was not the intent of this study to examine in detail the extent to which Churchill engaged in politics, government, and world affairs, per se. Rather, the concern of this study was to extract, present, and to evaluate objectively the psychological aspects of Winston Churchill, as revealed by his writings and speeches.

Arrangement of the Remainder of the Study. The presentation is organized under the following topics: Theoretical Psychology, Psychological Ideas of Personality,

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Attitudes Toward Society, and Leadership. Churchill's statements are presented in relation to the above topics in order to prevent misinterpretation of their true intent. The psychological aspects of these statements are discussed, and then summarized at the end of each chapter. The final chapter is a summary of the general findings and the conclusions.
CHAPTER II

PHILOSOPHY

I. DETERMINISM

Determinism states that "every event that occurs...is a link in an unbreakable chain of cause and effect."¹ Two major types of determinism are generally recognized. Both types accept the principle of causality. The first type is referred to as mechanistic determinism and in modern psychology is exemplified in Watson's behavioristic doctrine. The second type is known as dynamic determinism and involves the concept of the flow of energy. In the physical field, for example, this form of determinism is illustrated in the earth's atmosphere by the flow of energy from areas of high pressure to those of low pressure. In the field of psychology, dynamic determinism is found in the theory that personality is the inner-outer flow of energy between the individual and his external environment. Dynamic determinism recognizes the individual's ability, in normal circumstances, to select from the stimuli that come to him and to organize the responses to be made. Churchill is an adherent of dynamic determinism:

We have always to be on our guard against being thrown off our true course by chance and circumstance; and the glory of human nature lies in our seeming capacity to exercise conscious control of our destiny. 2

At one period in life, Churchill held the doctrine of fatalism, which states that "all events are beyond human control; things will happen in a certain way regardless of what we do." 3 At this time he remarked: "...all the puppets in the world tragedy were held too tightly in the grip of destiny." 4 Surely this is the remark of a fatalist, denying man's control of his own affairs; his inability to change the course of destiny. Again Churchill states:

Let us accept the natural order in which we move. Let us reconcile ourselves to the mysterious rhythm of our destinies, such as they must be in this world of space and time. 5

"Acceptance," "reconciliation" - these are the words of a fatalist and they are Churchill's words, but it is not the same Churchill, who, thirty-five years later proclaimed: "Today we may say aloud before an awestruck world: 'We are

3Hospers, op. cit., p. 266. 4Churchill, op. cit., p. 57.
still masters of our fate. We are still captains of our souls." 6

The fatalist has given way to the determinist, who "does not for a moment deny that human beings themselves are often causal influences which help to determine whether events will or will not occur." 7

Is man, in Churchill's thought, the sole determiner of fate or is there an external determiner, and if so, what of Free Will?

The determinist asserts that he is in as good a position to believe in freedom as anyone else. Our volitions can make a considerable difference in the world; they act as causes as well as do the forces of nature. 8

Does Churchill believe in his volitions as causes? Apparently so, for he speaks of "man's own contribution to his life story," though he remains the determinist with his doctrine of chance:

The longer one lives, the more one realizes that everything depends upon chance, and the harder it is to believe that this omnipotent factor in human affairs arises simply from the blind interplay of events. Chance, Fortune, Luck, Destiny, Fate, Providence seem to me only

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7 Hospers, op. cit., p. 266. 8 Ibid., p. 267.
different ways of expressing the same thing, to wit, that a man's own contribution to his life story is continually dominated by an external superior power.9

The word, "dominated," again suggests the idea of man as a puppet. Does Churchill then consider himself as cause or as instrument? A biographer describes him as being "endowed with an unflattering belief in his own mission and (he) drew support from the conviction that he was the instrument of a higher purpose."10 Upon obtaining the premiership, Churchill said: "I had the sense of being used, however unworthy, in some appointed plan."11 Here we see the word, "used," but used in what manner - as a mere instrument, a puppet again, or as a cause? Churchill would consider himself as John Maynard Keynes described him: "one of the prime movers of events."12 When he lost the government to Attlee, his disappointment was not in the fact that he had suffered a political defeat, but rather that

9 Churchill, op. cit., p. 73.
11 Churchill, quoted by Broad, op. cit., p. 23.
"The power to shape the future would be denied me."13

Churchill will not completely dispense with chance.

He will not go so far as Hobbes, who held:

The course of men's actions are planned and foreseen, rather than determined by chance; directed by intellectual considerations, rather than by anything so unreasonal as feeling, emotion, and the accidents of life.14

Churchill cannot ignore completely the "accidents of life."

Though he can control events, to some extent, though he, himself, can be a mover of events, still there are occurrences that lie beyond his control.

Churchill...had to accept the consequences that flowed from his qualities. Viewed from the personal aspect his career in all its varied turns of fortune is seen as a drama resulting from the interplay of his qualities and the political forces of his time.15

He understands his qualities, both his powers and his limitations, as well as the part that external limitations must play in the shaping of events. In his essay, "A Second Choice," Churchill tells us:


15Broad, op. cit., p. 17.
If I had my life to live over again in the same surroundings, no doubt I should have the same perplexities and hesitations; no doubt I should have my same sense of proportion, my same guiding lights, my same onward thrust, my same limitations. And if these came in contact with the same external facts, why should I not run as the result along exactly the same grooves? Of course if the externals are varied, if accident and chance flow out through new uncharted channels, I shall vary accordingly.\(^6\)

Within this framework he will control, he will be the cause, the mover, not "a pipe for fortune's finger/To sound what stop she please."\(^17\)

In summary, we see that Churchill was once a fatalist, denying man's ability to control events. He later became and has remained a dynamic determinist, believing that man is a causal influence, a determiner of events.

As a determinist, Churchill retains the right to believe in Free Will, for "freedom is the opposite of compulsion, not of causality."\(^18\)


\(^18\)Hospers, op. cit., p. 270.
II. PRAGMATISM

Hocking defines pragmatism as stating, "A belief is true if it works." The term "works" is explained by him as meaning different things in different situations; religious beliefs, for example, may have little logical support and little or no hard practical value, but they may give comfort to the individual and are therefore accepted by him.

Is Churchill a pragmatist? Is he more interested in the practical results of a concept, rather than its derivation and premise? Is he willing to base his convictions on feeling rather than logic, if these feelings have a practical result? Apparently he is willing, for a favorite saying of Churchill's is: "Le coeur a ses raisons, que la raison ne connait pas." He follows this with an explanation of his position:

It seemed to me that it would be very foolish to discard the reasons of the heart for those of the head. I could not see why I should not enjoy them both. I did not worry about the inconsistency of thinking one way and believing the other. 20

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A pragmatist, Hocking tells us, "has not reasoned his belief out, he has chosen it."\(^{21}\) Churchill fits well into this definition.

In the area of religion, Churchill shows his pragmatic colors, he may not completely accept religion intellectually, but he realizes his emotional need for it and allows this stronger need to overcome logic:

I passed through a violent and aggressive anti-religious phase...My poise was restored during the next few years by frequent contact with danger. I found that whatever I might think and argue, I did not hesitate to ask for special protection when about to come under...fire...This practice seemed perfectly natural, and just as strong and real as the reasoning process which contradicted it so sharply. Moreover, the practice was comforting and the reasoning led nowhere. I therefore acted in accordance with my feelings without troubling to square such conduct with the conclusions of thought.\(^{22}\)

Hocking states that one who adopts a belief in God, because it somehow adds meaning and comfort to life, even though there is no conclusive evidence for this belief, is a pragmatist.\(^ {23}\)

We cannot, after all, afford to let our much exalted reason have the final word. "We know that arguments are

\(^ {21}\)Hocking, op. cit., p. 144.

\(^ {22}\)Churchill, op. cit., p. 113.

\(^ {23}\)Hocking, op. cit., p. 144.
dictated by our needs, and that our needs cannot be dic-
tated to by arguments."24 Churchill agrees:

I adopted quite early in life a system of believ-
ing whatever I wanted to believe, while at the
same time leaving reason to pursue unfettered
whatever paths she was capable of treading.25

The great pragmatist, William James, summarizes these
thoughts in a statement with which Churchill would probably
agree: "In the end it is our faith and not our logic that
decides such questions, and I deny the right of any pretend-
ed logic to veto my own faith."26

We have seen, then, that in his religious convictions,
Churchill admits to pragmatism. What of the area in which
he is best known - the political area? Does he, here too,
forego what, for his reason is right, for that which, in
practice, if feasible? Is it the "belief which works" that
is true?

Political pragmatism is defined as the adoption of those
policies which work out best in practice; the true policies
are the expedient policies.27

24Will Durant, The Story of Philosophy (New York:


26William James, Pragmatism (New York: Longmans, Green &

27Hocking, op. cit., p. 144.
Churchill states that he has always "acted in politics as I felt I wanted to act." If the circumstances demanded a change of policy Churchill, the pragmatist, was willing to alter his course to fit the circumstances. His rationale for this behavior is the following:

...a Statesman in contact with the moving current of events and anxious to keep the ship on an even keel and steer a steady course may lean all his weight now on one side and now on the other. His arguments in each case when contrasted can be shown to be not only very different in character, but contradictory in spirit and opposite in direction: yet his object will throughout have remained the same.  

Churchill is a pragmatist, for he chooses the belief that is, in some way, useful. He chooses to accept religious beliefs because they are comforting and he chooses and changes his political beliefs on the basis of policy expedience.

III. MATERIALISM

"In common parlance, the word materialism is used to name the view that mental life is dependent upon physical conditions and would not exist without it." The materialist

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28 Churchill, Thoughts and Adventures, p. 5.
29 Ibid., p. 22.
30 Hospers, op. cit., p. 306.
believes in the reality of matter, as opposed to the idealist, who holds that "it is impossible to know whether reality exists apart from the mind."™ Minds and their ideas are the true reality; there are no external physical objects to cause sensations.™

We read of the cousins, who having the advantage of a University education, tried to befuddle the young, military-educated Churchill with arguments that nothing had existence except in the mind. No doubt they had studied Berkeley and his belief that material substance is unreal; the existence of things depends on their being perceived.™

Churchill, at this time, knew nothing of Berkeley and probably little or nothing of the poet, Byron, but he would certainly have agreed with the latter in his flippant dismissal of the great proponent of Idealism:

When Bishop Berkeley said 'there was no matter,'
And proved it, - 't was no matter what he said.™ Churchill evolved his own thoughts on the subject in the

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32 Hospers, op. cit., p. 391.
33 Heidbreder, op. cit., p. 44.
34 Byron, quoted by Bartlett, op. cit., p. 560.
following manner:

I always rested upon the following argument which I devised for myself many years ago. We look up in the sky and see the sun. Our eyes are dazzled and our senses record the fact. So here is this great sun standing apparently on no better foundation than our physical senses. But happily there is a method, apart altogether from our physical senses, of testing the reality of the sun. It is by mathematics...astronomers are able to calculate...by pure reason...when an eclipse will occur. So here you have the evidence of the senses reinforced by the entirely separate evidence of a vast independent process of mathematical reasoning.35

The "evidence of the senses" - here is a firm Materialist. He ends his argument in a vein that Byron would have appreciated:

I am also at this point accustomed to reaffirm with emphasis my conviction that the sun is real, and also that it is hot - in fact as hot as Hell, and that if the metaphysicians doubt it they should go there and see.36

Churchill accepts philosophical materialism, for he believes in the reality of matter and the evidence of the senses.

36Ibid., p. 116.
IV. RATIONALISM AND EMPIRICISM

James defines a rationalist as a "devotee to abstract and eternal principles," and an empiricist as a "lover of facts in all their crude variety."\(^{37}\) Two contradictory terms, yet Churchill seems to fall within both groups. The complexity of the man does not permit simplicity of definition; he will not be readily "boxed in" or "pigeon-holed."

Churchill, the rationalist, believes that:

If deep divisions are to be removed from our midst, if all our energies are to be concentrated upon... increasing our strength and security, it can only be because of lofty and unselfish ideals...\(^{38}\)

Certainly here are "eternal principles" - "lofty and unselfish ideals;" Churchill considers these necessary for the preservation of mankind.

Arms are not sufficient by themselves. We must add to them the power of ideas. It is this very conflict (between Democracy and Naziism) of spiritual and moral ideas which gives the free countries a great part of their strength.\(^{39}\)

Churchill is conscious of the strength of man's spirit, as well as his body. He is cognizant of the power of moral ideals:

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\(^{37}\)James, Pragmatism, p. 9.

\(^{38}\)Churchill, speech, May 9, 1938, quoted in Blood, Sweat, and Tears (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1941) p. 22.

\(^{39}\)Churchill, speech, October 16, 1938, Ibid., p. 73.
The destiny of mankind is not decided by material computation. When great causes are on the move in the world...we learn that we are spirits, not animals, and that something is going on in space and time, and beyond space and time which, whether we like it or not, spells duty.  

Churchill, the empiricist, chafes at the abstraction of principles. Theory is good, but fact is better: "I pass with relief from the tossing sea of Cause and Theory to the firm ground of Result and Fact."  

As a "lover of facts," he states his position briefly and definitely: "It is a fine thing to be honest, but it is also very important to be right."  

Here we see again the pragmatist, and his contention that the true belief is that which works. 

Which then, is Churchill, the rationalist with his principles, or the empiricist with his facts? In his refusal to be confined by definitions he has combined both. Principles, yes, but principles alone will not suffice; they must be defended by fact and action:  

It is vain to imagine that the mere perception or declaration of right principles...will be of any value unless they are supported by those qualities

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41Ibid., p. 687.  
of civic virtue and manly courage - aye, and by those instruments and agencies of force and science which in the last resort must be the defense of right and reason.  

"The scales of Justice are vain without her sword," he warns. Men must be "banded together not only by a covenant of high ideals, but by practical military conventions."

Idealistic, yet practical, rationalist, yet empiricist, this, then, is Churchill. Who will say that this is basic contradiction? It is, rather, a combination of the best from each "ism." A principle without an action is useless, and an action not backed by principle is valueless. "Moral force is, unhappily, no substitute for armed force, but it is a very great reinforcement."

"Rationalism is always monistic," James states. "Empiricism...is not averse to calling itself pluralistic." In this regard, we must view Churchill as an empiricist, for in a pluralistic world, our own strength and will may

43 Churchill, speech, July 2, 1938, Blood, Sweat, and Tears, p. 46.
45 Churchill, speech, May 9, 1938, Blood, Sweat, and Tears, p. 23.
46 Churchill, quoted by Coote, et. al., op. cit., p. 81.
47 James, Pragmatism, p. 11.
help decide the issue. Since Churchill considers himself as a causal influence, he will accept a pluralistic world.

In a finished universe (monism) individuality is a delusion; 'in reality,' the monist assures us, we are all bits of one mosaic substance. But in an unfinished world (pluralism) we can write some lines of the parts we play, and our choices mould in some measure the future in which we have to live. In such a world we can be free; it is a world of chance, and not of fate;...and what we are or do may alter everything.\textsuperscript{48}

As a determinist, Churchill believes in his ability to control, to some extent, the various factors of life. His actions may change events; therefore he is a pluralist.

Churchill is a rationalist in his belief in principles, he is an empiricist in his reliance on facts and in his belief in a pluralistic universe.

\textbf{V. ECLECTICISM}

Eclecticism is defined by Hocking as "the assemblage of beliefs from various sources into a composite philosophy."\textsuperscript{49} We have defined Churchill as both rationalist and empiricist, determinist and (at one period in life) fatalist. He has been quoted as "believing whatever I wanted to believe."\textsuperscript{50} He

\textsuperscript{48}Durant, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 561.

\textsuperscript{49}Hocking, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 428.

\textsuperscript{50}Churchill, \textit{A Roving Commission}, p. 113.
chooses from each system that which suits him, mitigating each "ism" by some ingredient from another.

Hocking accuses the eclectics of being "relatively devoid of originality. They see that different fragments of truth belong to them; they assume that they can be made to fit each other; they lack the ability to see how they fit."\textsuperscript{51}

It is not necessarily that Churchill "lacks the ability to see how they fit," nor that he "assumes that they can be made to fit each other;" it is rather that he does not feel concern for the problem: "I did not worry about the inconsistency of thinking one way and believing the other."\textsuperscript{52}

The preponderance of his thoughts are in the realm of action, not philosophy, and an accusation of lack of philosophical originality would not ruffle him. He is content to have separate "boxes" for his beliefs and by keeping each apart from the others he remains philosophically intact:

The idea that nothing is true except what we comprehend is silly, and that ideas which our minds cannot reconcile are mutually destructive, sillier still.\textsuperscript{53}

\textsuperscript{51}Hocking, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 428.

\textsuperscript{52}Churchill, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 114.

\textsuperscript{53}\textit{Ibid.}, p. 115.
I. Determinism

1. Churchill, at one period in life, was a fatalist; this is shown in his conception of man as a puppet, with no control over his environment.

2. Churchill later became, and has remained a determinist, believing that man himself may be a causal influence, a determiner of events.

II. Pragmatism

1. Churchill is a pragmatist; this is evident by his acceptance of religious beliefs on the basis of emotional need, rather than logical thought, and by his adoption of the political policies which accomplished his purpose.

III. Materialism

1. Churchill is a materialist, for he believes in the reality of matter and reliance on the senses to prove this reality.

IV. Rationalism and Empiricism

1. Churchill is a rationalist, because he believes in the necessity of principles for the guidance of mankind.
2. Churchill is an empiricist, for he believes in the practical necessity of facts.

3. Churchill emerges as a combination of rationalist and empiricist, for he believes in the efficacy of facts for the defense of principles.

V. Eclecticism

1. As an eclectic, Churchill combines rationalism and empiricism, faith and logic. He takes from each theory what he wishes.
CHAPTER III

PSYCHOLOGICAL IDEAS

OF

PERSONALITY

I. TOUGH-MINDEDNESS

We have seen Churchill's philosophical beliefs; his manner of assessing the external world. Now we shall look at the personality of the man; the internal structure and its external manifestations.

William James used the terms, "tough-minded" and "tender-minded" essentially "to denote qualities of character and personality which exert their influence on a person's philosophy and presumably on his social attitudes also."\(^1\)

James listed the traits of these two groups as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>The Tender-Minded</th>
<th>The Tough-Minded</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rationalistic</td>
<td>Empiricist</td>
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<tr>
<td>Idealistic</td>
<td>Materialistic</td>
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<tr>
<td>Optimistic</td>
<td>Pessimistic</td>
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<tr>
<td>Religious</td>
<td>Irreligious</td>
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<tr>
<td>Free-willist</td>
<td>Fatalistic</td>
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<tr>
<td>Monistic</td>
<td>Pluralistic(^2)</td>
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</table>

Churchill has been shown to be a believer in free-will, so in this respect he is tender-minded. He is a pluralist,


so here he falls in the tough-minded category; as a materialist he again enters this group. On the question of rationalism versus empiricism, Churchill has shown himself as both tough and tender-minded.

"Nature seems to combine most frequently with rationalism an...optimistic tendency," says James, stating further that the optimism of empiricists "is apt to be decidedly conditional and tremulous."^3 We have seen that Churchill combines both the rational and empirical approach; it is not surprising, therefore, to find in him a blending of optimism and pessimism.

As would be expected, Churchill's period of pessimism coincided with his period of fatalism. This was in 1932, when he held no cabinet position and apparently had little chance of holding office again. At this time he viewed the human race as "wallowing in follies, slaves to errors, and plunged in endless tribulations."^4 Ten years later, his fortunes had changed, and as fatalism gave way to determinism, so pessimism changed in the direction of optimism. His is not, however, the optimism of Leibnitz - that this is

^3James, Pragmatism, p. 10.

the best possible world. He does not display the excessive optimism of a Pollyanna: "short-sighted optimism is a mischief," he tells us. His view is rather, one of realistic optimism. Everything does not always happen for the best and "our difficulties and dangers will not be removed by closing our eyes to them." 

Churchill does not, like the true pessimist, expect the worst; he does not consider the "salvation of the world impossible." In his realistic optimism, he realizes that evil is present, but can be prevented, and that we, by our actions, can help to prevent its occurrence: "...I am sure that our fortunes are still in our own hands and that we hold the power to save the future..." These, again, are the words of the determinist and the man of action, with the capacity to exercise conscious control of events; confident in his power to meet and overcome circumstances.

What many took for pessimism was rather prevision, and


7James, op. cit., p. 23.

8Churchill, speech, March 5, 1946, op. cit., p. 103.
as Churchill states in pungent terms: "A hopeful disposition is not the sole qualification to be a prophet."\(^9\)

However, the unthinking optimism of the people would not hear him when as before the first World War, he "saw it all coming" and cried aloud to (his) own fellow countrymen and to the world, but no one paid any attention."\(^10\)

Hocking states that the optimist believes that "the will and the environment in which it plays are attuned to each other and we can wisely give ourselves to a study of the positive aims of action."\(^11\) Action - this is Churchill's belief. He would agree with James that our acts create the world's salvation."\(^12\) He thus becomes a candidate for the doctrine of meliorism, which is defined by James as standing midway between optimism and pessimism. This is consistent with our knowledge of Churchill as a pragmatist, for "it is clear that pragmatism must incline toward meliorism."\(^13\)


\(^10\)Churchill, speech, March 5, 1946, *op. cit.*, p. 103.


\(^12\)James, *op. cit.*, p. 268. \(^13\)Ibid., p. 286.
Should we regard Churchill as a tender-minded religious or a tough-minded irreligious? He stated that he "passed through a violent and aggressive anti-religious phase," as a young man in the army. He soon realized the value of religion and pragmatically adopted it: "faith is given to us to help and comfort us when we stand in awe before the unfurling scroll of human destiny."\(^\text{14}\)

Churchill realizes man's need for faith, for he tells us: "No material progress...however it may expand the faculties of man, can bring comfort to his soul."\(^\text{15}\) These are certainly the words of a tender-minded person, but there is another side. Religion is useful; it is necessary, but it is, to Churchill's mind an institution of society and like all social institutions it is not flawless. Churchill is not averse to pointing out these flaws. In his essay, "Shall We All Commit Suicide?," he speaks of religion's failure to prevent war: "Religion, having discreetly avoided conflict on the fundamental issues, offered its encouragements and consolations, through all its forms, impartially to all the combatants."\(^\text{16}\) His quarrel seems to


\(^{15}\) Churchill, Thoughts and Adventures, p. 214.

\(^{16}\) Ibid., p. 185.
be with organized religion rather than with religious principles, which he considers of paramount importance:

It is therefore above all things important that the moral philosophy and spiritual conceptions of men and nations should hold their own... there never was a time when the hope of immortality and the disdain of earthly power and achievement were more necessary for the safety of the children of men.17

Through the long war years, Churchill called on the people's faith to back their weapons, reminding them that, "This moral conviction alone affords that ever-fresh resilience which renews the strength and energy of people in long, doubtful and dark days."18 When the "long...dark days" were over and Germany surrendered, Churchill stood before the House of Commons and moved:

That this House do now attend at the Church of St. Margaret, Westminster, to give humble and reverent thanks to Almighty God for our deliverance from the threat of German domination.19

Finally there is the plea of the tender-minded rationalist and religious - the plea for men to balance knowledge with wisdom, power with virtue, strength with mercy:

17Churchill, Thoughts and Adventures, p. 313.
18Churchill, speech, August 8, 1939, op. cit., p. 169.
Certain it is that while men are gathering knowledge and power with ever-increasing and measureless speed, their virtues and their wisdom have not shown any notable improvement as the centuries have rolled. We have the spectacle of the powers and weapons of man far outstripping the march of his intelligence; we have the march of his intelligence proceeding far more rapidly than the development of his nobility. We may well find ourselves in the presence of 'the strength of civilization without its mercy.'

Thus we have a picture of Churchill as both tough-minded and tender-minded, a not unusual combination. There are people who are tough-minded in their addiction to facts and in their reliance on the senses, and yet tender-minded in their... need for religious belief." Though Churchill seems to fit equally into James' categories, the over-all impression of the man is one of predominate tough-mindedness. "The tough-minded set of opinions is dominated by realistic, worldly, egotistic values..."

A study by Brogden on the factors of idealism versus practicality appears to correspond closely to the concept of tough-mindedness versus tender-mindedness. Some of the items characterizing the practical (tough-minded) person

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20 Churchill, Thoughts and Adventures, p. 213.


22 Eysenck, op. cit. p. 132.
are the following:

If he had unlimited leisure and money he would prefer to...aim at a senatorship or a seat in the Cabinet...rather than make a collection of fine sculptures...23

There is no doubt that Churchill has this characteristic. Even without "unlimited leisure and money" (for the Churchills were not a truly monied family) his life's interest was his position in the House of Commons.

He believes that one should guide one's conduct according to, or develop one's chief loyalties toward...society as a whole...rather than one's ideals of beauty.24

With Churchill, "society as a whole" and national unity, stood uppermost: "...reasonable sacrifices of Party opinions, personal opinion, and Party interest should be made by all in order to contribute to the national unity."25

He would prefer a friend...who is efficient, industrious, and of a practical turn of mind, one who possesses qualities of leadership and organizing ability...rather than one who is interested in thinking out his attitude toward life as a whole.26

One of Churchill's closest friends was Lloyd George, whose

23 Eysenck, op. cit., p. 163. 24 Ibid., p. 163.
25 Churchill, speech, August 2, 1939, Blood, Sweat, and Tears, p. 159.
26 Eysenck, op. cit., p. 163.
leadership and ability is well known.

He believes that good government should aim at the development of manufacturing and trade, introduction of more ethical principles into its politics and diplomacy, or the establishing of a position of prestige and respect among nations; rather than more aid for the poor, the sick, and the old.27

Though Churchill established many social reforms (he was the author of the first Unemployment Insurance Act) his first thought was for the prestige of Britain:

...at all times according to my lights and throughout the changing scenes...I have always served two public causes which I think stand supreme - the maintenance of the enduring greatness of Britain and her Empire and the historical continuity of our Island life.28

He would prefer to hear a lecture on the comparative merits of the forms of government in Britain and the United States rather than on the comparative development of the great religious faiths.29

This would obviously be Churchill's preference, though actually he would prefer to deliver the lecture rather than hear it.

Churchill is tender-minded in that he is rationalistic, optimism, religious, and a free-willist. However, he is

27Eysenck, op. cit., p. 163.
28Churchill, speech, October 9, 1940, op. cit., p. 396.
29Eysenck, op. cit., p. 163.
basically tough-minded, because he is an empiricist, a materialist, and a pluralist. In addition, his optimism, a trait of the tender-minded, is somewhat pessimistic, or, as it has been defined, a realistic optimism. His tough-mindedness is further shown by his practicality.

II. EXTRAVERSION

Eysenck proposes as a hypothesis that "tough-mindedness is a projection on to the field of social attitudes of the extraverted personality type, while tender-mindedness is a projection of the introverted personality type."30 This, then, would mean that Churchill, as a predominately tough-minded individual, would display the traits of an extravert.

Jung states quite extensively all the personality traits which characterize the introvert and the extravert respectively. These traits

"derive from the fundamental fact that the extravert has turned his interests and his instinctual energies outwards, i.e., towards the world of objective reality...He shows outward physical activity."31

The extravert, as described by Jung, is "outgoing, sociable,

30 Eysenck, op. cit., p. 174. 31 Ibid., p. 175.
pragmatic, interested in people and things."32 The fundamental orientation of the extravertive person "is to exterior phenomena..."33 The extravert is further described as a man of action, as opposed to the introvert, who is a man of deliberation."34

Is Churchill extravert or introvert? In discussing this we must keep in mind the fact that these two characterizations should be considered as "directions of variation,"35 rather than as types.

The nature of Churchill's life work - the very term "political" - seems to connote extraversion. A politician must be active; he must conduct or participate in political affairs. Of Churchill's success in politics, there can be no doubt; of his personal satisfaction, his enjoyment in this work, he says, "Politics are almost as exciting as war, and quite as dangerous."36


35Coleman, op. cit., p. 130.

We have defined the extravert as a man of action and "action" is Churchill's byword. "...a man's Life must be nailed to a cross either of Thought or Action,"\(^{37}\) he tells us, and obviously he has chosen the latter. "...he is never a spectator," a biographer tells us, "he takes part actively in every experience that comes his way..."\(^{38}\) Churchill believes that "It is better to be making the news than taking it; to be an actor rather than a critic."\(^{39}\)

The extravert is interested in the "world of objective reality." Churchill's gaze has always been focused on external things. But things must not only be external to hold his attention, they must be capable of being acted upon by his own personal force. Cowles tells of an incident, during the Festival of Britain, in the summer of 1951, when Churchill was taken up to a telescope where, he was told, he could view the outer spaces. He viewed them, and said, "Take me down. I am more interested in what is

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happening on the earth." Moorehead's description of Churchill is quite accurate:

"...He is not a visionary or a missionary or a philosopher or a poet; one thinks of him rather as a sober contemporary tramping along at the head of history. His world is here and now and he is very clear about his direction."41

A study by Rokeach concluded that concrete or realistic thinking characterizes the tough-minded extravert.42 In realistic thinking, one plans for action and the plans are checked against real conditions.43 Churchill is a perfect example of the realistic thinker, who believes:

...it is no use espousing a cause without having also a method and a plan by which that cause may be made to win...There must be a plan and there must be action following upon it.44

Here, again, is the combining of rationalism and empiricism.

"Espousing a cause" - or devotion to principles, the trait of a rationalist and coupled with it the "method and plan" - based on facts, the trait of an empiricist.

41Moorehead, op. cit., p. 27.
42Eysenck, op. cit., p. 228.
44Churchill, speech, May 9, 1938, Blood, Sweat, and Tears, p. 18.
Not only will Churchill have a plan, but the plan will be based on personal knowledge of the facts. Facts or ideas provided by others will not suffice: "Always see for yourself. Once you have seen a thing working, you know how it works."45

Eysenck's investigation of subjects' preferences for simple, symmetrical figures and drawings as opposed to a preference for complex, assymetrical figures and drawings as a measure of personality, revealed that:

this complexity-simplicity factor showed important relationships to other personality variables. Thus a significant tendency was found for introverts to prefer the complex, extraverts the simple kinds of pictures and objects. Thus, if our identification of extraversion with tough-mindedness be accepted, we should expect a preference for simplicity to go with attitudes in the tough-minded quadrant...46

Fortunately, we need not assume or take another's word for Churchill's preferences in drawing. We have only to look at his own pictures to discover his choice. "Each of his pictures is the presentation of a distinct theme...The dominant motive is never obscured by irrelevances."47

46Eysenck, op. cit., p. 181.
47Eade, op. cit., p. 356.
Usually one or two forms (buildings or works of nature) dominate his scenes and these are presented simply and definitely. "Technically Churchill's painting is not equal to his statesmanship, but it is pervaded by the same spirit of dogged realism."48

Some work has been done on the connection between color choice and personal characteristics. Jaensch found that people could be divided into two groups in regard to color preferences: those more sensitive to the warm end of the spectrum and those more sensitive to the cold end.

The warm color dominant subjects are characterized by an intimate relation to the visually perceptible world. (This would correspond to Rokeach's realistic thinking). Their emotional life is characterized by warm feelings...and strong affects. All mental functions are rapid and highly integrated with each other. In the subject-object relationship, the emphasis is on the object.49

The warm color dominant subject would thus correspond to the outwardly-integrated or extrovertive individual. Again, we can look directly to Churchill to determine his color choices: "I cannot pretend to feel impartial about the colours. I rejoice with the brilliant ones, and am genuinely sorry for


the poor browns." This preference for warm colors is quite noticeable in Churchill's paintings - oranges, yellows, reds, and red-violets predominate. The colors are often used in their almost pure forms, rather than muted hues. "A forthright colorist, Churchill eschews subtlety."

Waehner's studies of paintings revealed that "short, sharp strokes indicate aggression." Churchill himself has said that "The first quality needed (in painting) is audacity." In his paintings every stroke of the brush is apparent. The style, however, is relaxed, rather than stiff, perhaps an indication that Churchill's aggressiveness has been channeled in a socially acceptable manner.

Churchill displays the characteristics of extraversion, which Eysenck hypothesis as a projection of tough-mindedness. As an extravert, Churchill turns his energies outward; he is orientated to external phenomena, and he is a man of action. Other characteristics of extraversion, which Churchill shows are realistic thinking, a preference for simple drawings, and a preference for warm colors.

50 Churchill, Thoughts and Adventures, p. 240.
51 Life, op. cit., p. 52.
52 Harsh and Schrickel, op. cit., p. 446.
53 Churchill, Thoughts and Adventures, p. 233.
III. AGGRESSION

Eysenck tells us that "Aggressiveness is implicit in many of the attitudes which make up the concept of tough-mindedness."\(^{54}\) We would therefore expect to see Churchill displaying the characteristics of aggressiveness.

The term, aggression, is often used more or less synonymously with hostility, but according to Cavanagh, it is not properly so used because "an aggressive act may tend to be a constructive act whereas hostility always tends to be destructive."\(^{55}\) The terms aggression and aggressiveness will therefore be used in the sense of self-assertion, dominance, and desire for power.

Even a cursory knowledge of Churchill's life reveals the above characteristics. He always had a sense of destiny; he felt that he was meant for power and he was determined to achieve it. When he became Prime Minister, his sense of destiny and his desire for power were fulfilled: "I felt as if I were walking with Destiny, and that all my past life had been but a preparation for this hour and for this trial."\(^{56}\)

\(^{54}\)Eysenck, op. cit., p. 199.


In 1898, when Churchill was only twenty-four years of age, G. W. Steevens, one of the leading journalists of the time described him: "He has not studied to make himself a demagogue. He was born a demagogue, and he happens to know it."57

"The extravert values the outer world, both in its material and in its immaterial aspects (power, prestige)."58 Churchill seems to have not only a desire, but a need for power. He exhibits the "driving force which impels the individual along his life plan (and) is known as the will to power."59 Adler could no doubt have used Churchill as a perfect example of "the drive to self-assertion, and to dominance and superiority,"60 which he considered more basic than the Freudian sexual drive in the development and structuring of personality.

Churchill, out of office, deprived of the reins of power, of the opportunity to dominate events, is Churchill in exile. When he was removed from his position of leadership in the Admiralty, in 1915, this feeling of exile was evident:

57Eade, op. cit., p. 46. 58Eysenck, op. cit., p. 21.
59Stagner, op. cit., p. 883.
60Harsh and Schrickel, op. cit., p. 335.
I had great anxiety and no means of relieving it; I had vehement convictions and small power to give effect to them. I had to watch the unhappy casting-away of great opportunities, and the feeble execution of plans which I had launched and in which I heartily believed.

Stripped of leadership, Churchill's integrity is shattered, but in a governing position he is psychologically intact. During the Second World War, when he was asked by the King to form a government he related that he was "consciously of a profound sense of relief. At last I had the authority to give directions over the whole scene." Authority over the whole scene" - here is power, here is satisfaction - for Houser tells us that "the degree of the expression of power is the measure of the most vital satisfaction," of authority-seeking individuals.

What Carlyle said of Napoleon could well be said of Churchill: "...he had a kind of idea...the tools to him who can handle them." Churchill obviously considered himself capable of handling almost any situation. He once said: "Sometimes I feel as though I could lift the whole world on

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63 Stagner, *op. cit.*., p. 414.
64 Carlyle, quoted by Bartlett, *op. cit.*., p. 582.
my shoulders."\(^{65}\) Churchill made this pronouncement when quite a young man, and perhaps it should be regarded as a prophecy, for is this not what he did? We must agree with Sharp that: "...the cultivation of personal initiative and constructiveness (is) at its best combined with assertiveness or aggressiveness (and) still remains a marked characteristic of creative and productive life."\(^{66}\) If Churchill had been submissive rather than dominant, meek rather than aggressive, the course of world events would certainly not have been the same.

Perhaps the most revealing statement of Churchill's love of power can be found in a letter he wrote to Franklin Roosevelt, in which he said: "If I become Prime Minister, we two could rule the world."\(^{67}\) During World War II, he did, in effect, realize this ambition.

"Churchill, on top of the wave has in him the stuff of which tyrants are made,"\(^{68}\) said Lord Beaverbrook. As far as

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\(^{68}\) Cowles, *op. cit.*, p. 274.
it goes this statement is true, but it is certainly to
Churchill's credit that he did not allow the tyrant in him
to over-ride the democrat.

With the imperious tendencies of his nature, he
might easily have been induced during his premiers*
ship to turn dictator as a means of fighting the
dictators. But his task was to defeat the dic-
tators...and he never wavered in his profound
respect for the institution of Parliamentary
democracy.69

Maslow's view of aggression as means behavior rather
then end behavior70 is well borne out by Churchill, whose
own conception of power is as follows:

Power for the sake of lording it over fellow-
creatures or adding to personal pomp, is rightly
judged base. But power in a national crisis, when
a man believes he knows what orders should be
given, is a blessing.71

There is no element of cruelty, no ruthlessness in
Churchill's aggressive behavior; we find rather generosity.
This is clearly stated in the "Moral of the Work," which
precedes each of his volumes of The Second World War:

71Churchill, quoted by Cowles, op. cit., p. 324.
In War: Resolution
In Defeat: Defiance
In Victory: Magnanimity
In Peace: Good Will

He elaborated this belief in a speech delivered in 1950:

When nations or individuals get strong they are often turbulent and bullying, but when they are weak they become better mannered. But this is the reverse of what is healthy and wise. I have always been astonished, having seen the end of these two wars, how difficult it is to make people understand the Roman wisdom, 'Spare the conquered and confront the proud...'. The modern practice has often been, 'Punish the defeated and grovel to the strong'.
should apologize to the great man. Churchill brushed aside the apology with the remark: "I ask for no quarter and I bear no malice."75

Churchill holds that this balance of aggressiveness with magnanimity is necessary for a true peace:

It is extraordinary how rarely in history have victors been capable of turning in a flash to all those absolutely different processes of action, to that utterly different mood, which alone can secure them for ever by generosity what they have gained by force. In the hour of success policy is blinded by the passion of the struggle. Yet the struggle with the enemy is over. There is only then the struggle with oneself. That is the hardest of all...Two opposite sides of human nature have to be simultaneously engaged. Those who can win the victory cannot make the peace; those who make the peace would never have won the victory.76

In Churchill we see the rare combination of winner of victory and its necessary component - aggressiveness, and maker of peace, with its corollary = magnanimity.

In summary, we see that Churchill displays the characteristics of aggression, which are implicit in the concept of tough-mindedness. His aggression (self-assertion, dominance) is revealed by his desire and need for power, which is fulfilled in the political and governmental area. Churchill's aggression was tempered with magnanimity and was constructively channeled.

75Churchill, quoted by Wyatt, op. cit., p. 43.
76Churchill, Thoughts and Adventures, p. 169.
"There is much evidence," says Eysenck, "to support the view that the authoritarian personality pattern is characteristic of the tough-minded group..."77 We may therefore expect to see Churchill displaying this personality trait.

The patterns of the authoritarian as opposed to the democrat are listed by Lewin, Lippitt, and White and may be summarized as follows: All determination of policy is by the leader, rather than a process of group discussion. The leader usually dictates the division of tasks and the members of each group, rather than leaving these decisions to the group.78

It must be remembered, of course, that Churchill, while basically authoritarian, had to work within a democratic framework. He, therefore, also shows some democratic traits, such as sketching general steps to group goals, and providing an over-all perspective, rather than the authoritarian method of dictating activity steps one at a time, so that future steps remain uncertain to a large degree.79

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77 Eysenck, op. cit., p. 242.
78 Stagner, op. cit., p. 390.
79 Ibid.
Churchill was a master organizer, who liked to make the big plans and leave the details to others. He once commented: "I never do any brain work that anyone else can do for me."80

Churchill generally took the initiative with a plan or solution. He firmly believed in his own ideas and his own powers, to such an extent, in fact, that he could rarely see the merits of an approach to a problem other than his own. Eisenhower said that if Churchill accepted a decision unwillingly he would "return again and again to the attack in an effort to have his own way, up to the very moment of execution."81 These authoritarian tendencies are well described by Broad, who compares Churchill with the Socialist leader, Lloyd George:

Lloyd George knew how to bring the best out of the men. Churchill was prepared to direct them into the best way of doing things or...undertake the thing himself. Lloyd George was quick to obtain the opinions and suggestions of other men and adapt them to his own uses. Churchill sought not plans from other minds but support for his own. Lloyd George seemed to be persuasive. Churchill could not disguise that he was masterful.82

80 Cowles, op. cit., p. 97.
81 Bade, op. cit., p. 159.
82 Broad, op. cit., p. 34.
"Togetherness" and "team work" were not for Churchill. Probably no other contemporary statesman was fit so well to lead and so poorly to follow. This determinism to follow his own ideas, rather than another's, is described by a fellow Member of Parliament, Hore-Belisha:

If he cannot win his way in an argument, he will probably propose the adjournment of the meeting to another day when he will appear again, reinforced with new and weightier evidence, facts and information and renew the attack.83

A characteristic authoritarian remark of Churchill's is the following, occasioned by an interruption of a Parliamentary speech: "I do not think I need trouble myself with the hon. Member's opinion..."84 It was not only as a Member of Parliament or as Prime Minister that Churchill revealed his authoritarian attitude, for Cowles tells us that:

Whatever the atmosphere, Mr. Churchill was always unquestionably the master. No one dared pursue a topic of conversation that did not meet with his approval; no one dared to ask any questions or take any liberties. Many...would have found royalty easier to deal with.85

Barron and Welsh, in their studies of the simplicity-complexity preferences in drawings, mentioned by Eysenck, found that simplicity preferences tended to go with rigidity.

83 Eade, op. cit., p. 341.
85 Cowles, op. cit., p. 325.
We have already determined Churchill's simplicity preferences. Rigidity was defined as "inflexibility of thought and manner; stubborn, pedantic, unbending, firm." Rigidity, then, can be understood as the opposite of fluidity. Stagner defines the fluid personality as one in which connections are easily established between various organized systems or with new materials. Such individuals tend to develop consistent attitudes and values, because connections are quickly perceived and comparisons are quickly made. "Ability to see another's point of view is probably a feature of the fluid personality." Should we define Churchill as a rigid or as a fluid personality? He is "stubborn" and "unbending" where his own ideas and plans are concerned, and his "ability to see another's point of view," is certainly limited, which indicates rigidity. However, his organizational ability and his development of "consistent attitudes and values," is indicative of flexibility. We have quoted Eisenhower as stating that Churchill continually attempted to "have his own way," but Eisenhower also mentions Churchill's "unfailing

86 Eysenck, op. cit., p. 243.
87 Stagner, op. cit., p. 67.
courtesy and zealous support, regardless of his dislike of some important decision."\textsuperscript{88} We must assume that, while both characteristics are present, the tendency toward flexibility is more pronounced, for rigidity "sets a limit upon the adaptability of the individual to political organization."\textsuperscript{89}

We have seen that Churchill shows the trait of authoritarianism, now let us examine the reason for his possession of this trait. Morgan states that the authoritarian pattern "appears to have its causes in rejection or excessive domination of a child by his parent."\textsuperscript{90}

A biographer tells us that most of Churchill's first eighteen years were "a strange and cold story of unhappiness, or at any rate of maladjustment, in the midst of plenty..."\textsuperscript{91} Churchill saw little of his parents. His father was engrossed in politics and his mother in a busy social life. Cowles states the situation:

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{88}Eade, op. cit., p. 160. \\
\textsuperscript{91}Moorehead, op. cit., p. 4.
\end{flushright}
Neither considered children a vocation, and, in the way of most aristocratic families at that time, regarded the nursery, like the kitchen, as necessary adjuncts to the well-run household, but ones which should be kept hidden.92

The boy, Churchill, sometimes did not see his father for several months; Lord Randolph was completely centered in his own political affairs and spared little time for his children. Churchill tells us: "...all I can boast...are... three or four long intimate conversations with him..."93

His mother was the adored but remote figure visiting the night nursery on the way to dinner. Churchill describes her:

My mother always seemed to me a fairy princess; a radiant being possessed of limitless riches and power.
She shone for me like the Evening Star. I loved her dearly - but at a distance.94

Despite their rejection, Churchill idealized his parents; of his father, he said: "...to me he seemed to own the key to everything or almost everything worth having."95 Adorno defines this idealization of parents as the expression of parents' qualities in generalized and undifferentiated

93 Churchill, Thoughts and Adventures, p. 32.
94 Cowles, op. cit., p. 41.
95 Churchill, op. cit., p. 32.
terms which primarily glorify external features of physical appearance or overt behavioral conduct rather than the more internal aspects of their personality. This idealization is opposed to an objective appraisal of the parents, which refers to an ability for critical evaluation of the parents in specific and psychologically conceived terms. Adorno further states that when there is no readiness to admit that one's parents have any weakness in them (idealism) it is not surprising to find later an indication of repressed hostility. When the emphasis in the description of parents is on internal rather than external and physical characteristics (objective) a closer and warmer relationship with the parents is often found.

Silence and distance on the father's part when the son wants to be loved, authoritarian discipline without any demonstration of its purpose - these are stimuli which regularly arouse aggression...

Probably few fathers could have shown more "silence and distance" than Lord Randolph:

If ever I began to shown the slightest idea of comradeship he was immediately offended; when once I suggested that I might help his private secretary to write some letters, he froze me

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97Adorno, et. al., op. cit., p. 344. 98Ibid., p. 796.
Years later, Churchill sadly remarked to his own son: "I have talked more to you this holiday than my father talked to me in his whole life."  

The tendencies toward hostile and aggressive feelings toward the parents cannot be ego-accepted and are therefore repressed.

Among the rigid defenses against these tendencies there is, above all, the mechanism of projection, by which much of what cannot be accepted as part of one's own ego is externalized. At the same time there is a compensatory drive for power, strength, success, and self-determination.

This is in line with Adler's "will to power," which he described as a form of compensation.

Lord Randolph's aloofness did not prevent his influence on his son:

The greatest and most powerful influence in my early life was of course my father. Although I had talked with him so seldom and never for a moment on equal terms, I conceived an intense admiration and affection for him... Lord Randolph did not reciprocate this admiration. He once

99 Churchill, Thoughts and Adventures, p. 36.
100 Cowles, op. cit., p. 273.
101 Adorno, et. al., op. cit., p. 474.
102 Coleman, op. cit., p. 50  103 Churchill, op. cit., p. 32.
wrote to a friend in South Africa, asking if there were any prospects in the Colonies, for he did not feel his son was likely to make his way in England.104

Despite Lord Randolph's lack of affection for and confidence in his son, Churchill identified strongly with him: "I read industriously almost every word he had ever spoken and learnt by heart large portions of his speeches. I took my politics unquestionably from him."105 After his father's death, this identification continued: "There remained for me only to pursue his aims and vindicate his memory."106 Churchill almost finished his political career before it had started in fulfilling this aim, for one of his first speeches in the House was a slashing attack on the Government, on the same matter that had ruined his father's career.

"It is probable," says Christie, "that a basically healthy personality is essential to survive the perpetual uncertainties of political life."107 How did Churchill, the rejected child, achieve this "healthy" personality, so

104Cowles, op. cit., p. 41.
105Churchill, Thoughts and Adventures, p. 32.
107Christie and Jahoda, op. cit., p. 223.
necessary for success in the area of politics? Christie continues:

This means that in the primary circle the infant and child must be able to receive enough love and care from at least one parent (or nurse) to develop a positive image of the self...108

Churchill describes his nurse, Mrs. Everest, as "my confidante."109 "She was my dearest and most intimate friend during the whole twenty years I had lived."110 When she died Cowles relates that Churchill "wept as he had never wept for his own father."111

With his mother, Churchill finally achieved an apparently satisfactory relationship. When he reached an age where he could fit into her life, his mother began to take an interest in him, introducing her son to those who could be helpful to his career:

My mother was always at hand to help and advise... she became an ardent ally, furthering my plans and guarding my interests with all her influence and boundless energy.112

She did not attempt to exert a maternal influence, for

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108 Christie and Jahoda, op. cit., p. 224.
110 Cowles, op. cit., p. 41 111 Ibid., p. 41
112 Ibid., p. 62
Churchill tells us that they "worked together on even terms, more like brother and sister than mother and son."\textsuperscript{113}

In summary, we see Churchill, as a tough-minded individual, manifesting an authoritarian pattern - a determination to follow his own ideas and to have these ideas followed by the group. Although this suggests rigidity of personality, Churchill's personality is more fluid than rigid, as shown by his organizing ability and his consistent values.

Authoritarianism is thought to be caused by rejection of the child by his parents. The rejected child, and Churchill is an example of this, represses the feelings of hostility and aggression aroused by this rejection, and at the same time, manifests a compensatory drive for power.

V. EGOTISM

"People who are dominant in their relationships with others also tend to be assertive and egotistic."\textsuperscript{114} Churchill's egotism is evident from what we have seen of him - his faith in his own ideas, his drive for power to express these ideas, his aggressiveness, his authoritarianism, his belief in his destiny - all point to an enormous confidence

\textsuperscript{113} Cowles, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 62.
\textsuperscript{114} Sheaffer and Shobin, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 318.
in self. This self-appreciation is believed by Christie to be an important adjunct to political life: "A considerable degree of egocentricity in later phases of development is an asset in selecting and playing political roles."\textsuperscript{115}

Self-confidence, self-esteem, this is the true definition of Churchill's egotism. His is not the egotism of the conceited, for conceit is defined as an "exaggerated opinion of oneself,"\textsuperscript{116} and Churchill's self-image is not exaggerated. He has a knowledge of his own powers, and who will deny that these powers are great?

No one can be compared to Churchill in the wide range of his interests, the magnitude of his achievements and the number of roles he has played with distinction.\textsuperscript{117}

But "Great versatility in men is always a little under suspicion,"\textsuperscript{118} and there are many who are irritated by Churchill's supreme egotism. Lord Balfour remarked, while reading The World Crisis, that he was "immersed in Winston's brilliant autobiography disguised as a history of the

\textsuperscript{115} Christie and Jahoda, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 224.


\textsuperscript{117} Eade, \textit{op. cit.}, p. xii.

\textsuperscript{118} Ibid., p. 277.
universe." Those who begrudge Churchill his greatness and his confidence in this greatness may merely reflect the envy and distrust that the mediocre so often feel for the gifted. In reference to Churchill, Lloyd George said, "Unfortunately, genius always provides its critics with material for censure." The censure of others causes Churchill no concern. "He has that scorn of concealment that belongs to a caste which never doubts itself and to a personality that is entirely fearless." This belief in Self is one of Churchill's strongest characteristics and with it he accomplished his aims and realized his "will to power." The importance of his egoistic drive cannot be over-looked, for as Sharp believes, these drives and the men who possess them are important for much of our civilization. Churchill was never troubled by what Carlyle called, "the fearful Unbelief - the unbelief in Self." His egotism conquered what he himself referred to as "the craven fear of being great."

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119 Cowles, op. cit., p. 246. 120 Ibid., p. 221.  
121 Eade, op. cit., p. 418.  
122 Bryson, et al., op. cit., p. 559.  
123 Carlyle, quoted by Bartlett, op. cit., p. 584.  
In summary, we may say that Churchill's egotism, an expected corollary of his self-assertion, was the egotism of self-confidence, rather than the exaggerated egotism of conceit. This characteristic gave Churchill the strength to accomplish his aims and realize his desire for power.

VI. AMBITION

"He coveted the place; perhaps the place was his;"\textsuperscript{125} though Churchill said this of Lloyd George, it could probably be more appropriately said of the speaker himself. Churchill's strong desire for power and success, and his unhappiness when this power was taken from him have been noted before. The height of his power - during the premiership - was probably the height of his happiness.

Churchill's ambition was an extension of his egotism, born of his confidence in himself, but it was not solely for himself that he coveted power. His belief in himself, in his ability to perform the task, led him to the conclusion that he alone could lead the British Empire through trial to triumph. As he explained it: "...power in a national crisis, when a man believes he knows what orders should be given, is

\textsuperscript{125}Carlyle, quoted by Churchill, speech, March 28, 1945, Victory, p. 115.
Lord Beaverbrook explained Churchill's motivation:

He cared for the Empire profoundly, and he was honestly convinced that only by his advice and methods it could be saved. His ambition was in essence disinterested.\textsuperscript{127}

For Churchill to deny his powers, to forego the opportunity of using them would not only have been destructive of his inner integrity; it might well have been destructive of that extension of himself - the British Empire: "I have not become His Majesty's First Minister in order to preside at the liquidation of the British Empire."\textsuperscript{128}

It would be remarkable if a man of such great and unlimited ambition had successfully achieved his aims; it would seem that there would not be "world enough and time" for his achievements, but Churchill has succeeded: "...any private ambitions I may have cherished in my younger days have been satisfied beyond my wildest dreams."\textsuperscript{129}

This ambition, "...the power to get ahead, the desire

\textsuperscript{126}Churchill, quoted by Cowles, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 324.

\textsuperscript{127}Cowles, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 214.

\textsuperscript{128}Henry S. Commager, "Winston Churchill: An Appreciation," \textit{American Mercury}, vol. 61, no. 260 (August, 1945) p. 141.

\textsuperscript{129}Churchill, speech, March 5, 1946, \textit{The Sinews of Peace}, p. 93.
for power, must be reckoned," Sharp believes, "as persistent and, on the whole, constructive elements." A follow-up on Terman's study of gifted children revealed that in rating the most successful and the least successful in the gifted group (now middle-aged) the following traits were shown by the successful: "perseverance, self-confidence, and the ability to direct mental and physical energies toward goals." We have seen that Churchill displays these traits quite strongly.

Though "Nothing is more obvious about Churchill's genius than its profound sanity..." still we may conjecture what type of psychological decompensation he would manifest. It is suggested that Churchill would probably display a manic pattern, since:

Available evidence indicates that manic patients, prior to their illness, have been ambitious, outgoing, energetic, sociable, often highly successful individuals.

Colemen further states that in the manic pattern, unpleasant

130 Bryson, et. al., op. cit., p. 560.


132 Made, op. cit., p. 420.

133 Coleman, op. cit., p. 310.
thoughts are kept out of consciousness by occupying the mind with other matters. In less severe forms this type of reaction to stress is evidenced by the person who seeks to escape from inner anxieties by restless activity.\footnote{Coleman, op. cit., p. 310.} At every stage in life, when faced with anxiety, Churchill has turned to activity as a means of relieving this stress. It was after his removal from the Admiralty, in 1915, that he first took up painting. Bricklaying, farming, and building fish ponds soon followed this initial activity. His writing has always been a source of pleasure, relief, and ego-fulfillment for him.

I produced in succession the various volumes of the Life of Marlborough...I built with my own hands a large part of two cottages and extensive kitchen-garden walls, and made all kinds of rockeries and waterworks and a large swimming pool...Thus I never had a dull moment from morning till midnight, and with my happy family around me dwelt at peace within my habitation.\footnote{Winston S. Churchill, The Gathering Storm, p. 79.}

Manics sometimes exhibit various types of delusions,\footnote{Morgan, op. cit., p. 269.} and it is intriguing to speculate on the occurrence of Churchill suffering delusions of grandeur. Napoleon, Caesar and Christ are rather common choices of the delusioned

\footnote{Coleman, op. cit., p. 310.}

\footnote{Winston S. Churchill, The Gathering Storm, p. 79.}

\footnote{Morgan, op. cit., p. 269.}
psychotic. Churchill, with his enormous egotism, would probably choose Churchill.

Though Churchill suffered setbacks, frustrations, disappointments, and defeats that might well have deranged the average man, his high level of stress tolerance tended to prevent lowered integration. His varied and energetic activities at these times were normal ego-defenses, rather than an indication of personality decompensation. His homeostasis was never disturbed to the point of disorganized behavior.

In summary, we may say that Churchill's ambition was an extension of his egotism, for he believed that he had the ability to lead.

Were Churchill to manifest personality decompensation, he would probably shown a manic pattern, for manic patients have generally been ambitious, extraverted, energetic individuals.

VII. EMOTIONS

"The extravert's emotions are easily aroused, but never very deeply; he is relatively insenstive."\textsuperscript{137} Cowles has

\textsuperscript{137}Eysenck, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 21.
told of the tears Churchill wept at the deaths of his father and his nurse. Broad states that Churchill was easily moved to display his feelings. He relates that during the Blitz, Churchill was often seen "standing with tears fast falling, as he brooded over the losses and suffering of the victims of the bombs." That he has a sentimental side, there seems no doubt, though we should keep in mind that "Sentimentality is not a general trait for most persons. They are sentimental about some things but objective about others..." Churchill's sentimentality for the British was matched only by his loathing for the Nazis. "When he spoke of the 'Nas-ies,' the very lengthening of the vowel carried with it his message of contempt." His hatred of the Fuhrer was a driving force: "I have only one purpose, the destruction of Hitler, and my life is much simplified thereby." He referred to the Nazi leader as a "cornered maniac," and again as "This wicked man, the repository and embodiment of

138 Broad, op. cit., p. 18
139 Harsh and Shrickel, op. cit., p. 378.
140 Hade, op. cit., p. 338.
141 Churchill, quoted by Cowles, op. cit., p. 329.
142 Churchill, speech, November 12, 1939, Blood, Sweat, and Tears, p. 192.
many forms of soul-destroying hatred, this monstrous product of former wrongs and shame..."143 Hitler's hatred of Churchill was just as intense; he once described him as "...this gabbler, this drunkard Churchill...This hypocritical fellow! This lazybones of the first rank!"144

Churchill's emotionalism often triumphed over his logic. As could be expected, Churchill himself does not admit to this trait, but five biographers, all of whom have known him personally, have attested to his "rapidly changing moods,"145 and his "tendency to impulsive and emotional decisions."146 Churchill, of course, envisions himself as relying solely on objective reasoning; he has been quoted as saying, "...there must be a plan..."147 and "Always see for yourself how a thing works."148 There is no doubt that he employs the mechanism of rationalization, which is defined by Stagner as:

A process of redefining the external situation

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143Churchill, speech, September 11, 1940.
144Adolph Hitler, quoted by Eade, op. cit., p. 174.
147Churchill, speech, May 9, 1938, Blood, Sweat, and Tears, p. 18.
or the acts of the individual, to bring about greater conformity with inner expectations and to avoid a feeling of unpleasentness.\textsuperscript{149}

Rationalization is not a process of logical reasoning, but an attempt to make conduct appear sensible. Cowles states that once Churchill has taken a stand he has never been at a loss to find closely reasoned arguments to support it\textsuperscript{150} - the quite common phenomena of first forming an opinion and then finding the facts to support it.

In summary, we see that Churchill revealed the sentimentality he felt for the British people in war-time. He did not hesitate to make known his loathing for Hitler.

His decisions were often based on impulsiveness and emotion, rather than on logical thought, and this process was defended by the mechanism of rationalization.

\section*{VIII. UNITY}

"Personality is always unites multiplex,"\textsuperscript{151} says Stagner. He explains that unity is enforced by the fact that all the activities of the individual involve a single

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{149}Stagner, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 142.
\item \textsuperscript{150}Cowles, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 250.
\item \textsuperscript{151}Stagner, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 176.
\end{itemize}
physiological mechanism and that the individual has a need for self-consistency. This need for self-consistency is shown by the ego, which is defined as a dynamic system maintaining its own integrity and equilibrium as it is acted upon by and itself acts upon the environment.\textsuperscript{152}

With Churchill, this integrity and inner harmony is never marred; his "life plan," his purpose and goal, determine his reactions:

If the individual feels that acting in a particular way is part of his essential Self-image, he will show the characteristics of persistence, resistance to suggestion, thoroughness, and conscientiousness.\textsuperscript{153}

In order to achieve psychological integrity, the level of aspiration of an individual, which is determined by the goals acquired through learning, and the level of performance, which is determined by his own abilities and acquired skills,\textsuperscript{154} must not show great discrepancy. In Churchill's life, we see aspiration and performance at the same level, for he stated, "any...ambitions I may have cherished...have been satisfied."\textsuperscript{155}

\textsuperscript{152}Harsh and Shrickel, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 317.
\textsuperscript{153}Stagner, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 198. \textsuperscript{154}Morgan, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 250.
\textsuperscript{155}Churchill, speech, March 5, 1946, \textit{The Sinews of Peace}, p. 93.
With the traits of aggressiveness, egotism, and authoritarianism that Churchill so strongly shows, it might have seemed almost impossible for him to achieve the satisfaction of ego and the unity of personality he undoubtedly possesses. How did he effect this balance?

It is common psychological doctrine that a sound, effective, and happy individual maintains a balance between his humane and social impulses, including some of the impulses loosely grouped under the heading of love, on the one hand, and his assertive, aggressive, partly hostile, partly dominating impulses on the other.156

What are the "impulses of love," that Sharp speaks of, what are the values, which when held, seem to be coexistent with mental health, social usefulness, and integrity of ego? As expressed by Coleman, these values may be paraphrased in the following manner: 1. An acceptance of individual responsibility for carrying forward social progress. Churchill never shirked responsibility; he welcomed it and believed in his ability to carry it successfully. 2. A belief in mankind as a functional part of the universe. As a determinist, Churchill believed in man's power to shape affairs. 3. A belief that fundamental tenets of Christianity are not only compatible with modern, democratic society, but

156Bryson, op. cit., p. 559.
actually indispensable to it. Churchill believes that the "moral philosophy and spiritual conceptions of men" are of utmost importance for the growth of nations. 4. A belief in modern scientific techniques and their usefulness for social progress. 5. A belief that democracy provides the best atmosphere for the happiness and progress of the individual and the group.\textsuperscript{157} Churchill's adherence to values numbers four and five will be seen in the next chapter.

Briefly, we may state that Churchill's level of aspiration and his level of achievement were equal, giving rise to a balanced personality. This homeostasis was furthered by Churchill's conviction in certain values, which seem to be corollaries of mental health.

\textsuperscript{157}Coleman, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 599.
SUMMARY OF PSYCHOLOGICAL IDEAS OF PERSONALITY

I. Tough-mindedness

1. Churchill is tender-minded because he is rationalistic, optimistic, religious, and a believer in free-will.

2. His optimism is realistic, not excessive. He believes in positive action to better the world.

3. Churchill follows James' doctrine of meliorism, which stands midway between optimism and pessimism.

4. Churchill is religious, for he believes in the power and comfort of faith.

5. Although displaying some of the characteristics of the tender-minded, Churchill is basically tough-minded, as shown by the manner in which he is readily defined as a practical person, from Brogden's study of idealism (tender-mindedness) versus practicality (tough-mindedness).

II. Extraversion

1. Eysenck proposes the hypothesis of tough-mindedness as a projection of extraversion.
2. Churchill displays the traits of extraversion, by his interest in objective reality and his activity, both of which are demonstrated by his active political life.

3. Churchill's extraversion is shown by his realistic thinking, which is demonstrated by his dependence on methods and plans.

4. The trait of extraversion is shown by Churchill's preference for simple drawings and warm, bright colors, as ascertained from his paintings.

III. Aggression

1. Churchill displays the characteristics of aggressiveness, in the sense of self-assertion, dominance, and desire for power.

2. This aggressiveness is shown by his search for power in the political area.

3. Churchill's aggressiveness is channeled constructively and is tempered with magnanimity.
IV. Authoritarianism

1. Churchill has strong authoritarian tendencies, as shown by his method of group control and his determination to follow his own ideas.

2. Churchill shows some rigidity of personality by his limited ability to see another's point of view, however his personality is more fluid than rigid, for his organizational ability and his consistent attitudes and values outweigh his rigidity tendencies.

3. The authoritarian pattern "appears to have its cause in rejection of the child by his parents."

4. Churchill was rejected by both parents, but despite their rejection, Churchill idealized his parents.

5. Idealization of parents is often followed by repressed hostility and aroused aggression; these hostile and aggressive feelings, which cannot be ego-accepted, are often externalized, and accompanied by a compensatory drive for power, which Churchill exhibited.

6. Churchill identified with his father, and after his father's death, strove to vindicate his memory.
7. Churchill received affection from his nurse, and this love was probably greatly responsible for his basically healthy personality and success in political life.

8. When Churchill reached his majority he achieved an apparently satisfactory "brother-sister" relationship with his mother.

V. Egotism
1. Individuals with dominant and authoritarian traits, such as Churchill exhibited, also tend to be egotistic.

2. Churchill's egotism is shown by his aggressiveness and his faith in his own ideas.

3. The term, "egotism," as applied to Churchill is defined as self-confidence and self-esteem, rather than conceit.

VI. Ambition
1. Churchill's ambition was an extension of his egotism.

2. This ambition was, in a sense, unselfish, for Churchill believed that his leadership was in the interest of Great Britain.
3. Were Churchill to manifest personality decompensation, he would probably exhibit a manic pattern, for evidence indicates that manic patients, prior to illness, have been ambitious, extraverted, and successful—characteristics which Churchill reveals strongly.

4. This type of reaction to stress (manic pattern) in less severe forms, is evidenced by great activity on the part of the individual.

5. At every stage in life, when faced with anxiety, Churchill has shown great activity.

6. At no time did Churchill display severe personality decompensation.

VII. Emotion

1. Churchill's sentimentality was evidenced during the Blitz of London, when he wept for the desolation of the city and its people.

2. Churchill's sentimentality was equalled by his great hatred for the Nazi leader, Hitler.

3. Churchill's emotionalism was sometimes stronger than his logic.
4. Churchill employed the mechanism of rationalization to make his conduct appear logical.

VIII. Unity

1. The psychological unity of Churchill's personality is never marred, for his level of aspiration was equalled by his level of performance.

2. Churchill believes in certain values which seem to be coexistent with effective mental health.
CHAPTER IV

ATTITUDES TOWARD SOCIETY

I. ATTITUDE TOWARD GOVERNMENT

Imperialism. Moorehead says of Churchill, "as a young politician before the First World War, he was notorious for his forthright imperialism."\(^1\) Churchill's imperialistic tendencies did not end with the first war or with the second. He remained a firm defender of the British Empire - its monarchy and its possessions. He invariably refers to his country as the British Empire, rather than as Britain or England. He viewed the monarchy as the core of the Empire:

At the heart of the British Empire there is one institution, among the most ancient and venerable, which, so far from falling into desuetude or decay, has breathed the torrent of events, and even derived new vigor from the stresses. Unshaken by the earthquakes, unweakened by the dissolvent tides, though all be drifting, the Royal and Imperial Monarchy of Britain stands firm.\(^2\)

Churchill did not view Britain as an overlord, but rather as a benefactor, spreading English civilization to the farthest corners of the earth. He conceived of Britain


as a strongly integrated Commonwealth, with each member united
to the other with devotion to the King-Emperor as the cohesive
force: "...over all, uniting each Dominion with the other
and uniting us all with our majestic past, is the golden
circle of the Crown."³

Churchill's imperialism is probably best shown in his
attitude toward India. He believed that "Indian unity (is)
created by British rule."⁴ Only by Britain's paternal in-
terest and guidance could India remain integral:

The unity of India is of superficial appearance,
imposed by many generations of British rule, upon
a mighty continent. It will pass away for long
periods of time, once the impartial element of
guidance from outside is withdrawn.⁵

His rationale for the above statement is the following:
"As the British authority passes...into collapse, the old
hatreds between the Moslems and the Hindus revive..."⁶

Originally India merely wanted Dominion status, such as

³Churchill, speech, April 20, 1939, Blood, Sweat, and

⁴Churchill, speech, Oct. 5, 1946, The Sinews of Peace

⁵Churchill, speech, December 12, 1946, The Sinews of
Peace, p. 251.

⁶Winston S. Churchill, The Gathering Storm (Boston:
Canada and Australia had; they expressed no wish to leave the Empire. The majority of the Members of Parliament were willing to grant this status, but Churchill stood firmly against them. He described England's proposed concessions as a "hideous act of self-mutilation...from such a catastrophe there could be no recovery."\(^7\) He became the leading spirit of the Indian Empire Society, a group composed mainly of Conservatives, organized to resist self-government. Churchill refused to believe that India was capable of governing herself. Government was the responsibility of Britain—of King and Parliament:

No question of self-government in India at this juncture shall impair the ultimate responsibility of Parliament for the peace, order, and good government of the Indian Empire.\(^8\)

It was probably not only his belief in the governing qualities of Britain that made Churchill take this stand toward Indian self-rule. His loathing of the Indian leader, Ghandi, was extreme. He referred to Ghandi contemptuously as a "seditious Middle Temple lawyer...organizing and conducting a defiant campaign of civil disobedience."\(^9\)


\(^9\) Cowles, *op. cit.*, p. 280.
Ghandi stands for the expulsion of the British from India. Ghandi stands for the permanent expulsion of British trade from India. Ghandi stands for the substitution of Brahmin domination for British rule in India.  

The two men are an interesting contrast of personalities. Churchill, the tough-minded, ambitious, aggressive extravert could neither understand nor sympathize with Ghandi, the tender-minded, self-effacing, non-violent introvert.

Fifteen years later, India demanded and received complete independence from Britain. Churchill referred to this as "our immense act of surrender in India." The British Empire, into which Churchill had introjected himself, lost one of its most valuable possessions and "the number of the King's subjects (was reduced) to barely a quarter of what it had been for generations."  

This imperialism, this desire for power, is not a surprising aspect of Churchill's personality. Adorno states that the admiration of and search for power is related to conventionalism. Barron and Welsh, in their studies of

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10 Cowles, op. cit., p. 280.
12 Ibid.
simplicity-complexity preferences, found that a preference for simplicity, which Churchill has shown, is associated with "respect for custom and ceremony and friendliness for tradition..."\(^{14}\) Churchill's respect for custom and love of tradition can not be doubted:

It is this union of past and present, of tradition and progress, this golden chain, never yet broken, because no undue strain is placed upon it, that has constituted the peculiar merit and sovereign quality of English national life.\(^{15}\)

Though strongly aggressive and authoritarian, Churchill has never tried to defy the rules or override the authority of the House of Commons, for he reerves its customs and traditions:

Never was a body more capable of dealing with political issues than the House of Commons. Its structure has stood the strain of the most violent contentions. Its long tradition, its collective personality, its flexible procedure, its social life, its unwritten inviolable conventions have made an organism more effective for the purpose of assimilation than any of which there is record.\(^{16}\)

In summary, we may say that Churchill defended the right of Britain to hold possessions and to govern them with what


\(^{16}\)Ibid., p. 174.
he conceived of as paternal guidance.

This imperialistic desire for power is related to conventionalism, which Churchill manifests in his reverence for Britain's traditional Parliamentary government.

Democracy. Churchill believes in Democracy, though not with an uncritical faith. Like Dewey, he accepts the system though he realizes its faults. Aristocracy and monarchy may be more efficient, for "Democracy as a guide or motive to progress has long been known to be incompetent," but they are also more dangerous. Churchill does not consider the system of government by the people a panacea for social ills. He is not blinded by platitudes. He sees clearly the failings of the democratic form of government, and denounces its practice of drifting "along the line of least resistance, (and) taking short views." He warns that faith in a system is not enough; the people must strive to improve the system:

...the structure and habits of democratic states, unless they are welded into larger organisms, lack those elements of persistence and conviction which can alone give security to humble masses..."^20


^18Churchill, Thoughts and Adventures, P. 212. ^19Ibid.

Acceptance of the democratic system, without action to better it, is decried by Churchill. The people must make the system worthy of their defense, or it will fail to defend them:

So many various odd and unwritten processes are interposed between the elector and the assembly, and that assembly itself is subjected to so much extraneous pressure, that the famous phrase, 'Government of the people for the people' has in many states proved a mere illusion.

Democracy has shown itself careless about those very institutions by which its own political status has been achieved. It seems ready to yield up the tangible rights hard won in rugged centuries to party organizations, to leagues and societies, to military chiefs or to dictatorships in various forms.21

Though realistically aware of Democracy's imperfections, Churchill, nevertheless considers it the most proper form of government, because of its guarantee of liberty: "I stand for the sovereign freedom of the individual within the laws which freely elected Parliaments have freely passed."22

As would be expected, Churchill considers England's form of government - the combination of traditional monarchy and elected Parliament - the most desirable:

Alone among the nations of the world we have found the means to combine Empire and liberty.

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21 Churchill, Thoughts and Adventures, p. 173.

Alone among the peoples we have reconciled democracy and tradition...

King and Parliament both rest safely and solidly upon the will of the people expressed by free and fair election on the basis of universal suffrage.23

Churchill's conventionalism and reverence of tradition, combined with his belief in the democratic system is satisfied by Britain's parliamentary government. He considers Parliament as the almost perfect interaction of people and State:

I see the Houses of Parliament - and particularly the House of Commons - alone among the senates and chambers of the world a living and ruling entity...I regard these parliamentary institutions as precious to us almost beyond compare. They seem to give by far the closest association yet achieved between the life of the people and the action of the State. They possess apparently an unlimited capacity of adaptiveness, and they stand an effective buffer against every form of revolutionary or reactionary violence. It should be the duty of faithful subjects to preserve these institutions in their healthy vigour, to guard them against the encroachment of external forces, and to revivify them from one generation to another from the springs of national talent, interest, and esteem.25

Churchill believes in the State for the people, not the people for the State; he believes in the will of the people

23 Churchill, speech, October 9, 1940, Blood, Sweat, and Tears, p. 396.
expressed through the electorate and founded on traditional loyalties. As one of Democracy's greatest living spokesmen, he expresses the rights of the people:

...the people of any country have the right, and should have the power by constitutional action, by free unfettered elections, with secret ballot, to choose or change the character or form of government under which they dwell; that freedom of speech and thought should reign; that courts of justice, independent of the executive, unbiased by any party, should administer laws which have received the broad assent of large majorities or are consecrated by time and custom.\(^{26}\)

Briefly, we may state that Churchill's belief in Democracy is a critical, rather than a blind faith; he is capable of realizing and stating the faults of this system.

Churchill considers Britain's Parliamentary government the most nearly perfect form of government.

Communism. Long before the doctrine of Communism was realized by most as a threat to the free world, Churchill warned of the effects of this system of state control:

The Communist theme aims at universal standardization. The individual becomes a function: the community is alone of interest: mass thoughts dictated and propagated by the rulers are the only thoughts deemed respectable. No one is to think of himself as...sovereign, unique, indestructible. No one is to think of himself even as that

\(^{26}\text{Churchill, speech, March 5, 1946, The Sinews of Peace, p. 97.}\)
harmonious integrity of mind, soul, and body...
Sub-human goals and ideals are set before the...
millions. 27

Communism embodies everything that was abhorrent to
Churchill — denial of individual enterprise, hatred of
Capitalism, denial of the right of men to shape their own
destiny through their own individual efforts, and lack of
Christian principles. He referred to Communist ideology
as a "disease of the mind." 28 This ideology was the an-
thesis of the democratic and Parliamentary government that
Churchill believed in: "The Communist parties...are seek­
ing everywhere to obtain totalitarian control." 29

Any system of government that denied freedom to the
individual could never be accepted by Churchill. Both
Communism and Naziism denied liberty, and the democratic
Churchill loathed both doctrines:

I will not pretend that, if I had to choose
between Communism and Nazi-ism, I would choose
Communism. 30

27 Churchill, Thoughts and Adventures, p. 195.
28 Churchill, speech, June 5, 1946, The Sinews of Peace,
p. 163.
p. 328.
Both doctrines are equally obnoxious to the principles of freedom.\footnote{Churchill, speech, May 9, 1939, \textit{Blood, Sweat, and Tears}, p. 22.}

Churchill’s hatred of Communism was increased by the fact that he considered it the fountain-head of all the evil ideologies:

As Fascism sprang from Communism, so Naziism developed from Fascism. Thus were set on foot those kindred movements which were destined soon to plunge the world into even more hideous strife.\footnote{Churchill, \textit{The Gathering Storm}, p. 15.}

Socialism. Socialism, with its denial of individual enterprise, was viewed by Churchill as a corollary of Communism:

...a Socialist policy is abhorrent to the British idea of freedom...there can be no doubt that Socialism is inseparably interwoven with Totalitarianism and the abject worship of the State... liberty, in all its forms, is challenged by the fundamental conception of Socialism.\footnote{Churchill, speech, June 4, 1945, \textit{Victory}, p. 244.}

Socialism, which Churchill sneeringly referred to as "this continental conception of human society," was merely a less "violent form" of Communism.\footnote{\textit{Ibid.}, p. 242.}

Within any system, Churchill held, there must be room for individual movement and growth: "We ought not to seek after
some rigid, symmetrical form of doctrine, such as delights the minds of Socialists and Communists. 35

Despite his habit of equating the two doctrines, Churchill would admit that the Socialists, in England at least, had held themselves aloof from active participation in the Communist party:

I am an opponent of the Socialist Party but I readily admit that they made an important contribution to the cause of world peace. They have made this contribution by their resolute denunciation of Communism and by their refusal to allow the Communist Party to enter and permeate their ranks. 36

This was the only time that Churchill referred kindly to the Socialists; the rest of his speeches, especially as Leader of the Conservative Opposition, after the post-war election, were a savage attack upon this party, with its "fallacious, narrowing doctrines," its "mismanagement of our (governmental) affairs," its refusal to "give a fair chance to our national interests and prosperity," which was sacrificed "for the sake of their political interests." 37

He pictured the people as:

...hag-ridden by the Socialist doctrinaires... with all their pervasive propaganda, with all their bitter class hatred, with all their love of tyrannising, with all their Party machinery, with all their hordes of officials and bureaucracy.38

All his life, Churchill had taken destiny in his own hands; he had made his own way by action, not through passive acceptance, and he saw no reason why others should not do the same. He was opposed to the idea of the State, under the supervision of "these autocratic philanthropists,"39 providing for the people what they had not earned through their own performance. He denounced the Socialist "policy of equalizing misery and organizing scarcity, instead of allowing diligence, self-interest and ingenuity, to produce abundance."40

Churchill feared that the combination of "empire and liberty" - Britain's democratic parliamentary system - would be weakened by a Socialist government. The man who had devoted his life to Parliament and Democracy refused to accept:

...the violent imposition of the socialistic system (which) would involve the restriction of Parliamentary Government as we have known it, and the denial of the rights of effectual opposition as hitherto practised in this country.\textsuperscript{41}

II. ATTITUDE TOWARD POLITICS

Consistency in Politics. "A foolish consistency is the hobgoblin of little minds, adored by little statesmen and philosophers and divines."\textsuperscript{42} Churchill was no little statesman, and an accusation of inconsistency did not disturb him. He freely admitted, in his characteristically authoritarian manner:

So far as my own personal choice has been concerned, I have acted in politics as I felt I wanted to act. When I have desired to do or say anything and have refrained therefrom through prudence, slothfulness or being dissuaded by others, I have always felt ashamed of myself at the time; though sometimes afterwards I saw that it was lucky for me I was checked.\textsuperscript{43}

This political policy of acting as he chose to made him a prime target for party-conscious politicians, who denounced him for his lack of hesitation in changing parties. Lady


\textsuperscript{43}Churchill, \textit{Thoughts and Adventures}, p. 5.
Nancy Astor once told the House, with Churchill present: "I have voted against my party many times and Winston Churchill asked me to leave it - but I told him I was not as used to changing my party as he was." Cowles states that nowhere in the world is the Party system so highly developed as in England, and it undoubtedly took courage and a firm belief in principles and in self for Churchill to shift his party allegiance as often as he did. He started his political career as a Conservative, went over to the Liberals, joined the war-time coalition government, abandoned both parties and stood as a Constitutionalist and then returned to the Conservative fold. Churchill considered these party changes essential to his integrity, for he agreed with Voltaire that "Truth has not the name of a party," or as he explained it:

It is evident that a political leader responsible for the direction of affairs must, even

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44 Omaha World-Telegram, March 6, 1960, p. 23.


if unchanging in heart or objective, give his counsel now on the one side and now on the other of many public issues...Questions of this kind do not depend upon the intrinsic logic of the reasoning used on the one hand or the other, but on taking a just view of the governing facts of different periods...If it can be shown that he swims with the current in both cases, his titles to a true consistency must be more studiously examined than if he swims against it. 48

These principles expressed by Churchill were of long-standing. One of his first speeches as a political candidate at the beginning of his career, called for the people to "Look at this political situation, not as Party men, but as Britons..." 49 Years later, the echo of these words was heard again, in Churchill's postwar election speeches:

I claim the support of all throughout the country who sincerely put the nation first in their thoughts...and those who give us their support should vote National rather than Party... 50

The journalist, Steevens, described Churchill at the outset of his career: "At present he calls himself a Tory Democrat. Tory - the opinions - might change; democrat - the methods - never." 51 A few years in the political field

48 Churchill, Thought and Adventures, p. 27.
49 Churchill, quoted by Cowles, op. cit., p. 118.
made Churchill conscious of the universality of this fact:

Usually youth is for freedom and reform, maturity for judicious compromise, and old age for stability and repose. The normal progression is from Left to Right, and often from extreme Left to extreme Right. 52

Churchill's attitude of failing to regard the Party as of prime importance was a dangerous one to hold for a man just beginning his career. He realized this when he said:

A change of Party is usually considered a much more serious breach of consistency than a change of view. In fact as long as a man works with a Party he will rarely find himself accused of inconsistency, no matter how widely his opinions at one time on any subject can be shown to have altered. 53

It was probably not only his principles, but his egotism that made Party-worship impossible for Churchill, for Christie states that complete identification with a party is more difficult for egotists. 54

It is difficult to judge a man's motives fairly; they are often a combination of values - idealistic and pragmatic - and Churchill is no exception. But the thread of

52 Churchill, Thoughts and Adventures, p. 25.

53 Churchill, op. cit., p. 29.

consistency to self rather than to party runs through all of Churchill's life, from the beginning of his political career:

A statesman should always try to do what he believes is best in the long view for his country, and he should not be dissuaded from so acting by having to divorce himself from a great body of doctrine, to which he formerly sincerely adhered. 55

to the end:

A union of parties like that which now exists (the Coalition Government) should come together and work together...for the achievement of some great national purpose transcending all party differences. 56

Armed with integrity, he had no fears:

A sincere conviction, in harmony with the needs of the time and upon a great issue, will be found to override all other factors; and it is right and in the public interest that it should. Politics is a generous profession. The motives and characters of public men, though constantly criticized, are in the end broadly and fairly judged. 57

In summary, we may state that Churchill rationalized his political inconsistencies by stating that he believed in nation before Party, and that a conviction in principles is of more value than a conviction in party doctrine.

55 Churchill, op. cit., p. 28.


57 Churchill, Thoughts and Adventures, p. 29.
III. ATTITUDE TOWARD SCIENCE

Pessimism. With his concern for and reliance upon facts, it is not surprising that Churchill took a great interest in science. He realized its power, and in his most pessimistic vein described Science as holding the keys to cities of destruction and enslavement. He warned that Science has become:

...a vast organized united class-conscious army marching forward upon all the fronts towards objectives none may measure or define. It is a proud ambitious army which cares nothing for all the laws that men have made; nothing for their most time-honored customs, or most dearly-cherished beliefs, or deepest instincts. It is this power called Science which has leid hold of us, conscripted us into its regiments and batteries...rewarded us for our services, healed us when we were wounded, trained us when we were young...None of the generations of men before the last two or three were ever gripped for good or ill and handled like this.

As Churchill agreed with Dewey's view of Democracy as not the best, but the safest method of government, so too he agreed with the educator's view of science. Dewey believed that our values and "the actual realization of our ends," were "growing unassured and precarious," although

59 Ibid., p. 204.
"our control of nature...for human use and satisfaction"
was increasing. Churchill echoes Dewey's thought:

It would be much better to call a halt in material progress and discovery rather than to be mastered by our own apparatus and the forces which it directs. There are secrets too mysterious for man in his present state to know; secrets which once penetrated may be fatal to human happiness and glory. Without an equal growth of Mercy, Pity, Peace, and Love, Science herself may destroy all that makes human life majestic and tolerable.

Mankind has shown no improvement in virtue, or wisdom, Churchill believes, but his improvement in knowledge has increased, with the aid of science, to a great extent, in fact, to the point where mankind "has got into its hands for the first time the tools by which it can unfeailingly accomplish its own extermination." The passage of twenty years' time and the use of the atomic bomb did nothing to lessen this belief, and Churchill still held that "scientific knowledge has outstripped human virtue."

With Science's rapid strides, Churchill feared that

61 Churchill, op. cit., p. 213.
Nietzsche's dream of a superman, brought about by deliberate breeding and careful nature, would be realized. He saw this inhuman superman as the child of "perverted Science," brought about through its unnatural interference:

...startling developments lie already just beyond our finger-tips in the breeding of human beings, and the shaping of human nature...There seems little doubt that it will be possible to carry out in artificial surroundings the entire cycle which now leads to the birth of a child. Interference with the mental development of such beings, expert suggestion and treatment in the earlier years, would produce beings specialized to thought or toil. The production of creatures, for instance, which have admirable physical development with their mental endowment stunted in particular directions, is almost within the range of human power...Our minds recoil from such fearful eventualities, and the laws of a Christian civilization will prevent them. But might not lop-sided creatures of this type fit in well with the Communist doctrines of Russia? Might not the Union of Soviet Republics armed with all the power of science find it in harmony with all their aims to produce a race adapted to mechanical tasks and with no other ideas but to obey the Communist State?

Though Churchill states that "the laws of a Christian civilization will prevent" the production of unnatural robots designed to serve the State, his belief in this statement is

64Durant, op. cit., p. 461.
65Churchill, speech, June 18, 1940, Blood, Sweat, and Tears, p. 314.
66Churchill, Thoughts and Adventures, p. 211.
apparently not firm, for he is strongly opposed to the idea of a world ruled by scientists:

It is now suggested we should have a scientistic - not a scientific - government. It is the duty of scientists, like all other people, to serve the state and not to rule it because they are scientists. 67

Matters of government must be left to those with exhibited ability to govern wisely, as decided by the democratic process of election.

In 1925, fourteen years before it was widely recognized among scientists that the release of energy by atomic fission was possible, Churchill prophesied the atomic bomb with these words:

Might not a bomb no bigger than an orange be found to possess a secret power to destroy a whole block of buildings - nay, to concentrate the force of a thousand tons of cordite and blast a township at a stroke? 68

Twenty years later, the world saw this prophecy materialize, as the first atomic bomb was dropped on Hiroshima. At this time, Churchill referred to the bomb as "this terrible means of maintaining a rule of law in the world." 69 He would have

67Churchill, speech, November 7, 1945, The Sinews of Peace, p. 34.

68Churchill, Thoughts and Adventures, p. 189.

69Churchill, speech, August 6, 1945, Victory, p. 288.
preferred that his prophecy had proved false, and his decision to allow Britain to contribute her research to the production of the bomb was based on a feeling of necessity rather than choice.

Perhaps more than many of the scientists themselves, Churchill was aware of the immense implications of this advance in science:

This revelation of the secrets of nature, long mercifully withheld from man, should arouse the most solemn reflections in the mind and conscience of every human being capable of comprehension. We must indeed pray that these awful agencies will be made to conduce to peace among the nations, and that instead of wreaking measureless havoc upon the entire globe they may become a perennial fountain of world prosperity.\(^7^0\)

But the uses of the bomb seemed more conducive to evil than to good and Churchill warned that "It would be criminal madness to cast it (knowledge of atomic bomb) adrift in this still agitated and un-united world."\(^7^1\)

Though it was science that unlocked the secrets of atomic energy, it is not its place to decide what will be done with the power it has discovered: "Whatever may be


\(^{71}\)Churchill, speech, March 5, 1946, \textit{The Sinews of Peace}, p. 96.
decided on these matters should surely be decided by Parliament and responsible governments, and not by scientists..."72

Optimism. Though strongly pessimistic in his attitude toward science, Churchill is far from incapable of assessing the actual and potential good it has and will provide. The man of vision could not overlook the power and possibilities of science; his realism tempered his pessimism and he never ignored any possible application of science.

Under Churchill's leadership, Science and the technician were encouraged. Churchill believed that "superiority in scientific development is a vital factor in the preparation of victory."73 Under Churchill's direction of the Admiralty, in 1914, Britain became the first country to have an airplane carrying a machine gun and the first to launch a torpedo from the air.74

Churchill's natural curiosity, his desire to "always see for yourself how a thing works," led him to contribute personally to the development of the tank and the smoke screen. In each case, he grasped the principles and

72 Churchill, speech, November 7, 1945, Ibid., p. 35.
74 Ibid, p. 381.
appreciated the possibilities of each of the inventions, and eagerly put his authority behind any scientific endeavors. Though his conventionalism has been commented upon, it did not influence his attitude toward science; he "never ceased to be a scientist in the more vital sense of observing, experimenting and deducing." 75

Though he condemned Science for "holding the keys to destruction," he realized that these same keys could be for "that free and more abundant daily life which science is ready to afford." 76 Churchill was always cognizant of the impact of science upon mankind. Though he feared Science for its possible potential control of man, he praised it for its equally potential aid to man:

We see the opportunity of lifting, through the aid of science, all the men in all the lands to a far higher level of well-being and culture than was ever possible before. 77

Churchill's interest in science has continued to the present. Two years ago he proposed a campaign to create a college of science and technology at Cambridge University,


76 Churchill, speech, October 1, 1939, Blood, Sweat, and Tears, p. 177.

77 Churchill, speech, June 28, 1939, Blood, Sweat, and Tears, p. 146.
for he believes that "the future of Britain depends on the skill and craftsmanship with which we can meet the challenge of the new technological age." 78

Briefly, Churchill views science as the possessor of both good and evil in potential equality.

SUMMARY OF ATTITUDES TOWARD SOCIETY

I. Government

1. Churchill is a defender of Imperialism, of the monarchy and possessions of the British Empire.

2. This imperialistic attitude is shown most clearly in regard to Churchill's views on the rule of India.

3. The search for power and a preference for simplicity in drawings, both of which are shown by Churchill, are thought to be related to conventionalism.

4. Churchill's conventionalism and traditionalism are shown by his love and respect for Parliament, particularly the House of Commons.

5. Churchill believes in Democracy as the relatively best form of government, with a critical, rather than a blind faith.

6. England's form of government - the combination of monarchy and Parliament - is thought by Churchill to be the most nearly perfect form.

7. Churchill considered Communism the basis for all abhorrent ideologies and the antithesis of the democratic and Parliamentary government in which he believes.
8. Churchill was opposed to the lack of individual diligence which he believed was fostered by Socialism.

II. Politics
1. Churchill acted in politics as he "felt I wanted to act."

2. He was often accused of inconsistency, for he changed political parties five times.

3. Churchill considered loyalty to the nation more important than loyalty to a Party.

4. Churchill remained faithful to his principles, and he defined this as the true political consistency.

III. Science
1. Churchill's pessimistic attitude toward science was due to his realization that it could enslave rather than empower man.

2. Churchill is opposed to a world ruled by scientists.

3. Though cognizant of the potential evil of science, Churchill was equally aware of its potential good.
CHAPTER V

LEADERSHIP

I. THEORY

Great Man Theory. The fact of Churchill's leadership is evident, the type of leadership he displayed is more difficult to ascertain. His authoritarian tendencies already have been noted and these strongly influenced his leadership. The opportunity to lead, however, was presented to him within a democratic system and he had no choice but to operate within the boundaries of this system.

There seem to be two theories of leadership: the Great Man theory, which states that men of a distinctive stamp, predestined by their possession of unusual traits, lead events and mold situations.¹ This may also be referred to as the leader principle - the gifted leader assumes command and tells the people what action to take.² The second theory, held by the situationists, states that it is the situation that determines the leader's traits; leaders are not born, but made.³ Proponents of this theory hold that

³Gouldner, op. cit., p. 46.
a leader in one area or situation, is not necessarily a leader in another and different situation; if an opportunity for leadership arises and the individual possesses the required traits, he may assume the leadership, but his traits must be the specific ones demanded by the specific situation. One situation, for example, may call for the ability to work hard, another for the ability to judge people, and still another for self-confidence.

There is no doubt which theory Churchill holds to be true:

I have no hesitation in ranging myself with those who view the past history of the world mainly as the tale of exceptional human beings, whose thoughts, actions, qualities, virtues, triumphs, weaknesses and crimes have dominated the fortunes of the race. 4

It is perhaps unfortunate that Churchill was born, and rose to power in this modern era; he would have been completely at ease in the monarchies of old, provided, of course, that he occupied the throne. He mourns the glories of the past:

It is difficult to marshal to-day in any part of the English-speaking world an assembly of notables, who either in distinction or achievement can

compare with those to whom our grandfathers so gladly paid attention and tribute.5

Churchill was not born for the age of the common man. Though he is acknowledged as one of the greatest spokesmen of Democracy - the system of equality for all - his democracy must struggle against his sometimes stronger autocratic tendencies: "We miss our giants. We are sorry that their age is past."6 He continues in this vein, employing a simile in which he compares plateaus and mountains to the masses and the monarchs, and concludes: "We want a monarch peak, with base enormous...Unhappily the democratic plateau...does not keep that article in stock."7 In a series of rhetorical questions, Churchill comments on the value of the democratic system of leadership:

Can modern communities do without great men? Can they dispense with hero-worship? Can they provide a larger action, by collective processes, then were ever got from the Titans?...Will the new problems of successive generations be solved successfully by 'the common sense of most;'?...Or will there be some big hitch in the forward march of mankind,...some vain wandering into the wilderness; and will not then the need for a personal chief become the mass desire?8

8Ibid.
There is more than an echo of Nietzsche, who believed that democracy meant the worship of mediocrity, and the hatred of excellence; it meant the impossibility of great men, in Churchill's statements:

Is not mankind already escaping from the control of individuals? Are not our affairs increasingly being settled by mass processes? Are not modern conditions - at any rate throughout the English-speaking communities - hostile to the development of outstanding personalities, and to their influence upon events; and lastly if this be true, will it be for our greater good and glory?

Churchill firmly believes in the Great Man theory and he may properly be considered his own best reason for this belief.

Akin to the Great Man theory of leadership is the idea of charismatic authority "the power of a leader because of his seeming superhuman qualities..." Churchill believes that superiority is essential for a leader:

The question is whether the sense of leadership, and the commanding attitude towards men and affairs, are likely to arise from...simple and unpretentious customs and habits of mind; and further whether our public affairs will now for the future run on quite happily without leaders who by their training and situation, no less than by their abilities,

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9 Will Durant, The Story of Philosophy (Garden City, New York: Garden City Publ., Company, 1933) p. 469.


feel themselves to be uplifted above the general mass.\textsuperscript{12}

There is no doubt that Churchill considers himself "uplifted above the general mass," and Angell cites him as an example of charismatic authority: "the leader who rallied the British forces after the evacuation from Dunkirk."\textsuperscript{13}

Churchill believes not only that the superiority of the leader sets him apart from the crowd, but that the leader must uphold this superiority by maintaining a distance between himself and the masses. He warns of the risks to the leader who engages in action, rather than directing it:

Those who are charged with the direction of supreme affairs must sit on the mountain-tops of control; they must never descend into the valleys of direct physical and personal action.\textsuperscript{14}

II. PRACTICE

Democratic. Though Churchill was strongly authoritarian, this tendency was necessarily curbed by Britain's parliamentary system. Even though he upheld the Great Man theory of leadership, he realized the values of the

\textsuperscript{12} Churchill, op. cit., p. 198.
\textsuperscript{13} Angell, op. cit., p. 97.
\textsuperscript{14} Churchill, op. cit., p. 7.
democratic methods:

...we must strive to frame some system of human relations...which will no longer leave the whole of mankind dependent upon the virtues, the caprice, or the wickedness of a single man.\textsuperscript{15}

One of the critical functions of a democratic leader is analysis,\textsuperscript{16} and Churchill's speeches, especially during his war premiership, are generally recognized as outstanding examples of this function: "It is my duty to record facts rather than indulge in prophecy..."\textsuperscript{17}

I have been so very careful, since I have been Prime Minister, not to encourage false hopes or prophesy smooth and easy things...\textsuperscript{18}

Churchill always factually related the war situation to the people. The grimness of the struggle was never softened:

Long, dark months of trials and tribulations lie before us. Death and sorrow will be the companions of our journey; hardship our garment; constancy and valor our only shield.\textsuperscript{19}

But together with the unpleasant facts of war, he thoroughly


\textsuperscript{16}Gouldner, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 400.

\textsuperscript{17}Churchill, speech, April 26, 1945, \textit{Victory} (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1945) p. 206.

\textsuperscript{18}Churchill, speech, February 9, 1941, \textit{Blood, Sweat, and Tears}, p. 458.

\textsuperscript{19}Churchill, speech, October 8, 1940, \textit{Ibid.}, p. 391.
outlined the resources available for victory:

I dwell on these elements in our strength, on these resources which we have mobilized and control - I dwell on them because it is right to show that the good cause can command the means of survival...\[20\]

This detailed analysis prevented anxiety; "unknown danger was transformed into a danger known in kind and extent:"\[21\] ...I cannot promise you that the end is near; but I can say that the Nazi beast is cornered and that its destruction is inevitable.\[22\]

Gouldner states that the democratic leader functions as a model; implying that if individuals identify with him they will best serve their common ideals.\[23\] Together with his factual presentation, Churchill offered his own courage and self-confidence as a model for the people:

I have myself, full confidence that if all do their duty, if nothing is neglected, and if the best arrangements are made, as they are being made, we shall prove ourselves once again able to defend our Island home, to ride out the storm of war, and to outlive the menace of tyranny, if necessary for years, if necessary, alone. At any rate, that is what we are going to try to do. That is the resolve of His Majesty's Government.

\[20\] Churchill, speech, July 14, 1940, Ibid., p. 337.

\[21\] Gouldner, op. cit., p. 407.

\[22\] Churchill, speech, January 1, 1945, Victory, p. 117

\[23\] Gouldner, op. cit., p. 407.
- every man of them. That is the will of Parliament and the nation.24

Churchill called for courage, for "a people who will not flinch or weary of the struggle..."25 What he asked from the people he also asked, in fact, demanded, from his immediate subordinates: "The Prime Minister expects all His Majesty's servants in high places to set an example of steadiness and resolution."26 All understood what was expected of them; all understood that: "This is no time for ease and comfort. It is the time to dare and endure."27 And following these words, the ringing call to arms: "Come then: let us to the task, to the battle, to the toil - each to our station...Let us go forward together..."28

Churchill was the model, the leadership symbol of the resistance and determination of Britain and the spirit of freedom of the Western World:

We shall not fail or falter; we shall not weaken or tire. Neither the sudden shock of battle, not the long-drawn trials of vigilance and exertion will wear us down. Give us the

27 Churchill, speech, Jan 27, 1940, Ibid., p. 220.
28 Ibid., p. 225.
tools, and we will finish the job.29

"The leader serves as guide," says Le Bon, "the arousing of faith...has always been the functions of great leaders of crowds..."30 Churchill’s faith in his power, coupled with his faith in the courage of the people, intensified their belief in themselves. When he stated: "...we shall persevere along our course, however the winds may blow,"31 the people responded with the tenacity he credited them with, and he praised their power:

All the world that is still free marvels at the composure and fortitude with which the citizens of London are facing and surmounting the great ordeal to which they are subjected...32

Churchill was one of the greatest architects of this combination of faith and power: "We trust in God and in our own arm..."33

In summary, we may state that Churchill was a democratic leader, with strong authoritarian tendencies. As a leader, he performed the vital function of analysis of facts, together with the offering of his personal courage and resolution to strengthen the people’s faith.

29Churchill, speech, February 9, 1941, Blood, Sweat, and Tears, p. 462.
30Gouldner, op. cit., p. 400.
33Churchill, speech, March 30, 1940, Ibid., p. 244.
Persuasiveness. "With words we govern men"—this was Disraeli's belief, and never was the persuasive power of words better demonstrated than by Churchill. Words were the force he used to motivate the British people, and words were the personal weapons he used to effect the down-fall of Hitler. His was speeches were instrumental in changing the shape of events; his majestic phrases crystallized the resolution of the nation. Gommager describes Churchill's "sonorous voice, like a great bell calling men to battle."

It was Churchill's method of presenting the people with facts, of expounding policy, that caused Broad to state: "Reason rather than passion gave Churchill his hold over the minds of men." But Churchill did not rely on logic alone to rally the British. He knew the power of faith as well as facts; the reasons of the heart were as important as the reasons of the mind. He marshalled facts; he showed the people the logic of their battle position, but he invariably

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ended on a note, not of logic, but of emotion: "This is no
time for doubt or weakness. It is the supreme hour to which
we have been called."37

What gave Churchill this motivating power over the
people? Why were his words the words that stirred to action?
It is his undeniable eloquence, which Stewart defines as
"exceptional skill in adapting an argument to the receptive
system of an audience."38 Churchill had a sympathetic
audience; he had the confidence and trust of the nation.
This gave him his power as an orator.

It (the work of the orator) is cast in the mold
offered to him by the minds of his hearers. It
is an influence principally received from his
audience (so to speak) in vapor, which he pours
back upon them in a flood.39

Churchill realized the truth of Gladstone's statement. Dur­
ing the war, when someone congratulated him on a broadcast,
saying:, "You are giving the people the courage they need,"
Churchill replied: "You are mistaken. They already have the

37Churchill, speech, July 4, 1940, Blood, Sweat, and
Tears, p. 329.

38Herbert Stewart, Winged Words (New York: Bourgey &

39Gladstone, quoted by Charles Eade (ed.), Churchill
by His Contemporaries (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1954)
p. 280.
courage. I only focus it.\textsuperscript{40}

No one had a surer feeling of the public pulse than Churchill. Throughout the war he seemed to know exactly what the public was thinking and what the public wanted:

Much of Churchill's power derived from the fact that when the crisis came he, too, turned out to be the average Englishman, but the average Englishman raised to the nth degree, with the result that he knew just how far the average Englishman was prepared to go in resistance to the Nazis, just how much he was prepared to risk and sacrifice.\textsuperscript{41}

The people perceived Churchill as doing for Britain what they wanted to do; they projected their thoughts and feelings and gained expression of their aims and fulfillment of their goals through their leader.

A leader must play a role that the group expects of him.\textsuperscript{42} Churchill understood the value of this:

To hold the leadership of a party or nation with dignity and authority requires that the leader's qualities and message meet not only the need but the mood of both.\textsuperscript{43}


\textsuperscript{41} Esde, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 408.

\textsuperscript{42} Morgan, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 321.

In summary, we may state that Churchill's leadership ability was due in great part to his power of persuasion. He was skilled in comprehending and heightening the emotions of the people.

**Effectiveness.** Effective leaders according to Morgan, state the goals of the group, have administrative skill, and inspire or set the pace for the group.\(^4^4\) Churchill's effectiveness as a leader can be clearly demonstrated.

Churchill outlined Britain's goals in the following words:

> What is our policy? I will say: It is to wage war, by sea, land and air, with all our might and with all our strength that God can give to us...

> What is our aim?...Victory - victory at all costs...Come, then, let us go forward together with our united strength.\(^4^5\)

Thus, in positive terms of action, he expressed the aim of the British, and of the Free World. In a speech two months later, he redefined the goals, this time in negative terms of what the people would not do: "But be the ordeal sharp or long, or both, we shall seek no terms, we shall tolerate no parley; we may show mercy - we shall ask for none."\(^4^6\)


Churchill's administrative skill previously has been remarked. Under his direction, every phase of the war effort was smoothly interlocked. He had a complete over-view of the situation, aided by his meticulous study of any subject under discussion. A member of the War Cabinet stated that Churchill "reads every document to be found on the subject (under discussion)...I have never known him to go into a conference with an ill-prepared or half-digested case." This complete comprehension of the situation was aided by his habit of keeping in contact with every piece of work connected, however remotely, with the war situation. His attention to detail was amazing; a study of his personal memorandums and telegrams to his subordinates, in a four month period, reveals this:

Please let me have a report setting out what is being done to protect our reservoirs from attacks...
What is the position about the increased proportion of rifle strength in an infantry battalion?
Cannot anything be done to ease the shoe repair position?
I still do not understand why it is necessary to have 2946 crews on effective strength in order to man 1732 serviceable aircraft...
I shall be much obliged if you will give me a brief report on the harvest, both hay and corn.
Make sure that no code-names are approved without my seeing them first.

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Let me have a report on bus queues in London and other great cities, and what measures you are taking to reduce them.48

The above are only a fraction of the notes that left Churchill's office. No detail escaped his eye. Besides his knowledge of and comments upon reservoirs, rifles, shoes, aircraft, hay, codes, and bus queues, he also found time to reprimand no less a personage than the Director of Military Intelligence, on his poor usage of English:

"Why must you write 'intensive' here? 'Intense' is the right word. You should read Fowler's Modern English Usage on the use of the two words."49

Morgan's third criterion of effective leadership - inspiration - is well demonstrated by Churchill. His unflinching resolution was an example that steadied Britain in her hour of adversity, and showed the people the way to survival:50 "I have nothing to offer but blood, toil, tears, and sweat."51 The fact that Churchill ended on the positive


appeal to hard labor, instead of stressing the calamitous nature of the situation, is worth nothing.\textsuperscript{52} His speeches will be quoted by men in the History yet to come, as models of the eloquence that inspires. He gave the people a sense of mission, and clothed in stirring words the emotions they felt but could not express. Who does not feel the thrill of inspiration, of renewed determination, at the speech he delivered as the last Allied troops left Dunkirk:

\begin{quote}
We shall go on to the end, we shall fight in France, we shall fight on the seas and oceans, we shall fight with growing confidence and growing strength in the air, we shall defend our Island, whatever the cost may be, we shall fight on the beaches, we shall fight on the landing grounds, we shall fight in the fields and in the streets, we shall fight in the hills; we shall never surrender...\textsuperscript{53}
\end{quote}

And, when Germany surrendered and the bitter years were over, Churchill spoke to the people who had followed his inspiring leadership: "This is your victory!...Everyone, man or woman, has done their best."\textsuperscript{54}

Briefly, Churchill's leadership was effective because he was skilled in administration, and because he stated the goals of the people and inspired them to attain these goals.

\textsuperscript{52}Macle, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 392.

\textsuperscript{53}Churchill, speech, June 4, 1940, \textit{Blood, Sweat, and Tears}, p. 297.

\textsuperscript{54}Churchill, speech, May 8, 1945, \textit{Victory}, p. 166.
Loss of Power. Why did this man - who fulfilled so brilliantly the functions of leadership, who understood so well the needs and moods of the people, who led these people to victory - lose his power? Why was the leader, who believed, "The right to guide the course of world history is the noblest prize of victory,"55 denied this right?

Churchill's overwhelming defeat at the General Election of 1945, held only a few weeks after the surrender of Germany, was the most grievous blow he sustained. At the height of his power he was removed by the British people, and this defeat wrenched from him the only bitter remark he had ever publicly made in a political life of numerous setbacks:

Thus, then, on the night of the tenth of May, (1940) at the outset of this mighty battle, I acquired the chief power in the State, which henceforth I wielded in ever-growing measure for five years and three months of world war, at the end of which time, all our enemies having surrendered unconditionally or being about to do so, I was immediately dismissed by the British electorate from all further conduct of their affairs.56

Stalin once commented: "You can't shut Churchill out of public life. When the British get into trouble again

55 Churchill, speech, August 20, 1940, Blood, Sweat, and Tears, p. 350.
they will send for their old war horse."\(^{57}\) The words, "war horse," are worthy of note, for this is the exact way the people conceived of Churchill; in war they looked to him for leadership, but "Except in time of crisis, John Doe and Mrs. Doe prefer the comfortable to the heroic."\(^{58}\) Once he had inspired them to heroic deeds, but the time for valor was done; the war was over and only the mundane tasks remained to be performed. It was Churchill, himself, who fourteen years earlier, had said: "Those who can win the victory cannot make the peace; those who make the peace would never have won the victory."\(^{59}\)

No leader can be at variance with the needs of the group and remain its leader; this is the sociological view of leadership,\(^{60}\) and it was the view of the British people. They felt that Churchill did not fulfill the needs of peace as he had fulfilled the needs of war. The "long, dark days" were over and the people needed to believe that the days of the future would be bright. But Churchill's mood did not

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\(^{58}\)Broad, *op. cit.*, p. 18.


\(^{60}\)Morgan, *op. cit.*, p. 317.
change with the people's; he continued to warn that the job was not yet finished, that peace was not yet secured: "The war itself is not finished. The causes for which we drew the sword, not yet fully won, are not yet safe."61 Sternly, he reminded them: "I have given you my warnings in the past, and they were not listened to."62 The Nazi power had been crushed, but there was a new menace to be faced:

...the Communist parties or fifth columns constitute a growing challenge and peril to Christian civilisation. These are sombre facts for anyone to have to recite on the morrow of a victory...but we should be most unwise not to face them squarely while time remains.63

But the people, in their unthinking optimism, turned away.

This refusal of the people to recognize the potential seriousness of the world situation may have been due to four psychological mechanisms which prevented attempts to deal adaptively with the situation: 1. persistent goal striving, the desire to continue in quest of established goals, such as security; 2. need to retain a structured field, the adoption of a new course of action might threaten security; 3. pull of the familiar, which exerted a positive attraction;

61Churchill, speech, June, 1945, Victory, p. 265.
4. unconscious defense mechanisms, such as denial of danger and rationalization of the situation. 64

When a discrepancy occurs between the group's goals and the leader's behavior or intentions with regard to the group's activities, the time for changing leaders has arrived. 65

It is not to the people alone that the responsibility for Churchill's loss of leadership can be traced; he was, himself, in large part responsible. He was not primarily interested in domestic affairs. His stage was the world, not merely Britain. On world problems he never failed to fulfill his part as a great statesman, but on home problems he was a party politician. A study of his election speeches in June, 1945, reveals the degeneration from the statesman, with his wisdom and skill in conducting affairs, to the politician, with that term's implications of seeking personal or partisan gain. 66 No longer did the people hear the majestic words that thrilled and inspired, but rather the common words of derogation and detraction:

Our Socialist and Liberal friends felt themselves forced...to put party before country.

65 Gouldner, op. cit., p. 461.
...they (Liberals) have yielded to the tactical temptation, natural to politicians, to acquire more seats in the House of Commons...at all costs. Look how even to-day they (Socialists) hunger for controls of every kind...

(the Liberals would provide) A weak, unstable Government...based on unhealthy compromise between men...and without any overpowering aim, except to hold office...

However their appearance may fit their desires, their ultimate policy cannot be disguised.

...no Socialist system can be established without a political police...They would have to fall back on some form of Gestagp...67

Lord Rothermere commented on these broadcasts, "If he continues like that, the election is as good as lost."68 But Churchill confidently continued these attacks, apparently unaware that the people wanted facts, not condemnations.

As the statesman was replaced by the politician, so the orator was replaced by the huckster. The powerful and original words of the war leader gave way to the trite platitudes and affectations of the office-seeker:

The whole theme of motherhood and family life, with those sweet affections which illuminate it, must be the fountain spring alike of present happiness and future survival.69

His speeches, which once resounded with the thundering call to battle, now simpered with hackneyed phrases of "

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69Cowles, op. cit., p. 354.
"women...like merciful angels," and "children...with bright eyes and vigorous voices...." The public was understandably suspicious of Churchill's heretofore seldom revealed interest in domestic matters. One of his last election speeches had a rather lengthy reference to milk for babies:

Have you heard about our national milk scheme? In summer and in winter, whether milk is scarce or plentiful, every expectant mother, and every baby or child under five years of age, can get a pint of milk a day at a specially reduced price. The very poor can get it free. Nursing mothers can get a further pint guaranteed to them at the ordinary price if they want it...There is no finer investment for any community than putting milk into babies.71

Cowles asked the people of one English village for their opinion of this speech and their comments revealed the reason for Churchill's fall from power:

What's 'e know or care about babies' milk? Guns is 'is speciality and any time there's a war we're glad to let 'im run it but when 'e talks about babies' milk we know someone's put 'im up to it and it's not 'im speaking at all.72

Had Churchill played the role of the elder statesman, rather than the opportunist politician, he might have retained his power, though Cowles states that "the British
people has never pledged itself to a single man except in
times of extreme emergency." But Churchill could not re­
main detached from affairs; his personality demanded active
participation. His egotism could not admit the possibility
of defeat, and to the last, basking in the glow of the
world's acclaim, he was confident of victory. He had ar­
ranged a small dinner party in advance to celebrate the re­
sults. One of the guests reported that all though the
dinner, Churchill sat immobile, as though too stunned to
speak.

In summary, we may say that Churchill lost the leader­
ship of his country because his beliefs and behavior were
at variance with the needs of the people.

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73 Cowles, op. cit., p. 355. 74 Ibid., p. 355.
SUMMARY OF LEADERSHIP

I. Theory

1. Churchill believed in the Great Man theory of leadership, which states that some men possess distinctive leadership traits; they are "natural" leaders.

2. Churchill believes that superiority is essential for a leader, and that the leader must uphold this superiority by maintaining a distance between himself and the masses.

II. Practice

1. Churchill's strong authoritarian tendencies were necessarily tempered by the democratic framework.

2. Churchill's leadership performance is an outstanding example of the democratic leader's critical function of analysis.

3. Churchill, as leader, offered his own courage and self-confidence as a model to the people in war-time.

4. Churchill not only presented facts to the people, he aroused their emotions as an aid in the reception of his ideas.
5. Knowing the mood of the people, Churchill demanded no more than they were willing to give.

6. Churchill was effective as a war leader, for he stated the goals of the people, in positive terms of action; he displayed administrative skill and a complete comprehension of the situation, and inspired the people with his personal resolution and eloquence.

7. The loss of the premiership in the post-war election, was the most bitter personal blow Churchill suffered.

8. Churchill lost his leadership because he did not realize the British peoples' change of mood from fear of the war to hope for the future.

9. Another cause of Churchill's loss of power was his change from statesmen to politician. This change was accompanied by derogatory remarks toward opposing political parties by the man who had formerly inspired the people.
CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSIONS AND FURTHER RESEARCH

I. SUMMARY OF GENERAL FINDINGS

The conclusions reached under the several areas of this study are summarized at the close of each chapter. The general findings of this thesis are as follows:

Winston Churchill's basic philosophical assumptions are deterministic - man may be a causal influence, and pragmatic - the validity of concepts are tested by their practical results.

Churchill's basic personality structure is one of aggressive extraversion. Within this basic structure the characteristics of authoritarianism, egotism, ambition, and a controlled tendency to manic behavior are strongly evident.

Churchill believes that certain men possess distinctive leadership traits, and that in the natural leader, superiority must be upheld by maintaining a distance between the leader and the masses.

Churchill is authoritarian in his leadership practices, but this characteristic is necessarily controlled by the democratic society within which he lead.

Churchill believes that social behavior as seen in Communism and Socialism are antithetical to democratic and Parliamentary forms of government.
Churchill was an efficient war-time leader, but the people would not accept his premiership immediately after the war.

II. CONCLUSIONS

Churchill's beliefs reflect pragmatic inconsistency - the view that is practical is the one he will accept. If a belief in religion and a conviction in principles brings comfort and satisfaction to men, then these beliefs will be chosen. If, on the other hand, reliance on facts seems to fulfill a need, then this empirical approach will be manifested. Churchill's life's work - politics and government - shows this same behavior. The policy that is efficient and that answers a need of the moment will be adopted.

Churchill employs the psychological mechanism of rationalization to defend his viewpoint. In the area of politics, he rationalized his frequent party changes by stating that his basic principles remained the same, that his loyalty to the government never wavered and that this was more essential than party loyalty.

Churchill also manifested the mechanism of projection, with regard to his father, whose aims he strove to achieve and whose ideals he emulated. He showed introjection with the British Empire, for he regarded his aims as an extension
of those of the government.

Churchill believes in the importance of the psychological drives as determiners of man's behavior, particularly the drive for power, with its corollaries of aggression and egotism.

Churchill does not deny the value of the emotions, particularly their power of motivation to deeds of valor. His war-time speeches are examples of emotional motivation, for he stirred the people's feelings of loyalty to country and called for them to express their love and reverence of nation by positive action. Churchill's famous V sign symbolized the freedom fought for and won by the people.

Sensation and thought, Churchill holds, depend on the materialistic concept of matter as reality.

Churchill upholds the worth of the individual. His belief in individual differences is shown by his conviction in the Great Man theory of leadership.

Although he makes no comment on the nature-nature question, it is probable that Churchill favors the importance of heredity, for he believes in the innate superior qualities of some men (leaders).

Churchill recognized and strove to maintain his ability to influence the behavior of others, though he did not wish to accept the influence of leadership of others. This
dislike of external domination probably accounted for his fear of the potential power of science over men's mind, and of Communism's possible use of this power to achieve the destruction of individual differences.

III. FURTHER RESEARCH

The themes and colors used by Churchill in his painting; his use of symbolic gestures, and his personality as revealed by voice and by language choice are some specific psychological areas which could be used for further research.

This thesis was undertaken to attempt to further an understanding of Churchill's motives and actions, and to provide a more complete insight into his goals. It is felt that similar studies of other leaders of Churchill's era, such as England's Lloyd George, France's Charles De Gaulle, and America's Franklin D. Roosevelt would be of value.
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