

The Retrospective Analysis of Selected Speeches Given by Winston Churchill from 1938 to 1945

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Abstract. Winston Leonard Spencer Churchill is one of the most recognizable figures in modern history. The former British Prime Minister occupied numerous roles during his lifetime – a politician, writer, laureate of the Nobel Prize for Literature, historian. However, for the purpose of this article we have focused on one of Churchill’s most prominent roles – an excellent orator. The former Prime Minister has been remembered for giving superior speeches that during the war period gave people hope and courage. Churchill found good rhetoric as a remedy for every concern and as the most potent weapon against the enemy. A few well-chosen words wrapped into persuasive arguments that go together with excellent delivery can persuade even the most diehard defeatists. The following article constitutes the retrospective analysis of speeches given by Winston Churchill during the war period (1938–1945). The analysis focuses on the very content of the speeches, not their register. Therefore, we have not analyzed the applied rhetorical devices but the used arguments. The speeches have been analyzed according to the method of textual markers introduced by Piotr Chruszczewski in 2003. According to this method, the analyzed text is divided into small, consistent fragments which correspond to one strand. The fragments are then described by markers that constitute the models of the arguments that were used by the speaker. The social embedding of the analyzed speeches required coming up with additional models of arguments.

Keywords: Winston Churchill, rhetoric, oratory, World War II.

1. Introduction

In May 1940 Great Britain found itself in urgent need of a new leader. After five years of appeasement, the British people brought back the bitter words of Winston Churchill, who in 1938, just after the Munich Agreement, foresaw the serious situation that now had to be faced. Churchill, in his obscure speech *The Total and Unmitigated Defeat*, given on the 5th of October 1938, pointed out that the signing of the Munich agreement profaned the history of the British Isles and was just a beginning (Churchill, 1938):

“(…) And I do not suppose that this is the end. This is only the beginning of the reckoning. This is only the first sip, the first foretaste of a bitter cup which will be proffered to us year by year (…).”

Two years after delivering these prophetic words, Winston Churchill became Prime Minister. In the beginning, the British people did not consider this as a good choice.

Winston Leonard Spencer Churchill is one of the most recognizable figures in modern history. The former British Prime Minister occupied numerous roles during his lifetime – a politician, writer, laureate of the Nobel Prize for Literature, historian. Anthony McCarten ([2017] 2018, p. 33) adds a few more positions to the above list: a war hero, journalist, conqueror and visionary. Nowadays, Winston Churchill is considered as an icon, there are many publications on his life and career, which outnumber those devoted to George Washington, Adolf Hitler or Napoleon (McCarten [2017] 2018, p. 33). His image is often used by the British to tempt tourists from all around the world into buying diverse objects with the image of the national hero. The hero, in 1940, was known to many as a drunkard, an object of ridicule and, among many others, a blunderer (*ibid.*). However, for the purpose of this article let us focus on one of Churchill's most prominent roles – an excellent orator. The former Prime Minister has been remembered for giving superior speeches that during this difficult time gave people hope and courage. Churchill found good rhetoric as a remedy for every concern and as the most potent weapon against the enemy. A few well-chosen words wrapped into persuasive arguments that go together with excellent delivery can persuade even the most diehard defeatists. At this point it is worth citing Winston Churchill (1897, p. 1) himself:

“Of all the talents bestowed upon men, none is as precious as the gift of oratory. He who enjoys it wields a power more durable than of a great king. He is an independent force in the world. Abandoned by his party, betrayed by his friends, stripped of his offices, whoever can command this power is still formidable. Many have watched its effects. A meeting of grave citizens, protected by all the cynicism of these prosaic days, is unable to resist its influence. From unresponsive silence they advance to grudging approval and thence to complete agreement with the speaker. The cheers become louder and more frequent; the enthusiasm momentarily increases: until they are convulsed by emotions they are unable to control and shaken by passions of which they have resigned the direction (...).”

Having read the first few sentences from Churchill's essay on rhetoric, *The Scaffolding of Rhetoric* (1897), one at once appreciates the importance of the art. According to the above passage, a person who is deprived of all his possessions and privileges, but yet in the power of words and knowledgeable of their accurate usage, is still in a favorable position. Churchill comments on a classic oratory situation, in which a once cynic audience cannot withstand the tempting power of perfectly combined words that give them hope for the better and for victory. In painting, certain combinations of colors conduce to the artistic effect desired by the recipient, in music it is all about well-chosen chords played together that create the perfect melody (Churchill, 1897). Drawing this fair comparison Churchill (*ibid*) points out that like in both these arts, in the art of oratory there are also some distinctive features. In his text he pays particular attention to the following elements: correct diction, rhythm, accumulation of argument, analogy, extravagance of language (Churchill 1897, pp. 1–5). According to Churchill (1897, p. 2), in a fine speech there is no room for any alternatives, for every argument one must come

up with the most suitable word. The idea of using long words is rejected, Churchill (*ibid.*) points out that short words are much better choice as their meaning “(...) is more ingrained in the national character and they appeal with greater force to simple understandings (...)” To put it briefly, in order to fulfill the condition of the correctness of diction, one should use short and well thought out words. Rhythm is another essential prerequisite for the formulation of a fine speech. When Winston Churchill prepared a speech, he would use any suitable occasion for rehearsing it. At this juncture, it is worth mentioning that before he became a great orator, Churchill had to overcome a few obstacles, with a speech impediment being the major one. Already at a young age, Churchill believed in perseverance as the only way to success. He practiced every day, when walking along streets he would repeatedly utter the following sentence – *The Spanish ships I cannot see since they are not in sight* – for he had a particular problem with words that began with ‘S’ (Montablo 1990, p. 11). Churchill practiced all his life with the same passion in his seventies as he did in his twenties. When he worked on his speeches he behaved like a composer of music (Montablo 1990, p. 12):

“(...) spending entire days dictating, he paced up and down the room, puffing at a cigar. He put his ideas to rhetoric as composers set theirs to music. The cigar in his hand served as a baton to punctuate the rhythm of his words. He tested words and phrases; muttering to himself; weighing them; striving to balance his thoughts; making sure the sound, rhythm and harmony were to his liking.”

According to Sam Leith (2011, p. 166) the hard work and meticulous preparation of speeches was in fact the only key to Churchill’s success. Leith (*ibid.*) points out that Churchill was never a talented orator who would be able to deliver a speech without prior preparation. The point made by Leith is indeed interesting and it is worth searching of other, related information. Herbert Samuel (quoted in Leith 2011, p. 170), a acquaintance of Churchill in 1935, said about the future prime minister:

“(...) the house always crowds in to hear hm. It listens and admires. It laughs when he would have it laugh, and it trembles when he would have it tremble ... but it remains unconvinced, and in the end it votes against him.”

Winston Churchill fought for acceptance for a very long time. When delivering his very first speech as a prime minister, *Blood, toil, tears, and sweat* (1940), he had no support of his party. His words moved the audience but not convinced it. According to Leith (2011, p. 172), Churchill finally won his position as a leader, for he “(...) occupied one position and waited for the people to come to him.”

Another essential element that Churchill enumerates in his essay is the accumulation of argument. In order to bring the audience to the climax of the speech, the speaker must put forward their arguments, one after another, all of them concentrated into one direction (Churchill 1897, p. 3). A good analogy may be the most powerful weapon of an orator, for it makes it easier to understand complex issues by bringing them into common knowledge. As Thomas Montablo (1990, p. 14) notices “(...) comparison clarifies understanding (...)” The last Churchill’s condition is the extravagance of language – the usage of such arguments and words that shall bring about emotions in the

audience (Churchill, 1897, p. 3).

Being an excellent orator, Winston Churchill had always obeyed the presented rules while working on his speeches. He would polish every single fragment of his addresses, for, as it has been already mentioned, he found any alternatives unacceptable. In Winstonian speeches there was no room for any understatements. Churchill put the same effort into the preparation of the delivery. In spite of his handicaps, he would always transform his speech delivery into a breathtaking act. There were some peculiar ploys that Churchill employed. One of them was the dramatic pause at which he mastered (Montablo 1990, p. 13):

“(…) He relied on timing to assure heightened effect because it made silence even more eloquent than words and allowed his listeners to digest what they heard and get ready for what would be said next. His timing – his use of the dramatic pause – forced any restless members of his audience to look at him and listen.”

During his speeches, Churchill would scream, snarl and scowl. He would roar like a lion and coo like a dove (Montablo 1990, p. 13). His speeches became remembered and they outlive many generations. Churchill managed to influence the public mood and to change it according to his wish (McCarten [2017] 2018, p. 10). He communicated emotions with punctuation, phrasing, syntax, rhythm and musicality (The Telegraph, 2017). Winston Churchill made history as an orator who mobilized the English language and sent it into the battle (McCarten [2017] 2018, p. 10).

In this article we have analyzed eight speeches delivered by Winston Churchill in the years 1938–1945. The conducted analysis focused on the content of the speeches, not their style. Therefore, we have not analyzed rhetorical devices, but used arguments. The purpose of the analysis has been to investigate the arguments to which Churchill usually referred to in his addresses from 1938 to 1945. The speeches have been analyzed according to the method of textual markers introduced by Piotr Chruszczewski in 2003. According to this method, the analyzed text is divided into small, consistent fragments which correspond to one strand. The fragments are then described by markers that constitute models of the arguments that had been used by the speakers. Piotr Chruszczewski (2003, p. 15) enumerates the following markers: **A** – Situationality, **B** – Emotional attitude, **C₁** – Recent history references, **C₂** – Remote history references, **C₃** – General history/general knowledge references, **D** – Juxtaposed elements, **E** – Intertextual elements, **P** – Speaker’s policy and its implementation. Chruszczewski (2003) worked out this method while working on the communicational grammar of American presidential discourse. In other words, the author aimed at working out “(…) a set of patterns comprising both, linguistic as well as extra-linguistic rules responsible for efficient communication within particular areas of human activity (…)” (Chruszczewski 2003, p. 15). In the case of Chruszczewski’s study, the social embedding was the presidential

discourse. Having analyzed all presidential inaugurals from 1945 to 1997, Chruszczewski (2003, p. 15) devised eight models of arguments. In the following part of the article, every marker has been explained in detail and supported by examples from Winston Churchill speeches.

(A) Situationality; is a marker that indicates any mention of a current situation; in other words, it marks any reference to situational embedding (Chruszczewski 2003, p. 17).

Example:

It is absolutely necessary at a time like this that every Minister who tries each day to do his duty shall be respected; and their subordinates must know that their chiefs are not threatened men, men who are here today and gone tomorrow, but that their directions must be punctually and faithfully obeyed. Without this concerned power we cannot face what lies before us. (Churchill 1940b).

(B) Emotions; is a marker that signals emotional approach of the speaker and his attempts to provoke emotional response of the audience (Chruszczewski 2003, p. 17).

Example:

All is over. Silent, mournful, abandoned, broken, Czechoslovakia recedes into the darkness. She has suffered in every respect by her association with the Western democracies and with the League of Nations, of which she has always been an obedient servant. (Churchill 1938)

(C₁) Recent history; is a type of a marker which is responsible for indicating the speaker's reference to any recent historical events (Chruszczewski 2003, p. 18).

Example:

For the last thirty years I have been concerned in discussions about the possibilities of oversea invasion, and I took the responsibility on behalf of the Admiralty, at the beginning of the last war, of allowing all regular troops to be sent out of the country. That was a very serious step to take, because our Territorials had only just been called up and were quite untrained. (Churchill 1940b)

(C₂) Remote history; is a type of a marker which is responsible for indicating the speaker's reference to any remote historical events (Chruszczewski 2003, p. 18).

In my holiday I thought it was a chance to study the reign of King Ethelred the Unready. The House will remember that that was a period of great misfortune, in which, from the strong position which we had gained under the descendants of King Alfred, we fell very swiftly into the chaos. It was period of Danegeld and of foreign pressure. (Churchill 1938)

(C₃) General knowledge; marks any reference to the general knowledge of the audience, in other words, any references to facts and history which is not unknown to the

audience (Chruszczewski 2003, p. 18).

Example:

It is generally said that the British are often better at the last. They do not expect to move from crisis to crisis; they do not always expect that each day will bring up some noble chance of war; but when they were slowly make up their minds that the thing has to be done and the job put through and finished, then, even if it take months – even if it take years – they do it. (Churchill 1941)

(D) Juxtapositions; is marker which is assigned to juxtaposed elements, so elements that are different and have been put side by side in order to create a contrasting effect (Chruszczewski 2003, p. 18).

Example:

We must learn equally to be good at what is short and sharp and what is long and tough. (Churchill 1941)

(E) Direct intertextuality; marks direct references and quotations. Chruszczewski (2003, p. 18) underlines that this particular marker is not often used.

Example:

For all of us, at this time, whatever our sphere, our situation, our occupation or our duties, it will be a help to remember the famous lines: “He nothing common did or mean, upon that memorable scene.”¹(Churchill 1940b)

(P) Policy; is a marker that has been applied to any references to the speaker’s politics and its possible implementation Like in the case of direct intertextuality, Chruszczewski (2003, p. 19) points out that during the analysis of American presidential discourse, there was not a single fragment that was marked only with this particular argument. In our study the situation is not different. It has been noticed that policy most often appears together with situationality (A/P).

Example:

The disastrous military events which have happened during the past fortnight have not come to me with any sense of surprise. Indeed, I indicated a fortnight ago as clearly as I could to the House that the worst possibilities were open; and I made it perfectly clear that whatever happened in France would make no difference to the resolve of Britain and the British Empire to fight on, if necessary for years, if necessary alone. (Churchill 1940b)

The above markers were not sufficient for the analysis of speeches with completely different social embedding. In the course of our analysis, a few more markers have been included.

(F₁) Near future; is a marker that has been assigned to any argument that bears

¹ This very fragment of Churchill’s (1941) speech has also been marked with situationality (A).

some reference to the nearest future. In the analyzed social embedding, it most often indicates the post-war arrangements. This marker usually occurs together with situationality (A) and policy (P). However, in a few situations it appears unattended by any other argument.

Example:

I expect that the Battle of Britain is about to begin. (Churchill 1940b)

(F₂) Remote future; similarly to F₁, is a marker that indicates any future references, but refers to the remote future. In Winstonian speeches is quite a rare argument, and usually does not appear unattended by other ones.

Example

Let us therefore brace ourselves to our duties, and so bear ourselves that, if the British Empire and its Commonwealth last for thousand years, men will say, 'This was their finest hour.' (Churchill 1940b)

(R) Enemy criticism; marks any critical references of enemy actions.

Example:

(...) there can never be friendship between the British democracy and the Nazi power, that Power which spurns Christian ethics, which cheers its onward course by a barbarous paganism, which vaunts the spirit of aggression and conquest, which derives strength and perverted pleasure from persecution, and uses, as we have seen, with pitiless brutality the threat of murderous force. That power can be a trusted friend of the British power. (Churchill 1938)

(V) Victories; this particular marker refers to any references about foregoing victories and achievements, whether large or small, of the speaker's nation and its government.

Example:

I am happy to inform the House that our fighter strength is stronger at present time relatively to the Germans, who have suffered terrible losses, than it has ever been; and consequently we believe ourselves possessed of the capacity to continue the war in the air in better conditions than we have ever experienced before. (Churchill 1940b)

(L) Losses; this particular marker refers to any references to the foregoing losses and failures, both large and small, of the speaker's nation and its government.

Example:

I will begin by saying the most unpopular and most unwelcome thing. I will begin by saying what everybody would like to ignore or forget but which must nevertheless be stated, namely, that we have suffered a total and unmitigated defeat, and France has suffered even more than we have. (Churchill 1938)

To sum up, the analysis of the speeches has been run according to the following key:

A – situationality;	F₁ – near future references;
B – emotional attitude;	F₂ – remote future references;
C₁ – recent history references;	R – enemy criticism references;
C₂ – remote history references;	V – foregoing victories and achievements;
C₃ – general history/general knowledge references;	L – foregoing losses and failures.
D – juxtaposed elements;	
E – intertextual elements;	
P – speaker’s policy and its implementation;	

3. The Analysis

A Total and Unmitigated Defeat – 1938

The first speech that was analyzed in the course of our study is the one Churchill gave on the 5th October 1938 in the House of Commons. Having signed the Munich Agreement, Neville Chamberlain came back to London where he assured the people of Great Britain “that he brought peace in their time”. Winston Churchill did not hide his disapproval of the policy of appeasement and leaving Czechoslovakia at the mercy of Adolf Hitler. In his speech he bitterly criticized Chamberlain’s pursuit of peace that had clouded his judgment. At this time, many British people perceived Churchill as a war instigator. According to Churchill, the British exposed their weakness and only encouraged Nazi Germany to further their territorial demands. In his speech, he foresaw the adverse consequences of the Munich Agreement with Hitler turning his eyes to Western Europe as his ultimate goal. Churchill aimed to warn the British people of the severe consequences that soon they will have to suffer. According to him, the best that the British government could do at that moment was rearming and building up National defenses.

Being one of the longest from the analyzed speeches, *A Total and Unmitigated Defeat* has been divided into 71 fragments. There were hardly any short fragments, as Winston Churchill constructed very long and complex sentences. A fragment that was made up of only one sentence would still cover about seven lines. According to the conducted analysis, 25 (35%) out of the received 71 fragments contain only one argument (one marker). There are also 34 (49%) two-argument fragments and 11 (16%) with three arguments. With regard to the arguments used they were applied as follows: **A** – 51 usages (72%), **B** – 18 usages (16,5%), **C₁** – 1 usage (1,5 %), **C₂** – 2 usages (3%), **C₃** – 9 usages (13%), **D** – 5 usages (7%), **E** – 3 usages (4%), **P** – 5 usages (7%), **F₁** – 15 usages (21%), **F₂** – 0 usages, **R** – 1 usage (1,5), **V** – 0 usages, **L** – 14 usages (17%). When it comes to frequency, situationality, near future and foregoing losses references take the first three places. Taking into consideration the social embedding of the speech, such a

distribution of arguments is not surprising. References to situationality constitute 72% of the speech, for Churchill aimed at explaining to the audience what really took place in Munich from the future perspective, and that is where another most frequent argument appears – near future references. In his speech, Churchill pays much attention to the failures of Neville Chamberlain and his policy of appeasement, which results in the high occurrence of the respective marker. In the analyzed speech, there is also quite a high percentage of emotions that are present in most of the political speeches. The next argument that comes in the line of frequency is C₃, references to general knowledge. It is always profitable for the speaker to refer to something that is known and respected by the definite majority of the audience. At this point, it is worth remembering one of the conditions on oratory that Churchill (1897) enumerated – is a good analogy. There is nothing more favorable than bringing arguments into common knowledge.

War – 1939

The next speech comes from 1939 and was delivered on the 3rd September in the House of Commons. On the 1st September the Germans invaded Poland. On the 3rd September, after Hitler's rejection of the Ultimatum issued by the British government, Neville Chamberlain announced that Britain was at war with Germany. On this day, Winston Churchill "(...) made his last speech from the backbenches (...)" (Churchill [2003] 2015, p. 188). In comparison to the previous speech, War is a significantly shorter one. It has been divided into 10 fragments. There are no one-argument fragments, 7 two-argument fragments (70%) and three-argument ones (30%). With regard to the used arguments they were applied as follows: A – 10 usages (100%), B – 8 usages (80%), C₁ – 0 usages, C₂ – 0 usages, C₃ – 1 usage (10%), D – 2 usages (20%), E – 0 usages, P – 1 usage (10%), F₁ – 0 usages, F₂ – 0 usages, R – 0 usages, V – 0 usages, L – 0 usages. In this speech Churchill relied upon situationality (100%) and emotions (80%). The speech was aimed at increasing the morale of the British people, Churchill focused neither on foregoing victories and failures, nor on British history and lessons that could be recalled from previous times. The speaker intended to give people courage on this special day.

Blood, toil, tears and sweat – 1940

Being Churchill's first speech as the British Prime Minister, Blood, toil, tears and sweat is said to be one of the most powerful speeches in history. It was delivered on the 13th on May 1940, in the House of Commons. In fact, the speech is really short in content, as the first half is nothing more than Churchill's formal request for declaring confidence in his government. It is worth mentioning that at first Churchill was not considered as a good choice, but as the only one left. His speech had to be good enough to convince the House of Commons. Anthony McCarten ([2017] 2018, p. 138) describes the speech as the one to which Churchill had been preparing himself for all his life. The speech was Churchill's chance for appreciation and trust. He had one shot at mitigating general alarm and at this point he could do this only with the use of words (McCarten [2017] 2018, p. 132). This powerful but short speech has been divided into just eight elements: 1 one-argument, 4 two-arguments and 3

three-argument fragments. With regard to the distribution of the arguments are as follows: A – 6 usages (75%), B – 5 usages (62,5 %), C1 – 0 usages, C2 – 0 usages, C3 – 0 usages, D – 0 usages, E – 0 usages, P – 5 usages (62,5 %), F1 – 2 usages (25%), F2 – 0 usages, R – 0 usages, V – 0 usages, L – 0 usages. So far situationality has been the most frequent marker. Taking into consideration the present-day perception of Churchill's speeches, it seems that being concise and, as it already has been mentioned twice, allowing no place for any alternatives, is a recipe for a good and powerful speech. Churchill does not dwell on the past or future, once more, he focuses on the present day. This time, however, there is a large percentage of policy. The very titular words – blood, toil, tears and sweat – are a promise of Churchill's policy.

This was Their Finest Hour – 1940

Churchill gave this immortal speech on the 18th June 1940 (House of Commons). This is the second speech of 1940. We decided to include two speeches from this year, as it was an exceptional year for Churchill as a great orator. The speaker had to face the dissipating morale of the nation, as the beginning of the war was really difficult for Great Britain. Nazi aggressive propaganda aimed at the British people made them more and more unsettled. In addition to that, Hitler ran his campaign of fear. After the fall of France, which became a flashpoint with regard to people's dread, Churchill had to act and deploy his most powerful weapon – a speech. This was Their Finest Hour is quite a long text. It has been divided into 74 fragments with 40 one-argument, 28 two-argument and 6 three-argument pieces. The distribution of arguments: A – 36 usages (47%), B – 9 usages (12 %), C1 – 2 usages (3%), C2 – 0 usages, C3 – 4 usages (5%), D – 3 usages (4%), E – 1 usage (1,5 %), P – 13 usages (18 %), F1 – 13 usages (18%), F2 – 1 usages (1,5 %), R – 0 usages, V – 18 usages (24 %), L – 8 (11%) usages. Again, situationality is the most frequent argument. But this time there is a visible change with regard to the arguments of foregoing victories and losses. For every reference to some failure there have been two or more references to victories. This correlation has been presented in the following example (Churchill 1940b):

In France, where we were at considerable disadvantage and lost many machines on the ground when they were standing round the aerodromes, we were accustomed to inflict in the air losses of as much as two and two-and-a-half to one [41]. In the fighting over Dunkirk, which was a sort of no-man's-land, we undoubtedly beat the German air force and gained the mastery of the local air, inflicting here a loss of three or four to one day after day [42].

Having admitted one failure, in this case losing many machines on the ground, Churchill underlines the victories in the air. It is not without reason that there is also quite a high percentage of near future references arguments. This time the present day was not that important as in the case of the previous speeches. This time, when the reality was bitter and brutal, what counted most was the next day and new perspectives – new victories and achievements. That was the Churchill's main goal – to make the British people believe in the future, to make them continue their walk through hell with raised heads.

Never give in! – 1941

On the 29th of October 1941 Churchill visited Harrow School in London for their annual song festival. On this day of ceremonies Churchill gave a speech to the young students, in which he many times underlined the better situation and remarkable progress of the British people. The message was simple and short – as the title suggests – you should never give in. He uttered these few words over and over again. It seems that in every speech there have been some words that made history. This speech, which is quite short, contains 13 elements: 7 one-argument, 4 two-arguments and 2 three argument fragments. With regard to the arguments they were used in the following way: A – 8 usages (62%), B – 2 usages (15 %), C1 – 0 usages, C2 – 0 usages, C3 – 1 usage (8%), D – 2 usages (15%), E – 1 usage (8 %), P – 0 usages, F1 – 0 usages, F2 – 0 usages, R – 0 usages, V – 3 usages (23 %), L – 3 (23%) usages. With the exception of situationality, which occurred most often, the speech was very diversified. Again, victories and failures references are noticeable. Churchill kept his speech simple, for it was delivered in front of very young people. Churchill never let his audience have fear of the war. In the spirit of this belief, he asked for a change in one of the songs that he heard during the concert. Instead of the word *darker*, in the line *nor less we praise in darker days*, the students should sing sterner days.

We Expect No Reward and We will Not Accept Compromise – 1943

The next analyzed speech comes from 1943 and was delivered on the 30th June in Guildhall, London. On this special day, Churchill received the Freedom of the City of London, so, in other words, an honour as a valued member of the community. In his speech, Churchill reminded his audience that nobody forced Great Britain to enter the war, but it was the right thing to do. He underlined that they never sought any profit or had any territorial demands. In his address, Churchill focused on describing the difficult journey to peace. The speech has been divided into 9 elements: 3 one-arguments, 2 two-arguments and 4 three-argument fragments. For the first time in our analysis the three-argument fragments constitute the majority of the text. The arguments have been distributed as follows: A – 8 usages (89%), B – 5 usages (56 %), C1 – 0 usages, C2 – 0 usages, C3 – 2 usage (22%), D – 0 usages, E – 0 usages, P – 1 usage (11%), F1 – 1 usage (11%), F2 – 0 usages, R – 0 usages, V – 2 usages (22 %), L 0 usages. In the analyzed speech the emotional attitude of the speaker is visible, which is not surprising as the situational embedding of the address, the ceremony of giving Churchill the Freedom of the City of London was ceremonious and made Churchill very emotional.

D-Day – 1944

The situational embedding of this speech does not have to be explained, as the title does this. Soon after midnight on the 6th June, the Allied invasion of occupied Europe started. Churchill did not want to speculate on what the course of this day held:

The battle that has now to come will grow constantly in scale and in intensity for many weeks to come, and I shall not attempt to speculate upon its course [9]. (Churchill 1944)

The speech contains 10 elements: 5 one-argument, 3-arguments and 2 three-argument fragments. So far, it has been proven that in his addresses Churchill opted for

simple arguments, the one-argument fragment has been applied most often. However, as already mentioned, his one-argument and also one-sentences elements of his speeches are quite complex. The arguments of the D-Day speech present as follows: A – 9 usages (90%), B – 2 usages (20 %), C1 – 0 usages, C2 – 0 usages, C3 – 0 usages, D – 1 usage (10 %), E – 0 usages, P – 1 usage (10%), F1 – 1 usage (10%), F2 – 0 usages, R – 0 usages, V – 3 usages (30 %), L–0 usages. The picture of Churchill’ speeches begins to emerge with situationality and emotions as the most prominent element.

Victory in Europe – 1945

The final speech of our analysis and final with reference to the war with Nazi Germany, as it was delivered on the 8th May 1945, one day after Germany had unconditionally surrendered. This address has been split into 17 elements: 5 one-argument, 10 two-arguments and 2 three-argument fragments. The arguments have been assigned as follows: A – 14 usages (82%), B – 9 usages (53 %), C1 – 1 usage (6%), C2 – 0 usages, C3 – 4 (24%) usages, D – 0 usages, E – 0 usages, P – 1 usage (6%), F1 – 0 usages, F2 – 0 usages, R – 0 usages, V – 1 usage (6 %), L–0 usages. One of the most interesting aspects of the speech is that Winston Churchill never even mentioned the name of Adolf Hitler, who committed suicide. Again, Churchill was focused solely on the present day.

4. Conclusions

The analysis involved in the following speeches given by Winston Churchill: *A Total and Unmitigated Defeat* – 1938, *War – 1939, Blood, Toil, Tears and Sweat* – 1940, *This was Their Finest Hour* – 1940, *Never give in!* – 1941, *We Expect No Reward and Re will Not Accept Compromise* – 1943, *D-Day* – 1944, *Victory in Europe* – 1945. The eight speeches have been divided in total into **212** elements: **87** (41%) one-argument, **92** two-arguments (43,5%) and **33** three-arguments (15,5) fragments. On the basis of received data, it can be concluded that Churchill kept his speeches simple. After having read Churchill’s essays or rhetoric, *The Scaffolding of Rhetoric* (1897), the moderate density of arguments in Churchill’s speeches, this is not surprising. As it has already been indicated, Churchill insisted on simplicity in oratory.

Table 1 represents the distribution of arguments in sequence according to usage.

Arguments	Number of usages	Number of usages in %
A	142	67%
B	58	27%
F ₁	32	16%
V	27	13%
P	27	13%
L	25	12%

C ₃	21	10%
D	13	6%
E	5	2%
C ₁	4	2%
C ₂	2	1%
R	1	0,5%
F ₂	1	0,5%

Table 1. Distribution of arguments in the analysed speeches

We find any result below 10% as irrelevant when it comes to the argumentative structure of Winston Churchill's speeches. According to the received data, the markers that are prominent in Winstonian speeches are: situationality, emotions, near future, foregoing victories, policy, foregoing failures and common knowledge references. Churchill in his speeches relied upon situationality – in most cases his speeches were largely focused on the present situation. During the analysis it has been indicated that he used the future only when the current situation was immensely difficult and Churchill wanted people to focus on future victories. Normally he would concentrate on the present day, he would not hide failures but would wrap them into victories and achievements. What is also worth mentioning is that there was no room for Hitler and the Nazis in the Winstonian speeches. Churchill never mentioned the names of the Nazis and never focused on their policy. For him, as an orator, the British people were the most important. He tried to bring many difficult issues to the common knowledge of his people.

Winston Churchill made history as a great orator and leader. When he became the British Prime Minister, at the age of 65, he was energized by the war. The British people quickly realized that Churchill was the best possible man in the right place. History dares to ponder on the possible consequences of not choosing Churchill for this position. Most of the speeches we have analyzed have passed into history and shall outlive many more generations. The speeches have been used as an educational tool allowing many people to master the art of oratory. They have been the material for many analysis and studies, but there is still much more to be discovered.

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