

WHAT'S IN THIS BOOKLET?

Churchill's View of Events, 1929-40:

2-31

Who was Churchill?

Britain in 1929

Wilderness Years

Views on Empire

India

Abdication Crisis

Rearmament

Appeasement

Crisis Year, 1938

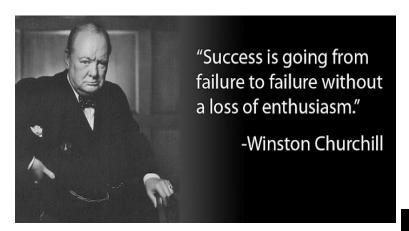
Churchill Becomes PM

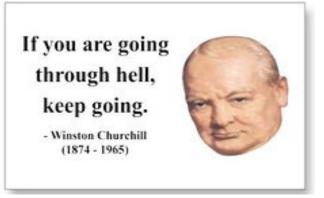
Exam Questions:

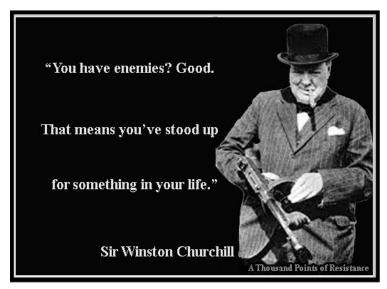
Views on India	10
Views on Abdication	14
Views on Rearmament	1 <i>7</i>
Views on Appeasement	26
Churchill as PM	30

BRITAIN, 1930-1997 CHURCHILL'S VIEW OF EVENTS WORKBOOK

Name:

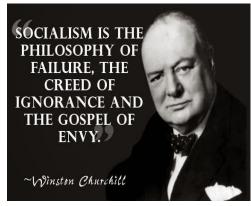




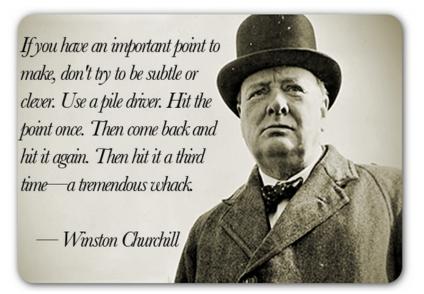


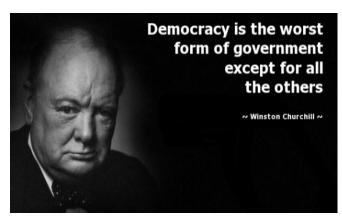












CAREER BEFORE 1929

<u>PERSONALITY</u>



WHO WAS WINSTON CHURCHILL?





POLITICAL IDEAS

A CONTROVERSIAL FIGURE

WHAT WAS BRITAIN LIKE IN 1929?

The British Empire:

Britain was the head of an empire of 240 million people. Some areas were self governing: Australia, New Zealand, Canada and South Africa. Britain's African possessions however, were ruled directly. The empire had helped Britain win WWI, but it was very costly and difficult to defend.

Society:

Britain was deeply affected by the loss of 750,000 men in WWI and many lost their faith in patriotism. The middle classes expanded and banking and financial services overtook industry. An awareness of the wider world was now possible via radio, cinema and the popular press. By 1928, women had an equal vote to men.

Politics:

The two main parties were Conservative and Labour. The Liberals were major party of change before 1914. Labour was relatively new and represented primarily working people. The Conservatives lost the 1906 election and were out of power until the wartime collation of 1915 with the Liberals and Labour. They were in power 1922-23 and 1924-29.

Economics:

Britain had great industrial power in the 19th century with textiles, iron, steel, engineering and coal. However, by 1929 its older industries were in decline as there was less demand. Unemployment had not fallen below I million in the 1920s. In 1929, the Wall Street Crash led to a period of world economic depression.



Read what Britain was like in 1929 and consider the following questions:

How had life changed since before WWI?

How might the situation in Britain affect future political decisions? (e.g the possibility of another war)

Why might Churchill be considered as out of touch in 1929?

THE WILDERNESS YEARS: WHY WAS CHURCHILL OUT OF OFFICE FOR SO LONG, 1929-1939?









EVALUATING PRIMARY SOURCES

A	Р	ОК	E
Argument = Does the source support or oppose the question? How?	Provenance = Nature (what is the source format), Origin, (who wrote it and when), Purpose (what is the intention behind the source) → Then evaluate – how do these factors influence the view put forward in the source (impact accuracy/reliability?)	Own Knowledge = What do you know that supports or challenges the view presented? Evaluate its contents with your historical understanding of the period.	Evidence = what quotations from the source support your argument?

HOW FAR DOES THIS SOURCE SHOW THAT CHURCHILL WAS A RESPECTED POLITICIAN IN THE EARLY 1930S?

Arthur Ponsonby, a Labour MP, explains his view of Churchill in a letter from March 1930:

"He [Churchill] is so far and away the most talented man in political life and he is also charming and a gentleman, but this does not prevent me from feeling politically that he is a great danger, largely because of his love of crisis and his faulty judgment. He once said to me 'I like things to happen, and if they don't happen, I like to make them happen."

Α	Р	ОК	E

Example Writing Frame:

In many ways, Source A agrees/disagrees with the statement that....

For example, Source A argues... suggesting....

In addition, Source A also states that.... suggesting....

The view of the source is supported by...

The view of the source can be challenged by...

The view expressed within Source A is likely to be typical of the period/untypical of the period because...

The view expressed within Source A is likely to be reliable/unreliable because....

Overall, Source A on balance mostly supports/opposes the view that... because...

VIEWS ON EMPIRE AND INDIA

India had been under British rule from 1858, but this was put under increasing pressure in the 1920s and 30s from a population wanting self-governance. This pressure came from the educated elite and from the greater population led by Mohandas Gandhi who pursued freedom by non-violent protest. Britain responded with a mixture of repression and reform.

ROWLATT ACTS, 1919	MONTAGU-CHELMSFORD MEASURES, 1919	AMRITSAR, APRIL 1919
CHUR	CHILL'S VIEW ON EMPIRE ANI	D INDIA:

INDIA IN THE 1920S AND 1930S:

1919

THE REACTION TO CHURCHILL:

HOW FAR DOES THIS SOURCE SHOW THAT CHURCHILL WAS SEEN AS AN OLD-FASHIONED FIGURE?



His Morning Exercise The Lone Ex-Minister Upon His Elephant

Mr Winston Churchill, not without a large body of conservative support in the country, continues to demonstrate his opposition to the policy of the National Government.

Α	Р	ОК	E

HOW FAR DO SOURCES A AND B SHOW THAT CHURCHILL WAS OUT OF TOUCH WITH BRITISH POLITICS IN THE 1930S?

Source A: Churchill's speech that opposed the India Bill in the House of Commons, 5 June 1935

"Does this bill mean a broadening of Indian life, a widening and elevating of Indian thought? Does it mean that the Indian worker will have a better chance of 'life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness'? India is a country that has responded to the influence of British peace, order and justice, new wealth, new food and new happiness. Such a vast mass of people requires British guidance."

Source B: Churchill speaking to the India Empire Society in December 1930. This society was supported by many ex-officers and as strongly opposed to any change in India

"No agreement reached at the round table conference will be binding. The British nation has no intention whatever of relinquishing effectual control of Indian life and progress. The bold experiment of Montagu reforms and Lord Irwin's efforts at compromise have failed. It is time for Parliament to reclaim its right to restrict Indian constitutional liberties. Gandhi-ism and all it stands for will have to be grappled with and crushed. It is no use trying to satisfy a tiger by feeding it cat's meat."

Source	A	Р	ОК	E
Α				
Б				
В				
1				

Example	Writing	Frame	(For	Each	Source)
						_

In many ways, Source ___ agrees/disagrees with the statement that....

For example, Source ___ argues... suggesting....

In addition, Source ___ also states that.... suggesting....

The view of the source is supported by...

The view of the source can be challenged by...

The view expressed within Source A is likely to be typical of the period/untypical of the period because...

The view expressed within Source A is likely to be reliable/unreliable because....

Overall, Source ____ on balance mostly supports/opposes the view that... because...

You also need a conclusion that brings your argument together.

THE ABDICATION

THE CHANGING ROLE OF THE MONARCH:				

WHO WAS EDWARD VIII?

THE PROBLEM WITH WALLIS SIMPSON:





CHURCHILL'S VIEW ON THE ABDICATION:



HOW FAR DOES SOURCE A SUGGEST THAT CHURCHILL WAS OUT OF TOUCH WITH ATTITUDES TO THE MONARCHY IN THE 1930S?

Source A: Churchill, speaking to the House of Commons, 7 December 1936:

"It was my duty as Home Secretary, more than a quarter of a century ago, to stand beside his present Majesty and proclaim his style and titles at his investiture as Prince of Wales amid the sunlit battlements of Carnarvon Castle, and ever since then he has honoured me here, and also in wartime, with is personal kindness and, I may even say, friendship. I should have been ashamed if, in my independent and unofficial position, I had not cast about for every lawful means, even the most forlorn, to keep him on the throne of his fathers."

Α	Р	ОК	E

THE ABDICATION: REACTION FROM THE PRESS

Until December 1936, the ongoing concerns about Edward and Wallis Simpson were little known to most of the British public. There was a gentleman's agreement by the news proprietors to keep the story under wraps so as not to upset the king. Only those with American friends or access to American papers had any real inkling of what was happening. By December 3rd, the British newspapers were in full cry reporting on the situation.



Daily Herald -December 1936

"It is necessary to make no personal judgment of these facts. It is sufficient that vast numbers of people here and in the dominions would take deep and conscientious objection such to marriage, [and] would feel that it struck directly at what they feel to be right in their conception of married life; a conception which king George did so much to teach them."

The Times – 4th December 1936 'Such a marriage could only infinite harm to the whole

December 1936 Institution of the British Monarchy."

"The Church cannot regard any man, however exalted his temporal position, as "Christ's faithful vassel and servant" who enters into a relationship which the Church specifically condemns."

The Church Times -

Daily Mail – 3rd December 1936

"Sovereigns have the same human problems to solve as the humblest of their people... but in their [the peoples'] case it may not be necessary, as it is in positions of overpowering responsibility and influence, to subordinate personal feelings to the claims of the common weal."

Daily Telegraph – 3rd December 1936

"That the king will choose aright we cannot doubt and by choosing aright we mean that he will determine upon a course of action which will be consonant with his own personal dignity, and with 'the honour, safety and welfare' of the crown, the kingdom and dominions...The Crown, it must not be forgotten, is now the sole visible link of Empire... it cannot be supposed that he will hesitate to put august and permanent interests before personal feelings, which however deeply they may concern his own happiness are in that respect strictly private and not national or imperial."

Daily Express - 3rd December 1936

'It is a man-made crisis [the notion of abdication] and made here at that. But, as men have made it, they are capable of ending it. This thing can be brought to a close whenever Mr Baldwin and his government desire - by withdrawing their opposition to the king's intention of marrying".

Daily Express - 10th December 1936

"As for the proposition that the king ought not to marry a woman who has divorced her husband - that, if you like, is untenable. Are you going to hold it against her that she made use of the law of the land? In what has she done wrong? She has been the injured party. In the eyes of justice, she bears no guilt."

Newspaper	Does the report support or oppose the King's marriage to Wallis?	What evidence supports your argument?	Why might the newspaper have this view?
Daily Herald (4 th Dec)			
The Times (4 th Dec)			
The Church Times (4 th Dec)			
Daily Mail (3 rd Dec)			
Daily Express (3 rd Dec)			
Daily Express (10 th Dec)			
Daily Telegraph (3 rd Dec)			

<u>Using all four sources in their historical context, assess how far they support the view that Churchill was out of touch with the issue of Edward VIII's abdication</u>

Source A: Churchill, speaking to the House of Commons, 7 December 1936

"It was my duty as Home Secretary, more than a quarter of a century ago, to stand beside his present Majesty and proclaim his style and titles at his investiture as Prince of Wales amid the sunlit battlements of Carnarvon Castle, and ever since then he has honoured me here, and also in wartime, with is personal kindness and, I may even say, friendship. I should have been ashamed if, in my independent and unofficial position, I had not cast about for every lawful means, even the most forlorn, to keep him on the throne of his fathers."

Source B: Harold Nicolson, Labour MP, writing in a letter to his wife, 8 December 1936

"Winston collapsed utterly in the House yesterday. Bob Boothby was so funny about it.. 'I knew', he said, 'that Winston was going to do something dreadful. I had been staying the weekend with him. He was silent and restless...Now when a dog does that, you know he is about to be sick on the carpet. It is the same with Winston.. He managed to hold it for three days, and then comes up to the House and is sick right across the floor.' Which is literally true. He has undone in five minutes the patient reconstruction work of two years."

Source C: Daily Telegraph - 3rd December 1936

"That the king will choose aright we cannot doubt and by choosing aright we mean that he will determine upon a course of action which will be consonant with his own personal dignity, and with 'the honour, safety and welfare' of the crown, the kingdom and the dominions...The Crown, it must not be forgotten, is now the sole visible link of Empire... it cannot be supposed that he will hesitate to put august and permanent interests before personal feelings, which however deeply they may concern his own happiness are in that respect strictly private and not national or imperial."

Source D: Daily Express - 10th December 1936

"As for the proposition that the king ought not to marry a woman who has divorced her husband – that, if you like, is untenable. Are you going to hold it against her that she made use of the law of the land? In what has she done wrong? She has been the injured party. In the eyes of justice, she bears no guilt."

Source	A	Р	ОК	E
В				

С					
D					
-	le Writing Frame: agree with the staten	nent that Sources	_ oppose the view and cla	ims	latra du atia a
	that On balance the sou	• ,			Introduction
argues source is within so	ways, sources agrees . suggesting In addition, s supported by The view ource is likely to be typ oressed within source is balance mostly supports the	source also states than of the source can be chal sical of the period/untypica s likely to be reliable/unrel	t suggestingThe view llenged by The view exp	ressed The	Source/s that support the View
argues source is within so view exp	other hand, sources age sting In addition, supported byThe view ource is likely to be typoressed within source is balance mostly opposes the	source also states that of the source can be challe sical of the period/untypical s likely to be reliable/unrel	suggestingThe view express of the period because	of the essed The	Source/s that oppose the View
Therefor	re, the sources to a large e	extent support/oppose the			
	that This view is also I a different view in Fun	argely supported by the e damentally the weight give			Conclusion

presents a different view in ... Fundamentally the weight given to source ____'s views is reduced by contradictory evidence from the other source and by the nature of the

view that...

provenance of the two sources. Therefore, on balance the sources mostly support/oppose the

THE ISSUE OF REARMAMENT

CHURCHILL'S VIEW ON THE RISE OF HITLER





WHAT WAS THE RESPONSE TO CHURCHILL?

<u>Using all four sources in their historical context, how far do they support the view that</u> <u>Churchill's failure to get more support for his views on Germany and rearmament was his own fault</u>

Source A: Lord Halifax (Lord Privy Seal and later Foreign Secretary) gives his view on the threat of war in a speech to the House of Commons in 1935

"Are we to judge the situation so serious that everything has to give way to military reconditioning of our Defence forces? Such a conclusion seems to rest on the view that war is inevitable, that there is a certainty as to the early imminence of war which I am not prepared to accept."

Source B: Churchill speaks out about Germany in a radio broadcast in November 1934. Quoted from R.R James, Churchill, A Study in Failure

"Only a few hours away by air there dwells a nation of nearly 70 million who are taught from childhood to think of war and conquest as a great and glorious exercise and death in battle as the noblest fate of man. It is in the grip of ruthless men preaching a doctrine of racial pride. We must without another hour's delay begin to make ourselves the strongest air power in the European world."

Source C: Baldwin speaks in the House of Commons about Public support for rearmament, 12th November 1936

"There was probably a stronger pacifist feeling running through the country at any time since the war. You will remember the election in Fulham in 1933. I asked myself what chance there was within the next two or three years of public feeling being changed enough to give the government support for rearmament?"

*Additional Context - On 25 October 1933, the Tories were beaten in a by-election in East Fulham by a Labour candidate, John Wilmot, who held pacifist views.

Source D: Winston Churchill quoting himself from a speech he made to the Commons in 1934 in his post-war book The Gathering Storm

"In 1936 Germany will be definitely and substantially stronger in the air than Great Britain. There is cause for anxiety because of the physical strength of the German force [and] the character of the present German dictatorship. If the government have to admit at any time in the next few years that the German air forces are stronger than our own, then they will... have failed in their prime duty to the country."

Source	Α	Р	ОК	E
Α				

В		
С		
D		

APPEASEMENT

'Remember . . . One More Lollypop, and Then You All Go Home!'





LOCARNO PACT, 1925

LEAGUE OF NATIONS

CHURCHILL'S VIEW?







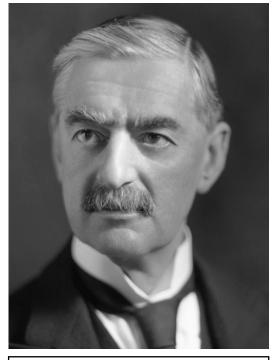
PROBLEMS FACING THE WORLD IN THE 1930S

JAPAN Why was the situation problematic?	GERMANY Why was the situation problematic?	ITALY Why was the situation problematic?
What was Britain's response?	What was Britain's response?	What was Britain's response?
Should Britain have acted differently?	Should Britain have acted differently?	Should Britain have acted differently?

TRIGGERS FOR INCREASED TENSION IN GERMANY:

1.	2.
	
3.	
5.	4.
	
	6.

THE ROLE OF NEVILLE CHAMBERLAIN



Kellogg-Briand Pact, 1928:

What are the dangers of Chamberlain's strategy?

Do you think Chamberlain made the right call?

CRISIS YEAR, 1938

Anschluss

- The German Army marched into Austria on the 12 March 1938, with little to no opposition.
- On the 13 March 1938, Austria was incorporated into the Greater German Reich.
- The result of
 a retrospective plebiscite
 (vote) held by the Nazis
 indicated that 99% of Austrian
 nationals supported the move.
 Despite French protests,
 British reactions were mild.

Sudetenland Talks

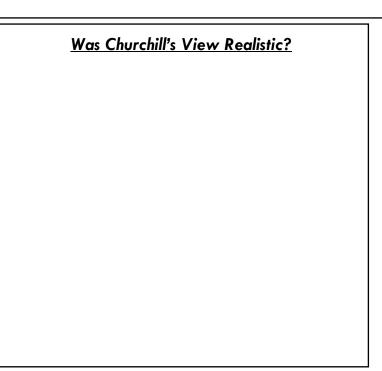
- The greater problem came when Hitler stirred up unrest in Czechoslovakia: the so-called 'Sudetenland'. Czechoslovakia alliances with France and the Soviet Union and if Germany invaded Britain was not obliged to act, but France was – this would led to war which Britain could not ignore.
- Chamberlain put pressure on the Czechs to make concessions and even flew to Hitler to negotiate an agreement. This action was dubious on grounds of validity and morality. Having negotiated an agreement for self-government in the Sudetenland at a meeting with Hitler, Chamberlain was outmaneuvered by Hitler who, sensing that Britain would do nothing, insisted on a full union of German-speaking areas with Germany.

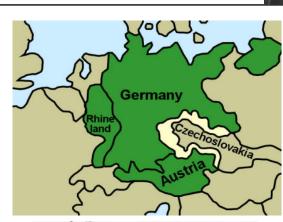
The Munich Agreement

- In the face of Chamberlain's humiliation, Britain made some weak preparations for war.
- A four-power conference met at Munich in September 1938: France, Germany, Britain and Italy.
- There was little attempt to resist Hitler's demands. Chamberlain asked Hitler to sign a pact guaranteeing future consultation. He regarded this as a triumph. He waved it to cheering crowds his return and claimed his had gained 'peace in our time'. However, when the immediate relief had passed, there was growing concern....

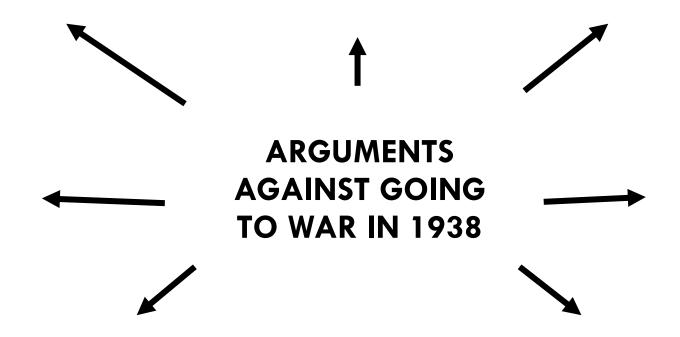
Why was 1938 was a year of crisis for Chamberlain and international politics?

REACTION TO THE EVENTS IN 1938				
OPTION ONE	OPTION TWO			
CHURCHII	LL'S VIEW			









THE SITUATION AFTER MUNICH, 1938

<u>Using all four sources in their historical context, how far do they support the view that Churchill was unrealistic in his attitude towards foreign policy in 1938</u>

Source A: Churchill speaks in the House of Commons during the debate on the Munich Agreement, October 1938

"There has been gross neglect and deficiency of our defences. We have sustained defeat without a war. This is only the beginning of the reckoning. This is only the first sip of a bitter cup which will be proffered to us year by year, unless by a supreme recovery of our moral health and martial vigour, we rise again and stand for freedom as in the olden time."

<u>Source B: The Prime Minister, Neville Chamberlain comments on a possible Grand Alliance in a letter to his</u> sister, March 1938

"The plan of the Grand Alliance, as Winston calls it, had occurred to me long before he mentioned it. I talked about it to Lord Halifax, and we submitted it to the Chiefs of Staff and Foreign Office experts. There is everything to be said for it until you come to examine its practicability. From that moment its attraction vanishes. You have only to look at the map to see that nothing that France or Britain could do could possibly save Czechoslovakia from being overrun by the Germans if they wanted to do so."

Source C: Churchill writing about his reaction to the Munich Settlement in his post-war history of the war The Gathering of the Storm (1948)

"Once again defence of the right of a weak State, outraged and invaded by unprovoked aggression, forced us to draw the sword. Once again we must fight for life and honour against the might and fury of the valiant, disciplined, and ruthless German race. Once again! So be it."

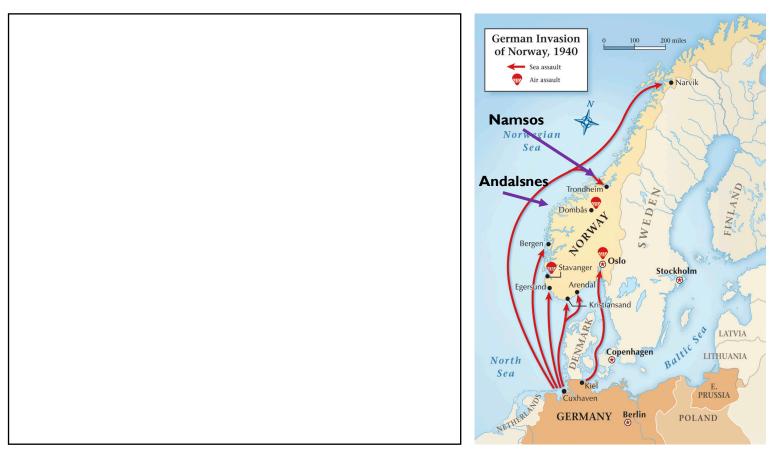
Source D: BBC News Report, 30th September 1938

"The British Prime Minister has been hailed as bringing "peace to Europe" after signing a non-aggression pact with Germany. PM Neville Chamberlain arrived back in the UK today, holding an agreement signed by Adolf Hitler which stated the German leader's desire never to go to war with Britain again. The two men met at the Munich conference between Britain, Germany, Italy and France yesterday, convened to decide the future of Czechoslovakia's Sudetenland. Mr Chamberlain declared the accord with the Germans signalled "peace for our time", after he had read it to a jubilant crowd gathered at Heston airport in west London."

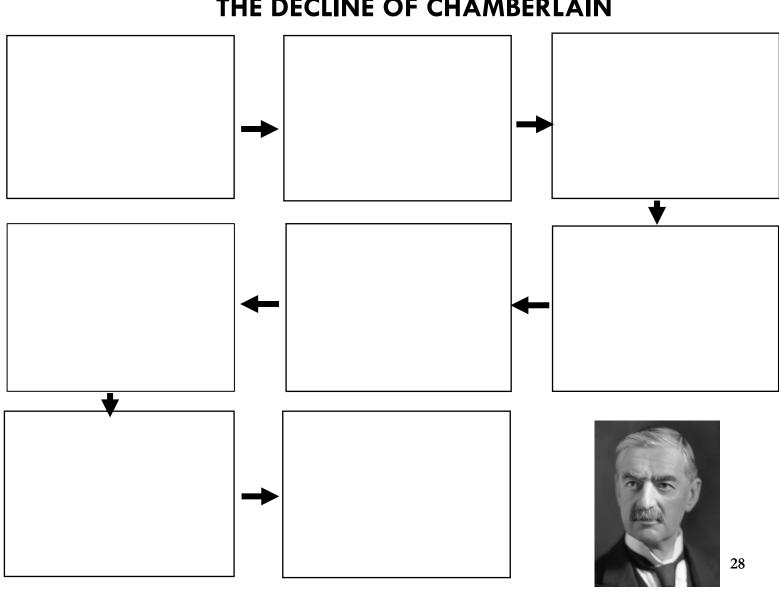
Source	A	Р	ОК	E
A				
, , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , ,				

В		
С		
D		

THE NORWAY CAMPAIGN



THE DECLINE OF CHAMBERLAIN



REACTION TO CHURCHILL AS PM



ALL BEHIND YOU, WINSTON

This cartoon appeared in the London Evening Standard (14 May 1940). The artist, David Low, had been a consistent critic of appearsement. Churchill is shown at the front, with Atlee behind him on the right and Chamberlain on the left.

What does this source suggest about attitudes towards Churchill becoming PM in 1940?

<u>Using all four sources in their historical context, assess how far they support the view that Churchill became Prime Minister in 1940 because he thought he was the best man for the job.</u>

Source A: Duff Cooper, a former Conservative cabinet minister who resigned in 1938 over Munich, gives his view on why Churchill became PM in his book Old Men Forget (1953).

"On 10 May 1940 the Germans invaded Holland and Belgium. Chamberlain's first reaction was that this terrible event gave him an excuse to remain prime minister. This shows how men in very high office can acquire the belief that they cannot be replaced. He was persuaded that the events only meant he should depart urgently. The choice lay between Churchill and Lord Halifax. Churchill's reputation had risen shapely since 1939. He had shown himself a highly competent First Lord of the Admiralty. His speeches in the Commons had been better than any of his colleagues. Everything that he prophesied in the past had come disastrously true. Halifax had merely remained the foreign minister of Munich. The choice was obvious."

Source B: Acting Director of Naval Operations, Diary Entry, 9 May 1940

"I dread any more influence from that arch-idiot Winston. I'm quite certain that he has played the whole war of the last eight months to become prime minister, often at the expense of helping to win the war. Witness his refusal to back the demands of the Navy against the Air Force. The high ups still insist on going on with the mad Narvik campaign in Norway."

Source C: Leo Amery, a prominent conservative politician, recalls his reaction to the events preceding Churchill's appointment as Prime Minister in his book My Political Life (1955).

"The news of Chamberlain's intentions to stay was given out. The Labour leaders, Atlee and Greenwood, said they were willing to serve in a new national government but not under Chamberlain. The cabinet was left in doubt what their attitude would be and Churchill knew that the task of forming a government would certainly fall on him."

Source D: Extract from Sir John Colville's diary that recalls the King's decision on 10 May. Sir John was Chamberlain's secretary who went on to be Churchill's secretary. He added comments when the diaries were published in 1987.

"Friday 10 May: The King has sent for Winston (fortunately because Halifax, true to form, had gone off to the dentist!). Mr Chamberlain would have liked Halifax to be prime minister. The king certainly disliked the change to Churchill and would have preferred Halifax. The feeling in conservative circles was represented by a letter sent by Queen Mary to my mother hoping I would not go on to work with Mr Churchill. Winston told me that when he met with Chamberlain and Halifax, Chamberlain said to Halifax 'if the king asks me I should suggest sending for you to be prime minster'. Halifax said if asked, he would propose Mr Churchill."

Source	A	Р	ОК	E
Α				

В		
С		
D		