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Professor Fears holds the Ph.D. from Harvard University. He has been a Danforth Fellow, a Woodrow Wilson Fellow, and a Harvard Prize Fellow. He has been a Fellow of the American Academy in Rome, a Guggenheim Fellow, and twice a Fellow of the Alexander von Humboldt Foundation. His research has been supported by grants from the American Philosophical Society, the American Council of Learned Societies, the National Endowment for the Humanities, the Kerr Foundation, and the Zarrow Foundation. He was chosen as Indiana University’s first Distinguished Faculty Research Lecturer. He is listed in Who’s Who in America and Who’s Who in the World.

Professor Fears is the author of more than seventy articles and reviews on Greek and Roman history, the history of liberty, and the lessons of history for our own day. His books and monographs include Princeps A Diis Electus: The Divine Election of the Emperor as a Political Concept at Rome, The Cult of Jupiter and Roman Imperial Ideology, The Theology of Victory at Rome, and The Cult of Virtues and Roman Imperial Ideology. He has published a three-volume edition of Selected Writings of Lord Acton, the great British historian of liberty. He has lectured widely in the United States and Europe, and his scholarly work has been translated into German and Italian.

Professor Fears is very active in speaking to broader audiences, and his comments on the lessons of history for our own day have appeared on television and been carried in newspapers and journals throughout the United States and abroad. Of the many study trips he leads to historical sites in the United States and Europe, the most popular is “Winston Churchill and World War II.”

On fifteen occasions, Dr. Fears has received awards for outstanding teaching. In 1996, 1999, and again in 2000, he was chosen the University of Oklahoma Professor of the Year.

Churchill is the fourth course Professor Fears has produced with The Teaching Company. Famous Greeks and Famous Romans are introductions to classical Greek and Roman history through the lives of the great men and women who made that history. A History of Freedom is a thirty-six–lecture survey of the events, ideas, and institutions of liberty from classical antiquity to our own day.
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Churchill

Scope:

Winston Churchill was the greatest leader of the twentieth century. He is proof that a single individual can change the course of history. His courage, character, and genius rallied the British people to “their finest hour.” His was a multifaceted genius. He was a successful politician and a statesman of vision and principle. He was a military innovator, who outpaced his contemporaries in his grasp of the impact of technology on warfare. He was one of the most successful authors of his day, who won the Nobel Prize for Literature. He was a painter, whose artistic work brought him a considerable income during his life and still hangs today in major museums. With all this, he was a father who won the devotion of his children. Our course is a narrative of the life and achievements of Winston Churchill and an analysis of the qualities that made him a great leader and a great man.

Our course begins at the supreme moment in Churchill’s life, his address to Parliament on June 4, 1940, declaring to the world that Britain “shall never surrender.” As Churchill later wrote, his whole past life “had been but a preparation for this hour and this trial.” The man who so rallied a nation in the cause of democracy was born into wealth and privilege, the descendant of John Churchill, Duke of Marlborough. Lecture One examines the career of this extraordinary soldier and statesman and his importance for understanding Winston Churchill.

Lectures Two and Three look at the early life of Winston Churchill and show how “a troublesome boy” emerged by age twenty-six as a war hero, best-selling author, millionaire, and member of Parliament. Lectures Four treats Churchill’s early political career. We explore his democratic ideals and his concern for the ordinary person. We watch his meteoric rise to become First Lord of the Admiralty by age thirty-seven and witness his tragic fall as a result of the failed Dardanelles (Gallipoli) campaign in 1915. Lecture Five takes the Dardanelles campaign as a springboard to discuss Churchill’s character as a political leader and those qualities that won him so many enemies and critics, as well as admirers. The decade following World War I saw Churchill emerge again as a leading figure in British politics; Lecture Six assesses his seminal role in issues that continue to be at the center of world politics today: Northern Ireland and the Middle East.

It is in the wholeness of his achievements and personality that we find so much to admire in Churchill. Lecture Seven describes his life as a devoted father, best-selling author, and successful painter. Lectures Eight through Ten focus on the critical moment in the life of Churchill and the history of the twentieth century: his leadership of Britain in the mighty struggle against Hitler. We judge his achievements as a statesman and as a wartime leader of a democracy. It is truly a study of leadership in a time of crisis. Foresight is one of the chief qualities of a statesman. Lecture Eleven examines how, in the years following World War II, both out of office and as Prime Minister for a second time, Churchill strove to achieve his vision of peace and freedom, resting on a united Europe, close relations with America, and a viable coexistence with the Soviet Union.

Churchill was a genius and a man of principle. Accordingly, he never lacked for critics. In life, he was attacked by mediocre critics in politics and the press. In death, historians from a wide range of political opinions have assailed him. Our concluding lecture listens to the critics of Churchill and answers them with the simple facts of his achievements and the enduring principles of his political philosophy.

This course rests on the most recent historical scholarship. It is thoroughly documented by Churchill’s own writings and speeches. After all this study, we conclude as we began, with the view that Winston Churchill was the greatest figure of the twentieth century.
Lecture One
Heritage and Destiny

Scope: On June 4, 1940, Winston Churchill addressed the British Parliament. Barely three weeks had passed since he became Prime Minister. The time was what some call “the darkest days in English history.” The Nazis had conquered the Low Countries, and France was falling. Hitler was convinced that Britain, too, would make a negotiated peace. To Parliament and the world, Churchill proclaimed, “We shall never surrender.” With this speech, Churchill rallied his nation and began the march toward ultimate victory in the most titanic war in history. Churchill is arguably the greatest leader of the twentieth century and perhaps the greatest Englishman in history. Our course examines the life and achievements of this multifaceted genius, who won the Nobel Prize for Literature and whose paintings have been deemed worthy to hang in major museums of the world.

This man who would change the course of history was born to wealth and privilege on November 30, 1874, in Blenheim Palace. Our course begins, as Churchill would have begun, with the legacy of heroism and public service he received from his famous ancestor, John, Duke of Marlborough, and from his own father, Lord Randolph Churchill.

Outline

I. When Churchill died in January 1965, Clement Attlee said that he was the greatest Englishman of our time and, perhaps, the greatest citizen of the world of our time.
   A. Attlee was a lifelong socialist, with political views very different from those of Churchill. However, Attlee’s tribute was sincere and was taken up throughout England, the United States, and much of Europe.
   B. The only correction that was offered by many to Attlee’s assessment was to call Churchill the greatest citizen of all time.
   C. This course argues that Churchill was one of those great individuals who changed the course of history.

II. On June 4, 1940, Winston Churchill addressed the British Parliament.
   A. On May 10, 1940, Churchill had become Prime Minister.
      1. It was a time of supreme crisis.
      2. The German army seemed invincible.
      3. In September 1939, the Germans had conquered Poland.
      4. In April and May 1940, the Germans had occupied Norway and Denmark and conquered the Low Countries.
      5. The French army, thought to be the strongest in the world, was collapsing. Its collapse was the result of the failure and lack of will of the French political and military leaders.
      6. From May 26 to June 3, 1940, 336,000 British and French troops had been rescued at Dunkirk. However, as Churchill said, wars are not won by evacuations.
   B. Many at the highest level of the British government, including King George VI, thought that Britain could not win the war.
      1. The Foreign Secretary, Lord Halifax, thought that Britain should negotiate a peace with Nazi Germany, which would have left the British in control of their empire and Germany in control of Europe.
      2. The king and many others did not want Churchill as Prime Minister.
      3. “Shrewd” politicians, such as Halifax, wanted Churchill to be Prime Minister, to make a peace with Germany, and then, tarnished by the peace, be forced to step down.
   C. To the British people, to Germany and the Axis powers, to the United States, still neutral, Churchill addressed his famous words: “We shall never surrender.”

III. With that speech, Churchill rallied a nation to “their finest hour.”
   A. Churchill was the greatest statesman of the twentieth century. He joins Pericles of Athens and Abraham Lincoln as one of the greatest statesman in the history of democracy.
B. We distinguish a statesman from a politician by four criteria:
   1. A bedrock of principles
   2. A moral compass
   3. A vision
   4. The ability to build a consensus to achieve that vision.

C. Churchill’s bedrock of principles was his devotion to liberty.

D. Churchill’s moral compass lay in his conviction of absolute right and wrong. He was ambitious, but he would not do certain things to achieve his goals if he believed such actions to be wrong.

E. Churchill’s vision was of the entire world moving toward true freedom, liberty under the law; Churchill had an extraordinary concern for the ordinary person.

F. His mastery of the English language, his skill as a speaker and a writer, were fundamental to his ability to build a consensus to achieve this vision.
   1. Before Churchill’s speech of June 4, 1940, a public opinion poll might have shown that a majority of British were opposed to another speech.
   2. With one speech, he changed public opinion.

IV. The statesman who so rallied a nation was born into wealth and privilege at Blenheim Palace, near Oxford, England, on November 30, 1874.

A. Churchill’s life was profoundly shaped by the legacy of military and political courage he received from his famous ancestor, John, Duke of Marlborough, and Churchill’s own father, Lord Randolph Churchill.

B. Churchill wrote superb biographies of both these figures.

V. John, First Duke of Marlborough (1650–1722) was one of the most gifted generals and military minds of his era and played a major role in making England a world power.

A. He was born the son of Sir Winston Churchill, a man of some wealth and prominence.
   1. John’s background and ability won him advancement in royal circles.
   2. By the age of twenty-five, he had distinguished himself as a soldier in England’s war against Holland.
   3. In the winter of 1677–1678, he married Sarah Jennings, who played an important role in his political advancement.

B. In the service of King James II (1685–1688), John Churchill advanced in position and fortune. However, concerned by King James’s bent toward Catholicism, John betrayed the king and went over to the side of William and Mary in 1688.

C. The “Glorious Revolution” of William and Mary (1688–1702) and the reign of their successor, Queen Anne *(1702–1714), saw John Churchill reach the pinnacle of his career.
   1. In 1689, he was made Earl of Marlborough.
   2. In 1702, he was named by Queen Anne as Captain General of English troops, both at home and abroad.

D. The War of the Spanish Succession (1701–1714) was between the allied forces of Britain, Holland, and Austria against King Louis XIV of France. Marlborough was made commander-in-chief of the united troops of Holland and Britain.
   1. On August 13, 1704, Marlborough led the allied armies to victory near the German village of Blenheim.
   2. Marlborough was both a brilliant general and a superb diplomat.
   3. He served in the front ranks and looked after his men, who were devoted to him.
   4. He led his armies to further victories over the French at the Battles of Ramillies (1706), Oudenarde (1708), and Malplaquet (1709).

E. For his service, John Churchill was elevated from his status as the Earl of Marlborough to Duke of Marlborough. The royal manor at Woodstock near Oxford was given to him, and Queen Anne and Parliament built Blenheim Palace for him.

F. Court intrigues led to Marlborough’s fall from power in 1711.
   1. Marlborough retained his fortune and palace, and his descendants still today hold the title and Blenheim Palace.

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2. English historians and writers, including Jonathan Swift, Henry Hallam, and Thomas Babington Macaulay attacked his reputation.


- Erratum: Professor Fears states that Queen Anne was the daughter of William and Mary, when, in fact, she was the sister of Mary, and daughter of James II.

**Essential Reading:**
Jones, *Marlborough*.

**Supplementary Reading:**

**Questions to Consider:**
1. Marlborough deserted the cause of King James to serve William and Mary. Winston Churchill twice changed parties during his political life. Do these actions make them political opportunists?
2. Marlborough is not much studied today. Do you agree that his achievements as a general and a statesman deserve far greater attention?
Lecture Two
Young Churchill

Scope: Lord Randolph, the second son of the seventh Duke of Marlborough, was a shrewd politician and a brilliant speaker. His marriage to the American heiress Jennie Jerome produced Winston Leonard Spencer-Churchill, whose early years held little promise of future greatness. The attention of his parents was minimal and largely counterproductive. His record at school was unexceptional. It was only in his late teens, at the military college of Sandhurst, that Churchill began to come into his own.

Outline

I. Throughout his career, Churchill would be hounded by false accusations and called a political adventurer, even as his ancestor John Churchill, the Duke of Marlborough, had been.
   A. Marlborough’s only son had died as a child.
   B. His titles passed down through his daughter Anne, who married Charles Spencer, Earl of Sunderland.
   C. In this manner, Princess Diana was related to Winston Churchill.
   D. The descendants of the Duke of Marlborough were not especially distinguished in politics until the seventh Duke of Marlborough, John Winston Spencer-Churchill (1822–1883).
      1. He was a significant figure in the Conservative Party and Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland.
      2. His second son was Lord Randolph Churchill, the father of Winston Churchill.

II. Randolph Churchill was elected to Parliament in 1874.
   A. He was soon recognized as a brilliant speaker, shrewd parliamentarian, and a man of enormous ambition.
   B. He met his future wife, Jeanette (Jennie) Jerome, Winston Churchill’s mother, at a party given in honor of the Prince and Princess of Wales and the future Czar of Russia, Alexis III.
   C. Jennie was the daughter of Clarissa and Leonard Jerome, an extremely wealthy New York financier.
   D. The Jerome family spent much time living in England and Europe.
   E. Within a week after they met, Jennie and Randolph were engaged.
   F. They were wed on April 15, 1874.
   G. Winston Leonard Spencer-Churchill was born November 30, 1874.
   H. Churchill’s relations with his parents were quite unlike anything an American child of today might experience but were not unusual for the child of aristocrats in Victorian England.
      1. The political life of his father and the social life of both parents left them little time and less interest for their child.
      2. Winston spent most of his time with his nanny, Mrs. Elizabeth Anne Everest, whom he affectionately called “woom.”
   I. Winston’s early years were spent in Ireland, where his father had been posted.
   J. In 1885, Lord Randolph became Chancellor of the Exchequer and proceeded to take positions that opposed that of the Prime Minister.
   K. In 1886, Lord Randolph resigned, after his budget was rejected by the Prime Minister.
   L. His power began to decline, along with his physical health.

III. At age seven, Winston was sent to boarding school.
   A. Winston’s school record was poor, including his years at the famous “public” (we would say private) school of Harrow.
   B. Winston was also lonely.
      1. His mother rarely visited him at boarding school; she even forgot his Christmas presents.
      2. His father was never sure how old he was and never visited him, even though Winston begged him to.
      3. There was no intimacy between Lord Randolph and Winston.
   C. Despite this, Winston worshipped his father as a hero and was devoted to his mother.
D. Lord Randolph was so disappointed in Winston’s record that he was not allowed to go to Eton, the most prestigious school and his father’s alma mater. Lord Randolph had gone to Oxford University. He thought Winston unfit for either Oxford or Cambridge. Randolph thus denied his son the credentials most suited to an English aristocrat.

E. At Harrow, although he did poorly and was not interested in most subjects, Winston did better in history and took an interest in English.

F. Believing his son incapable of achieving entrance to university, Lord Randolph suggested a military career to Winston, a suggestion Winston eagerly accepted.

G. But Winston did not gain entrance to the Royal Military College at Sandhurst without a struggle.

IV. Churchill began to come into his own as a cadet at the Royal Military College at Sandhurst (1893–1894).

A. While there, he studied subjects that had immediate value for him and, in a class of 130, he graduated twentieth.

B. Even Winston’s progress at Sandhurst did not endear him to his father, whose health was declining rapidly.

C. Lord Randolph died in 1894, the same year that Churchill graduated from Sandhurst.

D. Churchill later wrote that the solitary tree, if it grows at all, grows to be strong and sturdy, and frequently, a boy deprived of his father’s love feels determined to win that love back, even after his father has gone. Churchill spent part of his life trying to live up to the expectations of a father who denied him that love.

Essential Reading:

Supplementary Reading:
Winston Churchill, My Early Life, pp. 1–60; Lord Randolph Churchill.
Foster, Randolph Churchill.

Questions to Consider:
1. Churchill once wrote, “It is said that famous men are usually the product of an unhappy childhood.” Do you agree?

2. Why do you think Winston so admired his father? What lessons would you have learned from Lord Randolph’s political career?
Lecture Three
On the Empire’s Frontier

Scope: As a young officer on the northwest frontier of India, Churchill displayed the courage, ambition, and boldness of spirit that was his hallmark throughout his long life. We follow Churchill as he rides in the last great cavalry charge at the Battle of Omdurman in 1898. We are with Churchill in South Africa during the Boer War as his intrepid spirit makes him a national celebrity. We come back to Britain with him as he wins his seat in Parliament in 1900. By the age of twenty-six, Churchill was a member of Parliament and a best-selling author and had made himself a millionaire through his writings.

Outline

I. After Sandhurst, Churchill received a commission in a famous regiment, the Fourth Hussars.
   A. In 1895, he was posted in India, the jewel in the crown of the British Empire.
   B. At that time, Britain ruled an empire ninety-one times its size (the size of the State of Colorado).
   C. Churchill believed the British Empire to be a force for good, bringing law and civilization all over the globe, raising up men and women in a civilization of a bright new age.
   D. Typically, Churchill wanted to make good use of his time until he was due to leave for India.
      1. He went, as a newspaper correspondent, to Cuba, where rebels were fighting for their freedom against the Spanish.
      2. He described the action, published his opinions, and proved himself to be calm under fire.
      3. When he returned to New York, he found himself in a controversy.
      4. The press questioned his presence in Cuba and his alleged support for Spanish colonial rule.
      5. Controversy would dog Churchill throughout his life.
   E. Back in England, he defended the freedom of prostitutes and argued that the true solution to social problems lay in education and improvements to social conditions, as opposed to prudish censorship.
   F. Churchill described himself as a “passive conformist in religion.”

II. He served with distinction and bravery on the northwest frontier in the Malakand campaign of 1897, when Afghan tribesmen rebelled against British rule.
   A. In Afghanistan, he also reported on the campaign as a war correspondent.
   B. He published a book about the Malakand campaign, which became a bestseller.
      1. In it, he showed courage by criticizing British strategy in the campaign.
      2. In doing so, he aroused the anger of the War Office and Lord Kitchener in particular.
      3. His book won the praise of Lord Salisbury, who offered his support.
   C. He served with equal distinction in this campaign against Sudanese tribesmen, which culminated in the Battle of Omdurman on September 2, 1898.
   D. Again, he served as a war correspondent.
   E. He criticized the squalor of war, including Kitchener’s brutality to the enemy, his cruelty to prisoners, and his destruction of the tomb of the Sudanese religious leader.
   F. Again, Churchill’s book about the campaign was highly successful.

III. Churchill resigned his commission in the British army and went to South Africa.
   A. In 1899–1902, the Boer, or South African, War was the struggle against British rule in South Africa, waged by the Boers (Afrikaners, descendants of Dutch settlers).
   B. Churchill served as a war correspondent (1899–1900).
   C. On November 15, 1899, not quite twenty-five years old, Churchill joined an expeditionary force and wound up as a prisoner of the Boers in Pretoria.
      1. He eventually made a dramatic escape to Portuguese East Africa.
      2. His flight to freedom made him a national celebrity in England.
D. He wrote two books based on his South African experiences, which became bestsellers.

IV. Back in England, Churchill entered politics.
   A. He was elected to Parliament as a member of the Conservative Party from Oldham in 1900.
   B. At the age of twenty-six, Churchill was a war hero, a best-selling author, and a member of Parliament and, by his writing and lectures, had made himself a millionaire.

Essential Reading:

Supplementary Reading:
Sandys, Churchill.

Questions to Consider:
1. Would you agree that Churchill succeeded in spite of, rather than because of, the education system he encountered?
2. In later years, when Churchill had to send men to their deaths in war, no one could question his military service and personal bravery. Do you think this factor is important in a wartime leader?
Lecture Four
Political Beginnings

Scope: Churchill’s political career rested on a bedrock of principles, which made him incomprehensible to run-of-the-mill politicians. Accordingly, he never lacked for critics. However, his political acumen, his administrative abilities, and his brilliance as an orator carried him very far, very fast. When World War I began in 1914, Churchill was First Lord of the Admiralty, in charge of the British navy. He brought the navy to its peak of efficiency. However, his bedrock of principles led him to challenge the patently unsuccessful strategy of the British High Command. The result was the Dardanelles campaign of 1915.

Outline

I. Churchill succeeded in becoming a war hero and best-selling author out of ambition and a need for recognition, fostered by his parents’ neglect of him, his desire to prove himself to his father, and later, his desire to vindicate his father’s memory.
   A. Churchill hoped to use his success as a soldier and author to boost his political career.
   B. In India, he had begun to educate himself by reading books that his mother sent him.
   C. His literary and speaking style were the product of having read a few books and having read them well.
   D. Edward Gibbon’s (1737–1794) *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* and Thomas Babington Macaulay’s (1800–1859) histories, essays, and poetry were most influential on Churchill’s style and approach to history.
   E. He also studied Parliamentary debates and his father’s speeches.
   F. By the time he was writing about his adventures in South Africa, he had become a master of English prose.
   G. He believed that to become a truly great speaker you must believe in what you are saying.
   H. He wrote his own speeches.
   I. Although each speech took him eight to ten hours to prepare, people thought the speeches were extemporaneous.

II. When Churchill was first elected to Parliament, in 1900, Queen Victoria was nearing the end of her long reign (1837–1901), the British Empire was at its height, and Great Britain was the leading economic power in the world.
   A. There were also serious problems at home and abroad.
      1. An enormous gulf existed between rich and poor in Britain.
      2. Britain saw severe labor unrest.
      3. The issue of the status of Ireland caused violent agitation.
      4. The growing military might of Germany posed a threat.
   B. In the British system of government in 1911, Parliament, comprising the Crown, the House of Lords, and the House of Commons, was sovereign. This is the legal definition. The House of Commons was, and is, in fact, the sovereign body.
   C. The House of Lords could, at that time, veto legislation passed by the House of Commons.
   D. Britain was, and is, a Parliamentary democracy.
      1. There is no direct vote for the Prime Minister; the winning political party chooses its Prime Minister.
      2. Although each member of Parliament represents a geographical district, members do not have to reside in their districts.
   E. In 1900, there were two leading parties.
      1. Conservatives were more traditional in their values.
      2. Liberals believed that the government should play a bigger role in carrying out social programs.
III. Churchill, like his father, believed in a Tory democracy with a liberal cast, which would take care of its poor with various social programs, including education, health insurance, unemployment benefits, and recognition of trade unions.
   A. Although elected as a member of the Conservative Party, Churchill had a deep distrust of Conservative leaders, because they had been responsible for destroying his father’s career.
   B. By 1906, he had published a biography of his father in an effort to vindicate his father’s memory.
   C. For Churchill, Lord Randolph represented an England that was above petty partisanship.
   D. However, his father’s memory was not an asset to Churchill during these years.
   E. Churchill’s first speech in Parliament was controversial. He praised the Boers for fighting the war with bravery.
   F. He was accused of trying to run imperialism on the cheap when he voted against large amounts of money being granted to the army.
   G. He warned against trying to fight a war against Germany, because he believed Britain could never raise a large enough army to defeat the Germans.
   H. He cautioned that the next war would be protracted and extremely costly in terms of lives and money.

IV. In 1904, Churchill decided to leave the Conservative Party, because the Conservatives were pushing a policy of tariffs, and Churchill believed in free trade.
   A. He became a member of the Liberal Party.
   B. His Conservative opponents called him a political opportunist; for the same reason, he also did not gain the full support of the Liberal Party.

V. In 1905, he was named Undersecretary of State for Colonies and was immediately assigned a controversial task: to develop a constitution for South Africa in the wake of the Boer War.
   A. The constitution he developed was a key example of his spirit of magnanimity. It advocated a policy of “one man one vote” for the Boers and allowed them to keep their language.
   B. The constitution he established would guide South Africa through World War II and tie it deeply to the British Empire.

VI. In 1908, he was appointed President of the Board of Trade, bringing him into the Cabinet and giving him the scope for his program of social reform.

VII. In 1910, Churchill became the second youngest Home Secretary in British history.
   A. As Home Secretary or His Majesty’s Principal Secretary of State, Churchill held a post of enormous responsibility.
      1. The Home Secretary was effectively responsible for all matters directly involving people living in Great Britain, including law enforcement, labor issues, immigration, censorship, and numerous other issues.
      2. Churchill handled all these posts with great ability. He was energetic and innovative, a skilled administrator, and a forceful proponent of good policies. He also took responsibility for his actions.
   B. His actions also caused criticism that stayed with him for years.
      1. He was criticized for the police action taken against a gang of anarchists in the East End of London (Sydney Street, 1910).
      2. The criticism was not so much that he had allowed the anarchists’ refuge to burn to the ground when it caught on fire, but rather that it was unseemly for a cabinet member to be present at the scene of the event.
      3. He was criticized for his actions in putting down riots by Welsh miners (Tonypandy, 1910). It was said that he had used troops to shoot down miners. In fact, he never sent the troops in; the riots were put down by the police.
      4. But the charges stayed with him for decades.
In 1911, Churchill was named First Lord of the Admiralty, the civilian in charge of the British navy. In those days, when Britain ruled the seas, the admiralty was, next to the Prime Minister, the most important government post in the British Empire.

A. Churchill was superb in the position.
B. From 1911 on, Churchill was convinced that war with Germany was inevitable and that it would be the most destructive war the world had ever seen.
C. The carnage of World War I was indeed enormous.
D. Churchill was convinced there was a better way to fight the war than to accept the slaughter of 20,000 men in one day to gain a few yards.
E. For that reason, he proposed a campaign in the Dardanelles.
F. Unfortunately, the Dardanelles campaign, as executed, was a disaster.
G. Churchill received the blame and was forced to resign.

Essential Reading:

Supplementary Reading:

Questions to Consider:
1. Do you see similarities between the Tory democracy of Randolph Churchill and Theodore Roosevelt’s ideals of progressive Republicanism?
2. Winston Churchill has been called, with some justice, the “architect of the British welfare state.” Would you consider this comment a compliment?
Lecture Five
Churchill and Controversy

Scope: Churchill was—and for some historians still is—a controversial figure. Many of his personal qualities tended to provoke controversy, including his refusal to “stay in his box,” to compromise his vision, and to avoid difficult decisions. The Dardanelles campaign was a major controversy and seminal event in Churchill’s life. It turned into a disaster because of Churchill’s impetuosity and his inability to interpret human character and recognize those who bore him ill. The tragic failure of that campaign, and the public and political response to it, threatened to destroy Churchill’s political career. His own response embodied those personal qualities that enabled him not only to survive but, ultimately, to triumph.

Outline

I. Why was Churchill plagued with controversy all his life?
   A. Churchill was a genius and genius is often distrusted and envied, especially in the political world.
   B. Churchill did not “stay in his box”; he always went above and beyond his responsibilities.
      1. As First Lord of the Admiralty, he went beyond what was considered his sphere of responsibility—solely to manage the budget. He worked hard to transform the navy (to get bigger guns, build faster warships, and switch the basic fuel from coal to oil).
      2. He did not take advice from his admirals. Instead, he took advice from what many in the admiralty considered to be bad sources, such as Sir John Fisher, who was considered somewhat quirky.
      3. He wanted to develop the military potential of aircraft, against the opinion of many in the military who saw aircraft as merely sports vehicles.
      4. In 1914, in an effort to defend Antwerp from the Germans, Churchill shipped Royal Marines and naval reserves to the Belgian port and went into battle with them. This was not his decision to make as First Lord of the Admiralty. Eventually, Antwerp collapsed as the Germans prevailed, and the troops had to be recalled.
      5. This action became the subject of ridicule in the press, and Churchill was severely reprimanded for his over-enthusiasm.
      6. Later, the King of the Belgians declared that he thought no action did more to secure victory in World War I than that of Antwerp. By holding on in Antwerp, Churchill’s action enabled the British to send more troops to Calais and other ports, with the result that they were never captured.
      7. But the idea that Antwerp was a fiasco stuck to Churchill’s character, and official reports would never remove the blame that tainted him.
   C. Other factors that made Churchill “untrustworthy” in the eyes of his peers included the legacy of his father, Lord Randolph.
      1. Churchill did not distance himself from his father, a man with a bad reputation.
      2. Instead, he wrote a defensive biography of Lord Randolph, which was greatly criticized.
   D. Churchill had an incisive tongue.
   E. He did not have “antennae” when it came to judging character, he did not recognize those who threatened his career, and he often mistook an enemy for a friend.
      1. One such figure was Horatio Kitchener, who had never liked Churchill, although he was outwardly friendly to him.
      2. Kitchener, and others in the Cabinet, set Churchill up for failure in the Dardanelles campaign.

II. The Dardanelles was a seminal event in Churchill’s life. Churchill’s wife spoke of his “grief” over the Dardanelles; she thought he would never get over this particular disaster.
   A. Churchill’s boldest policy to break the stalemate on the western front was to advocate a campaign against the Dardanelles, that strip of land that separates Asia from Europe, near Istanbul (Constantinople).
   B. Churchill wanted to send British troops into the Dardanelles, knock out the Turkish forts (Turkey was an ally of Germany and Austria), capture Constantinople, sweep up through the Balkans, capture Vienna, and then move on to Germany.
C. But Kitchener, and most of the British High Command, thought that the war could be won only by killing Germans in France.

D. They agreed, however, to let Churchill go ahead with his plan.
   1. The plan was implemented too quickly.
   2. Foreign allies could not agree on their roles; the Greeks did not want to share the capture of Constantinople with the Russians.
   3. Then the Greek government fell to a pro-German regime.
   4. The British admiral was aging, and his strategy was inefficient; he resigned, and a new admiral replaced him in the middle of the attack on Constantinople.
   5. Several of the British ships were sunk.
   6. Sir Ian Hamilton, an old friend of Churchill, went out to the Mediterranean (with an out-of-date map of Gallipoli and an out-of-date handbook on the Turkish army). He recommended that a large number of troops be sent in.
   7. Kitchener wanted all his troops for fighting on the western front.
   8. By the time troops were landed, the Turks were well entrenched, and led by the Germans.

E. Churchill, led on by his own impetuosity and his weak “antennae,” had rushed into the disaster. Furthermore, he did not understand how weak his position was.

F. The press, fed by leaks from his fellow ministers, hounded Churchill.

G. By the time the British troops withdrew in January 1916, Britain had suffered 213,980 casualties to achieve nothing.

H. Churchill received the blame, accepted the responsibility, and resigned from his post as First Lord of the Admiralty.

III. Churchill had few real friends who would stick with him to the end.
   A. Even the Liberal leader David Lloyd George, whom Churchill had considered a good friend, offered Churchill no support after the Dardanelles disaster.
   B. The Prime Minister, Lord Asquith, refused to allow Churchill to speak in his own defense, which was customary in such circumstances.

IV. Churchill could have told all about the horrors of World War I, but he did not. Instead, he asked for a field command and was sent out for training in the Grenadier Guards.
   A. He was not, at first, well received, but he trained without complaint and was rewarded with the position of lieutenant colonel in the Royal Scots Fusiliers.
   B. He served beside his men on the western front in the spring of 1916.
   C. His men told him that there was no better loved commander on the entire western front than Churchill.

Essential Reading:

Supplementary Reading:
James, *Churchill*, pp. 3–106; *Gallipoli*.
Moorehead, *Gallipoli*.

Questions to Consider:
1. Do you believe that Churchill’s strategy for the Dardanelles campaign was flawed from the start?
2. Unlike Ronald Reagan, Churchill was not Teflon. Why?
Lecture Six
Post-War Challenges

Scope: In 1917, Churchill was cleared of blame for the Dardanelles disaster, yet the incident would continue to plague his reputation for many years. In David Lloyd George’s Liberal government, Churchill held several major and problematic posts. In 1919, he became Minister for War and Air and found himself facing the difficult task of demobilization. In 1921, he became Colonial Secretary, a position that brought with it the unenviable responsibility for handling problems in Ireland and the Middle East. Throughout the 1920s, Churchill warned against the rise of Soviet communism and advocated an offensive strategy to deal with it. For his troubles, he was accused of being a warmonger. In 1925, with the demise of the Liberal Party, Churchill returned to the Conservative Party, which again gained him the reputation of being a political adventurer. Under Prime Minister Stanley Baldwin, Churchill rose to the powerful position of Chancellor of the Exchequer.

Outline

I. In 1917, an investigative committee cleared Churchill of any blame in the Dardanelles disaster.
   A. Yet the blame for the Dardanelles would continue to haunt Churchill for many years; as the saying goes, slander moves in six-league boots.
   B. The Prime Minister, now David Lloyd George, brought Churchill back into the government as Minister of Munitions.
      1. In this position, Churchill continued to develop the concept of the armored tank, first conceived by him when he was First Lord of the Admiralty.
      2. He also had the foresight to vigorously support the development of air power during the last phase of World War I.
   C. Throughout the rest of World War I and in the 1920s, Churchill continued to hold major government posts.
      1. In 1919, he was named Minister for War and Air. Because another war was unthinkable to the British military establishment, Churchill followed the wishes of the Government and Parliament to cut the military budget.
      2. His job would be demobilization; his policy was to bring home the troops based on their length of duty in the war.

II. Churchill warned vigorously against communism.
   A. After World War I, Churchill wanted to redeploy troops to Russia to fight the Bolsheviks. He believed that socialism and communism rested on the denial of a fundamental human freedom: the right to property.
   B. For this view, he was called a warmonger.
   C. The British government ultimately did nothing.
   D. The British Labour Party and many British workers criticized Churchill for his hostility toward Bolshevism, which they interpreted as a hostility toward labor in general.

III. In 1921, Churchill was made Colonial Secretary.
   A. The position of Colonial Secretary was a difficult one in 1921.
   B. The British Empire reached its height at the end of World War I.
   C. Churchill had to deal with problems in Ireland and the Middle East.
   D. Churchill went to the Middle East with T. E. Lawrence, who believed Britain had strong commitments to the Arabs, which left no room for a Jewish state.
      1. Churchill was a friend of Zionist leaders.
      2. He believed in the idea of a Jewish state, even if it meant taking land away from the Arabs.
      3. His views gained him enemies in Middle Eastern countries, and he was opposed by major figures in the British government and army.
   E. He also had to deal with the question of home rule for Ireland, which had been a violent issue for many years.
1. When he served as Minister of War, he sent troops to Ireland, the Blacks and Tans, who fought against the IRA terrorists.

2. As Colonial Secretary, Churchill began to negotiate with the IRA.

3. The compromise they established remains today: that northern Ireland (Ulster) would remain part of Britain and a free state would be created in the rest of Ireland, which would eventually become the Republic of Ireland.

IV. The demise of the Liberal Party led Churchill to return to the Conservative Party in 1925.

   A. This switch of political parties again made enemies in both parties for Churchill, who was accused of being a “political adventurer.”

   B. Under Baldwin, the new Prime Minister, Churchill became Chancellor of the Exchequer, considered the most important position leading to the position of Prime Minister.

**Essential Reading:**


**Supplementary Reading:**

James, *Churchill*, pp. 109–150.

**Questions to Consider:**

1. What credit and what blame is due Churchill for the continuing situation in Northern Ireland and the Middle East?

2. Would history have been different if Churchill had been able to deploy British troops against the Bolsheviks in Russia in 1919?
Lecture Seven
In the Wilderness

Scope: Britain was given little chance to recover from World War I. The 1920s saw a devastating general strike and a stock market crash. In 1925, Churchill rejoined the Conservative Party and, as Chancellor of the Exchequer, reinstated the gold standard. When the Labour Party took over the government in 1929, Churchill was out of office and out of favor in his own Conservative Party. He entered what was termed “the wilderness.” He took refuge at his country home of Chartwell. Here, we encounter Churchill as a faithful husband and devoted father. We experience his love of life and hobbies. We see him as a multifaceted genius, painter, and author, who earned much of his livelihood through his writings. This time was a period of renewal, enabling Churchill to rally a nation “never to surrender.”

Outline

I. After World War I, the Conservative Stanley Baldwin became Prime Minister.
   A. Britain, under Baldwin, wanted to get back to normal.
   B. The working man wanted benefits; labor was restless.
   C. From 1922 to 1924, Churchill lost three elections and was out of Parliament during this time.
   D. Smarter politicians adapted their political speeches in the elections of 1922–1924 to accommodate the leftward move of the British electorate. By contrast, Churchill spoke out boldly against the evils of socialism.
   E. In 1924, he was elected to Parliament from the town of Epping, supported by the Conservative Party. He held this seat until 1964.
   F. After the Labour, or Socialist, Party replaced the Liberal Party as the only real alternative to the Conservative Party, Churchill rejoined the Conservative Party in 1925 and became Chancellor of the Exchequer.
   G. In May 1926, a general strike broke out across Britain in sympathy with the miners, whose wages had been cut.
   H. Many ordinary people tried to run the country in place of those on strike.
   I. Baldwin gave Churchill the task of issuing a newspaper.
   J. Churchill published the British Gazette for eight days.
   K. Each issue came out with virulent attacks on labor.
   L. When the strike came to an end, Churchill, as Chancellor of the Exchequer, and with the support of the Bank of England, put Britain back on the gold standard.

II. In 1929, the Conservative government yielded to a Labour government.
   A. Ramsey MacDonald was the new Prime Minister.
   B. The stock market crash of 1929 cost Churchill a considerable fortune, threatening his financial security and that of his family.
   C. In 1931, Churchill broke with the leadership of the Conservative Party on the question of ultimate independence for India.
   D. He remained in Parliament, but in British political language he had “entered the wilderness”—he was out of favor with his own party.
   E. Most astute observers believed that Churchill’s political career was finished.

III. The most important figure in Churchill’s life was his wife, Clementine.
   A. Clementine was the granddaughter of the Countess of Airlie.
      1. Her family was highly respectable but not wealthy.
      2. She was educated at the Sorbonne and liberal in her political views.
      3. She was strong willed and shrewd and gave Churchill good advice.
4. Churchill was devoted and faithful to her through fifty-seven years of marriage.

B. Clementine and Winston had four daughters and one son: Diana, Randolph, Sarah, Marigold, and Mary. Marigold died in early childhood.

C. Churchill was a loving and generous father. The children were devoted to him.

IV. In the 1930s, a period Churchill called “the wilderness,” Churchill took refuge in his home at Chartwell, a mansion dating back to 1086.

A. In 1922, the year Churchill’s mother died, Churchill bought a mansion called Chartwell.

B. Chartwell would be Churchill’s home until his death in 1965.
   1. The attention Churchill lavished on Chartwell made it a statement of his own personality.
   2. He lived expansively, if not extravagantly.
   3. Servants were an accepted part of his life.
   4. He ate simple food with vigor.
   5. He enjoyed good wine, liquor, and cigars.

C. He enjoyed extending hospitality, and the celebrities of the day were frequent guests at Chartwell.
   1. Churchill was emboldened, not threatened, by greatness. He surrounded himself with outstanding people, such as Lawrence of Arabia and Charlie Chaplin.
   2. For the same reason, his study was filled with memorabilia of Napoleon.

D. He was a man of enthusiasms, as revealed in his hobbies. Flying, brick laying, pond building, tropical fish, horse racing, and pig farming were among his hobbies at various periods in his life.

V. Churchill’s primary financial support came from his writings.

A. Much of Churchill’s time at Chartwell was spent writing books, articles, and correspondence.

B. By 1940, he had written more than 25 books and over 225 articles. In his lifetime, he wrote 56 books.

C. The quality of his work is demonstrated by the fact that he won the Nobel Prize for Literature in 1953.

D. His literary output was facilitated by the use of research assistants and his practice of composing by dictation.

E. His income from his writings was frequently in excess of a million dollars, reckoned in today’s values.

F. The subjects of his books and articles reveal his multifaceted genius, ranging over politics, history, painting, social issues, hobbies, and many other topics.

G. He wrote five books that would each be a life work for most academic historians today.
   2. The World Crisis, 6 vols. (1923–1931)
   3. Marlborough, His Life and Times, 4 vols. (1933–1938)

VI. Painting was more than a hobby for Churchill; it was a vocation.

A. He took up painting seriously as a stress reliever during World War I.

B. His battlefield sketches during the Boer War were published to illustrate his dispatches.

C. Distinguished art critics admired his paintings, many of which came to be hung in galleries and museums.

D. Churchill became an honorary member of the Royal Academy of Art.

E. At one point in his life, he derived a considerable income from his paintings, which were used as the subjects for Hallmark greeting cards.

F. His favorite subjects were landscapes. The colors he chose were bold and bright.

G. He mostly followed the style of the impressionists.

H. Churchill’s paintings, which number in the hundreds, reflect a profound optimism about life.

Essential Reading:
James, *Churchill*, pp. 150–197.

Winston Churchill, *Painting as a Pastime*.

**Supplementary Reading:**
Ashley, *Churchill as Historian*.
Soames, *Winston and Clementine; Churchill, His Life as a Painter*.

**Questions to Consider:**
1. Do you think a politician’s personal life should have any bearing on his political reputation?
2. Do you think it the test of greatness in a leader that he or she does not feel threatened by greatness in others?
Lecture Eight
The Nazi Menace

Scope: While Churchill was in the wilderness, Adolf Hitler was achieving the pinnacle of power in Germany. While such politicians as Baldwin and Chamberlain focused on winning elections and balancing budgets, Churchill recognized the evil of Hitler and proclaimed it to an apathetic public. During much of the 1930s, Churchill stood almost alone as he urged Britain to resist Nazi aggrandizement and to prepare for war. This lecture examines the political principles that contrasted Churchill and Hitler and made Churchill regard the Nazi menace with such alarm. Both Hitler and Churchill were men of ambition and patriotism. The difference lay in the moral compass that guided Churchill and that was utterly despised by Adolf Hitler.

Outline

I. By 1930, many in British political life and in the press thought Churchill’s political career was finished. Churchill, too, had thoughts along that line. Hitler rejected an opportunity to meet Churchill for the same reason.
   A. In 1930, Churchill published *A Roving Commission: My Early Life*.
      1. He was fifty-six years old, and this memoir of his life before he entered Parliament reads like the reflection of a man looking back over a career that has closed.
      2. In writing of his father in this book, Churchill seems really to be speaking of himself: “It is never possible for a man to recover his lost position. He may recover another position in the fifties and sixties, but not one he lost in the thirties and forties.”
   B. Churchill looked his age and frequently dressed in an old-fashioned style.
   C. He spoke in old-fashioned phrases; he disliked the use of foreign words and anglicized French words.
   D. He wrote in *My Early Life*: “to hold the leadership of a party or a nation with dignity and authority requires that the leader’s qualities and message shall meet not only the need but the mood of both.”

II. The mood of Britain in 1930 was out of step with Churchill, especially with his grave concern over the rise of German power.
   A. Churchill had warned against Germany’s aspirations as early as the 1920s.
   B. But in the aftermath of World War I, Britain did not want to hear about the possibility of another war.
      1. Britain’s victory in the First World War had been bought at a price so high as to be almost indistinguishable from defeat.
      2. The British Empire suffered almost one million dead and over three million total casualties.
      3. There was widespread dissatisfaction over the Versailles Peace treaty that ended World War I.
      4. All levels of British society had a general feeling that World War I had been pointless.
      5. There was also the conviction that technology had made warfare so destructive that the next war would destroy civilization.
      6. Patriotism came to be regarded as a false value. In 1933, students at Oxford, potential leaders of the next generation, took an oath never again to fight for king and country—an action that seemed outrageous to Churchill.
      7. Popular culture hammered home the message of the futility of war.
   C. Another casualty of the First World War was the economic power of Britain. The financial base to be a great power had been eroded by the expense of World War I.
   D. These financial difficulties were enormously increased by the worldwide economic depression of 1929 and the 1930s.
   E. The Great Depression of 1929 struck Britain hard and Churchill was blamed for it, because he had put Britain back on the gold standard.
   F. The British Empire was a further casualty. Instead of being viewed as a source of pride and glory, the Empire was seen as a burden that Britain no longer had the strength to bear.
1. The collapse of confidence in Britain as the bearer of civilization made the idea of “the white man’s burden” laughable.
2. Even the Conservative Party accepted the idea of ultimate independence for India, “the jewel in the crown” of the British Empire.

G. Churchill was an imperialist, whose warnings of a new war with Germany fell on the ears of a public that was afraid to listen.

H. His incisive wit was not appreciated.

I. Mediocre politicians, such as Stanley Baldwin and Neville Chamberlain, reflected the mood of Britain in the years between World War I and World War II.

III. While Churchill was at the nadir of his political influence, Adolf Hitler was rising to the apex of power in Germany.

A. The background of Hitler was very different from that of Churchill.

B. The similarities between the two men are superficial; the differences, fundamental.

C. Above all, Churchill was guided by a moral compass. He spoke to all that is best in men and women, while Hitler spoke to all that is evil.

D. From the beginning of the rise of Hitler, Churchill recognized him as evil.

E. He read Hitler’s book, Mein Kampf, as soon as it was translated and realized that Hitler’s ideology and political aims, which are openly revealed in the book, posed a serious threat to the world.

F. One of Hitler’s first actions was to strip the rights of German Jews.

G. Churchill sought to warn Britain at each critical step in Hitler’s plans of European domination, but the British government leaders claimed that Britain should not interfere in another country’s internal affairs.

H. Later, Baldwin admitted that he had chosen not to meet the threat of Hitler with firmness for fear of losing the election.

I. The first test case came in 1936 when Germany remilitarized the Rhineland, in violation of the Versailles Treaty. The allies did not respond.

J. Baldwin and Chamberlain spoke of a policy of appeasement.

K. Meanwhile, Churchill was being provided, at great risk, with confidential information about the size of the British military establishment. The figures were irrefutable that the German airforce was far larger than the British airforce. Yet Baldwin did nothing.

L. Also in 1936, Churchill’s sense of personal loyalty led him to support the hopeless cause of Edward VIII in the crisis over his marriage to the American Wallis Simpson. For reasons that seem hard to understand today, this dealt a staggering blow to Churchill’s political reputation.

M. In March 1938, Germany annexed Austria. Churchill was prevented from protesting the move in a newspaper column by Lord Beaverbrook, the newspaper magnate, and the British Broadcasting Corporation would not allow him to broadcast his views.

N. In September 1938, Britain and France agreed to Hitler’s annexation of the Sudentenland in Czechoslovakia at the Munich Agreement. Chamberlain (who succeeded Baldwin as Prime Minister in 1937) proclaimed “peace in our time.”

O. Churchill accused the leadership in Parliament of betraying Czechoslovakia and warned that Britain would not escape suffering herself from Hitler’s ambitions unless she regained her moral vigor and rearmed.

Essential Reading:
Supplementary Reading:
Bullock, *Hitler*.
Charmley, *Churchill*, pp. 2–337.

Questions to Consider:
1. Do you blame such leaders as Stanley Baldwin and Neville Chamberlain for caring more about balanced budgets and social welfare programs than for military preparedness? After all, should leaders not reflect the will of the voters?
2. Would you agree with some recent historians that Churchill’s career until 1940 was “a study in failure”?
Lecture Nine
Rallying the Nation

Scope: Churchill’s prophecies proved true, and in 1939, Britain and France were found utterly unprepared for the total war waged by the seemingly invincible Nazi war machine. Leaders of the British government, including King George, thought the only hope for Britain lay in a negotiated peace with Germany. Such a desertion of the cause of freedom was unthinkable to Churchill. Assuming the prime ministership, Churchill felt that his whole past life “had been but a preparation for this hour and this trial.” The fall of France marked the beginning of the Battle of Britain, ten months of incessant bombing in which Hitler and his Luftwaffe sought to break the will of the British people. Our lecture follows Churchill as he leads the British in “their finest hour.”

Outline

I. The policies of Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain (1869–1940) had left Britain unprepared for war with Germany.
   A. In March 1939, Hitler broke promises he had made at the conference in Munich and seized the rest of Czechoslovakia.
   B. This blatant treachery finally began to shift the mood in Parliament.
   C. Churchill had urged an alliance with the Soviet Union, but Chamberlain rejected this idea and pushed Britain into an alliance with Poland.
   D. Stalin then turned where he could and made a fateful alliance with Hitler.
   E. This action opened the way for Hitler’s invasion of Poland in September 1939.
   F. Britain and France declared war on Germany.
   G. Demands to bring Churchill back into the government grew, and Chamberlain made Churchill First Lord of the Admiralty.
   H. In the meantime, Britain and France did nothing to defend Poland, which lost millions under Nazi tyranny in the years to come. Hitler was now convinced that Britain and France would not oppose him.

II. On April 9, 1940, the Germans opened their offensive with the invasion of Denmark and Norway. Barely two months later, on June 14, German troops were marching down the streets of Paris.
   A. The German offensive that began on May 10, 1940, against Belgium, the Netherlands, and France precipitated a crisis in the British government.
   B. Neville Chamberlain was forced to resign.
   C. There was deep pessimism at the very top of the British government.
      1. The Foreign Secretary, Lord Halifax, and King George VI were convinced that Britain could not win the war against Germany. David Lloyd George, who had been Prime Minister during World War I, believed the same thing. Other leading figures, such as the press baron Lord Beaverbrook, shared this view.
      2. They believed Britain must make a negotiated peace with Germany. Germany would dominate the continent of Europe. Britain would retain its Empire.
      3. Hitler was in favor of such a treaty.
   D. Churchill’s record of warning against German aggression made him the obvious choice to become the new Prime Minister, but many leaders distrusted him.
   E. However, the canny Lord Halifax urged Churchill’s appointment as Prime Minister. The idea was that Churchill would be forced to sign the peace treaty with Germany, be tarnished by this action, and be forced to step down. Then Halifax would become Prime Minister.
   F. Churchill accepted the challenge, and on May 10, 1940, became Prime Minister.
      1. He formed a coalition government, including representatives of all major parties, Labour, Liberal, and Conservative.
2. Churchill also assumed the position of Minister for Defence. The combined offices of Prime Minister and Minister for Defence enabled him to coordinate both the political and military efforts.

3. He called for victory; anything less, he warned, would spell the end of the British Empire.

III. The surrender of the King of the Belgians left a large number of British and French troops cut off at Dunkirk.
   A. The evacuation of 336,000 French and British troops (May 26–June 3, 1940) bolstered British morale.
   B. Hitler’s failure to send his armored forces to destroy the British and French troops was the first of those mistakes that would ultimately lose the war.

IV. The strategic disaster caused by the collapse of France was equaled by its impact on British morale.
   A. News of the imminent collapse of France shattered British morale.
   B. Lord Halifax insisted that Britain make a negotiated peace with Hitler; he wanted to give Mussolini strategic gains in the Mediterranean in return for Mussolini’s intervention with Hitler on behalf of Britain.
   C. The Labour Party disagreed and backed Churchill.
   D. Churchill made it clear that he had no intention of negotiating peace.
   E. On June 4, 1940, Churchill delivered to Parliament his famous speech proclaiming, “We shall never surrender.”
   F. Churchill would later modestly say that it was just his job to “give the roar to the British lion.”

V. With the fall of France, the Battle of Britain began.
   A. From mid-June 1940 to mid-May 1941, the Germans bombed Britain in an effort to establish air superiority, break the will of the British people, and force a negotiated peace.
   B. The destruction was massive.
   C. Churchill watched the bombers coming in, refusing to stay in his bunker. Every day he walked the streets of London or visited other bombed cities, giving the “V” sign of victory and words of encouragement to the people who were suffering.
   D. On August 16, during the heaviest onslaught up to that point of German aircraft attacks, Churchill was at fighter headquarters. Moved by the undaunted efforts and courage of the airforce, he uttered the legendary words: “Never before in the course of human conflict have so many owed so much to so few.”

Essential Reading:

Supplementary Reading:
Winston Churchill, *Second World War*, volume II.
Berlin, *Churchill in 1940*.
Luckas, *Five Days in London*.
Hough and Richards, *Battle of Britain*.

Questions to Consider:
1. Why do you think France surrendered and Britain fought on?
2. What does the Battle of Britain tell us about the effectiveness of strategic bombing?
Lecture Ten
The Tide of War Turns

Scope: In a war of powerful leaders, Roosevelt, Stalin, and Hitler, Churchill proved to be the supreme strategist. The Cabinet War Rooms in London still evoke the memory of Churchill as a wartime leader. Our lecture analyzes the skills that made Churchill so successful: his own military experience and personal courage, his creative power and innovative intellect, and his conviction of the justness of his cause. Unlike both Stalin and Hitler, he did not feel threatened by excellence, and he surrounded himself with men of superior ability and character. The Battle of the Atlantic, the German invasion of the Soviet Union, America’s entry into the war, and the campaign in the Western Desert leading up to El Alamein were all tests of Churchill’s abilities as a wartime leader.

Outline

I. Churchill rallied his compatriots with powerful rhetoric, which some have criticized as old-fashioned. But the concepts of valor, honor, and freedom that he spoke about never become old-fashioned. Churchill also understood how to use power, and he established an organization to conduct the war that was far superior to that of Hitler.
   A. Hitler had a chaotic system, playing one party against another, making major decision without consulting his ministers. This was far from Churchill’s method.
   B. Churchill was Minister for Defence as well as Prime Minister. After October 1940, he was head of the Conservative Party and leader of the House of Commons.
   C. Throughout the critical years of the war, he had the full support of the Parliament, resting on the support he enjoyed with the British public.
   D. The three major parties agreed on an electoral truce for the duration of the war. The general election scheduled for 1940 was postponed and did not occur until 1945.
   E. Churchill put in place a well-organized and efficient structure for waging the war.
      1. His Cabinet was a coalition of members from all three parties, Conservative, Liberal, and Labour.
      2. Churchill’s deputy was the Labour Party leader Clement Attlee.
      3. The War Cabinet was composed of some six to eight members, who concentrated on strategy and other questions related to directing the war effort. These included Cabinet members in charge of foreign affairs, budget, and labor.

II. In the summer of 1940, a German invasion of Britain seemed a very real possibility.
    A. Hitler was planning just such an invasion—Operation Sea Lion.
    B. Much of Britain’s artillery had been left at Dunkirk.
    C. From the outset, Churchill understood the significance of the absence of a German fleet.
    D. He also knew he had to stop the German airforce.
    E. The British were aided all through the war by Ultra—the decoding of the German ciphers.
    F. The origins of Ultra lay with Polish mathematicians, who passed their knowledge on to the French and British. By the summer of 1940, the British were reading German codes.
    G. Thus, the British were able to determine that the German planes were sighting British targets by means of radio beams and were able to jam the beams.
    H. They also learned about Hitler’s invasion plans and his naval strength.
    I. In the same way, they later learned that he had changed his plan and was focusing on Russia.

III. In the summer and fall of 1940 and throughout 1941–1942, Britain had to focus as well on Egypt and the danger that the pro-German Italians would try to capture the Suez Canal.
    A. The knowledge that Hitler had called off his plan to invade Britain, gained through Ultra, was crucial to Churchill’s decision to send reinforcements to Egypt.
B. Churchill found an outstanding general in Bernard Montgomery, who defeated General Erwin Rommel and the Afrika Korps at El Alamein in the fall of 1942.

IV. In 1940, Churchill’s role as war leader also focused on bringing the United States into the war as the only possible salvation for Britain.
   A. Churchill carefully developed ties with President Franklin Roosevelt that, in 1940–1941, made the United States into a military partner of Britain and made it possible for Roosevelt to direct the major effort of the United States against Germany, rather than Japan.
   B. Similarities in background and experience enhanced the personal relationship between Churchill and Roosevelt, “the best friend Britain ever had.”
   C. Hundreds of letters passed between the two men.
   D. The United States was reluctant to get into the war, remembering all its debtors from World War I, including Britain, which owed the United States a great deal of money.
   E. Churchill, however, was determined to obtain aid from the United States, even turning over British accounts to American inspection.
   F. He finally succeeded, and in the spring of 1941, the American lend-lease program began, which would finance the much-needed development of British military equipment.

V. On December 7, 1941, the Japanese attacked Pearl Harbor. Three days later, Hitler declared war on the United States.
   A. Hitler’s gratuitous declaration of war against the United States on December 10, 1941, was a mistake as serious as his invasion of the Soviet Union.
   B. With America’s entry into the war, Churchill could believe that ultimate victory was certain.

VI. The German invasion of the Soviet Union, Germany’s former ally, began on June 22, 1941. It was a mistake from which Hitler never recovered.
   A. Making use of Ultra, Churchill had warned Stalin of Hitler’s intentions.
   B. Despite his long opposition to communism, Churchill turned with intelligent alacrity to supporting the Soviet Union in every way possible in its struggle with Germany.

VII. The Americans, under General Marshall, wanted to attack the Germans directly in Europe. Churchill was dubious of a quick success in “fortress” Europe.
   A. As in World War I, Churchill was a proponent of peripheral campaigns.
   B. North Africa presented the one area in which a successful campaign against the Axis powers was possible for the British.
   C. The Americans argued strongly against it; Marshall thought Churchill’s plan was redolent of the Dardanelles.
   D. But on November 8, 1942, Operation Torch began in Morocco and Algeria.
   E. The North African campaign was a major tactical and strategic success.
   F. The German and Italian forces were caught between the Allied army in the west and the British army under Montgomery in the east.
   G. The victory at El Alamein coincided with the Allied landings.
   H. The Axis armies in North Africa were annihilated. By May 13, 1943, more than 250,000 troops had surrendered. The Allies suffered 76,000 casualties.

VIII. At the Casablanca Conference from January 14–24, 1943, Churchill won over the Americans to his plan for an invasion of Sicily to follow the North African campaign.
   A. On August 16, the American forces entered Messina and the conquest of Sicily was complete.
   B. The Allied invasion of Sicily led, on July 25, 1943, to Mussolini’s fall from power and kept German troops tied down in Italy.
   C. This was Britain’s high point of strategic influence in the war.
IX. The ever-growing might of the United States, the fact that Britain had become a debtor nation to the United States, and the growing strength of the Soviet Union all reduced Britain to a third partner in the alliance.

A. Churchill believed, as Marlborough had, in personal diplomacy. In the course of the war, he made trip after trip to talk with Allied leaders.

B. By the end of 1944, Churchill began to think that the defeat of Germany could bring forth an even greater threat of tyranny—from the Soviet Union.

C. At Yalta, with Roosevelt and Stalin, he little knew that, in a few months, all his power and offices would be stripped from him.

Essential Reading:

Supplementary Reading:
Lewin, *Churchill as Warlord*.
Lamb, *Churchill as War Leader*.
Hamilton, *Monty*.

Questions to Consider:
1. Do you agree that Churchill’s vast experience in naval matters was a critical factor in his success as a wartime leader?
2. Why do you think Hitler invaded the Soviet Union? Was it the decisive event in World War II?
Lecture Eleven
Champion of Freedom

Scope: Churchill was determined that the victory of freedom in World War II should not be squandered as it had been after World War I. Throughout his political life, Churchill despised socialism and communism, resting as they do on the denial of one of the most basic of human rights: the right to property. Believing as he did in absolute right and wrong, Churchill thought it wrong to replace the tyranny of Hitler with the tyranny of Stalin in central Europe. At home, he sought to convince the British people of the dichotomy between socialism and their tradition of liberty. In the moment of victory in 1945, the British people chose not to elect Churchill. At the age of seventy, Churchill found himself again in the political wilderness, as Britain went down the road of socialism and began to dismantle its Empire. In his speech in Fulton, Missouri, in 1946, Churchill warned of an “Iron Curtain” falling across Eastern Europe. Like much else in his life, Churchill’s speech was controversial. However, like much else as well, it was prophetic. The expansionistic policies of the Soviet Union led to his reelection as Prime Minister in 1951. For four years, he worked to establish the closest possible ties between Britain and the United States, the two great bastions of freedom. His last nine years saw him decline in health but never in his commitment to the principles he lived. As he told the boys of Harrow, his old school, “Never give up, never, never, never.”

Outline

I. Of the key figures of World War II, none had the military experience of Churchill, who also had a greater knowledge of history. Too, Churchill had a sense of foresight that was not shared by the other leaders.
   A. He became increasingly worried in 1943 and 1944 that the follies of World War I would be repeated.
   B. He was skeptical of the planned Normandy invasion because of his horror of massive loss of life.
   C. The powerful fortifications that the Germans had erected along the French coast reminded Churchill of the casualties incurred by the British and French by such frontal assaults in World War I.
   D. As he wrote, history can be an impediment, as well as an aid, to making decisions in the present.
   E. He believed that man was unteachable, although he himself sought to teach, as he tried to warn Roosevelt against Stalin and the Soviets.
   F. When the decision to invade Normandy was made, however, Churchill gave the operation his full support.

II. At Yalta in 1945, Churchill understood clearly that he was the junior partner in the coalition.
   A. Decisions were discussed by Stalin and Roosevelt as though he were not present. Although they had helped develop the atomic bomb, the British were not consulted when the Americans dropped the bomb.
   B. At Yalta, Churchill tried to make Roosevelt understand the danger represented by the Soviet Union.
   C. Roosevelt and the Americans were unwilling to challenge the Russian takeover of Poland. Churchill fought unsuccessfully to have the exiled Polish government play a role in post-war Poland, and Britain did not have the power to enforce his wishes.

III. In the midst of the Potsdam Conference, in July 1945, Churchill lost the British general election and ceased to be Prime Minister.
   A. In May 1945, the Labour Party held its annual convention and announced that it wanted an election. Churchill agreed.
   B. The war with Japan was still raging when the elections were called.
      1. No general election had been held during the war, and the Labour Party was insistent on holding an election as soon as possible
      2. The election was held on July 5, 1945.
   C. Under the British system, the voters do not directly elect the Prime Minister. They elect the members of Parliament. The party that wins the largest number of seats in Parliament then chooses the Prime Minister.
   D. The British voters wanted a change: “Cheer for Churchill, vote for Labour” was the slogan of the day.
1. The Conservative Party was still discredited by the bungling policies of Neville Chamberlain that had led Britain into the war.
2. The voters wanted the broad program of social and economic reform associated with the socialism of the Labour Party.
3. Churchill ran a poor campaign, largely a negative attack on socialism.
4. Churchill had strong opposition from the labor unions.
5. Many ordinary British voters disliked Churchill for what they saw as his anti-labor stance and other past mistakes. For many, his support during the war rested on the belief that he alone was strong enough and determined enough to see Britain through the crisis. But, as the voters saw it, the war was now over.

E. The result, announced on July 26, was a landslide. That same day, Churchill resigned.
F. It was a crushing blow to Churchill. Ironically, there was much in the Labour plan of which he approved.

IV. From 1945 to 1951, Churchill remained in Parliament.
A. He worked on his history, *The Second World War*, in effect, his memoirs.
B. He painted.
C. He brooded over the dangers of the atomic bomb.
D. He sought to warn the free world of the Soviet menace.
E. His Iron Curtain speech at Fulton, Missouri, in March 1946 expressed this warning in its most dramatic form.
   1. As in the 1930s, many political leaders and the press attacked him for his alarmist and warmongering views.
   2. President Truman disavowed the speech.
F. In 1947, at the University of Zurich, he gave a speech proposing a United States of Europe, all of which would work together for harmony and peace. It would take more than fifty years for his vision to work out. Already in his speech at Fulton, Missouri, he had asked Americans to form a fraternal alliance with Britain.

V. Growing concerns over Soviet expansion and worries about a third world war led to a change in the British voters. In 1951, the Conservative Party won a slight majority, and Churchill returned to serve as Prime Minister from 1951–1955.
A. As Prime Minister for a second time, Churchill worked for European unity and for closer ties with the United States.
B. But he understood that although Britain and the United States might have the same ideals, they did not share all the same interests.
C. President Dwight Eisenhower and his administration were opposed to the continuation of the British Empire.
D. In fact, the British Empire was coming to an end.
E. Churchill feared that bloodshed on a large scale would be the result of granting India her independence; he believed that the British Empire was a moral force.
F. But when India’s independence became a reality, Churchill offered to do everything he could to help it.
G. He wanted Britain to use its moral authority for détente between the Soviet Union and the United States, and after Stalin’s death, he worked tirelessly to convince President Eisenhower to begin the process of détente. But it never came about.
H. Churchill stepped down on April 5, 1955. His last words to his ministers were “never be separated from the Americans.”
Essential Reading:

Supplementary Reading:
Muller, *Churchill’s Iron Curtain Speech*.
Young, *Churchill’s Last Campaign*.
Carlton, *Churchill and the Soviet Union*.

Questions to Consider:
1. Would you have voted for Churchill in 1945?
2. Did Churchill exaggerate the Soviet menace?
Lecture Twelve
The Legacy of Churchill

Scope: Unlike some recent American politicians, Churchill was not obsessed with his historical legacy. He was content to know that he had done his best. At Churchill’s death, Clement Attlee, the socialist who succeeded Churchill as Prime Minister in 1945, called him “the greatest Englishman of our time—I think the greatest citizen of the world of our time.” However, in death as in life, Churchill has his critics. Churchill’s greatness lay ultimately in his political principles. What did Churchill understand by liberty and democracy? What role did he see for government in securing individual and political freedom? How did Churchill reconcile his love of liberty with his belief in the British Empire and his view of the beneficent influence of British imperialism? What were the sources of these political principles, and where does he stand in the great liberal tradition, reaching back to Magna Carta and classical antiquity? How did he unswervingly uphold these principles over a political life of more than fifty tumultuous years?

Outline

I. As Prime Minister from 1951–1955, Churchill had worked for détente and carried a bold vision for a united Europe. He understood that the British people wanted their cradle-to-grave welfare state. He had never been opposed to many of the welfare benefits they desired.
   A. His last years saw growing honors and failing health.
   B. In 1953, he received the Nobel Prize for Literature.
   C. Also in 1953, he finally agreed to his monarch’s wish that he be knighted and, thus, became Sir Winston Churchill.
   D. He remained a member of Parliament until 1964, when he was eighty-nine years old.
   E. He continued to paint and remained interested in his hobbies, including horse racing, tropical fish, and pigs.
   F. He traveled frequently.
   G. His History of the Second World War brought him a fortune and the Nobel Prize.
   H. His History of the English-Speaking Peoples was equally successful.
   I. Personal tragedy struck him in 1963 when his daughter Diana died.
   J. He was very supportive of his children, especially of his son, Randolph.
   K. He was not worried about his legacy but was content that he had done his best.

II. Churchill’s political philosophy was rooted in the ideal of freedom.
   A. The source for Churchill’s ideals was the great tradition of English liberty, stretching back to Magna Carta and beyond. He defined freedom in concrete terms.
      1. Does a people have the right to criticize its government, and can it change a government whenever it wishes?
      2. Are the courts and legal system fair and open, and do the poor have the same right as the rich to a fair court trial?
      3. Does the ordinary citizen have the right to live without fear of arbitrary arrest?
   B. Churchill agreed with Franklin Roosevelt that true liberty was “freedom to worship, freedom to speak, freedom from fear, and freedom from want.”
   C. He saw World War I as a great struggle for individual liberty
   D. For Churchill, society must have economic opportunity and free trade, but with these, there must be security for individuals from the loss of a job, from an old age without funds, from sickness without medical care.
   E. He believed that parliamentary democracy was the true guardian of individual liberty.
   F. Churchill was, at heart, a profound democrat.
G. How can his imperialism be accommodated to his belief in democracy?
   1. For Churchill, the British Empire supported individual liberty. He did not believe that national
      independence and freedom were the same thing. He did not see freedom in turning over a country to a
      small clique of its own that would rule in absolute tyranny over others.
   2. He believed that for every freedom, there was also a responsibility.
   3. For Churchill, British law and administration offered protection to the many minorities in India, and
      the British tradition of liberty under law offered the best guidance for the future development of India.

H. He was a Zionist from his earliest days in Parliament.

I. He believed that a politician and a statesman must set priorities.

J. Although he understood the horrors of war, he also understood that there were times when war had to be
   fought; some ideologies existed that only recognized strength.

K. He believed that negotiation must always come from a position of strength (both military might and moral
   authority).

III. Churchill never lacked for critics in his own day, and historians have never left him alone. Churchill is still
     controversial.

A. Some biographers and historians praise Churchill as the greatest individual of the twentieth century, who
   saved freedom. Others regard him as a failure and the foe of liberty.

B. In 1966, the distinguished British historian A. J. P. Taylor published a collection of essays on Churchill,
   Churchill Revised: A Critical Assessment. It includes essays by Basil Liddell Hart, who regarded Churchill
   as a failed statesman and strategist.

C. Robert Rhodes James, in his 1970 biography, Churchill: A Study in Failure, 1900–1939, and John
   Charmley, in his 1993 biography, Churchill: The End of Glory, both attack Churchill as a failure in almost
   everything he did.

D. For Charmley, Taylor, and others, the essence of Churchill’s failure lies in the fact that World War II
   destroyed Britain’s power.
   1. In their eyes, Churchill had wanted to make Britain great, but in the end, Britain was a third-rate power
      indebted to the United States.
   2. They find Churchill outwitted by Roosevelt.
   3. They believe that the demands Churchill made on Britain’s resources crippled the country.
   4. They also focus on the fact that he left power at the time of the Dardanelles, was out of power again
      during the 1930s, and that his second term of office as Prime Minister achieved almost nothing—all
      the result of personal flaws in Churchill, including his impetuosity and his inability to judge the public
      mood.

E. But Churchill did not define World War II as a struggle to make Britain great. His goal was not to expand
   the British Empire; it was, as he himself said repeatedly, a war for freedom.

F. In 1947, Churchill dreamed of seeing Europe restored to a position of power. Today, the European Union
   fulfills that dream, with its intellect and its resources, all proceeding under peace, individual liberty, and
   parliamentary democracy, and Britain is an integral part of that Europe.

G. Churchill strove for that kind of freedom, where the individual is better off than before. He rallied Britain
   to stand alone at a time when totalitarianism was rampant from Spain to Russia.

H. Shortly before his death, Churchill’s daughter Mary wrote him: “In addition to the feeling a daughter has
   for a loving generous father, I owe you what every Englishman, woman, and child does, liberty itself.

IV. On January 10, 1965, Churchill suffered a massive stroke. Two weeks later he was dead.
    A. He received a state funeral at St. Paul’s Cathedral; 300,000 people visited his coffin.
    B. As his body was taken down the River Thames to the gravesite, workmen along the river raised their
       cranes in solitary salute.
    C. He was buried in the family cemetery at Bladon, near Blenheim Palace.

Essential Reading:
Taylor, *Churchill Revised.*
Blake and Louis, *Churchill.*
Gilbert, *Churchill’s Political Philosophy.*

**Supplementary Reading:**
Rasor, *Churchill: Comprehensive Bibliography.*
Barrett, *Churchill: Concise Bibliography.*

**Questions to Consider:**
1. Consider Churchill’s definition of a tyrant: A tyrant is one who places his own ideas and desires above the good of ordinary people. Why were he and Roosevelt fundamentally different from Stalin and Hitler?
2. How near are we now to Churchill’s vision of the world?
Excerpts from Churchill’s Speeches

Lecture One
From a Speech to the House of Commons, June 4, 1940

Even though large tracts of Europe and many old and famous States have fallen or may fall into the grip of the Gestapo and all the odious apparatus of Nazi rule, we shall not flag or fail. 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 in the landing grounds, we shall fight in the fields and in the streets, we shall fight in the hills; we shall never surrender and even if, which I do not for a moment believe, this island or a large part of it were subjugated and starving, then our Empire beyond the seas, armed and guarded by the British Fleet, would carry on the struggle, until in God’s good time, the new world, with all its power and might, steps forth to the rescue and the liberation of the old.

Lecture Eight
From a Speech to the House of Commons, October 5, 1938

I do not begrudge our loyal, brave people, who were ready to do their duty no matter what the cost, who never flinched under the strain of last week—I do not grudge them the natural, spontaneous outburst of joy and relief when they learned that the hard ordeal would no longer be required of them at the moment; but they should know the truth. They should know that there has been gross neglect and deficiency in our defences; they should know that we have sustained a defeat without a war, the consequences of which will travel far with us along our road; they should know that we have passed an awful milestone in our history, when the whole equilibrium of Europe has been deranged, and that the terrible words have for the time being been pronounced against the Western democracies: “Thou art weighed in the balance and found wanting.” And 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 unless by a supreme recovery of moral health and martial vigour, we arise again and take our stand for freedom as in the olden time.

Lecture Nine
From a Speech to the House of Commons, May 13, 1940

I would say to the House, as I said to those who have joined the Government: “I have nothing to offer but blood, toil, tears and sweat.”

We have before us an ordeal of the most grievous kind. We have before us many, many long months of struggle and of suffering. You ask, what is our policy? I will say: It is to wage war, by sea, land and air, with all our might and with all the strength that God can give us: to wage war against a monstrous tyranny, never surpassed in the dark, lamentable catalogue of human crime. That is our policy. You ask, What is our aim? I can answer in one word: Victory—victory at all costs, victory in spite of all terror, victory, however long and hard the road may be; for without victory, there is no survival. Let that be realized; no survival for the British Empire; no survival for all that the British Empire has stood for, no survival for the urge and impulse of the ages, that mankind will move forward towards its goal. But I take up my task with buoyancy and hope. I feel sure that our cause will not be suffered to fail among men. At this time I feel entitled to claim the aid of all, and I say, “Come, then, let us go forward together with our united strength.”

Lecture Ten
From a Speech to the House of Commons, June 18, 1940

What General Weygand called the Battle of France is over. I expect that the Battle of Britain is about to begin. Upon this battle depends the survival of Christian civilization. Upon it depends our own British life, and the long continuity of our institutions and our Empire. The whole fury and might of the enemy must very soon be turned on us. Hitler knows that he will have to break us in this island or lose the war. If we can stand up to him, all Europe may be free and the life of the world may move forward into broad, sunlit uplands. But if we fail, then the whole world, including the United States, including all that we have known and cared for, will sink into the abyss of a new Dark Age made more sinister, and perhaps more protracted, by the lights of perverted science. Let us therefore brace ourselves to our duties and so bear ourselves that, if the British Empire and its Commonwealth last for a thousand years, men will still say, “This was their finest hour.”
Lecture Twelve
From the Iron Curtain Speech at Fulton, Missouri, March 5, 1946

But we must never cease to proclaim in fearless tones the great principles of freedom and the rights of man which are the joint inheritance of the English-speaking world and which through Magna Carta, the Bill of Rights, the Habeas Corpus, trial by jury, and the English common law find their most famous expression in the American Declaration of Independence.

All this means that 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 part, should administer laws which have received the broad assent of large majorities or are consecrated by time and custom. Here are the title deeds of freedom which should lie in every cottage home. Here is the message of the British and American peoples to mankind. Let us preach what we practice—let us practice what we preach.
Maps

British Mandate in Palestine, 1923

Division of Ireland after Treaty of December 6, 1921
Timeline

1650–1722................................. John Churchill, First Duke of Marlborough
1849–1895................................. Lord Randolph Churchill
November 30, 1874...................... Birth of Winston Churchill
1874................................. Randolph Churchill entered Parliament
1886................................. Randolph Churchill Chancellor of the Exchequer and Leader of House of Commons; resigned as Chancellor of Exchequer; beginning of his political and physical decline
1888................................. Churchill enrolled in Harrow for secondary school education
1893–1894................................. Received military education at Royal Military College, Sandhurst
1895................................. Visited America and began his career as a journalist and war correspondent in Cuba
1896................................. Posted to India as subaltern (lieutenant) in Fourth Hussars
1897................................. In action against Afghan tribesmen on northwest frontier of India.
1898................................. Published his first book, *The Story of the Malakand Field Force*, and took part in the Battle of Omdurman in the Sudan
1899................................. Lost his first attempt at election to Parliament; published his second book, *The River War*; participated in the Boer War and was taken prisoner; his escape made him a national hero
1900................................. Elected to Parliament as a member of the Conservative Party
1904................................. Joined the Liberal Party
1905................................. Appointed Under Secretary for Colonial Affairs, his first government post
1906................................. Published biography of Lord Randolph Churchill
1908................................. Married Clementine Hozier and appointed President of the Board of Trade, making him a member of the Cabinet
1910................................. Appointed Home Secretary; acted decisively to put down riots by striking miners but refused to use army troops to do so
1911................................. Appointed First Lord of the Admiralty
1914–1918................................. World War I
1915................................. Churchill was the driving force behind development of the tank and the Dardanelles campaign; resigned as First Lord of the Admiralty
1916................................. As colonel, commanded Sixth Royal Scots Fusiliers in action on western front
1917................................. Cleared by Dardanelles Commission investigation; received position in the government as Minister of Munitions
1919................................. Appointed Secretary of State for War; urged armed intervention against Bolsheviks
1921................................. Appointed Colonial Secretary; supported creation of Jewish homeland; played major role in negotiations that led ultimately to establishment of the Republic of Ireland
1922................................. Mussolini seized power in Italy.
1922.................................Churchill bought country home, Chartwell
1922–1924............................Defeated in three straight elections; out of Parliament
1923–1931............................Published The World Crisis, his five-volume memoirs of World War I
1924.................................Elected to Parliament from town of Epping, supported by Conservative Party; held this seat in Parliament for the rest of his career, until 1964; appointed Chancellor of the Exchequer (Secretary of the Treasury)
1925.................................Rejoined the Conservative Party; as Chancellor of the Exchequer, returned Britain to the gold standard
1926.................................Decisive action during general strike further embittered Churchill’s relations with labor unions
1929.................................Conservative Party lost election; Churchill out of office but remained in Parliament; lost fortune in stock market crash
1930.................................Published his autobiography, My Early Life
1931–1939............................In the political wilderness, in Parliament but out of favor with his Conservative Party
1936.................................Germany remilitarized the Rhineland.
1938.................................Germany annexed Austria; Munich Conference and British and French betrayal of Czechoslovakia; Neville Chamberlain promised British “peace in our time”
1939.................................German invasion of Poland; Churchill appointed First Lord of the Admiralty
1940.................................Churchill appointed Prime Minister; fall of France; Battle of Britain
1941.................................Germany invaded the Soviet Union; United States entered the war
1942.................................Japanese captured Singapore; Battle of Stalingrad; British victory at El Alamein; Allied invasion of North Africa
1943.................................Allied conquest of Sicily; fall of Mussolini; Italy signed armistice with Allies; conference at Teheran
1944.................................Normandy invasion
1945.................................Conference at Yalta; suicide of Hitler; Germany surrendered; conference at Potsdam; Churchill and Conservative Party defeated in election; Japan surrendered
1946.................................Churchill made Iron Curtain speech at Fulton, Missouri; promoted idea of European unity.
1948–1954............................Published six-volume memoirs, The Second World War
1951–1955............................Served second term as Prime Minister
1953.................................Received the Nobel Prize for Literature and made a Knight of the Garter; henceforth, he was Sir Winston Churchill
1956–1958............................Published his History of the English-Speaking Peoples
1963.................................Was made the first honorary citizen of the United States
1964.................................Ended his parliamentary career by refusing to stand for reelection
January 24, 1965.......................... Churchill died
Glossary

Admiralty, First Lord of: As First Lord of the Admiralty from 1911 to 1915 and again from 1939 to 1940, Churchill was in charge of the maintenance and administration of the British navy and of policies regarding the navy and the British Empire by sea.

Blenheim Palace: Palatial residence built (1704–1722) at public expense by Queen Anne and Parliament as home for John Churchill, First Duke of Marlborough. It is still the home of the Dukes of Marlborough.

Board of Trade: A department of the British government charged with advising the government on commercial policy. As President of the Board of Trade in 1908, Churchill became a member of the Cabinet.

Boer or South African War: Bloody struggle (1899–1902) for independence from Britain by Boers or Afrikaners (descendants of Dutch settlers). The British won, but the Afrikaners achieved many of their goals in the resulting settlement, in which Churchill played a significant role.

British Empire: When Churchill entered Parliament in 1900, Britain, a nation the size of Colorado, ruled an empire on which the sun never set, stretching from the Arctic Circle to New Zealand and from Ireland to Fiji, and including India and a good portion of Africa.

Chancellor of the Exchequer: In charge of the treasury and budget, the Chancellor of the Exchequer is second in importance to the Prime Minister. The position is frequently regarded as a stepping stone to becoming Prime Minister. When Churchill presented his budget to Parliament in 1929, he was one of the longest serving Chancellors of the Exchequer in British history. The others all became Prime Minister, as did Churchill: Walpole, Peel, Pitt, and Gladstone.

Chartwell: Churchill’s country home from 1922 to 1965. See Lecture Four.

Colonial Secretary: This office dealt with matters relating to British dependent territories. As Undersecretary of State for the Colonies from 1905 to 1908, Churchill was involved in the settlement of issues in South Africa. As Colonial Secretary from 1921 to 1922, Churchill played a prominent role in questions of the Middle East and Ireland.

Conservative Party: The Conservative Party is the descendant of the Tory Party of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. It stood originally for the monarch against Parliament. By 1830, the term Conservative Party came into general use, although it has never entirely replaced Tory. Disraeli (1804–1881) was the Conservative counterpart to Gladstone. The Conservatives supported British imperialism. Conservative opposition to Home Rule for Ireland led to an influx of supporters from the Liberal Party (the Unionists) after 1886. The Conservatives supported social legislation in the later part of the nineteenth century and into the twentieth. The Conservatives also supported tariffs, which led Churchill to leave the Conservative Party in 1904. See also Lecture Three.

Dardanelles Campaign: See Lecture Three.

Dominions: At the outbreak of World War II, Australia, Canada, New Zealand, and South Africa were independent nations. Their dominion status lay in the fact that they had the same monarch as Britain.

Harrow School: One of England’s leading “public schools.” These are, in effect, private prep schools. Founded in 1571, Harrow counts among its graduates many famous political and literary figures. In Churchill’s day, Harrow ranked second perhaps only to Eton in prestige.

Home Secretary: When Churchill was Home Secretary from 1910 to 1911, he was the primary constitutional link between the king and the king’s subjects living in Britain. In effect, the Home Secretary was in charge of law enforcement, prisons, pardons, labor, the care of foster children, censorship, and a further wide range of matters.

India: When Churchill entered Parliament in 1900, India was “the jewel in the crown of the British Empire.” The king was emperor of India. India had its own army and civil service. The viceroy of India had more power than most European monarchs. World War I profoundly shook British power in India. By 1935, India was on its way to independence. Independence was achieved in 1947 but at the cost of division into India and Pakistan. Churchill was a staunch opponent of Indian independence.
**Ireland:** Until 1921, Ireland was part of Britain. As a result of negotiations in which Churchill played a major role, the Irish Free State was established as one of the British Dominions, like Canada. Only in 1949 did the Republic of Ireland come into existence as a completely independent nation, without any ties to Britain. This included only the southern four-fifths of Ireland; Northern Ireland remained part of the United Kingdom.

**Labour Party:** Founded in 1900, the British Labour Party was, at first, associated with the more radical elements of British liberalism. It moved ever more leftward, becoming, in effect, a socialist party, with a program of social insurance and nationalization of key industries.

**Lancaster, Duchy of:** This is the least prestigious post in the British Cabinet, responsible for appointing county magistrates. In disgrace as a result of the Dardanelles campaign, Churchill held the post briefly in 1915.

**Liberal Party:** The descendant of the eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century Whigs, the Liberals stood originally for the dominance of Parliament against the monarch. Individual liberty and free trade were the keystones of liberalism. William Gladstone dominated the Liberal Party from 1865 to 1895. The Liberals were for peace, as opposed to expansion of the Empire, and for the role of government in carrying out social welfare programs. The party’s support of Home Rule, internal autonomy for Ireland, lost the support of its right wing. The rise of the Labour Party drew away its support on the left. After World War I, the Liberal Party played an increasingly minor role in British politics.

**Malakand:** District in northwest British India, now Pakistan; site of military campaign in 1897 in which Churchill saw action.

**Minister of Munitions:** In this post from 1917 to 1919, Churchill oversaw the production of munitions for the war effort. He brought order out of chaos, giving the British soldiers more than adequate supplies of weapons and shells. It also involved him in disputes with labor.

**Munich Conference:** From September 29–30, 1938, Chamberlain, Hitler, Mussolini, and the French Prime Minister Daladier met in Munich to resolve the crisis between Germany and Czechoslovakia over the Czech territory of the Sudentenland. To avoid war, Chamberlain and Daladier completely capitulated to Hitler. Germany occupied the Sudentenland and, within six months, Hitler occupied the rest of Czechoslovakia.

**Omdurman:** Village in the Sudan; site of battle fought on September 2, 1898, between British forces under Kitchener and Sudanese forces. Omdurman was the capital of the religious and military leader known as the Mahdi (d. 1885). The victory at Omdurman removed the stain on British honor brought about by the Mahdi’s capture of Khartoum and the death of the British general Charles Gordon in 1885.

**Parliament:** See Lecture Two.

**Sandhurst:** Royal Military College; founded in 1802, Sandhurst is the British equivalent of West Point.

**Secretary of War and Air:** In this post from 1919 to 1921, Churchill was in charge of Britain’s military and air policy. This included the demobilization of millions of troops from the army. From this post, Churchill advocated military intervention against the Bolsheviks.

**Singapore:** In 1942, Singapore was a British colony and military base. Its capture by the Japanese ranks as the greatest defeat in British military history.

**Sudetenland:** Former name for northern portion of Czechoslovakia, which until the end of World War II, had a large German population. Hitler’s determination to incorporate the Sudentenland into Germany precipitated the Munich Conference of 1938.

**Wilderness:** “To be in the wilderness” is a British political term for a politician who is out of favor with his own party.
Biographical Notes

Attlee, Clement (1883–1967). British politician. Educated as an attorney, Attlee became active in social programs for boys and became a socialist in 1907. He served in World War I as a major. He was elected to Parliament in 1922 and, in 1931, became the leader of the Labour Party. In May 1940, the Labour Party refused to serve in a coalition government under Neville Chamberlain but did agree to serve under Churchill. This was critical to the appointment of Churchill as Prime Minister on May 10, 1940. Attlee served as Churchill’s Deputy Prime Minister during the war. He was mainly charged with domestic matters. In personality and style, he and Churchill were radically different. Attlee was modest in his tastes. Churchill reportedly said of him, “Attlee is a modest man with much to be modest about.” However, Attlee was extremely supportive of Churchill and made a significant contribution to the success of the war effort. He defeated Churchill in the election of 1945 and served as Prime Minister until 1951, when he was defeated by Churchill. Attlee paid Churchill the tribute of calling him “the greatest Englishman of our time.”

Baldwin, Stanley (1867–1947). British politician. Baldwin was the son of a wealthy businessman. Educated at Harrow and Cambridge University, he had a lifelong love of the classics. For twenty years, he was absorbed by his father’s steel business. But after entering Parliament in 1908, he rose with some rapidity in the Conservative Party. With a short interruption, Baldwin was Prime Minister from 1923–1929 and, again, from 1935–1937. Baldwin was concerned with winning public office rather than with what he could do in the position. His main concern was cultivating public opinion and balancing budgets. He was deceitful and hypocritical. He misled the British about their military strength. Churchill served under him as Chancellor of the Exchequer from 1925–1929. However, Baldwin later dealt with Churchill in a most malicious fashion, using him to win votes, then denying him a place in the Cabinet. Like Lord Halifax and Neville Chamberlain, Stanley Baldwin represented the lack of principle and moral integrity that marked British politics between the World Wars.

Chamberlain, Neville (1869–1940). British politician. Chamberlain came from a political family. His father, Joseph Chamberlain (1836–1914), was one of the most influential figures of his day in the Conservative Party. Neville Chamberlain’s elder brother, Austen (1863–1937), was Foreign Secretary under Stanley Baldwin (1924–1929). Neville Chamberlain at first followed a business career, then served in local politics, being elected mayor of Birmingham in 1915. He entered Parliament in 1918. He served as Chancellor of the Exchequer from 1931–1937, where he focused on a balanced budget. He succeeded Baldwin as Prime Minister in 1937. His policy of appeasing Hitler brought Britain into World War II and to the brink of ruin. By the time of the German invasion of France in May 1940, Chamberlain had utterly lost the confidence of Parliament. “In the name of God, go,” one long-time friend announced to him in Parliament. Chamberlain was devoid of moral courage and foresight. He felt deeply threatened by Churchill’s brilliance and did everything to undermine Churchill’s reputation. By contrast, Churchill treated Chamberlain with great magnanimity and permitted him to serve as Lord President of the Cabinet until poor health forced Chamberlain’s retirement in October 1940.

Churchill, Clementine Hozier (1885–1977). Wife of Winston Churchill. Clementine Churchill came from an aristocratic background. She was the granddaughter of the tenth Earl of Airlie and the great-granddaughter of the second Baron Stanley of Alderly. Her father had a distinguished career in the military, then in business. However, her parents were separated, and Clementine was brought up in relatively reduced circumstances. She studied at the Sorbonne. She was regarded as one of the most beautiful and accomplished debutantes of her day. Her mother and Churchill’s mothers were friends, and there were other ties between the families. Clementine and Churchill were married on September 12, 1908. Their son, Randolph, wrote, “their love remained constant and abiding.” However, Clementine also found Winston wearing and frequently took vacations apart from him. The couple had five children: Randolph, Sarah, Diana, Marigold, and Mary. Marigold died at the age of two. Diana committed suicide at the age of fifty-four. Like all the children, Randolph was devoted to his father and wrote the first two volumes of his biography. But he failed in his attempt at a political career and suffered from alcoholism. Clementine served as a firm anchor throughout the ups and downs of Churchill’s political life. More than Churchill, she was a shrewd judge of people and circumstances, and he relied heavily on her advice.

Churchill, Lady Randolph-Spencer (1854–1921). The mother of Winston Churchill. Jeanette (Jennie) was born in Brooklyn, New York, the daughter of Clara and Leonard Jerome. The ancestors of Leonard Jerome had fought in George Washington’s army during the Revolutionary War. Leonard Jerome was a lawyer, who became highly successful as a New York stockbroker. His family spent much of its time in Europe. Jennie met Lord Randolph
Churchill in London, and they were married in 1874. In addition to Winston, they had a second son, John (1880–1947). As was common among Victorian aristocrats, Jennie engaged in discrete promiscuity. Among her friends was the Prince of Wales, later King Edward VII. After Lord Randolph’s death in 1895, she married a man twenty years her junior. She then married for a third time at the age of sixty-four, again to a younger man. She was impecunious, and for a period, the young Churchill had to send her money. Churchill adored her, and her friendships and connections were of some use to him in advancing his career in its early stages.

**Edward VIII** (1894–1972). King of Britain from the death of George V on January 20, 1936, until his abdication on December 10, 1936. As Prince of Wales, Edward represented the flaming youth of the roaring 20s. He refused to marry and revealed in his role as social and fashion arbiter. On becoming king, he made clear his intention to marry the American divorcee Mrs. Wallis Simpson. Equally clear was the determination of the Prime Minister, Stanley Baldwin, to prevent such a marriage. The anti-Americanism of the British ruling class played a major role in this antipathy to Wallis Simpson. There was also a general feeling, held by his mother, the queen, that Edward was unsuited to the role of monarch. A constitutional crisis was averted when Edward abdicated. Churchill sought to defend Edward and encouraged him to fight for his position. Churchill saw this as a matter of principle, but it damaged his reputation and popularity severely. After his abdication, Edward married Wallis Simpson, and as the Duke and Duchess of Windsor, they lived in exile from Britain. Edward was suspected of pro-German sympathies. When the war broke out, he was appointed to the military mission in France, with the rank of major-general. After the fall of France, he made his way with his wife to Lisbon. There were rumors of a German plot to kidnap them. However, nothing came of this, and the Duke of Windsor served as governor of the Bahamas from 1940 until 1945. Churchill’s consistent defense of Edward is one of many instances of his loyalty and magnanimity.

**Eisenhower, Dwight David** (1890–1969). American general and President of the United States. Eisenhower rose from modest circumstances to the pinnacle of success in both his careers, as a soldier and as a politician. He led his country to victory in its greatest war, and he served with success for two terms as president. Unlike Patton, Eisenhower was not a battlefield commander. His skills were those of a supreme manager, precisely what was needed to bring about the cooperation of the Allied forces and the concentration of power necessary to defeat Germany. He and Churchill had an effective and cordial working relationship during he war, one that survived severe differences of opinion. In particular, Churchill was outraged that Eisenhower did not advance as far as possible into Germany to limit the extent of Soviet domination. Eisenhower and Churchill maintained their cordial relationship while working together as President and Prime Minister, but Eisenhower opposed Churchill in critical matters. He was determined to end British colonial rule. His refusal to have a summit conference with Churchill and the Soviet leaders brought a disappointing end to Churchill’s last effort as Prime Minister.

**Halifax, Lord** (1881–1959). British politician. An aristocrat, he was educated at Eton and Oxford and served in World War I. Halifax was a leading member of the Conservative Party under Stanley Baldwin and Neville Chamberlain. He was appointed Viceroy of India, a post of enormous prestige. He worked assiduously to overcome the conflicts between Hindus and Muslims. His skills and instincts were largely those of a diplomat. Halifax admired Hitler and his achievements in bringing law and order to Germany and in suppressing communism. He was the first member of the British Cabinet to pay a personal visit to Hitler and became personal friends with leading Nazis. Antony Eden resigned in 1938 over Chamberlain’s policy of appeasement. Halifax then became Foreign Secretary, equivalent to our Secretary of State, and was a vigorous supporter of Chamberlain in his efforts to avoid war with Germany. Halifax was an anti-Semite and otherwise utterly lacking in political principles. He represented the bankruptcy of British foreign policy under Neville Chamberlain. He was the choice of King George and Chamberlain to succeed Chamberlain as Prime Minister in May 1940. Realizing the difficulty of the situation, Chamberlain refused and recommended Churchill. In 1940, Churchill got him out of the Cabinet by appointing him ambassador to the United States. In that position, Chamberlain performed well, negotiating the lend-lease agreement and taking part in the foundng of the United Nations. Lord Halifax died old and full of honors.

**Hitler, Adolf** (1889–1945). German dictator (1933–1945). Hitler, like Stalin, was the antithesis of Churchill. Born in modest circumstances in the Austro-Hungarian Empire, he shared Churchill’s lack of success as a student. He failed in his attempt at a career in art, and at the outbreak of World War I, he was a vagabond in Munich. He fed on the misery of the German people after their defeat in the First World War to rise to a position of absolute power. From the beginning, Churchill recognized the evil represented by Hitler: “This wicked man, the repository and embodiment of many forms of soul-destroying hatreds, this monstrous product of former wrongs and shame.” Even before Hitler came to power, Churchill spoke out against the wrong of anti-Semitism in Germany. Hitler refused to meet Churchill in 1932, regarding him as lacking any influence in British politics. Later, Hitler would recognize
Churchill as his most unrelenting and dangerous enemy. The Holocaust and the destruction of much of Europe, including Germany, are testimony to what happens when a nation and its leader loses the moral compass. Hitler’s suicide on April 30, 1945, further testified to the innate cowardice of a tyrant.

**Kitchener, Horatio Herbert** (1850–1916). Lord Kitchener was one of the most formidable military figures of Britain in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. His victory at Omdurman established him as the preeminent soldier of his age in the eyes of the British public: Kitchener of Khartoum. His leadership led to victory in the Boer War, where he pursued a ruthless strategy. He served with equal distinction and success in India and Egypt. When World War I broke out, his enormous personal prestige led him to be appointed head of the War Office. The force of his personality and his reputation made him the dominant figure in the conduct of the war, until his death at sea en route to Russia. Kitchener and Churchill clashed early and often. As Churchill said, “it was a case of dislike before first sight.” Churchill served under Kitchener at Omdurman and criticized him severely in his book *The River War*. Churchill considered Kitchener “a vulgar, common man.” Kitchener and Churchill were frequently at odds over strategy in World War I. However, Churchill took great comfort in Kitchener’s words to him at the time of the Dardanelles crisis: Because of Churchill, when war came “the fleet was ready.”

**Lloyd George, David** (1863–1945). British statesman. Lloyd George was born of Welsh parents of modest means. He became a lawyer and rose rapidly in politics. As a Liberal in Parliament, he became the close associate of Winston Churchill in the years immediately before World War I. In December 1916, he became Prime Minister. Against advice, he brought Churchill back into the government in 1917 as Minister of Munitions. Lloyd George led Britain to victory in the Great War and played a major role in the Versailles Peace Conference. The problems of Britain in the aftermath of World War I proved too much for his leadership and for the Liberal Party. His reputation was also permanently damaged by allegations of financial misconduct. At the outbreak of World War II, his position was curious, and he seemed to be among those in favor of a negotiated peace with Hitler. His relationship with Churchill was complex. He supported Churchill at several critical points, but he also privately expressed the feeling that Churchill would never get to the top of British politics because he did not inspire trust. In his eulogy to Lloyd George, Churchill said, “When the English history of the first quarter of the twentieth century is written, it will be found that the greater part of our fortunes in war and peace were shaped by this one man.”

**Montgomery, Field Marshal Sir Bernard** (1887–1976). British general. Montgomery was Britain’s most famous and most controversial general of World War II. Badly wounded in 1914, Montgomery was a staff officer during much of World War I. He developed a very methodical approach to command, one that focused one reducing his casualties to a minimum by concentrating maximum support for his troops and by the most careful planning. He neither smoked nor drank, and his arrogance and abrasive manner made him many enemies throughout his career. His leadership of the British forces at El Alamein in the fall of 1942 was a turning point in the war. However, his failure to pursue the Germans was criticized by Churchill, and his generalship in Sicily and Italy was also controversial. Nonetheless, Montgomery was Allied land commander of the Normandy invasion. His attempt to outflank the Germans in September 1944 led to the disastrous operation known as Market-Garden. This and Montgomery’s difficulties in cooperating with the Americans nearly led to his dismissal, but his public reputation made this impossible. He led his armies to victory, and on May 4, 1945, the German forces in northwestern Germany, the Netherlands, and Denmark surrendered to him on the Luneburg Heath. For his achievements, he was ennobled as Viscount Montgomery of Alamein.

**Roosevelt, Franklin Delano Roosevelt** (1882–1945). President of the United States (1933–1945). Churchill first met Roosevelt at the close of World War I when Roosevelt was serving in the Department of the Navy. Churchill admired the leadership that Roosevelt brought to the United States during the Great Depression, and he admired the bold program of social reform called the New Deal. At the outbreak of war with Germany in 1939, Roosevelt asked Churchill, then First Lord of the Admiralty, to keep him informed. Churchill assiduously developed personal ties with Roosevelt into “a most intimate association.” This personal relationship undoubtedly played a role in Roosevelt’s willingness to give ever greater aid to Britain before the entry of the United States into the war. Personally, Churchill and Roosevelt had much in common in terms of background and personal tastes. In his eulogy to Roosevelt, Churchill spoke of his “admiration for him as a statesman, a man of affairs, and a war leader, his upright, inspiring character, and his generous heart.” To Churchill, Roosevelt was “the greatest American friend” Britain had ever known.

**Stalin, Joseph** (1879–1953). Dictator of the Soviet Union. Born in Georgia as Josif Vissarionovich Djugashvili, Stalin ranks with Hitler as the most brutal and bloody dictator of the twentieth century. Unlike Hitler, Stalin was, as
the world judges these matters, a success. He led his country to victory in its greatest war. Because of him, the Soviet Union won the peace, becoming master over an empire in Eastern Europe and imposing the communist system over a considerable portion of the globe, including China. He made the Soviet Union into an industrial and a nuclear power. He died in power and in bed. No two leaders could be more different, as individuals and as statesmen, than Churchill and Stalin. The Soviet dictator personified Churchill’s definition of a tyrant (Lecture Eleven). Stalin wanted power for the sake of power. He had no moral compass. However, during World War II, Churchill believed it essential to work with Stalin, even though he was under no illusions about the dictator. Stalin was, in Churchill’s view, “an unnatural man, who would bring grave troubles and bloody consequences.” It was a tragedy for the Western democracies that Roosevelt did not accept Churchill’s judgment and act on it to prevent Soviet expansion at the close of the war.

Truman, Harry S. (1884–1972). President of the United States (1945–1952). Truman came from a very different background than Churchill or Roosevelt. Raised in the most modest circumstances and regarded as a political hack, he rose to the challenge in some of the most trying times faced by any president. He first met Churchill at the Potsdam Conference in July 1945. He at first impressed Churchill as tougher with Stalin than Roosevelt had been. Later, however, Churchill would bemoan the weakness of policy by which Truman had failed to use the threat of the atomic bomb to deter Soviet expansion. Truman disavowed Churchill’s Iron Curtain speech. Churchill’s second term as Prime Minister brought the two together again. Truman regarded Churchill as belonging to another era, out of touch with reality, overly loquacious but still on occasion, capable of great insight.
**Essential Reading:**


Churchill, Randolph. *Winston S. Churchill*. Volumes I–II. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1966–1967. The first two volumes of the official biography were written and written well by Churchill’s son, Randolph. They carry the story to the outbreak of World War I. The volumes are accompanied by five companion volumes of documents.


**Supplementary Reading:**


Churchill, Winston. *Lord Randolph Churchill*. New York: MacMillan, 1906. Rightly called “one of the most interesting political biographies in the English language,” this is an important source for understanding Churchill’s own view of politics, as well as his image of his father.

———. *Marlborough, His Life and Times*. New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1933–1938. Brilliantly written, this is one of the best biographies in the English language. The life of Marlborough profoundly influenced Churchill and his ideas of leadership.


———. *The World Crisis*. Volumes I–V. New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1923–1931. Churchill’s memoirs of the World War I era. It is more well written and more enjoyable reading than his history of World War II.


