

THE ABDICATION OF EDWARD VIII



BARBARA LYNETTE DUNLAP HART

THE ABDICATION OF EDWARD VIII

---

An Abstract  
Presented to  
the Graduate Council of  
Austin Peay State University

---

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

---

by  
Barbara Lynette Dunlap Hart  
January, 1981



## ABSTRACT

All of Europe was in turmoil in 1936, with volcanic eruption likely at any time. The stage was set, placing England in a European setting of crisis and giving the highlights of events before World War II. There is documented proof that the political leaders in England were preoccupied with the personal problem developing in Buckingham Palace to the neglect of foreign policy.

The purpose of this thesis is to show the reaction of the news media in the United States to the abdication of King Edward VIII. It was as though he were two different people. Only when he abdicated did he fail. It must be remembered that as Prince of Wales, Edward rose to heights of popularity. He had a genuine concern for all people, especially the downtrodden. He possessed admirable qualities suitable for a monarch or for one of any position of responsibility. There were traits in his being that caused political leaders to fear him. Turbulent times in Europe compounded this anxiety.

The American news media captured every detail through logical deduction, fabrication and sensationalism,

in addition to serious newspaper reporting based on fact. The first rumor appeared in America ten months before the British press shunned reticence. For illumination, there is a comparison presented between the American press and the British press in handling this problem.

The ex-King once indicated man could not control his fate. However, no man was more the architect of his own downfall. His was not the tragedy of two people in love against fate. It was the tragedy of man against himself. The unfolding of this sensational struggle was more complete due to the superb and thorough coverage of the news media of the United States.



THE ABDICATION OF EDWARD VIII

---

A Thesis  
Presented to  
the Graduate Council of  
Austin Peay State University

---

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

---

by  
Barbara Lynette Dunlap Hart  
January, 1981

	Page
4. <u>Harper's Magazine</u> , April, 1937 . . . . .	57
F. Conflict With Prime Minister Baldwin. . . . .	58
1. <u>The Nation</u> , December 19, 1936 . . . . .	58
2. <u>Time</u> , December 21, 1936 . . . . .	59
G. Conflict With the Church of England. . . . .	60
1. <u>The New York Times</u> , December 4, 1936. . . . .	60
2. <u>Time</u> , December 21, 1936 . . . . .	61
3. <u>The New Republic</u> , December 16, 1936 . . . . .	62
4. <u>The Literary Digest</u> , December 12, 1936 . . . . .	62
H. Reactions of British Press Reported in America . . . . .	63
1. <u>Time</u> , December 7, 1936. . . . .	63
2. <u>The New York Times</u> , December 7, 1936. . . . .	65
3. <u>Current History</u> , February, 1937. . . . .	67
I. Paradoxes of the Abdication Crisis. . . . .	68
1. <u>The Nation</u> , December 19, 1936 . . . . .	68
2. <u>The New Republic</u> , January 6, 1937 . . . . .	69
3. <u>Current History</u> , May, 1937 . . . . .	70
III. Conclusion. . . . .	70

To the Graduate Council:

I am submitting herewith a Thesis written by Barbara Lynette Dunlap Hart entitled "The Abdication of Edward VIII." I recommend that it be accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirement for the degree of Master of Arts, with a major in History.

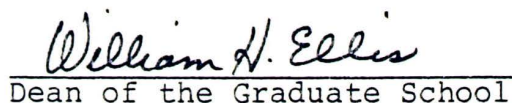
  
Major Professor

We have read this thesis and  
recommand its acceptance:

  
Second Committee Member

  
Third Committee Member

Accepted for the  
Graduate Council:

  
Dean of the Graduate School



## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

My deep gratitude is expressed to the professors on my thesis committee: Dr. Thomas P. Dixon, Dr. Preston J. Hubbard and Dr. L. Paul Hyatt. Likewise, my thanks is extended to my very capable typist, Marsha Lewis Bailey. This thesis is presented in memoriam and in loving appreciation of my parents.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
Chapter 1. HISTORICAL SETTING . . . . .	1
I. Introduction . . . . .	1
II. Monarchical Strategy of George V. . .	2
III. British Foreign Policy . . . . .	2
IV. Edward VIII's Pro-German Tendencies . . . . .	4
V. The European Setting of Crisis . . .	6
VI. Reaction of British Political Leaders. . . . .	10
VII. Understanding the British Monarchy . . . . .	12
VIII. Conclusion . . . . .	16
Chapter 2. INSIGHT INTO EDWARD VIII AS A PERSON . . . . .	18
I. Introduction . . . . .	18
II. Family Life and Education. . . . .	20
III. Naval Education and Beginning of Responsibility . . . . .	25
IV. Psychoanalysis . . . . .	26
V. Conclusion . . . . .	38
Chapter 3. REACTION OF THE NEWS MEDIA OF THE UNITED STATES. . . . .	39
I. Introduction: Responses to the American Press Coverage. . . . .	39
II. News Coverage of the Abdication of Edward VIII . . . . .	47

	Page
A. Rumors and Speculation . . . . .	47
1. The New York <u>Times</u> , February 2, 1936 . . . . .	47
2. <u>Time</u> , November 2, 1936 . . . . .	48
3. <u>Time</u> , November 16, 1936. . . . .	49
4. <u>Time</u> , December 7, 1936 . . . . .	50
5. The New Republic, February 17, 1937. . . . .	50
6. <u>Survey Graphic</u> , January, 1937. . . . .	51
B. Personal Service and Positive Character Traits . . . . .	51
1. The New York <u>Times</u> , February 2, 1936 . . . . .	51
2. The New York <u>Times</u> , December 6, 1936 . . . . .	52
3. <u>Newsweek</u> , December 12, 1936. . . . .	52
C. Political Fear of Pro-German Tendencies . . . . .	53
1. The New York <u>Times</u> , February 2, 1936 . . . . .	53
2. <u>Time</u> , February 10, 1936. . . . .	53
D. The Dominions. . . . .	54
The New York <u>Times</u> , December 5, 1936 . . . . .	54
E. Political Power Struggle . . . . .	56
1. <u>Newsweek</u> , December 12, 1936. . . . .	56
2. The <u>Commonweal</u> , January 1, 1937. . . . .	56
3. <u>Scholastic</u> , January 9, 1937. . . . .	57



Chapter 4. COMMENTS FROM INVOLVED BRITISH POLITICIANS AND OTHER CONTEMPORARY, INFLUENTIAL BRITISH LEADERS . . . .	88
I. Introduction. . . . .	88
II. Influential Persons During Edward VIII's Reign . . . . .	89
A. David Lloyd George. . . . .	89
B. Clement R. Attlee . . . . .	90
C. Sir Archibald Sinclair. . . . .	90
D. Winston Churchill . . . . .	91
E. Prime Minister Stanley Baldwin . . . . .	92
F. Neville Chamberlain . . . . .	95
G. L. S. Amery . . . . .	96
H. Duff Cooper . . . . .	97
I. Lord William Maxwell Beaverbrook . . . . .	98
III. Conclusion. . . . .	100
Bibliography. . . . .	105

## Chapter 1

### HISTORICAL SETTING

#### I. Introduction

All of Europe was in turmoil in 1936, with volcanic eruption likely at any time. The British were absorbed in their personal crisis developing in Buckingham Palace. They needed to be absorbed in preventing war, just three years away. They had little concern about Russia since they felt the savage, Stalin, was not capable of real power outside his country. Joseph Stalin became dictator, ruling by terror and transforming Russia into a military power. The British felt with time Hitler's influence would fade. In 1925 Adolf Hitler revealed his plans in Mein Kampf, calling for rearmament of all German-speaking people. As dictator, he was planning the conquest of Europe before he was defeated. The Spanish Civil War was in progress. Francisco Franco led the rebel Nationalist Army to victory over the Loyalist or Republican forces. He became a Fascist Dictator. The British should have been absorbed in solving the problems left unsolved by the previous World War. These effects comprised the historical setting at the time of the abdication of King Edward VIII.

## II. Monarchical Strategy of George V

His father, George V, had reigned during years of stress but had adapted the British monarchy to the times with strategy. The right to vote no longer depended on property ownership. The political power of the House of Lords was diminished. Elsewhere other monarchs resisted such change. The British Dominions attained equality with the mother country through acts of Parliament, again with George V's consent. The Irish Free State was created, and plans were in progress for India's government, after having been under British rule. His "nominal sovereignty" was diminished. He worked effectively with the Labor party which had secured governmental power. World War I fears and disenchantments had hastened all these developments, but George V gave England stability because of his "practical wisdom" and "devotion to duty."<sup>1</sup>

## III. British Foreign Policy

Labor leader, C. R. Attlee, in As It Happened was critical of the political accomplishments of Prime Minister Stanley Baldwin's foreign policy. "One of the fruits of the Baldwin government's weak policy was the attack in 1936 on the Spanish Republican government by

---

<sup>1</sup>C. R. Attlee, As It Happened (New York: The Viking Press, 1954), pp. 120-121.



General Franco, supported by the fascist dictators." The British government, along with the French Popular Front government under Leon Blum, supported the policy of non-intervention. "Under the cloak of non-intervention," Mussolini was actively supporting Francisco Franco who led the rebel Nationalist Army in the Spanish Civil War.<sup>2</sup>

Another complaint of Attlee's was the lack of serious attention to defense. He also included the Labor party in this grievance. He spoke out for the League of Nations but desired it to have real authority; during this crisis period the emphasis by the League was still on disarmament. "The aggression of Japan against China was the first blow to the authority of the League of Nations. Subsequently, the rise of Hitler and the aggression of Mussolini in Abyssinia caused growing apprehension in the Labor movement, and especially among the trade unionists who had witnessed the destruction of German social democracy."<sup>3</sup> In speaking against the British government's stand for neutrality regarding the Italian situation, Attlee argued that neutrality ceased with the advent of the League of Nations. In February 1936 the Labor party initiated a debate in the House of Commons on the "application of oil sanctions against Italy."<sup>4</sup> Attlee

---

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., pp. 132-133.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., pp. 136, 139.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 142.

did not want to set a precedent for any aggressor by making concessions to Italy.

During the spring of 1936 Attlee condemned the German occupation of the demilitarized Rhineland Zone both in the House of Commons and among his countrymen. When the Baldwin government terminated sanctions against Italy, Attlee lamented that the League of Nations was no longer an effective instrument for peace. "A few weeks after the debate civil war broke out in Spain, and as the months went by there was a steady deterioration of the international situation."<sup>5</sup>

Although the League of Nations was a controversial subject, Edward took a stand against the League.<sup>6</sup> Attlee, in As It Happened, was lavish in his praise for George V and George VI. He did not criticize Edward VIII, yet Attlee's total comments regarding him were few. When comparing Attlee's impressions of the three Kings, his sparse treatment of Edward revealed Attlee's lack of affection and respect.

#### IV. Edward VIII's Pro-German Tendencies

Edward was very impressed with the German people.

---

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., p. 143.

<sup>6</sup> Lady Frances Lonsdale Donaldson, Edward VIII (Philadelphia and New York: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1974), p. 212.

Some of his ancestors were German royalty, from the lineage of Prince Albert, Queen Victoria's consort and Edward's great-grandfather. Just a few months before he died, George V reminded his son not to mix in politics and issue statements that would conflict with views held by the Foreign Office. This was after the Prince spoke at the British Legion's annual Conference on ex-servicemen's extending a friendly hand to the Germans after the war. Even lifelong friends like the Duff Coopers were dismayed at Edward's pro-German tendencies since they were "fanatically pro-French and anti-German."<sup>7</sup> The German people would not forget Edward's comments years later during World War II.

Edward's short reign was under close surveillance because of suspected contacts between German agents and Mrs. Simpson. Frances Donaldson spent four years writing the impressive biography of Edward VIII, and she checked out every possible lead regarding these charges. Her conclusion was that the only fear regarding Wallis Simpson was her influence over the King, and that she was innocent of all German tendencies or connections. However, because of Edward's comments and these rumors,

for the first and last time in history, papers were screened in the Foreign Office before the

---

<sup>7</sup>Ibid., p. 207. (Graham Wooton in his History of British Legion cleared the Prince of Wales and said they had long promoted international friendship even with ex-enemies.)



6

red boxes went off to the King. There is no doubt that in the state of the world at the time and on such evidence as was known of the King's state of mind and his life at Fort Belvedere, such<sup>8</sup> precautions were necessary and reasonable.

## V. The European Setting of Crisis

What was the state of the world, particularly Europe, to which Frances Donaldson referred? World War I had not destroyed German power nor her pre-war social structure.

The fascist leader, like the democrat, had his ideological roots in the eighteenth century, but whereas the democrat put his faith in reason and debate the fascist believed in the power and virtue of the will. . . . Reason and knowledge assumed therefore universal values. The will, however, was personal.<sup>9</sup>

The individual driven by will was likely to clash with others. In a country like Great Britain with a parliamentary tradition, fascists did not gain power; however, the British regarded them as "respectable" rather than revolutionary. Individuals, such as party leader Sir Oswald Mosley, within the British Union of Fascists attained national power. During 1934 many politicians seeking workable solutions to domestic problems, such as unemployment and industrial

---

<sup>8</sup> Ibid., p. 204.

<sup>9</sup> Peter Calvocoressi and Guy Wint, Total War (New York: Penguin Books Ltd., 1972), pp. 24, 28.

mismanagement, noticed what Fascism had to offer. The appeal of the ideology vanished; the once optimistic party did not gain power.<sup>10</sup>

The British were "ill equipped to understand new ideas and forces" at this time. In 1933 Hitler bragged that fortunately democracies never understood Nazism, or they would have defeated it early. Neville Chamberlain, a representative British politician, regarded the Nazis as another party and realized that Hitler was "gradually losing heart and at the end doing his best to avoid war in an impossible situation which had been created partly by his own incomprehension."<sup>11</sup> In contrast, Keith Feiling's biography of Chamberlain presented strategic excerpts from Chamberlain's personal diary dated in the 1930's, explicitly illustrating his personal insight and awareness of German intentions with their dangerous consequences.<sup>12</sup> Others outside political circles underrated fascism and Nazism because communism was hated more. Hitler's feelings regarding Great Britain were in error since he underestimated its power and opposition to Germany. He tried to appease Great Britain, and this was evident

---

<sup>10</sup>Colin Cross, The Fascists In Britain (London: Barrie and Rockliff, 1961), p. 78.

<sup>11</sup>Calvocoressi and Wint, op. cit., pp. 25-26.

<sup>12</sup>Keith Feiling, Life of Neville Chamberlain (Hamden, Connecticut: Archon Books, 1970), pp. 251-259.

even when Joachim von Ribbentrop was his Ambassador in London.<sup>13</sup>

In July 1936 the Spanish Civil War exploded. This was the same month sanctions against Italy were abandoned. "The ensuing civil war cemented the alliance between Hitler and Mussolini" and both helped the forces of revolutionary fascism under General Francisco Franco. The conflict between all social and political forces in Europe was hastened and violence became international because foreign governments chose sides "in a war which ended only six months before the beginning of the World War in Europe."<sup>14</sup>

Furthermore, the war in Spain gave the Germans a psychological edge in European politics because of the German dive-bombers or Stukas, which spread fear throughout Europe. Another development that caused Great Britain to be concerned about her position as a power was the Anti-Comintern Pact signed by Germany and Japan in November 1936. Basically, this was a document whereby these countries would exchange information and consult each other regarding international activities, particularly political ones.<sup>15</sup>

---

<sup>13</sup>Calvocoressi and Wint, op. cit., p. 49.

<sup>14</sup>Ibid., p. 64.

<sup>15</sup>Ibid., p. 66.



By 1934 German rearmament could not be ignored by the British; yet, the British in general did not believe war with Germany was inevitable. At the same time, however, the British realized their country needed safeguarding against potential aggression. Paradoxically, the British did not face the real facts. Their important problems in Europe were matters of trade and tariffs. War would not solve the worst mistakes at Versailles, since the British believed the economic errors superseded the political ones. War would not be a solution. In addition, the British did not interpret the Nazi movement as revolutionary. Prime Minister Stanley Baldwin and his cabinet misjudged the Germans. The British were not united in a proper attitude for war.<sup>16</sup> Great Britain had tried to avoid war and had been "slow to judge German conduct because of an uneasy notion that as parties to the Versailles Treaty, they might be in some measure responsible."<sup>17</sup> British political leaders hoped diplomacy could restrain Hitler. However, the full attention to all these European problems was diverted by the problem in Buckingham Palace.

---

<sup>16</sup> John F. Kennedy, Why England Slept (New York: Wilfred Funk, Inc., 1940), pp. 116-118, 143.

<sup>17</sup> Herbert Feis, Churchill-Roosevelt-Stalin. The War They Waged and the Peace They Sought (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1957), p. 3.

## VI. Reactions of British Political Leaders

There is evidence that the King expressed political opinions differing from the views of the Foreign Office. There are captured German Foreign Office documents and memoirs of German agents living in London. These documents were explained by the British to have been fabricated by German agents to say what the Führer wanted to hear. But they also illustrated how naive was their understanding of the British and where the real power was. In November 1936 Sir Henry Channon in Chips wrote about Edward: "He, too, is going the dictator way, and is pro-German, against Russia and against too much slipshod democracy."<sup>18</sup> In March 1936 German troops re-occupied the left bank of the Rhine, breaking the Versailles Treaty and the Locarno Pact, as well. Supposedly, von Hoesch contacted Edward VIII immediately after the occupation of the Rhineland, using their friendship to influence the King not to proclaim war. Late in 1936, cabinet member Neville Chamberlain wanted to come to a final decision because the crisis was "paralysing our foreign policy."<sup>19</sup> At another point Frances Donaldson quoted from Keith Feiling's biography, Neville Chamberlain:

For two precious months, while the Duce's son-in-law Ciano was at Bercht Esgaden, while

---

<sup>18</sup>Donaldson, op. cit., pp. 205, 214.

<sup>19</sup>Ibid., p. 302.



Germany signed the anti-Comintern pact with Japan, and while Fascist soldiers entered Spain, our ministers could attend to only one thing, the determination of King Edward VIII to marry an American citizen, who was bringing divorce proceedings against her second husband.<sup>20</sup>

By the end of the summer 1936 Prime Minister Baldwin's exhaustion was caused by both the death of the old King and anxiety regarding Edward, in addition to uneasy signs throughout Europe. However, Anthony Eden, his Foreign Secretary, was interrupted when giving Baldwin an update on the "embargo on the supply of arms and aircraft from Britain to Spain," because the Prime Minister was preoccupied with worry regarding American press clippings of Edward and Mrs. Simpson and the "world-wide scandal surrounding the British crown."<sup>21</sup> In his memoirs, Eden had presented the account of his first conversation with Prime Minister Baldwin in three months. At first he interpreted Baldwin's abrupt interruption as his reluctance to face unpleasant tasks of foreign policy; however, upon returning to his office, Eden discovered letters and foreign newspaper clippings that supported Baldwin's anxiety about the King.<sup>22</sup> At this

---

<sup>20</sup>Ibid., p. 305.

<sup>21</sup>Ibid., p. 232.

<sup>22</sup>Anthony Eden, Facing the Dictators (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1962), pp. 460-461. Anthony Eden supported Prime Minister Baldwin's handling of the abdication crisis, adding that Baldwin knew the British people. Baldwin did not want domestic dangers to divide the British people.

time Baldwin had not approached the King about this matter, and the British press was to remain silent until December.

The minutes of the eight cabinet meetings held to discuss the abdication crisis are officially closed until the year 2037. However, Mr. H. Montgomery Hyde indicated that Neville Chamberlain and Samuel Hoare kept private records of the meetings. Others' memoirs or biographies may enlighten the events surrounding the abdication, one day. The captured German Foreign Policy documents have been translated and published by historians of England, Germany and France for study. They were presented as a source book for scholars and did not have footnotes or interpretations or corrective comments.<sup>23</sup>

## VII. Understanding the British Monarchy

In spite of all the happenings that could have damaged the throne, Britain was unique in that her constitutional monarchy was secure and popular. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries this type monarchy was established to end religious conflicts and provide monetary and industrial growth for the rising middle class without limiting the political power of the aristocracy or landed gentry. During the nineteenth

---

<sup>23</sup> Donaldson, op. cit., pp. 219, 427-8.

century the Crown was unpopular at times, but the monarchy was accepted on certain conditions. "The monarchy had become a survival to be maintained, if at all, as a useful constitutional device and the focus of national loyalty."<sup>24</sup> The monarch must not delve into politics. Was it no less the unexpressed condition that the Monarch be respected?

Queen Victoria was the last British monarch with real power. At times she "flouted" the Constitution. However, during the last years of her reign, Queen Victoria became "the adored symbol of domestic virtue and imperial greatness."<sup>25</sup> Edward VII proceeded with caution, realizing that there had been uprisings against other Crowns, and knowing that socialism was more than a theory--an alarming, growing, cancerous realism. He and his son, George V, each expressed the gnawing fear that his son would be the last King of England.

George V was a conscientious monarch, anxious to do his duty. Untrained and unexpectedly becoming King due to the untimely death of his older brother, nevertheless he helped solve the constitutional crises and discontent that followed World War I.

He was also greatly relieved to discover that monarchy was in no way endangered by the two very

---

<sup>24</sup>Kingsley Martin, "Strange Interlude. Edward VIII's Brief Reign." Atlantic Monthly 209:71.

<sup>25</sup>Ibid.



loyal Labor governments of 1924 and 1929, and he played a personal part in finding a Conservative solution for the constitutional and financial crisis of 1931.<sup>26</sup>

He enjoyed the success that came from broadcasting effectively; he was a beloved father figure. Kingsley Martin's opinion was that British identification with the Royal Family started with Queen Victoria and continued.

Nevertheless, George V was terrified by the events throughout Europe that destroyed Crowns with volcanic eruptions that started with a mere trembling. Sir Harold Nicolson calculated during George V's reign of twenty-five years that "five Emperors, eight Kings, and eighteen minor dynasties came to an end."<sup>27</sup> His first cousin, Czar Nicholas II, and family were assassinated during the Russian Revolution in 1917, causing George V extreme unhappiness and distress. The two cousins resembled each other greatly as young men. Edward had been Prince of Wales for seven years at that time. Also, before World War I Uncle Henry of Prussia called on Edward's family at Buckingham Palace for a visit to say farewell. They never saw him again.<sup>28</sup> Was he not aware of

---

<sup>26</sup> Ibid.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid.

<sup>28</sup> H. R. H. Edward, Duke of Windsor, A King's Story. The Memoirs of The Duke of Windsor (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1947), pp. 106, 131. (Prince Henry of Prussia was the Kaiser's younger brother and made a favorable impression on Edward VIII.)

historical events? Was he not aware of the danger he himself could cause the throne by the monumental decision to abdicate?

Queen Victoria was the British model of the ideal motherhood. Edward VIII had outgrown the follies of youth (so the British thought) to become the genial, sporting English King. George V was the ideal model of a family man. His son's memoirs hailed him with these words:

. . . he transformed the Crown as personified by the Royal Family into a model of the traditional British family virtues, a model that was all the more genuine for its suspected but inconspicuous flaws. The King, as the dutiful father, became the living symbol not only of the nation, but also of the Empire, the last link holding together these diversified and scattered communities.<sup>29</sup>

These are Edward's words of respect for his father, George V, but for a man who was not his model. In early years and later when his son was Prince of Wales, George V reminded Edward to remember who he was. "But who exactly was I?" Another time in reflecting he wrote: "My father could not understand why I was not more like him."<sup>30</sup>

Edward traveled to all of the British Dominions as Prince of Wales. Australia was then politically the most restless, having several anti-British and anti-monarchial, political groups. The Prince realized there was

---

<sup>29</sup>Ibid., p. 281.

<sup>30</sup>Ibid., pp. 134, 193.



agitation against the British Crown and was apprehensive. Also, how would Mahatma Gandhi and his "radical Congress Party" react to the Prince's visit? Thousands of Indians ignored the planned boycott of the Prince, and their pleasant murmurs were "punctuated by rippling sounds of hand clapping that is the Orientals' customary sign of approval."<sup>31</sup> There was tension in India, and this "brightest jewel"<sup>32</sup> was lost during the next reign.

#### VIII. Conclusion

In all fairness to Edward, Prince of Wales, he was extremely popular at home and in the Dominions. He had a genuine interest in all people. He represented his father and the Monarchy very well. Edward VIII, however, could not have filled the British ideal of the father image. However, it is interesting to speculate whether he could have molded the Monarchy with a twentieth century flair and with fresh, young ideas. It is to Edward's credit that he did not precipitate a constitutional crisis by refusing to accept the advice of his ministers or by broadcasting directly to the British people or by encouraging a King's Party. By these actions he did not weaken the throne. He never

---

<sup>31</sup>Ibid., pp. 156, 167, 169.

<sup>32</sup>Ibid., p. 166.

faltered in being a constitutional monarch in those circumstances. Was his treatment as an ex-King an illumination to strengthen the British throne of the future?

## Chapter 2

### INSIGHT INTO EDWARD VIII AS A PERSON

#### I. Introduction

In order fully to understand the significance of the reaction of the American news media to the abdication crisis, it is essential to study the central character of this tragedy, for it indeed was the unfulfilled, tragic ending to a once promising life. It is almost as though Edward Albert Christian George Andrew Patrick David were two different persons: Edward, Prince of Wales, and King Edward VIII. Only in the latter role did he fail.

At his grandfather's death, Prince David became known as Edward, Prince of Wales, heir to the British throne. June 24, 1910 his boyhood ended with this confirmation. In August he sailed away on His Majesty's Ship the Hindustan as a midshipman--working, learning and enjoying every day of those two months. Perhaps it was the fault of his training that nothing seemed permanent except the heavy responsibilities of his royal inheritance.<sup>33</sup> There was no escape.

---

<sup>33</sup>Hector Bolitho, King Edward VIII: An Intimate Biography (Philadelphia, London: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1937), pp. 23-4.

At thirteen years of age he went to the Osborne Naval College as a naval cadet; in the next five years he attended Dartmouth, passing his examinations. Then he went to France as a student. His eagerness and enthusiasm opened all doors. Oxford became part of his world at age eighteen. Exposure to knowledgeable students from other parts of the world broadened his understanding, too. He was a good soldier with boundless energy, fighting in France during World War I. It took limitless persuasion on his part to convince Lord Kitchener, Secretary of State for War, and others to allow him to enlist. Later, business activities in Egypt and war experiences in Italy helped him build confidence in himself.<sup>34</sup>

Prince Edward traveled for two years to all British Dominions and other parts of the world, winning people everywhere with his sincerity and charm, minus pomp. He traveled to every place under British rule, even to India, Gibraltar and Malta. He displayed significant bravery throughout his Indian travels because of Gandhi's political efforts to boycott him. He traveled to Malaya and on to Japan. He traveled to South Africa, Argentine and Chile, including thousands of miles. Everywhere he went he asked intelligent questions

---

<sup>34</sup>Ibid., pp. 18, 36, 42, 65, 72.



and made notes. He learned many native languages. He finally returned to England to work among the poor and to visit wounded soldiers, but the tragedy of isolation had begun.<sup>35</sup> It must be remembered that he did not fail as Edward, Prince of Wales. The Prince was doubly punished for belonging to his generation. He must be understood in the time in which he lived in order to be understood at the end. He came to regard the King, the Archbishop, and the older ministers as critical and unsympathetic. His life was composed of three worlds: first, his own friends; second, his father's court where he was ill at ease; and the third was the pattern of good deeds and his popularity.

## II. Family Life and Education

For further insight into this complex, contradictory personality, the memoirs of the Duke of Windsor were studied, entitled A King's Story. When Edward was born his great-grandmother, Queen Victoria, ruled the most powerful empire in the world. "British sea power and financial and commercial influence were nearly everywhere supreme. . . . Socialism was scarcely more than a theory." His grandfather was 52 and his

---

<sup>35</sup> Ibid., pp. 139, 152, 178, 190, 213.



father was 29. He was third in the line of succession to the Throne due to the untimely death two years before his birth of Uncle Albert Victor, Duke of Clarence. "In consequence of this tragedy my father's life was to be profoundly influenced."<sup>36</sup>

The Duke reminisced that affection was present in his early family life; however, his father's position as King posed a barrier. "For better or for worse, royalty is excluded from the more settled forms of domesticity." Public and social duties kept both parents busy, and association with their children was in a "fixed and regulated pattern." His first years were almost entirely with nurses. One nanny, later dismissed, would pinch and twist his arm as he entered the drawing room to be with his parents.<sup>37</sup>

Mr. Henry Peter Hansell, a tall, solemn bachelor, was Edward's private tutor at home instead of his being sent to a private boarding school. Mr. Hansell was extremely intelligent, having graduated with honors from Magdalen College, Oxford; however, the Duke wrote that his servant Finch had a stronger influence on him "possessing a livelier comprehension of a small boy's

---

<sup>36</sup>H. R. H. Edward, Duke of Windsor, A King's Story. The Memoirs of The Duke of Windsor, op. cit., pp. 5-6.

<sup>37</sup>Ibid., pp. 8-9.

secret interests and ambitions as well as his inhibitions."<sup>38</sup>

The Duke's memoirs of his mother, Queen Mary, were favorable. She would gather her children in her room an hour before their bedtime for singing folk songs or reading or talking. His cultural interests began with her. Her traveling broadened and mellowed her outlook. She had a profound interest in Royal history. Because of her practicality, they often made woolen comforters for charities as they talked. His mother's soft, cultured voice and cozy room were happiness and a sanctuary at the end of a child's day.<sup>39</sup>

"My boyhood was strict because my father was strict in his own life and habits. He was a perfect expression of the Victorian and Edwardian eras. . . ." The Victorian part claimed moral responsibility and domesticity. His Edwardian flair for clothes and delight for sport asserted itself. In addition to this, he believed in the Royal Navy and anything British. Above all, the concept of duty was summed up in his father. Edward admitted the meaning of duty was drilled into him. Along with duty his father almost had a "fanatical sense of punctuality." In contrast to his mother's room, his father's library became for him the "place of admonition

---

<sup>38</sup>Ibid., pp. 20-1.

<sup>39</sup>Ibid., p. 26.

and reproof." Sometimes a summons to the library would be pleasant with conversation. He especially remembered some that emphasized courtesy for all people, snobbery for none. In fact, at times his father "pounded" courtesy into him.<sup>40</sup>

Could it have been significant that even his family housing was not permanent? When Queen Victoria died, his father suddenly had more importance and prestige, naturally. Home somehow always meant Sandringham; however, "my family migrated with the seasons like a flock of birds." January the family was at York Cottage for pheasant shooting. During the next two months there were business and social duties in London for the Heir Apparent. The children were left behind with Mr. Hansell for tutoring. Often they would be at York Cottage or Frogmore for the first weeks of spring. Like clockwork, the family again traveled to Marlborough House in London during May and June for balls, garden parties and debutante and other presentations at Court. From this period of time until the end of August, his father would yacht and enjoy summer sports while his mother and children would retire to Frogmore for a rest. "Although we missed my father, his absence proclaimed somewhat of a letup in the strict regime he enforced when at home." He indicated he was

---

<sup>40</sup>Ibid., pp. 27-9.



happy at Frogmore and with "some regret" that they left Scotland for Abergeldie to join his father. They would have enjoyed the first snow usually before returning to London the second week of October. The children would continue on to the Cottage with Mr. Hansell, Finch and the nurses, while their parents stayed in London. Christmas found the family together again at Sandringham for the festivities.<sup>41</sup>

The Duke mentioned that as children he and his siblings were never alone with their parents at any one of their four residences. There were always a lady in waiting and an equerry in attendance. Also, he was lonely because of the "absence of close association with children of our own age."<sup>42</sup>

"In my gallery of childhood memories, the portrait of my grandfather seems bathed in perpetual sunlight." He was in his sixties when their relationship developed to the fullest meaning. He remembered his grandfather presiding as "regal figure of solemn ceremonies" but fonder memories were when he displayed his charm, vitality, and personality. The Edwardian era was synonymous with and symbolized by his grandfather. This was the birth of a new era in which high office or ancient lineage were

---

<sup>41</sup>Ibid., pp. 34-5.

<sup>42</sup>Ibid., p. 43.



not the only claims to status or social invitations. The Sovereign would include guests noted for intelligence, sophistication, talent or beauty.<sup>43</sup> Because of the kindness and understanding of his grandfather, Edward was happy at Sandringham.

### III. Naval Education and Beginning of Responsibility

It was a weakness in his being that he was not grateful for years of devoted service. He admitted he learned very little during Mr. Hansell's years of tutoring. Mr. Hansell's total care of Edward was approximately twelve years, but the Duke wrote he was unable to recall "anything brilliant or original that he ever said." At twelve years of age he entered the Royal Naval College at Osborne. After spending two years there, he was transferred to Dartmouth for the last two years of naval training ashore. His studies were more difficult, but he had more freedom. Also at this time he was beginning to make some real friends. At home he was treated more like an adult, staying up later to dine with his parents and being kept less in the background. His father also seemed to have more confidence in him.<sup>44</sup>

---

<sup>43</sup>Ibid., pp. 47, 50.

<sup>44</sup>Ibid., pp. 59-60, 67, 69.

This was also exemplified in his father's creating Edward the Prince of Wales at age 16, next in line of succession to the Throne. That title did not come automatically. When Edward was invested Prince of Wales, on his middle finger was placed the gold ring of responsibility. After his grandfather's reign of only nine years, Edward automatically became Duke of Cornwall with this estate making him financially independent and more self-assured. Another example of fatherly confidence in his son was his investing Edward into the ancient order of chivalry, Order of the Garter, even though he was not 21 yet and could not sit in the House of Lords. Edward joined the family at Buckingham Palace but recalled that he was never happy there.<sup>45</sup>

#### IV. Psychoanalysis

This personality has been the subject of many studies; one unique, original article was written by Linda W. Rosenzweig of Carnegie-Mellon University which appeared in the Journal of British Studies in 1975. She had numerous biographies, the Duke's and Duchess's memoirs, as well as biographies of others closely associated with Edward's youth to study. From this

---

<sup>45</sup>Ibid., pp. 74-5, 78-9, 81.

historical evidence and her training, she presented an impressive argument, psychoanalyzing Edward. Any argument of this nature must remain theoretical but may offer new insights into actions like Edward's abdication.

Therefore, comments were presented from the Duke's memoirs before approaching Linda Rosenzweig's theory, her psycho-biographical approach "focusing on the unconscious-non-rational dimension of Edward's behavior." The main psychological problem appeared to be his unresolved Oedipal anxiety, and this psychological defect in his development caused him to abdicate.<sup>46</sup>

The idea of Wallis Simpson's being a mother figure was not original with Linda Rosenzweig; however, her article developed that thought through the medium of the Oedipus complex. The Oedipus complex is a strong influence on a child from about age six until adolescence. This happens with the parent of the opposite sex. A young boy desires exclusive possession of his mother. Realizing this is impossible, he seeks a substitute. Normally, this eventually disappears. "In Edward's case, the normal development and resolution of the Oedipus complex were hampered by both his mother's personality and

---

<sup>46</sup>Linda W. Rosenzweig, "The Abdication of Edward VIII: A Psycho-Historical Exploration." Journal of British Studies 14:102.



by the demands played on her by her royal position." To say Queen Mary displayed "outward aloofness"<sup>47</sup> toward her children could be accepted; however, there is much guessing in her communicating feelings of distaste to an infant.

Queen Mary traveled with her husband on journeys that were his royal duties. When Edward was seven, his parents were touring the Empire for eight months, leaving the children with their grandparents, King Edward VII and Queen Alexandra.<sup>48</sup> His mother was literally unavailable. Even when physically present, she was not warm. Even for a Victorian mother she was reserved.

Episodes and comments from early childhood denote that Edward never really accepted his royal heritage. At age ten he reputedly told his tutor, "It is no use being Prince of Wales some day unless I can do what I like." "Preposterous rig" was the description for the required attire for his investiture as Prince of Wales.<sup>49</sup> On the battlefield in France during World War I he indicated the King had other sons if he were killed. Members of royalty are born to their jobs, regardless of their personal feelings or aptitude. Often he had a sad countenance.

From all indications Edward's parents placed

---

<sup>47</sup>Ibid., p. 103.

<sup>48</sup>Ibid.

<sup>49</sup>Ibid., p. 104.



duty to the Monarchy above everything, including family. The children were on stage whether at one's birthday party, reciting a memorized poem in French or German or whether at the dining table with tutors and visiting, influential people, who gave the children a chance to perform and with whom they exchanged ideas in a foreign language. He had even had a German nursemaid, thereby learning German along with English from the beginning.<sup>50</sup> Still, even though interesting, there is supposition evident in suggesting Edward's "identity as a person was subordinated to his identity as a prince" during his early years. "They appear to have given their eldest son the distinct impression that he was important to them as a prince, the heir, rather than as a human being, their son."<sup>51</sup>

Of course, Queen Mary was anxious for her son to be a perfect example, the perfect Prince and King. James Pope-Hennessy's Queen Mary documented a letter from the Queen to her husband when Edward was two years of age. "Jumpy" for that age was not even understood: "a curious child." Was this, though, due to inexperience from not having to care for a child and thereby not being around a child to any great extent during her life, or was it

---

<sup>50</sup>H. R. H. Edward, Duke of Windsor, A King's Story. The Memoirs of The Duke of Windsor, op. cit., pp. 39, 41.

<sup>51</sup>Rosenzweig, op. cit., p. 105.

that Queen Mary "always thought of her son as a prince, not as a child"?<sup>52</sup>

A child's self-concept is reinforced or molded by others significant in his life. Parents and teachers play an important role. The loophole in the self-concept-education argument, however, was that as Prince he was not exposed to the proper schooling or educated as a Prince. During this time in history, a Victorian son in society was sent at a young age to a private boarding school, Eton and Harrow being prestigious ones. Many sons were away from parents during formative years. How many would choose duty in the future? This is a pertinent question, for others' decisions later regarding the Crown and duty would ultimately affect Edward's life.

By his own account in his memoirs, Edward knew of the repeated warnings by Mr. Hansell, his tutor, to the King that his son needed a good preparatory school. Edward's father and his uncle were "educated" in the Navy, and tradition persisted. "Because Latin or Greek were not required at sea, my father saw no sense in my learning them."<sup>53</sup>

The educational aspect that was different for

---

<sup>52</sup>Ibid.

<sup>53</sup>H. R. H. Edward, Duke of Windsor, A King's Story. The Memoirs of The Duke of Windsor, op. cit., p. 58.

Edward in comparison with upper-class sons was his isolation and the lack of friendly competition with his contemporaries. The Duke wrote, "Those formative years were devoid of the sudden creative bursts and ranging interests that are normally inspired by the competitive association of young boys." He indicated his mother felt Edward had latent intellectual ability, the father expressed the opposite view. Regardless of intellect, the Duke summed up the situation by writing "the circumstances of my birth tended to dilute and slow down my preparation for the outer world."<sup>54</sup>

Half of his education was as Prince and restricted in more ways than course subjects; the other half of his education was as a person in the Royal Naval College. By that time he was approaching thirteen years of age. The significance of the age factor has to be underscored at this point. Late in his adolescence and after he was invested Prince of Wales at age 16, Edward, by his own account, admitted parental treatment of him changed to expressed confidence. Was his identity as a person subordinated to his identity as a Prince as Linda Rosenzweig theorized? Psychologists are placing more emphasis on the early formative years.

"He lacked a positive concept of himself as a

---

<sup>54</sup>Ibid.



human being, and he was unhappy as a prince."<sup>55</sup> Rosenzweig's theory held that his desire to excel in sports like riding and hunting satisfied a need to improve his self-image. This was also exemplified by his fighting in World War I. Another son of the King could fill his role, while he needed the opportunity to do what other young men his age were doing in 1914.<sup>56</sup> He was protected during World War I, and he knew that fact. At the same time his youth prevented his full understanding that his protection was an added burden for other men with a war to win. Another way of looking into this matter, with which any young man could identify, was the need to prove his masculinity. He was the first solo British sovereign pilot. His attitude matured eventually. After a concussion received from a steeplechasing accident, he sacrificed this sport in lieu of the responsibility he felt for others as Heir Apparent.

All these comments and facts could lead one to assume Edward lacked normal opportunities to channel his Oedipal drives toward acceptable alternatives. Sigmund Freud's Collected Papers were quoted to the effect that a man who could only love a woman already involved with another man had substituted his love object for the

---

<sup>55</sup>Rosenzweig, loc. cit.

<sup>56</sup>Ibid., pp. 105-6.



ideal mother and represented a man with a "lingering Oedipal fixation." Edward's attachments were those that could be won from the "father-husband figure,"<sup>57</sup> in a way representing another type of battlefield to prove his bravery or masculinity. His refusal to be attracted to young, pretty girls could have been considered a possible rejection of the Establishment which his father adequately represented.

It was accurate, however, to portray Wallis Simpson as treating the Prince of Wales differently than other women. Her slapping his hand lightly at a dinner party was an isolated event of this nature. More important was the fact that through the months she instilled more self-confidence in the Prince, and she had a genuine interest in all his royal duties. The ideal mother-image or the ideal lover would have done that. Eventually, Wallis managed Fort Belvedere, his beloved home, acted as his hostess, redecorated, and even dismissed unsuitable servants. Even at this point there was a supreme effort to please Wallis, which remained constant all his life. This humility was only for her; he could be formidable to anyone else, showing a royal disfavor bluntly.

---

<sup>57</sup> Ibid., p. 107.

During Queen Mary's lifetime, the Duchess was never invited to Buckingham Palace. Their wedding was boycotted by the Royal Family. Queen Mary was in her presence only once when Wallis was still Mrs. Ernest Simpson. As the impoverished Princess May of Teck there was morganatic or non-royal blood because her paternal grandmother was a Hungarian Countess, "a fact that had made her unacceptable as a wife for any reigning German prince, grand duke, or duke, even though she herself was a princess." Suddenly, Queen Mary's intensity never to recognize the marriage nor to accept Wallis was explained more satisfactorily. "Edward also acted out his father's role by his choice of a commoner wife who represented his mother as a young girl."<sup>58</sup>

In Edward's case, his father was not his model; but his grandfather, King Edward VII, was. The grandfather image was a comfortable figure in comparison with the stern, threatening father image. The Duke's reminiscences of his grandfather were discussed earlier. He identified with him still in 1960 when he published Windsor Revisited. "My grandfather began, from his early youth, to do the wrong thing in the critical eyes of his father and mother--rather as his grandson was to do in

---

<sup>58</sup> Ibid., p. 109.

the eyes of his, later on."<sup>59</sup>

His grandfather loved society and enjoyed feminine companionship to the extent that he abolished for a time the traditional British custom of the ladies' leaving the men alone after dinner. This Continental fashion did not suit his ministers who sometimes used this time for confidential words, so it was eventually re-established. The Duke's father, by contrast, preferred masculine to feminine company. "After my grandfather died, the character of the Court soon changed. Gone was its lighthearted cosmopolitan atmosphere."<sup>60</sup>

At the time of Queen Elizabeth II's coronation, eighteen years after Edward's abdication, he described his grandfather's reign as one of "magnificence, color, and variety." His father's reflected an "echo of the Victorian era," while his if allowed to run its course would have been more like his grandfather's reign in "mood and texture."<sup>61</sup>

From all historical evidence and friends' expressed observations, Edward married for love. At the age of

---

<sup>59</sup>H. R. H. The Duke of Windsor, Windsor Revisited (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1960), p. 47.

<sup>60</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 85, 87.

<sup>61</sup>Rosenzweig, *op. cit.*, p. 111.



twenty he had expressed this desire to his grandmother, Queen Alexandra, who knew about her husband's numerous mistresses.<sup>62</sup> Undoubtedly Edward had observed the pain his grandmother and parents experienced, determining in his own mind not to compromise his marriage.

Part of the reluctance to perform his hereditary duty could have been unconscious communications from both parents, yearning for fewer royal duties. King George may have "conveyed an unconscious fear" that his son would turn out like his older, irresponsible brother who died. At the same time, Queen Mary may have "conveyed an unconscious hope" that Edward would have some qualities like her first fiance. "Her exaggerated view of her duty to the Monarchy indicates an unconscious effort to repress deep dissatisfaction and resentment."<sup>63</sup>

In a person who has developed normally, impulsive behavior is checked by facing reality. Rosenzweig explained that the inner conflict from Edward's lingering Oedipus complex caused him to be unable to assess realities. Edward created circumstances himself from which there was no way out except abdication. Although there was no English law dealing with morganatic marriage,

---

<sup>62</sup>Ibid., p. 113, cited from Duke, The Crown and the People 1902-1953, New York, 1954, p. 41.

<sup>63</sup>Ibid., p. 115.



the royal prerogative had been used for the royal family. George IV was married morganatically to a commoner, Mrs. Fitzherbert.<sup>64</sup> Edward was not compelled to ask Baldwin's advice on morganatic marriage. He had not faced the reality of the Monarchy being endangered. He had not faced the realities of the times and warning signals throughout Europe.

In conclusion, regarding Rosenzweig's hypothesis concerning Edward's abdication, the real merit to her argument comes from the stimulation she provides for historians to consider fresh possible ideas, regardless of whether one agrees with her entirely. The question "Why?" was asked by many who knew Wallis or saw her photograph. None has ever described her as lovely. Refinement and charm were more cultivated through the years. This documented study gives insight into the possibility that Wallis was a mother image, and he would not place her in an immoral position nor could he afford to lose her.

Lord Templewood in Nine Troubled Years gave his personal account.

Throughout these anxious days the King remained resolute, and, indeed, seemingly indifferent to the consequences of abdication. When he signed the fifteen documents that were needed for ending

---

<sup>64</sup>Ibid., p. 116.

his reign, he showed not the least emotion. His farewell broadcast . . . seemed to me to betray no deep regret.<sup>65</sup>

The Honorable L. S. Amery in My Political Life expressed his personal view that Mrs. Simpson was Edward's excuse to escape his royal duty.<sup>66</sup> Lord Templewood wrote that the fatal reason was not his affection but "that he did not like being King. The ritual and tradition of a historic office made no appeal to him."<sup>67</sup> This was his personal opinion from observations made in Edward's presence. Tradition, along with other aspects of the past, meant little to Edward as Prince or as King, later.

## V. Conclusion

Throughout his entire life he never admitted he made a mistake regarding the decision to abdicate. In fact, he emphasized that he had desired to be King. The weaknesses were within himself; there was no alternative eventually but to lead a purposeless existence. Tragedy is deep within man himself.

---

<sup>65</sup> Lord Templewood (Samuel John Gurney Hoare), Nine Troubled Years (St. James's Place, London: Collins, 1954), p. 221.

<sup>66</sup> L. S. Amery (The Right Honorable L. S. Amery, C. H.), My Political Life, Volume Three, The Unforgiving Years 1929-40 (London: Hutchinson, 1955), pp. 213-214.

<sup>67</sup> Templewood, op. cit., p. 223.

REACTION OF THE NEWS MEDIA OF THE UNITED STATES

I. Introduction: Responses to the American Press Coverage

The role the news media of the United States played contributed greatly to the precipitation of the abdication crisis. Just as the mother country many years ago could not control her delinquent colonies, now the cultured, reticent madonna could not control her former child, a young country flexing her muscles through the news media. A relatively young nation without the centuries of traditions that included royalty had little reverence for monarchy. Ancestry and tradition were not engrained into our country's being. However, freedom of speech was engrained from the earliest days.

As the Harvard Guide to American History notes:

Newspapers are indispensable to the historian for both the direct and indirect information they afford. Compiled in haste and often edited with bias, they must be used with critical caution. They constitute a voluminous source, for in no other respect has America been so articulate as in her daily and weekly press.<sup>68</sup>

Documented, personal reactions to the American news coverage of the abdication will be explored before

---

<sup>68</sup> Harvard Guide to American History, Volume I, Frank Freidel, ed. (Cambridge, Massachusetts and London, England: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1974), p. 130.



presenting the actual news.

John Evelyn Wrench in Geoffrey Dawson and Our Times referred to Dawson's personal letters and papers emphasizing "the American Press and its lack of reticence" in the months preceding and during the abdication. Again, referring to American newspaper clippings in his private diary, Dawson labeled them "malicious, some exaggerated gossip, some pure invention." Also by his own account, Dawson wrote an article entitled "King and Monarchy" for The Times, December 2, that, in part, contained an account of the American press coverage.<sup>69</sup> The overall theme, however, was that the monarchy was greater than the monarch. Dawson's comments point to the importance of the role he felt the American press played during the entire situation.

The American news reporters watched every activity that involved potential participants in the crisis. Archbishop Lang was not actively involved, but no one knew that at the time. Lang represented the Church of England, which strongly opposed divorce. He was outspoken and had a strong personality. J. G. Lockhart in Cosmo Gordon Lang wrote about the November meeting of Bishops in London during which Archbishop Lang informed everyone of recent events. "The meeting of the Bishops

---

<sup>69</sup>John Evelyn Wrench, Geoffrey Dawson and Our Times (London: Hutchinson and Co., Ltd, 1955), pp. 337, 348.



at such a time naturally provoked speculation, some sensational and erroneous explanations appearing in the American newspapers."<sup>70</sup> The British press was to remain silent another month.

No doubt the British abhorred the news coverage of the American press. The news clippings covered a full spectrum from sensationalism to scandal. It was difficult to sift fact from fabrication. C. R. Attlee in As It Happened explained: "I was not a reader of the American press, nor was I much interested in society gossip, so that it was not until a late stage that I became aware of the position that had arisen with regard to Mrs. Simpson."<sup>71</sup> It was amusing to note Attlee's discussion of the American press in the same statement as society gossip. An important British politician, Samuel Hoare, who was later Lord Templewood, mentioned that Mrs. Simpson's husband announced to the American press "his intention of starting proceedings for divorce."<sup>72</sup> Meanwhile, Mrs. Simpson had already started her divorce case scheduled for the end of October at Ipswich. At last rumors had been substantiated by actions.

---

<sup>70</sup>J. G. Lockhart, Cosmo Gordon Lang (London: Hodder and Stoughton, Ltd., 1949), p. 400.

<sup>71</sup>Attlee, op. cit., p. 122.

<sup>72</sup>Lord Templewood, op. cit., p. 217.

Kingsley Martin, who became editor of an independent weekly review, the New Statesman and Nation, in 1931, wrote an article supporting the morganatic marriage.<sup>73</sup> However, the King, having previously read the article, asked Martin to delay publishing it until the appropriate time. The King did not want the article to seem to be a step against the government. The article, in fact, was never printed because of Bishop Blunt's message December 2 which served as the long-awaited signal for the entire British press to attack the issue of the morganatic marriage to a twice-divorced woman.

The following were Kingsley Martin's words analyzing the American press in a lengthy article he wrote for the Atlantic Monthly in 1962:

The American dailies, thriving on gossip about the British throne, had no general circulation in England; British wholesalers cut out references to the monarchy (even at the sacrifice of whole pages) before they allowed magazines like Time to appear on English bookstalls. Only those who subscribed directly to American papers or who received cuttings from American friends knew how widely the scandal had spread. . . .

Lord William Maxwell Beaverbrook, press magnate

---

<sup>73</sup> Morganatic marriage is literally explained in a sixteenth century passage quoted by Du Cange, a marriage by which the wife and children are entitled to no share in the husband's possessions beyond the morning gift (morgengabe). Sometimes it was called a 'left-handed' marriage because the bridegroom gave the bride his left hand instead of his right. Lewis Broad, The Abdication. Twenty-five Years After (London: Frederick Muller Limited, 1961), p. 81.

and powerful politician, expressed his views about the American press in his memoirs of which excerpts were published in the Saturday Evening Post. "Although no word of comment had appeared in the British press, rumor was rife among the people. The American press suffered from no inhibitions, and printed the most sensational stories."<sup>74</sup> During the crisis the King requested Lord Beaverbrook to "modify the attitude of the American newspapers." Later, deciding not to act on the matter, Beaverbrook confessed he "was glad . . . for negotiations with the Americans promised to be both difficult and tedious and . . . quite likely to end in failure."<sup>75</sup>

Wallis Simpson was so concerned about the news coverage of the American press that she invited her cousin's husband, Newbold Noyes, an associate editor of the Washington Evening Star to interview her and to report her version of the happenings. Wallis had known Noyes since she was eighteen, and she confided in him. He tried to reassure her that at least 70 percent of the American newspaper articles reported favorably on the issue.<sup>76</sup>

---

<sup>74</sup>W. M. A. Beaverbrook, "How the Duke of Windsor Lost His Throne," Saturday Evening Post, January 29, 1966, 239:39.

<sup>75</sup>Ibid.

<sup>76</sup>Ralph G. Martin, The Woman He Loved (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1973), p. 232.



The noted English author, H. G. Wells, wrote for the American press:

I never have yet heard one single word or suggestion that she was anything but a perfectly honorable, highly intelligent, and charmingly mannered woman. Why shouldn't the King marry her and make her his Queen?<sup>77</sup>

Wells' personal opinion was that the authorities did not like the King, one reason being the King's very pertinent and embarrassing questions on social conditions.

Lewis Broad in The Abdication, his re-appraisal after twenty-five years, exclaimed, the

impact on the pillars of British society of the flaming publicity of the American press brought the crisis to a head. Never since the battle of Saratoga has the United States made so signal a contribution to a major event in British history.<sup>78</sup>

Later, he added:

Continental Europe had watched as the couple paraded in limelight of publicity while cruising the Mediterranean. In the United States newspapers turned on the heat and filled columns with facts about Royal romance and embroideries of their own.

While the British press still remained silent, reports "splashed in the American press with screaming headlines." Broad reiterated the fact that columns and pages were cut from imported American journals. He was fearful the King's call to Lord Beaverbrook "might be tapped and

---

<sup>77</sup> Ibid., p. 233.

<sup>78</sup> Broad, op. cit., p. xi.



reported by the American newshawks."<sup>79</sup> Needless to say, according to many British, the American press seemed to play the role of villain in this tragedy.

The authors of The Windsor Story relate what they call Wallis Simpson's unwise scheme to influence the American press to portray her background more favorably. Her ultimate goal was to change British opinion through the American press. She indicated many British objected to her being an American. She contacted Newbold Noyes who was to write articles for a newspaper syndicate. Approximately fifty American and foreign newspapers signed for copies, for a circulation of ten million. Her letters from England during her last months there in 1936 complained about the fabrication and sensationalism of the American newspaper coverage.<sup>80</sup>

Brian Inglis in Abdication referred to the fact that "American newspapers and magazines began to make references to the King's habit of intervening," of telling his ministers what to do, of delving into politics, and of interfering in foreign affairs. The British press remained silent in spite of the "avid speculation" in the

---

<sup>79</sup>Ibid., pp. xii, 60, 86.

<sup>80</sup>J. Bryan, III, and Charles J. V. Murphy, The Windsor Story (New York: Morrow, 1979), pp. 334-5, 338.

American press, linking the King's name with Wallis Simpson.<sup>81</sup> Naturally, when Mrs. Simpson was the King's guest frequently for dinner or on a cruise without her husband as her escort, there seemed to be grounds for speculation.

Frances Donaldson wrote in Edward VIII that the American newspapers were clamoring and some comments reached England. In actuality, the American press caused Prime Minister Baldwin terrible anxiety over the effect the news would have in the British Dominions, particularly Canada.<sup>82</sup> Respect for the monarchy that was built over three generations would be almost impossible to restore if lost. According to Baldwin's biographers, the American newspaper criticism had a powerful effect on British reactions. Church leaders and political leaders responded. At first, their response was worry and anxiety. British action came much later. Meanwhile, in America, curious stories were circulated. The Randolph Hearst newspapers wrote of Wallis Simpson's life; before, she was an unknown being. Time labeled her "Queen Wally." Rumors added to the horror of the people of the Dominions, particularly the Canadians.

---

<sup>81</sup>Brian Inglis, Abdication (New York: Macmillan Co., 1966), pp. 69, 175.

<sup>82</sup>Donaldson, op. cit., pp. 231, 240.

The Canadians had come to believe the American press reluctantly and were resentful. The British press remained silent.<sup>83</sup>

Finally, the King in his memoirs, A King's Story, admitted the American press followed him from his days of being Prince of Wales with a relentless curiosity "that marks its approach to royalty." He also wrote that the rumors in the American press and in the Canadian press caused Prime Minister Baldwin anxiety that the monarchy might be endangered.<sup>84</sup>

Numerous American newspapers and journals will be analyzed and will be quoted in the succeeding pages. The views and tones will be those expressed by the source on that particular date.

## II. News Coverage of the Abdication of Edward VIII

### A. Rumors and Speculation

#### 1. The New York Times, February 2, 1936.

As early as February 2, 1936 The New York Times reported legendary sayings of the newly crowned king.

---

<sup>83</sup>Keith Middlemas and John Barnes. Baldwin, A Biography (Great Britain: The Macmillan Company, 1969), pp. 982, 985.

<sup>84</sup>H. R. H. Edward, Duke of Windsor, A King's Story. The Memoirs of The Duke of Windsor, op. cit., pp. 196, 319.



As with most legends, there was no way to prove or disprove them, but they still made interesting topics of conversation. The legend of King Edward VIII was that while he was still Prince of Wales he had doubted that he should fulfill his destiny and had even consulted with Prime Minister Baldwin on that matter. He could have abdicated his rights to the throne to his brother the Duke of York, who was married, with children, and who could naturally and suitably fit the role of monarch. Baldwin told him, according to legend, that he could abdicate but would have to leave England.

The new king decided to do his duty. Royal visitors, especially the vocal Italian Crown Prince, were impressed with the Queen and her son during the days of mourning following the death of King George V. Public duty came before succumbing to private sorrow. "That's discipline," said Prince Humbert. "They're wonderful, your people."<sup>85</sup>

2. Time, November 2, 1936.

November 2, Time magazine carried specific details of favors and gifts granted Mrs. Simpson by the King such as the use of his chauffeur, his bodyguard, a

---

<sup>85</sup>Frederick Birchall, "King Edward Starts Task in Grim Earnest," The New York Times, February 2, 1936, 6:1.



sedan, and personal household items from Buckingham Palace and Fort Belvedere such as cooking utensils. As the American press proclaimed this news with banner headlines, the British press was silent. Publisher William Randolph Hearst, personally investigating the Simpson matter from his Wales castle, stated that he believed the King would marry Mrs. Simpson. His American newspapers flashed the news:

King Edward's most intimate friends state with the utmost positiveness that he is very deeply and sincerely enamored of Mrs. Simpson, that his love is a righteous affection, and that almost immediately after the Coronation he will take her as his consort.<sup>86</sup>

That week Mr. Justice Hawke of the Court at Ipswich granted a divorce decree nisi for Mrs. Simpson which involved a six month waiting interval before the final decision, unless in the meantime discrediting evidence was discovered by the King's Proctor, Sir Thomas Barnes.

### 3. Time, November 16, 1936.

Two weeks later Time magazine quoted Hearst's Universal News Service and The New York Times as sending news dispatches that were contradictory. Hearst gave some details regarding the marriage location and her proposed title. The latter newspaper said mainly that Mrs. Simpson had been a stabilizing influence over her

---

<sup>86</sup>"Cinderella," Time, November 2, 1936, 28:17-18.

close friend, the King, but that they would not marry.<sup>87</sup>  
 Meanwhile, journalists in Britain still remained silent.

4. Time, December 7, 1936.

Time magazine suggested December 7 that even when the present King was Prince of Wales, he would jokingly call the Duchess of York "Queen Elizabeth." This implied then that he might abdicate, causing her husband to become King.<sup>88</sup>

5. The New Republic, February 17, 1937.

Under the cover of respectability and the constitutional issue many comments were left unprinted but gossiped. Some said that King Edward was not efficient. Some claimed that he slept late and was not on time and never signed documents. Some claimed that he took drugs and drank wine. Some people gossiped that Mrs. Simpson was pro-Nazi and King Edward was friendly with the Germans. A few claimed that he visited South Wales just as Hitler was planning to invade Czechoslovakia. "What they want, naturally, is a more efficient dumbbell, anchored in orthodox matrimony."<sup>89</sup>

---

<sup>87</sup>"World's Greatest Romance," Time, November 16, 1936, 28:31.

<sup>88</sup>"Unprivate Lives," Time, December 7, 1936, 28:19-21.

<sup>89</sup>Francis Hackett, "Private Life," New Republic, February 17, 1937, 90:40.

6. Survey Graphic, January, 1937.

Survey Graphic compared this crisis with a Greek tragedy, two people against Fate. John P. Gavit indicated that even from the days of being Prince of Wales, the heir to the throne never wanted to be King. When he was a soldier fighting during World War I, he did not seek undue protection. "If I am killed, the King has other sons," he offered. The real rulers of the government felt that King Edward was a monarch which meddled in the affairs of democracy. He was an "unconventional man." The monarch did not want to be a "receiving station"<sup>90</sup> with no power to think independently as a human being.

B. Personal Service and Positive Character Traits

1. The New York Times, February 2, 1936.

In his social service King Edward VIII sought to improve the conditions of the poor. He continued visiting the poor, hardest hit industrial areas just as he had done when he was Prince of Wales. A threatened coal strike was averted shortly before King George's death. The new king had shown sympathy with the miners before an agreement had been reached with their employers. He had also sought decent housing to replace inadequate slum housing at a cost poor workers could

---

<sup>90</sup> John P. Gavit, "The Biggest Human Interest Story," Survey Graphic, January, 1937, 26:39-40.



afford. He founded the Social Service League whereby wealthy Englishmen could improve bad social conditions through a fund outside the scope of government agencies.<sup>91</sup>

2. The New York Times, December 6, 1936.

Clearly expressing sympathy for King Edward, The New York Times, December 6, carried a lengthy article expressing the King's "honesty and straight-forwardness." He did not desire to marry "a title with whose owner he was not in love." He deplored pretense and pomp.

" . . . King Edward has succeeded so far in retaining a mind and will of his own but also a personal genuineness and sincerity to which sham and pretense are repugnant."<sup>92</sup> His independence was limited by the restrictions of a constitutional monarchy. He knew the constitution well.

3. Newsweek, December 12, 1936.

Newsweek on December 12 carried a six page article which mainly emphasized Edward the soldier, the prince, the independent thinker to the dismay of his Cabinet, and the one with several infatuations. It seemed now the King had fallen in love. "After King George's death last January, this influence increased instead of melting discreetly under the radiance of the

---

<sup>91</sup>Birchall, op. cit., p. 6.

<sup>92</sup>Clair Price, "Crisis Shows King's Honesty," The New York Times, December 6, 1936, 4:8.



### C. Political Fear of Pro-German Tendencies

1. The New York Times, February 2, 1936.

King Edward VIII liked the Germans, much to the distress of the French and many British. In this respect he was more like his grandfather, since his father had favored the French. As Prince of Wales, while fighting during those bleak years of World War I, he had had enough of war and hatred, and now he sought friendship with the Germans. As king, he would receive advice from his ministers; however, this young and popular constitutional monarch could influence foreign policy. Germany had felt isolated and friendless but now they had a friend.<sup>94</sup>

2. Time, February 10, 1936.

Time magazine in February 1936 carried an article that emphasized King Edward's pro-German tendencies. In a receiving line at Buckingham Palace, the King and German Foreign Minister, Baron Constantin von Neurath, had a conversation in German lasting several minutes

---

<sup>93</sup>"Britain: Fate of a Monarch, Course of an Empire, Destiny of One-Half Billion Souls Depend on Mrs. Simpson of Baltimore," Newsweek, December 12, 1936, 8:7-12.

<sup>94</sup>The New York Times, February 2, 1936, op. cit.

while the long line of foreign dignitaries waited. This was an important gesture upon which the German press expounded and toward which the French press showed its resentment by remaining silent. Home Secretary Sir John Simon announced by radio to anxious Frenchmen:

In years gone by the King of England exercised great personal power . . . Nowadays the King always acts on the advice of his ministers, who themselves are responsible to Parliament.<sup>95</sup>

#### D. The Dominions

The New York Times, December 5, 1936.

The next day The New York Times received and quoted a special news dispatch from the Canadian press. Prime Minister Mackenzie King related that the Canadian Government only answered the British Government by giving its views on the suitability of the King's marrying a divorcee. The views of the Dominion governments were against any such marriage because ultimately the crown would suffer. He said, "The strongest link between the mother country and the dominions would be weakened to the snapping point." Even if the Baldwin government resigned, the new government would face the unwillingness to introduce similar legislation under the Statute of Westminster. The New York Times also received a special cable from Dublin, Ireland, from the Irish Times

---

<sup>95</sup>"The Crown," Time, February 10, 1936, 27:19-20.

reporting:

Should the King refuse to comply with the advice of his Cabinet he would find himself in what would obviously be an almost impossible situation. There is every indication that, for the present at any rate, he is not likely to get much support from Parliament.<sup>96</sup>

The Irish Times cable also expressed sympathy but declared the man must place duty above human emotion.

If the King insisted on the marriage and thus rejected the advice of Prime Minister Baldwin, it was then that the Prime Minister and the entire cabinet would resign. The alternative Prime Minister would form a new government which would be approved by the House of Commons. If this new government were not approved, then it would either resign or would ask the King for dissolution of Parliament to be followed by a general election. Constitutionally, it would be beyond Baldwin's power to demand abdication. Also the Archbishop of Canterbury's alleged threat to refuse to attend the Coronation was unconstitutional. The Church of England was established by law and was part of the State, which meant that all officers were subject to the constitution. To date, there had been only one restriction on a sovereign's marriage: the spouse must not be a Roman Catholic.

---

<sup>96</sup> Charles Selden, "Baldwin Remains Firm," The New York Times, December 5, 1936, 1:8.



As a result of the Statute of Westminster of 1931, the King was responsible to and advised by the governments of the Dominions as well as the government of Great Britain. In any decision affecting the succession, they must be consulted.<sup>97</sup>

#### E. Political Power Struggle

##### 1. Newsweek, December 12, 1936.

For five months there had been a struggle between King Edward and Prime Minister Baldwin and his cabinet; yet, the British press remained silent. Canada joined forces with Great Britain in voluntary press censorship. From December 2 on the small murmur became a roar as the British press awoke.<sup>98</sup>

##### 2. The Commonweal, January 1, 1937.

An article in The Commonweal said that it could be probable that the crisis just passed had been growing since his birth. In time, anything might have precipitated the crisis. Regarding the constitutional issue, both the Labor party and the Liberals sided with the Prime Minister. He was the real ruler but could lose power if the House of Commons voted against his policies. The King, as a symbol of continuity, was supposed to be

---

<sup>97</sup> Ibid.

<sup>98</sup> Newsweek, December 12, 1936, loc. cit.



above party politics. King Edward was popular at home and in the Dominions. The political parties feared a victory by the King might give him and other kings in the future more power. They rallied to defend the power of parliament and the Constitution.<sup>99</sup>

3. Scholastic, January 9, 1937.

The British Constitution was unwritten, having been partly based on tradition. Since English nobles forced King John to sign the Magna Charta in 1215, they fought numerous battles to limit the power of the Monarch. Parliament beheaded King Charles I in 1649. James II was forced to abdicate and to flee in 1689.<sup>100</sup> History had provided numerous examples of this power struggle between Monarch and Parliament. This explained why a popular King did not gain more support.

4. Harper's Magazine, April, 1937.

Not entirely contradictory was the fact that the King's abdication was indirectly a victory for democracy. The Spanish Civil War was ravaging. There was European unrest. Harper's Magazine said that regardless of the smug, irritating attitude of the British government, they

---

<sup>99</sup>"One Last Word," The Commonweal, January 1, 1937, 25:260.

<sup>100</sup>"Edward VIII Bows to Parliament," Scholastic, January 9, 1937, 29:18-19.

were right. King Edward had many good qualities, including a keen insight and concern for the poor people within a prosperous country. But he had to go, for had he gotten his way once he might get it on some issue of greater importance, such as foreign policy.<sup>101</sup> His friendly feelings for the Germans were not those of most of his subjects. It would be a peril to have the crown back in politics.

#### F. Conflict With Prime Minister Baldwin

##### 1. The Nation, December 19, 1936.

The Nation depicted Baldwin as an opportunist, governing in his own interests. A sympathetic, compromising Prime Minister and Cabinet could have waited until marriage was possible and passed legislation for a solution. Baldwin knew how to maneuver situations, to keep from losing power or control. In 1935 he held a general election after the Jubilee and at the right timing when the British were hesitant "to change a government that had given its pledge against rearmament." He used the death of George V to broadcast, appealing to the people's emotions. His cabinet was politically shaken by foreign and internal policy indecisiveness. He used Edward's personal dilemma "to show himself again to be

---

<sup>101</sup> Elmer Davis, "England Turns a Corner," Harper's Magazine, April, 1937, 174:492-501.

the champion of tradition of Cabinet government."<sup>102</sup>

In "The King's Abdication" by Harold J. Laski of The Nation, two points were raised. First, the King must act on the advice of his ministers. Secondly, the place where policy was decided was the House of Commons. This procedure then was a definite liability to those who sought to decide this through non-parliamentary action. Laski felt the monarchy had been seriously damaged. The place though would resume its traditional "dullness."<sup>103</sup>

2. Time, December 21, 1936.

Time magazine, December 21, regarded Prime Minister Baldwin with sarcastic undertones. It mentioned that the Crown was the symbol of the British Empire, when in actuality it was the top hat of Baldwin and men like him. He had not even consulted any other member of his cabinet before first approaching the King regarding Mrs. Simpson. He told the House of Commons "my lips are sealed" so often that it was synonymous with hypocrisy. Upon reading the abdication, Baldwin emphasized his personal friendship with the King lasting many years. Everyone in the House of Commons knew the reverse was actually the truth. That day George Buchanan, Independent Laborite, pointed out the irony. They had praised the King lavishly in the

---

<sup>102</sup>"Love and the Governing Class," The Nation, December 19, 1936, 143:720-1.

<sup>103</sup>Harold J. Laski, "The King's Abdication," The Nation, December 19, 1936, 143:723.



past. If he was half that good, why did they wish to get rid of him? Of course, Baldwin answered with silence. As customary, he would not answer hypothetical questions. Baldwin felt smug. Even Benito Mussolini in The Giornale d' Italia admitted:

Prime Minister Baldwin has served the interests of his country worthily by facing the painful but necessary battle to separate, even up to extreme consequences, Edward's private life from the duties that are his toward the Empire.<sup>104</sup>

#### G. Conflict With the Church of England

##### 1. The New York Times, December 4, 1936.

By December 4, however, The New York Times mentioned that the Simpson matter was unsettled. It carried a lengthy article on the British church and state regarding divorce and marriage as it could apply to the King and Mrs. Simpson. A study of the law indicated that he would have no difficulty marrying within the Church of England. The innocent person in the divorce case would be Mrs. Simpson, since she was asking for a divorce on the grounds of her husband's adultery. Under church law even the guilty person could marry within the church if he would find a minister who would perform the ceremony. The innocent person would encounter even less difficulty.

---

<sup>104</sup>"Great Britain," Time, December 21, 1936, 28:14-19.



The church laws would not conflict with state laws. The church, however, could make additional laws of its own.<sup>105</sup>

2. Time, December 21, 1936.

Time next had material regarding the attitude of the Archbishop of Canterbury. In the House of Lords he had said, "Of the motive which compelled the renunciation we dare not speak." Yet he spoke out the first Sunday the ex-King was gone. He referred to him as "alien," "our late King," with its implication, and decried his "craving for private happiness." To any of the ex-King's friends, the Archbishop announced they stood "rebuked."<sup>106</sup> Part of the dilemma, regarding religion, was that the King would be anointed during the Coronation as part-priest or part-Pope. He had resolved to marry a divorcee. As Prince of Wales, the ex-King had had a reputation, long before he met Mrs. Simpson. No doubt the Archbishop, the Prime Minister and others knew those facts. Time also quoted the New York Roma Daily News:

His women habits were, at least until the Simpson affair, promiscuous. He violated the homes of at least four of his subjects who up to that time had thought themselves his friends. He also had numerous fugitive amatory incidents with all sorts of people.

The Archbishop was against the King marrying a divorcee.

---

<sup>105</sup>"Past Rulings Are Cited," The New York Times, December 4, 1936, 19:1.

<sup>106</sup>Time, December 21, 1936, loc. cit.

Likewise, Arthur Brishane warned, "It is not necessary to tell ambitious young American women . . . how Mrs. Simpson will feel when she marries what is left of the 'king.'"<sup>107</sup> In addition, had the Archbishop, Prime Ministers and other Englishmen subconsciously felt that being an American and a commoner was not only objectionable but unutterable?

3. The New Republic, December 16, 1936.

Even after the abdication, the press of the United States defended Edward. The New Republic announced that in British conservative court circles there had been objections to an American and a commoner. More importantly was the church's disapproval of divorce. It would have been a tremendous psychological loss for the Church, with its position on divorce, for the King to marry a divorcee.<sup>108</sup> Even knowing those facts, the American press continued to support Edward.

4. The Literary Digest, December 12, 1936.

The Literary Digest said that the words of Dr. Blunt, Bishop of Bradford, forced the British monarchy into the gravest crisis since Charles I was beheaded three hundred years before. The bishop's words carried inestimable weight. "We hope he is aware of his need.

---

<sup>107</sup> Ibid.

<sup>108</sup> "King and Constitution," The New Republic, December 16, 1936, 89:204-5.

Some of us wish he gave more positive signs of such awareness." The article commented: "The whole pack bayed madly along the trail the Bishop had uncovered."<sup>109</sup> This was during the time when the Spanish Civil War constituted a crisis for Europe. The crisis at home had to be solved in order to be prepared for any threatening foreign crisis.

#### H. Reactions of British Press Reported in America

##### 1. Time, December 7, 1936.

Without mentioning Mrs. Simpson's name, the editor of the London Times, Geoffrey Dawson said:

It is a position--the position of the King's deputy not less than that of the King himself--that must be kept high above public reproach or ridicule and that is incomparably more important than the individual who fills it.

The next morning Viscount Rothermere in his Daily Mail was pro-King and anti-Baldwin. Rothermere emphasized the King's concern for the poor and the recent visit to depressed areas of South Wales. Baron Camrose's Daily Telegraph gave the rebuttal: "Those who would make a whip to beat the Ministers out of the kind and human feelings the King has shown are not helping the depressed areas but are doing his Majesty a grave disservice."<sup>110</sup>

---

<sup>109</sup>"Edward's Empire-Shaking Romance," The Literary Digest, December 12, 1936, 122:5-8.

<sup>110</sup>Time, December 7, 1936, loc. cit.



About this time Baldwin summoned all members of his Cabinet to drop everything and to meet at No. 10 Downing Street. That was a grave sign. Afterwards, he met with the Leader of the Opposition, Laborite Clement Attlee.

When the British press finally released all barriers and exercised real freedom of the press, the majority united to form opposition to the King's marriage. They gave him only one decision: Mrs. Simpson or the throne. Never before had a sovereign been told his marriage must have the permission of the Cabinet or Privy Council. In a similar situation in 1840 Queen Victoria made it absolutely clear Prince Albert was her choice as consort. She faced the Privy Council with determination to have her German husband.<sup>111</sup> Disagreements over Albert's title and income were negotiated with the Privy Council. Albert would be Prince Consort instead of King Consort. Advisor Lord Melbourne was readily available to remind Queen Victoria that foreigners were disliked in England. They did not want Prince Albert involved politically.<sup>112</sup> Queen Victoria was King Edward's great-grandmother.

---

<sup>111</sup>Ibid.

<sup>112</sup>Elizabeth Longford, Queen Victoria (New York: Harper and Row, Publishers, 1964), pp. 137-139.

2. The New York Times, December 7, 1936.

The New York Times kept abreast of the entire situation through wireless messages from London, giving a wide scope of the reaction of the British press. By December 7 most editors were making last minute appeals to the King and also asking the government not to press him. At the same time, the newspapers cautioned that lengthy delay might damage business and the unity of the empire. The New York Times quoted The British Times:

But until that decision is taken let there be a truce to the insinuations against His Majesty's Ministers here and in the dominions. Their burdens also have been heavy and their duty is sufficiently distasteful.<sup>113</sup>

The authors of the Statue of Westminster in 1931 never realized what severe test the Constitution would bear. The newspapers took the attitude of this being a constitutional issue. There was a difference of opinion regarding the constitutional interpretation.

In that same article the New York Times quoted the London Times and the Daily Telegraph as condemning Winston Churchill for his suggestion of a five-month's delay in reaching a decision. The Daily Telegraph was quoted as cautioning: "There are some concessions which cannot be made to the best beloved, some rules which cannot be broken, some conventions which must be upheld."<sup>114</sup>

---

<sup>113</sup>"Press Still Firm Against Marriage," The New York Times, December 7, 1936, 11:1.

<sup>114</sup>Ibid.

The Sheffield Telegraph had reported and likewise was quoted by The New York Times:

To millions of the King's subjects a marriage is unthinkable, and the Cabinets of this country and the dominions, all equally concerned, realize that any measure which would facilitate such a marriage if introduced into the several parliaments would have to be withdrawn.<sup>115</sup>

The Birmingham Post had declared a "conflict in the King's mind between his personal inclination and his kingly responsibility must be settled by himself." The Yorkshire Post had relayed: "The monarchy is greater than the monarch." The Nottingham Journal reported:

If he is to abdicate it must be clear beyond a doubt that he insists on going; that he lays down his office of his own deliberate will and free choice and that none of his advisers has exceeded his duty.<sup>116</sup>

The last British newspaper quoted in the lengthy article was The Birmingham Gazette, which said:

The government need not fear the allegations of employing undue influence if it tells the country its true position. The time has come for plain statements and the place for making them must be in the House of Commons.<sup>117</sup>

Through wireless messages from London, the New York Times adequately illustrated the diverse British opinions.

Meanwhile the British Empire showed no panic,

---

<sup>115</sup>Ibid.

<sup>116</sup>Ibid.

<sup>117</sup>Ibid.



only concerned interest and sympathy. The Dominions stood fast; their rights were safeguarded. The old power struggle between Crown and Parliament that started hundreds of years before continued. What had been published in the United States, Great Britain and around the world could only hint at what was not published but discussed privately everywhere.

The legal procedure would be that the King would remain in power until he signed a bill declaring his abdication. The bill as presented would be approved in the House of Commons and then the House of Lords. In effect, this legislation would remove King Edward and any of his heirs from succession to the British throne. It would allow the Duke of York to become King. King Edward's situation would not apply to the Royal Marriages Act of 1772, whereby the ruling king approved a marriage of any member of the royal family. Lastly, all appointments made by King Edward would still be recognized.<sup>118</sup>

3. Current History, February, 1937.

King Edward had friends among the British press, quoted in Current History, and they tried to turn the tide toward a workable solution. December 4 The New

---

<sup>118</sup> Ibid.

Statesman advocated a morganatic marriage. Many British felt Baldwin's saying before the House of Commons that there was no such thing known to British law was irrelevant. The British had prided themselves on their ability to compromise. Lord Beaverbrook, the newspaper publisher, was in close contact with the court. His Evening Standard December 4 favored compromise. Meanwhile, Lord Rothermere's newspapers, the Sunday Dispatch and the Daily Mail, were criticizing Baldwin's policy. The efforts still were not effective enough because the majority of the press united behind Baldwin against the marriage completely. Two of the King's outspoken friends in the House of Commons, Colonel Josiah Wedgwood and Mr. Winston Churchill, were treated disrespectfully.<sup>119</sup>

The main points were that the House of Commons did not demand an early debate, and the King did not challenge the cabinet. The opinion of the House of Commons was assumed rather than tested. The Parliamentary reputation had suffered a setback.

## I. Paradoxes of the Abdication Crisis

1. The Nation, December 19, 1936.

The American writer, John Gunther, pointed out

---

<sup>119</sup> George E. G. Catlin, "He Wouldn't Play King Without Mrs. Simpson," Current History, February, 1937, 45:88-95.

several paradoxes pertaining to the entire Simpson crisis. Who the King was seemed unimportant because of the easy transition of the crown to the Duke of York; yet who the Queen was cost Edward the throne. The Church of England was founded by King Henry VIII because he wanted a divorce. Another paradox was that the free press in Britain was silent for months. Then ultimately, the press influenced public opinion. They could easily have created a different impression, showing Mrs. Simpson's favorable influence on the King. Lastly, Edward wanted to change his lifestyle and marry. Baldwin, the moralist, denied the King a moral solution to the crisis.<sup>120</sup>

2. The New Republic, January 6, 1937.

The American press continued to abhor the situation. The New Republic denoted after the crisis the British were "complacent." It was a "cold-blooded" performance of a "rather insensitive governing class." In this tragedy the characters complimented each other. Excerpts from the press around the world confirmed their self-esteem. H. N. Brailsford indicated the King had disliked his job and refused to fight.<sup>121</sup> A new cabinet with

---

<sup>120</sup> John Gunther, "Notes on the Simpson Crisis," The Nation, December 19, 1936, 143:724-5.

<sup>121</sup> H. N. Brailsford, "England After the Crisis," New Republic, January 6, 1937, 89:294-6.



powerful Winston Churchill as Prime Minister could have altered events. If Parliament were dissolved, the popular King might have won on the issue in a general election.

3. Current History, May, 1937.

An article by S. K. Ratcliffe in Current History reiterated the facts five months after the abdication. First, the King, realizing the impossibility of his proposal of a morganatic marriage being accepted, did not cause a constitutional crisis. Second, the King did not make a stand for Mrs. Simpson as queen-consort. His first proposal to Prime Minister Baldwin was the morganatic marriage. Parliament would not discuss a bill. Baldwin asked the leaders of the Dominions, in his own way, their feelings toward marriage. Yet, the public voice of the Dominions was not heard until the issue was already settled. Third, in spite of being very popular and very English,

he was completely out of tune with the established forms and the prevailing atmosphere of the Court and English society. . . . He was sacrificed to the system, a victim of unmerciful publicity.<sup>122</sup>

### III. Conclusion

In order to illuminate and to emphasize the

---

<sup>122</sup>S. K. Ratcliffe, "As Britain Crowns a King," Current History, May, 1937, 46:41-6.

boldness of the American press, the reaction of the British press will be explained for comparison. If indeed the American press played the villainous role in this tragedy, so also with a lesser supporting role did the British press suffer a loss of prestige abroad, for actually the King and Prime Minister Baldwin both influenced the British press for "voluntary" censorship. To my knowledge only Lord Beaverbrook was candid enough to indicate the King's influence over newspapers sympathetic to the King and to his cause. Lord Beaverbrook admitted his part in persuading Fleet Street to remain silent. Other newspaper magnates are evasive about press censorship, citing obviously sound reasons for reticence. The newspapers not influenced by Lord Beaverbrook and Lord Rothermere were influenced by Prime Minister Baldwin. He sent delegations to newspaper magnates asking for their support for a united front against the King. He convinced these men that his delicate work must not be hindered since abdication seemed inevitable.

Even editors who supported the King like Kingsley Martin explained their silence by citing the danger of libel suits and the "royal taboo"<sup>123</sup> against printing scandal about the Royal Family. There was a gentlemen's

---

<sup>123</sup>Martin, op. cit., p. 74.

agreement among press magnates for silence for months. Gentle, non-verbal pressure applied for cooperation amounted to a type of censorship.

By the ex-King's own account, the newspaper proprietors with the greatest circulations and the newspapers that appealed to the masses were on the King's side. He referred to Lord Beaverbrook and Lord Rothermere and quoted their newspapers. The Daily Express printed,

No government can stand in the King's way if he is resolved to walk that way. . . . Let the King give his decision to the people and let him give the reasons for it, too.

The Daily Mail reported, "Abdication is out of the question because its possibilities of mischief are endless. The effect on the Empire would be calamitous."<sup>124</sup> The King added the Western Morning News to his list of supporters. In addition, valuable support came from Sir Walter Layton, later Lord Layton, whose article in the liberal News Chronicle advocated the King's proposal for a morganatic marriage.

This newspaper spoke for the Liberal tradition, which was nonconformist in outlook and regulated by strict and uncompromising moral judgments. Yet it advocated the morganatic marriage.<sup>125</sup>

---

<sup>124</sup>H. R. H. Edward, Duke of Windsor, A King's Story. The Memoirs of The Duke of Windsor, op. cit., p. 372.

<sup>125</sup>Ibid.



There were two weekly publications, that could be labeled intellectual, that supported the King. The New Statesman and Nation sympathetically viewed the morganatic marriage, and the Catholic Tablet contended the marriage was not a constitutional reason for abdication.<sup>126</sup> Certainly, therefore, Prime Minister Baldwin did not have a united press front against the King.

Just as Wallis Simpson's being granted the divorce decree nisi October 27 was the turning point in the crisis, even so was the address by the Bishop of Bradford to his Diocesan Conference the signal for the British press to act. Behind the mask of reticence and silence, there was the turmoil and the anxiety of the press as to what to do next. Consciously or not, the press magnates could not help but compare the British press with the American press. Ironically, Reverend Blunt was not referring to the King's relationship with Wallis Simpson because there is documented proof that he was not even aware of any of these details. Dr. Blunt was referring to the King's not attending church regularly when he referred to the King's being more aware of his needs of Divine Grace. The Bishop claimed that his address had been prepared six weeks prior to the December 2

---

<sup>126</sup> Ibid., p. 373.

delivery.<sup>127</sup> Archbishop Cosmo Gordon Lang knew all the details and was in close contact with Prime Minister Baldwin. There was no need for him to act since the Prime Minister's views coincided with the Archbishop's personal views.

The first comment in the British press appeared in a leading article in the Yorkshire Post, December 2, referring to Dr. Blunt's address. That same evening Prime Minister Baldwin met with the King and consequently reported to the Archbishop next day. Before seeing the King, Baldwin had consulted again with his Cabinet and had communicated with the government heads of the Dominions. With only one exception, all governments declared they would not support legislation necessary for the morganatic marriage.

Geoffrey Dawson, editor of the powerful, prestigious London newspaper, The Times, on December 3 published an article emphasizing the monarchy's being greater than the monarch. December 7 the news leader stressed its case against the morganatic marriage. December 9 the news reflected a lull in the crisis; however, the climax was reported the next day when the King signed the abdication. December 11 one theme of

---

<sup>127</sup> Lockhart, op. cit., p. 401.

the several articles in The Times was on the light that follows darkness.<sup>128</sup> From the tone of these various articles in The Times, one can determine the course of thinking of the newspapers in opposition to the King, for indeed other newspapers did look to The Times for leadership. This newspaper reflected the views of the majority members of society, of politicians, and of the educated.

Truly, there was bewilderment when the flood of publicity broke December 3, for the masses were unaware of the issue. However, the King's hand was forced October 26, the day Geoffrey Dawson went to Buckingham Palace and talked with Major Hardinge and Prime Minister Baldwin. Dawson presented them with a lengthy letter supposedly written by a Briton living in the United States. There was speculation that this letter was written by Geoffrey Dawson himself. Indeed, the letter was written with great insight and greatly discredited the American press.

As a matter of fact a sober newspaper like the New York Times, which has consistently sought to promote good relations with Britain, . . . has now given up this voluntary censorship as useless and prints copious news about Mrs. Simpson on its front page, although in less febrile accents than the sensational press.

---

<sup>128</sup>Wrench, op. cit., pp. 349-351.



The letter was signed "Brittannicus in Partibus Infidelium."<sup>129</sup> It ended with the desire for the King to abdicate. It was most unusual for a letter to be printed in The Times without the person's real name.

In Geoffrey Dawson's diary November 16 he noted a conversation with H. A. Gwynne, editor of the Morning Post who had asked Dawson for a united press when the cue came from the government. Dawson wrote regarding this talk with Gwynne, "I pointed out the objections to this sort of official Press phalanx. . . ."<sup>130</sup> That sounded good in his diary, of course, which was doctored because he knew his records and the accounts of others were for the benefit of posterity. As mentioned earlier, the Morning Post, as well as other newspapers, was waiting for the Times to act. That same day the notation was entered into Dawson's diary that Prime Minister Baldwin made it clear that press comment could weaken delicate negotiations which seemed to be leading to abdication anyway. Just four days prior to that diary notation, Dawson commented that the press was an "unknown world"<sup>131</sup> to Stanley Baldwin. Lord Beaverbrook plainly had said

---

<sup>129</sup>Ibid., pp. 341-2.

<sup>130</sup>Ibid., p. 345.

<sup>131</sup>Ibid., pp. 344-5.

a delegation from Baldwin had approached him for a united front against the King.

Again, it is just human nature to present oneself to the best advantage possible. Geoffrey Dawson's personal account is extremely important. His biographer, John Evelyn Wrench, said that Dawson's account was second in importance to the Prime Minister's account of the abdication. What about the ex-King's memoirs? Why would Wrench place more historical value on Dawson's account than the ex-King's version? Equally important for the historian is to remember that prejudice and bias, however slight, does exist in historical writing. In addition to these facts, the entire factual story will not be known until the Crown Archives and Cabinet papers are disclosed in the year 2037.

The crisis was brought to a head when The Daily Mail played up the King's visit to South Wales, showing his concern for the unemployed. One could subtly differentiate this attitude with the indifference of the Cabinet for the unemployed. Dawson helped word a rebuttal in The Times, showing the danger of such thinking and reporting. The next day, November 24, Dawson again wrote a leader emphasizing that the Crown must be beyond reproach. Dawson's diary notation admitted: "The significance of this and yesterday's leaders was not lost on the American Press or indeed

on many people in England."<sup>132</sup> The next day the King made his biggest mistake in strategy by discussing the morganatic marriage with Prime Minister Baldwin and by requesting him to refer the matter to the Cabinet and to the Dominions. The King never took a stand for Wallis Simpson as his queen-consort, as had his grandmother, Queen Victoria, in her demand for her consort-husband, Prince Albert. Constitutionally, he did not have to ask advice on the morganatic marriage. That is one of the big paradoxes of the situation.

Geoffrey Dawson was in close contact with the King's secretary, Alex Hardinge, and with the Prime Minister. When the Cabinet met November 27 to discuss the King's request of marriage, they told publicly in the lobby that the meeting was regarding problems in Spain. Dawson's diary noted: " . . . and several papers innocently swallowed the dope and made a good deal of it."<sup>133</sup>

The most important leading article, "King Edward's Choice," was quoted in its entirety in the biography of Geoffrey Dawson. He is equally compassionate enough to praise the ex-King's qualities, as well as

---

<sup>132</sup>Ibid., p. 346.

<sup>133</sup>Ibid.



sharply criticize his actions. As much newspaper space was given in the article December 11 to praising Prime Minister Baldwin, saying, " . . . where he failed, no other man could have succeeded."<sup>134</sup> Dawson continued:

None of us may constitute himself judge of the incalculable human emotions which have gone so far to jeopardize the very fabric of these great historic institutions. But at least we are all entitled to the conviction, which His Majesty certainly shares, that the institutions are incomparably more important than the happiness of any single individual, however closely he may have become identified with them and however strong his hold on the popular affections. Both Monarchy and Empire have been sadly shaken, but they can and will be restored. And they will be restored all the more rapidly because there is no longer the slightest doubt about the duty laid upon a stunned and sorrowing people. The King has made his own deliberate choice, and has pronounced it 'final and irrevocable'.<sup>135</sup>

That passage summarized all succeeding articles in The Times. One idea repeated was the first one set forth in the article "King and Monarchy" quoted in its entirety in The New York Times December 3.<sup>136</sup> No doubt Dawson was extremely proud of the letter of support from Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler, President of Columbia University in America, in response to that article. Much of the letter is quoted in Dawson's biography. It

---

<sup>134</sup>Ibid., p. 353.

<sup>135</sup>Ibid., p. 352.

<sup>136</sup>The New York Times, "Edward May Abdicate Throne Today . . .", pp. 1 and 18. The Times of London, "The King And The Monarchy" quoted completely, special cable, December 3, 1936.

praised Prime Minister Baldwin and his government, adding that no harm had been done to British institutions.

"Surely the English character and English public opinion have never revealed themselves in stronger or better light."<sup>137</sup>

To the credit of The New York Times it should be added that the article received by special cable from The Times in London was printed in its entirety on the front page the very day it appeared in London. This article written by Geoffrey Dawson severely criticized the American press for gossip and for fabrications and even indicated the shallowness of the American people to judge an entire nation by the life and example of a leader.<sup>138</sup>

Geoffrey Dawson was to discover there were those Americans who were sympathetic with the British crisis, whether or not it should have been labeled a constitutional crisis. During a time of war, the monarchy was a symbol of stability and had "the duty to stand as a rock to the world." The monarchy was a "sacred trust" and "no man's personal possession."<sup>139</sup> A person like Geoffrey Dawson knew current events, as well as

---

<sup>137</sup>Wrench, op. cit., p. 356.

<sup>138</sup>The New York Times, December 3, 1936, pp. 1, 18.

<sup>139</sup>Ibid., p. 1.

past history, and remembered the fate of many other European rulers. His was an article of persuasion, while, at the same time, revering English tradition. For the British Dominions, the Crown was a symbol of the link with the mother country.

That same eventful day the New York Times, having received by special cable articles from various other British newspapers, printed them in full. In The Morning Post the article "The King And The People" indicated only one interpretation was placed by the British when reading Dr. Blunt's address.<sup>140</sup> The Daily Telegraph carried the article, "The King And The Empire." In this the American newspapers granted themselves "the greatest license with regard to the King's name. . . ." The summation of the lengthy article could be expressed by another quote contained therein:

But there are aspects in which the private affairs of a constitutional sovereign assume first-rate public importance and cannot be dissociated from his public position. If that be one of the penalties of the Kingship, it is also one of its privileges. . . .<sup>141</sup>

"The King's Marriage" was an article quoted completely from The News Chronicle and pertained to the type woman the British desired to be Queen of their country.

---

<sup>140</sup> Ibid.

<sup>141</sup> Ibid., p. 18.



The King should choose his partner; however, Parliament should say who should be Queen of England. The British desired a lady who could be respected and one who would be a suitable and competent mother "to train a successor to the throne."<sup>142</sup>

Two days before the British newspaper floodgates opened, the front page of The New York Times headlined: "United Front Against King Formed by British Parties."<sup>143</sup> The American newspaper capitalized on certain words and phrases printed in London in The Times. The newsmen accurately deduced that "Council of State" was not used accidentally. Why was that term printed to indicate a King's being incapacitated to do his duty when he was in perfect health? The Labor leader, Clement R. Attlee, had expressed his view then about the type woman to be Queen. The spirit of Puritanism against divorce was even stronger among the Labor party and the masses than the elite.<sup>144</sup>

On December 2 wireless messages were sent from the following British newspapers to The New York Times: The Yorkshire Post, the Nottingham Journal, the Yorkshire Observer and the Birmingham Post. The last two

---

<sup>142</sup>Ibid.

<sup>143</sup>The New York Times, December 1, 1936, p. 1.

<sup>144</sup>Ferdinand Kuhn, Jr., "United Front Against King Formed by British Parties," The New York Times, December 1, 1936, p. 20.

newspapers mentioned supported the tone set first by The Yorkshire Post and all were quoted in The New York Times:

Certain statements which have appeared in reputable United States journals and even, we believe, in some Dominion newspapers cannot be treated with quite so much indifference. They are circumstantial but have plenty a foundation in fact.

The Nottingham Journal indicated between the lines that the burning of the Victorian symbol, the Crystal Palace, was an ominous warning given the same day as Dr. Blunt's message.<sup>145</sup>

After those British newspaper articles of December 3 already discussed, the next week's articles were secondary in importance, until the reassuring articles for the consolation of the people appeared in the British press after the abdication had already taken place. On the front page of The New York Times December 4 one of several articles on the crisis was headlined: "Press of Britain Divided On Ruler."<sup>146</sup> From the moment British press censorship was broken, battle lines were drawn with no re-grouping whatsoever. Even as much as press opinion was divided, so also was opinion divided even among influential leaders and nobility. Lord Marley, chief opposition "Whip" in the House of Lords, was visiting in

---

<sup>145</sup>"Edward Is Rebuked By English Bishop; Censorship Broken," The New York Times, December 2, 1936, pp. 1, 23.

<sup>146</sup>"Press of Britain Divided On Ruler," The New York Times, December 4, 1936, p. 1.

the United States and issued a public statement that the King's marriage was a private matter.<sup>147</sup> Sir Winston Churchill was accurately quoted in saying the issue needed study by the House of Commons. He begged for "time and patience."<sup>148</sup>

A fraction of the English historical heritage was the religious struggle, in part, keeping a Catholic sovereign off the throne. That is why one further comment was desired regarding the support of the King from the Catholic Times and the Catholic Tablet, since as monarch he was head of the Protestant Church of England. The Catholic church position had not yielded regarding divorce but their position of support emphasized that English law extended a privilege to English subjects that was denied to their King. "If he is to make this sacrifice," the London Tablet printed, "he is entitled to a position greater than that of a mere figurehead in the government system."<sup>149</sup>

After studying Edward VIII's life four years and finishing her biography of him, Lady Frances Donaldson

---

<sup>147</sup>"Lord Marley, Here, Says King Is Right," The New York Times, December 6, 1936, p. 1.

<sup>148</sup>"King Held Certain To Quit Tomorrow," The New York Times, December 6, 1936, p. 1.

<sup>149</sup>"Catholic Editorial Champions The King," The New York Times, December 6, 1936, p. 1.



aligned the newspaper support the same as the King's own account. In addition, however, she wrote that virtually all the provincial newspapers supported the Prime Minister and the government. Lady Donaldson added The Spectator, a weekly publication, to the King's opposition.

Amusingly, amidst her British newspaper account she could not leave out the comment: "The American Press, delighted at being proved right, devoted more space than ever to the story."<sup>150</sup> Lady Donaldson's synopsis was this:

Dawson's prominence in the history of the Abdication results from the accusation that he plotted with Baldwin against the King. . . . It was The Daily Telegraph, not The Times, which emerged with the most credit from the crisis. On December 3 it was The News Chronicle which attracted attention because it was the only paper to mention the morganatic proposal.<sup>151</sup>

Brian Inglis in Abdication, published in 1966 in New York, boldly said the British press came out "badly"<sup>152</sup> during the crisis. However, Lewis Broad's The Abdication. Twenty-five Years After, published in London in 1961, said, "The British papers rose to the level of history in the making." According to Broad, the press made some justifiable errors but emerged "with their credit enhanced."<sup>153</sup>

---

<sup>150</sup>Donaldson, op. cit., p. 294.

<sup>151</sup>Ibid., p. 287.

<sup>152</sup>Inglis, op. cit., p. 386.

<sup>153</sup>Broad, op. cit., p. 102.

The Spectator had supported the government during the crisis, and their position remained unchanged in 1951 when Wilson Harris wrote a lengthy article about the Duke of Windsor's memoirs published four years earlier. There were positive comments until the section on the abdication. Whatever Edward VIII's ambition or aspiration "to broaden the base of the monarchy . . . the chance was thrown away. That is mere historical fact, not criticism or condemnation."<sup>154</sup> Wilson Harris was critical of the Duke's account of Prime Minister Baldwin's abdication role. He also added it was not the decision to leave the throne that needed to be justified but the decision made earlier to marry another man's wife.<sup>155</sup>

George Curry, a British historian who has made a special study of the abdication, wrote an article in 1954 for The Spectator. He indicated that the Duke's memoirs suggested a conspiracy against him with Prime Minister Baldwin, Archbishop Cosmo Lang, Private Secretary Alec Hardinge, and Editor Geoffrey Dawson being involved in the conspiracy with differing degrees of involvement, however.

---

<sup>154</sup> Wilson Harris, "The Uncrowned King," The Spectator, July 30, 1954, 193:135-36 (September 28, 1951 article written).

<sup>155</sup> Ibid., p. 136.

As American journalism had contributed to the crisis by its determination to tell the worst, real or imaginary, about a king's infatuation, so it now gave an opportunity for the Duke of Windsor to present the facts as he saw them.<sup>156</sup>

Because the ex-King wrote his account, it also gave others who disagreed with the conspiracy theory the chance to publish their versions. Besides, the printing of this sensational story has been proven to be a lucrative business venture.

Unfortunately, or perhaps fortunately for some persons, sources like Sir Horace Wilson's or Sir Walter Monckton's account will remain unread by this generation. The official documents of Dominion governments as well as British are essential to a final judgment, as would be the material housed in the Royal Archives.<sup>157</sup>

---

<sup>156</sup>George Curry, "The Abdication Story to Date,"  
The Spectator, July 30, 1954, 193:135-36.

<sup>157</sup>Ibid., p. 136.



## Chapter 4

### COMMENTS FROM INVOLVED BRITISH POLITICIANS AND OTHER CONTEMPORARY, INFLUENTIAL BRITISH LEADERS

#### I. Introduction

Very few British would have considered this sensational struggle the love story of the century. That view American newspapers capitalized; however, in actuality, politics played a greater role than heretofore suspected. That was one reason the "King's party" did not gain more support.

Harold J. Laski, formerly of Harvard, was Professor of Political Science at the University of London in 1936. His article was sent by special cable to The New York Times and emphasized that the Labor party desired to preserve the power of Parliament.<sup>158</sup> Many leaders, regardless of political party, feared the popularity of the sovereign. He had the ability to control the masses, and power gained through the struggle could be a step

---

<sup>158</sup> Harold J. Laski, "Labor Fears King Might Seize Reins," The New York Times, December 7, 1936, p. 1.

toward fascism. Remember the danger signals throughout Europe. Laski's opinion was that the main issue was political.

It is the principle that out of this issue no precedent must be created that makes the royal authority once more a source of independent political power in the State. The Labor party is a constitutional party. It seeks within the framework of the British political system to transform a capitalist society into a Socialist society. Pivotal to that conception is the principle that a Labor government with a majority in the House of Commons is entitled to have its advice accepted by the Crown.<sup>159</sup>

If precedents gave the King the power to disregard the advice of his ministers, then the end result would be the Crown active again in politics.

## II. Influential Persons During Edward VIII's Reign

### A. David Lloyd George

The reactions of British leaders to the abdication were varied. Great Britain's wartime Premier, David Lloyd George, expressed his regrets: "There is nothing further for me to add except that I have heard the news with the deepest regret. The whole episode is a very painful one."<sup>160</sup> However, David Lloyd George wrote to a family member December 9 that he felt Mrs. Simpson was

---

<sup>159</sup> Ibid.

<sup>160</sup> "Baldwin Tells Commons of Events," The New York Times, December 11, 1936, 17:1-4.

not worth the price the King had to pay. The Tories never cared for the King and the Labor Party "as usual played a cowardly part."<sup>161</sup> He personally felt sad about the situation.

#### B. Clement R. Attlee

Clement R. Attlee, leader of the Labor Opposition, referred to the travels the King made as Prince of Wales and how the people in the Dominions knew him personally, loving him. He recalled the King's sympathy for the miners, the unemployed and people of the distressed areas. Attlee continued, "I am sure that all of us tried to see if there were some way in which this conflict could be resolved."<sup>162</sup> In his autobiography, As It Happened, Attlee had few comments about Edward VIII. He was not critical of Edward. By contrast, however, Attlee was quite lavish in his praise for George V and George VI.

#### C. Sir Archibald Sinclair

Sir Archibald Sinclair, leader of the Liberal Parliamentary party, gave comments referring to the

---

<sup>161</sup>Kenneth O. Morgan, ed., Lloyd George Family Letters 1885-1936 (London: University of Wales Press, Cardiff, and Oxford University Press, 1973), p. 213.

<sup>162</sup>"Baldwin Tells Commons of Events," The New York Times, loc. cit.



painful rift: "It must be most painful to those honorable gentlemen who, during the brief months of his reign, have been his Ministers and confidential advisers." He alluded the King's not attempting to divide the country. Sinclair reflected that the King recognized the supremacy of Parliament and the Constitution.<sup>163</sup>

#### D. Winston Churchill

The powerful voice of courageous Winston Churchill had pleaded for "time and patience." In a statement to the British news media, he criticized the Cabinet for not bringing the issue before Parliament in the customary procedure for adopting policy.

Parliament has not been consulted in any way, nor allowed to express any opinion . . . But all the Evil aspects will be aggravated beyond measure if the utmost chivalry and compassion is not shown, both by ministers and by the British nation, towards a gifted and beloved King torn between private and public obligations of love and duty.<sup>164</sup>

Winston Churchill, who had pleaded for more time for the King to make his decision, now said, "What is done is done." He commented that there was at no time a constitutional issue between the King and his Ministers or between King and Parliament. "The supremacy of Parliament over the country and the duty of the sovereign to

---

<sup>163</sup> Ibid.

<sup>164</sup> Bolitho, op. cit., p. 297.

act in accordance with the advice of his Ministers--neither of these was at any moment in question."<sup>165</sup> The King voluntarily made a sacrifice which exceeded the bounds required by the law and Constitution.

Winston Churchill always spoke favorably of Edward. His outspoken support during the abdication crisis could have jeopardized his political career later. In Victor Albjerg's biography of Winston Churchill, Albjerg listed three men concerned with the problem of the poor: David Lloyd George, Winston Churchill, and the Prince of Wales, later King Edward. As Prince, he visited poor, distressed areas and had genuine concern for these people. Edward reported the severe conditions of the peasants to the House of Lords. They rationalized that they had always had the poor elements. "It was useless and senseless to invoke governmental action for their relief."<sup>166</sup> Edward's genuine concern for others must have impressed Churchill for these comments to be among papers used for his biography.

#### E. Prime Minister Stanley Baldwin

On December 10 in a speech before the House of

---

<sup>165</sup>"Baldwin Tells Commons of Events," The New York Times, loc. cit.

<sup>166</sup>Victor L. Albjerg, Winston Churchill (New York: Twayne Publishers, Inc., 1973), pp. 60-1.

Commons Prime Minister Baldwin outlined the steps that led up to the abdication in his message, "His will is not his own."<sup>167</sup> First, he received voluminous, disturbed correspondence from British subjects regarding the newspaper coverage in the United States about the King and Mrs. Simpson. This was early in August, 1936. He was also aware of the impending divorce case, filed by Mrs. Simpson. Baldwin was conscious of a possible problem and admitted he did not seek advice from any other cabinet members before approaching the King. They first met to discuss this October 20 at Fort Belvedere. He reminded the King of the importance of the Crown in Great Britain and the Dominions and that such criticism would be damaging. On November 16 Baldwin told the King he was against marriage with Mrs. Simpson and it would not receive approval. Then the King told Baldwin, "I am going to marry Mrs. Simpson and I am prepared to go."<sup>168</sup> The King so informed the Royal Family that night.

November 25 the King asked whether or not Parliament should pass an act enabling the lady to be his wife without being Queen. Baldwin conferred with the Cabinet and the Dominions. On December 2 there was no chance of that legislation being accepted. Then

---

<sup>167</sup> Stanley Baldwin, "His Will Is Not His Own," Vital Speeches of the Day, January 1, 1937, 3:189-192.

<sup>168</sup> Ibid.



Baldwin ended the speech by praising the King for his proper behavior. "This House today is a theatre that is being watched by the whole world, and let us conduct ourselves with that dignity that His Majesty himself has shown in this hour of his trial."<sup>169</sup>

In the biography of Baldwin by Middlemas and Barnes, they expressed Baldwin's views obtained from his private papers and documents. Edward VIII did not regard the Monarchy with respect as had his father, King George V. He lacked common sense in his selection of friends and in other personal behavior. By the Jubilee celebration in May, 1935, the Monarchy and George V were popular and represented a loftier philosophy. The son, Edward VIII, was not inclined nor was he capable of filling this role. As Prince of Wales, he was an ardent exponent of Anglo-German understanding, so much so that his father had rebuked him for mixing in politics. The government's main fears in King Edward's case were of "indiscretion."<sup>170</sup>

The Prime Minister discouraged the British press from action. He did not want to wreck the delicate structure of his hopes and cause a confrontation between the King and Government. November 11 Baldwin

---

<sup>169</sup> Ibid.

<sup>170</sup> Middlemas and Barnes, op. cit., pp. 975, 979, 987.

received a warning from Gwynne, the editor of the Morning post that the press could not remain silent unless they were assured the government had the situation under control. Meanwhile, Baldwin had asked Geoffrey Dawson of The Times to hold up his editorial so press comment would not weaken his influence. He gave Dawson the impression that events were leading to abdication.<sup>171</sup>

Baldwin, at one time, warned the King that the King's Proctor might be asked to intervene before the divorce decree was final. This was after he had told the King it was unconstitutional for the King to broadcast directly to the people regarding this issue because that would be going over the heads of his ministers. However, when the King requested to see Winston Churchill, Baldwin gave his permission.<sup>172</sup>

#### F. Neville Chamberlain

In his biography of Neville Chamberlain, Keith Feiling said Chamberlain's personal papers indicated he wanted to avoid abdication, if possible. Even though he wanted to give the King his chance for happiness, he considered the danger to the throne as being more important than the man personally. Chamberlain felt

---

<sup>171</sup>Ibid., pp. 989, 995.

<sup>172</sup>Ibid., p. 1006.

that a morganatic marriage would be the King's first step to making Mrs. Simpson Queen. The Cabinet would not be responsible.<sup>173</sup> In fact, in William Rock's book on Chamberlain, Baldwin supposedly turned to Chamberlain for advice and support. At one point, Chamberlain suggested that the King should stop seeing Mrs. Simpson or the Cabinet would resign. The King should make his decision without delay for the issue was "holding up business and employment" and hindering foreign policy. It was quite revealing when Chamberlain was quoted as saying that he felt they would never be safe with King Edward.<sup>174</sup>

G. L. S. Amery

L. S. Amery in his autobiography praised King Edward for his genuine concern for all people, regardless of their station in life. As Prince of Wales, he had visited every Dominion and was popular because of his charm. He had always been concerned about social welfare. There were those who really felt he would take his duties seriously, and there were those who were afraid. Intimate friends said that he confided to

---

<sup>173</sup> Feiling, op. cit., p. 288.

<sup>174</sup> William R. Rock, Neville Chamberlain (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1969), p. 105.



them that he dreaded becoming King. Amery felt Mrs. Simpson was a means of escape for him. Amery's main concern was that Baldwin had delayed in warning the King initially in regard to Mrs. Simpson before the situation had gotten out of control.<sup>175</sup>

#### H. Duff Cooper

Duff Cooper, Secretary of State for War, was one of King Edward's truest friends and repeatedly spoke in his behalf at Cabinet meetings. In his autobiography there was slightly more than a page on the abdication. He said that the Prime Minister had first told him of the possibility of an abdication in the corridor of the House of Commons. Baldwin acted with constitutional "rectitude" throughout the entire crisis. King Edward had asked to see one or two Cabinet members with whom he had been on friendly terms. Duff Cooper was one of them. Cooper had suggested postponment of the King's decision for a year and had suggested that Mrs. Simpson and the King not see each other during this period of time. Maybe then the King would decide not to give up the Crown; maybe he would meet someone else.<sup>176</sup> The

---

<sup>175</sup>Amery, op. cit., pp. 213-4, 217.

<sup>176</sup>Duff Cooper, Old Men Forget (New York: E. P. Dutton and Company, Inc., 1954), p. 201.

King refused this advice because he felt it was wrong to be involved in a solemn religious ceremony such as the Coronation without letting his subjects know his intentions. Afterwards, the British press gave the issue full publicity. Events followed rapidly that led to the abdication.

# I. Lord William Maxwell Beaverbrook

Lord Beaverbrook's book on the abdication cleared up two important points. Some have speculated as to whether or not the threat of intervention into Mrs. Simpson's decree nisi was among the factors which led the King to abdicate. First, Cabinet member, Sir John Simon, and law officers as well, actually felt that the King could prevent any intervention as long as he was King, simply by ordering the King's Proctor not to intervene. Once he abdicated, that was beyond his control. Her divorce was not final until months later, on April 27; therefore, that could not have been a factor.

Second, the idea of the morganatic marriage put the King at the Government's mercy. King Edward's original proposal, which has not been found elsewhere in print, was "No marriage, no Coronation."<sup>177</sup> This would have been more effective. "The person who

---

<sup>177</sup> Lord William Maxwell Beaverbrook, The Abdication of King Edward VIII, edited by A. J. P. Taylor (New York: Atheneum, 1966), pp. 10, 49, 51, 57.

insisted on morganatic marriage, once it was proposed, was Mrs. Simpson herself." The King persisted to please her. "He could not accept Churchill's advice to reject the Government's interference into his private life."<sup>178</sup> Toward the end, Mrs. Simpson offered to give up the King if he would remain on the throne.

Lord Beaverbrook felt that neither the Archbishop nor Baldwin wanted the King nor the marriage. He expressed that, in his opinion, the King wanted to stay on the throne but also wanted to marry. He even speculated that from the beginning of Edward's reign, political maneuverings had begun to deprive him of his royal inheritance. Some members of the aristocracy wished to destroy the King.<sup>179</sup> He was a nonconformist. He preferred to socialize with those persons whom he liked. They disapproved of some of his actions. Besides, the Duke and Duchess of York were extremely popular.

In his book, Edward, The Uncrowned King, Christopher Hibbert said that the King's visit to the distressed industrial areas of South Wales was timely. The King's strong promise to help was taken as condemnation of the government's inadequacy. Political

---

<sup>178</sup> Ibid.

<sup>179</sup> Ibid., pp. 13, 14, 26, 44.



leaders felt he was trying to win popular support. Two political leaders who were the most sympathetic were Sir Samuel Hoare and Duff Cooper. Neither man was encouraging, however, and told the King that Baldwin had the backing of the Cabinet. Duff Cooper could merely "advocate delay."<sup>180</sup>

### III. Conclusion

In conclusion, these points need to be reiterated:

(A) From all indications, the King married for love. At this point, there is no way to prove or to disprove whether he used Wallis Simpson to escape an inherited role. When official papers are released in 2037 and when others' memoirs are published, then the entire story may be known.

(B) There is no way to prove or to disprove that the Prime Minister wished to be rid of the King for political reasons. He placed more value on the monarchy than on any individual who occupied that position. Prime Minister Baldwin may have been the most skillful of politicians, by appearing to be at a loss as to the next move during the crisis. Every biographer portrayed him favorably in the handling of the crisis, however. Numerous books stand as a

---

<sup>180</sup> Christopher Hibbert, Edward, The Uncrowned King (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1972), pp. 112, 137.

monument to Baldwin that he wrote profusely, portraying adequately the ability to make decisions. He wanted parliament and the government to have the power. He feared that should legislation be passed for the morganatic marriage, then the next step in the future would be for the King to gain support for Wallis Simpson to be his Queen, not Consort. To Baldwin and to many other British, the Queen was a symbol, one who should be above reproach.

(C) The Hearst newspaper scoop of the predicted marriage with Wallis Simpson precipitated the worry and anxiety of the Prime Minister for months before there was even a crisis. This gave him more time for analyzing future ramifications, politically and aesthetically, making him less willing to compromise. The British are a proud, sophisticated people with a heritage steeped with royal tradition. They could have originated "discretion." There is no doubt they abhorred the rumors headlining American newspapers.

(D) After all the comments and comparisons of the American press and the British press have been thrown up for conjecture and settled down for summation, the institution of the British press suffered. The newspaper magnates did not exercise freedom of speech. In addition to reticence, articles and even entire pages were cut from imported journals and newspapers before

reaching British newsstands. The American press printed rumors; more often, the newspapermen logically arrived at conclusions. The New York Times, in actuality, appeared as the hero of the entire press world. They printed entire articles received by special cable from the leading British newspapers and showed the diversification of opinion, on the same day the articles appeared in London.

(E) Archbishop Cosmo Gordon Lang did not have to be actively involved because Prime Minister Stanley Baldwin agreed with him on every detail. Studying Archbishop Lang's dominating personality and dedicated position on church policy, one could speculate that if the King had received the required legislation from Parliament for marriage, then Lang would have become actively involved in the disassociation of the Church of England from the Crown. The Puritan heritage was a strong ideology still engrained in many British. It is believed the masses objected to their Queen's being a divorcee more than the elite. There was a moral double standard. Who the Queen was cost Edward VIII his throne.

(F) There was a political power struggle, even though there was not a proven conspiracy. Many political leaders, crossing party lines, feared the power of a popular sovereign. He had the ability to



control the masses. No one wanted a sovereign to head toward fascism during a time of war. Remember the European setting of crisis. Likewise, political leaders were afraid of a dynamic personality like Sir Winston Churchill should the King refuse the advice of his Cabinet. If the House of Commons refused to negotiate with a new Cabinet headed by Churchill, then the King would have the constitutional right to dissolve Parliament and appeal to the people in a general election. If the issue was placed to the people as a fight between the King and the Cabinet, the King would win. If the issue was presented as a fight between the King and the House of Commons, the King would lose. From the echoes of British history, one could hear the battle cries of the Roundheads versus the Cavaliers, during the days when Parliament first established its right to overrule a King. Oliver Cromwell was the victor against King Charles I; Prime Minister Baldwin was the victor in the power struggle with King Edward VIII.

(G) Under the Statute of Westminster of 1931, the formal link between the countries that constituted the Commonwealth was the Crown. The King issued this authority to Prime Minister Baldwin because of the delicacy of the matter. This issue should have been presented to the governments of the Dominions. Instead, Baldwin, himself, contacted the head of each

(H) The King did not have to ask for advice from his Cabinet regarding his marriage. Many felt it was never a constitutional issue, anyway. The ex-King once indicated man could not control his fate. However, no man was more the architect of his own downfall. By royal birth, he inherited the throne. Through heredity he obtained those traits that caused him to give up that same throne. He had many admirable qualities suitable for another useful position of service for his country. This was denied him, and he still grieved about that loss even during the last days of his life.

His was not the tragedy of two people in love against fate. It was the tragedy of man against himself. The unfolding of this sensational struggle was more complete due to the superb and thorough coverage of the news media of the United States.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

### A. PRIMARY SOURCES

#### 1. Newspapers

- "Baldwin Tells Commons of Events." The New York Times, 17:1-4, December 11, 1936.
- Birchall, Frederick. "King Edward Starts Task in Grim Earnest." The New York Times, 6:1, February 2, 1936.
- "Catholic Editorial Champions The King." The New York Times, December 6, 1936.
- "Edward Is Rebuked By English Bishop; Censorship Broken." The New York Times, December 2, 1936.
- "Edward May Abdicate Throne Today . . .," The New York Times, December 3, 1936.
- "King Held Certain To Quit Tomorrow." The New York Times, December 6, 1936.
- Kuhn, Ferdinand, Jr. "United Front Against King Formed By British Parties." The New York Times, December 1, 1936.
- Laski, Harold J. "Labor Fears King Might Seize Reins." The New York Times, December 7, 1936.
- "Lord Marley, Here, Says King Is Right." The New York Times, December 3, 1936.
- "Past Rulings Are Cited." The New York Times, 19:1, December 4, 1936.
- "Press of Britain Divided On Ruler." The New York Times, December 4, 1936.
- "Press Still Firm Against Marriage." The New York Times, 11:1, December 7, 1936.
- Price, Clair. "Crisis Shows King's Honesty." The New York Times, 4:8, December 6, 1936.



Selden, Charles. "Baldwin Remains Firm." Times, 1:8, December 5, 1936. The New York

## 2. Periodicals

Baldwin, Stanley. "His Will Is Not His Own." Vital Speeches of the Day, 3:189-192, January 1, 1937.

Brailsford, H. N. "England After the Crisis." New Republic, 89:294-6, January 6, 1937.

"Britain: Fate of a Monarch, Course of an Empire, Destiny of One-Half Billion Souls Depend on Mrs. Simpson of Baltimore." Newsweek, 8:7-12, December 12, 1936.

Catlin, George E. G. "He Wouldn't Play King Without Mrs. Simpson." Current History, 45:88-95, February, 1937.

"Cinderella." Time, 28:17-18, November 2, 1936.

"The Crown." Time, 27:19-20, February 10, 1936.

Davis, Elmer. "England Turns a Corner." Harper's Magazine, 174:492-501, April, 1937.

"Edward VIII Bows to Parliament." Scholastic, 29:18-19, January 9, 1937.

"Edward's Empire-Shaking Romance." The Literary Digest, 122:5-8, December 12, 1936.

Gavit, John P. "The Biggest Human Interest Story." Survey Graphic, 26:39-40, January, 1937.

"Great Britain." Time, 28:14-19, December 21, 1936.

Gunther, John. "Notes on the Simpson Crisis." The Nation, 143:724-5, December 19, 1936.

Hackett, Francis. "Private Life." The New Republic, 90:40, February 17, 1937.

"King and Constitution." The New Republic, 89:204-5, December 16, 1936.

Laski, Harold J. "The King's Abdication." The Nation, 143:723, December 19, 1936.

- "Love and the Governing Class." The Nation, 143:720-1, December 19, 1936.
- "One Last Word." The Commonweal, 25:260, January 1, 1937.
- Ratcliffe, S. K. "As Britain Crowns a King." Current History, 46:41-6, May, 1937.
- "Unprivate Lives." Time, 28:19-21, December 7, 1936.
- "World's Greatest Romance." Time, 28:31, November 16, 1936.

## B. SECONDARY SOURCES

### 1. Newspapers

- Curry, George. "The Abdication Story to Date." The Spectator 193:135-36, July 30, 1954.
- Harris, Wilson. "The Uncrowned King." The Spectator 193:135-36, July 30, 1954.

### 2. Periodicals

- Beaverbrook, W. M. A. "How the Duke of Windsor Lost His Throne." Saturday Evening Post 239:38-42, January 29, 1966.
- Martin, Kingsley. "Strange Interlude. Edward VIII's Brief Reign." Atlantic Monthly 209:71, January-June, 1962.
- Rosenzweig, Linda W. "The Abdication of Edward VIII: A Psycho-Historical Exploration." Journal of British Studies 14:102, November 1974 - May 1975.

### 3. Books

- Albjerg, Victor L. Winston Churchill. New York: Twayne Publishers, Inc., 1973.
- Amery, L. S. My Political Life Volume Three, The Unforgiving Years 1929-1940. London: Hutchinson, 1955.

- Attlee, C. R. As It Happened. New York: The Viking Press, 1954.
- Beaverbrook, Lord William Maxwell. King Edward VIII. ed. by A. J. P. Taylor. New York: Atheneum, 1966.
- Bolitho, Hector. King Edward VIII: An Intimate Biography. Philadelphia, London: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1937.
- Broad, Lewis. The Abdication. Twenty-five Years After. London: Frederick Muller, Limited, 1961.
- Bryan, J., III, and Charles J. V. Murphy. The Windsor Story. New York: Morriw, 1979.
- Calvocoressi, Peter, and Guy Wint. Total War. New York: Penguin Books Ltd., 1972.
- Cooper, Duff. Old Men Forget. New York: E. P. Dutton and Company, Inc., 1954.
- Cross, Colin. The Fascists In Britain. London: Barrie and Rockliff, 1961.
- Donaldson, Lady Frances Lonsdale. Edward VIII. Philadelphia and New York: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1974.
- Eden, Anthony. Facing the Dictators. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1962.
- Feiling, Keith. Life of Neville Chamberlain. Hamden, Connecticut: Archon Books, 1970.
- Feis, Herbert. Churchill-Roosevelt-Stalin. The War They Waged and the Peace They Sought. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1957.
- Harvard Guide to American History, Volume I. Frank Freidel, ed. Cambridge Massachusetts and London, England: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1974.
- Hibbert, Christopher. Edward: The Uncrowned King. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1972.
- Ingles, Brian. Abdication. New York: Macmillan Co., 1966.
- Kennedy, John F. Why England Slept. New York: Wilfred Funk, Inc., 1940.



- Lockhart, J. G. Cosmo Gordon Lang. London: Hodder and Stoughton, Ltd., 1949.
- Longford, Elizabeth. Queen Victoria. New York: Harper and Row, Publishers, 1964.
- Martin, Ralph G. The Woman He Loved. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1973.
- Middlemas, Keith and John Barnes. Baldwin, A Biography. Great Britain: The Macmillan Company, 1969.
- Morgan, Kenneth O., ed., Lloyd George Family Letters 1885-1936. London: University of Wales Press, Cardiff, and Oxford University Press, 1973.
- Rock, William R. Neville Chamberland. New York: Twayne Publishers, 1969.
- Lord Templewood (Samuel John Gurney Hoare). Nine Troubled Years. St. James's Place, London: Collins, 1954.
- H. R. H. Edward, Duke of Windsor. A King's Story. The Memoirs of The Duke of Windsor. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1947.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Windsor Revisited. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1960.
- Wrench, John Evelyn. Geoffrey Dawson and Our Times. London: Hutchinson and Co., Ltd, 1955.