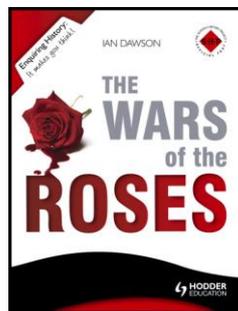


Enquiring History Series for A Level



The Wars of the Roses

Ian Dawson

Teachers' Support Material

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Introduction to the Book

From the Author – Ian Dawson

My prime aim in writing this book has been to help A level students learn effectively and successfully about the Wars of the Roses. The book covers the core material required by a range of A level specifications but, in keeping with the overall aims of the *Enquiring History* series, I have aimed to:

- write in a way that is accessible to students new to the Wars of the Roses and encourage them to keep turning the pages but also go on to stretch the most able in terms of both their understanding of the topic and of studying History in general.
- explicitly address the problems students have in learning about this period.
- help students see History as a subject in which a ‘continuing conversation’ amongst historians leads to new interpretations
- reflect the latest research and publications in ways that students can understand
- help students develop the ability to study independently by guiding them through the process of enquiry so they can transfer this process from one topic to another and so gain confidence in their ability to study History
- provide material that students can use effectively on their own or in collaboration with friends or that teachers can use effectively in class
- create a book that helps students see the people of the 15th century as real human beings, to understanding something of their world-view, motives and ideals and that introduces students to some of the byways of the 15th century, the worlds beyond the battlefields and council chambers that specifications do not reach.

Quite a lot to juggle! Now the book’s finished I sincerely hope it communicates my enthusiasm for the 15th century and its people. In addition to these notes for teachers I hope to continue creating support material for those teaching the Wars of the Roses – this material will appear on my website www.thinkinghistory.co.uk free of charge.

The role of the Academic Consultant

Each book in this series has an academic consultant involved from the planning stage. I am very grateful to **Dr John Watts** of Corpus Christi College, Oxford for taking on this role, generously sharing his knowledge and expertise and contributing two pages to the book. John commented on my initial plan and read the whole text. However, in fairness to John, I must emphasise that the final decisions on interpretations of individual people and events were all my own.

Book Contents List

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Introduction to Notes for Teachers

As with other books in this series, *The Wars of the Roses* has been planned and written with two different kinds of use in mind. Firstly there are many opportunities to use the book and the enquiry activities in class and the suggestions below include a variety of strategies for such classroom use. Secondly, and just as importantly, the book has been designed for independent use by students, either individually or in collaborative groups. This kind of use is made possible by the extensive guidance on following and completing the enquiries. In both cases we assume that teachers will use this book alongside others and will encourage students to read this and other books for themselves.

The notes for each chapter are divided into two sections:

- **Structure and issues** – provide a summary of the rationale behind each chapter enquiry and its contents and of noteworthy interpretations in the chapter, chiefly those that differ from interpretations in older books.
- **Activities** – this section begins with commentary on the Enquiry Focus activity (the activity in the large blue box near the beginning of each chapter) that guides students through each chapter. This is followed by a menu of other ideas for activities – please don't interpret this range of ideas as a scheme of work! None of this includes basic note-taking guidance but offers a variety of other hopefully engaging and enthusing ideas. No attempt has been made to provide activities for every page.

Where appropriate, suggestions have been included for further reading which may be useful for both students and teachers new to the topic. By far the most accessible source of further reading is the **Oxford Dictionary of National Biography** on-line which contains excellent articles by leading historians on everyone from king and queens to very minor figures of the period and it also has good thematic articles on 'Lancastrians' and 'Yorkists'. Nearly all public libraries subscribe so free access is available by entering your local authority library number. See <http://www.oxforddnb.com/public/index.html>

The last section of these notes provides further notes on reading and relevant web-links. However I have not tried to be encyclopaedic because of the speed with which such lists can become out-dated.

Chapter 1: The Essentials

Includes Insight pages:

- A window into the fifteenth century (pp. 2-3)
- Nobles and Gentry; A king's tasks (pp.12-15)

Structure and Issues

This material is often called 'background' or 'introduction', sadly an invitation to skip on to apparently more useful pages. However these pages are critical for establishing outline knowledge and core understandings so we've given this chapter a more appropriate title - Essentials. As it's vital that students spend time on this I have tried to make it as interesting and direct as possible with plenty of opportunities for activities (see below). It consists of several elements:

pp.2-3 A window into the fifteenth century – a visual sense of period

pp.4-5 August 1485 – interesting reading (hopefully!) introducing real individuals before we get to the politics. The story of the Herbert family continues on pp.53 and 138-9.

pp.6-9 The Wars of the Roses: an outline - the aim of these pages is to give students an overview. The graph charts the successes and failures of kings in relation to expectations of good kingship. This isn't a traditional timeline because timelines tend to be one-dimensional and inert, focussing on pieces of information rather than helping students understand the pattern of events. If students are to develop knowledge and understanding of this outline they need to see it as a story with a theme and one that answers a question - how close did 15thC kings come to recapturing the successes of Henry V? – rather than as a list of kings in sequence. It's of critical importance for effective learning that they transfer the information on these pages into an account that they create and communicate – orally, on paper or electronically. It's the transfer of knowledge from one form to another that gives the best chance of learning taking place.

pp.10-11 History on the move – one of the key messages of the book is that historical interpretations change and students will read about examples in later chapters. To avoid them being surprised by such examples these pages overview the broad pattern of the historiography of the period and link this into possible preconceptions students may have. This pattern leads into an overview question which reappears on pp.72 and 137. Hopefully students will find this question challenging and help them see this period as one full of interest.

pp.12-15 Nobles and gentry: How to be an effective king – these are two vital 'background' topics that students need to be introduced to before getting under way. The second topic in particular has been written in a more 'relaxed' style, aiming to encourage students to begin reading about what might appear a dry topic and give them confidence to move onto reading more demanding material in due course. These are pages to come back to explicitly during the course – not pages to be seen as done and dusted after a single reading.

Activities

NB. This is a menu of activities, not a scheme of work.

1. Sense of period – before you begin brainstorm in groups what students know/think/imagine about the period. Then use pp.2-3 and picture on p.5 – what do these images tell you (adjectives? surprises?)? Discuss similarities and differences with preconceptions

2. Develop idea 1 using the whole of pp.2-15 – set task of writing 200 words summing up this period. See model activity at

<http://www.thinkinghistory.co.uk/Issues/FamilyHistories/Family3SenseofPeriod.html>

Revisit this early version later and especially at the end of the course.

3. Individuals or pairs use pp.6-9 to answer ‘how close did later kings come to recapturing the successes of Henry V?’ in a set time limit e.g. one minute. Encourage them to use visuals, props etc to make the story their own. Final versions could be posted on You Tube for revision. These accounts should help students to ask questions – what don’t they understand from the graph? What questions do they want to ask? etc.

4. Before using the book, create a living graph in the classroom, modelling the graph on pages 6-9 but keep it blank. Give each student one information box from the graph (they’ll need copying) to place on the blank graph and explain their choice of positioning. This could also be a group activity on table-tops, placing the cards on a graph drawn on A3 paper.

5. Use students to create a timeline of kings (including two Henry VI and two Edward IV) with each king (and his supporters if plenty of students) explaining how many marks he gets out of 10 for effectiveness. Use the criteria for effective kingship from the top of pp.6-7 as a guide. There’s enough information on pp.6-9 to do this as an introduction although there’s the option of extending this into a research task.

6. Play team games based on the information on pp.6-9 e.g. True or False, Spot the Mistake or ask students to come up with the questions for a quiz.

7. E-mail discussion opportunities amongst students:

- what answers can you suggest to the Big Question at the foot of p. 11?
- what have been the 3 most important things you’ve learned from pp. 2-15?

8. Students act out the relationships within affinities explained on p.13 – make sure they identify the two-way relationships involved.

9. You play the king while each student or small group has 30 seconds to brief you on one section of the text ‘How to be an effective king’ on pp.14-15. Create a 6 or 10 point bullet list of advice to summarise advice.

Chapter 2: Why was London full of rebels in 1450?

Includes Insight pages:

- Henry V (pp.16-17)
- Why do interpretations move on? (pp.32-33)
- How do we know about the Wars of the Roses? (pp.34-35).

Structure and Issues

This chapter may be longer than some specifications require but there are several reasons why Cade's rebellion and its background are covered carefully and in detail. Firstly schools taking OCR 'B' will need this material. Secondly all students tackling the Wars need an understanding of the failures of English government and policy up to 1450 and particularly the personality and role of Henry VI which is covered in detail in the second half of this chapter. Thirdly Henry VI's role has been a major area of historical debate in recent years and this needed covering with care to reduce the chances of students being confused by reading a different interpretation than they may find in other books. Finally the Enquiry activity takes students very carefully through the enquiry process, helping them see what's involved in this process in the hope and expectation they will be able to replicate this process more effectively in later enquiries.

Much thought went into deciding the chapter enquiry on why London was full of rebels in 1450. A more obvious question is why England had so many problems in 1450 but such a question would focus almost entirely on Henry VI and not necessarily touch on the immediate causes of the rebellion, especially the local causes. The chosen enquiry question also has the advantage in that it offers the chance of a two-stage, relatively gentle enquiry, dealing first with the openly voiced complaints in 1450, followed by a discussion of Henry's role. The interlinking of these stages is explained on p.26.

Key points to note in the interpretations within the chapter are:

- a) the concern of the 'rebels' for the common national good is emphasised. This was in origin a protest, not a rebellion, and a well-organized one.
- b) a more balanced view is taken of Suffolk's role in government (as with Somerset in chapter3) – see particularly the entry on Suffolk in the ODNB (weblink in resources section).
- c) I am persuaded far more by John Watts' interpretation of the personality and role of Henry VI than by e.g. those of Griffiths, Hicks and others, as explained on p.31 (see especially the boxed text for an explanation of the use of 'I' occasionally in this book).

This chapter also contains a contribution on pp.32-33 by John Watts who acted as academic consultant for this book. This page is intended to help students understand why historians develop new interpretations – it's certainly challenging material and students may only develop a partial understanding but even that will be a step forward. This page links back to pp.10-11 which introduce the idea of changing interpretations.

Reading – the entry in the ODNB on Henry VI is by Ralph Griffiths (22 pages so not brief!) so can be contrasted with the overall interpretation of Henry's role in this chapter. As the ODNB did not try to create uniform interpretations the article on Suffolk by John Watts provides an alternative view of Henry and a more positive analysis of Suffolk than in other books. For a third view on the role of Henry VI HA members can listen to the podcast by Anne Curry on the Historical Association website at

http://www.history.org.uk/resources/general_resources_41.html

(you'll need to put Henry VI into the search box. There's also a good article on Henry's illness by Carole Rawcliffe)

The ODNB article on Cade provides a valuable short account of the rising. ODNB is also a very useful source for information on leading figures from the 1440s (for those teaching OCR B). See

<http://www.oxforddnb.com/public/index.html>

Activities

The Enquiry Focus activity (p.20) – unusually this is a two-part enquiry, firstly guiding students through the reasons for the rebellion as identified by the rebels themselves before, on p.26, moving onto Henry VI's responsibility for England's problems in 1450. This is a heavily structured activity using the diagrams on pp.20ff to guide students towards their answer. This should enable students to work on the enquiry on their own before you discuss the detail of each section in class.

You could accelerate progress through pp.22-25 by having groups of students each study and report back on one of the four topics. Similarly pairs of students could report back on the views of one of the historians on Henry VI and where they'd place their historian on the continuum line on p.28. Using Anne Curry's podcast (see above) would add a fifteen view to the continuum.

At the end of the chapter students will benefit from reviewing the enquiry process followed in this chapter – what have they learned about how to approach studying a new topic? What can they take forward that will help them on their next topic? Being explicit about how to study is extremely important for developing independence and being successful at A level.

Other possible activities

1. Pairs of students use pp.16-17 to make a brief presentation explaining why the loss of France was so important to people in 1450. [Could try this in role as son of an archer at Agincourt]
2. Students in role as 'rebels' explain why they were protesting and who they blame. Give them a time-limit – 90 seconds, for example.
3. Pages 32-33 – begin by asking students why they think interpretations change – do they have any ideas? Then ask them to read John Watts' account of the development of his interpretations – if they need structured guidance then their task is to look for an example or examples of the following: co-operation with and



influence of other historians, asking new questions, studying new aspects of a period, using a different range of source material.

4. Page 34- pairs report back on what one type of source can tell us about the 15th century. Page 35 – pairs report back on what can be learned about the 15thC from one Paston extract. This can be linked to the sense of period activity - Chapter 1, activity 2.

Chapter 3: Why did conflict break out in 1455?

Includes Insight pages:

- Warfare or weddings?
- What were castles for? (pp.52-53)

Structure and Issues

The chapter begins with a short outline of events (pp.36-37) so that students can see the broad pattern. Pp.38-9 provide an explanation of the royal family tree and particularly the relationship of Somerset and York to the Lancastrian line. The chapter enquiry analysing the reasons for the outbreak of fighting begins on p.40. The body of the chapter is essentially analytical, focussed around the reason for conflict but also has a chronological structure.

The Insight spread on castles is placed here because of Tattershall castle's link to events on p.48. It's primary purpose is to stimulate ideas about what buildings can tell us about a period if we look closely at them. Raglan castle (p.53) also links back to the Herbert family introduced on pp.4-5.

Key points to note in the interpretations within the chapter are

- a) the centrality of Henry's role (failure, illness, recovery) but the need to distinguish between his role at different stages
- b) some books give a very negative interpretation of Somerset, still seemingly swallowing Yorkist propaganda. Somerset clearly did surrender Normandy but his career in the round creates a different picture and he had little choice in Normandy in 1449-50. Here both Somerset and York are treated as capable men with effective careers with no history of conflict before 1450.
- c) the Nevilles are not seen as inevitable allies of York at St. Albans.
- d) overall there's an emphasis on nobles' concern for the common good of the realm as well as being driven by their own self-interests.

Reading – articles in the ODNB cover all the major and minor political figures e.g. John Watts on York, AJ Pollard on Salisbury and Warwick and Colin Richmond on Somerset though I find the latter too consistently critical in his interpretation. Michael Jones or John Watts may well have written an article with more light and shade. See <http://www.oxforddnb.com/public/index.html>. For the Percies and Nevilles History Today vol 43, 1993 contained an article by AJ Pollard which at the time of writing was available free on the *History Today* site at

<http://www.historytoday.com/anthony-pollard/percies-nevilles-and-wars-roses>

Activities

The Enquiry Focus activity (p.40) – although there's a detailed story in this chapter the activity should enable students to stay on track with answering the causation question in the title. As each factor is discussed in the text a small blue box in the margin asks students to place that factor in the chart on p.40. Many students will benefit from having a set of the 7 cards from p.40 on their desk-top with the grid drawn on A3 paper as this offers a greater invitation to amend the pattern of factors as they go through the chapter. At the outset use the sorting cards to create an initial hypothesis – how would students place them on the grid at the outset? This enables discussion of the differences in the vocabulary in rows A, B and C.

Other activities

1. Pairs retell orally the outline of events based on pp.38-9 (or create a podcast or video).
2. Pairs of students each explain a section of the family-tree e.g. using the sections of text on p.39
3. Create a set of cards (one card per person on the family-tree) – take students through the pattern of the tree, building it up in stages.
4. Use the sorting cards to build answers to other questions on this period
5. Use the cards to create a flow diagram linking the factors back to Henry's weakness as king
6. Create a directed role-play explaining the feuds based on the diagrams on pp.47 and 48.
7. See <http://www.thinkinghistory.co.uk/ActivityBase/WarsofRoses5255.html> for a role-play showing the development of events 1452-1455.
8. E-mail discussion on placement of individual cards on grid (p.40) with emphasis on justifying placement.
9. Investigate other castles of the period – what does each tell us about the nature of 15th century society? [this could be linked to sense of period activity in Chapter 1]

Chapter 4: Why did Edward of York win the crown in 1461?

Includes Insight pages: What colour was Queen Margaret's hair ... (pages 54-55); The archaeology of Towton (pages 70-71)

Structure and Issues

The Insight spread on Queen Margaret is placed before the chapter to introduce her role. Historians have recently placed more emphasis on her role as mediator and this spread explains why, a further example of developing historiography. Again it's worth linking this back to pp.10-11.

The chapter is structured around the popular examination question about why Edward won although it was tempting to focus on why it took so long for fighting to begin. Historians have placed more emphasis recently on the efforts of all parties to avoid a return to fighting and students will be helped if they can appreciate just how long it was between St. Albans in 1455 and the recommencement of fighting, hence the diagram at the foot of p.57.

The enquiry is in two stages, dealing with the story of events before the analysis of why Edward was successful. Experience shows that this separation of story from analysis helps students understand both elements more effectively and they're less likely to fall into the trap of writing a diary of events when they should be explaining why Edward won.

This section concludes with an insight page on Towton and how much we really know about the battles of the period. The numbers fighting and killed at Towton are often greatly exaggerated, partly because too much faith is placed in the Tudor chronicler Hall's account in which he says the heralds counted the dead. Heralds may have identified the 'men of name' but they wouldn't have counted everyone, especially in the frozen conditions. A BBC documentary c.2011 fronted by Terry Deary sadly repeated some of this nonsense though it was good on the archaeology which is such an important source. The subject of the impact of archaeological evidence is picked up briefly in relation to recent discoveries at Bosworth on p.125.

Reading – An increasing amount has been published on the military campaigns but unfortunately much of it greatly exaggerates what we really can know about campaigns and battles and large handfuls of salt are needed when reading such books. Andrew Boardman's work on Towton stands out. The archaeology of Towton can be explored via the battlefield society and Bradford University's archaeological research programme. See

<http://www.towton.org.uk/>

<http://www.brad.ac.uk/archenvi/research/Towton/>

Less bloodthirsty are the articles in ODNB including Rosemary Horrox on Edward IV.

Activities

The Enquiry Focus activities (pp.57 and 62) – as the chapter is split into two parts (events and analysis as explained above) there are two Focus activities to structure students' learning. The graph activity on p.57 is a good opportunity for collaborative work in pairs and small groups to encourage students to think positively about collaboration – divide the annotation points amongst groups, making sure there's at least two version of each annotation for comparison. Then ask students to retell the whole story to a time-limit. The focus is really on the pattern and the rapidity of change – the critical point for students to take away is that Edward's victory was far from inevitable. That graph activity then leads into the causation activity on p.62 which is the core of the chapter. As a first activity ask students to identify which factors they think were most important before reading the detailed analysis. This will help consolidate their knowledge of events. After this you could give each pair of students a factor and ask them to report back on where they think it goes in the grid on p.69 and justify this placement. Then work through the section as a class reviewing these initial suggestions.

Other activities

1. pp.54-55 – ask students to give a report in role as Dr. Maurer on her views of Margaret and why they developed and/or explain in role as Margaret how her attitudes to fighting changed between 1455 and 1460.
2. p.56 – set up the decision-making activity away from the book – what do students choose? Then read up at home to find out what really happened.
3. Give out blank maps of England – students use map on p.75 and pp.58-61 to draw movements of key participants. This provides good consolidation of pattern of events.
4. p.61 – students circulate answers to questions on p.61 by email – each student or pair taking responsibility for starting circulation of one item (1b, 2c etc) by a set time.
5. Create a physical factor diagram as a version of the diagram on p.62 – one student per factor holding card or wearing tabard labelled 'God's verdict' etc. The factors that played the greatest part in Edward's success stand closest to centre of circle. Use string to create links between factors – suggested and justified by students. This approach helps many students who may struggle with the same activity when discussed verbally only.
6. Research a battle each using web-sites and report back or focus on Towton.

Summary – The view from 1461: looking backwards and forwards

Structure and Issues

As this small section functions as a half-time summary it's worth separating it out from the main enquiries. As students sprint from one topic to the next there's a great risk of them losing the overall picture. This would be a good moment to look back to pages 6-7 and retell the story to 1461, adding more detail and particularly building in an interim answer to the overall question introduced on p.11 and returned to on p.72.

Then, instead of charging straight into Edward IV's first reign it's worth looking at the overview of what lies ahead, using pp.8-9 and pages 73-74. Key points to highlight are:

- Edward could not control everything so his success and the possibility of further conflict depended at least as much on other people's actions.
- the pattern of 'sides' changes, both in 1470-1 and again in 1483-5 – shown in the colour-coded chart on p.74.

Students are really helped by being aware of these ideas in advance and having time to get used to them.

Activities

1. Students read p.72 and top of p.73. List and explain two things you've found really interesting – built up brainstorm chart on board until key ideas covered.
2. Edward IV – before looking at text, ask students to put themselves in 1461. What tasks faced Edward? What would his priorities be? Why might they be difficult? Whose help did he need? This kind of thinking is tough – it's thinking! but it not only consolidates what's been covered but identifies some key issues looking ahead. When students then meet those issues in reading they recognize them and they make more sense and are more readily understood.
3. Create the chart on p.74 using students in coloured tabards to represent the groups – moving the 'Neville student' from one side to the other has impact. Similarly this demonstrates the very different alignment in 1483-7. Use this physical activity or the chart to get students to ask questions about what's in the chart. Doing this through physical representation will have a much more powerful effect on many students than simply looking at the chart in the book – it involves them, makes them feel part of events and increases interest and motivation.

Chapter 5: Is Professor Carpenter right about Edward IV?

Structure and Issues

This chapter is based around Professor Carpenter's very positive assessment of Edward's first reign in her book *The Wars of the Roses* which contrasts with Ross's assessment of Edward, both in *Edward IV* and his other writings. I adopted this approach because it's a good opportunity to reinforce the message that interpretations can vary and change. The chapter is essentially analytical, discussing different aspects of Edward's kingship in turn, but behind that there is a broad chronological progression, from dealing with Lancastrian opposition at the beginning to Warwick's rebellions at the end.

Aspects of the interpretations in the chapter worth noting are:

- a) the importance of emphasising the extent of Edward's problems in 1461 - vital for reaching an overall judgment on the extent of his success.
- b) Warwick's rebellions are discussed not just in terms of why he rebelled (which we can never be sure on) but also why he felt in 1469 he had a high enough chance of success to risk rebellion. The latter seems a far more revealing question to ask in relation to the extent of Edward's success.
- c) the importance of moving away from generalizations about success or failure (see pp.88-89). Students could think about differences in Edward's success at different points of his first reign (he must have appeared far less successful in 1469 than in 1464-5 or Warwick would not have rebelled) – and also about differences in his success in handling the various issues he faced.

Reading – Horrox's article in the ODNB is worth comparing with Carpenter's conclusions – a good activity for able students to seek out the nuances of similarity and difference between the two. Edward's two reigns are also readably discussed by Anne Crawford in her excellent collection of essays *The Yorkists: The History of a Dynasty* (2007). Subscribers to History Today's website (possibly even for a trial period) will have access to Hannes Kleineke's 2009 article in *History Review* on Edward IV: The Theatre of Monarchy at

<http://www.historytoday.com/hannes-kleineke/edward-iv-theatre-monarchy>

Activities

The Enquiry Focus activity (p.78) guides students to assess Edward's success in handling each of the issues identified in the boxes in the blue panel. These issues are the major headings in the chapter so students know where to seek the material they need. It's important to emphasise both elements of their task – not just identifying where on the continuum line each topic goes but collecting evidence to justify each placement.

Before using the book introduce students to the whole topic by copying the passage on p.77 without the colours and asking students to highlight the positive and negative statements i.e. do what's been done for them on p.77! Use the resulting pattern to analyse Professor Carpenter's view, then discuss the diagram on p.76 of the problems Edward faced and why it's important to have a good sense of Edward's strength in 1461 for evaluating his success. The dreaded (and too frequent) football manager analogy may be useful – in 1461

Edward took over as manager of a relegation-threatened team full of divided loyalties and troublesome personalities, with many 'supporters' still hankering after their last manager etc etc. What therefore counts as success? Mid-table security or European qualification?

To help with this core enquiry you could divide the topics amongst the class, get initial feedback and ideas on placement of topics on the continuum line (replicating the hypothesis approach outlined in chapter 2), then work through the evidence in class.

Also consider building discussion around a physical continuum line with cards or with students wearing tabards as 'Splendour at court' etc. Some students at least will benefit from the physical engagement of this and it will enable them to get the hang of moving the topics up and down the line more readily than if they're pencilling them onto paper, then rubbing out the pencil and redrawing. Physical representation is surprisingly important to help students debate and amend the placement of the topics on the line.

Other activities

1. Using the chart on p.76, ask students to create an agenda for Edward in 1461, focussing on which issues he has to prioritise for the top of his agenda and on ideas for how he would tackle his problems. Then ask students to rate the difficulty of Edward's situation out of 5 and justify their choice.
2. Turn the family trees on pp.78 and 81 into physical activities with students wearing tabards recreating the trees and orally explaining their family links to others. This takes a little time but is hugely good for confidence. See also the caption on p.81 for an excellent way of ensuring students never forget the scale of Elizabeth Woodville's family – this may seem flippant but it works!

Chapter 6: Was Edward IV a success second time round?

Structure and Issues

This chapter has an almost-identical structure to Chapter 5 although it begins with a more extended narrative of the events of 1470-1471 – Edward's flight to Burgundy and his return. Otherwise the chapter follows the analytical pattern of chapter 5 so that students can most effectively assess the extent of Edward's success. Particular interpretations to note are

- a) The relative downplaying of the importance of finance in securing the success of late medieval kings. Individual kings were more or less wealthy but I'm far from convinced that this played a major role in their success compared with other factors. There were always financiers willing to loan money to a king in need and it wasn't money that determined the success of Edward IV in 1461 in 1471, Richard III in 1483 or Henry VII in 1485 or 1487.
- b) The ending of the chapter downplays the importance of events after Edward's death in assessing his success or failure. Some historians (notably C.D. Ross) have criticised Edward heavily for lack of foresight but even in early June 1483 no-one foresaw Richard's actions from mid-June onwards. Plus, as pp.101-103 argue, there was little evidence of divisions within the nobility ahead of Edward's death.
- c) The dating of the picture on p.90 occasioned some very late text changes because Dr. Sonja Drimmer of the University of Columbia has recently suggested that the manuscript containing the Wheel of Fortune illustration dates from the late 1450s, not the early 1460s. This argument appears in the catalogue of the British Library exhibition *Royal Manuscripts: the Genius of Illumination*, 2011 (pp.248-249). The caption to the illustration on p.90 therefore differs from references in other books which say that the manuscript was given to Edward IV by William Herbert and his wife Anne Devereux. Dr. Drimmer argues that Herbert commissioned the manuscript as a gift for Henry VI when Herbert was seeking to appease the Lancastrian government in the late 1450s after being involved in rebellion.

Finally – the box on p.102 on 'The importance of dates' really belongs in chapter 7 but there wasn't room! However it's an important point so I included it even if it's 'in the wrong place'.

Reading – In addition to Rosemary Horrox's assessment of Edward on ODNB, Hannes Kleineke provides a brief and readable summary of the historiography on pp.1-8 of his *Edward IV* (2009) as does Keith Dockray in his *Edward IV: A Sourcebook* (1999) on pp. xxvii-xxxvi. Michael Hicks' *Edward IV* (2004) provides a longer account of the historiography – chapter 5 (pp.81-102) covers post-1945 interpretations.

Activities

The Enquiry Focus activity (p.93) – is identical in nature to the activity in chapter 5 so that students can use what they learned about how to tackle that activity to help them tackle this one with more confidence and hopefully more efficiently. This suggests using the approaches for this core activity as for chapter 5 i.e. dividing the topics amongst the class, get initial feedback and ideas on placement of topics on the continuum

line then work through the evidence in class. Again creating a physical continuum line with cards or students wearing tabards will encourage discussion and re-assessment of the placing of topics on the continuum.

Other activities

1. Tell the story of 1469-1471 by turning your room into a map (as p.91) and with students playing the parts of the key individuals. Involving them by asking questions about how they see e.g. Edward's chances of success when in Burgundy will deepen understanding. See Chapter 9 pp.130-131 for further detail on the roles of Burgundy and France.
2. Once the story of 1469-1471 has been told an important starting point for the enquiry is a comparison of Edward's positions in 1461 and 1471 post-Tewkesbury. The latter is much more favourable. You could ask students to create a 1471 version of the 1461 chart on p.76.
3. Create a physical version of the family-tree on p.95 with students as each person in the tree answering your questions about who they're related to. Kings could stand up for greater prominence.
4. Create a physical version of the map on p.103 with each person explaining their attitude to the new king, Edward V and their relationships with others. You could create role-cards using the information boxes on the map.
5. Did Edward IV do better in his re-sits? Conclude by comparing the two parts of Edward's reign, using the completed continuum lines from chapters 5 and 6. What do they tell you about his handling of the issues he faced? How far should our verdicts be influenced by the difficulties he faced in each reign i.e. was his task much easier second time round?

Chapter 7: How certain can we be about why Richard III took the crown?

Structure and Issues

This chapter has a main enquiry and (on pp.112-113) an introduction and outline of a second enquiry on why Richard was able to take the crown. Space prevented detailed coverage of both issues but I felt it was better to introduce the second question than ignore it completely.

This is one topic which has seen relatively little by way of major changes in interpretations over the years. The section on Richard believing that England needed his skills is perhaps the nearest to a new interpretation, linking as it does to the trend in current historiography to give due weight to the wishes of nobles to work for the public good and also to research into his father's (Richard of York) motivations (see p.43). My own view of Richard has shifted several times over 40 years, from very positive to very negative to agnostic to cautiously negative. What most influences me now is that Richard need not have taken the crown had he really believed in the public good. The unity he hoped for (and destroyed by his actions) would have been best served by crowning Edward V. In writing this chapter what also stood out was the significance of the arrest of Rivers right at the beginning of the sequence of events. This, far more than the more dramatic execution of Hastings, determined much of what was to follow – if any moment was pivotal it was the arrest of Rivers.

Reading – there is an extensive literature on all aspects of Richard III's reign. More books appear each year, most failing to add anything significant to our knowledge. The best book remains Horrox's *Richard III: A Study of Service* (1989) although her ODNB article will suit students rather more! For the princes see A. J. Pollard, *Richard III and the Princes in the Tower* (1991) an unusually well-illustrated book. The Richard III Society is also an excellent source of information and membership keeps you up-to-date with publications both academic and popular. Much of the Society's work is strongly academic and it has done a great deal to deepen knowledge and understanding of the period but it also has a wing which adores Richard and all his actions. With this, as with any website, students need to be taught how to evaluate the accuracy and objectivity of what they're reading. See <http://www.richardiii.net/>

Activities

The Enquiry Focus activity (p.106) - The core enquiry is deliberately different, tackling the problematic issue for many students of degrees of certainty and hopefully they can transfer the understandings gained to other modules. The answer of course is that we can't be completely certain and most motives have evidence in their favour, apart from the Shakespearean view of Richard wanting power from the moment his brother died.

As in other enquiries using continuum lines, students will be helped in thinking and rethinking the placements of motives on the 'certainty' line if they have a set of cards for the motives and can physically place and move them as arguments develop. The flexibility of the activity needs to mirror the flexibility of the thinking we're seeking.

Before tackling the core activity in the blue panel on p.106 it's important to give students as strong a grasp as possible of the story on p.105. Turn the room into a map of England, give students roles and talk them through the story, moving them around the map as events unfold. This helps enormously in developing their grasp of who's who and the pattern of events, especially if you ask questions of individuals to see what ideas they have about what their character might do next or what his or her motives might have been.

In conclusion do discuss explicitly with students how comfortable they are with the idea of lack of certainty in History and how they feel this compares with the kinds of answers they're expected to produce in other subjects. This explicit contrasting of requirements helps a good deal.

Other activities

1. For the second enquiry on pp.112-113 (on why Richard was able to take the crown) create a card sort causation activity by turning each of the bullet points on p.113 into a card. Then ask students to sort them into categories (don't reveal the 3 categories on p.113 until they've had a go). Finally use the cards to create a diamond 9-style pattern which helps students prioritise the reasons for Richard's success. Having established this pattern just from the cards, follow this up with extended reading from other material to decide how effective an explanation has been created. Rosemary Horrox's article on Richard on the on-line DNB is an excellent starting point.

Chapter 8: Was Richard III defeated because of the disappearance of the Princes?

Includes Insight page:

- 'The most untrue creature living' (pp.114-115)

Structure and Issues

The Insight page is here because, as the text says, it always makes me shiver – this is Richard III's handwriting and you can feel his anger in his choice of words. One moment from over 500 years ago suddenly comes into focus – remarkable.

The chapter again has a basic analytical structure combined with broad chronological coverage from the summer of 1483 to Bosworth. There is little that's new by way of interpretation in recent historical writings – the archaeological finds at Bosworth (p.125) help identify the core of the battlefield but this doesn't affect the answer to the question!

The hardest thing for students may well be seeing Henry of Richmond as the Yorkist candidate, so hard-wired are people to seeing two rigid sides, York and Lancaster. You could go back to the summary chart on p.74 to show the differences in the groupings.

Reading – Richard's letter to Buckingham (p.115) can also be seen along with a number of other documents in a splendidly illustrated National Archives publication *Richard III, a royal enigma* by Sean Cunningham (2003). This is also a good introduction to Richard and his reign. For updates on the finds from Bosworth see <http://www.bosworthbattlefield.com/battle/archaeology/battlefield.htm>

There is also an account of the excavations at Bosworth in British Archaeology for May-June 2010 (the original printed version was well-illustrated with finds). See on-line version

<http://www.britarch.ac.uk/ba/ba112/feat2.shtml>

The most exciting account of Bosworth remains that by Paul Murray Kendall in his 1955 book. Worth reading aloud for the drama although the hero worship needs discussion!

Activities

The Enquiry Focus activity (p.117) is a classic causation exercise. Students should draw on their earlier work on such questions and you could discuss with them the advantages of using grids such as that on p.69. Students' answers to the question on why Edward was successful in 1461 provide a useful parallel as in the end everything came down to what happened at Bosworth.

One way to conclude the main activity on p.117 having done the initial reading and thinking is to create a physical factor diagram modelled on the diagram on p.117 – one student per factor holding card or wearing tabard labelled 'Richard's character' etc. The factors that played the greatest part in Richard's defeat stand

closest to centre of circle. Use string to create links between factors – suggested and justified by students. This approach helps many students who may struggle with the same activity when discussed verbally only. Build into this concluding activity the vocabulary options for developing an answer on p.127.

Other activities

1. Create a flow diagram of factors linking finally to Richard's defeat.
2. Watch Ian McKellen's modern-dress version of Richard III and identify the parallels or act out (or read) the last act of Shakespeare's play and compare with, for example, the account in the Crowland Chronicle.

Chapter 9: How influential was the role of other countries in the Wars of the Roses?

Structure and Issues

This is a different kind of chapter as it asks students to quarry back into the rest of the book (using the page references provided) for material to supplement the outline provided on pages 130-131. To have covered every aspect of the topic here would have led to a good deal of unnecessary duplication.

The main problem that students have with this topic is seeing events in England from the perspective of other rulers. For example, although he was Edward IV's brother-in-law, Charles of Burgundy was not an automatic ally of Edward in 1470 and it was the actions of France that forced Charles to support Edward. Similarly French support for Henry of Richmond was quite brief and if he had not invaded England when he did that help may have been withdrawn, thus reducing Henry's chance of success considerably.

Reading – the best overview article on this topic is by CSL Davies, 'The Wars of the Roses in European Context' in AJ Pollard (ed.) *The Wars of the Roses* (1995) (don't confuse this with the book Pollard wrote also called *The Wars of the Roses*, pub. 1988 in the British History in Perspectives series.)

Activities

The Enquiry Focus activity (p.128) – asks students to develop the generalization that 'Other countries played a very significant part in the wars' into a more complex answer that takes into account the various phases of the wars and types and effectiveness of intervention. The blue panel on p.128 provides structured guidance. As an initial activity students could use their existing knowledge to brainstorm examples of foreign involvement and developing an answer using those ideas. Having established that they aren't starting from scratch they can then move into the core activity in more detail.

To help students see events from the perspectives of foreign rulers a useful task is to ask a pair of students to report in role as the ruler of Burgundy, Brittany or France at a particular date and explain to the rest of the group the reasons for their actions.

Chapter 10: What impact did the Wars of the Roses really have?

Structure and Issues

While focussing predominantly on the impact of the wars this section also glances briefly at the reign of Henry VII and, on p.137 reviews the book's running question about why war kept breaking out given the importance of loyalty and the desire for peace. The last spread of the book returns to the Devereux and Herbert families introduced on pp.4-5 to re-emphasise the impact of the war on real families and individuals. One point I'd like to emphasise that's of wider importance lies in the quotation from Carpenter on p.137 in which she emphasises the importance of respecting the people we study if we are to understand and explain their actions effectively. This issue of respecting the past has long been a hobby-horse of mine and is worth discussing with students – where have they seen examples of a lack of respect? Do 'Horrible Histories' or other TV programmes or re-enactments encourage such respect or the opposite – and why does this issue help them with their A levels?

Reading – see ODNB for articles on William Herbert and Walter Devereux.

Activities

There is no Enquiry Focus activity in this chapter as I wanted to encourage students simply to read and, if possible, think! However the whole chapter (including pp.138-139) can be used to answer a question on the impact of the wars, perhaps taking a hypothesis such as 'The Wars of the Roses had little effect on the people of England' and collecting evidence to support or challenge this hypothesis. Students could be given the task to create cards summarising specific pieces of evidence and then place them on a sheet of sugar paper – divide the sheet in half with a clear line with the space above the line for evidence supporting the hypothesis, the half below the line for evidence challenging it. Students could read the chapter first, then work together to suggest topics for the cards before collecting detailed evidence.

Other Activities

1. By way of conclusion look back the overview graph on pp.6-9 and re-tell the story in a set time but longer than the time set at the beginning of the module. Do students agree with the shape of the graph or would they change it?
2. Return to the summary chart of 'who fought who?' on p.74. Pairs or small groups take one row of the graph each and explain who fought who and how this differed from the previous outbreak of fighting.
3. Tell the story of Anne Herbert and her family using pp.4-5, 53, 134 and 139.

Reading and Web-links

A selection of books

Mostly for teachers but some certainly worth directing students to – like any selection this is an individual choice so you may disagree with my list! I've had new teachers of this topic in mind – not those who've studied the period in detail or taught it for many years.

J. Gillingham, *The Wars of the Roses* (1981) – the best 'read' by far even if now 30 years old.

C. Carpenter, *The Wars of the Roses*, 1997 – full of ideas and always worth revisiting if and when you have time.

G.L. Harriss, *Shaping the Nation: England 1360-1461*, 2005 [New Oxford History series] – excellent summary.

A.J. Pollard, *Late Medieval England 1399-1509* (2000) – a 'go to' book for 'who did what when' but much more readable and interesting than it looks!

A.J. Pollard (ed.) *The Wars of the Roses* (1995) – a collection of nine really good articles e.g. Watts on 'Ideals, Principles and Politics', Horrox on 'Personalities and Politics', Dockray on 'The Origins of the Wars of the Roses'.

A. Crawford, *The Yorkists* (2007) – a collection of 11 essays from 'Richard of York' through to 'Elizabeth of York and the Pretenders'. Definitely one of the more enjoyable 'reads'.

J. Gillingham (ed.) *Richard III, a Medieval Kingship* (1993) – a collection of eight articles on different aspects of Richard's life by Hicks, Richmond, Horrox etc.

H. Castor, *Blood and Roses, the Paston family in the Fifteenth Century*, 2004 – the best 'story' of the Pastons integrating their history with the wider events of the period.

K. Dockray, *Henry VI, Margaret of Anjou and the Wars of the Roses, a Source Book* (2000) – the most accessible collection of source material, organized by topic, with commentary on each topic and on historiography. See also Dockray's other source collections – *Edward IV* (1999), *Richard III* (1997)

Web-links

A range of articles can be found on the following sites. All need subscriptions (unless you bump into a free item to entice you to subscribe) but they may offer a short trial period for a lower fee. Use their search facility first to find out what's there.

History Today and History Review

<http://www.historytoday.com/archive>

BBC History magazine

<http://www.historyextra.com/>

The Historical Association for *The Historian* and podcasts

<http://www.history.org.uk/>

As noted elsewhere the best source of authoritative essays is the ODNB on-line at

<http://www.oxforddnb.com/public/index.html>

Nearly all public libraries subscribe so free access is available by entering your local authority library number

The best reconstruction illustrations are by Graham Turner (e.g. that of Anne Herbert, used on p.5 of the book and many battle scenes and others). See

http://www.studio88.co.uk/acatalog/medieval_prints.html

For battlefields see the Battlefields Trust – maps, plans photos including aerial photos of the Roses battles.

<http://www.battlefieldstrust.com/>

Source material – a range of material is available on-line via

<http://www.fordham.edu/Halsall/sbook1n.asp>

and its links. This includes chronicles such as Warkworth (Edward IV's reigns), The Arrivall of Edward IV (1470-71) and Polydore Vergil's account of the reign of Richard III. Do check however the dates etc of translations. The link to the Crowland Chronicle continuation points out that this version is the mid 19th century edition, long since superceded.

If you're feeling more adventurous and would like to try something different in the classroom you could try asking expert re-enactors to introduce students to weaponry, clothing, armour, domestic life. I know this is A level and very serious but anything that sparks interest can help! The one group I can recommend from personal experience of their work with A level students is Happening History

<http://www.happeninghistory.co.uk/>

To research other groups a starting point is The Wars of the Roses Federation – but do research accuracy, suitability, awareness of students' needs etc very carefully.

<http://www.et-tu.com/wotrfl/cgi-bin/index.cgi>