1) The Wars of the Roses: The Essentials

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Signs of a King’s success:</th>
<th>Signs of a King’s failure:</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>- Strong, decisive leadership</td>
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<td>- United nobility</td>
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<td>- Impressive wealthy court</td>
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<tr>
<td>- Strong defence against France and Scotland</td>
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<tr>
<td>- Low levels of crime and disorder</td>
<td>- Weak, indecisive leadership</td>
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<td>- Divided, rebellious nobility</td>
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<td></td>
<td>- Few signs of wealth and splendour at court</td>
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<td></td>
<td>- Danger attack France and Scotland</td>
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<td>- High levels crime and disorder</td>
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Historiography

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Historian:</th>
<th>View point:</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>J.R Green</td>
<td>Wars of roses- time complete lawlessness, nobles motivated greed and lust power, hired bands thugs destroy kings. Tudors ended- stronger system monarchy.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C.L Kingsford</td>
<td>Wars of the roses very little impact on ordinary people.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K.B McFarlane</td>
<td>Problems created poor kings not failure system government. Nobles thoughtful+ chivalric- concerned good country and own. War not wanted, slow to develop. No widespread destruction. Tudors- great continuity- no new start.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christine Carpenter and Dr John Watts</td>
<td>Complex explanation behaviour nobility Influenced- own interests and good of country, public pressures and public expectations how country should be governed. Influence common people.</td>
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</table>
REMEMBER!

- There was **NOT** constant warfare 1455-1480s – intervals
- Nobles **NOT** constantly plotting rebellions, wanted strong successful king, stable peaceful country- advantage
- **LOYALTY** and **SERVICE** was most important ideals 1400s

How to be an effective king

- Make all important decisions yourself
- Punish law breaker severely – no mercy treason
- Theory can do whatever, practice limited expectations
- Don’t reward royal household so much so you make yourself poor or look overly influenced by them
- Display English wealth and power through court and dress. Poor king= powerless king (microcosm)
- Royal officials- (Chancery- letters, commands, grants land and office. Exchequer- collects + spends royal income)
- Don’t get debt or tax heavily- UNPOPULAR!
- Parliament – (Commons- persuade grant taxation) (Lords- more influential, wealthy merchants)
- House of commons- complain behalf commons- aren’t stupid and well informed. Do not ignore them!
- Deal serious crimes self and remember county communities don’t like strangers other areas getting involved their local business. Take care appoint loyal officials.

**Henry V**

- Extremely successful- ideal king
- Beat French- battle of Agincourt 1415
- Conquered northern France

**The challenge**

- Set inspiring standard kingships his successors expected match.
- Losing lands gained- terrible failure and insult those died winning lands.
2) WHY WAS LONDON FULL OF REBELS IN 1450?

The Rebellion

- 1449= terrible year English:
- French ships attacking English coastal towns and trading ships
- French soldiers close retaking all lands Henry VI conquered
- Parliament= William de la Pole, Duke of Suffolk- blamed all English failures
- May 1450- Suffolk sold Normandy and English lands in France, the parliament accused him of treason and was sent to the tower.
- Freed and exiled for 5 years, so set sail while another ship lay in wait- captured and body thrown Kent beach.
- Mid May 1450- Jack Cade summoned rebels church bells, messengers and notices on church doors.
- June - rebels camped Blackheath, negotiators sent and army frighten off. Cade ambushed them, returned Blackheath. King and nobles fled London frightened soldiers supporting rebels.
- 1st July- Cade entered London, punished men believed corrupt traitors.
- 3rd July- Lord Saye executed other houses looted. Random violence? London turned against him
- 5th July- Battle London Bridge – Cade Vs Londoner- lost and slammed city gates.
- 12th July- Cade killed

WHY?

- Identify causes
- Explain links between causes
- Identify any cause more important than others
- Distinguish trigger and long term cause
| The spark that triggered the rebellion? | • Rumours Lord Saye+ Thomas Crowmer (powerful), revenge death close friend Suffolk  
• Beginning first petition, rebels believed destroy houses and farms  
• Therefore, **fear of destruction** triggered the rebellion |
| --- | --- |
| Other local events that created anger  
Rebels aim not to sweep nobles and depose king but to have fair and proper system | • **Accused** Crowmer, Saye and other evil councillors of...  
1) Fixing elections in parliament favour men wanted elected  
2) Reduced the tax paid by lords made up by ordinary tax payers  
3) Extorted money local people – making pay fines falsely accused crimes  
• **Fear of hunger and poverty**: farmers and cloth workers decline income reduce prices and sales abroad. Hunger + poverty- increase chances rebellion. |
| National problems that created anger  
Rebels began focus national events- gain more support and good of country and king (doubtless loyalty)  
• **Betrayed England by losing English empire France- most serious failure of all.** 1435- Duke of Burgundy changed allies France. France also effective new king- | • Rebels accused councillors of 4 for:  
• **Robbing the king and enriching themselves**- King gave lords more land than they needed to match their ranks. Saye built up land Kent and Suffolk East Anglia- meant less income king and more went to the lords. Result king to poor |

- Rebels- defeat- caused by treachery Suffolk + allies- sold Normandy for French bribes.
- This led to...
  1) Slump cloth trade- no longer easy trade markets French towns
  2) Increase French attacks English coastal towns
  3) Refugee problem- people started live in Normandy had to move back England – homeless.

Clearly they blamed the king’s ‘false councillors’ for England’s problems: for corrupting the legal system, enriching themselves at the king’s expense and excluding nobles of royal blood from advising the king. The loss of France was central to their complaints, especially as it had created economic problems for the people of the south east, who were already suffering from economic problems and from the corruption of the landowners such as Lord Saye. It was Saye’s threat to turn Kent into a wasteland in revenge for Suffolk’s death that sparked the march to London. However, the ultimate cause that played the drone that underlined these events was the failure of Henry VI, who if had been successful there would have been no need for the rebels to protest about everything that had gone wrong. Ironically, Henry V plays a minor part for committing England to a war she would never win.

# Historiography: How involved was Henry VI in governing England?

| K.B McFarlane | • Henry’s head was too small for his father’s crown  
|              | • Henry was inane (silly)... a baby who grew up an imbecile  
|              | • In Henry VI second childhood succeeded first without usual interval  
|              | • Henry always remained childlike, incapable of ruling or making his own decisions |

| B.P Wolffe | • Henry fully involved in government- records or important decisions ‘by the king’  
|           | • Blame for England’s problems b/c erratic, sometimes involved sometimes not and foolishly over generous giving away far too much royal wealth.  
|           | • Vindictive and untrustworthy- plotted downfall uncle |

| R.A Griffiths | • good man taking some important decisions such as promoting peace w/t France  
|              | • unsuited be king- merciful lawbreakers and very poor choosing advisers  
|              | • Religious, naive incompetent king involved some but not all aspects of kingship. |

| John Watts | • Henry provided no leadership of any kind  
|           | • ‘by the king’ only means done in king’s name  
|           | • Completely lacked will power govern and make decisions |
- Hole at centre of gov. Where should have been king providing leadership
- Suffolk other nobles duty act in country’s interests by filling gap Henry centre of gov.
- Released king no defend France so made peace treaty

 LOCAL COMPLAINTS:

- Fear of destruction for Suffolk’s death (trigger)
- Corruption among local lords and landowners
- Fear of poverty and hunger because trade slump

 NATIONAL COMPLAINTS:

- Kings wealth taken by advisers
- Bribery and threats in law court
- Leading nobles excluded from advising king
- Loss of English land in France

 MAJOR CAUSE:

Suffolk and corrupt advisers

 ULTIMATE CAUSE:

Henry VI and inability provide leadership or impose justice.
3) WHY DID FIGHTING BREAK OUT IN 1455?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YORK</th>
<th>SOMERSET</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>MILITARY</td>
<td>MILITARY</td>
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<tr>
<td>• Lieutenant of France 1436-37 and 1440-1445</td>
<td>• Distinguished record as soldier and war-leader</td>
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<tr>
<td>• Reputation good political leadership</td>
<td>• 1430s- tarnished command in France 1447 when English lands surrendered and lost</td>
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<tr>
<td>• 1447- Lieutenant of Ireland PAST</td>
<td>• Relationship Henry VI’s mother- forbidden</td>
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<tr>
<td>• Father executed treason 1414- Henry V</td>
<td>• Few lands therefore, little income apart from what came Government posts</td>
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<tr>
<td>• Himself very loyal Henry VI</td>
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<tr>
<td>• Extremely wealthy lands throughout England</td>
<td>WEALTH</td>
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Events leading up to the Battle of St Albans

*York’s first attempt to win power, 1450-51*

- Both Somerset (Normandy) and York (Ireland) abroad during Cade rebellion
- Somerset first to arrive August 1450- quickly becoming Henry’s leading adviser- driven combination his needs to ensure flow of income and the King’s who needed someone to lead his government
- Somerset had much support from nobility, despite loss Normandy, such as John Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury – They supported him because he closely related to king and because they hoped he would restore the authority of government
York returned September 1450, anxious clear name conspiring with rebels – proposed him as the man to be king’s leading adviser.

Governments anxiety increased and men sent from royal household meet York landed- York claimed sent arrest him and he being treated enemy by Somerset

*Events show that even September 1450 mutual fear already driving thinking and actions York and Somerset*

York travelled parliament London- exchanged public letters Kings councillors, sophisticated public propaganda designed win support commons and lords- loyal to Henry but corrupt courtiers dominated king – needed replaced good man


Nobles alarmed York increasing chances rebellion- disunity. Sided with Somerset.

1451- King and Somerset progress Kent ‘harvest of the heads’- York excluded power, Somerset effectively ruling in king’s name.

**York’s second failure, 1452**

- September 1451-York stepped restore peace between two nobles as Justice of the peace of the county and showing restore order- Instead York accused breaking peace.
- Turned into pathetic surrender at Dartford when only 2 noblemen joined him.
- Nobles wanted peace- Somerset. York appeared stirring up trouble.
- Forced oath loyalty Kings. Increased enmity- York and Somerset.
1453: Defeat in France and Henry’s collapse

- 1452-1453: Somerset successful parliament - nobility united desire support Henry
- Queen pregnant - birth Son sense of continuity future
- Fortunes York changed 1453:
  2) King collapse 1453- coma until Christmas.

Noble feuds and their impact

- Absence Henry created much quarrels over land:
- Neville’s sympathised York 1450 but backed Somerset 1452 - more chance building royal authority
- Neville’s feud Somerset as he forced them to hand over land
- Neville’s feud Percy’s- marrying Cromwell’s heir which meant they inherited land that previously owned by Percy’s but now held Lord Cromwell. 1453- Heworth Moor
- Cromwell Vs Exeter. Armed brawl between men’s retainers for Exeter taking Cromwell’s land
- Because Exeter was enemies with Cromwell, who was friends with the Neville’s, Exeter sided with the Percy’s.

York’s protectorate 1454

- Court- Neville’s and Cromwell argued York provide most effective leadership restore order.
- 1454- York= protector- swore oath recognising Prince Edward heir throne and promised Edward= protector old enough
- Earl Salisbury appointed chancellor
York dealt effectively rebellion led Exeter and Lord Egremont, Exeter resented York protector planned assassinate- both imprisoned.

Showed York’s success.

The disaster of Henry’s Recovery

- December 1454- Henry recovered
- Disaster! Lead conflict 6 months- Somerset released Tower and put back centre government- supported Exeter and Percy’s.
- York’s protectorate ended, Salisbury resigned as chancellor.
- The fear and feuds pushed events forward
- Both anxious about what other might do wanted to get retaliation in first
- Somerset, political action- called great council Leicester May 1455 did not invite York or Neville’s- interpreted move accusing treason.
- As soon Somerset aware- sent messages nobles and appealed support. Little chance to arrive before Battle- morning.

The battle of St Albans, 22 may 1455

- Negotiated 2 hours- evidence nobles avoid fighting
- Somerset barricaded self town – York unable in until Neville through houses. Somerset and Northumberland killed.
- Henry- neck grazed led into St Albans by Salisbury and Warwick – begged forgiveness. Still loyal to king.

Factors that caused fighting to break out in 1455
### The immediate factors or events that turned the possibility of conflict into reality

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>3) Henry’s illness</th>
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<tr>
<td>- Caused feuds b/w nobles</td>
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<td>- Somerset could no authority control it</td>
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<tr>
<td>- Great council summoned even York (shows restore Governments authority)</td>
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<tr>
<td>- King’s nearest adult relative</td>
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<tr>
<td>- Duke Norfolk behalf York- demanded Somerset taken tower and trial treason</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- No one opposed- confidence Somerset faded</td>
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<tr>
<td>- No trial- division. Thanks Henry’s illness political situation transformed York central figure Government. ( Somerset and York no reason to fight, but whole reason fight broke out 1455)</td>
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<th>6) Henry’s recovery, late 1454</th>
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<tr>
<td>- Lead conflict within six months</td>
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<tr>
<td>- Somerset re-emerged centre Government, York’s protectorate over.</td>
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<td>- Left a hole on both parts</td>
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### The factors that made conflict more likely but still not certain

<table>
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<tr>
<th>2) Public opinion</th>
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<tr>
<td>- People wanted new beginning and Government realise common voice important- expectation York provide new beginning by opposing Somerset</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- York little choice agree-reject ‘traitor’</td>
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<tr>
<td>- Public opinion gave York support &amp;manoeuvred York becoming Voice of opposition to Somerset.</td>
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<th>5) Feuds between nobles</th>
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<tr>
<td>- 1453- York politically isolated but due Neville’s’ motivation supporting him majority nobles supported York man most likely restore order- Henry illness</td>
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The factors that created the possibility of conflict

1) Henry VI’s failure
   - After Cade’s rebellion- no more involved leadership/government than had been before
   - Vital part 1455- factor that led to all the other developments
   - E.g. Duty king unite nobility, prevent quarrels escalating violence – did not stop Somerset & York
   - Did not stop noble feuds- incapable
   - Did not make probable or certain b/c failure before 1450- did not lead nobles fighting a battle

2) Enmity b/w York & Somerset
   - Somerset opposed York b/c stirring disunity and refused give up opposition
   - Three reasons why York wanted king’s leading councillor:
     1) Strong sense duty and destiny- read Stilicho- restore good government after evil councillors- man to put England right
     2) Denounced Somerset surrendering Normandy- York= absentee commander affected honour
   - By end 1450- opposed each other. Interpreted other’s action as attack – friction.

SUMMARY OF EVENTS

**Phase 1: 1450-1453, Somerset’s Success**

- After Cade rebellion- Somerset King’s leading councillor. York 2 attempts replace him.

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‘THERE MUTUAL FEAR DROVE THEM TO TAKE ACTION, TO GET THEIR RETALIATION IN FIRST. THE MAJORITY WANTED PEACE BUT A SMALL AND LOUD CHORUS OF OTHER VOICES – THE PERCY’S, EXETER, THE NEVILLES- CHEERED THEM ON. IT WAS FEAR OF WHAT EACH OTHER MIGHT DO THAT TRIGGERED THE BATTLE OF ST ALBANS.'
1) 1450- political campaign, York much supports among commons but nobles rejected encouraging disunity so soon after Cade.
2) 1452- marched small army challenge Somerset, backed down too little support- political outcast.

### Phase 3: 1453 – 1454, York’s Comeback
- Somerset restore order- hopes success France
- Mid 1453- York rescued political isolation France lost and Henry ill
- Nobles invited York join council.
- March 1454- appointed protector, Somerset imprisoned.
- Partly successful but disrupted growing feuds among nobles.

### Phase 4: Somerset restored- Conflict!
- York acted gathering army against Somerset. 22nd May 1455- Somerset killed; York begged Henry forgiveness-Violence.

### 4) WHY WAS EDWARD IV ABLE TO WIN THE CROWN IN 1461?

**Four years of ‘peace’ 1455-59**
- York and Neville’s hoped no more battles- killed their enemies and more fighting put their success at risk
- **Nov 1455-** York protector accepted majority nobles. Warwick- Captain of Calais, powerful own garrison soldiers under Warwick’s command.
- Queen Margaret- no trust York- feared he wanted crown.
- **March 1456-** chance her take control York protectorate ended wanted pass law taking back royal land granted nobles- lost noble support
- Nobles sympathising Margaret took over leading positions Government moved court Midlands- loads of support
- Neither attacked each other, lose support ‘middle ground’.
- **March 1458** - ‘love day’ ceremony. ‘Comfort’ didn’t last.
- **November** Warwick attacked London- perhaps Margaret’s supporters. Fled Calais.
- **Winter 1458-59**: both sides spent preparing war.
- **June 1459** - great council summoned Coventry- Yorkist not invited feared treason.

**Margaret’s success: the battle of Blore Heath and the Coventry parliament 1459**

- Fearing treason charges, Yorkist nobles gathered York castle Ludlow- Salisbury travelling from Yorkshire intercepted Lancastrian army, fought way through battle Blore Heath **September 1459**
- **November 1459** - Coventry parliament attained Yorkists- convicted treason, executed if caught individual and all lands forfeit crown and heirs could not inherit land, whole family impoverished forever!
- Seemed success but Margaret pushed York into corner, giving him no chance but fight back and challenge Henry crown.

**York’s bid for the throne: the battle of Northampton and the Act of Accord 1460**

- Lives, lands and property at stake, Yorkists had fight back.
- **October 1460** - York proclaimed he true king. Nobles met decide on York’s claim, they chose both sides showing wanted avoid warfare. Act of Accord-Henry remain king in his lifetime but York his heir.
Margaret’s revenge: Wakefield and St Albans, December 1460-February 1461

- Act of Accord did not fulfil purpose restoring peace, made inevitable war- Margaret fight to protect son’s claim throne.
- Support declined Midlands, deaths of nobles in battle Northampton such as Buckingham. Raised troops in north with Northumberland (rivalry Warwick)
- **Wakefield 30 December 1460**- Margaret revenge when York and army caught in open and killed by Lancastrians.
- Margaret headed London, on way her army pillaged towns and villages, driving off cattle and sheep for food. Frightened Londoners slamming city gates shut.
- **February 1461** – battle of Mortimer’s cross. Forces of Lancastrians tried blocking Edward enter London. On morning, 3 suns a sign Edward evidence God’s support, won battle and continued London.
- By time Edward arrived, Margaret won 2\(^{nd}\) battle of St Albans- regained control Henry. Did not attack London and headed north – leaving London open to Edward and giving him ‘breathing space’.

**Edward IV and the Yorkist victory: Towton, March 1461**

- Edward joined by Warwick on way London who had escaped 2\(^{nd}\) battle St Albans.
- Rode into London ‘joyously received’ Edward offered fresh start, young man looked and behaved like king.
- Stayed London few weeks recruited soldiers. Said Lancastrians had forfeited crown when broke act of accord killing York at Wakefield.
- Towton, snowy and lasted all day- not easy victory. Late arrival of Duke of Norfolk’s men gave fresh impetus Yorkist army. Lancastrians defeated (fled),
- Margaret and Henry heard news fled Scotland leaving Edward control battlefield and England.

**SIX BATTLES, NOW WE MUST SURVIVE TOWTON**

The factors that contribute to the reason why Edward IV was able to win the crown in 1461
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Factor/s that made Edward’s success certain</th>
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<tr>
<td>7) The decisions of Queen Margaret and the Lancastrian leaders</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Two decisions taken to strengthen Lancastrian position had consequences that put Henry’s hold on throne greater risk</td>
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<tr>
<td>• 1) Autumn 1459- convicting Yorkists treason – must have seemed good idea showing everyone Yorkists full of treachery but rebounded Lancastrians unintentionally turning conflict fight for crown increased chances Henry’s deposition. Boosted support her opponents, passive supporters of Henry to active supporter Yorkists- 6 or 8 nobles came with soldiers. Duke of Norfolk – key role Towton.</td>
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<td>• 2)1461 St Albans II- went north, could have prevented Edward more soldiers and finance and more confidence within Lancastrians.</td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Factor/s that significantly contributed to Edward’s success</th>
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<tr>
<td>2) Henry VI’s failure as king</td>
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<tr>
<td>• York and Edward would never challenged Henry crown if had been successful king.</td>
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</table>
But Henry not deposed b/c failure- if that the case would have been deposed in 1460 York claimed crown

Henry’s failures led all events and rivalries that came together at Towton and make Edward king - inability lead allowed rivalries escalate. Inability stop feuds York gain support Warwick- led battle 1455 and ultimately battles 1459-61

Most importantly, Henry’s inability lead left a vacuum Margaret had fill in, ironically led decisions vital part Henry deposed

3) Richard of York’s persistent opposition

- to depose king need’s be opposition, York provided opposition
- determination to be at centre government alarmed Margaret – lead to act of accord, York had no real choice oppose Henry challenge right to crown
- Yorkist cause seemed over at his death Wakefield

6) London’s support for Edward

- Feared Margaret’s- looting and pillaging and hated her moved royal courts midlands 1456- loss of trade and insult London
- Believed Lancastrians preferred foreign merchants to London ones whereas, Warwick- trade Calais pro- English merchants
- So, London gave men and money to Edward and credibility- proclaiming King Edward IV

**Factor/s that gave Edward a chance of success**

1) God’s verdict and the Yorkist claim to the throne
- 3 suns Mortimer cross sign that God favoured York
- Victory Towton – a second sign
- Lancastrians forfeited when broke act of accord- Victory at Towton god declared against the Lancastrian oath-breakers
- Arguments= helpful propaganda
- Encouraged many soldiers as God’s support
- Gave Yorkist a practical reason crowning Edward- without one they’d be called rebels

4) **Edward’s qualities and skills**
- First advantage- not his father seemed devious liar declaring loyalty to king then say he want king 1460
- Everyone’s image of king: tall, well-built handsome and (Mortimer’s cross) excellent soldier god’s blessing
- Edward- less kingly in appearance or a poorer soldier then chances of success smaller

Factor/s that created the possibility of Henry being deposed

<table>
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<tr>
<th>5) <strong>Warwick’s support</strong></th>
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<td>Importance shown Lancastrian attempt assassinate him 1458</td>
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<tr>
<td>Land and wealth allowed him summon very large number fighting men</td>
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<td>Control of Calais- refuge time of difficulty</td>
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<tr>
<td>Fame and charisma- capable providing leadership attacking foreign ships piracy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Warwick’s name and reputation as important to Edward as the men and wealth he provided</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>But needed Edward more than Edward needed him- desperate situation accused treason. Couldn’t become King-needed Edward</td>
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</table>
Edward became king because he won the battle of Towton, but several factors gave him that chance: support London and Warwick. Support also linked Margaret’s decisions but that was only due to Henry’s total failure as king. Fortunately, Margaret’s decisions rebounded and gave the Yorkist a chance of success. Ultimately, it came down to the battle of Towton and Edward’s military skills significantly contribute towards his own success.

5) How good a King was Edward IV the first time round?

Henry inherited a difficult position:

1) Enmities of 1450’s had been made worse by the battles of 1459-61. England very divided as a result.
2) Warwick’s power and experience made him seem in charge not Edward
3) Edward did not control the distant parts of the country – north and Wales
4) Edward little positive support among the nobles
5) Some nobles still great loyalty Henry
6) To some Edward was a usurper who had illegally taken the crown by force
7) Henry VI still alive an alternative King for Edward’s opponents

1) Splendour at court

- A king was meant to look as rich as possible, displaying his wealth as a symbol of his power and England’s strength. Edward had natural advantages due to his height and good looks, allowing him to show off richly embroidered colourful clothes. Henry realised the use of the court as a microcosm for England’s wealth by holding lavish tournaments and other events such as the Queen’s coronation in 1465.

2) Justice and order

- Edward took his responsibility to law seriously; visiting troublesome areas early in reign-showing determination put end disorder and crime. Edward showed strength that built confidence in his kingship and providing better government. However, 1467- disorder and lawlessness increasing, many within the nobility such as Percy’s retainers that refused pay rents.
- In response, Edward right things, set up commissions to investigate and punish law breakers, made laws reduce retaining and used bonds ‘encourage’ or force landowners obey the law.
3) Edward’s relation with his nobility

As most leading nobles were Lancastrian and others still young, Edward looked over-dependent on the Neville’s—therefore he needed to build up a wider body. Edward was able to do so successfully by creating new nobles such as Lord Hastings and Lord Herbert. Hastings head of Edward’s household whereas Herbert controlled Wales—crucial role potentially rebellious region. His attitudes Lancastrians were also generous, sensibly aiming to win them over rather than pushing them into permanent enmity such as Lords rivers welcomed to court. Also cautious rewards gave Woodville’s and lavished land George, Duke of Clarence. However, Edward failed with Warwick’s brother John. 1464- Beat Lancastrians Hexham and made Earl of Northumberland—title held generations Percy’s. Edward earned John’s loyalty, 1469—Warwick rebelled John refused join brother. However, after 2nd rising Edward gave back title to Percy family to ensure north east stayed loyal to Edward. John did not accept alternative rewards ‘magpie’s nest’ and allied with Warwick. Another criticism Edward unable build up committed support among nobility—watched in 1470 Warwick chased him from throne; people were willing to die for Henry VI.

4) Royal Finances

Today finance critical part of government but less important to medieval king

Edward was not successful as economics recession affected trade and agriculture—to key components 16th century England. Edward had less income from decline in custom revenues—less trade. Also failed when asked taxation 1463—war against Scotland and 1468—War against France. More noticeable not much taxation (increase public awareness) also tax revenue collected went to Edward’s pockets b/c had focus dealing Lancastrian opposition.

However, Edward’s policies some way made up for deficit from recession: reduced cost household and developed more efficient administration royal lands maximise income.

These improvements useful + worthwhile but unremarkable—didn’t determine success failure as king.

5) Foreign Policy

Main decision: ally with France or Burgundy (independent duchy fighting independent France)? Mid 1460s Edward negotiated both potential allies playing them against each other get best terms

1467—Treaty with Burgundy, including marriage Edward’s sister Charles of Burgundy and end with trade war, benefited English merchants

But this foreign policy marks beginning of end split b/w Edward and Warwick.
• Edward dismissed George Neville, Warwick's youngest brother from his post as Chancellor and Warwick left court 1467 not returning early 1468. Burgundian alliance= public demonstration Warwick not have as much influence Edward as he assumed.
• Soon, rumours in France Warwick contemplating alliance Margaret of Anjou put Henry back on throne. King Louis sent help to Lancastrians in Wales – distract Edward.
• Edward may have taken best decision behalf England but did not stop Warwick from disagreeing with decision melting with other grievances that led him eventually to rebellion.

6) Marriage and an heir
• 1464- married Elizabeth Woodville in secret
• Practical problem: how to reward Elizabeth’s family at suitable level so would not create resentment along nobility. Edward succeeded in this – Woodville’s not showered in grants of land’s and offices. Also, Henry benefited in that the marriage of the many Woodville’s into noble families created alliances with these noble families without penny.
• FAILURES:
• Warwick displeased wanted to marry one his daughters to wealthy Duke Buckingham but missed out Woodville girl. Also his 65 year old aunt married 18 year old John Woodville- seemed as if Warwick could not protect aunt from exploitation.
• Edward failed use marriage to gain diplomatic advantages.
• Seemed ‘unkingly’ marriage no good decision making instead suggested lack of judgement and fact in secret – Edward scared of Warwick?
• Gave Warwick propaganda advantage 1469-70- Woodville’s greedily dominating weak Edward. Also Elizabeth 2 sons already- Edward unable heir early in reign.

7) Lancastrian opposition
• Edward had to work hard to overcome opposition because the Lancastrians were expecting aid from France and Scotland.
• 1462- Edward executed Earl of Oxford and son after Lancastrian plots discovered
• Lancastrian- Scottish force invaded England capturing three formidable castles- Edward caught measles handed leadership Neville’s who stopped the invaders and recaptured the castles.
• William Herbert defeated opposition in Wales
• Despite these plots, Edward generous to Lancastrian nobles aiming to win them over his side. If Edward won Somerset’s loyalty big blow Lancastrians and Sir Ralph Percy- crucial for Lancastrian defence against invasion in north-east.
• Somerset welcomed at court joined Edward in his leisure’s but fled back to Henry and Sir Ralph Percy was offered back 2 formidable castles, but he just handed them off to Scots.
• Lancastrian resistance defeated by Montagu in 1464 at the Battle of Hedgeley Moor and Hexham – Somerset, Percy and other Lancastrians executed.
• Margaret and Edward fled France and in 1465 Henry captured and imprisoned.
• Support for Lancaster did not end, 1468 Louis XI France seemed about give aid Margaret. Galvanised many more plots against Edward in England. Also an increase disorder in counties- suggested threat continued as long as Henry and Prince Edward alive.
• Edward unable to put an end to Lancastrian cause but large extent this reasons beyond his control:
  1) Continuing loyalty Henry. Many nobles saw Edward as a usurper.
  2) Past enmities and deaths in the battle 1455-61 meant some nobles felt never can be accepted as loyal to Edward.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Some Historians have criticised Edward but for each criticism there are also strong arguments in favour of his actions</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1) Overconfidence in his ability to win over his enemies</td>
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<tr>
<td>2) Relying on the Neville’s too much and not doing enough himself militarily increasing perception Warwick more important that Edward.</td>
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<tr>
<td>3) Failure to execute Henry</td>
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**Edward and Warwick: Why did Warwick rebel?**

| 1469 | Warwick rebelled with George, Duke of Clarence. Defeated Edward’s army at Edgecote 1469 and executed its commanders. Edward later taken prisoner but lawlessness increased and Government ignored, so Edward set free. |
| 1470 | Warwick tried again took advantage of rebellion in Lincolnshire. Failed at trying to make Clarence King and fled to France made alliance Margaret aiming restore Henry throne. |
| 1470 | Warwick invaded England with help of French troops, forcing Edward flee Burgundy and Henry VI king again. |

**Reasons why Warwick rebelled:-**
1. Warwick’s plans family marriages ended by Woodville marriages
2. 1467- Edward dismissed George, Warwick’s youngest brother from his post as chancellor- sign Edward wanted independent Neville’s
3. Warwick hoped eldest daughter Isobel would marry Clarence but Edward turned down idea wanting him marry foreign princess.
5. Edward’s decision ally with burgundy rather than with Warwick’s choice France

Edward seemed incredibly vulnerable during 1468-1469?
   1. Limited committed support nobles
   2. Increased disorder echoed problems 1450
   3. Woodville’s unpopular for ‘heavy lordship’
   4. Henry VI still alternative King
   5. Possibility French invasion
   6. Taxed collected for war but war was not fought
   7. Revival of Lancastrian plots
   8. Economic problems and public feeling of lack of prosperity

Shows that Warwick may have rebelled for self-defence- Edward lost then Warwick lost and wanted to create a stronger regime.

Was Henry successful? Yes because the situation that Edward faced when he became king was very difficult- which allows us to assess Edward’s kingship more positively and also some of the critical problems and events of 1468- 1469 were outside of Edward’s control; such as the French support for Henry and Margaret, Warwick’s decisions and Clarence’s treachery.
6) WAS EDWARD IV A SUCCESS SECOND TIME ROUND?

*How did Edward win the crown again?*

- Late 1470- Duke Burgundy needed English backing against France, turned to Warwick (ruled England on Henry’s behalf)- found he already ally France
- Decided help Edward regain control- English support as aid against France
- Gave Edward £20,000, ships and facilities prepare invasion
- Set sail, shiploads joined him- 12000 men
- Hull and York refused Edward through until Edward announced only claiming duchy of York, inheritance right, not the crown of England
- Trickery worked, the army rested York and headed south
- Not stopped Earl of Northumberland 1470- Edward gave back his earldom
- Montagu (Warwick’s brother) let through b/c his men won’t fight Edward
- As he carried on; ‘they didn’t stop him up north so why should we?’
- Midlands, announced King and was joined by men and Clarence- apologised
- Edward’s opponents= deeply divided- Made Edward’s tasks easier:
  - 1) Margaret and Edward still France- Margaret did not trust Warwick with Edward- also delayed bad weather
  - 2) Lancastrians no trust Warwick, wanted join Margaret south west instead uniting Warwick form one army against Edward- split forces against Edward
- Edward headed London
- Lancastrian supporters paraded Henry round London – no one rushed support b/c Edward looked like King
- Battle of Barnet- vs. Warwick’s army, mistaken Earl Oxford livery with Warwick’s- so claimed treason fled.
- Warwick and Montagu killed
- Tewkesbury- vs. Lancastrian and Somerset army- Prince Edward killed
- 17 days later- Henry VI killed Edwards orders (not melancholy)
**EDWARD WAS KING!** All thanks to: Burgundy’s help, enemy’s disunity own tactics and skills and heading south so he looked king again. He was able to swing the momentum his way!

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>EDWARD’S SUCCESSES</strong></th>
<th><strong>EDWARD’S FAILURES</strong></th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>1) Royal finances</strong></td>
<td><strong>1) Richard, Duke Gloucester, Third Bro</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Benefited upturn in trade + agriculture increased income</td>
<td>- went exile w/t Edward 1470- leading role Barnet + Tewkesbury</td>
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<tr>
<td>- Income further increased efficient administration officials</td>
<td>- Reward= Edward’s trust and widespread power in north</td>
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<tr>
<td>- Exploited royal rights more effectively- increased income wardships</td>
<td>- 1470s- north Problem, Lancastrian invasions Scotland – Solved ‘northern problem’ making Gloucester overlord</td>
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<tr>
<td>- Extraction benevolences-sign greater security that while resented not lead rebellion or complaint</td>
<td>- Inherited Warwick’s affinity- defended north against Scots and maintained Law and Justice</td>
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<tr>
<td>- Raised status financially competent-parliament grant tax</td>
<td>- National figure- lead expeditions France and Scotland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>2) Splendour at court</strong></td>
<td>- Edward and Gloucester- powerful partnership based mutual support and self interest. <em>Too much power?</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Major occasions celebrated grand jousts</td>
<td><strong>2) Justice and order</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- More aware wealth- Burgundian court visit</td>
<td>- Edward’s appointment nobles as regional overlords- important part delivering justice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Showed off richest clothes, jewellery ate of finest plates</td>
<td>- used network gentry every county- men developed links Edward taking important role royal household- close contact to king- enabling get to know them and sense trust develop</td>
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<tr>
<td>- Spent lavishly divine craftsmanship-Palace Greenwich and Windsor</td>
<td>- Weakness= predominantly concerned disorder threatened political stability and hold throne. Commons parliament criticised failure punish off the mill crime or disorder initiated trusted nobles.</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>3) Dealing with Clarence</strong></td>
<td><strong>3) Foreign Policy</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- 1st treachery – allying Warwick marrying Isobel hope he king – asked Edward’s forgiveness</td>
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<tr>
<td>- 2nd treachery- hid Anne Neville so Richard not gets her inheritance and did not want to share. In end forced bring her back. Richard married Anne and Northern estates.</td>
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<tr>
<td>- final crisis- 1476 Isabel died, Edward did not allow him marriage Mary Burgundy+ Scottish princes fuelled</td>
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</table>
tantrum 1477 arrested wife’s former servant accused, found guilty and hanged poisoning his wife. Accused treason defended man accused using magic forecast King’s death. Huge abuse power - 1478 executed. -shows Edward’s determination stop threats endangering his and England’s security.

4) Edward and the nobility
- continued use policy before 1469 - used trusted supporters control large regions
- nobles chosen effectiveness + loyalty
- allowed Edward gain control regions that did not have first part reign
- after 1471- excluded high ranking nobles from local power to increase royal authority, best example Duke Buckingham + Earl Pembroke- Wales and marches opened council under son’s name headed Anthony Woodville
- gave Edward direct control over region

5) Securing the succession
- 1483 March- appeared have done everything needed ensure smooth succession heir
- Even ‘spare’ son. Edward 40 – son young man when king
- Edward died April no smooth succession Edward V deposed 3 months Richard
- Christine Carpenter- not to blame left dynasty securely settled throne, no one could have predicted.
- Other historians blame Edward he had.. 1) too much power individuals- Richard – power used depose son

- 1475 collected taxation hoping glorious war attack France – Burgundy and Brittany
- left isolated when led army- Burgundy and Brittany broke promise
- 1475- Treaty of Picquigny - 7 year truce, marriage Dauphine and sister and large payments
- successful gained financially + peace
- 1480- Scottish border raids= nuisance
- 1482- Richard aim depose James III replace brother duke, Albany who happy exchange Scottish territory for crown.
- Captured Berwick but called off after as brothers made peace.
- Warned scots raids immediate future
- also maintenance Berwick yearly £10,000
- England so preoccupied Scotland provided no aid Burgundy against France so Burgundy made treaty with France
- result France stopped Treaty England
- Complete failure? Protected border no threats invasion
2) Allowed enmities grow + fester. When Edward died feuds exploded, leading them put enmity before loyalty Edward - Dr Rosemary Horrox - fact surfaced after Edward death suggests Edward master kingdom and authority prevented enmities flaring control. Not expected-planned coronation. 2 weeks before.

7) HOW CERTAIN CAN WE BE ABOUT WHY RICHARD III TOOK THE CROWN?

*The events that lead up to Richard III taking the crown*

- 9th April 1483- Edward IV died. Edward V Ludlow supervised Earl Rivers
- 29th April- Rivers + Gloucester + Buckingham- dinner Northampton
- Early May- Council appoints Richard protector. Edward V- castle and coronation moved 25th June
- 13th June- Lord Hasting executed w/o trial- ‘treason’
- 16th June- Second son joins Edward
- 25th June-Rivers + Grey executed
- 26th June- Petition passed Richard should be king because Edward V illegitimate- Edward IV pre-contracted marriage another woman before Elizabeth Woodville
- 6th July – RICHARD III= KING!!!

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Certain motives</th>
<th>Possible motives</th>
<th>Unlikely motives</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>1) Fear of attack by Woodvilles</strong></td>
<td><strong>3) Fear of losing Northern Lands</strong></td>
<td><strong>4) Ambition for power as king (developed immediately after Edward IV death – April)</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Woodvilles wanted dominate Edward V’s gov, no broad council including Richard – they threatened Richard’s place at centre of power</td>
<td>Richard’s possession northern territory not permanently secure Hold former Neville territory= vulnerable- ‘real’ heir= George, Duke of Bedford. Who could not</td>
<td>- Unlikely wanted crown as soon Edward death- if wanted from</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
- No previous hostility b/w them- Rivers asked Richard arbiter legal dispute
- Possible, Richard influenced Buckingham + Hastings- both contacted him April and Hastings rivalries members Woodvilles
- Richard’s action as protector show under threat felt by them- executed Rivers then when protector took many lands and position
- Created enmity b/w Richard + Woodvilles= symbolised Elizabeth sanctuary
- Richard realised, only protector 4 years. When Edward V rules – Woodville revenge

2) Ambition for power as king (developed late May early June)
- portrayed motivated power b/s ruthlessness way seized crown
- 13th June- Lord Hastings – Edward’s closest friend not allowed Richard be king- arrested+ executed w/o trial
- Fortnight- Rivers + Grey executed w/o trial.
- Shock violence silenced opposition.
- Solely interested power, behind actions probably lay: fear Woodville, loss northern lands or right king and sense of duty.
- Inherit land father attainted treason. While him or children alive attainer stays in force.
- 4th May 1483- Bedford died childless- ending attainer meaning no land Richard’s son but next Neville heir
- Richard only able safeguard 4 years (protectorate end) then Woodville- dominated king in power
- Possible motive, not Richard’s words. More probable if Richard heard in early June explain sudden rush events and ruthless executions.

beg. Taken actions earlier than mid-June
- Instead, events unfolded slowly- council appointed Richard protector and administration remained normal – slight changes personnel
- 6 whole weeks b/w arrest Earl Rivers and Hastings execution- 6 weeks no sign Richard wanted crown- strongly suggests not ambition for power as soon as Edward died.

5) Belief that rightful king by inheritance
- Believed rightful king by inheritance everyone else close Edward barred treason (Clarence’s son) or illegitimate.
- Strong arguments illegitimate fake- appear out of blue extraordinarily convenient time- raises suspicion
- Bastardy no stop Edward- illegitimacy removed coronation. Which Richard ignored showing priority power?
- 1483- Gentry rebelled- did not believed rightful king. Cannot know for sure- no Richard’s thoughts.

6) Belief that England needed him
- Motivated sense of duty?
- Father convinced England needed him, perhaps Richard also saw self man for a crisis guiding England potential problems of Edward’s minority through experience
- Sense duty fits deep religious faith and past failures. Explains determination is protector and decision takes crown.
- But must known deposing King Instability England.
Overall, to historians it depends on Richard’s career as a whole. If we focus on loyalty then he was probably motivated by the illegitimacy story or if we focus on ruthlessness then defence northern land and ambition for power. It also depends on the period as a whole and whether in the 15th Century they were motivated for pure ambition or idealism.

**WHY WAS RICHARD ABLE TO TAKE THE CROWN?**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SURPRISE</th>
<th>STRENGTH</th>
<th>UNCERTAINTIES OF POTENTIAL OPPONENT</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1) Richard’s past loyalty Edward- joined exile, led army Scotland controlled north- not expected deposing brother’s son 2) moderate actions May early June- mid-June Richard took opportunity express loyalty Edward V- as a protector no signs that he wanted power</td>
<td>1) Support significant nobles- Hastings. Buckingham +Howard backed claim King – added credibility and making potential opponents hesitate. 2) northern support- rumours arrival northern army alarmed Londoners, intimidated potential opponents</td>
<td>1) Justification for becoming King- story illegitimacy made opponents pause and contemplate once made decision made Richard became King. Also gave excuse to waverers to support Richard. 2) Memories of minority of Henry VI- people remembered the bad days of Henry VI and blamed long minority, really problem elder, therefore, uncertainty what happens under another boy king – Richards hands.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3) violent actions mid-June- Hastings executed + other opponent arrested + imprisoned- unexpected opposition paralysed potential opponents</td>
<td>4) Speed of events mid-June- after 6 weeks, 10 days frantic action- end Government waited Richard crowned and no time organise opposition</td>
<td>3) Confusion- what really happening? Difficult to rally opposition against Richard.</td>
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8) WAS RICHARD III DEFEATED BECAUSE OF THE PRINCES IN THE TOWER?

1) Buckingham’s rebellion and the emergence of Henry of Richmond---
   Opposition began in the first few weeks of Richard’s reign - Edward IV’s household men
   - Richard hoped he had their support to represent the continuity from his reign to Edward IV’s
   - August 1485= rebellion planned make Edward V king = abandoned realised dead. Searched alternative candidate. Edward IV’s nephews were unsuitable b/c young and under Richard’s control.
   - Their choice was Henry of Richmond- whose connection to the crown through the Lancastrian line- a new Yorkist candidate
   - October- rebellion spread across south- it was a threat b/c of the status of the rebels as leading Gentry from nearly every county
   - Their motives varied- some felt out of political favours years and saw chance step back in – new rules. However, majority motivated outrage deposition disappearance Edward V.
   - It was a moral protest against Richard’s behaviour
   - But the rebellion failed for three main reasons. 1) Extreme difficulty of co-ordinating rising across whole south when some rebels did not take decisive actions and waited for others. 2) Richard aware + prepared—warned by spies. 3) Not all potential rebels joined b/c Buckingham’s arrival also weakened rebellion- expected overthrow Richard- some rivals stayed out b/c one attraction taking Buckingham’s land.
   - By time Henry’s ship’s arrived- failed. Buckingham= executed. Henry sailed back 400 rebels. But still did affect Richard’s chanced crown:
     1) Established Henry rival crown – promised marry Elizabeth York
     2) Gave Henry core group supporters – leaders in their counties call upon other

2) The planting of northerners in the south
Rebels had fled abroad and caused gaps in the network in almost every southern county. These men made local government work in their counties by acting as judges, sheriffs and raising defence forces.

Solution - use men from own affinity - at first filled gaps w/t men had connections south. However, not enough northerners with links, import complete outsiders.

Result - Pockets northern new comers every county with presence aroused great hostility. Arrival deeply shocking to local gentry who lived in close-knit community with everyone inter-married and longstanding relationships - outsiders seen as Richard’s spies and resented taking over friend’s land - imposed on locals w/o regard their reaction. Shows Richard not control events.

VIOLENCE TAKING CROWN + DISSAPEARANCE OF PRINCES--- REBELLION---- PLANTING SOUTHERNERS SOUTH--- INCREASE CHANCES REBELLION

3) Richard’s rivalries with northern lords

- two leading noble families felt threatened by Richard's dominance

  1) Stanley’s—had clashed with Richard since 1469, Stanley’s fight with Harrington family for Hornby castles – Richard’s support infuriated Stanley’s, Edward tried end it but Richard King eager settle argument- Harrington’s favor.

  2) Northumberland- Richard King, Northumberland hoped- leading power north but found Richard promoted nephew earl of Lincoln.

4) Dependence on a narrow group of supporters

- Richard= good intentions as king made sure everyone access to justice – worked hard royal finances and Government bureaucracy ran smoothly

- Efficiency did not counterbalance failure provide stability – key element kingship

- Threats rebellion never went away leading him greater dependence small core supporters- ‘northern circle’ highly rewarded- problem b/c Richard no lands to give rebels or else take them back from supporters


- March 1485- Anne Neville died- rumors Richard poisoned so marry Elizabeth, stopping marriage Henry diminishing claim Edward IV’s natural successor. So unpopular northern supports threatened- deny or rise up against. Rumors said 3 things...

- 1) Richard’s reputation so bad after disappearance princes believed poisoned wife. 2) So dependent on northern support they threatened abandon him. 3) So desperate end York-Tudor- Woodville- Beaufort threat marriage niece considered.
5) French support for Henry of Richmond

- 1485- treaty Scotland after death son- no longer stand threat invasion
- Henry fled to France avoid hand over- welcomed French government concerned Richard might attack France. Therefore, France supported Henry distract Richard III launch invasion.
- News France supporting Henry caused many defect Henry’s side- e.g. Earl of Oxford – many retainers.
- French provided Henry practical military help – Ships= transport and around 4000 soldiers.

6) Events at Bosworth, 22 August 1485

- Only thing to provide stability- Victors Richard
- Richard larger force- tried to ensure Stanley’s didn’t join Henry taking his son hostage. Richard nearly won – Cavalry charge close enough exchange blows Henry before Stanley force intervened- Richard killed.

7) The character of Richard III

- only king strong connection north
- one character trait relevant Richard’s defeat- impulsiveness
- Key moment in his reign Richard seemed act great suddenness and perhaps without enough thought-creating problems self, grew greater with time. E.g., arrest Rivers, execution Hastings and seizure crown and last charge.

Conclusion-

- Disappearance of the princes fuelled French belief that Richard= aggressive King planned invasion France- major part Henry’s success
- Disappearance of the princes not a major part Richard’s failure because then toppled by the 1483 rebellion.
Secondly, 1485 the events of France could have gone differently—may not have supported Henry, leaving him isolated—no support invasion.

Third, Richard may have won in Bosworth and could have established self as God’s approval due to victory.

However, Christine Carpenter—even if Henry VII killed Bosworth—members of Edward IV’s households found another candidate.

Richard’s Defeat

Factors made Richard’s defeat certain

Factors significantly contributed Richard’s defeat

Factors played part Richards defeat