

Edexcel – AS GCE
Unit 1: Historical
Themes in Breadth
Option A

A7
The Reign of Henry VII,
1485–1509

Essay Question
1

Examiner's Specific Advice

Points 1–4 below provide a shape for an answer at Level 5.

1. The focus of this question is the reign of Henry VII and the challenges made to Henry's position as king (security) in this period.
2. The question asks you to make a judgement *as to the accuracy of the opinion about the nature and extent of the threat to Henry VII posed by Lambert Simnel and Perkin Warbeck*. Without this judgement, Level 5 will not be achieved. If you say that the threat existed and do not make an evaluation, then Level 5 will probably not be achieved. An evaluation requires you to consider, in this case, the level of seriousness that these challenges posed and to show that there may be different levels of seriousness in these two specific challenges. In making this judgement you need to make reference to the level of accuracy of the opinion. This is the focus for the style of your essay. You must aim to draw firm conclusions on the question.
3. Answers at Level 5 also require you to show:
 - a) explicit understanding of the key issues
 - b) a broad balance of reference to the key issues, e.g. both Lambert Simnel and Perkin Warbeck will be referred to.
4. Finally, Level 5 demands that you show your understanding by using factual information which should be:
 - a) accurate
 - b) relevant
 - c) appropriately selected – you have a limited amount of time so you cannot expect to include everything.

In this context, you should beware of straying into other challenges to security that Henry faced. A successful answer will only focus on the two Pretenders.

Tips for your plan: The key words in the question are '*both serious threats*' and '*Henry VII's security*'. They are in fact the key issues.

Introduction: This needs to reflect the timeline, individuals, key issues and style of the question.

Main body of the essay: Try to select at least three relevant points/large topics which can be used to illustrate your understanding of the question. You should ensure that there is a clear argument running throughout the essay. In Exemplar Answer 2, the Lambert Simnel challenge and the Perkin Warbeck challenge are dealt with separately except for the introduction and conclusion. This is advised for clarity of argument. The information is kept tightly on track – a focused answer – through careful wording which often includes the key words from the question.

The conclusion should pull the essay together with an evaluation of the relative importance of the various issues discussed.

Exemplar Question

How accurate is it to say that Lambert Simnel and Perkin Warbeck were both serious threats to Henry VII's security?

[30 marks]

Planning Your Response

To achieve Level 5 in the mark scheme your answer must *directly address* the focus of the question.

Plan

- Introduction: reference to both Lambert Simnel and Perkin Warbeck's challenges and some explanation of context; some indication of the interpretation of the question to be offered
- A range of relevant factors: times and incidents from **both** challenges which indicate a serious threat to Henry VII, e.g. foreign support, invasion/battle, Henry's behaviour
- Conclusion: assessment of the accuracy that both challenges were serious threats and assessment that one posed a more serious threat than the other

Examiner's Exemplar Answer 1

In 1485 Henry became king after he defeated Richard III at the Battle of Bosworth. He was a Lancastrian and Richard was a Yorkist. This could have been just another battle in the Wars of the Roses. Henry VII remained king until his son inherited the throne in 1509, so his reign ended the Wars of the Roses. However, during his reign he was challenged by the Yorkists on several occasions which threatened his security. Two of these challenges came from Lambert Simnel and Perkin Warbeck. They both certainly gave him worries about whether or not he would remain on his throne (1).

The first challenge began shortly after Henry's reign began in 1486. The young Lambert Simnel was coached by a priest, Richard Symonds, to be Richard Duke of York, but later Simnel impersonated the Earl of Warwick. There were many rumours about these two young Yorkists. Some people believed that they were dead and others said they were held in the Tower of London. It was this uncertainty which gave Symonds and Simnel their chance. This was not a good time for Henry to have a challenge to his security as he was new to the job as king. It was going to be difficult for Henry to prove that Simnel was a hoax (2).

Simnel attracted many Yorkist supporters whether he was a hoax or not. The Earl of Kildare and Margaret of Burgundy both backed him. He was officially recognised as Edward VI. He was even crowned king in Dublin cathedral. Margaret supplied the plot with troops and money and an invasion to overthrow Henry was planned. The plotters arrived in the north at Furness from Ireland and then marched across the Pennines towards Nottingham. They hoped to get support along the way but this was less than expected because the English were fed up of war and the Irish soldiers were very unruly. Eventually, they met Henry near Newark and the Battle of Stoke took place. The rebels had about 8000 troops and Henry's troops numbered about 12,000. However Henry could not be sure of his supporters as he remembered what had happened to Richard III at Bosworth. The nobles who Richard was relying on turned on him and gave their support to Henry. This proved to be the critical factor at Bosworth for Henry (3).

The German soldiers sent by Margaret were very experienced and it looked like Henry's security was seriously threatened. The Irish soldiers strained Henry's resources but eventually Henry managed to gain the upper hand. He managed to separate the Yorkist factions and surrounded them. The leaders perished as did half of

(1) The introduction needs to reflect the timeline, individuals, key issues and style of the question. In this case, **both** Lambert Simnel and Perkin Warbeck are mentioned.

(2) The first challenger is introduced: Simnel. The style is descriptive and reference to the question is implied. This reaches Level 3.

(3) This is a descriptive paragraph. The answer is implicitly relevant to the question. This reaches a Level 3.

the Yorkist army. Lambert Simnel and Richard Symonds were captured and imprisoned. Later Simnel became a turnspit at court. Other reprisals were that Henry confiscated the lands of 28 nobles who had dared to fight against him. The battle of Stoke was a dangerous moment for Henry and had he lost the battle then the Wars of the Roses would have continued (4).

The other serious challenge to Henry was the plot which involved Perkin Warbeck began in 1491. He was not even English. He was from Tournai in France and he turned up in Cork, Ireland. He was working for a clothes merchant and whilst walking around the town in his master's clothes it is said that people thought that he was the Earl of Warwick. The plot to overthrow Henry VII developed from this. Some say this was actually planned by Charles VIII of France and Margaret of Burgundy, but others saw it as a fluke (5).

Charles VIII of France invited Warbeck to his court and by the summer 1492 there were approximately 100 English Yorkists supporting the plot, ready and waiting in Paris. However, Henry and the French king made a treaty called the Treaty of Etaples in November 1491 so Warbeck had to flee to Flanders. The Treaty included a clause in which the French king agreed to stop giving support to Yorkist plots designed to unseat Henry VII. Henry retaliated against the support for the rebels from Flanders by breaking off trade with Flanders (6).

Meanwhile in Flanders Warbeck became known as Margaret of Burgundy's nephew. In 1494 things got even better for Warbeck – he was now recognised as Richard IV by Maximilian the Holy Roman Emperor. Things were looking serious for Henry especially as he was beginning to learn that some of his closest household servants were being drawn into the plot. This resulted in the execution of Sir William Stanley, Chamberlain of the King's household and Lord Fitzwalter, his Steward. Henry hoped that this would stop the plot being supported in England at least (7).

In 1495 the Warbeck plot began its challenge to Henry by landing at Deal in Kent. Warbeck did not get the support he had hoped for or indeed needed to overthrow Henry. He moved on to Ireland, the reception there was also lukewarm so he headed for Scotland where James IV seemed keen to give support. James allowed Warbeck to marry his cousin Lady Catherine Gordon to strengthen his claim – he was now related to royalty. Warbeck crossed the border into England from Scotland but found that the English did not rise up and support him. After this, James IV agreed to marry Henry VII's daughter Margaret. This

(4) This paragraph starts to look like it might be analytical but it is undeveloped in terms of the question. It reaches Level 3.

(5) The second challenger is introduced. The answer is in a descriptive style and is undeveloped in terms of the question. It is of limited relevance to the question and reaches Level 3.

(6) This paragraph lacks clarity. Some relevant points are raised but there is only an implicit link to the question, and points which lack development. This would reach Level 3.

(7) This shows some understanding of the focus of the question. However, there is a limited attempt to analyse. This is borderline Levels 3/4.

agreement of 1497 was finalised in 1502. Again, Warbeck had lost support for his plot by Henry making agreements with his supporter. Warbeck left Scotland and headed south (8).

In the summer of 1497 Warbeck arrived in Devon. He had to move on swiftly as he was driven out of Taunton and Exeter. He took refuge in the sanctuary of Beaulieu Abbey in Hampshire. By August he had been persuaded that there was no support for his plot, so he gave himself up.

The evidence for this plot came from Warbeck himself when he confessed on the scaffold in 1499. He was not charged with treason as he was not an English citizen. Henry showed compassion and allowed Warbeck and Lady Catherine Gordon to stay at court. By 1498 he was back to his old ways and he escaped with a view to causing Henry more headaches. He was recaptured, put in the stocks and then in the Tower. There are many rumours about what happened next – whether it was Warbeck or a counter-plot by Henry. Whatever the truth about the plot with the Earl of Warwick, Warbeck met his end in 1499 having tried Henry's patience to the limit. A week later The Earl of Warwick was executed for treason.

It would be accurate to say that both Warbeck and Simnel were serious threats to Henry's security. However, as Henry managed to successfully deal with both of them, in the retrospect, Henry was always in control (9).

Examiner's Assessment

This answer would achieve a Mid Level 3. The main reason for this is that it is descriptive in style and the links to the question are mainly implied. The answer would not score a Level 4 because of a lack of analysis. The answer does show some understanding of the focus of the question as both Simnel and Warbeck are included and the information given is accurate and mostly relevant. The understanding of Henry's security is limited – so there is limited understanding of one of the key issues which makes the answer less convincing. There is also a limited range of factors included about the danger from the two Pretenders. Those factors which are raised are limited in development.

(8) Descriptive, factually accurate, and reaches Level 3.

(9) The conclusion shows an awareness of the question. It is a very limited assessment in terms of the question. It does not really tie up the ends of the question posed in a confident way.

Examiner's Exemplar Answer 2

Henry became king in 1485 after defeating Richard III at the Battle of Bosworth. His claim to the throne was weak and he took the crown at a time when it was accepted practice for nobles to challenge the king's position – otherwise known as the Wars of the Roses. In view of these factors it was no surprise for Henry's position to be challenged. Two of the most notorious Yorkist challengers were Lambert Simnel and Perkin Warbeck. They posed a threat to his security as king for several reasons – the timing of their plots and the backing they received. However, it was Perkin Warbeck's challenge to Henry's position as king which posed the most serious threat mainly because of the scale and variety of the foreign opposition which he managed to attract over a period of almost 10 years (10).

The backdrop to these two challenges was the absence of an available Yorkist descendant into which many rumours played. Hence suitable candidates were found who were prepared to impersonate the two Princes in the Tower. The first to emerge in the Autumn of 1486, so near the start of Henry's reign, was Lambert Simnel. The fact that Simnel started out as Richard of York and then on the back of increasing rumours regarding the well-being of the Earl of Warwick, impersonated him instead, shows just how easy it was to launch a challenge to Henry VII's security with the appropriate support. In this sense, it is accurate to say that Lambert Simnel potentially posed a serious threat to Henry in 1486 because Henry was new to the throne, his new wife gave birth to an heir in September and most importantly Henry did not find out about the plot to overthrow him until February 1487 (11).

The fact that Lambert Simnel was able to draw in support for his challenge to Henry as the Earl of Warwick under the guidance of an Oxford priest Richard Symonds was again potentially a very serious threat to Henry's position as king. The support initially came from the Earl of Kildare in Ireland who proclaimed Simnel as Edward VI. Further support for the plot came from Margaret Dowager Duchess of Burgundy. Her verbal support was accompanied by money and 2000 German troops which were sent to Ireland. Not only did this challenge have a safe haven on England's shores but also an able military leader in Martin Schwarz. At this stage the challenge could be seen as serious which was underlined in May by Simnel being crowned King Edward VI in Dublin (12).

Henry's reactions give a clue as to how serious he thought this challenge was to his security. He was taking

(10) This introduction needs to reflect the timeline, individuals, key issues and style of the question. In this case, both the Lambert Simnel and Perkin Warbeck challenges are dealt with together.

(11) Setting the scene: the ease with which challenges to Henry VII were made. To reach a Level 5 requires that the question is addressed directly. Relevant and accurate information is used – in this case only Lambert Simnel is dealt with.

(12) Assessment is being made about the seriousness of this challenge. Without such an assessment, Level 5 will not be reached. There is also direct reference to the question with appropriately selected information.

no chances. He imprisoned leading Yorkists in their homes, declared them traitors and confiscated their lands. This included Edward IV's queen Elizabeth Woodville and her son by a former marriage, the Earl of Dorset. The real Earl of Warwick was paraded around the streets of London to try and discredit the plot. The plotters were not deterred as they were joined by the Earl of Lincoln and Lord Lovell and the plans to invade England to overthrow Henry continued. This could only be seen as a serious threat at that point by Henry especially as he did not know how many of his nobles would defect and he seemed unable to capture any of the leading plotters (13).

The two sides met at the Battle of Stoke, near Newark on June 16th 1487. It is at this point that the seriousness of the challenge changed. It was necessary for Henry to go into battle to defend his position as king so in that sense this plot was a serious threat to his security. Henry had prepared for the invasion, showing that he saw it as a serious threat. The outcome of the battle was not pre-determined, but Henry did prevail. The leaders were killed – Lincoln, Schwarz to name a few. Symonds and Simnel were captured. Again, it is Henry's behaviour which prompts us to suggest that in reality the plot was now not seen as a serious threat by Henry. He imprisoned Symonds in a Bishop's prison and Simnel became a turnspit at the court. As a warning to other potential plotters, Henry attainted 28 nobles and confiscated their land. This reaction also indicates that Henry was more concerned about nobles joining future plots than about the two key players Simnel and Symonds (14).

It would be accurate to say that this plot seemed like it had the potential to overthrow Henry and could be a serious threat to his security if Henry had not taken the action he did. Henry could not afford to treat it lightly, particularly as he had been on the throne for less than two years. Once the challenge had been overcome it seems that Henry accepted that it was not widely supported or deeply rooted and that the main character Simnel was just a pawn in the game. The whole thing was over in just over 12 months which again demonstrates that on balance the Lambert Simnel plot was only seen as a serious threat when Henry did not really know who was involved (15).

The Perkin Warbeck plot on the other hand did pose a serious threat to Henry's security for a considerable period of time. The evidence for this is the way in which the plot influenced the king's foreign policy. On the face of it as the plot unfolded in the Autumn of 1491, Henry

(13) To reach Level 5, the answer must have explicit understanding of the key issues. Henry's reactions are used to assess the seriousness of the challenge. Also, the depth and range of the information is consistent with a Level 5 answer.

(14) This shows evaluation of Henry VII's response after the battle to measure the change in the assessment of the seriousness of the plot. Reference to attainders shows appropriately selected information to support the analysis. These are all required to reach Level 5.

(15) This is a mini-conclusion of the assessment of the Simnel plot in retrospect, a direct focus on the question which reaches Level 5.

(16) The introduction of the second challenge –

should have been more secure on the throne and he should have felt more secure as by this stage he had made the Treaty of Medina Del Campo with Spain and Prince Henry had been born in June. He now had some European recognition and a growing number of heirs. Despite all these factors to aid Henry's security, the Warbeck plot was perceived by many to pose a serious threat to the king because of the amount of European support it attracted almost from the outset (16).

The Perkin Warbeck plot lasted from 1491 until 1499 which in itself demonstrates its serious nature. The origins of the plot are unclear but Charles VIII of France and Margaret of Burgundy seemed to be in support of Perkin Warbeck's challenge to Henry from the outset. However once the Treaty of Etaples had been agreed with France whereby part of the Treaty committed France to deny support for Yorkist plots, it fell to Margaret of Burgundy to announce that Warbeck was her nephew. Henry's concerns about the seriousness of the plot did not end with the treaty of Etaples. In 1493 he imposed a trade ban on the cloth trade with Flanders. This was a serious set-back for English trade and this is a clear barometer for the level of Henry's nerves. Quite clearly, Henry viewed this challenge as a very serious threat to his security (17).

Henry's fears were well justified because another European leader joined the plot in 1494 and this made the plot a serious threat once more. The new plotter to join Margaret was Maximilian, the Holy Roman Emperor who declared that Perkin Warbeck was Richard IV. The plot was at this stage posing a serious threat to Henry's security if his network of spies was to be believed. It seemed that there were those in the king's court such as Sir William Stanley who appeared to be being drawn into the plot. The combination of an invasion from Europe in tandem with a conspiracy at home would see a successful overthrow of Henry as king. It was Henry's response to this serious threat which reduced the danger. Henry executed some of his most trusted officials such as Stanley, as his Chamberlain of his Household and Lord Fitzwalter his steward. Sir Robert Clifford seems to have been a reliable informer for Henry. This swift and lethal response by Henry meant that Warbeck's invasion which landed at Deal in 1495 did not have the domestic support it had been promised and so ended in fiasco. At this point the serious nature of the plot seemed to diminish (18).

However, Warbeck did not give up – there were still neighbours of Henry who were willing to help the plot to overthrow him. Ireland was his first port of call but when support for the plot was limited, Warbeck sailed for

the Perkin Warbeck plot. This shows an indication of explicit understanding of the key issue – the difference in timing and scale of support for Warbeck compared with Simnel – to reach Level 5.

(17) Henry's reactions are used to assess the level of seriousness of the challenge. The depth of appropriately selected information is a requirement for Level 5.

(18) This paragraph focuses on the question, and shows awareness of assessment that the level of seriousness could change with time. The depth and range of analysed information meets the requirement for Level 5.

Scotland. James IV gave refuge to Warbeck and served to strengthen Warbeck's position and credibility by allowing Warbeck to marry his cousin, Lady Catherine Gordon. Warbeck was now related to the Scottish royal family. The seriousness of the situation cannot be underestimated for the Warbeck plot at this point threatened to prevent the marriage alliance between Catherine of Aragon and Prince Arthur. It is accurate to say that King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella of Spain feared that Warbeck was a very serious threat to Henry's security and they did not want to risk their daughter's reputation or safety because of it. If the planned Scottish invasion of England had succeeded then Henry might have lost his throne to Warbeck (19).

Again, it is Henry's response to the dangerous plot that helped to reduce the threat. He used negotiations regarding the marriage of his daughter Margaret to James IV to diffuse the threat from Warbeck. With reduced support from James IV, Warbeck moved his focus to the South West of England. This was again potentially going to pose a very serious threat to Henry's security. The South West was known to be traditionally rebellious and there was disquiet in the area about taxation to pay for the defence of the northern border against the Scottish invasion. Warbeck had a great opportunity at this point to pose a very serious threat to Henry's security. However, yet again he was unable to sustain the support and he fled to Beaulieu Abbey in Hampshire. In August 1497 he surrendered and confessed. Unfortunately Warbeck's taste for intrigue against Henry continued and by 1499 Henry's patience came to an end and he was executed (20).

In conclusion it is accurate to say that Warbeck and Simnel both posed a serious threat to Henry's security at certain points in his reign and his reactions clearly demonstrate his concerns about this. They were serious threats to his security because both plots were developed from a confused situation about who these two men were actually pretending to be. The dangerous position in which Henry found himself can only be underlined by the presence of such confusion. It did not prevent the plots from gathering support from home and abroad. This demonstrated, not least to Henry, that he had a plethora of enemies and many of these enemies were powerful. Both plots posed a serious threat to Henry's security because they necessitated an invasion of England which Henry had to deal with in terms of finance and in the expectation of loyalty from his nobles as battles loomed. The invasions also served as a reminder of Henry's own quests for power against Richard III. In 1486, the Simnel plot looked at the outset as though it might prove to be a

(19) This shows a wider analysis of the seriousness of the challenge, with an assessment of the seriousness of the Warbeck challenge as viewed by the Spanish and its implications. The explicit understanding of the key issues meets the requirement for Level 5.

(20) This shows wider analysis of the challenge: the potential posed by the Warbeck conspiracy if combined with the Cornish rising. An explicit understanding of the key issues and a focus on the question meets the requirement for Level 5.

(21) This conclusion pulls together the strands of the argument. There is an evaluation of both the

serious and successful challenge to Henry's security, just because it came so soon after Bosworth. However, it is accurate to say that it was the Warbeck plot which really posed the most serious threat to his security. This plot lasted a long time and Henry felt obliged to make treaties with his neighbours in his attempts to bring the plot to an end. It also threatened to de-rail the planned royal marriage which shows how serious a threat his neighbours also viewed Warbeck's plot to Henry's security (21).

Simnel and Warbeck challenges in the terms of the question. But also there is an assessment which draws a distinction between the two in terms of which challenge was the most serious threat. This meets the requirements for Level 5.

Examiner's Assessment

This essay reaches Level 5 because:

- it addresses the question directly throughout
- it is analytical in its approach
- it is broadly balanced in its references to both Lambert Simnel and Perkin Warbeck and there is an assessment as to which of the two challenges posed the most serious threat
- it includes accurate material which has been appropriately selected (does not try to include everything) and linked to the question
- it shows a sound understanding of the issues – the position of kingship post Wars of the Roses, the struggle for power between York and Lancaster, and the danger from Europe to Henry VII.

This essay would gain a mark at High Level 5.

You should ensure that there is a clear argument running throughout the essay. In this example, a range of incidents are considered with detailed and precise supporting material, e.g. the support of Burgundy for Simnel and Warbeck, Henry's trade embargo on the Low Countries and the marriage alliances with Spain and Scotland to weaken the plots.

The information is kept tightly on track – a focused answer – through careful wording which often includes the key words from the question throughout the essay, for example in paragraph 2: 'In this sense, it is accurate to say that Lambert Simnel potentially posed a serious threat to Henry in 1486 because Henry was new to the throne, his new wife gave birth to an heir in September and most importantly Henry did not find out about the plot to overthrow him until February 1487.'

Each paragraph ideally should offer some analysis/evaluation of the information in terms of the

question, for example in paragraph 7: 'Despite all these factors to aid Henry's security, the Warbeck plot was perceived by many to pose a serious threat to the king because of the amount of European support it attracted almost from the outset.'	
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Edexcel – AS GCE Unit 1: Historical Themes in Breadth Option A	A7 The Reign of Henry VII, 1485–1509	Mark Scheme for Question 1
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How accurate is it to say that Lambert Simnel and Perkin Warbeck were both serious threats to Henry VII's security?

[30 marks]

Target: AO1a and AO1b

Essay – to present historical explanations and reach a judgement.

Level 1	<p>Candidates will produce mostly simple statements. These will be supported by limited factual material which has some accuracy and relevance, although not directed at the focus of the question. The material will be mostly generalised. There will be few, if any, links between the simple statements.</p> <p><i>The qualities of Level 1 are securely displayed; material is convincing in range and depth consistent with Level 1. The writing may have limited coherence and will be generally comprehensible, but passages will lack both clarity and organisation. The skills needed to produce effective writing will not normally be present. Frequent syntactical and/or spelling errors are likely to be present.</i></p> <p>Low Level 1: 1–2 marks The qualities of Level 1 are displayed, but material is less convincing in its range/depth and the quality of written communication does not conform.</p> <p>Mid Level 1: 3–4 marks The qualities of Level 1 are displayed, but material is less convincing in its range/depth or the quality of written communication does not conform.</p> <p>High Level 1: 5–6 marks The qualities of Level 1 are securely displayed.</p>	(1–6)
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<p>Level 2</p>	<p>Candidates will produce a series of simple statements supported by some mostly accurate and relevant factual material. The analytical focus will be mostly implicit and there are likely to be only limited links between the simple statements. Material is unlikely to be developed very far.</p> <p><i>The writing will have some coherence and will be generally comprehensible, but passages will lack both clarity and organisation. Some of the skills needed to produce effective writing will be present. Frequent syntactical and/or spelling errors are likely to be present.</i></p> <p>Low Level 2: 7–8 marks The qualities of Level 2 are displayed, but material is less convincing in its range/depth and the quality of written communication does not conform.</p> <p>Mid Level 2: 9–10 marks The qualities of Level 2 are displayed, but material is less convincing in its range/depth or the quality of written communication does not conform.</p> <p>High Level 2: 11–12 marks The qualities of Level 2 are securely displayed.</p>	<p>(7–12)</p>
<p>Level 3</p>	<p>Candidates' answers will attempt analysis and will show some understanding of the focus of the question. They will, however, include material which is either descriptive, and thus only implicitly relevant to the question's focus, or which strays from that focus. Factual material will be accurate but it may lack depth and/or relevance in places.</p> <p><i>The writing will be coherent in places but there are likely to be passages which lack clarity and/or proper organisation. Only some of the skills needed to produce convincing extended writing are likely to be present. Syntactical and/or spelling errors are likely to be present.</i></p> <p>Low Level 3: 13–14 marks The qualities of Level 3 are displayed, but material is less convincing in its range/depth and the quality of written communication does not conform.</p> <p>Mid Level 3: 15–16 marks The qualities of Level 3 are displayed, but material is less convincing in its range/depth or the quality of written communication does not conform.</p> <p>High Level 3: 17–18 marks The qualities of Level 3 are securely displayed.</p>	<p>(13–18)</p>

<p>Level 4</p>	<p>Candidates offer an analytical response which relates well to the focus of the question and which shows some understanding of the key issues contained in it. The analysis will be supported by accurate factual material which will be mostly relevant to the question asked. The selection of material may lack balance in places.</p> <p><i>The answer will show some degree of direction and control but these attributes may not be sustained throughout the answer. The candidate will demonstrate the skills needed to produce convincing extended writing but there may be passages which lack clarity or coherence. The answer is likely to include some syntactical and/or spelling errors.</i></p> <p>Low Level 4: 19–20 marks The qualities of Level 4 are displayed, but material is less convincing in its range/depth and the quality of written communication does not conform.</p> <p>Mid Level 4: 21–22 marks The qualities of Level 4 are displayed, but material is less convincing in its range/depth or the quality of written communication does not conform.</p> <p>High Level 4: 23–24 marks The qualities of Level 4 are securely displayed.</p>	<p>(19–24)</p>
<p>Level 5</p>	<p>Candidates offer an analytical response which directly addresses the focus of the question and which demonstrates explicit understanding of the key issues contained in it. It will be broadly balanced in its treatment of these key issues. The analysis will be supported by accurate, relevant and appropriately selected factual material which demonstrates some range and depth.</p> <p><i>The exposition will be controlled and the deployment logical. Some syntactical and/or spelling errors may be found but the writing will be coherent overall. The skills required to produce convincing extended writing will be in place.</i></p> <p>Low Level 5: 25–26 marks The qualities of Level 5 are displayed, but material is less convincing in its range/depth and the quality of written communication does not conform.</p> <p>Mid Level 5: 27–28 marks The qualities of Level 5 are displayed, but material is less convincing in its range/depth or the quality of written communication does not conform.</p> <p>High Level 5: 29–30 marks The qualities of Level 5 are securely displayed.</p>	<p>(25–30)</p>

Edexcel – AS GCE
Unit 1: Historical
Themes in Breadth
Option A

A7
The Reign of Henry VII,
1485–1509

Question 2

Examiner's Specific Advice

Points 1–4 below provide a shape for an answer at Level 5.

1. The focus of this question is the reign of Henry VII and how his foreign policy strengthened his position/the English monarchy in the given timeframe.
2. The question is asking you to assess 'to what extent' foreign policy strengthened the position of the English king. Without this assessment, a Level 5 will not be achieved. If you just describe Henry VII's foreign policy without an assessment of 'to what extent' this factor was responsible for strengthening the king's position, then Level 5 will probably not be achieved. The Edexcel specification refers to Spain, Burgundy, France and Scotland, the assessment of 'to what extent' will look at these countries separately and it may be concluded that there were differing impacts as the reign progressed.
3. Answers at Level 5 also require you to show explicit understanding of the key issues: the foreign policy of Henry VII in relation to four countries. These issues will be broadly balanced – you will consider Spain, Burgundy, France and Scotland with similar amounts of detail and explanation.
4. Finally, Level 5 demands that you show your understanding by using factual information which should be:
 - a) accurate
 - b) relevant
 - c) appropriately selected – you have a limited amount of time so you cannot expect to include everything as this question has four countries to deal with, so there is a need to be selective.

Tips for your plan: the key words in the question are '*Henry VII's foreign policy*' and '*strengthen the English monarchy*'.

Introduction: This needs to reflect the timeline, individuals, key issues and style of the question.

Main body of the essay: Try to select at least three or four relevant points/large topics which can be used to illustrate your understanding of the question. You should ensure that there is a clear argument running throughout the essay. In this example, Henry's foreign policy with four countries is considered with detailed and precise supporting material, e.g. The Treaty of Medina del Campo, Truce of Ayton, Treaty of Etaples. The information is kept tightly on track – a focused answer – through careful wording which often includes the key words from the question.

The conclusion should pull the essay together with an evaluation of the relative importance of the various issues discussed.

Exemplar Question

To what extent did Henry VII's foreign policy strengthen the English monarchy?
[30 marks]

Planning Your Response

To achieve Level 5 in the mark scheme your answer must directly address the focus of the question.

Plan

- Introduction: essential element of Henry's foreign policy; some indication of the interpretation of the question to be offered; reference to France, Spain, Burgundy and Scotland – context
- A range of relevant factors: incidents from **all four** countries to show if/when/to what extent policy strengthened the English monarchy
- Conclusion: assessment of extent that Henry's foreign policy strengthened the English monarchy

Examiner's Exemplar Answer 1

Henry VII became king after winning at the Battle of Bosworth in 1485. This brought the Wars of the Roses to an end and marked the start of the Tudor dynasty. Henry had a weak dynastic claim to the throne so he needed to strengthen the position of the English monarchy and one way to achieve this was through his foreign policy. He managed to use his foreign policy with Spain, France, Scotland and Burgundy to help to strengthen his position as king to the extent that by the end of his reign European leaders no longer queued up to join in the dynastic squabbles between York and Lancaster. Furthermore, the stream of Pretenders had dried up. Overall, Henry's relationships with Spain, Burgundy, France and Scotland did strengthen the English monarchy as is demonstrated by the peaceful accession of Henry VIII in 1509 and the length of time the Tudor dynasty was in power (1).

Henry knew that he could not afford wars if he wanted to remain financially independent of his nobles. He tried hard to keep to a peaceful foreign policy. For example when he became king he brokered truces with France and Scotland in the hope that he could neutralise the most likely sources of invasion or war. These truces did not last. France embarked upon expansion into Brittany and later both France and Scotland became involved in the Perkin Warbeck plot to overthrow Henry (2).

(1) The introduction needs to reflect the timeline, individuals, key issues and style of the question. Here, specific reference is made to Spain, Burgundy, France and Scotland.

(2) This paragraph shows the context – Henry's need for peaceful foreign policy.

Henry felt obliged to send troops to Brittany with his ally Maximilian in an attempt to stop the French. This ended his peaceful policy towards France. In 1489 he sent 6000 men to defend Brittany against the French. Henry was worried that the French would control all of the Channel ports and this justified war. Henry was trying to safeguard his position at home but in reality by emptying his coffers, to pay for the war, he left himself vulnerable to the financial generosity of his nobles (3).

In the case of Scotland, Henry was dismayed to find that James IV had become embroiled in the Perkin Warbeck plot and he was forced to consider war. The Scots planned to invade England to help Warbeck so Henry was forced to tax his subjects to pay for defence of the border with Scotland. This triggered discontent in the South West which threatened his position. Eventually Henry offered the hand of his daughter Margaret to James IV of Scotland and James agreed to withdraw his support from Warbeck and also to promise not to involve himself with any more Yorkist plots aiming to overthrow Henry. This strengthened Henry's position when James withdrew his support from Perkin Warbeck as it signalled the end of another Yorkist plot. Furthermore, Henry did not have to spend money on a war he could not afford. Henry's financial position was crucial for strengthening his position as king (4).

Henry's foreign policy with Spain was fruitful and strengthened his position considerably. It was probably the most successful aspect of his foreign policy. He married Prince Arthur to Catherine of Aragon in 1502. This meant that the English monarchy was linked to a power house in Europe so the position of the English monarch was strengthened. Unfortunately, Arthur died but both Henry and Ferdinand of Spain wished to see the liaison continue, so plans were drawn up for Prince Henry to marry Catherine. These arrangements got bogged down in squabbles about the dowry and whether or not the marriage to Arthur had been consummated. Catherine did not marry Prince Henry, but the marriage did take place when he became Henry VIII and following a Papal Dispensation (5).

Henry invaded France in 1492 to retaliate for their support of Perkin Warbeck. He landed in Calais (English) and advanced on Boulogne with 26,000 men. The French soon opened up negotiations to halt the siege of Boulogne. The result was the Treaty of Etaples in 1492. Henry managed to get a pension of £12,500 per year from the French and also he was reimbursed for invading France in the first place. This income was extremely

(3) Foreign policy: **France.** Descriptive and not developed in terms of the question. Just a hint of analysis and link to the question. This reaches a high Level 3.

(4) Foreign policy: **Scotland.** This paragraph shows some analysis and awareness of the question. There is limited range, so this reaches Level 4.

(5) Foreign policy: **Spain.** This answer is analytical but has limited depth and range. It is lacking links to the question. There is some awareness of the question. This reaches Level 3.

important to Henry because he now had a regular source of independent income so that he did not need to ask Parliament or his nobles for as much money. This was a major issue for Henry – the problem of the over-mighty subject. Many of Henry's nobles were wealthier than he was at the beginning of his reign and so he had to find ways to redress this situation in order to strengthen his position (6).

Henry's foreign policy towards Burgundy was complicated. At the outset of his reign, the link between the Dowager Duchess, Margaret of Burgundy (Edward IV's sister) and the Yorkists meant that the Duchy was constantly involved in Yorkist plots to overthrow him. Margaret's court became a haven for Yorkist sympathisers such as Lambert Simnel and Perkin Warbeck. In his policy towards Burgundy, whilst there were Yorkist plots, Henry could not afford to ignore the potential for interference in England and ultimately with his position. His first approach was to try and befriend Maximilian von Hapsburg (husband of Mary of Burgundy) in the common cause of opposing French expansion into Brittany. Maximilian soon cast Henry aside and then recognised Perkin Warbeck as Richard IV. Henry retaliated with a trade embargo in 1493 on the Low Countries which escalated into a trade war between England and the Low Countries. The cloth trade bore the brunt of the downturn in trade. The damage inflicted by this trade war cannot be underestimated as the cloth trade was a key source of revenue for the king and his subjects. The fact that Henry embarked upon a trade embargo underlines just how important it was for him to weaken the Warbeck plot. Once the Warbeck plot had been overcome, Henry then focussed on alliance with the Hapsburgs to strengthen the position of the English monarchy. This change of policy came after the deaths of Prince Arthur and of Henry's wife, Elizabeth. Henry offered to marry Margaret of Savoy and suggested that his daughter Mary should marry the Archduke Charles. These dynastic alliances came to nothing because Philip the Fair died and it was he who had been liaising with Henry in these matters. Henry's dynastic foreign alliances with Burgundy did not really help his position as king, but it failed due to reasons beyond Henry's control (7).

There were other factors, apart from foreign policy by which Henry tried to strengthen his position as king. In tandem with his foreign policy were a series of measures on the home front which clearly strengthened the monarch's position. In theory, the king was expected to 'live of his own' in peace time. During the Wars of the Roses monarchs found that they were increasingly dependent on their wealthy subjects for money. In order

(6) Foreign policy: **France**. This is a relevant issue but France is being re-visited. There is some attempt to analyse and link to the question.

(7) Foreign policy: **Burgundy**. This answer has a focus on descriptive but relevant information. Some relevant issues are not analysed and developed in terms of the question.

(8) This paragraph is about other factors – not foreign policy. The focus of the question is lost. This will adversely affect

<p><u>to strengthen his position as king, Henry needed to strengthen his finances (8).</u></p> <p><u>He improved his financial position and hence his position as king in several ways. For example he used Bonds and Recognisances as a way of punishing nobles who plotted against him. This form of feudal due was paid by Henry's subjects to guarantee their future good behaviour. He also made sure that feudal dues were collected – for example – when Prince Arthur was knighted. Henry claimed £30,000 for this and for the marriage of Margaret to James IV, 15 years later and after Arthur had died. This was a form of extraordinary revenue which Henry as chief feudal lord was entitled to collect. He also forced those nobles who had an annual income of £40 or more to become a mounted knight which meant that the knight was obliged to fight for the king in time of war. Henry was strengthening his position as king by exercising his feudal obligations (9).</u></p> <p><u>Henry could also rely on loans from his richer subjects. For example Henry asked for substantial loans from landowning magnates to help with the defence of the land from the Scots in 1496 when Warbeck's plot was being played out. It was difficult for Henry's subjects to refuse these loans but equally in order to remain on good terms with his subjects, Henry needed to re-pay his subjects. However Henry also used Forced loans to raise money. This he did for the invasion to protect Brittany when he raised £48,500. Forced Loans were not re-paid but were given by subjects as a sign of goodwill towards their king (10).</u></p> <p><u>The Church was another source of revenue for the king. It was usual for the church to mirror amounts of money given to the king by Parliament. For example the Church voted £25,000 for the French War in 1489. Henry also made money from abuses within the Church such as simony. He also kept bishoprics vacant for a long time and took the revenues for himself. It is known that because many of his Bishops died in the last years of his reign he was able to pocket over £6000 per annum (11).</u></p> <p><u>It can be said that Henry's foreign policy did help his position because he included promises from his neighbours to stop supporting Yorkist plots whenever he made alliances. Furthermore his foreign policy did result in two marriages which helped to strengthen the English monarchy. However, it was the domestic policies that improved his finances which really helped to strengthen the English monarchy both at the time and for the next reign. Henry VIII inherited full coffers and he did not endure any serious challenges to his position as king</u></p>	<p>the grade if this stance is sustained.</p> <p>(9) Continued focus on other factors apart from foreign policy.</p> <p>(10) Continued focus on other factors apart from foreign policy.</p> <p>(11) Continued focus on other factors apart from foreign policy.</p> <p>(12) This conclusion shows an awareness of the question but also shows the misinterpretation of the question, including domestic policy instead of focusing on foreign</p>
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(12).

Examiner's Assessment

The style of this essay would point to a Level 4 as it contains some analysis. Unfortunately, this answer moves from the focus of foreign policy. The extent to which this occurs means that it could not be a clear Level 4 because the 'imbalance' is too great, i.e. not 'imbalance in places', and also because the references to foreign policy lack depth and range. Pointing towards a Level 3 are: one or two descriptive passages and the fact that France is re-visited which indicates a lack of control/direction. To sum up, the answer does not relate well to the focus of the question and therefore would be graded at High Level 3, borderline Level 4. This is an answer which started well and then went off track.

Examiner's Exemplar Answer 2

Henry's VII's foreign policy was an extension of his domestic policy – essentially to secure his dynasty and therefore the English monarchy. The focus was on quelling the plots to overthrow him, and ensuring the succession of his descendants, sometimes at the expense of England's economic interests. He managed to use his Foreign Policy with Spain, France, Scotland and Burgundy to help to strengthen his position as king to the extent that by the end of his reign European leaders no longer queued up to join in the dynastic squabbles between York and Lancaster. Furthermore, the stream of Pretenders had dried up. Overall, Henry's relationships with Spain, Burgundy, France and Scotland did strengthen the English monarchy as is demonstrated by the peaceful accession of Henry VIII in 1509 and the length of time the Tudor dynasty was in power. However, some relationships were more effective than others in this aspect (13).

At the outset Henry's position in relation to other European powers was weak. He could be seen as a usurper himself who gained the English throne with the help of France. His vulnerability was clear because his family did not have any dynastic links via marriage with other ruling European dynasties. The priority for Henry's foreign policy at the outset of his reign, if it was to strengthen his position was a policy of peace as he did not want and could not afford unnecessary expense.

policy.

(13) The introduction needs to reflect the timeline, individuals, key issues and style of the question. Here, specific reference is made to Spain, Burgundy, France and Scotland.

Furthermore, wars were expensive with an uncertain outcome and they required heavy taxation which Henry wished to avoid if possible. To this end Henry tried to secure alliances with his neighbours from the outset of his reign rather than to launch campaigns for conquest. However, his foreign policy also aimed to protect his regime from foreign backed challenges and there were times when he had to move from the peaceful route to make his point (14).

Henry's closest neighbour and also the oldest enemy of English kings was France. At the outset of the reign Henry sought a one year truce with France and this was later extended to 1489. From Henry's perspective, he had neutralised the threat from France peacefully. There was no need for a costly war and there appeared to be little chance of a French invasion. It could be said that at this stage, Henry had strengthened his position and that of the monarchy. For France, English neutrality was the priority as they tried to control the Duchy of Brittany and absorb it into France. However things soon began to change with French attempts to expand (15).

French expansion into Brittany eventually drew Henry from his peaceful plan and at times threatened to weaken the position of the English monarchy. At first he tried to threaten the French plans by signing a commercial treaty with Brittany in 1486. At the Treaty of Redon in February 1489, Henry promised military support to Brittany to prevent French expansion. His policy of giving military support to Brittany, left Henry looking not only politically isolated and humiliated but also militarily weak. Thus the Yorkists in England and their European allies were tempted to think that the Warbeck challenge had every chance of success. Hence Warbeck had no shortage of backers. In April 1489, Henry despatched 6000 men – mainly archers – to Brittany. Early skirmishes were successful but then in 1491 Maximilian, Henry's ally in the project to 'save Brittany', pulled out. Furthermore, to underline Henry's isolation still further, Charles VIII of France married Anne of Brittany. This left Henry in a very vulnerable position and potentially the position of the English monarchy faced considerable danger. Henry realised that to continue the policy of trying to keep Brittany independent was now a lost cause and would only cause more French wrath. Henry knew that the only sensible option was to withdraw from Brittany. Henry's policy of trying to contain French expansion had failed and had he not withdrawn from this then the English monarchy was at risk of facing financial and military ruin. As things stood he had been left high and dry by Maximilian and Charles VIII. The perception of the strength of the English monarchy looked more vulnerable

(14) Setting the scene – reference to Henry's objectives and why.

(15) Foreign policy: **France**. This describes the policy of peace and it links to the question, with reference to timing. This answer is analytical.

(16) This paragraph describes Henry's need to change policy towards France and has analysis/comparison of the impact on the English monarchy. The depth of the appropriately selected material is shown as required for

as a result of Henry's dealings with France by 1489 (16).

Henry still faced problems with Pretenders but by 1492 the whole picture had changed and it is fair to say that as a result of the Treaty of Etaples – between England and France – the English monarchy was much stronger. Henry had invaded France in that year in retaliation for the French giving support to the pretender Perkin Warbeck. He had reneged on his plan for a peaceful foreign policy once more. Not only did Henry re-negotiate the French Pension which gave him about £12,500 per year but also he managed to retrieve his expenses for the invasion of France in October 1492. These payments strengthened the English monarchy because it meant that Henry had a source of income which was not dependent on his nobles or Parliament. Furthermore and more importantly, the treaty also meant that the French promised to abandon their support for Perkin Warbeck and not to be drawn into any further plots to overthrow Henry. On this occasion the war against France had resulted in the position of the English monarchy being strengthened in many respects. This improvement in his situation would have been appreciated by Henry at the time but it may well have been less obvious to observers from other European countries (17).

Henry's policy towards Spain was very different from that towards France. Spain was recently united in 1479 and this brought a new power onto the European stage and a possible counterweight to France. There was also no history of war between England and Spain. From the outset Henry aimed to link England and Spain in marriage. Henry pursued a link with Ferdinand of Aragon and Isabella of Castile, to strengthen his dynasty and hence the English monarchy. He began negotiations for marriage in 1488 when Arthur was 3 years old. This situation was improved by the Treaty of Medina del Campo in 1489 in which a projected marriage alliance was proposed between Prince Arthur and Princess Catherine of Aragon, despite their tender ages. The Treaty also included promises about not supporting pretenders. In 1497 the Treaty was finally ratified and in 1499 Catherine was married by proxy to Prince Arthur. The actual marriage took place in St Paul's Cathedral in 1501. The marriage celebrations gave Henry an opportunity to impress people with his wealth and power. The symbolism which this marriage portrayed cannot be underestimated in terms of the strength which the English monarchy could draw from it. Henry was now allied to one of the powerhouses in Europe. Henry had spotted the potential this alliance would bring to strengthen his position. Unfortunately, Ferdinand was not reliable and events unfolded which were beyond Henry's

Level 5.

(17) Treaty of Etaples: The answer shows analysis of the effect of this situation on the strength of the English monarchy. It looks at Henry's viewpoint compared with that of his neighbours. The answer directly addresses the focus of the question and reaches Level 5.

(18) Foreign policy: **Spain.** Peaceful policy – marriage alliance/Treaty of Medina del Campo. This paragraph shows analysis that directly addresses the focus of the question. The appropriately selected information is shown with depth required for

control (18).

The mid 1490's proved to be a good period for Henry's foreign policy. It seemed that the prospect of England being linked to Spain by marriage had a positive knock-on effect for the perceived strength of the English king and the role he might play in the European arena. Henry VII was invited to join the anti-French League of Venice in 1495 (became the Holy League a year later). The key to this invitation was Ferdinand and the fear in Europe of growing French influence in Italy. Henry's strength appeared great when he was able to negotiate the terms on which he joined the League – Henry would not be bound to a declaration of war against France. From Ferdinand's position, English neutrality was enough. Unfortunately, Henry's position was dependent on the stage of the relationship between France and Spain and he was constantly reminded of this as his reign wore on.

No sooner had the marriage between Arthur and Catherine taken place, than events began to threaten to destroy the alliance between England and Spain. The first threat came in 1502 when Prince Arthur died. Fortunately for Henry the Spanish were as keen as he was to renew the alliance with a marriage between Catherine and Prince Henry. The way ahead was complicated but Henry VII's position appeared to be strengthened by the continued support for the marriage from the Spanish. Unfortunately Henry VII's behaviour over the dowry and the poor hospitality he gave to Catherine meant that she never married Prince Henry until he became king. In the long term, the policy of the marriage alliance with Spain which Henry VII initiated did eventually lead to a strengthening of the English monarchy in terms of providing Henry with a well connected first wife. The Tudors were recognised on the European stage which was a far cry from Henry VII being constantly threatened by invasion from Europe in support of pretenders. As for Henry VII – the final years of the alliance showed him up as a miserly and unkind king, this did not directly weaken his position but it did not improve his standing in Europe. He had also realised that divisions within Spain meant that Ferdinand was not a reliable ally. Henry VII needed to look for other allies as well as Spain in order to gain respect for the Tudors on the European stage (19).

England shared a border with Scotland which meant that Henry needed a good and lasting relationship, especially as Scotland was still allied to England's traditional enemy – France. Henry began his reign by signalling peace to James IV in the shape of a truce in 1488. He hoped this would be enough to stabilise their relationship. However, James was drawn into the Warbeck conspiracy in 1495.

Level 5.

(19) This paragraph shows assessment of Henry's foreign policy with Spain, and directly addresses the focus of the question. It meets the requirements for Level 5.

Not only did he support Warbeck but he also allowed Warbeck to marry into the royal family when he took Lady Catherine Gordon as his wife. She was the cousin of James IV and Henry found this development had the potential to weaken his position as king. He was so concerned about the planned Scottish invasion linked to the Warbeck plot that he risked the anger of those in the rebellious South West by calling for taxes to defend the northern border. Henry almost lost control of the situation because the Cornish rebelled against the proposed taxation. Fortunately for Henry, the northern counties of England did not rise up in support of Warbeck. Henry was able to exploit this weakness by offering James IV the possibility of a marriage arrangement with Princess Margaret at the Truce of Ayton in 1497. This was enough for James to lose interest in Warbeck and to promise no further support for Pretenders. Henry had strengthened his position once more as a result of his timely use of a diplomatic marriage agreement. Once Warbeck had been executed, the truce was consolidated into a peace agreement and Margaret duly married James in 1503. Hence the Tudor name was permanently linked to the Scottish royal family which served to strengthen Henry's dynastic hold on the English throne both in terms of dynastic reputation and the real prospect of a decline in the threats from across the border (20).

Henry's foreign policy towards Burgundy certainly had the strength of his position and hence that of the English monarchy at its heart – out of necessity. However, it is difficult to determine if the foreign policy alone was responsible for the improvement in his position which eventually came about. At the outset of his reign, the link between the Dowager Duchess, Margaret of Burgundy (Edward IV's sister) and the Yorkists complicated matters. The Duchy was constantly involved in Yorkist plots to overthrow him as Margaret's court became a haven for Yorkist sympathisers such as Perkin Warbeck. In his policy towards Burgundy, whilst there were Yorkist plots, Henry could not afford to ignore the potential for interference in England and ultimately with his position. His first approach was to try and befriend Maximilian von Hapsburg (husband of Mary of Burgundy) in the common cause of opposing French expansion into Brittany. Unfortunately this attempted joint action resulted in humiliation for Henry and he looked weak as Maximilian cast him aside and then recognised Perkin Warbeck as Richard IV. Henry retaliated with a trade embargo in 1493 on the Low Countries which the son of Maximilian, Philip the Fair, now controlled. This escalated to a trade war between England and the Low Countries and the cloth trade was at the heart of it. This situation did not

(20) Foreign policy: **Scotland**. Peaceful policy at the outset. James IV and Warbeck. Marriage alliance/Truce of Ayton. The answer shows an assessment/analysis of foreign policy in terms of the question. It meets the requirements of Level 5.

really improve for three years and during this time the English cloth trade was severely disrupted. It took until 1498 for things to settle down. The damage inflicted by this trade war cannot be underestimated as the cloth trade was a key source of revenue for the king and his subjects. Henry's reaction perhaps demonstrates just how much his position was threatened as a result of Burgundy backing Warbeck's conspiracy. In an attempt to warn Burgundy, Henry was prepared to lose vital taxation and more significantly to risk the ire of the merchants who lost business. The fact that Henry embarked upon this course underlines just how important it was for him to weaken the Warbeck plot which began in 1491 a threat which continued until 1499 when trade was normalised. By this time Warbeck was in the tower and Henry had ruthlessly dealt with Yorkist sympathisers, such as Stanley, in his court. It would be fair to say that it was the combination of risky trade embargoes and the ruthless rooting out of English traitors which strengthened his position as king. Once the Warbeck plot had been overcome, Henry then focussed on alliance with the Hapsburgs to strengthen the position of the English monarchy. This change of policy came after the deaths of Prince Arthur and of Henry's wife, Elizabeth (21).

The proposals for alliance between Henry and Philip the Fair promised much in terms of strengthening Henry's position and that of the English monarchy. Henry was looking for dynastic security through marriage and a way to prevent Burgundy being a haven for Yorkist plotters. In 1505 Philip did hand over the Earl of Suffolk which meant that Henry had neutralised another source of Yorkist opposition and the possibility to interfere in England's affairs. The loan of money to Philip for his quest to take the throne of Castile, seemed to Henry to be a small price to pay for strengthening his position as king. Unfortunately for Henry, fate was against him making any further progress. The Intercursus Malus of 1506 – trade treaty – was never ratified because Philip died. The Treaty of Windsor also of 1506, of which the trade treaty was part, proposed two more marriages. These marriages would link Henry and his daughter to the Hapsburgs. Henry was to marry Margaret of Savoy, Regent of the Low Countries and Henry's younger daughter Mary was to marry Archduke Charles – Philip's elder son. The marriages never took place and the plan to link the Hapsburgs to the Tudors evaporated because of Philip's death. In effect the Burgundian aspect of his foreign policy left Henry looking vulnerable and desperate for allies. The policy of securing dynastic recognition for the Tudors did not strengthen his position at all because it failed to materialise. It showed the English monarch as a junior partner on the European stage, in need of

(21) Foreign policy: **Burgundy**. Describes implications of links with Yorkists and reference to the question. This answer shows analysis of Henry's behaviour as an indicator of the level of danger to his position posed by Burgundy.

(22) This paragraph looks at Henry's attempts at marriage alliances with the Hapsburgs. The answer shows analysis in terms

heavyweight partners, despite Henry's stronger position at home. There was by this stage a decline in the plots to overthrow him as the challengers had lost Burgundian support. In that context though, his foreign policy with Burgundy had helped to strengthen the position of the English monarchy (22).

Henry's foreign policy after the death of Philip of Burgundy in 1506 showed signs of panic and it lacked a firm direction as it was seen to be merely reactive. His initial aim was to create an anti-French triple alliance with Burgundy and Castile as allies, but he later changed tack to an anti-Spanish alliance. Indeed, he had felt the need to try and mend fences with Ferdinand after rifts developed over Catherine's dowry and the question marks raised over the status of her marriage to Arthur. He also feared French expansion into the Netherlands so he tried to improve his relationship with Maximilian too, by proposing in 1507 that Mary, his youngest daughter should become Maximilian's bride. Henry soon realised that this combination was not going to work so antagonism towards Ferdinand increased as did Prince Henry's objections to the proposed marriage to Catherine. He then sought an alliance with the Low Countries and France in the form of a crusade against the Turks, but in reality it was an anti-Spanish alliance – namely the League of Cambrai. However, when the League of Cambrai finally formed in 1508 Henry was not included. Henry's so called allies in Europe had side-lined England leaving him feeling humiliated once more.

Henry seemed to have a plan for his foreign policy and for the most part he kept to it. There was a clear pattern to his relationships with his neighbours and it was intended to strengthen the English monarchy. By 1499, Henry's foreign policy had eliminated most of the Yorkist backed pretenders and this issue did not re-emerge to challenge his successor Henry VIII. Henry VII had only rarely resorted to war which meant that he had not drained the royal coffers. His position as king was strengthened because he was not at the financial mercy and generosity of his nobles. Furthermore, his foreign policy with Spain and Scotland not only eliminated the Yorkist factor, but also created firm dynastic connections. Henry's foreign policy had succeeded by the end of his reign in strengthening the position of the English monarchy to the extent of improving not only its control over the over-mighty nobles but also to the extent that the Tudors were seen as permanent players on the European stage as a result of long term dynastic alliances. However, despite this dynastic improvement in the position of the English king, England was still on the sidelines when it came to European power games, as the

of the question. There is appropriately selected information with some range and depth. It meets the requirement of Level 5.

(23) The conclusion pulls together the strands of the argument – an evaluation of Henry's foreign policy and awareness of his pattern of behaviour. There is some evaluation of how situations could change over time or the extent to which they had not changed to strengthen the position of the

League of Cambrai clearly showed. However, being linked to Spain, changed the perception of the role of English kings when France flexed her muscles in the future. The strength of the English monarchy had been improved in many respects by Henry VII's foreign policy (23).

English monarchy. There is also a reference to the strategic nature of his foreign policy. This reaches Level 5.

Examiner's Assessment

This essay reaches Level 5 because:

- it addresses the question directly throughout
- it is analytical in its approach
- it is broadly balanced in its references to Spain, Scotland, Burgundy and France, and there is an awareness that the situation with regard to strengthening the monarchy can change over time
- it includes accurate material which has been appropriately selected (does not try to include everything) and linked to the question
- it shows a sound understanding of the issues – Henry's need for a peaceful foreign policy, the dangers posed by European support for Yorkist plots, Henry's reactions as an indicator of the strength of his position
- 'extent' as per the question is measured throughout the essay.

This essay would gain a mark at High Level 5.

You should ensure that there is a clear argument running throughout the essay. In this example a range of incidents are considered with detailed and precise supporting material, for example the Treaty of Medina del Campo, Truce of Ayton and Treaty of Etaples, Henry's trade embargo on the Low Countries and the use of marriage alliances with Spain and Scotland to strengthen his position.

The information is kept tightly on track – a focused answer – through careful wording which often includes the key words from the question throughout the essay, for example in paragraph 5: 'Furthermore and more importantly, the treaty also meant that the French promised to abandon their support for Perkin Warbeck and not to be drawn into any further plots to overthrow Henry. On this occasion the war against France had resulted in the position of the English monarchy being strengthened in many respects.'

Each paragraph ideally should offer some analysis/evaluation of the information in terms of the question, for example in paragraph 11: 'The policy of

<p>securing dynastic recognition for the Tudors did not strengthen his position at all because it failed to materialise. It showed the English monarch as a junior partner on the European stage, in need of heavyweight partners, despite Henry’s stronger position at home. There was by this stage a decline in the plots to overthrow him as the challengers had lost Burgundian support. In that context though, his foreign policy with Burgundy had helped to strengthen the position of the English monarchy.’ (par 11)</p>	
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<p>Edexcel – AS GCE Unit 1: Historical Themes in Breadth Option A</p>	<p>A7 The Reign of Henry VII, 1485–1509</p>	<p>Mark Scheme for Question 2</p>
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To what extent did Henry VII’s foreign policy strengthen the English monarchy?
[30 marks]

Target: AO1a and AO1b (13%)

Essay – to present historical explanations and reach a judgement.

<p>Level 1</p>	<p>Candidates will produce mostly simple statements. These will be supported by limited factual material which has some accuracy and relevance, although not directed at the focus of the question. The material will be mostly generalised. There will be few, if any, links between the simple statements.</p> <p><i>The qualities of Level 1 are securely displayed; material is convincing in range and depth consistent with Level 1. The writing may have limited coherence and will be generally comprehensible, but passages will lack both clarity and organisation. The skills needed to produce effective writing will not normally be present. Frequent syntactical and/or spelling errors are likely to be present.</i></p> <p>Low Level 1: 1–2 marks The qualities of Level 1 are displayed, but material is less convincing in its range/depth and the quality of written communication does not conform.</p> <p>Mid Level 1: 3–4 marks The qualities of Level 1 are displayed, but material is less convincing in its range/depth or the quality of written communication does not conform.</p> <p>High Level 1: 5–6 marks The qualities of Level 1 are securely displayed.</p>	<p>(1–6)</p>
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<p>Level 2</p>	<p>Candidates will produce a series of simple statements supported by some mostly accurate and relevant factual material. The analytical focus will be mostly implicit and there are likely to be only limited links between the simple statements. Material is unlikely to be developed very far.</p> <p><i>The writing will have some coherence and will be generally comprehensible, but passages will lack both clarity and organisation. Some of the skills needed to produce effective writing will be present. Frequent syntactical and/or spelling errors are likely to be present.</i></p> <p>Low Level 2: 7–8 marks The qualities of Level 2 are displayed, but material is less convincing in its range/depth and the quality of written communication does not conform.</p> <p>Mid Level 2: 9–10 marks The qualities of Level 2 are displayed, but material is less convincing in its range/depth or the quality of written communication does not conform.</p> <p>High Level 2: 11–12 marks The qualities of Level 2 are securely displayed.</p>	<p>(7–12)</p>
<p>Level 3</p>	<p>Candidates' answers will attempt analysis and will show some understanding of the focus of the question. They will, however, include material which is either descriptive, and thus only implicitly relevant to the question's focus, or which strays from that focus. Factual material will be accurate but it may lack depth and/or relevance in places.</p> <p><i>The writing will be coherent in places but there are likely to be passages which lack clarity and/or proper organisation. Only some of the skills needed to produce convincing extended writing are likely to be present. Syntactical and/or spelling errors are likely to be present.</i></p> <p>Low Level 3: 13–14 marks The qualities of Level 3 are displayed, but material is less convincing in its range/depth and the quality of written communication does not conform.</p> <p>Mid Level 3: 15–16 marks The qualities of Level 3 are displayed, but material is less convincing in its range/depth or the quality of written communication does not conform.</p> <p>High Level 3: 17–18 marks The qualities of Level 3 are securely displayed.</p>	<p>(13–18)</p>

<p>Level 4</p>	<p>Candidates offer an analytical response which relates well to the focus of the question and which shows some understanding of the key issues contained in it. The analysis will be supported by accurate factual material which will be mostly relevant to the question asked. The selection of material may lack balance in places.</p> <p><i>The answer will show some degree of direction and control but these attributes may not be sustained throughout the answer. The candidate will demonstrate the skills needed to produce convincing extended writing but there may be passages which lack clarity or coherence. The answer is likely to include some syntactical and/or spelling errors.</i></p> <p>Low Level 4: 19–20 marks The qualities of Level 4 are displayed, but material is less convincing in its range/depth and the quality of written communication does not conform.</p> <p>Mid Level 4: 21–22 marks The qualities of Level 4 are displayed, but material is less convincing in its range/depth or the quality of written communication does not conform.</p> <p>High Level 4: 23–24 marks The qualities of Level 4 are securely displayed.</p>	<p>(19–24)</p>
<p>Level 5</p>	<p>Candidates offer an analytical response which directly addresses the focus of the question and which demonstrates explicit understanding of the key issues contained in it. It will be broadly balanced in its treatment of these key issues. The analysis will be supported by accurate, relevant and appropriately selected factual material which demonstrates some range and depth.</p> <p><i>The exposition will be controlled and the deployment logical. Some syntactical and/or spelling errors may be found but the writing will be coherent overall. The skills required to produce convincing extended writing will be in place.</i></p> <p>Low Level 5: 25–26 marks The qualities of Level 5 are displayed, but material is less convincing in its range/depth and the quality of written communication does not conform.</p> <p>Mid Level 5: 27–28 marks The qualities of Level 5 are displayed, but material is less convincing in its range/depth or the quality of written communication does not conform.</p> <p>High Level 5: 29–30 marks The qualities of Level 5 are securely displayed.</p>	<p>(25–30)</p>

<p>Edexcel – AS GCE Unit 1: Historical Themes in Breadth Option A</p>	<p>A7 The Reign of Henry VII, 1485–1509</p>	<p>Chronology</p>
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Chronology: Key Events in *The Reign of Henry VII, 1485–1509*

Year	Month/Date	Event
1485	7 August	Henry Tudor lands at Milford Haven [1]
	22 August	Battle of Bosworth [2]
	30 October	Coronation of Henry VII [3]
	7 November	First Parliament of Henry's reign
		First Statute on Retaining
		Act of Parliament gives JPs the power to arrest and question poachers or hunters in disguise
1486		John Morton appointed Chancellor and Archbishop of Canterbury
	18 January	Henry marries Elizabeth of York [4]
		Unsuccessful conspiracies of Francis Lord Lovell and the Staffords (Humphrey and Thomas) [5]
	19 September	Birth of Prince Arthur [6]
1487		Second Statute on Retaining [7] JPs given the right to grant bail to those awaiting trial
	24 May	Lambert Simnel proclaimed Edward VI in Dublin [8]
	4 June	Simnel and supporters leave Ireland and land at Barrow-in-Furness, England
	16 June	Battle of Stoke [9]
	November	Second Parliament
	25 November	Elizabeth of York is crowned Queen
1489	January	Third Parliament
	February	Treaty of Redon: English army to protect Breton independence
	17 March	Treaty of Medina del Campo concluded: Treaty between England and Spain [10]
	April	Henry sends army to Bretons [11]
		Rebellion in Yorkshire [12]
	November	Birth of Princess Margaret, future wife of James IV of Scotland
1491	June	Birth of Prince Henry
	October	Fourth Parliament
	November	Perkin Warbeck 'identified' as Richard, Duke of York [13]
	December	Anne of Brittany agrees to marry Charles VIII of France, ending Breton independence
1492	October	Henry invades France: besieges Boulogne with 15,000 men

Access to History Online Edexcel Unit 1 – A7 The Reign of Henry VII, 1485–1509

	November	Treaty of Etaples [14]
1493		Council in Wales and the Marches re-established
		Trade ban on Netherlands imposed by Henry
		Maximilian of Burgundy becomes Holy Roman Emperor
	November	Warbeck recognised as King Richard IV of England by the Emperor Maximilian in Vienna
1494	September	Poynings Law in Ireland [15]
1495	16 February	Execution of Sir William Stanley, his Chamberlain, for conspiracy against Henry Henry increasingly used the Privy Chamber
	July	Warbeck attempts uprising in Kent: fails Warbeck arrives in Ireland seeking support: fails
	October	Fifth Parliament
	November	Warbeck accepted as King of England by James IV of Scotland Warbeck betrothed to Lady Catherine Gordon
1496	February	Magnus Intercursus signed [16]
	March	Birth of Princess Mary
	September	Failed Scottish invasion of England by Warbeck
1497	January	Sixth Parliament [17]
		Henry raises army to invade Scotland – and raises the tax to pay for it through Parliament
	May	Cornish rebellion [18]
	17 July	Cornish rebels defeated at Blackheath Warbeck leaves Scotland for Ireland: still fails to gain sufficient support
	September	Truce of Ayton signed between England and Scotland [19]
	7 September	Warbeck arrives in Cornwall: gains little support in wake of previous defeat of the Cornish
	5 October	Warbeck surrenders: allowed to attend court by Henry
1498	April	Death of Charles VIII of France: accession of Louis XII
	8 June	Warbeck flees, is captured and imprisoned in the Tower
1499	February	Birth of Edmund
	16 November	Warbeck hanged [20]
	29 November	Warwick beheaded
1500		Empson and Dudley begin their work for the Council Learned in the Law [21]
	June	Death of Prince Edmund
1501		Earl of Surrey becomes Lord Treasurer
	July	Duke of Suffolk flees abroad
	14 November	Marriage of Prince Arthur and Catherine of Aragon
1502	February	Treaty of Ayton signed by Henry VII and James IV
	April	Death of Prince Arthur [22]
	May	Execution of Sir James Tyrell for conspiracy: he implicates Suffolk
1503	11 February	Death of Queen Elizabeth in childbirth [23]
	23 June	Prince Henry betrothed to Catherine of Aragon [24]

	August	Marriage of James IV to Henry's daughter Margaret
1504	January	Seventh Parliament
	November	Death of Isabella of Spain: potential disputes over succession Henry indicted the Duke of Buckingham for retaining [25]
1506	February	Treaty of Windsor between Henry and Philip of Burgundy, including the Malus Intercursus [26]
	April	Suffolk imprisoned in the Tower
	September	Death of Philip of Burgundy
1507		Henry's health in decline
1508	December	League of Cambrai: England isolated [27]
1509	21 April	Death of Henry VII
	23 April	Henry's death is announced [28]

Chronology: notes

1. **Henry lands at Milford Haven:** This was Henry's second invasion in his attempt to take the throne from Richard III. The first attempt in the autumn of 1483 had been a fiasco. The second time, he landed at Milford Haven unopposed. It was a long and uncertain march to Market Bosworth in Leicestershire where he met Richard III.
2. **Battle of Bosworth:** This marked the end of the civil war between Yorkists and Lancastrians – Wars of the Roses. 1485 is regarded as a watershed between mediaeval and early modern English history. Henry defeated Richard III in battle, an outcome which many felt was against the odds. Henry's victory resulted from support from Sir William Stanley, who withdrew his support for Richard at the last moment. An explanation for this 'treachery' may be that Sir William Stanley's brother was Thomas, Lord Stanley, who was married to Henry's mother. The start of Henry VII's reign was 21 August. It was backdated so those who opposed him at Bosworth could be termed 'traitors'. He then used Acts of Attainder to transfer the lands of traitors to the crown. Henry's weak claim to the throne was lessened by his victory at Bosworth.

A way in which Henry tried to gain loyalty from his nobles was by imposing recognisances. For example, almost immediately after Bosworth, Henry demanded a recognisance (payment) of £10,000 from Viscount Beaumont of Powicke as a means of formally recognising the promise of loyalty to the king. In some cases, this promise might be in the form of a bond or written obligation to behave in a particular way, which if broken would result in the payment of a sum of money to the crown. For example, in 1504 the Earl of Northumberland and the Archbishop of York were both commanded to give bonds of £2000 to keep the peace towards one another. The imposition of Bonds and Recognisances were used by Henry to keep the peace and the loyalty of his subjects while also filling his coffers.

3. **Henry's coronation:** This deliberately took place prior to the first meeting of Parliament and his marriage to Elizabeth of York to ensure that it could not be said that Henry owed his position to Parliament or the Yorkists in any way.

4. **Henry marries Elizabeth of York:** Henry had requested a Papal dispensation because they were distant cousins. It arrived on 16 January and they were married two days later in York Minster. The rival houses of York and Lancaster were finally united. The marriage was also delayed until after the coronation to underline the fact that Henry did not owe his crown to his wife. In this way he kept his promise to the Yorkists who had helped him beat Richard at Bosworth.
5. **Lovell Conspiracy:** This was an attempt by leading Yorkists to overthrow Henry. The plot gained little support and Henry executed Humphrey, pardoned Thomas and Lovell escaped. The whole episode was a warning to Henry that plotters were intent on overthrowing him because he was regarded as having a weak claim to the English throne and he had violently overthrown Richard III.
6. **Birth of Prince Arthur:** Henry now had an heir who represented the combined ambitions of York and Lancaster. This should have strengthened his position.
7. **Statutes on Retaining:** Henry had no standing army, so he relied on his nobility to 'retain' armed men to fight for the king as he did in 1492. Henry VII's Statutes on Retaining merely repeated the Statute passed by Edward IV in 1468. Hence, Henry VII did little to inhibit retaining in the early part of his reign especially as after 1497 things were more peaceful in England so nobles scaled down their armies as they were expensive to maintain. Henry's approach changed later in the reign.
8. **Lambert Simnel proclaimed as Edward VI:** The coronation was performed in the cathedral by the Archbishop of Dublin. Lambert Simnel was a ten-year-old son of a baker who was trained to play the part of Edward Earl of Warwick, the surviving male heir to Edward IV. The coronation was the culmination of a Yorkist conspiracy to overthrow Henry VII which began in early 1486. It was supported by John de la Pole, Earl of Lincoln, Margaret Dowager Duchess of Burgundy and Francis Lord Lovell.
9. **Battle of Stoke:** Simnel and his supporters marched unhindered. They were met by Henry at Stoke, near Newark, Nottinghamshire. Simnel was captured and taken into the royal household initially as a turnspit and eventually as the King's falconer. The battle was a serious threat to Henry – it was closely fought and the losses were fairly even. Henry paraded the real Earl of Warwick around the streets of London to show that Simnel was a fake. The conspiracy had gained strength and potency from the foreign support it had attracted. In his second Parliament (1487) Henry dealt with those nobles who had fought against him at Stoke – 28 were attainted and had their lands confiscated.
10. **Treaty of Medina del Campo:** This was a treaty of friendship between England and Spain. It gave Henry's regime indirect recognition and Ferdinand and Isabella agreed to promote the idea of a marriage between Prince Arthur and Catherine of Aragon. However, Warbeck's efforts to overthrow Henry were really beyond Spanish control despite their promises.
11. **Henry sends army to Bretons:** Henry sent help to the Duchess of Brittany in an attempt to prevent her duchy being absorbed into France. Henry expressed the view that French control of Brittany posed a threat to England's security because the French would have control of a long coastline facing England.

12. **Rebellion in Yorkshire:** Trouble resulted from resentment over taxation to pay for military aid to Brittany. Parliament had granted Henry £100,000 and then levied taxes for this. Yorkshire was suffering from the after-effects of a bad harvest, so the taxes were very unpopular and also there was growing resentment in Yorkshire that more northern counties were exempt from payment because they needed to defend against Scotland. Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland, tried to negotiate with Henry to no avail and when he returned to Yorkshire empty-handed, the rebels murdered him. Some say that Henry VII was actually behind the murder.
13. **Perkin Warbeck identified as Richard Duke of York:** Warbeck arrived in Ireland with his Breton master and said that he was Richard Duke of York. He had powerful backers – Charles VIII of France and Margaret of Burgundy. Most of the evidence about Warbeck's involvement in plots to overthrow Henry derives from his own confession. He continued to attract support from European leaders until his capture and hence threaten Henry's security until his execution in 1499.
14. **Treaty of Etaples:** Henry soon negotiated with the French rather than spend large sums on war. The French agreed not to support any more rival claimants to Henry VII's throne and Henry withdrew from Boulogne after it was agreed that the 'French Pension' should be restored (originally paid to Edward IV). In essence Henry's expedition of 1485 to England was paid for and he received £10,000 per year after 1492. In the previous year Henry had raised a Forced Loan – this was a loan which he could rely on from his richer subjects in times of emergency. This had produced £48,500 for his campaign in France. The subjects did not dare refuse the king's request for money and in turn he aimed to repay them in order to avoid fuelling attempts to overthrow him.
15. **Poyning's Law:** Sir Edward Poyning's was appointed Lord Deputy of Ireland in 1494 and he took 700 men with him to Ireland. He remained in post until 1495. He was responsible for bringing Irish opposition to Henry VII from Warbeck's supporters under control by 1497 and also for bringing Irish lords back to nominal allegiance to Henry through what became known as Poyning's Laws. These laws prevented Irish Lords from using an Irish Parliament to undermine Henry VII's jurisdiction.
16. **Magnus Intercursus signed:** This was a trade agreement between England and Burgundy which brought to an end the trade embargo on Burgundy which had been imposed by Henry in 1493 because of Margaret of Burgundy's support for Perkin Warbeck. The trade agreement allowed English cloth merchants to trade in any of Philip of Burgundy's dominions, except Flanders, without paying tolls or customs. They would also receive impartial justice in local courts.
17. **Sixth Parliament:** Henry called five parliaments in the first ten years of his reign, but only two in his last 14 years as king.
18. **Cornish Rebellion:** The rebellion was triggered by the need to collect taxes to pay for an expedition in the north to resist the anticipated invasion from the Scottish king James IV. The Cornish did not see why they should pay taxes to defend the northern border with Scotland. The rebellion began in May in Bodmin and the rebels marched on London and set up camp at Blackheath. The rebels were defeated by the king's forces in July and it is estimated that 1000 rebels were killed. At this stage the rebellion had no connections with the Yorkists or

Perkin Warbeck. Furthermore, King James did not take advantage of the Cornish Rebellion with further attacks.

19. **The Truce of Ayton:** Henry offered the hand of his eldest daughter, Margaret, in marriage to James. This was accepted as being of long-term value to Scotland. A seven-year truce was agreed at Ayton and in 1502 it became a peace treaty, the first between England and Scotland since 1328. However, Scotland still retained her ancient pact with France.
20. **Perkin Warbeck hanged:** Warbeck's main threat to Henry was that he had involved other rulers in English dynastic issues which complicated Henry's foreign policy. James IV of Scotland had grown tired of Warbeck just prior to the Truce of Ayton and after the failure of the Scottish invasion of England. James had previously gone so far as to provide Warbeck with his own cousin in marriage. Warbeck then returned to Ireland where support for him was lacking, so he set sail for the South-West of England hoping to gain support from this traditionally rebellious area. He was driven out of Exeter and Taunton and was then forced to take refuge in Beaulieu Abbey in Hampshire. He gave himself up and confessed to the imposture. At first Henry allowed him to stay at court with his bride, but after attempting to escape in 1498 he was put in the Tower. The Earl of Warwick was also held there. Warbeck was subsequently executed for attempting to escape from the Tower and Warwick was executed for treason.
21. **The Council Learned in the Law:** This was the most famous of the committees established by Henry VII. Most of its members, though small in number, had some legal training. Initially its purpose was to defend the king's position as feudal landlord. Hence it kept track of many of the feudal obligations which Henry could expect from his tenants, e.g. wardship. Two of the most famous and unpopular royal servants involved in the Council Learned were Empson and Dudley who scrupulously enforced the king's rights. By the end of the reign it was the most detested of Henry's institutions.
22. **Death of Prince Arthur:** This was a great blow to Henry as Prince Arthur was married to Catherine of Aragon. Her sister Joanna was married to Philip of Burgundy, so through marriage Henry saw his foreign policy to be successful. He believed the marriage alliance was instrumental in giving him an increased opportunity to play a part in the growing Spanish empire in the New World on the one hand and to gain another potential ally on the other. The death of Arthur occurred unexpectedly at Ludlow and Henry felt his foreign policy had been shattered. However, within five weeks of Arthur's death, Ferdinand and Isabella were instructing their ambassador to conclude a marriage with Prince Henry.
23. **Death of Queen Elizabeth:** This was another personal blow to Henry in a short space of time. It also had dynastic repercussions. Three of his four sons were dead and the death of his wife meant he had no hope of more heirs. Henry considered the possibility of re-marrying and he was known to have sought the hand of Joanna of Naples, Margaret of Savoy and Joanna of Castile and Burgundy without success. Henry certainly felt insecure as king, especially as further plots emerged to overthrow him.
24. **Betrothal of Prince Henry to Catherine:** This betrothal was not straightforward for several reasons: Prince Henry was only 12; Catherine claimed that the marriage to Arthur had not been consummated; and there were arguments about

the dowry. By September a formal treaty had been agreed but the need for a papal dispensation was recognised as Catherine was related to Henry because she had been married to his brother. The dispensation arrived in 1504 but arguments over the dowry persisted, so the marriage was delayed further. In the meantime, Catherine remained in England and found that Henry VII's standard of hospitality was miserly. It was at this time that Princess Margaret married James IV of Scotland. Henry exercised his feudal obligations and demanded money from his nobles for the marriage.

25. **Duke of Buckingham indicted:** Retaining was the common practice whereby lords hired retained men to act as a private army. It was against the law and Henry treated everyone alike for this illegal practice. In 1504 he charged a group of nobles, including the Duke of Buckingham and the earls of Derby, Essex, Northumberland, Oxford and Shrewsbury and even his own mother Lady Margaret Countess of Richmond, with illegal retaining.
26. **Treaty of Windsor/Malus Intercursus** Henry was keen to pursue close ties with the Hapsburgs. He met Philip the Fair in 1500 in Calais and from then on Henry tried hard to keep friendly with Philip. In January 1506 Philip and his wife Joanna of Castile were shipwrecked off the Dorset coast en route to Spain. After lavish hospitality, Philip felt obliged to agree to a new Anglo-Burgundian alliance – the Treaty of Windsor. This offered English support for Joanna's Spanish claims and arranged for Henry to marry Philip's sister, Margaret of Savoy. Margaret rejected his offer and proposed that Princess Mary might marry Philip's eldest son, the Archduke Charles. (This also came to nothing.) Philip also agreed to hand over Edmund de la Pole. The treaty also included a trade treaty known as the Malus Intercursus. This was never ratified because Philip died later in 1506 and all of Henry's pro-Hapsburg policies began to unravel.
27. **League of Cambrai:** This was a league of major powers allied against the city state of Venice to prevent its expansion into northern Italy – particularly the Papal States. The League included Pope Julius II, Louis XII of France, Ferdinand of Aragon (and Castile) and the Archduke Charles and Emperor Maximilian. Henry VII was not included in the signatories – the League had moved a long way from Henry's dream of an anti-Spanish alliance along with finance for a crusade against the Turks. The League of Cambrai did not threaten any of England's interests but Henry felt humiliated and isolated as he neared the end of his reign.
28. **Death of Henry VII:** Henry died suddenly from a stroke. His reign marked the end of the dynastic squabbles between Yorkists and Lancastrians and the English monarchy was no longer at the beck and call of the nobility. He had defeated all potential rivals to his throne and the finances of the crown had been restored. This was no mean achievement. His son Henry succeeded without any problems and the long-term success of the Tudors was as a result of the foundations Henry VII had laid.

Additional Sample Questions

1. How far did Henry VII's financial policies strengthen the power of the monarchy?
2. To what extent was Henry VII successful in enforcing respect for the law among both nobles and commoners?
3. How far do you agree that Henry VII's foreign policy enhanced his power in England?
4. How far had Henry VII consolidated his hold on the throne by 1489?
5. To what extent did relations with Spain and Scotland strengthen Henry VII's security during his reign?

Resources

Ian Arthurson, *The Perkin Warbeck Conspiracy* (Alan Sutton, 1994)

Michael Bennett, *Lambert Simnel and the Battle of Stoke* (Alan Sutton, 1987)

Susan Doran, *England and Europe 1485–1603* (Longman Seminar Studies, 1986)

Alexander Grant, *Henry VII* (Methuen, 1985)

Steven Gunn, *Early Tudor Government* (Palgrave Macmillan, 1995)

Jocelyn Hunt and Carolyn Towle, *Henry VII* (Longman History in Depth, 1998)

Roger Lockyer and Andrew Thrush, *Henry VII. 3rd Edition* (Longman Seminar Studies, 1997)

Colin Pendrill, *The Wars of the Roses and Henry VII: England 1459–c.1513* (Heinemann, 2004)

David Rogerson, Samantha Ellsmore and David Hudson, *The Early Tudors: England 1485–1558* (John Murray, 2001)

R. Storey, *The Reign of Henry VII* (Blandford, 1968)

Websites

www.edexcel.com Look up GCE History 6hi01 for exemplar material and advice:

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<http://community.edexcel.com/forums/20.aspx>