OCR GCSE HISTORY

EXPLAINING THE MODERN WORLD
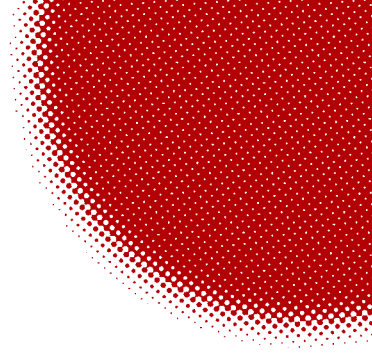
BEN WALSH
HANNAH DALTON
PAUL SHUTER

POWER

- ■ 'Power: Monarchy & Democracy' thematic study
- ■ 'The English Reformation' depth study
- ■ 'Castles' study of the historic environment

DYNAMIC LEARNING

HODDER EDUCATION
LEARN MORE

Contents

Copyright: sample proofs

Part 3: Study of the historic environment
Castles: form and function

Copyright: sample proofs

1.1 Anglo-Saxon kingship c1000–66

FOCUS

Our story of power starts 1,000 years ago in Anglo-Saxon England. In this topic, you will investigate how the country was ruled at this time. In particular, you will look at kingship – the role of the king, the power of the king and what made him successful or not.

This topic also sets up some starting-points for the big story: how a king was chosen and who else held power. One of your aims will be to compare later developments and see how power has changed.

The big picture

Power in Anglo-Saxon England

We start every topic with a summary like this – a 'big picture' overview that summarises the main points of the topic, followed by some key questions that direct your reading.

How was the king chosen?

In Anglo-Saxon England, the king was chosen by the Witan. This was a council of the richest and most important nobles (the earls) and churchmen (bishops). The king was normally the richest and most powerful of the nobles. By the 1000s, this was usually the Earl of Wessex (see Factfile), who was the biggest landowner in England. This meant that the king usually came from the ruling family of Wessex. However, there were often challenges for the throne, and kingship did not pass automatically from father to son – a brother or uncle might also inherit it.

What was the king's role?

The king's most important job was to defend the kingdom. He had the wealth to raise and pay for armies. It was also his job to protect and nurture the Church, to make laws and to ensure that everyone obeyed them. There were many able rulers in Anglo-Saxon times, but a weak ruler could cause instability in the kingdom.

How was the Anglo-Saxon state run?

Anglo-Saxon England worked on the idea of give and take. The king gave land and influential jobs to important nobles and churchmen. In return, they helped him govern the country. These men:
- advised the king through the Witan
- encouraged ordinary people to be loyal to the king
- spread information about new laws, taxes or other measures
- provided the king with troops when he needed it
- kept control in their own areas.

Lesser nobles (thegns) carried out the day-to-day business of government, such as collecting taxes and running law courts.

What changed in this period?

In the early 1000s, Anglo-Saxon England was attacked and eventually overwhelmed by the Vikings, and in 1016 the Danish leader Cnut became king of England. However, several features of the Anglo-Saxon system of government remained in place, and many Anglo-Saxon nobles rose to even greater power under Cnut. After Cnut's death the Witan chose another king from the family of Wessex. By 1066, the Anglo-Saxons were still very much in charge of England.

KEY QUESTIONS

Each topic presents you with lots of detailed information about events, developments and people. However, you are really interested in the *big ideas* in the story of power. These ideas are much more important than the detail when it comes to your exam. The detail will help you support your argument, but it is important to develop an understanding of the big picture. The Key Questions that start each topic are designed to help you.

A How did the different features of Anglo-Saxon government relate to each other?
Look at the features of Anglo-Saxon government listed below. Make a card for each feature. Add notes, definitions or details to the card as you work through the topic.

- advice
- king
- farming
- Witan
- athelings
- law
- fighting
- defending
- churchmen and women
- taxes
- earls
- thegns
- administration
- peasants

B How did Anglo-Saxon kingship work?
As you read the topic: Copy the table below. Look at the qualifications for kingship in the Anglo-Saxon period in column 1. As you read the topic, find evidence of this qualification being imortant and record your findings in column 2. Use column 3 to review your findings.

Qualification	Evidence of this qualification being important	Relative importance – rank from most (1) to least (6)
glorious ancestors		
strong legal claim		
support of Witan and nobles		
able to protect country		
support of Church		
military power		

The real point of the research stage is to prepare you for some serious thinking. Here is the kind of question you might be asked:
Anglo-Saxon kingship was based only on military power. How far do you agree?
The question is guiding you to one aspect of Anglo-Saxon kingship: military power. However, you need to consider how important military power was and whether other factors were more or less important.

FACTFILE

A map showing Anglo-Saxon England c1000.
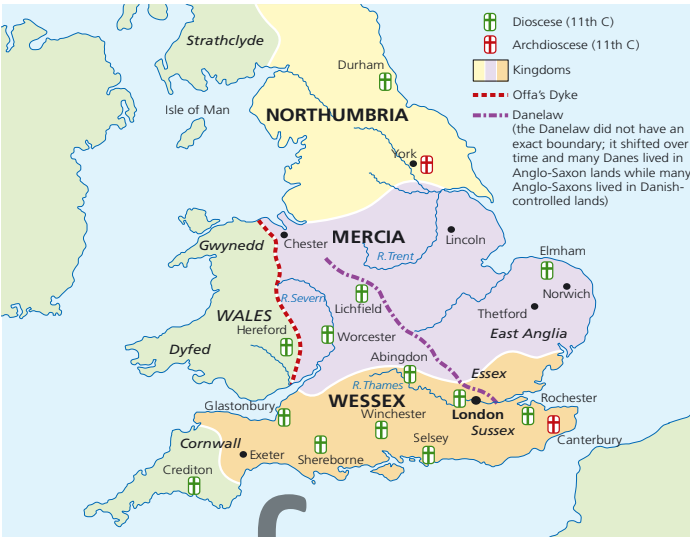
The rise of Wessex

The Anglo-Saxons were not one people. Angles and Saxons came to Britain as MIGRANTS, mainly from what are now Germany, Denmark and the Netherlands. They first invaded in around AD430, then settled in waves up to the 600s. Over time they settled and mixed with each other into the people that we call the Anglo-Saxons, or just Saxons. They did not use that name themselves. They established small, family-based communities around England, and they usually obeyed the AUTHORITY of an elected chief. Loyalty to this lord was an important feature of Anglo-Saxon society.

Some local groups gradually joined together under a common ruler, so that by AD800 there were numerous Anglo-Saxon 'kingdoms' in Britain. The four most powerful were WESSEX, East Anglia, Mercia and Northumbria. Throughout the 800s these kingdoms came under attack from the VIKINGS – formidable warriors and sailors from Denmark and Norway. In the constant wars between the Vikings and the Saxons, the kingdom of Wessex emerged as the most powerful Anglo-Saxon kingdom.

Saxon heroes

Alfred the Great (AD849–99) was the king of Wessex. He used the efficient administration of his kingdom to collect TAXES, raise armies and build a navy. He fought off the Viking invaders, but even this Saxon hero could not get rid of them completely. An uneasy peace was eventually established between Alfred and the Vikings, and they settled in northern and eastern England. This area became known as the DANELAW because many of the Vikings were from Denmark.

Athelstan (cAD894–939) united the various Saxon and Viking kingdoms by force of arms and became the first king of England. Athelstan's successors consolidated his power.
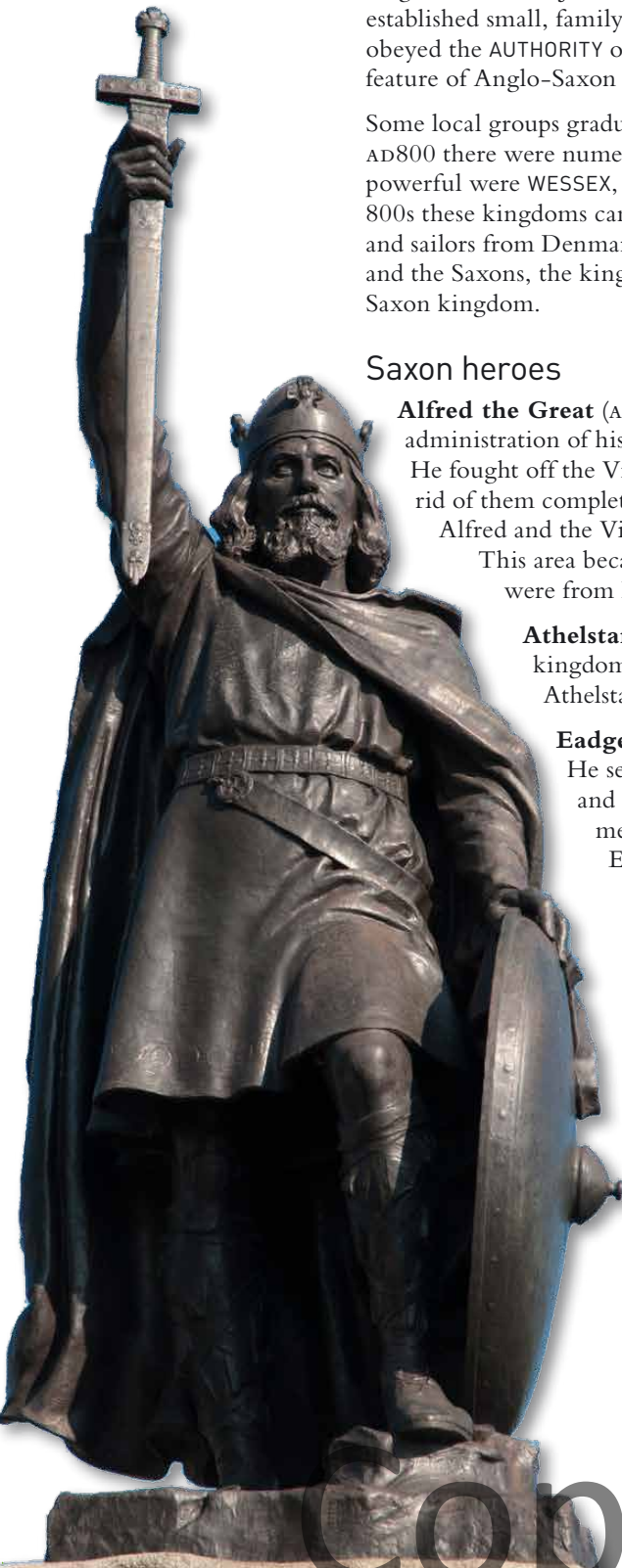
Eadger (AD959–75) was a lawmaker rather than a conqueror. He set out laws on a wide range of issues, including theft and murder, protection of the Church and how markets and merchants should be regulated. Eadgar used his laws to unite England under his rule.

Enter King Aethelred

Aethelred (cAD968–1016) became king in AD978. He was probably very proud of his heroic ancestors Alfred and Athelstan. Just to be descended from them guaranteed that people would treat him with respect. Aethelred was ruler of a powerful kingdom with an advanced system of government and a rich cultural and SPIRITUAL life. But it was also a troubled kingdom, and these problems only increased in the years after 1000.

Source 1 A statue of Alfred the Great, which stands in his capital, Winchester. ◀

1 Look at Source 1. What can it tell us about Alfred the Great?
2 Aethelred had capable and greatly respected ancestors such as Alfred and Athelstan. How did this help him as a ruler?
3 In what ways might having glorious ancestors have been a burden to him?

Source 2 King Athelstan presenting a book at the shrine of St Cuthbert. Books were written and illustrated by hand using expensive materials. They were very precious and cost more than a small farm. This is said to be the earliest surviving picture of an English monarch. ▼

4 Look at Source 2. Why is Athelstan giving the Church such a precious gift?
5 Does this help historians to understand how important the Church was?
6 If we were trying to compare this image to a modern-day action, would it be more appropriate to say:
   • This is like Athelstan posing for a selfie.
   • This is like a rich businessman sponsoring a football club.

Source 3 A coin from the reign of Aethelred, c1000. ▶

What kind of kingdom was Aethelred's England?

By today's standards, England had a small and scattered population in the year 1000. Historians estimate that about 2.5 million people lived there, the majority of them in farmsteads and small settlements not even big enough to be called villages.

Towns and trade

About ten per cent of the population lived in towns, and this number was growing. This tells us something about Anglo-Saxon society. Businesses and workshops cannot easily be moved, and they need political stability to prosper. Towns rely on trade, which requires clear laws and a reliable system of money. Aethelred's kingdom had these things. In fact, England was famous for its efficient administration, its legal system and its coinage. Coins were minted under royal control and made from silver imported from Germany. This also suggests that trade was both efficient and prosperous – England must have given Germany something in exchange for the silver.

The Church

The Church was also flourishing by the time Aethelred came to the throne. For hundreds of years, kings and noblemen had given the Church gifts of land and money. There were important Church communities in London, York, Rochester, Canterbury and Winchester – each centred on a great church or MINSTER built with wealth donated by the king.

At a local level, most of the NOBLES provided money for churches to be built on their lands. This was not only an expression of religious faith. Having his 'own' church was an important status symbol for a nobleman, and a reminder to the local population of who was in charge. The church hosted community events as well as religious services, and new laws or taxes would be announced there. Building a church was often the first step towards establishing what we now think of as a typical English village.

As well as looking after the spiritual needs of the population, the Church was a source of learning, art and culture. Because many CHURCHMEN could read and write, the Church also handled many administrative roles. To work in this way, the Church must be protected by a strong and stable state. Anglo-Saxon kings developed a close relationship with the Church, partly to make people think of them as both royal and holy. In return, the Church told the ordinary people how great and generous the king was. The Church could have a great influence on the reputation of a king, as it was the churchmen who wrote down the history of a period. Many historians believe that while Alfred the Great was an effective king, it was Bishop Asser's biography that made him a real legend.

7 Look at Source 3. Aethelred is shown dressed in the style of Roman emperors. Why would this image be on a coin?
8 How can we tell that Christianity was an important part of Anglo-Saxon kingship?
9 The Anglo-Saxon Church was not just a religious organisation. Use the text to explain how and why this is true.
10 Historians have limited sources of information for this period, but most believe that England was fairly strong and stable in c1000. What evidence might lead them to this conclusion?

How was Anglo-Saxon England governed?

The evidence of the coins, the growth of towns and the Church all indicate that Anglo-Saxon England had an efficient system of government. This system was based on give and take.

The royal princes (sons and other relatives of the king, together known as ATHELINGS), the most important nobles (the EARLS) and the churchmen (BISHOPS) advised the king in a council known as the WITAN. These men led the armies and ruled the SHIRES (similar to modern counties) on behalf of the king. In return, they received land, wealth and status.

The next level in society was made up of the king's officials. The LESSER NOBLES, or THEGNS, carried out administrative roles such as bailiffs, estate managers or tax collectors. Shires were divided into districts called HUNDREDS. Each hundred had its own law courts and was responsible for finding and equipping a hundred troops when the king required an army. Although very few Anglo-Saxon peasants would ever see the king, they would be familiar with the officials who ruled on their behalf. At church services, the priest would tell the people about any new laws or rules, and the thegn would punish anyone who broke them.

A kingdom at peace?

So far we have developed a picture of a stable, peaceful and well-governed kingdom. However, as you can see from the Factfile map on page 11, this description only really applied to parts of the England. There were rival kingdoms in Wales in the west and Scotland in the north, but the real threat to Aethelred's England came from the Vikings of Norway and Denmark. Aethelred's predecessors had fought battles with Viking raiders and invaders almost constantly since the AD790s. The raiders had settled in northern and eastern England (an area called the Danelaw), but by about AD950 Aethelred's father Edgar had won back this territory.

A period of peace followed, but by AD980 Viking raiders from Denmark were again attacking the coasts of England. In AD991, Earl Brythnoth and his army were defeated by a Viking force at the Battle of Maldon, in Essex. The young King Aethelred consulted the Witan and they decided to pay off the Vikings with 10,000 pounds, a payment known as DANEGELD. The Vikings had used ports in Normandy as bases for their raids on England, so Aethelred made a TREATY with the Norman rulers in which they each agreed not to help the other's enemies. However, in AD994 the Vikings returned and had to be paid off again. This time the cost was 22,000 pounds. The raids continued through the AD990s and happened again in 1000–02.

Aethelred's problems

Aethelred was in a difficult position. He was king of England but the Viking raids highlighted the fact that most of his support still came from the old kingdom of Wessex. To extend his support from the powerful nobles of the midlands and the north, Aethelred gave them important positions in government. However, in many parts of the country the local lords felt that the king could not protect them from the Vikings.

The historian John Blair has argued that Aethelred did not manage these significant relationships very well. He trusted the wrong people and found it difficult to command the loyalty of others. As a result, the king made some bad decisions. For example, in 1002 he issued an order that all Danes living among the English should be killed. The nobles who were supposed to carry out this order ruled over many people of Danish origin and were unwilling to commit the slaughter. Many refused to do so. When some of them did, the act provoked revenge raids by the Vikings.

---

1   Make a list of the problems Aethelred faced during his time as king.
2   Do you think these problems would have been difficult for any leader to solve, or was Aethelred to blame for his own failures as king?
3   How does the story of Aethelred help you to understand why Anglo-Saxon kings gave money to the Church and sponsored poets and singers?

---

4   Study Source 4 closely.
    a   What makes it so easy to tell who the king is in this source?
    b   Who are the other figures shown?
    c   What does the source suggest about the relationship between the king and the Witan?

ACTIVITY

Do an internet search on Aethelred. You will see many sites that are critical of him. Make a case for his defence, using the information in this section and additional research if you have time.

PRACTICE QUESTIONS

1   Describe the Viking attacks on Anglo-Saxon England in the 1000s. (4)
2   How significant were the Viking attacks on England in the 1000s? (14)

Viking raids continued for the next 11 years. Finally, in 1013 a full-scale invasion led by the king of Denmark, Sweyn Forkbeard, forced Aethelred to flee into EXILE in Normandy.

Aethelred the Unready?

Anglo-Saxon kings valued their reputations and wanted to be spoken of well after they died. Aethelred would have been appalled to know that he became known as 'Aethelred the Unready'. However, we should be careful about being too critical of Aethelred. To begin with, 'unready' is a mistranslation of an Old English word, *unraed*, which means 'badly advised'. Historians point out that the Witan advised the king to pay Danegeld to the Vikings when they began their attacks, and that many of Aethelred's predecessors had done the same. Some historians also argue that the scale and effectiveness of the Viking attacks – greater than those faced by any previous king – would have made it very difficult for any ruler to resist. Another fact suggesting that Aethelred was not a bad king is that when Sweyn died in 1014, the leading nobles in England refused to accept his son Cnut as their king. Instead they asked Aethelred to come back and lead them. Aethelred returned to battle Cnut for the throne, but he died in April 1016 and by October that year Cnut had conquered the country.

Source 4 An image from an old English book, showing the king and Witan passing judgement on a criminal ▼

The end of Anglo-Saxon England

England under Cnut

Cnut executed several of Aethelred's leading supporters and gave their lands to his own loyal followers. However, most of the Anglo-Saxon nobles were allowed to keep their lands and status, and by marrying Aethelred's widow Cnut sent a clear signal that he wanted to be accepted by the Anglo-Saxon earls and thegns. In fact, Cnut had proved himself to be a great warrior king, and the Anglo-Saxons both respected this and feared that he was too strong for them to challenge anyway.

Cnut was king of Denmark and Norway as well as England, and he was often away in his other kingdoms. To help keep England stable in his absences, he divided the country into four great EARLDOMS (see the Factfile map on page 11). Northumbria and East Anglia were given to loyal Danes to rule. Mercia was given to the Anglo-Saxon Earl Siward. Wessex – the richest and most powerful earldom – went to the Anglo-Saxon Earl Godwin. Little is known about Godwin's background but he seems to have been a clever and farsighted man. He declared his loyalty to Cnut early in the king's reign and remained a capable and loyal servant, even marrying Cnut's sister. Cnut ruled over a relatively peaceful and stable England until his death in 1035.

From 1035 to 1042, there was a period of turmoil in England as the Witan tried to decide who should be the next ruler. There were four claims to the throne. Aethelred had two sons, Alfred and Edward, living in exile in Normandy. Cnut also had two sons, Harthacnut and Harold. Alfred was murdered by Godwin's men in 1036, so the following year the Witan appointed Cnut's son Harold as king. However, he died in 1039 so the Witan moved on to Harthacnut. On Harthacnut's death in 1040, the throne finally passed to Edward.

Edward the Confessor

The king who became known as Edward the Confessor was not a mighty warrior like some of his ancestors. He was a deeply religious man who was responsible for the building of some great churches, including Westminster Abbey.

Throughout Edward's reign, Anglo-Saxon England remained wealthy and well-governed. Two important developments in this period were the emergence of the position of 'shire reeve' (SHERIFF) and the use of WRITS:

- Sheriffs were usually thegns, but they had more responsibility. In Edward's reign they began to take over all the main day-to-day functions of government, such as collecting taxes, running the law courts and making sure that other thegns in his area knew about new laws.
- Edward kept in touch with his sheriffs by sending them information in a new type of document, called a writ. Writs could contain instructions or simply provide information.

Source 5 An example of a writ from the reign of Edward the Confessor. This writ is informing a sheriff that the king has authorised a sale of land. The seal showed the sheriff that the document was genuinely from the king.▼

1 Is it surprising that the Anglo-Saxon nobles accepted Cnut?
2 Do you think Cnut ruled wisely? What makes you think this?
3 Explain why Godwin has a reputation as a clever man.

4 Edward was not the Witan's first choice to be king of England and he gained the throne as a result of a period of turmoil. How might this have affected his position?
5 Look at Source 5. Explain how this type of document helped make Anglo-Saxon government efficient.

The Godwins

Edward may not have had to deal with invading Vikings, but his reign was not without challenges. England was divided into four earldoms and each of the ruling earls was very powerful, so it was vital for Edward to keep their loyalty if he wanted to rule successfully.

His greatest troubles came from Godwin in Wessex. Godwin had supported Edward's claim to the throne (although some historians think this was because he believed Edward would be a weak king who he could dominate) and Edward married Godwin's daughter. However, the two men never saw eye to eye. To begin with, Edward could not forgive Godwin for ordering the murder of his brother. Edward had grown up in Normandy and when he became king he appointed many of his Norman friends to key positions. For example, he appointed Robert of Jumieges as ARCHBISHOP of Canterbury. Godwin and many other Anglo-Saxon nobles resented this.

The dislike between Edward and Godwin reached a climax in 1051. Godwin raised troops ready to fight the king, but Edward called on the earls of Mercia and Northumbria and they rallied their armies to support him. Godwin backed down and went into exile with his sons. However, the following year he returned at the head of a large fleet, ready to challenge Edward once again. The people of London and the thegns of much of south-east England sided with Godwin, and this time it was Edward who was forced to back down. He removed Jumieges and several other Norman officials and Godwin effectively became the ruler of England.

Godwin died in 1053. His son Harold Godwinson took over Wessex and his other son, Tostig, became earl of Northumbria in 1055. This gave the Godwin family a great deal of power and influence – much more than Edward had. It did not help Edward that the Anglo-Saxon nobles respected and admired Harold and Tostig, especially after they fought a successful campaign against the Welsh king Gruffydd in 1063.

By 1064, the only power Edward had left was in choosing who would succeed him as king. He had no sons and no obvious heir. Most Anglo-Saxon nobles favoured Harold Godwinson – he was the richest and most powerful man in the country.

6 What enabled Edward to force Godwin to back down in 1051?
7 Why did Godwin triumph the following year?

Source 6 A sixteenth-century interpretation of Edward the Confessor. ◄

8 Compare Source 1 on page 12 with Source 6. These two sources show us how Alfred and Edward are remembered.
a What qualities of each king are emphasised?
b Which qualities were most highly prized in Anglo-Saxon England?

ACTIVITY

For each of the following statements, say how much you agree with it on a scale of 1 (strongly agree) to 5 (strongly disagree). Use the information and sources on pages 12–17 to support your judgement.

Anglo-Saxon England was stable and peaceful.
The Anglo-Saxon state had more strengths than weaknesses.
The church was only important as a religious organisation.
Aethelred did not do anything wrong, he just faced overwhelming opposition.
Kings supported the Church because of their faith.
Cnut was a clever ruler.
Edward the Confessor was a strong king.
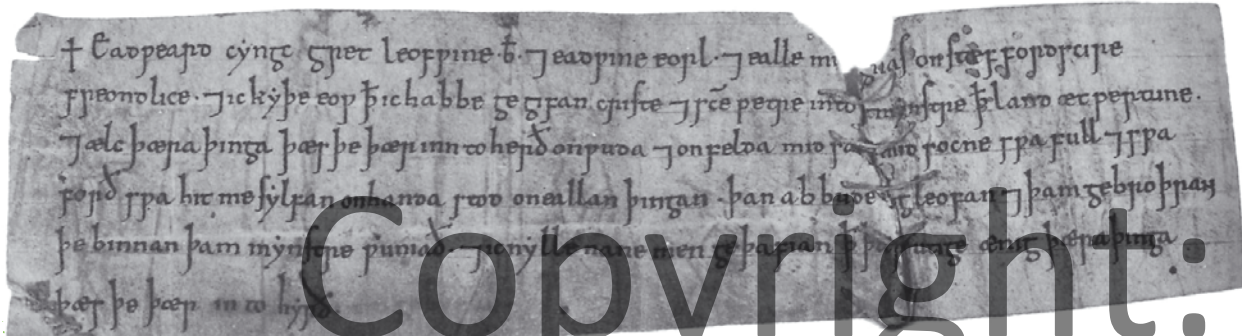
KEY QUESTION REVIEW

Remember – the key to success in a thematic study is not to learn lots of facts, details and events for their own sake, but to understand the big ideas to prepare for the different kind of questions you might get asked. These tasks help you do that.

A How did the different features of Anglo-Saxon government relate to each other?

1 You have been making cards to sum up different features of Anglo-Saxon society (see page 11). Use your completed cards to create a large diagram showing who did what in Anglo-Saxon England. For example, you might connect king, Witan and advice. Use thicker lines to make really important connections and add notes on why this was so important. Take a photo of your finished chart so you can use it later for revision.

B How did Anglo-Saxon kingship work?

2 You have been gathering evidence in a table like this (see page 11). Complete column 3 based on the evidence you have assembled.

Qualification	Evidence of this qualification being important	Relative importance – rank from most (1) to least (6)
glorious ancestors		
strong legal claim		
support of Witan and nobles		
able to protect country		
support of Church		
military power		

3 Use your completed table to write an essay answering this question:
Anglo-Saxon kingship was based only on military power. How far do you agree?
It can be hard to know how to get started on these big questions. Use the following table to help you.

Question	What you have to do	Ten-second answer	How to develop the ten-second answer
How did Anglo-Saxon kingship work?	Explain that military power was important but that it depended on other things.	The king's first job was to defend the country, so military power was vital. But military power depended on other things, such as the support of the Witan and nobles (who supplied troops) and support of the Church.	Build a paragraph on each aspect. In each paragraph explain how this factor made the military power possible.

PRACTICE QUESTIONS

1 Describe the Anglo-Saxon system of government. (4)
2 Explain why the Church was important in Anglo-Saxon England. (8)
3 Explain how Anglo-Saxon kings were chosen. (8)
4 Aethelred should be called 'Aethelred the Unlucky' rather than 'Aethelred the Unready'. Do you agree? (14)

Copyright: sample proofs

6.2 The reaction of the people to the Reformation

FOCUS

In Topic 6.1, you examined the Reformation from the top down. You investigated what people in government did – how and why they tried to change the Church in England. Now you are going to look at the Reformation from the bottom up. You will consider how far the changes were really implemented and how people in England reacted to them.

This is a much harder task. One problem is evidence: it is difficult to know what ordinary people *did* let alone what they *felt* so many centuries ago. We also have to be careful about making generalisations. People reacted differently in different parts of the country. In some places there was considerable (even armed) resistance. In others there was willing (even enthusiastic) acceptance of the reforms. In most places the clergy and the LAITY simply did what they had to in order to keep their jobs. In this topic, you will examine:

● how ordinary people responded to the Reformation
● what form any resistance took
● why the Western Rebellion broke out in 1549.

FOCUS TASK

How did people in England react to the Reformation?

The historian A. G. Dickens, writing during the 1960s, said that Roman Catholicism was a failing religion by 1500 and therefore people welcomes the religious reforms under Henry VIII and Edward VI.

A more recent historian, Eamon Duffy, has conducted extensive research using local records. He had come to a different conclusion: medieval Catholic beliefs and practices were still strong in many parishes, despite the efforts of the Protestant reformers under Edward VI. Duffy argues that just because people followed the laws does not mean they agreed with them. He concludes that the religious beliefs of most ordinary people only really began to change in Elizabeth I's reign (1558–1603).

As read through this topic, record evidence that supports each of these views. Use a table like the one below. The first one has been done for you.

Supports Dickens' view that people welcomed religious reform and there was a considerable number of Protestants in England	Supports Duffy's view that people resented religious reform and many tried to hold on to their traditions
Source 1: Edward Hoppaye is clearly a keen Protestant. He refers to 'justification by faith alone', which was a core belief of evangelicals. He also quotes from the Bible, suggesting he knew and studied it. These were beliefs and practices that the reformers wanted to develop in ordinary people. So this source might support the view that there was a growing population of evangelicals in England by 1548.	

Source 1 The will of Edward Hoppaye of Halifax, 1548.

I believe that my Redeemer liveth, and that the last day I shall arise out of the earth and in my flesh shall see my Saviour. This my hope is laid up in my bosom unto the last day that I and all other faithful shall appear before the majesty seat of God … and touching the wealth of my soul, the faith that I have taken and rehearsed is sufficient, as I believe without any other man's work or works. My belief is there is but one God and one mediator betwixt God and man, which is Jesus Christ … my merit is faith in Jesus Christ only, by which faith such works are good according to Christ words.

1 Read Source 2. What are the rebels concerned about? Write a headline for each of the numbered points.

Source 3 An allegory of the Catholic Church, by Stephen Bateman, in *A Christall Glasse of Christian Reformation*, published in 1569. Bateman was a Protestant preacher and the book that contained this picture was about the Seven Deadly Sins. It shows a remote monastery, with a cardinal riding on a dragon (a symbol of evil and corruption). A monk or priest sacrifices a lamb, which represents the Christian faith.

1 What is the message of Source 3?
2 Does this image convince you that the Reformation worked and that most people supported the religious reforms?

'The Prayer Book Rebellion' 1549

The first demonstration of discontent with the religious reforms under Edward VI took place in Cornwall. It began in April 1548 when a group of men murdered Archdeacon William Body, who was carrying out a visitation to the area to make sure that church images had been destroyed. Ten of the ringleaders were hanged and for a while calm was restored.

However, when the Book of Common Prayer was issued in 1549, a full-scale rebellion broke out in Devon and Cornwall. Historians have identified other factors that contributed to the discontent in the region, notably the 'Sheep Tax', but there is no doubt that religious issues were central to the rebellion (see Source 2).

Source 2 An extract from the 16 articles written up by the rebels outside Exeter, 1549.

2 *We will have the laws of our sovereign lord King Henry the VIII concerning the six articles, to be articles, to be in use again, as in his time they were.*
3 *We will have the mass in Latin, as was before, and celebrated by the priest without any man or woman communicating with him.*
7 *Images to be set up again in every church and all other ancient old ceremonies and heretofore, by our mother the holy church.*
8 *We will not receive the new service because it is but like a Christmas game, but we will have our old service of matins, mass, evensong and procession in Latin not in English, as it was before. And so we the Cornish men … utterly refuse this new English.*

The rebels demanded a return to the religious practices that had been accepted under Henry VIII. Humphrey Arundell, a major landowner, led the rebels in Cornwall. They marched under the banner of the Five Wounds of Christ, just as rebels had done during the Pilgrimage of Grace in 1536 (see page 163). By June 1549 a considerable force had gathered and the rising spread to Devon.

Sir Peter Carew, a committed reformer, tried to calm the rebels, but when one of his men set fire to the their defences, riots broke out. Around 2,000 rebels marched to Exeter on 10 July and besieged the city. Carew was replaced by Lord Russell, who eventually brought 8,000 men to save Exeter, which he had done by 14 August. He then marched westwards to suppress the rebellion in Cornwall. Around 4,000 people are believed to have died at the hands of the royal army during the fighting that followed.

Special punishment was reserved for the priests who the government believed had stirred up the rebellion. The vicar of St Thomas's Church in Exbridge, Robert Welshe, had refused to use the new Prayer Book and had been one of the leaders of the rebellion. However, he had prevented the rebels from setting fire to Exeter and even his enemies remarked on his honourable behaviour. This did not save him from a grotesque death. Lord Russell ordered that Welshe should be hung in chains from gallows on top of his church, dressed as a pope. To prevent priests like Welshe influencing people in the future, it was decreed that the clergy had to have a licence issued by Archbishop Cranmer before they could preach outside their parish.

This rebellion – the 'Prayer Book Rebellion' or 'Western Rebellion' – was so brutally suppressed that it discouraged others from similar revolts. However, people found other ways of expressing their dissatisfaction, such as local landowners or judges refusing to enforce new laws.

National changes, local responses

The Prayer Book Rebellion underlines a key point about the Reformation. It was not the political aspects of the break from Rome that mattered to the majority of ordinary people. They were most concerned about the effects on their parish church, shrine or monastery and their local services. The rebellion also shows how the progress of the reformation differed from place to place. It might be fairly straightforward for the king and his officials to destroy signs of the old religion, but building a new, Protestant realm would be much more difficult.

London and the south-east

As the largest city in England, and the centre of commerce and government, London was very different from anywhere else in England. This was the place where reformers gathered and radical ideas spread. Southern and eastern parts of England that were close to London, as well as to the universities of Oxford and Cambridge, were more exposed to Protestant ideas. However, statistics suggest that even in London only 17 per cent of the population were 'evangelicals' during the 1540s. Essex came second, with 14 per cent, and then Kent with 12 per cent. These figures may not be completely accurate, but they illustrate how the majority of the population remained traditionalists throughout the period of reform. Catholic beliefs seem to have survived among the gentry in Sussex and Norfolk well into the 1570s.

Preachers

One factor determining how people responded to the Reformation were the evangelistic efforts of preachers. For example, Hugh Latimer launched a preaching campaign in Bristol and Matthew Price spread Protestant ideas within the Severn Valley. Powerful and persuasive preaching was often a more effective way of changing people's beliefs than printed propaganda or visitations from government commissioners.

There are several examples of evidence to back this up. The churchwardens of Ramsey in Huntingdonshire (visited by radical preachers from Cambridge) sold their church plate and old painted cloth for 11 shillings. They used this to pay for scripture to be written up from the new Prayer Book – and they did so before anyone told them to. The nearby parish of Aukenurie also sold its chalice for £5 6d and used the money to whitewash the church walls and cover the church with scripture. However, it is worth noting that painting the church would not have cost this much, so someone in the church may well have profited from this action.

Source 4 Anne Askew, a Protestant poet, produced an account of her torture in the Tower of London in June 1546. It was smuggled out to her friends.

Then they did put me on the rack, because I confessed no ladies or gentlemen, to be of my opinion ... the Lord Chancellor and Master Rich took pains to rack me with their own hands, till I was nearly dead. I fainted ... and then they recovered me again. After that I sat two long hours arguing with the Lord Chancellor, upon the bare floor. ... With many flattering words, he tried to persuade me to leave my opinion. ... I said that I would rather die than break my faith.

3 What can Anne Askew's confession in Source 4 reveal about attitudes towards faith during the 1540s?

Source 5 A sixteenth-century painting titled *Coronation of King Edward the Sixth, Popery banished True Religion Restored, The Duke of Somerset Lord Protector Beheaded*.

4 Look at Source 5. Do you think the artist supports the religious reforms introduced under Edward VI?

Reaction to the destruction of the Chantries

The dissolution of the chantries after 1547 had a significant impact on ordinary people. At least a quarter of chantry priests had been making important contributions to the care of those in the local community. This was especially the case in the large parishes in northern England. Chantry priests also worked as teachers in both towns and rural areas, so when education suffered when the chantries closed.

Some chantries were saved by selling them back to their congregations. At Blackrod and Eccleston in Lancashire, chantry priests refused to surrender their land and the tenants continued to pay rent to the priests. Rent-strikes took place across Lancashire and there are numerous examples of parishioners attempting to conceal chantry lands or equipment from commissioners. By 1560, there were 17 on-going investigations in Lancashire alone to track down land that was unaccounted for. In Godmacnhester in Huntingdonshire, the deeds of two chantries burned to conceal them from the commissioners. People began to leave money to the poor instead of for chantries.

Source 6 An anti-Catholic allegory dating from 1556, depicting Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, along with Bishops Bonner and Tunstall. They are shown as wolves dressed as sheep to entice Christ's flock – the ordinary people.

5 Study Source 6. What is the message of this painting?
6 Does this convince you that most people were becoming Protestants at the time?

Source 7 Birde Chantry Chapel at Bath Abbey, built in 1515. Prior Holloway surrendered Bath Priory to the Crown in January 1539. It was sold to Humphry Colles of Taunton. The church was stripped of lead, iron and glass and left to decay. Colles sold it to Matthew Colthurst of Wardour Castle in 1543. His son Edmund Colthurst gave the roofless remains of the building to the corporation of Bath in 1572 and it was later restored.

Source 8 By the Chantries Act, the Crown had to guarantee a pension to all former chantry priests; however, it drastically reduced the number of people working in many churches. Here a priest writes about how Chantry priests are missed.

There was in time past, four Chantry priests daily serving at the said Church of Eccles, which now live abroad at their pleasure, upon their pensions ... over and beside one priest which served at a certain chapel called Ellenbrooke within the said parish of Eccles, which lived upon the devotion of such as used to repair thither, to hear divine service, and there was also at the parish Church of Dean, three stipendary priest that daily served over there...there is now but two priests to serve the said cure of all the said parish, that is to say one priest commonly called the Vicar of Eccles and the other commonly called the vicar of Deane.

7 Look at the information given in Source 7. What can the short history if this chapel reveal about why so few people resisted the dissolution of the chantries?
8 Why do you think the people of Bath paid for this chantry's restoration during 1570s?

9 Read Source 8. Do you think the person who wrote this was upset about the dissolution of chantries? What make you think this?

The fate of church treasures

In March 1551, commissioners ordered all remaining church plate to be taken away and destroyed. Many parishes dutifully sold this off, as well as other treasures, setting aside the money for parish use. By the time they made their visitations, the commissioners found little left to confiscate. Was this evidence that the people accepted the reforms? Historian Eamon Duffy suggests that the reason the clergy and parishioners were so quick to sell the church treasures was actually a 'panic-stricken stampede to avoid theft by the Crown' rather than a sign that they approved of the reforms. The loss of income from parish feasts, masses for the dead and the worship of saints also meant that churches were short of money. They probably needed the income from the sale of these church goods.

However, there are many examples of people simply hiding these treasures. In parishes such as Morebath in Devon, vestments and plate were concealed by parishioners to stop them being confiscated. In Mondon in Essex, parishioners hid the best chalice and saved it from the king's men. In 1550, a gentlemen named William Harris borrowed this chalice and promised to pay the church for it. Yet when Harris died in 1556 he listed the chalice in his will, so he clearly kept it for himself.

Church attendance and giving

The Second Act of Uniformity (1552) openly acknowledged that many people were refusing to attend church services. ABSENTEEISM (non-attendance) was by no means a new practice, but it was now taking place on a much larger scale. There is evidence of some people visiting churches outside their own parishes where they used the old prayer book. Such behaviour represented a statement of rebellion against government policy.

Another measure of how people feel about their church is what they do with their money. Evidence from the north of England shows that before the Reformation, 70 per cent of those who made a will left some money to their parish church. By Edward VI's reign this had fallen to 32 per cent. People did not trust or value the new religion as they did the old. People started leaving money for poor relief instead. Parishioners also seem to have resented the efforts to bring the Eucharist into the service on a weekly basis, because it meant they would have to provide bread and wine much more often.

> **Source 9** Cranmer's commissioners found that William Kempe, the priest of Northgate, neglected to read the Royal Injunctions of 1547 to his parish, discouraged Bible reading and ignored the command of the Ten Articles to declare the 'right use' of holy water, holy bread and candles.
>
> *For lack whereof the most part of the parish be as ignorant in such things as they ever were, and many of them do abuse holy water, insomuch that against tempests of thunder and lightening many run to the church for holy water to cast about their houses to drive away ill spirits and devil, notwithstanding his Majesty's proclamations in the same.*

1 Look at Source 9. Cranmer's commissioners are clearly criticising the parish of Northgate. What do they dislike about the parishioner's religious practices?

2 Does this source prove that most people ignored the changes bought in by Henry VIII?

3 Read Source 10. Why does the clergyman say he robbed the monastery?

4 Does this clergyman's response prove that people did not care about what was happening to the churches?

> **Source 10** Yorkshire clergyman Michael Sherbrook, explaining why he took part in plundering one of the dissolved monasteries.
>
> *Might I not as well as others have some profit of the spoil of the abbey? For I did see all would away; and therefore I did as others did.*

Reaction of the nobility

The gentry were responsible for keeping peace in the towns and villages. This mean that the king needed their support for religious reforms. Throughout the Reformation, most of the gentry remained loyal to the Crown. If they disagreed, they found a way to practise their own beliefs privately without causing confrontation. However, a few risked their positions (and their lives) to maintain the old religion, including John Scudamore and the Throckmorton family.

John Scudamore

Scudamore rose to prominence under Cromwell. He became MP for Hereford in 1529 but by 1536 he was working for the Court of Augmentations, which oversaw the dissolution of the monasteries. Like many Catholics, Scudamore profited from the dissolution, buying Dore Abbey in 1547 for £379. He continued to work for the government in Wales until his death in 1571. Despite his work for the reformers, though, Scudamore's will reveals that he remained unrepentantly Catholic. He donated much of his wealth to Jesuit priests, who were trying to being Catholicism back to England. He also left many great books to students at Oxford University who were known Catholics.

The Throckmortons

Sir George Throckmorton's estates were in Warwickshire. He grew up in a conventional Catholic family and was a pious man. He went on pilgrimages and paid for masses for his soul from the monks of Evesham, Studley and Warwick, Oxford and Cambridge. He also paid for a chantry to be established in Coughton and funded the education of his tenants' children. He stood up in parliament and spoke against Henry VIII's annulment to Catherine of Aragon and met regularly with other known Catholics.

Despite his opposition to the break with Rome and the dissolution of the monasteries, George Throckmorton always demonstrated loyalty to the king. In 1536, during the Pilgrimage of Grace, he mustered 300 men to help defeat the rebels. He was imprisoned several times for meeting with papists, but he never plotted against the king. Throckmorton kept his position as a Justice of the Peace. Edward VI trusted Throckmorton and asked him to carry out inventories of Church assets in Warwickshire and Worcestershire.

Yet Throckmorton's will reveals that despite his loyalty to the Crown, he remained a devout Catholic. He bequeathed his soul to 'Almighty God my maker and redeemer' and hoped to dwell amongst saints' company in Heaven.

Source 11 *The Ambassadors* by Hans Holbein, the greatest painter of the time. This picture shows Jean de Dinterville and Georges de Selve. The two men seem to be proud and wealthy. The objects on display show the achievements of the modern age. However, once decoded this image becomes a deep criticism of Henry VIII's Reformation. The men asked Holbein to paint them in this way to highlight the dangers of religious divisions.

The navigational and astronomical instruments are misaligned, to give a sense of impending chaos.

The book is open at the 'Veni Sanctus Spiritus', a hymn that was traditionally used to call for the unification of the Church.

A skull is drawn so that if you stand to the side of the painting, it becomes 3D. This represents the deaths that the artist believes will result from the break with Rome.

A hidden silver cross.

5 Study Source 11 closely. What do you think the hidden silver cross represents?

6 Does this source prove that most people were unhappy with Henry's break with Rome?

KEY TERMS

Make sure you know what these terms mean and can use them confidently in your writing.

- altar
- annul
- anticlericalism
- celibacy
- chalice
- chantry
- Christendom
- clergy
- Convocation
- curates
- dissolution
- doctrine
- Eucharist
- evangelical
- friars
- gentry
- Heaven and Hell
- heresy
- host
- humanism
- iconoclasm
- idolatry
- indulgences
- justification by faith alone
- laity
- laymen
- legislation
- legitimate
- Lollards
- Lutheran
- mass
- monasteries
- ordination
- papacy
- pilgrimages
- pious
- pluralism
- pope
- Protestant
- purgatory
- radical
- relics
- Renaissance
- rood screens
- sacraments
- secular
- spiritual
- tithes
- tract
- transubstantiation
- vestments
- visitations

ACTIVITY

Create a spider diagram to record the changes that took place during the 1540s. Use the following headers as starting points:
- The way people worshipped
- The look of churches
- The rituals and feast days.

PRACTICE QUESTIONS

1 Explain the effects of religious change on English parishes in 1530s and 1540s. (10)
2 Explain why some people resisted religious change in 1530s and 1540s. (10)
3 Study Sources 5, 10 and 12. How far do they convince you that protests against religious reform was organised by devout Catholics? (20)
4 Study Sources 1, 2 and 9. How far do they convince you that the reformation was deeply unpopular? (20)

TOPIC SUMMARY

Reactions to the Reformation in English churches

1 Historians have debated the effects of the religious reforms on ordinary people. Most have concluded that the reformers' ideas were slow to take hold, particularly outside London.
2 The closer people were to London the more Protestant they tended to be, but even in these areas support was quite low.
3 The Prayer Book Rebellion of 1549 in Cornwall and Devon was caused by Cranmer's new Book of Common Prayer, which introduced new evangelical ideas.
4 The ruthless treatment of the rebels prevented further outbreaks of resistance but there were more passive ways of resisting the changes, such as hiding church treasures, not going to church or not leaving money to a local church.
5 Many nobles managed to keep hold of their Catholic faith in private while loyally serving the king in public.

ASSESSMENT FOCUS

How the depth study will be assessed

The depth study on the Reformation will be examined in Paper 3, along with the historic environment study on castles. The depth study is worth 40 marks, which is 20 per cent of your total GCSE. You should spend about 45 minutes on this part of the paper. The questions could be on any part of the content so you need to revise it all.

Question 1 will test the first two assessment objectives:
- AO1: knowledge and understanding
- AO2: explanation and analysis.

Question 2 will test AO1 and AO2, but will also test:
- AO3: analyse, evaluate and make use of sources from the time.

Above all, the questions are assessing your ability to think and work like a historian. In the introduction, you looked at how historians work (page 4). There we set out some steps that historians take:
1 focus
2 ask questions
3 select
4 organise
5 fine tune.

The exam questions have already chosen a focus (stage 1) and they have asked questions (stage 2). What the examiner wants from you is stages 3, 4 and 5.

Question 1

Question 1 will ask you to explain an important aspect of the period you have studied. This may involve explaining the range of reasons for an event or development, or explaining the scale of the impact of an event or development. For example:

Explain why the Church was wealthy in the early 1530s. (10 marks)

Aim of the question
The key word here is 'why'. Examiners are looking for an explanation of why the Church was wealthy. It would be easy to miss this point and simply describe *how* the Church was wealthy. Think of it like an Olympic medal ceremony:

GOLD
(up to 100% of marks)
You make it really clear what you think the answer to the question is. You support your answer with at least one event or development and you explain how that event or development supports your answer.

BRONZE
(up to 25% of marks)
You describe something you know (which is good) but it is not really relevant to the question (which is a shame). or you assert something (which is good) but you provide no supporting evidence (which is a shame).

SILVER
(up to 60% of marks)
You describe relevant events or developments (which is good) but you do not connect them to the question or explain why they are important in answering the question (which is a shame).

7.2 What were the functions of a castle?

FOCUS

Castles had many different functions. Over time, the relative importance of these different functions changed. One of the main clues for understanding this will be the changes made to the buildings at different times. In this topic, you will read about the various and changing functions of castles. All the time, you should try to relate what you are learning to your nominated castle.

FACTFILE

The development of Goodrich

c1070–c1125 Motte and bailey castle built by Godric. Like most motte and baileys, it provided a safe base.

c1125–50 Goodrich was close to the border with Wales, and Welsh raids into England were common. The stone keep was built.

1138–1247 Goodrich owned by powerful nobles who did not live there. A constable controlled the castle, which was home to a small community and garrison.

1216 Goodrich was besieged by the Welsh, but quickly relieved by English troops.

1247–1327 Goodrich owned by the de Valence family – major landowners who moved between various castles. Major works included a new curtain wall and much grander domestic buildings.

1277–95 Wales was conquered by Edward I in a series of wars and the border was strategically important.

1327–1421 Goodrich was owned by another powerful family, which spent less time there but strengthened the barbican, rebuilt the chapel and added a prison.

FOCUS TASK

The table below lists the functions of a castle that are covered in this topic. Fill in the information below the heading 'Type' for Goodrich Castle and your nominated castle. Return to this table and fill in the information as you read about each function.

| The functions of a castle	
Goodrich Castle	**Nominated castle**
Type (royal or baronial)	
Goodrich was first built as a baronial castle, but, in 1176 …	e.g. First built by King William II in 1092, Carlisle was a royal castle …
Site	
Protection	
Power base	
Living and working	
Defensive	
Later uses	

Royal and baronial castles

An easy distinction to make is between a ROYAL CASTLE, controlled by the monarch, and a BARONIAL CASTLE, controlled by one of their subjects. It is an important distinction, and more documentary evidence survives about royal castles. So, why were some castles royal? The main reason is that they guarded (or dominated) strategically important places. The Tower of London was always a royal castle, and it dominated London. Dover (guarding the most important channel crossing) and Carlisle (guarding the western end of the border with Scotland) were always royal castles. Others became royal castles for short periods. There were two main reasons for this:

- **Lack of an heir:** Goodrich was a royal castle between 1176 and 1204, because the owner died without an heir and it was only 28 years later that the king granted it to a new lord. Kenilworth also became a royal castle when the owner died in 1174. This was a time of civil war and the king, Henry II, decided it was strategically important so he garrisoned and strengthened it. Kenilworth remained a royal castle for 70 years, and there was significant rebuilding in this time.
- **Confiscation:** Sometimes the monarch simply seized control of a castle, if its owner had been charged with treason, perhaps, or because it seemed strategically too important to leave in private hands. Henry II took Portchester in 1154 for strategic reasons. He ruled lands on both sides of the Channel and Portchester dominated a major cross-Channel harbour. It remained a royal castle.

FACTFILE

London's three castles

The castles in built in London just after the Norman Conquest provide evidence that there was no great master plan for castle building in England. As well as the Tower of London – the royal castle on the eastern edge of the city – there were two baronial castles, Baynard's Castle and Monfichet Tower. These were both in the west of the city and stood right next to each other!
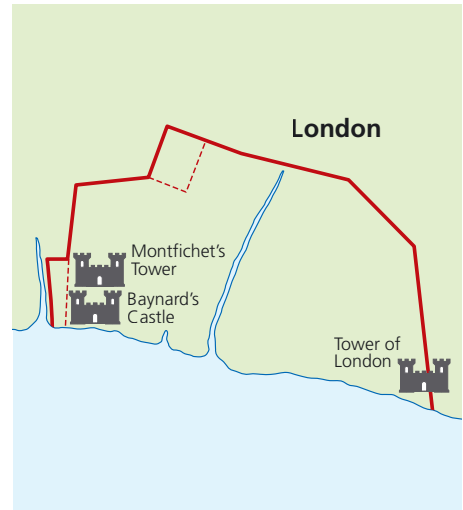
Monfichet's Tower was demolished in 1213. The original Castle Baynard was torn town before 1276 and a replacement built to the east of the site shown on the map. This castle was destroyed by fire in 1428 and rebuilt by the Duke of Gloucester as his London palace. The Great Fire of London (1666) destroyed this third Baynard's Castle.

Baynard's Castle in 1647.

Not all barons were equally rich and powerful, and not all baronial castles were the same. The plans on pages 188–189 show the difference in size of some of them. Stokesay, for example, was as much a fortified house as it was a castle. We would call Lawrence of Ludlow – who bought the manor in 1270 – a businessman. He was one of the richest men in the country and he wanted to keep both his family and his wealth, safe. The years from 1250 to 1325 were a time of growing lawlessness and unrest. Taxes were high, harvests often poor and crime increasing. Stokesay was one of many new, smaller castles built in this period. They were not strong enough to hold out against a major siege, but they would keep the inhabitants safe from thieves or a peasant uprising.

At the other end of the scale, Framlingham and Kenilworth (from 1266–1399) were owned by powerful nobles who wanted large castles – part palace and part military stronghold. Just as the greatest nobles attended the king at his court, so the lesser nobles and knights would attend their lord in his castle. The castle therefore must be grand – reflecting the power and prestige of its owner. The great hall, where meals were taken and formal business often conducted, needed to be large and richly decorated. There must be accommodation for important guests and their followers. These castles also needed to be strong enough to withstand a major siege.

The site of the castle

There are nearly 2,000 castle sites in England and Wales. They were not built to any national master plan to make the country stronger. Some royal castles were built for strategic reasons immediately after the Normal Conquest, but individual lords built most castles wherever they wanted to on their lands.

Castle-building took place from the 1050s through to the 1540s, but there were some periods when many were built in a short time:

- in the first 40 years after the Norman Conquest (including Goodrich, Carlisle, Framlingham and Portchester)
- during the civil wars in the reigns of Stephen and Matilda (1135–54); the next king, Henry II, destroyed many of these when he restored order
- from the late thirteenth century and through the fourteenth century, when trade and the profits of war with France made wider groups of people wealthy (Stokesay is in this group).

In the first 40 years after the conquest, many castles were built in towns and, symbolically, existing houses were often torn down to make room. For example, in Lincoln it was 166 of the 970 houses in the town. Most of these town castles were royal. Later medieval towns often grew up around castles that had been built rural sites. The castles provided security and a ready market of wealthy people.

The first builder of any castle had to answer two key questions:

- Where on my estate, roughly, do I want my castle?
- Once the area has been decided which is the best exact spot to build on?

ACTIVITY

	Possible castle site	
Town	Main roads
Hills	Major trade routes
Best farming land	
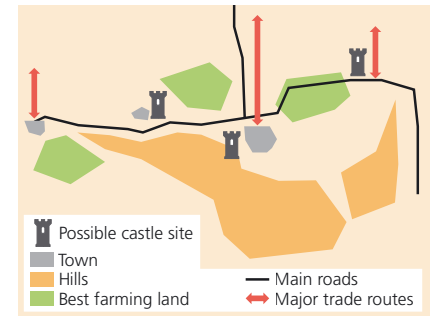
Draw a grid like the one below and give each factor a mark out of 10 for each of the three suggested sites.

	A	B	C
strategic			
communications			
administration			
economic			
Total			

How castles made a country safer from invasion.
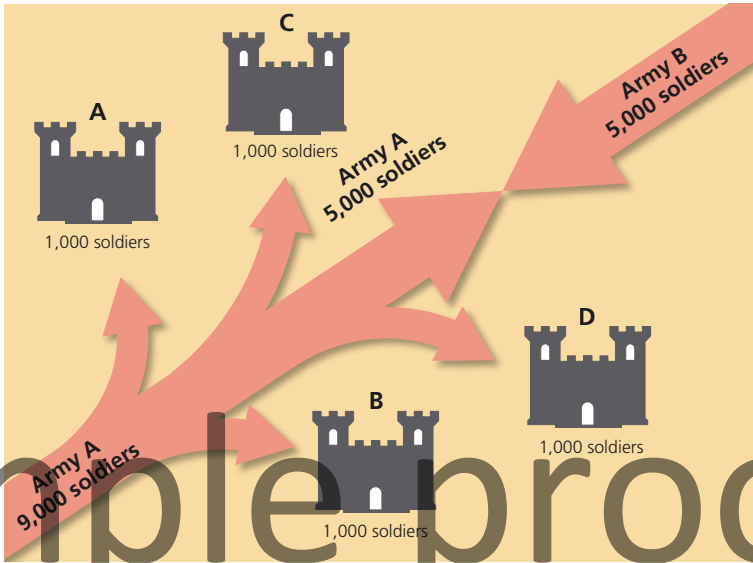
There were different criteria for each decision. After the conquest, Norman lords were given large tracts of land, often a day's ride across. This land included villages and perhaps even small towns. The most important factors in deciding where in this land the castle might go were:

- **Strategic:** Was there an important river crossing or harbour to protect?
- **Communications:** From the castle, it would ideally be possible to get to all the important parts of the lord's estate and back within a day. Also, it should be reasonably convenient for a lord to get from his lands to other parts of the country that he made need to travel to.
- **Administration:** The castle would be the base for governing the area, collecting taxes and administering justice.
- **Economic:** Whether the wealth came from towns and trade or from farming, it was useful to be able to protect the economically significant parts of the territory.

Once the castle builder had decided on the general site, he had to home in on the specific spot for his castle. It is a mistake to think that most castles were built on hills. People lived in the castle all year round so being positioned high on a hill was not the most convenient location. Castles were rarely (if ever) attacked, so defence was not always the most important consideration. Obviously, the castle had to have a good water supply, both in case of attack and for convenience. The castle was usually much the tallest building in the area. This was significant for two reasons. It gave the garrison a good field of view, so they could see any threats a long way off. It also meant the castle could be seen from a large area – underlining the importance of the lord. Castle builders took care over the views of the castle people had as they approached it, going as far as moving roads or creating artificial lakes to make the castle look more impressive at first sight.

Protection

The Normans believed that castles did not just protect the people inside them; they protected the whole country. The lack of castles in Saxon England was one of the reasons they thought their conquest succeeded. The diagram shows what they thought. When you invaded a country, it would be dangerous to ignore enemy castles. The reason for this is the garrisons could come out once your army had passed and disrupt your communications back home. They could capture messages and supplies.

The alternative, then, was to either besiege and capture every castle on the way, or leave enough troops behind to besiege each castle keeping the garrison inside. If you did the first, you advanced very slowly, and your enemy had time to gather a larger army. If you did the second, your army got smaller each time you left troops besieging a castle. This is what is shown in the diagram – how an attacking army nearly twice the size of the defending army could be brought down to the same size by the time they gave battle because of the number of troops left to besiege castles.

Henry VIII's coastal castles

Between 1539 and 1545, Henry VIII built a specialist group of castles. They were designed with one function in mind: to protect the country from invasion by installing cannon in castles positioned where a potential invasion fleet might land. These castles were built to be garrisoned by soldiers; there was no grand accommodation for a lord.

Source 1 A plan of Raglan Castle. All this was built after 1435.

Protecting those inside the castle

Protecting those inside from those outside it has been the most obvious function of a castle since the first motte and bailey castles. All the complicated defensive systems of curtain walls, FLANKING FIRE, MACHICOLATIONS and barbicans are just ways of keeping the people inside safe by making it easier to kill those outside.

Raglan Castle offers an interesting refinement in keeping people safe. The oldest part of the castle was built around 1435, yet it has a building that looks like a keep – and the mid-fifteenth century is too late for castle designers to build a keep. The Great Tower is a FINAL REFUGE, separated from the rest of the castle (and the outside world) by a moat. It could be defended against the rest of the castle. There could be two reasons for this:

- It provided a final refuge for what remained of the garrison if the rest of the castle fell to the enemy.
- It provided a place for the lord's family and most trusted followers in the event that the garrison turned on the lord.

The idea of creating a final refuge was not new. Castle designers had been using it since motte and baileys. If attackers captured the bailey, the defenders could retreat to the motte. The fifteenth century was a dangerous time. It began with the overthrow and later murder of Richard II and in 1455–87 there was a series of civil wars. Perhaps these events influenced the designers of Raglan to make the final refuge just a little bit safer from the rest of the castle?

1. 'Source 2 proves that Henry VIII thought invasion was a real threat in the years 1539–45.' Do you agree?
2. Look back at the plans of Goodrich and your nominated castle. Can you find a final refuge in each one?

Source 2 The castles of Henry VIII along the south coast.

Power and symbolism

Castles provided a power base. In a castle, a lord (or constable) would have soldiers and the castle kept them relatively safe. Their power stretched at least half a day's ride or march. There was no police force and for most of the time, no army. The lord's soldiers enforced the law and kept the area safe. All but the most serious crimes were tried in the lord's court, inside the castle. The castle, therefore, was the centre of both actual and legal power.

The castle was symbolic too. After the Norman Conquest, many castles were built where the previous Anglo-Saxon lord had lived. This emphasised how new people and customs had replaced the old, However, it also gave a sense of continuity: people would pay their taxes and come for justice to the same place.

At a time when most people lived in simple houses made from wood with a thatched roof, the multi-storey castles – usually made from stone – underlined the wealth, the power and the separateness of the upper classes. One way of emphasising this was to paint the outside of the castle. For example, the keep of the Tower of London is known as the White Tower because the outside was painted white to make it look more magnificent. Instructions from Henry III survive to whitewash the outside of the keeps of Corfe and Rochester castles, and to mend the gutters of the White Tower to stop rainwater spoiling the whitewash.
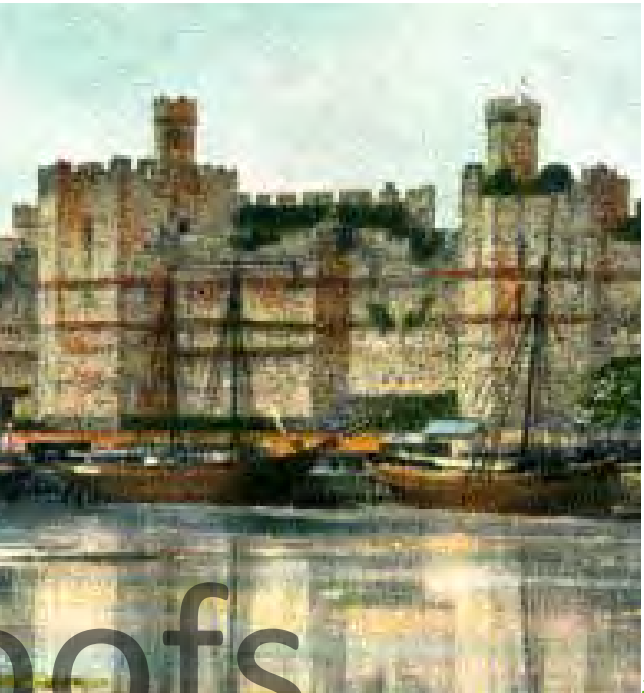
Castle owners also wanted to show off to each other. Changing a castle by adding the latest features was a good way to show wealth and good taste. Men rising up the social scale, like Lawrence of Ludlow (who built Stokesay) built a castle as a way of demonstrating their new position and prestige.

Kings could use castles for symbolic and military reasons at the same time. When Edward I conquered northern Wales, he build a series of strong castles that both helped him control the land and demonstrated his new power (see the map on page 193). One of them, Conway, was built on the site of the grave of the Welsh national hero Llewellyn the Great.

Source 3 Historian Malcolm Hislop, writing in 2013.

Caernarfon Castle was intended to evoke Constantinople, capital of the Eastern Roman Empire. The princes, of Gwynedd traced their ancestry to Magnus Maximus, who established himself as Roman Emperor in 383 BCE. Tradition associated Maximus with the Roman town of Segontium, close to Caernarfon. With this castle Edward was portraying himself as the successor of the Emperor and his supposed descendants the Welsh princes.

1. Do you agree with the judgement of the historian in Source 3? Explain your answer.
2. Look at Sources 4 and 5. What similarities are there between the walls of Constantinople and Caernarfon?

Source 4 Part of the surviving Roman walls of Constantinople (modern Istanbul). They were famous for the bands of colour, made by using courses of tile.

Source 5 Part of the walls of Caernarfon Castle, built by Edward I in the 1280s.

Living and working

Castles were both the home and the workplace of a large community that was divided into strict social levels. At the top was the lord or lady and his or her family, then any noble guests they may have, then their most important followers such as the constable of the castle. There was also a hierarchy amongst the servants, from the head cook and the butler (who was in charge of the wine) down to the unskilled labourers and kitchen skivvies. Life and work were very different depending where people were in this hierarchy.

Some parts of castle life were very formal. The great hall was often the site for these ceremonial events. In the great hall the lord or the constable would:

- meet and greet noble guests
- eat – the lord's family ate on a stage (the DAIS) at one end of the hall, raised up so they could be seen
- conduct business, such as receiving payments of rent from his tenants
- hold court sessions to conduct trials and legal business.

Many others ate in the great hall, but lower down. In the first castles many people slept in the hall too, but that changed as more sleeping accommodation was added later. Another change was an increasing desire for privacy for the most important people in the castle. The lord's family started to spend time in private rooms. These were often reached from a door off the dais in the great hall.

Source 6 The remains of the east side of the great hall at Kenilworth Castle.
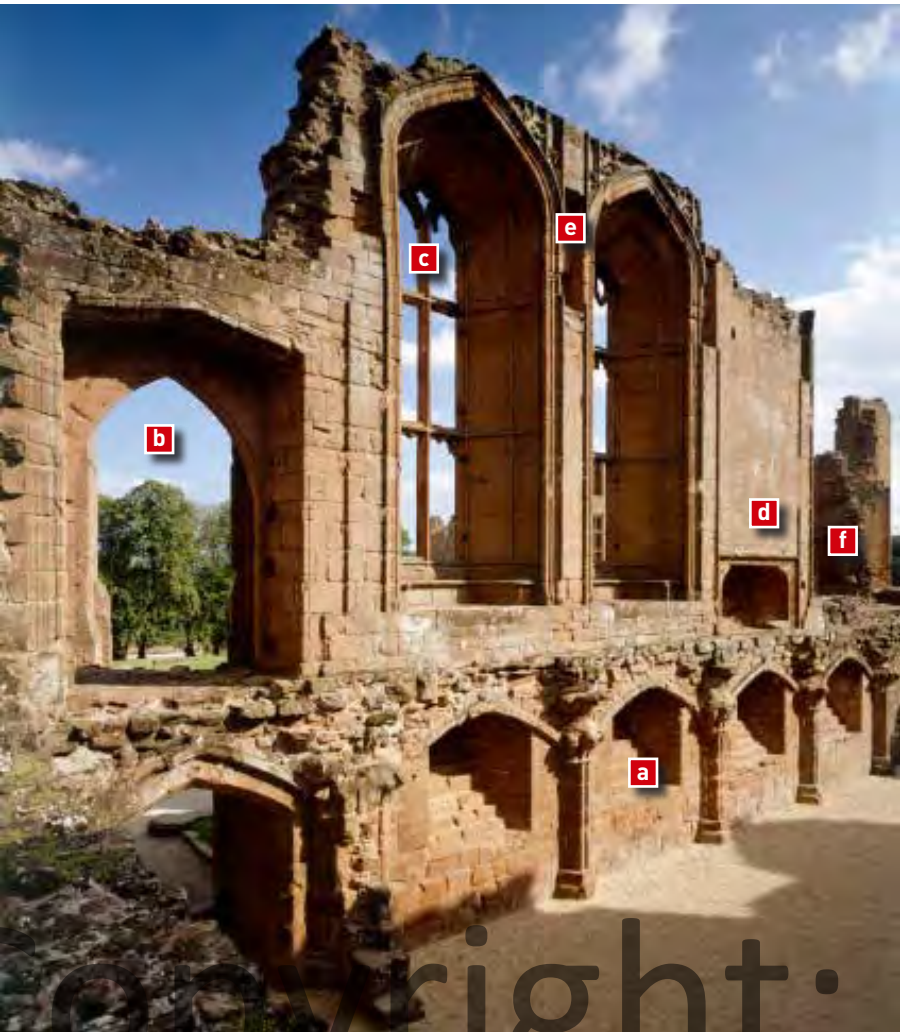
Source 7 Extracts from *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*, a poem written 1375–1400. The poem is more than 2,500 lines long and is set in the time of King Arthur. In this section, Gawain visits a perfect castle.

Knights and squires came to bring him to the Great Hall, where a fine fire fiercely burned. Then the lord came down from his chamber with good manners to greet Gawain there. He said, 'You are welcome, treat my home as your home'.

The lord led him to a chamber, and chose a man to serve him, with several others to help. They took him to a bright bedroom with a beautiful bed, with a canopy of silk bordered with gold, and fur bedcovers, heavily embroidered. The curtains hung from golden curtain rings and ran on cords. The walls were hung with tapestries from Toulouse and Turkey, and, on the floor, were carpets too.

In the Great Hall, he sat in a fine chair, and warmed himself. Soon servants set a table on trestles, with a clean white tablecloth, a saltcellar, and silver spoons. He washed well and went to the table. Servants served him with sumptuous food well-seasoned with costly spices, double helpings, as was right, and all kinds of fish – some baked in pies, some grilled over hot coals, some slowly boiled, some in spicy stews, and all the sauces were made just to his taste.

1 Look at Source 7. What can you learn about life in castles from this extract?
2 The castle described in Source 7 is fictional. Does this mean it is not a useful source for historians? Explain your answer.

Source 8 An artist's reconstruction of the great hall at Kenilworth Castle in the fourteenth century. The cutaway in the lower right shows the cellars underneath.

Source 9 Instructions from Henry III to the constable of Dover Castle, about showing an important French nobleman round the castle, 1247.

When Gaucher de Châtillon shall come to Dover he shall take him into that castle and show the castle off to him in eloquent style, so that the magnificence of the castle shall be fully apparent to him, and that he shall see no defects in it.

2 Study Source 8 carefully. List all the things the artist has shown that are supported by evidence from this section.
3 Which of the sources in this section is most useful in helping you understand how a great hall was used? Explain your answer.

Source 10 An illustration from a fifteenth-century manuscript showing a king, bishops and great nobles eating in state on the dais of a great hall, while musicians play in a gallery.

FACTFILE

Decoration
The walls of the main rooms would not have been left as bare stone in the way we see them today. Before c1250, the walls would normally be whitewashed, perhaps with the lines between the stones picked out in red. After c1250, walls were usually plastered and then painted, and some parts of the wall might be covered by wood panelling or tapestries. Colours could be very bright (see Source 10). Henry III's favourite colour scheme was gold stars on a green background. Floors were covered by rushes at first, and in the more public parts of the castle this continued. Increasingly, the private rooms of the lord, and certainly the dais in the great hall, would be floored with colourful glazed tiles.

Source 11 A description of dinner on a normal day at Raglan Castle in the 1640s.

At eleven o'clock the Castle Gates were shut, and the tables laid; two in the Dining-Room; three in the Hall; one in Mrs Watson's Apartment, where the Chaplains eat, two in the Housekeeper's Room, for women.

The Earl came into the Dining-Room, attended by his Gentlemen . At the first Table sat the noble Family, and such of the Nobility as come there. At the second Table sat Knights and honourable Gentlemen.

In the Hall, at the first table sat the Steward, the Comptroller, the Master of the Horse, the Master of the Fish-ponds with such Gentlemen as came there under the degree of a knight. At the second table sat the Sewer [responsible for serving food], with the Gentlemen Waiters, and pages, to the number of twenty-four. At the third table sat the Clerk of the Kitchen, with the Yeoman Officers of the House, two Grooms of the Chambers.

1 Sketch a plan of Raglan including the kitchen, buttery, great hall and the private apartments. Study Source 11. Mark on the tables, who ate where and the route the food would have taken.
2 'The parlour (above the dining room) at Ragan was for high-status people. it had large elaborate windows onto the courtyard and moat.' How far do Sources 12 and 13 support this statement?
3 Compare the impression of castle life from the early twelfth century (Source 17 on page 191), the late fourteenth century (Source 6, page 200) and the mid-seventeenth century (Source 11, above). What changes, and what stays the same?

Castles were in use for hundreds of years, and, during this time, the domestic accommodation of most castles changed more than the military features did. Two major trends in society show up in changes we can see in many castles:

- a move towards more **privacy**. You see it most in the accommodation for the high status people in the castle, but also in things like adding towers with lots of toilets (which were for the soldiers and servants). At Raglan (Source 12) the grand private apartments were reached from a door off the dais in the Great Hall, and by the 1640s the owner (the Earl of Worcester) and his family normally ate in the private Dining Room. At Goodrich the GARDEROBE (toilet) tower was added about 1450.
- an **increase in the size of the household**. You see this in the increase in the accommodation, usually built against the inside of the curtain walls, from the late 13th century onwards. Households continued to get bigger in the 15th and 16th centuries, and you can often find more than one round of adding extra accommodation.

Look closely at the PHASED PLANS of your nominated castle. Can you see evidence of these two trends in society in its remains? If you can't, is there a reason? For example later changes which obliterate evidence of earlier changes.

Source 12 A phased plan of the private apartments at Raglan Castle (shaded beige). See the whole plan on page 198 to understand this fits in to the rest of the castle.

Source 13 The remains of the wall of the parlour over the dining room as Raglan Castle, showing the area between a and b on Source 12.

FACTFILE

Smashing the castle walls
There were different ways to break a hole in the walls (called a breach), and different ways to defend against them.
- **Picks:** Men with pickaxes could take the wall down stone by stone. The best place to start was a right-angled corner. Defenders needed to be able to fire at the base of the wall – bratticing, machicolations or flanking towers.
- **Battering rams:** These were used to smash a hole in the wall. Defenders used flanking fire again, dropping things or setting the ram on fire.
- **Stone-throwing engines:** Set up at distance from the castle, these could fire heavy stones that would eventually smash a hole in the wall. Defenders had their own stone-throwing engines to smash the enemy's or they made a new wall behind where they expected the breach to be made.
- **Undermining:** Miners dug a tunnel under the wall itself. The roof of the tunnel was held up with wooden props. These were set on fire, and without the props the tunnel (and the wall above it) would collapse. Defenders used the tactic of countermining – digging their own mine below the attacker's and capturing or destroying their mine.

Source 14 A graph showing the total number of sieges known to historians, 1060–1660.

Sieges – the castle at war

There is some disagreement between historians as to whether castle builders were much interested in war and the possibility of sieges. Castle revisionists point out that many castles were built over a 600-year period, but not many sieges took place. They suggest that castles were built in a military style, as bases for an upper class that wanted to reflect traditional military functions and traditions in the style of their castles. These historians suggest that the symbolism of castles and their peacetime functions were more important. As we look at the military functions of castles, keep the arguments of the revisionists in mind.

Historians have identified at least 1,897 castles that existed between 1066 and 1660. Some of them only stood for 20–50 years, but others survived for most of the 600 years we are studying. In all, we know of 1,022 sieges. Both these numbers are probably too small, because not all castles have left a written record or traces in the ground, and not all sieges were recorded either. Even so, the revisionists have a point – there were almost two castles to every one siege, and the most sieges lasted a few weeks or months, not 600 years.

Besieging a castle – choices and tactics

The first choice for an attacking commander was whether to starve the garrison out or to STORM THE CASTLE (fight your way in). Starving could take a long time, and you probably did not know how much food and drink they had. But storming could cost you a lot of troops, and you might not even win. Luckily, there was a third option – CONDITIONAL RESPITE. Here you met with the commander of the castle and agreed that eventually you would win. The only thing that would save the castle would be a relief force – their side sending an army to rescue them. So, to avoid unnecessary bloodshed, you agreed a time (perhaps three months) and agreed that if a relief army did not arrive by then, the castle would surrender. During the period of conditional respite, the defenders were not supposed to do anything to strengthen the castle. In one famous siege, at Newbury in 1152, the castle commander, fitz Gilbert, agreed a period of respite and handed over his son as hostage. He then cheated and got in more stores. King Stephen had the son put in a catapult and threatened to fire him back into the castle unless fitz Gilbert handed over the stores. Fitz Gilbert shouted back from the battlements that he had the equipment to make another son, so Stephen could do what he liked. Stephen let the boy live.

Until about 1400 the range of tactics for smashing a hole in the wall and storming the castle were simple (see Factfile). After 1400, however, the availability of large siege cannon changed the balance of power. Cannons had much more force than stone-throwing engines, and they could BREACH the strongest walls with time, the right cannon and experienced gunners.
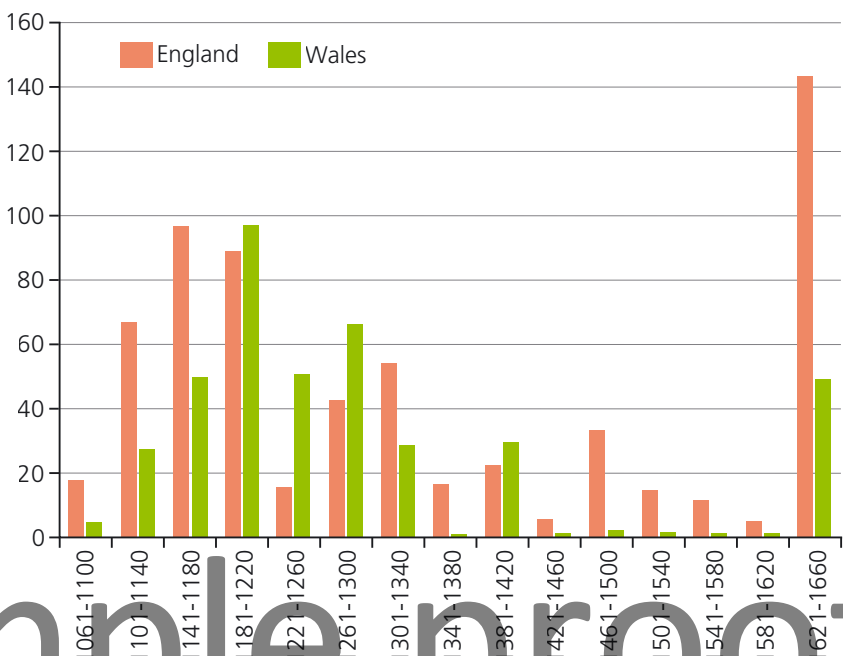
Rochester 1215: a medieval siege

In 1215, after his barons had forced him to sign the *Magna Carta*, King John raised an army to fight them and win back the power he had lost. Rochester Castle was held by the barons and John's army was in Kent. He wanted to attack the barons in London, but felt he could not leave Rochester Castle behind him: it protected a fortified bridge over the River Medway, which was the main route to London. With a strong stone curtain wall and a square keep inside it, the castle had a garrison of about 100 knights plus their soldiers. The siege began on 11 October. John himself arrived on 13 October and had stone-throwing engines set up on a hill overlooking the castle.

Source 15 An extract from the account of Roger of Wendover, a monk and historian, writing between 1220 and 1231.

The king did not allow the besieged any rest day or night. For, amidst the stones hurled from the engines, and the missiles of the crossbows and archers, frequent assaults were made by the knights and their followers, so that when some were tired, other fresh ones succeeded them in the assault; and with these changes the besieged had no rest.

The besieged, too, tried to delay their own destruction. They were in great dread of the cruelty of the king. Therefore, that they might not die unavenged, they made no small slaughter amongst the attackers. The siege was prolonged many days owing to the great bravery and boldness of the besieged, who hurled stone for stone, weapon for weapon, from the walls on the enemy.

At last, after great numbers of royal troops had been slain, the king, seeing his engines had little effect, employed miners, who soon threw down a great part of the walls. The provisions of the besieged failed them, and they were obliged to eat their horses. The soldiers of the king now rushed to the breaches in the walls, and by constant fierce assaults they forced the besieged to abandon the castle, though not without great loss on their own side. The besieged then entered the keep.

If you read Source 5 carefully, you may think Roger's language shows some sympathy for the barons and a dislike of John ('dread of the cruelty of the king; great bravery and boldness of the besieged'). Where we can check the facts of his account, this idea is supported although his time scheme might be slightly wrong. John sent orders on 14 October to the mayor of nearby Canterbury to make ('by day and night') and send to the king's army as many picks as they could. So mining was on his mind from the start of the siege. Once a breach was made, his troops stormed it and drove the defenders back into the keep, which became a last refuge.

Source 16 An extract describing the siege from the *Barnwell Chronicle*, another medieval history, written close to the time.

King John put expert miners to work. They cut their way underground until at last they were under one of the great corner towers. As they moved soil and rock out, they put wooden beams in, with pits props underneath them, to hold up the roof above their heads. They worried every time the beams creaked from the great weight above them. The defenders worried too. Every night they heard tapping sounds under the ground but could do nothing about it. After two months, when the miners came out, brushwood and branches were carried into the tunnels and fat from 40 pigs. Then a fire was started. The fire crackled and sizzled as all the timbers caught fire and blazed until they collapsed. With a great roar the tower fell down.

The defenders fell back behind a strong wall, for such was the structure of the keep that a very strong wall separated the half that had fallen from the other. The defenders did not give in until they had nothing but horseflesh and water to sustain them, which they found hard, having been brought up in luxury.

At least one part of this story checks out. John sent an order from the siege to his chief supporter saying: 'Send us with all speed by day and night forty of the fattest pigs of the least good sort for eating, to bring fire beneath the tower.' The defenders surrendered on 30 November 1215.

Source 17 Phased plans of the first three floors of the keep of Rochester Castle.
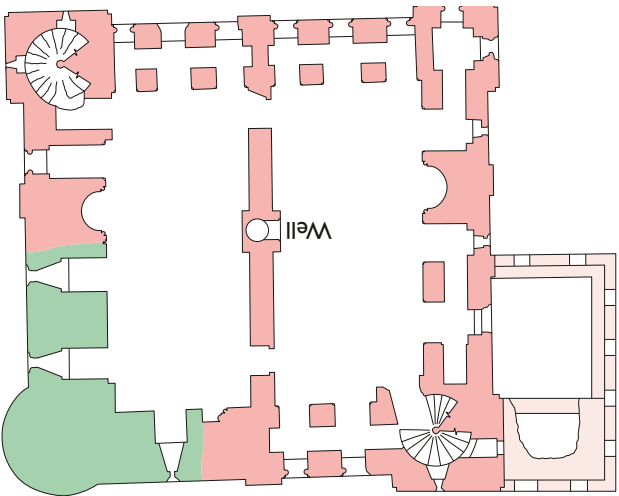
Source 18 The remains of the keep and curtain wall for Rochester Castle, taken from the south east.

Chris John
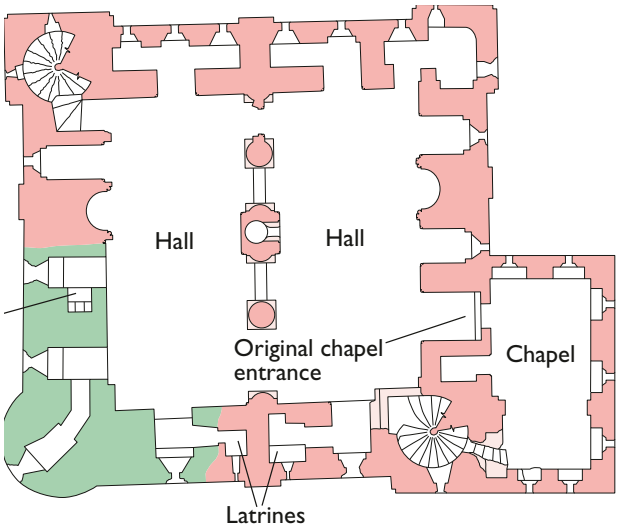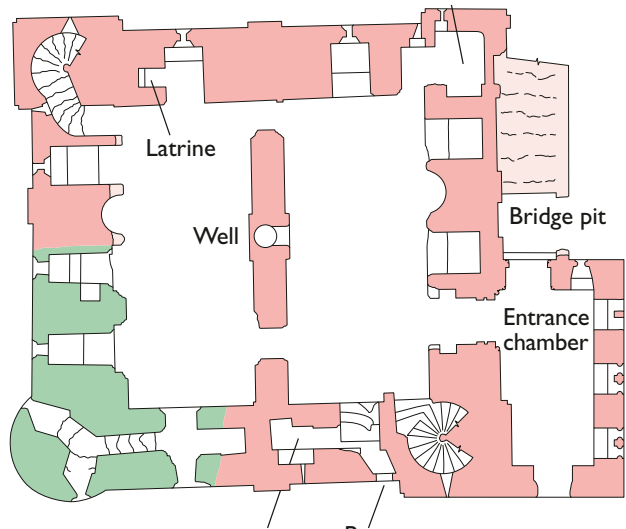
1. Does the language of Source 16 give you any reason to think the writer supported King John?
2. Study Source 18. Do the remains of the castle support the *Barnwell Chronicle*'s account of the capture of the keep? Explain your answer.
3. Rochester is one of the best surviving examples of a square keep. Study Source 17 carefully and explain how people entered the keep in 1127.

[CN: Labels/artwork orientation to be corrected for 2Ps]

Source 19 The remains of Wardour Castle from the air.

Wardour: a siege in the Civil War

When the English Civil War broke out in 1642, the country did not have many professional soldiers. Most of those involved in the fighting had to learn as they went. In the first years of the war, castles proved difficult to capture. By the 1640s, stone walls should not have been able to withstand siege with modern artillery, but there were not many siege cannon or officers trained to use them. The siege of Wardour Castle is typical. The only cannon available were far too small to do serious damage to the walls. Instead, the attackers used the traditional tactics of starving out the garrison, UNDERMINING and storming.

Strategically, castles helped each side control land – and controlling land meant being able to collect taxes. The garrison of a castle like Wardour could also raid enemy supply CONVOYS and disrupt communications. Wardour was a very small castle, but it tied up Royalist forces for over three months until the siege was over.

By 1645, parliament had a well-equipped and professional army that was better able to attack castles. Increasingly, castles were unable to hold out against a proper siege unless they had low, earth-filled walls. Make sure you know what happened to your nominated castle during the civil wars of the 1640s.

Source 20 From an account of the siege of Wardour Castle, written by Edmund Ludlow, who commanded the parliamentary garrison defending the castle against the Royalist siege. The siege began in December 1643, and ended on 18 March 1644. These are extracts from a much longer account, and a gap of days (or weeks) is marked '…'.

The besiegers were commanded by Captain Bowyer, who offered us terms to leave the castle, which we declined. He threatened that great numbers of horse and foot, and several cannon, were on their way. He boasted of the right of his cause and spoke of our danger and inevitable ruin. Captain Bean, our cannoneer, told him were sure of the right of our cause too, and would stay. He fired at Bowyer, and caught him in the heel. He fell to the ground. No one dared fetch him all day. By nightfall his wound had gangrene and he died. …

We now had no beer, only water in the well. Our corn was low and so we rationed it. There were now a hundred men. When our meat ran out we killed and ate one of the horses. The enemy then had a lucky shot, which broke the chain of our portcullis, so we could no longer use the gate. We barricaded it up on the inside; now we had no way out but through a window, for we had walled up our other doors earlier. …

The enemy now decided to dig a hole in the castle wall to blow the wall up, or to tunnel under it, supporting the tunnel with timber, then light a fire in the tunnel to bring the wall down. They brought up thick oak planks to the walls one dark night, on either side of the castle. Our men found them on one side and beat them off, forcing them to leave the planks behind. They had more luck on the other side, and got the planks set up to form a shelter. In the morning we heard them digging. We could not trace where the noise of digging was coming from. Then we found them and tried to shift them by pouring down hot water and melted lead, to little effect. We then threw hand grenadoes, and they were forced to go, leaving their tools and provisions. …

About the middle of January, 1644 Now the King sent Sir Francis Doddington with more men to the castle, and among them an engineer to undermine the castle. As soon as we heard them beginning to dig, we began to try to undermine them, but the floor was too hard to break through. …

On the Thursday morning I lay down to sleep in my room. At some time between ten and eleven of the clock, the mine exploded. I was flung up as it exploded, amid clouds of dust.

As soon as the dust cleared I found my window towards the enemy blown open, with so big a hole as you could have driven a cart through it. They now made haste to storm the castle – the rubble from my window had made them a path to it. I could not get my pistols to fire. I had to trust to my sword to keep back the enemy. I was, at first, alone in holding them off. There was no way into my room but through the courtyard window. I called through this window to the men that were there requiring them to help at once. [Men] came to my assistance who I ordered to fill up the breach and the doors with the bed, chairs, tables and all else to hand. My room being made safe, I went to see what other breaches had been made. I found one breach, in the room under me, which was well defended, but there was one in the gun room that was not defended at all. I put a guard there, and ran to the upper rooms, which had many doors and windows blown open, at everyone of which I placed a guard in some way proportional to the danger. …

We lost three of our men in the blast from the mine, but the rest were safe. But our corn supplies were blown up, as was much of our ammunition. We had some meat left, about enough for four days, so I thought it was best to hold out for as long as we could, hoping to get the best possible terms of surrender from the enemy. No one had been shot during the storm, though some had been slightly wounded, and I had an enemy bullet pierce my hat close to my head, killed by shot. …

The castle was now in such a poor state, as were we, that I said I would surrender on conditions. Firstly, no one was to be put to the sword. Secondly, none of my party was to be ill treated. Lastly, we would soon be exchanged for prisoners on their side. Sir Francis Doddington said they would agree to my terms, so I returned to the castle and ordered my soldiers to lay down their arms.

Source 21 A plan of the ground floor of Wardour Castle today.

North tower
East tower
Service stair
Porter's lodge
Store
Store
Underground passage
Cellar
Well
Garerobe
Chamber

1 Study Source 19.
  a Was Wardour Castle built on high ground or lower ground?
  b Why might the original builder have made this decision?
2 Source 20 gives you seven incidents from the siege of Wardour, Make a table with three columns:
  a What the attackers did.
  b What the defenders did.
  c Were these tactics traditional or modern in 1643–44?
  Fill in the table for each incident.
3 How useful is Ludlow's account as a source for this siege?
4 Which of the other sources in this page is the most useful in addition to Ludlow's account?
5 Why were old-fashioned castles so significant in the Civil War?
6 Is the evidence of the sieges of Rochester and Wardour enough to prove wrong the revisionists' argument that castles were not mainly military?

Source 22 The remains of Wardour Castle from the south-west.