

PERSEVERANCE:
ANNE BOLEYN IN PUBLIC MEMORY

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Abstract: This thesis works to understand how Anne Boleyn's reputation has been publicly remembered and presented over five hundred years of time, drawing on popular culture and public history methodology. Anne Boleyn creates an interesting topic as there is much debate surrounding even the most basic aspects of her life. This research demonstrates how her characteristics and reputation often clashed throughout her life, until her infamous beheading at the hands of Henry VIII in 1536. Due to the work of authors during the latter half of the sixteenth century, her narrative was rewritten and subsequently was rehabilitated. Three hundred years later, preservationists of the nineteenth century worked to reaffirm her role as a Queen in British memory. The focus then shifts to how media highlighted certain aspects of her life and the unexpected consequences that resulted. Anne Boleyn was once again reexamined by scholars and given a more sympathetic narrative than what was put forth by the media.

By coming to terms and examining Anne Boleyn's life and how it has been represented this thesis explores questions related to how her legacies can best be represented in public history settings. The use of artifacts and British historic sites are examples of how to deliver a difficult narrative for public display. Anne Boleyn's life and reputation are allowed to coexist in the same narratives when discussed in museums. The Historic sites of Hever Castle, Hampton Court, and the Tower of London are examples of how this has been successfully done.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Anne Boleyn has been unfairly treated and misrepresented throughout history. She was tragically struck down on the Tower Green in 1536 only to have her title restored on the very same spot three hundred years later in 1876. The work of Queens Elizabeth I and Victoria, alongside of preservationists have remade Anne into a Queen to be remembered. Anne's reputation certainly draws people to her, but it is her character that is worth note. The young Anne Boleyn was raised in a finishing school and later made a French lady in waiting, her rise is not mentioned thoroughly in most studies of her. Three hundred years later Queen Victoria rose, and the office of works led the way for Anne's redemption. From the Victorian age Anne and King Henry VIII get written as tragical romance of that would be later represented in twentieth century media, leaving Anne with the role of scheming seductress. In contrast, Preservationists' work of the twenty first century cemented Anne as Queen, and she is now remembered for her role in the reformation and for her charitable works.

Henry VIII had six different wives throughout his life. The most notable change in history during his reign was the Protestant Reformation which began in 1534 with the Act of Supremacy. This act allowed for Henry to govern the Church of England and be independent from the Vatican. When England was under the rule of Catholics they were under the Pope's authority. Henry married Anne in 1533, without getting an annulment from the Pope declaring his previous marriage to Catherine of Aragon null and void. He remarried and continued his reign under Protestantism as Supreme head of the Church of England. The Protestant

Reformation in England is directly tied to Anne as she was the first wife Henry had during this change of reign. Catherine of Aragon was originally from Spain and was therefore a catholic Queen. Anne became Queen during a tumultuous time in England, English people forced to switch to Protestantism or risk execution laid the blame on Anne.

Four men dominated Tudor court politics when they acted Henry VIII's advisors. These men were: Thomas Wolsey, Thomas More, Thomas Cromwell, and Thomas Boleyn. The reformation also led to the downfall of two of these men. Wolsey and Moore were catholic; Cromwell and Boleyn switched to Protestantism with the King. Thomas Cromwell orchestrated Anne's execution in 1536 and is the main reason we know her as a disgraced monarch. She was originally buried in an unmarked grave with her body in a simple crate at St. Peters Chapel in the Tower of London. This is the burial of noble person who committed treason against a Tudor monarch.

Anne Boleyn's only child, Elizabeth, became Queen of England in 1559 to 1603. With this rise in power Queen Elizabeth commissioned William Latymer and John Foxe to write two separate works reaffirming Anne as a Reformation Queen. Throughout her life Elizabeth also wore various pieces of jewelry that once belonged to Anne and encouraged the use of her mother's heraldic badges through court. The court moved with Elizabeth as she maintained various royal residences. This is the first time we can see material culture being used to remember Anne. Most of the artifacts directly used by Anne were lost to time.

By the nineteenth century a new Queen had risen, Queen Victoria, and with her came the rise of the British museum. Two historic palaces, Hampton Court former residence of Henry VIII, and the Tower of London, former prison, would be opened for tourism. This meant that major restorative works were necessary. For Anne this meant she was dug up while restoration

was done on the Tower of London chapel St Peter ad Vincula, and later reburied with a historic marker naming her as “Queen Anne Boleyn.” While in the British museum portraits of her were being displayed along with Henry’s other wives. The growth of the British empire started with Queen Elizabeth and flourished throughout Queen Victoria’s reign.

After Queen Victoria came from 1837 to 1901, her 2nd great granddaughter Queen Elizabeth II whose reign lasted from 1952 to 2022. Elizabeth II’s reign saw women entering the workforce in more numbers than previous decades. Women soon began writing more prolifically and Anne’s story was researched by women for the first time at the University level. While her story was being left to portraits in museums during the 20th century, now curators were promoting her childhood home, Hever Castle, as a historic site and trying to understand who she was and not just what happened to her. Separately, the Historic Royal Palaces maintain the Tower of London and Hampton Court as Historic sites. Unfortunately, we do not have many artifacts surviving of Anne it is a chance of fate that her prayer book still survives at Hever Castle, so we can see an object she would have held most dear to her. Today at the Tower of London Anne is at rest and memorialized as a Queen noted for her charitable and religious works with roses given to her by those she has captivated.

Anne’s reputation is a fragmented work of all those who spoke up to tell their version of her story. Henry VIII called her a traitor and a “whore”, their daughter called her a martyr to the Protestant faith. Writers of the nineteenth century called her a tragical romantic victim; preservationists called her a Protestant Queen. Twentieth Century Media called her a seductress witch; while scholars tried to understand her as a complex woman capable of all these things. Anne as she is known today could not exist without all these representations.

Anne Boleyn is continually introduced as a flirtatious love object in media portrayals of her. This narrative plays into the idea of Anne as a “whore.” This personality trope was then used to condemn Anne as an adulterous woman come her trial and would later appear in popular culture and further spread this idea about her. Anne was first admired for her flirtatious behavior upon arrival in English court in 1522. Some considered her to have an electrifying sexuality. This narrative would be later used to continually sexualize her in later historical secondary narratives. To the point of her “flirtatiousness” leading to a pervasive sexualization in later scholarship. In the words of historian Eric Ives “she radiated sex.”¹ If these words are to be taken literally as that of male opinions, it would make sense that Anne also attracted the attention of Henry Percy and Sir Thomas Wyatt as: “Part of Anne’s fascination was her accomplishments. She danced excellently in several different modes, played several musical instruments and was an accomplished and witty conversationalist, both in English and French. She was both feisty and independent – and while both these characteristics attracted the king, they put off other suitors.”² The two previously mentioned suitors must have liked her wit because they were unfortunately run off by King Henry. These tropes continue in modern times recently, In *Six: The Musical*, the narrative of Anne being a flirt is continued into the 21st century, with lyrics such as “I’m that Boleyn girl and I’m up next, see I broke England from the Church, yea I’m that sexy. Why did I lose my head, well my sleeves maybe be green but my lipsticks red”³ This satirical statement pushes the narrative of her having a ruined reputation.

Fictional portrayals of Anne have formed their own narratives of her. The narrative has shifted from an adulterous witch to a victim of Henry VIII’s great matter. Writers choose which

¹ David Loades, *The Tudor Queens of England* (London: British Library Press, 2009), 115.

² *Ibid.*, 115.

³ Toby Marlow, Lucy Moss, ed., *Six! the Musical - Ex Wives*, 6 music. 2019, compact disc.

pieces of her to use or discard, which leaves the public with fragmented versions of her. She is most known for her role in the Protestant Reformation in England. King Henry VIII had a matter so prominent that it called for the divorce of his first wife, and eventually a break from Rome. Given the recent history of the War of the Roses, Henry was in desperate need of a male heir to solidify his claim to the throne. This fear coming from the English Civil War his father King Henry VII, fought, and ultimately won. This allowed the Tudors to usurp the throne from the Yorks, and cause tense relations with the surviving York descendants. The insecurity is what lead to the shift in religion, and wives. Henry believed that Anne, a younger woman than Catherine, could provide him with the male heir he needed. The break from Rome occurred between the years 1532 and 1534. This was finalized in 1534 when Henry declared himself supreme head of the Church of England in 1534 with the Act of Supremacy. Anne married Henry at a secret ceremony in January 1533. She gave birth to the future Queen Elizabeth on September 7th, 1533.

During her lifetime Anne was very much unpopular among the English people, and those at court with pro Catherine sympathies. Her known rivals of court would be three men who at some point had the Kings ear. These men were Thomas Wolsey, Thomas More, and Thomas Cromwell. All of them eventually fell from favor like Anne due to King Henry's changing attitudes. The primary catalyst would be the Reformation in England which caused Anne to receive public backlash from the working-class women of England.

“Only some of the English were with her in this dispute, for even Nicholas Hapsfield, one of her defenders would later write that when people became aware of the king's intentions they gave the divorce a mixed response: “Then there was nothing so common and frequent and so tossed in every man's mouth in all talks and at all tables, in all taverns, alehouses, and barbers

shops, yea, and in pulpits too, as was this matter, some well liking and allowing the divorce, some others highly detesting the same.”⁴

While Anne was Queen, she was known to have pushed protestant theology and donate to various charities, it can be argued that this was used as an attempt to save her reputation as Queen; however, at least one of Anne’s fellow evangelical Bourbon praised the Queen on her works as a Reformist noting, “You, Oh queen, gave me the boys to educate, I try to keep each one faithful to his duty. May Christ grant that I may be equal to the task, Shaping vessels worthy of a heavenly house.”⁵

Primary source material of Anne Boleyn is gathered from the opinions of several men. Eustace Chapuys was the imperial ambassador to England for Spain., and by extension also within contact of Charles V. Charles was Catherine of Aragon’s nephew, due to this both men would be very pro Catherine and Spain in the divorce proceedings. Once the proceedings were over, resulting in a failure to King Henry, Catherine would still be discarded. In her place would come Anne with her protestant theology. We can view Chapuys view has having an inherit bias. When given the opportunity Chapuys spread his own personal beliefs to the detriment of Queen Anne. Nicholas Sanders was a critic of Anne and wrote about her during the reign of Queen Elizabeth. He had most likely never seen Anne and while he was in Ireland he wrote,

“Anne Boleyn was rather tall of stature, with black hair and an oval face of sallow complexion, as if troubled with jaundice. She had a projecting tooth under the upper lip, and on her right hand, six fingers. There was a large wen under her chin, and therefore to hide its ugliness, she wore a high dress covering her throat. In this she was followed by the ladies in the court, who also wore high dresses, having before been in the habit of leaving their necks and the upper portion of their persons uncovered. She was handsome to look at with a pretty mouth.”⁶

⁴ Retha M Warnicke, *The Rise and Fall of Anne Boleyn* (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1989), 84.

⁵ Joanna Denny, *Anne Boleyn: A New Life of England's Tragic Queen* (Great Britain: Da Capo Press, 2006), 216.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 16

He was forced to move to Ireland under Queen Elizabeth's reign. Therefore, he had presumptions about the current Queen and her mother. From the safety of Ireland Sander's wrote about Anne, a woman he had never even met. A wen or a mole was often perceived to be a witch's mark during the sixteenth century. No doubt mimicking words of Eustace Chapuy's who wrote that Anne was a witch.

“According to Chapuys, writing on January 29th, 1536 Henry now claimed that he had married Anne ‘seduced and constrained by spells’, as was evident as God to not give him any sons.” This was spoken out of grief from Henry as with his two wives he went through 8 miscarriages. This echoes what Chapuys already said years prior “In December 1533 Chapuys had described how this accursed women ‘had bewitched and cast spells over him’ so that Henry could neither say nor do except as she wanted and ordered him.”⁷

These few words would leave a brand on Anne, following her into her grave and forever in historical memory. Considering the time, it was a grievous crime to be called a witch. Women during the sixteenth century were accused of being witches and most were executed by being brunt at the stake. The accused were often women on the fringes of society, widows, and midwives. The *Malleus Maleficarum* published in 1487 would dictate three treatise that define a witch: the evil intentions of the witch, the help of the Devil, and the permission of God.⁸ A deformed fetus was often a sign to the people of the sixteenth century that either the Devil or infidelity was involved. These crimes were often brought to the local ecclesiastical perishers and judged, while local courts would punish.

⁷ G W Bernard, *Anne Boleyn Fatal Attractions* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010). 126.

⁸ Christopher Mackay, *The Hammer of Witches: A Complete Translation of the Malleus Maleficarum* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

For her male contemporaries it must have been an easy label to pin on her, because how else would Henry think of his own free will and chose what wife he wants. What other title could you give the first Queen in English history to be beheaded? To fully understand this narrative of Anne, Henry's words must be considered. Once Anne suffered her third and final miscarriage in January of 1536, Henry stated that she must have "bewitched" him. It is important for the line of succession to note that two of these stillborn were sons. Historians today see that as meaning; Anne convinced Henry that she could give him a son. She ultimately failed at this and miscarried several children with only one surviving daughter. Her contemporary Chapuys took the Kings words quite literally in a time when miscarriages often signified that a parent had committed adultery.

Written histories regarding the Tudor era began with a focus on Henry VII. Anne Boleyn being mentioned in her relation to Henry VIII, and how her life affected the Reformation. Scarisbrick's work on Henry VIII spans from 1968 to 1988. He decided to focus solely on the King as at the time there was a lack of literature. Anne is mentioned but only has a catalyst to the Reformation and as more importantly Henry's second wife. Her early life and upbringings as a lady of French court are used to introduce her. She is pushed to the front due to her "dislike of Wolsey", Scarisbark argues that she had an influence of Henry and lead to Wolsey's downfall.⁹ "In the normal course of events, Anne would have mattered only to Henry's conscience, not to the history of England. She would have been used and discarded – along with those others whom Henry may have taken and are now forgotten."¹⁰ Here Scarisbark argues that due to Anne's timing of her coming into Henry's life while he was seeking a divorce, was the only reason she is

⁹ J J Scarisbrick, *Henry VIII* (New Haven: Yale University Press 1997). 162.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 149.

remembered. If not for the English Reformation, she would be lost in historical memory. Finally, Anne's downfall and its effects are mentioned in this work.

CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW

Anne Boleyn is remembered in historical memory for her role in the Protestant Reformation, Charitable works as Queen, and her downfall. This is due to the written narratives during Anne's time, the preservation of her images, and the memorialization of her at the Tower of London. This landmark of London holds the history of her rise to power, fall on the green, and her preservation as a Queen in its Chapel. Stated by the Tower of London "Everyone wants to know how she really felt and how and why she became queen: was she a ruthless schemer or was her death simply a tragic consequence of court politics? We will never, really, know."¹¹ This is in reference to her problematic narrative.

The life and memory of Queen Anne Boleyn is a debated topic. The simple case of whether she was born in 1501 or 1509 is part of her beginning. Whether she had a just and fair trial in 1536 is her "downfall". When Anne perished on the Tower Green she was known as an adulterous traitor to the crown. Only for Queen Elizabeth, her daughter, to later vindicate Anne and proclaim her a martyr. These two narratives of Anne persist even to this day due to the narratives her politic rivals spread about her. Later historians worked to discredit these "myths" about Anne, while combatting fictional narratives that clung to any bit of rumor they could get from the Tudor Queen. Was she a tragic victim of English court, or a vindictive Queen who created her own downfall?

¹¹ "Anne Boleyn." *Historic Royal Palaces*, <https://www.hrp.org.uk/tower-of-london/history-and-stories/anne-boleyn/#gs.ibzk6q>.

These are the two narratives of Anne Boleyn that have persisted over the centuries. They both represent how Anne had little control over her own narrative and leave to interpret how her story based on with who had control of her narrative. The first assumption is the males in her life, those who held enough power to control the ink swipes. How do historians now understand how Anne's experiences shaped her narrative? What control did Anne have over her own reputation? Life experiences change how people are perceived for Anne this was the Her upbringing in France, Protestant Reformation of England, her miscarriages, and untimely execution. The Catholics who believed Catherine's marriage to be legitimate ultimately called for the removal of Anne from court. The English common people were known to be hateful towards Anne as they saw her as the catalyst of the reformation. When religion was so deeply ingrained into people's lives it is understandable why the English people reacted the way that they did. For them the Protestant reformation had completely altered their lives. Weir states that "She and her faction were perceived to be responsible for the harsh and rigorously enforced laws that passed in recent years, for promoting heresy and radical religious change, for the deterioration of England's relations with other European powers, and for the slump in her hitherto lucrative trade with the Empire." This explanation provides key insight into how the common reacted to Anne this would change in later centuries when her image is rehabilitated.

Secondary History

Most narratives of Anne begin her story in 1526 when she captured Henry VIII's attention. By starting here, these narratives are focusing on Anne as a love object of Henry's. Then continue with how she is a catalyst of the protestant reformation, but perhaps it is too easy to pin it on her. Instead of accusing the royal chancellors or maybe Anne did have some control over it. The focus that is centered on the tense years of 1529-1533 earned Anne the nickname the

“Great Whore”. Nevertheless, she became Queen in 1533, and held that position until May 1536. During which time she earned the reputation of being a charitable Queen, and protestant sympathizer. All of which would be pushed to the side when rumors of her bewitching the King and committing adultery began to spread. These rumors along with her several miscarriages led Henry to want to rid himself of Anne. Given the line of succession problem and Henry’s “Great Matter”. Which was referencing his need for a male heir that chancellors called the King’s Great Matter. He soon called for Anne’s trial and ultimate execution. Members of Anne’s own court turned against her in favor of rising in court. During the whole process Anne maintained her innocence, and on the scaffold prayed that no man would seek to avenge her to save from the King’s wrath.

Another male historian by the name of Eric Ives presents the clearest biography of her life in *The Life and Death of Anne Boleyn*. He gives as complete as possible a timeline of the Queen’s life. In his words, “Anne Boleyn was so much more important than the circumstances of her execution— a macabre story which yeoman warders of the Tower of London retail with glee to spectators at the scaffold site on Tower Green.”¹² Historians would not be writing about her if they did not believe she was worth the time. Ives goes on to discuss her role in the reformation, as Queen, and what her influence meant for those around her. Proclaiming her the “destroyer of Thomas Wolsey,” which is pretty in line with most narratives regarding her.¹³ You could probably call it biased, but Wolsey did commit usury. Even so this portrait of Anne focuses on not just her as a love object, but also her influence which is examined more in later chapters. Ives

¹² Eric Ives, *The Life and Death of Anne Boleyn* (Malden: Blackwell Publishing, 2004), XI.

¹³ *Ibid.*, XV.

is mentioned and quoted by several other biographers, He covers most every preconceived notion of Anne that has been left by her contemporaries.

Male historians leave us with an interesting insight into the male gaze. By regarding Anne in this light and examining her courtly love, she is put into the light that is dangerously close to that of a “whore”. Can her casual flirting be deemed innocent? Remarks about her great beauty and almost black eyes have lasted the centuries. During her own time that is what she would be regarded first for, not her accomplishments in court. The examination of male historians can bring to light the “frustration” that they and Henry felt in dealing with her.¹⁴ Can this then in historical narratives diminish Anne’s achievements in politics?

Similarly, to Ives, Joanna Denny takes the approach of Anne having considerable influence over Henry. Her biography *Anne Boleyn: A New Life of England’s Tragic Queen*, focuses on her power and subsequent downfall. Regarding the witchcraft allegations, Chapuys begins here as not a favorite of the Boleyn faction. Using his words about Anne in the context of her as a tragedy takes away some of the power the words once held. While important to understanding why her reputation was tainted so horribly allows for us to come to terms with why she fell so hard, regarding her accomplishments as Queen, and protestant sympathizer, allow for some of her reputation to be rehabilitated after her death. This was largely due to the work of her daughter, Elizabeth I Queen of England.¹⁵ Historians owe her and Denny much thanks for their work in preserving Anne’s memory, especially when Henry sought to erase it completely from historical memory. Which makes the current state of her preserved symbols even more awe inspiring. This work displays Anne as an intellectual and passionate reformist in

¹⁴ Ibid., XV.

¹⁵ Joanna Denny, *Anne Boleyn: A New Life of England's Tragic Queen* (Great Britain: Da Capo Press, 2006), 325.

her role as Queen. When regarded as such it does make her subsequent downfall a tragedy, however, thankfully that is not all she will be remembered for when some of her political reaches still last to this day.

While inspired by Ives, Retha Warnicke published *The Rise and Fall of Anne Boleyn*, a response to the biography. Warnicke's work is "an analysis of the crucial phases of her life and more specifically of her role in the politics of her day, with particular emphasis on the rules and conventions of the society in which she played her part."¹⁶ By focusing on the conventions of the time that not only limited her power but produced the narratives of her, we can gather a clearer image of what Anne truly had power over in her life as Queen. This changed the narrative from Anne as the "great whore" who ended a twenty-four yearlong marriage. In its place we get a much more reasonable Anne who knew how to use politics to her advantage. The articles detailed by Warnicke showcase how Anne navigated her way through Tudor court, and what that entailed for her rivals and her.

To include a broader understanding of Anne it is imperative to also include biographies regarding Henry VIII. Hoping to glean another portrayal of Anne that may be more critical to Henry's matter. Catherine Fletcher provides this in *The Divorce of Henry VIII*, a close examination from inside the Vatican.¹⁷ It is reasonable to believe that Pope Clement VII and Cardinal Campeggio will be less than sympathetic to Henry's Great Matter as they would be for his catholic marriage to the Spanish Princess Catherine of Aragon, and not wish to dissolve the marriage. At the heart of this work is a not well-known man, George Casali. He worked from the beginning all the way to the bitter end in Rome on Henry's and Catherine's divorce hearings.

¹⁶ Retha M Warnicke, *The Rise and Fall of Anne Boleyn* (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1989), 120.

¹⁷ Catherine Fletcher, *The Divorce of Henry VIII: the Untold Story from Inside the Vatican*. (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012)

From this work historians can glean how Anne's reputation was affected by those in Rome and by the divorce. She is most known for being the cause of the divorce, and for bewitching Henry. A good portion of the negative things said about her come from the Vatican and Aragon factions. Now knowing these biased views, we can hope to uncover how they persisted over time. Then how historians have pieced together her narrative in its entirety, not just the good things about her. It would not be fair to Anne if we did not include the full narrative. By understanding the view of the Catholic church, it can be known why they had such harsh views of Anne. Why they believed she was just a fascination of the King Henry's, and that the problem could just go away. Why once in England Campeggio did not even take the divorce proceedings seriously and left England with the problem unresolved, and an angry king. Surely the blame for this cannot rest solely on Anne's shoulders. This narrative unfortunately persists in some forms to this day.

Another common cause of concern is how her trial and execution came so quickly. How could she fall from Henry's favor? The answer falls on the fact that Anne had miscarried two stillborn children during her short time as his wife. Alison Weir addresses this in *The Lady in the tower: The Fall of Anne Boleyn*. Weir successfully shifts through all of the myths that persist of Anne that are difficult bring together. By focusing on the span of four months this work can provide deeper analysis into what led to Anne's execution.¹⁸ This gives the view of the courtiers who worked to bring about the trial. The misconceptions surrounding Anne and her promiscuity are challenged. Weir notes on her unpopularity, how English common folk did not approve of the Queen. An interesting shift of focus when dealing with Anne and how the common people now adore her story. This thesis does focus on the reburial of Anne and her memorial as Queen. Weir is one of the only biographers who address this issue as well. She closely examines

¹⁸ Alison Weir, *The Lady in the Tower* (New York: Ballantine Books, 2010)

historical sources that describe Anne's body. Then compares it to that of the *Notices of Historical Persons Buried at the Chapel of St. Peter* published in 1876. Weir argues that Anne is not in fact under her maker but another person's. Anne's final resting place is befitting a Queen, even more so for Anne as it is covered in controversy.

Weir's work began with *The Six Wives of Henry VIII* published in 1991.¹⁹ It begins with the fascination of the Wives, and who were they? This provides a comparative example of how Anne acted as Queen. The most obvious answer is to compare her to the other Queen who was beheaded, Katherine Howard. When the two cousins could not be any more different from each other, nor could their subsequent trials and final words on the scaffold. Another narrative is pitting the Catholic Queen against Anne, which is complicated as there were so many players at the time fighting in the factions. Then we could compare her to Jane Seymour, but that is unfair as Jane produced a male heir, then died immediately after and therefore never had the displeasure of losing Henry's affections like Queen Anne. This comparative and biographical analysis will allow historians to see how specifically Tudor Queens were regarded in court. What made them a good Queen, or what granted them favor among courtiers. How did court opinion about Anne shift over the Tudor time.

Entering this broader concept of how Anne compares to the other Tudor Queens. The focus now shifts to David Loades work *The Tudor Queens of England*. He made the choice to categorize Anne as a domestic Queen with Jane Seymour and Catherine Parr. Specifically leaving her out of the narrative of Queen as a "whore", where he put Catherine Howard. "Anne Boleyn was by far the most significant politically because the campaign needed to secure her

¹⁹ Alison Weir, *The Six Wives of Henry VIII* (New York: Grove Weidenfeld, 1991).

forces the King into radical ecclesiastical courses and her fall shook the establishment to its foundations”²⁰ This kind of goes against his principal argument that power was exclusively masculine. Loades unpacks this thesis and grapples with what power Anne did hold in Tudor Court. It truly was not much but she did make political advancements for the causes close to her heart. By claiming her as a Domestic Queen, it looks solely at what her influence had on England’s domestic powers, which we now understand as revolving in the world of reformist religion policies that survived into the Elizabethan Settlement.

To wrap up the historical biographical section with Bernard and his work titled *Anne Boleyn Fatal Attractions*.²¹ This work mostly compares Anne to that of a femme fatale. It focuses on her beginnings as Queen and then later her many lovers. He sets out to understand why people thought about her the way they did. Why did her role as Henry’s second wife have such a memorable impact on history? Here we need to take care when dealing with the contemporaries of Anne Boleyn. Certain events such as the Reformation and her miscarriages would surely change their perception of her, and her usefulness.

From the secondary sources that begin with the divorce proceedings and end at the Tower of London there are quite a few narratives a play. First, there is Anne as a lover to many men, and how her promiscuity led her to the scaffold. Second, there is her involvement as a reformist that catapulted England into religious upheaval. Finally, the good aspects of her as a fashionable and charitable Queen survive too. Since Anne was vindicated by her daughter Elizabeth, the Boleyn story continues to modern day in film and fictional literature.

²⁰ David Loades, *The Tudor Queens of England* (London: British Library Press, 2009), 113.

²¹ G. W. Bernard, *Anne Boleyn Fatal Attractions* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010).

As we have accumulated five hundred years of perceptions and changing narratives of Anne Boleyn. Three stand out among the rest; Anne was a mistress; Anne was a charitable queen, Anne held protestant beliefs. They make take different forms from book to Television to museum, but the central themes remain. Anne has fascinated countless historians have tried to shift through her narratives and come to their own conclusions about her. It can be argued that there is no way to fully untangle all the narratives, as they all make up a different part of Anne. We cannot fully have her without all of them, even the negative views. The most drastic and significant is not her death at the Tower of London. It is the reclaiming of her title as Queen. Without this Anne would only be remembered as Henry intended her to be. Her story would be as the second wife, and she would be lost in the Chapel of St Peter.

Victorian History

Her story continues here with the preservation of her images and her memorization. The good and bad work together to bring her into the twenty first century. Despite the efforts of Cromwell and Chapuys, men who are mostly remembered for the links they have to the Queen. To explore how these narratives of Anne began in Tudor court with the reformation, and her later demise. Discover why the preservationist reburied her as a Queen and chose to memorialize her. Why did the revival of her story turn to view her in a sympathetic way? How did this translate into film in the twentieth century when her narratives were brought to an even wider audience? The Common people hated Anne when she was Queen, but now they are enthralled with her story. Anne Boleyn can transcend time through all of this and live on not just in historical memory, but public memory.

The nineteenth century saw an influx in interest for the British Museum and the retelling of Anne's story in public spaces. Authors during this time focused on Tudor history and its

relationship with religion and the British empire.²² This is further discussed in *The Tudors and the Reformation 1485-1603* by Greighton Mandell.²³ Queen Victoria ruled over this era and her largely expanded empire. Accumulated wealth from across the globe would travel back to England to be put on display at the museums. While historic sites like the Tower of London and Hampton court palace would open its doors to tourism. For Anne this was her burial site and home while she was Queen. Curators and preservations linked Anne to the British monarchy as a whole and suddenly the British were talking about Anne again. Her body was dug up from its shamble of a grave while restorative works were undergoing at St Peters Chapel Basilica. Where she was later reinterred. During the nineteenth century more authors and curators wrote about Anne than any century prior. Most works were going off the original Book of Martyrs by Guy Foxe this out Anne as a Protestant Queen.

Most works focused on the Monarchs and Men of Tudor England. Charles. E, Moberly, wrote *The Early Tudors, Henry VII, Henry VIII*, a clearly male focused work with Anne being briefly mentioned for her being Queen and her later downfall.²⁴ This erasure must be due to some personal bias on the authors part, as the source material is plentiful. Sharon Turner writes *The History of the reign of Edward VI, Mary, and Elizabeth*, covering the rise, fall, and success of the Reformation and Tudor Siblings.²⁵ The focus shifts to Thomas Boleyn, Anne's father, in republished *The Tryumphe of Caley and Bulleyn*, Edmund Goldsmind, republished from its

²² Sharon Turner *The History of the reign of Henry VIII* (London: Forgotten books, 2018). Compromising the political history of the commencement of the English reformation. This discusses a rise in the Anglican Church and the start of the Head of the Church of England. The same church that Victorians would attend in their daily lives, as Victoria was governess of the Church of England.

²³ Mandell Greighton *The Tudors and the Reformation 1485 -1603*, (London: Longsman and Green Company, 1885).

²⁴ Charles E Moberly, *The Early Tudors, Henry VII, Henry VIII* (London: Longman and Green Company, 1887)

²⁵ Sharon Turner, *The History of the reign of Edward VI, Mary, and Elizabeth* (London: Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown and Greene, 1829).

original 1533 copy.²⁶ Republished for the purpose of the royal press and collection, originally was written to put the Boleyns in good public opinion.

More religious tones were taken during this era of English history with the Religious Track society who published *England in the 16th century of the reign of House Tudor*, this work would inertly be bias towards the standing religion of England and the society.²⁷ With Catholicism being not as recognized. Another work of the same tone by Fredrick George Lee is the *Historical Sketches of the Reformation*, completely looking at the Protestant Reformation of Henry VIII and his son Edward VI. By starting with the fall of Wolsey in James Anthony Froude, 's *History of England from the fall of Wolsey to the defeat of the Spanish Armade*.²⁸ the work is entirely focused on the rise and success of the Protestant Reformation. For Anne this means that the scholarly Englishmen is willing to hear her story.

Public History

Public history works at the time ranged from tourist guidebooks to printed material on historical figures. Focus shifts to the Tower of London as a museum and memorial site to its victims. These printed materials would have a carefully curated narrative about the Tower of London and Britain's past. Most often they featured a history that described Britain's past as being grand. The history of the Tower as an execution site would be memorialized and remembered with more dignity given to the victims.

More modern material would be written about Public History in Britain the industry started growing into the 20th and 21st centuries. Annes childhood home turned historic site largely

²⁶ Edmund Goldsmid, *The Tryumphe of Caley and Bulleyn* (Whitefish: Kessinger Publishing, LLC, 2010)

²⁷ Religious Track Society, *England in the 16th century of the reign of House Tudor* (Wyoming: Creative Media Partners, 2018).

²⁸ James Anthony Froude, *History of England from the fall of Wolsey to the defeat of the Spanish Armade* (Charleston: Nabu Press, 2010).

focuses on the Boleyn family's history there. The book by Own Emmerson and Claire Ridgway is an in-depth view of the architecture and current museum design of the house and how this relates to Annes story.²⁹

The Tower of London is more so looked at as a historic memorial site. Works include an overview of the Restorations done by architect Salvin during the nineteenth century, and how modern views of Public History effect his work.³⁰ Other works showcase the Tower from its inception throughout British history and how the Tower has adapted to represent this history. This is seen in "The Tower of London a Thousand Years".³¹ The Tower is now run by Historic Royal Palaces along with Hampton court. The narrative about the Tudors is duplicated in both palaces. Books being printed on authority of the Historic Royal Palaces include Hampton court palace, and Henry VIII.³²

The overview of the British museums and Records Office's mission falls back on sharing and preserving the history of the monarchy. Views of conquest are displayed, and this topic is dealt with it Displays of Power. The collecting of artifacts from around the world to displays in the British museums made it the Worlds Museums. Others would call it the Brutish Museum in work. Men from the Ministry dela with the rise of the Public Records Office and early years of historic sites being projected across Britain.

Material culture is one of the many ways we can view someone's life who is dead and come to some assumption about them. This is explored in "Tudors in 100 objects" which details

²⁹ Owne Emerson, *The Boleyns of Hever Castle* (Lucar: Madeglobal Publishing, 2021)

³⁰ Roisin Inglesby, *Let Us Sin with Salvin: Architecture and Authority at the Tower of London, 1896–1905*. *Architectural History* 60 (2017): 243–75.
<http://www.jstor.org/stable/26449618>. pg. 245

³¹ Derek Wilson, *The Tower of London a Thousand Years*, (London: Allison & Busby, 1998)

³² Brett Dolman, Sarah Kilby, *Henry VIII 500 Facts* (Surrey: Historical Royal Palaces, 2009). The book of Henry VIII features artifacts that detail moments of Henry's life, the most important being his armor.

the life of monarchs and showcases everyday objects used by Tudorians. The Tudor Tailor details how certain garments were made for monarchs and Tudorians. For Anne this showcases her famous French dress and hood.

Gender History

Feminism as a field has been written about as well as how it relates to history. The works covered here focus on media and the late twentieth century as movies about Anne were being made during this time. Most of these sources detail how feminism affects society on a cultural scale. Works like “Rock Against Gender Roles” argue that women breaking into rock was empowering as they were able to discuss issues like sexual harassment. This topic is also seen in *Six! The Musical* with Anne Boleyn detailing her harassment and violence done against her. While “the Fourth Wave in audiovisual Content.” argues that feminism being depicted on screen was an achievement for the movement.

By looking at what has been written about Anne it very clearly dictates how she is remembered. The eighteenth-century historians focused on the religious aspect of her life as well as how her story combines with Henry's. Modern twentieth century and twenty first century historians have tried to remain as unbiased as possible when writing her story. These narratives come together to show Anne as we know her today. By looking at how she relates to Public History, we see her in a brand-new light where her reputation is that of a Queen.

CHAPTER III

REPUTATION

A Girl from Kent

Anne Boleyn grew up in the picturesque Castle Hever in Kent, England. Descendent from Edward I through both of her parents, she was raised with all the ideals of an English lady. Her father Thomas Boleyn, Earl of Wiltshire, married happily to Elizabeth Howard. They had two other children who survived childhood, Mary and George. Thomas' aspirations pushed himself and subsequently his family into the French and later the English courts. From Anne's upbringing we can see how she was shaped into the intelligent, witty, graceful woman that enchanted the English court in 1522. Her French education turned her into more of a French woman than English and would eventually gain her the attention of King Henry VIII. This would be the establishment of her character, later established reputation would be a competing narrative in public history.

Anne was able to rise in station because her father did it first. As a woman, she was dependent on her father's good standing. Thomas Boleyn was born in 1477, the son of Sir William Boleyn, High Sheriff of Kent, and Lady Margaret Butler. Around 1498 Thomas married Lady Elizabeth Howard, a daughter of Thomas Howard the 2nd duke of Norfolk, and Elizabeth Tinley a woman who had served the prior queens of England Elizabeth Woodville and her daughter Elizabeth of York. The Howard family supported the Yorks during the War of the Roses. Once the Tudor monarchy was established Elizabeth's father, Thomas Howard, would face prison time for his role in the Wars. Elizabeth Howard was said to have married beneath

her, but her father's titles were not restored to him until 1514. Anne's unique position would not be offered to her if not for her father's success in the Tudor court's as well as her uncle Howard's The Duke of Norfolk.

Thomas Boleyn, rose to prominence in Tudor court during the reign of King Henry VII, 1485 to 1509. Boleyn's first step up the ladder was when he was a special attender to Prince Arthur's wedding in 1501, he later escorted Princess Margaret to her wedding in Scotland in 1503. By the time of Henry VIII's coronation in 1509 Boleyn was named a Knight of the Bath. In 1512 He became an ambassador to the Netherlands. According to historian Joanne Denny, Anne and her siblings would have been brought up at home at Hever Castle with their mother. Their father was often at court serving the Tudor Kings. As children of the gentry class, the Boleyns would have been brought up on literacy, the Scriptures, good manners, and skills such as riding to hawk or hunt. As women Anne and Mary would have also been taught household management from their mother. George was allowed a formal education at Oxford university as the only surviving male heir, he was expected to follow in his father's footsteps of a public career devoted to the King.³³

By 1518 Boleyn was named ambassador to France, a position he held for several years. During this time, he helped arrange the summit between Henry VIII and the French King François I called the Field of Cloth and Gold that took place on June 7, 1520, to June 20, 1520. This summit was planned to present peace negotiations with France after Henry has lost a battle in France. The success of the summit would later be published in the pamphlet "The Triumph of Boleyn at the Field of Cloth and Gold" once Anne was coronated Queen in June 1533.³⁴

³³ Joanna Denny, *Anne Boleyn: A New Life of England's Tragic Queen* (Great Britain: Da Capo Press, 2006), 28.

³⁴ Edmund Goldsmid, *The Maner of the Tryumphe of Caleys and Bulleyn : And the Noble Tryumphaut Coronacyon of Quene Anne, Wyfe unto the Most Noble Kynge Henry VIII* (Edinburgh: Archive.org, 1884)

Filles de honour

By May 1512 Thomas Boleyn served as Ambassador to the Lowlands at Mechlin in the court of Margaret of Austria. Her court is described by Eric Ives as “the Mecca of aristocratic and princely behavior” a wonderful place for the Boleyns to begin their rise.³⁵ In the Summer of 1513 Anne was sent to Margaret’s court. The daughter of Maximillian, the Holy Roman Emperor, she was a widow who chose not to remarry. She instead acted as an agent for her father and guardian of her nephew, the future emperor Charles V.³⁶ Thomas was supposed to stay with his daughter for a time but was ultimately sent back to England. Margaret soon wrote to him about Anne success:

“I have received your letter by the Esquire Bouton who has presented your daughter to me, who is very welcome, and I am confident of being able to deal with her in a way which will give you satisfaction, so that on your return the two of us will need no intermediary other than she, I find her so bright and pleasant for her young age that I am more beholden to you for sending her to me than you are to me.”³⁷ (Ives 164-5)

This demonstrates Anne’s willingness to learn her new position at court. While also speaking on her readiness to learn the French language and excel at being a lady of honor. The letter shows that Anne was well liked and this favor would send her to the French court.

Margaret expressed delight that the Boleyn Girl was intelligent and adapting well to the new court.³⁸ Anne was an unusual case as she was not of royalty and a year younger than the other girls of court, the “demoiselle d’honneur.”³⁹ It is clear from Margaret’s surviving letter that

³⁵ Eric Ives, *The Life and Death of Anne Boleyn* (Malden: Blackwell Publishing, 2004), 18.

³⁶ Joanna Denny, *Anne Boleyn: A New Life of England's Tragic Queen* (Great Britain: Da Capo Press, 2006), Pg 24

³⁷ Eric Ives, *The Life and Death of Anne Boleyn* (Malden: Blackwell Publishing, 2004), 164-5.

³⁸ Boleyn is agreed upon has the corrects spelling, French records often show Bullen.

³⁹ Demoiselle d’honneur – a maid of honor. A girl who waits on a royal.

she was impressed with Anne and looked forward to seeing her progress. During this time Anne was given a tutor, Symnnet, tasked with improving her French. Anne would also have learned skills such as: deportment, conversation, dance, and music. Proof of her improvement of French is seen in her surviving letter written to her father. From this letter it is also clear that the presumed twelve-year-old is aware of her place and what is required of her:

“Sir, I understand from your letter that you desire me to be a woman of good reputation [tous onette fame] when I come to court, and you tell me that the queen will take the trouble to converse with me, and it gives me great joy to think of talking with such a wise and virtuous person. This will make me all the keener to preserve in speaking French well and especially because you have told me to and have advised me for my own part to work at it as much as I. ⁴⁰

This would later serve Anne well as she aspired to be a lady in waiting to the English Queen Catharine of Aragon. This instead led to Anne being the lady in waiting to Mary Tudor given her knowledge of France and the language in 1514. She would later be detained in France to serve Queen Claude in 1515. Anne’s known love of fine art, music, poetry, and preference for illuminated manuscripts came from her brief upbringing in the Netherlands. Her ability to read and write would set her apart from English ladies and would brand her a Woman ready to take on the noble courts.

Mary Rose Tudor was an English Princess and sister to King Henry VIII. Anne would serve her as a lady in waiting in 1514 for a brief period. Thomas Boleyn wrote to his great friend, Margaret of Austria, asking her to release Anne and send her back to England with a chaperone sent by him. It seems that Anne had been chosen due to her fluency in French and, as Thomas Boleyn wrote to Margaret, it was a request that would benefit Anne. She would spend her time

⁴⁰ Eric Ives, *The Life and Death of Anne Boleyn* (Malden: Blackwell Publishing, 2004), 18 Plate survives at library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. Plate 14

with Princess Mary in a royal nursery due to her young age and would serve in a limited capacity.

Mary Boleyn attended Princess Mary as well, journeying with her to France. It is likely that Anne was sent later. The Wedding between the nineteen-year-old Princess Mary and the ill fifty-two-year-old King Louis XII took place on 9th October 1514 at Abbeville. Anne later caught up with the royal party in Paris when Mary was crowned Queen of France on the 9th of November. The marriage only lasted a brief period of three months, but that was enough time for Anne to make an impression on the court. Princess Mary was detained for three months to be sure she was not pregnant. While this occurred, she stayed with Anne and other ladies at the Hotel de Cluny of Paris. Once Princess Mary returned to England in 1515, Anne stayed behind in France to serve the new Queen Claude.

When Princess Mary was told by her elder brother, King Henry VIII, that she was to wed Louis XII she vehemently refused. It is speculated that she already had her heart set on Charles Brandon her brother's best man. The two Tudors soon agreed to let Princess Mary choose her second husband as Louis was speculated to not live that long. Once Louis died Brandon was sent to bring Mary home to wed another for her brother's sake of diplomacy. She instead married Charles Brandon before coming home to her brother in England on March 3rd, 1515. While Henry was at first furious as this was an act of treason, he soon granted the new couple his blessing if they paid a fine, and they were officially wed on May 13th, 1515, at Greenwich Palace. This left Anne Boleyn in France with the new Queen of France Claude. Where she would continue to gain experience as a French lady.

Queen Claude was the wife of Francois the I and the daughter of the prior King Louis XII. Women were not allowed to inherit the French throne, so the title of King shifted to her

husband Francois. The fifteen-year-old Claude was only a few years older than Anne and it is speculated by Eric Ives that this was a reason to keep Anne in court.⁴¹ Lady Anne would serve Queen Claude for the next seven years and it is a period historians know little about. What we do know is the influence in fashion, religion, culture, and court etiquettes that the French had on Anne.

Historian Alison Weir describes the court of Queen Claude as being comparative to that of a nunnery. Mary and Anne Boleyn would have been expected to “follow the Queen’s example and conduct themselves with modesty, and decorum by observing an almost conventual routine based upon prayers, good works and Chasity.”⁴² It was during this time it was rumored that Mary Boleyn was Francis I mistress for a time. He was a notorious adulterer among the western European Kings. The Kings enthusiasm for heirs caused Queen Claude to be almost constantly pregnant and she spent most time away from court at The Royal Chateau Amboise or Blois in the countryside of Loire Valley.⁴³

Two women of the French court would have had a lasting impact on the young and impressionable Anne. These women were Louise of Savoy and her daughter Marguerite of Angoulême. Louise was the mother of King Francis I and was a prominent woman in his court. Her attitudes and diplomacy helped shape Francis and his court into the Renaissance court it was slowly becoming. These women’s ideals would have been what Anne was accustomed to following and obeying along with the pious nature of Queen Claude. This would have influenced and shaped Anne’s character to be the opinionated and political minded lady she was. These

⁴¹ Eric Ives, *The Life and Death of Anne Boleyn* (Malden: Blackwell Publishing, 2004)

⁴² Alison Weir, *The Six Wives of Henry VIII* (New York: Grove Weidenfeld, 1991), 150.

⁴³ The two chateaus are both known for their time as royal estates during the Renaissance era in France under King Francois I. Both sites are now heritage centers.

attitudes would have made her stand out in Tudor Court and led to the formation of her reputation. As English women would wear different robes and behave more calmly.

Louise of Savoy acted as regent during the early years of her son's reign when he took the throne at the age of twenty-one in 1515. The most prominent time she acted as regent was when Francis was fighting in Italy in 1515, and later in 1524-6. It is argued by historian John Norwich that even while he was at home his mother's influence was considerable.⁴⁴ The young King would often be away from court during this time and needed a strong head to keep him and the court in line. Louise was known as the strongest woman in his court. Anne would have been at court to see this strong and politically active woman. It is not known from any written sources if Anne retained any strong ideals towards Louise. Her other child, Marguerite of Angoulême, was raised alongside Francis and would have been at court during this time as well. The Queen's or Queen mothers would set the precedent for the rest of the ladies at court regardless of if there was much interaction.

Marguerite was everything a woman should be at this time; beautiful, elegant, intelligent, and graceful.⁴⁵ Marguerite of Angoulême's mother provided her with an excellent renaissance education along with Francis. According to Millicent Garrett Fawcett, Marguerite was greater "in her knowledge of Greek, Latin and Hebrew, and in her easy grasp of modern languages" than her brother Francis.⁴⁶ Marguerite would retain a strong sense of loyalty to the Roman Catholic church even though her later writings could be condemned as heresy. She maintained strong Protestant evangelical ideals, but only wanted to Reform the Catholic Church not get rid of it

⁴⁴ John Julius Norwich, *Four Princes : Henry VIII, Francis I, Charles V, Suleiman the Magnificent and the Obsessions That Forged Modern Europe*. (New York: Grove Press, 2018) pg 9

⁴⁵ *ibid* pg 9

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 70.

completely. This could even be said for Anne who remained true to her religion until King Henry later told her to switch for him and she was given no choice.

Together these two women shared a common power between them in Francis's court. His wife Queen Claude, often away from court due to her pregnancies, would have Anne accompany her. It can then be said that Anne's interaction with these two women would have been limited at best; however, as Marguerite and Louise held power in the French court it can be argued that their ideals reached Anne as she would have had to live up to them as a lady.

This French influence made Anne Boleyn into a woman that led her to be a shining diamond in the Tudor court. Eric Ives writes of how "waiting on the queen of France could not have been markedly different from waiting on the regent of the Low Countries, and it is clear that Anne continued to soak in the sophisticated atmosphere around her."⁴⁷ By being educated in the Netherlands, Anne was increasingly becoming more than her father could have ever hoped. By the time she arrived in England she not only stood out among Queen Catherine's ladies but was even a good match for King Henry come 1530.

The Glass of Fashion

While Anne was not the typical English beauty, she was able to gain attention through her clothes. In Anne, the more powerful charms of genius, wit, and fascination triumphed over every defect which prevented her from being considered a perfect beauty and rendered her the leading star of the English court⁴⁸ Through her charm and intellect she was able to hold conversations with lords that most women would not have been able to without a formal education. Anne also introduced the French robes to English court which bore a train a bit longer

⁴⁷ Eric Ives, *The Life and Death of Anne Boleyn* (Malden: Blackwell Publishing, 2004) 29.

⁴⁸ Agnes Strickland, *The Lives of the Queen of England* (London: Forgotten Books, 2018) 578.

than those of Catherine of Aragon's. The former Queen having a remarkably more Spanish style that was adapted for English court. Catherine chose to wear the gable hood, which was made popular by Elizabeth of York, Henry VIII's mother, while she was Queen. The women who influenced the ladies of court held the power. For Anne her influence would spread when she became Queen of England.

Anne is known for inspiring the English woman regarding fashion having preferred the French hood over the gable hood herself. Once she was Queen the new style took off among the ladies of English court. Nicholas Sanders wrote that "She was unrivalled in the gracefulness of her attire, and the fertility of her invention in devising new patterns, which were imitated by all the court belles, by whom she was regarded as the glass of fashion."⁴⁹ While the hood was worn as a modesty garment Anne on occasion would wear her hair down with jewels decorated through it. For her two coronations she wore her long almost black hair down, and without a hood or veil. The French fashion was heavily influenced by the elaborate Italian Renaissance in the court of French King Francois I. Agnes Strickland goes into detail about Anne's robes while in France. The gown mentioned was most likely for a pageant or holiday.

"While at the French court her costume was a cap of velvet, trimmed in points, a little gold bell hanging from each point; a vest of the same material with silver stars, a jacket of watered silk with large hanging sleeves that almost concealed her hands, and a skirt to match. Her feet were encased in blue velvet slippers, with a strap across the instep, fastened with a diamond star. Her hair fell in ringlets about her shoulders."⁵⁰

These dresses would be copied by the ladies of King Henry's court. This made Anne a Queen that was worth looking up to. Anne's religious beliefs would also take root in court as everyone tried to survive the change of religion during the protestant

⁴⁹ Nicholas Sanders, *The Rise and Growth of Anglican Schism* (Charlotte: Tan Books, 1988) 25.

⁵⁰ Agnes Strickland, *The Lives of the Queen of England* (London: Forgotten Books, 2018) 381.

reformation. For Anne her preference for the French would be prevalent while she was Queen.

Anne would have practiced Roman Catholicism in the courts of Margaret of Austria, Louis XII, and Francis I. On October 1st, 1517, Martin Luther nailed up his ninety-five theses in Wittenberg Germany, dictating how this church should be reformed. The Protestant Reformation soon spread like fire across Western Europe. Luther's main points argued against the use of indulgences which he believed help lend profit to the Roman Catholic church. The proof of this lies on the glamorous walls of St Peter's Vincula in Rome home of the papacy. In England Anne would be forced to take on the role of reformer once Henry had set his sights on her. Before that would take place, Henry VIII would be titled "Defender of the Faith" for defending the Catholic Church against Martin Luther a title which would later be revoked once Henry separated from the Catholic Church in 1533 with his marriage to Anne Boleyn. This later shifted Anne's reputation to an unflattering light.

In France, Anne was raised as a courtly noble lady who hoped to serve the Catholic Queen Catherine in England. Anne continued to prefer French bibles and French devotional works throughout her life. One example of Anne's protestant deeds comes from once she was Queen. During the French Reformation, King Francis burned heretics, and this resulted in refugees fleeing to the newly Protestant England. Anne provided support for these French refugees.⁵¹ France left quite the impression upon the young Queen and her French preferences would show throughout her life.

⁵¹ Eric Ives, *The Life and Death of Anne Boleyn* (Malden: Blackwell Publishing, 2004) 277.

Renee of France, Queen Claude's younger sister and the cousin of Margaret of Angoulême, was inclined to Protestant beliefs in the Catholic country. In her life she became the Duchess of Ferrara and used her power to protect those deemed as heretics. Historian Retha Warnicke writes that "Claude's constant pregnancies meant that she, and therefore Anne, were 'frequently in residence near Renée.'"⁵² Renee was close enough with Anne to refer to their childhood friendship in conversation with Sir Nicholas Throckmorton the English Ambassador to France who served during the reign of Queen Elizabeth I.

Anne Boleyn encountered various women who were all given a renaissance education and in turn taught the young lady. The court of Queen Claude held one noble lady named Diane de Poitiers who held a love of music and art from her humanist renaissance education. It is possible that Anne was in close contact to Diane and thus her ideals. This would have brought Anne up to have a love of music, art, renaissance architecture, poetry, and dance. While the radical reformist beliefs would lend way for Anne to begin forming her own opinions on the matter, Anne would maintain good behavior while in court, and comparatively her sister Mary would not. Mary was one of King Francis's mistresses during the Boleyn's time in France. The difference in the two girls' behavior resulted in them having very different lives, both in France and England.

The relationship between the two Boleyn sisters is one of various conversations. Mary a few years older would be expected to lead by example for her younger sibling. Unfortunately, Mary was known to be promiscuous in the court of Francis. The King referred to Mary as his English Mare. Since she was known for being the King's mistress, the treatment Mary endured

⁵² Retha M Warnicke, *The Rise and Fall of Anne Boleyn* (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1989) 21.

would serve as an important lesson to Anne.⁵³ The years of Mary's life of 1515 to 1520 are unknown. It is presumed that she returned to England at some point to serve Queen Catherine. It is known that she married her first husband Sir William Carrey on February 4th, 1520, in England.

The years of 1520 to 1522 would be ones of drastic change for Anne. She would give up the French court for a presumed marriage to James Butler, and witness begin an affair with King Henry VIII. Anne experienced the majestic Field of Cloth and Gold and her families ultimate rise in English court. Which would lead Anne to debuting in the Chateau Vert Pageant as Perseverance and eventually taking her long-coveted role as lady in waiting to Queen Catherine along with her sister. Anne would be waiting on Catherine of Aragon and learning from yet another educated Renaissance Woman of Spanish heritage.

Mary Boleyn's role as Henry's mistress while she was lady in waiting to Queen Catherine could only prove tense for the Boleyn girl. During this time Mary birthed two children that Henry never claimed, so they were given the name of Mary's husband Carey. All of this would later affect Anne when she joined Catherine's ladies in 1523, and later got Henry's attention in 1527. Anne would at first have to battle any preconceived notion that Queen Catherine held for the Boleyn girls. Anne would have to be perfect in England.

The Field of Cloth and Gold

The Field of Cloth and Gold was a summit meeting between King Francis I France and Henry VIII of England on June 7 through the 24th of 1520. It was held between the two countries territories of Ardes in France and Gunes in English Pale Calais. Calais is the western point of

⁵³ John Julius Norwich, *Four Princes : Henry VIII, Francis I, Charles V, Suleiman the Magnificent and the Obsessions That Forged Modern Europe*. (New York: Grove Press, 2018) 19

France once owned by the English. Appropriately named the summit proved to be a massive display of wealth on both parts of France and England. The goal of the summit was to broker a peace treaty between the two countries. During Thomas Boleyn's last few weeks as French ambassador and upon his return to England in August 1519 he gained a key position in planning this event.

Cardinal Wolsey acted as senior advisor to King Henry on most matters, the Field of Cloth and Gold was no exception to this. Wolsey made Thomas Boleyn responsible for the logistical and ceremonial aspects of the summit in accordance with Francis I. As a show of mutual trust and affection the two kings agreed to grow out their beards for the summit, a act of commandry that Henry eventually backed out of when he shaved his beard. For the Boleyns Thomas's posting of the event would push them further up the English court ladder. All the Boleyn siblings attended the summit along with their father. The celebration featured jousting, feasts, music and tents and clothing meant to outshine each other. The success of the summit allowed Thomas Boleyn to rise in Tudor court and impress King Henry. Anne was able to gain favor in court due to her father and become Catherine of Aragon's lady in waiting.

The two Kings were meeting in hopes to prevent a war between their two countries. Earlier in 1519 the Treaty of Universal Peace, presented by Thomas Wolsey, was signed to broker peace between France and England. This was still not enough to assert that the two kings were allies. The field of golden tents was put up in 1520 as a show of their new place as Renaissance Kings. The summit was largely a display of wealth on both parts of France and England. 'The Crystal Palace' built by Frenchmen included stained glass and painted boards to resemble stone. The main events included jousting and archery, in a show of young ambition Henry VIII challenged Francis I to a wrestling match, the English King did not win. Henry did

believe that he had a claim to Francis's throne, which made peace for the Rival Kings even more important.

A Marriage Prospect

In England come the year 1521 Henry would face the task of reassigning the Earldom of Ormond. The dispute was raised between Thomas Boleyn and Piers Butler who both claimed they had hereditary claims to the Irish earldom. A deal was brokered to marry Thomas's daughter Anne to Piers son James Butler to unify the arguing houses. This motion would call for Anne to be removed from French court and escorted back to England by 1522, a move that soon began to worry King Francis about possible war with England.

The proposed marriage between James and Anne like most things in Henry's court were controlled by Thomas Wolsey. The proposal eventually fell through, and Anne remained a free woman. James Butler was notably a protégé of Thomas Wolsey and this may have influenced the relationship of the Butlers and Boleyns. Throughout the 1520's tensions between Wolsey and the Boleyn family rose.

It is known that Anne debuted in English court in March 1522 at the Chateau Vert Pageant. Here Anne would have danced and sung as lady in need of rescue from the knights. She wore a white dress with her virtue Perseverance written on a gold ribbon hung on her bodice. All that she had learnt in France would shine through for her at the pageant. She caught the eye of several suitors before Henry VIII even noticed her presence.

For years Anne proved herself a lady worthy of serving at Catherine's side. When prompted by Henry VIII in 1526 to be his mistress Anne immediately refused and retreated to Hever Castle. This was done out of either loyalty to Catherine her Queen, or Anne knowing well enough from her sister Mary's experience what being a mistress would entail for her. Anne's

sister Mary had been discarded by Henry in 1525. She learned her lessons in Francis' court of debauchery well enough to know better than to fall for Henry.

The subsequent divorce of Henry and Catherine in 1533 was the end of a 7-year long fight for Henry, with Anne and Protestantism being his solution. Anne's time in France where she studied in Claude's pious household and learned from Margaret of Anglume would provide all the knowledge she needed to be a Reformation Queen. While this set up allowed her to express her more Evangelical tendencies it allowed a friendship between Anne and Thomas Cromwell to form. Thomas Cromwell eventually took over once Wolsey was dispatched. This allowed for Cromwell to pull Henry and his court towards Protestantism, and would start the English Reformation. Cromwell led Anne to her downfall in 1536 as the two disagree on numerous reforms. Anne's French upbringing gave her far more than she could have ever truly prepared for. The French court brought her to be an educated Renaissance woman, and the English court would ruin this by establishing her reputation as an adulterous Queen.

Anne's father rising in Tudor court and becoming an ambassador allowed for Anne to have her French upbringing. The lessons she learned with Margaret of Austria would be invaluable as she would go on to serve the queens of France and England. Since Mary Boleyn led by example of what not to do for her sister, Anne was able to come into her own as a French lady. The Field of Cloth and gold provided the success the Boleyn's needed to cement themselves into Tudor politics. By forming her reputation in France Anne was able to become a Queen of England; where the Reformation would change her story.

CHAPTER IV

REFORMATION

The changing reputation of Anne Boleyn affected her life and Tudor court during the sixteenth century. She is most notably blamed for the failed marriage of Henry VIII and Catherine of Aragon, the Reformation of England, and the demise of several advisors. The work of Henry VIII and her contemporaries to ruin her reputation was one of the catalysts for her untimely end; this narrative is how she was long immortalized in public memory. During her time as Queen, she was met with public outcry about her new status. Anne's untimely downfall from grace happened from April to May of 1536 and was led by Cromwell. Immediately after her death King Henry VIII sought to be rid of anything to do with her memory. This was done by the haphazard work of stone masons who ultimately missed several of Anne's Falcon symbols in Hampton Court during their rush to make her disappear. Decades later when Queen Elizabeth I took the throne, she reinstated Anne Boleyn as a Queen by honoring her mother's memory with heraldic symbols.

Anne Boleyn is remembered for being the King's mistress, and later his Protestant Queen. The King's advisors Thomas Wolsey, Thomas More, Thomas Cromwell, and Eustace Chapuys wrote the primary sources on her life while Anne was alive. The focus of this narrative lying solely on her suitors, bewitching Henry VIII, and the men who died along side of her. The second source of letters portrays her as a manipulative, power-hungry woman who alongside her family just sought the crown. The third and most sympathetic narrative is that Anne was intelligent, charitable, and a victim of her time. This narrative was written by John Foxe and

William Latymer during the reign of Elizabeth I, the only living child born of Anne Boleyn. By looking at all these complex narratives it is possible to piece together the full narrative of Anne Boleyn. Then finding the most prominent characters and rumors revealed the Anne that is remembered today. Without all these complex narratives the Anne that is immortalized in history today would not exist.

“Whoso List to Hunt, I know where is a Hind”

Anne was no great English beauty, with dark hair so long that she could sit on it with eyes that were considered black. The traditional appeal for men at the time was blonde haired and blue eyed. Anne was short in stature and was not well endowed on her mole marked body. Historian Alison Weir states that her “charm lay not so much in her physical appearance as in her vivacious personality her gracefulness, her quick wit, and other accomplishments.”⁵⁴ From this description Anne was notable for her charm and not her looks. She did however retain a sense of sex appeal; a quality that attracted various suitors in her young life. The surviving Hans Holbein sketch of Anne discredits this narrative that he wrote. Besides she was beautiful enough for Henry Percy, Thomas Wyatt, and Henry VIII to be smitten with her.

By the mid 1520's she became a Maid of Honor to the current Queen Catherine of Aragon, who by this point was reaching the end of her childbearing age, and had one sole heir: Princess Mary I. The title of a Maid of Honor granted women with the opportunity to serve the Queen of England, and this put them in a higher social tier at court. Most hoped to gain advantageous marriages that could permanently raise their social standing. It was expected that they be pious, religious, humble, and obedient being that Catherine's motto was “Humble and

⁵⁴ Alison Weir, *The Lady in the Tower* (New York: Ballantine Books, 2010) 151.

Loyal.” Since these women were close to the Queen they were also close to the center of court. Anne was viewed as a good lady in waiting it was her wit and flirty manner that was dangerous.¹

If anything, Anne retained her French attitude for the rest of her life. During her courtship with Henry Percy in 1523, she was undoubtedly considering her role in society, which was that a woman should aim to become a wife and mother with hope of marrying within or above her station to rise in society. This role called for most courtships to end in marriage and with the hope of a son to continue the male line. Henry VIII ruins this chance for her by pushing Wolsey to advise Percy to end the relationship she would later be seen as “The Great Whore” that ruined a twenty-four-year marriage. Percy was threatened that he would lose his lands and social standing if he married Anne. She was an unmarried woman that was receiving the King’s favor at the time of the divorce between Catherine and Henry in the years 1529-1533. This in part due to the idea that a women’s sexuality was her only power during the sixteenth century. For Cardinal Thomas Wolsey and Ambassador Eustace Chapuys there was no other explanation for how she seduced the king away from Catherine of Aragon. In Chapuy’s letters to the Holy Roman Emperor he refers to Anne as the “concubine”.⁵⁵

In the spring of 1523 Anne was betrothed to Henry Percy, 6th Earl of Northumberland. This union would eventually be dissolved by the King when his affections for Anne grew. Percy later would swear that he was, “... examined upon my oath before the archbishops of Canterbury and York, but also received the blessed sacrament upon the same before the Duke of Norfolk (Anne’s maternal uncle) and other of the king’s highness’ counsel learned in the spiritual law...

⁵⁵ "Henry VIII: May 1536, 16-20," in *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII, Volume 10, June 19th 1536*, ed. James Gairdner (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1887), 371-391. British History Online, accessed November 3, 2021.

to my damnation if ever there were any contract or promise of marriage between her and me”.⁵⁶ This allowed Percy to distance himself from the Boleyn’s and retain the King’s favor. The confession would be used to prove that some form of relationship occurred between Boleyn and Percy. It is doubtful that it was a consummated relationship unlike the later claims of Ambassador Chapuys. Her reputation as a flirtatious woman was now cemented into her identity. She could have just been another pretty face at court, but she caught the King’s attention. She was able to hold on to it when she continued to refuse his proposal to be his mistress; it was the only responsible way for Anne to try to maintain her social image. Anne either held on to her faith and knew that being his mistress would ruin her for marriage, or she looked to her sister Mary as a warning.⁵⁷

From the brief period of 1524 to 1526, Anne might have been the mistress of Sir Thomas Wyatt. There is no substantial evidence of this affair, except for one poem written by Wyatt titled “Whoso List to Hunt.”⁵⁸ The poem mentions a woman being hunted like a deer with almost black eyes and Anne Boleyn was known for her similar eye color. Later in 1536 Wyatt was accused and arrested along with Anne for treason and adultery. Wyatt was eventually released from the Tower, but he wrote two sorrowful poems immediately after Anne’s arrest and execution. They were *Innocentia Veritas Viat Fides Circumdederunt me inimici me (Innocence, Truth, Faith, My Enemies Have Surrounded Me)*, and *In Mourning Wise Since Daily I Increase*.⁵⁹ Reiterations of Sir Wyatt’s supposed love for Anne survive into the twenty-first century through popular culture and media.

⁵⁶ Eric Ives, *The Life and Death of Anne Boleyn* (Malden: Blackwell Publishing, 2004) Pg 66.

⁵⁷ Mary Boleyn (Anne’s sister) was Henry VIII’s mistress for a brief period before 1526.

⁵⁸ Elizabeth Norton, *The Anne Boleyn Papers* (.. Gloucestershire : Amberely Publishing, 2013)319-322

⁵⁹ Alison Weir, *“The Lady in the Tower.”* (New York: Ballantine Publishing, 2010) 307.

The position of a Kings mistress could be an advantageous in court if the King retained the same mistress. Henry VIII had several mistresses during his marriage to Catherine of Aragon.⁶⁰ Whether Anne wanted it, or it was all a ploy by her father and uncle to gain power, is unknown; however, by 1529 Anne had retained the King's interest and he did not typically keep his mistresses for long. All of this began during the beginning of the divorce proceedings of Catherine and Henry the summer of 1529.

There is an English poem titled *Greensleeves*, rumored to have been written by Henry to Anne. Historians have proved this to be untrue, but it still it is a prevalent factor in their story. This poem has survived into popular culture as the beginning of their romance. The real beginning was the love letter written by Henry in 1526. Remarkably the letter still survives in the Vatican library the very place that called for Henry to remove himself from Anne. In this first letter he refers to Anne as his mistress and friend. By July 1527 Henry was becoming desperate for Anne to be his mistress. Anne was mortified and fled to her home of Hever Castle but was eventually called back to court.

“...This has prevented me naming you my mistress; for if you love me with no more than ordinary love, the name is not appropriate to you, for it denotes a singularity far from the common. But if it please you to do the office of a true, loyal mistress, and give yourself, body and heart, to me, who have been and mean to be your loyal servant, I promise you not only the name, but that I shall make you my sole mistress, remove all others from my affection, and serve you only.”⁶¹

This “Courtship” would last through Henry VIII's growing resentment toward Catherine of Aragon a Queen who was beloved by the staunchly Catholic English people. Anne pushed

⁶⁰ Most notably Bessie Blount who gave him his illegitimate son, Henry Fitzroy. Mary Boleyn and Anne Stafford.

⁶¹ "Henry VIII: July 1527, 1-10," in *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII, Volume 4, 1524-1530*, ed. J S Brewer (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1875), 1465-1477. British History Online, accessed November 17, 2022.

Protestant tendencies, replaced Catherine, and England broke from Rome. This would result in her reputation among the English people to go to ruin. The fault should lie with Henry the King, he was the one who ultimately chose to title himself Supreme Head of the Church of England under the guidance of Thomas Cromwell. The break from Rome led to the excommunication of England from The Catholic Church. In 1530 Anne was blamed for the Reformation and the destruction of Cardinal Wolsey. The two were at odds throughout their time in court from 1529 to Wolsey's death in November 1530.⁶² It would be Cardinal Wolsey's failure to secure the King an annulment and his own dealings in usury and perjury that would have the Cardinal lose favor with the King.⁶³ The Protestant reformer Thomas Cromwell took his place by the King's side in 1530 and was later instrumental in Anne's trial. By 1534 Cromwell advised Henry to pass the Act of Supremacy declaring Henry as supreme Head of the Church of England and forfeited any right the Pope had to English Catholicism. Later, in 1536, Cromwell pushed for the dissolutions of the monasteries which gave all monastic wealth and land to the King.⁶⁴

All these reforms would coincidentally happen when Anne becomes Queen. The lead up to Anne being Henry's mistress and later his wife caused a lot of outcries among the English women. The women were most likely rejecting the idea of Protestantism and the Henry tossing his first wife aside. There were several instances where Anne was faced with these women. Anne's coronation would be the most prominent event as it become known to the men in power that the people did not care for Anne.

An unlawful assembly of women

⁶² J J Scarisbrick, *Henry VIII* (New Haven: Yale University Press 1997).149.

⁶³ Usury was the act of lending or charging high interest loans which was outlawed by the Church.

⁶⁴ Robert Bucholz, *Early Modern England 1485-1714, 2nd edition*, (Hoboken: Wiley-Blackwell, 2008) 80.

It is important to note that King Charles V of the Holy Roman Empire was Catherine of Aragon's nephew. These two monarchs were from Catholic nations, that supported the Pope during the ongoing European Reformations. Eustace Chapuys an ambassador stationed at Tudor court would report back to the emperor about the divorce proceedings and Anne Boleyn. Similarly, so would Lodovico Falier and on 24th November 1531 he reported that the first attempts had been made to kill Anne Boleyn:

"It is said that more than seven weeks ago a mob of from seven to eight thousand women of London went out of the town to seize Boleyn's daughter, the sweetheart of the king of England, who was supping at a villa on a river, the king not being with her; and having received notice of this, she escaped by crossing the river in a boat. The women had intended to kill her; and amongst the mob were many men, disguised as women. Nor has any great demonstration been made about this, because it was a thing done by women."⁶⁵

These English women would not have behaved this way if King Henry had not casted aside Queen Catherine in 1529. While this incident did not cause enough of an uproar among the common people to cause any real damage. King Henry would remember this signaler event by the time that 1536 came around. The monarchy was supposed to maintain the peace among the kingdom; Anne's contemporaries at court saw this incident as more reason to get rid of her. The common thread of Anne not having the public's support led to her ruined reputation.

Incidents like this would continue and on 23rd August 1532, it was reported that in London two women were beaten "naked from the waist upwards with rods and their ears nailed to the standard" for claiming that Catherine of Aragon "was the true queen of England."⁶⁶ By

⁶⁵ "Venice: November 1531," in Calendar of State Papers Relating To English Affairs in the Archives of Venice, Volume 4, 1527-1533, ed. Rawdon Brown (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1871), 291-307. British History Online, accessed November 17, 2022.

⁶⁶ "A London Chronicle: Henry VIII," in Two London Chronicles From the Collections of John Stow, ed. Charles Lethbridge Kingsford (London: Camden Society, 1910), 1-17. British History Online, accessed November 17, 2022.

now Catherine had been banished from court and her old rooms given to Anne. During this time Anne was not married to the King and was supposedly not his mistress either. Catherine officially remained Henry's wife until May 1533 when the Church of England annulled the marriage. Henry and Anne both were looking towards marriage, and it was obvious that Anne would be his next Queen. However, her being close to the king while un-wed would not put her in a flattering light among the English people, who still truly believed that Catherine was their Queen, as no divorce was finalized at this point. A woman's virtue was her only great possession, and the opinion was that Anne no longer had hers.

This demonstrates the common women's view on Anne Boleyn. The following year at Great Yarmouth in Norfolk in 1533 during Anne's first year as Queen there was a great riot and unlawful assembly of women. A senior figure in Henry VIII's household, Sir Thomas Audley, was asked to investigate the incident. He later reported that the women had apparently rioted to show their opposition to Anne Boleyn. These riots were downplayed, and the blame was shifted unto the connivance of husbands. As it was believed that women could not do such a thing on their own accordance.⁶⁷ By this point mostly common English women were taking offense with Anne Boleyn with their anger of the Reformation being misplaced onto her.

Elizabeth Barton was an English Catholic nun who was known as the Nun of Kent. She gained the attention of Cardinal Wolsey when she began speaking out against the King's divorce. She stated that Henry and Anne "would both be utterly ruined" if they were married.⁶⁸ She went so far as to write to the Pope to stop Henry from setting Catherine aside. Elizabeth was against Anne and claimed to have prophetic visions from God regarding religion and politics. She would

⁶⁷ Sharon L. Jansen *Dangerous Talk and Strange Behavior : Women and Popular Resistance to the Reforms of Henry VIII*. (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1996.) 109.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 47.

also hold audience with Bishop Fischer and Sir Thomas More her talk would be considered treasonous. It is reported that she met with King Henry between 1528 and 1532 where she told him of her visions. In 1533 she was questioned by Thomas Cranmer, the archbishop of Canterbury, and a friend of Anne, on the orders of Thomas Cromwell. Between September and November Elizabeth was held at the Tower where she confessed to Cranmer that her visions were false, and she only reported them to gain worldly praise. This resulted her in confession being treason against the King and God. On Monday 20th of April 1534, she was hung, and after she was dead beheaded at Tyburn.⁶⁹ The Nun of Kent held significant authority among Catholic nuns, her death would be remembered.

Eustace Chapuys reported that Henry VIII took Anne Boleyn on a tour of his kingdom but was forced to return because of the reaction of the people on his route.

"The king was on his way to the northern counties where he intended to hunt ... when he suddenly changed his purpose and came back to town. The causes of his return are variously explained. Some say that for the last three or four days after he started on his journey, wherever he went accompanied by the lady, the people on the road so earnestly requested him to recall the queen, his wife, and the women especially so insulted the royal mistress, hooting and hissing on her passage, that he was actually obliged to retrace his steps."⁷⁰

The hushing of this incident by King Henry can be seen as him trying to manage the royal reputation. With his new heir and the promise for more he was protecting his legacy. Any negative rumors or attitudes about Anne would have been reflected onto the children.

In 1536 a proclamation was issued in support of the Treason Act. It attacked "devilish and slanderous persons" who were spreading "slanderous, false, and detestable rumors, tales, and

⁶⁹ Ibid., 56.

⁷⁰ "Spain: June 1532, 21-30," in Calendar of State Papers, Spain, Volume 4 Part 2, 1531-1533, ed. Pascual de Gayangos (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1882), 462-478. British History Online, accessed November 17, 2022.

lies". It called on all loyal subjects to "apprehend all and every such person and persons that they can prove to have bruited or set forth any forged false rumors, tales, and lies". The proclamation made it clear that punishment for those found guilty of the offence would be severe: "They shall not only bring upon themselves the vengeance and indignation of God, to the peril and damnation of their souls, but also give us just cause to proceed against such rebels with our most royal power and force, to the utter destruction of them, their wives, and children."⁷¹ This would be another measure to protect the Monarchy.

Edward Hall has argued that women were especially responsible for these "slanderous, false, and detestable rumors, tales, and lies." According to Hall it was "the common people" who were "ignorant of the truth." He recorded that it was mainly women who favored Catherine of Aragon and "spoke largely" against the King's marriage to Anne Boleyn. This issue of the Queenship would be cause of concern for English women. In their eyes "The Great Whore" was talking the place of their true Catholic Queen. Catherine had been Queen for twenty-four years and earned the English peoples love and trust. It is only reasonable that these women would actively protest Anne and Henry's union. In seen in their first letters Anne rejected the relationship of being a mistress to avoid such shame. It was put on her anyway by courtiers and English people who needed some name to call the women who changed their lives. Her expected role to serve as Queen was to produce a male heir, promote religious efforts, and be generous to poor relief. Since Anne would not produce a living male heir while Queen she was soon discarded and replaced.

To "Ensnare" a King

⁷¹ Paul L. Hughes and James F. Larkin, *Tudor Royal Proclamations. Edited by Paul L. Hughes and James F. Larkin. Edited by Paul L. Hughes and James F. Larkin.* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1964) 244-245.

By the time Anne married Henry in secret in January 1533, her relationship with the public was at an all-time low while Queen. When Anne was coronated banners hung from the streets of London that spelled “HA.” Henry, and Anne’s initials. Londoners soon took to mocking her with their laughter.⁷² During her queenship Anne would begin to push her more Protestant sympathies. One of Henry’s advisors called her the midnight crow, because Anne would talk to Henry about her political ideas during the late hours.⁷³ Most of these are few records that have been ignored and did little to bolster her reputation like she may have hoped it would. The result of her execution can be explained as she did not provide Henry with a male heir. Her ruined reputation did little to convince him to keep her around. Anne was already largely disliked by the English women.⁷⁴ Then she lost the Kings favor, and this is what resulted in her fall. The King’s principal advisors used rumors spread about her in court, and confessions taken under torture to paint Anne as a seductress. Chapuys would later claim that she had “Bewitched King Henry.”⁷⁵ This lasting narrative as Anne also tried for being a witch in later telling’s of her story. While Anne could control how she conducted herself at court, she could not have possibly been able to change people’s opinions about her. For Eustace Chapuys, and Thomas Cromwell there was never going to be a redemption for Anne.

Eustace Chapuys, the Spanish ambassador, reported to King Charles V in January 1536, that Gertrude Courtenay, Countess of Devon, told him that Anne Boleyn had used witchcraft to "ensnare" the king. While Thomas Cromwell actively brought about her trial, including coming up with the charges. Chapuy’s narrative against Anne is interesting in how it has stood the test of

⁷² Eric Ives, *The Life and Death of Anne Boleyn* (Malden: Blackwell Publishing, 2004), 178

⁷³ *Ibid.*, 131.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 199.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 327.

time. Even though her original crimes only contained incest, adultery, and treason. While witchcraft in the sixteenth century was used to explain how a common lady ensnared the King into a romantic relationship, at the time of the English Reformations heretics and witches were burned at the stake for their crimes. This was set forth by the *Malleus Maleficarum* in 1487 written by catholic clergyman Heinrich Kramer which discussed how witches were formed and how to punish them. Political treason of a women was usually handled by being burnt at the stake. Come Anne's sentencing Henry decided to have her beheaded instead of burnt, this was a practice reserved for noble men.

Being the Holy Roman Emperors Ambassador, Chapuys held a deeply rooted pro Catherine agenda. When Anne miscarried in January 1536 it was believed to be a deformed fetus. This goes with the narrative of Anne being an adulterer as deformed fetuses were believed to be a sign that a parent was unfaithful.⁷⁶ This is also connected to the accusations largely spread by Chapuys about Anne being a witch. This specific rumor about Anne being a witch comes from a moment of anger for the King when he claimed that she "bewitched him" while in conversation with Chapuys. The ambassador then took the offhanded comment and ran with it. These witch trials were the normal for how to handle treasonous women and would directly affect Anne come her trail.

Witchcraft was typically used to explain why a birth went wrong or a fetus was deformed. Given the time Anne lived when witchcraft allegations were spreading like wildfire to undo well women it is no surprise that her enemies used this against her. Anne was literate, accomplished, and intellectual this coupled with her strong independent mind "made her ready to

⁷⁶ Eric Ives, *The Life and Death of Anne Boleyn* (Malden: Blackwell Publishing, 2004), Pg 297. Henry is known to have kept Madge Shelton as a Mistress during his marriage to Anne.

engage in conversations that and discussions that most women would shy away from, in particular on the subject of theology, which was the most controversial topic of the day.”⁷⁷ furthermore, these witchcraft allegations could be dismissed by Anne’s reputation of being a strict protestant evangelical. The Queen held her household to a strict moral code of conduct that adhered to the Protestant faith.

Thomas, Thomas, Thomas...

The advisors of Henry VIII played a role in the downfall of Anne Boleyn. This was accomplished by spreading malicious lies about her. However, Anne is also blamed for the downfall of two out of three of these advisors. The feud between the Boleyn’s and Cardinal Wolsey was rooted in the Reformation and over anger towards the Percy affair. Wolsey would fall from power the same time Anne rose to power. Since the Cardinal could not procure an annulment for Henry and Catherine, the King grew eventually tired of Wolsey by the summer of 1529. A more likely reason that Anne despised Wolsey was because he broke up Anne’s engagement to Henry Percy six years prior.

Their feud might also have resulted from the growing Protestant tendencies of the Boleyns. The failing of the divorce at the Court of Blackfrairs the Summer of 1530 would eventually push Henry to break from Rome. By the time of 1530 Henry had no more use of Wolsey or Catherine the Aragon faction would grow to despise Anne and bring dissent among courtiers regarding the new “Mistress.” Wolsey died November 29th, 1530, from illness at Leicester England while he was traveling south from York to attend trial. It is important to note that Henry had sent men to bring Wolsey to the Tower before he perished. Luckily for the cardinal they were too late. Comparatively, Sir Thomas More, was Catholic as well, but it could

⁷⁷ Joanna Denny, *Anne Boleyn: A New Life of England's Tragic Queen* (Great Britain: Da Capo Press, 2006), 60

be argued that his fall did not come from Anne but his own stubborn faith. More died July 6, 1535, on Tower Green for Treason against the Crown by refusing to break ties with the Pope and not acknowledging Henry as supreme head of the English church. These men's fall from grace was due to Henry's ever-changing whims and fancies and the work of Thomas Cromwell.

Similarly, there is Thomas Cromwell who worked to bring about Anne's trial and execution. Cromwell pushed for most of the reformist movement by conceiving the King to write the Act of Supremacy in 1534, and the Dissolution of the Monasteries in 1536. These were put in place to further Cromwell's power and please the King. It can then be argued that Cromwell recognized Henry's growing distaste for Anne and pushed her out of the way to please the King. Anne could not have any control over Henry's like or dislike for these men.

Cromwell was the instrumental force in bringing Anne Boleyn to the trial and execution. He strung together various rumors and copious amounts of "evidence" from courtiers that would incriminate Anne. These confessions were extracted using bribing and bullying by Cromwell. The other men that were condemned with Anne and her brother, Sir William Brereton, Sir Henry Norris, Sir Francis Weston, and court musician Mark Smeaton all faced the charges drawn against them by Cromwell.

Smeaton was interrogated by Thomas Cromwell first away from Court. He was either racked or suffocated with a rope around his neck; either way Cromwell got Smeaton to confess to having relations with the Queen. It is pointed out that Anne's flirtatious remarks in passing to Weston are what caused his arrest. However, the remark in question was in line with what was acceptable for courtly love. Brereton was supposedly seen near the Queens bedchambers and was ultimately scooped up into the mix of Cromwell's trials while Norris was just a close friend of the Queen. Cromwell's interrogation has led the narratives to shift in favor of Anne, as this is

seen as a ruthless act. He needed more evidence to not only convict Anne but to convince Henry of her unfaithfulness. This view allows for Anne to be seen in a more sympathetic light than what was previously believed about her. With this knowledge we can understand where her redemption begins.

Queen Anne Boleyn was executed by a French swordsman from Calais on May 19th, 1536. She provided this final parting speech: I am come hither to accuse no man, nor to speak of that whereof I am accused and condemned to die, but I pray God save the King and send him long to reign over you, for a gentler nor a more merciful prince was there never, and to me he was ever a good, a gentle, and sovereign lord. She was laid to rest in an elm crate that was too small for her body, so that her head had to lay on top of her. Her burial site at the Chapel of St Peter Ad Vincula at the Tower of London was left unmarked a traitor's burial for the first Queen to ever be executed in English history. Her only child, Elizabeth, was removed from court and made a "bastard." Henry VIII married his 3rd wife Jane Seymour eleven days after Anne's death.

Regina

"If any person will meddle with my cause, I require them to judge the best." Stated by Queen Anne Boleyn, May 19th, 1536. Unbeknownst to them all Elizabeth Tudor born September 19th, 1533, would bring about her mother's redemption. Without Elizabeth's glorious reign few would know about the beheaded second wife of Henry VIII. There are a few lasting reforms that were promoted by Anne that have survived one being the Poor Relief Act. Even though Anne was Queen she was only given power if Henry granted it. By protecting her own claim to the throne and legitimizing her mother, Elizabeth ensured that her mother would have a redemption and be remembered for her good works. This was accomplished by her legally claiming her mother's legitimacy as Queen and the legality of her parents' marriage. Various historical reports

published during Elizabeth's time as queen. These were written by John Foxe and William Latymer as Protestant works.

One of these such reports was John Foxe's *Book of Martyrs* published on March 20th, 1563.⁷⁸ In this document Anne Boleyn is listed as a Martyr for the Protestant faith. This came a few years after the Elizabethan Settlement which sought to reaffirm Elizabeth as Supreme Governor of the Church of England. She was not given the title Supreme head of the Church of England like her father because she was a woman. This reform also established Protestantism as the religion for England after the Catholic reign of terror of Mary I. Writing the death of the Queen's mother as an act of martyrdom for her faith would look a lot better than an act of treason. This would work to hopefully counteract the negative views about Anne and the Protestant faith. The book of martyrs was purely a work of propaganda to put the ruling family in a better light.

William Latymer was hired by Queen Elizabeth to write a sort of biography about Anne. Latymer was an evangelical reformer and chaplain to the late Queen. In his later life he would become the Chaplain for Queen Elizabeth. During this time, he wrote *The Chronicle of Anne Boleyn*, as Andrew Hope mentioned:

"He is the only biographer of Anne Boleyn who can be said to have known her in her lifetime. His work confines itself to her time as Queen and consists largely of set speeches by Anne in which she expounds her religious, educational, and charitable ideals, illustrated with anecdotes to show those ideals in action. While there was a clear intention to nudge Elizabeth in the direction of the values attributed to her mother, the account is not fiction and has historical value."⁷⁹

⁷⁸ John Foxe, *Book of Martyrs* (New Kensington: Bridge Logos, 2001)

⁷⁹ Andrew Hope, *William Latymer* (Oxford Dictionary of National Biography (online ed.). Oxford University Press. 2004-2014)

This is where Anne's reputation for being a charitable Queen comes from which can give credence to Latymer as he did know her during his life. As there are a few historical documents that support his claim of Anne's goodness.

On Foxe and Latymer modern academic Bernard writes "First they were trying to influence the developing Elizabethan religious settlement. Secondly, and more importantly, in presenting Anne as a modest and virtuous patron of religious reform, they were by implication suggesting that so devout a lady could not possibly have been guilty of those shocking adulteries for which she had been condemned."⁸⁰ To conclude that they did this to restore Anne's reputation to secure Elizabeth's reign and reform. This would have led the authors to misinterpret or misrepresent her religious idealities and her character. Foxe further rebuts any claim of Anne "gambling" or having disorderly behavior in her household. This is an erasure of her true character. Most of Anne's reputation for being a pious woman came from these two men as they are the earliest written record of her behaving in such a way. There two narratives combined give complexity to Anne Boleyn as we know her today. For one side she was flirtatious, treasonous, witch, on the other she is a charitable Queen. Historians have tried to pull the truth from the sperate narratives for five hundred years. This creates an Anne that we can only hope was close to the real person without biases getting in the way.

One of the most lasting of parts of Latymer's narrative of Anne is her poor relief. He describes Anne as giving orders for the standing relief of the poor under the threat of her personal intervention. Her ladies were ordered to sew clothes for the poor and distribute them while on procession. Due to an arrangement with local priest and two parishioners', pregnant women received bed sheets and two shillings. Anne can also be credited with playing a part in

⁸⁰ G. W. Bernard, *Anne Boleyn Fatal Attractions* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010), 2-3.

the government's decision to provide radical and far reaching on poverty to the 1536 parliament. John Foxe adds to her charitable narrative by suggesting that Anne provided 14,000 to 15,000 pounds in poor relief an expenditure that is twelve times the amount of Anne's surplus. George Wyatt instead suggest that it was 1,500 pounds a much more credible sum. Charity was not her only good work Anne was an avid supporter of education for the masses to support the betterment of society.

Anne supported the humanist and Protestant reformist education she learned while in France. Throughout her time as Henry's "Mistress" and Queen she promoted various men into colleges and funded a few of them as well. One notable man was Thomas Winter, Cardinal Wolsey's "bastard" son. Anne wrote to him expressing that she would support him anyway she could. Anne also promoted colleges in England such as Oxford and Cambridge. These incidents were known among her supporters during her death, but fear of losing favor with Henry kept them quiet. Elizabeth endorsed and supported the good qualities of her mother's narratives both in writing and in artifacts.⁸¹

A few key artifacts that survive this time can also be examined. The first being Elizabeth's ring that she wore during her lifetime. The ring consisted of a capital E made from diamonds with rubies surrounding it. The ring opened to be a locket with portraits of Anne and Elizabeth inside. Elizabeth did not speak of her mother much in written documents, but this ring shows she held some fondness for the woman. The ring is now called *The Chequers Rings* and is housed at Chequers house in England.

⁸¹ Eric Ives, *The Life and Death of Anne Boleyn* (Malden: Blackwell Publishing, 2004), 286-87.

There is without a doubt speculation on the relationship of Anne and Elizabeth. With them only being together for two and a half years and a father who forbade any conversation of Anne it is expected. Two pieces worth mentioning that are displays of the connection between the two women. When Elizabeth thought she would die at the tower under Mary I's reign, she requested to die like her mother with a French swordsman.⁸² Then the crown Elizabeth was coronated with is believed to be Anne's original coronation crown.⁸³ This demonstrates that Elizabeth was quietly carrying on her mother's memory.

More substantial evidence lies in the portrait *The Official Family of King Henry VIII*. This was painted in 1544 to honor the Act of Succession. Which gave the right of succession to his children in order of Edward VI, Mary I and Elizabeth I. Within this portrait Elizabeth would have been about the age of eleven and in the portrait wearing an "A" initial necklace. Which was notably one of her mother's necklaces. Anne owned three initials necklaces which were an "A," an "B", and an "AB". This defiant act was most likely ignored by King Henry since he approved the portrait which shows Jane Seymour as the true Queen.⁸⁴

Queen, Elizabeth, adopted both her mother and fathers' symbols. This is seen at St. Margaret's Church on display. This was a political demonstration that reiterates she is the daughter of the late King Henry while also pays tribute to her mother by showing her badge. It is described as;

"King Henry the Eighth with a white and red rose (Tudor rose) in front of him, with the pomegranate (symbol of their fertility, resulting in the birth of Elizabeth) between the, and Queen Anne Boleyn, mother of the present Queen, with a gold crown on the head and a gilt scepter, and in front of her small branches of little roses (and) the coat of arms and device of the same Queen."⁸⁵

⁸² Alison Weir, *The Lady in the Tower* (New York: Ballantine Books, 2010) 321.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, 322.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 187.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 322.

This allowed Elizabeth to carry both of her parents' heraldic badges. Proof of Elizabeth's devotion to her mother exists today at St. Margret's Church in Norfolk. Where under the heraldic badge of the Tudors lies the facon symbol of Anne. Elizabeth was known to use her mother badge and motto "The Most Happy" during her reign as queen. The heraldic badge consists of a crowned falcon sitting upon a tree stump, surrounded by Tudor roses. The falcon is a heraldic symbol of "perseverance," a quality that both Anne and Elizabeth embodied. While Elizabeth had many virginals, it is worth noting that she also used the Boleyn coat of arms. This specific coat of arms now resides at the Victoria and Albert Museum in London.⁸⁶

She excelled as a lady of the sixteenth century court in her disposition and manner. While partaking in courtly love and frivolity she became known for her flirtatious attitude. Due to the efforts of her daughter Elizabeth, she is remembered for her charitable and religious pursuits. Her end at the Tower being the most infamous mark on her story. Thus, in staining her reputation to be a witch and an adulterous woman. Immediately after her death Henry VIII worked to erase her symbol, and any memory of her that presided, but this ultimately failed due to the stone masons not removing an interlocked "H" and "A" from Hampton court palace. Elizabeth's efforts rehabilitated Anne's reputation and image, which would later be used to raise popularity among the public regarding Anne. Reputation consists of both sides but is agreed upon that Anne was an intelligent woman. Her sharp tongue and wit are the most common characteristic among historians used to describe Anne. Elizabeth laid the groundwork for future historians to rebuild upon to work on Anne Boleyn's life story, which will always be grappling with the two opposing narratives, even with future preservationist.

⁸⁶ Ibid., 324

Anne Boleyn's story was rewritten by her daughter and that narrative would be brought into the nineteenth century, three hundred years later. With the advancing of technology and scholarships museums would work to protect the image of the British Empire through their museums. Anne was immortalized by preservationist and given a proper burial at the Tower of London in 1876.

CHAPTER V

REDEMPTION

The Nineteenth Century in Britain saw a rise of preservation of Tudor memory through the restoration of The Tower of London and Hampton Court palace; for Anne Boleyn this meant her reinterment at the Tower made her a symbol of the British empire. This is due to the work of Anthony Salvin and Doyle Bell who worked on the preservation team for the Tower of London. Anne as an imperial symbol was pushed further with artifacts and portraits that were produced at the time. By putting the Tudors up as symbols of the Empire, Queen Victoria was able to directly tie herself to Britain's past and reinforce her rule as Queen through the line of succession. By preserving the royal households and artifacts Britain was able to secure its dynastic past for future generations of British people to enjoy.

During the reign of Queen Victoria preservationist Salvin took on the momentous task of restoring the Tower of London. The focus on the Chapel of St Peter Ad Vincula was critical to recovering Anne's story. This occurred during a larger push to collect artifacts from numerous places of imperial expansion. By 1838 Queen Victoria opened Hampton Court to the public for the first time. While also during this time the Tower of London became a major tourist destination for visitors from around the world. These forces combined allowed for the Queen to put together the best her empire had to offer.

Safeguarding the Past

The Public Record Office in London was established in 1838 to reform the keeping of court records. Originally these documents were being held across the country often in poor

conditions. Government records from the Tower of London were moved to the new Public Record Office for safe keeping. The archives were meant to be open to the public, but fear of harm coming to the documents caused archivists to limit access to them. Restrictions were lifted between the years 1851-1858, but certain documents of importance were kept from the public.⁸⁷ For Anne Boleyn this meant a large majority of her story was being held and controlled by the Government of the United Kingdom.

During the nineteenth century there was a push from the crown to print and make public various documents of historical importance. Among them was *The London Chronicle, Papers Both Foreign and Domestic of Henry VIII*, and *Spanish letters* all originally written during the sixteenth century.⁸⁸ Tourist guidebooks were produced to provide visitors of Hampton Court and the Tower of London with a brief history about the historic sites while visiting. One of the first works about Anne during this time was *Memoirs of the life of Anne Boleyn, Queen of Henry VIII* written by Miss Elizabeth Benger published 1821.⁸⁹ A few years later in 1826 Reverend Henry Hart Milman wrote *Anne Boleyn: a dramatic poem*. Both works are subject to the romantic lenses of the Victorian age.⁹⁰ In 1850 *Anne Boleyn: a tragedy* by George H. Boker written in Pennsylvania, United States is a dramatic retelling of the Reformation.⁹¹ Due to this Anne's narrative shifted for her to be seen as a romantic victim in the story of the English Reformation.

Historian Sharon Turner began publishing Tudor history focusing on the Reformation in the 1820's. His original work focused on Anglo-Saxon history and the rise of William the

⁸⁷ Expert Participation, "Public Records Act 1958," Legislation.gov.uk (Statute Law Database, May 31, 1979).

⁸⁸ Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII, Volume 10, January-June 1536. Edited by James Gairdner. London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office 1887. British History Online, accessed November 18, 2022.

⁸⁹ Elizabeth Benger, *Memoirs of the life of Anne Boleyn, Queen of Henry VIII* (1821) British History Online, accessed November 3, 2021.

⁹⁰ Henry Milman, *Anne Boleyn: a dramatic poem* (1826) British History Online, accessed November 3, 2021.

⁹¹ George Boker, *Anne Boleyn: A Tragedy* (1850) British History Online, accessed November 3, 2021.

Conqueror. His first Tudor work was *The History of The Reign of Henry VIII compromising the political history of the commencement of the English Reformation* published in 1828.⁹² This comprehensive work preceded *The History of the reign of Edward VI, Mary I, and Elizabeth I* in 1829. Finally, these works were combined into a narrative titled *The History of England*, an ambitious twelve volume set that covered English history up until 1603 the end of Elizabeth I's reign.⁹³ From this work it becomes clear that the Victorians were interested in preserving their political and religious history as they took pride in their Evangelical Protestantism. Turner was a prominent voice on Tudor history.

Other voices such as Reverend Charles Edward Moberly with his work *The Early Tudors, Henry VII, and Henry VIII*, holds a bias narrative of the English Reformation, as he was a protestant chaplain.⁹⁴ The religious tract society was a British Evangelical Christian organization founded in 1799. The society was focused on publishing Christian books with religious connotations.⁹⁵ One of their works includes *England in the 16th century; a history of the reigns of house Tudor*, this was published in 1850.⁹⁶ Since Anne Boleyn was a pro evangelical reformer and Henry's first protestant Queen she is seen as a heroic figure in this narrative.

Anthony Salvin was appointed to be the architect to restore The Tower of London to its original medieval appearance in 1851 and his restorative works continued until 1868.⁹⁷ Done

⁹² Sharon Turner, *The History of The Reign of Henry VIII compromising the political history of the commencement of the English Reformation* (1828) British History Online, accessed November 3, 2021.

⁹³ Sharon Turner, *The History of the reign of Edward VI, Mary I, and Elizabeth I* (1829) British History Online, accessed November 20, 2022.

⁹⁴ Charles Edward Moberly, *The Early Tudors, Henry VII, and Henry VIII*. British History Online, accessed November 20, 2022.

⁹⁵ "Collections Online: British Museum," Collections Online | British Museum, accessed December 6, 2021.

⁹⁶ Religious Tract Society, *England in the 16th century; a history of the reigns of house Tudor* (1850) British History Online, accessed November 20, 2022.

⁹⁷ Roisin Inglesby, *Let Us Sin with Salvin: Architecture and Authority at the Tower of London, 1896–1905*. Architectural History 60 (2017) British History Online, accessed November 20, 2022. 245.

under the encouragement of Prince Albert as the number of annual visitors to the Tower were increasing to promote the Empire and tie Queen Victoria to her English past. Focus on the two crown jewels of the Tower's artifacts: the armory and the royal regalia. In 1841 a home was purposefully built to house the crown jewels; visitors were welcomed the same year. The display for the amour was paid for by the government of Britain.⁹⁸ Attention was drawn to these artifacts academically through the work of Joseph wheeler's *A Short History of London with a list of the interesting curiosities contained in the armories and regalia* in 1845. Later in 1900, a pictorial guide would be released showcasing the crown jewels for the first time in photographic color.⁹⁹ These were displays of imperial wealth and power, attention would not be given to the memorials of the Tower until the late nineteenth century.

Tourist guidebooks were published to direct and educate the public that would visit the Tower of London throughout the nineteenth century. One of such guides was *The Tower of London* by William Harrison Ainsworth with illustrations by George Cruikshank in 1897. The illustrations showed the tragic victim of the Tower sixteen-year-old Lady Jane Grey. Jane was beheaded for her protestant beliefs in 1553 by, Catholic Queen Mary I, after Jane was named Queen for nine days instead of Mary. Jane's husband, Lord Guildford Dudely, was beheaded alongside of her making both leads for the tragic romance in the nineteenth century.¹⁰⁰ Similar works like *Memorials of the Tower of London*, published in 1866 and written by Lieutenant General Lord de Ros, focus on the Tower's victims who were buried in St. Peter Ad Vincula. Earlier works are much less sympathetic to the victims of the Tower and Mary's reign. The historical drama *Traitor's gate of The Tower of London in 1553*, portrays the downfall of Lady

⁹⁸ Simon Thurley, *Men from the Ministry*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013) 17-18

⁹⁹ *The Pictorial Guide to the Tower of London: The Crown Jewels in Color*. (London: Pitkin Pictorials, 1964)

¹⁰⁰ Nigel Jones, *Tower* (New York: St Martin's Press, 2011) 244.

Jane in three acts. Paul Delaroche painted *The Execution of Lady Jane Grey* (figure 1) in the year 1833, she is depicted as a romantic victim dressed in white as she struggles to find the executioners block in the portrait, two ladies are seen weeping in the background for the child in this neoclassical work.

Originally established in 1378 The Office of Works was put in place to oversee the building and maintenance of royal castles and palaces. The works department was formed in 1832 which led a large push to collect heritage sites. By this time the Tower of London and Hampton court were already being maintained to an extent by the office. The focus with the Tower being to restore it to a more medieval appearance. While architect Salvin was the leader of the preservation the Tower was transformed into a tourist site that would excite its annual visitors. Emphasis was put onto traitor's gate and by the time Salvin was done, other Preservationists began to look towards the Tower as a memorial site.

A Memorial for Anne

Anne Boleyn was reinterred in 1877 into the grounds of St. Peter Ad Vincula at the Tower of London. Her daughter, Queen Elizabeth I, has already laid out a compassionate narrative for Anne during the sixteenth century. While the Tower is typically seen as Anne Boleyn's end, it could be argued that it is now a place for her memory to live on. This was achieved primarily through her memorial plaques, and her grave marker naming her Queen. On September 4th, 2006, a memorial sculpture was unveiled in honor of those executed at the Tower. Anne is listed as Queen on the round frosted glass. The center piece of the memorial is of a glass pillow cushion laying on the table. This is just an example on how Anne's memory has been viewed with compassion from the nineteenth century on into the present day.

By February 1866 a correspondence between Queen Victoria and the First Commissioner of Works commanded that the spot where Queen Anne Boleyn and others had been executed should be protected by a railing. Then that the brass plate which states the record of events should be renewed while on. A stone within the railing is the following statement “Site of the ancient scaffold: on this spot Queen Anne Boleyn was executed on the 19th of May 1536.”¹⁰¹ To understand more as to why Queen Victoria was bothered enough to write this, it is necessary to consider how the Tudors were viewed as a whole

Tudor history during the nineteenth century can be summed up in a few categories; cultural, economic, military, political, and religious. A main point of focus being put onto Henry VIII and his advisers and how they handled the change in religion. It begins with the death of Richard III at Bosworth field and Henry VII’s subsequent victory in 1485. By focusing on this type of history the reader is given Tudor history at its best. Other key players would be Edward VI, Mary I and Elizabeth I, with the story ending on the glory of Elizabeth and the rise of the Stuarts in England. During the time of global expansion of the empire it would be logical for the Queen to promote the glory of her empire.

More works published in the 1880’s push Anne forward as a tragic victim to Henry’s reign. *The Tryumphe of Caley and Bulleyn*, was a republished original work that celebrates the efforts of the Thomas Boleyn, father of Anne, in 1521 at the field of Cloth and Gold.¹⁰² An effort was made to push the Boleyn’s into the historical narrative of the Tudors. J.H. Round published *The Early Life of Anne Boleyn a Critical essay* in 1886, this work focuses on her life in French

¹⁰¹ Doyne Courtney Bell, *Notices of the Historic Persons Buried in the Chapel of St. Peter Ad Vincula: In the Tower of London*, (London: Her Majesty’s Press, 1877) 108.

¹⁰² Edmund Goldsmind, republished *The Tryumphe of Caley and Bulleyn*, (1850) British History Online, accessed November 20, 2022.

court and removes Anne from a Henry centered narrative.¹⁰³ Most works like *Anne Boleyn: A Chapter of English History 1527-1536* by Paul Friedman follow Anne through her courtship of Henry, The Reformation, Marriage, and later Execution.¹⁰⁴ Victorian dramatization survives the reinterment with *Anna Bolena: A tragedy in two acts* by Italian Gaetano Donizetti in 1880.¹⁰⁵ The drama that played in Italy shows that after 1876 Anne had gained attention around Western Europe.

As the bodies of Henry's victims were laid to rest the Tudor historians of Britain picked up their pens and got to work. The narratives still centered around the Reformation, but there was an influx of writers discussing Elizabeth's victory against the Spanish Armada. During the process of reinterment came the work of Charles Wriothesley *A chronicle of England During the reigns of the Tudors 1485-1559*.¹⁰⁶ This was published by the Camden Society founded in 1838 to publish early historical works and rare manuscripts by the Royal Historical Society.¹⁰⁷

James Anthony Fraude wrote *History of England from the fall Wolsey to the defeat of the Spanish Armada* in 1881.¹⁰⁸ This pushed Anne into a central role and pushed Wolsey into the role of villain or victim. Fredrick George Lee produced historical sketches of the Reformation in 1879. The Reformation was important to the Victorian narrative as they prided themselves on their Protestant Evangelical past and current faith. The key players of the Reformation being

¹⁰³ J.H. Round, *The Early Life of Anne Boleyn a Critical essay*, (1886) British History Online, accessed November 20, 2022.

¹⁰⁴ Paul Friedman, *Anne Boleyn: A Chapter of English History 1527-1536* (1880) British History Online, accessed November 20, 2022.

¹⁰⁵ Gaetano Donizetti, *Anna Bolena: A tragedy in two acts* (1880) British History Online, accessed November 20, 2022.

¹⁰⁶ Charles Wriothesley, *A Chronicle of England During the Reigns of the Tudors 1485-1559* (London: Camden Society, 1838)

¹⁰⁷ Charles Johnson, *The Camden Society, 1838-1938. Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 22 (London: Camden Society, 1940): 23–38.

¹⁰⁸ James Anthony Fraude, *History of England From the Fall of Wolsey to the Defeat of the Spanish Armada* (1881) British History Online, accessed November 20, 2022.

King Henry VIII and his advisor Thomas Cromwell are mentioned in all these narratives. Cardinal Thomas Wolsey was the first advisor to Henry and oversaw the divorce hearings of 1529 that ultimately were a failure. By 1530 Anne Boleyn was residing with the King and Catherine was pushed to the side. Henry married Anne in January of 1533, and divorced Catherine in May 1533 as he ruled as Supreme Head of the Church of England. The protestant Reformation had begun, and Cromwell instituted the Act of Succession to give Anne's heirs precedent over Catherine's, The Act of Supremacy which declared Henry the head of the Church of England, and the Dissolution of the monasteries stripped the monastic life of its orders and redirected wealth to the King.

Preserving Her Empire

With the expansion of this empire the Queen needed a way to promote her Kingdom. The way this was easily achieved was through the promotion of historic palaces and castles as tourist sites. By opening this up to the public the sites are being shared by the common Britain. While also promoting the glory of the British Empire through the beautiful palaces. The Tower of London was used as a passage back into the Medieval period of its birth and eventual growth. Then Hampton Court was renovated to depict its former glory during the sixteenth century the height of the English Renaissance.

In 1838 Queen Victoria decided to allow Hampton Court to be open to the public from then and onward. Once Edward Jesse was hired as a new superintendent of works, restoration and redecoration of the palace began, with the overall goal of restoring Henry's portion of the palace back to its former Tudor glory. For instance, with the West front and the Great Hall, anachronistic sash windows, introduced during the previous century, were taken out and replaced

with stone-mullioned latticed casements after the Tudor fashion. While red brick chimneys replaced the Georgian chimneys.¹⁰⁹

Throughout Victoria's reign preservation continued the palace. The main mission of these preservationists was to restore the palace to a state resembling the original. Among the areas affected were Anne Boleyn's gateway, the moat, and Wolsey's closet. The rooms that were redone were set back to resemble the Tudor sense of opulence and wealth, and the famed astronomical clock of Henry VIII was replaced to its originally place on Anne's gateway. Soon the place was seeing as many as 200,000 visitors a year by 1842.¹¹⁰ To preserve Hampton court for this many people would be to put the Empire itself on display.

There is not much that survives of Anne Boleyn's memory at Hampton court. During her time as Queen there were several redecorating moments that happened at the palace. The first being her Queens chambers which were moved to the first-floor level. Then there was her Gateway which still bears the marks of Anne and Henry's interlocked initials. These fortunately were missed by the stone masons who were originally hired by Henry to erase her memory after her death. A single stone facon, Anne's symbol, resides at Hampton court behind glass, it originally was held at the gatehouse and it bears the interlocked initials.¹¹¹

While the stone masonry tells us very little about Anne, what is gathered from it is she was proud of her father's house of Boleyn. This an extension to her Butler line were the White falcon originated from; the symbolic meaning behind the falcon is one does not rest until the

¹⁰⁹ Mathew Sturgis, *Hampton Court Palace* (London: Channel 4 Books, 1998) 183.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 184.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, 41.

object is achieved which suits the perseverance of Anne brilliantly.¹¹² This proud symbol was also used by her daughter Elizabeth to show support of her mother.

The Commodification of a Queen

Through various portraiture the Victorian age experienced a Tudor revival. As we know the only possible surviving portrait of Anne was painted in the 1530s by Hans Holbein. These copies and reinterpretations of her life story often depict her as a victim of a tragical romance. Among these are several engravings copied after Hans Holbein the younger. Most of the subjects consist of Anne in a profile view, or with Henry. Others focus on the tragedy of her arrest and execution. By focusing on the overall mission of Victorian historians to preserve historic Tudor England, it can be uncovered how Anne's memory has survived the centuries. This is in part due to the efforts of the Office of Works.

By the time of Queen Victoria's reign, The Tower was out of commission regarding its horrific past of violence. It is rather interesting that the preservationist chose to bring forth the castle's medieval history, instead of its darker Tudor history. The victims of Henry, Edward, Mary, and Elizabeth's reign would be regarded with careful consideration and respect come the reinterment, turning the Chapel of St Peter into a memorial and burial site for the victims. Most notably is Queen Anne Boleyn and her cousin Queen Katherine Howard. At the times of their deaths, they were regarded as traitors. Upon their reburials they were pronounced Queens on black and white marble plaques.

With the display of Empire happening during the nineteen century places like Hampton court and the Tower of London were needing obvious repairs. The choice of preservationist Salvin to set the Tower back to its medieval roots would allow the visitor to envision William the

¹¹² Ibid., 42.

Conqueror. This was done in the hopes that the visitors would leave with an impression that the British Empire is old and great. The Office of Works main goal in preservation was to bring back the old England to be viewed by the common people. By removing Georgian architecture of Hampton court and replacing it with Tudorian decoration they erased a less desirable history with the glory of the Tudors. The opening of both historic sites in the Victorian age allowed for empire propaganda to spread seamlessly into the minds of British people.

The Chapel of St. Peter was part of a larger preservation effort to restore the Norman castle. The excavation and reinterments occurred between the years of 1876 and 1877. The majority of this happened on 9th and 11th of November 1876. Those present were Gerard J.Noel First Commissioner of Her Majesty's Works, Mr. Mitford Secretary to the Commissioners of Her Majesty's Works, Bryan Milman Resident Governor of the Tower, Spencer Ponsonby fane Comptroller in the Lord Chamberlains Department, Fredric J Mouat Local Government Inspector, and Doyne C. Bell Secretary to Her Majesty's Privy Purse. Their main object was to repair tile that had been sinking. Then men agreed upon a plan that involved reinterring the bodies where they were originally found.¹¹³ On this day the remains of Anne were discovered under two feet of ground. She was found next to her brother George in an elm chest. Once the problem of the sinking tile was addressed. Anne was collected and put into the custody of Colonel Milman, the Resident Governor of the Tower. Operations were suspended for the day at a quarter past three o'clock.¹¹⁴ From Bell's report it can be gathered that Anne was treated with respect as she was considered a Queen throughout the report. There was no obvious bias given for any of the bodies that were discovered.

¹¹³ Doyne Courtney Bell, *Notices of the Historic Persons Buried in the Chapel of St. Peter Ad Vincula: In the Tower of London*, (London: Her Majesty's Press, 1877) 20.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 22.

The supposed bodies of Jane Rochford and Margret Plantagenet were found on November 11th. It was presumed that since there was no third female body, Katherine Howard's bone had turned to dust. This was due to her being so young and the bones not having enough time to consolidated. Since DNA typing had not been invented, the bones were matched according to a grave index and historical documents that listed Catherine as being short stature. Catherine Howard would be given a memorial plaque calling her Queen over an empty space in the Chapel.

Five months later the bodies were represented at the Chapel of St Peter on April 13th 1877. Anne and her contemporaries were put into leaden coffers that were then fastened down with copper screws in boxes of oak planks. Engraved in top were the names, dates of death, and date of reinterment. They were laid to rest under four inches of ground, and concrete was immediately poured over them.¹¹⁵ After four hundred years of being buried into an elm chest that did not fit her body properly Anne was given a proper burial. She now lies between her brother George Boleyn, Lord Rochford and Edward Seymour, 1st Duke of Somerset. Tiled marble now covers her grave with 'Queen Anne Boleyn' and the English coat of arms. It is rumored by the Tower that for the nearly the past five hundred years Boleyn family members have left Anne roses. This is hard to trace and is most likely not true, but the Queen, even in death has captivated countless people. Tourists of the Tower now leave roses on her grave to pay their respects to the late Queen. She who inspired public hatred is now beloved by many of Britain and the Western World.

The ambitious exhibition of the Royal House of Tudor at The New Gallery Regent Street was one of the first all-encompassing displays of its kind. It was put into five different

¹¹⁵ Ibid., 30.

connecting gallery spaces; artifacts were provided by generous lenders of Britain who had Tudor artwork in their possession. The exhibition timeline 1485 to 1603 covered the reign of Henry VII to the last Tudor reign Elizabeth I. An illustrated catalogue was published to go along with the exhibition with label descriptions included it was sold to subscribers for one Guinea. Areas that relate to Anne are The Holbein portrait of her that were displayed, a tablecloth with her badge, and a napkin with her badge on it that belonged to her daughter Elizabeth I.¹¹⁶

Two painted works of Anne were made before her reinterment. The first work by Edouard Cibot *Anne Boleyn at the Tower of London shortly after her Arrest* painted in 1835 (figure 2) depicts Anne with her crestfallen head looking downwards while she is dressed in purple a color reserved for the monarchy. Purple was chosen as symbolic way to say she is Queen. This work would have been commissioned to stir the viewer to have sympathy for the late Queen. The second work by Gustav Wrappers, *Anne Boleyn says a Final Goodbye to her daughter, Princess Elizabeth* painted in 1838 draws a direct parallel to motherhood and Queenship. The little child version of Elizabeth clings to her mother who sorrowfully gazes at the viewer; both figures would garner sympathy. This work was painted a year after Queen Victoria was coronated and at the time of 1838 an unmarried woman. This work would have been a discussion on the line of succession, and the rapidly expanding empire that Elizabeth started.

In the Victorian Age Anne was viewed for the first time as a victim of Henry's abuse. In this age she was allowed to be the discarded spouse who was brutally executed on Tower Hill. The narrative was then spun that Anne is the tragic victim of a romance gone wrong. In Britain by the 1840's the first waves of feminism were rising its way up into society. It would be a long

¹¹⁶ R. Clay, *Exhibition of the Royal House of Tudor Catalogue* (London : New Gallery, 1890)

time before Anne would be viewed as a Queen with political power. This movement would begin to lay the groundwork for twentieth century feminists and historians to grab hold of her narrative and write it for themselves. Once Anne is used in media as feminist icon or cautionary tale of one, her reputation would altered forever.

CHAPTER VI

REPRESENTATION

Anne Boleyn's narrative was shaped by the media, and the three waves of feminism influenced this and further improved by female historians. Movies such as *The Other Boleyn Girl*, and *Anne of a Thousand Days* attempt to give Anne a feminist platform, while television series like: *The Tudors*, *Wolf Hall*, *The Spanish Princess* attempt to enforce or deconstruct her reputation. While twenty first century pop portrayals of her like *Six! The Musical* have influenced her narrative largely on social media applications. viewing these shows with the feminist lenses, as Anne as moments where she speaks for women's agency. All the shows and movies mentioned were produce after the second wave of feminism in the 1960s's and were chosen due to their popularity.

Anne in Film

A lady, a Queen, a witch has represented Anne Boleyn for modern historical audiences. Television and movies grew throughout the twentieth century with the rise of technology, introducing Anne's story indifferent media. The problem of portraying her this way is first someone pretending to be her and live like her; when in the 20th century no one knows what the 16th century was like. The second problem that arises from this is historical inaccuracies that can come about from not knowing all the facts. The third problem is most media needs to add drama to the narrative to sell their show. This results in the stereotypes of Anne being portrayed on a more complex level than previously done in writing. Most often she is the romantic victim, or the scheming "witch" unfortunately for her there is almost not an in between. Directive choices to

make her a promiscuous adulterous woman, verses giving her agency over herself provide a more complex narrative of Anne in the twentieth first century but also reinforce what most viewers believe about her.

Historians have tried to describe what Anne looked like, but competitive narratives complicate this. What is known is that she had long dark colored hair, and almost black almond shaped eyes. She was probably an olive skin complexion and short stature in height with an oval face.¹¹⁷ There are no surviving portraits of Anne Boleyn there is only a singular sketch done by Hans Holbein that is believed to be of her in (Figure A). To compare the description to this text there is no evidence of a projecting tooth, or of a sallow complexion. It is not easy to see if there is a large wen under her chin on her throat due to her lace neckline. In the famous Anne Boleyn portrait (figure B) there is no large wen under her chin, and the sitter has Anne's hair and eye color correct as well as the oval face. This portrait has been acknowledged as Anne for centuries and will be the one I base my critique on the actress that portrait Anne on.

First up is Genevieve Bujold in figure C whose hair and eye color are correct as well as her height. She most closely resembles Anne Boleyn. Next up is Natalie Portman in figure D who again has the correct eye and hair color but is too tall to play Anne. Her face shape is not oval and is far too pretty compared to descriptions that survive of Anne. Claire foy in figure E is far from looking like Anne with light colored eyes, and pale complexion. The same could be said for Natalie Dormer in figure F, who is way too beautiful to be the "No Great Beauty" Anne Boleyn. Jodie Turner-smith in figure G was chosen as a statement of diversity, she is of African descent and therefore looks nothing like Anne. The casting director chose to make the Boleyns black to set them apart in the horrific thriller. Her film is more of a critique on the time of

¹¹⁷ Alison Weir, *The Lady in the Tower* (New York: Ballantine Books, 2010), 4.

production rather than any accuracy to look like Anne and is largely focused on how Anne fell from grace meant to stun the audience. The various “Anne Boleyns” casted for *Six! The musical*, represented in figure H, are chosen for diversity, personality, and talent. Figure I show Anne from *The Spanish Princess*, played by Alice Nokes. This actress is most like the portrait except for her face shape.

The costuming chosen for the actresses of Anne Boleyn range from historical accurate to glittering costumes, the reason costumes matter is because Anne introduced the French robe and hood to Tudor court, and it became the popular dress.¹¹⁸ Her “French robes” were made of damask silk with a velvet turnback that went over a kirtle and petticoat. For sleeves matched the forepart of the kirtle and typically lined with fur in adherence to the code of the sumptuary laws. These laws dictated what you could wear based on social class, it reserved purple and ermine fur to the royalty. While yellow was typically a color for the lower classes. These gowns featured a longer train than the gowns of the English court. The accompanying French hood was a crescent shape that covered the ears and always featured a long black veil to cover the hair. This hood even survived into the court fashions of Queen Elizabeth. During Anne’s run as Queen the typical Henrician lady adopted the new French robe, and it became the popular choice of garment.¹¹⁹ Anne’s gown as seen in painted portraits of her included pearls and jewels around the base of the French hood and neckline of most of her gowns.

Genevieve’s costumes were missing the fur on the sleeves, but the rest of the dress was accurate. Her French hood was also missing its veils in a few scenes. Anne did wear jewels in her hair like Genevieve did.¹²⁰ Natalie Portman and Alice Nokes had costumes that were

¹¹⁸ Eric Ives, *The Life and Death of Anne Boleyn* (Malden: Blackwell Publishing, 2004), 24.

¹¹⁹ Niya Mikhailia, Jane Davies, *The Tudor tailor* (London: Pavilion Books, 2006), 111.

¹²⁰ Eric Ives, *The Life and Death of Anne Boleyn* (Malden: Blackwell Publishing, 2004), 158.

historically accurate except the hoods should have been worn in every scene. Jodie Tuner-Smiths costumes were brightly colored however, they were too plain and lacked pattern for the Tudor time especially for a Queen. Natalie dormer's dresses were more costume than anything, favoring modern cuts and embroidery to embellish the gowns with heavy beading. The costume from *Six! the Musical* is more for a pop stage and is not accurate at all but is fun on stage. All the costumes matter since Anne Boleyn set trends and was known for her style during her lifetime. Her way of dress made up a part of her character and reflected her beliefs.

Anne lived from 1501 to 1536 and spent most of her life in England, with the exception of about six years in France. The focus of her life in film is usually depicted through the years 1521 to 1536, beginning with her arrival to England and court life, her love affairs, the Reformation, her Queenship and then her downfall. Anne had one potential marriage to Henry Percy the secretary to Cardinal Thomas Wolsey. Sir Thomas Wyatt was another potential lover who was known as being a close friend to Anne. From these men the narrative of Anne being a flirty woman comes into existence.

This completely leaves out her upbringings and her families rise in the Tudor courts which reinforces Anne as a lover of Henry as they begin the movies in 1529. The years 1529 – 1536 are the most epic time of her life and good for drama viewings, but by focusing sole on that the viewers only get the narrative of Anne that was written by her contemporaries. This positions her to be the scheming adulterous power-hungry Queen that's started a reformation and stole Henry away from Catherine. These narratives do not depict Anne's true character that was formed in the French courts.

Politics were one of the many attributes that stand out regarding Anne's personality. The Reformation began during the Summer of 1529 with the divorce preceding's of Queen Catherine

of Aragon and King Henry VIII at the Court of Black friars. The final ruling was that the court would disband, and the marriage would stay intact. By 1530 Anne was living with Henry when Catherine and Wolsey were pushed from court. This was where Thomas More and Thomas Cromwell began to rise in their status and favor of the King.¹²¹ Anne and Henry married in a secret wedding ceremony in January 1533, she would give birth to Princess Elizabeth in September of the same year. Once Henry named himself supreme head of the church, he would annul his marriage to Catherine in May 1533.¹²² On Sunday June 1st, 1533, Anne Boleyn was coronated as Queen.

Her Queenship years were marked by three miscarriages in the years 1534-1536 two of which we known were sons. The Act of Succession of 1534 denied Mary I, Catherine's daughter, a spot in the succession. It also denied the authority of the Pope. Thomas More and Bishop Fischer were executed the same year for not signing the act. The Act of Supremacy of 1534 put Henry VIII as the Supreme Head of the Church of England and was the final push to make England Protestant. Thomas Cromwell was the main person pushing for these acts along with Anne.

January 7th, 1536, saw the death of Catherine of Aragon in isolation away from court and her daughter. In the same month and year Anne miscarried of a boy, and Henry's hopes of having an heir with her were crushed.¹²³ The Dissolution of the Monasteries of 1536 was a policy put in place to stripe the monasteries of England and Wales and redirect the wealth to the King. By the end of April Henry wanted to be rid of Anne and looked to Thomas Cromwell for help; the King now had his eyes on Jane Seymour.

¹²¹ Travis Curtright, *Thomas More: Why Patron of Statesmen?* (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2015) 127.

¹²² Alison Weir, *The Six Wives of Henry VIII* (New York: Grove Weidenfeld, 1991).

¹²³ J J Scarisbrick, *Henry VIII* (New Haven: Yale University Press 1997) 348.

Anne's trial and execution take the center stage role in her life story. The trial was directed by Thomas Cromwell at the beginning of May when Anne was arrested for treason and sent to the Tower of London. Her brother George Boleyn was arrested a few days after Anne. Courtier Mark Smeaton was tortured into providing a false confession of adultery with the Queen to Lord Cromwell. Lords Francis Weston, Henry Norris, and Bereton were pushed into the mix and tried for the same reason and were executed with Smeaton and George Boleyn on May 17, 1536. Anne was executed by a French swordsman from Calais on May 19, 1536, to the sound of canons at the Tower green. She wore a black dress and an ermine wrap as her symbol of royalty, with red underskirts to present herself as a Christian martyr. Her scaffold speech is that is often adapted to film is as follows:

“Good Christian people, I am come hither to die, for according to the law, and by the law I am judged to die, and therefore I will speak nothing against it. I am come hither to accuse no man, nor to speak anything of that, whereof I am accused and condemned to die, but I pray God save the king and send him long to reign over you, for a gentler nor a more merciful prince was there never: and to me he was ever a good, a gentle and sovereign lord. And if any person will meddle of my cause, I require them to judge the best. And thus, I take my leave of the world and of you all, and I heartily desire you all to pray for me. O Lord have mercy on me, to God I commend my soul.”¹²⁴

While at the Tower awaiting death, Anne joked that she had but a “little neck” to the Lord of the Tower the only time she showed any outburst of hysterics. It was recorded that Anne swore on the condemnation of her soul that she did not betray the King. During her trial she remained calm and collected and denied all charges, except for providing money to the gentleman as she was charitable while Queen.

Women Rise

¹²⁴ Alison Weir, *The Lady in the Tower* (New York: Ballantine Books, 2010) 281.

Beginning in the early 1960's was the second wave of feminism. These women were mainly advocating for women's rights and equality. This came from feelings of discrimination after women were forced out of the workforce by men. They felt that during World War II when women largely took up jobs on the home front in American and Great Britain that they had proven they were equal to men. Just for the men to come back and force women back into the home sphere. This movement largely focused on white middle class women and their discontentment with being a stay-at-home wife. This would relate to Anne as historians during this time began looking at her as more than just Henry's beheaded second wife. The culture of the time was beginning to reflect the new demands of better representation of women in media. Often patriarchal narratives were pushed out on film to reject the feminist movement. While the women influenced by the times were affect by the politics and culture. Anne's narrative would be adapted to fit in with each new idea of feminism that came through the different waves.

Three different acts would pass in the United States that would then further the political gained a of these women. The first would be the equal pay act of 1963 which stipulate that women could no longer be paid less for doing comparable work as men in the same job. The second, Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 prevented employers from discriminating against employees based on race, religion, sex, or national origin. The third, *Griswold v. Connecticut* Supreme Court ruling of 1965 prevented anyone from limiting a woman's access to contraception. This final act would be the first step giving women agency over their own bodies in the United States. While across the pond British women did not see equal pay until 1970 when the Equal pay act would be passed. This is important as media would soon change to suit this new audience of women.

The women affected by these laws would be acting, directing, and writing Anne Boleyn's story. The female gaze put onto Anne would give her a sympathetic narrative. However, directors would still cast Anne as the scheming homewrecker and her reputation would be perpetrated. New iterations of Anne Boleyn would keep coming out and over saturate the media. The following films were chosen for their stance on Feminism and popularity.

Anne of a Thousand days

Geneviève Bujold portrayed Anne Boleyn in the 1969 film adaptation of *Anne of a Thousand Days* copied from the play of the same name. This British production was written by Bridget Boland and John Hale. Charles Jarrott directed this film that was then produced by Hal Wallis Productions who was an American film producer. The romanticized hero of Robin Hood is also brought to life through Hal Wallis Production's in 1938, as is the tragic story of Thomas Beckett in 1964. In legends Robin Hood stole from England's wealthy in the 12th century. While Thomas Beckett attempted to reconcile England's King with religion and the Pope. King's John and Henry II are portrayed as the villains in both of their stories. Anne then enters the stage as the young and innocent love interest in this tragically romantic retelling of her life during the years 1530-1536.

The Boleyn sisters Mary and Anne represent a failure and a success in this rendition of Anne's life. Mary is pregnant with Henry's child but has been cast aside which she is scornful for. Anne is in love with Henry Percy and polite but dismissive of Henry's advances. This relationship similarly to history would be broken up by Wolsey. Henry Percy was on Wolsey's staff, and this caused Wolsey to end the relationship between Percy and Anne.¹²⁵ Here Anne

¹²⁵ J J Scarisbrick, *Henry VIII* (New Haven: Yale University Press 1997). 121

openly challenges Wolsey and shows that she is unafraid to make him her “enemy”. Later Wolsey states that Anne is of a bold spirit. Another comment made about Anne comes from her father Thomas Boleyn, who states that “She is no fool.”¹²⁶ This is regarding her denying Henry of being his mistress. Anne openly tells Percy that she is not a virgin and that she was sexually open in France like her sister Mary. By stating this Anne is now labeled as a promiscuous woman which gets lost when she continually denies Henry of being his mistress.¹²⁷ There is no actual textual evidence that Anne was at all promiscuous while in France when she was between the ages of fourteen and twenty-one and under the close eye of Queen Claude, but this pop-culture manufacturing of the idea endures.

The political side of Anne comes out mostly because she does not want to give Henry any bastard sons. This version of Anne craves the throne and power and will not allow for Catherine’s child to be seen over Anne’s. It is important to note that there is no love shown between Henry and Anne. All acts of intimacy between them are typically forced upon Anne by Henry. Anne goes along with this to gain power from him. A conversation between the two on whether she likes a poem Henry wrote for her Genevieve asks if his wife would like it. This witty retort from Anne is very in tune with her real character. The romance is not sensationalized in this retelling of the lovers who changed history.

Cromwell is the one who mentions the dissolution of the monasteries which historically Anne was against. According to historian Eric Ives it was this disagreement between the two that led to their split from being allies.¹²⁸ By the 1:19:00 mark Cromwell is pushing for the break with Rome and is now handling most of the politics. Cromwell officially handled the politics and

¹²⁶ Charles Jarlott, director, *Anne of the thousand days*. (Los Angeles : Hal Wallis Productions, 1969) 18:17

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, 23:24.

¹²⁸ Eric Ives, *The Life and Death of Anne Boleyn* (Malden: Blackwell Publishing, 2004), 308.

is the main person behind the English reformation.¹²⁹ Since Anne is treated as the escape goat, she is often given blame for it as well. The one-time Anne speaks politically is regarding the Act of Succession which she only pushes so her daughter can claim her right to the throne.¹³⁰

After this Anne is left in the shadows of her being called stubborn, witty, and intelligent. Instead, she is now the “witch who bewitched Henry”. This is echoed by the chanting crowd during her coronation while the crowd yells “God save Queen Catherine.” It finally comes time for Cromwell to orchestrate her fall from power. Henry originally pushes for her to be divorced, but Cromwell decides she needs to be executed. Historically during her trial Anne was calm and kept her dignity. This Anne instead yells to get her point across while on trial. Henry visits her in the Tower to get her to agree to an annulment this she refuses to do. She then instead lies about loving Henry and admits to adultery with the accused men.

From the feminist standpoint Geneviève Bujold as Anne is stubborn and witty. She uses her intelligence to trick Henry into giving her what she wants; however, there is no mention of her being involved in the Reformation just that she was holding Henry’s interest during the split from Rome. At 2:18:05 Anne states that “Elizabeth shall be Queen and she will be a greater Queen for England, and my blood will have been well spent.”¹³¹ There is no evidence that Anne said this, but since Geneviève did this statement now clings to Anne’s memory. The director chose this moment for her to make her stand, because Elizabeth is the ironic ending to Anne’s story.

Third wave of feminism

¹²⁹ Scarisbrick, J J. 1997. *Henry VIII*. New Haven: Yale University Press Pg 393

¹³⁰ Charles Jarlott, director, *Anne of the thousand days*. (Los Angeles : Hal Wallis Productions, 1969) 1:47:18

¹³¹ Charles Jarlott, director, *Anne of the thousand days*. (Los Angeles : Hal Wallis Productions, 1969) 2:28:05

The United States and Britain both experience the third wave of feminism from the 1990s through the early 2000's. Queen Elizabeth II would be a symbol that women could look up to in Britain, while in the US first ladies Hilary Clinton, Laura Bush and later Michelle Obama would advocate for women as active first ladies. This wave was pushed forward by women born into the 1960s to 1970s who came of age in a media saturated world, familiar with larger film makers wanting to try to form these characters of women who promoted women's equality in the workplace. This often came off as tone deaf and reduced real life women to character tropes for entertainment. For Anne Boleyn this meant she would be portrayed as a scheming seductress on most platforms.

The Other Boleyn Girl

Phillipa Gregory, an English woman, wrote *the other Boleyn girl* in 2001. Production for the film of the same name began in 2008, with it airing in 2009. This story, which focuses largely on Mary Boleyn, provides us with an in-depth look of Anne as a strategic and cunning woman. Mary is portrayed as the golden sister, while Anne is constantly shown in the darkness. It is important to note that the book was written a decade after the third wave of feminism spread through America. The connection here is that Anne is portrayed as a feminist icon and embodies the ideals of third wave feminist. They argued that women could hold offices of power and could be both regarded for their intelligence. The film was directed by Justin Chadwick and production for the film was done in Denver Colorado, USA with Columbia Pictures producing the film.

Even though the director was male this film largely was present with the author's female gaze. With a primary focus on female power or lack thereof. There is hardly any nudity only a few legs and arm shots of Mary and Henry. This coupled with Natalie Portman's portrayal of Anne as a headstrong feminist the film is geared for a female audience, with the feminist lead

laying claim to the divorce of Katherine and Henry, and the Reformation. Anne is not sexual towards Henry and constantly refuses his advances. Anne instead seduces Henry with the promise of a son and her mind. This like the third waves reclaims what is portrayed about women in media. Anne rose to power because of her mind not her body.

Most portrayals of Anne pay some sort of homage to the famed “Greensleeves” poem by having Anne wear a green dress. The mythology behind the poem is that Henry wrote it for Anne when he saw her for the first time in a green dress. This myth has been widely debunked by historians but is worth mention as Anne is constantly portrayed in this color. Green was most importantly the color of house Tudor. Anne did own one green damask dress that was gifted to her by Henry VIII. The red and white colors of the rose come from the Tudor’s Lancastrian and York ancestors. When Anne wears green she holds the dominant stance in the scene and display’s her power over Henry.

A scene midway through is the most powerful scene in the film as Anne addresses the court and King Henry on male authority. She wittily discusses in this scene what would make a great man/ king, notably stating that a good king is forgiving, generous, shows humility, and owns the ability to see his match in others. That he is not threatened by women’s equality. An interesting stance to make when women were subject to their father and husband’s authority, while Queens were only able to use the power bestowed upon them by the king. Throughout the movie Anne continues to wear green anytime she holds the power in the relationship. This is seen through various clips of Anne denying Henry’s advances and returning his gifts. Once the court of Black Friar was over with, Henry finds Anne and rapes her since she will not submit to being his

mistress.¹³² Anne is wearing black which signified the beginning of her end in the film. This is also the first time Anne realizes she truly does not have any power left in the situation. Anne is left with a sense of helplessness and a loss of agency.

The work of Gregory and Chadwick, perhaps unintentionally, perpetuate the myth that Anne was the sole cause of Henry's divorce, and the Reformation. Men like Thomas Cromwell were historically known for their role in the matter. In this version it is Anne who first openly questions the Pope's authority over England. Then Anne is finely coronated Queen with common people chanting outside the doors. This relating to a historical event where two women were beaten naked in the streets for claiming Catherine of Aragon to be the true Queen during the coronation of Anne.¹³³ All of these add to the narrative of Anne being a cunning vindictive woman who only sought power, in comparison to Catherine who was the good Queen and a victim in the situation. Once Anne does become Queen her wardrobe reflects Catherine's in red and black. Which symbolizes the two Queen's fates mirroring each other this being their fall from favor with Henry.

Anne's mental state starts to decline after her one miscarriage that is shown in the film. She had three miscarriages, but the movie skips two years without saying so. Which for non-informed viewers can cause some misunderstanding as to how one miscarriage could lead to execution. Anne suggests lying with her brother to convince a son since the King will not sleep with her. George refuses and Anne apologizes but Lady Jane Rochford already saw all she needed to condemn both siblings. The trial scene is Anne's last stand of power even though she

¹³² This was the court that was supposed to annule the marriage of Henry VIII and Catharine of Aragon. It was ultimately dismissed by Cardinal Campeggio in the summer of 1529. This moment in History pushed Henry to discarded Catharine and marry Anne in 1533.

¹³³ "A London Chronicle: Henry VIII," in *Two London Chronicles From the Collections of John Stow*, ed. Charles Lethbridge Kingsford (London: Camden Society, 1910), 1-17. British History Online, accessed November 18, 2022,

realistically does not have any. She comments that the lords can judge her, but they should not forget that they will be judged in the highest court of all. Of course, she is sentenced to be executed on counts of treason, adultery, and incest. In this adaptation Anne and her brother are the only ones executed.¹³⁴

This film largely plays into the narrative trope of Anne being the dark Boleyn sibling. Comments of her being too smart for her own good and cunning all attribute to her mind over body. She is called a witch by Henry and various background characters throughout the film, which stems from the one historical count by Chapuys where he recorded the King stating Anne must have bewitched him. While she is a good symbol for female empowerment and women in power, this is not an accurate rendering of Anne Boleyn. By heaping all the blame on her she is immediately seen as the villain of the film and in Henry's story. The discussion of women's lack of agency at the time is later addresses when Anne's is taken from her. For the modern feminist scenes like what makes a good king, and her trial speech are empowering. In that respect Natalie Portman's Anne Boleyn is intelligent and witty like the real woman. However, the discrepancies with making her a witch and a villain pour a dark light on the real Anne Boleyn's reputation. It is unfair to solely blame one person for an entire movement that took various people to put into motion namely the Reformation.

The Constant Princess, published in 2005, was adapted to a tv series titled *The Spanish Princess* in 2019. The original novel was written by Philippa Gregory, and the story follows a young Catherine of Aragon. The show was produced by STARZ and directed by Birgitte Stærmosse. The show was developed by Emma Frost and Mathew Graham. The second season

¹³⁴ Smeaton, Bereton, Norris and Weston are not given much attention here. These were the four men condemned with Anne during Cromwell's haste to construct the trial.

ends with Anne Boleyn coming into the picture and seducing Henry. Anne does not appear in the show often as it is about Catherine, but what is chosen for her in the few seconds she does have speaks volumes. Anne is once again stripped of her agency in the fictive and cinematic universe of Gregory.

In season 2 episode 2 Alice Nokes has her one and only scene where she speaks as Anne Boleyn. She comments about Solomon the wise king but is corrected by another lady that he was also rich. Anne then mutters to herself “a rich king” with a sense of longing in her voice. This shows to the audience that Anne desires a rich king as she is sewing Princess Mary Tudors’ wedding dress.¹³⁵ In Season 2 episode 8 we see her being admonished by Catherine of Aragon about how the King will grow tired of her. Anne is later seen in the same episode outside with King Henry completely nude, even though historically this would not have happened. Even though there is no showing of the Courts of Black friars in the show, it is indicated through these clips that the year is around 1531 when Catherine was shunned from court. It instead shows Catherine leaving court of her own judgment rather than the pushing of Henry. The last shot of Anne shows her seated beside King Henry at a feast laughing. The show ultimately gives Catherine of Aragon agency but dismisses Anne as schemer that ruined a twenty-four-year marriage. This shows Anne completely from Catherine’s point of view.

By this point in time Phillipa Gregory has had two decades to rewrite Anne’s narrative. To find some glimmer of truth in who Anne was as a person instead the opinion of Anne being a scheming and manipulative promiscuous woman has not changed. *In The Other Boleyn Girl*, Anne was allowed to have agency over herself; in *The Spanish Princess* she does what her father tells her to and seduces the King with a simple curtesy. While this could be argued that it is all

¹³⁵ Princess Mary Tudor first married King Louis of France, and Anne attended her as a lady in waiting in France.

from Catherine's point of view, there should still be at least one scene where Anne is showcasing her intelligence. Instead of stripping her of it and presenting her naked to the young Henry. Thus, completely robbing her of her identity and leaving her to be this puppet of seduction. The one redeeming quality of the Boleyn family in this version is Thomas is seen as truly caring of his daughters. Similarly, Mary Boleyn is not seen as Henry's mistress at all in this show, she is reduced like Anne to the background.

Wolf Hall was directed by Peter Kosminsky in 2015 and was produced by the British Broadcasting Channel. Nothing in the series happens without Cromwell's knowledge. This makes the series subject completely to the male gaze. Several women ask for marriage or sexual favors of Cromwell. This tells the audience that we are viewing the show as Cromwell does. The show is his fantasy or idealized life. While the women are seen from his view Anne still has moments of intelligence that Cromwell admires. Anne is still seen as short tempered, and manipulative. She often has outbursts of frustration while in the company of Cromwell. It begs the question does Cromwell regard her intelligence as good or as a scheming woman? Claire Foy portrays a strong willed, confident, and determined Anne.

Anne's reputation as a flirtatious woman comes to fruition in a couple of scenes. Anne flirts with Smeaton, Weston, Norris, and Bereton in one final scene. Then converses flirtatiously with a French nobleman in Calais, all of this seen by Cromwell. In the French scene she is escorted away by her uncle Howard who she glares at for the next minute of screen time. In the other scene there is no one around to save her from her wrong doings. Instead, she continues to metaphorically dig her own grave when she tells off Lady Rochford, her sister-in-law, who by this point has had enough of serving the hot-tempered Queen.

She is seen as the person behind the fall of Wolsey and of Sir Mores'. Lady Rochford appears tired of listening to the Boleyns and annoyed with Anne's attitude. Lady Rochford is a schemer like Anne but is trying to rise in court through Boleyn's. Anne is compared to the soft spoken and shy Jane Seymour, and Mary Boleyn, is seen as the pious good sister. Anne's appearance is disregarded by Cromwell he instead likes to converse with her about politics. One scene where he touches her upper breast and neck is shown in his fantasy. This probably shows his attraction to the young women, or her impending doom.

In the final episode of the series, Cromwell held the sword used to kill Anne. This is him taking ownership in her execution. He also stands on the scaffold, worried about if she will feel any pain from it. Portrayed that he only did it to please Henry and get closer to the king through the established power structure. It was Henry, Wolsey, and then Anne. Then Henry, More, Anne. So, when it became Henry, Anne, Cromwell, the lord knew he had to get Anne out of power to further his own agenda. Cromwell repeatedly thought back to a masque celebration of Wolsey's death where Smeaton, George Boleyn, bereton, Weston, and Norris performed. Cromwell held a vendetta against these men throughout the show. He ultimately realizes who Henry is and holds disbelief after the death of Anne.

What is feminism through the male gaze? Women's intelligence is still acknowledged but is appreciated while women are still seen sexually. Sex is still predominantly Anne's main worth in this adaption and whether she can give Henry a son. The Original book is written by a woman and is a work of historical fiction it is sympathetic towards Cromwell. Anne appears demanding and feeds into the "no great beauty" trope. This aligns with the third wave of feminism belief that a women's beauty was not her worth. That women should be more so admired for their work ethic and intelligence.

How sympathetic is the narrative? For Cromwell very, for Anne not only in her final moments. Smeaton unwillingly tells Cromwell what it is he wants to hear under the threat of torture.¹³⁶ Rochford tells Cromwell what she has seen in Anne's chamber. The blame of Anne's fall bounces from Rochford, More, Cromwell, Anne, and then Henry. Nobody can take accountability for their actions in this version of *Wolf Hall*. Cromwell watched Anne fall after she climbed over and removed people of higher power. Cromwell realized Henry's changing mind puts him at risk like Anne this sets Henry up as the unknown villain. Thomas realized he could be unmade if he loses Henry's favor. Cromwell does not see Jane as a threat to his power which is why he favors her over Anne. Another story where Anne's narrative is controlled by the men who wrote it.

Politics? Not My thing...

Queens are now heard and written by female historians. Their stories are being told outside the realm that Henry established for them as just wives. They are being seen as more than just a wife, but how they were Queens. Even though there is now the added feminist gaze. In history Queens are still viewed as subject to their times and existing power structures. *SIX!* Shows the Queens on the same level instead of competing for the title of Henry. This musical developed and was staged produced in 2021. With this portrayal Henry turns into a secondary character to the women's stories. He is often portrayed as the horrible husband in these narratives. This is a bit unfair to Henry, but he can take a sideline seat for this one.

The musical is reminiscent of the Rock against Sexism Movement of the 1980's that was founded in Boston Massachusetts and was inspired by an English Movement. The goal of the

¹³⁶ J J Scarisbrick, *Henry VIII* (New Haven: Yale University Press 1997). 350.

women in the movement was to fight back against sexism in pop culture and the punk rock music industry, it soon became world-wide.¹³⁷ Like its' predecessor, *Six! The Musical* discuss issues that are categorized as addressing “women's topics,” such as gender roles, sexual harassment, and appearance. The song *Don't Lose Your Head* sung for Anne Boleyn addresses all of this.

While this musical does wonders for bringing the women forward and giving them agency, it unfortunately only looks at them within the realm as wives. The musical portrays Anne in her flirtatious home wrecker narrative. While the Anne singer giggles that politics is “not her thing” it was very much a part of Anne. The costume of the singer is of course green, because what else would you wear to represent her. The musical does make use of the infamous poem Greensleeves. “Henry sent me a poem all about my Greensleeves, I changed a couple words put it on a sick beat.” The implication of this lyric being that historians are giving Anne back her narrative. The most problematic part of this musical is that it just portrays the horrible narratives of Anne and reestablishes them as being her with the argument being made that the musical is satire. The presence of violence in the show based on horrific and violent events is often mentioned. This can be forgotten among the cheerful pop music. Female violence is treated like a joke in this musical. While lose your head can have double meaning, this should not be a punchline especially for someone portraying a victim of this cruelty.

There is no lyric that hints that the character was an intelligent woman. Instead, we are given a surface level version of her. The common trope of Anne being flirtatious is apparent throughout the musical, while the singer portraying her appears not have a care in the world. The

¹³⁷ Pauwke Berkers, *Rock Against Gender Roles: Performing Femininities and Doing Feminism Among Women Punk Performers in the Netherlands, 1976-1982*, *Journal of popular music studies* 24, no. 2 (Berkeley: University of California Press 2012): 155–175.

problem with this ditzy and frivolous narrative is that we know Anne was a real person. She is just now being recognized by the as having political influence when she was alive.

Since Anne died as a traitor to the crown it is easy for 20th and 21st century people to see her for just her sins. When we live in a time of the fourth wave of feminism, which allows women to recognize their intelligence with their femininity, it is wrong to position Anne as being only one-sided. She can be an attractive woman who married the King, but we should also be sure to do her justice. This can be done by including her political and charity works in her common narratives. Which would allow for everyday people taking in Tudor media to see her more closely to how she really was.

This musical does bring up the dangers of historical women being portrayed in media. The obvious problem being that everyone will have a different version of the story. Which allows for the women to be used for profit by every new director that wants to use them. Women with scandalous history like Anne are often portrayed as a sexual object for the main male character.

Crowning Glory

According to the writers of *The Fourth Wave in Audiovisual Content: A True Achievement of Feminism*, the popularity of feminism in media has become current to the times. To argue their point, they state that “it is undeniable that there is an interest in including empowered, autonomous, and independent female characters” in television series and movies.¹³⁸ The image of a Queen like Anne Boleyn having anatomy over herself and being an intelligent woman is now wanted by a wide audience. For Anne this means that her story can be portrayed

¹³⁸ Cabrera, Maria Silvestre, Maria Lopez Belloso, and Raquel Royo Prieto. *The Fourth Wave in audiovisual Content: A True Achievement of Feminism? International journal of communication* (2021): 416

without her having to hide in the shadow of Henry VIII. This is allowed and encouraged by the work of 20th and 21st century female historians who rewrote Anne's narrative and grew through the waves of feminism.

The most prominent woman being British historian Alison Weir who focuses on the Tudor era and English royal women. Her work, beginning in 1972, was one of the first biographies written about the six wives of Henry VIII. By the late 1990's her work shifted to focus on the women themselves and removed them from the comparative narrative they had been ingrained into by historical patriarchal structures. The underlining theme throughout her work is social class and gender roles, this presented the question of the power of Queenship, and how much control Queens really had.

Joining Weir on the list of gendered Tudor historians is Joanna Denny. Her work comprised of Anne Boleyn and Kathrine Howard. Denny tended to take a more sympathetic approach to her writing with these two women whose stories ended horribly. Denny sought to rehabilitate the image of Anne Boleyn with her work by bringing to light Anne's efforts to be a good Queen. The only downfall that Denny has is that she is critiqued to be too pro-Anne and against the men who orchestrated her downfall. Denny's one work on Anne was published a few years after her death in 2006.

Retha Warnicke is an American historian and Emeritus professor of history at Arizona State University, whose work focuses on politics and Queenship in Tudor England. She has been criticized for her controversial theories on Anne Boleyn that focus on the sexual intrigue of court life. Retha highlights the life of the Tudors wicked Queen and delves into questions of power structure and dynamics. Her work has changed how 21st century people view Anne Boleyn and the other wives of Henry VIII by giving them their own narratives outside of their marriage.

Publishing consecutively in the 2010's is British Historian Claire Ridgeway. Her work focused on the Boleyn family. The written work by Ridgeway on Anne consists of *Letters from the Tower of London*, and *The Fall of Anne Boleyn*, both narratives focusing on the few weeks leading to Anne's execution. This does not leave room for Anne to showcase her own power and shifts the narrative back into the hands of Henry VIII and Cromwell. Ridgeway has made her online presence known through her blog, theAnneBoleynfiles.com, where she discusses different aspects of Anne's life in article format. This blog is an example of historians using the new age technology to spread correct information about their chosen topic. Ridgeway typically cites her sources back to online archives at the end notes of each article.

Female historians of the 20th and 21st century have come into a fantastic era of female empowerment brought by the three waves of feminism. Beginning in the 1970's the academic world saw a boom of female narratives written by women. Using studies of family dynamics and gender roles woman of the past were finally given their spot in history. Biographies of Queen's soon came in surplus following the 1990s and into the turn of the century as media took off as well. The Queen's audience became the general female population, and images of Elizabeth I in armor at the Battle of Tilbury became common place and wanted. While media and television portrayed Queens of the past and present in sometimes a dramatized light, it pushed the Queen's into feminist roles they originally while under male authorship did not hold. The images of historic Queens as feminist icons inspire future generations of women to come into their own crowning glory.

As inspirational as Anne is she deserves to be seen for who she was. Her own education and beliefs need to be represented in film. You cannot show all the bad and none of her good qualities to spin an inaccurate narrative. Anne was a multifaceted human who should be allowed

to exist in the designated space of her time, while also pushing the boundaries as she was known to do. The twenty first century has no room for misogynistic narratives. It would be great to see a film start with her upbringing and then follow through to her end. At the very least this type of film would much more sympathetic, and even more impactful for audiences.

CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSION

The memory of Anne Boleyn survives into the twenty first century due to the efforts of her dedicated contemporaries and the memorialization of her at the Tower of London during the nineteenth century. The adulteress second wife of Henry VIII that was buried with a handkerchief in a tennis crate was reinterred with respect and dignity beneath a memorial plaque. The stain of the execution still lasts on her memory, but her true character is remembered as well. She is now one of the most famous of Henry's six wives. All aspects of her character are written and memorialized.

Anne is first and foremost remembered due to her role as daughter, wife, and almost fiancée to several Tudor men. James Butler, Henry Percy, and Thomas Wyatt courted her for marriage and even loved her. Due to this number of suitors, she is remembered for her flirtatious nature which is due to her "frenchness". There is no surviving evidence that Anne was ever unfaithful in France or in England, and she remained a chaste woman. Anne's allure survives through Thomas Wyatt's poetry, and she is known as one of the most romantic people from Tudor England.

Henry VIII led England into its Renaissance through pageants and patronage to the artist, Hans Holbein. His reign is marked with military success and failures, and with this being known as a military expansionist. Henry was as well read as any European prince and was a theologian and even a physician of sorts. The most impactful part of his reign is his divorce to Catherine of Aragon, and the subsequent courtship of Anne Boleyn while he was still wed. Henry would have

divorced Catherine even if Anne was not in the picture this divorce is what set the wheels in motion for the English reformation. Anne was just knowledgeable enough about Protestant reform to be able to speak to him about the matter and advocate for church reform.

Henry and Anne together are known as the “Lovers Who Changed History” are remarkably romantic ideal presented to them by the Victorian age. Their love letters that survive at the Vatican, the very place that tried to stop their union, attest to the love that Henry once held for her. Unfortunately, the narrative is spun to say that Anne was vindictive and stole Henry from Catherine. Henry was his own person and could decide for himself who he wanted as a wife. As lovely as Anne was, she was merely conveniently there when Henry needed her most.

The four years that Anne served Queen Catherine as a faithful lady are forgotten as her ending is revealed. The few years these women spent together are forgotten in favor of the dramatic Reformation. The court splitting into the Catholic Catherine faction, and the Protestant Boleyn faction. Catherine had every right to argue her case at the court of Black friars. Instead of blaming Anne for everything it is best to look at the men pushing her to Henry, Thomas Cromwell, and Lord Howard. The witty and refined lady of the French court did what she needed to survive Henry’s court.

Once Queen Anne fought and argued for what she believed in, often resulting in her clashing with Henry and his advisor. She advocated for the poor relief that Cromwell would famously get credit for after her death. Anne would always contribute to education and charitable deeds while Queen. When the dissolutions of the monasteries were discussed, Anne saw it for what it was, a way to fill the Crown and Cromwell’s pockets. She came to disagreements with Cromwell over this in 1534. Through The Act of Supremacy Anne fought for her daughter’s right to the throne over Mary’s, but what mother would not fight for her daughter.

Queen Elizabeth did not remember her mother at all since she lost Anne at the age of three years old. However, Elizabeth made sure her mother was remembered for being a rightful Protestant Queen. Through jewelry and bannermen's Anne lived on in the court of the "Golden Age". Her legacy of being a martyr for her faith inspired the people to rethink the narrative of Anne. Due to Elizabeth's efforts and success as Queen Anne was allowed to be a Queen that was celebrated; this provided the redemption Anne desperately needed after Henry's brutal erasure.

Three hundred and forty years after her burial Anne's peaceful tomb at the tower was disturbed by preservationist. A new Queen would lend her hand in assisting Anne's image in being rehabilitated. The larger restorative work was done to improve the image of Queen Victoria's empire but created a lasting effect on Anne. The works written during this time reinforced Anne as the virtuous mother of Queen Elizabeth and a Protestant Queen. In an age where the current Queen was praised for her virtue and faith. Artistic works did reestablish the old narrative of Anne losing her head, but they now invoked much more sympathy as Anne became a tragic victim.

Today the tower of London boasts more crowds than it ever saw in Victoria's age. Every year on Anne's Anniversary English people lay red roses on her memorial grave. On the memorial glass that is erected on the site of execution she is remembered alongside her dear cousin, Queen Katherine Howard. Both Queens are regarded as being victims of Henry's abuse and are given much more sympathy from modern historians. The reworking of her narrative allows for Anne's efforts as Queen to be her crowning glory.

As female historians have taken to Tudor England and writing about the Queens. Anne's intelligence and subsequent fall are regarded with more understanding than had previously afforded her. Anne is a multifaceted human woman in a time when being a woman meant you

belonged to the men in your life; this includes her original narrative that was owned by the men who condemned her. By reworking the narrative and making it about Anne she is seen as divinely feminine, as well as, calculating and able to write her own ideals down. Anne remains in public memory as a Queen that lies beneath roses and a memorial.

The museums of the twentieth through the twenty first centuries are the guideposts for Anne Boleyns legacy. She is remembered at Hever Castle, Hampton Court, and the Tower of London for her life spent there. Her legacy of being a Queen with a controversial role in Tudor politics and her passion during the Protestant Reformation are her legacy. The execution is still what is most remembered about her by the common person at the Tower of London. However, the Tower is now seen as a memorial site to honor and remember its victims.

Most historic sites or museum have some form of mission statement that dictate how the museum strives towards their goal. According to historian Anderson “A well-crafted mission statement represents the unique aspects of a museum and its community and prepares the museum to undertake known and as yet unknown challenges without compromise.” This statement would act as a guide on how to protect share and preserve historic artifacts and sites. It would also act as a rule to follow for the staff of the institution. The museum board acts as a governing body within the museum to make sure all rules are being followed. This also protects the staff and the talked about historical figures from being misrepresented. The protection this gives Anne is that there are a multitude of people protecting her legacy from being defamed. More people in the twenty first century then there ever were in her lifetime are protecting her. The beginning of museums roots back “to the nineteenth century, when the federal government

entered the work of collecting and preserving the nation's natural and cultural resources.”¹³⁹ They became popular as an academic career in the 1970s. Museums strive to educate their visitors on their shared past. It is uncommon for British guests to have any say about what history is shared or preserved amongst their museums as all museums cater to the standing monarchy.

Hever Castle

Anne’s childhood home is a historic site that pays homage to her the most. While strolling the grounds visitors can suspended their disbelief and be back in the sixteenth century. The home has been preserved with bedrooms intact and a gallery hall of Boleyn and Tudor era portraits. The rest of the home is mostly period appropriate to the Tudor era. On 27th July 1903 William Waldorf Astor purchased Hever Castle and it was later opened after renovations in 1907. The mission statement is “Today our mission is to conserve and improve the Hever Castle Estate whilst maintaining its integrity and making its important history available to inform and educate our visitors. We endeavor to ensure an enjoyable, engaging, and memorable experience for all in a beautiful, fun, and safe environment.” written in the modern age.

What can be said from this is that preservation is one of the primary concerns. Especially when the estate has been maintained since the Boleyns held it. The renovations of 1906 to 1907 were done to keep up with its medieval appearance with workers using tools that would have been used in the sixteenth century.¹⁴⁰ The second is how they as museums staff engage with visitors through interpretation and exhibitions.

¹³⁹ Denise D. Meringolo, *Museums, Monuments, and National Parks: Toward a New Genealogy of Public History* (Boston: University of Massachusetts Press, 2012)

¹⁴⁰ “Anne Boleyn.” Historic Royal Palaces, <https://www.hrp.org.uk/tower-of-london/history-and-stories/anne-boleyn/#gs.ibzk6q>.

Permanent exhibitions include the inner hall, Drawing Room, Dining Hall, Entrance Hall, library, morning room, Anne Boleyn's bedroom, Book of hours room, The Queen's chamber, The staircase gallery, King Henry VIII's bedchamber, The Waldegrave room, The long gallery, The Astor suite, The gatehouse, and the castle courtyard. These rooms are present due to the work of various people over different centuries. "The oldest part of the Castle is the Medieval Council Chamber in the Gatehouse which dates to the 13th century. Timber-framed Tudor additions were built in the 15th and 16th centuries by the Boleyn family and can still be seen. Yet, much of what you see today is the result of the remarkable efforts of a wealthy American, William Waldorf Astor, who used his fortune to restore and extend the Castle in the early 20th century. Astor paid great attention to detail and insisted that his workmen used, as far as possible, the same materials and tools as Tudor and Elizabethan craftsmen."¹⁴¹ these rooms primary function as interpretive areas and galleries for art.

Hampton Court is most notably the primary residence of Anne Boleyn while Queen. Today the palace is open to the public as a museum and heritage site of British history. It is owned by the Historic Royal Palaces along with the Tower of London, a broader organization that works to preserve and share the sites stories. The court has been preserved to maintain Henry's great hall, and kitchens as interpretive spaces. The exhibitions held their act to educate visitors along with interpretive guides.

The Tower of London is a memorial site in London. It is the final resting place of Anne Boleyn where preservationist along with historians worked to rehabilitate her reputation as Queen. The work of Foxe and Latymer let her be known as a pious Queen and a martyr to the Protestant Faith. Victorians rewrote her narrative to focus on her deeds as Queen and efforts in

¹⁴¹ Ibid.,

the Reformation. Modern media chose to dramatize her life and add complexity to her already difficult life. Without these competing voices we would not have Anne remembered as she is today in museums. Anne Boleyn has incurred five hundred years of mystery and lays under roses and a memorial as a beloved Queen.

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APPENDICES

Timeline

1501– Anne is born

1514 – At court of Margaret of Austria

1515 – Serves Queen Mary Tudor of France

1515-1521 – Serves Queen Claude of France

1522 – returned to England from France

1523 – became engaged to Henry Percy, this was ended soon after

1526 – 1529 Served as lady to Catherine of Aragon

1527 – first love letter sent to Anne from Henry

Summer of 1529 – divorce proceedings between Henry and Catherine. Nothing is accomplished.

November 29, 1530 – Wolsey falls from favor and dies before he can be arrested for treason.

September 1st, 1532 – Anne was created the Marquess of Pembroke

December 1532 – Anne conceives a child

January 25th, 1533 - Anne marries Henry in secret ceremony

June 1533 – Henry divorces Catherine of Aragon

June 1st, 1533 – Anne is crowned Queen of England

September 7th, 1533 – Elizabeth is born

1534 – pregnancy and miscarriage

1535 – another miscarriage

July 6th, 1535 – Thomas Moore is executed for Treason

Timeline of Anne Boleyn's Fall, 1536

29th January, 1536 Anne Boleyn miscarries for the third time, possible deformed fetus

10th February – Record of Henry VIII showing favor to Jane Seymour

25th April – King refers to Anne Boleyn as his “most dear and entirely beloved wife the Queen” and writes of his hope for a son

29th April – Chapuys records meetings between Cromwell and Dr Richard Sampson, an expert on canon law. Anne and Sir Henry Norris have an argument

30th April – King and Queen's visit to Calais is cancelled. Anne and Henry argue. Mark Smeaton is taken to Cromwell's house to be interrogated. He confesses to adultery with the Queen

2nd May – Sir Henry Norris taken to the Tower of London, Smeaton is already there. Anne Boleyn is arrested and taken to the Tower. George Boleyn arrested at Whitehall and taken to the Tower

4th May – Arrests of Sir Francis Weston and Sir William Brereton. Jane Boleyn, Lady Rochford, sends a message to her husband

7th May – William Latymer, Anne Boleyn's chaplain, searched on his arrival in England

12th May – Trial of Norris, Smeaton, Weston, and Brereton found guilty and sentenced to death

13th May – Queen Anne Boleyn's household is broken up. Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland, denies a pre-contract between himself and Anne Boleyn

15th May – Trials of Anne and George Boleyn. Both found guilty and sentenced to death

17th May – Executions of Norris, Smeaton, Weston, Brereton, and George Boleyn on Tower Hill. Cranmer declares the marriage between Henry VIII and Anne Boleyn null and void

18th May – Anne Boleyn's execution is postponed

19th May – Execution of Anne Boleyn within the Tower walls

20th May – Betrothal of Henry VIII and Jane Seymour

30th May – Marriage of Henry VIII and Jane Seymour

4th June – Jane Seymour proclaimed Queen at Greenwich

List of Figures



Figure 1: Hans Holbein the Younger 1547, *Anne Boleyn*, Royal Collection Trust



Figure 2: *The Chequers Ring*, date unknown. Worn by Elizabeth I



Figure 3: *The Family of Henry VIII* c. 1545 Royal Collection Trust, Hampton Court



Figure 4: Close up of Mary on left, and Elizabeth with “A” necklace on right.

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