Primary Sources:

Art

The Clopton Portrait. Ca. 1560. National Portrait Gallery. This is the most understated portrait, painted before Elizabeth I’s policy was fully formed, and thus seeks to make her appear more relatable to her audience. This painting, as well as all those that follow, were used to help me understand the propaganda Elizabeth I engendered.

The Coronation Portrait. 1559. National Portrait Gallery. In this official portrait, showing Elizabeth I in her coronation robes depicts a clear image of a pure queen with the ermine lining and her loose hair both symbolizing virginity. The Queen is holding the symbols of the realm, the orb and the scepter.

Danckerts, Cornelius. Popish Plots and Treasons. 1554. National Archives. This caricature, one of the earliest manifestation of the political cartoon, is an insight as to how the media portrayed Elizabeth during the reign of her sister, and while she was held in the tower on suspicion of treason. Here Elizabeth is a heroine and the Roman Catholic establishment holding her, ridiculed. It is due to such political pressure that Mary was forced to release Elizabeth.

The Ditchley Portrait. 1592. The National Portrait Gallery. This portrait shows Elizabeth I standing over a map of England with a clear sky on one side and a dark storm on the other behind her. Elizabeth I is leading her nation into “fine weather” after a storm shown on the right side of the painting. The Queen appears fantastically youthful for fifty-nine years old.

Feather Fan Portrait. Ca. 1575. National Portrait Gallery. Painted when Elizabeth I was approximately forty-two this portrait initiates the “mask of youth” used in all following authorized portraits to give Elizabeth I the look of youth in order to maintain her demi-god persona as she aged.

Gower, George. The Armada Portrait. 1588. National Portrait Gallery. This portrait of Elizabeth I depicts her with the battle between the English fleet and the Spanish Armada in the background. The English fleet is traveling over calm water, while the Spanish is being destroyed by a storm,
symbolizing England’s strength, and her hand is laying across a globe over the American continent where the first English child was born the year prior. This portrait shows the strength of the British Empire under Elizabeth I’s rule, as Elizabeth I, doubtlessly, intended.

Heere, Lucas. The Family of Henry VIII: An Allegory of the Tudor Succession. Ca. 1572. The Collection at Sudeley Castle. Painted during Elizabeth I’s reign this painting shows Elizabeth I as the most successful of Henry VIII’s children as she is accompanied by the goddesses of Peace and Plenty.

Hilliard, Nicholas. Elizabeth I Miniature. 1572. National Portrait Gallery. This miniature was made on the closest to a mass produced scale as was possible at the time for people to wear about their necks to show their patriotism and loyalty to the throne. This source shows the allegiance Elizabeth I was able to invoke in others.

Hilliard, Nicholas. The Pelican Portrait. Ca. 1575. National Portrait Gallery. Here, the pelican pendant at the queen’s neck symbolizes charity and redemption and thus the Queen’s unconditional love for her nation and her subjects. In addition, crowns on either shoulder represent her supposed divine right to both France and England.

Hilliard, Nicholas. The Pheonix Portrait. Ca. 1575. The Tate Gallery Collection. This portrait symbolizes repent and rebirth, and thus Elizabeth I’s supposed immortality.

King Henry VIII’s Family Portrait. Ca. 1540’s. The Royal Collection of Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II. This painting was commissioned by King Henry VIII, and portrays the King with his third wife Jane Seymour, and their son Prince Edward in the center of the painting, and Princesses Mary and Elizabeth on either side. This painting is an example of how Elizabeth I’s public image prior to her accession. Elizabeth is to be modest and humbled by her father’s gracious acceptance of her while being considered largely insignificant as indicated by her position to one side in the painting.
Meulen, Steven. *The Hampden Portrait*. Ca. 1563. National Portrait Gallery. This full length portrait of the young and robust queen shows her strength and vitality in an active pose, about to don her riding gloves.

Oliver, Isaac. *The Rainbow Portrait*. Ca. 1600. The Collection of the Marquess of Salisbury. The name of this portrait is derivative of the rainbow Elizabeth I is holding, indicating she is, in fact, a source of light. A serpent is embroidered on her sleeve symbolizing wisdom, and her dress is printed with a pattern of eyes and ears to show she is all-seeing, all-hearing, and all knowing.

Scrots, William. *Elizabeth I as a Princess*. Ca. 1546. The Royal Collection, Windsor Castle. Despite the early date of this portrait symbolism is used to manifest Elizabeth I’s public image, in jeopardy due to conflict with various establishments such as the Catholic Church, showing her as pure, a pious Christian and a dedicated student as indicated by the open book and Bible near at hand.

Segar, William. *The Ermine Portrait*. 1585. Collection of the Marquess of Salisbury. This portrait shows the queen in a regal pose, with an ermine, symbolizing purity and morality on her arm. The queen also dons elaborate clothing promoting the regal image the Queen wished to envoke.

**Books**


http://darkwing.uoregon.edu/~rbear/courtier/courtier.html. Originally published in Italian in 1528, this book concerns the behavior of the perfect courtier and is considered one of the most significant Renaissance texts. Incidentally this English translation was edited by Sir Walter Raleigh explorer and Queen Elizabeth’s favorite. I used this book to understand the culture in which Anne Boleyn and Elizabeth I networked.


<http://www.library.utoronto.ca/utel/ret/ret.html>. This account of Henry VIII’s chief minister Cardinal Wolsey by his secretary George Cavendish is one of the only surviving records of Anne Boleyn’s life, and was published the year her daughter, Queen Elizabeth I, was crowned. Though the
lack of standardized spelling and conventions was challenging this was an invaluable source in researching Anne Boleyn and Elizabeth I.


This anthology of music features the compositions of the young prince Henry VIII than any other musician at court and exemplifies the environment the king grew up in and the tradition of courtly love that proved significant in the lives of Anne Boleyn and Elizabeth I, his future wife and daughter.

*Holy Bible - Teacher's Edition*. London: Bagster, 1928. This Bible of the reformed Church of England claims on the title page to be “The Comprehensive Teacher’s Bible containing the Old and New Testaments translated out of the original tongues and with former translations compared and revised on his majesty’s special command” and includes many references to the reforms made by Elizabeth I. This source illustrated the affect Elizabeth I’s reforms had on the British educational system.


This text written by a Scottish Protestant reformer paints a clear picture of the opposition faced by Elizabeth I as a woman upon her accession to the throne a year later in 1559. Ironically the book’s appendices contained several letters written by Knox to Elizabeth I offering his humble apologies. I cite this in my performance.

Machiavelli, Niccolo. *The Prince*. 1555. This text was helpful in understanding the political science of the day. Both King Henry VIII and Anne Boleyn were highly educated and highly invested Renaissance philosophy. Machiavellian philosophy is evident in the actions of both Henry VIII and Elizabeth I.

Mallard, Jean. *Henry VIII’s Psalter*. 1540. British Library. http://www.bl.uk. The French artist’s most extravagant work this psalter was used by Henry VIII in his daily worship and it’s intricate illustrations portraying the King himself use symbols to visually tie Henry VIII to King David and Christ. Not only does this book contain many of Henry VIII’s own notes, thus providing an insight
into his thoughts, but the use visual allusions are consistent with those Elizabeth I used in her own portraits.

Mercator, Gerardus. First Atlas of Europe. ca. 1570’s. http://www.bl.uk. This full virtual copy of the first atlas of Europe compiled by Gerardus Mercator and published by his son after his death is indicative of the advances in technology and world understanding which Elizabeth I helped to facilitate during this time through exploration and advent of the world economy through trade. This source helped me to understand the far reaching affects of the actions of Elizabeth I.


http://darkwing.uoregon.edu/~rbear/phoenix.html. This anthology of poetry and other short works was published by Raleigh and several other authors in the latter end of Elizabeth I’s reign, and Raleigh’s works in particular as a favorite of the queen include many references and interesting insights into her character and personality.

Shakespeare, William. "King Henry the Eighth." The Complete Works of William Shakespeare. London: Cambridge University Press, 1988. This play by William Shakespeare, written either the year before or the year directly following Queen Elizabeth I’s death in 1603 is largely credited as being a tribute to the late Queen, and is evidence of the people’s love for their king.


http://darkwing.uoregon.edu/~rbear/fqintro.html. The epic poem serves as an allegory for the political, social, and economic conflicts and paradigm shifts taking place in England during Elizabeth I’s reign and was published in the closing years of her reign. The Faerie Queene helped me to understand the idolatry Elizabeth inspired in her subjects.

Schiller, Frederich. Mary Stuart. 1800. This manuscript of the play written about the relationship between Mary Stuart and Elizabeth Tudor, the dynamic on which my performance is based, helped
flesh out my understanding of the legacies of both Queens, based on how the author portrayed them as characters in his play. Incidentally the Broadway show opening soon is based on this play.

Swisher, Clarice ed. Elizabethan England Primary Sources. Farmington Hills, MI; Lucent Books, 2003. This archive of documents collected from a variety of sources was helpful in not only gaining an understanding of the dialect of the time period but also compiling an inventory of primary source data with which to construe Elizabeth I’s public image and legacy.

Wyatt, Thomas. Sir Thomas Wyatt Collected Poems. www.PoemHunter.com. London. Sir Thomas Wyatt was a courtier during Henry VIII’s reign and was one of Anne Boleyn’s suitors before becoming queen. References to Boleyn are found throughout his works and remain some of the only surviving primary sources concerning her.

Government Records


An electronic copy of Anne Boleyn’s book of hours which she referenced while attending church services posted on the British Library website shows love notes scrawled on strategic pages between her and Henry VIII. This source corroborates that Elizabeth’s love of symbolism was derivative of her mother who wrote most of her messages to Henry VIII on the page depicting the Virgin Mary being told she was carrying the son of god.


http://tudorhistory.org/primary/speech.html. This speech is one of the only records in which historians are fairly certain of Boleyn’s exact words and is hence an unusual insight into her psychology. It is said to have inspired awe in the crowd, though men were employed to jeer in the background by her husband, the King. I used this in my project to portray an accurate depiction of Anne Boleyn in her downfall.
D’Ewes, Simonds. *Journals of Parliament*. London: Parliamentary, 1682. http://www.british-history.ac.uk/. This text contains the journals of the House of Commons and the House of Lords from Elizabeth I’s ascendency to the throne in 1559 to the final meeting of parliament during her reign in 1601. This resource helped me gain an understanding of Elizabeth I’s political policy.

Elizabeth I. “Death Warrant for Mary Queen of Scots”. London, National Archives, London. My performance pivots around the signing of this death warrant and its implications. I use a copy of this document in my performance with the permission of the British National Archives.

Elizabeth I. “A Declaration of Intent”. Hatfeild, 20 Nov. 1558. National Archives, London. This speech, given spontaneously by Elizabeth several days after her sister’s death demonstrates the oratory skill definitive of her reign, though it is unlikely to be her exact words but rather transcribed from memory it is a valuable indicator of the character of the beginning of Elizabeth’s reign.

Elizabeth I. “Princess Elizabeth’s Letter to Edward VI”. London, ca. 1553. National Archives, London. This letter written by Elizabeth I details being turned away when attempting to visit her sick brother and her frustrations with the turbulent Tudor succession. This is an unusual insight into Elizabeth I’s emotions as in later years she would become much more guarded.

Elizabeth I. “Princess Elizabeth’s Letter to Queen Katherine”. Hatfield, 1544. National Archives. Written to Henry VIII’s sixth wife this note accompanies Elizabeth’s New Year’s eve gift to the Queen, Elizabeth’s own English translation of Angouleme’s *Miroir*. The translation was a school exercise assigned to impress Elizabeth’s step-mother. The letter is written in the court tradition of flattery and is definitive of the humble and studious image Elizabeth was beginning to promote.

Elizabeth I. “Princess Elizabeth’s Letter to Queen Mary I”. London, 1554. National Archives. This letter uses the same persuasive skills Elizabeth I would later employ to aid her in ruling, to convince her sister of her loyalty to her, and Elizabeth’s own innocence from the charges of treason made against
her. Clearly Elizabeth is already aware that she is best able to manipulate through speech however as she begs for an audience with her sister the Queen to explain herself.

Elizabeth I. "Speech to the Troops at Tilbury”. Tilbury. 1558.http://www.tudorhistory.org/primary. This speech was given by Elizabeth I to the troops at Tilbury before meeting the previously undefeated Spanish Armada in 1588. This battle resulted in a great victory for Britain and marks the beginning of the “Gloriana” of her reign, and is therefore highly significant. I used this source to examine Elizabeth's leadership techniques, particularly in this male dominated arena.

Elizabeth I. “The Golden Speech”. London. 1601. www.http://tudorhistory.org/primary. This, Elizabeth’s last speech to parliament, recapitulated her reign. It is called “The Golden Speech” because politicians and historians alike believe it to be perfectly written, and has been used often as a model for speech-making. By reading this speech I was better able to understand how Elizabeth I inspired admiration, even awe, through her speeches.

England. Court of the Lord High Steward and Peers. Indictment of Anne and George Boleyn. London: 1536. National Archives. This document records Anne Boleyn and her brother, George’s, conviction on charges of treason and adultery. Their trial was merely a formality however, and the Indictment is an unreliable source of information as the charges are largely inconsistent with other records.

England. Judiciary. “Examination of Catherine Ashley”. London: February, 1549. National Archives. This is a record of the interrogation of Catherine Ashley, Elizabeth’s governess, in the case of Thomas Seymour who was convicted, among other things, plotting to marry Elizabeth, a criminal offence without the Privy Council’s permission. This was both the first scandal, and question of marriage to surround her. Ashley indicates that, like her mother, Elizabeth encouraged such male attention.

she was born the extra “s” on the end of prince had to be added at the last moment. I used this source as evidence that Elizabeth’s gender was the primary reason for her Mother’s downfall.


This account of Edward VI’s life, as half-brother to Mary I and Elizabeth I, and Mary I’s predecessor as monarch was written by the child king himself. It is one of the few primary sources to describe Elizabeth I’s relationship with him and was thus helpful in understanding and portraying Elizabeth I’s emotions concerning him some thirty years after his premature death as well as providing insight into Elizabeth I as a child and a young woman.


This last letter of Henry VIII’s once trusted Lord Chancellor, supplicating the King to reconsider his ordered execution shows the great power that Anne Boleyn had over King Henry VIII as More was executed as planned several days later, as he was considered detrimental to the new queen’s popularity, having refused to attend her coronation.


During the late 1520’s Henry VIII manically searched for loopholes in marriage law, theology, and philosophy that might allow him to divorce or procure an annulment from Catherine of Aragorn and marry Anne Boleyn, and this source is a list of possible texts that might support him, drawn up by his counselors. This source shows the impatience and passion the king held for marrying Anne Boleyn, as several titled are listed in his own handwriting.


Gardiner, James ed. et al. Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII. London, 1888. http://www.british-history.ac.uk/. This collection contains all of the significant documents from the reign of King Henry VIII and is therefore key in understanding his rule and the impact Anne Boleyn had on it.

Hurault, Andre. *A Private Audience With Elizabeth I*. London: December 8, 1597. www.tudorhistory.org/primary. This document is the French Ambassador’s account of meeting the elderly Elizabeth I in the last years of her reign. This primary source was helpful in understanding Elizabeth I’s attitudes later in her life when my performance is set.

Stevenson, Joseph ed. et al. *Calender of State Papers Elizabeth I*. London, 1863. http://www.british-history.ac.uk/. This collection contains a wealth of primary source documents from the reign of Elizabeth I from the political as opposed to private realm. I used this resource to understand the character of Elizabeth I’s reign.

Tudor, Elizabeth. “Letter to Mary Queen of Scots”. 1586. www.livesandletters.ac.uk. This letter written to Mary Stuart by Elizabeth I when Elizabeth discovered through her spies intelligence of Mary’s involvement in a plot to assassinate her, it clearly portrays the Queen’s anger and hurt are transparent. I quote this letter in my performance.

Vatican. *Papal Bull*. “Excommunication of Elizabeth”. Rome; 27 April 1570. www.tudorhistory.org. This document is the Vatican Library’s record of the excommunication of Elizabeth I from the Roman Catholic church, freeing her subjects from allegiance to her and declaring her a heretic. This was
useful in understanding the dilemma of Elizabeth I as to the execution of Mary Stuart who was the Pope’s candidate for the Queen of England.

**Secondary Sources:**

**Articles**

Carr, Raymond. "Only the first two mattered." *Spectator* 24 May 2003. 48. Providing only brief accounts of Henry VIII’s other four marriages this article speaks to the significance of Katherine of Aragon and Anne Boleyn over King Henry VIII’s later wives, the “Great Matter” of the king’s first divorce having a huge political, social, and economic affects on England. Raymond also claims Anne Boleyn was in fact the cause of the Religious Reformation in England, this helped me to provide evidence of Anne Boleyn’s significance.

Ellis, Sian; Weir, Allison. "Henry's queen's: My kingdom for an heir!." *British Heritage* 01 Jun 2002. 16. This collaboration between two prominent historians in the Tudor field covered many aspects of the Tudor monarchy emphasizing Anne Boleyn among Henry VIII’s wives as the most influential over English politics during this time. The dialogue between these two prominent Tudor historians on their different interpretations of the historical fact was extremely helpful in building my own view on Anne Boleyn’s significance.

**Books**

Adams, Simon. *Elizabeth I: The Outcast Who Became England’s Queen.* Washington D.C.: National Geographic Society, 2005. This biography of Elizabeth I was very helpful in that it covered the most politically significant to the most important personal experiences of Elizabeth I’s life, noting themes and trends rather than arduously listing all the acts or laws passed during her reign. This book helped me to tie Elizabeth’s reforms to her mother’s philosophies with its analysis.
Chambers, Mortimer et. al. *The Western Experience*. 8. New York: McGraw-Hill Companies Inc., 2003. *The Western Experience* is a college-level text on the history of the Western world from the first civilizations to the end of World War I. This book was helpful in gaining an understanding of the social and political changes, such as the Renaissance, and the Religious Reformation, that were taking places during this time, and the role of Anne Boleyn and Elizabeth I in promoting these paradigm shifts.


Denny, Joanna. *Anne Boleyn: A New Life for England’s Tragic Queen*. Da Capo Press, 2004. This book took a very contradictory stance to almost every other source used in this project and helped illustrate the diversity of perspectives on the life of Anne Boleyn. Though showing Anne Boleyn to be of great importance this book portrayed her as the innocent victim of a brash, and cruel King’s affection rather than a manipulative social climber, and even more unusually vilifies Sir Thomas More and Catherine of Aragon. This book helped me gain a balanced perspective on Anne Boleyn.

Durant, Will. *The Story of Civilization Part VI: The Reformation*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1957. This book worked largely to explain the psychology of Mary I, Elizabeth I’s elder sister and predecessor as monarch, and the socio-economic state of the country when Elizabeth came to power, as well as the downfall of Anne Boleyn. Despite Durant’s work failing to provide information on Elizabeth’s reign itself this resource was invaluable in understanding the social, political, and economic situation in England prior to her reign, and therefore her immense improvements in all three areas.
Emerson, Kathy. *Every Day Life in Renaissance England*. Cincinnati OH: Writers Digest Books, 1996. This book was a historical study of culture in England during the English Renaissance, from approximately 1485 through 1649. Emerson’s book was used largely as a reference for obscure cultural, social, and economic items referenced in other sources.

Erickson, Carolly. *Mistress Anne: The Exceptional Life of Anne Boleyn*. New York: Summit Books, 1984. This book was very balanced in perspective, and was very well researched and contributed much information on Anne Boleyn’s downfall, and changing public opinion of her directly afterwards that I use in my performance. This book’s above mentioned extensive bibliography also led to much further research.

Ester, William. *Renaissance Reformation*. Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1986. *Renaissance Reformation* clearly and concisely demonstrated Elizabeth I’s role in the European religious reformation on a continental scale. Ester’s work also undoubtedly illustrates, with every major event of religious significance during Elizabeth’s reign, her moderate views, and carefully calculated actions to please both Catholics and Protestants, a stance inherited from her mother who first introduced Protestant theology to Britain, while remaining moderately Catholic herself. This source helped me compile a profile of Elizabeth I’s religious views and reforms.

Fraser, Antonia. *The Wives of King Henry VIII*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf Inc., 1992. This book compared, in great detail, the lives of the six wives of King Henry VIII. In particular Fraser describes their commonalities, as victims of a patriarchal society, the increasing power of the king, and ultimately the need for a male heir to the throne, powerless over their own “biological destiny”. This book helped me to understand the life of Anne Boleyn, the childhood of Elizabeth I, with an endless stream of vastly different new step-mothers, and Elizabeth’s later views on the catastrophically patriarchal society she grew up in.

This book focused largely on the gender based politics of Elizabeth I’s reign. Though slightly obscure in places it was helpful in discerning Elizabeth I’s public image in the latter end of her reign. This book helped me greatly with the writing of the gender issue focused portion of my performance.

Greenblatt, Miriam. *Elizabeth I and Tudor England*. New York: Benchmark Books, 2002. Greenblatt’s work was rather simplistic, with many generalizations within the text but did contain the correct factual information clearly and concisely nonetheless important for compiling a balanced view of the Tudor dynasty, Elizabeth I, and Anne Boleyn and ultimately was a good starting point in understanding all the major events in the two women’s lives.

Hallam, Elizabeth & Andrew Prescott. *The British Inheritance: A Treasury of Historic Documents*. Berkley, CA: University of California Press, 1999. This book analyzed the reigns of the Tudor dynasty through construing various primary source documents and paintings and contained a copy of every primary source referenced and was very helpful. Hallam and Prescott’s work also provided a helpful chronology of British royalty from the fifteenth to eighteenth centuries. I used this source to help me understand the symbolism and allusions in primary sources I used, based on sometimes obscure, to the modern mind, cultural references.

Hayes, Carlton. *History of Europe*. 6. New York: MacMillan Company, 1949. Hayes’ book was interesting for several reasons, it illuminated the views of Anne Boleyn and Elizabeth I directly after the second World War, a very different perspective than a book written several decades before or after, and also looked at the great changes of sixteenth century England on a grander scale. This book helped me to understand the constantly changing interpretation of the Tudor dynasty over time.

invoked, and the building of the British Empire which she began, led to imperialism, slavery, and much cruelty throughout the world, the affects of which can still be seen on the African continent and other countries throughout the world today. This book was vital to forming a balanced view on the woman many consider to have been England’s greatest monarch.

**Henry VIII & His Wives: Paper Dolls to Color.** Santa Barbra: Bellerophon Books, 1989. Nowhere is the popular historical interpretation of the day as evident as in the history taught to children. This seemingly frivolous book does in fact contain quite a few interesting generalizations and over-simplifications in an attempt to explain history to young children which helped when compiling an opinion on the present day perception of Anne Boleyn.

Hibbert, Christopher. *Tower of London*. New York: Newsweek Book Division, 1971. This book was used largely to corroborate the information in Minney’s similar work detailing Anne Boleyn, and her daughter Elizabeth I’s time in the Tower of London. The information presented supported that of Minney’s text.


Tudor Dynasty as well as social norms and traditions referenced in other works no longer applicable to modern society.

Ishikawa, Chiyo ed. Spain in the Age of Exploration. Singapore: Marquand Books, Inc.. The defeat of the Spanish Armada by England acted as a catalyst towards England’s new status as a world power. Spain was the wealthiest, most powerful empire of the age, and yet Queen Elizabeth I dealt the Spanish a crushing defeat from which the country would not recover. This book helped me understand the military prowess of Queen Elizabeth as a ruler.

Ives, E.W.. Anne Boleyn. New York: Basil Blackwell Inc., 1986. This book contained a huge wealth of information on the life of Anne Boleyn, and succeeds in providing both the most minute details, and then expanding to comment on events on a larger scale. This book also contained many useful primary source quotes and bibliography which directed me to further research.

Levin, Caroline. The Heart and Stomach of a King Elizabeth I and the Politics of Sex and Power. Philadelphia: Pennsylvania University Press, 1994. This book presented many interesting ideas on Elizabeth’s actions during her reign based on her gender, as well as analyzing and critiquing the views of other historians on these topics and providing much information on available primary sources.

Lewis, Brenda. Kings and Queens of England: Murder, Mayhem, and Scandal 1066 to the Present Day. Pleasantville, New York: Reader’s Digest, 2003. This book contained a succinct summary of all important events during the Tudor Dynasty tailored toward a more general audience than the traditional academic work which assisted creating a clear chronology of events without getting lost in conjecture and extensive analysis of other sources. It also illustrated the history being presented to the general world population today.

thereof. While many historians dismissed these tales out of hand it was necessary, I found to examine them, the possibility that they are, in fact, based on truth, and then why they might have been invented.

Longford, Elizabeth. The Oxford Dictionary of Royal Ancedotes. New York: Oxford University Press, 1989. This book contained a wealth of primary source documents and commentary on King Henry VIII, Anne Boleyn, and the children of King Henry VII. This book was also very helpful in compiling a timeline of public opinion, and varying interpretations of the event in the lives of all of these figures throughout different stages in history.

Manchester, William. A World Lit on Fire: The Medieval Mind and the Renaissance. Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1992. Manchester’s text largely contradicted other texts and was useful for that reason. This book presented interesting interpretations but ultimately I found I disagreed. The text was, nonetheless helpful, in that it helped me understand a different possible interpretation of the historical facts.

Minney, R.J. The Tower of London. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall Inc., 1970. This book contained a huge amount of information on Cardinal Wolsey and Sir Thomas More, Henry VIII’s key advisors prior to the Anne Boleyn period and her involvement in their respective downfalls both directly and indirectly. This book speaks from the perspective of course that all three, Wolsey, More and Boleyn were executed within the span of ten years.

Morgan, Kenneth. The Oxford Illustrated History of Britain. New York: Oxford University Press, 1984. The Oxford Illustrated History of Britain provided a detailed account of every official action taken by Henry VIII and Elizabeth I from religious, social, and economic standpoints and explained every detail of the contents of each act passed in the parliament during this time. Morgan also took a very controversial stance on Elizabeth I’s reign which was helpful in conducting balanced research.
O’Farrel, John. *An Utterly Impartial History of Britain Or 2000 Years of Upper Class Idiots In Charge.* London: Transworld Publishers, 2007. As Shakespeare once said, “many a true thing said in jest”, this farcical chronicle of British history encapsulated everything else I had discovered about the British perception of their history through dry English wit, the title of the lengthy chapter on the Tudors stating “The Tudors (1485-1603): How Geography, Religion and a Spot of Bad Weather Turned England Into a Major European Power”.

Plowden, Alison. *Tudor Women: Queens and Commoners.* Sutton: Sutton Publishing Limited, 1979. This book took an unusual perspective on Tudor History, as it compared women’s status in Britain in the Tudor period and it’s affect on various demographics, as well as drawing parallels between important women, and their actions and legacies. This book helped me to understand the cause and effect relationship between Elizabeth’s actions, and those before her.

Plumb, J.H. & Huw Wheldon. *Royal Heritage: The Treasures of the British Royal Crown.* New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1977. This book was very helpful in that it took a different perspective in evaluating the reigns of Elizabeth I and her father, Henry VIII; while most books come from a biographical or religious perspective this book took on the perspective of the Renaissance and the legacies of the two great monarchs in the arts and humanities fields.

Roeder, Ralph. *The Man of the Renaissance.* New York: The Viking Press, 1933. While the Religious Reformation was a huge social issue in Europe during the sixteenth century, the Renaissance was also taking place. This book chronicles four of the most significant Renaissance philosophers work, which Anne Boleyn and her daughter both had huge interest in, that of Savonarola, Machiavelli, Castiglione, and Aretino. The philosophies of each helped explain the actions of both women while in power.

mother to that of to Mary Queen f Scots her rival heir to the throne and second cousin. This book helped me also to understand Mary Stuart and Elizabeth Tudor’s relationship, the dynamic upon which my performance is based.

Simon, Edith. *The Reformation*. New York: Time-Life Books, 1966. This book helped provide a basic outline for Elizabeth I’s primary policies and her role in the reformation as well as comprehensively comparing her rule to that of her half-sister “Bloody” Mary I. This work also spoke briefly about Elizabeth I’s allegiance to and fascination with her father. This book helped me to understand Elizabeth’s defense of her father’s actions concerning Anne Boleyn, and her views on her sister Mary I both of which I discuss in my performance.

Starkey, David. *Elizabeth*. London: Chatto & Windus, 2000. Starkey’s extensive work focuses on the childhood of Elizabeth I, unlike many other biographies which focus more on the “Glorianna” of her reign, and therefore also put more of a focus on her relationship with her mother. This book helped me to understand the impact of events in Elizabeth I’s childhood on her reign.

Starkey, David. *Six Wives: The Queens of King Henry VIII*. 1. New York: HarperCollins, 2003. This book though in a similar format to *The Six Wives of King Henry VIII* was more analytical in nature, providing meaningful commentary on the events of the reign of King Henry VIII. This book was also helpful for cross-referencing the facts in Weir’s account.


affect of the accusations made against her mother on her. Thomas also analyzed the views of other historians previously cited which provoked an interesting cross analysis. This book aided me greatly in writing the section on my performance devoted to gender issues, and Elizabeth’s reasons for never marrying.

Waller, Maureen. *Sovereign Ladies: Sex, Sacrifice and Power the Six Reigning Queens of England*. New York: St. Martin’s Press, 2006. This book contained many descriptions of events during Elizabeth I’s reign that supported my thesis as well as defending controversial interpretations of these events that differed with that of other source material. This book helped to explain the stigma attached to Elizabeth as a woman based on the failures of past sovereign Queens.


Watkins, Susan. *Elizabeth I and Her World in Public and in Private*. Singapore: Thames and Hudson, 1998. This book was extremely helpful in that it examined the events of Elizabeth’s reign through her character and upbringing, and her decision making process. Watkins’ work was also highly informational and included references to other works which furthered research.

Weir, Alison. *The Six Wives of King Henry VIII*. New York: Grove/Atlantic Inc., 1991. *The Six Wives of King Henry VIII* was used very early in the research process. As the above Chambers provided the political and social context on a continental scale this book gave clear illustrated the roots of the formation of the Anglican Church on a purely English level as well as for the monarch and new leader of his own faith King Henry VIII after the death of Anne Boleyn.

Williams, Neville. *All the Queen’s Men: Elizabeth and Her Courtiers*. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1972. This book focused on Elizabeth I’s alleged relationships with several courtiers over the course of her
reign. Elizabeth was only slightly less disparaged in foreign courts than her mother was and I used this source to draw connections between the characters of the two women to this end.

Williams, Penry. *Life in Tudor England*. New York: G. P. Batsford Ltd., 1964. This book helped to understand the social context of the actions and legacies of Anne Boleyn and was one of the few booked to be written from the perceptive of the general populace during this time and not royalty, nobility, and court life.

**Exhibitions**


This exhibition provided meaningful analysis of specific documents held by the British Library, thus providing commentary on obscure primary resources which individually were deemed insignificant by many historians but collectively helped to corroborate my interpretation of the facts.

**Documentaries**

*Elizabeth*. Steven Clarke. Videocassette. History Channel, 2002. This documentary documented the life and analyzed the actions of Elizabeth I from childhood through the end of her reign in a multi-part series. I used this source to gain a sense of the chronology of Elizabeth I’s reign.

*The Middle Ages*. Videocassette. Goldhill Video, 2001. This documentary on the middle ages, or the period from the fall of Rome in the 500’s to the end of the 1500’s was helpful in understanding the context of the great changes that took place during the Tudor monarchy which lasted over a hundred years and led Britain into the Renaissance, Reformation, and Enlightenment. From this video I gained a better understanding of the systems of feudalism and manorialism, and lordship and dependency, or the social establishment entering the enlightenment period, and therefore the momentous changes Elizabeth I would make.

*The Wives of Henry VIII: The True Story of the Women Behind the Throne*. Dir. Steven Clark. DVD. Channel Four Television Corporation, 2001. This insightful documentary chronicled the lives of the
six wives of king Henry VIII, calling specific attention to the religious affiliations of each. This film showed that Anne Boleyn, like her daughter was religiously moderate in favor of reform, while not openly renouncing the Catholic faith. I used this source to tie the religious actions and legacies of the two women.

**Interviews**

Briggs, Robin. E-mail interview. 1 Dec. 2008. Mr. Briggs is a professor of Early- Modern History at Oxford University specializing in witch-craft and popular belief during the 1500’s. He shed light on the accusations made against Anne Boleyn, their validity, and their affect on Elizabeth I.

Dagger, Robert. Personal Interview. 2 Jan. 2009. Dagger, a London resident and recent graduate of the University of Lancaster’s political program, shared with me the view of Elizabeth I and Anne Boleyn he had formed as a result of the public education he received in England from the elementary to university level during the past two decades. This interview helped me to gain an understanding of modern English education on Tudor history.

Gittings, Clare. E-mail Interview. 5 Feb. 2009. Clare Gittings is the director of education at the National Portrait Gallery in London. She answered questions on Elizabeth’s portraiture and their symbolic nature, as well as her use of propaganda to maintain power. This is a subject discussed at length in my performance.

Gunn, Steven. E-mail Interview. 24 Dec. 2008. Steven Gunn is a professor of the Religious Reformation and Elizabethan politics at the University of Oxford, England. He answered in great depth questions about Anne Boleyn and the manner of her ascendancy to the throne as well as later the destruction of her public image and the latter’s affect on Elizabeth I.

Nicklin, Beryl. Personal Interview. 30 Dec. 2008. An English pensioner, Nicklin shared with me the education she received, and the views she eventually formed on Elizabeth I and Anne Boleyn.
growing up in England during the Second World War era. This interview allowed me to examine modern English society’s view on Tudor history.

Pelling, Margaret. E-mail interview. 5 Dec. 2008. Margaret Pelling is a Tudor women’s health specialist at the University of Oxford and answered questions about Elizabeth’s health concerns during her life related to the suspicions of witchcraft surrounding her mother as well as referring me to other resources.

Wedgbury, Jenny. E-mail interview. 14 Dec. 2008. Jenny Wedgbury is the education officer at Kensington palace and spoke to me about Elizabetb I and Anne Boleyn as well directed me towards an extensive list of other resources.

Podcasts
Eakins, Laura. TudorCast. Tudor History. Podcast. 28 May 2007. http://tudorhistory.org. This podcast, or radio program, is aired each month by historian Laura Eakins discussing specific events in Tudor history. This podcast provided information about the obscurest events of the Tudor time period and interesting commentary on primary sources. This podcast discussed issues not touched on in other sources, as a weekly program, that were, nonetheless, highly significant in explaining the psychology of many significant figures.

Websites
British History Online. Nov. 10 2008 <http://www.british-history.ac.uk>. This website contained a wealth of material concerning every era of British history including the coinciding revolutions that were taking place in England during the Tudor period with both general summaries and in depth analysis.
concerning Anne Boleyn and Elizabeth I as well as other research tools. This source helped me to place the Tudor monarchy in context.

"The Tudors." Official Site of the British Monarchy. British Government. 21 Oct 2008 <http://www.royal.gov.uk/output/page11.asp>. The website of the British Monarchy was very helpful in gaining an understanding of the image projected of Anne Boleyn and King Henry VIII in the twenty-first century as well as providing basic encyclopedic information to corroborate with that of other sources and containing a vast array of primary sources images helpful.

Tudor History. Nov. 15 2008. http://www.tudorhistory.org. This website contained a narrative and analysis on the lives of all the key players in the Tudor dynasty and was, thus a helpful reference. In addition the website contained a large archive of primary source documents.