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## Small Mid-Tudor Chronicles and Popular History: 1540-1560

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*This essay examines twenty-two editions of little-studied small Mid-Tudor chronicles that were published by printers at Canterbury and London. They demonstrate the important role of printers in historical scholarship and offer a significantly different perspective on English history than the better-known, larger contemporary works of Robert Fabyan, Edward Hall, and Thomas Cooper. The chronicles also shed light on the readership of historical works by non-elite readers who presumably could not afford larger and more expensive chronicles. The short chronicles present a simplified view of the past, avoid propagating the well-known Tudor myths including the tyranny of Richard III, and demonstrate a clear preference for recent history. Although overlooked in most accounts of Early Modern historiography, the small Mid-Tudor chronicles are clearly part of the historical culture of the era.*

The mid-Tudor period witnessed the publication of a remarkable number of small English chronicles that have received little attention from historians. The smallest of these were entitled *A Cronicle of Yeres, from the begynning of the World, wherin ye shall fynd the names of all the kinges of England...* published in ten editions by London printers between 1540 and 1552. A second series of somewhat longer chronicles, *A Breuiat Cronicle, contaynyng all the kyniges, from Brute to this daye...*, appeared between 1552 and 1561. The three earliest editions of this title were printed at Canterbury by John Mychell while the latter eight were the work of two London printers.<sup>1</sup> These chronicles--printed in octavo-- are significant because they are the work of printers. Furthermore, they shed light on the readership of historical works by those who presumably could not afford the larger contemporary chronicles of Robert Fabyan, Edward Hall, and Thomas Cooper. Although the short chronicles lack

1 See Beer and Manchester, "Writing and Rewriting Early Modern History," 138-171; Metzger, "'Controversy and 'Correctness': English Chronicles and Chroniclers, 1553-1568," 437-51; Sessions, *John Mychell: Canterbury's First Printer from 1536 and from 1549*; and Beer, ed., *The Canterbury Chronicle*. Earlier small chronicles were printed by Wynkyn de Worde, *A lytell shorte Cronycle* (1530) STC 10012, an eight page quarto, and *A short cronycle* (1539) STC 10021. See also Bennett, *English Books and Readers, 1475-1575*, 130.

serious historical insight, the publication of over 20 editions in only two decades reveals a substantial popular interest in national history.<sup>2</sup> Moreover, study of the small chronicles clearly shows that non-elite readers of the mid-Tudor era received a very different portrayal of major historical events including the Norman Conquest, Magna Carta, the deposition of Richard III, and the Reformation from those of later generations.

Recent studies of early modern historiography and historical culture have emphasized the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and neglected the mid-Tudor decades. While these studies have ventured into popular historical culture, most scholarship has privileged the elite culture of the educated upper classes.<sup>3</sup> It has been argued that a growing reading public of non-elite readers increased the demand for books,<sup>4</sup> but David Cressy has written, “We simply do not know the market for popular print in the Elizabethan and early Stuart period” and added that a relatively small number of book buyers could absorb output of the London press.<sup>5</sup> Furthermore, he concluded that there was no steady reduction of illiteracy among men in the early modern period although literacy among tradesmen and craftsmen rose.<sup>6</sup> According to Daniel Woolf, the market for Tudor chronicles peaked at mid-century and was at the whim of a market that was glutted by the end of the sixteenth century.<sup>7</sup>

Mid-Tudor printers might not have agreed with modern scholarship as one edition after another of the small chronicles came forth from their presses. The nine printers who compiled the chronicles did not specialize in historical works with the exception of Thomas

2 See Appendix for chronicles cited in this study.

3 Woolf, *The Social Circulation of the Past: English Historical Culture 1500-1700*; Cressy, *Literacy and the Social Order*; Thomas, *The Perception of the Past in Early Modern England*.

4 Bennett, *English Books and Readers, 1475-1557*, 54f.

5 Cressy, *Literacy and the Social Order*, 47.

6 Cressy, *Literacy and the Social Order*, 142, 149.

7 Woolf, *Reading History in the Early Modern England*, 21.

Marshe who printed numerous editions of the chronicles of John Stow.<sup>8</sup> The earliest editions of *A Cronicle of Yeres* were produced by John Byddell or Salisbury, a London printer and bookseller, who worked as an assistant to Wynkyn de Worde. Byddell published the first edition of William Marshall's *Primer* in 1534 containing portions of the Bible in English and many other religious and theological titles. By 1544 he had printed fifty titles and was succeeded by Edward Whitchurch who also printed Bibles and religious works and became a partner of Richard Grafton. In 1542 Whitchurch printed an edition of the chronicle for John Judson, the same date as the last of Byddell's editions.<sup>9</sup> Thomas Petyt and William Myddleton published editions in 1543, and Myddleton produced another edition in 1544. Myddleton was primarily a printer of law books; at his death in 1547, his widow, Elizabeth, was remarried to another printer, William Powell, who took over his business. Powell published three editions of the *Cronicle of Yeres* in 1549, 1550, and 1552. The last edition of the chronicle which appeared in 1557 was the work of William Copland, an original member of the Stationers' Company, who printed extensively in the 1540s and 1550s.<sup>10</sup> It is noteworthy that five of these printers fell afoul of the law for printing illegal books. Byddell, Whitchurch, Myddleton, and Petyt were summoned to appear before the Privy Council on 8 April 1543 and imprisoned for a fortnight. Upon release they were required to pay a fine and to list all books sold and purchased.<sup>11</sup> William Copland was brought before the Privy Council in March 1556 charged with printing the *Recantation* of Thomas Cranmer. John Cawood, Royal printer to Mary, ordered all copies of Copland's work to be burned.<sup>12</sup>

8 Works on printers include Blayney, *The Stationers' Company and the Printers of London*; Plant, *The English Book Trade*; Colin Clair, *A History of Printing in Britain*; Duff, *Century of the English Book Trade*; *English Provincial Printers*.

9 Blayney, *Stationers Company* I, 285, 360-379; Clair, 59-60, 65. Judson was a senior member of the Stationers' Company on its incorporation in 1557 and later served as warden and master dying in 1589.

10 Tanner, ODNB.

11 *Acts of the Privy Council (1542-1547)*, I, 107, 117, 125; Blayney, I, 548.

12 Duff, *Century of the English Book Trade*, 32-3.

Although these printers had legal problems, it does not appear that they arose from printing the *Cronicle of Yeres*.

John Mychell, who printed the first three editions of the *Breuiat Cronicle* at Canterbury, is perhaps the best known printer of the short chronicles.<sup>13</sup> He began printing in London but was working at Canterbury by 1535, becoming a freeman of the city two years later.<sup>14</sup> The first two Canterbury editions appeared during the reign of Edward VI while the third was printed in 1554. Subsequent editions were the work of two London printers. John Kynge, an original member of the Company of Stationers, printed six editions of the *Breuiat Cronicle* during the reigns of Mary and Elizabeth. He probably died at the end of 1561, for in that year Thomas Marshe “had license to print *The Cronacle in viii.*, which he bought of John Kynge’s wife.”<sup>15</sup> During the reign of Mary, Marshe printed a variety of Catholic works<sup>16</sup> and then produced editions of the *Breuiat Cronicle* in 1556 and 1561, the latter being the last in the series. He also published the chronicles of John Stow as well as numerous other important works until 1587. In 1575 and 1581 Marshe was a Warden of the Stationers’ Company.

The printers made no claims of originality and borrowed freely from one another and from larger works often without attribution. On the title page of the 1542 edition of *A Cronicle of Yeres*, John Byddell simply stated that his work was “newly augmented and corrected.” John Mychell’s title page explained that his chronicle was “gathered oute of dyuers chronycles.” His text, however, includes citations of specific authors including Robert Fabyan, Jean Froissart, Edward Hall, Thomas Lanquet, and William Patten. Mychell praised the learning of Eusebius and Bede and mentioned “a littell shorte Cronicle, notinge many thinges worthy of memory, whiche boke I haue by my poore laboure somewhat augmented.” The

13 Sessions, *John Mychell: Canterbury’s First Printer*; ODNB.

14 Blayney, *Stationers Company* I, 277f., 433-6.

15 Johnson, *Typographia* I, 557-8. Note that Marshe also printed an earlier edition.

16 ESTC.

reference was almost certainly to the earlier work of John Byddell.

At the beginning of each edition of the *Breuiat Cronicle*, Mychell offered an eloquent dedication to Sir Anthony Aucher<sup>17</sup> in praise of history stating that without a knowledge of history “we walk in darkenes and lyue lyke chylidren. But Histories and Cronicles faithfully written set before our face as presently to loke vpon all ages, all tymes, all chaunges, all states, and all doynge, euen from the begynninge of the world to our owne time, yea, without that we knowe of no world before our beinge.” The other printers, on the other hand, offered no introductions to their work.

Published in octavos,<sup>18</sup> each edition of the *Cronicle of Yeres* is about 30 folios in length while the various editions of the *Breuiat Cronicle* consist of over 100 folios. In comparison *The Chronicle of Fabyan* (1542) includes 490 numbered pages while Edward Hall’s *The Vnion of the Two Noble and Illustre Famelies...* (1548) extends to over 600 folios. *An Epitome of Chronicles...STC 15218* produced by Thomas Cooper in 1560 contains 377 leaves. Although the cost of the small chronicles was significantly lower than the larger ones, the actual price is difficult to determine.<sup>19</sup> Most of the short chronicles begin with a listing of the four law terms, an item that would have been useful to lawyers or persons engaged in litigation.<sup>20</sup> The chronicles conclude with a compilation of traveling distances from major towns in England and Wales to London. Following are two examples: “Here foloweth the Waye from Douer to London” and “Here foloweth the way from saint Buryen [St. Buryan] in Cor-

17 Sir Anthony Aucher, a Kentish gentleman and JP, was Marshal of Calais. He was killed at the siege in 1558. See J. D. Alsop, ODNB.

18 There are three exceptions: Byddell (1539) was duodecimo; Powell (1549) and Copland (1557) were sextodecimo.

19 Bennett, *English Books and Readers, 1475-1557*, 229-232: Few individual prices are known, but an unbound edition of the 1549 prayer book sold for two shillings and two pence. See Pratt and Kaston, “Printers, Publishers, and the Chronicles as Artefact,” 26-35.

20 The law terms are included in all editions of Mychell; Byddell STC 9985.5, 9986; Kyng STC 9970.5, 9971, 9973, 9975; Petyt, Myddleton, and Powell STC 9988.3, 9989; Whitchurch, incomplete text; Copland; Marshe, both eds.

newall to London.” The wide geographical focus perhaps represented a marketing effort to sell chronicles though the whole country and assist persons traveling to London. Although few persons living in London or Canterbury traveled with any frequency outside their region to the far corners of the land, those tradesmen, itinerants, and adventurers who did might have found the travel data as useful as the historical narrative. Edward Whitchurch’s edition of the *Cronicle of Yeres* (1542) was the first of the small chronicles to include travel information. John Mychell omitted travel data from the first edition of the *Breuiat Cronicle* [STC 9968] noting “Here I shoulde haue put in the notable waies from certaine cities to London, but some of them be not marked truely wherefore I left them out till such tyme as I haue more knowledge in these waies.”<sup>21</sup> The two later editions included this information as did all but one of the London editions of the *Breuiat Cronicle*.<sup>22</sup>

Without exception the small chronicles are structured around the annual election of mayors and sheriffs of London. This characteristic is particularly emphasized in Wyllyam Powell’s edition of 1549 which carries page titles stating that it is a chronicle of mayors and sheriffs.<sup>23</sup> The listing of mayors and sheriffs begins in 1399; in fact, the history of the reigns of Henry IV and Henry V in the *Cronicle of Yeres* is little more than a listing of these officials. Beginning with the reign of Henry VI, there is a gradual increase in the number of other historical events as the chronicle proceeds to the reign of Henry VIII. Both versions emphasize the period following the accession of Henry VIII in 1509.

### *Cronicle of Yeres*

Each edition of the *Cronicle of Yeres* begins with the Creation followed by the arrival of Brute at Totnes and the subsequent founding of New Troy or London. The chronicles move from the

21 Mychell STC 9968, fol. L8r.

22 No travel data in Kynge STC 9970.5.

23 Powell STC 9988.3.

Incarnation of Christ to William I with nothing on Roman rule or the Anglo-Saxon period.<sup>24</sup> The various editions merely list the kings who reigned before Henry IV giving the length of the reign and place of burial. For the earlier period important topics such as the Norman Conquest, the murder of Thomas Becket, Magna Carta, the Black Death, and the Hundred Years' War are omitted.<sup>25</sup> From 1399, however, the chronicles include "many notable actes done in and sith the reigne of king Henry the fourth."<sup>26</sup> The account of the Lancastrian kings declines to affirm the heroism of Henry V and only mentions individual battles of the Wars of the Roses without comment on the succession question. The first Yorkist monarch, Edward IV, is noted as a "noble king" whose son, Edward V, was "shamefully murdered" by command of his uncle, Richard, duke of Gloucester. Richard III's reign is treated superficially with no further evidence of the vilification characteristic of Sir Thomas More and other 16th century writers.<sup>27</sup> Similarly, the *Cronicle of Yeres* offers nothing significant about the reign of Henry VII with respect to the foundation of the new Tudor dynasty, and there is no discussion of Henry's claim to throne. The account of the first Tudor is actually somewhat shorter than those of Henry VI and Edward IV. Therefore, the mid-Tudor reader of the chronicle who had no other sources of information was wholly unaware that he was living in a new era under a king who differed significantly from his Lancastrian and Yorkist predecessors.

The various editions of the *Cronicle of Yeres* give substantially more space to the reign of Henry VIII than any previous monarch; hence recent history is clearly privileged. In John Byddell's edition of 1540, for example, 15 of a total of 48 pages is given over

24 Byddell STC 9986, Whitchurch 9996.5, Petyt (1543) 9987, Powell 9988.3 and 9989, Myddleton 9988 and Copland. Byddell STC 9985.5, the shortest edition, begins with the reign of Henry IV and lists no kings before 1399.

25 Byddell STC 9985.5, Powell 9988.3, Whitchurch, Middleton 9987.5, Copland.

26 Byddell STC 9986.

27 Beer, "Richard III: The Image of the King in Small Mid-Tudor Chronicles: 1540-1560," 42-5.

to the first 31 years of Henry's reign. The 15422 editon devotes 23 of 60 pages to the reign, which is over one-third of the text. The emphasis on contemporary history continues in later ecision. Thom Petyt's edition of 1544, for example, devoted 22 of 64 pages of the chronicle to the period following the accession of Henry VIII, while Powell's edition of 1552 devoted 24 of 44 pages of the chronicle text to the period since 1509.

Each edition of the *Cronicle of Yeres* presents the reign of Henry VIII as a series of disconnected events in the same way that earlier reigns were narrated. However, the narrative was extended chronologically as later editions were printed. This practice would suggest that mid-Tudor readers wanted chronicles that included the most recent events. For the period following 1529, each edition details the religious changes that separated England from the see of Rome and created a national church. The chronicles also include entries dealing with war and military operations in Scotland and France and well as an extensive listing of executions. John Byddell's edition of 1542 provides a basic outline of the Henrician Reformation that was followed by the other printers. While he offered no overall assessment of the religious changes of the 1530s, his narrative leaves little doubt that he was sympathetic to government policy.

Byddell together with Whitchurch, Myddleton, Petyt, and Powell state that Henry VIII was divorced from Queen Catherine by "due process of the law" and that Sir Thomas More and Bishop John Fisher were executed for denying the royal supremacy. These printers also declared that "the byshop of Rome with al his false vsurped power" was abolished.<sup>28</sup> Further evidence of the printers' approval of government policy is suggested by the entry that Bibles were placed in every parish church so that the people could read and hear the word of God.<sup>29</sup> Entries in the chronicles concerning leg-

28 Byddell STC 9986, fol. D2r.; Whitchurch, fol. C6v. omits "false"; Petyt, fol. D2r.; Myddleton 9988, fol. B8r.; Powell 9989, fol. B6r. Copland 9989.5 states that the king was divorced from his lawful wife and the bishop of Rome "with all his power" was abolished, fol. D4r.

29 Byddell STC 9986, fol. D5v.; Whitchurch, fol. D1r.; Myddelton, fol. C1v.; Powell 9989, fol. B7v.; Copland, fol. D7r. Petyt, fol. D4r. says only that Bibles should be placed in every parish church.

isolation against the “enormities” of the clergy, the abolition of holy days, removal of images from churches, and the dissolution of the monasteries give additional support to the printers’ attitude. On the other hand, Thomas Cromwell, “late before created Erle of Essex,” was not associated with the Henrician religious reforms, and it was only noted that he was “beheded at the Towre hyll for treason.”<sup>30</sup>

All editions of the *Cronicle of Yeres* except for those of Wyllyam Powell and William Copland end before the death of Henry VIII. Powell offered a detailed account of the protracted French war that occupied the last years of the king’s reign.<sup>31</sup> He extolled the conquest of Boulogne exclaiming “what laude and prayse” should be given to the king and head of the church.<sup>32</sup> Powell also celebrated the English invasion of Scotland in 1544 with a two column listing of towns destroyed.<sup>33</sup> At the king’s death Powell and Copland praised him saying that the people lived a joyful and peaceful life “reduced from the error of idolatry,” but Copland omitted the reference to “error”.<sup>34</sup>

Powell began the reign of Edward VI rejoicing at the accession of “our most gracious soueraynge Lorde...” and then described the events of the coronation. Powell, whose last edition ends 25 February 1552, expressed sympathy for the Edwardian religious reforms and stated that the marriage of priests was lawful by the “laws

30 Byddell STC 9986, fol. D4v.; Whitchurch, fol. C8v.; Petyt, fol. D3v.; Myddelton, fol. C1r.; Powell 9989, fol. B7v.; Copland, fol. H6v.

31 Account of war with France is the same as Mychell STC 9970. There is more detail on war in Scotland [1542-3] than Mychell including lists of towns destroyed by the English.

32 Powell STC 9989, fol. C1v. In Powell’s account of conquest of Boulogne--Sept. 1544—the king is head of church as in Mychell 9968 and 9969; there is a similar occurrence in reference to Henry VIII when peace treaty was made in June 1546. Longer account of fighting on 9 Oct. than Mychell 9970. Copland’s account is similar but omits the reference to the king as head of the church.

33 Powell STC 9989, fol. B8v.-C1r.

34 Powell, fol. C4r. His account of the king’s death is the same as Mychell 9970. Copland omits “reduced from error” from the phrase.

of God.”<sup>35</sup> Moreover, Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, was “justly” deprived of his bishopric for “manifest contempte and conynuall dysobediencie or rather rebellion” against Edward VI, while Copland’s edition published during the reign of Mary omits the latter quotation.<sup>36</sup> On the other hand, neither edition mentioned the *Book of Common Prayer* of 1549. Moreover, neither edition offered a thorough account of the rebellions of 1549. The ‘rising’ in Devon and Cornwall was “domage to them and other” while the revolt in Norfolk and Suffolk was referred to as an “insurrection.”

After the rebellions were subdued, Powell and Copland wrote that Edward Seymour, Duke of Somerset and Lord Protector, was committed to the Tower “to the great lamentation of many,” but only Powell said that his release was greeted “with great rejoycing of people.”<sup>37</sup> Powell, however, incorrectly located Somerset’s first imprisonment before the outbreak of the 1549 rebellions. Somerset’s second fall and subsequent execution in 1552 for conspiring against “certain privy councilors” were recorded without emotion.<sup>38</sup> Copland’s edition, which ends 28 August 1557, is the only version of the *Cronicle of Yeres* that contains a complete account of the reign of Edward VI and extends into the reign of Mary. For the death of Edward VI and failed attempt of the Duke of Northumberland to place Lady Jane Grey on the throne, Copland closely followed John Mychell’s third edition of the *Breuiat Cronicle* saying that Northumberland failed because his attempt was “not of God.” Copland’s carefully constructed narrative of Mary’s reign refers to the restoration of religious processions at St. Paul’s “after the old custom” and the Latin service by Parliament. The Marian influence is apparent in his account of the persecution of heretics who are referred to as “sacramentarians” who suffered “death by fire.”<sup>39</sup> Although the printers of *Cronicle of Yeres* tell essentially the same story, the

35 Powell, fol. C5v.

36 Powell, fol. C6v.; Copland, fol. F5r.

37 Powell, fol. C5v.

38 Powell STC 9989, fol. C6v.; also Copland 9989.5.

39 Copland, fol. H3v.

numerous variations clearly indicate that individual printers did far more than merely extend the most recent text. Their meticulous variations may reflect subtleties of religious outlook, access to different sources, or perhaps merely stylistic idiosyncrasies.

### ***Breuiat Cronicle***

John Mychell, who printed the first three editions of the larger *Breuiat Cronicle* at Canterbury, not only cited authorities used in his chronicles but also revised his own work. The various editions of the *Breuiat Cronicle*, unlike the shorter *Cronicle of Yeres*, list the rulers of Britain since Brute as well as Roman rulers and the Anglo-Saxon kings. They also include short accounts of all English kings from William I forward. In his list of rulers following Brute, Mychell cited the chronicles of Fabyan, Jean Froissart, and Thomas Lanquet, an account that was based on Geoffrey of Monmouth, but did not include references either to the editions or folios used. Mychell also revised his own work as he moved from the first edition to the last. Throughout his chronicle Mychell drew heavily on John Byddell's work, often verbatim although the name of the earlier printer is never mentioned. The London printers, John Kynge and Thomas Marshe, basically reproduced John Mychell's work for the period before 1399 with minor variations. There is no indication that they used any sources other than those cited by Mychell.

For the early period the *Breuiat Cronicle* broke new ground with short accounts of each monarch whereas the printers of the *Cronicle of Yeres* only listed reigning kings prior to 1399. William I was remembered for his for his "greate cruelnes towarde the Englyshmen, charyng them alwayes with greate exactions, by meanes whereof he caused dyuers to flee out of the land."<sup>40</sup> The battle of Hastings was not mentioned, and there was no indication that the Conquest was an event of historical significance. By contrast, Henry I was a "noble prynce" who "reformed the measure in

40 Mychell STC 9970, fol. A3r. The three editions of Mychell offer essentially the same account of the period down to 1399. Marshe 9976 has same account of William I and II; also Kynge 9970.5, 9973, and 9975.

England, whiche of longe time were corrupted” and “vused the lawes of sainte Edward.”<sup>41</sup> Anti-Semitism first appeared in the *Breuiat Cronicle* during the reigns of Stephen and Henry II when Jews allegedly crucified children at Easter.<sup>42</sup> Henry II, like Henry I, was a noble man who was

much fortunate in warres, and greatly enlarged his kyngdome. But dyuers wryters, whiche more dyd fauoure the doynge of Thomas Becket then the truthe, wryte that in his latter days he was vnfortunat, but by his great manhod and pollycy ... his good will was to reforme in his tyme the clergie, but as then God had not apoynted it.<sup>43</sup>

The chronicle proceeded to denounce the “Romyshe Bishop” for his role in the Becket affair.<sup>44</sup> The anticlerical tone continued into the reign of Richard I when auricular confession was “invented” and the laity was forbidden to receive communion in both kinds.<sup>45</sup> A rather factual account of Richard’s military feats explained why “this man for his valiantnesse and corage was called Cure delion.” King John, on the other hand, was condemned for his “cowardnes and slothful negligence [of] the singnory of Englande,”<sup>46</sup> but Magna Carta was not mentioned until it was confirmed under Henry III.<sup>47</sup>

41 Mychell, fol. A7v. Kyng 9971 omits sentence about Henry I’s favoring the bishop of Rome. Marshe 9972 and 9976 made the same omission. He also substituted “concubines” for “wives” when Anselm forbade clerical marriage.

42 Mychell STC 9970, fol. B3v.; B6v.; 9970.5 [1554—John Kyng] fol. B1v., B6r. 9975 same. In the first year of Richard I, Mychell noted that Jews in London were robbed and killed, but the offenders escaped punishment, fol. B7v.

43 Mychell, fol. B4r. Kyng 9970.5 and 9975 have the same account.

44 Kyng STC 9971 [1556] also refers to bishop of Rome. The 1556 edition [9972] of Marshe, on the other hand, refers to Becket as “St. Thomas” and uses the word “pope”. He also omitted the sentence stating that the pope wanted all kings at their “beck....” fol. B4r.

45 Mychell, fol. C1r. Kyng 9970.5 [1554] fol. B7v. and 9975 [1560] same.

46 Mychell STC 9970, fols. B7r., C2r.

47 Marshe STC 9976 has essentially the same accounts of the reigns of Stephen, Henry II, Richard I and John as John Mychell. Mychell said that John died of the flux, but added that some writers say that John was poisoned by a monk, a comment suggesting that he consulted several sources, C3v. Powell, Byddell, and Kyng 9970.5 say simply that he was poisoned.

The printers of the *Breuiat Cronicle* offered a factual account of the long reign of Henry III and expressed no strong views either about the king or his opponents. The first reference to a parliament occurs during this reign, but there is no suggestion that this institution was of any great importance or that it would be greater in the future. A surprisingly short narrative of the reign of Edward I followed that dwelt mainly on his military accomplishments. The chronicle noted that the king's son was imprisoned by his father after committing "dyvers ryots." Despite Edward's military achievements, the chronicle offered neither praise nor a eulogy at his death. For Edward II, however, there was no restraint as he was severely condemned as a man "vnstedfast of maners and disposed too lyghtnes," who "haunted amonge vylaynes and vile persones" and "gaue hym selfe to the appetyte and pleasur of the body."<sup>48</sup> According to the chroniclers, an outbreak of plague "mended not the kyng of hys yl lyuynges."<sup>49</sup> The portrait of Edward II was the most hostile of any English king including Richard III.

Edward III, in contrast to his father, was highly praised for his "excellent modestie and temperaunce" and "integryte" in the longest narrative of any king before 1399.<sup>50</sup> The *Breuiat Cronicle* added that "in feates of armes he was very expert" and praised the king's military victories at Crecy [1346], Calais, and Poitiers [1356]. Edward's son, Prince Edward, "grewe to a noble and famous man and was in his dayes counted the floure off Chyualry throughoute all the worlde."<sup>51</sup> The king was elected emperor in 1348 but refused "consideringe the trouble and vnquietnesse of the bishop of

48 Mychell STC 9970, fols. C8v.-D1r. Kynges 9970.5, fol. C8r. and 9975 same; Marshe 9976, same, fol. C6r.

49 Mychell STC 9970, fol. D2r., Kynges 9970.5, fol. D1v. and 9975 same; Marshe, same, fol. C7v.

50 Mychell STC 9970, fol. D3v. Kynges 9970.5, fol. D3r. and 9975 same; Marshe, same, fol. D1r.

51 Mychell STC 9970, fol. D4v. Kynges 9970.5, fol. D4v. and 9975 same; Marshe, same, fol. D2r.

Rome.”<sup>52</sup> The *Breuiat Cronicle* described the Black Death as a “greate derth throughout all the worlde” in which “famyn and pestilence reygned.” In its account of deaths in Italy, Paris, and London, the chronicle cited Fabyan’s work.<sup>53</sup>

Under Henry III’s successor, Richard II, “the commons of Englande arose” in Kent and Essex and killed the Archbishop of Canterbury. The rebels “vsed them selves very proudelye and vn-reuerentlye against the kyng.” By the “manhode and wysedome of Wyllyam Waulworth,” mayor of London, the mob was defeated, and Jack Straw slain.<sup>54</sup> When Bolingbroke came to England in 1399, the “commons gathered in so great multitude” and “forsoke their prince.” In the opinion of the *Breuiat Cronicle*, Richard II “was worthelye deposed for hys demerytes and mys gouernynge off the common weale.”<sup>55</sup> For the period down to 1399 the principal differences between the Mychell editions and the London editions of the *Breuiat Cronicle*, published during the reign of Mary have to do with references to the pope either as the bishop of Rome or the Popish bishop.

The narrative of the reign of Henry IV offered little insight into the Lancastrian usurpation while Henry V’s victory over the French at Agincourt was achieved “by the only prouision of God” not the king’s military brilliance, because the king’s army had only 2000 horsemen and 12,000 “fote men of al sortes.”<sup>56</sup> Although Henry’s military achievements are mentioned, the chronicle gives no indication that his reign was in any way more glorious than his predecessor’s. As the young Henry VI grew to maturity, the French war

52 Kyng 9970.5 [1554], fol. D8v., but the 1560 edition [9975] omits the reference to bishop of Rome.

53 Mychell STC 9970, fol. D8r., Kyng 9970.5, Marshe, 9976. There are other references to Fabyan for the reign of Edward III.

54 Mychell 9970, fol. E5r.

55 Mychell STC 9970, fol. E6v., Marshe 9976, Kyng 9970.5 fol. E7v. and 9975 same.

56 Mychell STC 9970, fol. F3v., Marshe, fol. E8v.

turned against the English. The French were inspired by Joan of Arc, who was characterized by the *Breuiat Cronicle* as “the wytch” and a “stout ramp.”<sup>57</sup> The term “variance” was used by the chronicles to describe the conflict that led to the loss of Normandy and later to the opening of civil war between the “lordes off England.” in which the Yorkists defeated the Lancastrians.<sup>58</sup> The narrative of the reign of Henry VI includes three specific references to the chronicle of Edward Hall which suggest that the printers consulted an authority in addition to the sources regularly used in composing the *Breuiat Cronicle*.<sup>59</sup> In what can only be described as an intriguing digression, the chronicle departs from the stories of kings, war, and court politics to mention the invention of the “science of printing” by Johann Fust (c. 1400-1466) at Mainz, Germany.<sup>60</sup>

The chronicle offers a detailed but generally non-partisan view of the conflict leading to the Yorkist victory of Edward IV, who was “crowned with great triumph.”<sup>61</sup> It noted that after his defeat, Henry VI was “not well stablyshed in his wyt” and that while “there be dyuers sayinges” about his death, “commonly it is sayd” that Richard, Duke of Gloucester killed him with a dagger.<sup>62</sup> Although the chronicle also implicated Richard in the death of his predecessor, Edward V, all editions had little interest in the reign of Richard III itself and dismissed him as a monarch of little importance.

The *Breuiat Cronicle* attached no significance to Henry VII as the founder of the Tudor dynasty, and John Mychell’s last edition covered the reign in only eight pages. Each edition of the chronicle looked ahead and recorded the birth of the king’s second son at

57 Mychell, fol. G1v.

58 Mychell, fol. F8r.

59 Mychell STC 9970, fols. G5v., G7v., H2r.; Kyng 9970.5, fols. G7r., H2v.; Marshe (1561).

60 Mychell, fol. H3r.; Kyng 9971, fol. H5r., 9975, fol. H5r; Marshe (1561).

61 Mychell, fol. H6r. The London editions have essentially the same account of the reign of Edward IV as John Mychell.

62 Mychell, fol. H6v., I3v.

Greenwich as the birth of Henry VIII.<sup>63</sup> The defeat of the Cornish rebels in 1497 was dismissed in a single sentence: “This yeare the xviii. day of June was Blacketh felde.”<sup>64</sup> Henry VII’s death was recorded without comment whereas Edward IV was hailed as a “noble kyng” at his death. Mychell’s editions and the London editions carry virtually the same story of the reign with the exception that Thomas Marshe’s edition of 1556 [STC 9972] curiously omits a reference to the marriage and subsequent death of Prince Arthur.<sup>65</sup> The narrative of Henry VII’s reign was little different from earlier rulers, and the chronicle did not in any way associate a king who had died as recently as 1509 with the contemporary period.

The *Breuiat Cronicle*, like the *Cronicle of Yeres*, allocates more space to the reign of Henry VIII than to any other monarch and offers a narrative that is more factual than interpretive.<sup>66</sup> It showed little interest in the career of Cardinal Wolsey and merely noted that he was deposed in 1529.<sup>67</sup> Mychell’s three editions reflect the religious environment in which they were printed; for example, the Edwardian editions speak of the “false usurped power” of the Pope while the last edition, published after the accession of Mary, simply omitted this phrase.<sup>68</sup> In the Edwardian editions, Henry VIII was “by due process of law divorced from Lady Katherine, his brother’s wife,” but the Marian edition says that the king was divorced from his “lawfull wife” and that the divorce itself was unlawful.<sup>69</sup> The break with Rome and establishment of Church of England are not dramatized; Mychell simply stated that the Bishop of Rome with all

63 Mychell, fol. I8r.; Marshe (1561) same.

64 Mychell, fol. K1r.; Marshe (1561) same.

65 Marshe STC 9976 (1561), however, includes marriage and death.

66 Space allocated to reign by John Mychell is 20 pages, more than any other ruler. For example, the 241 years from 1066-1307 received only 22 pages.

67 Mychell STC 9970, fol. L.1r.

68 Mychell STC 9968, fol. L2r.

69 Mychell STC 9968, fol. L5r., 9969, L1v.

his power was “abolished quite oute of the Realme.”<sup>70</sup> The publication of the authorized English Bible was apparently more important. “Goddes worde set at liberty” was the phrase in the margin of Mychell’s last edition followed by “In this yeare the vi. of May there was a proclamation that the Bible should be had in euery paryshe churche within this realme, readye for all sortes of people to reade and heare goddes worde at conuenient times.”<sup>71</sup> Little interest is shown in the king’s six queens, or Henrician political leaders such as Sir Thomas More and Thomas Cromwell, or rebellions which were characterized as a “folyshe commocion.”<sup>72</sup>

Each of Mychell’s editions praised the king for his conquest of Boulogne. This triumph “woulde have comforted all true Englishe mens hartes to haue hard, and sene the victorye and conquest that was had by our mooste dread soueraygne . . . for the whiche honoure, prayse and glorye be gyuen to almighty god, grace and victorye from god the father for euer. Amen.”<sup>73</sup> The two early editions also said that the defeated French should “pray dayly for the prosperous reigne” of the king who had shown them such mercy and favor, but the last edition curiously deleted this phrase. Each of Mychell’s three editions closes with an effusive eulogy for Henry VIII “under whome we his people of Englande lyued longe a ioyful and a peasable lyfe reduced from the errour of Idolatry to the true knowledge of God and his worde.”<sup>74</sup>

The London editions printed by John Kynge and Thomas Marshe were published during the reigns of Mary and Elizabeth and, like Mychell’s editions, presented images of the reign of Henry VIII that were edited to reflect the religious policies of the period

70 Mychell STC 9970, fol. L2r.

71 Injunctions authorizing the Bible were issued in name of the king in 1538, but dates in the chronicles vary from 1541 to 1542.

72 Mychell STC 9970, fol. L3r.

73 Mychell STC 9968, fol. K6r., 9969, fol. M2v., 9970, M2r.

74 Mychell STC 9968, fol. L2v., 9969, 9970, M6r.

in which they appeared. Kynge's editions of the *Breuiat Cronicle*, with the exception of the 1560 edition [STC 9975], present a Marian perspective on Henry VIII's reign. For the period from the king's accession to 1530, Kynge's Marian editions offer virtually the same narrative as Mychell. These editions state that Henry VIII was divorced from his lawful wife because the bishop of Rome would not consent to an unlawful divorce.<sup>75</sup> The Marian editions however differ in their evaluation of his reign. The earliest edition (1554) accepts the judgment of Mychell that the English people lived a joyful life reduced from the error of idolatry to the true knowledge of God while the 1556 version states rather awkwardly that the people were only reduced from "the error."<sup>76</sup> Kynge printed two Elizabethan editions in 1559 and 1560, respectively. The 1559 edition, like the Marian editions, spoke of the king's unlawful divorce while the 1560 edition says only he was divorced from his wife.<sup>77</sup> This edition also replaces "pope" with "bishop of Rome," but at the death of Henry VIII the 1560 edition rather inconsistently concludes that the English were merely "reduced from the error to true knowledge of God."<sup>78</sup>

Thomas Marshe produced two editions, one in the reign of Mary and one in the reign of Elizabeth. Like Kynge, Marshe followed the overall format of Mychell but added a number of variations. The earlier edition follows Kynge with regard to the divorce of Henry VIII, but the 1561 edition states that the king "of long time" had not kept company with the queen because his marriage was in "controuersie." It was determined by "diuers universities and learned men by great labor" to be against "the law of God."<sup>79</sup> At the king's death the Marian edition was content to say that he "liued

75 Kynge STC 9970.5, fol. L5r., 9971, fol. L5r.

76 STC 9970.5, fol. N2v., 9971, fol. N2v.

77 Kynge STC 9973, fol. L5r., 9975 fol. L4r.

78 Kynge STC 9973, fol. N2v. adds "idolatry."

79 Marshe STC 9976, fol. K5v.; not in 1556 ed.

longe a ioyfull and a peasable life,” while the Elizabethan version added that the English people were “reduced from the errour to the true knoweledge of God.”<sup>80</sup>

Only the first two editions of the *Breuiat Cronicle* printed by John Mychell offer a contemporary account of the reign of Edward VI.<sup>81</sup> Mychell’s third edition, two editions by John Kynge, and one edition by Thomas Marshe were published during the reign of Mary, while three editions, two by Kynge and one by Marshe were Elizabethan. Mychell’s Edwardian editions, which appeared only five years after the accession of the new king, show the problems of writing contemporary history. These editions give a detailed account of the coronation suggesting that the Canterbury printer may have been an eye-witness in London, but the appointment of the Duke of Somerset as lord protector is omitted, and his first fall from power is incorrectly placed before the outbreak of the rebellions in 1549. The first edition omits the invasion of Scotland in 1547,<sup>82</sup> and both editions offer only superficial coverage of the rebellions of 1549<sup>83</sup> and do not mention the appearance of the first *Book of Common Prayer*. The Canterbury printer might also be charged with excessive local coverage considering his accounts of the minor commotion in Kent, a murder at Faversham, and a flood at Sandwich all of which are included in the London editions.

Unfortunately, the perspective offered by editions printed after the king’s death in 1553 resulted in little revision with the exception of alterations reflecting religious change. The Marian and Elizabethan editions offer nothing to enlarge an understanding of the rise and fall of Protector Somerset, and the treatment of the rebellions of 1549 remains inadequate. Furthermore, none of the editions

80 STC 9976, fol. M1v.

81 Mychell STC 9968 ends 13 January 1552; STC 9969 ends 25 February 1552.

82 The second and third editions-- STC 9969 and 9970—rectify this defect and also cite Patten, The Expedicion into Scotla[n]de....

83 See Beer, *Rebellion and Riot: Popular Disorder in England during the Reign of Edward VI*.

communicates the magnitude of religious change resulting from the Edwardian Reformation. Each edition relates that Communion was to be received in both kinds, that images were “put down” in all churches, that clerical marriage became lawful, and, like the Edwardian versions, each ignores the prayer book.<sup>84</sup>

While the Edwardian editions condemn Stephen Gardner for his “manifest contempt” and “rebellion against the king’s majesty,” the Marian as well as the Elizabethan versions deleted this verbal attack.<sup>85</sup> The Marian editions said that Nicholas Ridley and John Ponet usurped the bishoprics of London and Winchester, respectively, whereas the Edwardian editions declined to name these Protestant reformers. The Elizabethan editions amended “usurped” to read merely “had”.<sup>86</sup> One area where the various editions of the *Breuiat Cronicle* were unanimous was the total condemnation of the Duke of Northumberland, who failed to place Lady Jane on the throne at Edward’s death because his attempt was “not of God” and “almoste all the common people fell from hym.”<sup>87</sup>

Only two editions of the *Breuiat Cronicle* cover the entire reign of Mary, one printed by John Kynge [9975] and another by Thomas Marshe [9976].<sup>88</sup> A careful examination of all editions dealing with the reign reveals that the printers were highly sensitive to contemporary religious and political events and made meticulous revisions that reflect the date of publication. In a short but enthusiastic account of the queen’s coronation most editions proclaimed that multitudes came, and the like had not been seen before.<sup>89</sup> But

84 Mychell STC 9968 and 9969 state that clerical marriage was lawful “by the lawes of God.” Mychell 9970, Kynge [1554] 9970.5, 9975 [1560], Marshe 9972, 9976 state that it was lawful by parliament.

85 Mychell STC 9968, 9969.

86 Kynge STC 9973, 9975, Marshe STC 9976.

87 Mychell STC 9970, fol. N4v., Marshe 9972, 9976.

88 Despite its publication date, Kynge’s edition of 1559 has incomplete coverage of Mary’s reign and nothing on the reign of Elizabeth. The last entry is dated 28 August 1557: St. Quintins taken.

89 STC 9970, 9970.5, 9972, 9976.

Kynge wrote rather awkwardly and with obvious restraint in the edition of 1560 that “much people oute of all partes of the realme” came to the coronation.<sup>90</sup> The various editions were unanimous in their distaste for the discredited Duke of Northumberland who was executed for treason after exhorting the people to return to the Catholic faith.

Each edition reveals considerable interest in Queen Mary’s religious policy. First of all, parliament repealed the Edwardian reforms, acts that were “thought not necessary.”<sup>91</sup> Deposed bishops were restored to their sees, and the Latin was re-established “by authority of parliament.”<sup>92</sup> Reginald Pole, the papal legate, returned to England and was honorably received as he reunited England with the see of Rome.<sup>93</sup> Subsequently, Pole was consecrated archbishop of Canterbury. Only the Elizabethan edition of 1561 printed by Thomas Marshe expressed anything approaching outrage over the burning of heretics. He wrote, “All this yeare [1558] ceased not the persecution for religion.”<sup>94</sup> Other editions simply stated that the heretics were either “brent” or “suffered death by fire” and studiously avoided the word “persecution.”<sup>95</sup>

If space allocation is a guide, the most important event of Mary’s reign was not the Great Persecution, but Wyatt’s rebellion.<sup>96</sup> Mychell’s 1554 edition of the *Breuiat Cronicle* is of particular importance as it provoked John Proctor to write a book that attacked Mychell and came to be regarded as the most important contem-

90 STC 9975, fol. O2r.

91 STC 9970, fol. N5v. Also 9970.5, 9972, 9975, 9976.

92 STC 9971 fol. P1r. Also 9975, 9976.

93 STC 9971 fol. P1v. Also 9975, 9976.

94 Marshe STC 9976, fol. N2v.

95 STC 9971, 9972, 9975. Cf. the April 1559 edition of Fabyan’s chronicle, [STC 10664], pp. 563-4, which offers more details than the short chronicles, but is equally restrained and non-partisan. An English edition of John Foxe’s Acts and Monuments did not appear until 1563.

96 Mychell’s account in the 1554 edition covers six pages. For a modern account of the rebellion see Loades, *The Wyatt Rebellion*.

porary work on the rebellion.<sup>97</sup> Proctor wrote that he wanted to refute Mychell's argument that few were free from Wyatt's conspiracy in Kent. According to Proctor, many were "faythfull and worthy subiects," but their deeds "either of hast or purpose were omitted."<sup>98</sup> This criticism is puzzling as Mychell strongly emphasized the loyalty of the people of Canterbury. Mychell's account was understandably focused on Kent where Wyatt and his associates "began a rebellion at Maidstone."<sup>99</sup> Mychell and the other printers of the Marian editions agreed that the rebellion had multiple causes. They argued that Wyatt and his allies pretended to defend the realm from the Spaniards, intended to maintain their heresies, and also sought to destroy Queen Mary.<sup>100</sup> Thus, the contemporary printers, unlike later historians, saw a combination of political and religious forces at work in addition to a threat of foreign domination. On the other hand, the two Elizabethan editions agreed that the rebels only wanted to defend England from Spaniards and other strangers, who wanted to rule and "implant their nacion among vs to our hurte."<sup>101</sup> The chronicles recognized that the Kentish rebels joined with the "commotion" in Devon but offered no information about it other than that they "confederated" with the Duke of Suffolk.

The principal aspect of the rebellion where the various editions differed was with respect to what occurred in London. According to Mychell, Wyatt came to Southwark on Candlemas eve [1 February] but found the drawbridge "plucked vp against hym." Then Lord William Howard joined with the mayor for the defense of London "because of the Londoners vntrustines."<sup>102</sup> Kynge's London edition of 1554 adds that the Queen met previously at Guildhall

97 Wiatt, "The Lost History of Wyatt's Rebellion," 129-133; Bryson, "Order and Disorder: John Proctor's History of Wyatt's Rebellion (1554)," 323-336.

98 Proctor, *The Historic of Wyate's Rebellion*, fol. A4v.

99 Mychell STC 9970, fol. N6v.; other editions followed Mychell.

100 Mychell STC 9970, plus 9970.5, 9971, and 9972.

101 Kynge STC 9975, fol. O3v., Marshe 9976, fol. N1v.

102 Mychell STC 9970, fol. N7v.

and made an oration to the mayor and citizens asking them to assist her against the rebels but significantly omits the reference to the untrustworthiness of Londoners.<sup>103</sup> Neither of the two editions that cover the whole reign offered a eulogy for Queen Mary and simply stated that she “departed oute of thys worlde.”<sup>104</sup>

The last four editions of the *Breuiat Cronicle* were printed during the reign of Elizabeth, but only two include information about the new reign.<sup>105</sup> John Kynge’s edition of 1560 contains only one folio on the reign and ends 8 April 1559 with the peace settlement with France. Thomas Marshe’s edition the following year ends abruptly with an account of the burning of the steeple at St. Paul’s on 4 June 1561. It describes the accession of Elizabeth and her coronation but is curiously silent on the religious settlement of 1559 although there is a reference to the Queen as Defender of the Faith.<sup>106</sup> Whether these fragmentary narratives were intended to be a prelude to a later edition must remain a matter of speculation.

This study demonstrates the important role of printers in chronicle scholarship as the short chronicles were produced by no fewer than nine different printers.<sup>107</sup> The dedication of John Mychell to Sir Anthony Aucher cited above offers valuable insight into the historical thinking of one printer, but none of the London printers included similar introductory material that might shed light on their views. Mychell cited other chronicles but not John Byddell whose work was his most important source. The London printers freely reproduced earlier editions of Mychell and other printers without attribution but made numerous revisions from the reign of Henry VIII

103 STC 9970.5, fol. O4r.; other minor variations. The Elizabethan editions, STC 9975 and 9976, which were also the work of London printers, follow STC 9970.5.

104 STC 9975 fol. P5v.; 9976 fol. O2v.

105 Kynge STC 9973[1559] has nothing on the reign. No copies of STC 9974 are listed. Accounts of the reign may be found in Kynge 9975 and Marshe 9976.

106 This edition consists of only three pages and jumps from the peace settlement to the fire with no entries for the year 1560.

107 See also Beer, “John Kyngston and Fabyan’s Chronicle (1559),” 199-207.

forward. One must assume that they were practical businessmen, who had only limited contact with the higher culture of their day, but they made a major contribution to the popularization of English history among non-elite readers.

The publication of twenty-two editions over a short period of time is a clear indication that there was a substantial demand for small chronicles and that the printers found them to be a profitable undertaking. Small English chronicles were not attractive to humanistic scholars or aristocratic book collectors and, according to Margaret Spufford, very little evidence survives about the libraries of the “common sort” for the mid-Tudor period.<sup>108</sup> Buyers of small chronicles were presumably attracted by their low price and were prepared to accept the superficiality that accompanied their brevity. It must be assumed that readers of the short chronicles were content with fragmentary tales of kings and queens, battles, and other great events and had no sympathy for popular revolts or their leaders. Insight into the popular mind may be found in the introduction of a contemporary, Walter Lynne, to *The Three Books of Cronicles* [1550]. He wrote that this somewhat larger work contained “all that is nedefull to be knowen concernynge thynges done in tymes passed” and added with obvious condescension that most English did not understand other languages.<sup>109</sup> The simplification of the past found in the short chronicles clearly pointed the way for the future evolution of popular history.

The chronicles promoted the national history among readers of the lower classes and provide an early example of the popular preference for recent history as the chronicles give the greatest attention to the period beginning with the reign of Henry VIII. The small chronicles did little to propagate Tudor myths such as the villainy of Richard III and were carefully revised to assure religious conformity. Unlike Hall’s chronicle, these chronicles did not celebrate the “union of the two noble and illustre famelies” of Lancaster

108 Spufford, “Libraries of the Common Sort,” *Cambridge History of Libraries in Britain and Ireland*, 1, 520.

109 Carion, *The thre bokes of Cronicles*, fol. 2r.

and York and exalt Henry VII. A preference for contemporary history is indicated by the frequent new editions that were regularly extended and updated. The learned minority clearly preferred reading classical works in Latin, but a growing population of readers pointed the way toward a preference for the English language. The subsequent publication of short chronicles or abridgements by John Stow and Richard Grafton suggests that there was a market for this type of historical writing that extended into the early seventeenth century.<sup>110</sup> As during the mid-Tudor period, non-elite readers were prepared to purchase shorter chronicles that were less expensive and less informative in preference to more comprehensive works that were readily available. The short chronicles are clearly part of the historiography of early modern England and as such contribute to the historical culture of the era.

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## Appendix

### *A cronicle of yeres*

John Byddell

1539 ed. Not in *STC*. *Typographia* 1, 511 lists *A short Cronycle*. duodecimo.

*STC* 9985.5 [1540] octavo<sup>111</sup>

9986 1542 octavo

Edward Whitchurch for John Judson

9986.5 [1542] octavo

110 Beer, "English History Abridged: John Stow's Shorter Chronicles and Popular History," 12-27.

111 The full title of the 1540 edition is *A short cronycle, wherin is mencioned all the names of all the kings of England of the mayers, and shiriffes of the cytie of London: and of diuers and many notable actes and thinges done, in, and sith the time of kige [sic] Henry ye fourth.*

Thomas Petyt

9987 [1543] octavo

William Myddleton

9987.5 1543 octavo

9988 1544 octavo

Wyllyam Powell

9988.3 1549 sextodecimo

9988.5 1550 octavo

9989 1552 octavo

William Copland (d. 1569)

9989.5 [1557] sextodecimo

***A breuiat cronicle***

John Mychell printed three editions at Canterbury.

*STC* 9968 [1552] octavo

9969 [1552] octavo

9970 [1554] octavo; Kent Archaeological Society, ebook 2013,  
ed. B. L. Beer.

London editions

John Kynge

9970.5 [1554] octavo

9971 1556 [1555 in *STC*] octavo

ESTC [1557] octavo; Bibliotheque Mazarine, Paris

9973 [1559] octavo

9974 [1559] Copy of *STC* 9976: 'imp L. copy of 9976' octavo

No copies listed in *STC*.

9975 [1560] octavo

Thomas Marshe

9972 1556 octavo

9975 [1561] octavo

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*Engraving by John Bydell, 1535*  
*"Truth being led out of darkness by Time"*