




2021

Contemporary History in Early Tudor English Chronicles: 1485-1553

Barrett L. Beer
Kent State University

Follow this and additional works at: <https://scholarsarchive.byu.edu/rmmra>

 Part of the [Comparative Literature Commons](#), [History Commons](#), [Philosophy Commons](#), and the [Renaissance Studies Commons](#)

Recommended Citation

Beer, Barrett L. (2021) "Contemporary History in Early Tudor English Chronicles: 1485-1553," *Quidditas*: Vol. 42 , Article 8.

Available at: <https://scholarsarchive.byu.edu/rmmra/vol42/iss1/8>

This Article is brought to you for free and open access by the Journals at BYU ScholarsArchive. It has been accepted for inclusion in Quidditas by an authorized editor of BYU ScholarsArchive. For more information, please contact ellen_amatangelo@byu.edu.

**Contemporary History in Early Tudor English Chronicles:
1485-1553**

Barrett L. Beer
Kent State University

English chronicles published between 1485 and 1547 are studied here to determine how they dealt with contemporary history. These chronicles obviously covered the distant past, but many end well before the date of publication. Today contemporary history is of great importance to the public as evidenced by a variety of published works, periodicals, and most recently the internet. An analysis of early Tudor chronicles reveals that while many were indifferent to the recent past, others clearly laid the foundation for a focus on the contemporary era. The recognized authors of the chronicles included in this study are Richard Arnold, John Byddell, Johann Carion, Richard Fabyan, Edward Hall, John Hardyng, John Mychell, and William Powell. Most of the chronicles appeared in more than one version and included the work of writers who were not the recognized authors, especially Richard Grafton.

This essay examines English chronicles published during the period from 1485 to the death of Edward VI in 1553. It focuses on the coverage of the contemporary period while most studies of chronicles have emphasized the medieval period.¹ Today we have intense interest in current events and contemporary history via TV, newspapers, and the internet. The 16th century reader had only chronicles. As most literate people read only English, Latin chronicles such as Polydore Vergil were inaccessible to them.² Furthermore, ordinary readers had little or no access to manuscript chronicles. Compared with a modern reader, the early Tudor reader had a limited choice of English language chronicles that were available in print in which he could familiarize himself with contemporary history. The chronicles included in this study are Richard Arnold, Customs of London; Robert Fabyan, New Chronicles of England and France; John Hardyng, The Chronicle from the First Beginning of England... unto reign of Edward IV; John Byddell, A Short Chronicle from

1 Bennett, *English Books and Readers 1475-1557*, 123-134; Woolf, *Reading History in Early Modern England*, 13-78.

2 *Historia Anglica*, Basil, 1534.

Henry IV; William Powell, *A Cronicle of Yeres*; John Mychell, *A Breuiat Cronicle*³; Johann Carion, *The Three Bokes of Cronicles*; and Edward Hall, *The Union of Two Noble Families*. They were printed during the reigns of Henry VII, Henry VIII, and Edward VI, and many appeared in multiple editions that contained significant additions and revisions.

The official or recognized author of a chronicle often did not write the last part of the chronicle which addressed the contemporary period. Some of were deceased; for example, Robert Fabyan died in 1512 before any of his work was published; John Hardyng died in 1456 long before the beginning of the Tudor era; Johann Carion died in 1537; and Edward Hall died in 1547 before the appearance of the last editions. Therefore, it is important to consider the writers who continued the chronicles into the contemporary period following 1485. One cannot overestimate the importance of Richard Grafton who composed continuations of Hardyng and Hall and perhaps the last edition of Fabyan before publishing his own chronicles during the reign of Elizabeth.⁴ Walter Lynne continued Carion's chronicle after several earlier revisions and additions. The role of printers who produced the short chronicles including John Byddell and John Mychell must also be considered. Another printer, William Rastell (1508-1565) prepared the 1533 edition of Fabyan's chronicle.

During the reign of Henry VII the only English chronicle that appeared was Richard Arnold, *Customs of London* probably printed by A. van Bergen at Antwerp in 1503.⁵ The author actually gave the chronicle no title, but its nineteenth century editor, Francis Douce, called it *Customs of London*. It has been suggested that it was really not a chronicle because it was organized around mayoral years and listed city officials. Nevertheless it was praised by John Stow for the author's fervent love of good learning and account of

³ Mychell's chronicle appeared in some 20 editions in two versions.

⁴ M. G. Ferguson, *ODNB*; Manchester, "Chronicling the English Reformation: The Historical Works of Richard Grafton."

⁵ STC 782.

the charters, liberties, law, constitutions and customs of the city of London. Arnold was a citizen of London and a merchant who died about 1521. Arnold's chronicle makes no contribution whatsoever to contemporary history as it ends during the reign of Henry VI in the early fifteenth century. The last entry describes the reconciliation between Humphrey, duke of Gloucester, brother of Henry V and Henry Beaufort, bishop of Winchester in 1426; the two took each other by the hand in the presence of the king and parliament as a token of love and accord.⁶

In contrast, chronicle production flourished during the reign of Henry VIII. The first chronicle to appear was Robert Fabyan, *The New Chronicles of England and France* published in 1516. This edition was followed by editions in 1533 and 1542. Fabyan, who was a sheriff and alderman of London, died in 1513. Since the first edition did not give the author's name, there is a question as to the chronicle's actual authorship.⁷ The last sections of the latter two editions were obviously the work of another writer. The edition of 1516 was printed by Richard Pynson who may have added to Fabyan's text although it does not go beyond the author's death.⁸ The reign of the first Tudor is preceded by a stern denunciation of Richard III:

of whom tedyous it is to me to wryte the Tragedyous Hystory except
yt I remembre that good it is to wryte and put in remembraunce the
punyschment synners to the ende that other may eschewe to fall in lyke
daunger.⁹

He added that Richard put 'into secret death' the two sons of his brother.¹⁰ Fabyan offered a brief one-page account of the reign of Henry VII whom he praised for keeping the land in continual peace

6 Peter C. Herman, *ODNB*. Douce, ed., *The Customs of London*.

7 M.-R. McLaren, *ODNB*.

8 STC 10659.

9 BL 6014, fol. 228v. Ellis, *The New Cronicles of England and France*, 690.

10 Fol. 228v.

and tranquility. The papacy saw the king as the defender of Christ's church. Henry VII's sumptuous endowment of the monastery at Westminster was, according to the chronicle, greater than any king since the Norman Conquest. The chronicle ended with the observation that Henry VIII began his reign but offered no narrative of the early years of the reign. The reader of the 1516 edition found it nearly devoid of the history of the thirty-one years following the battle of Bosworth.

The second edition, published in 1533 by William Rostell (1508-1565) with the title *Fabyans Cronycle Newly Prynted*, extended its predecessor by seventeen years, but would also have disappointed a reader interested on contemporary history, especially the reign of Henry VIII.¹¹ Rostell, a London printer and legal writer, was a prominent member of Sir Thomas More's circle and his principal publisher.¹² This edition, covering 233 folios, gives a fuller account of the Tudors than its predecessor, but it is confined to merely six folios. The author salutes Henry VII and gives thanks to the Virgin at the beginning. The text is organized around the mayors of London and gives many details about the city. The king's marriage to Elizabeth, daughter of Edward IV, and the birth of Prince Arthur are noted. In 1489 a revolt of the commons in the North occurred in which Henry Percy, earl of Northumberland, was slain because of his personal unpopularity and the collection of taxes. The chronicle records many executions including that of Perkin Warbeck. There is a puzzling reference to a gracious miracle at the end of July 1506 shown by "oure Lady image of Barkyng by a mayden chylde that a carte laden wyth stone yode ouer."¹³ Toward the end of the reign, Henry VII "of his goodness" released prisoners from prisons in London and sumptuously endowed the monastery at Westminster. Although details about the king are limited, there was lavish praise at his death. In two paragraphs the author wrote

11 STC 10660.

12 J. H. Baker, *ODNB*.

13 Fol. ccxxxiii.r.

that the “magnificent and excellent prynce Henry” kept the country in peace and tranquility. “Hys actes passed all the noble actes of hys noble progenytours synce the conquest.” “His great policy and wisdom” were admired by other Christian princes, and he might be called the second Solomon. The section ends with a pious “amen.”¹⁴ Although the account of the first Tudor is brief and uncritical, it could be argued that it represented a first step toward the concept of a new monarchy especially with respect to the king’s wisdom and support of the church. If it is assumed that this narrative was written by the printer, William Rostell, a follower of Sir Thomas More, the religious views are clearly understandable. In sharp contrast to the account of Henry VII, the coverage of his son is limited to two short paragraphs. Considering that this edition appeared after twenty-four years of the new reign had passed, any progress in the direction of contemporary history was nullified. The reader learned only that Henry VIII was the rightful inheritor of the crown and began his gracious reign with best wishes for success.¹⁵

The last editions of Fabyan’s chronicle published in 1542 reflect the break with Rome and appear to be the work of two different printers. The first, STC 10661, states that it was printed by William Bonham (1497-c. 1557), a sub-tenant of John Rostell, although it has been argued that this reference is incorrect.¹⁶ The second, STC 10662, was printed by John Reynes (d. c. 1545), a native of the Low Countries, best known as a binder and a leading stationer in England.¹⁷ Both printers were located in St. Paul’s churchyard, and each version consists of 490 pages. The section on Henry VII is similar to the 1533 edition with the notable exception of references altered to reflect the break with Rome. The salutation to the Virgin

14 Fos. ccxxxiii.v.-iv.r.

15 Fol. ccxxxiv.r. The 1533 edition was printed on December 31, 1533.

16 The EEBO entry for this edition states that it was “printed by [Richard Grafton] for William Bonham” dwelling at the sign of the king his arms in Paul’s churchyard, but the text itself gives only Bonham’s name.

17 E. G. Duff, *ODNB*,

Mary is omitted, references to the Pope become the bishop of Rome, and the curious reference to our lady of Barking has been removed. In addition the spelling has been modernized. The major difference from the 1533 edition is a detailed account of the reign of Henry VIII down to 1541 covering pages 483-90.

This narrative of the reign of Henry VIII covering the period nearly down to the publication date in 1542 is the earliest example of contemporary history. The frost of 1517 is noted stating that “all menne with cartes might passe between Westminster and Lambeth,” but the break with Rome is the topic of greatest importance. Written from the perspective of the king’s government, the chronicle noted that legates sat at Black Friars to consider the king’s marriage to Catherine of Aragon. Another brief entry noted the deposition of Thomas, Cardinal Wolsey as Lord Chancellor. Official policy was reflected in the observation that a parliament met “for the enormities of the clergy” and that the king was divorced by due process of law. Subsequently, the bishop of Rome with all his false usurped power was abolished quite out of the realm. Sir Thomas More and John Fisher, bishop of Rochester were beheaded as well as Anne Boleyn. The rising in Lancashire was described as a “foolish commotion.” The reader also learned about uncontentious matters such as Henry’s marriage to Jane Seymour, the birth of Prince Edward, and his mother’s death.

The chronicle recorded further aspects of the Henrician reformation stating that all idolatry was forbidden, and that friars, monks, canons, and nuns changed “their new found garments, forsoke their cloisters and came home again to their mother church this xxx. yere,” and that Bibles were to be placed in all parish churches. Executions were extremely prominent among the entries for the reign. The list included Thomas Cromwell who was beheaded for treason without any indication of his role in the Reformation. Other prominent figures were the marquess of Exeter, the countess of Salisbury, and Walter, lord Hungerford. Clergy were also numerous among the king’s victims: the abbots of Reading, Glastonbury, and

Colchester. Among the lower orders there was a Welshman hanged for prophesying the king's death and two yeomen of the king's guard hanged for robbery as an example to others. But the entries included an example of the king's mercy as the bishop of Chichester and Dr. Nicholas Wilson were delivered out of the Tower of London and pardoned. The chronicle ends in July 1541 with a tribute to the king and Prince Edward:

Whose highness Jesu long preserue, with his noble ympe prince Edward,
and his noble counsaill, in honor, welth, and prosperitee, long to endure.
Amen¹⁸

The Chronicle of Iohn Hardyng from the firste begynnyng of Englande...vnto the reign of kyng Edward IV... was published by Richard Grafton in two versions in January 1543. As Hardyng died c. 1465, his portion of the chronicle written in verse ended in the fifteenth century and obviously made no contribution to contemporary history. The continuation by Grafton, however, is of importance as it offers two very different accounts of the reign of Henry VIII. The first version, STC 12767, covered the reign in merely two pages, fos. 145v.-146r., while the second, STC 12766.7, was substantially longer covering fos. 145v.-160v. The narrative of the first Tudor king begins with extravagant praise. As the king came to London, "all parties saluted after the moste louyng fassion that thei could deuise" and thanked God that he had sent them a "kyng to gouerene the realme, whiche before was ruled by a cruell and hatefull tiraunt."¹⁹ The account that follows is primarily biographical and is not organized around the terms of the mayors of London. It includes details about domestic conflicts and conspiracies, relations with Scotland and France, and some interesting religious references. The pope is referred to as the bishop of Rome, and it is noted that priests were commanded to pay money for the maintenance of the "commonweale,"²⁰ references that clearly reflect the views of Richard

18 Fabyan (1542), 489-90.

19 Fol. Cviii.

20 Fos. 120r., 142r.

Grafton. When Henry VII was approaching the end of his life, he offered a general pardon except for thieves and murderers. He is said to have had a merry and laughing countenance, wit like Solomon, and a character that was fair and just. As one who defended many poor people from the power of greater men, the deceased king was undoubtedly in that place “where euerlastynge ioye and gladnesse remaineth for euer and euer.”²¹ Ending with an effusive eulogy, this edition of the 1543 chronicle offers an excellent example of what must be called contemporary history, but everything changes with the subsequent reign of Henry VIII.

The chronicle ends with only a two page account of the first 34 years of Henry VIII's reign. The author states that he is offering a small conclusion touching this most noble and excellent prince and for the “closing up” of this present work. The narrative mentions the birth of Prince Edward, but there is nothing about the king's wives and daughters. The chronicle goes on to state that Henry VIII did three great things: He abolished the authority of the pope and restored the “holy and moste blessed woorde of God to the entente that wee might knowe our duiety to almighty God...and live a Godly and christen life one with another.” Secondly, he took away superstition and idolatry, and finally he dissolved and suppressed all counterfeit sects and false religions. In the future it was hoped that Prince Edward would display the virtues of his father, prudence “policie and godly iudgement”. The account concluded with the following: “To this all true Englishe heartes saie, Amen.” The reader who acquired this edition of the 1543 chronicle to learn about the reign of VIII would have been sorely disappointed, but the second version offered genuine insight into recent history.²²

The second version—STC 12766.7—also the work of Richard Grafton, like the first, condemns Richard III and offers a similar favorable but uncritical account of the reign of Henry VII. It is the

21 Fol. 144v.

22 Fos. 145v.-146r.

lengthy narrative of the second Tudor covering fifteen folios that sets the two versions apart. The text is organized around the king's regnal years ending in December (30 Henry VIII) 1538. Grafton begins with the king's marriage and a very detailed account of the events surrounding the coronation of Henry and Catherine of Aragon which curiously omits the name of Henry VIII's first queen.²³ However, subsequent entries contain select details of the king's family history. While the birth and death of their first son are recorded as is the birth of Princess Mary, the omission of the momentous divorce proceedings is amazing. Also missing from the narrative is any mention of the king's marriage to Anne Boleyn (January 1533) and the birth of Princess Elizabeth. There are short entries that record the death of Queen Catherine, the execution of Queen Anne, and the king's subsequent marriage to Jane Seymour followed by the birth of Prince Edward and his mother's death. The text merely states the "lady Katheryn," princess dowager, died and was buried at Peterborough and that "Queen Anne" was attainted of treason and beheaded.²⁴

Later history in the Hardyng chronicle involved the historic break with Rome. The chronicle states that Cardinal Wolsey was "deposed" but gives no explanation of the circumstances that ended his career. The next year Parliament reformed diverse enormities of the clergy, but the author gave no indication what these enormities were. Subsequently, the reader learns that Parliament made the king supreme head of the church and was granted first fruits and tenths.²⁵ A further entry states that idolatry was forbidden, images destroyed, and monks and friars "changed their garments."²⁶ These fragmentary references provide a few basic details relating to the king's religious policy but clearly do not give a satisfactory account of the Henrician Reformation.

23 Fol. 147r.

24 Fol. 159v.

25 Fol. 159v.

26 Fol. 160r.

The chronicle gives considerable attention to foreign relations and wars with France and Scotland, but most of the accounts are brief and fragmentary. In June and July 1512 [3 Henry VIII] the Scots made “sondrie entres vpon the borders of England,” but no details of the incursion are included.²⁷ The battle of Flodden resulting in the death of the Scottish king, James IV, was neither mentioned nor celebrated, but merely noted as an invasion of England leading to an English victory and the death of an unnamed king as well as the creation of the earl of Surrey as duke of Norfolk.²⁸ A final reference to Scotland cites the burning of Jedworth/Jedburgh and other towns by the earl of Surrey in 1523.²⁹

Conflict with France received greater attention. The chronicle mentioned the “wonderful war” between the king of France and the bishop of Rome in which the French won “bonony” [Bologna] in 1511 and put the bishop to flight. In 1513 war with France began with a disastrous naval attack followed by an invasion in which the king’s army captured Therouanne [Turwyn] and Tournai.³⁰ In October 1517 a treaty ceded Tournai to the French, but the chronicle merely states that it was delivered to French king. War resumed, and in 1522 the earl of Surrey, lord admiral, burned towns and castles in France.³¹ Later the duke of Suffolk took 10,000 troops to France and “destroyed many towns” according to an account of eight lines. In 1525 peace was made between England and France, and two years later Cardinal Wolsey went to France and returned to London “with great triumph.”³² The chronicle also lists many executions beginning with Sir Richard Empson and Edmund Dudley, but the charges against them were not given. Other important individuals executed

27 Fol. 155r.

28 Fol. 157v. Dated 5 Henry VIII.

29 Fol. 158v.

30 Fol. 157r.

31 Fol. 158v.

32 Fol. 159r. For a different view see Elton, *England under the Tudors*, 94-5.

were Edmund de la Pole, Edward Stafford, duke of Buckingham, the nun of Kent, Sir Thomas More, John Fisher, bishop of Rochester, Friar Forest, as well as a number of lesser persons. The last recorded executions were of Henry Courtenay, marquess of Exeter, Henry Pole, lord Montague, and Sir Edward Neville beheaded for high treason in December 1538.

The author of the Hardyng chronicle concludes that Henry VIII did three great things during the first thirty years of his reign. First, he abolished the usurped authority of the bishop of Rome and restored the word of God in English; second, he took away superstition and idolatry; and third he dissolved the cloisters and suppressed all counterfeit and false religion.³³ Finally the author offered thanks to Henry VIII and hoped for a good future under his son, Edward, and closed saying: “To this all true English hearts say Amen.”

Although this version of the chronicle was published in January 1543/4 as was the earlier edition, its chronological coverage did not go beyond 1538. It was more contemporary than the other version but clearly fell short of being a fully up to date account. Both editions of the chronicle were dedicated to the duke of Norfolk who fell from power and was imprisoned in the Tower in the autumn of 1546. Consequently, a reader of the chronicle only a few years after publication would have found it strangely dated.

The reign of Henry VIII also saw the publication of seven editions of short chronicles that would have been attractive to readers who could not afford the larger works.³⁴ In 1540 John Byddell published *A Short Cronycle...* covering the period from the reign of Henry IV in 48 pages.³⁵ The chronicle lists the mayors and sheriffs of London for each year followed by short entries for important events. The reign of Henry VII begins with the king's marriage to the eldest daughter of Edward IV and the birth of his two sons, Arthur and Henry. In 1501 Arthur married Katherine, daughter of the king of

33 Fol. 160v.

34 Beer, “Small Mid-Tudor Chronicles and Popular History, 1540-1560,” 57-84.

35 STC 9985.5 No foliation.

Spain followed the next year by the marriage of Margaret, the king's daughter, to the king of Scotland. An event not related to the royal family was a fire at Norwich in 1507 that burned a "great part" of the city. The section on the reign of Henry VII ends with his death and burial at Westminster. Byddell offered no eulogy or assessment of the first Tudor king's achievements in what can only be seen as a superficial seven page account that offered little to a reader wanting to understand the significance of the reign.

The section on Henry VIII begins differently with the observation that the new king began his "most gracious reign," but subsequent entries differ little from the previous reign. It lists the births, deaths, and marriages of family members and offers a cursory account of foreign relations. The events leading to the Henrician Reformation begin with the meeting of legates at Black Friars in 1528 "for the kynges maryage." This is followed by a reference to the deposition of Cardinal Wolsey in October and a brief mention of a Parliament that met for the "enormities of the clergy" the next year. In 1534 Parliament granted the king the first fruits and tenths of all spiritual "policlios." While there are further references to the executions of the nun of Kent, More and Rochester, and three Charterhouse monks for denying the king to be the supreme head of the Church of England, the reader wanting to learn about the Henrician Reformation would have been gravely disappointed. The chronicle ends with the king's marriage to Anne of Cleves on January 6, 1540. Byddell asked God to "send long lyfe togyther with moche procreasion and long continuance of theyr issue." Since this edition has no monthly publication date, it is not possible to know what, if anything, occurred between the marriage and the actual publication. However, the marriage was nullified the following June, a fact that indicates that the chronicle must have been published shortly after the king's marriage. This edition clearly qualifies as one providing the reader with up-to-date contemporary history or current events.

Two years later in 1542 Byddell published a substantially revised second edition of his short chronicle³⁶ This version not only extended

36 STC 9986. Surrey was beheaded 19 January.

the earlier one but added details missing from it especially with regard to religious reforms. In 1532 a new entry stated that it was “enacted that no man shoulde sue any appeals to Rome,” and the following year an entry saying that the bishop of Rome “with all his false vsurped power [was] abbolysed quynt out of this realme....” An intriguing omission from this edition is a reference to Henry VIII’s marriage to Anne of Cleves, the very topic that concluded the first edition. On May 6, 1540 the chronicle mentions a proclamation that Bibles should be placed in every parish church “redy for all sortes of people to rede and here gods worde at conuenyent tymes.”³⁷ In July the chronicle cites a royal proclamation limiting the observance of holy days. The last entry on 10 March, 1541 refers to a “maid” boiled at Smithfield for “poysonyng dyuers honest persons.” Both editions of Byddell’s chronicle were relatively up to date and would have been useful to a reader interested in contemporary events.

The publication of short chronicles continued into the reign of Edward VI with no fewer than five editions published during the short reign.³⁸ In 1552 William Powell, a prominent London printer, published *A Cronicle of Yeres from the Begynnyng of the Worlde*, the last of three editions published during the reign.³⁹ Like other chronicles it was organized around the terms of the mayors and sheriffs of London. One might assume that readers interested in contemporary history would be interested in the last years of Henry VIII as well as the reign of the young king. In June 1546 the author noted that Dr. Edward Crome preached at Paul’s Cross and confessed that he had been seduced by naughty books contrary to the “true doctryne of Chryst.” There was also a reference to the burning of Anne Askew for heresy. The celebration of peace with France received the most attention during the final years of the reign. On June 13, 1546 there was a solemn procession in London

37 Page 30 in EEBO edition..

38 For a list of editions see Beer, “Small Mid-Tudor Chronicles and Popular History: 1540-1560,” 81-2.

39 STC 9989.

giving “laude and prayer to God, the author of peace.” During the night time “great fyers with much ioye and gladness” continued the celebration. On August 21 the Lord High Admiral of France arrived in London and stayed two nights at the bishop of London’s palace before Prince Edward received him with the “nobleste companye that euer was seene.” When the admiral returned to France, he was presented with “many sundry gyftes.” All of Powell’s praise is in marked contrast to the judgment of G. R. Elton that the French war had been a futile disaster.⁴⁰ The chronicle ends with a notation of the beheading of the earl of Surrey for treason on 19 January, 1547 followed by Henry VIII’s death eight days later. Powell praised the king under whom “we his people of Englande lyued a longe a ioyful and a peasable lyfe rebuted from the errour of idolatry to the true knowledge of God his worde.”⁴¹

Edward VI’s reign began with the phrase saying that our most gracious sovereign lord began his reign.... It goes on to describe the procession from Westminster to London before the coronation when the king was accompanied by his uncle, Edward Seymour, duke of Somerset and lord protector, but it omits an explanation of the process whereby Seymour acquired his lofty office.⁴² Subsequently, there is a reference to the invasion of Scotland led by Somerset and John Dudley, earl of Warwick with a reference to William Patten, *The Expedition into Scotlande* (1548). Aspects of the Edwardian Reformation that are mentioned include the innovation of offering communion in both kinds, the removal of images from churches, and the marriage of priests, which was granted lawfully “by the laws of God.”⁴³ Notably absent from this short chronicle was any reference to the new English liturgy contained in the *Book of Common Prayer*. There are however notations referring to the popular rebellions of

40 Elton, *Reform and Reformation: England 1509-1558*, 310.

41 Fol. C.4r.

42 Fol. C.4v.

43 Fol. C.5v.

1549. The Western Rebellion in Devon and Cornwall was designated as a “rising” after which the “chief captains” were brought to the Tower of London and hanged while Kett’s Rebellion in Norfolk and Suffolk was an “insurrection” leading to the chief captain, “Kyte,” and his brother being taken to Norwich and hanged in chains. In neither rebellion did the author indicate the causes of the conflicts or any sympathy for the rebels. In a similar manner the political conflicts of Edward’s reign received superficial treatment. Thomas, lord Seymour, brother of the Protector, was simply put to death for divers treasons and condemned by Parliament.⁴⁴ Later Somerset himself was sent to the Tower “to the great lamentation of many” without any reason for his demise. When he was released, Powell observed that there was “great reioysing of people.”⁴⁵

Details about the impact of the Reformation included the burning of Joan Bocher “for the horrible heresy that Christ toke no fleshe of the vyrgyn Mary” and the deprivation of Bishop Bonner for manifest contempt and continual disobedience. In July 1551 a great sweat occurred in London claiming 800 lives in a single week, and then it ceased “thankes be vnto God.” The chronicle ends in January 1552 with the execution of Somerset for conspiring against “certeyne of the kings maiesties pryuy counsayle,” but the names of the councilors and the issues involved are wholly omitted. Powell unquestionably supported the Edwardian Reformation and was probably wise to detach himself from the political conflicts involving Somerset and the duke of Northumberland since his chronicle was published in 1552. Powell clearly recognized the importance of contemporary history as he devoted five pages of the 42 page chronicle to the reign of Edward VI while the longer and complete reign of Henry VII received merely three pages.

Appearing in the same year were two editions of a short chronicle published at Canterbury by John Mychell. The first, STC 9968, ends 13 January 1552, and the second, STC 9969, ends 25 February. This

44 Fol. C.5v.

45 Fol. C.5v.

chronicle and that of Powell are very similar as the early chroniclers borrowed freely from one another. Mychell's account of the last years of Henry VIII is about the same as Powell's. Both celebrate the peace treaty with France enthusiastically and offer a solemn eulogy for the deceased king. One major difference between the two chronicles occurs during the reign of Edward VI when Mychell omits any reference to the execution of Thomas Seymour, the Protector's brother. Later the Mychell chronicles simply state that Protector Somerset was committed to the Tower. Mychell and Powell agreed that Bishop Gardiner was imprisoned for his manifest contempt, continual disobedience, and rebellion against King Edward. The earlier edition of Mychell's chronicle ends on 13 January with an entry about the sea overflowing at Sandwich while his later edition as well as Powell's work include the execution of Somerset nine days later. One reason for the publication of two editions within a mere six weeks is Mychell's comment that he wanted to include travel data in the earlier edition, but some of his data was unreliable. The later edition includes details about the length and breadth of England and distances from towns to London. It was, of course, during those few weeks that Somerset was executed. The publication of the later edition also suggests popular demand for Mychell's small chronicles; in fact a third edition appeared in 1554 appropriately revised for the reign of Queen Mary.⁴⁶ Mychell, like William Powell, seems to have had an understanding of the importance of contemporary history as he allotted more space to the reign of Edward VI from 1547 to 1552 than to the whole reign of Henry VII. Although both historians were sympathetic to the Protestant reformation, they wisely avoided a serious examination of the political conflicts leading to the execution of Somerset.

In contrast to the small chronicles printed during the reign of Edward VI, a larger, quarto work consisting of 279 folios plus an introduction and a table of things worthy of memory appeared in 1550. Walter

⁴⁶ For an edited text of the chronicle see Beer, ed., *The Canterbury Chronicle*, Kent Archaeological Society. STC 9970.

Lynne, a committed Protestant reformer, translated Johann Carion's *The Three Bokes of Cronicles* and made additions of his own that suggest a serious interest in contemporary history.⁴⁷ The Latin chronicle written by German Lutherans ended in 1532, but Lynne not only published the translation but also added a section entitled "Brief Annotations gathered out of divers Historiographers...." consisting of eight folios that brought the historical narrative forward to 1550. He dedicated his work to Edward VI and explained that he had written of "principall stories" of the past eighteen years throughout Christendom and apologized for any omissions.⁴⁸ He went on to say that historiographers or "story writers" must tell the truth even if it gives offense and added that he had abstained from everything that might be "tedious and bitter as much as the truth might suffice."⁴⁹ Lynne's narrative begins in 1546 with the mission of the bishop of Durham and Viscount Lisle to France. He noted that Nicholas Shaxton, the former bishop of Salisbury, recanted and denied religious truths that he had formerly professed followed by the burning of Anne Askew for opinions "consonant to the truth" and contrary to the Six Articles. These entries clearly reveal Lynne's opposition to the Henrician reaction, views that could presumably be safely revealed in 1550. The chronicle mentioned the attainder of the Howards and the execution of the earl of Surrey, but gave more attention to European events. The account ended with the simple statement that Henry VIII ended his life and was buried at Windsor, but it is significant that there was no eulogy for the deceased monarch.

Lynne's tone changed dramatically as he moved on to the reign of Edward VI. He stated that Protector Somerset and the council governed with "great mercy and gentillesse" and promoted true religion, and

47 STC 4626. Beer, "Walter Lynne and Johann Carion's *The Three Bokes of Cronicles* (1550)."

48 Lynne actually only covered the years 1546-1550.

49 STC 4626, Fol. 279r. and v.

he added that images and beads were put down.⁵⁰ His account of the Edwardian Reformation included references to the dissolution of chantries, the introduction of communion in both kinds, and the institution of the marriage of priests “by the laws of God.” There was also a reference to the release of Hugh Latimer from imprisonment. A puzzling omission is any mention of the introduction of the first Book of Common Prayer in 1549. The rebellions of 1549 were referred to as insurrections of “rustikes”, and Lynne praised the “noble” earl of Warwick for the pacification of the Norfolk revolt. His political outlook changed when he wrote that Somerset had been committed to the Tower of London to the great lamentation of “very many” and was later released with “greate reioysyng of muche people,” phrases that appear in other contemporary chronicles.⁵¹ The conclusion in which Lynne apologizes for any errors or omissions is followed by a section titled “Breuely to Close Vp,” where he emphasizes Lent preaching before the king, the deliverance of Somerset, changes in the diocese of London, and the sequestration of Bishops Gardiner, Bonner, and Heath. Finally he wrote, “Let vs styll valiauntly fight with a two-edged sworde against the maliciouse kyng of Egypte or blasphemouse byshop of Rome and all his trayterouse trayne, after the godly example of the first Josias.” At this point the author sounds more like a religious enthusiast than a genuine chronicler. The last entry in the chronicle is May 1550, and the chronicle itself is dated 20 August 1550.⁵² Despite its deficiencies, Lynn’s addition offered an up to date narrative that would have been of great value to readers interested in contemporary history.

Edward Hall (1497-1547), *The Union of Two Noble Families...* is the most important and best known chronicle included in this study. It appeared posthumously in two editions in 1548 and 1550. Richard Grafton printed the earlier edition, and he and Steven Mierdman

50 Fol. 272v.

51 Fol. 275 r. and v.

52 Fol. 279 r. and v.

printed the second⁵³ It places an emphasis on the Tudors that marks a significant departure from previous chronicles and reveals a much greater interest in contemporary history. The chronicle covers only the period from Henry IV to Henry VIII, but both editions merely mention the accession of Edward VI. In the modern edition the reign of Henry VII covers 83 pages or 9.6% of the text while Henry VIII's reign occupies 363 pages or 42% of the text.⁵⁴ Space allocation in the 1550 edition is as follows:

Beginning to Edward IV---185 folios
Edward IV---- 61 folios
Richard III----35 folios
Henry VII-----61 folios
Henry VIII----263 folios
Edward VI----7 lines⁵⁵

Hall was educated at Eton and Cambridge and became a prominent lawyer and Member of Parliament. He served in Parliament during the 1530s and was therefore an eye-witness to the events of the Henrician Reformation. He associated with the political elite of his day, and in 1535 Henry VIII asked the city of London for “our well beloved subject Edward Hall to be now promoted to the office of under-sheriff.” It has been suggested that Hall may have been encouraged to undertake chronicle writing as a result of a link with the son of Robert Fabyan. Hall died before the publication of the first edition in 1548 and in his will bequeathed the chronicle to Richard Grafton. Therefore the printed versions are based on the editorial work of Grafton. It is significant that Grafton noted that before his death Hall was affected by old age. According to

53 An edition of 1542 is not listed in the BL or STC. See the important article on Hall by Peter C. Herman in *ODNB*.

54 The modern edition was published in 1809 and reprinted in 1965. The reign of Richard III covers 47 pages or 5% of the whole. It is entitled “The Tragical Doynges of Kyng Richarde the Thirde.”

55 STC 12723. Copy at BL STC 12723a., the version at the Huntington Library, contains approximately 1360 pages in various foliations. Foliation varies in other copies of the 1550 edition

Grafton, he was “a man in the later tyme of his lyfe not so paynful and studious as before he had been.” The modern reader would be likely to translate Grafton’s observation as dementia. In the preface to the 1548 edition Grafton wrote that Hall’s narrative went on only to 24 Henry VIII (1532); “the rest he left noted in diuers and many pamphlets and papers” which Grafton said that he gathered together and compiled without any addition of his own.⁵⁶ Grafton’s modesty notwithstanding, it is difficult to imagine that the papers of a man suffering mental decline could have been assembled without any input from an editor. Therefore, one can argue that the contemporary portion of Hall’s chronicle reflected the work of Richard Grafton.

Hall’s chronicle begins with the author’s dedication to Edward VI as “defender of the Catholike faith” and under God supreme head of the churches of England and Ireland. The marriage between the young king’s grandfather and grandmother led to the union of the two noble houses of Lancaster and York, and he prays for the king to be victorious over all of his enemies. In humility he dismissed the chronicle as a “simple and rude work.” Hall’s dedication is followed by a short statement of Grafton to the reader where he mentioned Hall’s mental decline and stated that he had made no additions of his own. Like Hall Grafton asked the reader to judge him charitably.

The account of the reign of Richard III is entitled “The Tragical Doynges of Kyng Richard the Thirde” and begins with the following statement: “...I abhore to write the miserable tragedy of this infortunate prince, which by fraude entered, by tyrannye proceded, and by sodayn deathe ended his infortunate life....”⁵⁷ The chronicle speaks of the “lamentable murther of his innocente nephews” but adds that their death has “come in question that some remained longe in doubte whether they were in his daies destroyed or no.” Excerpts from Sir Thomas More’s account follow, stating that the princes were “murthered by the cruel ambicion of their vnnaturall vncler.”⁵⁸

⁵⁶ 1809 ed., vii. Taken from 1548 edition; the 1550 edition has a different preface by Grafton.

⁵⁷ Page 374.

⁵⁸ Pages 377-379. The material from More is based on an unpublished manuscript that was consulted by Grafton. See Sylvester, ed., *St. Thomas More, The History of King Richard III*, xii., 3.

The subsequent narrative is overwhelmingly hostile to Richard, but there are a few exceptions. For example, Hall observed during the first year of the reign: To please common people parliament enacted “good lawes and profitable estatutes” against strangers and foreign wares that were not enforced owing to his early death.⁵⁹ Later the establishment of the Council of the North was cited as Richard’s most important creation.⁶⁰ The preceding observations notwithstanding the chronicle leaves no doubt about the author’s hostility to Richard III. He is described as a man small and little of stature whose body was “greatly deformed, the one shoulder higher than the other.” His reign is characterized as one of “infamie and dishonor.” He would have been praised if he had continued as Protector, but Hall wrote that “I remitte the punishment to God of his offences committed in his lyfe.”⁶¹

The tone of the chronicle changed dramatically as the author described the reign of the first Tudor as “The Politique Gouvernaunce of Kyng Henry VII.” Unlike earlier chroniclers the author often wrote in the first person. After the king’s coronation and marriage, he asked Parliament to pardon “all men” discharging them of all offences and pains of death. Furthermore, lands were to be restored to those who would submit to his clemency.⁶² There is extensive coverage of rebellions and seditious conspiracies during the reign as well as foreign relations. At the end of the reign when his health was failing, the king “of his liberalite” again offered pardons to all men with the exception of thieves and murderers. Henry VII received lavish praise at his death as one who was sober, moderate, honest, and affable. The king abhorred pride and “arrogancy”, but Hall offered no comments on his religious devotion or any critical observations.⁶³

59 Page 381.

60 E. F. Jacob, *The Fifteenth Century 1399-1485*, 637.

61 Page 421.

62 Page 423.

63 Pages 504-5.

The reign of his son and successor is described as “The Triumphant Reigne of Kyng Henry the VIII” in the longest section of the chronicle. One of the earliest entries for the new reign was the arrest of two of Henry VII’s dedicated officials, Sir Richard Empson and Edmund Dudley, who were imprisoned in the Tower of London prior to their execution.⁶⁴ The story of the late king’s funeral follows. A large part of the new king’s first year is focused on the coronation with great emphasis on the ceremonial details that accompanied it. As the chronicle moves forward, the author describes the war with France as well as the conflict with Scotland in great detail. This approach suggests that the contemporary reader appreciated the blow by blow narrative complete with descriptions of the apparel worn by the combatants. After some sixty pages in the modern edition, Thomas Wolsey appears as he is appointed bishop of Lincoln, the first step in his upward ecclesiastical progress. Hall describes him as a good philosopher, very eloquent, and full of wit; he adds that Wolsey excelled all others for pride, “couetous and ambicion... as you shall hear after.”⁶⁵ Hall’s fascination with events that some historians might term trivial is illustrated by his account of women present at the Field of the Cloth of Gold where Henry VIII and Francis met in 1520 to promote peace between the two kingdoms:

To tell you the apparel of the ladies, their riche attyres, their sumptuous iuelles, their diuersities of beauties, and the goodly behauior from day to day sithe the first metyng, I assure you ten mennes wittes can scace declare it.⁶⁶

Of course, the chronicle dealt with more important matters such as relations with the Holy Roman Empire including events in Italy and the capture of the Pope. But for the contemporary English reader nothing was more important than events leading to the king’s divorce from Queen Catherine of Aragon and the break with Rome. Hall states that Henry VIII “was in a great scruple of his conscience and not

64 Page 505.

65 Page 567.

66 Page 618.

quiet in his mind” when he was secretly informed by divers divines that he was living in adultery with his brother’s wife. However, the king learned that the court of Rome would not “dispence with God’s commandement and precept.”⁶⁷

Following this is the text of the king’s oration and Queen Catherine’s defense. Anne Boleyn appears as a woman whom “the kyng much favoured in all honestie....” The queen’s ladies and gentlewomen said that Anne “so entised the kyng and brought him in such amours,” but Hall said that this was contrary to the truth.⁶⁸ Following the initial appearance of Anne Boleyn, the text moves on documenting the fall of Wolsey, the appointment of Sir Thomas More, “a man well-learned whose wit was fine,” as lord chancellor, and the entry of Thomas Cromwell into the king’s service.⁶⁹ At this time copies of Tyndale’s English translation of the New Testament began to appear in England, but the bishop of Lincoln ordered all copies to be burned. Subsequently the bishops not only forbade the circulation of Tyndale’s text but also declined to authorize the preparation of a new translation.

The chronicle continues with a description of the king’s marital relations, a subject that would have been of great interest to contemporary readers. Beginning with the year 1532—24 Henry VIII—Richard Grafton, not Hall, became the principal editor of the chronicle with the result that Grafton’s historical perspective may well be dominant. The reader learns that Anne Boleyn was “moche in the Kynges fauour,” but the “common people” did not know the king’s true intent and thought the Queen’s absence was for her own sake.⁷⁰ Later in the year Anne was created Marchioness of Pembroke and then married the king secretly. However, according to the author, few people knew of the marriage until she was great with child. A

67 Page 753.

68 Page 759.

69 Pages 759-69.

70 Page 788.

lengthy account of the queen's coronation follows, and also the birth of Princess Elizabeth.⁷¹ Later Queen Anne suffered a miscarriage after which she was sent to the Tower and beheaded with a sword. Henry VIII next married Jane Seymour who bore Prince Edward, "nowe our souereign Lorde and Kyng Edward the sixte" before her untimely death.⁷² The king's marriage to Anne of Cleves was brief, according to the chronicle, because it was not legal. Similarly Queen Katherine Howard did not enjoy her dignity long as she was beheaded for "dissolute liuyng."⁷³ The king's sixth and last wife, Katherine Parr, was merely mentioned.

The chronicle details the major events of what later generations called the Henician Reformation, but contemporary readers may well have seen it of less importance than conflicts with France and Scotland and executions. Henry VIII's queens were not the only persons suffering execution, because the author of the chronicle adds many others. There was Elizabeth Barton, the holy maid of Kent, followed by John Fisher, bishop of Rochester, who "very maliciously refused the king's title as supreme head" and Sir Thomas More upon whose death the chronicler commented that he could not tell whether I should call him a "foolishe wyseman or a wyse foolishe man."⁷⁴ Thomas Cromwell was another victim at whose death many rejoiced, "especially religious men," because he did not favor "any kynde of Popery."⁷⁵ At the lower end of the social scale the chronicle listed executions of persons involved in the rebellions in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire. The author had complete contempt for the common man, writing that the "inhabitants of the North Parts" were at this time "very ignorant and rude. . . knowing not what true religion meant but altogether noseled in supersticion and popery."⁷⁶ The major events of

71 Page 805.

72 Page 825.

73 Page 841.

74 Page 817.

75 Pages 838-9.

76 Page 820.

the Henrician Reformation are recorded, but contemporary readers may well have seen them as of secondary importance. For example, buried in a long paragraph dealing with a Christmas celebration and the appointment of Sir Thomas Audley as lord chancellor and Queen Katherine's loss of her title to become merely princess dowager, is the passage of the Act in Restraint of Appeals. The chronicle states that Parliament made an act "that no persone should appeale for any cause out of this realme to the Courte of Rome."⁷⁷ Subsequently Parliament "made many and sondry good wholesome and godly statutes, but among al one special statute" authorizing the king to be Supreme Head of the Church of England. All papal authority was abolished, and God was to be "euerlastyngly praysed therefore."⁷⁸ The monastic dissolution was noted when the "great and fatte abbottes" gave Henry VIII all religious houses valued at three hundred marks and under in hope that their great monasteries should "haue continued still.... " A person identified only as "one" said in Parliament that these were as "thornes."⁷⁹ The chronicle offered only fragmentary accounts of the doctrinal issues that were central to the Henrician Reformation. The Ten Articles, according to the chronicle, were published by the bishops and clergy in "a book of religion" that mentioned only three sacraments. The book was delivered to the people but "ignorant" priests were offended.⁸⁰ Three years later England moved toward greater orthodoxy in the Act of Six Articles, but the chronicle failed to offer a detailed discussion of its content, and the author's Protestant sympathies were revealed as it was termed a whip with six strings.⁸¹

77 Page 795.

78 Page 816.

79 Page 819.

80 Pages 819-20. Cf. Dickens, *The English Reformation*, 200 where the ambiguity of the Ten Articles is stressed. Dickens described the act as an example of the English talent for concocting ambiguous and flexible documents.

81 Page 828. Cf. Peter C. Herman in *ODNB*.

The account of the last years of Henry VIII was dominated by military conflict. In Scotland the English won a major victory at Solway Moss in 1542 which was followed by a long list of towns that were burned, and four years later England and France made peace with an agreement that England would retain Boulogne until 1554. The king's speech to Parliament on December 24, 1546—probably his last—praised his subjects. The author said that he “foloweth worde for worde, as nere as I was able to report it.” The king stated, “No prince in the world more fauoreth his subiectes then I do you,” but added criticism of the clergy for sowing discord. Nevertheless the king's oration gave such comfort “that the lyke ioye could not be vnto them in this world.”⁸² Executions continued during the last years with the burning of Anne Askew and three others. Both the duke of Norfolk and his son, the earl of Surrey, were charged with high treason with Surrey suffering execution before the king's death. According to the chronicle, death came to Henry VIII, and he “yelded hys spirite to almightie God and departed thys worlde.”⁸³ Whereas Henry VII received an effusive eulogy, his son had nothing. The chronicle ends with the coronation of Edward VI “whome Jesu preserue, long to reygne ouer vs.” Since the last printing of the chronicle appeared as late as 1550, contemporary readers would have been left with a work that was scarcely up to date.⁸⁴ Richard Grafton, of course, lived on well beyond this date, but readers in the years immediately following 1550 would have had to look elsewhere to learn about the early years of Edward VI.

The above criticism notwithstanding, Hall's Chronicle is the most important work of its kind that appeared during the early 16th century, and it unquestionably had the greatest effect on contemporary historical scholarship. In 1555 Queen Mary issued a proclamation calling for its destruction, but John Kingston issued another edition as early as 1560. Earlier commentators held that the chronicle endorsed the Tudor myth of divinely sanctioned dynastic origins and the absolute

82 Pages 864-6.

83 Page 868.

84 STC 1550. Fol. 263r.

necessity of order; on the other hand, Peter C. Herman has stressed Hall's skepticism toward the Henrician court's chivalric play-acting. He concludes that the chronicle "presents a more complex narrative than has been generally allowed...."⁸⁵ Whatever view one takes of Hall's views, there can be no question that his lengthy and detailed account of the reign of Henry VIII provided contemporaries with invaluable information about the recent monarch.

This study has focused on eight chronicles several of which appeared in more than one version. Arnold's chronicle, the only one published during the reign of Henry VII, made no contribution to contemporary history. The two earliest editions of Fabyan's chronicle published in 1516 and 1533, respectively, also made no significant contributions to contemporary history. The third edition (1542) however is the earliest example of a chronicle with an up to date narrative as it covers the reign of Henry VIII to the date of publication. The author of Hardyng's chronicle died in 1465, but Richard Grafton produced two versions in 1543. Neither would qualify as good examples of contemporary history since the first version offered only two pages on the reign of Henry VIII while the second ended in 1538.

The short chronicles, published in numerous editions between 1540 and 1554, represent a new departure in scholarship. Their size and low cost appealed to a larger readership than longer works, and each offered up-to-date accounts that must have explained their popularity with contemporary readers, many of whom were presumably of the lower classes. Walter Lynne's continuation of Carion's chronicle published in 1550 also gives a narrative that ends just before the date of publication. Although the last early Tudor printing of Hall's chronicle in 1550 fails to cover the reign of Edward VI, the lengthy and detailed history of the reign of Henry VIII constitutes a significant contribution to contemporary history. Therefore, we may conclude that the early Tudor era witnessed a triumph of contemporary history that paved the way for the modern age.

Barrett L. Beer is Professor of History Emeritus at Kent State University. His published works include books on John Dudley, Duke of Northumberland, John Stow, and the rebellions of 1549. He has edited chronicles of Stow and John Mychell. His most recent publication is "Walter Lynne and Johann Carion's The Three Bokes of Cronicles (1550)," Notes and Queries, 2019.

Chronicles

- Arnold, Richard. *Customs of London. Antwerp*, 1503, London, 1811.
- Byddell, John. *A Short Cronycle....* London, 1540, 1542.
- Carion, Johann. *The Three Bokes of Cronicles*. Trans. Walter Lynne. London, 1552.
- Fabyan, Richard. *New Chronicles of England and France*. Antwerp, 1516, London, 1533, 1542.
- Hall, Edward. *The Union of Two Noble Families*. London, 1548, 1550, 1809.
- Hardyng, John. *The Chronicle of John Hardyng from the Firste Begynnyng of Englande... unto the Reign of Edward IV*. London, 1543.
- Mychell, John. *A Breuiat Cronicle*. Canterbury, 1552.
- Powell, William. *A Cronicle of Yeres from the Begynnyng of the Worlde*. London, 1552.

Bibliography

- Beer, B. L. Ed. *The Canterbury Chronicle*. Kent Archaeological Society E-Book, 2113.
- Beer, B. L. "Small Mid-Tudor Chronicles and Popular History." *Quidditas* 37 (2016), 57-84.
- Beer, B. L. "Walter Lynne and Johann Carion's The Three Bokes of Cronicles (1550)," *Notes and Queries* (2019), 1-4.
- Bennett, H. S. *English Books and Readers 1475-1557*. 2nd Ed. Cambridge University Press, 1969.
- Dickens, A. G. *The English Reformation*. 2nd Ed. London, 1989.
- Duff, E. Gordon. *A Century of the English Printing Trade*. London, 1905.
- Ellis, Henry, *The New Cronicles of England and France*. London, 1811.

Elton, G. R. *England under the Tudors*. 2nd Ed. London: Methuen, 1974.

Elton, G. R. *Reform and Reformation, England 1509-1558*. London: Arnold, 1977.

Ferguson, M. G. "Richard Grafton." *ODNB*

Herman, Peter C. "Edward Hall." *ODNB*.

Manchester, Andrea. "Chronicling the English Reformation: The Historical Works of Richard Grafton." PhD dissertation, Kent State University, 2007.

Sylvester, Richard. S. Ed. *St. Thomas More, The History of King Richard III*. New Haven: Yale, 1976.

Woolf, D. R. *Reading History in Early Modern England*. Cambridge: University Press, 2000.



Grafton's Chronicle (1569)