

SCRIBBLES AND BITS: READER MARKS AND THE DEPICTION OF QUEENS IN
PRINTED ENGLISH HISTORIES, 1480-1661

by

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SCRIBBLES AND BITS: READER MARKS AND THE DEPICTION OF QUEENS IN
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Building from the recent micro and macro-studies of texts, genres, and readers in literary criticism, history of the book and print culture, and queenship studies, this study maps how early modern English histories printed between 1480-1661 were (re)created and read. Textual analysis and cultural context are used to illuminate the themes and impacts on the narrative and readers found in a corpus of 153 printed English histories and over a dozen commonplace books filled with early modern readers' notes.

Chapters 1-3 delve into reading, owning, and availability of English histories, along with likely audience, evidence of reader usage in markings and commonplace books, and author methodologies in crafting the narratives. Building upon that foundation, Chapters 4-5 focus on narrative change over time and reader interaction with passages discussing queens regnant Mary and Elizabeth Tudor, who ruled England from 1553-1603, during which many English histories were created or expanded. The narrative nuances are significant given the religious and political differences between Catholic Mary and Elizabeth, who re-established Anglican Protestantism. Chapter 6 narrows the focus down to one reader, a late eighteenth-century man named Adnett Garrett, and his response to Sir Richard Baker's *Chronicle of the Kings of England* (London, 1653), formed largely from earlier sixteenth-century histories. Garrett's commentary illuminates

the longevity of early modern English histories and the impact of popular culture on historical interpretation.

This study merges the fields of English history, marginalia, and queenship to answer long-standing questions, such as readers' range of usage and interpretation of the texts, which titles readers annotated the most, common versus exceptional annotation habits, and the importance of queens in historical narratives. This research also provides context for a genre often mined without context for quotes or ignored as significant by queenship studies, opening up avenues of further cross-disciplinary pollination. Together, this dissertation proves the pervasiveness, popularity, and importance of English history in politics and culture.

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PREVIEW

Dedication

To the faculty close to my projects, teaching, and dissertation – my Supervisory Committee of Drs. Carole Levin, Julia Schleck, Alison Stewart, Amy Burnett, and William Thomas – thank you for your support and guidance in researching, teaching, and inspiring me to continue to reach higher and do better. The entire group, along with the training and resources at the University of Nebraska-Lincoln campus and NU system as a whole, have shaped me into a better scholar and added to my experience as teacher with the skills not only for academia, but also training and tools to add to my prior work history in order to be prepared for alt-ac or any other arena.

Also, I would like to thank three other faculty, in particular, who are treasured for their support. Dr. Kim Jarvis at Doane University, who has been a friend, supporter, and mentor during half of my time at UNL, after meeting during the Preparing Future Faculty program in 2013. Also, the Department of History faculty at the University of North Carolina at Greensboro who provided excellent training during my master's degree, laying a strong foundation for doctoral work. In particular, from my time as an undergraduate and through to the end of my dissertation, Dr. Jodi Bilinkoff has supported and advised me, assisting greatly in giving feedback for the final edits of this dissertation, all while remaining unassuming, humble, and kind with a readiness to help any of her colleagues with her prodigious memory and skill as a historian and teacher. Last but not least, Dr. Clinton 'Oz' Prim, retired professor of history at Surry Community College, mentored and taught me during my time at SCC, and continued to be a supporter and 'proud faculty parent' watching my progress when I reported back during my return trips on holiday breaks. Particularly, after I moved back to North Carolina during the final

stage of the dissertation and began working full-time at Yadkin County Public Library, Oz continued to kindly inquire about the dissertation and unfailingly supported me during his regular library visits.

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before I had earned my degree. My best friend Meredith has always been there as my ‘sister from another mother’ in a way that words cannot express, as we both went through the ups and downs of graduate work (me, as a historian; she, as a lawyer), but both of us persevered and inspired the other, even though we have not lived in the same state in over a decade. We both achieved our goals, Meredith! Two other good friends, Lisa Maurer and Svetlana Rassmussen, have also continued to support me since we met in the History Department at UNL, remaining faithful friends even though none of us are on the same continent anymore. Their encouragement and messages got me through some dark times, as did seeing each of them succeed in graduating with a doctorate. Many other people—in particular Ted and Kay Myers, Garry and Diane Poole, Barry and Judy Cole, and Andrea Willey—have been supportive friends, helping me along this journey. Together, these family and friends have been the glue that has held me together emotionally and mentally, as their unfailing support and pride in my work have drowned out all the destructive, discouraging, and misogynistic voices. Their love and support have left imprints on my life, work, and heart. They have been a blessing that continues grow with time.

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I am particularly indebted to the NEH Summer Seminar, "Researching Early Modern Manuscripts and Books" (2013), organized by Clare Lois Carroll, City University of New York, and Marc Caball, University College Dublin,

<http://2013nehseminar.ws.gc.cuny.edu/>. During the seminar, a paleography workshop held by Heather Wolfe included a handout called the “Alphabet Book,” which has been crucial in learning early modern handwriting and decoding the many forms of handwriting I have found. An abbreviated version is available from “List of online resources for early modern English paleography,” Folgerpedia, Folger Shakespeare Library, last modified November 23, 2016, folgerpedia.folger.edu/List_of_online_resources_for_early_modern_English_paleography.

PREVIEW

Archives and Photographs

All figures and tables are photographed by the author, Andrea Nichols, unless otherwise credited to another scholar's work or from the *Early English Books Online* database. The author's images cannot be reproduced in any other work or medium, and interested users need to seek publication permission from the original archive.

American Archives

Newberry Library; Morgan Library and Museum; Columbia University's Rare Books and Manuscripts Library; Columbia University Union Theological Seminary's Burke Library Special Collections; New York Public Library (NYPL) Berg Collection and Rare Books Room; Princeton University Library; Harry Ransom Center at the University of Texas at Austin; University of Nebraska-Lincoln Archives and Special Collections; UNC Chapel Hill.

UK Archives

Guildhall Library, John Rylands Library, The British Library; King's College, St. John's College Upper Library, and Trinity Hall at the University of Cambridge; and All Soul's College Codrington Library, Balliol College, Christ Church, Corpus Christi College, Magdalen College, St. John's College, and Bodleian Library at the University of Oxford.

Note on the Texts, Spelling, and Further Reading

Given one of the two main areas of this study is the change over time and variation in depiction of queens in early modern printed texts (the other area being which events, queens, and texts were annotated by readers), I will be citing multiple editions and many printed works. Some works, though, have been cited in various ways across scholarly fields, but I will aim to use the original printed title in order to prevent confusion given I am citing many editions. For instance, instead of *Hall's Chronicle*, I will be citing it as Edward Hall's *The union of the two noble and illustre famelies of Lancastre [and] Yorke*, or in the text, a variation such as Hall's *Union*. As seen with Hall's *Union*, sometimes an author's surname will be in the possessive case, with 'chronicle', 'history', 'narrative', or 'text' as a lower-case noun, in order to provide synonyms to use in reference to the work under consideration. Many times, though, the surname will be a possessive case with the shortened form of the title, as seen with Hall's *Union*, Holinshed's *Chronicle*, Stow's *Annales*, and Fabyan's *Chronicle*. Hall's *Union* and John Hardyng's *Chronicle of John Hardyng* both will be cited as completed by Richard Grafton; John Stow's posthumous work will be cited as 'continued by' Edmund Howes; Francis Godwin's text is cited as *Annales of England* to ensure it is not confused with John Stow's *Annales*; and Robert Fabyan's text is called *The Chronicle of Fabyan* except for the first edition in 1516 which was *Prima pars cronecarum*.

For *Cooper's Chronicle*, I will be citing both Thomas Cooper and Thomas Lanquet as the authors in the first full citation, since Thomas Lanquet began the work, but Cooper had to finish it and rewrote it for 1560 and 1565. Interestingly, in *Early English Books Online*, Cooper is not even a search option as an author, only Lanquet. For

the 1549 edition, it will be titled *The Epitome of Chronicles*, and for the 1559 edition, it is Robert Crowley's *Epitome of Chronicles*.

Similarly, for the second edition of Raphael Holinshed's work, it was posthumously expanded and edited by a group of men, with the *History of England* portion largely handled by Abraham Fleming and John Stow. As a result, I will reference both Fleming and Stow as the authors or editors of new or altered passages in the 1587 edition, rather than saying the deceased Holinshed is the author of those portions of text, unless it is a passage that remains intact from the 1577 edition. After the first citation, for either edition, there will not be a title in the citation, just 'Holinshed', year, volume, and page number. Also, given there are multiple volumes and sections to both editions of Holinshed, I rely upon Table A and Table B in *The Oxford Handbook of Holinshed's Chronicles* section "Note on References to the *Chronicles*" (pp. xx-xxi) to clarify which volume and work is being cited, only altering Tim Smith-Laing's formula for three portions of Volume 1 (1577): the Description of Scotland (using instead 'I, *Desc.Scot.*'), the History of Scotland (using instead 'I, *Hist.Scot.*'), and the Description of Ireland (using instead 'I, *Desc.Ir.*'). The same situation with multiple sections in a single bound volume, or differing methodologies in pagination, also impact the citation of Edward Hall's *Union* (1548, 1550) for which chapter titles will be provided as foliation restarts with each chapter; *Cooper's Chronicle* (1559) that ended numbering with folio 280; and Baker's 1643 edition that will also have chapter titles cited since that edition also restarted foliation at several points.

As is standard in early print citations, if the folio, signature, or page does not actually have a printed identifier, brackets are used around the citation of the 'page', and

the counting proceeds either from the last identified page, possibly beginning with the first printed page. I also use ‘sig.’ for the citation abbreviation for signatures, superscript ‘v’ and ‘r’ to denote the *verso* and *recto* sides of folio pages, and ‘fol.’ or ‘fols.’ for folio pages (instead of ‘f./ff.’ that might be confused with the letters in a signature).

Transcriptions of reader annotations, manuscripts, and quotations from early modern printed texts have been made along quasi-diplomatic lines, as they retain their punctuation (except for removing ‘|’ from any usage of *Early English Books Online* full-text transcriptions), capitalization, and spelling, with any unreadable handwriting (be it one or more letters or words) noted with bracketed ellipsis [...]. For some incorrect spellings that might create doubt about author transcription error (particularly during reader annotations or manuscripts), a ‘(sic)’ has been placed, but given early modern spelling is largely retained throughout all print and manuscript transcriptions, this happens too often for each instance to be noted with ‘(sic)’. Sometimes confusing early modern punctuation (e.g. periods instead of commas, or missing commas) has been noted in a footnote or supplied in brackets, in order to prevent readers thinking it is a typographical error. However, any italics, capitalization, punctuation, and misspellings that remain without footnotes or ‘(sic)’ should be assumed by the reader as coming from the original.

Where the transcriptions and quotations do not follow diplomatic lines is in certain areas of orthography. First, there has been a modernization of the early modern usage of letters ‘v’, ‘u’, ‘j’, and long ‘s’. The common early modern spellings using ‘y’ for ‘i’ or ‘e’ (and vice versa), ‘ie’ for ‘y’, and adding an extra ‘e’ have been retained. In order to prevent confusion—and aid in the speed and smoothness of reading for modern

users, as there are frequent quotations and transcriptions—two ‘v’s have been changed into the modern ‘w’; ‘v’ in the role of ‘u’ has been replaced with a ‘u’ (and vice versa); ‘i’ in the role of ‘j’ has been replaced by ‘j’; and long ‘s’ and short ‘s’ are all transcribed as modern short ‘s’. Where necessary for clarity—or inference was possible for the missing word, missing letters, or reader annotations chopped off by the cutting and rebinding process—words and letters are filled in with brackets. Common early modern abbreviations—y^e (the), y^t (that), A^o dⁿⁱ (Anno domini)—have been retained and formatted with superscripts. However, for print and manuscript sources, the brevigraphs; ligatures; a macron or tittle above a vowel, ‘m’, or ‘n’ that denotes the omission of a letter; and the -cōn (-cion), -sōn (-sion), -tōn (-tion) abbreviations have brackets to supply the missing letter(s).

The sometimes lengthy captions for figures—as transcriptions, additional details, and citation information are all included—will be abbreviated for the List of Multimedia Objects by removing the citation information and shortening the author/title/year of publication. For topics closely related but not needed extensively in the dissertation, and covered by numerous other scholars, a footnote will point to further reading listed after the bibliography.

List of Abbreviations

- BL** British Library
- EEBO** Early English Books Online
- ESTC** English Short Title Catalogue
- ODNB** Oxford Dictionary of National Biography
- RBML** Rare Book and Manuscript Library
- STC 2nd ed.** A.W. Pollard and G.R. Redgrave, *A Short-Title Catalogue of books printed in England, Scotland, & Ireland, and of English books printed abroad 1475-1640*, 2nd ed. revised by W.A. Jackson, F.S. Ferguson and K.F. Pantzer (3 vols.; London, 1976-1991).
- Wing (2nd ed.)** Donald Goddard Wing, *Short-title catalogue of books printed in England, Scotland, Ireland, Wales, and British America, and of English books printed in other countries, 1641-1700*, 2nd ed., rev. and enl. 3 vols. (New York: Index Committee of the Modern Language Association of America, 1972-88).

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INTRODUCTION: READING QUEENS IN EARLY MODERN HISTORIES

This dissertation shifts away from the more common life-studies of Queens Mary (r.1553-1558) and Elizabeth Tudor (r.1558-1603) to instead focus on the historical genre that began centuries before they ruled, and continued, in an albeit evolved form, after their death. For the majority of persons living during these queens' lives, and for a long time afterwards, these were the main sources that educated people about their national heritage and rulers' actions. Modern histories of these women draw upon ambassadorial correspondence, English Parliamentary records and state papers, and monarchial portraits that were unpublished or not available for public viewing until the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.¹ Instead, this work aims to provide a new contribution to the study of early modern English queens regnant by focusing on how ideas about the queens were circulated, recycled, and received by the public both during the sixteenth century and afterwards.

Indeed, the historical genre is the only source material that can provide the necessary monarchial focus in a continuous chain of written and published source material that was widely circulated and sold. Examining these historical narratives and their readers illuminates how they sit at an intersection of wider cultural and social debates, economic demands, and the flow of information in print, manuscript, and oral forms. This genre was not a passive, information-amalgamating enterprise, rather it positioned and analyzed each monarch within the longer story of England's history, upon

¹ Earliest publications of personal ambassadorial records are Sir Dudley Diggs' *The Compleat Ambassador* (1655) and Sir James Melville's *Memoirs of His Own Life* (1683, 1827) [he died in 1617]; later official records appeared with Parliamentary debates and reports in *The Diurnall Occurrences* (1641) [see Vice and Farrell's *History of Hansard*], John Nichols' *The Progresses and Public Processions of Queen Elizabeth* (1823), the Calendar of State Papers publication started in the mid-1800s, and the National Portrait Gallery in London was founded in 1856.

which readers did their own analysis. Given the topic, I will be drawing upon not only prior scholarship on Queens Mary and Elizabeth, but also tying that work in with studies of history in early modern England as a genre and discipline, and the study of readers and annotations.

Summary of the Critical Field

I am bringing together the study of queenship with that of English historiography, readers, and information circulation. While Queen Elizabeth I, in particular, has been studied and mused about extensively—across a variety of media in a steadily increasing volume since her death—this study will focus on reader interaction and authorial representation of Queen Elizabeth and her older sister Mary in early modern histories of England. By analyzing both queens, it will add to the revisionist work by Judith Richards, Charles Beem, Susan Doran, Thomas Freeman, Sarah Duncan, and Valerie Schutte to examine the context and reasons for Mary's choices rather than uncritically accepting the filtered interpretation of events by later Protestant propagandists and historical interpretation of her personal life as tragic.² As these scholars have argued, England's first queen regnant, Mary Tudor, actually set the political, iconographic, and oratorical stage for her younger sister and successor. In particular, a revisionist view is crucial for the chronologically written early modern histories, as Mary always directly preceded

² Judith M. Richards, *Mary Tudor*, Routledge Historical Biographies (Routledge, 2008); Judith M. Richards, "Mary Tudor as 'Sole Quene'? Gendering Tudor Monarchy," *Historical Journal* 40, no. 4 (December 1997): 895-924; Judith M. Richards, "Mary Tudor: Renaissance Queen of England," in *High and Might Queens" of Early Modern England: Realities and Representations*, ed. Carole Levin, Jo Eldridge Carney, and Debra Barrett-Graves (Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 27-44; Charles Beem, "Her Kingdom's Wife: Mary I and the Gendering of Royal Power," in *The Lioness Roared: The Problems of Female Rule in English History* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), 63-100; Susan Doran and Thomas S. Freeman, eds., *Mary Tudor: Old and New Perspectives* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2011); Sarah Duncan, *Mary I: Gender, Power, and Ceremony in the Reign of England's First Queen*, Queenship and Power (Palgrave Macmillan, 2012); Sarah Duncan and Valerie Schutte, eds., *The Birth of a Queen: Essays on the Quincentenary of Mary I*, Queenship and Power (Palgrave Macmillan, 2016); Valerie Schutte, *Mary I and the Art of Book Dedications: Royal Women, Power, and Persuasion*, Queenship and Power (Palgrave Macmillan, 2016).