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HENRY THE SIXTH

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Henry the Sixth

A REPRINT OF

JOHN BLACMAN'S MEMOIR

WITH TRANSLATION

AND NOTES

BY

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PROVOST OF ETON FORMERLY PROVOST OF KING'S COLLEGE



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PREFACE

THE tract on the Personality of King Henry VI (as I may perhaps be allowed to call it), which is here reprinted, has hitherto been almost inaccessible to ordinary students. It is not known to exist at all in manuscript. We depend ultimately for our knowledge of it upon a printed edition issued by Robert Coplande of London, of which the date is said to be 1510. Of this there may be two copies in existence. This text was reprinted by Thomas Hearne in 1732, in his edition of the Chronicles of Thomas Otterbourne and John Whethamstede, of which 150 copies were issued.

I have here reprinted Hearne's text, and have collated it with Coplande's. This I was enabled to do through the great kindness of the authorities of St Cuthbert's College at Ushaw, who most generously lent me a copy of the tract preserved in their Library. This copy I will endeavour to describe.

It is in a modern binding lettered : Hylton's Lives of British Saints. Blackman's Life of Henry VI. The ^{XVIII} pressmark is c 4

The size is 185×130 mm. There are 32 lines to a full page.

Collation : Aº B4.

Signatures: A 1 (2 not signed): A 111 (4-6 not signed).

B I (2 not signed): B III (4 not signed). A^b I *a* has the title at top:

Collectarium Mansuetudinum et bonorum morum regis Henrici. VI. ex collectiõe magistri Joannis blak man bacchalaurei theo logie/et post Car tusie monachi Londini.

Below this is a woodcut measuring 99×76 , and representing a bearded king in hat with crown about it; clad in ermine tippet, and dalmatic over long robe. He holds a closed book in his R, hand, a sceptre in his L: on the L wrist is a maniple. His head is turned towards R. On R, a tree, plants across the foreground: a mound on L, with two trees seen over it.

I feel confident that the woodcut is not intended for a portrait of Henry VI, and that it really represents some Old Testament personage: but I have not attempted to trace it in other books.

It has a border in three pieces. Those on R and L are 115 mm. in height and contain small figures of prophet standing on tail shafts: that at bottom was designed to be placed vertically, and contains a half-length figure of a prophet springing out of foliage, and with foliage above.

viii

On A 1 b the woodcut is repeated without the border.

Then follows the text as given by me. After it, on **B** iv *a*, is Robert Coplande's device, measuring 80×95 ; a wreath of roses and leaves, comprised within two concentric circles: within it the printer's mark.

Outside in the upper L. corner a rose slipped and leaved : in the upper R, corner, a pomegranate.

Below, a scroll inscribed: Robert (rose) Coplande. On B iv b the woodcut of the king, without border. Below it, in a neat hand:

R. Johnson. prec. 1^d.

1523.

For the rest, the volume contains :

. Capgrave's New Legende, beginning imperfectly in the Table

De S. Esterwino abbate. fo. xxxviii.

This is preceded by two inserted leaves of paper: on the first are the missing items of the Table, supplied in a rough hand of cent. xvi. On the second, in a hand of cent. xviii, is:

Printed at London by Richard Pynson Printer to the Kings Noble Grace the 20th day of February 1516. Vid. Page 133.

Newcastle upon Tyne.

This book was found in the Town Clerk's Office about the latter end (of) the year 1765.

(?) A P G.

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At the end of the Table (before A 1) is written in a hand of cent, xv1:

The abbridgement of henry the syxthes lyfe ys fastned to the ende of this booke.

At top of A 1 (cent. xv1) is: T. T. Collected by Caxton.

On A VIII b, B II a is the name (cent. xvI):

Alexander Ridley of ye brom hills.

He has written a good many marginal notes in the book.

Collation: Table 2 ff. A' B' C D' E' F' G' H' I' K' L' (i-iii signed) M' N' (as L) O' (i-iii signed) P' (as L) Q' (k' (as L) S' (i-iii signed: i, iii both numbered i) T' (+ 1: 4 leaves cxx-cxn on the 11000 Virgins inserted after cvm² instead of after cvm) U' (6 blank numbered) X' (Life of S. Byrgettet) Y'.

Followed by tract of Walter Hylton: 'to a deuoute man in temperall estate howe he shulde rule hym' etc. A^s B^s (leaves not numbered).

On cxix b is Pynson's device: no date.

On CXXXIII a (Life of S. Byrgette) the date M.CCCCXVI. XX Feb. On the verso Pynson's device with break in lower border.

At the end of Hylton's tract B VIII a the date MCCCCCXVI last daye of Feb.

On the verso Pynson's device with break in lower border.

Hearne's preface to Otterbourne (I, p. xliv) contains some interesting matter bearing on the tract, which I summarize here.

х

No one, he says, except John Blakman has yet written a special life of Henry VI, and Blakman's is not an *opus absolutum* but a "fragmentum duntaxat operis longe majoris alicubi forte nunc etam latentis."

Vita haece qualiscunque in lucem proditi Londini A.D. M.D.X. a Roberto Coplandio...excusus. Eiusdem exemplaria adeo rara sunt ut vix repertas in bibliothecis etiam instructissimius Penes se autem habet anicus excultissimus Jacobus Westus, qui pro necessitudine illa quae inter nos intercedit, non tantum mutuo dedit, sed Elicentiam concessit exscribendi. Id quod feci.

West had acquired his copy by purchase, among a number of printed books formerly the property of Archbishop Sancroft.

On p. xlix Hearne tells us that Sancroft had written the following note in his copy of the tract:

Hunc libellum conscribendum curavit Henricus VII^m, cum Julio papa II agens de Henrico VI in Sanctorum numerum referendo. De quo vide Jac. Waraei annales H. 7. A^o 1 (24.

Ware (and Hearne) print the Bull of Julius, directing an inquiry into Henry's sanctity and miracles. I may add that some part of the results of this negotiation may be seen ih the manuscript collection of Henry VIth's miracles preserved in the Royal MS. 13.-c. viti and in the MS. Harley 423 (a partial copy of the other), both in the British Museum.⁴

Furthermore Hearne reprints what is properly called a Memoria of King Henry VI such as is to be

¹ See a special Note on these.

found in a fairly large number of Books of Hours or Primers both manuscript and printed. Hearne's text is taken from *Horae* printed by Wynkyn de Worde 1510, f. cli *a*, and is as follows.

A prayer to boly kynge Heary. Rex Henricus sis amicus nobis in angustia Cuius prece nos a nece saluemur perpetua Lampas morum spes egrorum ferens medicamina Sis tuorum famulorum ductor ad celestia. Pax in terra non sit guerra orbis per confinia Virtus crescat et feruescat charitas per omnia Non sudore uel dolore moriamur subito Sed viuamus et plaudamus celis sine termino. Ver. Ora pro nobis deuote rex Henrice.

Resp. Ut per te cuncti superati sint inimici,

Oremus. Presta, quesumus, omnipotens et misericors deus, ut qui deuotissimi regis Henrici merita miraculis fulgentia pie mentis affectu recolimus in terris, eius et omnium sanctorum tuorum intercessionibus ab omni per te febre, morbo, ac improuisa morte ceterisque eruanur malis, et gaudia sempiterna adipsici meranur. Per Christum dominum nostrum. Amen.

Here is another form, which occurs in the Fitzwilliam MS. 55 (a Norfolk book of about 1480):

Antiphon. Rex Henricus pauper(um?) et ecclesie defensor ad misericordiam semper pronus in caritate feruidus pietati deditus clerum decorauit, quem deus sic beatificauit.

Vers. Ora pro nobis deuote Henrice.

Resp. Ut digni efficiamur promissionibus Christi.

Oremus. Deus sub cuius ineffabili maiestate vniuersi reges regnant et imperant, qui deuotissimum Henricum Anglorum regem caritate feruidum, miseris et afflictis semper compassum, omni bonitate elemenciaque conspicutim, ut pio (pie) creditur inter angelos connumerare dignatus es: concede propicius ut eo cum omnibus sanctis interuenientibus hostium nostrorum superbia conteratur, morbus et quod malum est procul pellatur, palma donetur et gratia sancti spiritus nobis misericordiam tuam poseentibus buique adesse dignetur. Qui uiuis, etc.

Yet another form is seen in a manuscript (V. 111. 7) in Bishop Cosin's Library at Durham, of cent. xv late : it is written, with a good many other miscellaneous verses, at the end of the book.

O rex Henrice vincas virtute pudice Anglorum vere cum recto nomine sexte (Es] wynsorie natus et ibi de fonte leuatus Atque coronatus in Westm(ynster) veneratus Et post firancorum rex es de iure creatus Post mortem carnis miracula plurima pandis Confirmante deo qui te preelegit ab euo Et tibi concessit plures sanare per illum Cecos et claudos cum debilitate retentos Atque paraliticos egrotos spasmaticosque In neruis plures contracti te mediante In te sperantes sanartur et auxiliantur

Et laudes domino per te semper tribuantur. Ora pro nobis dei electe rex Anglie Henrice sexte. Ut digni, etc.

PREFACE

Oremus. Omnipotens eterne deus qui electis tuis multa mitabilia operaris: concede quaesumus ut electi tui Anglorum regis Henrici sexti meritis et precibus mediantibus et intercedentibus mereamur ab omnibus angustiis anime et doloribus membrorum liberemur(-ari). Et cum illo in vita perpetua glorari. Per, etc.

These three forms of *Memoriae* are probably not all that exist; but they will suffice as representative specimens of the popular devotions used in honour of our Founder.

Besides the Memoria Hearne gives two prayers, attributed to the King himself, and largely identical in language with that which is perfixed to Blakman's tract. He takes them from the same printed Horae of 1510 whence the Memoria comes. They are on p. lv a and run thus:

Two lytell prayers whiche King Henry the syste made.

Domine I hesu Christe, qui me creasti, redemisti, et preordinasti ad hoc quod sum: tu scis quid de me facere vis: fac de me secundum voluntatem tuam cum misericordia.

Domine Ihesu Christe, qui solus es sapientia : tu scis que michi peccatori expediunt : prout tibi placere' et sicut in oculis tue maiestatis videtur, de me ita fat cum misericordia tua. Amen. Pater noster. Aue Maria.

Mr Cosmo Gordon of King's College tells me that these prayers also occur in W. de Worde's Primer of 1494 (sig. F 8 6). In this edition the

Read placet, as in a vellum printed Paris Horae of 1571 (?), reported to Hearne by a friend.

Of John Blacman or Blakman, the author of our tract, not a great deal is known. He was admitted Fellow of Merton College, Oxford, in 1436, and of Eton in 1447: he was Cantor of Eton College, and, as we read in the title of his book, a bachelor of Divinity, and later a Carthusian monk. But before he 'entered religion' he held an important post in University circles, for, in 1452, on the death of Nicholas Close, he was appointed by the Provosts of Eton and King's (who at that time owned this piece of patronage) Warden of King's Hall at Cambridge, that royal foundation which was eventually absorbed into Trinity College. As Warden (I quote from Mr W. W. Rouse Ball's privately printed account of King's Hall) he introduced into the College "some scheme of reorganization, which involved a division of the Society into four classes, fellows, scholars, commoners, and servi-commoners.... The scheme, whatever it was, was abandoned on Blacman's resignation " which took effect on 11 July 1457. Blacman then entered the Carthusian house of Witham in Somerset, and subsequently that of London, where he probably died. When, and for how long, he held the post of spiritual director or confessor to Henry VI. I have no evidence to show.

Of one thing about him, namely, his literary possessions, we know more. The Bodleian manuscript Laud. Misc. 154 contains two lists, one short, and

words read "prout tibi placeret," but a copy at Lambeth in which the page has been reset, has "prout tibi placet." The prayers also occur in some Sarum Horae printed in France, e.g. Jean Jehannot's of 1498, of which there is a copy in the Sandars collection in the University Library,

PREFACE

one long and elaborate, of books given by him to the Witham Charterhouse. Several of these exist in the Bodleian and other libraries, and one, a notable copy of the Polychronicon, which contains the earliest known picture of Windsor Castle (and of Eton), very probably drawn by Blacman himself, has in recent years been acquired by the library of Eton College. The full list of Blacman's books is given in a separate note.

In reprinting Hearne's text I have retained his spelling, which does not correspond completely with that of Coplande's print. Hearne gives as for a throughout, and expands contractions without notice. Had I had access to the original track before Hearne's text was put into type, I should have retained the medieval spelling; but I did not think it worth while to make the change aprels cosp. The actual words of the text represent Blacman as futhfully as possible; and that is the chief matter.

I need not, I think, say much by way of commending this little memorial. of our Founder to the pictus of the many who have owed and still owe to his bounty such pleasant and peaceful years, and such opportunities for the gaining of knowledge and the forming of friendships, as he himself never enjoyed. The evils which his weak rule brought upon England have faded out of being: the good which in his boyhood he devised for coming generations lives after him. *Pro eo gued laborauit anima eius, uideiti et sutechiute.*

M. R. J.

COLLECTARIUM MANSUETUDINUM ET BONORUM MORUM REGIS

HENRICI VI.

EX COLLECTIONE

Magiftri JOANNIS BLAKMAN bacchalaurei theologiæ, et poft Cartufiæ monachi Londini.

*Oratio ejus devota.

DOMINE Jefu Chrifte, qui me creasti, redemisti, et ad id quod sum prædestinafti, tu fcis, quid de me facturus fis, fac de me fecundum tuam mifericordiffimam voluntatem. Nam fcio et veraciter confiteor, quod in tua manu cuncta funt pofita, et non est qui posfit tibi refiftere : quia Dominus univerforum tu es. Ergo Deus omnipotens, mifericors & clemens, in potestate cuius funt regna omnia atque dominationes, et cui omnes cogitationes, verba et opera nostra præterita, præsentia et futura continue funt cognita et aperta, qui folus habes fcientiam & fapientiam incomprehenfibilem. Tu fcis, Domine, quæ michi mifero peccatori expediunt: prout tibi placet, et in oculis tuæ divinæ majestatis videtur de me fieri, ita de me fiat. Sufcipe, pater clemens et mifericors Deus omnipotens, preces mei indigniffimi fervi tui: et perveniant ad aures mifericordiæ tuæ orationes, quas offero coram te et omnibus fanctis tuis. Amen.

*Апа.

PRO-



PROHEMIUM.



CRIPTUM eft, quod neminem laudabimus ante mortem fuam, fed in fineerit denudatio operumejus, 9 unde, celfante jam omni impedi-9 mento verze laudis, Quia cœli gloriam Dei omnipotentis enarrant, & comnia quefecit Dominus ipfum

in factura fua laudant; ideirco in haudem Dei & fersiffimi principis regis Henrici. VI. corpore jam defunchi, quem licet minime peritus laudare anticipàvi, aliqua trachare neceffarium duxi. Maxime quia fanchos Dei laudare, quorum in cathologo iltum puto regem eximium, ob fancha fua merita quoad vixit per cum exercitata, merito computari, omnipotentis Dei laus eft & gloria, ex cujus coelefti dono eft, ut fanchi fint. De prenobili ejus profapia, quomodo fcilicet ex nobilifimo fanguine & "titipe regis antiqua Anglise fecundum carnem progenitus erat, et qualiter in duabus regionibus, Anglise f & Francie, ut verus utriufque regin heres coronatus fuerat, tacere curavi, quafi manifeftum & notum. Maxime propter cafum ejus infaufeftum & notum. Maxime protex endu

*Апь.

Vir-

4] J. BLAKMAN DE VIRTUTIBUS

Virtutum ejus commendatio.

ERUM ut de virtutibus non paucis iftius regis, quibus Deus omnipotens animam eius infignivit, aliquid edicam, "& pro modulo meo Deo propicio prout noverim, & ex relatu fidedienorum, quondam ei affiftencium, didicerim, propalabo. Fuerat enim, quafi alter Job, vir fimplex, & rectus, Dominum Deum omnino timens, & à malo recedens. Erat autem vir fimplex, fine omni plica dolofitatis aut falfitatis, ut omnibus conftat. Nulli enim dolofe egerat; aut falfum aliquod cuiquam proferre folebat : fed veridica femper exercuerat eloquia. Fuerat & rectus et juftus, per lineam jufticiæ femper in actis fuis procedens. Nulli vero injuriam facere voluit fcienter. Deo & omnipotenti quod fuum erat fidelifime tribuerat. quia decimas & oblationes, Deo et ecclefiæ debitas, ampliffime perfolvere fluduit. fimul cum religiofiffimo cultu etiam hoc peregit, ita quod ipfe & regalibus infulis trabeatus, diademateque regio coronatus, tam profundas fibi inftituit exhibere Domino inclinativas fupplicationes, ac fi fuiffet juvenis quifpiam religiofus.

Timor Domini inerat ei.

Quo & princeps ifte timorem habuent filalem ad Dominum, patet in quammulits ejus aĉis et devotionibus. Primo referre foleba quidam Anglia reverendus antiftes, fe per decem annos confefforis fui officio functum apud ipfum regem Henricum fuiffe. Sed

ET MIRACULIS HENRICI VI. 5

Sed neque per tantum tempus mortalis alicujus *cirminis maculam animam ejus tetigiffe afferebat. O l quanta vigilantia ! O l quanta diligentia placendi Deo in tam fublimi et juvenili perfona reperta eft ! Attendite reges & principes univerfi, juvenes et virgines & populi quique, & laudate Dominum in fanctis ejus. Hunc quoque regem virtute imitamini, qui malum fecifle poterat & non fecit : fed omnino dum vixit refugit, in quantum potuit, propter Dei difplicentiam, hujufcenodi malum vel noxam.

Cultor Dei sedulus erat.

CEDULUS & verifimus Dei cultor erat rex ifte, magis Deo et devotioni orationum deditus, quam mundanis vel temporalibus rebus tractandis, aut vanis ludis vel occupationibus exercendis : qualibus ut frivola ab eo despectis, aut in orationibus, aut in scripturarum yel cronicarum lectionibus affidue erat occupatus, ex quibus non pauca eloquia hauferat, ad ipfius aliorumque confolationem foiritualem. Unde omni ftatui, omnique conditioni hominum et ætati fedulus hortator & confultor extiterat, juvenibus confulens, ut à vitiis declinarent, et virtutis viam affequerentur. Provectæque ætatis viros et presbiteros, ut virtutis complementum, braviumque æternæ vitæ profequendo attingerent, ammonuit, proferens id pfalmi : Ite de virtute in virtutem : videbitur enim binc Deus deorum in Syon.

* A III a.

De-

Devota habitudo ejus in ecclefia.

I vecclefa vel oratorio nunquam federe fibi complacui fuper fedile, aut hue illue ve, ut moris eff mundanorum, deambulare : fed nudato femper capite, dum divina faltem celebrarentur officia, rarifime regios erigens artus, quafi continue coram libro genua federas, oculis ac manibus erectis, miffalia, oracula, epitholas, euangelia internis 'vifibus promere gefliebat cum celebrante. Nonnullis etiam folebat celrcis deflinare epitholas * exhortatorias, cœleflibus plenas facramentis et faluberrimis admonitionibus, in fluporem multorum.

Item & ubicuque fuerat rex ifte, femper devotiffimus fanctae crucis, aliorumque Chriftianæ religionis facramentorum vel facrorum, cultor et fedulus adorator extiterat. In hujufmodi enim opere nudato capite devotius "infedere folebat, etiam in itineribus equitando. ita quod regale caputium terram petere ultro fæpius faciebat, etiam dextrario infidens, nifi id manus fuorum 3 fitius apprehenderet. Unde et maluit fanctæ crucis fignorum feriem in corona fua regia fituari. quam florum vel foliorum fimilitudines quafcuque, juxta illud fapientis : Corona aurea (uper caput ejus, expressa figno fanctitatis. &c. Tempestive valde, et quafi in initio divinorum officiorum folebat intereffe. Sed et de prolixa protractione divinorum officiorum nufquam faftidium paffus erat, quanquam ultra meridiem protelabantur.

I Lege, vocibus. 2 incedere M. R. J. 3 Sie, pro citius. * A 111 b. Item

ET MIRACULIS HENRICI VI. [7 Item in ecclefia nullatenus 'accipites, gladios, "bafillardos, contractus, confabulationes ve fieri finebat : fed orationibus etiam fuis potentatibus & proceribus, juxta illud Salvatoris eloquium, Domus mea domus orationis eft, juffit crebrius effe vacandum, quod et fecerunt devote.

Pudicitia eius.

PUDICUS enim & purus fuerat rex iste H. ab ineunte ætate fua. Omnem vero lafciviam verbo & opere dum juvenis erat declinaverat, quoadufque duxerat, nubilibus venientibus annis, prænobilem dominam, dominam Margaretam, regis 3Cecilia: filiam, ex qua unicum tantummodo procreavit filium, Edwardum f. prænobilem & virtuofum principem, cum qua & cui conjugale fœdus fynceriffime omnino fervaverat, etiam in ipfius dominæ abfentia, quæ aliquando perlonga fuerat : nullam aliam à fua feminam tota fua *vita impudice tangens. Non etiam ad præfatam fuam conjugem effrenate, vel more impudicorum, habere folebat acceffum dum infimul commanferunt : fed tantummodo ut ratio et rei neceffitas, fervata femper inter eos honestate conjugali et cum magna gravitate.

Exemplum.

In argumentum vero fuæ fervatæ pudicitiæ, omnino confueverat effugere nuditatem et virorum et mulierum 'incantius afpicere. ne, ut David, amore illicito caperetur, cujus animam, prout legimus, oculi de-

I Sic. Lege, ancipites. [potius accipitres M. R. J.] 2 Id eft, pugiones, baggers. 3 Potius, Siciliæ. 4 Sic. L. incautius. * A IV a.

præ-

8] J. BLAKMAN DE VIRTUTIBUS

prædati fuerant. Propterea princeps ifte pepigerat cum oculis fuis fædus, ut nec faltem impudice quamlibet 'afpicerat feminam.

Aliud exemplum.

Unde femel contigit, quod tempore natalis Domini choreas, vel fpedacalum quoddam generofarus pivencularum, refolutis finibus fuis nudatas mamillas proponentium, quidam adduceret magnus dominus coram co, ut ante regis afpedum juvenes ille muliercular fic denudate tripudiarent, ad probandum forfan eum, vel ad alliciendum regis juvenlem animum. Sed rex ife non improvidus, nec diabolica fruadis gianzus, his fpretis præftigiis, nimium indignatus, oculos avertens, dorfum ejus citus politut, et ad cameram fuam exirit (cens, JP & Jr, for fame, forlotte ge be to blame.

Aliàs juxta Bathoniam equitans, ubi calida funt balnea, quibus, ut dicitur, fe refocillant et lavant fe homines illius patriæ ex confuetudine, dum introfpiceret rex balnea, vidit homines in eis quafi in toto nudos et vestibus plene exutos. Ad quod indignans rex citius abiit, nuditatem hujufmodi guafi grande facinus abhorrens, non immemor illius Francisci Petrarchæ affertionis : Nuditas beluina in hominibus non placet : [ed pudori amicius bonestate con/ulitur. Præteria, non tantum fibiipfi, fed et domesticis fuis, de castimonia magnam * cautionem adhibere folebat. Nam ante nuptias fuas 3adolofcens caftitatis alumnus exiftens, curiofe per fecretas fuæ cameræ feneftras afpicere folebat, ne feminarum introeuntium stulta debacharetur infolentia, in fuorum faltem domefticorum ruinam. Eandem etiam cautionem adhibuerat idem rex duobus fuis fratribus

¹ Sic. L. afpiceret. 2 Sic. 3 Sic. * A rv b. utriuis,

ET MIRACULIS HENRICI VI. [9

'utriuis, Dominis videlicet 'Jafpere et Edmundo, dum pueri et juvenes erant : quibus pro tunc'adtifimam &c fecurifimam providebat cutoficiam, eos ponens fub tutela virtuoforum et honeftiffimorum facerdotum, tum ad erudiendum, tum ad virtuofe vivendum, et converfandum, ne feliket indomite adolefcentulationes fuccreferent, fi omnino fuppreffore carerent. Non minorem iterum diligentiam adhibere foldbat rex ifte, ut dicitur, circa alios fibi attinentes, ut vitia declinarent vel vitarent fimul cum contione vicioforum vel diffolutorum, et virtutes apprehenderent, ammonens eos.

Contra avaritiam. Liberalitas ejus.

CONTRA peftem avarities, qua quamplurimi inficiuntur et languent, etiam terreni principes, Rex ifte H. de quo loquimu; cuutifimus, et credifimus omnino fuerat. Quia nec donariis præfulgidis foi donatis, nec excellentifimis divitis, quas ipfe 'poffiderat alquotiens illicito amore captus fuerat. Sed ad pauperes omnino liberalis erat, eorum inopiam fublevando. Allos etiam quamplures largitate ditabat donorum, aut officiorum, vel faltem omnem ab eis egeflatem amovebat. Nequaquam fuos opprimebat fubditos immoderatis exactionibus, ut ceteri agunt principes et magnates : fed tanquam pius pater inter filios convertiatus, eos decentifime ex fuis relevans, propriis contentus maluit *fic jufte inter éos vivere quam ipfi

de-

¹ F. uterinis. 2 Sic. Potius, Jaspero. 3 Sic. L. artiflimam. 4 Sic. * A v a.

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deficerent egefhate, fua fuppreffi crudelitate. Quod de fuis contentus fuent, alienarum rerum minime cupidus, patet variis exemplis verifilmis. Unde quidam magnus dominus optulit eidem regi preciofum coopertorium, ad ledum fuum cameralem, undique nobilibus aureis in magna multitudine firstum, cum talibus verbis dicens : De talibus fit vobis cara. Sed regis animus, coelefita et fipritualia magis inhians, hujufmodi terrena poltponens, minime attendebat hujufmodi munera.

Aliàs venientibus ad eundem regemexecutoribus reverendiffimi domini cardinalis et epifcopi Winton , fui avunculi, cum prægrandi fumma, duorum videlicet millium lib. auri eidem regi conferend'. ad fuos ufus, & ad neceffaria regni pondera fublevanda, penitus refpuit munus, nec quoquomodo habere voluit, dicens, ip/e fuerat pergratus mibi avunculus, & multum nobis beneficus, dum vixerat : Dominus retribuat ei. facite vos de bonis (uis prout tenemini. nos nolumus ea recipere. Ad quod dictum regium attoniti executores illi, fupplicaverunt magestati regiæ, ut faltem reciperet donum illud de manibus eorum, ad dotationem duorum collegiorum fuorum, quæ tunc quafi de novo fundaffet, apud Cantabrigiam et Eton. Cui fupplicationi et donationi libentiflime favebat rex, mandans, ut, pro relevamine animæ præfati fui avunculi, conferrent donum prædictis collegiis. Oui concito gradu mandatum regium expleverunt.

Îtem în fuze liberalitatis oftentationem, qua cum aliis pollebat virtutibus rex ifte, în confußonem avaricie largiffmuse erat în donis, ut fui quondam teftabantur. Donaverat enim uni de capellanis fuis, dum audierat eum intentum ad facerdotalia veftimenta refarcien-

ET MIRACULIS HENRICI VI. [11

cienda, plus quam decem mutatoria cafularia de pannis fuis fericis, ad miffas in ecclefia, cui tunc præerat idem facerdos, celebrandas. Aliàs audiens unum de famulis fuis multis furtive expoliatum * bonis, mifit ei idem rex, in recompensationem sui dampni, XX nobilia, cum hoc confulens, ut ammodo magis providus effet de cuftodia bonorum fuorum, et nec quicquam juris ageret cum fure illo. Ecce quomodo mifericordia & veritas obviaverunt fibi, jufficia & pax ofculatæ funt in noftro terreno principe. O! 1 rara pietas & piiffima charitas in homine inventa ! Unde & idem princeps, tandem utroque privatus regno, Anglia videlicet & Franciæ, quibus ante imperaverat, cum rebus & bonis fuis, non fracto, fed æquo id tulit animo, omnia temporalia parvipendens, dummodo Chriftum lucraretur et æterna. Non tantum in temporalibus diffribuendis largus, fed etiam in ecclefiafticis et fpiritualibus "benefitiis conferendis, multum cautus et providus erat rex ifte & difcretus, ne indignis, vel guoad feipfum indigne, i, fymoniace, talia conferret, prout res offendit in perfonis ab eo promotis : immunis femper erat à fymonia. Nam virtuti femper intendens, virtuoforum promotioni omnino vacabat, atque eos plurimum amabat. Accenfæ vero charitatis perurgebatur affectu, quando fucceffori celeberrimi cardinalis Winton dixerat præfatus rex H. magiftro Wilelmo Waynflet : Accipe Wintonicam intronizationem, ut fis illic, ficut folent prædeceffores præsules effe. sis longævus super terram, et in virtutis via succrescens et proficiens. Episcopos etiam Wurceftriæ et 3 Ceftriæ fimul, cum multis aliis, pari liberalitate promovit, ut res fatis innotuit. Unde ad

I L. cara M. R. J. 2 Sic. 3 Cicestriae M. R. J. * A v b. am-

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ampliandum domum Dei, et cultum divinum, duo præclara principatus fui tempore fundavit collegia prædicta, quæ ampliffimis dotavit prædiis et redditibus, ad fuftentationem pauperum scholarium non paucorum, in quibus non tam divina cotidie devotiffime celebrantur officia, ad Dei omnipotentis laudem, quam scolastica dogmata cum ceteris actibus continue exercentur, ad fcientia incrementum Ad ifforum vero duorum collegiorum *iniciationem et fundamen, perquifivit ubique optimos lapides vivos, optime expeditos in virtute & fcientia juvenculos, et facerdotes qui ceteris præeffent ut doctores & tutores. Unde quoad presbyteros habendos dixerat rex fuo legato in hac caufa, Minorascere eos potius tolleramus in musicalibus, quam in scripturarum scientiis. Et quo ad pueros vel juvenculos, ei adductos ad (cholatizand', voluit eos rex omnino educari et nutriri, tam in virtute, quam in fcientiis. Unde cum aliquos eorum fibi obviam habuit aliquoties in caftro de Wyndefoor, quo interdum irent, ad fervos regis, eis notos, vifitandos, comperto quod fui effent, "admouit eos de virtutis via profeguenda, dando cum verbis etiam pecunias ad alliciendum eos, dicens : Sitis boni pueri, mites et docibiles, et (ervi Domini, Et fi aliquos eorum curiam fuam vifitare deprehenderit, aliquando cohibuit corripiendo eos, ne hoc amodo iterarent, ne agnelli fui perditos fuorum curialium actus vel mores faperent : vel proprios bonos mores in parte vel in toto amitterent, more agnorum vel ovium, quæ inter vepres vel fpinas pafcentes, fua vellera dilaniant, et fæpius in toto amittunt.

Hu-

¹ Sic. L. admonuit.

^{*} A VI a.

Humilitas regis.

OQUENDO de magna regis ifius humilitate. / fciendum, quod multum clarus fuerat virtute illa humilitatis. Non enim erubuit rex ifte piiffimus facerdoti, celebranti coram eo, diligens minifter fieri, refpondendo ad miffam, Amen. Sed libera nos, et fimilia. Ita vero fecit etiam michi communiter indigno íacerdoti. In menfa etiam fuccinctam faciens refectionem, quafi religiofus cum concitata furrectione filentium fervans ftando Deo gratias totiens quotiens devotifime perfolvit. Unde etiam, tefte magiftro doctore Town, inftituit idem rex, quod per elemofinarium fuum guidam difcus, V. Chrifti vulnerum, guafi fanguinerubentium.repræfentativus.*menfæfuæguando fe reficere habuit, ante omnia alia fercula poneretur, quibus effigiebus devotius 'intentis, ante quorumlibet ciborum attactum mirabiles Deo perfolvebat devotiones.

Item equitando femel in firata quadam, jacente extra cemiterium ad orientem cujulídam ecclefia, ubi pixis fuper altare pendens carebat facramento eucharifita, eo igitur non nudante caput, ut femper altàs vel ante aflolet agere cuim magna devotione properte reverentiam facramenti : admirantibus inde fuis dominis et compluribus magnatibus, rationem reddi terx dicoms : Sois, inquit, tòi non effe Dominum meam Iofam Chriftam, ob cajus bourem tanta facerem. Quod ita repertum eft ut chixt. unde et dicunt, qui eidem fe-

creti

I An, intentus?

^{*} A v1 b.

14] J. BLAKMAN DE VIRTUTIBUS

creti erant, quod rex iste frequenter viderat Dominum nostrum Iesum, in forma humana repræsentantem se in facramento altaris inter manus facerdotis.

Confueverat etiam, ex permaxima humilitate & devotione, noĉte et Dominicæ refurreĉtionis tempore propria manu gerere magnum tortum, ob reverentiam Dominicæ refurreĉtionis et fidem.

Humilitas regis.

D^E ipfus etiam humilitate in inceffu, in veftibus et aliis corporalibus indumentis, in verbis et ceteris corporis geftibus compluribus, conflata, 'quam obtufis fotularibus et ocreis à juventute uti confueverat adinflar coloni. Togam etiam longam cum capucio rotulta oa modum burgenfis, et talarem tunicam ultra genua demiffam, caligas, ocreas, calcos omnino pulli coloris &c. omnimoda curiofitate per eum 'prohebita in confuetudine habuit.

Voluit etiam in principalibus anni feftis, fed maxime quando ex confuetudine coronaretur, indui ad nudum corpus fuum aftero citilito, ut per afperitaten talem corpus ejus *ardaretur à lafcivia, potius vero ut omnis arrogantia vel inanis gloria, quæ ex hujufmodi orin í folet, reprimeretur.

Labor et exercitium ejus.

D^E occupatione regis, ³qua bene dies et tempora ^etranfigerat, compluribus notum eft adhuc vi-

1 F. quoniam. 2 Sic. 3 F. quam. 4 Sic, perinde ac fi tranlegerat reponend. effet. Rectius tamen forfitan tranligeret. * B 1 a. ven-

ET MIRACULIS HENRICI VI. [15

ventibus, quod omnino dies folemnes, & Dominicos in divinis officiis audiendis, et devotis orationibus ex parte fua pro fe et populo fuo omnino dedicare folebat, ne fabbata ejus hoftes deriderent. Et ad fimiliter agendum etiam alios inducere diligenter ftuduit. unde et nonnulli, quondam eidem affiftentes, afferunt, quod tota ejus exultatio et gaudium erat in Dei laudibus et divinis fervitiis rite & devote perfolvendis. Ceteros vero dies etiam minus folemnes, non in ocio aut vanitatibus, non in commeffationibus aut ebrietatibus, non in vaniloquiis aut ceteris nocivis dictis aut loquelis (quæ 'amnia femper dum viveret declinabat.) immo paucifimis eloquiis, ut verbis ædificariis vel ceteris utilibus omnino ufus fuerat : Sed dies illos aut in regni negotiis cum confilio fuo tractandis, prout rei exposcerat necessitas, aut in scripturarum lectionibus, vel in scriptis aut cronicis legendis non minus diligenter expendit. Unde et de eo teftatus eft miles quidam honorandus, quondam fibi camerarius fideliffimus, dominus Ricardus Tunftall, verbis et fcriptis fuis teftimonium de eo dedit dicens : In lege Domini fuit voluntas eius die ac notte. In hujus etiam rei testimonium ipfe Dominus rex graviter conqueftus eft michi in camera fua apud Eltham, quando folus cum eo ibidem effem in fanctis fuis libris cum eo laborans, ejus falubribus monitis & profundifimæ devotionis fuspiriis intendens: dato pro tunc interim fono fuper hoftio regio à quodam potentifimo regni duce, rex ait : Sic inquietant me, ut vix raptim per dies et noctes valeam fine * strepitu aliquorum (acrorum dogmatum lectione refici, Simile etiam quoddam huic femel contigit, me præfente

· * B 1 6.

I Sic, pro omnia.

apud

16] J. BLAKMAN DE VIRTUTIBUS

apud Wyndefor. In attefationem etiam fuze eximize devotionis ad Deum, dicunt complures adhuc fuperfiites, eidem etiam principi quondam familiares, quod quafi continue oculos fuos ad cœlum attollere confueverat, quafi cœlicola quidam aut raptus, nec feipfum pro tempore, nec fe circumflantes fentiens, quafi effet homo extaticus, vel fubcœleftis, converfationem fuam in cœlis habens, juxta illud apoftoli, *Converfatio ngfra* in cœlis de.

Juramenta ejus.

I Tax nulla unquam habere folebat alia juramenta, ad confirmanda diêta fua veredica, quam haec verba proferendo, **fotfotte**, and bottotte. Ut 'ecteros faceret, quos 'alloquibatur, de diêtis fuis. Unde et quamplures, tam magnates, quam 'plebcos, â gravibus juramentis, tum blande confulendo, tum dure corripiendo, compeCuit. Quoniam abhominabilis erat 'eis quifque jurars. Audiens autem rex quendam magnum dominum, fibi camearium, ex abrupto et. improvide graviter jurare, graviter increpavit eum, dicens : Probdolor' tos domius familie mulle dam jaramenta fic editis contra Dei mandatum, pedfimum 'exbibitis ceemplum fervis e lubdisi volti... iplos enim finila facere provocatia.

Pietas et patientia ejus.

D^E patientia iftius regis, & benigniffima ejus mifericordia, quas per totam fuam vitam in tranf-

gre-

¹ Sic. F. certos. 2 Sic. 3 Sic. 4 F. ei. 5 Sic.

ET MIRACULIS HENRICI VI. [17

gredientes fibi exercuit, dum regnaret, complurima veriffime dici poffunt.

Primo, cum femel defcenderet à villa fancti Albani Londonias per Crepylgate, videns fupra portam ibi quartarium hominis poftum fuper fuden fublimem, quæfivit, quid hoc effet ? Et refpondentibus *fibi dominis fuis, quo d erat IIII. pars cujudam proditoris tui, qui falfas fureat regie majeflati, ai tres, Aderraur. Nole enim aliquem Corifianum tam crudeliter pro me radbari, & continuo fublatum eft quartarium. Qui hoc vidit, telfimonium dicit.

Item IIII. nobiles generofos, de proditione & crimine læfæ majefatis regiæ convidos, et fuper hac re legittime per judices condemnatos, et morte turpifimæ 'plecifikma'' plectendos pilfime relaxavit, et à morte illa acerbifima eripuit, cartulam fuæ perdonationis pro eis liberandis ad locum fupplicii citifime emittens.

Aliistribus magnis dominis regni, in neceffrate 'ejufdem regis confpirantibus, infinita quafi multitudine matorum hominum congregata, ambitione quadam regii culminis intentata, prout res poftea manifeftius claruit, rex ifte non minorem exhibuit mifericordiam. Condonabat enim omnibus tam capitaneis, quam ceteris fibi fubditis, quod ei tune maligne intenderant, dummodo fe i dubmitterent.

Confinilem etiam mifericordiam compluribus aliis oftendit, fpecialiter autem duobus, mortem ei intendentibus; quorum unus collo fuo grave vuluns infizici, volens excerebraffe, vel decollaffe eum, quod tamen rex patientifium e tulit, dicens, forfotipt, & forfotipt, pe bo foulp to fingte a gknget mognuto fo.

1 Sic. Sed delend. ni fallor. 2 [Sic. qu. necem M. R. J.] * B 11 a AI-

18] J. BLAKMAN DE VIRTUTIBUS

Alter vero cum 'ficca percufit e um in latere, dum in turri fuerat carcere detentus, qui polt hoc commiffum facinus putans, fe regem ex fuo ictu nephario occidiffe, timens fe capiendum fore, citiffum aufugit, deprehenfum tamen eum, & eidem regi polte adductum, convalefcens rex, et è carcere illo eductus, et al regulia faftigia, Deo favente et agente, iterum fublimatus fine bellis poft longa exilia et diutinam ejus incarcerationem, pardonavit eum ex fumma fua clementia, ficut et predictum fuum perfecutorem.

Unde et famuli quondam eidem regi afferunt, quod nullam perfonam, quantumcunque * fibi noxiam, voluit aliquoties mulctari. Quod etiam in quam multis liquet perfonis, quibus valde fuerat gratiofus et mifericors imitator effectus illius qui ait : Milericordiam volo. & nolo mortem peccatoris, fed magis ut convertatur & vivat. qui etiam, ut apostolus ait, Omnium bominum falutem affectabat. nec mirum. Quoniam etiam non inerat eius animæ vana illa gloriatio, qua etiam venatores potiuntur captis bestiis ex nimia complacentia, videlicet ut intueretur appetitum animal in interitu fuo cum truculentia contaminari, nec cædi innocui "quadrupedes aliquando voluit intereffe. Quid plura? Certe inter quos et quibus tam benionus et mifericors extiterat rex ifte, hos tandem invenit inoratiffimos, ut Chriftus Judæos. Nam quem dextera Dei in tantam fublimaverat gloriam, ut fupra habetur, ifti 3patriales, infimul conglobati, rabie guadam "crudiliffima præfatum regem mifericordiflimum poteftate regia privaverunt, et à fuo regno et regimine expulerunt, qui tandem poft latebras, quas ad tempus, propter fui tute-

1 Sic, pro fica. 2 Sic. F. quadrupedis. 3 priales. 4 Sic. * B π b. lam,

ET MIRACULIS HENRICI VI. [19

lam, fecretioribus fovebat locis, inventus etiam captus, velut proditor & maleficus Londonium adductus in turri ibidem incarceratus erat, ubi famem, fitim, obprobria, irrifiones, 'blafphemeas, aliafque injurias complurimas, ut verus Chritti fequefler, patienter tolleravit, et tandem mortis ibi corporis violentiam fuffinuit propter regnum, ut tunc fperabatur, ab aliis pacifice pofidendum. Anima autem infusu, tri je creatimus, ex miraculorum, ubi corpus ejus humatur, diutina continuatione, cum Deo in celefibius vivente, ubi, pofi tius feculi arrunnas, cum jufis in æterno Dei contuitu feliciter gaudet, pro terreno & transfuorio regno hoc patienter amilfo, æternum jam pofidens in ævum.

Revelationes ei oftensæ.*

PRETEREA, de coelettibus facramentis, eidem regi oftenfis, filendum effe non puto. In turri enim Londoniarum detentus, interrogatus erat à quodan fibi capellano erga fettum Pachen, quomodo anima ejus concordaret in hoc facratifimo tempore cum inflaatibus fuis tribulationibus inevitabiliter emergentibus ? Er refpondit rex dicens, Reguma cabram, cui me femper ab infantia mea devoii, appellaus expofeo. De reguo ifib ranfitaris de terrefir non magna nobis cara eft. Cegar un sufter de Marthia fe interpoint, su fibi placet. Hoc ipfum taatummodo require, quainus facramenta Pafebala & eceloficatica cum alitis Chriftiolis in die ceme rezipiam, u morin möfr ef, unde & Porper nimam fuum devo-

1 Sic. * B 111 a.

tio-

20] J. BLAKMAN DE VIRTUTIBUS

tionem, quam ad Deum, et ad ejus facramenta, femper habuerat, non incongrue' videtur, quod cealefibus facramentis fuiflet fapius illufratus, & in fuis tribulationibus confolatus. Fertur enim à nonnullis fecretioribus fbi perfonis, quibus folebat fecreta fua referare, quod frequenter viderat Dominum lefum in manibus celebrantis tractatum in forma humana ei apparere fub facramento. Discrat iterum apud Walthaffi olim exitiens cuidam in fecretis, aliis tamen à retro hoc audientibus, de multiplici revelatione Dominica fibi facta per tres annos continuos in fefto fandi Edwardi, quod in vigilia Epiphanize accidit de gloria Domini, in effigie humana apparentis, de ejus corona, & de affumptione beatze Maria in corpore & anima ofhentione.

Item de abfentia facramenti à pixide, dum per quoddam equitaret cimiterium, propter quod defiit à veneratione folita facramenti, ut fupra habetur.

In ipfo etiam arcto guerrarum diferimine in borize partibus, deficiente ad templos pane commilitonibus vel trubis fuis, dictur ab inde venientibus, quod de exigua *tritici annona meritis ejus et precabus 'à Deo multiplicati fuerant panes, ut 'querentibus et petentibus fufficientia cum fuperfluo refpondebat fuis, ceteris vero fuis hoftibus penuriam panum patientibus.

Infuper continuata longo tempore dira ac ingratiffima fuorum rebellione, polt plurima bella à fuis rebellantibus ei gravifime illatus, tandem cum paucis ad locum fecretum, à fuis fidelibus fibi provifum, fugit, unde dum per aliquod fpacium ?diliteret, vox corporalis infonuit per XVII. dies antequam caperetur in-

¹ F. adeo. 2 Malim cum diphthongo. 3 Sic, pro deliteret. * B III b.

ET MIRACULIS HENRICI VI. [21

finuans ei, quod proditione traderetur, ac fine honore, quafi fur aut exal quidam, Londonias, & per medium eigs mau duceretur, multa ac varia pravorum hominum ingeniis mala exquifita fubiturus, et infra turrim illic incarcerandus, que omulta ex beate Marine virginis revelatione, Sanctorumque Joannis baptitike, Dunftani, & Ancelmi, quorum confolationibus ad tune, ficut etiam aliàs, potitus fuit, per eofdem ad patientiam edodus & confirmatus ad hace et fimilia patienter tolleranda. Que cum quibufdam de fuit sun reucerdei illi minime credere voluerunt, fed diliramenta et vana quadam deputaverunt, quoadufque rei exitus eso certos fecit.

Fertur etiam, quod rex ifte, dum in turri fuiffet inclufus, viderit mulierem quandam à dextra fua infantulum fubmegree nientem, quam per nuncium ammonuit, ne tantum flagitium & Deo odiofum peccatum perpetraret. Cujus ammonitione correpta illa, ab incepto opere ceffavit.

Item quasito ab codem rege H. dum in turi fuerat incarceratus, quare injufte vendicaverat et *pofiderat coronam Angliae tot annis, refpondere folebat, Pater meus rex fuerat *Angliae pacifice, coronam Angliae puffdens per tonam regul jui tempus. El fueta pater, avas meus, giufdam regni rex fuit. Et ego puer, quafi in *canabilis *pacifice, el fine aministerrupione coronantu approbatus fueram rex d isto regno, coronam Angliae gerent quafi per XL. annos, fingulis mibi dominis bonagium regium facientibus, e filem mibi perplantibus ficto el al isto antecofferiosus meis.

1 Sic, pro increduli. 2 Sic. 3 Commate forfitan poft Anglize non poft pacifice diffingui malint alii. Sed diffinitioni noftræ favet Codex, quo ufus fum. 4 Sic, pro cunabulis. * B tv a. 22] J. BLAKMAN DE VIRTUTIBUS &C.

Vnde, et cum Pfalmiffa dicere poffum : Funes ceciderunt michi in præclaris: etenim hereditas mea præclara eft michi. Juftum enim adjutorium meum à Domino, qui falvos facit rectos corde.

Laus Deo.

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A COMPILATION

OF THE MEEKNESS

AND GOOD LIFE

OF

KING HENRY VI.

GATHERED BY

Master JOHN BLAKMAN, Bachelor of Divinity and afterward monk of the Charterhouse of London.

A devout Prayer of his.

O LORD Jesu Christ, who didst create me, redeem me, and foreordain me unto that which now I am: Thou knowest what Thou wilt do with me : deal with me according to thy most compassionate will. I know and confess in sincerity that in thy hand all things are set, and there is none that can withstand Thee: Thou art Lord of all. Thou therefore, God Almighty compassionate and pitiful, in whose power are all realms and lordships, and unto whom all our thoughts, words, and works, such as have been, are, and shall be, are continually open and known, who only hast wisdom and knowledge incomprehensible: Thou knowest, Lord, what is profitable for me poor sinner: be it so done with me as pleaseth Thee and as seemeth good in the eyes of thy divine Majesty.

Receive, O compassionate Father and merciful God Almighty, the prayer of me thy most unworthy servant; and let my supplications, which I offer before Thee and thy saints, come unto the ears of thy mercy. Amen.

PROLOGUE.

 \mathbf{T} is written that we are to praise no man before his death, but that in the end shall be the exposing of his works: hence, now that every obstacle to sincere praise is out of the way, and inasmuch as the heavens declare the glory of Almighty God, and all things that the Lord hath made praise Him by the fashion of them, I have therefore thought fit to treat of some matters to the praise of God and of the serve prize King Henry VI now deceased; whom, though I be of little skill, I have taken in hand to celebrate; and this respically because to praise the sints of God, (in the register of whom I take that excellent king to be rightly included on account of the holy virtues by him exercised all his life long) is to praise and glorify Almighty God, of whose heavenly gift it cometh that they are saints.

Now of his most noble descent, how he was begotten according to the flesh of the highest blood and the ancient royal stock of England, and how in the two lands of England and France he was crowned as the rightful heir of each realm. I have purposely said nothing, as of a matter plainly known to all, and not least known because of that most unhappy fortune which befell him against all expectation in after-times.

A commendation of his virtues.

BUT that I may set forth somewhat concerning the many virtues of that king, wherewith Almighty God adorned his soul, I will according to my small ability, with God's help, publish such things as I have known and have learned from the relation of men worthy of credit who were formerly attendant on him.

He was, like a second Job, a man simple and upright, altogether fearing the Lord God, and departing from evil. He was a simple man, without any crook of craft or untruth, as is plain to all. With none did he deal craftily, nor ever would say an untrue word to any, but framed his speech always to speak truth.

He was both upright and just, always keeping to the straight line of justice in his acts. Upon none would he wittingly inflict any injustice. To God and the Almighty he rendered most faithfully that which was His, for he took pains to pay in full the tithes and offerings due to God and the church : and this he accompanied with most sedulous devotion, so that even when decked with the kingly ornaments and crowned with the royal diadem he made it a duty to how before the Lond as deep in prayer as any young monk might have done.

The fear of the Lord was in him.

AND that this prince cherished a son's fear towards the Lord is plain from many an act and devotion of his. In the first place, a certain reverend prelate of England used to relate that for ten years he held the office of confessor to King Henry: but he declared that never throughout that long time had any blemish of mortal sin touched his soul.

O what great watchfulness, O what care to please God was found in this creature so high-placed and so young ! Consider it, all ye kings and princes, young men and maidens, and all peoples, and prinse the Lord in His saints . Imitate, too, this king in virtue, who could have done ill and did it not, but utterly eschewed, to his power, while he lived, in view of the displeasure of God, all evil and injury of this sort.

He was a diligent worshipper of God.

DILIGENT and sincere worshipper of God was A this king, more given to God and to devout prayer than to handling worldly and temporal things, or practising vain sports and pursuits: these he despised as triffing, and was continually occupied either in prayer or the reading of the scriptures or of chronicles, whence he drew not a few wise utterances to the spiritual comfort of himself and others. So to every sort and condition and age of men he was a diligent exhorter and adviser, counselling the young to leave vice and follow the path of virtue; and admonishing men of mature age and elders (or priests) to attain the perfection of virtue and lay hold on the prize of eternal life, with those words of the Psalm 'Go from strength to strength'; hence shall the God of gods be beheld in Sion."

I Lit. from virtue to virtue.

His devout habit in church.

In church or chapel he was never pleased to sit the world; but always with bared head, at least while the divine office was being celebrated, and hardly ever raising his royal person, kneeling one may say continuously before his book, with eyes and hands upturned, he was at pains to utter with the celebrant (but with the inward voice) the mass-prayers, epitels, and gospels. To some clerics also he used to address letters of exhortation full of heavenly mysteries and may.

Moreover, wherever this king was, he always showed himself a venerator and most devout adorer of the Holy Cross and of other symbols and holy things of the Christian religion. When engaged in such devotion he went always with bared head, even when riding on a journey; so that many times he would let his royal cap drop to the ground even from his horse's back, unless it were quickly caught by his servants. So too he preferred a row of signs of the Holy Cross to be set in his royal crown rather than any likenesses of flowers or leaves, according to that word of the wise: 'A crown of gold was upon his head marked with the sign of holiness.' He would be at the divine office quite early, nay at the very beginning : nor did he ever grow weary at the lengthy prolonging of it, even though it were continued until after noonday.

Moreover he would never suffer hawks, swords, or

daggers to be brought into church, or business agreements or conferences to be carried on there : even his great men and nobles he enjoined to give themselves frequently to prayer, according to the word of the Saviour 'My house is a house of prayer': and they obsered him devoutly.

His chastity.

This king Henry was chaste and pure from the beginning of his days. He eschewed all licentiousness in word or deed while he was young; until he was of marriageable age, when he espoused the most noble land virtuous prince Edward; and with her and toward her he kept his marriage yow wholly and sincerely, even in the absences of the lady, which were sometimes very long: never dealing unchastely with any other woman. Neither when they lived together did he use his wife unseemly, but with all honesty and gravity.

Example.

It is an argument of his watch upon his modesty that he was wont utterly to avoid the unguarded sight of naked persons, lest like David he should be snared by unlawful desire, for David's eyes, as we read, made havoc of his soul. Therefore this prince made a covenant with his eyes that they should never look unchastely upon any woman.

Another example.

Hence it happened once, that at Christmas time a certain great lord brought before him a dance or show of young ladies with bared bosoms who were to dance in that guise before the king, perhaps to prove him, or to entice his youthful mind. But the king was not blind to it, nor unaware of the devilish wile, and spurned the delusion, and very angrily averted his eyes, turned his back upon them, and went out to his chamber, asying :

Fy, fy, for shame, forsothe ye be to blame.

At another time, riding by Bath, where are warm baths in which they say the men of that country customably refresh and wash themselves, the king, looking into the baths, saw in them men wholly naked with every garment cast off. At which he was displeased, and went away quickly, abhorring such nudity as a great offence, and not unmindful of that sentence of Francis Petrarch 'the nakedness of a beast is in men unpleasing, but the decency of raiment makes for modesty.'

Besides, he took great precautions to secure not only his own chastity but that of his servants. For before he was married, being as a youth a pupil of chastity, he would keep careful watch through hidden windows of his chamber, lest any foolish impertinence of women coming into the house should grow to a head, and cause the fall of any of his household. And like pains did he apply in the case of his two halfbrothers, the Lords Jasper and Edmund, in their boyhood and youth: providing for them most strict and afe guardianship, putting them under the care of virtuous and worthy priests, both for teaching and for right living and conversation, lest the untamed practices of youth should grow rank if they lacked any to prune them. Not less diligence did he use, I am told, towards others dependent on him, advising them to eschew vice and avoid the talk of the vicious and disolute, and to lay hold on virtue.

Against avarice. His liberality.

GAINST that pest of avarice with which so many are infected and diseased, even princes of the earth, this king Henry of whom we speak was most wary and alert. For neither by the splendid presents given to him nor by the ample wealth which he owned was he ever entrapped into the unlawful love of them, but was most liberal to the poor in lightening their wants ; and enriched very many others with great gifts or offices, or at least put all neediness far from them. Never did he oppress his subjects with unreasonable exactions as do other rulers and princes, but behaving himself among them like a kind father, relieved them from his own resources in a most comely sort, and contenting himself with what he had, preferred to live uprightly among them, rather than that they should pine in poverty, trodden down by his harshness. Now that he was content with his own substance and in no way coveted that of others is shown by many true instances. Among them is this: a certain great lord offered the said king a precious coverlet for the bed in his chamber, which was all over set with gold nobles in great number, and then he said: 'Be you careful of these and their like.' But the mind of the king thristing rather for heavenly and spiritual things and making the things of earth of less account, regarded lightly the gift.

At another time when the executors of his uncle, the most reverend lord cardinal the bishop of Winchester came to the king with a very great sum, namely £2000 of gold to pay him, for his own uses, and to relieve the burdens and necessities of the realm, he utterly refused the gift, nor would receive it by any manner of means, saying : 'He was a very dear uncle to me and most liberal in his lifetime. The Lord reward him. Do ve with his goods as ye are bound : we will receive none of them.' The executors were amazed at this his saving, and entreated the king's majesty that he would at least accept that gift at their hands for the endowment of his two colleges which he had then newly founded, at Cambridge and Eton. This petition and gift the king gladly accepted, and ordered them to make the gift to the said colleges for the relief of the soul of his said uncle; and they fulfilled the king's command with all speed.

Moreover to show the liberality for which with other virtues he was distinguished, to the confusion of avarice he was very bountiful in his gifts, as his former servants bore witness. For to one of his chaplains he gave, on hearing that he was busy repairing his priestly vestments, more than ten changes of chasubles of his own silk for the saying of masses in the church which that priest then held. At another time, hearing that one of his servants had lost much of his substance by theff, the king sent him in compensation for his loss twenty nobles, advising him at the same time to be henceforth more careful in keeping his stuff, and not to take the law of the thief. See how mercy and truth met together, how righteousness and peace kissed each other, in the person of our earthly prince. O what loving pity and pitful love to be found in a man!

The same prince when in the end he lost both the realms, England and France, which he had ruled before, along with all his weath and goods, endured it with no broken spirit but with a calm mind, making light of all temporal things, if he might but gain Christ and things eternal.

Not only in the distribution of secular goods was he bountiful, but also in conferring ecclesiastical and spiritual benefices he was very wary, thoughtful, and discreet, lest he should give them to unworthy persons, or, as touched himself, in an unworthy, I mean a simoniacal, way, as was proved in those whom he did promote. From simony he was always free. Having his eyes always fixed on virtue, he was wholly concerned to prefer virtuous men, and to these he was greatly attached.

But most strongly was the said king Henry moved by the passion of enkindled affection when he said to Master William Waynflet, the successor of the most renowned cardinal of Winchester: 'Receive the enthronement of Winchester, so to be there as was the custom of the bishops before you. Be your days long in the land, and growr and go forward in the path of virtue.' With like bounty did he prefer the bishops of Worcester and of Chichester together, and many others also, as is sufficiently known.

Also to enlarge the house of God and His worship. in the time when he bore rule he founded the two noble colleges before mentioned, which he endowed with large lands and revenues, for the maintenance of poor scholars not a few; wherein not only are the divine offices celebrated daily in the most devout manner, to the praise of Almighty God, but also scholastic teaching and the other arts pertaining thereto are constantly carried on, to the increase of knowledge, And for the beginning and foundation of these two colleges he sought out everywhere the best living stones. that is, boys excellently equipped with virtue and knowledge, and priests to bear rule over the rest as teachers and tutors : and as concerned the getting of priests the king said to him whom he employed in that behalf: 'I would rather have them somewhat weak in music than defective in knowledge of the scriptures.' And with regard to the boys or youths who were brought to him to be put to school, the king's wish was that they should be thoroughly educated and nourished up both in virtue and in the sciences. So it was that whenever he met any of them at times in the castle of Windsor, whither they sometimes repaired to visit servants of the king who were known to them, and when he ascertained that they were of his boys, he would advise them concerning the following of the path of virtue and, with his words, would also give them money to attract them, saying : 'Be you good boys, gentle and teachable, and servants of the Lord.' And if he disco-

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vered that any of them visited his court, he sometimes restrained them with a rebuke, bidding them not do so again, lest his young lambs should come to relish the corrupt deeds and habits of his courtiers, or lose partly or altogether their own good characters, like lambs or sheep, which, if they feed among briars and thorns, tear their fleeces and oftentimes wholly lose them.

The humility of the king.

THEN I speak of the great humility of this king. V I would have you know that he was most eminent for that virtue of humility. This pious prince was not ashamed to be a diligent server to a priest celebrating in his presence, and to make the responses at the mass. as Amen, Sed libera nos, and the rest. He did so commonly even to me, a poor priest. At table even when he took a slight refection, he would (like a professed religious) rise quickly, observe silence, and devoutly give thanks to God standing on every occasion. Also on the testimony of Master Doctor Towne, he made a rule that a certain dish which represented the five wounds of Christ as it were red with blood, should be set on his table by his almoner before any other course. when he was to take refreshment: and contemplating these images with great fervour he thanked God marvellous devoutly.

Again, once when riding in a street which lay outside the graveyard to the east of a certain church, wherein the pyx that hung over the altar did not contain the sacrament of the Eucharist, he on that account did not bare his head, as he was wont always at other times to do most reverently in honour of the sacrament; and when many of his lords and nobles wondered thereat, he gave them his reason, saying: 'I know that my Lord Jesus Christ is not there for me to do so in His honour.' And it was found to be so as he had suid. Nay, those who were his privy servants say that the king often saw our Lord Jesus presenting Himself in human form in the sacrament of the altar in the hands of the priet.

It was also his custom of his very great humility and devotion to bear in his own hands a great taper on the eve and at the season of the Lord's resurrection for his reverence and belief in the same.

The humility of the king.

FURTHER of his humility in his bearing, in his clothes and other apparel of his body, in his speech and many other parts of his outward behaviour;—it is well known that from his youth up he always woreround-toedshoes and boots like a farmer k. He also customarily wore a long gown with a rolled hood like a townsman, and a full coat reaching below his knees, with shoes, boots and foot-gear wholly black, rejecting expressly all curious fashion of clothing.

Also at the principal feasts of the year, but especially at those when of custom he wore his crown, he would always have put on his bare body arough hair shirt, that by its roughness his body might be restrained from excess, or more truly that all pride and vain glory, such as is apt to be engendered by pomp, might be repressed.

His work and pursuits.

A^S concerning the employments of the king and how well he passed his days and his time, it is well known to many yet alive that he used wholly to. devote the high days and Sundays to hearing the divine office and to devout praver on his own behalf and his people's, lest his enemies should scorn his sabbaths; and he was earnest in trying to induce others to do the like. So that some who were once attendant on him declare that his whole joy and pleasure was in the due and right performance of the praise of God and of divine service. The other days of less solemnity he passed not in sloth or vanities, not in hanquetings or drunkenness, not in vain talk or other mischievous speech or chatter (all such he ever avoided in his lifetime and indeed used but very brief speech, of words tending to edification or profitable to others), but such days he passed not less diligently either in treating of the business of the realm with his council as need might require, or in reading of the scriptures or of authors and chronicles. Such witness of him was borne by an honourable knight who was once his most trusty chamberlain, Sir Richard Tunstall, who gave this testimony of him both in speech and in writing : 'His delight was in the law of the Lord by day and by night.' And to prove this, the Lord King himself complained heavily to me in his chamber at Eltham, when I was alone there with him employed together with him upon his holy books, and giving ear to his wholesome advice and the sighs of his most deep devotion. There came all at once a knock at the

king's door from a certain mighty duke of the realm, and the king said: 'They do so interrupt me that byday or night I can hardly snatch a moment to be refreshed by reading of any holy teaching without disturbance.'

A like thing to this happened once at Windsor when I was there.

Further, to confirm his notable devotion to God, many who yet survive and were once of his household say that he was wont almost at every moment to raise his eyes heavenward like a denizen of heaven or one rapt, being for the time not conscious of himself or of those about him, as if he were a man in a trance or on the verge of heaven: having his conversation in heaven, according to that word of the apostle : 'Our conversation is in heaven.'

His oath.

Also he would never use any other oath to confirm his own truthful speech than the uttering of these words: 'Forsothe and forsothe,' to certify those to whom he spoke of what he said. So also he restrained many both gentle and simple from hard swearing either by mild admonition or harsh reproof; for a swearer was his abomination.

When he heard a great lord who was his chamberlain suddenly break out and swear bitterly, he sternly rebuked him, saying: 'Alas! you, that are lord of a great household, when you utter oaths like this contrary to God's commandment, give a most evil example to your servants and those that are under you, for you provoke them to do the like.'

TRANSLATION

His pitifulness and patience.

OF the patience of this king and his most kind compassion which he showed throughout his life to them that sinned against him, while he was in power, many things may be related with all truth.

First; once when he was coming down from St Albans to London through Cripplegate, he saw over the gate there the quarter of a man on a tall stake, and asked what it was. And when his lords made answer that it was the quarter of a traitor of his, who had been false to the king's majesty, he said: 'Take it away. I will not have any Christian man so cruelly handled for my sake.' And the quarter was removed immediately. He that saw it bears witness.

Again, four nobles of high birth were convicted of treason and of the crime of lese-majesté and were legally condemned therefor by the judges to suffer a shameful death. These he compassionately released, and delivered from that bitter death, sending the writ of his pardon for their delivery to the place of execution by a swift messenger.

To other three great lords of the realm who conspired the death of this king (or conspired in the king's troubles) and assembled an innumerable host of armed men, aiming ambitiously to secure the king!y power, as manifestly appeared afterwards, the king showed no less mercy: for he forgave all, both the leaders and the men under them, what they had maliciously designed against him, provided they submitted themselves to him.

Like compassion he showed to many others, and especially to two who were compassing his death ; one of whom pave him a severe wound in the neck, and would have brained him, or cut off his head ; but the king took it most patiently, saving : 'Forsothe and forsothe, ye do fouly to smyte a kynge enoynted so,' The other smote him in the side with a dagger when he was held prisoner in the Tower, and after the deed, believing that he had killed the king with his wicked blow, and fearing to be taken, fled with all speed; . but was caught and brought before him, when the king, now recovered, and set free from that prison, and once more by the favour and act of God raised to the kingly dignity without a battle after a long course of exile and imprisonment, pardoned him of his great clemency, as he did also his aforesaid persecutor.

So the former servants of this king declare that he never would that any person, however injurious to him, should ever be punished: and this is plain in the case of many to whom he was exceeding gracious and merciful; for he was become an imitator of Him who saith, 'I will have mercy' and 'I will not the death of a sinner but rather that he should turn and live,' who also, as the apostle saith, 'desired the salvation of all men.' Nor is this to be wondered at: for in his soul there was not even that vain satisfaction which hunters take in capturing beasts.— a misplaced pleasure : he did not care to see the creature, when taken, cruelly defiled with slughter, nor would he ever take part in the killing of an innocent beast.

But what need of more? It is certain that the men among whom and towards whom the king was so kind and merciful proved at the last wholly ungrateful to him, as the Jews to Christ. For whereas God's right hand had raised him to so glorious a place, these [murderous ones], as has been said, conspiring together with savage rage, deprived even this most merciful king of his royal power, and drove him from his realm and governance; and after a long time spent in hiding in secret places wherein for safety's sake he was forced to keep close, he was found and taken, brought as a traitor and criminal to London, and imprisoned in the Tower there; where, like a true follower of Christ, he patiently endured hunger, thirst, mockings, derisions, abuse, and many other hardships, and finally suffered a violent death of the body that others might, as was then the expectation, peaceably possess the kingdom. But his soul, as we piously believe upon the evidence of the long series of miracles done in the place where his body is buried, liveth with God in the heavenly places, where after the troubles of this world he rejoiceth with the just in the eternal contemplation of God and in the stead of this earthly and transitory kingdom whereof he patiently bore the loss, he now possesseth one that endureth for ever.

The revelations shown to him.

FURTHERMORE I think it not well to pass over the heavenly mysteries which were shown to this king.

When he was imprisoned in the Tower of London, a certain chaplain of his asked him, about the time of

the feast of Easter, how his soul agreed at that most holy season with the troubles that pressed upon him and so sprouted forth that he could by no means avoid them. The king answered in these words : 'The kingdom of heaven, unto which I have devoted myself always from a child, do 1 call and cry for. For this kingdom which is transitory and of the earth I do not greatly care. Our kinsman of March thrusts himself into it as is his pleasure. This one thing only do I require, to receive the sacrament at Easter, and the rites of the church on Maundy Thursday with the rest of Christendom, as I am accustomed.' And for the much devotion which he always had to God and His sacraments, it seems not unsuitable that he should often have been enlightened by heavenly mysteries and comforted thereby in his afflictions. He is reported by some in his confidence, to whom he was used to reveal his secrets, to have often seen the Lord Jesus held in the hands of the celebrant and appearing to him in human form at the time of the Eucharist. Again, when he was at Waltham he told some one privately (though others also standing behind him heard it) of a repeated revelation from the Lord vouchsafed to him three years running at that feast of St Edward which falls on the vigil of the Epiphany, of the glory of the Lord appearing in human form, of His crown, and of a vision of the assumption of the Blessed Mary both corporal and spiritual.

Also there is the matter of the absence of the sacrament from the pyx when he rode by a certain churchyard, on account of which he refrained from his wonted reverence to the sacrament, as is told above. Also in the extreme pressure of his wars in the parts of the North, it is told by some who came from that region, that when there was for a time a scarcity of bread among his fellow-soldiers and troops, out of a small quantity of wheat, bread was so multiplied by his merits and prayers that a sufficiency and even a superfluity was forthcoming for all of his who sought and asked for it, whereas the rest that were opposed to him had to suffer from lack of meat.

Moreover, after the horrid and ungrateful rebellion of his subjects had continued a long time, and after these rebels had fought many hard battles against him. he fled at last with a few followers to a secret place prepared for him by those that were faithful to him. And, as he lay hid there for some time, an audible voice sounded in his ears for some seventeen days before he was taken, telling him how he should be delivered up by treachery, and brought to London without all honour like a thief or an outlaw, and led through the midst of it, and should endure many evils devised by the thoughts of wicked men, and should be imprisoned there in the Tower: of all which he was informed by revelation from the Blessed Virgin Mary and Saints John Baptist, Dunstan, and Anselm (whose consolations he did then as at other times enjoy) and was thereby strengthened to bear with patience these and like trials. But when he told this to some of his people, and namely to Masters Bedon and Mannynge, they were incredulous and believed it not, but thought all to be but vain wanderings until the event assured them of the truth.

It is also said that when the king was shut up in

the Tower he saw a woman on his right hand (or out of his window) trying to drown a little child, and warned her by a messenger not to commit such a crime and sin, hateful to God; and she, rebuked by this reproof, desisted from the deed she had begun.

Also, when this king Henry was asked during his imprisonment in the Tower why he had unjustly claimed and possessed the crown of England for so many years, he would answer thus : ' My father was king of England, and peaceably possessed the crown of England for the whole time of his reign. And his father and my grandfather was king of the same realm. And I, a child in the cradle, was peaceably and without any protest crowned and approved as king by the whole realm, and wore the crown of England some forty years, and each and all of my lords did me royal homage and plighted me their faith, as was also done to other my predecessors. Wherefore I too can say with the Psalmist : The lot is fallen unto me in a fair ground: yea, I have a goodly heritage. For my right help is of the Lord, who preserveth them that are true of heart.'

Praise be to God.

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NOTES

THE style and literary ability of John Blacman must be rated very low. In translating him one is forced to neglect his use of particles and tenses in order to produce a tolerable sense. He uses the pluperfect apparently as an equivalent of the preterite, and begins sentences with unde where unde has no meaning at all. There is no shape or proportion in the composition of his tract as it stands. At the end of the section on Pietas et patientia he comes to a dignified close, but immediately continues with a chapter on Revelationes which one would think, ought not to have been an afterthought. This chapter ends in mid-air; there is no kind of finality about it. It must be either unfinished by the author or mutilated (as Hearne conjectured). If mutilated, political considerations may have been responsible, for the subject of the last paragraph is the question of Henry's right to the crown (and not any revelation youchsafed to him) ; and I see signs that the tract was written before the accession of Henry VII, in the vagueness of such allusions to the reigning sovereign as are to be found in it. The clause 'propter regnum, ut tunc sperabatur, ab aliis pacifice possidendum' is the most overt of these, and no one can say that it is too explicit. The next sentence speaks of the long series of miracles done where Henry's body is buried. This may mean that the body is still at Chertsey, though in after years miracles occurred at Windsor, It will be remembered that Richard III transferred it hastily from Chertsey to Windsor because the reports of the miracles were testifying to a growth of interest in the good king which was not healthy for the dynasty of York.

So also in the prologue, Blacman will not dwell upon the descent, the coronation, and so on, of Henry, because these things are known to everyone and because of his subsequent fall. The latter is the more cogent reason.

To what has been said of Hearne's connection with the book it may be added that in the new edition of his *Calletiniu* (Oxf. Hist. Soc. vol. x. p. 44,3) he tells us under date July 31, 1731, that "Mr West lately met with a small Pamphlet in 4⁴ bound up with the Arminian Nunnery at Little Gidding, and initialed 'Collectarium manseutulinum (etc.)." Tis printed in the old black Letter by Cowpland, with the figure of a king in his Robes... I do not remember to have ever seen this Book. Arzhbishop Uther had seen John Blacman's MSS Collections w² probably contained a great many other things relating to the Carthusians and their Benefactors...(Heary VII) was a pioas, tho'very weak Prince. The Carthusians had most deservedly a great opinion of him,...and did what they could for his honeur."

I think Hearne is mistaken about Ussher, who does no more than quote a passage from Blacman in his *Historia Degmatica* (Opp. XII. 363).

It may further be remarked that Holinshed and other chroniclers make small extracts from Blacman without naming their source. I have not discovered who is actually the earliest writer to cite him : but Hall (1548) does not appear to do so.

p. 4. quidam Angliae revertedus antistes. This bishop who was Henry's confessor for ten years I suppose to have been William Ayscough, bishop of Salishur 1;43-450, who was much in Henry's confidence. It is remarked in the Dict. Nat. Bisg. that it was "a novelty in those days for a bishop to be a king's confessor."

p. 6. missalia, oracula. I take these words together and regard them as a 'refined' way of saying 'orationes in missa' or the like.

sancta crucis signarum seriem in corana. These crosses on the ring of the crown are seen alternating with fleur de lys in the (early xvtth century) representation of Henry in painted glass in the Hacomblen chantry in King's College Chapel. p. 8. Francisci Petrarchæ. This, Blacman's one literary quotation, is a garbled one from Petrarch's De Vita Solitaria, lib. 11. sect. vi. c. 1.

p. 9. Jaspere et Edmundo. The sons of Owen Tudor by Katherine, widow of Henry V.

p. 10. cardinalis et episcopi Winton. Cardinal Beaufort, d. 11 April 1447. The gift to Eton and King's was in fact made by a codicil to the cardinal's will executed two days before his death. See Maxwell Lyte, Eton College, p. 27.

p. 11. decem mutatoria casularia. I suppose this to mean enough silk to make ten or more sets of mass-vestments for a single priest.

Epicopss Warcestria et Cettria. Chester had no bishop till 1541. Chichester must be meant. The bishop was doubless Adam Moleyns 1445-50, and he of Worcester John Carpenter 1445-76. Both appear in the king's will as his feoffees for Eron and King's.

p. 12. This is the most interesting page of the tract to those who have enjoyed King Henry's bounty. A happy thought has of recent years dictated the use of his words *Sitis ismi juari* and the rest on the occasion of the admission of the new King's Scholars at Eton.

p. 13. Sed libera nos. It is at this point in the Lord's Prayer that the congregation responds, at the end of the Prayer of Consecration (or Canon) of the Roman Mass.

magistrs dectore Town. William Towne was scholar of Eton in 1443, and passed on to King's. He died in 1484: his chantry and brass are in one of the side-chapels on the N. of King's College Chapel.

quidam dizus. It is not clear to me whether a piece of plate representing the Five Wounds in enamel is meant, or some edible 'subtilty': probably the former.

p. 14. cum capucio rotulato. Perhaps a hood with a liripip (i.e. tapering into a tail) is meant.

caligas, ocreas, calces: foot-gear for walking, riding and indoor use respectively.

p. 15. dominus Ricardus Tunstall. Sir Richard Tunstall of

Thurkand in Westmorkand (or Lancashire) appears frequently in the Pattern Rolls etc. or Henry VI, Edward IV and Henry VII. Under Edward IV his lands are naturally granted to other people and he is a trainited. In 1470, at Henry's restoration, he is 'wing's chamberlain' (Cal. Patt. R. p. 237). Under Henry VII he is in favour and holds many important posts.

¹ An entry in William Warcester's Annais (Rolls, Wart of the English in France, 11, pt. 2 [785]), wrongly printed, is of interest here. Under 1466 he writes: ¹⁶ Meme Julii, dolo cujudam monachi Abendonia, rex Henricus in comitatu Lancatrice capitre pre quendam Johanem Talbios et Ricardum Tunstulle milites, ibidem captus evasit. Dictusque rex Henricus una cum monacho Thoma Mannyng et Bedone doctre ...versus Londoniam adducebatur etc.¹⁷ We should certainly read 'et Ricardus T, miles...wait.'

Tunstall was afterwards taken in Wales by Lord Herbert, and confined in the Tower, but soon pardoned (*Warkeworth's Chron.* Camd. Soc. p. 43).

Another entry (Three Fifteenth Cent. Chronicles, Camden Soc. p. 80) says:

"Kynge Harry was take in the northe contre, and ii doctors with him, the whiche wer called Doctor Mannynge and Doctor Beden, the whiche were all thre brought to London."

On the whole episode see Sir J. H. Ramsay, Lancaster and York, 11. 316.

What follows in the text is Tunstall's story. Blacman adds that he himself witnessed a similar occurrence.

p. 17. I do not know that the four nobles or the three great lords who were pardoned can be certainly identified. Nor is it plain whether the first of the two men who wounded him attacked him when confined in the Tower.

p. 18. isti priales. Blacman intends a word of the sense of 'parricidiales.' But either he or the printer has gone wrong.

p. 19. ex miraculorum ubi corpus ejus bumatur diutina continuatione. A large collection of Henry's miracles is preserved in two MSS, Royal 13. c. viii, and Harley 423. The latter

is a partial copy of the former. See a special note on them below.

Cognatus noster de Marchia, i.e. Edward IV, Earl of March.

p. 20. in festo S. Edwardi etc. The depositio of S. Edward the Confessor which falls on 5 January.

vox corporalis. Probably means a voice audible to the bodily senses.

p. 21. angistri: Bedan et Manaynge. On these companions of Henry VI at his capture see shown in the note on Tunstill. John Bedon, clerk, rescives a general pardon from Edward IV in 1467 (Cal. Par. R. p. 11). Holinshed and those who coay him call him Bedle. He may be the John Bedon who took a R.D. degree at Oxford in 1455. Thomas Mannynge, and is indicted IV Ed. IV, Ret. Parl. v. p. 47 ec1. of the standard in the standard IV in the set of Edward IV. In the set of Edward IV. In the set of Edward IV. In the set of the standard IV. In the set of Edward IV. In the set of Edward IV. In the set of the set of the set of Edward IV. In the set of the set of Edward IV. In the set of the set of the set of Edward IV. In the set of the set

On 29 Nov. 1469 he is dead; the king is informed by his executor that Thomas was in debt and indigent in his life, and had made forfeiture to the king, so that a licence to administer was necessary.

The Rev. J. N. Dalton, Canon of Windsor, has kindly informed me that no records in the possession of the Dean and Chapter of Windsor throw light on Dean Mannynge's life.

a dextra sua. Corrupt: I suppose the meaning to be that the king saw the woman out of his window: camera or fenestra is wanted.

I. A PRAYER TO HENRY VI IN ENGLISH VERSE.

An English prayer in verse to Henry VI from a Primer of 1408 (in which it has been inserted on the flyleaf) in the Library of St Cuthbert's College, Ushaw, was printed in the Uibaw Magazine of 1902, p. 279. I have the kind permission of the authorities to quote it here:

O blyssed king so full of vertue The flowr of all knyghthood that never was fyled Thou pray for us to Christe Ihesu And to hys modyr Mary myld In all thi warkys thu was never wyld Bott full of grace and of charyte Mercyfull ever to man and chylde Now sweyt kyng Henre pray for me, O crownyd kyng with sceptur in hand Most nobyll conqueror I may thee call For thou hast conqueryd I undyrstand A hevynly kyngdome most impervall Hwar joye haboundeth and grace perpetuell In presens of the holy Trenite Off wych grace thou make me parcyall Now swet kyng Henre prave for me, All Apostels and Patriarchs shall thee honor Martyrs and Confessors with all their delygens And eke Virgynes in the hevynly towr Ar glad and joyfull of thi presens Angelys and Archangelys with ample (?) reverence Schall mynystyr and (giftes?) bryng (?) to the The well of pety and of pacyens Now swet kyng Henre praye for me. Thy prayer I trust is herd in hevyn With the Fadyr omnipotent Now blyssyd be thy name to nemyne For ever att nevd thou art present

In trowbyll or payn wen I am schent Or stand in warely jubert Thy socur to me full son thu sent Now sweyt kyng Henre praye for me. Thy trowblas life and grett vexacion With pacyens that thu had therein And thi constants in contemplacion Has mad the hevyn for to wyne Thy sett is orderyd with seraphyn As langhyght ((be)longeth) to thi regalyte With mor melody than I can myn Now swet kyng Henre praye for me. O blesgyd kyng so gracios and gud Thou pray to set this reme in rest

I hou pray to sett this refine in rest Unto our Saveyour that dyed on roud And to hys modyr that madyn blessyd That alkyn wrangys may be redressyd To plesor of the Deyte Thys I besech at my request Now swet kyng Henre praye for me.

II. ON THE MANUSCRIPT MIRACLES OF HENRY VI.

THERE are two manuscripts of these Miracles, both in the British Museum. The first (Royal 13. c. viii.) is the parent of the other (Harley 423).

13. c. viii. is on paper, a fairly well written volume of cent. xv-xvI. It has the names of Abp Cranmer (Tho. Cant.) and Lord Lumley.

It contains:

I. Letter from the Compiler.

In Christo Ihesu salutem plurimam, Cum acceperis epistolam hane, magister venerande...end: huius fructiferi palmitis Christi botris expendere non cessabo. Vale et ora ut tecum in eternum valeat tuus et orator et socius cuius nomen est in libro vite. No proper name occurs.

 f. 1 b. Salutacio gloriosi militis Christi henrici regis Anglie sexti cum oraciuncula brevi.

Salue miles preciose	rex henrice generose
Palmes vitis celice	0
In radice caritatis	vernans flore sanctitatis
Viteque angelice	
Salue flos nobilitatis	laus et honor dignitatis
seu corone regie	0
Pie pater orphanorum	vera salus populorum
Robur et ecclesie	
Salue forma pietatis	exemplar humilitatis
Decus innocencie	
Vi oppressis vel turbatis	mestis atque desolatis
Scola paciencie	-
Salue fax superne lucis	per quam serui summi ducis
Illustrantur undique	
Dum virtute lucis vere	meruisti prefulgere
Tantis signis gracie	
Salue quem rex seculorum	choris iungens angelorum
Ciuem fecit patrie	
Te laudare cupientes	hac ut semper sint fruentes

Tecum vita glorie. Amen.

Vers. Veniant ad te qui detrahebant tibi. Et adorent vestigia pedum tuorum.

- Oraris. Salus et saluator onnium in te credencium, piissime domine Ihesu Christe, qui dilectum famulum tuum regem henricum sextum variis tribulacionum pressuris opprimi voluisti, ut ex eius pacientissime et innocentissime vite meritis quasi quibudam hotris uberrimis copiosatu te gracie dulcedo per miraculorum gloriam distillaret in plefem: lagrier, quesumus, eos onnes qui tante eius glorie congratulantes aut illum propter te aut in illo te pocius glorificando dignis gestium collaudare preconis ipsius beatitudinis consorcium et hic habere per meritum et in future consequi per effectum : qui cum deo pare et spiritu sancto vius et gloriaris deus per onnin secultorum. Amen.
- 3. f. 16. Exemplar epistole a pauperculo quodam monacho

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olim directe ad preclarum virum d. Johannem Morgan¹ tune decanum capelle collegialis castri de Wyndesore, modo vero episcopum meneuensem cum infrascriptis quibusdam beati regis henrici miraculis.

Eterniam in Christo Ihesu quam sibimet salutem cum reverencia speciali tanto viro dignissima etc. Richard Combe had brought to the writer of the letter 'exemplaria quedam pulcerrima' of Henry's miracles, in English, with a request from a Bisbop that he would translate them into Latin.

4. f. 3 Å. Another letter from the Dean of Windsor. Indeficientis votius salutis preconia, tuas etenim, virorum contemplatissime, suusisimas kalendis januarili animo quidem gratissimo recepi litteras. Gives his consent to the translation of the Miracles. Scriptum apud Regale castrum Wynsos' stilt ordissime produente 4 Nonas Januarii.

Hec tibi describens tuus est ad vota Johannes.

5. f. 4 b. Prologue. Solet plerumque lassascenti stomacho obesse dapium plenitudo.

Among other matters he apologizes for styling Henry beatissimus, sanctissimus, and so forth.

- 6. f. 6. Capitula (28).
- 7. f. 7. Text. Annotatur hie qualiter puer quidam bis biennis in molendino aquatico submersus fuerat (et)adinuocacionem beati regis henrici resuscitatus a mortuis anno dominice incarnacionis 1481°. qui erat annus regni Edwardi quarti regis famosismi vicesimus primus. Et primo ponitur exordium breue et deinde narracio subinfertur.

Quia sacro dictante eloquio sacramentum regis abscondere bonum esse didicimus etc.

There are various marginal notes in a large hand, on the proofs of the Miracles, e.g.:

f. 8. Westwel Cancie, probatum: 9b somerseschyr' non reperitur: 10 savernak Foreste non inuenitur: 11 Examinentur Thomas hayward, Johannes Parmyter, D. Wyllelmus Edwardes: 11 b Holyngton Sowthese probatum.

¹ Morgan was dean of Windsor 1484-96: bp of S. David's 1496-1504.

After cap. 28 (f. 26) is a slip with a note on Capitula of Lib. 11: f. 27 Capitula (58) of Lib. 11.

Slip, with title of Prologue: In miracula quedam famosiora et euidenciora quibus illustrissimum virum Heuricum regem Anglie sextum diuina decoratit clemencia; que et infra biennium post eius in ecclesia collegiali castri de Wynsore tumulacionem ibidem manifestata noscuntur pretitulatur hie prologus.

The same in a shorter form in the lower margin of f. 30. f. 30. Lib. 11. Prol. Quanta ex florigero diuine plenitudinis agro, etc.

On f. 32 the capitula are continued, from 59 to 67. A blank unnumbered leaf follows.

The text proceeds to cap. 30 (de calice et portiforio). (Here the other copy, Harl. 423, ends; its last leaf is a fragment.) Then follow 11 blank pages: then a slip (recto blank) numbered 148, which has the beginning of cap. 67.

The text then continues on ff. 59-85.

The miracles up to this point are variously and irregularly numbered : there seem to be about 40.

Then follows a list of 24 miracles, and text; then on f. 101 a list of 13 miracles, followed by text. At the end of the last is: '1500'

There is some ground for thinking that this volume was utilized, or to be utilized, for the process of the canonization of Henry VI which proved abortive.

The other MS Harl. 423 is of cent. XVI early, and occupies ff. 72-128 in one of Foxe's volumes. It is plainly a copy of the first part of the Royal MS.

III. ON JOHN BLACMAN'S BOOKS.

The following lists are found in MS. Laud. Misc. 154, in the Bodleian library, one on a flylaf, the other—somewhat multiated—in the lower margin of a leaf. The first enumerates the whole contents of each volume, the second gives the title of one tract only, but supplies the opening words of the second leaf of each volume, the usual medieval expedient for identifying a book.

I combine here the data of the two lists, calling the list on the flyleaf A and that on the lower margin B.

The MS in which they occur is a volume of Nic. de Lyra's commentary on the Bible: and list B begins by describing it. (B) 1. Liber domus beate virginis de Witham Cartusiensis ex dono mazistri Johannis Blacman.

ex dono magistri Jonannis Diacman

(A) Lyra: Genesis...Job.

This is MS. Laud. Misc. 154.

(B) 2, 3. cum duobus comparibus: primi 2º fo. cognicio intellectiua. 2º fo. secundi et cetera Rö.

sed pro ligatura et illuminacione domus soluit x5 et vjd.

(A) 2. Lyra: Psalterium—Prov.—Ecclus. Isa.—Malachias. 1, 2 Macc.

3. Lyra: Evv., Paul. Epp., Act., Cath. Epp. Apoc.

capitulaciones epistolarum et euangeliorum secundum cartus'.

No. 2 is Laud. Misc. 152. No. 3 is not known.

(B) 4. Item librum policronicon. 2º fo. adhibere.

(A) 4. les pedegrues reg. angl. b.

tabula noua policronici a.

policronicon cestrense.

No. 4 is in Eton College Library MS. 204: formerly Ashburnham Appendix 105: then belonged to Mr George Dunn.

(B) 5. Item Bartholomeus de casibus consciencie. 2º fo, bic (?) suus (?) pars.

(A) 5. magna carta Bartholomeus de casibus consciencie

principia et fines originalium librorum forma audiendi confessionem tituli decretorum libri viti et Clementis. (B) 6. Item librum vocatum lucerna consciencie, 2º fo. malorum ex. (A) 6. lucerna consciencie meditaciones Anselmi, credo ritmicacio tocius scripture sacre oraciones Anselmi ut apparet tractatus de virtutibus et viciis interrogaciones fori penitencialis Alfonsus contra judeos. 6. This is MS. Bodl. 801. (B) 7. Item librum sancti Thome de veritatibus, 2º fo, sic dicit Augustinus. (A) 7. Sanctus Thomas de veritatibus. tabula super eodem. 7. This is MS. Harley 1032. (B) 8. Item Bibliam. 2º fo. damasci. (A) 8, interpretacio nominum hebreorum biblia capitulacio epistolarum et euangeliorum per annum. (B) q. Item magister historiarum (sententiarum), 2º fo, pedito post. (A) 9, magister sententiarum theorica planetarum tituli eiusdem libri sententiarum Item in quibus non tenetur. (i.e. a list of the passages in the Sentences which were considered unsound.) (B) 10. Item Crisostomus in opere imperfecto. 2º fo. erat futurus. (A) 10. Crisostomus in opere imperfecto tabula eiusdem. (B) 11. Item vita Alexandri magni. 2º fo. voluminis' que est pos. (A) 11. Defensorium logicale Ockam

vita Alexandri magni

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dialogus inter Mariam et Johannem euangelistam Ysidorus de ciuitate (? unitate) dei Augustinus de uisione sancti Pauli apostoli de celebracione horarum quidam processus Siluester de decimis

Ieronimus de signis iudicii

Marbodus episcopus de vinculis beati Petri oracio deuota: domine Ibesu Christe qui in boc de uirtutibus fide dileccione et humilitate purgatorium sancti Patricii (partly crased) Sencea de 4^{cr} virtutibus cardinalibus

de beneficiis ad Liberalem libri 4

de fortuitorum bonorum contemptu

de remediis fortuitorum

diffiniens virtut' et vic'

regula beati Benedicti,

- (B) 12. Item Aristotiles de regimine principum. 2° fo. voluminis simul omnia.
- (A) 12. Aristoteles de regimine principum Gwydo de excidio Troianorum idem in metro.
- (B) 13. Item Anticlaudianus. 3º fo. voluminis affluit exundans.
- (A) 13. nova poetria Galfridi Anglici Anticlaudianus de restitucione.

13. This is MS. Digby 104 (part).

(B) 14. Item librum distinctionum. 3º fo. quia sicut.

(A) 14. notabiles distincciones sermones dominicales.

- (B) 15. Item martilogium. 5° fo. voluminis Trone est en ancieme.
- (A) 15. tractatus gallicus

Martilogium

gesta Karoli in gallicis

miracula beate Marie versificata (erased)

miracula beate Marie rithmicata

Alexander Neckam Qui vult bene disponere

	phale tolum
	deuota meditacio in anglicis
	themata festiuitatum per annum
	tabula concordancie 4ºr euangelistarum
	epistole et euangelia per totum annum
	capitula speculi moralis Gregorii
	canon pro predicatore
	speculum morale Gregorii.
	Item pastorale beati Gregorii. 2º fo. pastoralis cure.
(A) 16.	Gregorius in pastoralibus
	Anselmus de 12 beatitudinibus
	Anselmus de vanitate mundi
	quidam processus de sacramento altaris
	Athanasius de ymagine domini Ihesu.
	Item gesta Romanorum. 2º fo. tu es.
(A) 17.	gesta Romanorum
	regula beati Augustini.
	Item vite sanctorum. 2º fo. voluminis Et quod bonum.
(A) 18.	narraciones bone exemplace
	summa magistri J. Belet de officiis ecclesie
	sermo bonus de libro consciencie
	compilacio bona de vitis sanctorum
	item de officiis ecclesie.
(B) 19.	Item tabula Petri Blesensis. 2º fo. voluminis hospita
	signa bonos.
(A) 19.	reportorium poeticum
	lapidarius cum tractatu herbarum
	tabula epistolarum 163 Blesensis
	exposicio notabilis super Boecium de consolacione
	ars conficiendi colores.
. ,	Item meditaciones beati Bernardi. 2º fo. voluminis de biis.
(A) 20.	moralia dicta originalia bona
	meditaciones sancti Bernardi 13
	Anselmus de passione Christi 3
	Anselmus de amore dei 42
	Augustinus de vera innocencia 56

Augustinus de laude psalmorum 100. dulcis These memoria (B) 21. Item Boecius de consolacione philosophie, 2º fo. segetem necant. (A) 21. Boecius de consolacione philosophie Galfridus in noua poetria canon tabularum Rede. (B) 22. Item librum vocatum pharetra. 2º fo. idem de caniugiis. (A) 22. pharetra quindenarius Gregorianus. (B) 23. Item repertorium diuersorum. 2º fo, voluminis Incipiens guerras. (A) 23. Commentaciones prophetiales liber facescie communis. Ex apro veteri (i.e. Matthew of Vendôme's norm on Tobit) a chartuary aftre penkarr tractatus de armis in anglicis disputacio inter corpus et animam processus de mundi vanitate quedam commendacio artium liberalium utilis tractatus rethorice. Cirillus de transitu beati Jeronimi 12. capitula Hampol Bernardus ad Eugenium papam disputacio inter graciam et intellectum. (B) 24. alia manu, Item Lucidarium cum aliis, 2º fo, Illa itaque, (A) 24. alia manu. Lucidari tractatus Petri Alfonsi clericalis disciplina tractatus de penitencia Roberti Grostest

tractatus de pentencia Roberti Grostest tractatus inquirendi peccata in foro penitenciali diuersa notabilia de canone juris.

Another MS which does not occur in the above list is Lambeth 436, Horologium Sapientiae, of cent. xv, which has in it: Liber cartusie de Witham. Orate pro Johanne Blacman.

MS. 182 at S. John's College, Oxford, containing lives of saints, formerly belonged to William and John Blacman.

In Laud Misc. 152, no. 2 in the list, dated 1463, are these doggerel lines :

Me dedit albus homo John Blacman ipse vocatus In present domo qui redditus est graduatus Extitit Oxonie vi in artibus ite magister, Cantor et Eronie dignus dum rege minister Pro quo defuncto seu viuo queso precare P.......quicumque solet celebrare Ut deus hune Hominem Nigrum cognomine dictum Pos vive finem det sumere lucia sanictum.

Amen.

In list B the catalogue of books is followed by a short note of vestments given by Blacman to Witham. The last item is interesting:

Item circa diuersas reparaciones factas in uita sancti Hugonis (the founder of the house) in ecclesia de-laffrery sumptus fert non exiguos.

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