

The Death and Burial of Henry VI. Part II. The Re-burial of Master John Schorne and King Henry VI: Windsor's Two 'Saints'

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'Sir John Schorne
Gentleman born
Conjured the Devil into a Boot'.

(inscription formerly attached to the well at North Marston, Buckinghamshire)

THE REGRETTABLE dearth of documentation for Henry's reburial by Richard III permits unbridled speculation about the latter's motive for performing the act of translation. Inevitably this has led, often, to unfavourable if not sinister interpretation of Richard's actions. Even where the regal re-interment is not presented as the action of a guilty party (as partial atonement for the alleged regicide¹), it is a cynical expedient. Thus, just as Edward IV had had Henry buried 'hurriedly and obscurely' then Richard, in order to circumvent the politically embarrassing pilgrimages to Henry's tomb at Chertsey, had Henry removed to 'an even obscurer place' [*sic*].² Over-reliance upon Papal perceptions of English topography notwithstanding, the absurdity in regarding Windsor Castle as an obscure site has not escaped notice, nay, ridicule, and has been countered as a place patronised by Richard and under his personal observation.

Recently even the ostensibly innocent application of the precedent of the reburial of Richard II by Henry V has been undermined for it is held that by his actions the third Richard was identifying himself personally with the powerful cult of Henry VI in an attempt to neutralise it.⁴ More recently still, in a work which both Richard's manifest piety and particular support for his brother's foundation at Windsor are otherwise acknowledged, some unspecified political advantage is similarly presumed.⁵

Fortunately it is possible to gain relief from the vituperative monotony by seeking an explanation for Richard's act of translating Henry's remains that is

in-keeping with his known beneficence toward St. George's Chapel.⁶ Thus King, ever sensitive to the fortunes of the Dean and canons of Windsor, had have been aware of any fall in revenue from the royal chapel's shrine of Master John Schorne (itself the subject of a translation from North Marston).⁷ In the financial crisis, the result of increasing competition from the rival shrines across the Thames at Chertsey, was resolved by collecting the two generative attractions into the same place.⁸ It is this refreshing view that shall be explored here with the roots of the installation of Henry's shrine at Windsor, the association of the two popular cults and the principal features of the abundant *cultus* of King Henry VI being sought in the singular tale of the devil, Schorne and his boot.⁹

The prominence of Master John Schorne in the fifteenth century was out of proportion to his humble origins and the fact that he was never to be registered in the calendar of saints.¹⁰ Indeed it may be difficult to assess, at this remove, the extent to which the popular 'saint' and his boot exercised, inspiring widespread reverence after his death (from Northumberland to Devon), the shrine at North Marston apparently proving comparable to Walsingham in drawing-power.¹¹

The ascertainable facts of his career are few but a Kentish origin for the saint is no longer seriously proposed.¹² A monk of the Augustinian house of St. Albans, Bedfordshire, he held no prominent posts before being presented as prior of North Marston, an office that he held upon his death in 1314.¹³ Apart from the cures attributed posthumously to him he has been credited with two miracles, if derivative, acts during his life. Thus, for the benefit of his prisoners during a season of drought he is said to have created an unfailing spring which spouted from the ground upon being struck by his staff.¹⁴ This miraculous spring is, reputedly, the origin of the well which still exists at North Marston and during the restoration of which some traces of fifteenth century work were noted.¹⁵ No less dramatically Master John Schorne is famous for having enticed the devil into one of his boots and detained him therein for the duration of a sermon!¹⁶ The significance of this deed is unclear (although it has parallels in the 'bottle imp' fable and, expressly, in a similar satanic capture by Dunstan using a pair of tongs), but it is demonstrably the source of the boot seen in John Schorne's iconography and, by suggestion, his later reputation for relief of gout!¹⁷

Initially, Schorne's twin relics of boot and well were sought specifically for relief of 'axes' or ague.¹⁸ After the translation to Windsor in the late fifteenth century, however, his intercession was solicited for an increasing range of demonic and other ailments, as listed on the fly-leaf of a contemporary book of hours in St. George's Chapel.¹⁹

Before dealing further with the two cult-centres some indication of the scope of the iconography is desirable. Although the evidence for the widespread phenomenon is largely documentary in nature, and post-mediaeval in date, there are extant fifteenth century representations of the devil-conjuring episode to be found in Devon²⁰ and in East Anglia (an area wherein there remains a curious concentration of figures of Henry VI,²¹ probably not coincidental). The latter includes the rood screens of Cawston,²² Gately²³ and Suffield²⁴ in Norfolk and Sudbury in Suffolk.²⁵

In most extant representations Master John Schorne is depicted in the black coif and scarlet robes of a Doctor of Divinity²⁶ and the boot that he clutches in his left hand is of soft leather, of calf or knee length and with the pointed toe similarly appropriate to the mid to late fifteenth century.²⁷ In most cases the fiend, shown emerging from the boot, is unequivocally anthropomorphic yet in others he takes the form of a dragon, wyvern or winged serpent.²⁸ The latter allows scope for misinterpretation of the images: the confusion of a poor or damaged execution of the serpent-in-the-chalice of St. Benedict or St. John the Evangelist with the devil-in-the-boot of Master John Schorne.²⁹

The paintings of John Schorne in various media, although perhaps derived stylistically from Bellini's portrait of Lorenzo Giustiniani, Bishop of Venice (d.1455),³⁰ were probably copies of the prototype image at North Marston.³¹ Until the seventeenth century the east window of the Buckinghamshire church retained a vignette of the Devil—conjuring: 'a picture in glass of Sir John Schorne with a boot under his arm, like a bag-pipe, into which he was squeezing a poppet [*sic*] representing the D...'.³² Since the chancel window persisted undamaged it was, presumably, a painted panel or statue which had attracted the attention of the iconoclast John Stokesley (writing to Thomas Cromwell in August 1537): 'At Merstun [*sic*] Mr. Johan Schorn stondith blesyng a bote, whereunto they do say he conveyed the devill. He is much sowgt for the agow. If it be your lordship's pleasur, I shall sett that botyd image in a nother place'.³³ Evidently it was his lordship's pleasure for at the end of the month Stokesley wrote to Sir Richard Rich that he had collected the statue of Our Lady of Caversham, together with 'the dagger that kylled Kinge Henry, schethe and alle... thys wek folowing I will send uppe Mr. Johan Schorn'.³⁴

St. Mary's, North Marston, now despoiled of the shrine and fittings was throughout most of the fifteenth century the centre of Master Schorne's veneration. Blasphemous abuses were not precluded, however, for one of Schorne's successors as rector of North Marston during this period was one Walter Bird (or Budde), notorious for the fabrication of holy relics for personal gain. His desecration of his parochial cemetery in order to obtain a skull to be passed off as that of John Schorne and his violent resistance to apprehension for the severe clerical misdemeanour earned him an entry in the Court of Correction Book of his superior, Robert Alnwick, Bishop of Lincoln (and his subsequent penance and resignation in 1452).³⁵

As has been noticed local reverence for the 'saint' was not extinguished by such infamy nor even by the official transplantation to Edward IV's chapel at Windsor Castle, and the continuity of imagery is supplemented by the evidence of wills, that of Joan Ingram (d.1519) including the bequest of a pound of wax 'to mister John Shorny's light' at North Marston.³⁶ Although in his own will Schorne had directed that his body be buried before the high altar, recent archaeological investigations suggest that the shrine was situated at the east end of the south aisle during the fifteenth century.³⁷ Furthermore the chancel itself presents problems in view of the remarkable standards of its design and workmanship, exceptionally high in a comparatively remote country church³⁸ and explicable only in terms of the great wealth of the shrine. The question remains whether the

was rebuilt in the late fifteenth century financed by the proceeds of the (the offerings of pilgrims then amounting to £300 per annum³⁹), or the work post-dates the removal of John Schorne to Windsor, being paid compensation for the loss in earnings?⁴⁰ The difficulty with the latter view is the new work included rebuilding the vestry with an upper chamber and fireplace and a squint overlooking the shrine (cf. St. Albans and, later, George's itself). Such an elaborate arrangement would seem redundant in a church now become a church of minor importance. No great significance need be attached to the presence in the fabric of the chancel masons' marks identical to those in St. George's Chapel since these are evident at Eton College Chapel and, moreover, at All Saints, Hillesden (less than five miles from Northampton) and merely serve to identify a particular school of South Midlands masons.⁴¹

The change of fortune of the Schorne shrine in the late fifteenth century is everything to the energy and forceful personality of Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Salisbury. Edward had appointed him Master and Surveyor of the Chapel of the Blessed Mary and St. George, Windsor Castle, on 19 April 1473,⁴² but the pace of events accelerated markedly in 1477, following his appointment as Chancellor of the Order of the Garter (2 March), and Dean of the Chapel (24 March).⁴³ Almost immediately he appears to have set about the means to attract pilgrims to the Chapel. In April 1478 he was granted by Pope Sixtus IV a licence to remove the remains of John Schorne from Northamptonshire⁴⁴ and, shortly afterwards, the Dean and canons of Windsor exchanged the advowson and rectory of this church by exchange for the church of Dunstable, Northamptonshire.⁴⁵ Although as part of the arrangement Dunstable and the former appropriators of North Marston, were exempted from payment of corrodies to the King this may have been scant compensation for their loss in revenue from the shrine.⁴⁶

The confirmation of the grants by licence of the King and Thomas Beaufort (then Bishop of Lincoln and in whose diocese the named churches were) on 30 January 1480 all obstacles to the transfer had been removed.⁴⁷ The Master John Schorne was installed in the Chapel at the south-east corner of the first part of the new St. George's to be completed, and included in the list of work on the choir for the year ending 11 January 1482, entered in the Chancellor's roll, are carvings for the 'enterclose' of the chapel of Magister John Schorn.⁴⁸ Unfortunately the above accounts are not itemised and, even where detailed bills relating to the iron, glass and paint work of the shrine exist they are undated and could equally well apply to restoration or reconstruction of the tomb.⁴⁹ Again, although the books of 'particulars' are lost the general costs preserve the dates for various landmarks in the construction of the structure and the principal craftsmen involved. The architect in charge of the work was Henry Janyns, who had previously been involved in the Earl's project at Eton College, and who here received an annual fee of 100s for his gown.⁵⁰

The dynamic pace of the work on St. George's Chapel did not slacken upon the death of Richard Beauchamp on 11 October 1481 for the project was carried forward ably by Thomas Chancellor, who had been Clerk of the works on 1 March 1477 and who was to be confirmed in

office by Richard III upon his succession.⁵¹ Swift though the speed of developments had proved, however, any plan to make use of the ready-made shrine as a regular source of income was to be thwarted by the yet faster moving events at neighbouring Chertsey.

Although the cult of 'Saint' Henry VI did not achieve official recognition until 1494, with Henry VII's early plan to associate his own tomb with a rebuilt shrine to his namesake at Windsor, the first miracle attributed to this popularly acclaimed saint has been assigned the date 1481.⁵² Popular but unco-ordinated attempts had been made at various religious foundations to beatify Henry but only at Chertsey, the repository for his body, was there justification.⁵³ With the transplantation to Windsor scope existed for the further growth of the cult by grafting it upon that of the pre-existing apparatus of Master John Schorne. Thus, Henry's apparent concern for those at or near death, and for children in particular, is traceable readily to the expanded interests of his predecessor at Windsor.⁵⁴ Few of the miracles attributed to Henry VI are datable directly to the reign of Richard; nonetheless certain of these tales have come under scrutiny recently.⁵⁵ Those miracles selected from a manuscript compiled around 1500 tend to reflect to Richard's discredit, yet closer inspection reveals a sustained attack upon the legitimacy of the Yorkist dynasty rather than a specifically anti-Ricardian bias.⁵⁶ The internal contradictions of one oft-quoted example deserve further comment. A miraculous cure was claimed for Henry Walter, a seaman serving under Sir Thomas Everingham, who had been injured by a cannon ball during an engagement against the Scots. Here Henry appears to have reacted with uncustomary sluggishness in that, although the naval skirmish had occurred around the feast of Pentecost, relief was not effected until the late monarch had been removed to Windsor, a delay which prolonged suffering by at least ten weeks!⁵⁷

The precise circumstances of the reburial of Henry VI are likely to remain unknown. Whereas the contemporary treasurer's accounts for St. George's Chapel merely record expenses of £5 10s 2d relating to the removal from Chertsey⁵⁸ later descriptions of the disinterment supply startling detail. Thus, during the hearings on 26 February 1498 to determine whether Henry ought to be re-interred a second time (and, if so, where), serious charges were laid in evidence before the Great Council in the Star Chamber. John Pigot, Abbot of Chertsey, alleged that on 12 August 1484 Richard 'lately in deed but not by right King of England' had broken open the tomb of King Henry to the consternation and vociferous protests of the monks of Chertsey.⁵⁹ Dean Christopher Urswyck, attempting to show cause why St. George's Chapel should continue to retain Henry's shrine made the counter-claim that the exhumation had been made with the approval of the said Abbot who, indeed, had insisted upon opening the tomb himself!⁶⁰ Such scandalous scenes are absent from the account by John Rous of the momentous occasion. Writing closer to the events described he acknowledges the dignity and solemnity with which Richard accomplished the translation to Windsor.⁶¹

The reburial of Henry at Windsor had occurred at a logical stage in the prestigious work but with Richard's death the building programme came to a halt. The accounts of Thomas Chancellor cease at 1484 as, apparently, did the direct association of Henry Janyns with the edifice, yet it is known that much of

The work on the choir had been brought to completion. This phase, up to the end of Richard's reign, includes the Schorne Chapel, the aisles, the wood-carving of the choir stalls (including the majority of the portrait busts above them), the tomb of Edward IV (possibly incomplete yet including iron-work for the chantry) and the iron-bound chests for the donations of pilgrims.⁶² However, most of the vaulting of the nave and some of the vaulting of the remainder were not to be completed for another twenty years and then under the terms of the will of Sir Reginald Bray (d.1503), rather than under royal patronage.⁶³

When the King's Council, meeting at Greenwich on 5 March 1498, gave its decision on the future of the remains of Henry VI it had been persuaded by the arguments of the Prior of Westminster. By contrast to the undignified wrangling of the representatives of Chertsey and Windsor, Westminster Abbey had been able to draw upon the testimony of a dozen eye-witnesses, of ages ranging from 'sixty and more years' to ninety, who all swore that during his life Henry had made it known that this was where he wished to be buried.⁶⁴

Hence the plans for the magnificent Henry VII chantry chapel known today date from this decision of the Council and, having abandoned his earlier project of associating his own tomb with the reflected glory of a re-built shrine to Henry VI at Windsor, Henry VII appears to have taken little further interest in St. George's Chapel.⁶⁵ Transferring his attentions to Westminster, he entered into an indenture with the Convent on 26 July 1498, whereby he was to receive £500 towards the expenses of translating his namesake thither and which was duly paid to him.⁶⁶ Whether because of deliberate fraud, or mere inefficient organisation, the remains still had not been translated upon Henry's own death eleven years later. Had Henry VII kept his word, however, Westminster Abbey would have received a bargain in that the enormous sum defrayed could have been recouped within a year or two out of the receipts from the new shrine.

The legendary parsimony of Henry VII appears to have had a profound influence upon the campaign for the canonisation of the other Henry. The project had been thwarted by the deaths of the successive popes petitioned yet, finally, in 1503 Julius II, noting Henry's intention to be buried at Windsor and that the shrine at Windsor had been attracting pilgrims, granted a faculty for the translation proposed and appointed a commission to enquire into the merits of Henry VI's case. Subsequently Henry seems to have abandoned the canonisation owing to the high fees charged by the Papal Court.⁶⁷ His son did not actively prosecute the case and was content to direct his burial near the tomb of Henry VI at Windsor.⁶⁸

Meanwhile pilgrimages to the two shrines at Windsor had proliferated. This 'obscurer' place was within easy reach of London, judging by the concentration of finds of the pilgrim badges of both Windsor 'saints' in that City. In view of the earlier part of this article, however, it is unjustified to dismiss the tokens of Master John Schorne found in the Thames at London as mere 'return tickets to the shrine of Henry VI', as has been done recently.⁶⁹ Pilgrimages to both shrines are specified in at least five wills of the period 1485-1505,⁷⁰ and Master John Schorne continued to exert an influence well into the sixteenth century. Thus, following the abjuration of heresy, in about 1510, by a local group of Lollards the prescribed penance included a pilgrimage to North Marston: 'Thomas Harding dwelling at Chesham, in the county of Buckingham, with Alice his wife

was first abjured by William Smyth, Bishop of Lincoln... with divers others, compelled to make pilgrimage... some to the great block, otherwise called our Lady of Lincoln; some to Walsingham, some to St. Romuld [*sic*] of Buckingham, some to the rood of Wendover, some to St. John Shorne...⁷¹ Even at the Dissolution the proceeds from the Schorne shrine were considerable, having risen to £500 per annum.⁷²

If the talisman of John Schorne was a boot that of Henry VI was a hat: 'the seely people... have an olde red Velvet Hatte put upon their head... a Sovereigne Medicine against the Head-ache, the Figure of al which Superstition yet standeth in the Glase Windowe over—against the place of his burial.'⁷³ In a recent work this object is treated as the actual hat, *circa* 1450, worn during life by Henry (who was well known for his predilection for shabby and unfashionable costume), and it is possibly Henry's miracle-working hat that is commemorated by certain hat-shaped lead tokens.⁷⁴ Elsewhere the suggestion has been made that the hat was merely the cap of estate from the funerary helm which once hung among the 'achievements' above his tomb.⁷⁵

Both shrines at Windsor were to have a relatively short life. It has been claimed that the Dean and canons of Windsor returned the remains of Master Schorne to North Marston because their value to them had been debased by the acquisition of the illustrious King Henry.⁷⁶ This view is at variance with the economic realities, above, and there is certainly no record of a further exhumation. The shrine was to be displaced, however, when space was being sought in the Chapel for the tombs of Edward Clinton, Earl of Lincoln (d.1585), and his third wife. Thereafter, John Schorne's Tower was known as the Lincoln Chantry. Henry's shrine seems to have vanished by the time of Lambarde's visit in 1577, although an early sixteenth century drawing of it exists.⁷⁷

In the absence of known copies of Richard III's will his intentions concerning his own burial remain unknown but it is certain that with the deaths of his brother, son and spouse in consecutive years the question was very much on his mind. Suitable sepulchral sites abounded yet St. George's Chapel held great attractions. Windsor had been the first station on the royal progress of 1483 and there Richard had inspected the work on the Chapel, including the tomb of his brother and the pristine shrine of Windsor's first popular saint. Richard may have shared Edward's concept of the new foundation as the mausoleum of the Yorkist dynasty, though his reburial of Henry VI there suggests that he viewed it as a royal alternative to the over-crowded Chapel of St. Edward the Confessor in Westminster Abbey.⁷⁸ The suggestion has been made that he had Henry interred in a tomb in the second bay of the south choir aisle because he had reserved the first bay as his own place of burial.⁷⁹ If this were the case then several other factors become intelligible. His provision of tombs of arguably inferior workmanship for his wife and son and the unseemly delay in completing his brother's monument under the terms of Edward's will of 1482 make more sense if these were but temporary expedients.⁸⁰ Richard's long-term aims for the enhancement of the stature of St. George's Chapel might thus have involved the collection together of these outlying burials, including those of his close relatives, for more appropriate interment on the model of the reburials of Master John Schorne and King Henry VI. Only the turbulent events of 1483 prevented a more agreeable outcome.

The exploration of Richard's possible reasons for reburying Henry VI at Windsor necessarily involves conjecture but the ascription of the baser motives to him has been made only with the benefit of malign hindsight. It is clear that during his short reign Richard III continued the building activity at the collegiate Church of Edward IV and that the acquisition of Henry's sepulchre was of immediate financial benefit to that establishment. The work was interrupted by the death of Richard and was not to be actively promoted by his supplanter.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. J. Gairdner, *History of the Life and Reign of Richard the Third* (London 1898), p.191. Even he appears unconvinced and says that the force motivating Richard need not have been 'a sense of remorse, and a desire to expiate his crime' but instead a desire 'to dissociate himself from the cruel act of his brother, by doing honour to one whom the multitude regarded as a saint and martyr ...' by giving Henry's body 'more fitting sepulture in St. George's Chapel'. See W. J. White, the death and burial of Henry VI, a review of the facts and theories, Part I, *The Ricardian*, vol. 6 no. 78 (1982), pp.70-80.
2. R. Knox and S. Leslie, *The Miracles of Henry VI* (Cambridge 1923), p.2; echoing the phraseology in the correspondence with the Vatican concerning the projected canonisation of Henry and removal of his shrine to Westminster Abbey, A. P. Stanley, *Historical Memorials of Westminster Abbey* (2nd edition, London 1868), p.161; Gairdner *op. cit.*, p.192.
3. H. E. D. Blakiston, Review of 'The Miracles of Henry VI', *History* vol. 9 (1924), pp.239-241; R. Knox, H. E. D. Blakiston, *ibid.*, no. 36 (1925), pp.321-3; B. Spencer, King Henry of Windsor and the London Pilgrim, in Joanna Bird, H. Chapman and J. Clark (eds.), *Collectanea Londinensia: Studies in London Archaeology and History Presented to Ralph Merrifield*, London and Middlesex Archaeological Society Special Paper No. 2 (1978), pp.235-264; B. Wolffe, *Henry VI* (London 1981), p.352.
4. W. McKenna, Piety and Propaganda: the cult of Henry VI, in Beryl Rowland (ed.) *Chaucer and Middle English Studies in Honour of Russell Hope Robbins* (London 1974), pp.72-88; L. E. Whatmore, A political cause: an objection refuted, *Bulletin of the Henry VI Society* (December 1972), pp.20-22. The Richard II reburial precedent is re-emphasised in subsequent works, however, Wolffe (*op. cit.* n.3); C. Ross, *Richard III* (London 1981), p.226.
5. *Ibid.*, pp.136, 143-4, the propinquity of the tomb of Henry VI to that of Edward IV 'Henry's destroyer' is noted, however.

6. As Duke of Gloucester Richard granted the advowson of the parish church of Olney, Buckinghamshire, to the Dean and canons of Windsor on 2 March 1482; as King he confirmed all the grants made to them by their founder, his brother, *Calendar of the Patent Rolls 1477-1485*, pp.178, 255 and 441; Meta M. Williams, Richard III, Chantry Founder, *Notes and Queries*, vol. 167 (1934), pp.23-5. Additionally, relevant entries in BL Harleian MS 433 (as well as the re-interment of Henry VI, as dealt with here), were brought to the attention of the Chapter Clerk and Dean of St. George's Chapel by Miss Isolde Wigram (the Hon. Secretary of the Richard III Society) in correspondence dated 8 to 25 April 1958. Richard's contributions have yet to be acknowledged in publications issued by that body, for example: M. Bond (ed.), *The St. George's Chapel Quincentenary Handbook* (Windsor 1975), fails to list Richard III among the known benefactors.
7. R. T. Pelly, John Schorn, *Records of Buckinghamshire* vol. 15 (1950), pp.299-300.
8. *Ibid.*, p.300.
9. Buckinghamshire notes and queries, *Records of Bucks.* vol. 1 (1855), p.146.
10. In a sixteenth century copy of his will he is described as beatus indicating that the canonisation process had been inaugurated, British Library MS. Lansdowne 762 quoted in G. Lipscomb, *The History and Antiquities of the County of Buckingham* vol. 1 (London 1847), pp.342-3; W. H. Keike, Master John Schorn, the Marston saint, *Records of Bucks.* vol. 2 (1859), pp.60-74; W. S. Simpson, On Master John Schorn, *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* vol. 23 (1867), pp.256-268.
11. Simpson *op. cit.*, p.260.
12. Based on the spurious place-name evidence of the towns of Shorn and Marston in Kent, W. H. Thoms, Master John Shorne, *Notes and Queries*, 1st series vol. 2 (1850), pp.387-8; S. Robinson, Schorne church and Master John Schorne, *Archaeologica Cantiana* vol. II (1877), pp.xxxvii and lx-lxv. This view may be refuted as may other suspect etymological analyses of the story, W. H. Simpson, Master John Schorn, *Records of Bucks.*, vol. 3 (1870), pp.354-369; R. Gibbs, North Marston, the legend of Master John Schorne, *ibid.*, p.76.
13. A John de Shorne (or Thorne?), was ordained subdeacon of Monks Risborough, Buckinghamshire, in 1389 but research has shown that this cannot be the same individual, Lipscomb *op. cit.* vol. 2, p.419; A. B. Emden, *A Biographical Register of the University of Oxford* vol. 3 (Oxford 1959), p.1647.
14. Compare the legend of the foundation of Westminster Abbey by St. Peter who 'evoked with his staff the two springs' on Thorney Island, Stanley *op. cit.*, p.21.
15. E. C. Rouse, John Schorne's well at North Marston, *Records of Bucks.* vol. 18 (1970), pp.431-6; W. S. Simpson, Master John Schorn, his church and well at North Marston, Buckinghamshire, *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* vol. 23 (1867), pp.370-8; J. Parker, Sir John Schorne's well, *Records of Bucks.* vol. 9 (1905), pp.175-8; F. R. Pearson and R. Hope, *The Legendary Lore of the Holy Wells of England* (London 1893), pp.3-5.
16. J. Bulwer, Remarks on a figure represented on the rood-loft screens of Gately and Cawston churches, *Norfolk Archaeology* vol. 2 (1849), pp.280-290; W. S. Simpson, Master John Schorn: his effigy in painted glass, *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* vol. 25 (1869), pp.334-344; 'F.C.H.', *Notes and Queries*, 3rd series vol. 7 (1865), pp.413-4; J. L. Nevinson and J. A. Hudson, Sir John Schorne and his boot, *Country Life* vol. 131, no. 3391 (1 March 1962), pp.467-8.
17. Gout has been transliterated as the very devil in the boot! F. Bond, *Dedications of Patron Saints of English Churches: Ecclesiastical Symbolism, Saints and Their Emblems* (Oxford 1914), p.198.
18. Thoms *op. cit.*, p.387; 'F.C.H.' *op. cit.*, p.414. 'Ague' was an umbrella term for a range of fevers, including malaria—which was endemic in England during the middle ages, G. M. Howe, *Man, Environment and Disease in Britain: a Medical Geography of Britain Through the Ages* (Newton Abbot 1972), p.91.
19. M. F. Bond, John Schorn's book of hours, *Annual Report of the Society of Friends of St. George's Chapel*... (Windsor 1949), pp.19-27, quoted in M. F. Bond, The John Schorn book of hours, *Records of Bucks.* vol. 15 (1950), pp.301-7; cf. British Library MS. Sloane 389, f.92 and Oxford, St. John's College MS. 209, f.117, W. S. Simpson, On a prayer to Master John Schorn, *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* vol. 41 (1885), pp.262-6. Long after North Marston had ceased to be the focus of Schorne's veneration the waters of the well were still being resorted to by those suffering from skin diseases, Lipscomb *op. cit.* vol. 1, p.339. During the nineteenth century it was claimed that the well never froze, even in the severest winter, Simpson *op. cit.*, p.374. The chemical analysis of the water quoted does not support this assertion but the efficacy of the formula in the case of gout and the other diseases remains untested!

- These are on the rood screens at Alphington, Hennock and Woolborough, Simpson (*op. cit.*, n.19), p.266; Nevinson and Hudson *op. cit.*, p.467; Rouse *op. cit.*, p.432.
32. In Knox and Leslie *op. cit.*, p.6 and taken from F. Grosjean, *Henrici VI Angliae Regis Miracula Postuma* (Brussels 1935), pp.252-4.
33. Bulwer *op. cit.*, pp.280-3.
34. pp.289-290; Kelke *op. cit.*, p.64.
35. Simpson (*op. cit.*, n.9), p.266.
36. Dupont, Quarterly meeting, *Proceedings of the Bury and West Suffolk Archaeological Institute* vol. 1 (1850), p.222. This image, alone, is not of the late fifteenth century and probably dates from about 1550.
37. Simpson *op. cit.*, p.378. The stained glass window depicting John Schorne, now at Bury St. Edmunds, may have come from Windsor, *ibid.* pp.334-5 and 367.
38. As depicted at Bury St. Edmunds, Suffolk and Woolborough he is bare-headed and with the white rochet of the Austin canons.
39. On the pilgrim badges issued at his shrine he is dressed as above or is vested and mitred. The boot that he wears is directly comparable to those worn by the equestrian figure on some of the tokens of Henry VI from Windsor, Simpson *op. cit.*, p.257; H. S. Cuming, On some signacula found in London, *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* vol. 23 (1867), pp.327-8; Spencer *op. cit.*, pp.247-9.
40. The pilgrim tokens are similarly divided although in some Schorne carries, instead of the boot, a leafy staff—a reference to the miracle of the creation of the spring, Spencer *op. cit.*, p.249.
41. Simpson *op. cit.*, p.344. Nonetheless, the writer would be very interested to hear of any surviving representation of Master John Schorne not listed above.
42. Simpson *op. cit.*, p.377. Gentile Bellini lived 1429 to 1507; San Lorenzo was canonised in 1690.
43. Kelke *op. cit.*, p.62.
44. Reported to the antiquary, Browne Willis, by one who had seen it in 1660, Lipscomb *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p.346. Gone, too, is a scene unusually on the outside of the church: on a gable above the said window. The vacant niche once held the stone figures of John Schorne conversing with a fiend with forked tail and seven hooves, evoking the atmosphere of the fictional work of the antiquary, Montague Rhodes James! All traces of the group had vanished by the mid-nineteenth century, Kelke *op. cit.*, p.74; Parker *op. cit.*, p.178.
45. Wright (ed.), *Letters Relating to the Suppression of Monasteries* (Camden Society 1843), p.218.
46. p.224. Stokesley's episcopal signature: 'John London' has systematically confused several writers.
47. Bulwer, Kelke, Simpson and Rouse, above), who refer to him as 'Dr. London'.
48. Hamilton Thompson, *The English Clergy and their Organisation in the Later Middle Ages* (Oxford 1937), p.238; Lipscomb *op. cit.* vol. 1, p.343. This instance, along with others recorded in Bishop Alnwick's 'Court' Book reflect the 'seamy side ... of clerical life', cf. C. Trice Martin, Clerical life in the fifteenth century, *Archaeologia* vol. 60, pt. 2 (1907), pp.353-378.
49. Lipscomb *op. cit.* vol. 1, pp.348-9.
50. A niche which still contained a human bone was identified as a relic chamber, E. S. Lambourne, North Marston, *Records of Bucks.* vol. 15 (1950), pp.79, 143; Rouse, *op. cit.*, p.433. Another niche and bracket were reminiscent of the Gateley screen, above, Lipscomb *op. cit.*, pp.342-3; Parker *op. cit.*, p.177.
51. *Royal Commission on Historical Monuments: Buckinghamshire* vol. 2, pp.223, 352; Parker *op. cit.*, p.175.
52. Browne Willis MSS. quoted in Kelke *op. cit.*, p.66; 'Viator', A historical and topographical account of North Marston, *Gentleman's Magazine* vol. 90, pt. 2 (1820), pp.580-3.
53. Rouse *op. cit.*, p.434.
54. *Idem.* Review of the Buckinghamshire volume in the Penguin 'Buildings of England' series *Records of Bucks.* vol. 15 (1950), pp.370-1; Bond (*op. cit.*, n.19), p.307.
55. C. P. R 1467-76, p.368. On 25 May he was licenced to recruit the specialist craftsmen required and, on 12 June 1475, to demolish the existing buildings on the site designated for the new chapel, *ibid.* pp.526, 535.
56. C. P. R 1476-85, pp.16, 33.
57. The Bull is quoted in W. H. St. John Hope, *Windsor Castle: an Architectural History* vol. 2 (London 1913), pp.466-7. Lipscomb, Kelke and Rouse err in naming the Pope concerned as Sixtus V (*viz.* 1585-90).
58. On 15 November 1479, C. P. R 1476-85, p.170, erroneously referring to the church as 'Wedonbeke', co. Bedford.

46. *Ibid.*, p.181 (11 February 1480).
47. In one work the accepted chronology is reversed: the translation of Master John Schorne to Windsor was a deliberate act by Edward IV to divert pilgrims from the tomb of Henry VI at Chertsey! J. R. Lander, *The historical background to St. George's Chapel in the fifteenth century*, in Bond (*op. cit.*, n.6), pp.1-18.
48. Hope *op. cit.*, pp.380, 402, 410 and 466. For other work in St. George's Chapel in this phase (1479-80), C P R 1476-85, pp.163, 183, 220.
49. Hope *op. cit.*, p.411.
50. J. Harvey, *The architects of St. George's Chapel, part 2: the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries*, *Report of the Society of Friends of St. George's Chapel and the Descendants of the Knights of the Garter*, vol. 4, no.3 (1962), pp.85-95; H. M. Colvin, R. Allen Brown, A. J. Taylor, *The History of the King's Works* vol. 2 (H.M.S.O. 1963), p.885.
51. C P R 1476-85, p.16; Hope *op. cit.* vol. 1, pp.238, 241-7, vol. 2, p.377; Rosemary Horrox and Peter Hammond (eds.), *British Library Harleian MS. 433* volume 1 (Upminster 1979), pp.204-5, 232.
52. BL: MS. Royal 13c viii, a project initiated by John Morgan, Dean of Windsor 1484-96; Knox and Leslie *op. cit.*, pp.2-3; Spencer *op. cit.*, pp.240-1; Joan Lee (ed.), *A Fifteenth Century Pilgrimage in Honour of Henry VI* (London 1974), pp.44, 54-5.
53. For the illegal earlier pilgrimages see above (n.52); for Archbishop Booth's prohibition of the worship of the statue of Henry VI in the choir screen of York Minster in 1479 see Stanley *op. cit.*, pp.587-8; McKenna *op. cit.*, p.74.
54. The types of afflictions treated are identical and the wording of the prayers similar in the twin Windsor cults (n.19); the Schorne pilgrim badges are the prototypes for those of Henry VI, B. Spencer, *Pilgrim badges of King Henry VI*, *Bulletin of the Henry VI Society* (December 1972), pp.10-13.
55. Whatmore *op. cit.*, p.21; McKenna *op. cit.*, pp.75-6; Spencer (*op. cit.*, n.3), pp.240-3; Wolffe *op. cit.*, pp.353-4, with a sober reminder that the events were recorded by a Tudor observer.
56. McKenna, *op. cit.*, p.72; Wolffe *op. cit.*, p.354; P. T. Stone, *A brief history of the King's Evil*, *The Ricardian* vol. 6, no.76 (1982); W. J. White, *The King's Evil*, *Research Notes and Queries*, *The Ricardian*, vol. 6, no.77 (1982), p.57., cf. Knox and Leslie *op. cit.*, pp.109-110, 124-5.
57. Knox and Leslie *op. cit.*, pp.77-84; Spencer *op. cit.*, p.246. McKenna *op. cit.*, pp.75-6 erroneously makes Everingham himself the victim.
58. Hope *op. cit.*, pp.241-2, 387.
59. Stanley *op. cit.*, pp.579-580.
60. *Ibid.*, pp.580-1. This material (in Appendices IV and V) was deleted from the 4th and later editions of Stanley's work.
61. T. Hearne (ed.), *Johannis Rossi Antiquarii Warwicensis Historia Regum Angliae* (Oxford 1745), p.217. Curiously Rous mentions the prospect of a second reburial for Henry VI, yet the new translation was not mooted until officially before 1498, whereas Rous was dead by 1492, *ibid.*, p.210.
62. C. J. P. Cave and H. Stanford London, *The roof bosses in St. George's Chapel, Windsor*, *Archaeologia* vol. 95 (1953), pp.107-121; W. H. St. John Hope, *On a remarkable series of wooden busts surmounting the canopies of St. George's Chapel, Windsor*, *Archaeologia* vol. 54, pt. 1 (1894), pp.115-8; Bond (*op. cit.*, n.6), p.65; Harvey *op. cit.*, n.3. The contract for the offering box of Master John Schorne's shrine and the cost was 25 shillings, St. George's MSS. XI. D. 28, quoted in Hope (*op. cit.*, n.44), pp.411, 459. This, too, is undated but the description of the work required is strongly reminiscent of the extant offertory box for Henry VI so both contemporaneity and the hand of the same master smith, John Tresilian, may be presumed, Spencer (*op. cit.*, n.3), p.248. On 18 April Edward's body had been 'conveyed wyth due honour unto the Castell of Wyndysore and there buryed in a Tumbe made of Towch Stoon that he toffore had prevyded ffor', A. H. Thomas and I. D. Thornley (eds.), *The Great Chronicle of London* (London 1938), p.229. 'Touchstone' was a black 'marble' from Flanders.
63. Harvey *op. cit.*, pp.89-90.
64. Stanley *op. cit.*, pp.570-9.
65. He is named, however, in an indenture for the high vaulting of the choir (5 June 1506), which also identifies William Vertue as the architect in succession to Janyns and includes 'creasts, corses, beastes above, on the out side of Maister John Shorne's Chappell', Hope (*op. cit.*, n.44), pp.422-3; Harvey *op. cit.*, pp.93, 95.

66. Knox and Leslie *op. cit.*, p.4; Hope (*op. cit.*, n.44), p.497; Stanley *op. cit.*, pp.585–6.
67. As stated by Hall, Holinshed and Bacon, quoted in Knox and Leslie *op. cit.*, p.5; Grosjean *op. cit.*, p.196; Bond (*op. cit.*, n.6), p.13; Wolffe *op. cit.*, p.355; J. Pote, *The History and Antiquities of Windsor Castle and the Royal College and Chapel of St. George* (Eton 1749), p.358.
68. The tombs of Edward IV and Henry VI were to be 'embellished' at his expense, C. J. Brewer, J. Gairdner and R. H. Brodie (eds.), *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic*, of Henry VIII, vol. 21, pt. 2 (London 1910), pp.320–1.
69. Spencer (*op. cit.*, n.3), p.249. Elsewhere, the same writer derives the Henry VI badges stylistically from those of Schorne, *idem.* (*op. cit.*, n. 54), p.12.
70. Knox and Leslie *op. cit.*, p.7; Robertson (*op. cit.*, n.12), p.lxi. See also Thomas Chokke (d. 1487), and Sir John Wadham (d. 1501), in F. W. Weaver, *Somerset Mediaeval Wills, 1383–1500* (Somerset Record Office 1901), pp.267–70 and *ibid.* 1501–1530 (1905), pp. 28–30. I am indebted to Mr. N. J. Rogers of Emmanuel College, University of Cambridge, for this reference, for the St. John College MS. (n.19) and for supplementary biographical material on Master John Schorne (n.13). See also John Sonté (d. 1515). A. Hussey, *Testamenta Cantiana; East Kent* (London 1907), p.xv.
71. S. R. Cattley (ed.), *Foxe's Acts and Monuments*, vol. 4, 4th edition (1877), pp.580–1; W. H. Summers, *Lollards of the Chiltern Hills* (London 1906), pp.151–9.
72. Pote *op. cit.*, p.111.
73. W. Lambarde, *Dictionarium Angliae Topographicum et Historicum* (London 1730), p.422, quoted in Hope (*op. cit.*, n.44), p.415. Other cases in Foxe's Acts disdainfully link Henry's hat and Schorne's boots as 'Fooleries', *ibid.* (n.71), vol. 4, p.232, vol. 5, p.468.
74. Spencer (*op. cit.*, n.3), pp.244, 247.
75. Lee (*op. cit.*, n.52), pp.84–6.
76. Kelke (*op. cit.*, n.10), p.68.
77. BL: Harleian MS. 6298, fo. 148. Curiously, Richard Gough prints a different design for Henry's tomb (Westminster ?), illustrated in Pauline Routh and Richard Knowles, *A Ryther Legacy: the Monuments Assessed* (Wakefield 1981), p.10.
78. Spencer (*op. cit.*, n.3), p.240. Precedents included not only Richard II but the more recent reburials of Richard, Duke of York, Edmund, Earl of Rutland and Master John Shorne himself. It may be apposite that Henry now lies within a few hundred yards of his place of birth in 1422.
79. Wolffe *op. cit.*, p.352.
80. Pauline Routh and Richard Knowles, *The Sheriff Hutton Alabaster: a Re-Assessment* (Sandal 1981), p.17; P. W. Hammond and W. E. Hampton, Sheriff Hutton, historical doubts reconsidered, *The Ricardian* vol. 5, no. 71 (1980), pp.274–281, esp. n.6. Colvin, Brown and Taylor *op. cit.*, p.887.

Correction

The date given in Part 1 of this article for Warkworth's Chronicle (*The Ricardian* no. 77 (1982), p. 70) should read: 'after July 1482'.