William Paston II and Pynson's *Statutes of War* (1492)

by

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THE interest taken by the Paston family and their associates in books of many kinds has long been recognized, and variously explored.[1] The purpose of the present study is to add a further reference, found in a letter written by William Paston II,[2] and to investigate its significance for our understanding of aspects of the production and appearance of Henry VII's *Statutes of War*, a book known to have been printed by Richard Pynson, and so far tentatively dated to 1492.[3]

[1] H. S. Bennett, *The Pastons and their England* (Cambridge, 1922; 2nd edn, 1932), pp. 110–13; G. A. Lester, *Sir John Paston's 'Grete Boke': A Descriptive Catalogue, with an Introduction, of British Library MS Lansdowne 285* (Cambridge, 1984); idem, 'The Books of a Fifteenth-Century English Gentleman, Sir John Paston', *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen*, 88 (1987), 200–17; Linda Ehrsam Voigts, 'The "Sloane Group": Related Scientific and Medical Manuscripts from the Fifteenth Century in the Sloane Collection', *British Library Journal*, 16 (1990), 26–57 (p. 55, n. 25).

[2] William II (1436–96) was the fourth child and third son of Judge William Paston, the effective founder of the family's fortunes in the fifteenth century. He was active in local affairs in East Anglia in the earlier part of his life, sometimes quarrelled with his elder brother John Paston I and his nephews John II and John III, and also served as an MP. From the early 1470s to his death he lived at Warwick's Inn, London, having married Lady Anne Beaufort, a daughter of Edmund, Duke of Somerset, and was partly occupied in helping manage the estates of Lady Margaret Beaufort, the king's mother. Correspondence and other documents involving him so far identified are printed in *Paston Letters and Papers of the Fifteenth Century*, ed. by Norman Davis, Part I (Oxford, 1971), pp. 149–96, and Part II (Oxford, 1976), pp. 332–35; see esp. Part I, p. lvii.

[3] E. Gordon Duff, *Fifteenth Century English Books* (Oxford, 1917) (hereafter cited as 'Duff'), no. 387; STC 9332. There are a few leaves in the libraries of Lambeth Palace and the Society of Antiquaries in London (the only fragments known to Duff, who attributed the *Statutes* to 1493, on the grounds of its typographical characteristics), and others in the Henry E. Huntington Library, San Marino, CA. In 1981, however, D. E. Rhodes drew attention to a more or less complete copy, albeit in poor condition, in the Public Record Office in London; see his 'The Statutes and Ordinances of War', *The Library*, VI, 3 (1981), 340–43, and subsequent correspondence concerning the collation from Katharine F. Pantzer, 'The Statutes and Ordinances of War', *The Library*, VI, 5 (1983), 64. Rhodes also found that the book had originally included a full-page woodcut showing the royal coat of arms, and that the defective last leaf included a printer's colophon reading: 'Emprented by his hygh Comm [. . .] | by his owne propre handys delyue [. . .] | chard Pynson prynter of this boke'. Rhodes concluded that the book should probably be dated to 1492.

A particular copy of this book is the subject of an extended passage in a long letter, as yet unpublished,[4] sent by William Paston II from London (but dated only '9 November') to Thomas Cary, a Berkshire gentleman,[5] then residing at Chilton, near Hungerford, in Wiltshire:

As for the boke of the Statutes of Warre with the portrature of the kynges armes and bagys that ye desyred me by your wrytyng to sende you, it is so that Pynson the printer that dwellyth withoute Tempill Barr, and dyd printe theym, hathe delyuered all the bookes that he made for the kyng vnto Ser Thomas Lovell before the kyng departed, whiche were delyuered seyn vnto the capitaignes of his hooste. Neuertheless, be-cause of your desyre, and for the pleasur that ye woll do to Master Huddysfeld therin, I haue be crafte gotten you one, whiche I sende you by this berer.

As for tharmes and the bagis portraid in the fyrst leffe of the book of the Statutes of Warre coude not be coloured, be-cause John Pyk[6] myght not tary. But ye may make a paynter to sette saffron colour on it for that that shulde be golde, and other coloures in all places convenyent, for the valure of a peny.

Thaungell may be what colour ye list.

The best with the rammes horne must be whyte and the hornes golde with saffron.

The harte must be whyte, and the crowne and chayne golde.

The greyhounde whyte, and the coller golde.

The dragon rede.

The pecok made in his propre colour as a pecok shulde be.

The portcolys *and* chaynes all golde; the egill whyte and the crowne and chayne golde; the ij rosys on the portcolys rede.

As for the duble rosys on the borders, one all rede, a-nother the leves within the myddys whyte, *and* the vtter levys rede.

The iij scochons be-nethe crowned with golde.

The mydde scochon, the fylde sabill, iij estryge fedders sylver.

The scochon on the ryght honde, the ryght syde of the same scochon sylver, the lefte syde azur, for Lancaster colours.

The scochon on the lefte honde, the ryght syde whyte and the left syde grene.

The armes of Englond, the felde rede, iij lyberdes golde.

The armes of Fraunce, the felde azure, iij flowrdeluces golde.

All crownes and septers golde.

[4] Northampton, Northamptonshire County Record Office, Fitzwilliam Roll 370[1], one of three letters of 1492–95 from Paston to Cary, found amongst the muniments of the family of Fitzwilliam of Milton, Northants. They were unknown to Davis and previous editors of the Paston Letters (see n. 2), and fully edited texts will appear in Richard Beadle and Colin Richmond, *Paston Letters and Papers of the Fifteenth Century*, Part III, to be published by the Early English Text Society. Fitzwilliam Roll 370 has previously been noticed in Michael K. Jones and Malcolm G. Underwood, *The King's Mother* (Cambridge, 1992), p. 148, and in Colin Richmond, *The Paston Family in the Fifteenth Century: The First Phase* (Cambridge, 1990), p. 202, n. 195. In the extracts given here, which are reproduced by kind permission of the Northamptonshire County Record Office and the Fitzwilliam (Milton) Estates, punctuation and capitalization are editorial.

[5] See J. C. Wedgwood, *History of Parliament: Biographies of the Members of the Commons House, 1439–1509* (London, 1936), p. 156 (under 'Carew'), and cf. Richmond, *Paston Family*, loc. cit. The 'Master Huddysfeld' mentioned in the quotation that follows was Sir William Huddesfeld (1435–99) of Lincoln's Inn, Attorney General under Edward IV, and at various times MP for Devonshire (Wedgwood, pp. 475–76). Paston refers to him at the end of the letter as Cary's uncle; he had married Katherine, wife of Sir Edmund Carew.

[6] John Pyk was the carrier of the letter.

Though the *Statutes of War* can hardly be described as polite reading, it certainly constituted a text of a kind that was of interest to people like the Pastons and their associates, such that its appearance in print was something of an event. Statutes were issued from time to time by kings and other commanders as codes of conduct for those involved in military operations on foreign soil. They were made up of brief paragraphs, phrased as terse regulations, including penalties for infringement, expressed in standard formulae, which tended to be handed down from one set to the next, under standard headings (keeping watch and ward, prisoners, deserters, etc.; see Figure 1). London, British Library, MS Lansdowne 285, for example, was the 'Grete Boke' of chivalric, military, and heraldic texts that John Paston II (William II's nephew) had compiled for himself in the late 1460s, and it includes two such sets of statutes, those of Henry V (1419), and those of the Earl of Salisbury (*c.* 1425). Such texts were often re-copied or printed in the post-medieval period.[7]

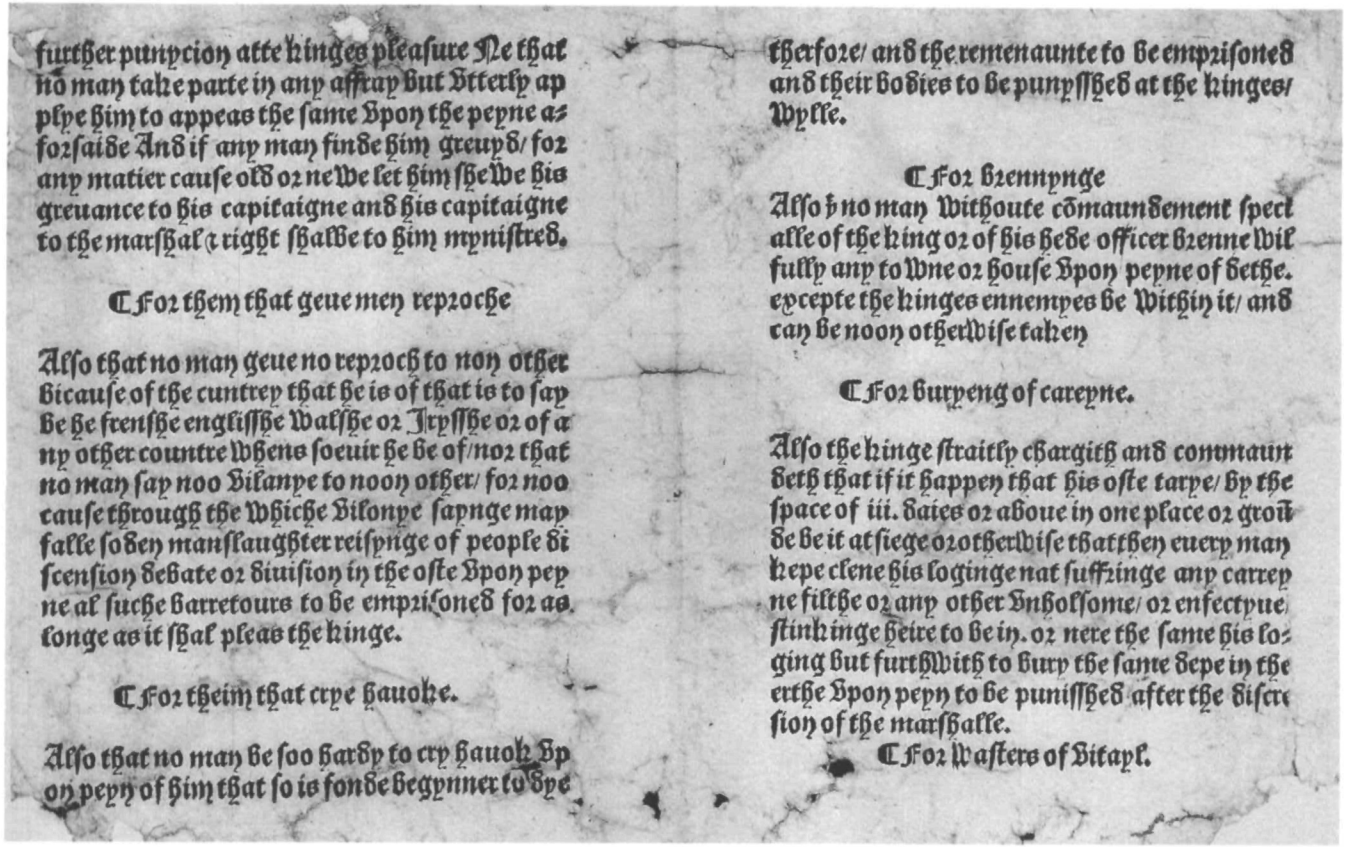
Understanding of the occasion and the exact date of Pynson's printing of Henry VII's *Statutes of War* has been confused by an error in the calendar date (but not the regnal year) given on the title-page (and repeated in the colophon), where it is stated that the statutes were drawn up

by the aduyce of | his noble and discrete counseyl holdynge than | his hygh Courte of his parlament at his paleis | of westmynster the xvii. day of October in the | yere of oure lord god M.CCCClxxxxii. and | of his moste noble Reigne the vii. yere.[8]

The general context for the issue of the *Statutes* was the preparations for Henry VII's only foreign campaign, his short-lived invasion of France, which took place between June and October of 1492. As D. E. Rhodes pointed out, 'M.CCCClxxxxii' cannot be correct, as a war against France was mooted (on 18 December) during the session of Parliament beginning on 17 October 1491.[9] The regnal year (7 Henry VII = 22 August 1491 to 21 August 1492) is, however, correct, Henry's order for the production of the book, which presumably followed upon the decision of 18 December 1491, falling within that period. The date at which copies subsequently became available is evident from the following passage in the indentures between the Crown and the principal commanders 'pro guerra Francie', sealed on 9 May 1492:

And as touching the Paieng of the Thridd, and Thridd of Thriddes of al maner Wynnynges of Warre taking and delyveryng of Prisonners to our *saide Soverain Lorde*, keping of Watche and Warde, Stale and Foreyes, the said Erl not only for himself, but also for his said Retynue, and every Persone therof, Bindeth him to the Parfourmance and Observation of the same in al maner of wise, aftre and undre such maner as is Comprised in a certain Boke of the Statutes and Ordenaunces of the Werre made by our said Soverain Lord, by the Advise of suche Lordes of his

[7] See Lester, *Sir John Paston's 'Grete Boke'*, pp. 167–72, with reference to printed texts.
[8] Fol. a1[r] (not signed) of the Public Record Office copy; see Figure 2.
[9] Rhodes, 'Statutes and Ordinances of War', pp. 342–43.



further punycion atte kinges pleasure Ne that no may take parte in any affray but vtterly apply him to appeas the same vpon the peyne aforsaide And if any may finde him greuyd/ for any matier cause old or ne We let him shewe his greuance to his capitaigne and his capitaigne to the marshalx right shalbe to him myniſtred.

¶ For them that geue men reproche

Also that no may geue no reprocb to non other bicause of the cuntrey that he is of that is to say be he frenshe englisshe Walshe or Irysshe or of any other countre whens soeuir he be of/nor that no may say noo vilanye to noon other/ for noo cause through the whiche vilonye sapnge may falle soby manslaughter reisynge of people dissension debate or diuision in the oste vpon peyne al suche barretours to be empriſoned for as longe as it shal pleas the kinge.

¶ For theim that crye hauoke.

Also that no may be soo hardy to cry hauok vpon peyn of him that so is fonde begynner to bye therfore/ and the remenaunte to be empriſoned and their bodies to be punyſshed at the kinges/ Wylle.

¶ For brennynge

Also þ no may Withoute cõmaundement specialle of the king or of his hede officer brenne wilfully any towne or house vpon peyne of bethe. excepte the kinges ennemyes be Withyn it/ and can be noon otherwise taken

¶ For burieng of careyne.

Also the kinge straitly chargith and commaundeth that if it happen that his oste tarye/ by the space of iii. daies or aboue in one place or grou de be it at siege or otherwise that they euery man kepe clene his logynge nat suffrynge any carreyne filthe or any other vnholsome/ or enfectyue/ stinkynge heire to be in. or nere the same his logging but furthwith to bury the same depe in the erthe vpon peyn to be punisshed after the discression of the marshalle.

¶ For Wasters of vitayl.

FIGURE 1. *Statutes of War* [London, Richard Pynson, 1492, before May]. London, Public Record Office, E/163/22/3/3, fols a4^{v}–5^{r}.

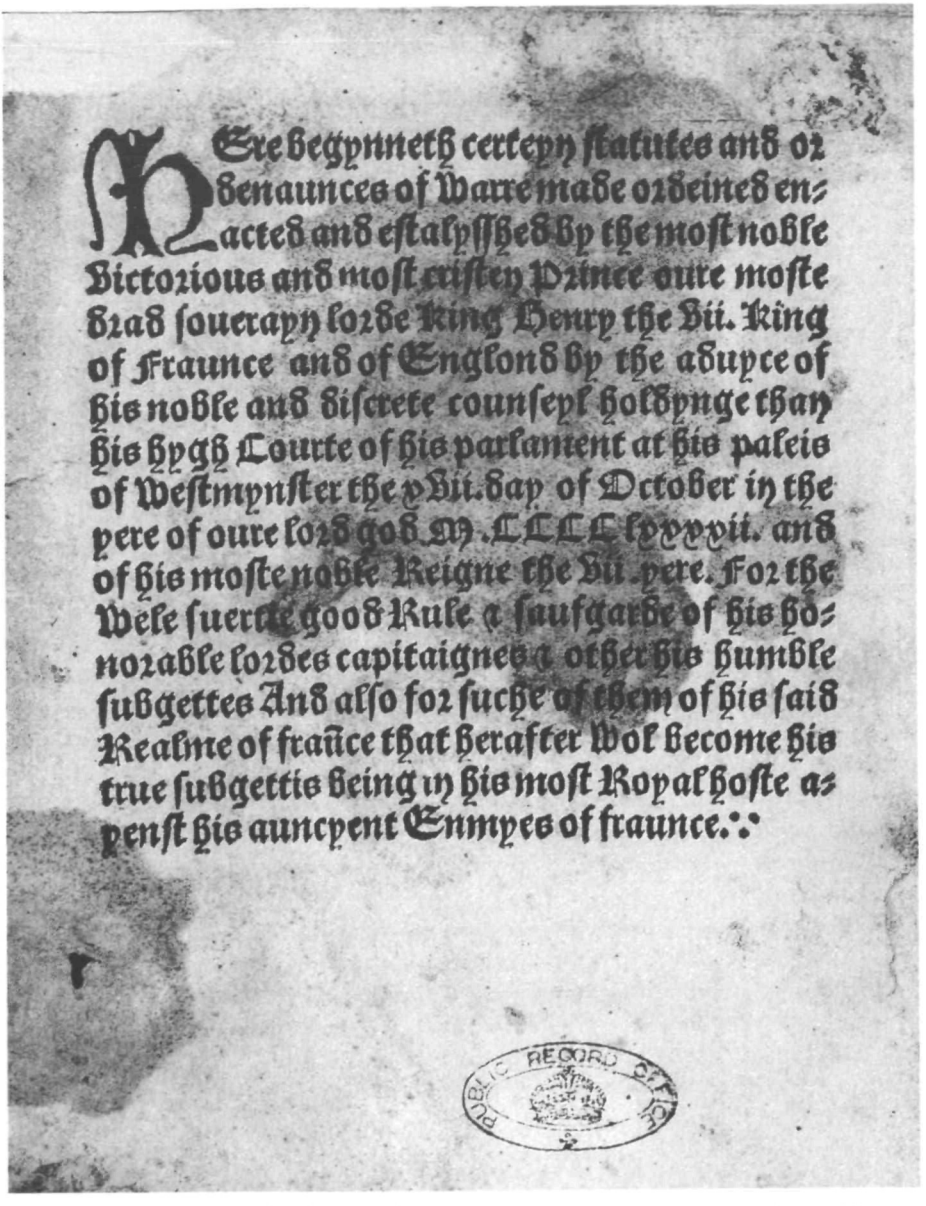

Here begynneth certeyn statutes and
Ordenaunces of Warre made ordeined en-
acted and estalysshed by the most noble
Victorious and most cristen Prince oure moste
drad souerayn lorde King Henry the vii. King
of Fraunce and of Englond by the aduyce of
his noble and discrete counseyl holdynge than
his hygh Courte of his parlament at his paleis
of Westmynster the .viii. day of October in the
yere of oure lorde god M.CCCC lxxxxvii. and
of his moste noble Reigne the xiii. yere. For the
Wele suerte good Rule and sauf garde of his ho-
norable lordes capitaignes and other his humble
subgettes And also for suche of them of his said
Realme of fraūce that hereafter wol become his
true subgettis being in his most Royal hoste a-
yenst his auncyent Enmyes of fraunce.

FIGURE 2. *Statutes of War* [London, Richard Pynson, 1492, before May]. London, Public Record Office, E/163/22/3/3, fol. a1r.

Blode, Capitaignes of his Armee, and other Folk as be of his Counsaill, whereof a Copie is delyvered to the said Erle.[10]

If copies of the *Statutes* were handed to Henry VII's commanders in the field when they signed their indentures, then the book must have been in print by about the end of April 1492 at the latest. A 1492 date may perhaps explain the slip in the calendar date given in the colophon.

William Paston's remarks about how he came by a copy of the *Statutes* shed a little more light on the circumstances of its publication. When Pynson had copies of the book ready, they were all sent to Sir Thomas Lovell, Henry VII's Chancellor of the Exchequer, who presumably paid for them and arranged that they were 'delyu*e*red seyn [i.e. 'afterwards'] vnto the capitaignes of his hooste'. This phrase from Paston's letter echoes what is said at the end of the passage from the indenture quoted above, and it also repeats the formulation used in the *Statutes* itself:

his hyghnesse hath ouer and aboue the open proclamacyon of the sayd statutes co*m*maunded and ordeyned by wey of Emprynte dyuerse and many seuerall bokes co*n* [*sic*] conteygnynge the same statutes to be made. and delyuered to the Capitaynes of his hoste chargynge theym as they wyll auoyde his great displeasure to cause the same twyes or ones at y^{e} lest in euery week hooly to be redde in the presence of theyr retynue.[11]

It is evident that the *Statutes* was entirely an official and in no way a commercial publication, and William Paston frankly admitted that it was only 'be crafte' that he could obtain a copy for Thomas Cary.[12] His letter provides valuable additional testimony to that of the book itself for Henry VII's calculated appropriation of the printed word as an instrument of state and military policy, ensuring that authorized and identical versions of the *Statutes* were distributed among the captains and, by word of mouth, to their troops.[13]

When William Paston wrote to Thomas Cary on '9 November' (of the year 1492, as we now can infer) he sent him a document that in the preceding days had lost its immediate usefulness. The war was already over, for peace with France had been made by the Treaty of Étaples on 3 November. News of the treaty was proclaimed in London on 9 November, the very day Paston completed and dated his letter, but it must have reached him too late to be

[10] Thomas Rymer, *Foedera*, 2nd edn, 20 vols (London, 1726–35), XII, pp. 477–80 (p. 478).
[11] Quoted in this case from Pynson's reprint of 1513, STC 9333, fol. c3^{v}.
[12] With his Beaufort and court connections (see n. 2 above), he was well placed to do so. Elsewhere in his letter to Cary he mentions that one of his servants is assisting with an audit of the king's mother's (i.e. Lady Margaret Beaufort's) accounts in Devonshire, and that another has gone to Wales 'for besynes towchyng the kynge*s* grace'.
[13] Pamela Neville Sington has pointed out that this is the first official work from the English press to declare that, thanks to printing, the king's subjects will not be able to claim ignorance of the law. See her 'Press, Politics and Religion' in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*, vol. III: *1400–1557*, ed. by Lotte Hellinga and J. B. Trapp (Cambridge, 1999), pp. 576–607 (p. 578).

included.[14] There was therefore no prospect in the near future of further recruitment for an expeditionary force, nor of at least weekly readings of the *Statutes* to troops in active service.[15] Any copies unused during the recruitment of officers in preparation for the campaign in France could probably be had without overdue deployment of 'crafte', once it was clear which way the campaign was going. It is in these circumstances that Paston was able to get a copy for his friend. Paston's careful explanation ensured, however, that his craftiness would not be underrated: the commission to the printer had come from the king in person, and the printer had delivered *all* printed copies to the Chancellor. From this circumstance alone it must have been obvious that this was not printed matter meant to fall into the hands of all and sundry — at least not during the time when it had to serve its purpose as part of a formal transaction. Thomas Cary was not someone for whom the book was intended, and his main interest may not have been the contents but the 'portrature of the kynge*s* armes and bagys'. His eagerness to obtain the book may have been aroused by seeing a copy as issued to one of the captains, with the woodcut enhanced by bright colouring. It was presumably the first printed document to bear the royal arms (Figure 3).[16]

William Paston's tact provides us with some details of the circumstances that saw the *Statutes of War* in print, and its timing in relation to the military campaign; it allows us also to consider its place in the history of printing, which in this particular period poses a number of problems of chronology. A further factor that throws a great deal of light on the sequence of events in this episode is that archival research has related the issue of the *Statutes of War* to other preparations for the campaign, which the king apparently directed personally with his characteristic care for detail. Thus it has become clear that copies of the *Statutes* were issued to the commanders as part of the procedures of indenting for service, and that indenting took place in late April and the beginning of May 1492.[17] Therefore it is now not only beyond doubt that the printing of the *Statutes* has to be placed in 1492, but that more specifically it took place after preparations for the campaign were taken in hand at the end of 1491 and some time before the end of April. Without the archival information, William Paston's words 'before the kyng departed' might be read as '(shortly) before the time of the king's departure' to France, which was early in October 1492.

With the early months of 1492 we find ourselves at a particularly critical point in a lengthy period of transition in printing in England, stretching from 1486 to 1493. In or soon after 1486 an interruption occurred in the

[14] See J. D. Mackie, *The Earlier Tudors, 1485–1558* (Oxford, 1962), p. 108.
[15] See the quotation above.
[16] Sington, 'Press, Politics and Religion', p. 578.
[17] See Margaret M. Condon, 'An Anachronism with Intent? Henry VII's Council Ordinance of 1491/2', in *Kings and Nobles in the Later Middle Ages: A Tribute to Charles Ross*, ed. by Ralph A. Griffiths and James Sherborne (Gloucester and New York, 1986), pp. 228–53 (p. 229).

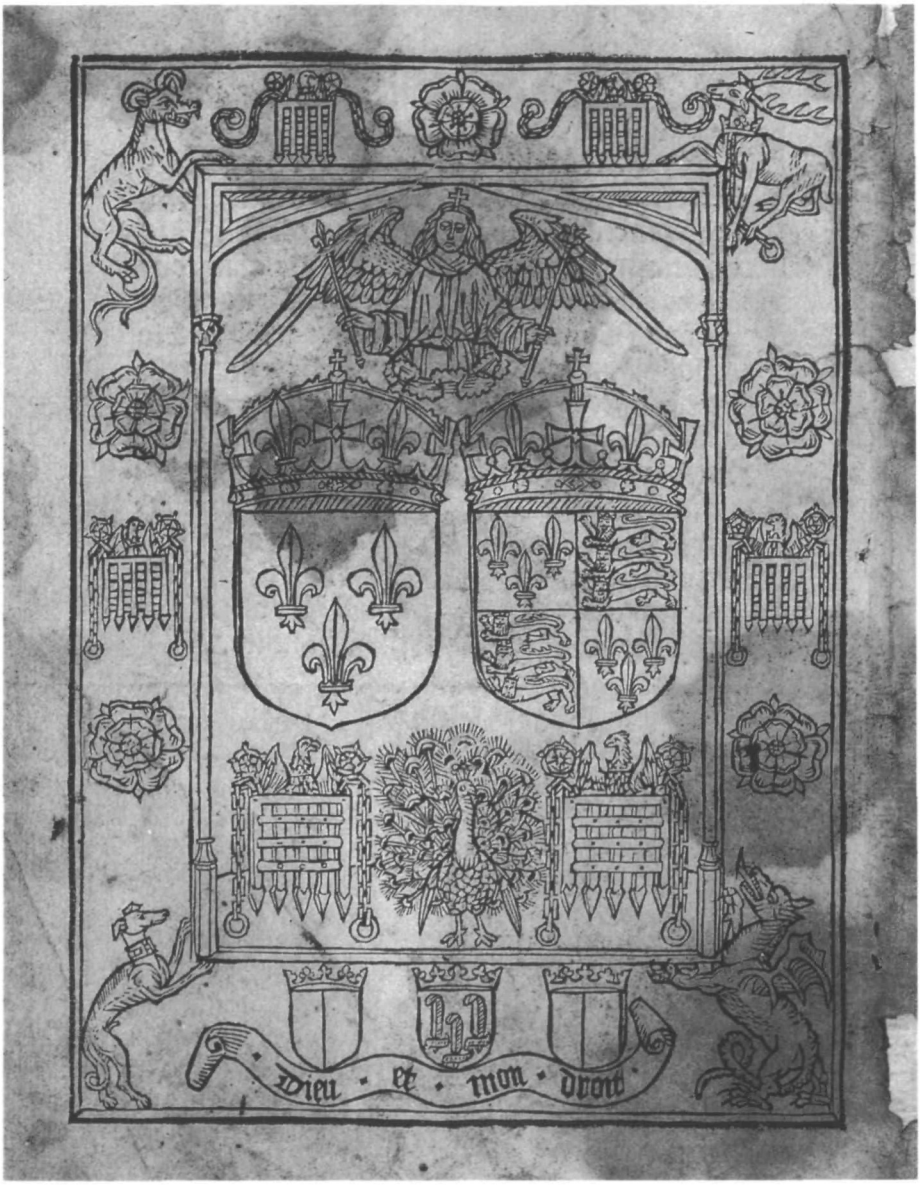


FIGURE 3. *Statutes of War* [London, Richard Pynson, 1492, before May]. London, Public Record Office, E/163/22/3/3, fol. a1v.

sequence of printing in London that had started in 1480, with John Lettou, and had continued with his partnership with William de Machlinia, who after 1481 conducted the business alone. Their work, much of it undated, was largely (but not exclusively) published for the members of the legal profession residing at the Inns of Court: Year-books, Littleton's *Tenores Novelli*, an edition of the *Statuta Nova*, the *Abbreviamentum Statutorum*, and the Statutes of the first year of the reign of Richard III, all in Law-French.[18] The latest date connected with any of de Machlinia's works is 27 March 1486,[19] but there is no reason to assume that all undated books that can be ascribed to his press were printed by that date. On the other hand, neither is there anything to suggest that he continued for any length of time after 1486.

William de Machlinia's disappearance or demise undoubtedly created a gap in the provision of legal printing, especially in Law-French, that must have existed for some time. The only printer remaining active in England was William Caxton in Westminster. The latest date printed in any of his books is 14 July 1489, in his edition of Christine de Pisan's *Fayts of Arms*, but dates in 1490 can be attached to two of his books (the *Eneydos* and the *Art and Craft of Dying*), and in the most recent chronological survey of Caxton's works Paul Needham assigns the year-date 1491 to eight works.[20] It is notable that of these eight, one was an edition, this time in the English language, of the Statutes of the first, third, and fourth year of the reign of Henry VII, a publication that formerly would have belonged to the territory that the first presses in London had so clearly marked as theirs.[21] If Caxton had any intention of filling the lacuna in legal printing, possibly to acquire a formal status as printer of official documents, or 'King's Printer' as he once was styled in an inscription,[22] this would be the only sign of such ambition. Later, Caxton's successor Wynkyn de Worde printed five undated editions of Statutes of Henry VII before the century was out.[23]

Thanks to H. M. Nixon's analysis of the churchwardens' accounts of St Margaret's, Westminster, we are now reasonably certain that Caxton died and was buried in the early months of the historical year 1492, before 25 March.[24] Wynkyn de Worde started paying rent for the shop near the

[18] Duff, nos 273–74, 375, 418–22, 378–79. See also J. H. Baker, 'The Books of the Common Law', in *Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*, III, pp. 411–32 (p. 424).
[19] The date of issue of Pope Innocent VIII's Bull confirming the marriage of Henry VII and Elizabeth of York (Duff, no. 227).
[20] Paul Needham, *The Printer and the Pardoner* (Washington, 1986), pp. 83–91.
[21] Duff, no. 380.
[22] Ownership inscription by William Purde with the words 'emptus a Willelmo Caxton Regis Impressore' in a copy of Ralph Higden, *Polychronicon*, 1482, Duff, no. 172, in a private collection; illustrated in Anne F. Sutton and Livia Visser-Fuchs, *Richard III's Books: Ideals and Reality in the Life and Library of a Medieval Prince* (Stroud, 1997), p. 255.
[23] Duff, nos 381–85.
[24] H. M. Nixon, 'Caxton, his Contemporaries and Successors in the Book Trade from Westminster Documents', *The Library*, v, 31 (1976), 305–26 (pp. 312–14).

Chapter House, which Caxton had occupied until then, in the accounting year 1491–92.[25] There is no record of legal transactions relating to Wynkyn de Worde's succession to the shop, but these must have taken some time, for he had the typographical material in Caxton's workshop overhauled in what was probably a period of forced inactivity. When, with this renewed material, the very substantial *Legenda aurea* of 436 leaves was completed on 20 May 1493, it still bore the imprint 'by me William Caxton'.[26] It was preceded by the much smaller *Life of St Katherine and of St Elizabeth* (96 leaves), without imprint but printed in the same state of the types.[27] Although we are entirely in the dark about the legal arrangements that allowed Wynkyn de Worde to take over the workshop, the evidence of the surviving books suggests that there was an interval before he could print books in 'Caxtons house', as he called it even in 1496.[28] There can therefore hardly be any doubt that this workshop was not operative in March or April 1492, shortly after Caxton's death, at a time when the king so urgently needed a printer for the uniform multiplication of a document that laid down the law, formed part of his legally binding contracts with the commanders, and had to be brought to the knowledge of all concerned.

That leaves Richard Pynson for the king, and us, to consider, as he appears to have been for a while the only active printer in the British Isles. It is very difficult to assess whether by early 1492 Pynson had already established a record of publishing legal works. He resided 'outside the Temple Barr', as stated in his only colophon printed in that year, on 13 November,[29] only a few days after William Paston wrote about him as working at the same address. This location alone makes it likely that Pynson's work was at that time already closely connected with the legal profession, and legal printing was to become a considerable part of his production. It is, however, very difficult to identify a time when his activity as printer started, as most of his early books are undated. Apart from the colophon date of 13 November 1492, the only date that can be attached to any piece of his early printing is the indulgence issued for the benefit of rebuilding the convent of the Crutched Friars at Tower Hill, which had burned down on Midsummer Eve in June 1491, a *terminus post* that leaves much to be desired.[30] There is no indication that Pynson was the immediate successor to the workshop of William de Machlinia, tempting as the logic of such a hypothesis may be. There is no continuity of typographical material (with the exception of one woodcut border) nor of address. Pynson

[25] Nixon, p. 322.
[26] Duff, no. 410.
[27] Duff, no. 403.
[28] Duff, no. 293 (1495), Duff, no. 279 (1496).
[29] Duff, no. 23.
[30] Not in Duff, STC 14077c.51.

admittedly used some of de Machlinia's waste-sheets in his bindings, but a variety of circumstances might explain this.

Gordon Duff was inclined to let Pynson start a good deal earlier than November 1492, and favoured an interpretation allowing de Machlinia indeed to be succeeded by him, especially to fulfil the need for a printer of Law-French,[31] since William Caxton's workshop was not equipped with the printing types or the expertise to meet the special requirements of working in that language. To Pynson's early production belong eight Year-books in Law-French, using three different typefaces, which are difficult to place in a chronological sequence.[32] William Paston, writing so easily of him as 'Pynson the printer', gives the impression that Pynson's printing activity had started well before he was entrusted by the king with the *Statutes of War*. This still does not make him the direct successor to William de Machlinia.

The appearance of what is now left of the *Statutes of War* does not suggest the work of an inexperienced workshop, as some of the Year-books do. It is printed in what is usually designated as Pynson's type 4, but with so much undated work a departure from the conventionally accepted sequence of types is conceivable. Two well-produced initials decorate the book, the armorial woodcut is skilfully executed, and the typesetting is of high quality.[33]

In providing the book with non-textual elements Pynson gave a typographical form to an old tradition of decorating law-books with illumination and penwork. In a modest way the first London printers had followed this tradition by commissioning initials in red and blue with penwork flourishes. These can be uniformly found in many copies of legal texts printed by the partnership of Lettou and de Machlinia, and by de Machlinia alone in the period 1482–85.[34] Presumably the last of this sequence is the *Statuta Nova* (undated, 1483–85). The uniformity in style and execution in multiple copies leaves no doubt that these decorations were commissioned by the printers or even executed in the workshop itself. No such decoration is found in any of the books printed by Pynson, and in this respect, too, he does not follow a pattern set by William de Machlinia. Evidence for relationships between

[31] E. Gordon Duff, *The Printers, Stationers and Bookbinders of Westminster and London from 1476 to 1535* (Cambridge, 1906), pp. 55–57. See also Henry R. Plomer, *Wynkyn de Worde and his Contemporaries from the Death of Caxton to 1535* (London, 1925), pp. 112, 162.

[32] Duff, nos 423–30.

[33] See Figures 1–3, and also Rhodes, 'Statutes and Ordinances of War', plate v.

[34] Flourished initials are found in multiple copies of the *Abbreviamentum Statutorum* (Duff, no. 375), Year-books 35 H.vi and 36 H.vi (Duff, nos 420–21), Littleton, *Tenores Novelli* (Duff, no. 273), and *Statuta Nova* (Duff, no. 378).

print-shops and limners is, however, generally very scarce,[35] and therefore interesting enough for us to consider whether the instructions for colouring the *Statutes of War* might have originated in the printer's workshop. The evidence, however, indicates that they came from another source.

William Paston's letter leaves no doubt that the armorial woodcut was meant to be coloured, thus producing a booklet in the tradition of legal documents that were appealing to the eye. The coloured coat of arms would proclaim the symbolic presence of the king as effectively as a flourish of trumpets. It is impossible to guess whether all copies issued to the commanders had the woodcut coloured, for evidence is lacking. The provenance of the one substantial fragment that includes the woodcut, uncoloured (now in the Public Record Office), is unknown. Dr Pantzer noted that the leaves were misbound and that one leaf (b1) was duplicated,[36] which suggests that the fragment belonged to stock that was not issued but was used up as waste paper. If this is the case, it explains how the woodcut remained uncoloured. It seems highly likely that William Paston persuaded someone at the Chancery to part with a spare copy, rather than the printer, who is said to have delivered *all* copies to the Chancery. The information in the letter that the woodcut would have been coloured if the messenger had been in less of a hurry implies that William Paston would have been willing to get the copy coloured under his personal guidance, to please Thomas Cary and his uncle Sir William Huddesfeld. If spare copies in the Chancery were left uncoloured we may surmise that they were coloured as and when the books were issued to the commanders, an understandable economy, as according to the letter the cost for the colouring of each copy was a penny. The precise instructions for the colouring may nevertheless well have originated in the Chancery, or they may have come from William Paston

[35] Such evidence has most recently been discussed for the printer Nicolaus Jenson in Venice by Lilian Armstrong, 'Nicolaus Jenson's *Breviarium Romanum*, Venice, 1476: Decoration and Distribution', in *Incunabula: Studies in Fifteenth-Century Printed Books Presented to Lotte Hellinga*, ed. by Martin Davies (London, 1999), pp. 421–67 (esp. p. 426). For Mainz in the same period, see Lotte Hellinga, 'Peter Schoeffer and the Book-Trade in Mainz: Evidence for the Organization', in *Bookbindings and other Bibliophily: Essays in Honour of Anthony Hobson*, ed. by D. E. Rhodes (Verona, 1994), pp. 131–83.

[36] Katharine F. Pantzer, 'Statutes and Ordinances of War' (n. 3 above). Duff (no. 387) notes that the fragment in Lambeth Palace Library was taken out of the binding on William Lyndewode, *Constitutiones*, Westminster, Wynkyn de Worde, 1499 (Duff, no. 280). The five rather damaged leaves in the library of the Society of Antiquaries, however, show no sign of having been detached from a binding and may once have been part of a left-over copy in the Chancery. They were presented in 1887 by the London booksellers Williams & Norgate (see J. F. Clayton, 'Incunabula in the Library of the Society of Antiquaries of London: A Handlist', *Antiquarian Journal*, 40 (1980), 308–19, no. 47). Collation shows no textual variants with the PRO copy. We are grateful to the Librarian of the Society of Antiquaries for the opportunity to examine the fragments, and for this reference. Stephen R. Tabor kindly informs us that the fragments in the Huntington Library likewise show no traces of having served as binders' waste. They had belonged to Sir John Fenn (1739–94, antiquary, who owned Paston letters and was their first editor), and they came to the Huntington Library from the Huth sale (lot 3025). Their condition suggests that they were originally also waste sheets obtained from the Chancery. We are most grateful to Mr Tabor.

himself. In any case, in this instance we can exclude the possibility that the printer had coloured all copies before he delivered them to the Chancellor.

Instructions for the colouring of woodcuts of this period are very rare, rarer even than those for limners in manuscripts.[37] In Paston's letter they are not couched in professional terms, for they were to be understood by Thomas Cary, who, in his turn, was to convey them to a professional limner. The same woodcut was used at least three times at a later date, namely in Pynson's edition of Thomas Littleton's *Tenores Novelli* and in his two editions of the *Old Tenures*.[38] The British Library copy of the second edition of the *Old Tenures*[39] has colouring by a rather unskilled hand, but roughly agreeing with the instructions provided by William Paston.

In the quicksand of undated editions that in Westminster and London printing characterize the period from 1486 to 1492/3, precision has been elusive, and each new external document can shift opinions to a greater or lesser extent. The addition of a new, independent witness, communicating with greater clarity than most archival documents, is therefore of significance, as it allows a glimpse of the way Richard Pynson was perceived in the early years of his career as printer.

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[37] Cf. Kathleen L. Scott, 'Limning and Book-Producing Terms and Signs *in situ* in Late-Medieval English Manuscripts: A First Listing', in *New Science out of Old Books: Studies in Manuscripts and Early Printed Books in Honour of A. I. Doyle*, ed. by Richard Beadle and A. J. Piper (Aldershot, 1995), pp. 142–88. A rare example of instruction for woodcut illustration is found in Bibliothèque Nationale de France, MS fr. 1606, containing Olivier de la Marche, *Le Chevalier délibéré*. This manuscript contains precise instructions for illumination, which were followed in the woodcuts in the edition printed at Schiedam (for Otgier Nachtegael?), *c.* 1498–1505. See *Le Cinquième centenaire de l'imprimerie dans les Anciens Pays-Bas* (Brussels, 1973), no. 238b; facsimile published by the Bibliographical Society, 1898, with an introduction by F. Lippmann.

[38] Duff, no. 276, STC 23877.7, and Duff, no. 335. Cf. Curt F. Bühler, 'Notes on a Pynson Volume', *The Library*, IV, 18 (1937–38), 261–67, with reference to an illustration of the armorial woodcut (therefore not in Hodnett, measuring 175 x 125 mm) in J. H. Beale, *A Bibliography of Early English Law Books* (Cambridge, MA, 1926), fig. 4.

[39] British Library, G. 2191(1).