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Printed by ALICE BROADE: the Career of York's First Female Printer, 1661-1680

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Abstract

Alice Broad was York's first female printer and, for a time, the only printer in York following the Restoration of the Monarchy in 1661. Very little is known about Broad, and this chapter draws on archival research from the holdings of York Minster Library, which houses eleven of her seventeen extant publications. Broad's career also underwrites the later development of York's print trades. Alice's tools and presses went with Hannah Broad into her marriage with John White and became the foundation of his own extremely successful printing business. Alice Broad was among White's first collaborators in York and both she and her daughter would have provided the future 'printer to their Royal Majesties' (William and Mary) with materials, expertise, and connections in the regional trade. The unique position of York forms an important backdrop to Broad's career as a city that is both central and regional. This chapter is the first in-depth exploration of her career in the history of York's print trades.

Introduction

In 1661, a sermon appeared in York published from a well-established press 'over against the Starre' in Stonegate. The press had been helmed throughout the difficult Commonwealth

period by Thomas Broad¹, a man whose success in York was opportunistic. When the Civil War sent the King's court and the King's printer, Stephen Bulkley², further north to Newcastle, Broad filled the gap made in the turning fortunes of York's print trade. Thomas Broad left standard traces in the public records: he was born in Gloucestershire and completed an apprenticeship in London before moving his business to York. By 1650, Broad had established his press on Stonegate as well as a shop 'near Common-Hall-Gates' near the Guildhall, the seat of power for the Parliamentary government, for whom he printed; he was admitted gratuitously to the freedom of the city in 1647 (Sessions, 1998, 4; 1976, 21). The imprint in the 1661 sermon, however, heralded a change: it was 'Printed by ALICE BROADE', with her name in all capital letters (the only time she would do this; see figure 2.1 below). Following Thomas's death and until Bulkley's return to York in 1664, Alice Broad was the city's sole printer. Based on extensive research in regional (York Minster Archives and the Borthwick Institute) and national archives (British Library), this chapter is the first detailed scholarly consideration of Alice Broad and her role in the printing history of York.

INSERT FIGURE 2.1 HERE

The number of women involved in the print trades in York make it a fascinating case study from the perspective of gender and regionality. Printing returned to the city earlier than

¹ This surname is spelt 'Broade' and 'Broad' in records; for consistency, this chapter uses the spelling 'Broad' throughout, except when quoting from historical records directly.

² Plomer gives an account of Bulkley in his survey of printers (1907, 38-39) and notes that there are at least two variations on his name: 'Bulkeley' and 'Buckley'. Sessions has provided more detailed information in *Bulkley and Broad; White and Wayt* (1986).

the rest of England due to the brief relocation of Charles I and his Royal Printer (Robert Barker) from London in the spring of 1642. It was the seat of power only briefly, but printing remained after the King and court departed in August of that year. Thomas Broad, Alice's husband, was printing by 1644, and continued printing for the Parliamentary government after the siege of York. Alice, whose solo print career began in 1661, is not only York's first female printer, but she was also part of the initial return of printing to the city after its prohibition in 1586.³ Locating Alice Broad remains, however, a challenge. As with many women in history, she has left only the lightest of traces in official records. Nonetheless, the traces that she has left offer a fascinating glimpse of an active regional printing trade *before* the Licencing Act of 1662 and of women's participation in the trade outside of London and the protections of the Stationers' Company. Broad was the beginning of a lineage of York printers, connected both through family and professional ties. While women's roles in the transmission of property had a particular – and recognized – role in the print trades, Broad's unique position in York – and York's unique position in England in the 1640s - complicate a straightforward reading of her as either exceptional or as representative of women's gendered experiences in the early print trades. She was, certainly, more than a passive transmitter of technologies and capital between generations of male printers, but, as a woman, Broad would

³ Printing had been restricted to London, Cambridge, and Oxford in 1586; see the introduction to this collection. While printing was officially permitted in York in 1662, printers were active in the city from 1642. See Bell and Barnard (1994) on early seventeenth-century York book trades.

also have experienced the trade differently.⁴ This chapter reviews key scholarship before moving on to survey the archival evidence for Broad's career in Restoration York.

Women in the Print Trades

Broad's experience was marked by the shifting fortunes of the city in the decades before York achieved anything like the genteel reputation it enjoyed in the mid and later eighteenth century. Throughout the Civil War, York was not only a Royalist stronghold, but, for a time, the royal residence.⁵ Charles I's brief time in York reintroduced printing to the city and it remained throughout the Civil War and Commonwealth periods. When Thomas Broad stepped into the void left by the departure of the Royal Printer, Stephen Bulkley, the city was in the hands of a new Parliamentary government. By the time Alice Broad took over the press, the city – and country – had come full circle through the Commonwealth and back to a monarchy under Charles II. Thomas Broad's very public politics may well have left Alice Broad with a more challenging professional world to navigate. The question of gender remains incredibly difficult to parse without reducing Alice Broad to a type or over-

⁴ For women's complicated relationship to property and inheritance in this period, see Staves, 1990; for the specific roles that women played in the transmission of tools, copyrights, materials, and networks in the print trades, see Bell 1996; Maruca 2007; McDowell 2000.

⁵ Charles I moved his court to York from March to August 1642; the royal press was housed at St William's College, east of the Minster. Robert Barker was the printer who travelled with Charles to York; Bulkley, a 'royalist printer [in London] felt it expedient to join the royal court in York' (Sessions 1976, 19). The Royal Press was ordered to Nottingham after the King's departure in mid-August; Bulkley arrived in York in June and printed from there until 1644. See Sessions, 1976, 16-20; Plomer, 1907.

emphasising her unique situation as the only printer in York from 1661-1664 and the only *female* printer in York for the duration of her career. It is difficult to draw comparisons as there were no female printers in Oxford at the same time, and Mary Fenner was not active in Cambridge until the early eighteenth century (McKitterick 1984, 86). Broad clearly nurtured connections established by her husband, Thomas, and created new professional relationships. Alice Broad is considerably more difficult to trace in records, a circumstance that she shares with many women in print history. But, as several scholars have noted, this indicts the patriarchal bent of record-keeping more than it can be taken as evidence of Alice's (or any woman's) lack of participation. Isobel Grundy posits 1750 as the point after which women's involvement in the 'actual production of books' *decreased* (Grundy 2009, 146). Recently, however, the Women's Print History Project (WPHP) at Simon Fraser University 'found over 450 female firms trading during the period 1750-1800' (Levy 2020, 7 of 13). The work of the WPHP, alongside the foundational database that is the British Book Trades Index (BBTI) is evidence that, overall, the perceptions of women's activities in the print trades indicates flawed methodologies rather than a historical absence. For a relatively small city (particularly in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries), York has a remarkably rich history of female printers, most of whom leave few, if any, traces.⁶ Two women, Grace White and Ann Ward, active in York between 1716 and 1789, are somewhat better known: White is best remembered for printing York's first newspaper, *The York Mercury* (from 1718); Ward, for printing the first two volumes of Laurence Sterne's *Tristram Shandy* (1759/60) and (less

⁶ The University of York's Thin Ice Press makes scant mention of the women through whom Thomas Gent was able to establish his printing business; Broad, White, and Ward, among others, are part of Robert Davies' *A Memoir of the York Press* (1988) and appear in the work of William K. and E. Margaret Sessions.

sensationally) for her thirty-year ownership of *The York Courant* (1759-1789) and its associated printing business.

The records of Broad's career in printing, however, demonstrate the challenges of researching women in the print trades. If Thomas Broad left a will, it was not recorded at probate, but Alice's appearance immediately after Thomas' final imprint in the late 1650s and her assumption of the printing business suggest that Alice was already known in York and established as part of the business while Thomas was alive.⁷ Henry Plomer, writing in the early twentieth century, does not hesitate to describe Alice as 'a printer at York; 1660-1667. Widow of Thomas Broad' (Plomer 1907: 33). Marriage was an established route into the print trades for women and, even where the trade was firmly under the control of the Stationers' Company, women – particularly widows – could inherit and own printing houses and presses (though legal control of these passed to their husbands if they remarried).⁸ While women could not undertake formal apprenticeships, the circumstances of the printing house usually meant that wives, daughters, and female servants acquired more than a passing familiarity with the material, financial, and social transactions of the family business. This is a pattern that repeats for both Grace White and Ann Ward, both of whom assumed control of their husband's businesses immediately upon being made widows and made effective and productive use of their contacts, contracts, and connections in York and across the North. Both can trace their trade-lineage back to Alice Broad's press.

⁷ Cf. Helen Williams, chapter 5, on Anne Fisher in Newcastle.

⁸ Neither Alice Broad nor Ann Ward remarried (Grace White died a scant five years after her husband), though both worked closely with male colleagues within and beyond their businesses until their deaths.

Broad's daughter, Hannah, carried her family's press with her into marriage with John White, who became 'Their Majesties' Printer for the City of York and the five Northern Counties' (Sessions 1976: 25). Hannah died young, and Grace White was John's second wife. She inherited half of the 'tools, presses, letters, and all other utensils belonging to the trade of a printer' on John's death in 1716 (Will of John White, January 1715/16) – the other half going to Hannah and John's grandson, Charles Bourne. *The York Mercury* was not a resounding success, but it does show Grace White's considerable network across Yorkshire: the first issue (23 February 1718) lists sellers from Hull to Skipton. After John's death, Grace kept the business going, taking on apprentices, and establishing the personnel and processes required for a weekly newspaper where none existed previously. The White press then passed to Thomas Gent, certainly York's most famous printer, through his marriage to Alice Guy, widow of Charles Bourne and servant of John and Grace White. Ann Ward enters the picture laterally, through the business that Alice Broad's press allowed John White to establish. While Grace had inherited half of the *tools*, the real estate of John White's York business went to John White, Jr., who was already established as a printer in Newcastle. In reaction to Thomas Gent's inheritance of White's press and of Grace White's fledgling newspaper (which Gent renamed *The Original York Journal or Weekly Courant*), White Jr. set up *The York Courant* in 1724. He eventually sold the paper and press in York to his apprentice, John Gilfillian, whose widow, Isabella, continued the printing house for a few years after his death. The *Courant* and the printery passed to Alexander Staples and on to Richard Chandler and Cesar Ward, Ann's husband. After Cesar's death in 1759, Ann took over the business and made it one of the largest and most successful printing establishments in the North of England. These women were not only participants in the print trades, but owners and directors of influential businesses who shaped the printing activities of the city. These are complicated networks to follow, crossing as they do between generations, and ranging outside of strict

property inheritance. The transmission of expertise and experience, for example, was certainly valuable – particularly, perhaps, for a city like York that increasingly attracted professional printers from beyond the city and region. These layers of familial and professional relationships are challenging to unravel; they form the social and economic backbone to the York print trades. The key generations and individuals are the Restoration printers (Alice Broad and Stephen Bulkley); the later seventeenth and early eighteenth century (John and Grace White); and the eighteenth-century printers (Thomas Gent and Ann Ward).

Feminist literary history has done astonishing work in recovering the contributions and participation of women in the history of literature, particularly in terms of authorship and, more recently, readerships. In the last two decades, attention has turned to the roles of women in the broader fields of book history, including production, dissemination, circulation, and preservation.⁹ The period of the most intense ‘print explosion’ (after 1775) has led the way in explorations of women’s engagement with the broader marketplace of print, even if ‘professionalization’, as Michelle Levy notes, has focused on women as authors and particularly, on women as *novelists* (Levy 2014: 302). Women are now regularly part of attentive scholarship on the historical print trades, though there are still very few in-depth studies that focus exclusively on them. Research into the literary *marketplace* and into women’s relationships with property and ownership has also contributed to a deeper interest in how women in the book and print trades were part of the everyday rather than notable exceptions. Broader theoretical turns, including new historicism, cultural materialism, and the ‘spatial turn’, have also expanded the perspectives of literary scholarship and particularly

⁹ Michelle Levy (2020) locates this shift in 1998 with Leslie Howsam’s ‘two-page SHARP (Society for the History of Authorship, Reading, and Publishing) News entry’, which asked ‘a different set of questions about women’s place in the history of the book’.

benefitted the further recovery of women as central to, rather than on the periphery, of the business of literature, particularly during the handpress era. Catherine Gallagher's foundational work, *Nobody's Story* (1994) provides a useful illustration of the ways in which women's participation in literature has been restricted to questions of authorship – highlighting, as Levy notes, the traditional narrow focus of literary studies on the single author (Levy 2014: 298). Examining the role of women who were *not* authors expands the arguments and conclusions made by feminist literary scholars into the wider world of print history.¹⁰ If female authors, as Catherine Gallagher argues, could make use of the ways in which 'woman', 'author', 'marketplace', and 'fiction' shared connotations of nothingness and disembodiment', women in the print trades performed similar sleights of identity that could enable them to evade (if not escape) arrest and criminal charges (Gallagher 1994: xviii). Julie Crawford demonstrates the ways in which women's history must also be considered as inflected by but not wholly directed by gender: beyond birth and marriage, women acted from religious and political beliefs as well as different community affiliations and commitments (Crawford 2014, 5). The 'disappearing acts of women in the marketplace', to paraphrase Gallagher's subtitle, also made them strategic assets in printing, as Paula McDowell (1998) and Lisa Maruca (2007) have argued. As Maruca notes, '[d]espite their actual lack of political authority, or more accurately, because of it, women [...] of the trade were charged with supervising, and being held accountable for, the potentially unruly world of words' (Maruca 2007: 115).

¹⁰ Crawford (2014) argues for a much broader purview of women's engagement with literary production in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; one that looks beyond consanguineal and affinal communities and towards individually determined and more temporary affiliations in wider social and cultural circles. See the introduction (1-29).

Alice Broad's career in the print trades of York demonstrates that women could also be part of the everyday world of the business of print. Tracing women's lives through public records, most of which recognize women only through marriage or conflicts with the law, reveals them as exceptions to, rather than a part of, the daily life of a community. Paula McDowell, drawing on Maureen Bell's description of the 'iceberg effect' produced by Stationers' Company records and imprint information, argues that such documents belie the extent of women's actual involvement in the book trades (McDowell, 2000: 145). This is certainly true of Broad, whose small output and brief public career gives little indication of the depth of her experience and knowledge of the trade, her involvement in her husband's business before his death, or her ongoing management of the press after Thomas' death. Richard Darnton's model of the 'Communications Circuit' (1982) might offer a means to address the ways in which women's roles in the print trades exceed traditionally distinct categories; however, Levy observes that Darnton's model is 'silent on the question of gender' (Levy 2014: 298). Darnton's model also presupposes an existing infrastructure in which the discrete roles of the communications circuit are in place: publisher, printer, shippers, for example. This infrastructure may have been likely in the metropolis, but its presence was far less reliable (if it existed at all) in seventeenth-century York. Moreover, the mythical distinction between 'home' and 'work' has nowhere been more successfully routed in scholarship than in the history of the book. A printing house was simultaneously a domestic space: 'family values' were not separable from 'business values' in these spaces (Maruca 2007, 114). The 'typical establishment' of 'a master printer and his wife (or a widow and her manager)' also describes Broad's situation in the later seventeenth century and those of White and Ward later in the eighteenth century (Maruca 2007, 115). Broad may have been listed as a 'printer', but she also negotiated contracts, worked with collaborators as well as employees, dealt with accounts and customers, and worried about distribution, sales, and the marketing of

her business. She was also a wife and mother, and eventually a widow, responsible for hearth tax, the lease on her house, the usual household accounts, and the raising of her daughter.¹¹

The extent to which Alice Broad's career is *typical* of that of a seventeenth-century regional printer is precisely her importance: recovering her work contributes to the developing picture of women in the print trades and extends it beyond London.

Alice Broad in York

Geographically, York offered printers a unique situation. A city of international trading significance in the Middle Ages, York's fortunes dwindled considerably by the Reformation. The Council of the North, established in 1472 by Edward IV, was dissolved in 1641. And yet, York remained the seat of court power in the North: it was from York that Charles I directed engagements against Scotland in the 1630s and to York that the court decamped in 1642 and remained until the Siege of York in 1644. On one hand, York was far from London's competitive community of printers, stationers, booksellers, and other print trade professions; on the other, it was 'endowed with a county jurisdiction, containing twenty-seven administrative parishes as well as a functioning guild economy, serving as an ecclesiastical and provincial centre' – all of which required increasingly relied on print (Withington 2005, 97). It was far from the surveillance of the Stationers' Company, which meant less intrusion, but also less protection. While it was distant from the centre of power in one perspective, in another it was precisely between two important political cities, London and Edinburgh. Both centre and periphery, York's fortunes wavered throughout the tumultuous mid-seventeenth century. The specific circumstances of York also provided a potential benefit for printers, and particularly for women: the Liberty of St Peter, which included Stonegate where Broad (and

¹¹ If there were other children, no records or mention of them have survived.

later Grace White) lived and worked, was outside of the jurisdiction of the Lord Mayor and Corporation of York (Leak 1990: 32). Most importantly, there was no requirement for a trader within the Liberty to be a freeman of the city. Freeman were granted ‘access to economic resources and privileges’ but this could only apply to enfranchised inhabitants, a status only available to male heads of household through ‘patrimony, purchase, or [...] a seven-year apprenticeship’ (Withington 2005, 10).

Both Robert Davies and William Sessions include some account of Alice Broad’s outputs in their surveys of York printers. Undertaken before online union catalogues, however, both present partial information. Davies lists only seven titles from Broad’s press, including two imprints from 1661 (Davies 1988: 89). Eric Clough, in his *Short Title Catalogue*, lists five (Clough 1970). There are currently six known imprints from 1661 and records of at least 17 books from Alice Broad’s press which show her printing between two and six books each year between 1661 and 1664 and then one book a year until 1668. There are no subsequent extant titles until 1680, when she publishes a set of visitation articles (a series of questions to ensure clergy were following the ecclesiastical rules) for Northumberland, and a collection of poetry. The latter is unique in Alice’s output and it is, significantly, co-printed with John White, who married Hannah Broad in 1680.¹²

At the point that Alice Broad took over the press, riots and disturbances were common in York (Withington 2001: 143). Thomas Broad had been appointed printer when the Parliamentarians took control of York and the King’s Printer, Bulkley, had fled to Newcastle.

¹² George Peacock, Ann Ward’s son-in-law, appeared on the masthead of *The York Courant* on 1 April 1788 (Sessions 1976, 41), a year before Ward’s death; Tace Sowle (1666-1749), well-known London Quaker printer, also shared her imprints with her successor, her nephew Luke Hinde, before her death (Jeffery 2020, 94).

Throughout his brief career, Thomas' political affiliations lined up perfectly with his circumstances in York. His tenure extended through the Commonwealth Period, during which he extended his business to include a shop next to the Guildhall, the better to establish his connections with the Parliamentary government. This location projected a strong message about the tenor and content of his press. In 1661, Alice began her solo printing career in a very different political and cultural climate. At the Restoration, the reordering of government brought back politicians who had been loyal to the Royalist cause throughout the Civil War and Interregnum. In York, Thomas Broad's connections and reputation were established in his work for the Parliamentary government; Alice may have inherited these connections and networks, but they were of a very different coin after 1660. Stephen Bulkley, Charles I's former printer in York, returned to the city in 1663, certainly capitalising on his loyalist affiliations to re-establish himself as a printer there. Thomas Broad's previous collaborators and distributors, including Francis Mawburn, a bookseller and Parliamentarian who had been the Sherriff of York in 1656, and Thomas Bradley, who had published his sermons with Thomas and Alice Broad, curtailed their involvement with Alice's press when Bulkley returned.

For three years, Alice was the only printer in York, a factor that may have gained her as much business as any other residual connections or established networks. When Bulkley poached her collaborators, their realigned loyalties may indeed have been based in their preference for working with a man. Yet Broad was able to find new business partners and continued trading throughout this time, which suggests that lingering political loyalties may also have been influential. As Helen Smith notes of female London stationers at the beginning of the seventeenth century, Broad's outputs may have indicated 'little in the way of ideological purpose or partisan engagement' (Smith 2003: 175), but they also include new books and original material, most of which are clearly for a local readership. John Barnard

and Maureen Bell identify the end of the seventeenth century as the beginning of a provincial trade in printing that would flourish in the eighteenth century (Barnard and Bell 2002: 665-668). Comprised of sermons, instructional books, visitation articles, local information and stories, Broad's output should be considered an early indication of the demand for regional printing 'in the North for the North'.

Sermons were a key part of Broad's business. These were increasingly popular in second half of the seventeenth century, reflecting religious as well as political upheaval. The Protestant Reformation – seen by some as promoting a 'religion of the word' – created an increase in printed polemic, and vernacular religious printing; sermons were one form that was printed and sold in large numbers across England (Rigney 2011: 204). York, a cathedral city, supplied a ready base of preachers wanting to publish their sermons and a righteous and godly audience, both clergy and lay, wanting to read them (Barnard and Bell 1994: 28).

Thomas Broad had printed sermons and Alice certainly continued to do so: she printed seven preached at York Minster between 1661 and 1663, four of them by Thomas Bradley. A chaplain to Charles I, Bradley had suffered badly during the Commonwealth. In a sermon preached in 1663, Bradley describes the process of printing the sermon as a far greater task than preaching it. Davies provides another example of a clergyman working with Thomas Broad who records the printer 'snatching the finished sheets from his hand to be marked up' (Davies 1988: 74). It is possible then, that the breakdown in the relationship between Alice Broad and Bradley after Bulkley's return was a combination of opposing personalities as well as differing political views. Two versions of another Bradley sermon (*Caesar's Due*) from 1663 indicate the popularity of these publications and Broad's ability to respond quickly to market demand. In one, the titlepage reads 'Printed by Alice Broade, and are to be sold by Richard Lambert at the Minster-Gates'. The second version omits the details about Lambert but preserves the other information. The spacing on the titlepages is the same, however,

indicating that the Lambert edition came first. The other edition suggests that the work was extremely popular but the print run too short, requiring Broad to reprint quickly and potentially for other sellers.

The sermons provide a useful sense of some of Broad's enduring connections with York booksellers: Lambert, who sold Broad's printing of Bradley's sermons, was also involved in her printing of a sermon by Peter Samways, *The Church of Rome* in 1663.¹³ Lambert also worked with Broad again in 1664 on *The Black Diet, of the Historie of Christs Passion* by York author Thomas Calvert. This also continued a relationship begun when Thomas Broad was alive: he had published two of Calvert's titles in 1647 (*Heart Salve for a Wounded Soule*) and 1648 (*The Blessed Jew of Marocco*). As a preacher at the Minster, Calvert was certainly of local interest and Thomas Broad's relationship with him fits the pattern of both readers' tastes and regional printers' typical outputs. Between the Civil War and the Restoration, however, Calvert's position in York changed significantly. While he was a safe bet as an uncontroversial author during the Commonwealth, when Thomas printed his two sermons, after the Restoration, his work and his reputation in York were quite different. Alice would have been aware that Calvert had been ejected from his living in York in 1664 – he would also fall afoul of the Oxford Act the following year, which required expelled clergymen to live at least five miles from their previous parish (Calamy 1803: 458). Both Broad and Lambert, however, attached their names to *The Black Diet*, suggesting that the publication was less contentious than Calvert's record might suggest. If we attribute more

¹³ Lambert's career was longer than appears. Both the BBTI and Plomer give Lambert's dates of activities as 1660-1690; however, a search of union catalogues reveals he was working with London printers from the mid-1650s. The earliest title extant is an edition of the *York-Shire Spaw*, 'printed for Richard Lambert bookseller, at Minster-Gate in York, 1654'.

motivation to the decision, it is possible that Alice Broad was willing to court controversy for the sake of political and religious beliefs.

The relationship with Lambert seems to have been her longest and most productive. In 1667, she worked with Lambert on an edition of *Scarborough Spaw*, written by York author Dr John Wittie. Lambert had been collaborating on this book with a London printer, Charles Tyus at the ‘Three Bibles on London Bridge’, since 1660. When Broad became involved, it was with Lambert and Thomas Messenger, Tyus’ successor. The subject of the health-giving waters of the spa was likely to be a good seller: Thomas Broad had printed two editions of a book on the same subject in 1649 and 1654 (*Spadacrene Anglica, the English Spaw*). These imprints reveal the extent to which Alice Broad was part of a network of traders and professionals in York that extended to the London market. She was not alone, or seemingly isolated, by her gender in York and clearly drew on her associates to make decisions about likely audiences and what would sell. Print trades were by necessity highly collaborative and could also involve financial risks; Alice Broad’s networks within and beyond York demonstrate her understanding of her profession and her independent reputation as a printer. Thomas Broad, on the other hand, rarely printed in collaboration, and certainly not to the extent that Alice did.¹⁴

In 1661, her first year of publishing, Broad also worked with Francis Mawburn and Leonard Campleshon. With Mawburn, she printed an edition of *The Duke’s Desk* in 1661, a collection of medical receipts originally published in London. This was the first time in York printing history that the phrase ‘are to be sold by’ was included in an imprint. Mawburn’s bookshop was within the Liberty of St Peter, very close to the Minster; ‘Minster-Gate’ would

¹⁴ The only person Thomas Broad appears to work with is Nathaniel Brooke at the Angel at Cornhill, London. Cf. Sessions 1998, 3.

be known as ‘Bookbinders’ Alley’ by the eighteenth century. Campleshon is nearly as elusive as Broad herself: he received his freedom by patrimony in 1658 and had a shop on Stonegate near to the Broads’ press (BBTI). In 1661, they published a fifth edition of John Crowshey’s *The Good Husbands Jewel*, ‘corrected, enlarged, and published by authority’, and an edition of *The Country Mans Instructor*. Crowshey was a popular Yorkshire writer on cattle husbandry, so this was a reliable title for Broad’s press, given the importance of domestic animals to the economy of the North (Curth 2010: 80). In the preface, Crowshey specifically addresses his ‘friends’ in the ‘counties of Yorke, Lincolne, and Nottingham’, describing himself as a ‘plain Yorkshireman’ (Crowshey 1661: 3, 4). The print history of these two texts offers an illustrative example of the paucity of concepts like ‘centre’ and ‘periphery’ in describing seventeenth-century book trades. *The Country Mans Instructor* was first published in London in 1636 and later republished in an expanded version as *The Good Husbands Jewel*. The first extant version of *Jewel*, from 1651, announces that it was ‘first published at Yorke’; however, that book has not survived. The titlepage of the 1651 edition states that the book is ‘now licensed and published by authority for the good of the Commonwealth’. Crowshey’s introduction to his work stresses his experience and regional identity: he writes not from received learning but from ‘deeds’, having been practicing his talents across the ‘Northern parts’, and intends his legacy now for the ‘common Good’ (Crowshey 1661: 4-5). There is an odd seeming duplication of effort in Broad and Campleshon publishing both *The Good Husbands Jewel* and *The Country Mans Instructor* in the same year, given that the latter was an expanded version of the former. Both continued to sell well, however, and Broad later published a seventh edition in 1664 – John White published the eleventh version in 1683, shortly after his marriage to Hannah Broad.

Alice Broad’s outputs ranged quite widely, given that there are only seventeen titles extant. Her other important publications were the visitation articles she printed in 1662 (York)

and 1680 (Northumberland). She must have been commissioned by church authorities to print these documents, and they neatly bookend her activity as a printer. These publications also indicate that Alice maintained good relationships with the ecclesiastical authorities in York. The articles took the form of a series of searching questions that were printed and circulated before official visits to allow church wardens to prepare appropriate answers for the event (Farrell 2018: 262). More sensational in content is Broad's publication of the account of Isabella Binnington of Drifffield, East Yorkshire in 1662. This work is unique in Broad's output for her inclusion of 'printed with privilege' on the titlepage, suggesting that it is an officially licenced document. It is further approved by one of the text's authors, a Justice of the Peace. The likely reason for the judicial endorsement, and the paratextual framing that accompanies the text, is the work's content. It is a legal examination of Binnington following her alleged encounter with a ghost who described extremely specific details of his murder, and, for good measure, revealed a conspiracy against Charles II. For a supporter of the Parliamentary cause during the war, and as someone who experienced the political tensions and economic decline of York during the Restoration, Broad's decision to print this text suggests a desire to publicly show allegiance to the new regime (Butler 2011: 272). The text is further unusual for Broad due to the inclusion of two woodcuts, which she rarely used, the only other example being one included in *The Duke's Desk* (1661). Binnington's deposition was taken on 2 September, but the text contains information from as late as 20 October, which closely dates the printing. Another, more lurid, pamphlet of the same story was printed in London in the same year, closely following Alice's tract but without the conspiracy (Butler 2011: 250). It was clearly locally interesting and another likely bestseller for a very different audience than those catered to by sermons, instruction manuals, and visitation articles.

Stephen Bulkley's Return to York

While Broad's activities as a printer suggest some insights into her professional life, the evidence permits only a narrow picture. Her reflections on her position in York, on the ways that political and cultural changes impacted her life and business, and specifically on how she navigated the early print market of York, are all irrecoverable. Especially illuminating would be her thoughts on the return of her competitor Stephen Bulkley. Seeing as sixteen of the seventeen titles that can definitely be traced to her press appeared between 1661 and 1664, Bulkley's return in 1663 did not immediately dent her outputs. After 1664, when Bradley and Mawburn ceased collaborating with her, however, Broad produced only two or three texts for the remainder of the decade. It is crucial to note here that whilst he had corroded some aspects of Broad's business, Bulkley did not fare much better as a printer in York. Plomer records a letter from 1666 in which Bulkley is described as 'an object of charity' having 'but a poore livelyhood' (Plomer 1907: 39). It is possible that the population of York, recovering from a whirlwind two decades of massive political and cultural change, was not buying books. Comments from visitors to the city at the end of the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries suggest that its fortunes did not recover from the Civil War. While by the 1730s, when histories of the city promoted its 'antient' and glorious status, York was quickly becoming a centre of genteel amusement and leisure, this followed decades of decline. Travelling through York at the end of the seventeenth century, Celia Fiennes recorded her impressions of a city of 'meane appearance': 'the houses are very Low and as jndifferent as in any Country town and the Narrowness of y^e Streetes makes it appear very mean' (Fiennes 1888: np). Alice Broad's experience in York would seem to bear out the changes wrought on England's 'second city' over the course of the century.

For three years from her first printing, Alice Broad had been the sole printer in York. Her outputs indicate that she was working closely with booksellers and forming relationships with local authors. Though the change was not instant, Bulkley's return (and with it, the

arrival of competition) did impact Broad's press. Bulkley's first printing was a sermon by Thomas Bradley that was sold by Francis Mawburn (*A Sermon ad clerum*). Both had worked previously with Alice Broad; neither would work with her again. William Sessions suggests more devious stratagems in Bradley and Mawburn's 'deserting' Broad and transferring their allegiance to Bulkley. He insists that Bulkley deliberately took away Broad's business because he was a man and a Royalist: Bradley had, after all, been close to Charles I and may have met Bulkley while both were in the King's service in 1642 (Sessions 1998: 20). Bulkley had left York during the Civil War but was considered in 1666 as 'a man well beloved amongst the ould cavaleers' (Plomer 1907: 39). Both Bulkley and Bradley had suffered during the Commonwealth, and both had had their loyalties rewarded in the Restoration. As the *only* printer in York before Bulkley's reappearance, Broad may have been the necessary choice rather than a preferred partner. It may be that her position was always precarious as a Parliamentarian in a Royalist city that was besieged rather than persuaded to the cause. What is clear is the fact that by the 1670s, Bulkley had moved further into Broad's space and the heart of York's printing world, operating from the 'Cross Swords' in Stonegate.

Nonetheless, Broad continued printing after Bulkley's return. Printing was, after all, her livelihood as well as her identity in the city. In 1665, she leveraged the surge of interest in the plague, then raging in London and spreading to York, in a broadsheet of remedies written by the Royal College of Physicians.¹⁵ It is bound in a volume with a pamphlet printed by Bulkley from the same year entitled *Receipt of a Sovereign Water for the Plague*.¹⁶ These two items are clearly connected: the Royal College had reprinted their advice for the prevention

¹⁵ This item is held at the Carlisle Cathedral Library, 8A6.18.

¹⁶ We are indebted to Canon David Weston, honorary assistant librarian at Carlisle Cathedral for this information.

and treatment of the plague in 1665, which was the likely cause of both Broad and Bulkley's publications. However, neither Broad's broadsheet nor Bulkley's pamphlet seems to be a straight reprint of that information. Despite their challenging personal and professional pasts, the Sammelband suggests that Bulkley and Broad did work together but separately on civic projects and of course, the fact that they are bound together shows at least one reader associating their publications. While these might have been competing publications, it demonstrates a shared interest in purveying public health information, particularly during a time of intense public anxiety.

Sessions and Davies give Alice Broad's last extant printing as a 1667 edition of *Scarborough Spaw*. However, a book kept at the York Minster Library may indicate her continued presence in York's print trades. The text is a sermon preached by William Bramhall on 13 July 1668 (*The Loyal Prophet*); there is no printer's name on the titlepage and the imprint details merely state 'printed at York, Anno Dom. 1668'. Davies attributes this to Bulkley's press but typographical details, including the decorative tools used, make Broad's press a more likely source (see figure 2.2 and 2.3, below). Davies' attribution likely stems from the fact that there are other books printed in York during the late 1660s and 1670s that have no printer's name, some of which are undoubtedly printed by Bulkley. Why Broad would not have included her name remains a mystery. The content does not seem to be contentious; Broad had not omitted her name in the past, and after 1662, the Regulation of the Press Act required printers to set their names to all outputs from their presses. It is tempting to read this as Broad's gradual fading from view. Broad printed as 'Alice Broad/Broade' from 1661 to 1664; in 1665, however, she begins to appear as 'A. Broad' and does not appear with her full name again until 1680. It is possible that Bulkley had a monopoly by agreement on sermons preached at the Minster, but with only two printers in York, the text's origin would have been glaringly obvious. Bulkley also had more reason than Broad to be wary of

contravening requirements of printers. In 1666, he and Mawburn published *An Apology of the English Catholics*, a work considered seditious. Given the material indications that Bramhall's sermon belongs to Broad's press, it is then possible that she remained active in the trade after 1665. Just as absence from official records cannot be taken as evidence of women's absence in history, Broad's sudden silence may not be the full story. Publishing a broadsheet in 1665 might indicate a significant shift in her outputs towards ephemeral materials that have not survived; as Smith observes, the survival of early English printed books is not certain (Smith 2012, 101), and this is all the more an issue for ephemera. There is evidence in the city Chamberlain's records of blank books being bought and sold¹⁷ – these would have been supplied locally and it is possible that Broad's business model expanded to include providing such items. In any case, Broad certainly retained the press and she reappears in 1680 with two books: the Northumberland Visitation articles and, crucially, a collection of poetry co-printed with John White, her future son-in-law. That Alice Broad includes her name alongside White's on her final publication suggests a handover of control, which would imply that the press was still active throughout the 1670s. John White's next imprint gives the place as again 'over and against the Starre', returning the printed representation of Broad's press to the location of Alice Broad's bold entry into the print marketplace nearly 20 years earlier.

INSERT FIGURE 2.2 AND FIGURE 2.3 HERE (NEED TO BE IN VERY CLOSE PROXIMITY FOR COMPARISON OF DECORATIVE BORDER)

¹⁷ York Explore Library Y/FIN/1/2 Chamberlain account books, 25 (1665).

The marriage of Alice Broad's daughter, Hannah Broad, to John White in 1680 brought him immediate material gains. Newly arrived in York, White must have seen the prospect of marrying into a successful and established business as very attractive (Sessions 1976: 24). Hannah herself leaves even lighter traces in history: she is not recorded on any imprints. However, in addition to the presses, Hannah would have brought knowledge of and experience in the trade, having grown up in her mother's business. She must have worked closely with her mother and provided White an important contact with York's tradesmen when he assumed ownership of the press. White later left his second wife, Grace, half of the tools of the press in his will, effectively making her a partner with his young grandson, Charles Bourne, and guardian of the business. Women played key roles in White's press: Thomas Gent recalls that his correspondence with White's press in York came from Grace, as well as John (Gent 1832, 18); Alice Guy, the White's maidservant and later Gent's wife, was an integral part of their press as well. Later in the eighteenth century, Ann Ward, whose press in part came from the business established by John White's son (John White, Jr.) and so from the legacy of Alice Broad's seventeenth-century printing house, built her own business into an astonishing success. Women were at the heart of York's print trades from the mid-seventeenth century until the end of the eighteenth century. They succeeded in a lively, competitive, and challenging marketplace. In many ways, their gender marked them most indelibly long after their deaths: they were erased not through their own energies (or passivity), but through the biases of record-keeping, archives, and historical orders. Alice and her daughters of the press deserve their place as participants in and leaders of York's print trades.

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Figure Captions

Figure 2.1 Alice Broad’s first publication, 1661.

Figure 2.2 Detail of *The Loyal Prophet*, showing decorative tool at the top. Printed by Alice Broad, 1668.

Figure 2.3 Detail from Northumberland Visitation Articles, showing chipped and worn initial used by Alice Broad, as well as the same decorative tool used on the 1668 printing of *The Loyal Prophet*.