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**Where was the coffee in early modern England?**[i]

It is difficult to think of a comestible that does more historical work than coffee. Certainly within European and Anglo-American historiography, coffee is taken to be emblematic – even a constituent feature – of at least three grand narratives of 'modernity'. It is integral to various versions of Europe's 'consumer revolution' and the formation of the first 'global economy'.[ii] Historians identify coffee as one of the commodities that facilitated Europe's unprecedented phase of global commerce and colonialism after 1650 and as the catalyst for a whole new material culture – including porcelain, china, and new styles of furniture – that accumulated around its consumption.[iii] It retains its global economic importance to this day.[iv] Second, coffee is taken to be deeply implicated in the European embrace of various kinds of behavioural norms that distinguish pre-modern and modern societies. As one of the new hot beverages to supplant alcohols as the lubricants of European sociability, the consumption of coffee required and came to signify 'sobriety', 'rationality', and 'respectability' on the part of its consumers.[v] In so doing it encouraged 'industriousness' in two respects: in terms of the social practices to develop around drinking coffee, including the material culture of the new consumerism; and in the set of attitudes that both demarcated the social status of consumers and helped them acquire the household income required to purchase coffee and its material paraphernalia.[vi] But the impact of coffee was not limited to economics or society. On the contrary, coffee is also closely associated with developments relating to political culture. Most notoriously, it is the epitome of the

eighteenth-century 'public sphere': the stimulant for rational and political discourse that, according to Jürgen Habermas, first emerged in the coffeehouses of England in the 1690s as bourgeois, masculine, and influential in ways not previously possible under *anciens regimes*.[vii]

These narratives suggest, perhaps, an historical burden that few commodities should be expected to bear. But over the last twenty years the English experience of coffee has emerged as especially precocious.[viii] Brian Cowan notes that 'no other country took to coffee drinking with quite the same intensity that Britain did in the seventeenth century', suggesting that 'Britain experienced a particularly intense combination of genteel curiosity, mercantile commerce and metropolitan civil society in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. It was this unique combination of circumstances that made the British Isles so exceptionally receptive to the introduction of coffee consumption'.[ix] According to Steve Pincus, 'Soon after the first coffeehouse opened in Oxford "about the year 1650" coffee drinking became all the rage', prompting the question 'Why did English men and women all over the country, of all social classes and ideological proclivities, begin swarming to coffeehouses during the Interregnum and Restoration?' The answer for Pincus lies in the peculiarly 'modern' English taste for news.[x] Markman Ellis has carefully reconstructed the opening of what was probably the first coffeehouse 'in Christendom', by Levant merchants near London's Royal Exchange in Cornhill in the early 1650s, and traced thereafter the rapid proliferation of metropolitan coffeehouses: only a decade later, there was no less than 'eight-two keepers of such

establishments' in London.[xi] Ellis argues that not only were coffee-houses 'firmly established as a British institution by the end of the 1660s' – resplendent in England's provincial capitals as well Edinburgh and Dublin – but that the Cornhill coffeehouse served as a template for similar establishments in the cities of Hanseatic, Dutch and North American merchants by the 1670s.[xii]

Ellis is much more cautious than Pincus in depicting the sociology of these coffeehouses, envisaging 'a masculine space, devoted especially to news, to reading and writing, to business, and to gossip and intelligence'.[xiii] But what Ellis does assume is that a distinctive feature of the Anglo-American coffeehouse was that the beverage sold in it was, in fact, coffee. This was in contrast to the rival Parisian model of the café, which from its inception was 'a hybrid institution between a coffee-house and tavern' in which the main draw was the possibility of novel drinks.[xiv] Ellis accordingly asserts (without any evidence) that by 'the early 1670s coffee had become almost ubiquitous in London and well known across Europe. Bales of raw coffee were imported in London in very large quantities, to be roasted and ground in the coffeehouses across the city, or re-exported to provincial centres or cities abroad'.[xv] As such, it was not just the social practices and functions of the coffeehouse that changed people's behaviour; it was the coffee itself.[xvi]

This quick and intense assimilation of coffee into English diets and tastes made it all the more surprising that, as S. D. Smith has demonstrated, coffee was so rapidly and comprehensively supplanted by tea as the hot beverage of English

choice from the 1720s.[xvii] Smith persuasively argues that the rise of tea at the expense of coffee was due to the fiscal policy of the state, whose tax regime deliberately favoured tea over coffee. But in making the argument he also makes the bigger claim that straightforward realities of price were always more important in dictating popular patterns of consumption than deep-seated preferences in taste: 'Although the British were later to become strongly identified with the tea culture, there is no direct evidence that Britain abandoned coffee because it differed from the rest of Europe in taste, only that Britain had to pay a stiffer price to indulge it'.[xviii]

In this relatively new orthodoxy, then, coffee was prominent in English diets between the 1650s, when coffeehouses were established in the metropolis and quickly spread to provincial urban centres, and the 1720s, when mercantilism dictated tea should become the caffeine drink of choice. The European and North American taste for coffee accordingly raged first and most intensely for English consumers, but subsequently passed elsewhere, across the English Channel and Atlantic Ocean.

But attractive as this story may be, it is problematic in at least two respects. Most obviously, Pincus and Ellis give no empirical evidence to show that coffee became ubiquitous so rapidly. Rather, they assume that participation in an institution – the coffeehouse – and taste for the beverage ostensibly sold there – coffee – should be synonymous.[xix] But given the complicated cultural factors

informing early modern diet, not to mention the visceral and unusual sensation of a bitter hot drink like coffee on English palettes, this is a conflation that needs to be proved rather than assumed. Second, even if coffeehouses and coffee drinking were synonymous then it is difficult to see how, in the five decades after 1650, coffee imports into London could have sustained the national levels of consumption invoked in the historiography. From an economic perspective, Smith has conclusively shown that after its 'successful introduction' into London in the 1650s 'the market for coffee remained weak and uneven for several further decades'. [xx] Cowan likewise shows the small amounts of coffee demonstrably entering London before 1700 and the lack of hard evidence of provincial coffeehouses before the 1690s. Indeed, while data on all aspects of the coffee trade after 1700 is plentiful – itself an indicator of commercial activity – the records before then are sparse.[xxi]

The possible absence of a commodity from its own story of dietary and institutional assimilation requires, at the very least, that this story be revisited; the more so when that story has been presented as so dramatic and significant. This article accordingly reconsiders the apparent English enthusiasm for coffee in both the metropolis and the provinces in the decades after the opening of the first London coffeehouse. The first section restates the point that before 1700 coffee imports into London were relatively small and sporadic before rapidly increasing during first third of the eighteenth century. It then revisits the evidence of metropolitan coffee consumption with this economic trend in mind. This involves

reinterpreting some very familiar evidence – such as popular print and male diaries – as well as looking at the rich depositional material recorded in the Old Bailey Proceedings.

With this revised story of metropolitan coffee in mind, the second section of the article turns to the much more opaque issue of provincial coffee consumption over the same period. The modest imports of coffee into the metropolis begs the question just when and where coffee was consumed nationally. The section accordingly looks for coffee in three types of evidence. These are port books, depositions from the ecclesiastical and quarter session courts, and probate inventories: records of economic and social practice that have been largely overlooked by historians of coffee. Such records are patchy in terms of survival rates and invariably subject to the laws of serendipity: any consumption patterns they reveal must be treated as indicative rather than definitive. Likewise, to analyse all these record series for a fifty-year period would take a large research team several decades. The method used here has been to sample materials in two provincial case-studies: Norfolk in southeast of England and Cheshire and South Lancashire in northwest England (see Figures 1 and 2).

To account for these problems the analysis deploys two kinds of interpretative control. The first is the triangulation of the sources themselves. In what follows it is not the appearance, or not, of coffee in one kind of source that is significant, so much as its appearance, or not, across all three kinds of archive.

Secondly, and more importantly, the analysis compares archival traces of coffee with the appearance of another 'new' intoxicant – tobacco – in the same kinds of provincial archive in the five decades after its introduction into England in the 1590s.[xxii] It does so because the economic history of tobacco is much clearer than that of coffee: we know it was a rare and inaccessible import for its first three decades (from the 1590s to the 1610s) before rapidly becoming a commodity of popular consumption in the later 1620s, with the establishment of the Trans-Atlantic trade.[xxiii] As such, the chronology of appearances of tobacco in the port books, legal depositions, and probate inventories of south east and north west England in the five decades after 1590 offers a meaningful point of comparison for appearances of coffee in the same records after 1650 (as the first five decades in the English life of coffee).

What follows, then, focuses on the commodity rather than the institution (the coffeehouse) with which, in English historiography at least, that commodity has often been uncritically conflated. Smith has taken a similar focus in order to argue that fiscal, distributive, and production factors ultimately determined domestic consumption and tastes.[xxiv] This article implicitly recognises economic issues as crucial to shaping consumer possibilities; but it does not seek to pick a winner between 'economics', 'society' or 'culture' as the primary cause of dietary transformations (an impossible task, perhaps, given the complexity and inextricability of factors involved). More modestly, it looks to understand the nature of metropolitan and especially provincial consumption in a period when

imports of coffee to England remained relatively low, and to consider where this leaves claims for coffee as the lubricant of modernity.

The argument is threefold. First, the relative absence of coffee in England before 1700 ironically reinforces the idea of the metropolitan coffeehouse as a genuinely modern and multifunctional kind of public space – but an institution that housed a diverse range of social practices and alimentary experiences rather than one that was narrowly defined by the taste for a single commodity and its attendant set of values. Second, the provincial distribution of coffee was, in the meantime, sluggish and uneven. While provincial coffeehouses were clearly opening, the archival evidence suggests that the public consumption of coffee in places like Norwich, Chester, and Manchester became integrated within – rather than alternative to – institutions already dedicated to the consumption of alcohols and tobacco. Third, in both London and the provinces, looking for the coffee highlights the dynamism of domestic as well as public consumption, especially after 1700, and lends credence not only to narratives of industriousness and respectability but also intimacy and pleasure. It suggests, in short, that if coffee really is a way of talking about modernity then that story must involve households and women as well as coffeehouses and men.

## II

Historians of the early modern global economy would be surprised to learn that

coffee in England became a commodity of mass consumption in the middle of the seventeenth century. As Steven Topik puts it: 'During its first centuries as a Muslim drink, coffee created a narrow luxury market. It was often traded by pilgrimage caravans and went through many intermediaries': the 'spasmodic nature of supply' encouraged monopolies rather than a 'mass market'. [xxv] In his global history of 'drugs', David Courtwright observes that while coffee 'caught on in Europe in the second half of the seventeenth century', it was not until the 1700s that 'European coffee consumption exploded'.[xxvi] More particularly, Anne E. C. McCants has argued for the protracted assimilation of coffee into Amsterdam, the trading hub of northwest Europe in the seventeenth century. She charts the status of the coffee bean as a medicinal curiosity in the first half of the seventeenth century, to the institution of irregular and limited coffee auctions from the 1660s, to the establishment of 'truly regular' sales from the 1690s. McCants notes that in the Netherlands 'sales of tea became established more quickly' than coffee; but even when combined, tea and coffee 'accounted for a scant 0.03 per cent of total VOC [Dutch East India Company] sales at Amsterdam in the late 1660s and still only 4.1 percent of sales at the end of the seventeenth century'. Thereafter, however, the increase in traffic was remarkable, with revenues from tea and coffee 'over 1,300 times greater in 1740 than they had been in 1669' and the commodities developing mass markets.[xxvii]

England experienced the same pattern of protracted first encounters with coffee, limited commercialisation, and eventual mass consumerism.[xxviii] What

coffee that did reach London before the 1650s depended on merchants of the Levant picking up beans from Mediterranean and Near Eastern ports like Leghorn, Smyrna, Aleppo and Cairo and trafficking for personal use. The physician William Harvey, for example, was an early convert to coffee who most likely encountered the drink through his younger brothers, both of whom were traders in the Levant Company.[xxix] The first coffeehouses were likewise founded by Levant merchants or their associates and from the later 1650s the East India Company (EIC) monitored the state of the London market and the possibilities of commercial intervention through their trade routes of Beit el-Fakih and especially Mocha.[xxx] But just as the Levant trade in coffee was small and erratic, so the policy of the EIC was commercially conservative.[xxxi] As late as the 1680s, when reliable data of imports become available, the English market 'remained limited'.[xxxii] Smith estimates that during the mid-1680s the maximum number of people able to drink half a litre of coffee per day was around 50,000' (though it is well to remember that coffeehouse cups and pots were small: half a litre of coffee would have entailed perhaps a dozen servings). This represented 'an upper-bound estimate of only 1.5 percent of the population aged 15 or over' or 0.04 *per capita*, with the number of coffee drinkers during the 1670s and 1660s even smaller .[xxxiii]

**Insert Table 1**

As Table 1 shows, it was only from the 1680s, with the EIC flexing its mercantile muscles in the coffee trade, that coffee imports began to 'attain a level that

conceivably justifies the label 'mass market".[xxxiv] Between 1699 and 1701 'the volume of the coffee trade was nearly double what it had been during the years 1685 to 1688 and during the following decade it doubled again'. By the 1710s – the seventh decade after the first coffeehouse opened – the amount of coffee retained for domestic consumption (as opposed to re-exported to Europe) peaked at 0.12 lbs *per capita*, a level estimated by Smith to be sufficient to provide between 40,000 and 80,000 consumers with one litre a day'.[xxxv]

The amounts of coffee coming into England before 1700 clearly challenge the story of its ubiquitous consumption in the decades after 1650. But it also begs the question why this narrative developed in the first place. The answer is not difficult to find. Even if Restoration London was not immediately awash with coffee, its more fashionable streets were quickly cluttered with coffeehouses.[xxxvi] More to the point, the arrival of both were loudly announced in London's print culture. *The Vertue of the Coffee Drink* was published as early as 1652; in the 1660s coffee or coffeehouses were the titular subject of 13 texts; and by the 1670s this figure had risen to 23 new texts (though of course the general volume of print was also rising).[xxxvii] This was in stark contrast to tea (with only 2 texts published about it between 1650 and 1680); chocolate (with 4 texts about it between 1650 and 1680); and opium (with no texts specifically about it over the same period). Even tobacco, which very quickly became a popular subject for English authors between the 1590s and 1610s, was eclipsed by the number of texts explicitly dedicated to coffee. (Tobacco was the co-subject of one text in the 1590s, 6 texts in the 1600s,

and 11 texts in the 1610s). As importantly, this burgeoning caffeine literature was not limited to dry medical or moral tracts debating the *pros* and *cons* of a new substance. Rather, from the early 1660s it increasingly included popular and accessible genres like the dialogue – fictional conversations written in prose – that vividly and often wittily represented various kinds of discourse within and about coffeehouses. The close relationship between coffeehouses and literary fecundity only continued thereafter. Indeed for Ellis, 'these literary materials, more than anything else, established and confirmed the place of coffee in modern urban life'.[xxxviii]

Acknowledging the place of the coffeehouse in the urban printed imaginary is one thing. Relying on literary materials to demonstrate what people did, said, and consumed in coffeehouses is something else. Although using printed literature to make claims about the transformative power of coffee is a venerable tradition, interpreting social practices from literary texts is a fraught business.[xxxix] Indeed, one of the criticisms that Pincus makes of the early narratives of Aytoun Ellis and Jürgen Habermas is that they read two 1670s dialogues about coffee, purportedly by disgruntled 'alewives', as factual descriptions of early coffee consumption.[xl] Pincus more subtly argues the texts were 'part of the high church cultural construction of the coffeehouses as neopuritan places of sedition'.[xli] Unfortunately, he then proceeds to use the same dialogues in the same way, citing the testimony of 'alewives' to prove the exceptional popularity of coffeehouses by the 1670s.[xlii] More, in the absence of other evidence it is unclear from Pincus' account just

where 'cultural construction' ends and social commentary starts, with the complaints of the 'alewives' appearing identical to his substantive claims about the introduction of coffee into England: that it encouraged "the perusing of news and holding of arguments" and that it made men "forsake the primitive practice of ale-drinking".[xliii]

None of which is to suggest a disaggregation of the 'cultural' and 'social' worlds or the impossibility of reading social practices from texts.[xliv] Early modern historians now generally appreciate the increasing inter-penetration of 'oral' and 'literate' culture over the course of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and the many ways in which genres of print could inform everyday behaviours.[xlv] In the meantime, recent developments in the field of praxeology have usefully emphasised the dual aspect of social practices and warned against the stark segregation of social action from their representations. On the one hand, social practices consist of specific instances of behaviour – such as going to a coffeehouse – that are particular to place, time and person. On the other hand, social practices involve the shared and recursive knowledge that informs how specific actions are done or said and what symbolic or social connotations they might carry – as accumulated, for example, in satirical dialogues about coffee and coffeehouses during the 1660s and 1670s.[xlvi] That is, practices are not purely experiential and specific to action; but neither can they simply be left as the sum of their representation (no matter how powerful and persuasive those representations

might be). Rather it is the ongoing dialectic between instances of action and wider discourses about the action that characterise social practices over time.[xlvii]

A striking feature of the Restoration literature on coffee and coffeehouses is that it proliferated at a much quicker rate than most people would have consumed coffee or, outside London, visited a coffeehouse. As a result, the meanings of the coffeehouse were contested and assembled in advance of the material consumption of coffee. This was not unprecedented: most people would have read or heard about tobacco long before they ever smoked it.[xlviii] But in the case of coffee, the metaphorical and figurative power of coffeehouses almost entirely obscures the dynamics of material practice. Historians have explained this precocity and power politically, as the modern legacy of the coffeehouse's genesis as a crucible for political debate and news in revolutionary England: coffeehouses were thereafter lauded or damned by polemicists depending on partisan affiliations.[xlix] However, the same literature can also be read economically and as sources of entertainment, with witty dialogues advertising the attractions of coffeehouses even as they satirised them.[l] The most effective way to persuade people to pay their penny to visit the coffeehouse was not necessarily the attractions of coffee, which would have been a risky strategy given the uneven nature of coffee imports, the peculiarities of its taste, and the competitiveness of the victualling market.[li] Rather other attractions were invoked.

Sociability was one, Cathy Shrank observing that in nineteenth coffeehouse-dialogues published between 1663 and 1691 the only guaranteed consumable was

news. Indeed, so compelling were these 'images of talk' that by the eighteenth century the coffeehouse had 'become a metaphor for publicity comparable to the Roman Forum'.[lii] But another draw was the range and novelty of beverages on offer. The dialogue discussed by Habermas and Pincus, *The Ale-Wives Complaint against the Coffee-Houses*, is a case in point. The 'Ale-wife' railed not so much against coffee as the variety of 'pernicious inventions' – the 'many several Liquors' – used by the 'Coffee-man' to attract custom. But even by criticising coffeehouses, the 'Ale-wife' advertised the exciting range of new commodities on offer, dangling (as 'she' put it) 'so many baits to inveigle wanton curiosity, and gratify proud Extravagancy'. She listed

> your back-recruiting Chocolet, your shortening Coffee, your Tea that will make you vomit that drinks it, your Lickorish Bracket, your rare *Herefordshire* Redstreak of Eighteen pence a Bottle, made of rotten Apples at the 3 Cranes, and colour'd with saunders, and incomparable Brunswick, brew'd with filthy Molassuss at St Katherines, your Aromatick , and your Chephalice, your Rosado's and Pomeroys (words that sound like names of Infernal Spirits than fit drinks of honest Mortals).[liii]

This variety of drinks (all but three of which were alcoholic) was essential, of course, when the supply of coffee was unreliable and its physical qualities were not to everyone's taste.

That the literature advertising coffee made space – however playfully – for sociability without coffee may seem paradoxical. It nevertheless resonates with

some familiar records of the experience of Restoration coffeehouses – sources that deserve to be re-considered with the economics of coffee and vagaries of taste in mind. Samuel Pepys, for example, was a regular patron of London coffeehouses in the 1660s and his diary has been used extensively by historians to illustrate how Londoners took to coffee.[liv] One of the attractions of Pepys as a diarist is the way in which he revelled in visceral and sensory experiences: tastes, smells, feelings. Exciting new drinks or memorable familiar ones were grist to his mill, his diary teeming with accounts of what he ate and drank in both public and private settings.

It is striking, therefore, that while Pepys frequented coffeehouses aplenty, recording more than 70 visits between 1660 and 1666, he only once recalled consuming coffee within one. This was in March 1664, when 'We broke up and the Change, where with several people and my Uncle Wight to drink a dish of Coffee'.[lv] On another occasion he went 'homeward; and meeting Sir W Batten, turned back again to a Coffee-house and there drunk more, till I was almost sick' – but the kind of drink that made him nauseous is unclear.[lvi] The few occasions that he did refer to coffeehouse consumption suggest he was drinking beverages other than coffee. 'About noon' on 24th November 1664, for example, he went 'to a Coffee-house to drink Jocolatte [chocolate], very good'.[lvii] Most telling of all, the one visceral experience of coffee described by Pepys occurred not in a coffeehouse at all, but in the home of his superior officer at the Navy Board, where it was proffered as part of female domestic hospitality. As Pepys recalled:

> to Sir G. Carteret and there with Sir J Mennes made an end of his accounts. But stayed not dinner, my Lady having made us drink our morning draught there – of several wines. But I drank nothing but some of her Coffee; which was purely made, with a little sugar in it.[lviii]

That it was the taste of coffee – pure and slightly sugared – that was worth noting perhaps suggests more adulterated preparations elsewhere: another tactic that venders might use to cope with the sporadic supply of coffee beans.

If his diary entries are anything to go by, then, Pepys did not go to coffeehouses to drink coffee: he visited them for intellectual consumption, in which he participated voraciously and avidly. Food and drink – though almost never coffee – were consumed elsewhere. On leaving the coffee served by Lady Carteret, for example, Pepys immediately went to a coffeehouse – not to find more coffee, but rather to have 'discourse with Captain Cocke … about a Dutch war'.[lix] In late November 1664, he went 'to the Coffee-house – where certain news of our peace made by Captain Allen of Argier … So home … I home, hungry and almost sick for want of eating; and so to supper and to bed'.[lx] A few weeks later he went to 'Moorfields, and there up and down to several houses to drink, to look for a place *pour racontrer la femme de je sais quoy* […], but could meet none; and so to the Coffee-house, where great talk of the Comet … Thence home to dinner'.[lxi] For Pepys, the topography of consumption was clearly delineated and consistent with the printed literature about coffee: drinking and sex in the tavern; discourse in the coffeehouse; dinner at home. Eleven days after that, on 26th December, he went 'to

the Coffee-house, where much good discourse … Thence to Sir W Batten, where Mr Coventry and all our families here, women and all, and Sir R Ford and his. And a great feast – and good discourse and merry'.[lxii]

A more systematic pattern of coffee consumption – and its lack of – can be gleaned from the diary of Robert Hooke: inventor, surveyor for the city of London, and curator of original Royal Society. Hooke was a man on the make who was also obsessed by his physical and mental health: during the 1670s he accordingly maintained his diary to keep track of his expenses and diet as well as his interactions and activities. The resulting diary has been well used by historians to chart both Hooke's own sociability and the coffeehouse milieu more generally.[lxiii] This was because Hooke was an inveterate patron of coffeehouses who, as Robert Iliffe demonstrates, relied on them to exchange knowledge, information, and news; to maintain his voluminous number of contacts and networks; and to conduct both 'business and pleasure … under the same roof'.[lxiv] However, the diary can also be used to trace Hooke's personal history of consumption, with what follows chartsing the minutiae of his dietary choices and intake over a five year period. The record is by no means exhaustive or consistent: days and weeks can pass when no reference is made to what was 'supped' or 'dined'; at other times, the minutiae of each passing drink or smoke is recorded. But as Table 2 shows, the cumulative result is a fairly comprehensive record of the consumption habits and preferences of a middle-aged, unmarried, and increasingly

prosperous man who often recorded not only what he consumed but also where he consumed it.

**Insert Table 2**

As Table 2 indicates, Hooke's relationship to coffeehouses was qualitatively and quantitatively different to that of Pepys, whose visits tailed off in the second half of the 1660s. Hooke often frequented them daily and nightly, sometimes several in a day, for many different kinds of assignation – though all male – over the course of the five years. He had a particular fondness for Garaway's by the Royal Exchange, which he tended to visit last thing at night and which he treated as a home from home (so much so that he noted the death of Thomas Garaway's daughter in his diary, attended her funeral, and seems to have advised on her memorial stone *gratis* – a significant gesture from a man so monetarily obsessed).[lxv] This loyalty was challenged by the opening of Jonathan's in July 1677, which became an alternative favourite haunt.[lxvi]

These habits provide the context for Table 3, which shows the number of times Hooke recorded consuming particular commodities in coffeehouses between 1672 and 1677. It clearly shows the range of foodstuffs, drinks, medicines, and herbs available: from meat, fruit and vegetables to dairy products to a full range of alcohols.

**Insert Table 3**

Equally evident is that, of the new intoxicants, tea and coffee (at 2.1 percent and 5.1 percent of coffeehouse consumption) were preferred in the coffeehouse much less by Hooke than tobacco and, in particular, chocolate (at 8.5 and 30 percent respectively).

The third point to note is that the figure for coffee is based almost entirely on a period of coffee drinking that commenced on Monday 5 May 1673, when Hooke drank '1d of coffee at Childs' (a coffeehouse in St Paul's Churchyard) and ended on Tuesday December 15 1674 when, at an unspecified location, he 'Drank Sugared Coffee' that 'Agreed not'.[lxvii] In between these dates he noted drinking coffee in coffeehouses 8 times and drinking coffee in an unspecified location 8 times. He also noted that he 'Spent 8d. Drank no coffee. Slept pretty well'; that he heard a story about 'coffee powder' (which he subsequently bought for home consumption from Garaway's); and that he entertained Mr Mullet at home on 'sack and coffee'.[lxviii] As well as just coffee, these references also included one instance of 'coffee and sugar candy' and 'a coffee dish' that was eaten rather than drunk.[lxix]

In this twenty month period, coffee was an important feature of Hooke's coffeehouse consumption, matched only by ale and small beer. During this time he experimented with accompanying coffee with sugar and monitored its effect on his physiology. But insofar as it was also temporally delimited, the intake corroborates the factors of sporadic supply, predilections of taste, and perceptions affect that informed the consumption of relatively rare imports. For example, the same pattern of periodic consumption characterised Hooke's early preference for opiates

– which seems to have been current when he began his diary – and his subsequent embrace of chocolate, though his chocolate periods were much more intense and compulsive than his relationship with coffee or opiates ever was. This kind of consumption contrasts, in turn, with his intake of beer, ale, tobacco, and latterly wine, which seem to have been dietary staples that he often neglected to record and which odd remarks indicate he consumed regularly. On September 25th 1674, for example, he noted 'Began to take tobacco again' – but does not record tobacco again until October 16th 1674, when he 'left off taking tobacco'.[lxx] On Tuesday March 14th 1676 he unannounced 'Ended tobacco'; however, there is no indication he had been smoking before that date since December 24th (and he was smoking again four days later, on Saturday 18th March).[lxxi] On Monday September 25th 1676 Hooke ruminated that 'I had now drink burnt claret for a fortnight', though this is not apparent from previous entries.[lxxii]

**Table 4**

The primacy of chocolate and tobacco in Hooke's record of diet is shown in Table 4, which charts the total number of consumption references made by Hooke to the 'new' intoxicants regardless of place. Between 1672 and 1677 he noted consuming coffee considerably more often than opiates and tea and considerably less than tobacco and chocolate, with chocolate effectively replacing coffee from 1675. It also shows that none of these commodities – including the 'sober' drinks of coffee, tea and chocolate – were exclusive to coffeehouses. Just as the many coffeehouses frequented by Hooke served food, alcohols, tobacco and medicines as well as

chocolate, tea, and coffee, so Hooke smoked tobacco in most settings; drank tea (occasionally) at people's houses; took coffee powder home from Garaway's; and became increasingly fond of preparing chocolate at home. Overall there is evidence of a temporary and low-pressure period of coffee consumption that was enhanced by sugar. But this was followed by disenchantment and active dislike. On June 7th 1677 he 'paid for coffee' for three companions but not, it seems, himself; and on two months later he drank coffee at Johnathan' that 'made me have hart burning violently'.[lxxiii]

Hooke's diary is not a comprehensive dietary account and it does not reliably reveal the consumption of others (although 'smoking with' and 'drinking with' are fairly frequent entries). What it does show is that just as coffeehouse literature intimated at variegated consumption, so proprietors looked to provide a smorgasbord of consumables. This suggests an institution much more akin to the French model of the mixed economy than Ellis envisages; it also indicates that coffee cannot be assumed to have been the dietary staple of coffeehouses.[lxxiv]

A final body of evidence, which provides a more panoramic view of Restoration London coffeehouse culture, suggests that this relative absence of coffee in Restoration coffeehouses was not a recording quirk of Pepys and Hooke. Accounts of the *Old Bailey Proceedings* (*OBP*)– published regularly from 1673 and now digitised and searchable online – provide a huge repository of depositional material recording everyday social practices in the metropolis.[lxxv] Coffeehouses were very much present in these *Proceedings*, appearing in 50 cases between 1674

and 1700 compared to 165 cases involving taverns, 166 cases involving inns, and 39 cases involving alehouses. Moreover, the stories told by witnesses corroborate many of the practices intimated by the more personalised accounts of the diarists.

Most obviously, they confirm that coffeehouse patrons consumed a range of beverages. Elizabeth Unison ordered 'two tankards of drink' in 'the coffeehouse in Bell Savage Yard on Ludgate Hill' in 1680.[lxxvi] Philip Roker and Thomas Thorowgood 'called for a Bottle of Orange-water' at the Garter Coffeehouse behind the Exchange in 1695 and 'did drink it very immoderately in great Glasses'. Indeed, they were forced to order more bottles, because their companion 'was such a greedy lover of such Liquors, that he would hardly leave it'.[lxxvii] Alexander and Mary Reynolds 'enticed' Samuel Hunt into a coffeehouse in 1694 'and made him drunk'.[lxxviii] Other patrons bought 'mugs of ale' as a matter of course and may have been tempted by cordials 'for the stomach' or powders for the kidneys, both of which were sold in coffeehouses by the 1690s.[lxxix] Before 1700, however, no witness described the consumption of coffee within a coffeehouse.

Second, this variegated consumption lubricated a variety of social practices. The depositions leave us in no doubt that coffeehouses were places to debate politics, to read subscription journals like the *Athenian Mercury*, and to spread and hear 'seditious libels'. For example, not only was Edward Sing 'brought to the Bar' in 1681 'for speaking several Seditious Words, at the Rainbow Coffeehouse, near Temple-Bar, and for disparaging the Kings Evidence, saying there was no Popish Plot, but a Presbyterian Plot', but political discourse and coffeehouses were so

synonymous that Sing had a 'Pension of 20s a week allowed him to go about to Coffeehouses and publick Meetings to disparage the Discoverers of the Plot'.[lxxx] It is equally clear that coffeehouse sociability was not dedicated to politics and news. These were places to have language lessons (for example, in Latin, French, low Dutch, Italian), to engage in personal financial transactions, to teach shorthand, or simply to meet in company.[lxxxi] Mrs Price was known to keep a 'disorderly house' in her coffeehouse on Milford Lane.[lxxxii] At Joe's Coffeehouse – a favourite of Hooke's – there 'was a Gaming Table'.[lxxxiii] Unsurprisingly, conversations were not necessarily conducted rationally or civilly, in Habermasian fashion. Iliffe has argued that Hooke berated rather than debated in coffeehouses; the *OBP* suggest that excessive drinking and violent quarrels were common.[lxxxiv] In 1689, for example, when George Ward and Issac Orbel were

> sitting one against another, on the same side of the Table at a Coffee-House in St. Alban's Street, in two Chairs as good Friends, some words passed, and the Deceased gave the Prisoner the Lye and other opprobrious Language; on a sudden a Pipe was thrown […] at [Ward], and [Ward] presently going to the other end of the Room, Orbell went after him, at which time [Ward] Drew, and [Orbell] received his [fatal] Wound.[lxxxv]

While Ward and Ordel were clearly smoking, what they were drinking is not specified; but it is unlikely to have been coffee.

The third and final trend revealed by the depositions concerns just when and where it was that coffee and its related artefacts began to be described in

witnesses accounts. Table 5 describes the total number of references to coffee in the *Proceedings* (as opposed to the number of trials in which any reference to coffee was made) and what each reference referred to, whether the commodity itself, the institution (coffeehouse), or coffee equipment (pots, mills, etc).

**Insert Table 5**

It reveals that between 1673 and 1700 there are only three references to the commodity, all of which were located outside coffeehouses: in a fruit stall in Clerkenwell Green, a 'drugster' (apothecary) on Lumber Street, and an unspecified shop (probably a grocer).[lxxxvi] In the 1700s and especially 1710s, however, references to coffee and related spaces and objects increase significantly. The large increase in uses of 'coffeehouse' in part reflects how one establishment could have multiple references in a single testimony and in part describes how, in the 1710s, coffeehouses become sites of more alleged crimes and meeting-places of alleged criminals. And as Smith notes, there is also a significant increase in the number of London coffeehouses between 1700 and 1714.[lxxxvii] But it is the greater amount of coffee and coffee equipment in circulation that is most suggestive. Two people are described as carrying bags of coffee on their person and Roger Bird had a package of coffee stolen from his wagon in 1718.[lxxxviii] There are references to people drinking coffee in coffeehouses as well as coffee equipment.[lxxxix] Perhaps most significantly, there are eleven references to valuable coffee pots stolen from domestic dwellings.[xc]

Although statistically inconclusive, this sudden increase in sightings of coffee in general and valuable domestic coffeepots in particular correlates with Lorna Weatherill's observation, based on her pioneering work on city of London inventories, that the greatest expansion in goods among wealthy householders in early modern London involved the 'ownership of china and utensils for hot drinks'. Weatherill notes that while coffee- and tea-ware were extremely rare as late as the 1690s, they were recorded in virtually all citizens' households by 1725.[xci] There were antecedents to this: we have already seen that the one experience of coffee recorded by Pepys in his diary was through the domestic hospitality of Lady Carteret and that, during his period of experimenting with coffee, Hooke bought coffee powder in the coffeehouse to use at home. It is stalls and shops that coffee is noted in the testimonies from the 1680s. Smith likewise notes that 'between 1680 and 1720 the design history of English coffee- and tea-making equipment displayed similar dynamism' to coffee imports.[xcii] The *Old Bailey Proceedings* indicate, perhaps, that just as London householders were beginning to invest in the material paraphernalia of coffee, so thieves were able to take advantage of their investment.

**III**

Coffee culture in Restoration London grew rapidly; but the evidence suggests it did not rely on coffee to do so. While coffee literature and coffeehouses proliferated, imports of coffee until at least the 1680s remained low and erratic and coffeehouse proprietors developed a mixed economy of consumables and services to attract

and retain custom. The picture beyond the metropolis is much more opaque. Although Pincus and Ellis insist coffeehouses were established in 'nearly every English city of consequence' by the end of the 1660s, Cowan suggests a more gradual and circumscribed process.[xciii] This is not the least because 'the documentation for the licensing of coffeehouses beyond London is quite scarce'.[xciv] The problem is significant and somewhat mysterious. Without evidence of licensing or equivalent records of proprietorship it is impossible to determine with any certainty numbers of coffeehouses. In the provincial capital of York, for example, the merchant William Wombwell opened a house to sell 'ale and coffee' in 1667. However, we know this not because the city licensed the coffeehouse, but because Wombwell had to pay to become a freeman of the city before opening it.[xcv] No formal licenses for coffeehouses in Restoration York survive; but other evidence indicates that possibly coffeehouses were trading by 1677.[xcvi] Likewise, a systematic trawl through the magistrates' records of Norfolk, Cheshire and South Lancashire reveals only one coffeehouse licensed before 1700, Norwich magistrates licensing the worsted weaver John Howman to retail coffee in 1676 (and the enormous fee of £500 charged to Howman suggests this was no ordinary bureaucratic exercise)[xcvii] In the meantime, witness statements to the ecclesiastical courts describe fully-functioning coffeehouses in both Norwich and Chester by the 1680s.

If provincial coffeehouses are so elusive, then what is the hope of finding an ephemeral foodstuff like coffee? It transpires, in fact, that looking for the bean

rather than the institution not only provides a more reliable estimation of when coffee began to enter provincial diets and cultures. It also helps explain why provincial coffeehouses were invisible for so long.

**Insert Figures 1 and Figures 2**

The two areas in which this search has been conducted – Norfolk in south-east England (NFK in Figure 2) and Cheshire/south Lancashire in north-west England (CHE and LANC in Figure 2) – were chosen for three reasons. Most obviously, they share important characteristics that make them obvious places to look for new intoxicants. In the shape of Norwich and Chester both counties were homes to the kind 'great cities' envisaged by Pincus and Ellis: regional urban centres that were at once integrated into the national urban system based on London and which served as 'provincial capitals' for large hinterlands in their own right.[xcviii] It was precisely in cities like Norwich and Chester that coffee would have first become available to provincial consumers as part of what Peter Borsay long ago styled England's post-1650 'urban renaissance'.[xcix] Second, both these cities were served by busy ports that connected the provincial economy to London via England's coastal trade routes. In the north-west, Chester was an important port in its own right and the Restoration era also witnessed the rapid growth of Liverpool. In Norfolk, Norwich was served by the busy port of Great Yarmouth and was geographically proximate to the wealthy port of King's Lynn. In both instances, that is, the transport links existed to receive traffic from London. Third, as well as these structural similarities there were also differences between the two regions

that make them interesting points of comparison. Located on either side of the country, Norfolk and Cheshire traditionally 'faced' in opposite directions in terms of trading networks, economic connections, and cultural influences.[c] As Charles Phythian Adams has noted, while Norfolk looked towards the Low Countries and north western Europe, Cheshire was orientated towards Ireland and the trans-Atlantic world. Moreover, closer to home these regions were both characterised by vibrant but also distinctive economies: the 'agrarian capitalism' or commercialised farming that characterised much of Norfolk; and the 'industrial' manufacturing of Manchester and its surrounding townships.

A more practical reason for looking for coffee in Norfolk and Cheshire is the good survival rates of the three kinds of record series in which new intoxicants might be expected to be found. The first of these is port books, which between the 1560s and 1720s served as customs records of England's imports and coastal trade: that is, the traffic of goods flowing through English, Welsh, and Scottish ports. Before the road improvements of the eighteenth century, these coastal routes were an important way to transport bulky imports like tobacco and coffee from London to the more distant provinces, or for provincial ports to receive goods directly from abroad. Like all pre-modern tax records, the reliability of the port books in accurately capturing the scale of this traffic is problematic: survival can be patchy, accounting techniques obscure, corruption (in terms of undisclosed goods or smuggling elsewhere) rife. Nor do port books account for the unknown amounts of tobacco and coffee transported over land (and both Chester and Norwich had

relatively busy road connections with London).[ci] They nevertheless offer the best indication of which commodities were trafficked where before the eighteenth century.[cii]

Second, this search for provincial intoxicants has utilised hundreds of witness statements (depositions) recorded in the church courts and quarter sessions of Norfolk, Cheshire, and South Lancashire between the 1580 and 1730s. Ostensibly generated by moral and criminal legal cases falling under the respective jurisdiction of each court, depositions are illuminating because, in describing the circumstances of alleged offences or the characters of people involved, deponents often gave detailed accounts of the contexts in which events happened – so much so that they can be regarded as the nearest early modern historians will ever get to a 'retrospective ethnography' of everyday life.[ciii] Whereas port books provide some measure of the provincial traffic in new intoxicants, legal depositions – like the OBP for London – provide one albeit serendipitous way of tracing their assimilation and use within provincial sociability.

Probate inventories, in contrast, provide a snapshot of the goods and comestibles possessed by householders around the time they died and have been used extensively by historians since Weatherill's pioneering work on material culture.[civ] In the case of coffee and its material paraphernalia there are two reasons to be cautious about inventory data: most consumables were not usually recorded in inventories (unless part of a retailer's saleable stock) and pots, pans, and dishes used to make and serve coffee may not always have been designated as such

(especially before the 1690s). There is also the issue of the wealth and size of samples, which are not always necessarily representative. In order to keep this search manageable, the focus has been on the goods of householders involved in retailing intoxicants in Norfolk and Cheshire between 1580 and 1740: grocers, apothecaries, victuallers (including coffeehouse owners), alehouse licensees, and so on.[cv] These inventories can give some idea of the 'public' stock and goods of retailers; but, importantly, they also indicate the material culture of their domestic lives and whether or not caffeine drinks were a feature of household consumption.

The search for coffee in these records of provincial trade, social practices, and material culture focuses on the five decades after the introduction of coffee into London in the 1650s. To provide a comparative perspective and some interpretative control the same search was also made for tobacco in the five decades after its commercial introduction into London in the 1590s ( i.e. between the 1590s and 1630s). It should be reiterated that these results are not intended as definitive or comprehensive estimates of the actual amounts of tobacco and coffee reaching provincial England. Rather they are *indices* of consumption based on the sampling methods used for each kind of source (see the *Key* to Table 5 for a more detailed explanation of sources and sampling).

The overview of results is described in Table 6. This shows that tobacco was part of England's coastal trade by the second decade of its introduction into London (1600s); that it was appearing in depositional material by the third decade of its introduction (1610s); and that it was in the inventories of retailers by its

fourth decade (1620s). By its fifth decade – the 1630s – there were no less than 22 shipping consignments of tobacco, 6 references to tobacco by court witnesses, and 1 entry of tobacco in a retailer's inventory. According to the same methodology, coffee had a more sluggish introduction into provincial life than tobacco. It was part of England's coastal trade by its third decade (1670s) and increased significantly in the fourth (the 1680s); coffee was also mentioned in court depositions by its fourth decade (1680s); but it appears in none of the sampled retailers' inventories during the first five decades of its introduction into England. Coffee was clearly circulating in the north west and south east of England by the 1670s; but it was nowhere near as apparent as tobacco by the 1610s (at the equivalent point in its introduction).

**Insert Table 6**

Reassuringly, the data for tobacco nicely correlates with its transition from a luxury item to mass commodity, developments in provincial trade and consumption paralleling the emergence of a stable trans-Atlantic trade in the 1620s.[cvi] The smaller and slower volumes of coffee correspond, in turn, to the relatively low level of imports entering London, the growth in EIC traffic in the 1680s, and the model of the mixed economy of coffeehouses developing in the metropolis: if the London evidence is anything to go by, it did not take too much coffee to open a coffeehouse. Within the sample, the first recorded entry of coffee into Great Yarmouth was two 'bales' (corded bundles) of coffee weighing 2 cwt (about 240 lbs) on 16 June 1678. It was brought into the city by Richard Booth

along with other goods on *The Success of Yarmouth*.[cvii] The first recorded imports into Chester were eight years later, in 1686, with three boats (all from Brighton) bringing three boxes and one bag of coffee beans into the city in March, October, and December respectively.[cviii] This was the busiest year in the whole sample, with four bags and 300 lbs also landing in Great Yarmouth and 6 lbs continuing to Wisbech in Cambridgeshire.[cix] By the 1690s, a re-export trade to Dublin via Chester had been established, with Chester ships taking 1 cwt of coffee beans on 7th July 1697 and 20 lbs (worth £5 10s) on 4th July 1710.[cx]

If the chronology of the search for coffee is extended into decades 6 to 9 of its introduction (the 1700s to 1730s) then, as shown in Table 7, there is a lurch in the number of appearances in inventories – especially Norfolk inventories – and a discernible increase in the visibility of coffee overall: from 5 appearances in court cases and inventories in the two decades before 1700 to 25 appearances in the four decades after 1700. The shift is the more impressive given the smallness of the inventory sample, especially by the 1730s, and corresponds to the increase in coffee imports charted by Smith during the first three decades of the eighteenth century.

**Insert Table 7**

The same correlation with imports can be found in terms of all the referents of coffee in the depositional material. Table 8 shows that 'coffee' refers to the commodity only twice in depositions before 1700, but then six times after 1700 (as

opposed to denoting a space or person). What is striking, however, is that in the references after 1700 the commodity coffee appears – as in the *Old Bailey Proceedings* in London – in domestic rather than public settings. Table 8 also shows that, in the meantime, deponents in both northwest and southeast England made relatively frequent use of a term that is found only occasionally in the copious literature published in London and not at all in the metropolitan diary and depositional evidence before 1700. This was the 'coffee room'. What the final part of this article argues is that these two trends – the creation of provincial 'coffee rooms' and the domestic drift of coffee from 1700 – hold the key to understanding the adoption of coffee in provincial areas exemplified by northwest and southeast England.

**Insert Table 8**

## IV

Historians have, unsurprisingly, looked for coffeehouses in provincial England. However, the evidence from Norwich and Chester suggests they should have been looking for coffee rooms instead, as it was in the room of a house rather than the house in its entirety that the public consumption of coffee was spatially organised and identified. This process of institutional hybridization began with licensing procedures. In Norwich and Chester at least, the reason so few coffeehouse licenses survive is because it was not, by and large, coffeehouses that were licensed to sell coffee. Rather, it was existing alcohol victuallers – licensed alehouse keepers and innkeepers in particular – who in the decades after 1650 added the sale of

coffee to their repertoire of victuals (and who, it seems, would not apply for a licence because they already had one). In so doing, alehouse-keepers designated specific rooms within their establishment – coffee rooms – for the consumption of coffee and the kind of sociability associated with the drink. It is only by hunting through the depositional and inventory records for the occasional mention of coffee that these alehouse and innkeepers can be identified as erstwhile coffee-men: as far as official licensing records are concerned, their commodities of sale were alcohol (it is likewise indicative that when William Wombwell was made a freeman of York it was to sell 'Ale and Coffee') .

On 21 August 1693, for example, Francis Dunch had the licence for his 'alehouse' in St Peter's Mancroft parish in Norwich renewed in the usual way, Dunch signing a recognisance (or bond for good behaviour) along with three suretees (i.e. guarantors of the bond).[cxi] But depositions for a case of defamation heard in the ecclesiastical courts in 1691 indicate that Dunch's alehouse had a different designation locally. The self-styled gentleman Peter Hasbert deposed in November 1691 that he heard 'John Inman talking of or concerning Mrs Ann Lulman at Frank Dunch's *coffee house* in the market place of Norwich'. Hasbert testified that the story was lewd and resulted in 'laughing' among the 'great deal of company in the said *coffee house*'. Indeed, because it 'was spoken in such a public place as a *coffee house* he cannot think [Inman] meant anything less than to defame [Lulman]'.[cxii] The beer brewer John Dannye offered an even more precise sense of the location of consumption. Recalling the same incident, Dannye testified 'that

after Mr Peter Hasbert was gone out of Frank Dunch's *coffee room* [Inman] did say that he spoke the more and the oftener of Anne Lulman because Mr Hasbert was present and he knew we would tell Captain Lulman, Anne Lulman's father'.[cxiii] Likewise Thomas Rush secured a Norwich alehouse licence in 1693 and had it renewed in 1701.[cxiv] In 1705 a group of citizens were gathered there to discuss civic politics – in particular how 'Alderman Norman was an informing rascal'. This was standard alehouse gossip, perhaps, except the witnesses described the establishment in which they drank as 'Mr Rushe's coffee house'.[cxv]

A set of depositions from across the country in Chester more clearly evidence this hybridity of public consumption and the spatial nuances it encouraged. They described a dispute between Mr Parry and Mr Seymour, whose political argument in the house of Mr Benjamin Davies in 1718 escalated into a case of defamation. The servant Margaret Miller deposed that her master, the saddler Mr Benjamin Davies, kept 'a *coffee house* in the Watergate Street to which the plaintiff Mr Parry and the defendant [James Sylvester] frequently resorted on the news days'. She remembered 'that on or about the 14th day of December it being on a Saturday night, they happened to be there, and at first in several rooms Mr Parry in the *coffee room* and Mr Sylvester being in the *kitchen*'. Davies' apprentice, seventeen-year-old Matthew Owens, used the same descriptors, recollecting that 'Mr Sylvester came into the *kitchen*, called for his pint of drink and sitting down, began to talk of the said Mr Parry, and called him a scoundrel and a lousy dog, that the said Mr Parry, being very near in the *coffee room*, came out to him in the kitchen'.

Griffith Williams, a currier, made sense of this juxtaposition of 'pints' in the kitchen and – one assumes – coffee and assorted sober drinks in the coffee room. He explained that 'the house of Benjamin Davies in the Watergate Street in Chester … is both a coffee house and alehouse together'.[cxvi] The house of Davies fulfilled, that is, all the services expected of a coffeehouse: it was a place of news (another deponent, Peter Morrey, also described 'going to read the news in Benjamin Davies his coffee house') and discourse.[cxvii] But it did so as an alehouse and because of its coffee room, which distinguished it as a coffeehouse.

The same division and conceptualisation of space characterised provincial inventories. We can infer that the Norwich resident William Browne ran a coffeehouse because the appraiser of his possessions in January 1701 noted he kept a 'Coffee Room' containing 12 Turkey worked chairs (worth £1 15s); 3 tables (£1); 1 sogging bottomed chair, 1 form, and 1 joint stool (2s); fire and cooking equipment worth 15s, including 1 grate, 1 firepan, 1 pair of tongs, 1 fire iron, 1 toast iron, 1 pan).[cxviii] This well-furnished and self-contained room was a discrete space designated as the place to drink coffee. But the inventory indicates that Browne also used the 'Cellar' for serving alcoholic drinks:.[cxix] In Chester in 1733, the barber Mr Charles Gerrard petitioned the city corporation for the lease of 'the Exchange Coffeehouse', which his father had run 'for eleven years last past'.[cxx] The probate records show that Gerrard senior, a linen draper, had sold alcohols as well as coffee in the Exchange Coffeehouse, and to do so he kept two rooms: the 'Coffee Room' and the 'Room over the Coffee Room'. In the 'Coffee Room' was

listed nineteen pictures worth 21s 28d, six wainscot chairs (3s), a brass fender (12s), a large curtain and rod (7s), a chamber pot with two handles (2s), two small curtains and rods (1s 8d), a small bell (1s 6d), and 1 fire shovel, tongs, 1 poker (4s 6d). The 'Room over the Coffee Room' was less salubrious and intimate, with cheaper pictures, more chairs and tables, smaller window space, and no bell or equipment for a fire.[cxxi]

Three points follow from this. One is that the provincial retail sector in England before 1660 was commercialised enough to integrate coffee into its menu of beverages. Although the early modern alehouse is sometimes characterised as 'run by the poor for the poor', urban hostelries could be large and profitable enterprises that – for example – quickly appropriated tobacco as part of the 'bundle' of consumables to enhance custom.[cxxii] It seems coffee underwent a similar process of integration, though not necessarily as an accompaniment to alcohols so much as an alternative beverage in a neighbouring room.[cxxiii] The second point is that even smaller and more humble alehouses, in which public hospitality was limited to the kitchen or parlour, could integrate coffee into their economy of drinks. Indeed, as Smith notes, London coffeehouses may often have been more humble and 'rudimentary' than the historiography sometimes assumes.[cxxiv] The unpleasant travails of the Chester householder Anne Barlow illustrate the point. In 1698 Barlow found herself in the kind of difficult situation that female alehouse keepers perennially endured. Her servant, Margaret Speed, testified that 'at her work (smoothing Linen Clothes) in a Little Corner Room

going out of the Kitchen … Mrs Barlow in a sharp and hearty manner called Pegg come hither, meaning this deponent, Upon which [Speed] stepped into the said Kitchen, and perceived that the said Mrs Barlow was much disturbed'. It transpired that the only customer, the clergyman Mr Dennis, 'by putting his hands by force under her Coats had pinched her on her thigh so that it was black or blue'. What is unusual about the incident is not the sexual violence so much as the fact that Anne Barlow did not describe herself as an alehouse keeper. As Speed explained, the kitchen in which Barlow was assaulted 'was then used as a *Coffee Room*, and the said Mrs Barlow […] keeps a *Coffee house* there'.[cxxv] The room, no matter how modest, defined the house.[cxxvi]

Third, in terms of records of social practice the 'coffee room' was more usually a provincial rather than metropolitan designation. The phrase appears occasionally in print from the 1660s (in 9 texts between 1650 and 1700) and James Douglas uses it retrospectively, in the 1720s, to describe the room of consumption in London's first coffeehouses.[cxxvii] But the nomenclature is never used by Pepys or Hooke (who nevertheless socialised in different, named rooms in large coffeehouses like Garaway's) and it only appears once in the Old Bailey Proceedings, when 'the coffee room' described one of many rooms in a Fleet Street 'Mug-House' – that is, a hostelry dedicated to alcohols – in 1716.[cxxviii] On this occasion, perhaps, metropolitan terminology aped the hybrid spatiality of provincial inns and alehouses.

In the provinces as in Restoration London, the story of the public consumption of coffee was overwhelmingly masculine. Female householders like Barlow may have retailed coffee and employed female servants like Pegg to do so; but every customer listed in the Chester and Norwich depositions, like every coffeehouse associate named by Robert Hooke, was male. However, female consumers were integral to the second trend hinted at by Table 8: the uptake coffee in domestic provincial spaces. In Great Yarmouth in 1707, for example, Samuel Bridgewell accused his wife, Mary, of adultery with his apprentice, Samuel Pearson. Mary's maidservant, Eleanor Cory, deposed for her mistress, explaining that while Mary never did anything 'whereby he might be jealous of her virtue and chastity', 'she observed her master Bridgewell to show a great deal of kindness for his apprentice Samuel Pearson, by giving him a great deal of liberty in the house more than apprentices she believes usually have'. For evidence of this inappropriate 'liberty', Eleanor noted how 'very often when [Bridgewell] and his wife drank coffee or tea or a glass of wine he would most an end bid his wife … call in the apprentice Samuel Pearson to drink a dish of coffee or tea, or a glass of wine with them'. She also noted that Mary 'was much against his countenancing [Pearson] and so not curbing him more.[cxxix] If Eleanor Cory grouped coffee with tea and wine and took it to be constitutive of domestic intimacy, then the Norwich widow Amy Watson grouped it with some other intoxicants as a domestic extravagance and source of pleasure. Defending the reputation of her daughter, Mary Hubbard, she explained that 'Mary was always frugal, never spent her

husband the value if 1s for either tea, coffee, chocolate, brandy or wine but only at such time as she laid in childbirth or was indisposed'. She also noted that Mary 'would be seldom or never unemployed for was a person that never saw any plays or other such like diversions always keeping at home'.[cxxx]

Coffee carried slightly different and perhaps more familiar connotations in the rural village of Barrow in Suffolk in 1722, when the landowner 'Mr Boughton having made an end of harvest had the harvest men to dinner at his house in the kitchen'. A local curate, Mr Thomas Martyn, recalled the invitation to

> see a hawky, or feast upon concluding harvest, and accordingly he [and his wife and sister] went to dinner […] when were present in the parlour with Mr Boughton, this deponent and his wife, Mrs Hannah Digby, Mrs Catherine Dixon and Mrs Le Neve, and the harvest men dined together in the kitchen

Rather than a mark of private affection or quotidian luxuriance, coffee helped reinforce the spatial division of gender and class at the feast. Catherine Dixon recalled that, after dinner, the parlour guests 'drank tea and coffee and walked sometime in the garden to pass away the time, during which time Mr Boughton sometimes looked in upon the harvest men [in the kitchen], and told them they were welcome, but never sat down amongst them'. Thomas Martyn added that 'dinner being over in the parlour about 4 a clock, after he had smoked a pipe, he and Mr Boughton and the women walked into the garden about the house, and drank tea or coffee to pass away the afternoon'.[cxxxi] The recollections of both

deponents show that by the 1720s coffee and tea were integrated into customary rural feasting rituals, helping to distinguish respectable guests in the parlour from labourers in the kitchen.

As in London, these provincial depositions suggest that domestic consumption played a significant role in coffee's surge in popularity in the first three decades of the eighteenth century, figuring not simply as performances of respectability and class, as Woodruff Smith has demonstrated, but also as sources of visceral pleasure and conjugal closeness.[cxxxii] More, when combined with other evidence of household consumption they intimate that, as Smith has argued, it was the potential domestic demand for coffee that convinced East India merchants of the viability of the market for coffee. If London citizens and crooks both coveted coffee pots after 1700, then Weatherill found that in provincial inventories the only goods to be recorded 'more frequently' in 1725 than 1715 'were those associated with the East India trade, namely China and utensils for hot drinks [i.e. tea and coffee]'.[cxxxiii] A major study of inventories in early modern Kent and Cornwall shows that equipment for making and drinking tea and coffee 'first appear in Kentish households in the 1680s, but they are not found in more than 10 per cent of inventories until after 1720. Thereafter tea and coffee diffuse very rapidly, being found in nearly 74 percent of Kentish households sampled by the 1740s'. In the much poorer county of Cornwall, the same process did not happen until after 1740.[cxxxiv] Across the North Sea, in Antwerp, tea ware was largely absent from inventories in 1680, universal among rich and in 58% of poorest households in

1730, and universal by 1780. The same data shows (in the words of Jan De Vries) 'coffee and its attributes following tea at a distance'.[cxxxv] But perhaps most tellingly, Jon Stobart's comprehensive survey of English provincial grocer's inventories shows that 'caffeine drinks' were absent from grocer's stock between 1660 and 1699, stocked in 19 percent of grocer's shops between 1700 and 1729, and by 100 percent of grocers thereafter.[cxxxvi] It was surely here as much as coffeehouses and coffee rooms that the popular taste for coffee was forged – concurrent with tea rather than before it and among women as well as men.

**V**

This article started with a simple question: how could England experience such a precocious and florescent coffeehouse culture when, to all intents and purposes, imports of coffee remained erratic and low? It addressed the paradox by looking for the commodity rather than fixating on its institution. The resulting answers are equally simple, though possibly surprising. Restoration Londoners did not necessarily or even usually visit coffeehouses to drink coffee; provincial coffee rooms were hidden in alehouses and inns all along; the most obvious correlate for the surge in imports after 1700 was domestic rather than public consumption. Perhaps equally surprisingly, these answers leave coffee even more implicated in many of the grand narratives of modernity noted at the start of this article than before. The diaries, depositions and inventories show that just as coffeehouses and coffee rooms were clearly associated with discourse, news, and exchange before

1700, so coffee and its artefacts were part of an intensified consumerism, manufacturing industry, and material domesticity and pleasure after 1700. And although coffee was not a driver of economic globalisation before the eighteenth century, many of the cultural constructions that made sense of its consumption were developed in the fifty years after 1650.

Looking at the material and social history of coffee injects a degree of complexity and nuance that these grand narratives ignore. It also provides the chance to test the remarkable surge in coffee literature after 1650 by looking not simply at the constructions of social practice, but also the particularities of experience. There are resonances between each. Early modern men did go to coffeehouses for their much-vaunted news and discourse; coffee dialogues did advertise coffeehouses without the coffee. Rather than a transformative drug, however, coffee emerges as a force and feature of hybridity – of the mixed economies of coffeehouse, alehouse, and latterly household and the range of practices, meanings and tastes attendant to its consumption in those places. This means that the practices that developed around it – whether of public discourse or private pleasure – were never dependent simply on coffee: when coffee was taxed out of circulation in the mid-eighteenth century the practices remained. It also means that the taste for coffee was never quite as deep or entrenched as Smith suggests. More intriguingly, if domestic consumption really was the key to coffee's three decades of popularity after 1700 then other retail spaces – grocers,

apothecaries, fruit stalls – become quite as significant to its public history as coffeehouses.

By their very nature, narratives of modernity are abstracted and selective renditions of much messier moments, contexts, and processes: explanatory tools that elucidate the present through simplification of the past. Coffee has been taken to be emblematic of some especially simplified – some might say simplistic – narratives that have been too removed from the material and social circumstances to which they speak: of the invention of public spheres, or consumerism, or respectability, or industriousness. Looking for the coffee finds these stories to be more plausible when the mess and materiality are recovered; when the absence of coffee as well as its presence is taken into account.

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[x] Steve Pincus, "Coffee Politicians Does Create': Coffeehouses and Restoration Political Culture', *The Journal of Modern History*, Vol. 67, No. 4 (Dec., 1995), 811, 817.

[xi] Ellis, *Coffee House*, 29–31 and idem., 'Pasqua Rosee's Coffee-House, 1552–1666', *The London Journal*, 29:1, 1–24.

[xii] Ellis, *Coffee House*, 78–9.

[xiii] Ibid., 81.

[xiv] In fact, Ellis misleading asserts that the 'primary commodity' in French coffeehouses was 'alcoholic drink', whereas more recent research emphasises that it was the diversity and novelty of drinks that was

distinctive. Ellis, *Coffee House*, 82, 81. Thierry Rigogne, 'Readers and Reading in Cafés, 1660-1800', *French Historical Studies* (2018) 41 (3): 473-494.

[xv] Ibid., 142.

[xvi] Ibid., 24.

[xvii] S. D. Smith, 'Accounting for Taste: British Coffee Consumption in Historical Perspective', *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 27, 2, (Autumn, 1996), 184.

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[xix] Pincus, "Coffee Politicians Does Create', 817, 826. Ellis does not offer figures, though he may rely an observation of James Douglas in 1727 that the early coffeehouses were supplied from coffee from the Levant. James Douglas, *A Supplement to the Description of the Coffee*-Tree (Edinburgh, 1727), 31.

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[xxiv] Smith, 'Early Diffusion', 261-2.

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[xxxi] Ralph Davis, 'English Imports from the Middle east, 1580–1780' in M. A. Cook, ed., *Studies in the Economic History of the Middle East from the Rise of Islam to the Present Day* (Oxford, 1970), p. 202; Cowan, *Social Life*, 61–3.

[xxxii] Smith, 'Early Diffusion', 252.

[xxxiii] Ibid.

[xxxiv] Cowan, *Social* Life, 73–4; Smith, 'Early Diffusion', 253.

[xxxv] Smith, 'Early Diffusion', 253.

[xxxvi] Cowan, *Social Life,* 157–9.

[xxxvii] Anon, *The Vertue of the Coffee Drink* (1652). Figures of title pages are taken from English Short Title Catalogue and Early English Books Online.

[xxxviii] Ellis, *Coffee House*, xii-xiii.

[xxxix] Roland Barthes, ed., *Michelet*, trans. Richard Howard (Berkeley, 1992), 198–91; Schivelbusch, *Tastes of Paradise*, 15–84.

[xl] Aytoun Ellis, *The Penny Universities: A History of the Coffee Houses* (London, 1956), 88; Habermas, *Structural Transformation*, 33.

[xli] Pincus, "Coffee Politicians Does Create", p. 809, fn. 12.

[xlii] Pincus, "Coffee Politicians Does Create", p. 812, citing *The Ale-wives Complaint Against the Coffee-houses* (1675), p. 2.

[xliii] Pincus, "Coffee Politicians Does Create", p. 822 citing *The Ale-wives Complaint*, p. 5 and Pincus, "Coffee Politicians Does Create", p. 823 citing *The Ale-wives Complaint*, pp. 2–3.

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[lii] Cathy Shrank, 'Dishes of Coffee and Sack Triumphant: Intoxicants in Early Modern Dialogue' (unpublished paper); Ann C, Dean, *The Talk of the Town. Figurative Publics in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Cranbury, 2010), 21. Many thanks to professor Shrank for letting cite her unpublished work.

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[lv] Robert Latham and William Matthews, eds., *The Diary of Samuel Pepys Volume 5*, 76.

[lvi] *The Diary of Samuel Pepys Volume 1*, 318; *The Diary of Samuel Pepys Volume 4*, 22.

[lvii] *The Diary of Samuel Pepys Volume 5*, 329.

[lviii] Ibid., 105.

[lix] Ibid.

[lx] Ibid., 332.

[lxi] Ibid., 346.

[lxii] Ibid., 356.

[lxiii] Iliffe, 'Material Doubts', 314–318; Ellis, *The Coffee House*, 158 – 62; Pincus, "Coffee Politicians Does Create", 812.

[lxiv] Iliffe, 'Material Doubts', 317.

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[lxvi] Ibid., 300. Ellis seems to confuse Jonathans Coffeehouse with Joes Coffeehouse on Fleet Street, which Hooke visited regularly from the beginning of the diary. See Ellis, *Coffee House*, 159.

[lxvii] Hooke, *Diary*, 42, 135.

[lxviii] Ibid., 103, 87, 107, 129.

[lxix] Ibid., 63, 113.

[lxx] Ibid., 122, 127.

[lxxi] Ibid., 220, 203.

[lxxii] Ibid., 252.

[lxxiii] Hooke, *Diary*, 294, 307.

[lxxiv] Ellis, *Coffee House*, 159.

[lxxv] Tim Hitchcock, Robert Shoemaker, Clive Emsley, Sharon Howard and Jamie McLaughlin, *et al.*, *The Old Bailey Proceedings Online, 1674-1913* (www.oldbaileyonline.org, version 7.0, 20 Feb 2018). References are shortened hereafter to *OBP*.

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[lxxviii] *OBP*, 20 Feb 2018,Trial of Mary Reynolds and Alexander Reynolds, 11 July 1694, t16940711-56.

[lxxix] *OBP*, 20 Feb 2018, Advertisement, 3 April 1695, a16950403-1; Ordinary Account 23 April 1697, OA16970423.

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[lxxxi] IN ODNB Samuel Botley recorded using Colonel Mason's coffee-house in Cornhill for teaching short-hand in the 1670s.)

[lxxxii] *OBP*, 20 Feb 2018, Trial of Thomas Dungan, Theft, 13 Jan 1688, t16880113-34.

[lxxxiii] *OBP*, 20 Feb 2018, Trial of G _ Hart, Killing, 11 October 1699, t16991011-21.

[lxxxiv] Iliffe, 'Material Doubts', 316; *OBP*, 20 Feb 2018, Ordinary Account, 19 Dec 1684, OA16841219; Trial of George Ward, Killing, 7 Dec 1687, t16871207-20; Trial of Thomas Dungan, Theft, 13 Jan 1688,

t16880113-34; Trial of Francis Rossington, Killing, 6 Dec 1693, t16931206-34; Trial of Thomas Cooper, Killing, 8 July 1696, t16960708-7; Trial of G _ Hart, Killing, 11 October 1699, t16991011-21.

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[lxxxvii] Smith, 'Early Diffusion', 257.

[lxxxviii] *OPB*, 15 October 1718, t17181015-21; 5 December 1718, Theft and Murder, t17181205-43; 10 September 1718, Grand Larceny, t17180910-80.

[lxxxix] *OPB*, 6 June 1717, Grand Larceny, t17170606-34; 12 October 1715, Theft, t17121210-2.

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[xci] Lorna Weatherill, *Consumer Behaviour and Material Culture in Britain 1660–1760* (London, 1996), 28.

[xcii] Smith, 'Early diffusion', 257.

[xciii] Pincus, "Coffee Politicians Does Create", 813–14; Ellis, *The Coffee House*, 76; Cowan, *Social Life*, 154–5.

[xciv] Cowan, *Social Life*, 185.

[xcv] York City Archives (TCA), B38, ff. 35r–6. See also Withington, 'Public Discourse', 1033–5.

[xcvi] Phil Withington, 'Company and Sociability in Early Modern England', *Social History* 32, 3 (2007), 300; Cowan, *Social Life*, 154.

[xcvii] NRO, NCR Case 20a/14, unfoliated.

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[xcix] Peter Borsay, *The English Urban Renaissance. Culture and Society in the Provincial Town, 1660–1770* (Oxford, 1989).

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[cii] Woodward, *Trade*, 128, 137; T. S. Willan, *Studies in Elizabethan Foreign Trade* (Manchester, 1959), 65–6; W. B. Stephens, *Seventeenth-Century Exeter* (Exeter, 1958), xix–xxvi; G. Alan Metters, ed., *The King's Lynn Port Books, 1610–1614* (Norwich, 2009); Zahedieh, *Capital and the Colonies*, 10–14.

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[cvii] The National Archives (TNO), E190/496/21.

[cviii] TNO, E190/1348/10.

[cix] TNO, E190/496/21; E190/504/12; E190/441/1; E190/505/10; E190/1349/5.

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[cxi] NRO, NCR Case 20a/16 unfol. The licence was renewed again in 1701, *ibid.*

[cxii] NRO, DN/DEP 52/57, Lulman c. Inman, deposition of Peter Hasbert. Italics are added.

[cxiii] Ibid., deposition of John Dannye.

[cxiv] NRO, NCR Case 20a/16 unfol.

[cxv] NRO, NCR Case 12b Box 2 (Parcel 4), deposition of William Weston.

[cxvi] CRO, EDC 5/1718/2 Parry c Sylvester, depositions of Margaret Miller, Matthew Owens, John Brandwood, William Griffiths.

[cxvii] CRO, EDC 5/1718/2, Peter Morrey.

[cxviii] NRO, ANW 23/5/113, William Browne.

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[cxxii] Phil Withington, 'Intoxication and the Early Modern City' in Steve Hindle, Alexandra Shepard, John Walter, eds., *Remaking English Society* (Woodbridge, 2013), 135–65.

[cxxiii] LRO, WCW, John Antrobus, 1728; LRO, WCW, Thomas Bisbrown, 1727.

[cxxiv] Smith, 'Early Diffusion', 256.

[cxxv] CRO, EDC 5/1697/14, Fogge v. Dennis, deposition of Margaret Speed.

[cxxvi] See also NRO, DN/DEP 52/57 (unfol.) Matchet c Matchet, deposition of Abigail Howman.

[cxxvii] Douglas, *Supplement*, 31.

[cxxviii] *OBP*, 6 September 1716, Murder, t17160906-1; 10 Oct 1716, Riot, t17161010-1.

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[cxxxi] NRO, DN/DEP 58/62, Growse c. Boughton, deposition of Catherine Dixon, Thomas Martyn.

[cxxxii] Smith, 'From Coffeehouse to Parlour', 149.

[cxxxiii] Ibid., 41.

[cxxxiv] Overton et al, *Production and Consumption*, 106–7, 117.

[cxxxv] De Vries, *Industrious Revolution*, 152, using data from Bruno Blonde, 'Toe-eigening en de taal der dingen. Vraag- en uitroeptekens bij een stim- ´ ulerend cultuurhistorisch concept in het onderzoek naar de materiele cultuur', *Volkskunde* 104 (2003), 159–73.

[cxxxvi] Stobart, *Sugar and Spice*, 52, 54.

# Tables and Figures

**Table 1 Imports, re-exports and Retained Imports of Coffee, 1685 – 1719**

Figures are in lbs and reflect annual averages

| | Imports | Re-exports | Retained Imports | Per Capita |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1685–8 | 213444 | 23479 | 189965 | 0.04 |
| 1693–1700 | 242144 | 37296 | 204848 | 0.04 |
| 1701–10 | 420560 | 60368 | 360192 | 0.07 |
| 1711–1719 | 1,017,520 | 389872 | 627648 | 0.12 |

Taken from Smith, *Early Diffusion*, 265.

**Table 2** **The topographical distribution of dietary consumption and other references to consumables in Robert Hooke's Diary over a 5 Year Period (1672 to 1677)**

| | 1672 | 1673 | 1674 | 1675 | 1676 | 1677 | TOTAL |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Unspecified | 2 | 17 | 24 | 45 | 65 | 22 | 175 |
| Home | 74 | 140 | 73 | 72 | 90 | 75 | 524 |
| Coffeehouses | 2 | 24 | 44 | 62 | 57 | 57 | 246 |
| Inns and taverns | 0 | 5 | 7 | 10 | 12 | 32 | 66 |
| Hospitality of others | 5 | 7 | 18 | 16 | 43 | 30 | 119 |
| Institutions | 0 | 3 | 0 | 3 | 2 | 4 | 12 |
| Other | 0 | 10 | 23 | 26 | 28 | 26 | 113 |
| TOTAL | 83 | 206 | 189 | 234 | 297 | 246 | 1255 |

*Key:*

'Other' includes acts of gift exchange (receiving and giving, purchasing, discussing, avoiding, making or listing recipes);

'Institution' includes parks, college of physicians, city of London buildings, weddings, funerals

*Source*: Henry W. Robinson and Walter Adams, eds., *The Diary of Robert Hooke 1672–1680* (London, 1968)

**Table 3** **Edibles Recorded as Consumed in London Coffeehouses by Robert Hooke, 1672–1677**

| | 1672 | 1673 | 1674 | 1675 | 1676 | 1677 | TOTAL | % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Spirits | 0 | 0 | 3 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 4 | 1.7 |
| Tea | 0 | 4 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 5 | 2.1 |
| Staples | 0 | 0 | 4 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 5 | 2.1 |
| Vegetables | 0 | 0 | 1 | 3 | 3 | 1 | 8 | 3.4 |
| Fruits | 0 | 2 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 5 | 11 | 4.7 |
| Coffee | 0 | 3 | 7 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 12 | 5.1 |
| Medicines | 0 | 5 | 4 | 7 | 1 | 0 | 17 | 7.3 |
| Flesh | 0 | 1 | 3 | 3 | 6 | 2 | 15 | 6.4 |
| Dairy | 2 | 3 | 4 | 3 | 4 | 3 | 19 | 8.1 |
| Tobacco | 0 | 1 | 0 | 12 | 4 | 3 | 20 | 8.5 |
| Wines | 0 | 2 | 1 | 3 | 11 | 6 | 23 | 9.8 |
| Ales/beers | 0 | 0 | 8 | 2 | 7 | 7 | 24 | 10.3 |
| Chocolate | 0 | 1 | 3 | 24 | 17 | 27 | 72 | 30.8 |
| TOTAL | 2 | 22 | 42 | 60 | 54 | 56 | 236 | 100.9 |

The figures refer to the number of instances a commodity is mentioned as consumed. Each instance, no matter how many people involved in the consumption, is recorded once. The percentage figure is the proportion of all substances recorded as consumed in coffeehouses

*Key*:

'Ale/beers': beer, small beer, Mum, ale, hot ale

'Chocolate': chocolate (dish of), cacao nuts, cake, stone

'Coffee': coffee, coffee powder, coffee and sugar, coffee and sugar coffee, coffee dish (to eat)

'Dairy': Milk, whey, cream, cheese, cheesecake, eggs, posset, butter (on toast)

'Flesh': Beef, calves head, chicken, geese feet, larks, 'meat', pigeon, pullet, salt fish, veal

'Fruits': Apples (fresh, roasted, in water), pippins, cherries, damsons (baked), prunes, English artichoke

'Medicines': Hagiox, jalop resin (grains), senna (infusion), cordials, vomits, wormwood (spirit), beet juice, Sal Tartaris

'Spirits': Strong waters, brandy, aniseed drink

'Staples: bread, toast, broth, water, gruel

'Vegetables and herbs': Pease, asparagus, savoy, rosemary (smoked)

'Wines': Malaga, port, sherry, 'wine', Burgundy, Canary, sack, burnt claret, white, vinegar

*Source*: Henry W. Robinson and Walter Adams, eds., *The Diary of Robert Hooke 1672–1680* (London, 1968)

**Table 4 References to the 'new' intoxicants in Hooke's diary, 1672 to 1677**

| | 1672 | 1673 | 1674 | 1675 | 1676 | 1677 | TOTAL | % in Coffeehouses |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Coffee | 0 | 7 | 14 | 1 | 0 | 4 | 28 | 46 |
| Chocolate | 0 | 1 | 7 | 35 | 45 | 42 | 130 | 55.4 |
| Tea | 0 | 6 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 10 | 50 |
| Tobacco | 2 | 1 | 3 | 25 | 16 | 10 | 57 | 35.1 |
| Opiates | 7 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 7 | 0 |
| TOTAL | 9 | 14 | 26 | 62 | 62 | 57 | 230 | |

Figures are all references to new intoxicants made by Hooke in his diary. The column '% in coffeehouses' refers to the proportion of references located in coffeehouses. 'New' intoxicants refers to the group of colonial groceries and drugs introduced into European diets during the long seventeenth century.

*Source*: Henry W. Robinson and Walter Adams, eds., *The Diary of Robert Hooke 1672–1680* (London, 1968)

**Table 5 Spatial and material referents of 'coffee' in the Old Bailey Proceedings, 1673 to 1720**

| | 1670s | 1680s | 1690 | 1700s | 1710s |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Coffeehouse | 1 | 13 | 25 | 3 | 43 |
| Coffee room | | | | | 2 |
| Coffee (public) | | | | 1 | 2 |
| Artefacts (public) | | 1 | | | 2 |
| Coffee (domestic) | | | | | 1 |
| Artefacts (domestic) | | | 1 | 1 | 11 |
| Coffee (shop or stall) | | 3 | | | 1 |
| Coffee (on person) | | | | | 2 |
| Coffee (on wagon) | | | | | 1 |
| TOTAL | 1 | 18 | 26 | 5 | 65 |

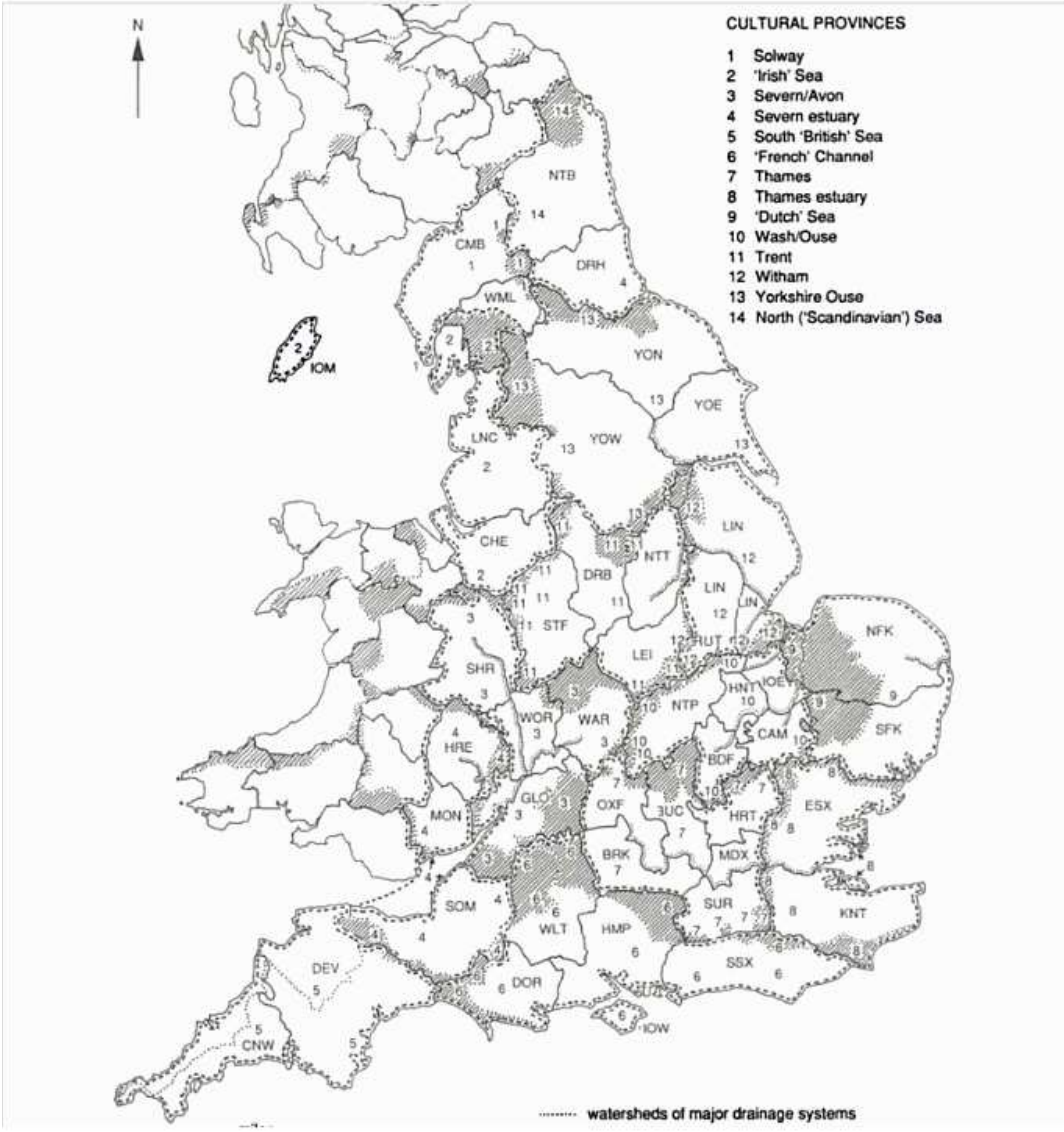
Note: the table describes all uses of 'coffee' in all trials rather than the number of trials which mention coffee. 'Advertisements' have not been counted. The full number of separate entries recorded on the site between January 1673 and December 1720 (i.e. the sample) is 11, 459.

Source: *The Proceedings of the Old Bailey, London's Central Criminal Court, 1674 to 1913*

**Figure 1 London and the South East and North West Case Studies**



## Figure 2 The Cultural Provinces of Pre-Modern England and Wales




From Phythian Adams, *Societies, Cultures and Kinship*, xvii.

**Table 6** **Appearances of Tobacco and Coffee in Port Books, Court Cases and Inventories in South East and North West England in the First Five Decades of their Introduction**

| | Column A Consignments of intoxicant | Column B Court cases with the intoxicant | Column C Inventories with intoxicant | Column D Total References |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Nos. | Nos. | Nos. | Nos. |
| *Decade 1* | | | | |
| Tobacco (1590s) | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Coffee (1650s) | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| *Decade 2* | | | | |
| Tobacco (1600s) | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| Coffee (1660s) | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| *Decade 3* | | | | |
| Tobacco (1610s) | 1 | 6 | 0 | 7 |
| Coffee (1670s) | 2 | 0 | 0 | 2 |
| *Decade 4* | | | | |
| Tobacco (1620s) | 6 | 9 | 4 | 19 |
| Coffee (1680s) | 4 | 1 | 0 | 5 |
| *Decade 5* | | | | |
| Tobacco (1630s) | 22 | 6 | 1 | 29 |
| Coffee (1690s) | 1 | 1 | 0 | 2 |

*Key:*

Data for Column A is from The National Archives (TNA), E190 Series. Norfolk figures are based on port books for Great Yarmouth; Cheshire and South Lancashire figures for Chester and Liverpool. Figures are based on 1 sample year per decade for each case study. Sample years for tobacco: 1593, 5 books; 1603, 2 books; 1615, 3 books; 1623, 2 books; 1632 (Cheshire) 4 books, 1638 (Norfolk), 2 books. Sample years for coffee: 1650s, No Data; 1662 (Norfolk), 4 books, 1664 (Cheshire), 1 book; 1678 (Norfolk), 3 books, 1674 (Cheshire, 2 books); 1686, 13 books; 1697, 8 books. 'Consignment' = each consignment of cargo carried in a ship for a single trader.

Data for Column B is based on searches of depositional material from Quarter Session and Church Court Records at Norfolk Record Office (NRO) and Chester Record Office (CRO), with the sample derived from any case with depositions referencing intoxicants and their related culture. Cases were searched for every year ending 00 and 05 between 1650 and 1700 plus additional years thereafter. The samples include cases from Suffolk and South Lancashire as well as Norfolk and Cheshire. The size of the samples (i.e. cases with intoxicant references) are: 1590s: 66, 1600s: 128, 1610s: 171, 1620s: 158, 1630s: 137; 1650s: 30, 1660s: 117, 1670s: 53, 1680s: 67, 1690s: 82. 'References' = any mention of the intoxicant or related objects and spaces per case.

Data for Column C is based on searches of inventories of identified retailers of intoxicants held at NRO, CRO and Lancashire Record Office. The full number of inventories searched = 1590s: 24, 1600s: 16, 1610s: 37, 1620s: 40, 1630s: 39; 1650s: 7, 1660s: 70; 1670s: 76, 1680s: 64, 1690s: 61. 'Entries' = any mention of the intoxicant and/or related objects and spaces on an inventory.

**Table 7 Court Cases and Inventories in the South East and North West of England with Appearances of 'Coffee' and Related Spaces and Objects in, 1680s to 1730s**

| | 1680s | | 1690s | | 1700s | | 1710s | | 1720s | | 1730s | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | No | % | No | %. | No | % | No | % | No | % | No | % |
| Norfolk Inventories | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 7 | 20 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 10 | 3 | 23 |
| Cheshire/S. Lancs Inventories | 0 | 0 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 5 | 0 | 0 | 3 | 27 | 2 | 40 |
| Norfolk/Suffolk Court Cases | 1 | 2 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 3 | 1 | 3 | 1 | 3 | 0 | 0 |
| Cheshire/S. Lancs Court Cases | 1 | 4 | 1 | 4 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 11 | 1 | 4 | 0 | 0 |
| TOTAL | 2 | | 3 | | 10 | | 3 | | 7 | | 5 | |

*Key*: See Table 6. Note: Number of inventories in the sample for Norfolk: 1680s: 2, 1690s:17, 1700s: 35, 1710s: 20, 1720s: 20, 1730s: 13

Number of inventories in the sample for Cheshire and S. Lancashire: 1680s: 44, 1690s: 42, 1700s: 20, 1710s: 12, 1720s: 11, 1730s: 5.

Number of court cases in the sample for Norfolk and Suffolk: 1680: 41, 1690s: 59, 1700s: 63, 1710s: 33, 1720s: 30, 1730s: 11

Number of court cases in the sample for Cheshire and S. Lancashire: 1680s: 26, 1690s: 23, 1700s: 19, 1710s: 19, 1720s: 24, 1730s: 8

*Source:* NRO, CRO and LRO

**Table 8** **Number and Referent of all Uses of 'Coffee' in Legal Depositions from South East and North West England, 1680s to 1720s**

| | 1680s | 1690s | 1700s | 1710s | 1720s |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 'Coffee Man' | 1 | | | | |
| 'Coffeehouse' | | 6 | 1 | 3 | |
| 'Coffee Room' | | 8 | | 3 | |
| 'Coffee' (public) | | 2 | | | |
| 'Coffee' (domestic) | | | 2 | | 4 |

*Note:* the table describes all uses of 'coffee' in all trials rather than simply the number of trials which mention coffee. For the size of the sample see Table 7.

*Source*: NRO, CRO and LRO