COFFEEHOUSE SOCIABILITY: SAMUEL PEPYS AND

THE CREATION OF NETWORKS IN LATE SEVENTEENTH

CENTURY ENGLAND

A THESIS IN
History

Presented to the Faculty of the University
of Missouri-Kansas City in partial fulfillment of
the requirements for the degree

MASTER OF ARTS

By

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B.A., University of Kansas, 2015

B.A., University of Kansas, 2015

Kansas City, Missouri
2021

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ABSTRACT

The aim of this work is to address how coffeehouse culture in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century England facilitated the creation of networks. The emergence of the coffeehouse in London created a new social atmosphere for men to interact with one another. Unlike the taverns Englishmen frequented, coffeehouses provided a new, sobering environment to discuss politics, science, news, and business. This new public sphere attracted men from different social standings in society to meet and discuss numerous topics over a dish of coffee. Men like Samuel Pepys saw the importance of these coffeehouses to propel his social standing. Pepys's diary provides a rare account of one man's visits to numerous coffeehouses around London. Between 1660-1665, Pepys experienced coffeehouses that dealt with politics, commercial interests, and news, which fostered different connections and networks to enhance his position. By first understanding the social aspects of the coffeehouses, I can examine three different areas of coffeehouse association – politics, news, and finance – and how their specific commercial agenda brought together like-minded men that facilitated the establishment of networks. By following Pepys's diary through the high coffeehouse years of 1660-1665, and interspersed with literary, economic, and printed discursive texts, we can see how the coffeehouse created ways for Pepys to become

politically, economically, and socially aware of a public sphere continuously expanding

across London.

APPROVAL PAGE

     The faculty listed below, appointed by the Dean of the College of Arts and Sciences have examined a thesis titled "Coffeehouse Sociability: Samuel Pepys and the Creation of Networks in Late Seventeenth Century England," presented by Mackenzie Marie Schulte, candidate for the Master of Arts degree, and certify that in their opinion it is worthy of acceptance.

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Pepys's diary, November 29, 1662: "In which business we had many fine petty discourses; and I did here see the great pleasure to be had in discoursing of publick matters with men that are particularly acquainted with this or that business."[1] The personal accounts of coffeehouse attendees are rare, and the *Diary* of Samuel Pepys provides one of the only extensive accounts of one man's visits to different coffeehouses across London. Between 1659 and 1670, Pepys detailed every activity in his diary: where he went, the money he spent and the people he conversed with, including accounts for nearly one hundred visits to local coffeehouses around London. During the years between 1660 and 1665, the coffeehouse became a central place for Samuel to visit and converse with people, frequenting two to three times a week, and sometimes twice in a single day.

Coffeehouse discourse, Pepys realized, presented the coffeehouse as a place not only for simply drinking coffee, but also as a place for social interaction and connections with other coffeehouse attendees. In a satirical poem written regarding the coffeehouses it says "for't has such strange magnetick force, that it draws after't great concourse of all degrees of persons, even from high to low, from morn till even."[2] The poem depicts the coffeehouse as a celebration of men from different social, commercial, and political interests who are found at the coffeehouses debating and discussing numerous topics over a "dish" of coffee.[3] Pepys recorded throughout his diary the comradery he experienced at the coffeehouse, detailing the topics discussed and the men he met. Ironically, we see throughout Pepys's diary his

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[1] Samuel Pepys, *The Diary of Samuel Pepys. Transcribed from the Shorthand Manuscript in the Pepysian Library, Magdalene College, Cambridge,* ed. Henry Benjamin Wheatley, vol. 1-4, 2 (New York , NY : Dodd, Mean & Company, 1887), https://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/001910675, 379. Hereafter referred to as Pepys, *Diary*, Vol. 1-4.

[2] "The Character of a Coffee-House (1665)," In *Eighteenth Century Coffee-House Culture* 1, ed. Markman Ellis, 65-66 (New York, NY: Routledge, 2016).

[3] 'Dish' is the term used for what coffee is served in

enjoyment of his visits to the coffeehouse, but never his enjoyment in drinking coffee. It was actually common for Englishmen to proclaim their dissatisfaction with the "black soot" in a cup. Despite the unpalatable concoction, Pepys's continual visits to the coffeehouses further enhanced his connections and friendships with his coworkers at the Navy Office, merchants, scientists, scholars, and men of noble standing in society.

By the early sixteenth century, English merchants were already familiar with coffee drinking from Turkish coffeehouses. The first English coffeehouses were established at Oxford University in the 1650s. Known as the "penny universities" – its name derived from the price of a cup of coffee – these coffeehouses, mixed with the stimulating effects of caffeine, established themselves as a key place for students and intellectuals to discuss and debate important issues. In 1652, the first coffeehouse established by Pasqua Rosée, a Greek servant of Levant merchant Daniel Edwards, opened in London.[4] After the establishment of that first coffeehouse, many more coffeehouses began to pop up around London, accompanying the developing West End of the city. Like the penny universities, these London coffeehouses established themselves as places for discussion and debate, whether it be cultural, political, or economic. As more and more coffeehouses established themselves across the city of London, many male Londoners began to prefer the informal atmosphere of the coffeehouses to the formality of royal courts, offices, and other places of professional business.

Most coffeehouse scholarship deals with the concept of a public sphere. Jürgen Habermas's "public sphere" theory, published in his dissertation, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois,* argues that

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[4] Brian Cowan, *The Social Life of Coffee: The Emergence of the British Coffeehouse* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2005), 94.

coffeehouses were the first function of a public sphere and created a bourgeois environment.[5]

Aytoun Ellis develops a similar notion and predates Habermas's public sphere theory in his

book *The Penny Universities*.[6] Ellis focuses on the coffeehouses at Oxford University and

how they gradually evolved into the typical English institution, the club. Ellis observes how

the coffeehouse, once an open institution for any man to walk into, gradually evolved into an

environment of exclusivity and privilege towards the end of the eighteenth century.

     Lawrence Klein and Steve Pincus, both published articles that directly challenge

Habermas and present scholarship that focuses on the social history of the coffeehouse and

how the coffeehouse created an atmosphere of civility and respectability. In Klein's article,

"Coffeehouse Civility, 1660-1714: An Aspect of Post-Courtly Culture in England," Klein

focuses on a post-courtly culture that was beginning to move out of Whitehall and into the

urban centers of England, primarily London, and casts the coffeehouse as a "site for a

conversable sociability conducive to the improvement of society as a whole: in contemporary

idiom, the coffeehouse was, at least potentially, a 'polite' place – and perhaps even more

important, a polishing venue, both civil and civilizing."[7] Pincus's article, "Coffee Politicians

Does Create: Coffeehouses and Restoration Political Culture," explores how the coffeehouse

as a concept created a new social and political space in Restoration England and challenges

the argument of Jürgen Habermas and Whig historians who believe that the public sphere

that occurred after the Glorious Revolution was gender and class exclusive. Pincus claims

that "coffeehouses were ubiquitous and widely patronized in Restoration England, Scotland

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[5] Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a   Category of Bourgeois Society* (Cambridge: Polity 1989).
[6] Aytoun Ellis. *The Penny Universities: A History of the Coffee-Houses* (London: Secker & Warburg Ltd., 1956).
[7] Lawrence E. Klein, "Coffeehouse Civility, 1660-1714: An Aspect of Post-Courtly Culture in England," *Huntington Library Quarterly* 59, no. 1 (1996): 31-51 at 33-34.

and Ireland and that they and the notion of a public sphere were defended by political and

religious moderates, as well as by more committed Whigs. The widespread acceptance of the

value of public opinion represents a new conception of political and social space, a

conception constitutive of the public sphere."[8]

Two of the leading historians of English coffeehouses, Brian Cowan and Markman

Ellis have taken the public sphere paradigm and channeled it into the social and culture

aspects of the English coffeehouses. Cowan presents in his book, *The Social Life of Coffee:*

The Emergence of the British Coffeehouse, a post-revisionist account of coffeehouses and

argues the paradigms of Whiggish consumer revolution and Habermas's public sphere by

examining the *virtuosi* (scientist and scholars) and how they perceived the coffeehouses as a

public sphere.[9] Ellis focuses on the cultural aspects of coffeehouses, particularly in his book,

The Coffee-House: A Cultural History, which expresses how coffee became a form of

socialization and philosophy.[10]

The public sphere paradigm has not completely faded from the scholarly perspective.

In fact, in a collection of essays edited by Peter Lake and Steven Pincus, *The Politics of the*

Public Sphere in Early Modern England, combines both Whig and revisionists perspectives

and forms a new understanding of the emergence of the public sphere. Habermas equates the

beginning of the public sphere during the Restoration of the monarchy in England, but what

Pincus and Lake newly argue, as well as the other scholars contributing to the book, that the

seeds of a public sphere began as early as the sixteenth century and divides the period into

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[8] Steve Pincus, "Coffee Politicians Does Create: Coffeehouses and Restoration Political Culture" *The Journal of Modern History* 67, no. 4 (1995): 807-34, at 811.
[9] Cowan, *The Social Life of Coffee*.
[10] Markman Ellis, *The Coffee-House: A Cultural History* (London: Orion, 2004).

three sections. In the first, what is called the "post-reformation," roughly from the 1530s to1620s, the beginning of public sphere ideologies is argued. What is seen as private, for example Parliamentary discussions, began to become more public during the Elizabethan era, as well as discussions of the commonwealth. The second period involves the "Civil Wars" from the 1640s to 1680s, and how both sides relied on a more mobile form of revenue, rather than land-based wealth, resulting in the emergence of a wealthy merchant class consisting of tradesmen, financers, and merchants, thus broadening the participants within the newly emerging public sphere. These new participants helped fuel the third period, the "post-revolutionary" from 1690 and onward, which saw the beginning of a political economy that promoted expansion overseas through the East India Company, the Hudson's Bay Company, and the Levant Company.[11]

What Pincus and Lake try to explain is that neither the Whig nor the revisionists are right, but they are also not wrong. The Whigs viewed their revolution as "unique" and "exceptional" concerning the nature of English political development, while the revisionists separated political history from the social and economic and relied on the importance of contemporary evidence rather than printed discourse. What *Politics of the Public* seeks to understand is how the development of the public sphere in Britain was not all that different from similar developments on the continent, contrary to Whig ideologies, and that revisionists cannot separate politics from the economic and social atmosphere of seventeenth-and eighteenth-century public life. Similar to what this paper seeks to explore is

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[11]Peter Lake and Pincus Steven, *The Politics of the Public Sphere in Early Modern England* (Manchester University Press, 2012), 1-22.

the intertwining of politics, economics, and news and how together they influenced the social

atmosphere of the coffeehouses by creating different networks.[12]

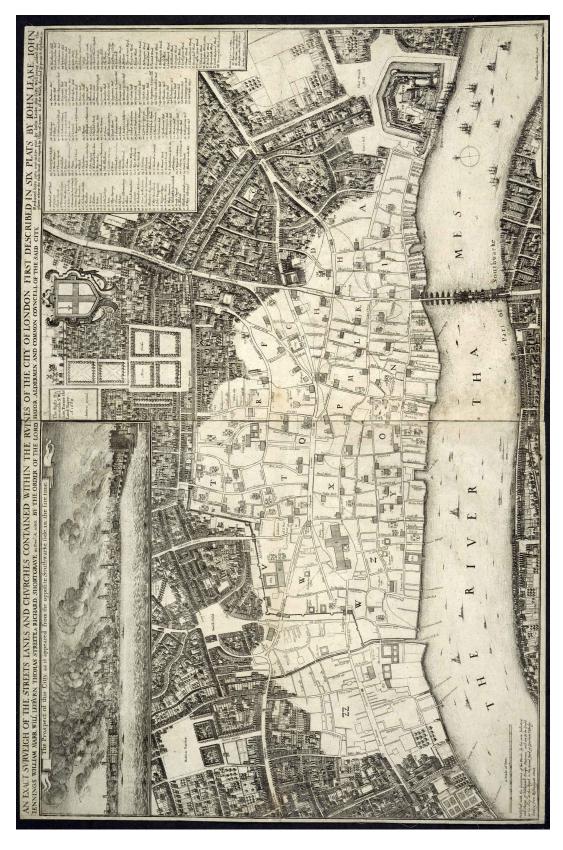[12] Lake and Pincus, *The Politics of the Public Sphere*, 1-22.

Figure 1 John Leake, *AN EXACT SVRVEIGH OF THE STREETS LANES AND CHVRCHES CONTAINED WITHIN THE RVINES OF THE CITY OF LONDON*, London: Published by Nathanaell Brooke Stationer, 1667.
Public Domain. Courtesy of the British Library.

The establishment of a public sphere created a new way of creating networks of trust and information. Most networks existed mainly within familial ties, or *ascribed trust*, but only provided limited information for commercial revenue.[13] Sociologists have discovered that information between people with weaker connections, aka acquaintances, create a better flow of information. When someone associates with the same people, no new information enters the group, but if the group includes someone unknown, particularly an acquaintance, it allows the flow of new information into the group, which establishes a strong connection through an essentially weak tie. This differentiates from a more common form of connection such as patronage. Patronage created connections between unifamilial ties, but expected favors, payment, or land in return. Acquaintances discovered at the coffeehouses opened new ways for other businessmen or tradesmen to connect and share information, without necessarily any obligation of something in return.[14]

Towards the end of the seventeenth century, London became a commercial powerhouse. Long before Alfred Marshall's nineteenth-century concept of "industrial districts,"[15] London had already begun establishing sections of the city that focused on particular commercial, cultural, social, and political interests, and coffeehouses followed along right behind. Professional businessmen would set up at certain coffeehouses and conduct their business, with their clients knowing where and when to find them. Certain coffeehouses catered specifically to certain commercial interests. The specialization of

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[13] More information on familial ties and ascribed trust can be found with Francesca Trivellato, *The Familiarity of Stranger: The Sephardic Diaspora, Livorno, and Cross-Cultural Trade in the Early Modern Period*, Andrea Colli's, *The History of Family Business, 1850-2000* and John Haggerty and Sheryllynne Haggerty's, "The Life Cycle of a Metropolitan Business Network: Liverpool 1750–1810." Patronage information can be found with Katherine S. H. Wyndham. "Crown Land and Royal Patronage in Mid-Sixteenth Century England."

[14] Mark Granovetter, "The Strength of Weak Ties: A Network Theory Revisited" *Sociological Theory* 1 (1983): 201-33.

[15] Alfred Marshall, *Principles of Economics* (London: Palgrave Macmillian Press, 2013).

coffeehouses became synonymous with the geography of their location. Nandos and Grecian, located near the courts, became home to the lawyers, law students, and clerks. Child's Coffeehouse near St. Paul's Cathedral attracted clergymen. Booksellers, printers, and writers found themselves frequenting Chapter's and Will's coffeehouses, while merchants, tradesmen, insurance agents, and brokers found themselves in Jonathan's, Garraway's, and Lloyd's coffeehouses in Exchange Alley. Not only were coffeehouses centers of business, but places people could find and purchase a variety of exotic items. Edward Lloyd's coffeehouse dealt with merchants and shipowners who auctioned off cargo items, and eventually became an agency dealing with maritime insurance brokerage, which is still active today known as Lloyd's of London.[16] With individual coffeehouses becoming associated with certain conversations and discourse, this allowed for men to find others with similar interests and curiosities. Coffeehouses became markets for specialized information, a place to drink coffee, read the newspapers, and create unique connections, as well as places for scholars in the arts and the sciences to debate and discuss numerous topics.[17]

Men like Samuel Pepys realized the usefulness of the coffeehouses and how certain coffeehouses could cater to his advancement in society. What this paper seeks to understand is how the social and culture atmosphere of the coffeehouses established various forms of networks. By first understanding the social aspects of the coffeehouses, I can examine three different areas of coffeehouse association – politics, finance, and news – and how their specific commercial agendas brought together like-minded men who facilitated the establishment of different networks. By following Pepys's diary through the high coffeehouse years of 1660-1665, and interspersed with several literary, economic, and

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[16] Ellis, *The Penny Universities*.
[17] Ellis, *The Coffee-House*, 150.

printed discursive texts, we can see how the coffeehouses created ways for Pepys to become politically, economically, and socially aware of a public sphere continuously expanding across London.

CHAPTER 1

COFFEEHOUSE SOCIABILITY

March 27, 1665: "Then to the 'Change, and thence to the Coffee-house with Sir W.

Warren, where much good discourse for us both till 4 o'clock with great pleasure and

content."[1] Before understanding how coffeehouse culture affected and created networks of

trust, it is necessary to understand the social implications coffeehouses had on seventeenth-

and eighteenth-century England. Coffeehouses started to become popular during the first few

decades of Restoration England becoming an innovative and cultural space that the

government scrutinized and wanted to control.[2] The first satirical review of the coffeehouses,

A Character of Coffee and Coffee-Houses, published and possibly written by John Starkey in

1661, became the pamphlet for conduct and decorum throughout all coffeehouses in England.

Starkey owned a bookshop in Fleet Street, an area known for book publishing and printing,

as well as an area for several coffeehouses. In this work we see that coffeehouses had "no

respect of persons. Boldly therefore let any person, who comes to drink Coffee sit down in

the very Chair, for here a Seat is to be given to no man. The great privilege of equality is only

peculiar to the Golden Age, and to a Coffee-house."[3]

When one arrived at a coffeehouse, attendees were expected to take the next seat

available, which might place them next to someone with whom they were unfamiliar. The

seating policy prohibited the reservation of seats and promised never to refuse a man's

company: all men were equal. Both Paul Greenwood's *A Brief Description* and *The*

Character of a Coffee-House express the uniqueness of different people sitting and

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[1] Pepys, *Diary*, Vol. 4, 383-384.
[2] Ellis, *The Coffee-House*, 58.
[3] John Starkey, "A Character of Coffee and Coffee-Houses," in *Eighteenth Century Coffee-House Culture* 1, ed. Markman Ellis (New York, NY: Routledge, 2016),1-14, at 9-10.

interacting with one another. "Now being enter'd, there's no needing/ of compliments or gentile breeding,/ For you may seat you any where,/ There's no respect of persons there."[4] This policy encouraged men from different social and economic backgrounds to sit and discuss whatever topic that came to mind. In a thriving metropolitan city like London, most people did not know each other and kept to their own social circles, but the coffeehouses created a new social habit that affected every social aspect of society. A unique attraction of the coffeehouse was meeting men whose knowledge, interests, social position in society, and trade might be of value to coffeehouse attendees.[5] Coffeehouses became social centers that disregarded birth and rank, which began to alter the social understanding of societal hierarchy.

Though coffeehouses created a new social way of interacting, there were no rules regarding the behavior conducted in the coffeehouses. A sheet of two poems, printed by Paul Greenwood and sold at the sign of the Coffee-Mill and Tobacco-Roll in Cloath-fair near West-Smithfield who selleth the best Arabian Coffee-Powder and Chocolate, *A Brief Description of the Excellent Vertues of that Sober and Wholesome Drink, called Coffee, and its imcomparable effects in preventing or curing most diseases incident to humane bodies,* offers an account of the expected rules and behaviors of a coffeehouse:

THE RULES AND ORDERS OF THE COFFEE-HOUSE
Enter, sirs, freely, but first, if you please,
Peruse our civil orders, which are these.
First, gentry, tradesmen, all are welcome hither,
And may without affront sit down together:
Pre-eminence of place none here should mind,
But take the next fit seat that he can find:
Nor need any, if finer persons come,

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[4] "The Character of a Coffee-House (1665)," in *Eighteenth Century Coffee-House Culture* 1, ed. Markman Ellis (New York, NY: Routledge, 2016), 65-66.
[5] Ellis, *The Coffee-House*, 58.

Rise up for to assign to them his room
To limit men's expense, we think not fair,
But let him forfeit twelve-pence that shall swear:
He that shall any quarrel here begin,
Shall give each man a dish t' atone the sin;
And so shall he, whose compliments extend
So far to drink in coffee to his friend;
Let noise of loud disputes be quite forborne,
Nor maudlin lovers here in corners mourn,
But all be brisk, and talk, but not too much;
On sacred things, let none presume to touch,
Nor profane Scripture, nor saucily wrong
Affairs of State with an irreverent tongue:
Let mirth be innocent, and each man see
That all his jests without reflection be;
To keep the house more quiet and from blame,
We banish hence cards, dice, and every game;
Nor can allow of wagers, that exceed.
Five shillings, which ofttimes do troubles breed;
Let all that's lost or forfeited be spent
In such good liquor as the house cloth vent,
And customers endeavour, to their powers,
For to observe still, seasonable hours.
Lastly, let each man what he calls for pay,
And so you 're welcome to come every day.[6]

Greenwood's verses continually reenforce the argument that the coffeehouses are

open and inclusive to anyone who might wish to attend. According to sociologist Erving

Goffman, each community creates its own set of behaviors. In order not to seem out of place,

people tend to abide by the expected behaviors of the community, particularly in public

places.[7] For coffeehouses, these expected behaviors associated with propriety, sociability,

and inclusivity, became the benchmark of coffeehouse atmosphere. It is a continuing

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[6] Paul Greenwood, "A Brief Description of the Excellent Vertues of That Sober and Wholesome Drink, Called Coffee, and Its Incomparable Effects in Preventing or Curing Most Diseases Incident to Humane Bodies," in *Eighteenth Century Coffee-House Culture* 1, ed. Markman Ellis (New York, NY: Routledge, 2016), 127-129, at 129.

[7] Erving Goffman, *Behavior in Public Places: Notes on the Social Organization of Gatherings* (New York, NY: Free Press, 1966).

argument amongst the historical community of whether coffeehouses were indeed open and exclusive to all, or a space for bourgeois society. Habermas argues in his work that a public sphere began to emerge when coffeehouses started to open. The coffeehouse, Habermas claims, represented a space for the bourgeois society to meet and converse with one another, as well as a space that was class and gender exclusive.[8] Since then, historians and sociologist have sought to reimagine Habermas's "Marxist" ideologies into creating a new post-revisionist account of coffeehouses in England.[9]

Greenwood's verses repeat the argument of inclusivity and how coffee-houses did not exclude anyone based on status, power, and wealth. The art of "public respectability" began emerging in the seventeenth century. The introduction of new and exotic items that were being imported into England, as well as the rest of Europe, such as chocolate from Mexico and South America, tea from India, sugar from the Bahamas, and coffee from Turkey and Africa, brought men and women out into the public to experience these items. Coffeehouses frequently intermixed with each of these exotic items, and created a space not only for social interaction, but the beginning of a consumer revolution. This consumer revolution enhanced the idea of what Woodruff Smith calls "rational masculinity", which implies how cultural constructs affect male social roles and respectability, which determines how a man should act.[10]

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[8] Habermas, *The Structural Transformation*.

[9] Steve Pincus, ""Coffee Politicians Does Create": Coffeehouses and Restoration Political Culture." *The Journal of Modern History* 67, no. 4 (1995): 807-34, at 811.

[10] Woodruff Smith, *Consumption and the Making of Respectability:1600-1800*, (London: Routledge, 2002).

Figure 2: The Coffeehouse Mob, 1710
Frontispiece [Edward Ward], *The Fourth Part of Vulgus Brittanicus; or, the British Hudibras*, London, James Woodward, 1710; significanltly retitled 'The Westminster Calf's Head Club'.
(CC BY-NC-SA 4.0) Courtsey of the British Museum, Dept of Prints and Drawings.

A newly emerging argument concerning English coffeehouses is whether they were gender exclusive. Habermas reinforces the argument in his work that English coffeehouses were gender exclusive, warranting the claim that women were excluded from the coffeehouses. Lois Schwoerer's, "Women's Public Political Voice in England: 1640-1740," argues that in the early days of the coffeehouses, women and men with different social backgrounds were welcomed into these spaces to engage in political discourse and news.[11] Though there is truth to the argument she makes with coffeehouse sources expressing the idea that anyone, male or female, may enter into a coffeehouse, we cannot take it as evidence that women participated on the same level as the men within the coffeehouses, but use evidence of women in coffeehouses as a starting point for further examination. One could argue that women served no place amongst the discussions of politics, commerce, and news. The printed image title "The Coffeehouse Mob", (Figure 2), depicts the coffeehouse attendees in a chaotic atmosphere, with one patron throwing his dish of coffee onto another. Though this image is contradictory to the polite and civil atmosphere coffeehouse sources are portrayed as, it is used to enhance the argument that women would not want to partake in this kind of debauchery. Yet despite the "uncivil" tendencies of the coffeehouses, women still occupied a space within them. In the figure, we see the matron behind the bar serving coffee to an attendee. It was quite common throughout the coffeehouses for women to be employed and sometimes even own them, though these coffeehouses were not located in London, but in Bath mainly, which showed more diversity amongst its coffeehouse attendants.[12] Much like taverns, any women who frequented the coffeehouses and who were not employed there,

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[11] Lois Schwoerer, "Women's Public Political Voice in England: 1640-1740", in *Women Writers and the Early Modern English Political Tradition*, ed. Hilda Smith (Cambridge University Press, 1998).
[12] Ellis, *The Coffee-House*, 67.

were suggested to be prostitutes, but there are always excepts to the rule. According to Brian

Cowan, Hester Pinney, "a successful single woman in the lace business, seems to have no

difficulties dealing with the stockjobbers at Garroway's and Johnathon's coffeehouses when

she had to attend to business related to her investments in the South Sea Company and other

joint-stock ventures, or to maintain her contacts with West-India merchants."[13] Hester

successfully maintaining herself within the environment of the coffeehouses changes the

understanding of women's role in the coffeehouse, and provides a new opportunity for

researchers and scholars to investigate other women who could have operated in a similar

capacity as Hester.

According to Greenwood's verses, the coffeehouse distinguished itself as a place free

from cards, dice, fighting, profanity, and wagering, vices connected to another public place,

the tavern. What Greenwoods verses seek to recognize is the superiority of the coffeehouse

over other public places and the encouragement of "rational masculinity" and "public

respectability." The new social atmosphere and respectability of the coffeehouses challenged

taverns and churches. Taverns allowed for people to meet and discuss numerous matters, but

the effects of ale would eventually take effect and drunken debauchery would ensue. As

coffeehouses began to open, taverns and alehouses became associated with drunkards,

prostitutes, and plebians, which in turn made them less attractive to men looking to enhance

their position in society.[14] Churches allowed for meeting places but were constrained by the

type of discussion and discourse that could be communicated. As coffeehouses opened, they

became an entirely new public meeting place, one less constrained by drunkenness and

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[13] Brian Cowan, "What Was Masculine about the Public Sphere? Gender and the Coffeehouse Milieu in Post-Restoration England," in *History Workshop Journal*, 51, no. 1 (2001): 127–157, at 144.
[14] Cowan, *The Social Life of Coffee*, 104-105.

religious scrutiny. Eventually coffeehouses transformed into spaces for clubs. According to

Markman Ellis, a club is understood to be a "meeting or assembly, held in a public space like

a tavern, for the purpose of social intercourse and debate, in which the cost of the meeting

were defrayed communally."[15] In the seventeenth century, the club began to establish itself in

English social life, with coffeehouses as the primary meeting spots at their inception.

While pubs and taverns were good places for young men to start their careers, the

coffeehouses would become the centers for great men to interact and present themselves as

civil members of society. The title of Greenwoods work, "Rules and Orders," creates

expectations for coffeehouse attendees. Taverns did not express certain rules of behavior or

decorum, but coffeehouse rules created a setting for how one might behave in the

coffeehouse and conduct oneself.

Though women may have been absent from the coffeehouses, social attributes often

ascribed (unjustly) to women played key roles within coffeehouse culture. The coffeehouses

encouraged respect and civility – perceived as positive feminine attributes – although actual

behavior might have been rather different. A less salubrious attribute often attributed to

women is gossiping, which achieved a high level of activity in the coffeehouses. In Starkey's

A Character of Coffee, he mentions that "in this age Men tattle more than Women," and that

men "have outtalk'd an equal number of Gossipping Women."[16] Any topic from love affairs

to politics entered the gossip milieu of the coffeehouses. Even Pepys took on this attribute

when discussing with Mr. Moore concerning the Earl of Sandwich's love affair and found

that "my lord is wholly given up to this wench, who it seems has been reputed a common

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[15] Ellis, *The Coffee-House*, 44.
[16] John Starkey, "A Character of Coffee and Coffee-Houses," in *Eighteenth Century Coffee-House Culture* 1, ed. Markman Ellis (New York, NY: Routledge, 2016), 1-14, at 8.

strumpett."[17] This gossiping inspired the news culture that sprang out of the coffeehouses. Upon entering the coffeehouses, customers typically called out, "What news?", as they ordered a dish of coffee.[18] The formation of news culture is one of the most distinct qualities to emerge out of the coffeehouses. Newspapers and newsbooks were available for any attendee to pick up and start reading. The news could be anything from gossip concerning the royal family, to political uprisings, to events overseas, and as the news culture continued to grow, more and more people wanted to become informed and aware for strategic purposes. According to Markman Ellis: "News had become a commodity, sold through news-sheets and consumed in the coffee-houses."[19] Coffeehouses became centers for the circulation of unprinted news, in both handwritten and oral forms such as gossip, rumor, and scandal. [20] While coffeehouses operated during the Restoration era of England, reading, learning, and discussing the news made the attendees more politically aware. After the Restoration of Charles II in 1660, newspapers were typically controlled by the government, specifically with Roger L'Estrange's first issue of *The Intelligencer*, which would be replaced by *The London Gazette*. The coffeehouses created spaces where people could produce their own newspapers and articles without the control of the King and his government.

December 10, 1660: "In the evening to the Coffee House in Cornhill, the first time that ever I was there, and I found much pleasure in it, through the diversity of company and discourse." New connections were fostered through this new place of socialization. When Pepys began frequenting the coffeehouse, he first began to attend because he knew it was a place any respectable man would go, but eventually came to understand that the coffeehouse

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[17] Pepys, *Diary*, Vol. 3, 255.
[18] Ellis, *The Coffee-House*, 67.
[19] Ellis, *The Coffee-House*, 69.
[20] Ellis, *The Coffee-House*, 68.

was more than a meeting place for men to meet and discourse. For Pepys, the coffeehouse would create political and economic connections, as well as serve as a place to gain news and gossip to propel him further in life.

CHAPTER 2

SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY POLITICS AND COFFEEHOUSE CULTURE

January 5, 1659: "Then I went home, and after writing a letter to my Lord and told

him the news that Parliament hath this night voted that the members that were discharged

from sitting in the years of 1648 and 49, were duly discharged; and that there should be writs

issued presently for the calling of others in their places."[1] The middle of the seventeenth

century experienced constant political instability in England. The "Long Parliament," which

lasted from 1640 until 1648, when it was purged by the New Model Army, with the

remaining members becoming known as the Rump, struggled with the political competition

between King Charles I and the Republicans led by Oliver Cromwell. After the execution of

Charles I in 1649, arranged and executed by the Rump, England struggled as a republic,

resulting in the dictatorship of Cromwell as Lord Protector, who forcibly removed the Rump

and dissolved Parliament in 1653.[2] When Cromwell died in 1658, power passed to his son

Richard. He failed as Lord Protector, which resulted in the return of the purged members of

the Long Parliament. This led to an attempted military coup and conflict within the

parliamentary membership, some of whom supported the maintenance of the Commonwealth

and others who favored the return of the monarchy. Eventually, the monarchic faction, led by

opponents of the Cromwellian dictatorship, won out and the exiled Prince of Wales, Charles

II, was invited to return and take the throne. The events of 1659 cemented the political

establishment of English coffeehouses, providing new homes for republicans and political

critics, and creating a space to debate the affairs of state. The ones supporting a republican

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[1] Pepys, *Diary*, Vol. 1, 10.
[2] Mark S. R. Jenner, "The Roasting of the Rump: Scatology and the Body Politic in Restoration England," *Past & Present*, 177 (2002): 84–120.

state all agreed that the monarchy should not be restored, and that the future of the English government allowed for innovation.[3] After the Restoration, England continued to be divided politically, forming the two political rival groups of Royalists and Republicans, or better known as the Tories and the Whigs.

As the landscape of business began to change, networks started to expand outside of familial ties. Beginning in the early 1600s, networks began expanding to different modes of connections – i.e. acquaintances in the same field of business. Samuel Pepys knew the importance in gaining connections to propel his commercial and social ambitions, with the coffeehouses giving him the space to do so. Pepys's first introduction to the coffeehouse began with his interactions with the Rota Club. The Rota Club was the place for aspiring young men to interact and create connections with other men of learned degree, attracting men from every sector of the social hierarchy. Men from the middle-class to the nobility would gather to discuss politics and philosophy. Established at Miles' Coffeehouse at the Turk's Head in New Palace Yard, a spot within walking distance of Whitehall and Parliament, the Rota Club became the place to discuss the commonwealth and republican ideas. Samuel Pepys did not live far from the Turk's Head, which gave him a slight advantage into immersing himself amongst the people and ideas that circulated. He writes: "Then I went with my wife, and left her at market, and went myself to the Coffee-house, and heard exceeding good argument against Mr. Harrington's assertion, that overbalance of propriety [i.e., property] was the foundation of government."[4] For a man who was continuing to climb the social ladder, the coffeehouse created a space for the foundation of networks.

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[3] Ellis, *The Coffee-House*, 43-44.
[4] Pepys, *Diary*, Vol. 1, 19.

An important figure in innovating the English Commonwealth was James Harrington, founder of the Rota Club in 1659. Harrington was the son of a gentleman and served as one of Charles I's gentlemen of the bedchamber until Charles's execution in 1649. Harrington's rise came with his publication of *The Commonwealth of Oceana.* Harrington's book, which is considered a work of fiction, portrays England as Oceana, the hero of the story, and Cromwell as Olphaus Megaletor. The synopsis of Harrington's book puts Megaletor as the sole legislator for Oceana and establishes a new government by gathering a group of philosophers to compose a new constitution. As the new government is established and is running smoothly, Megaletor retreats to private life and Oceana thrives on its own, being ruled by the people, and not a king. This small elite class would run the government with one third of the representatives being replaced each year to avoid faction. This utopian theory of government offered men of different political ideologies to debate amongst one another.[5]

Harrington's book received both support and criticism throughout England. In the belief of a republican form of government, Harrington established the Rota club in 1659 at Miles' Coffeehouse. With its location being situated in New Palace Yard near Parliament and Westminster, Miles' Coffeehouse provided the perfect spot for men of different political ideologies to debate and discuss different forms of government. The owner of the Miles' Coffeehouse, Miles, provided James Harrington and his followers with the space to conduct their meetings. According to John Aubrey, Miles provided Harrington with "a large ovall-table, with a passage in the middle for Miles to deliver his Coffee," seating "his disciples, and the virtuosi."[6] Every night, gentlemen met around this table discoursing of different

[5] James Harrington, *The Commonwealth of Oceana* (London: G. Routledge and Sons, 1887), https://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/001155599/Home.

[6] John Aubrey, *"Brief Lives": Chiefly of Contemporaries, Set Down by John Aubrey, Between the Years 1669 & 1696*, vol. 1-2, 1 (Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1898), https://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/000309827, 289.

political ideas and proposals, resulting in *The Rota: or, A Model of A Free-State Or Equall Commonwealth* (1660). This provided the basis for discussions at the meetings. By the end of 1659, England was facing a crucial political turning point, but the Rota club used the coffeehouse to reestablish political discussion, one that allowed for rational, critical, and civil debate to occur. As opposed to the former public space of political discussion – taverns – coffeehouses allowed for stimulating exchanges of ideas, ones fueled by caffeine and insight, rather than liquor and riotous behavior, and introduced up-and-coming men like Samuel Pepys into a new realm of acquaintances.

In the tumultuous year of 1659, Samuel was at the prime age of twenty-seven years old and working in a junior position as a clerk to George Downing at the Exchequer, which dealt with receiving excise money and paying soldiers. Samuel's office, located in Exchequer Yard near New Palace Yard, introduced Pepys to the life of the coffeehouses and the people that frequented them. On Harper's Tavern on King Street, Samuel met Henry Muddiman, a writer for the parliamentary newspapers, who introduced Samuel to the Rota Club. "I went with the Muddiman to the Coffee-House, and gave 18d to be entered into the club."[7] According to Samuel's diary, the year of 1659-60 had been a stressful time financially for him, so considering that Samuel paid 1 ½ shillings to be entered into the club – a significant amount of money for the time – suggests the importance of this group to Samuel. After his first experience at the Rota Club on January 9, Samuel returned the next day where "a great confluence of gentlemen; viz Mr. Harrington, Poultny, chairman Gold, Dr. Petty, &c., where admirable discourse till 9 at night."[8] The attendance of Pepys on this evening brought him

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[7] Pepys, *Diary*, Vol. 1, 14.
[8] Pepys, *Diary*, Vol. 1, 15.

into contact with several prominent members of society, such as Sir William Poultny, a wealthy property developer, Nicholas Gold, a wealthy merchant, and William Petty, a renowned mathematician, philosopher and administrator in the commonwealth's colonization of Ireland. By frequenting the Rota Club meetings at Miles Coffeehouse, Pepys realized that not only did they create spaces for discussion, but a space for "networks of potential patrons."[9]

As someone who worked for a government agency, Pepys needed to keep up to date on political ideologies and debates that provided him with opportunities for advancement in his career, which meant that Pepys needed to be on the winning side of the political debate. For most of the month of January and February 1660, Pepys became a frequent attendant of Rota Club meetings. Here he listened to the discussions and debates of Harrington's pamphlet, *The Rota*. Though Pepys's attendance provided him with some political understanding and some connections, he knew his main form of advancement would be through business, and not politics.

Several new politically-slanted coffeehouses joined the older establishments such as Miles' Coffeehouse, becoming synonymous with either the Whigs or the Tories. In the 1690s, Whigs favored coffeehouses like Richard's, Jenny Man's, St. James's, and Buttons, while Tories found political haven in Cocoa Tree Chocolate House[10] and Ozinda's Coffeehouse.[11] With the mixer of social interactions and exchange of ideas, it was here at the coffeehouse that the expansion of connections and ideologies began to flourish.

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[9] Ellis, *The Coffee-House*, 49.
[10] Coffeehouses catered to other exotic items such as tobacco, tea and chocolate
[11] Cowan, *The Social Life of Coffee*, 170.

CHAPTER 3

COMMERCIAL COMPETITION AND THE COFFEEHOUSE

February 15, 1663: "And so parted, and I took my wife homeward, I stopping at a

Coffee-house, and thence a while to the 'Change, where great newes of the arrival of two

rich ships, the Greyhound and another, which they were mightily afeard of, and great

insurance given.[1] In England, the Royal Exchange became the epicenter for traders,

merchants, stockjobbers (dealers), and insurance brokers. In 1677, Robert Lewes's *The

Merchant Map of Commerce*, notes that the Exchange is a place where merchants and

tradesmen assemble and meet to converse concerning merchandizing, shipping, buying, or

selling.[2] The alleys and streets surrounding the Exchange catered to almost any lucrative

trade, from hat-making to scientific instruments, to booksellers and stockjobbers. Exchange

Alley became the center of commerce with coffeehouses beginning to spring up throughout

the alley. The coffeehouses of Exchange Alley benefited heavily from the local commerce

that surrounded them. In the *Survey of the Cities of London and Westminster* (1720), John

Strype notes that the Exchange is "a Place of a very considerable Concourse of Merchants,

Seafaring Men and other Traders, occasioned by the great Coffee-houses (Jonathans and

Garways) that stand there."[3] Exchange Alley became the center for brokers to deal in the

buying and selling of stocks.

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[1] Pepys, *Diary*, Vol. 4, 43.

[2] Robert Lewes, *The Merchants Map of Commerce: Wherein the Universal Manner and Matter of Trade Is Compendiously Handled. The Standard and Current Coins of Sundry Princes Observed. The Real and Imaginary Coins of Accounts and Exchanges Expressed. The Natural and Artificial Commodities of All Countreys for Transportation Declared. The Weights and Measures of All Eminent Cities and Towns of Traffick, Collected and Reduced One into Another, and All to the Meridian of Commerce Practised in the Famous City of London*, 3rd ed. (London: Printed for R. Horn), https://archive.org/details/merchantsmapofco00robe, 12.

[3] John Strype, *Survey of the Cities of London and Westminster*, The Stuart London Project, Humanities Research Institute (Sheffield, UK: University of Sheffield), 2007, I, ii, 149.

After the Great Fire in 1666, Exchange Alley, as well as the Royal Exchange itself and the majority of London, were rebuilt on a massive scale, with coffeehouses such as Johnathan's, Garraway's, and Lloyd's cementing themselves as three key locations for financial discourse and trade. London merchants that attended the Royal Exchange relied on the coffeehouses and the news and gossip that emerged from them. Samuel Pepys frequented several coffeehouses in Exchange Alley because he knew that in order to perform successfully, he needed as much knowledge and information he could find. In seventeenth- and eighteenth-century England, market information was not distributed evenly, but needed to be collected, interpreted, and used strategically.[4] With its social habits, the conversation between strangers and the connection to news and gossip, coffeehouses started to establish their role in the commercial world of the London. After the Glorious Revolution of 1688, London became the largest market for international trade.

During the latter half of the seventeenth century, London's security market began to thrive. The securities market was a market for the "sale and purchase of debts, mainly of governments, and of shares in economic enterprises, and one of its functions is to facilitate the raising of capital for public and private purposes."[5] The London Stock Exchange was made up of two distinct classes, brokers and dealers, or jobbers, as they were called in the seventeenth century. A broker acted as an agent to buy and sell stocks for a client. The broker entered the Stock Exchange and approached a dealer – jobber – and asked the price of the certain stock his client was interested in, without disclosing whether they wanted to buy or sell. If the dealer was well versed in the securities market, he would quote two prices, a

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[4] Ellis, *The Coffee-House: A Cultural History*, 170.
[5] S.R. Cope, "The Stock Exchange Revisited: A New Look at the Market in Securities in London in the Eighteenth Century," *Economica*, New Series, 45, No. 177 (1978): 1-21, at 1.

selling and buying price. The broker repeated this same process with several other jobbers in order to find the best price for his client. If the best price quoted was acceptable to the client, the broker would proceed with the transaction. The jobber had the right to not deal at all, but if the jobber does deal, he was bound to the original price quoted.[6] Brokers and jobbers created a ready market by facilitating the buying and selling of stocks and ensured their clients that they could always find a buyer.[7] With coffeehouses becoming auction-houses and a space with updated markets prices, jobbers found a home in the coffeehouses of Exchange Alley to create new connections and networks and to enhance their social standing within the financial market of England.

Trading in stocks and bonds already existed in England's three largest trading companies – East India Trading Company, the Royal African Company, and Hudson's Bay Company – long before the Revolution of 1688. During the 1690s, stock trades were enacted in both the coffeehouses and the Royal Exchange. In John Houghton's *A Collection for Improvement of Husbandry and Trade*, he explains the process thus:

> the Monied Man goes among the Brokers (which are chiefly upon the Exchange, and at Jonathan's coffee-house, sometime at Garaway's, and at some other coffee-houses) and asks how stocks go: And upon information, bids the broker buy or sell so many shares of such and such stocks if he can, at such and such prices; then he tries what he can do among those that have stocks, or power to sell them; and if he can, makes a bargain.[8]

Houghton notes that merchants in Garraway's coffeehouse kept a specialized list of "what Prices the Actions bear of most Companies trading in Joynt-Stocks."[9] Coffeehouses began

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[6] Cope, *The Stock Exchange Revisited*, 1.
[7] Ellis, *The Coffee-House*, 173.
[8] John Houghton *A Collection for the Improvement of Husbandry and Trade. Consisting of Many Valuable Materials Relating to Corn, Cattle, Coals, Hops, Wool, &c.* (London: printed for Woodman and Lyon in Russel-Street, 1727), 264.
[9] Houghton, *A Collection for the Improvement of Husbandry and Trade*, 5.

housing books that dealt with commodity prices and exchange rates and were updated daily based on the market. Edward Lloyd, owner and operator of Lloyd's coffeehouse, established a maritime list that was compiled from the information that flowed from the merchants that frequented his coffeehouse.[10]

The vicinity of the coffeehouses in Exchange Alley to the Exchange offered ways for businessmen and merchants to continue their business – coffeehouses essentially became extensions of the Exchange trading floor. This extension offered businessmen and merchants the opportunity to conduct business afterhours and establish the coffeehouse as space for commercial networking. Pepys continually went from the Exchange to a coffeehouse to hear news and receive advice. For example, on February 22, 1663, he frequents both the 'Change and the coffeehouse to "enquire about the manner of other countries keeping their masts wet or dry, and got good advice about it."[11] Not only were coffeehouses places to network, they became centers for auctions. Several records indicate merchants and traders would auction of exotic items they collected while overseas, specifically at Garraway's. The Hudson's Bay Company used Garraway's Coffeehouse to auction off furs. For example, on November 14, 1671, Mr. Rastell organized "to putt up publick bills upon the Exchange to morrow morneing for Sale of lb. 3000: weight of beaver coates & skins at Mr. Garway's coffee house."[12] No commodity was off limits. Anything from manufactured goods to African slaves were sold at coffeehouse auctions. *The Tatler* mentions the usefulness of the coffeehouse auctions, even if it did so in a satirical way:

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[10] Ellis, *The Coffee-House*, 172.
[11] Pepys, *Diary*, Vol. 4, 49.
[12] E. E. Rich, ed., *Minutes of the Hudson's Bay Company 1671-1674*, 61, vol. 5 (Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1942), 8.

I send you by this bearer, and not per bearer, a dozen of that claret which is to be sold at Garraway's Coffee-house on Thursday the fifth of October next. I can assure you, I have found by experience the efficacy of it in amending a fault you complain of in your last. The very first draught of it has some effect upon the speech of the drinker, and restores all the letters taken away by the elisions so justly complained of. Will Hazzard was cured of his hypochondria by three glasses; and the gentleman who gave you an account of his late indisposition, has in public company, after the first quart, spoke every syllable of the word plenipotentiary.[13]

Most auctions were conducted by "sale by candle," in which a section of the candle was lit, and bidding continued until the section went out, with the last highest bid being the winner. Pepys first encountered this type of sale on September 6, 1660, where "we met all, for the sale of two ships by an inch of candle, (the first time that ever I saw any of this kind) where I observed how they do invite one another, and at last how they all do cry, and we have much to do to tell who cry last."[14] Garraway's became the key center for auctions throughout London. Advertisements in the *London Gazette, Public Advertiser* and *Mercurius Publicus* continuously promoted auctions by licensed brokers for all kinds of commodities. One advertisement notes different items from St. Domingo such as "1 barrel sugar; 48 barrels coffee; 6 bags cotton; 610 pieces of straw grass; being the remainder of the Cargo of the Venus, a French prize, taken by his Majesty's Ships St. Alban, Eagle and Romney."[15] Not only were auctions places to buy exotic items, but also provided places to keep up to date on maritime news. The advertisement mentioned above reveals how the English navy continually battled other countries for maritime power.

Between 1652 and 1675, England and the Netherlands fought three wars against each other for economic and maritime power. The Act of Navigation in 1651 put even more strain

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[13] Joseph Addison and Richard Steele, 1672-1719, *The Tatler,* ed. George A. Aitkens (New York: Hadley & Mathews, 1899), vol. 4, no. 231, https://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/006210258, 184.

[14] Pepys, *Diary*, Vol. 1, 256.

[15] "Advertisements and Notices." *Public Advertiser*, September 28, 1756, *Seventeenth and Eighteenth Century Burney Newspapers Collection*.

between the English and the Dutch.[16] In 1660 when the exiled Charles II was restored to

power, Charles started with pardoning the groups that exiled him, but lacked the resources to

reward those who stood by him. For Charles to gain revenue, customs and excises had to rise

because they were an important source of income.[17] In order to solve the problem, Charles

allowed commercial interests to become a more important topic on the political agenda. Even

Pepys noted the importance of the merchant's voice in Parliament. In order to facilitate a war

with the Dutch Pepys discoursed with Captain Cocke how "it seems the King's design is by

getting underhand the merchants to bring their complaints to the Parliament, to make them in

honour begin a warr."[18] Pepys goes on to mention that if Charles were to declare war himself

first the merchants would not "second him with money."[19] Members of London's merchant

class had been petitioning the English government for years about maritime trading and

regulations, with the East India Company and the Levant Company became more politically

involved in order to gain more maritime power, not only against the Dutch, but any other

maritime power that tried to stand in their way.

Concern with the Dutch trading companies became a frequent topic mentioned

throughout Pepys's diary. In 1663, the discussion of war with the Dutch was continuous

throughout the year. In February, Pepys met with Captain Cocke:

> who discoursed will of the good effects in some kind of a Dutch war and conquest
> (which I did not consider before, but the contrary) that is, that the trader of the world
> is too little for us two, therefore one must down: 2ndly, that though our merchants
> will not be the better husbands by all this, yet our wool will bear a better price by
> vaunting of our cloths, and by that our tenants will be better able to pay rents, and our
> lands will be more worth, and all our owne manufactures, which now the Dutch

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[16] Rommelse, *The Role of Mercantilism*, 597. The act stipulated that any goods imported into any English territory should be carried on English ships from the products country of origin. Any violation of the act would result in seizure of and confiscation of goods and ship. The role of this law was meant to hurt the Dutch's maritime trade since the Dutch occupied a large majority of European shipping.
[17] Rommelse, *The Role of Mercantilism*, 600.
[18] Pepys, *Diary*, Vol. 4, 93.
[19] Pepys, *Diary*, Vol. 4, 93.

outvie us in; that he thinks the Dutch are not in so good a condition as heretofore because of want of men always, and now from the wars against the Turke more than ever.[20]

Later that month, Pepys viewed several letters from the East Indies that showed the "height that the Dutch are come to there, showing scorn to all English, even in our only Factory there of Surat, beating several men, and hanging the English Standard St. George under the Dutch flagg in scorn."[21] Pepys knew that war meant the opportunity for advancement. Pepys was able to keep up to date on the news regarding tensions with the Dutch. He noted in his diary on November 14, 1664, as he headed to the coffeehouse to "hear newes. And it seems the Dutch, as I afterwards found by Mr. Coventry's letters, have stopped a ship of masts of Sir W. Warren's, coming for us in a Swede's ship, which they will not release upon Sir G. Downing's claiming her: which appears as the first act of hostility."[22] War meant merchants needed to be properly protected against any incursions. Many people created investments in merchant companies, and if any profit was lost it could result in financial ruin, which allowed for the rise of insurance brokers.

Coffeehouse owners associating with a certain type of trade attracted a certain type of clientele: tradesmen and merchants were more likely to visit coffeehouses knowing other men of their same trade would be there as well. Edward Lloyd, owner of Lloyd's Coffeehouse, situated itself in Tower Street near the Navy Office, but later relocated to Exchange Alley. Like Johnathan's and Garraway's, Lloyd's staged several auctions, but also established several financial publications, specifically for maritime merchants, which made Lloyd's the center of the shipping world in London. *Lloyd's List*, which is what it is still

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[20] Pepys, *Diary*, Vol. 4, 31
[21] Pepys, *Diary*, Vol. 4, 43-44.
[22] Pepys, *Diary*, Vol. 4, 288.

called today, provided the most up-to-date shipping news and insurance prices so that merchants who attended Lloyd's had an advantage over other competitors. Years before Lloyd's established itself, Pepys's frequently dealt with maritime insurance because of his job at the Navy Yard. On November 23, 1663, Pepys's met with Sir W. Rider to "consult about the insuring of our hempe ship from Archangell."[23] After failing to gain a decent percentage to secure the ship if lost, Pepys later at the coffeehouse heard "by great accident" that the ship retuned to Newcastle safely. If Pepys did not secure an insurance premium if the ship was lost, Pepys and Rider could have been subjected to paying for the loss out of pocket, or at least the Navy Office. Thanks to Pepys's "happy accident" in the coffeehouse, he saved himself from financial strain, and it is through moments like this that express the flow of information in the coffeehouses, and how Llyod's ended up thriving and supplying homes for brokers and stockjobbers.

The securities boom of 1693 to 1695 facilitated the creation of more and more brokers and stockjobbers. Thomas Mortimer's *Every Man His Broker* recounted his own experience of England's stock exchange and became a useful tool for any man seeking to make a career in England's financial market. Mortimer presented to the reader that anyone might enter a coffeehouse "as freely, as into any other Coffee house; however, six pence must be paid at the bar, by every one who does business."[24] This requirement of six pence allowed for any man to become a stockjobber. In 1697, an act was passed to limit the number and practice of brokers and stockjobbers.[25] This legislation required brokers to be licensed by the city of London and limited the number of brokers available. Any broker dealing without a

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[23] Pepys, *Diary*, Vol. 3, 346.
[24] Thomas Mortimer, *Every Man His Own Broker: or, a Guide to Exchange-Alley* (London: Printed for G. G. J. and J. Robinson, 1785), https://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/007701820, xv.
[25] Cope, *The Stock Exchange Revisited*, 2.

license would pay a fine, as well as the person employing him. In 1761, stockjobbers began to make deals with coffeehouses proprietors and rent out coffeehouses for a certain number of hours and charge a premium subscription in order to keep outsiders from infringing on their business.[26] What was once a free and open space for any man to come in, sit and have a conversation with a stranger was slowly starting to fade away.

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[26] Ellis, *The Coffee-House: A Cultural History*, 179.

CHAPTER 4

COFFEEHOUSE AND THE ORIGINS OF THE POPULAR PRESS

October 19, 1663: "Sir W. Batten and I took a coach, and to the Coffee-house in Cornhill; where much talk about the Turk's proceedings, and that the plague is got to Amsterdam, brought by a ship from Argier; and it is also carried to Hambrough."[1] For London, the coffeehouse provided the first space to communicate and express different modes of information. Historian Brian Cowan explains it best that "the coffeehouse was the first and foremost product of an increasingly complex urban and commercial society that required a means by which the flow of information might be properly channeled."[2] In order to create different modes of networks, the flow of information needed to be created and controlled strategically. The wide variety of public discourse expressed in the coffeehouses needed to be conveyed to the rest of the population, leading to the establishment of London's official news culture. Beginning in the 1660s, the association between coffeehouses and news culture started to bloom but did not fully flourish until after the restoration of Charles II. Several writers used the coffeehouses as spaces to publish newsletters too sensitive for the regular press or as venues for gossip. Writers took this gossip and produced it into news stories to be sent out to their subscribers.

News essentially became the catalyst for establishing different networks. Large communal tables provided several different printed newspapers and pamphlets for coffeehouse attendees to come in and read, but what provided the most effective form of news was the conversations that circulated throughout the coffeehouse. Pepys purposely went to the coffeehouse to find out different anecdotes of news circulating that day. For example,

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[1] Pepys, *Diary*, Vol. 3, 308
[2] Cowan, *The Social Life*, 171.

on February 25, 1662, Pepys attended the coffeehouse and heard news of a "late great wind" with one telling a story of "five great trees standing together blown down."[3] In the same day Pepys also read an account from a "news-book" concerning a scandalous trial about Lord Buckhurst and his fellows "in pursuit of thieves, and that they took this man for one of them, and so killed him." Pepys seemed unconvinced though for a fair outcome and doubts "things will be proved otherwise."[4] Pepys realized the strategic importance of attending the coffeehouses to meet people, mainly in regard to his business at the Navy Office. On April 12, 1663, Pepys and W. Howe attended the coffeehouse to discuss about getting Howe "some place under my Lord of advantage if he should go to sea, I would be glad to get him secretary and to out Creed if I can, for he is a crafty and false rogue."[5] With the help of news circulation, the coffeehouse became a second office for Pepys to meet and conduct business.

When it comes to printed discourse in late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century England, no one did it better than Joseph Addison and Richard Steele. Addison and Steele are two primary examples of taking gossip and coffeehouse discourse, and producing it into profitable periodicals to sell, using the coffeehouse as its main setting. The production of the *Tatler* and then the *Spectator,* would sell anywhere between three to four thousand copies a day. In 1709, Richard Steele, who was already writing for *The London Gazette*, began the *Tatler* by delivering an ironic form of satire that poked fun at English society. Writing under the alias, Isaac Bickerstaff, Esq., the essays were supposedly written in an array of coffeehouses. From White's Chocolate House in St. James, regarding town gallants, to Will's Coffeehouse in Covent Garden concerning poets and wits, as well Grecian's for the lawyers

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[3] Pepys, *Diary*, Vol. 2, 183.
[4] Pepys, *Diary*, Vol. 2, 183.
[5] Pepys, *Diary*, Vol. 4, 106.

and St. James's Coffeehouse for news and foreign affairs, the *Tatler* used different coffeehouses across London to express different commercial, political, and social agendas. Despite their differences in terms of political positioning, each coffeehouse shared an association with an elite and exclusive class of culture, reflective of high status, and located in the socially exclusive West End of London.[6] For the two years the *Tatler* ran, it dominated the literary scene of London, expanding well outside of England and becoming popular in Europe and the colonies.

In March 1711, Steele and his friend Joseph Addison, created the *Spectator*, which outdid the *Tatler* in production and readership. Like the *Tatler*, the *Spectator* saw Mr. Spectator, a man who is neither important, nor invisible to society, blending into the places around him and "spectating" on the men at the places he visited. Unlike the *Tatler*, which was perceived to be written out of different coffeehouses, the *Spectator* takes on the form of a single essay by associating with different groups of people. Even with this change in literary format, the *Spectator* still fully embraced the coffeehouses. It is in the *Spectator* that we see the division of different economic and social modes throughout London. Mr. Spectator was sometimes seen "thrusting my head into a Round of Politicians at *Will's* [coffeehouse], and listening with great Attention to the Narratives that are made in those little Circular Audiences. Sometimes I smoak a Pipe at *Child's* [coffeehouse]; and whilst I seem attentive to nothing but the Post-Man, over-hear the Conversation of every Table in the Room."[7] Mr. Spectator went on to mention that he frequents St. James's, the Grecian, the Cocoa-Tree, and Jonathan's coffeehouses.

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[6] Ellis, *The Coffee-House,* 189.
[7] Joseph Addison and Richard Steele, *The Spectator*, ed. George A Aitken (London: Duckworth & Co., 1899) vol. 1-4, 1, no. 1, https://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/100479924, 4.

Though both the *Tatler* and the *Spectator* are not considered newspapers, even though they are printed in the form of a newspaper – a sheet of paper printed on both sides and folded as a bifolio to create four pages – they read more as satire than news, even if some of the stories were about actual events and people. In a time that saw continuous changes in social and economic behaviors, the *Tatler's* general purpose was "to expose the false arts of life, to pull off the disguises of cunning, vanity, and affectation, and recommend a general simplicity in our dress, our discourse, and our behavior."[8] The *Spectator* took this same philosophy and applied it to the essays it created. Even if the *Spectator* and the *Tatler* were void of actual news, they still provided a glimpse into understanding the socioeconomic structure of how coffeehouses operated. We can see in no. 49, published on April 26, 1711, Mr. Spectator's observations of the men that frequent the coffeehouses. He begins by arriving at the coffeehouse at six in the morning. There "every man about him has, perhaps, a News-Paper in his Hand; but none can pretend to guess what Step will be taken in any one Court of Europe." The attendees gather around a Mr. Beaver listening to the news he gathered the day before, until the lawyers effectively take over "who rise early for no other Purpose but to publish their Laziness." But of course, the "virtuosos" (wits) certainly outdo the lawyers with their "gay Cap and Slippers, with a Scarf and Party-coloured Gown, to be Ensigns of Dignity; for the vain things approach each other with an Air, which shews they regard one another for their vestments." As the day progressed on the virtuoso give way to the "Men who have Business or good Sense in their Faces, and come to the Coffee-house either to transact Affairs, or enjoy Conversation."[9]

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[8] Addison and Steele, *The Tatler*, "Dedication", vol. 1, 8.
[9] Addison and Steele, *The Spectator*, vol. 1, no. 49, 148-149.

Even as presented in the *Spectator*, we can see the men associating almost exclusively with their own social agenda at the coffeehouse. Though from no. 49 it is perceived Mr. Spectator is at one coffeehouse, it still shows how the association of similar men from the same social and commercial groups proliferated within the coffeehouses. These publications gave men who might not have been well-versed in coffeehouse sociability the chance to find coffeehouses that associated with their mode of social or commercial affiliation. The coffeehouse served as "the Place of Rendezvous to all that live near it." It is here in this essay Addison and Steele create Eubulus, the ideal coffeehouse gentlemen, where "he enjoys a great Fortune handsomely, without launching into Expence; and exerts many noble and useful Qualities." Eubulus's "Wisdom and Knowledge are serviceable to all that think fit to make use of them; and he does the Office of a Council, a Judge, and Executor, and a Friend to all his Acquaintances, not only without the Profits which attend such Offices, but also without the Deference and Homage which are usually paid to them."[10] The *Spectator*'s creation of Eubulus gave men an ideal form of civility to strive for, showing that coffeehouses not only provided spaces for news and conversation, but the idea of how a man should act and carry himself in society.

Though Pepys was no Eubulus, it became a vision for him to strive for. After the restoration of the monarchy in 1660, government officials began to crack down on printed news, yet the coffeehouses remained the main source for the consumption of news and gossip. This creation of news culture led to several men, particularly in the financial districts and politics of London, to be one step ahead of most of their colleagues. Pepys knew the importance of coffeehouse news to stay ahead the of the game. On February 2, 1664, Pepys

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[10] Addison and Steele, *The Spectator*, vol. 1, no. 49, 149.

met with "Gifford, Hubland, and the Master of the ship, and I read over and approved a charter-party for carrying goods for Tangier, wherein I hope to get some money."[11] By taking the news culture and applying it to the rise of financial markets and the expansion of trade, men like Pepys used the news for further advancement.

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[11] Pepys, *Diary*, vol. 4, 346.

CONCLUSION

October 10, 1664: "Therewith Sir W. Warren to the Coffee-house behind the 'Change, and sat alone with him till 4 o'clock talking of his businesses first and then of business in general, and discourse how I might get money and how to carry myself to advantage to contract no envy and yet make the world see my pains; which was great content to me, and a good friend and helpe I am like to find him, for which God be thanked!"[1] It is through the coffeehouse that Pepys was able to cement connections and advance his career in the Navy Office. With a new space that facilitated political, economic, and social connections, men like Samuel Pepys found new ways of exploring social mobility and career advancement.

For Pepys, the son of tailor and a man who had no Navy experience whatsoever, he continued to progress his career, meet new people, and continuously learn new skills. Through his determination, Pepys rose to be the Chief Secretary to the Admiralty under Charles II and James II. In 1665, Pepys was elected as a Fellow to the Royal Society, and then President in 1684, which was the same year Isaac Newton – also a coffeehouse attendee – published his *Principia Mathematica* and bears Pepys name in the title page. A man who had no science or mathematic expertise, rose to the highest position of the one the most prestigious societies in London at the time. Pepys was always open to learning and this can be seen in his 3,000-volume collection he acquired throughout his life, which was donated to Magdalene College in Cambridge and is housed in Pepys's own library, Pepys Library. Pepys's interactions in the coffeehouses allowed for him to create these networks to further

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[1] Pepys, *Diary*, October 10, 1664, Vol 4, 263.

his career. In a time that was experiencing political, social, and economic changes, Pepys took full advantage of the space coffeehouses provided.[2]

Though coffeehouses did not fully disappear, they did start to fade from importance in the public sphere, but the mark they left on politics, news, and finance lingered on. The coffeehouses represented the spaces for free-thinking and debate. After the Restoration of the monarchy, Charles II tried to suppress the coffeehouses because they represented a space to challenge political authority. In the end it failed but left a mark on the people of England to know that their voices can be heard. The expansion of the English people's freedom of speech spilled over into news publications. *The London Gazette*, created during the reign of Charles II, still circulates royal and government news today. Coffeehouses associating with gossip and rumor influenced papers created in the nineteenth century, such as the *Daily Mail* and *The Sunday Times*. *The Spectator*, its name deriving from Addison and Steele's periodical in the eighteenth century, began in 1828 and is the oldest British magazine that discusses politics, culture, economics, and current affairs.

With the introduction to more exotic items such as coffee, chocolate, tea, and sugar – and their popularity with the English people – created more merchants, traders, and financers to develop the new growing market for overseas trade. Sugar, tobacco, and coffee plantations were set up in the Caribbean islands and the American colonies, which began new consumer rivalries with the other powerful countries of Europe. These advancements that once began and flourished in the coffeehouses, took on a life of their own outside of them, which began the coffeehouses slow decline from the public sphere.

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[2] E. N. da C. Andrade. "Samuel Pepys and the Royal Society," *Notes and Records of the Royal Society of London* 18, no. 2 (1963): 82–93.

As England progressed into latter half of the eighteenth century, industrial districts began to emerge throughout the city of London. In areas once occupied by coffeehouses dealing with certain modes of commerce, new businesses proliferated in these areas. We see towards the end of the eighteenth century a move towards exclusivity in the coffeehouses. Lloyd's and Johnathan's only allowed members of financial trades into their coffeehouses who paid a subscription to be there. Though the Stock Exchange already existed in England since 1571, in 1773 a group of 150 brokers and dealers opened "New Jonathan's" in Sweetings Alley, later renamed the Stock Exchange, and what we know today as the London Stock Exchange. Lloyd's moved out of its coffeehouse roots and cemented itself as maritime insurance firm. What started as a space to conduct business and trade, thrived into its own insurance powerhouse, known today as the Lloyd's of London. In St. James's Place, we see a shift from open and inclusive coffeehouses to gentlemen's clubs, whose membership came at a high price and was strictly controlled. Whites Chocolate House transformed into a club for "high-status clientele engaged in no-limits gambling."[3] Whites, Brooks, and Boodles, all-male gentlemen clubs that exist today, were remodeled from coffeehouses that once existed in St. James's Place. When coffeehouses first opened, they served the purpose to exposing Londoners to different people and connections, but as new businesses and connections were created, coffeehouse's purpose was no longer needed for upcoming men like Samuel Pepys.

An important component in the coffeehouses decline, was the decline of coffee itself. Unlike the cafés that thrived on the European continent and the tea rooms established in England, coffeehouses time in England was coming to an end. Some say that tea eclipsed coffee drinking but trading one hot beverage for another could not be the cause of coffees

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[3] Ellis, *The Coffee-House*, 213.

decline in England. The East India Company kept a tight control over the price and quality of

tea. When coffee was introduced to the Jamaican islands in 1728, the Java farmers

consistently competed with Ottoman beans, which were of higher quality, thus driving the

price of coffee down. The tea trade in the East Indies became monopolized, as well as

manipulating taxes and tariffs to make coffee less profitable. With coffee prices decreasing,

farmers resulted in using low-cost cultivation which drove down the coffee beans quality

from the Jamaican islands.[4] In 1784, the English government reduced the tea duty from 100

per cent to 12.5 per cent, which cut down on tea smuggling and surged tea imports to 16.3

million pounds, while coffee imports remained at 7 million pounds.[5] Though tea rooms

dominated after the decline of coffeehouses, the social practices of drinking tea was not a

new phenomenon, but female customers became the more predominate clientele. Much like

the spaces that men could get together and discuss business, unchaperoned women could

meet while still maintaining their respectability.

Though coffeehouses faded from importance, coffeehouses did not fully remerge

until the twentieth century when the espresso bar became popular in the 1950s and 1960s. In

1953, Pino Riservato, a travelling salesman from Milan, introduced England to Archille

Gaggia's patented espresso machines and formed Riservato Partners Ltd. in the heart of

Soho, which was the center of the Italian community in London, and began experimental

coffee bars known as Riservato. Moka Bar in Soho opened as the first independent space to

utilize Riservato's Gaggia machines. These machines introduced new ways of enhancing the

espresso experience by utilizing the steam pressure to heat milk and create a creamy foam,

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[4] S.D. Smith, "Accounting for Taste: British Coffee Consumption in Historical Perspective," *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 27, no. 2 (1996): 183–214.
[5] Ellis, *The Coffee-House*, 208.

resulting in the cappuccino. As the espresso craze began to take off, coffee shops and cafés began to reestablish themselves in the heart of London.[6] Much like coffeehouses of the seventeenth century, coffee shops provided spaces that were cheap and convenient for young people to meet and "stayed opened till midnight or later every night of the week."[7] They attracted customers that were young, hip and, more importantly, comprised of both male and female clientele. In 1971, Bruno and Sergio Costa opened Costa Coffee in the UK. This Italian-style mocha coffee blend utilized the family's original roaster from Italy, which is stilled used today, and is the largest coffee conglomerate in the United Kingdom. Costa Coffee currently has 4,000 store locations in 31 countries in Europe, Asia, the Middle East, and Africa, with most stores located in the UK, and recently completed a $5.1 billion deal with Coca-Cola.[8]

The public sphere in England has taken on many forms. From taverns to coffeehouses, to gentlemen clubs to tea rooms, to espresso bars and coffee shops. Though coffeehouses eventually faded from the public sphere of England, the social effects of what occurred within them continued to last and evolve. The ability to meet and discuss politics, news, and economics is still a common occurrence, though it may look a little different today. Though coffeehouse culture differs from the United States' own experience of coffeehouses and coffee shops, as a former barista who has worked in the coffee industry for over ten-years, I have seen first-hand the interactions that take place within coffeeshops, and how the "Samuel Pepys" of our modern time conduct business and create new connections.

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[6] Ellis, *The Coffee-House*, 226-230.
[7] Ellis, *The Coffee-House*, 231.
[8] Kyle Schurman, "The Untold Truth of Costa Coffee," Mashed, September 4, 2018, https://www.mashed.com/132607/the-untold-truth-of-costa-coffee/.

Though coffeeshops have drastically changed since the early coffeehouse days, they have recreated an environment for discussion, learning, creativity, and business.

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