A Bitter Legacy:
Coffee, Identity, and Cultural Memory in Nineteenth-Century Britain

By

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For my parents

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Maybe I've done enough,
And your golden child grew up.
Maybe this trophy isn't real love,
And with or without it I'm good enough.

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And I finally see myself,
Through the eyes of no one else.
Gold, silver, or bronze hold no value here,
Where work and rest are equally revered.
I only want what's real,
I set aside the highlight reel,
And leave my greatest failures on display with an asterisk,
Worthy of love anyway.

– "Atlas: Three" by Sleeping at Last

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Archives

BL British Library (London, UK)
NA National Archives (Richmond, UK)

Currency

l. pound
s. shilling
d. duckett

INTRODUCTION

BRITAIN'S COFFEE CULTURE

A graduate student's life revolves around access to coffee. You will find us rushing to class while trying not to spill our Starbucks latte. You might see us teaching a room full of students with an enormous thermos of coffee in our hand. And you can find us hunkered down in coffee shops, jealously guarding coveted seats that allow access to both natural light and electrical outlets. But when we sit in a coffeehouse today, we are experiencing coffee in a fundamentally different way than coffee drinkers of the past. Our experiences of food and drink are defined by our historical circumstances, with their unique social, economic, political, and cultural dimensions. Where our experience of the democratic nature of coffeehouses depends on access to WiFi passwords, the eighteenth-century British coffeehouse defied conventional notions of sociability by permitting anyone entrance for a penny.

The British coffeehouse has been the recipient of immense scholarly attention since Jürgen Habermas identified it as the paradigm of his public sphere, a space in which private and public interests intersected.[1] But all of these histories end, somewhat abruptly, in the mid-eighteenth century. Brian Cowan's *The Social Life of Coffee* (2005), for instance, stops in the 1720s "because by that time both the coffeehouse and coffee

[1] Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society* (1962). For an excellent summary of the myriad ways in which Habermas' concept has been critiqued and adapted, see Craig J. Calhoun, "Introduction: Habermas and the Public Sphere" in *Habermas and the Public Sphere*, Studies in Contemporary German Social Thought (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1992), 1-48.

consumption had become firmly entrenched within British society."[2] Other scholars credit the rise of the socially exclusive club as the reason for the coffeehouse's supposed disappearance. All agree, however, that the rise of tea drinking, beginning in the 1780s, spelled the end for British coffee culture.[3]

But coffee consumption never actually disappeared from British life, a fact that is supported by an abundance of evidence in the archives. In fact, British coffee consumption played a key role in nineteenth-century debates over British social and economic identity in the midst of an expanding empire. These debates reflected the overarching theme of the nineteenth century—a turn inward, even as Britain's colonial possessions extended to cover a quarter of the globe. Britons displayed an increasing obsession with cultivating a national identity, which including thinking about how that identity uniquely empowered them to achieve imperial, cultural, and moral supremacy. Expanding our view of British coffee culture to include the nineteenth century allows us to situate coffee in the context of Britain's empire as its contours evolved, and see how behaviors cultivated in and popularized by coffeehouses helped Britons negotiate their role in an increasingly interconnected world.

Appreciating Britain's evolution from a weak state on the periphery of Europe to an economic superpower that oversaw a "system of world power" requires understanding the role of empire in British political, economic, and social development from the mid-sixteenth century. As Britain's empire expanded from a single colonial settlement at Jamestown in 1607 to an expansive network of colonies, trading posts, and markets that spanned the globe, a corresponding imperial infrastructure developed in London. This

[2] Brian Cowan, *The Social Life of Coffee: The Emergence of the British Coffeehouse* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005), 2-3.

[3] The term "coffee culture" refers to a body of preparation habits, social behaviors, and cultural meanings associated with coffee consumption, both private and commercial.

matrix of imperial activity grew alongside and out of the English Financial Revolution, which helped create "an active and highly organized capital market" and a fiscal-military state operating through extensive bureaucracy.[4]

The Royal Exchange, the Bank of England, and myriad joint-stock companies evolved out of the needs created by imperial activity, while also helping to build the foundation upon which British imperial success would rest into the twentieth century. The rise of economic and political institutions to facilitate imperial expansion accompanied, and in fact depended upon, an explosion in the number of joint-stock companies operating out of London. Bruce Carruthers has shown how joint stock companies functioned on two levels: as political institutions of "public finance" implicated in the funding of "expensive and controversial wars," and as economic assets comprised of shares that could be bought and sold as legal rights of ownership.[5] Prior to its nationalization in 1946, the Bank of England itself functioned as a joint-stock company alongside the East India Company, the Royal African Company, and, by 1695, almost 150 others.[6]

The Bank of England and the East India Company served as creditors for the King and British state, a fact that helps explain Britain's shift from a "weak nation-state and second-rate military power" to an economic and political stronghold capable of checking French continental expansion. At the same time, the Crown invested in various imperial projects, like the Royal African Company, which was granted a royal charter under Charles II in 1663. Access to easily mobilized economic resources allowed the state to grow, while the investment of personal wealth gave creditors a "vested financial interest in the

[4] Bruce G. Carruthers, *City of Capital: Politics and Markets in the English Financial Revolution* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996), 8-9; John Brewer, *The Sinews of Power: War, Money and the English State, 1688-1783* (New York: Knopf, 1989).

[5] Carruthers, *City of Capital*, 137.

[6] Ibid., 244n.104; W.R. Scott, *The Constitution and Finance of English, Scottish and Irish Joint-Stock Companies to 1720* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1912), 1:327-328.

continuation of the state."[7] This marriage of private and public interests came to matter a great deal in the eighteenth century as Britain found itself embroiled in five major wars: the War of English Succession (1688-97), the War of Spanish Succession (1702-13), the War of Austrian Succession (1739-48), the Seven Years War (1756-63), and the American Revolution (1775-83).[8] In all but the Revolutionary War, Britain walked away from the fight with increased power and influence, both on the Continent and around the globe.[9]

An intensely commercialized economy that made taxation a simple and relatively subtle enterprise, along with a powerful representative body with undisputed powers over such taxation, meant that Britain conceived of these military efforts and imperial victories as national, rather than dynastic, gains. And as the military became "a reputable calling for genteel members of society" and a potential means of social elevation for lower class citizens, Britons' personal stakes in the military and imperial success of their nation became all the more tangible.[10] At the same time, London became a center of re-export business, challenging Amsterdam for the role of "Europe's main redistribution center."[11] All these elements came together to create a moment in which the interests of the Crown, Parliament, the City, and—to a degree—the public united behind an emerging "imperial

[7] Carruthers, 8-9.

[8] This is to say nothing of the smaller wars fought throughout the century, or the French Revolutionary wars that began in the 1790s and continued with the Napoleonic Wars in the early nineteenth century.

[9] The end of the Nine Years War saw France recognize William III as the rightful king of England and Scotland, solidifying the end of the tumultuous seventeenth century in regards to English politics. The War of Spanish Succession left Britain with a strategically dominant position in the Mediterranean through the acquisition of Gibraltar and Menorca. It also gave Britain a monopoly over the *Asiento*, making them the sole providers of slaves to Spanish America. The War of Austrian Succession renewed the *Asiento*, while the Treaty of Paris, which ended the Seven Years War, gave Britain control of Canada, Dominica, Grenada, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, Tobago, the eastern half of French Louisiana, and Florida.

[10] Brewer, *Sinews of Power*, 42-43.

[11] Nuala Zahedieh, *The Capital and the Colonies: London and the Atlantic Economy, 1660-1700* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 21.

project."[12]

My use of the term "empire" throughout the following chapters borrows from the work of Frederick Cooper and Jane Burbank in my attention to the distinctions and hierarchies that emerged as British power expanded across the globe via colonies, influence, and trade.[13] Investigating the ways that coffee, itself a colonial commodity, shaped the habits and behaviors of metropolitan Britons must also be situated in the historiographical effort to recognize metropoles as "contact zones," where colonialism and expansive global trade networks shaped "the rise of radically new forms of human interaction."[14] Conceiving of empire as a process of integrating a variety of markets and cultures for the purpose of ensuring the supremacy and longevity of the state reveals the ways in which participation in the imperial project "had variable costs and benefits for different sections of British society."[15] Combining this view of British imperialism with the methodologies of commodity historians means analyzing the variety of "material and symbolic levels of experience" of imperial goods, allowing us to understand how new tastes and ways of thinking emerged out of the social matrix created by empire.[16]

Coffee, brought to Britain from what is now Yemen by way of the Ottoman Empire, was embedded in empire from Britons' earliest experiences of the bean. It remained difficult to obtain until the 1650s due to the cautious and hyper-monopolistic

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[12] Zahedieh, *The Capital and the Colonies*, 51.

[13] Frederick Cooper and Jane Burbank, *Empires in World History: Power and the Politics of Difference* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2010), 8-10.

[14] Molineux, *Faces of Perfect Ebony,* 4-5; Carina L. Johnson and Catherine Molineux, "Putting Europe in its Place: Material Traces, Interdisciplinarity, and the Recuperation of the Early Modern Extra-European Subject," *Radical History Review* 130 (January 2018): 62-99.

[15] John Darwin, *The Empire Project: The Rise and Fall of the British World-System, 1830-1970* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 14.

[16] Marcy Norton, *Sacred Gifts, Profane Pleasures: A History of Tobacco and Chocolate in the Atlantic World* (Ithaca: Cornell, 2008): 9.

trade practices of Arabian coffee merchants. Once England's Levant and East India companies obtained a more generous and multi-source supply chain, however, coffee became easier to procure, though quality control remained an issue in one form or another well into the nineteenth century.[17] Although it initially suffered from associations with the Ottoman 'other,' the coffeehouse eventually became characterized as a uniquely British institution due to its supposed cultivation of democratic sociability and rational discourse. But even as coffeehouses were attempting to divest themselves of their most insidious associations with "negative images of the heathen Turk" and their "oriental origins," they grew daily more intertwined with England's expanding empire.[18]

The beverage consumed within the walls of the coffeehouse withstood significant cultural skepticism before being accepted as part of a typical British diet—at first, anyone who consumed coffee "raised the specter of a growing degeneracy in English mores" through their adoption of exotic and heathenish customs.[19] A belief in the feminizing nature of coffee and coffeehouse patronage existed at all levels of English society, particularly in the half century following the introduction of both to the British Isles. Such perceptions owed much to ideas about the causes of Roman decline: elite intellectuals like John Evelyn linked the "fatal experience" of the "vigorous and masculine" Roman Empire to its indulgence in "the lux and softness" of its Asiatic conquests." Luxurious consumption spelled "the beginning of the end" for the "most glorious empire under heaven."[20]

Meanwhile, coffee's position within contemporary humoral understandings of the

[17] Cowan, *Social Life of Coffee*, 28. The chapter "From Mocha to Java" in *Social Life* is a richly detailed and meticulous account of the British coffee trade in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.
[18] Ibid., 115.
[19] Ibid., 131.
[20] Ibid.

body gave it a reputation as an anti-aphrodisiac, causing men to be overly warm and dry and thereby making them impotent.[21] In 1674 a broadsheet entitled *The Women's Petition Against Coffee* complained that since the introduction of "that Newfangled, Abominable, Heathenish Liquor called *COFFEE*," English men, once "the *Ablest Performers in Christendome*," had become "as *Impotent*, as Age, and as unfruitful as those *Desarts* [sic] whence that unhappy *Berry* is said to be brought." The coffeehouse drew men away from their domestic responsibilities, "so that those that have scare *Twopence* to buy their Children *Bread*" spent "a penny each evening" on a "*base, black, thick, nasty, bitter, stinking, nauseous* Puddle-water." Coffee caused English men to become "*Frenchified*," and "that true *Old English Vigour*" to "*Decay*."[22]

These conflicting opinions reveal a society "trying to come to grips" with empire's impact on their daily lives.[23] The English virtuosi, individuals who sought to "associate themselves with an international world of elite cultural interests strongly rooted in knowledge about classical and Italianate Renaissance learning," proved instrumental in

[21] Cowan, *Social Life of Coffee*, 131.

[22] *The women's petition against coffee representing to publick consideration the grand inconveniences accruing to their sex from the excessive use of that drying, enfeebling liquor: presented to the right honorable the keepers of the liberty of Venus, by a well-willer* (London, 1674).

[23] Molineux, *Faces of Perfect Ebony*, 157.

creating a demand for coffee in Britain.[24] With their particular codes of sociability and modes of discourse, the virtuosi fused genteel curiosity with mercantile commerce and a growing metropolitan civil society, and consequently helped shape the social and cultural identity of the coffeehouse. Once it was introduced more widely to British consumers, "coffee became a desirable commodity because it successfully adapted to the various wants and needs of diverse constituencies in the British marketplace."[25]

As the first habitual coffee drinkers, the virtuosi helped associate coffee drinking with "sober and civil conduct," as well as the "ethic of 'respectable' behavior" of the genteel classes.[26] Yet, focusing less on coffeehouses as unique incubators of gentlemanly sociability and sober intellectual effort enables greater attention to how they functioned as conduits of empire. It is notoriously difficult to get at the particulars of coffeehouses as social spaces—as surviving representations are usually overly idealized or drenched in satire.[27] The overwhelming focus of scholars on a small, well-known number of coffeehouses is somewhat understandable given the unusual amount of material generated

[24] Cowan, *Social Life of Coffee*, 11. Much of twentieth-century scholarship concerned with the virtuosi focuses on a debate over their legitimacy as seekers of knowledge. Since the publication of Walter Houghton's two-part article, "The English Virtuoso in the Seventeenth Century," historians have been attempting to redeem the legacy of the virtuosi, and of the culture of curiosity in general. Where Houghton accused the virtuosi of lacking discernment in their artistic and intellectual tastes, and of becoming little more than cultural clichés by the early eighteenth century, Cowan, along with Craig Ashley Hanson and others, has worked to showcase the ambiguity that surrounded the use of the term throughout the eighteenth century. Cowan pushes discussion of the virtuosi beyond this historiographical debate in order to demonstrate the ways in which "virtuosic culture was, in fact, a key catalyst for many of the developments," such as new modes of consumption and sociability, "that so profoundly reshaped British society." For more, see Walter E Houghton, Jr., "The English Virtuoso in the Seventeenth Century, Part I and II," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 3, no. 2 (January and April 1942): 51-73 and 190-219; Brian Cowan, "An Open Elite: The Peculiarities of Connoisseurship in Early Modern England," *Modern Intellectual History* 1, no. 2 (2004): 151-183; Craig Ashley Hanson, *The English Virtuoso: Art, Medicine, and Antiquarianism in the Age of Empiricism* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2009).

[25] Cowan, *The Social Life of Coffee*, 15.

[26] Ibid., 32.

[27] For more idealized descriptions see *The Coffee-House Scuffle, Occasioned by a Contest Between a Learned Knight and a Pitiful Pedagogue* (London, 1662) and *The Character of a Coffee-House* (1673). For more satirical and unflattering representations see *The Women's Petition Against Coffee* (London, 1674) or James Miller, *The Coffee-House* (London, 1781).

by and about the coffeehouses that housed insurance businesses or were frequented by notable men. But if we shift our focus to understanding every coffeehouse as an imperial space in which a new kind of *global* sociability was fostered, what might we learn about Londoners' relationship to both the coffeehouse and Britain's empire?

Chapter 1 opens with a view of how early modern London's social geography resulted in a spectrum of experiences of empire, many of which can be seen in and around the space of the coffeehouse. As imperial islands in the streets and alleys of the metropole, coffeehouses exposed Londoners to new goods and social interactions that helped to turn them into an imperial people. Three groups of patrons—virtuosi, merchants, and dissenters—demonstrate how the coffeehouse facilitated the intermingling and cross-feeding cultivation of global networks and urban communities. The informal, proto-democratic atmosphere of the early coffeehouses became havens for those devoted to curiosity, utility, and liberty, and fostered a new constituency of Britons intent on tying their own fortunes to those of Britain's expanding empire.

Chapter 2 delves into the seedier side of London coffeehouse culture and the noxious aspects of empire that instilled fear of colonial goods' ability to corrupt British bodies and souls. Historians have shown the role of "commodity fetishism" in the development of "perceptions of the colonial periphery," as well as the ways in which consumption created a consolidated national identity predicated on 'othering.'[28] Foreign food and drink, most of them categorized as luxuries until the late eighteenth century, represented a particularly slippery slope because they literally invaded the bodies of

[28] Charlotte Sussman, *Consuming Anxieties: Consumer Protest, Gender, and British Slavery, 1713-1833* (Standford: Standford University Press, 2000), 1, 27-28. For the role of the 'other' in the formation of imperial identity, see Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation, 1797-1837* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009), xxii; Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage Books, 1979).

Britons. Coffee, already linked to "luxurious, debauched, and effeminate oriental" customs, joined other foreign 'goods' like tobacco, tea, French wines, and even black servants as threats to domestic hierarchies and blurred racial lines.[29] Though some saw consumption and luxury as economic stimuli, others believed the over-importation and "gawdery" to be a threat to England's cultural and economic autonomy.[30]

Increased access to exotic consumer goods also "threatened to undermine—even annihilate—familiar categories of distinction" as "a whole Nation" began to forget "those necessary Distinctions that arise from *Age, Rank,* or *Profession*."[31] This social leveling generated distress amongst the elite classes, as fashion and foodstuffs in particular created "patterns of consumption" perceived as destructive of English culture "by breaking down the division of labor" as domestic servants imitated their betters.[32] Outside the home, coffeehouses' propensity to attract dissenting populations also generated debates about "which element of the polity was more dangerous to the established constitution in church and state, a potentially papist court or a potentially republican opposition" facilitated by the "democratic" coffeehouses.[33] But their lack of social stratification was not the only source of cultural anxiety over the influence of coffeehouses. Catherine Molineux's analysis of tobacco shops and advertisements reveals the ways in which colonial commodities "worked to collapse the space between metropole and colony" by forging a "link between … production and consumption" and connecting metropolitan consumers of colonial goods

[29] Cowan, *Social Life of Coffee*, 131.

[30] Paul Sack, "The Politics of Consumption and England's Happiness in the Later Seventeenth Century," *The English Historical Review* 122, no. 497 (June 2007):609-631, see 612-616.

[31] *Gentleman's Magazine* 52 (1782): 122, as quoted in Dror Wahrman, *The Making of the Modern Self: Identity and Culture in Eighteenth-Century England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004), 204-205.

[32] Sussman, *Consuming* Anxieties, 26-27.

[33] Cowan, *Social Life of Coffee*, 202-203, 109.

to "an English, and then British, empire."[34] The coffeehouse might keep men away from their place as the head of household, but coffee itself threatened to corrupt the very nature of Englishmen.

Addiction to these new and novel goods blurred distinctions between foreign interests in them and excessive British consumption. Contemporary understandings of race as mutable throughout the eighteenth century meant that Britons' innate identity as a people of liberty was precariously held.[35] By "taking in colonial objects," British consumers threatened to destroy "something within themselves."[36] Tied as it was to the emerging transatlantic economy and the English fiscal-military state, the coffeehouse managed to withstand the attacks of women lamenting its "bewitching effects" and elites who feared the trickle-down transformation of luxuries into necessities. Yet, such anxieties about the preservation of English liberty continued well into the nineteenth century. Chapter 2 closes with a consideration of how abolitionists capitalized on fears of corruption as they fought to shift focus to the immoral conditions under which colonial crops were produced, appropriating the habits and behaviors of the virtuosi to elicit moral reformation on both the individual and national level.

The end of the slave trade in 1807 proved to be a crucible moment as Britain tested the limits of its international influence. The end of British Atlantic slavery in 1838 created new tensions between metropolitan Britons and colonial subjects as the onus of imperial virtue began to weigh heavy on Britain's poorer classes. As Chapter 3 describes, in the aftermath of emancipation, Britons reevaluated the role of protection in their economic

[34] Molineux, *Face of Perfect Ebony*, 152.

[35] See "Pleasurable Encounters" in Molineux, *Faces of Perfect Ebony*, 146-177; Wahrman, *The Making of the Modern Self,* 83-126; Roxann Wheeler, *The Complexion of Race: Categories of Difference in Eighteenth-Century British Culture* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000).

[36] Sussman, 14.

system. As the driver of almost every Atlantic empire's economy, sugar dominated debates over both anti-slavery and, eventually, anti-protectionist policies. Consequently, sugar has monopolized scholars' attention in studies of abolition, free trade, and British politics in the early nineteenth century.[37] While it makes sense to focus on the most valuable commodity produced by Britain's empire given its centrality to discussions at the time, there is also important information to be drawn from examining secondary crops. Chapter 3 considers the role of coffee, which appeared in almost a quarter of all Parliamentary debates concerning sugar and slavery, in popular and governmental negotiations over the meaning and policies of free trade.[38] Apart from the frequency with which it appeared, coffee as a commodity offers unique insight into the intricacies of the entangled nature of anti-slavery, free trade, and the government's role in cultivating a distinctly 'British' identity formed around the concept of liberty.

In the 1840s and 1850s, liberty in commerce attracted the public's attention again when a decades-long discussion over chicory and coffee exploded into a national debate over what trade practices could be deemed 'adulteration.' Chapter 4 investigates the "chicory question," as it was known, which exposed tensions between domestic tastes, colonial interests, and widespread belief in the vital importance of protecting the nation's commercial and moral character on the world stage. Most Britons, particularly those of the

[37] Richard Huzzey, "Free Trade, Free Labour, and Slave Sugar in Victorian Britain," *The Historical Journal* 52, no. 2 (June 2010): 359-379; Simon Morgan, "The Anti-Corn Law League and British Anti-Slavery in Transatlantic Perspective, 1838-1846," *The Historical Journal* 52, no. 1 (March 2009): 87-107; Kay Dian Kriz, *Slavery Sugar, and the Culture of Refinement: Picuring the British West Indies, 1700-1840* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008); Carol Faulkner, "The Root of the Evil: Free Produce and Radical Antislavery, 1820-1860," *Journal of the Early Republic* 27, no. 3 (Fall 2007): 377-405; Seymour Drescher, *The Mighty Experiment: Free Labor Versus Slavery in British Emancipation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002); Sussman, *Consuming Anxieties*; Sidney Mintz, *Sweetness and Power: The Place of Sugar in Modern History* (New York: Penguin Books, 1985); Drescher, *Econocide: British Slavery in the Era of Abolition* (Chapel Hill; University of North Carolina Press, 1977).

[38] Searching Hansard's debates for "sugar, slave" produces 738 results. Searching for "sugar, slave, coffee" produces 172, implying a 23% overlap. "Hansard," accessed April 26, 2019, https://hansard.parliament.uk/.

working class, preferred the taste of chicory in their coffee and resented governmental efforts to crack down on adulteration. New methods of scientific analysis, built on a continued legacy of trust in tangible evidence cultivated by the virtuosi, proved key in defeating arguments that depended on subjective notions of taste, and reflected a broader cultural move to "discover empirically how people" behaved in a variety of circumstances.[39]

The same paternalist impulses that ensured the triumph of regulatory legislation in the 1860s fused with religious fervor and an optimistic belief in progress to produce a new coffee-focused iteration of the temperance movement that had begun in the early days of the nineteenth century. Chapter 5 explores how temperance reformers in the 1870s and 1880s reimagined the coffeehouse as space in which to promote (literal) sobriety, moderation, and self-control. These reformers had no interest in supplying the working classes with just any type of social space—they wanted to maintain all the good, rational, sober elements of the archetypal British coffeehouse without their opportunities for debauchery. The coffee tavern, according to temperance periodicals, stepped into the cultural space left by the coffeehouse and took up "its place with the legitimate, necessary, and valuable trades of the kingdom." Consequently, reformers' 'coffee taverns' and 'coffee public houses' became entwined with ideas over the history of the coffeehouse and its role in shaping what it meant to be a nation worthy of imperial supremacy.

The epilogue turns to the extended histories of the coffeehouses penned by late nineteenth-century upper-class white men, who so fundamentally shaped modern understandings of the disappearance of British coffee culture in the eighteenth century.

[39] Boyd Hilton, *A Mad, Bad, and Dangerous People? England, 1783-1846* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2006), 610.

These myopic writings, which focused solely on the version of coffee culture associated with well-connected white men, helped to rewrite and reimagine the older history of British coffee consumption. Such histories directly influenced the work of twentieth- and twenty-first-century historians, perpetuating the 'myth' of the disappearing coffeehouse.

CHAPTER I

EMPIRE AND THE COFFEEHOUSE

Existing histories of the British coffeehouse provide insight into early modern sociability, political engagement, consumption, and curiosity. But despite frequent characterizations of coffeehouses as imperial spaces, their place in a larger context of empire remains undefined—even though their notable patrons (virtuosi, merchants, and both religious and political dissenters) acted, as historians increasingly argue, as agents of empire. Coffeehouses played an integral and understudied role in facilitating that imperial agency, as well as exposing general consumers, who may or may not have direct imperial ties, to new forms of global sociability emerging as a result of empire.

By the beginning of the eighteenth century, widespread social and economic shifts, aided in many ways by the coffeehouses, opened up space for non-landed men to make claims of intellectual authority. Where trust was once explicitly connected to the landed gentry—independent wealth corresponding to a sense of perfect objectivity—new ways of making one's fortune created alternative paths to legitimacy.[40] In his account of the English financial revolution, Carl Wennerlind argues that networks of trust developed and utilized by natural philosophers laid the foundation for new ways of conceptualizing money and

[40] James Delbourgo, *Collecting the World: Hans Sloane and the Origins of the British Museum* (Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2017), 143; Richard Coulton, "'The Darling of the *Temple Coffee-House Club*': Science, Sociability and Satire in Early Eighteenth-Century London," *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies* 35, no. 1 (2012): 43-65, see 55; Larry Stewart, "Other Centres of Calculation, or, Where the Royal Society Didn't Count: Commerce, Coffee-Houses and Natural Philosophy in Early Modern London," in "Did the Royal Society Matter in the Eighteenth Century?" *The British Journal for the History of Science* 32, no. 2 (June 1999): 133-153; Steven Shapin, "Who Was Robert Hooke?" in *Robert Hooke: New Studies,* ed. Michael Hunter and Simon Schaffer (Suffolk: The Boydell Press, 1989), 253-285, see 259.

credit that aided in the transatlantic economy's evolution from a tightly guarded mercantilist system to a proto-capitalist one based on probabilistic reasoning and exploitative labor regimes.[41] From the beginning, "Trade and Learning" became intertwined with the transformations and expansions that constituted, and were made possible by, imperial objectives.[42]

Three groups of coffeehouse patrons—virtuosi, merchants, and religious dissenters—reveal how coffeehouses shaped and were shaped by Britain's imperial project. As new and novel paths opened up by which individuals might attain both credibility and wealth, the coffeehouse provided a convenient place to learn about newly acquired markets and outposts and to meet or hire likeminded Britons with similar interests.[43] In their attempts to reclaim an Edenic, encyclopedic knowledge of nature, Robert Hooke, James Petiver, Sir Hans Sloane and other virtuosi were uniquely positioned to take advantage of the opportunities brought by expanding empire.[44] Through their relationships with Augustus Boyd, Richard Oswald, and other merchants, as well as with religious dissenters like John Houghton and Peter Collinson, virtuosic interests became tied to the "global

[41] Carl Wennerlind, *Casualties of Credit: The English Financial Revolution, 1620-1720* (Cambridge: Harvad University Press, 2011).

[42] Daniel Defoe, *The Complete English Tradesman in Familiar Letters*, 2nd ed. (London, 1727), 306, quoted in Stewart, "Other Centres of Calculation," 135.

[43] Coulton, "'The Darling of the *Temple Coffee-House Club'";* Stewart, "Other Centers of Calculation"; Rob Iliffe, "Hooke, Artisan Culture and the Exchange of Information in 1670s London," *The British Journal for the History of Science* 28, no. 3 (September 1995): 285-318.

[44] For more on Eden's influence on early modern natural philosophy see Richard Drayton, *Nature's Government: Science, Imperial Britain, and the 'Improvement' of the World* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), 3-25.

transit of exotic commodities" like chocolate, tobacco, coffee, and tea.[45] Gentlemanly scholars expanded their own personal networks via merchants and transatlantic religious communities who, in turn, gained social and intellectual credibility through such associations.

The coffeehouse's influence on British society went far beyond a national caffeine addiction to include practices of sociability, knowledge production, and an increasing sense of imperial identity. As Brian Cowan has shown, the rise of the British coffeehouse should not be read as a "self-evident example" of Britain becoming "a more democratic, a more socially fluid, a more commercial...and thus a rather more *modern* society than it had hitherto been."[46] Instead, the coffeehouse sat at the nexus of numerous eighteenth-century developments, facilitating the financial revolution and the rise of the fiscal-military state. And perhaps most importantly, the conversations and exchanges staged in coffeehouses proved key to Britons beginning to understand themselves as part of a wider world. By the nineteenth century, Britons would begin to articulate their own interests in competition with new constituents abroad, but before then "mundane" daily interactions and exposure to new commodities & modes of sociability allowed Britons to draw together knowledge of the world around them and new methods of harnessing its potential.[47]

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[45] Sloane himself became a marketing technique when several London grocers began selling 'Sir Hans Sloane's Medicated Milk Chocolate' in the mid-eighteenth century. See Delbourgo, *Collecting the* World, 199; Delbourgo, "Sir Hans Sloane's Milk Chocolate and the Whole History of Cacao," *Social Text* 106, no. 1 (March 2011): 71-101; Norton, *Sacred Gifts, Profane Pleasures*; Joanne de Groot, "Metropolitan Desires and Colonial Connections: Reflections on Consumption and Empire," in *At Home with the Empire: Metropolitan Culture and the Imperial World*, Catherine Hall and Sonya O. Rose, eds. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 166-190; Drayton, 25; Maxine Berg and Helen Clifford, eds., *Consumers and Luxury: Consumer Cultures in Europe, 1650-1850* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999); John Brewer and Roy Porter, eds., *Consumption and the World of Goods* (London: Routledge, 1993); Mintz, *Sweetness and Power*.

[46] Cowan, *Social Life of Coffee*, 259.

[47] Steven Shapin, *A Social History of Truth: Civility and Science in Seventeenth-Century England* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995), xxvi.

Curiosity

The virtuosi who sat at the intersection of scientific and imperial knowledge networks were, more often than not, to be found sitting in a coffeehouse. Robert Hooke, the natural philosopher who served as an assistant to Robert Boyle and who is credited with founding the field of microscopy, rarely went a day without visiting one (or three) of his favorite coffeehouses.[48] Garraway's, located in Exchange Alley (see Figure 1.1), was one of Hooke's regular haunts, conveniently located around the corner from his residence in Gresham College. There, Hooke could "cultivate his connoisseurship of art" by viewing paintings and talking with painters, inspect new books and read international newspapers in order to "reinforce his immersion in virtuoso culture," and participate in informal debates and discussions with fellow intellectuals.[49] Hooke's day-to-day life revolved around Bishopsgate Street, which connected Gresham College to the density of coffeehouses found in Cornhill that facilitated his relationships with local artisans, tradesmen, and merchants (Fig. 1). At the same time, coffeehouses helped connect Hooke to a large international community through a vibrant print culture, exhibitions, and auctions. For Hooke, as for many Londoners, the coffeehouse functioned as both an urban landmark and meeting place, as well a doorway to the world beyond London.

[48] Cowan, *Social Life of Coffee*, 105.
[49] Shapin, "Who Was Robert Hooke?" 261.

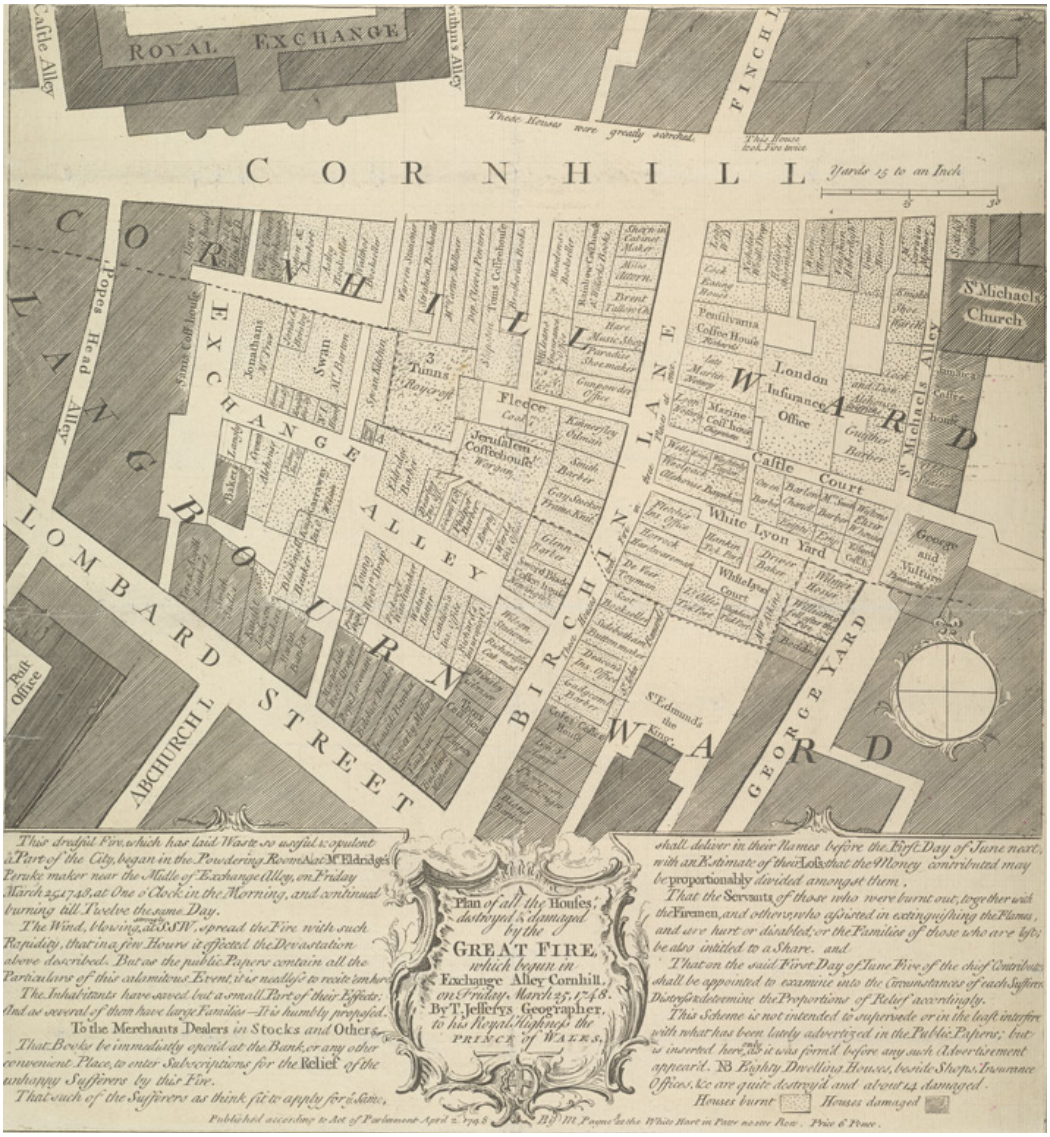

Figure 1.1. Thomas Jeffrey, A plan of all the houses, destroyed & damaged by the great fire which begun in Exchange Alley Cornhill (March 25, 1748).
Source: The British Library.

Led by historians of the Atlantic World, scholars have paid increasing attention to the ways in which the virtuosi participated in and aided the accumulation of knowledge in empire building. Such processes of knowledge formation were embedded in economic structures, social relationships, and cultural contexts that can be traced back to the coffeehouse, and are key to understanding the ways in which the virtuosi helped make the

coffeehouse into a conduit of imperial thought and behavior. By the early decades of the eighteenth century, coffeehouses had become known for their distinctive characters, each catering to different "political, professional, and social groups."[50] This level of specialization made coffeehouses places in which residents and visitors alike could forge connections with likeminded patrons. As London transformed into the political and economic center of a growing empire, its coffeehouses helped facilitate the creation of global networks through both old and new forms of sociability.

The seventeenth century saw the rise of the virtuosi, the flourishing of Baconian science, the expansion of Britain's empire, increasing British involvement in the transatlantic slave trade, a revolution in finance, and political turmoil that found at least partial resolution in the events of 1688. At the heart of these developments was a "radically transformed worldview" that borrowed from both natural philosophy and political theory to redefine wealth as infinite, nature as perfectible, and empire as the means of national success.[51] Gentlemanly codes of behavior, such as objectivity and disinterestedness, played a crucial role in the dissemination, rejection, and acceptance of new knowledge within Britain's early modern scientific community. This tradition dates back to the amateur scientific communities that helped lay the foundation for the Scientific Revolution, when a Republic of Letters spanning the whole of Europe depended on "deeply ingrained practices of civility" to function.[52] But this tradition of amateur scholarship did not come without its pitfalls.

The virtuosi professed a commitment to "an ultimately utilitarian project for the advancement of learning and the national interest," though in reality that commitment

[50] Cowan, *Social Life of Coffee*, 169.
[51] Wennerlind, *Casualties of Credit,* 3.
[52] Deborah Harkness, *The Jewel House: Elizabethan London and the Scientific Revolution* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007, 48.

could take a variety of forms.[53] Devotion to utility proved a key point of connection between the virtuosi and other communities that enjoyed increasingly global connections. But the virtuosi remained embedded in the scientific world primarily through the Royal Society, membership in which, since its founding in 1660, had become one of the primary means of collecting and disseminating new knowledge. Debates, however, arose over who could make legitimate claims to trustworthiness, which necessarily constrained who might contribute to the success of the nation and empire.

In 1700 the well-known satirist William King published *The Transactioneer*, an account of a fictional conversation between three men—a Gentleman, meant to represent the author, a virtuoso, and a 'Transactioneer.' King pulled passages from published papers in the Royal Society's *Philosophical Transactions*, making it painfully obvious who the virtuoso and his companion were meant to represent. The virtuoso's name, Mr. Pet-r, is a barely veiled pseudonym for James Petiver, an apothecary and avid collector, while the 'Transactioneer' is meant to be a caricature of Hans Sloane who was, at the time, the Society's Secretary and editor of the *Transactions*. For King, these two men, who promoted observation, disinterestedness, and experiment as the means to understanding natural law, represented an unwanted assault on older systems of learning and knowledge production.

Robert Hook offered another glimpse into the instability of virtuosic legitimacy when he recorded feeling uncomfortable during a performance of Thomas Shadwell's *The Virtuoso.* Writing in his diary, Hooke recalled feeling as though the audience's eyes fell upon him as often as they did the actors on stage. Shadwell's *Virtuoso* was, after all, a thinly-veiled critique of the very "new science" of which Hooke was very much a part. In

[53] Cowan, *Social Life of Coffee*, 20.

The Virtuoso, Sir Nicholas Gimcrack, a "celebrated" virtuoso, spends a great deal of time studying the movements of frogs in order to understand how to swim. When asked if he intended to put his observations into practice in the water, Gimcrack replies, "Never, Sir; I hate the Water, I never come upon the Water, Sir." When his companions point out that without practical application, his observations "will be no use of Swiming [sic]," Gimcrack replies that he contents himself "with the speculative part of swiming [sic]" and cares not "for the Practick." His acolytes are quick to support his perspective, agreeing that "to study for use is base and mercenary, below the serene and quiet temper of a sedate Philosopher." What matters, in the end, is the acquisition of the knowledge itself, for "Knowledge is like Virtue, its own reward." Besides, Gimcrack is able to "swim most exquisitely on Land."[54]

The commentaries provided by works like *The Transactioneer* and *The Virtuoso* suggest that amateur intellectual pursuits, as they were defined by the virtuosi, faced challenges in asserting their legitimacy and value. The Royal Society, with its roots in the Republic of Letters, prioritized gentlemanly sensibilities in its traditions and memberships. Robert Boyle's *The Christian Virtuoso* (1690), for instance, described the ideal virtuoso as a man committed to the "value and delights [of] abstracted truths" and wholly uninterested in "ambition, sensuality, or other inferior passions and appetites."[55] He shunned secrecy and "was open and generous with his findings and inventions."[56] His study of the natural world produced a "great and ingenuous modesty of mind," complimented by a strong sense of honor and a devout Christian faith.[57] Above all, though, this ideal intellectual possessed independence—with no need to exhibit "deference to reputation or standing," this Christian

[54] Thomas Shadwell, *The Virtuoso, a Comedy* (London, 1704), 24.

[55] Robert Boyle, *The Christian Virtuoso Shewing that by being addicted to experimental philosophy a man is rather assisted than indisposed to be a good Christian* (London, 1690), 43.

[56] Shapin, "Who Was Robert Hooke?" 270.

[57] Boyle, *The Christian Virtuoso*, 103; Shapin, "Who Was Robert Hooke?" 271.

virtuoso could be trusted to produce "reliable knowledge."[58] Yet, the men who became virtuosi did not fully conform to this idealistic vision. Boyle's criteria necessarily excluded men like Robert Hooke, who, though by no means a pauper, never qualified for gentlemanly status. And, unsurprisingly, men seeking to advance their station or increase their fortunes did not exhibit the humble, overly generous nature revered by Boyle.

Coffeehouses, however, provided the means by which an alternative mode of intellectual legitimacy could be sought. Though their gentility did not always satisfy the Royal Society's expectations, the virtuosi's patronage of the coffeehouse and mobilization of this urban space in their endeavors nevertheless lent legitimacy to and elicited trust in it. As a growing commercial world centered in London created needs that the coffeehouse proved uniquely able to meet, the legitimacy conferred by these virtuosi patrons changed how Britons thought about "the role of public association in public order."[59] The coffeehouse's informal space allowed upper class virtuosi—gentlemen, physicians, and politicians—to interact with tradesmen and the merchant class, helping to make Britain's empire profitable. Hooke, self-styled and recognized by others as "a master of technicians," believed in the importance of both learning from and helping to train up tradesmen from a variety of fields.[60]

Merchants, with their extensive transatlantic networks of sailors, traders, and middlemen, shared many of the virtuosi's interests and offered the infrastructure by which new and curious goods, specimens, and information could be circulated. As malleable

[58] Shapin, "Who Was Robert Hooke?" 272.

[59] Cowan, *Social Life of Coffee*, 2. This same transformation is laid out from a political and religious perspective in Peter Lake and Steve Pincus, "Rethinking the Public Sphere in Early Modern England," *Journal of British Studies* 45, no. 2 (April 2006): 270-292 and Steven Pincus, "'Coffee Politicians Does Create': Coffeehouses and Restoration Political Culture," *The Journal of Modern History* 67, no. 4 (December 1995): 807-834.

[60] Cowan, *Social Life of Coffee*, 268-269.

spaces of sociability conducive to supporting both mercantile enterprises and intellectual endeavors, coffeehouses became places where men who did not quite fit the mold cast by Boyle could more easily exchange ideas and information with likeminded persons. In fact, coffeehouses became the habitual meeting spaces of a dissident group of "serious and active fellows" concerned with the "experimental lassitude" exhibited by the Society during the 1670s.[61]

One of the men who benefitted from the changing tides in the interests of London's intellectual community was a young physician from the north of Ireland. Hans Sloane came from a semi-prominent family based in Ulster. Though his parents worked as servants to James and Anne Hamilton, Sloane's father did well in the aftermath of the Restoration by gathering troops on behalf of the king, becoming a landowning member of the gentry. Primogeniture, the legal convention that required the entirety of an estate to pass to the firstborn child, required that Sloane's older brother James inherit their father's estates, leaving Hans to "make his own way in the world."[62] Though he did not necessarily enjoy material security in the way his brother did, Sloane nevertheless benefitted from "advantageous social connections that bridged the Irish Sea," which allowed him access into "genteel and learned society."[63]

Those connections, combined with a prestigious apprenticeship, set Sloane up with a thriving medical practice, which translated into membership in the Royal College of Physicians, the nation's preeminent body of medical professionals. Shortly thereafter in 1685, he became a Fellow of the Royal Society. And two years after that, the Duke of Albermore hired Sloane as his personal physician. The posting took Sloane to Jamaica

[61] Shapin, "Who Was Robert Hooke?" 259.
[62] Delbourgo, *Collecting the World*, 4-5.
[63] Ibid., 10.

where, despite ample warning from friends of potential death and disease, he was eager to see and collect flora and fauna firsthand. It was in Jamaica that Sloane began collecting in earnest and recording his observations of West Indian life and culture so that, when he returned to London in 1689, he brought with him "a stunning hoard of scientific treasures."[64] In 1707, twenty years after his return to London, Sloane published his *Voyage to the Islands Madera, Barbados, Nieves, S. Christophers, and Jamaica, with the Natural History of the Herbs and Trees, Four-footed Beasts, Fishes, Birds, Insects, Reptiles, Etc. of the Last of those Islands*.

Sloane made use of London coffeehouses as a convenient space in which to conduct both private and public business, "keeping him in constant contact" with friends and acquaintances, patients, and other Fellows.[65] The Grecian Coffeehouse, located just south of The Strand in Devereux Court, was famed for its wits and as a popular haunt for members of the Royal Society. At the Temple Coffeehouse, also located in Devereux Court, Sloane regularly gathered with other naturalists in a botanical club to trade knowledge, news, and specimens. London's coffeehouses also allowed Sloane to maintain access to the wider world, though he never again left London. In 1737, for instance, the Charing Cross Coffeehouse played host to an "Oran-hauton" from the East Indies that Sloane praised as "wonderful and surprising" and "worthy of seeing."[66]

[64] Delbourgo, *Collecting the World*, 137. For more on Sloane's time in Jamaica see Kriz, "Curiosities, Commodities, and Transplanted Bodies in Hans Sloane's *Voyage to...Jamaica*," in *Slavery, Sugar, and the Culture of Refinement*, 9-35.

[65] Delbourgo, *Collecting the World*, 154.

[66] Ibid., 201.

Figure 1.2. Olaus Wormius, *Museum Wormianum* (1655). Wormius, a Danish collector, depicted the wide variety of objects and specimens that made up curiosity cabinets. Many of these cabinets were formed by private collectors who only made them available to close friends, though several coffeehouses, like Don Saltero's, maintained their own collections. John Carter Brown Library, Brown University.

Sloane's meteoric rise as a physician to the upper echelons of London society gave him access to social credit and trustworthiness that translated into being elected the secretary of the Royal Society. As secretary, he managed the entirety of the Society's correspondence, which spanned the globe from the Americas to Britain's Asian colonies. Consequently, he became "one of the pivotal information brokers in the Republic of Letters, a trafficker in scientific news."[67] Sloane used this ever-expanding network to perpetually increase his collections so that, by the time of his death in 1753, they included

[67] Delbourgo, *Collecting the World*, 159.

over 100,000 objects including books, manuscripts, drawings and engravings, plant and animal specimens, and cultural artifacts. He considered his collection and the effort he exerted in organizing it to be his "major contribution to the advancement of science," intending it to serve as a resource for both himself and others studying botany, medicine, and "craftsmanship of the world's peoples."[68] Such studies, Sloane believed, could "point to economic solutions to commercial challenges" and give Britain a competitive edge in the global economy.[69]

Always straddling the line between public and private interests, Sloane had no desire to keep his collection to himself. By the time he took over the presidency of the Royal Society in 1727, Sloane firmly placed himself in the ranks of public intellectuals, wholly different from those who "thought proper to conceal part of their own acquired knowledge."[70] Utility played a major role in Sloane's life—in *Voyage to...Jamaica,* he describes how the desire to be "no useless Member" drove him to accept the position as Albermarle's physician. The voyage promised "to be useful," allowing Sloane to venture, like "many of the Ancient and best Physicians" to "the Places when their Drugs were brought [and] to inform themselves concerning them."[71] Sloane hoped his observations would prove a boon not only to his virtuoso companions in Britain, but also to the colonists in the West Indies. That same spirit of utility extended to the fate of his collection after his death.

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[68]Delbourgo, *Collecting the World*, 259, 271.

[69] Ibid., 287.

[70] Quoted in Delbourgo, *Collecting the World*, 199.

[71] Sir Hans Sloane, *Voyage to the Islands Madera, Barbados, Nieves, S. Christophers, and Jamaica, with the Natural History of the Herbs and Trees, Four-footed Beasts, Fishes, Birds, Insects, Reptiles, Etc. of the Last of those Islands* (London, 1707), 1:Preface.

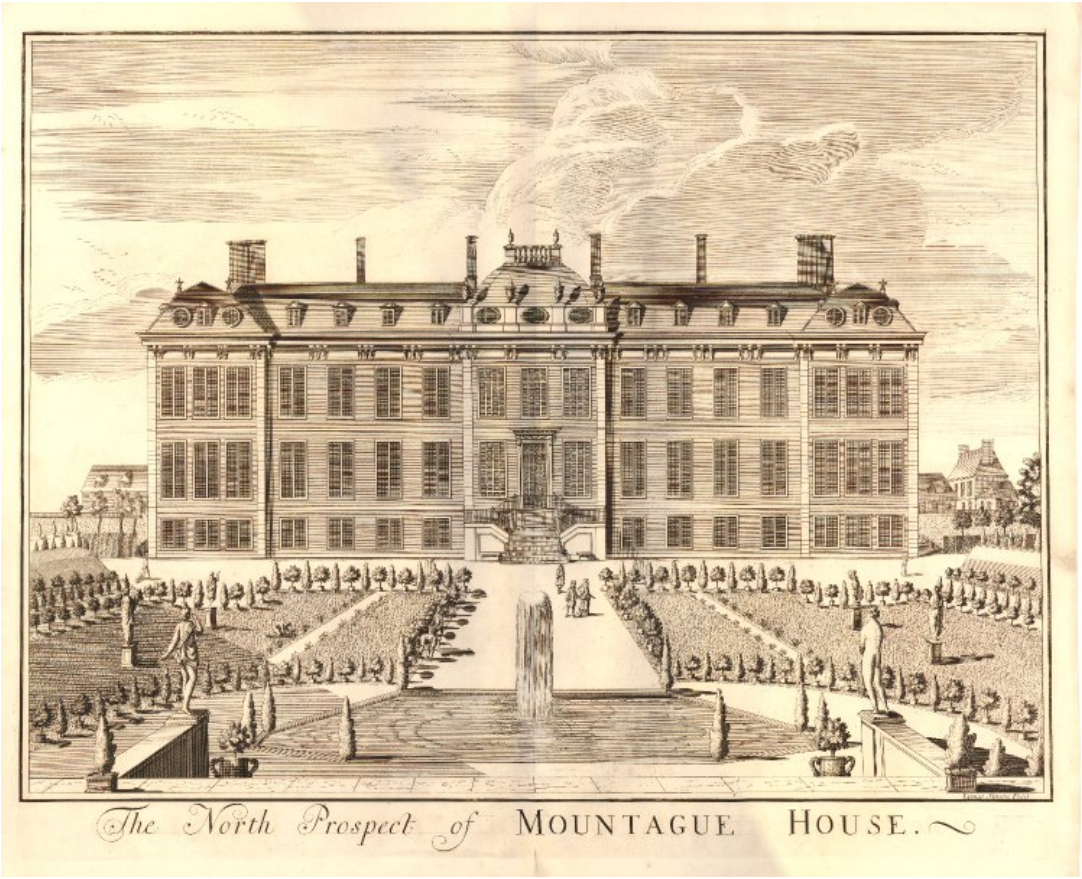

Figure 1.3. James Simon, "Montague House" (c. 1715). Montague House served as the British Museum's first home, allowing Sloane's collections to bridge the gap between coffeehouse displays of curiosities and the carefully curated collections of the virtuosi. The British Museum.

As he aged, Sloane began drawing up plans to transform his private collection—accessible only to close friends and scholars—into the first public museum. In his will he articulated his desire that his collection become a museum that served as a "manifestation of the glory of God," and that such an institution should be "visited and seen by all persons desirous of seeing and viewing" it. He wanted, in a word, for his museum to be "rendered as useful as possible."[72] Sloane took particular care to ensure that his collections would remain intact and open to public, threatening in his will to offer the collection to scientific

[72] Sir Hans Sloane, *Will of Sir Hans Sloane* (London, 1753), 3, 28-9.

academies in St. Petersburg, Paris, Berlin, and Madrid if Parliament did not meet the terms laid out to purchase it for Britain.[73] Sloane's bet paid off and in June 1753 the British Museum Act passed in parliament. The government's investment in such an ambitious project signaled a shift from private collection and public coffeehouse displays to public ownership—the "preservation and display" of these objects of knowledge became a "projection of national honour and power."[74] While some of Sloane's Royal Society colleagues might have considered him a "trafficker in baubles," his collections became a source of national pride and brought the furthest reaches of Britain's empire to roost in London.[75]

Trade

In support of this project was a dark and bitter beverage served in rooms filled with tables and booths, newspapers and the latest information regarding the emerging commodity markets.[76] It is no coincidence that both the Royal Exchange and the Bank of England overlap with the densest geographical concentration of coffeehouses in London. The British stock market began in the coffeehouses of Cornhill, specifically Jonathan's and Garraway's in the aptly named Exchange Alley.[77] Even after many stockbrokers and traders set up shop in the Royal Exchange, informal offshoots of the stock market continued to operate within coffeehouses. As the navy grew in size for both military and

[73] Delbourgo, *Collecting the World*, 311.
[74] Ibid., 315.
[75] Ibid., 196.
[76] For the 'turning point' in Britain's transatlantic economy, see Zahedieh, 29-30. With the success of Virginia's tobacco trade in the 1610s the "feasibility of plantation projects was proven." This development was quickly followed by extensive sugar production in Barbados in the 1640s. By 1660 "signposts" of a coming "revolution in trade" included a surge of raw material imports, surpluses available for re-export, diversification of manufactured exports away from woolen cloths, and the development of a complex network of multilateral trades.
[77] Carruthers, *City of Capital*, 169.

commercial purposes, insurance companies sprung up in Lloyd's Coffee House and the Baltic Coffee House.[78] As Britons made their way to colonies in North America and the Caribbean, the mail systems and newspapers of coffeehouses kept friends and family informed of events impacting their loved ones' lives. London's coffeehouses, in other words, were central to the construction of Britain's financial markets and the propagation of global trade.

John Houghton (1645-1705), an apothecary by trade, benefitted from the extensive overlap between exotic goods and early modern medicine. Houghton lived and worked in the heart of the City, first in St Bartholomew Lane, just down the road from the Bank of England, and then at the corner of Little Eastcheap and Gracechurch Street, only a few blocks away from the banks of the Thames.[79] Houghton's shop soon became known for carrying exotic colonial goods, including coffee, chocolate, and spices, in addition to medicinal tinctures. In 1677 Houghton published his first work, *England's Great Happiness*, which attempted to put to rest "groundless" contemporary anxieties regarding economic decline.[80] Houghton framed English consumption of imported luxuries as one of the nation's "main temporal advantages, a great increase whereof would make us so rich as to be the envy of the whole world."[81] The desire to obtain "a general high living" bred industriousness, and if Britain possessed the "most part of the trade of the world" and its cities were "perhaps the greatest magazines thereof," no "rational man" could argue against her supremacy.[82] In opposition to his contemporaries' concerns over the impact of foreign

[78] Cowan, *Social Life of Coffee*, 132.
[79] Anita McConnell, "John Houghton," Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, https://doi-org.proxy.library.vanderbilt.edu/10.1093/ref:odnb/13868 (accessed 5 May 2019).
[80] Sack, "The Politics of Consumption," 611.
[81] John Houghton, *England's Great Happiness* (London, 1677), 3.
[82] Houghton, *England's Great Happiness*, 19-20.

fashions on English constitutions, Houghton saw global trade as the means by which the nation might rise above all others.[83]

England's Great Happiness caught the attention of Robert Hooke, who proposed Houghton for membership in the Royal Society in 1680.[84] As a member of the Society's agricultural committee, Houghton published a monthly periodical, *A Collection of Letters for the Improvement of Husbandry and Trade*, available for free to his correspondents and "fellow virtuosi." The periodical covered agriculture, land improvement, science and technology, price currents, and stock exchange figures. It is highly likely that Houghton's dissemination of financial information, which predated the famous price currents of Jonathan's Coffee House by almost twenty years, could also be found at the coffeehouses frequented by stock-jobbers and merchants. Houghton felt no need to partition his intellectual and economic interests, and saw an ever-expanding empire as one of the keys to perpetual economic growth.

Such a perspective led Houghton to maintain transatlantic connections through both his brother, a merchant specializing in trade with Virginia, and William Penn, Quaker founder of the English colony of Pennsylvania.[85] Through these relationships Houghton acquired knowledge of the "geography, agriculture, flora, and fauna" of the American colonies, which he then transmitted through his *Letters*.[86] The paper also contained numerous advertisements for goods available in Houghton's shop, reviews of books, and

[83] See Roger Coke, *A Discourse of Trade. In two Parts* (London, 1670) and *The Great Concern of England Explained,* by *a Lover of his countrey and well-wisher to the prosperity both of the king and kingdoms* (London, 1673) for contemporary counterpoints.

[84] Geoffrey Cantor, "Quakers in the Royal Society, 1660-1750," *Notes and Records of the Royal Society* 51, no. 2 (1997): 175-193.

[85] Cantor, "Quakers in the Royal Society," 177-178.

[86] Ibid.

notices for property rentals and domestic help.[87] Consequently, Houghton's *Letters* served as a kind of coffeehouse-in-print, facilitating urban life in London even as it connected readers to various economic networks that stretched across the globe.

The specialization of coffeehouses in London also enabled newcomers to establish themselves quickly in relevant trades. Coffeehouses offered marginalized communities like the Scots a communal space in which to socialize and conduct their business—the British Coffeehouse in Charing Cross became known as such a place during the reign of Queen Anne (r. 1702-1707), followed by the Caledonian and Edinburgh coffeehouses.[88] David Hancock's study of twenty-three merchants who helped develop the British Atlantic community in the eighteenth century includes twelve Scots or Scots-Irish, one French Huguenot, and ten Englishmen, all of whom worked in a city where 80% of the merchants were English during a time when "members of ethnic minorities encountered significant obstacles in eighteenth-century London."[89] Finding both residential and social communities within the city proved instrumental to individuals' success, as socially and geographically tightknit communities facilitated the kind of joint enterprises that made England an economic powerhouse in the eighteenth century.

In the mid-eighteenth century, two Scottish merchants, Augustus Boyd (1679-1765) and Richard Oswald (1705-1784), came to London to make their names and fortunes. Like Hans Sloane before them, the two men benefitted from ready-made connections awaiting them, and both chose to set themselves up in friendly enclaves in the commercial center of the City. Boyd, who came to London from Scotland by way of St. Christopher in the eastern Caribbean, lived in the Huguenot neighborhood of Austin Friars just north of

[87] McConnell, "John Houghton."
[88] Cowan, *Social History of Coffee*, 169.
[89] David Hancock, *Citizens of the World: London Merchants and the Integration of the British Atlantic Community, 1735-1785* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1997), 45.

Cornhill, while Oswald, who left behind a thriving family business in Glasgow to make his own way in the English capital, called Philpot Lane, south of Fenchurch Street, home. The two men, along with many other "marginal" figures, focused their attention on the colonial trades, in which "pre-existing social and financial connections mattered least" and where they already enjoyed advantageous connections.[90] Boyd benefitted from "ties to the margin of empire" from his time in St. Kitts, while Oswald's reputation as a "sociable member of Scots and American society in London" put him into contact with everyone from poor Scots and fellow merchants to luminaries like American statesmen Henry Laurens and Benjamin Franklin.[91]

In choosing to live near the beating heart of Britain's commercial empire, merchants like Boyd and Oswald benefitted from proximity to coffeehouses that facilitated trade with markets and colonies around the world. To hear the latest news and trade information pertaining to Jamaica, one simply had to visit the Jamaican Coffee House. Other specialized coffeehouses included the New England, the Virginia, the Carolina, the Pennsylvania, and the East India. The African Coffee House became vital to Boyd and Oswold's economic interests when, in 1748, they joined forces with three other merchants

[90] Hancock, *Citizens of the World,* 81.
[91] Hancock, 48, 68.

to acquire Bunce Island, a former Royal African Company slave fort and factory strategically located at the mouth of the Sierra Leone River (Figure 1.4).[92]

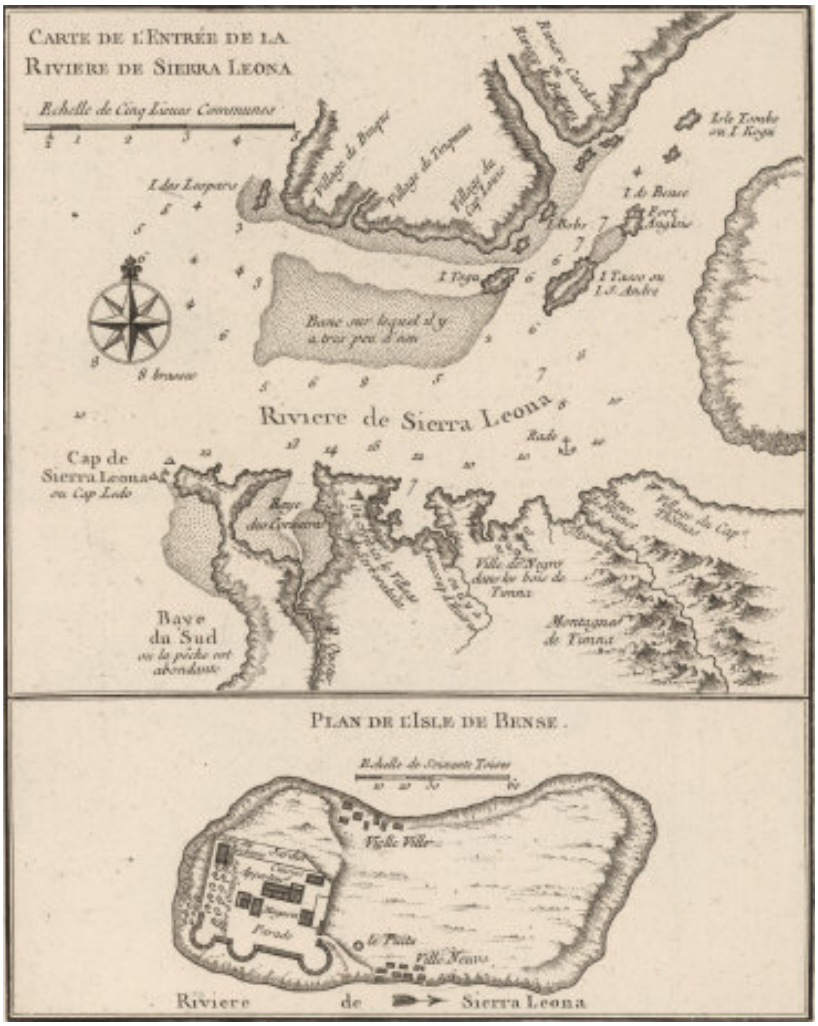

Figure 1.4. "A Map of the Entrance of the Sierra Leone River" (Inset: Plan of Bance Island), from Jacques Bellin's Le petit atlas maritime (Paris, 1764) 3:103.
The Hough Library, Harvard University.

[92] Hancock,172-177. Their entry into the slave trade displayed many of the "entrepreneurial themes" that helped Boyd and Oswald become highly successful merchants: "opportunism in entry and trading styles, global scale, linkage of commercial networks, combining distinct products, peoples, and systems for the purpose of furthering trade, and dogged supervision of the internal economies of the operation" (Hancock, 172). From 1750 to 1769, Bance Island exported of 9,655 enslaved Africans—6% of the British exports from Sierra Leone and 2% of all countries' exports from the entire West African coast (Hancock, 213-214, 214n406). The slave trade, more than any other colonial trade, facilitated the accumulation of wealth, status, and political power, tied up as it was in England's emerging fiscal-military state. Close-knit urban communities translated into sprawling global connections that in turn helped transform English economic thought from seeing overseas colonies and trades as "a set of discrete and severable commercial projects" to understanding them as a single imperial entity (Hancock, 385-386).

To write the history of empire no longer equates to writing the story of metropolitan influence and power stretching out into a colonized world. While some scholars have worked to decenter the metropole by focusing on cross-cultural interactions and the personal, economic, and cultural networks generated by imperial exploration and trade, others have chosen to illuminate the variety of the ways in which empire influenced and shaped metropolitan life.[93] London's coffeehouses, existing within and productive of extensive networks of trade, communication, and knowledge production, require the application of both methods. Consequently, the study of these spaces illuminates the intricate and mutually constitutive relationship between metropole and empire, and sheds light on the process by which Britons became an imperially minded people.

Dissent

Only ten years after their introduction to the British Isles, coffeehouses possessed a reputation as "dangerous centers for subversive activity." Charging only a penny for admittance, filled with the sharpest intellectual minds, and serving as peddlers of the latest news and gossip, coffeehouses bred anxieties among the ruling classes due to their reputation as republican spaces. Some late seventeenth-century Britons believed that all

[93] For histories that decenter the metropole, see Judith A. Carney and Richard Nicholas Rosomoff, *In the Shadow of Slavery: Africa's Botanical Legacy in the Atlantic World* (Berkeley, University of California Press, 2009); James Delbourgo and Nicholas Dew, eds., *Science and Empire in the Atlantic World* (New York: Routledge, 2008); Susan Scott Parrish, *American Curiosity: Cultures of Natural History in the Colonial British Atlantic World* (Chapel Hill, N.C.: The University of North Carolina Press, 2006); Bernard Bailyn, *Atlantic History: Concept and Contours* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2005); John K. Thornton, *Africa and Africans in the Making of the Atlantic World, 1400-1680* (Cambridge, Eng.: Cambridge University Press, 1992); Bernard Bailyn and Philip D. Morgan, eds., *Strangers within the Realm: Cultural Margins of the First British Empire* (Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1991). For work that locates imperial influence within the metropole, see Molineux, *Faces of Perfect Ebony*; Norton, *Sacred Gifts, Profane Pleasures*; Kriz, *Slavery, Sugar, and the Culture of Refinement*; Catherine Hall and Sonya O. Rose, eds., *At Home with the Empire: Metropolitan Culture and the Imperial World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006); Geoff Quilley and Kay Dian Kriz, eds., *An Economy of Colour: Visual culture and the Atlantic world, 1660-1830* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003).

manner of dissenters were "great frequenters of coffeehouses."[94] In the years following the Restoration, this reputation meant that the newly enthroned Charles II monitored the coffeehouses, even going so far as to forbid any sale of "coffee, chocolet, sherbet, or tea" in 1675.[95] Ultimately, Charles' efforts failed, with even staunch royalist Edward Verney advising that "if coffy houses must enter into recognizances to betray their guests, it is a better way to put them downe then by a proclamation."[96] Royal scrutiny continued into the eighteenth century, but coffeehouses ultimately won out as a legitimate space for political discourse.[97] In Brian Cowan's words, political efforts to "check the flourishing of coffeehouse politics" met "resistance from the micropolitical structures of local society."[98] Coffeehouses had become part and parcel of English urban life, and could not be easily removed.

[94] Cowan, *The Social Life of Coffee*, 194.
[95] *Proclamation for the Suppression of the Coffeehouses* (Bill & Barker, 1675).
[96] Cowan, *Social Life of Coffee*, 198.
[97] Ibid., 201; Pincus, "'Coffee Politicians Does Create'".
[98] Cowan, *The Social Life of Coffee*, 207.

Figure 1.5. Anonymous, "Interior of a Coffeehouse" (c. 1700).
The British Museum.

Political dissenters were not the only marginalized community to make the coffeehouse a place of refuge within a hostile environment. Religious dissenters also found coffeehouses useful, particularly in light of such communities' tendency to isolate themselves both socially and geographically. For example, at least 43 coffeehouses became associated with Quakers, with a dozen of those surviving into the nineteenth century.[99] The Bull and Mouth, located just north and east of Cornhill on St. Martin's-le-Grand, was widely known as a Quaker meeting place, hosting meetings of Societies of Friends and such momentous events as weddings. The Toleration Act of 1689 eased some of the pressure placed on these dissenting communities, but they continued to take advantage of the imperial opportunities available in coffeehouses.

[99] Bryant Lillywhite, *London Coffee Houses: A Reference Book of Coffee Houses of the Seventeenth, Eighteenth, and Nineteenth Centuries* (London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd, 1963). These figures are based on coffeehouses where regular meetings of Societies of Friends were known to take place.

The Bull and Mouth served enterprising Quakers well with its proximity to both the Guildhall and the Royal Exchange.[100] Quakers, who faced some of the most intense persecution throughout the seventeenth century for their dissenting views and habits, profited from the ways in which imperialism opened paths to social and intellectual credibility for those engaged in trade. One such Quaker merchant, Peter Collinson, worked as a woolen draper after he took over the family business from his father. Collinson also pursued botany as a personal interest, collecting seeds and plants through his transatlantic religious and business contacts. His mercantile networks enabled him to achieve a reputation as trustworthy and as an expert botanist, becoming a member of the Royal Society in 1728. By the mid-1730s he became a kind of middleman for British collectors looking to add exotic plant specimens to their own collections and helped introduce almost 200 new plant species to Britain.[101] By combining his business acumen, a passion for botany, the social connections afforded him as a Fellow, and the sociability of the coffeehouses, Collinson developed close friendships with Hans Sloane and Benjamin Franklin, and helped expand the Royal Gardens at Kew and the Apothecaries' Garden at Chelsea.

The very enclaves and institutions that tended to be seen as threats to the status quo within the streets of London often ended up producing individuals devoted to the success of the British imperial project. Dissenting communities, be they political, ethnic, or religious, spent years learning what it meant to have one foot in tightknit urban communities and the other out forging connections around the globe. Existing as they did on the peripheries of British life, dissenters understood the importance of networks,

[100] Lillywhite, *London Coffee Houses*,140-142.
[101] Cantor, "Quakers in the Royal Society," 182.

reciprocity, and a common vision. Similarly, the coffeehouses that originally posed a threat to royal authority became instrumental in the cultivation of a global sociability that helped Britain transform from a second-rate European power to an imperial giant.

John Houghton credited increased coffee consumption with the growth of various trades, including "tobacco and pipes, earthen dishes, tin wares, news-papers, coals, candles, sugar, tea, [and] chocolate."[102] Coffee was one of the first examples of "the strange" becoming "familiar," subtly instructing Britons in the art of being an imperial power and showing Londoners, specifically, what it meant to live in the heart of a thriving global economy.[103] With their proto-democratic atmospheres, coffeehouses became havens for those virtuosi and Royal Society Fellows who chaffed at the restrictive nature of Society scholarship. They served as public curiosity cabinets, creating "contact zones" that "entangled consumers in the imperial project."[104] They brought together the wealthy and the industrious; the tradesman and the gentleman scholar; the loyalist and the dissenter, all over a cup of coffee.

[102] John Houghton, "A Discourse on Coffee, Read at a Meeting of the Royal Society, by Mr. John Houghton, F.R.S.," *Philosophical Transactions (1683-1775)* 21 (1699): 311-317, 317.
[103] Cowan, *Social Life of Coffee*, 29.
[104] Molineux, *Faces of Perfect Ebony*, 91, 175.

CHAPTER II

CORRUPTION IN THE COFFEEHOUSE

Most histories of British coffee consumption end in the 1720s or 1730s, when the coffeehouse "had become an accepted fixture" of urban life in Britain.[105] As with other luxuries that became more widely accessible in the early eighteenth century, coffee had arrived with socio-cultural associations that sparked fears over the ability of foreign products to corrupt British life and bodies. In the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, such fears focused on coffee's "Turkish" origins. Turkey, in early modern Britons' eyes, was a place where luxuries went hand in hand with tyranny—to adopt a custom such as drinking coffee was, to some observers, tantamount to adopting unwanted social mores that went far beyond the beverage.

There is little doubt that coffeehouses were fixtures of the London landscape by the 1720s, but that did not mean that coffee consumption remained an uncontested activity. In fact, its growing association with both native British culture and the nature of the British empire opened up new areas of social and political debate around coffee and the coffeehouse. The most obvious question mark lay in what we might call the extension of the tavern into the coffee house (visible in the slippage in urban directories that sometimes referred to established coffeehouses as taverns). With tavern culture came brothels and gambling—the most famous instance of which was Tom King's Coffee House, which Moll King, Tom's wife, turned into an infamous brothel after her husband's death in the late 1730s. Satirists, most notably William Hogarth, drew attention to such coffeehouse

[105] Cowan, Social Life of Coffee, 255.

activities, deprecating for British audiences the gentlemanly virtues conferred to these spaces by the patronage of the virtuosi. None of these activities, however, raised fundamental challenges to the coffeehouse as a site of and place to experience the expansion of Britain overseas.

That challenge came in the last few decades of the eighteenth century, when the abolitionist movement—the popular protest against the slave trade—took hold in Britain. Since their inception, coffeehouses had contributed to the imperial institution of slavery by acting as conduits for news of black runaways, offering space for slave sales, employing black laborers whose status is often unclear, and, of course, being a public site of consumption of slave-produced goods like sugar, coffee, and tobacco. Historians have shown how these products, sugar in particular, were demonized during these years as the metropolitan protest movement took the form of abstention.[106] Yet even though the practices and goods of the coffeehouse would be forever altered by abolition, this fundamental challenge was also met by cultural tactics that had been fostered by these spaces.

When abolitionists began to fight against the slave trade in the late eighteenth century, the coffeehouse and the behaviors associated with it became tools with which they attempted to focus British attention on the moral consequences of slavery. While much ink has been spilled attempting to understand the motivations and theologies of abolitionists like Clarkson, William Wilberforce, James Stephen, and Granville Sharp, understanding the history of the coffeehouse allows new insight into how abolitionists mobilized some of

[106] See esp., Sussman, *Consuming Anxieties*, 2-4.

its most important cultural legacies.[107] Coffee's Turkish origins were no longer the moral threat; instead, it was through the culture of curiosity, collection, and display cultivated and popularized by coffeehouses that these abolitionists convinced a nation of the moral threat posed by the imperial institution of slavery.

A Sisterhood of Idols & Other Corruptions

By the mid-eighteenth century, London had become the most significant entrepôt for goods moving in and out of Europe from the Americas and the East Indies. Sprawling trade networks created a complex, interconnected world. According to Dror Wahrman, Britons saw, as a result, a "radically new breakthrough" in commercial culture's "variety, its pace, its level of innovation, the extent of its social reach, and the growing awareness of its consequences among a widening span of English society." Some contemporaries derided these developments: in William Hogarth's 1738 print *Morning,* for instance, this famed satirist and social critic made fun of the coffeehouse and the corrupting influence of fashion and foreign goods (Figure 1). The influx of exotic commodities interfered with British taste and sight as addiction to imports like coffee caused Londoners to "blindly" accept "customs and fashions that limited their natural freedom and expression."[108] In *Morning*, part of Hogarth's *Times of Day* series, the façade of St Paul's church is almost

[107] The most obvious exception is Drescher, *The Mighty Experiment*. In addition to the many biographies of individual abolitionists, see Joseph Stubenrauch, *The Evangelical Age of Ingenuity in Industrial Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016); Anthony Page, "Rational Dissent, Enlightenment, and Abolition of the British Slave Trade," *The Historical Journal* 54, no. 3 (September 2011): 741-772; Christopher Leslie Brown, "Christianity and the Campaign Against the Slave Trade," in *Cambridge History of Christianity*, ed. Stewart J. Brown and Timothy Tackett (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 517-535; Ann M. Burton, "British Evangelicals, Economic Warfare and the Abolition of the Atlantic Slave Trade, 1794-1810," *Anglican and Episcopal History* 65, no.2 (June 1996): 197-225; Boyd Hilton, *The Age of Atonement: The Influence of Evangelicalism on Social and Economic Thought, 1795-1865* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988).

[108] Catherine Molineux, "Hogarth's Fashionable Slaves: Moral Corruption in Eighteenth-Century London," *ELH* 72, no. 2 (Summer 2005): 495-520, quoted 513-514.

completely obscured by Tom King's Coffeehouse, which is filled past capacity with brawling men. A woman, her face spotted with beauty marks and wearing a dress too fashionable for her age, attempts to make her way to church past groups of beggars and prostitutes gathered around fires made from filth.[109] This coffeehouse was not the lauded institution of British virtue and culture.

[109] Ronald Paulson, *High Art and Low, 1732-50*, vol. 2 of *Hogarth* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1992), 127-128.

Figure 2.1. William Hogarth, *Morning*, from *The Times of Day* (1738).
The British Museum.

Such impressions of the coffeehouse appeared sporadically throughout the eighteenth century, in part because women found work in them. While recent scholarship has moved past the idea of the coffeehouse as a solely masculine space, little has been done to identify and interpret the unique ways in which women experienced and participated in

the coffee trade. Representations of coffee women in periodicals like the *Spectator*, as well as in theatrical productions and other publications, suggest that their participation enhanced male satirical critiques. Encountering coffee women proved easy enough—most establishments employed them to tend the coffee bar, clean, and ensure customer satisfaction. The public did not need to be told who coffee women were, or what they did. Rather, it needed to be told how to conceive of such women, what kinds of behavior to associate them with, and what opinion to carry of them. Consequently, in print media, popular literature, and entertainment venues, coffee women were consistently identified with lewd behavior, promiscuity, and corrupt business practices. In contrast to Hogarth's women-as-consumers, coffee women often became commodified themselves.[110]

Even as critics of the coffeehouse faded into irrelevance and the institution itself became known as a place of sobriety and intellectual stimulation, continuing fears of this new social practice manifested in ongoing criticism of coffee women. These critiques even absorbed many of the more sensual and corrupting properties that were once associated with coffee itself. In popular culture, women in the coffeehouse industry came to embody moral degeneracy, greed, and the upset of traditional domestic order. Representations of coffee women were similar to those of women in other victualing trades. Alewives and

[110] For more on the role of women as both consumers and commodities, see Mary Louise Roberts, "Gender, Consumption, and Commodity Culture," *The American Historical Review* 103, no. 3 (June 1998): 817-844; Rita Felski, *The Gender of Modernity* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1995).

female servants in taverns also faced consistent association with prostitution and lewd behavior.[111]

Despite the domestication of coffee, then, questions about the virtues of its consumption continued throughout the eighteenth century. Neither the pseudo-egalitarian atmosphere of the coffeehouse, nor its attendant social cachet were benefits enjoyed by the women who owned or worked in coffeehouses. Serving girls in coffeehouses and other victualing businesses functioned as important assets, pulling in customers and encouraging sales. These girls frequently became seen as little more than prostitutes. It was a displacement that went back to the earliest days of coffee culture in Britain, even though most coffeehouses never served as centers of illicit sex in the ways that alehouses did. But contemporary anxieties over the moral implications of a growing consumer culture nevertheless made it difficult for coffee women to escape accusations of prostitution. Laura Brown has argued that "female desire for" and association with luxury was "often coupled [by men] with sexual voracity."[112]

In 1711, a concerned citizen wrote to Mr. Spectator (Joseph Addison) complaining of a "sisterhood" of idols operating in the coffeehouses of London. The women would "sit

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[111] A. Lynn Martin, *Alcohol, Sex and Gender in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (New York: Palgrave, 2001), 70. Alehouses and taverns (and the people who owned them) operated in a slightly different system of licensing and sociability than coffeehouses. Unlike coffee, alcohol and its distribution were regulated by governments and guilds, and licenses to sell alcohol were significantly more expensive than those required to open a coffeehouse. There was an internal stratification to the alcoholic victualing trades—inns topped the social and economic pyramid, followed by taverns, which served wine and hearty meals to the upper and middling classes. Alehouses formed the bottom tier with their smaller spaces, basic food, and lower class clientele. Though "hard and fast distinctions" can be difficult to make, "this three-fold categorization was recognized in statute and common law from the sixteenth century" onward and was reflected in "the way that premises were licensed and legal obligations of their landlords defined." The coffeehouse filled a vacancy in the ranks of British social spaces by providing a reasonably egalitarian space in which members of various classes and trades might mingle. Though entering into the coffeehouse did not erase social and class distinctions, it did allow for customers to willfully ignore such distinctions and socialize in a single space centered on the dissemination of information, news, and a hot beverage. Peter Clark, *The English Alehouse: A Social History, 1200-1830* (New York: Longman, 1983), 5, 11.

[112] Laura Brown, *Ends of Empire: Women and Ideology in Early Eighteenth-Century English Literature* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993), 170-200; Sussman, 9.

and receive all day long the Adoration of the Youth," causing work to go undone and men to make fools of themselves. "We who come to do Business, or talk Politicks [sic], are utterly Poisoned," he wrote. In a later issue, a female coffeehouse owner wrote in to protest the way male customers would "loll at the Bar staring just in [her] Face, ready to interpret [her] Looks and Gestures, according to their own imagination." The men forsook the "plain" language of legitimate commerce for an "Exchange of Complements," as if the coffee women "stood there to sell their Persons to Prostitution."[113] Affection and beauty became commodities served alongside coffee, upsetting, from the assumed public view, the natural order of business and the otherwise sober atmosphere of the coffeehouse.

James Miller's *Coffee House*, which first appeared on stage in London in 1737, played on similar anxieties. The play revolved around a love triangle between Kitty, daughter of a widowed coffeehouse proprietor, and two gentlemen, Mr. Harpie and Mr. Hartly. While Kitty wished to marry Hartly—who returned her affections and admired the business connections she would bring to the marriage—her mother wished her to marry Mr. Harpie, who was both wealthy and well connected. Hartly's friends conspired to trick Kitty's fiancé and mother into signing her over in a marriage contract after Cibber, an actor friend of Hartly's, pretended to be injured in a fight with Kitty's fiancé in the Widow's coffeehouse. Under threat of going to jail and losing the coffeehouse, the Widow agreed to allow her daughter to marry Hartly. Short, quickly paced, and imbued with a heavily satiric tone, "The Coffee House" displayed "the Spectatorial model of the convivial coffeehouse" being corrupted and upset by the romantic machinations of the proprietor and

[113] *The Spectator*, no. 155 (August 28, 1711).

her daughter.[114] "Tho' I spend half my Time in Coffee-Rooms," one customer lamented, "I never see the Papers."[115] Kitty and her mother represented stereotypical, unruly coffee women who cultivated scandal while serving gentlemen coffee. Finally, happily engaged to her chosen suitor, Mr. Hartly, Kitty stepped behind the coffee bar and confidently pronounced that once she became proprietor, she would "bring more Business to the House" than her mother ever did.[116] In asserting herself as a woman of business, Kitty saw her youth and beauty as tools of the trade. Her success as a businesswoman was never far from being associated with her physical person and therefore with illicit commerce.

Neither the letters and editorials of the *Spectator* nor the theatrical representations of coffee consumption were strictly factual representations of the eighteenth-century coffeehouse milieu, but the frequency with which problematic encounters between coffee women and patrons appeared in print and on stage points to social concerns about the socio-cultural implications of the coffeehouse far outliving the 1720s. Some coffeehouses—particularly those located near the theater district in Covent Garden—did function, as these satires suggested, as brothels. In a 1764 issue of "The Beauties of all the Magazines," a letter to the editor described the Covent Garden of his youth. He wrote of a man named Tom King and his coffeehouse, where "you might see every evening, women of the town, the most celebrated, and dressed as elegant as if to set in the stage box at an Opera."[117] He went on to assure the readers they could meet "every species of human-kind, that intemperance, idleness, necessity, or curiosity could assemble together."[118] And Tom

[114] Markman Ellis, "Coffee-Women, 'The Spectator,' and the Public Sphere in the Early Eighteenth Century," in *Women, Writing, and the Public Sphere: 1700-1830*, eds. Elizabeth Eger et al. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 39.

[115] James Miller, *The Coffee-House* (London, 1781). 7.

[116] Miller, *The Coffee-House*, 29.

[117] *The Beauties of All the Magazines Selected*, 3 vols. (London, 1764), 3:49.

[118] *The Beauties*, 3:50.

King's coffeehouse, a "rude shed immediately beneath the portico of St Paul's Church," was "well known to all gentlemen to whom beds [were] unknown."[119]

Tom King owned and operated the coffeehouse with his wife, Moll, who ran the business after her husband's death. Most characterizations of the "infamous" Moll included outright references to the complaints lodged against her for running a "disorderly house," including her multiple convictions and her brief tenure in prison, though she often managed to escape punishment due to her role as a madam.[120] Moll never kept beds in her establishment, a fact she often used to advantage when facing criminal charges, though "every Swain...might be sure of finding a Nymph in waiting at Moll's Fair Reception House." Young couples met at the coffeehouse before staggering "to some Bagnio for Quarters, which Moll generally us'd [sic] to recommend her Customers."[121] Moll's anonymous biographer blamed her avarice for her moral shortcomings. "Getting money was all that she aim'd at," the author wrote, characterizing Moll as "a Woman well acquainted with the World" whose "love of Wealth led her on to do such things as were highly inconsistent with Morality, and very unbecoming her Sex."[122] The very traits that led to her success also led her to become involved with illicit commerce. Though her husband did not escape similar associations with prostitution, it was Moll who became a kind of archetypal loose coffee woman.

During the eighteenth century, tavern or alehouse culture claimed the spaces of coffeehouses in ways that disrupted the virtues conferred by gentlemanly culture—these were places both of London and of the empire. Gambling and prostitution did not bring

[119] Lillywhite, London Coffee Houses, 596.

[120] Amelia, Or, The Distress'd Wife (London, 1751), 101; The Life and Character of Moll King (London, 1747), 8. For more accounts of Moll King, see Covent Garden in Mourning, a Mock Heroick Poem (London, 1747) and Lillywhite, London Coffee Houses.

[121] Moll King, 17.

[122] Ibid., 10.

about the change of the eighteenth-century coffeehouse into the nineteenth-century coffeehouse, but ongoing questions about the virtues of coffee culture animated debates about coffee's role in British society. In the late eighteenth century, such questions turned on transformations in imperial labor regimes.

Slavery in the Coffeehouse

Slavery began to frame Britons' experiences of coffee in 1712. That year marks the first instance in which a European colony dependent on African slave labor began to cultivate the coffee plant.[123] As the abolitionist movement took hold in the latter decades of the eighteenth century, coffee's relationship to slavery garnered widespread attention. It recaptured attention in the 1830s and 1840s as Britons grappled with the consequences of the 1833 Slavery Abolition Act that outlawed slavery within the British Empire. Despite these discussions, coercive labor regimes remained primary producers of coffee (albeit in a more circumspect manner) until 1888, when Brazil finally abolished slavery.

The specter of slavery shadowed every aspect of metropolitan coffee culture, from the bean itself to the spaces in which Britons consumed the beverage. As imperial islands within London, coffeehouses allowed Britons to experience empire through their taste buds. But the coffeehouse's imperial ties went beyond the beverage served within its walls, implicating the space itself as a perpetuator of the most noxious elements of empire. Before the rise of abolitionist sentiment in the latter part of the eighteenth century forced Britons to grapple with the extent and moral consequences of their role as enslavers, coffee as a

[123] For more on the introduction of coffee to the West Indies, see Cowan, *Social Life of Coffee*, 76-77. Slavery in the Dutch East Indies (including Java, the first location of Europeans' first successful coffee crop outside of the Red Sea region) remains understudied. For examples of the work being done to remedy this historiographical gap, see Reggie Baay, *Daar werd wat gruwelijks verricht: slavernij in Nederlands-Indië* (Amsterdam: Athenaeum-Polak & Van Gennep, 2015) and Matthias van Rossum, *Kleurrijke tragiek: de geschiedenis van slavernij in Azië onder de VOC* (Hilversum: Verloren, 2015).

crop did not have the same explicit, ubiquitous connection to slavery as did tobacco or sugar.[124] Yet, coffeehouses, tied to imperial peripheries even as they became established urban institutions in the metropole, proved ideal settings to make claims on people as property in a manner reminiscent of those made by colonial planters. With their supposedly democratic atmospheres and established relationships with commerce, coffeehouses existed in an ambiguous space that defied strict categorization. Such ambiguity made it easy for Britons to mold coffeehouses for their individual purposes, and in the case of white Britons seeking various forms of black labor, the vagaries of both law and institutional purpose worked to their advantage. As news-centers and recognizable urban landmarks, coffeehouses proved to be convenient intermediaries for Britons seeking the return of runaway slaves and bonded black servants.

Between 1700 and 1777 at least 122 Londoners placed 142 notices in newspapers, describing the appearances and alleged crimes of black servants and slaves, and asked that, if found, their runaways be returned to a coffeehouse.[125] The proprietor or manager of these coffeehouses became a surrogate for the slaves' owners, ensuring that, even when absent, the owners' property rights were protected.[126] The coffeehouse—the epitome of public

[124] See Molineux, *Faces of Perfect Ebony*, 146-177 for the relationship between tobacco, race, consumption, and male homosociality. For more on coffee's unique place in Britain's Caribbean commodity market see Richard Dunn, *Sugar and Slaves: The Rise of the Planter Class in the English West Indies, 1624-1713* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1972); B.W. Higman, *Montpelier, Jamaica: A Plantation Community in Slavery and Freedom, 1739-1912* (The Press of the University of the West Indies, 1998); Verene Shepherd, ed., *Slavery Without Sugar: Diversity in Caribbean Economy and Society Since the Seventeenth Century* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2002); Michel-Rolph Trouillot, "Coffee Planters and Coffee Slaves in the Antilles: The Impact of a Secondary Crop," in *Cultivation and Culture: Labor and the Shaping of Slave Life in the Americas* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1993), 124-137.

[125] These numbers reflect data currently available through the Runaway Slaves in Britain Database.

[126] I was able to identify these cases via the invaluable Runaway Slaves in Britain database, created by scholars at the University of Glasgow through support from the Leverhulme Trust and the University of Glasgow. The University of Glasgow, "Runaway Slaves in Britain: bondage, freedom and race in the eighteenth century," https://www.runaways.gla.ac.uk/database/ (accessed March 14, 2019).

space—thus combined with the power of the public gaze to help individuals maintain their claims on people as property.

Before the coalescence of the abolitionist movement in the 1770s, metropolitan Britons made very public claims of ownership of black bodies.[127] More work is necessary to fully understand the intricacies of black labor in Britain, particularly in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Currently, histories of labor and histories of race largely talk past one another, making it difficult to fully discern how black people fit into British labor structures. Historian Mark Dawson has decoded the humoral language used in both runaway servant and runaway slave advertisements, adding his findings to a growing body of scholarship that argues that the concept of a racial binary emerged slowly over the course of the eighteenth century before crystalizing into scientific racism in the nineteenth century.[128] In *The Complexion of Race* Roxanne Wheeler dissects the complex and varied ideologies behind eighteenth-century racialized thought, but limits her discussion of black labor on English soil to an analysis of Olaudah Equiano's attempts to obtain "a more

[127] From land ownership to shares sold on the stock market, British property rights functioned as a means by which "the relations between individuals and the objects they possess" could be defined. And while property might be "that sole despotic dominion which one man claims and exercises over the external things of the world," the *right* to property both reflected and helped structure social relations, particularly those between classes (Carruthers, 13; Sir William Blackstone, *Commentaries on the Laws of England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1765) 2:2). Towards the end of the eighteenth century, Hannah More—the well-known religious writer and philanthropist—argued in one of her tracts that "all property is sacred, and as the laws of the land are intended to fence in that property, he who brings up his children to break down any of these fences, brings them up to certain sin and ruin" (Hannah More, *Cheap Repository Shorter Tracts* (London, 1798), 73). Julian Hoppit has shown that following the Glorious Revolution in 1688 the idea of property as sacrosanct became increasingly tenuous as parliament exercised its authority to override citizen's rights to property, "most usually by particular interests claiming to act for the public or wider good." In the eighteenth century the government's right to override individuals' property rights referred largely to instances of enclosure, financial assets pertaining to the national debt, and hereditary offices, but by the end of the century the right of Britons to own slaves also came into question. (Julian Hoppit, "Compulsion, Compensation, and Property Rights in Britain, 1688-1833," *Past & Present*, no. 210 (February 2011): 93-128, quoted 93-94).

[128] Mark Dawson, "First Impressions: Newspaper Advertisements and Early Modern English Body Imaging, 1651-1750" *Journal of British Studies* 50, no. 2 (April 2011): 277-306; Kathleen Chater, *Untold Histories: Black People in England and Wales during the Period of the British Slave Trade, c. 1660-1807* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2009); Mark Dawson, "Humouring Racial Encounters in the Anglo-Atlantic, c. 1580-1720" in *Old Worlds, New Worlds: European Cultural Encounters, c.1000-c.1750,* ed. Lisa Bailey, Lindsay Diggelmann, and Kim M. Phillips (Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, 2009); Wheeler, *The Complexion of Race.*

accomplished servant status."[129] Kathleen Chater has shown the extensive degree to which London's black population was integrated into the city's social fabric, but more explicit work needs to be done to situate black labor in the larger socioeconomic context of British life.[130] In doing so, historians will be better able to interpret the variety of categories used when describing runaway black servants, apprentices, indentured laborers, and slaves.

Regardless of how often an average Londoner came into contact with someone explicitly categorized as a slave, Britons clearly found the presence and representation of slavery unproblematic given individuals' willingness to publicize both the sale of slaves and efforts to reclaim runaways.[131] Notices for runaway slaves ran alongside calls for the return of indentured servants, placing slavery—though it did not technically nor legally exist in Britain—along an accepted spectrum of labor with which Londoners would have been intimately familiar. Like ads placed for runaway white servants, ads for runaway black servants gave both a physical description—typically "Negro," but occasionally something along the lines of "An East India Black"—and details regarding background, like the man or woman's place of birth.[132] This combination of information relied not only on sight, but also on a tacitly understood body of knowledge concerning blackness.

The designation of someone as a "Negro" did not provide readers with enough information to identify a particular individual. Further descriptions ranged from "Mulatto" and "not of a very black hue" to "very black" to "a real black, with every mark of the

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[129] Wheeler, 282.

[130] Kathy Chater, "Black People in England, 1660-1807," *Parliamentary History* 26, S1 (June 2007): 66-83.

[131] The University of Glasgow, "Introduction," https://www.runaways.gla.ac.uk/introduction/ (accessed March 23, 2019). This is to say nothing of the myriad ways in which Britons experienced slavery in less 'tangible' ways. See Molineux, *Faces of Perfect Ebony*; James Walvin, *Black Ivory: Slavery in the British Empire*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 2001); Gretchen Gerzina, *Black London: Life Before Emancipation* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1995).

[132] Advertisements, *The Post Boy (1695)*, January 22, 1713.

Negro visible to be seen."[133] Servants and slaves alike were described as being "born in Barbadoes" or Bermuda, or "a Native of the Gold Coast of Guinea," or "Angola Negro," or "lately come over from Jamaica."[134] The inclusion of these specifics implies that at least some readers possessed the ability to discern between a newly arrived boy from Jamaica and a Gold Coast native still living in London three years after his arrival. While some of this information could have been gleaned from classical texts, geographies, travel narratives, and religious texts, the capacity to discern this level of detail based on sight necessitated physical interaction with black individuals with some degree of regularity.[135]

For their masters, black servants signified wealth and social elevation given their rarity and cost.[136] But it was not just the elite who kept black servants and slaves. Ship captains, merchants, and others involved in England's maritime system often became masters and owners through impressment, seizure of foreign ships during wartime, and trading voyages between the British Isles and the west coast of Africa. A "Negro lad" named Charlo, "born in St. Kitt's, but came last from North Carolina" "absented himself from his Master's Service" in April of 1755. In May, Charlo's master placed an ad asking for anyone with information about Charlo's whereabouts to find him at the Carolina Coffee-house. The ad stressed that if Charlo returned to his master "he shall be forgiven," as it was likely that he had been "inticed away by some ill-designing Person."[137] The language of forgiveness present in this and other advertisements could reflect a cultural

[133] Advertisements, *The Post Man and the Historical Account*, May 5, 1715; Advertisements, *The Public Advertiser*, May 6, 1755; Advertisements, *The Daily Advertiser*, October 13, 1746; Advertisements, *The Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser*, October 31, 1765.

[134] Advertisements, *The Daily Courant*, November 2, 1714; Advertisements, *The Daily Courant*, November 19, 1717; Advertisements, *The Daily Post Boy*, April 3, 1730; Advertisements, *The Daily Advertiser*, September 9, 1742; Advertisements, *The General Advertiser*, November 30, 1748.

[135] Wheeler, 14.

[136] Molineux, *Faces of Perfect Ebony*, 23.

[137] Advertisements, *The Public Advertiser*, May 6,1755.

"preoccupation with politeness" and an attempt to save face when faced with an unruly servant, as Amanda McGee has argued regarding white runaway servant advertisements.[138] But a runaway black servant or slave threatened more than the integrity of an individual household's reputation. These instances of resistance "challenged gratifying descriptions of blacks thankful for their translocation into Britain."[139] Using the same language to entreat black servants to return that was used in regards to white runaways reinforced the idea of an empire built on benevolent mastery.

It is no coincidence that Charlo, brought recently from North Carolina, was to be returned to the Carolina coffeehouse. Nor was it mere chance that James Lawes requested that his runaway servant, "a Mulatto Tawny Man, usually call'd Billy Dow, born in Jamaica" be returned to the Jamaica Coffee House.[140] Of the 142 identified cases, 77 or over fifty percent occurred at coffeehouses explicitly linked with imperial trade.[141] That the coffeehouses tend to overlap with the runaway's most recent country of origin gives us a glimpse at a different flow of black labor, beginning in the peripheries and ending in the metropole. But such coffeehouse experiences of slavery also extended beyond the mercantile nexus of Cornhill. Runaway servant advertisements that list contacts in houses located near St James, like Smyrna Coffeehouse on Pall Mall, and Mount Coffeehouse in Mayfair tell us that Londoners encountered black servitude across the city.

Coffeehouses may have been imperial islands, but they remained very much in London—the capital of an empire dependent on maintaining racial hierarchies and status. As Britons began to formulate imperial ideologies that prioritized a moral and civilizing

[138] Amanda Page McGee, "Products of Circumstance: Eighteenth-Century Runaway Indentured Servant Advertisements in a Changing Atlantic World," (master's thesis, University of Arkansas, 2017), 53.

[139] Molineux, *Faces of Perfect Ebony*, 20.

[140] Advertisements, *Daily Advertiser*, 27 April 1732.

[141] These houses included the Carolina, Jamaica, Virginia, Pennsylvania, New England, Jerusalem, Portugal, and Lloyd's coffeehouse.

influence, the presence of black servants from various colonial outposts became framed as an exchange—in return for their loyalty and service, individuals were "incorporated into the substance of British families and the regiments of armies."[142] In running away, servants likely planned to "Board some Ship bound to Africa, or the West Indies," but, if caught, they might find themselves at the Jamaica Coffeehouse instead.[143] This dual existence, of the empire but not in it, makes the coffeehouse an ideal means of understanding empire as a domestically produced project and ideology based on interpersonal networks as much as an expansion of political power extended over space.[144]

Black Londoners who lived in neighborhoods within London's expanding geography and worked in the homes, businesses, and social spaces frequented by white Britons added yet another layer of complexity to metropolitan Britons' experience of racial difference. At Tom King's Coffeehouse, a woman known locally as 'Black Betty' worked as the establishment's coffee woman, responsible for tending the bar and ensuring customer satisfaction. She inspired the black female figure in Hogarth's *A Rake's Progress III* and other prints, marking "the presence of blacks in Britain and their integration into the ranks of the servant class."[145]

[142] Molineux, Faces of Perfect Ebony, 48.
[143] Advertisements, Daily Post Boy, 3 April 1730.
[144] This understanding of empire is based on definitions presented in Johnson and Molineux, "Putting Europe in Its Place" and Burbank and Cooper, Empires in World History.
[145] Molineux, Face of Perfect Ebony, 183.

Figure 2.2. Anonymous, A Monument for Tom K—g (1737). "Black Betty" can be seen kneeling at King's feet in the center of the monument.
The British Museum.

Implicated in all types of black labor, coffeehouses contributed to Britons' ability to maintain an ambivalent attitude towards slavery until abolitionists began to reframe the conversation surrounding empire and morality in the late eighteenth century.

The sale of black bodies and labor also occurred in coffeehouses. Of the 76 'For Sale' advertisements found by the Runaway Slaves in Britain database, twenty—a quarter of the total—announced that the sales would take place at a coffeehouse. That number increases to 36% when looking solely at London newspapers. [146] Some of these advertisements lack detail, listing only the age of the enslaved and where they could be purchased: "To be Sold, A Negro Boy, aged Eleven years. Inquire at the Virginia Coffee-House." Others, like an ad placed in a 1764 issue of *The Public Advertiser*, featured insight into the history and skills of the one being sold: "A likely handy black BOY, 14 Years old" who had come from the West Indies with his master a year earlier. He spent the year "in the Country learning domestick [sic] Business," and proved "fond of Children." Though his master intended to take him back to the West Indies with him, a longer stay in London caused him to part with his servant.

Many of the coffeehouses included in the 'For Sale' ads could be found in Cornhill, near the Royal Exchange and the myriad venues explicitly associated with the slave trade. But other areas of the city feature as well, particularly St Paul's and Covent Garden. This diffusive geography lets us know that these sales often took place at coffeehouses not just because they were linked with particular colonial locales, but because the coffeehouse itself had been established as a point of sale, particularly for goods acquired via empire.[147] In addition, because of their role as newspaper repositories, coffeehouses provided "communal readership gratis" and dramatically increased the number of people who might read ads for either runaways or individuals for sale.[148] A single reader could make their way through multiple issues of various papers, while a single issue could reach an entire

[146] The University of Glasgow, "For Sale," https://www.runaways.gla.ac.uk/for_sale/ (accessed March 23, 2019).
[147] Brian Cowan, *The Social Life of Coffee*, 115, 132-145.
[148] Dawson, "First Impressions," 286.

room of patrons, meaning that coffeehouse patrons were uniquely equipped to serve as "watchful townsfolk" when it came to apprehending runaway slaves and servants, and were exposed to opportunities to purchase slaves on British soil.[149] In these ways, London's coffeehouses went beyond serving as links to empire to offer patrons the chance to experience—directly or otherwise—one of the key elements of the imperial economy: the trade in human beings.

Corrupted Souls

In attempting to bring attention to the threat that the slave trade posed to Britons' immortal souls, abolitionists shifted the power to corrupt from the foreign origins of new imperial goods to the means by which Britons acquired them. Doing so required anti-slavery advocates to use collection and display methods first established by the virtuosi to change the ways in which Britons 'saw' the products of slavery. Whatever anxieties still accompanied British consumption of colonial goods in the late eighteenth century, commodities like sugar and coffee had gone from considered luxuries to necessities.[150] Colonial foods and beverages became central to the debate over abolition, and the characterization of consumption as a feminine activity gave women an inroad into political action via consumer protests.[151] And though coffee did not feature prominently in abstention movements or anti-slavery rhetoric in the way sugar did, abolitionists mobilized the cultures of curiosity and collecting nurtured in coffeehouses to change Britons' understanding of what it meant to be corrupted by empire. In the process they helped

[149] Dawson, "First Impressions," 286.
[150] Sussman, 110-111.
[151] See Roberts, "Gender, Consumption, and Commodity Culture" and Victoria de Grazia with Ellen Furlough, eds., *The Sex of Things: Gender and Consumption in Historical Perspective* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996).

change the coffeehouse from a facilitator of suffering and national guilt to an instrument of redemption.

The Baptist's Head Coffee House, first established in 1760 and frequented by tradesmen, country gentlemen and gentlemen of the law, could be found on Aldermanbury, near Lincoln's Inn. Its proximity to those hallowed halls of law endeared it to Thomas Clarkson in the late 1780s, and led him to arrange "that [he] should always have one private room to [himself] when [he] wanted it...in order to be near [his] friend Richard Phillips of Lincoln's Inn." Clarkson relied on Phillips' "advice and assistance" in his fight to abolish the British slave trade—a goal that would be accomplished legally in 1807 after nearly half a century of concerted effort, thanks in large part to the mobilization of public support by an transatlantic network of abolitionists.[152] This network, built and maintained through genuine friendships and hospitality, extended far beyond those few famous members who leveraged their elite social connections and places in parliament to enact legal and legislative change.[153] Coffeehouses on both sides of the Atlantic hosted the meetings of various abolitionist societies, which were then recorded in newspapers circulated in these same spaces.[154]

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[152] Thomas Clarkson, *The History of the Rise, Progress, and Accomplishment of the Abolition of the African Slave-Trade by the British Parliament* (New York: J.S. Taylor, 1836), 1:178. The role of a prominent group of abolitionists in the complex history of British abolition has been debated by many, with some, like Eric Williams in his seminal work *Capitalism and Slavery* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1944), crediting the decline of West Indian economies with the abolition of the slave trade. While the work of Seymour Drescher, specifically with *Econocide,* and others have disproven the main thrust of Williams' thesis, modern scholarship focused on abolition stresses the movement's composite nature. For the various facets of abolitionism see Sussman, *Consuming Anxieties;* Brown, *Moral Capital*; Drescher, *Capitalism and Antislavery: British Mobilization in Comparative Perspective* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987); Michael Craton, *Testing the Chains: Resistance to Slavery in the British West Indies* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1982); David Brion Davis, *The Problem of Slavery in the Age of Revolution, 1770-1823* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1975).

[153] Brown, *Moral Capital*; J.R. Oldfield, *Popular Politics and British Anti-Slavery: The Mobilisation of Public Opinion Against the Slave Trade, 1787-1807* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995).

[154] E.g. *World (1787)* (London, England), Monday, November 17, 1788; Issue 588. *17th-18th Century Burney Collection Newspapers.*

Thomas Clarkson, close friend and moral conscience of many MPs, bridged the upper echelons of the abolitionist movement and the mass mobilization that helped galvanize the movement on a national level. In addition to being part of the nexus of the abolitionist movement—his pamphlet, *An Essay of the Slavery and Commerce of the Human Species, Particularly the African*, proved instrumental in recruiting William Wilberforce to the cause—Clarkson completed three extensive tours of England, with petitions and abolitionist publications following in his wake.[155] That Clarkson, in serving as this link between the public and Parliament, took it upon himself to curate a portable cabinet of curiosities, meant to display both the rich potential of African industry and the horrors of the slave trade, is significant. Clarkson's impulse to collect tangible pieces of evidence and present them to the public and as evidence to Parliamentary committees went beyond a desire to illicit sentiment in viewers. It indicated a faith in the persuasive and redemptive nature of visual and material evidence.

In his *History of the Rise, Progress, and Accomplishment of the Abolition of the African Slave-Trade by the British Parliament*, Clarkson laid out the goals with which he began his first tour of the nation. They included gathering as much information as possible "relative to the manner of obtaining slaves on the continent of Africa" and their transport across the Middle Passage, as well as determining "the natural productions of Africa" and, ideally, obtaining "specimens" in order to form "a cabinet or collection."[156] Clarkson also interviewed dozens of former and current captains and seamen involved in the slave trade, intent on providing Parliament with testimony regarding the "destructive" nature of the

[155] Ellen Gibson Wilson, *Thomas Clarkson: A Biography* (New York: St Martin's Pree, 1990), 21-22, 29-38.

[156] Clarkson, *History*, 1:223.

trade in terms of British life.[157] But he remained convinced of the primacy of visual, tangible evidence. "Testimony now," he wrote, "might not be testimony forever," referring to the prolonged nature of the abolitionists' fight. Individuals could die, change their minds, or relay their experiences in a less compelling manner, but evidence, "once collected...would be evidence for posterity."[158] It is also important to note that the success of Clarkson's curated 'traveling museum' depended on the British public's ability to recognize and receive it as legitimate evidence. The *virtuosi*, along with other members of the so-called Scientific Revolution, amassed breathtaking collections of goods and specimens, but it was the public display of similar cabinets of curiosities in coffeehouses and (some of) their homes that helped familiarize Britons with the experience of interacting with objects imbued with meaning, if not context.

Clarkson's cabinet possessed two main categories of goods. The first included specimens indicative of the wealth of natural resources available on the African continent and manufactured goods produced by various African people groups. A loom and spindle, dyed cloth, woven rope, soaps, gold jewelry and trinkets, leather bags and sandals, showcasing the "genius and talents" of Africans, served as evidence of "what Africa was capable of affording instead of the Slave-trade." Rather than encouraging the various kingdoms and communities of the African continent to kidnap one another in order to trade with Europeans, Clarkson desired Britain to lead the way in stimulating 'true' industry along the African coast.[159] Alongside these African manufactures were goods that exemplified the rich continental resources. An entire division of the box contained only polished varieties of wood, including "mahogany of five different sorts" and "bork and

[157] Clarkson, *History*, 2:15-16.
[158] Ibid., 3:6.
[159] Ibid., 2:13-14.

quellé," which "were apparently fit for cabinet work." The collection also boasted ivory and musk, four species of pepper ("the long, the black, the Cayenne, and the Malaguetta"), rubber, cinnamon, rice, indigo, cotton, corn, beans, and a variety of "pulse, seeds, and fruits of various kinds."[160] All of these items, Clarkson believed, represented commodities "in which a new and valuable trade might be opened."[161]

Clarkson's search for an alternative means of profitable trade can, and to a degree should, be read as a calculating, pragmatic attempt to find a path to moral reform while maintaining Britain's economic standing. As we know, supporting the anti-slavery movement did not equate to being pro-black, and many abolitionists' beliefs about race remained detrimentally problematic. But it is also important to note that Clarkson and his fellow abolitionists were operating in a well-established tradition of British imperial thought, which held that legitimate empire must be driven by virtue and utility. Recognizing this fact is key to understanding the transition from a British empire driven by supposedly moral economics to a British imperialism dedicated to exporting and enforcing a very particular code of ethics around the globe. Abolitionists sat at the threshold of this evolution, arguing that by forgoing morally questionable trade practices, Britain might serve as a paragon of moral superiority on the international stage. To make such an argument they needed to convince metropolitan Britons, who remained removed from the most brutal realities of their empire, that their immortal British souls were at risk.

To that end, the second category of goods in Clarkson's collection included the "instruments used in [the] cruel traffic." While in Liverpool, Clarkson bought "a pair of the iron hand-cuffs with which the men slaves [were] confined," a pair of corresponding leg

[160] Clarkson, *History*, 2:164-165.
[161] Ibid., 2: 13.

shackles, a thumb-screw used for punishment "in case of obstinacy in slaves," and a "speculum oris," used to pry open the jaws of "sulky" slaves who refused to eat.[162] At some point during his travels he added "iron neck collars" and "other instruments of punishment and confinement" to his collection.[163] In his *History*, Clarkson clarified that he collected such tortuous devices "not because it was difficult to conceive how the unhappy victims of the execrable trade" suffered, but rather "to show the fact" that suffering did, in fact, take place. That slaves "did not leave their own countries willingly," and that there existed a "fear, either that they would make their escape, or punish their oppressors" served, in Clarkson's mind, as evidence of the corrupt nature of the slave trade.[164] "Using our liberty," he told a crowd in Manchester, "as a cloak of maliciousness" would only lead to "heavy national judgment." Alternatively, "endeavoring to succor the distressed," namely, Africans forced into labor for Britain's economic gain, might yet ensure "that the stain of the blood of Africa is not upon us."[165]

For Clarkson, visual and material evidence could be a catalyst for moral contemplation, which might in turn lead to moral action. By cultivating relationships with sailors, maritime physicians, and colonial agents for the purposes of collecting both knowledge and objects, abolitionists like Thomas Clarkson mobilized the established practices of the *virtuosi* and other men of science. Abolitionists fused the enlightened philosophies of the *virtuosi* with their own religious beliefs regarding Providence and a shifting imperial identity at the dawn of the nineteenth century.

Thus, even as the virtuosi moved, at the end of the century, out of the coffeehouses and into private clubs and societies, the culture of curiosity and collecting as a means to

[162] Clarkson, *History*, 2:9-12.
[163] Ibid., 2:166.
[164] Ibid., 2: 10.
[165] Ibid., 2:46-47.

knowledge and virtue persisted. Where the *virtuosi* sought to make up for the "loss of Eden," abolitionists saw the opportunity to "bring Christianity into politics" and to make the whole nation of Britain worthy of the blessings Providence saw fit to bestow on them.[166] Particularly after abolitionists' initial campaign in the late 1780s, Britons had no excuse for their continued participation in the slave trade. At the same time, the American Revolution complicated Britons' ability to attribute their "success in earlier wars to Divine favor" by forcing them to reckon with what appeared to be divine judgment. In the midst of such self-doubt it is easy to see how the slave trade, "so obviously questionable in moral terms, and so productive of worldly profit and luxury," was interpreted as a similar liability.[167] The iniquity of the slave trade implicated all Britons through the concept of "collective guilt"—a fact that moved early Quaker abolitionists to traverse their own social boundaries to "launch a wider campaign against slavery."[168]

Quakers' general interest in science as a means of observing God's hand in creation, combined with their well-established transatlantic networks allowed many Friends to inhabit a liminal space between the intellectual and spiritual communities of their time. Consequently, in their fight against slavery, many Quakers managed to deploy "the Enlightenment language of liberty, benevolence, and humanity" even as they framed their views with the vocabulary of "guilt, wrath, punishment, and atonement."[169] Anthony Benezet, a Quaker and a founder of transatlantic abolitionist initiatives, asked, "must we

[166] Brown, "Christianity and the Campaign Against Slavery and the Slave Trade," 528; Burton, "British Evangelicals, Economic Warfare and the Abolition of the Atlantic Slave Trade," 201; James Stephen, *The Dangers of the Country* (London, 1807).

[167] Colley, 360; Brown, *Moral Capital*.

[168] John Coffey, "'Tremble, Britannia!': Fear, Providence and the Abolition of the Slave Trade, 1758-1807," *The English Historical Review* 127, no. 527 (August 2012): 844-881, quoted 851.

[169] Coffey, "'Tremble, Britannia!'" 853.

not tremble to think what a load of guilt lies upon our nation?"[170] For Quakers, progress and improvement required spiritual repentance—Britain had no hope of regaining providential favor if it did not tend to its wickedness. "Remember," cautioned Benjamin Rush in 1773, "that national crimes require national punishments."[171]

"Every man who gives a vote in favour of the abolition of the Slave trade, helps to save his country from divine vengeance." [172] So said the Reverend James Ramsay, an Anglican minister and abolitionist, twenty years before abolition of the trade became a legislative reality. But the words of men like Ramsay pointed to a way forward for individual Britons regarding the dangers of the slave trade. In actively fighting to end it, Britons might find "the Path to true Glory," and confirm their identity as "uniquely favored" via their "devotion to liberty."[173] The 1836 edition of Clarkson's *History* was the first installment in the "Cabinet of Freedom" series put out by the publisher, fusing the tradition of collecting and Britain's great tradition of liberty. The 'Cabinet' appeared after the emancipation of Britain's slaves, and therefore focused its efforts on "the character and consequences of American slavery." The "Prospectus of the Cabinet of Freedom" thought it "natural and proper that the citizens of a free country should carefully investigate the nature of an institution necessarily affecting the moral and political welfare of themselves," and contemplate "what conduct respecting it is required."[174] Within the span of fifty years, Britain went from reckoning with its own moral convictions to attempting to regulate the trade practices of its former colonies.

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[170] Anthony Benezet, *A Caution and a Warning to Great Britain and her Colonies* (Philadelphia, 1766), 33.

[171] Benjamin Rush, An Address to the Inhabitants of the British Settlements on the Slavery of Negroes (Philadelphia, 1773), 26-28.

[172] James Ramsay, An Address on the Proposed Bill for the Abolition of the Slave Trade (London, 1788), 39-41.

[173] Brown, Moral Capital, 35, 47.

[174] Clarkson, History, 1:1.

This is not to say that abolitionists adopted this utilitarian-providential perspective in a vacuum—as Linda Colley has shown, the end of the eighteenth century and early decades of the nineteenth century saw a crystalizing British identity predicated on being a chosen nation and therefore called to maintain its moral superiority.[175] This process had as much to do with various wars with France, the American Revolution, and Britain's rapid industrialization as it did the slave trade or the beliefs of evangelical abolitionists. But the abolitionists managed to combine many of the same elements as did the *virtuosi*—dedication to collection and visual evidence, commitment to a utilitarian philosophy of empire, and a belief in Britain's providential blessing—in the pursuit of their reform agenda. The *virtuosi* changed the nature of public sociability through their patronage of the coffeehouse, and abolitionists built on those new forms of sociability to change the very moral fiber of the nation. It was an endeavor that continued throughout the nineteenth century, and it led to heated debate over the government's role in orchestrating the economy.

[175] Colley, *Britons.*

CHAPTER III

"FREE LABOUR SUGAR" IN A "CUP OF GOOD SLAVE-GROWN COFFEE"

Abolition of the British slave trade finally occurred in 1807, though it would be another twenty-six years before slavery itself came to a legal end in the empire. The formerly enslaved waited another five years after that, enduring the deceptively named system of apprenticeship, before achieving full emancipation in 1838. In other empires, nations, and states, chattel slavery continued into the 1880s, to say nothing of the forms of slavery that continue to plague the world today. This gradual and uneven movement away from large-scale coercive labor regimes facilitated more surreptitious systems of smuggling and subcontracting, but it also provided an opportunity for anti-slavery sentiments to evolve, diversify, and become entangled with other social and economic issues.

In *Freedom Burning*, Richard Huzzey presents an alternative to the "dominant view of historians" concerning the period after the passage of the Act for the Abolition of Slavery in 1833. Rather than framing the post-emancipation era as one of "anti-slavery decline," Huzzey insists "it was an era of anti-slavery pluralism" in which those policies that favored imperial expansion triumphed over others in an official, institutionalized capacity.[176] With the loss of a unifying goal, and the issue of slavery's incompatibility with Britain's "national freedom" resolved, a splintering occurred in the ranks of anti-slavery campaigners, and Britons were left to grapple with the question of how much they were

[176] Richard Huzzey, Freedom Burning: Anti-Slavery and Empire in Victorian Britain (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2012), 6-7.

willing to sacrifice for the well-being of her majesty's imperial subjects, particularly when it came to the price of colonial goods.[177]

Between their introduction to Britain in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and the debates over best taxation practices in the mid-nineteenth century, coffee, tea, tobacco, and chocolate, in addition to sugar, stopped being categorized as luxuries and instead came to be thought of as "ordinary necessaries and comforts of life."[178] This cultural reclassification made them the perfect tools with which to convince Britons of the moral consequences of slavery. Commodities produced by slaves became "emblems of unimaginable suffering," and consuming them could mean consuming the actual blood and sweat of the enslaved.[179] Anxieties over the moral and cultural consequences of consuming colonial goods certainly continued, particularly in debates over slave- versus free-labor products, but by the dawn of the nineteenth century the social and economic benefits of these products had been satisfactorily established. The prices of these Anglicized goods, however, became a divisive issue in both the forum of public opinion and the hallowed halls of Parliament.

Debates over protectionism and free trade revealed increasingly demarcated lines between the interests of metropolitan Britons and imperial subjects. Historians, including Simon Morgan, Richard Huzzey, Seymour Drescher, and Catherine Hall, have debated whether the triumph of free trade policies spelled the demise of British anti-slavery

[177] Huzzey, Freedom Burning, 8-9.
[178] Russell, 10, 27.
[179] Charlotte Sussman, *Consuming Anxieties: Consumer Protest, Gender, and British Slavery, 1713-1833* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2000), 16.

efforts.[180] Drescher and Hall frame the "forward march of free trade" as an overwhelming force against which abolitionism could not stand.[181] Huzzey, arguing for anti-slavery pluralism, sees the triumph of free trade as the victory of one type of anti-slavery over another, and stresses the importance of taking seriously "free traders' argument that their policies would advance anti-slavery interests."[182] But it is also important to note the ways in which free trade ideologies themselves gained traction as a result of an extended period of peace and the success of abolitionist efforts.[183]

After the end of the Napoleonic Wars, Britain enjoyed a century of "peace and 'small wars'" that left Britons without a common enemy against which they might rally.[184] And after the abolition of slavery and the end of apprenticeship in 1838, it became increasingly difficult to set aside the plight of Britons for the sake of the formerly enslaved. In Seymour Drescher's words, "it was now a matter of comparing like with like, free laborers with free laborers, consumers and consumers, and Britons at home with Creoles in

[180] Simon Morgan, "The Anti-Corn Law League and British Anti-Slavery in Transatlantic Perspective, 1838-1846," *The Historical Journal* 52, no. 1 (March 2009), pp. 87-107; Richard Huzzey, "Free Trade, Free Labour, and Slave Sugar in Victorian Britain," *The Historical Journal* 52, no. 2 (June 2010), pp. 359-379; Seymour Drescher, *The Mighty Experiment: Free Labor Versus Slavery in British Emancipation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002); Catherine Hall, *Civilising Subjects: Metropole and Colony in the English Imagination, 1830-1867* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002).

[181] Huzzey, "Free Trade, Free Labour," 361; Hall, *Civilising Subjects*, 338-339.

[182] Huzzey, "Free Trade, Free Labour," 360-361.

[183] There has also been extensive attention paid to the relationship between British anti-slavery and imperialism. See Lauren Benton and Lisa Ford, *Rage for Order: The British Empire and the Origins of International Law, 1800-1850* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2016; Lauren Benton, "Abolition and Imperial Law, 1790-1820," *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 39, 3 (2011): 355-374; Seymour Drescher, "Emperors of the World: British Abolitionism and Imperialism," in Derek Peterson, ed., *Abolitionism and Imperialism in Britain, Africa, and the Atlantic* (Ohio University Press, 2010), 128-149; Robin Law, "Abolition and Imperialism: International Law and the British Suppression of the Atlantic Slave Trade," in Derek Peterson, ed., *Abolitionism and Imperialism in Britain, Africa, and the Atlantic* (Ohio University Press, 2010), 150-174; Marcel van der Linden, "Unanticipated Consequences of 'Humanitarian Intervention': The British Campaign to Abolish the Slave Trade, 1807-1900," in "Special Issues in Memory of Charles Tilly (1929-2008): Cities, States, Trust, and Rule, special issue, *Theory and Society* 39, no. 3/4 (May 2010): 281-298.

[184] Andrew Porter, "Introduction: Britain and the Empire in the Nineteenth Century" in *The Oxford History of the British Empire: The Nineteenth Century*, vol. 3 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 10.

the Caribbean."[185] Wartime and the fight to abolish both the trade and institution of slavery made it easier to maintain protectionist policies in the name of national security, victory, and moral consciousness. But when the struggles of war no longer necessitated a closed economic system, and when the sacrifices required to prove the productivity of free labor came head to head with the struggles of the domestic poor, free trade found previously inaccessible footholds. Without a unifying purpose—be it war or altruism—and with class-based grievances becoming harder to ignore, what happened when the demands of colonial subjects and the desires of metropolitan Britons were at odds?

Want of a Market

In 1808 Edgar Corrie, a Liverpudlian merchant brewer and corn factor, published a collection of his letters to Chancellors of the Exchequer Henry Addington and Spencer Perceval written between 1803 and 1808. The letters argued for a reduction of customs and excise duties on coffee to 2 pence (*d.*). In 1803 coffee stood at 5*d.* per pound as customs duty and 13*d.* excise tax, bringing the total duty to 1 shilling (*s.*) 6*d.* for domestic consumption.[186] With customs being paid by planters and merchants to the customs house as their goods entered Britain, British consumers were left with the bulk of the expense in the form of the excise. In arguing for such a radical reduction in duties, Corrie emphasized the importance of cultivating a taste for coffee in the most populous segment of British society: the "industrious classes."[187] Doing so would both provide "the hard-working

[185] Drescher, *The Mighty Experiement*, 162.
[186] Edgar Corrie, *Letters on the Subject of the Duties on Coffee* (London, 1808), 8.
[187] Corrie, *Letters*, 12.

people" of Britain with "the nourishment of Coffee" and "improve the revenue on Coffee effectually."[188]

Corrie admitted that his plan might require an initial sacrifice on the part of the national revenue, but, he chided, "in order to reap, it is necessary to sow."[189] Eventually, a habit for drinking coffee "of a good quality and proper strength" would take hold at every level of society. Corrie emphasized the need for Britons to improve their taste when it came to coffee, despairing over the "weak beverage which [passed] under the name of Coffee." Travel narratives, such as the Reverend Charles P. Moritz of Berlin's *Travels through various Parts of England,* often included descriptions of the "brown water" served in English inns and coffeehouses. In Corrie's view, rising consumption, paired with a complementary increase in sugar consumption, would result in both the relief of West Indian planters and an increased revenue.[190]

Corrie's early nineteenth-century letters were merely the latest installment in a longstanding endeavor to make coffee drinking a more general British habit. Such efforts dated back to the mid-eighteenth century, even predating the reduction of tea duties after the War of Austrian Succession, which caused coffee consumption to plateau while the consumption of tea rose. As far back as the 1730s, only a few years after coffee began being cultivated by a British colony, merchants and planters consolidated their funds to create metropolitan interest groups that might lobby parliament "to promote coffee planting through tariff preference." Colonial officials created promotional materials "to raise

[188]Corrie, *Letters*, 11-12.
[189] Ibid., 14.
[190] Ibid., 22-24, 46.

awareness about the plight of [coffee] planters" and further reduce "the rate of coffee duty relative to tea."[191]

In 1812, in the midst of the Napoleonic Wars, a group of West India planters and Liverpool merchants presented a petition to Parliament asking that the duty on sugar be lowered "until the conclusion of a general peace" re-opened European markets to British sugar. The rest of the petition, however, attempted to "call the attention of the House to the distresses under which the coffee planters have laboured for some time," thanks in large part to the "want of a market for that article" in Britain.[192] Britain re-exported the majority of the coffee it imported, and the coffee it did keep often did not originate in British colonies. Jamaican Blue Mountain coffee might be coveted today, but nineteenth-century Britons preferred coffee from the Levant, French territories, and Brazil.

With most of Britain's typical export markets closed due to war, the petitioners saw "but one mode of relief"—the encouragement "by every possible means" of the consumption of British plantation coffee by metropolitan Britons. High duties and complicated Customs and Excise regulations acted as "considerable obstacles" to the petitioners' hopes, however, and they therefore asked Parliament to repeal the "Excise duty now payable on British plantation coffee taken for home consumption" and to remove "the Excise regulations on the sale and [movement] of coffee."[193] Duties on British plantation coffee never fell as low as Corrie's desired 2*d.*, though after 1825 they also never rose above 6*d.* again. Perhaps Corrie and other British coffee advocates eventually convinced the government that any attempt to raise "an adequate revenue on Coffee by a system of

[191] S.D. Smith, "Accounting for Taste: British Coffee Consumption in Historical Perspective," *The Journey of Interdisciplinary History* 27, no. 2 (Autumn, 1996): 183-214, quoted from 196, 202.

[192] "Petition from Liverpool Respecting West India Produce, 19 March 1812," Hansard, accessed April 26, 2019, https://api.parliament.uk/historic-hansard/commons/1812/mar/19/petition-from-liverpool-respecting-west.

[193] "Petition from Liverpool Respecting West India Produce."

excessive duties" was a "vain attempt," damaging the well-being of planters and forcing Britons to drink a sub-par beverage, thereby depriving them of the "nourishment of Coffee."[194] But perhaps the lowering of duties on coffee had to do with a larger debate over free trade and protectionist economic policies. Sales of coffee, along with tea and wine, seemed to prove correct the argument that lower duties led to increased consumption, thereby providing a larger overall revenue.

In 1817 Henry Brougham, a reform-minded MP who had previously fought against the slave trade, gave an extended Parliamentary speech on the need for economic reform following the end of the Napoleonic Wars.[195] Such reform, he argued, needed to include relief for the poor and "manufacturing" classes in the form of reduced duties and taxes. Doing so would not only result in greater access to goods for the poor (thereby keeping them off the lists for parish relief), but would also benefit the government's revenue. "In 1805," he railed, coffee duties "were raised one third, and that year their produce fell off an eighth." When the duty was eventually lowered, however, "immediate effects" could be seen. The average annual revenue under the high duty came in at £166,000, while the average annual revenue after the reduction was £195,000. "As the addition has the effect something of diminishing," Brougham reasoned, "subtraction seems to increase the sum, in the arithmetic of finance."[196]

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[194] Corrie, *Letters*, 1-2, 11.

[195] "Brougham, Henry Peter, first Baron Brougham and Vaux," Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, accessed April 30, 2019, https://doi-org.proxy.library.vanderbilt.edu/10.1093/ref:odnb/3581. Brougham was known for his long speeches and still holds the record for longest, non-stop speech in the House. In February 1828 he spoke for six uninterrupted hours on the need for law reform. "Parliamentary Business, 8 May 1989, Column 581," Hansard, accessed April 30, 2019, https://publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm198889/cmhansrd/1989-05-08/Debate-3.html.

[196] "State of the Trade and Manufactures of the Country, 13 March 1817," Hansard, accessed April 30, 2019, https://api.parliament.uk/historic-hansard/commons/1817/mar/13/state-of-the-trade-and-manufactures-of.

Unlike Corrie and the West Indian planters, however, coffee was not Brougham's only interest. "The period is now arrived," he told his colleagues, "when, with the war being closed…it becomes absolutely necessary to enter upon a careful but fearless revision of our whole commercial system." As the British Empire expanded, the policies and regulations put in place proved "unsuited to the advanced age" in which nineteenth-century Britons found themselves. The structures of finance produced a system in which one might find "much money in the market of stocks, floating debt, and discounts, only because there is little or no employment for it in trade."

Brougham, a liberal reformer at heart, focused on the impact such systems had on underprivileged Britons, but he was not alone in believing that "the old mercantile system [had] long been exploded." In the minds of such reformers, Britain could no longer afford to abide by mercantilism's "grand moto:" "All trade, and no barter; all selling, and no buying; all for money, and nothing for goods."[197] In fighting against the "scene of misery" that was life for London's poor, Brougham linked economic reform to the moral soul of the nation. He ended his speech with a prayer that he might "live to see England once more holding her steady course in the direction of a liberal, a manly, and honest, an English policy" because "our honour and fame demand it."[198]

Growing Pains

In an effort to keep British agriculture afloat following the end of the Napoleonic Wars, parliament passed the Corn Laws, a set of tariffs and other trade restrictions that kept grain prices high in order to favor domestic producers over foreign imports. Protectionist

[197] "State of the Trade, 13 March 1817," Hansard.
[198] Ibid.

economic policies like the Corn Laws and high duties on foreign sugar following the abolition of British slavery revealed fault lines between metropolitan and colonial subjects, especially in light of increasing awareness of the squalid conditions in which many members of the British working class lived. Thomas Carlyle observed in 1843 that the "Condition of England" was "justly regarded as one of the most ominous and withal...ever seen in this world," and a period of severe economic depression and unemployment rom 1837 to 1843 left many wondering if, in spite of their best efforts, Britain "was rapidly heading in the wrong direction...to complete national self-destruction."[199]

The second quarter of the nineteenth century marked a "point at which inequality and absolute poverty" peaked in Britain. Roy Porter has classified London development in the Victorian period as "unbound, a free-for-all," as "few Victorian landlords could afford to be choosy about precisely when and how" their properties were developed. That the City of London refused to take responsibility for "the town beyond its limits" might explain why government intervention on the national level became so necessary.[200] Improved methods of road transport facilitated greater freedom of movement even as it created horrendous traffic problems. Railways connected Great Britain in unprecedented ways at the expense of a "staggering quantity" of working-class housing. Overcrowding, particularly in the poorer areas of cities, led to increased health hazards and squalor, making the 1840s one of the worst decades for life expectancy "since the Black Death in those parishes that were undergoing urbanization and industrialization" due to diseases like cholera, typhus, tuberculosis, and dysentery.[201]

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[199] David Cannadine, *Victorious Century: The United Kingdom, 1800-1906* (London: Allen Lane, 2017), 202-203.

[200] Roy Porter, *London: A Social History* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1998), 207.

[201] Cannadine, *Victorious Century*, 203.

Working class political activists, like Richard Cobden, the unofficial leader of the Anti-Corn Law League, framed the suffering of poor Britons as a result of overly influential colonial interests in government.[202] In Cobden's view, it was high time that those in power prioritize the needs of the British poor over those of the planters and the formerly enslaved. Cobden's radical perspective diverged from the views of his contemporary Joseph Sturge, who maintained a commitment to "ameliorating the suffering of black slaves in foreign lands," leading Cobden to tell Sturge that "you will help most effectually to strike the shackles from the slave in America, & from our *white slaves* here at the same time."[203] For Britons like Cobden, the ability of anti-slavery and free trade to coexist depended on the ultimate prioritization of British interests over those of the colonies. British philanthropists needed to make "common cause against the common enemy of the human race, the oppressor and the tyrant, whether he forge the fetters for the negro, or draw his unhallowed and accursed wealth from the blood and bones of exhausted Britons."[204] Cobden thought free trade had the potential to "bring about a system of peaceful international relations based on freedom of trade," thereby creating a state of interdependence that would make war "impossible" and facilitate the inter-imperial cooperation required to effectively end slavery.[205]

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[202] Cobden focused his efforts on the repeal of the Corn Laws, but his critiques of the existing imperial economic system paradoxically complemented Whig efforts to foment a "populist attack on the vested interests of colonial planters rather than assault on the agricultural interest in Britain." For more, see John M. Talbot, "On the Abandonment of Coffee Plantations in Jamaica after Emancipation," *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 43, no. 1 (2015): 33-57, quoted 158.

[203] Simon Morgan, "The Anti-Corn Law League and British Anti-Slavery in Transatlantic Perspective, 1838-1846," *The Historical Journal* 52, no. 1 (March 2009): 87-107; Cobden to Sturge, 20 February 1841 in A. Howe, ed., *The Letters of Richard Cobden* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 1:214-16.

[204] *Anti-Corn Law Circular*, 30 July 1840; letter excerpted form the *Patriot*, 20 July 1840, quoted in Morgan, "The Anti-Corn Law League and British Anti-Slavery," 95.

[205] Morgan, "The Anti-Corn Law League and British Anti-Slavery," 94; Benton, "Abolition and Imperial Law," 360-362.

But before Britons could truly adopt a commercial policy of free trade, they first had to achieve and come to terms with the freedom of the enslaved. Embedded in an Atlantic economy still driven by slave labor, coffee's role in debates over free trade shifted after the abolition of slavery in the British Empire in 1833. Jamaican coffee production had grown in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, becoming the second largest industry on the island after sugar and its byproducts. Coffee exports made up just over a quarter of the island's exports between 1805 and 1830, and by 1832 coffee plantations accounted for 14.4% of Jamaica's slave labor.[206] But the gradual adoption of free trade policies in the 1840s decimated Jamaican coffee production. The duty on Ceylon coffee was lowered in 1835, "thereby according it similar status with British West Indian coffee." In 1842 the duty on British West Indian, Ceylonese, and East Indian coffee, as well as the duty on foreign coffee, was reduced, causing supplies of coffee to flood international markets, which led to coffee prices falling "by as much as 50% between 1840 and 1850." Between 1842 and 1848 at least 159 coffee plantations went out of production.[207] Though planters eventually reconstructed the Jamaican coffee industry around smaller, better-cultivated plantations that produced internationally renowned beans, following emancipation metropolitan attention shifted to coffee production in the East Indies.[208]

In 1846, under the leadership of Robert Peel, Parliament repealed both the despised Corn Laws and the longstanding Navigation Acts in a move toward openness in world trade they hoped would serve as "example of liberality to other countries."[209] In the same year sugar duties, which effectively banned foreign sugar from Britain's domestic markets

[206] Kathleen E.A. Monteith, "Emancipation and Labour on Jamaican Coffee Plantations, 1838-1848," *Slavery and Abolition* 21, no. 3 (December 2000): 125-135.

[207] Monteith, "Emancipation on Jamaican Coffee Plantations," 131.

[208] For more on the survival of the Jamaican coffee industry following emancipation, see Talbot, "On the Abandonment of Coffee Plantations."

[209] C.S. Parker, *Sir Robert Peel from his Private Papers* (1891-9), 3:587.

in order to protect the fledgling free societies of the West Indies, were equalized. These reforms gave Britons access to cheap corn, sugar, and imports from around the world. But the transition to such decisive free trade policies was not uncontested. Once again, West Indian sugar and coffee planters petitioned Parliament for relief, begging for protectionist duties on foreign commodities. But without a common cause or enemy to unite metropole and periphery, the distance between colonial and domestic interests loomed large. Protectionists framed the question of preferential duties as "a moral choice between free labor and free trade," while free traders maintained that "unwonted interference with the natural (and therefore divine) law of free trade" prevented commerce from facilitating the peace and prosperity of all.[210]

The mobilization of moral capital, in the words of Christopher Brown, "draws attention to the ways that moral distinction can become a source for power in the world, the ways that it facilitates and legitimates action."[211] Only eight years into the great experiment with emancipation, the example of Britain's economy was of the upmost importance, as it could either have a beneficial or detrimental effect on anti-slavery efforts throughout the rest of the world. But with the great sin of slavery struck down, the details of what it meant to be an economically moral nation and empire came up for grabs. In ending slavery, production in the British West Indies stopped being an economic question and became an expression of "noneconomic welfare," in the same category as "public health, national

[210] Drescher, *The Mighty Experiment,* 164; Simon Morgan, "The Anti-Corn Law League and British Anti-Slavery in Transatlantic Perspective, 1838-1846," *The Historical Journal* 52, no.1 (March 2009): 87-107. Boyd Hilton points out that the belief in free trade's ability to ensure universal peace "was not just a pious theory but an important source of national reassurance" after 1815, given the extreme degree of cuts to military spending after the end of the Napoleonic Wars. Hilton, *A Mad, Bad, and Dangerous People?*, 558.

[211] Christopher Leslie Brown, *Moral Capital: Foundations of British Abolitionism* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press for the Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture, 2006), 457; John Kane, *The Politics of Moral Capital* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 7.

defense, security, and public morality."[212] With domestic and colonial interests at odds, could Britons retain their perceived moral superiority on the international stage?

Coffee Hypocrisies

In 1841 Lord John Russell—still five years away from his first stint as Prime Minister—critiqued what he thought of as hypocritical anti-slavery policies. "Where is the philanthropist who will tell me," he asked the House of Commons, "'I have a cup of good slave-grown coffee, and by putting a lump of free-labour sugar into it, I shall make the potation quite innoxious."[213] According to Russell, the question of maintaining protectionist duties on foreign sugar or equalizing all sugar duties should "not be looked at merely as a commercial or financial" issue, but rather as a "great national question."[214] In arguing against protectionist policies for West Indian sugar, Russell warned his fellow lords that if other great powers saw their "great commercial country" decide that "restriction and prohibition are the best maxims of commercial policy, they will quote that example for their own guidance," and Britain's manufacturing interests would ultimately suffer. By supporting the introduction of foreign sugar, however, other nations would maintain access to Britain's markets, and, according to Russell, "the further you carry your bales of good and cases of hardware, the more widely will you diffuse that general knowledge, and maxims of civilization and Christianity, which belong to a nation which stands in the front rank for these qualities."[215]

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[212] Seymour Drescher, *The Mighty Experiment: Free Labor versus Slavery in British Emancipation* (Oxofrd: Oxford University Press, 2002), 163.

[213] Earl John Russell, *The speech of Lord John Russell, in the House of Commons, on Friday, the 7th of May, 1841* (London: J. and L.J. Hansard, 1841), 33.

[214] Russell, 2.

[215] Ibid., 38. It is important to note that such reciprocal arrangements were a long time coming, and even then they came about quite unevenly.

Russell framed the question of free trade as a choice for his fellow legislators to make. Would they prioritize former slaves, many of whom appeared to be "acquiring all the comforts of life" while the people of "this country" suffered from want and were obliged "to resort to the relief given to the poor as paupers?"[216] Russell and others nurtured domestic resentment of the high cost of freedom by juxtaposing "well-fed [former] slaves abroad" with "half-starved workers at home."[217] That protectionists did not extend the same standards to goods like coffee as they did sugar betrayed, in Russell's mind, their desire to "have something as like a monopoly as they can." If they would not allow foreign, slave-grown sugar, then "stop likewise the importation of coffee from the Brazils by the Cape of Good Hope."[218] But by trying to "bolster and cocker up a system of high prices and high wages in the colonies," to the "absolute exclusion of competition" in Britain's domestic markets, protectionists failed to see that "commerce *alone* was 'the great emancipator.'"[219]

Secondary crops like coffee provided free traders with convenient counterpoints in debates with protectionist advocates fighting to keep sugar tariffs in place. Even considering the rate of growth in Jamaican coffee production at the beginning of the nineteenth century, coffee, along with cattle, indigo, cotton, and timber, remained "relegated to [a] secondary [role]" in Britain's West Indian economy.[220] Unlike their French and Dutch counterparts, the volatile nature of the coffee market, the allure of sugar fortunes, and restrictive tax systems prevented any sustainable coffee boom from occurring

[216]Russell, 17, 27.

[217] Seymour Drescher, *The Mighty Experiment: Free Labor versus Slavery in British Emancipation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 162.

[218] Russell, *The speech*, 34.

[219] Drescher, *The Mighty Experiment*, 164.

[220] Verene Shepherd, ed., *Slavery Without Sugar: Diversity in Caribbean Economy and Society Since the 17th Century* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2002), 124.

on any of Britain's Caribbean islands.[221] Conveniently, coffee thrived on the very mountainsides that proved inhospitable to sugar cane, and did not require the acreage or number of laborers to turn a profit. Coffee consequently became known as the "poor man's crop."[222] Consequently, coffee did not generate the extensive network of metropolitan defenders as did sugar, nor did its cultivation become the subject of abolitionists' visual representations of the brutalities of slavery. Such comparative neglect allowed coffee and other secondary crops to fly under the radar when it came to protectionist tariffs rooted in anti-slavery efforts. This uneven association between abolitionist efforts and high duties made it easy for Britons to attribute high sugar prices to colonial interests rather than linking them to moral reform efforts.

Russell and others who argued for free trade by focusing attention on the state of domestic affairs thus successfully harnessed existing class-based tensions. Merchants and members of the gentry "over-committed to colonial markets" in the East and West Indies thrived in a protectionist economy, while the tenants of free trade stood to benefit those "already operating on the world market," as well as Britons without substantial spending power.[223] Isaac Robert Cruikshank tapped into these tensions to create the satirical print *John Bull Taking a Clear View of the Negro Slavery Question!!* (Figure 1). In the print, a man holds a sign, imploring members of the crowd to "Buy only East India Sugar," as any

[221] S.D. Smith, "Sugar's Poor Relation: Coffee Planting in the British West Indies, 1720-1833," *Slavery & Abolition* 19, no. 3 (1998): 69.

[222] Edgar Corrie estimated that ten to twenty slaves and two hundred acres of land could create a thriving business, while James Knight, a Jamaica planter, thought an individual could get by with only "five or six Negroes and a small tract of Land." Edgar Corrie, *Letters on the Subject of the Duties of Coffee* (London: T. Cadell and W. Davies, 1808), 8; James Knight, *The Natural Moral, and Political History of Jamaica* 2 vol. (London, 1746), 1:19. For a comprehensive look at coffee's role in Caribbean economies, see Michelle Craig McDonald, "Sea Change: Coffee and 'Plantations for the Poorer Sort" (paper presented at the annual conference of the Program in Early American Economy and Society, Philadelphia, PA, October 24-25, 2014), 3, 9-10.

[223] A.C. Howe, "Free Trade and the City of London, c. 1820-1870," *History* 77, no. 251 (October 1992): 391-410, quoted 405.

other sugar "tis Sinful." In his back pocket the man carries an invoice from "E.I. Sugar," implying that his convictions are nothing but a performance, bought and paid for. A Quaker holds up an image of a slave being brutally whipped, obscuring the view of John Bull, meant to represent the British public, of an island populated by festive slaves. In the midst of the sign carrying, petition-signing crowd sits an ostensibly British man and his family begging and holding a different kind of sign that reads, "Please do think on poor Pat." In a scene filled with questionable motives and deceptive means of persuasion, viewers' eyes are meant to be drawn to the poor white family whose circumstances are put on display without artifice.

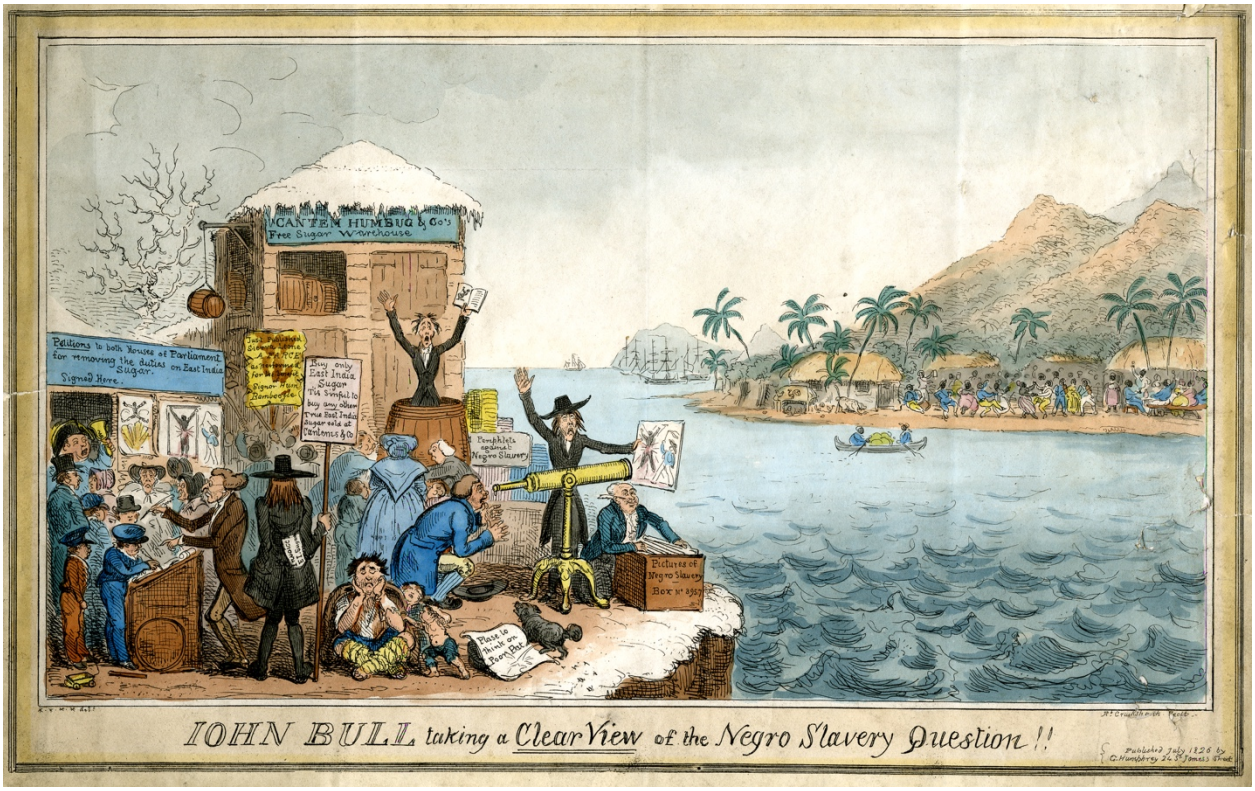

Figure 3.1. Isaac Robert Cruikshank, John Bull Taking a Clear View of the Negro Slavery Question!!, engraving (1826).
The Wilberforce House Museum, Hull.

Cruikshank's print "differentiated the object from the modes of visualization," calling into question the "strategies of visualization" employed by abolitionists to elicit empathy for the enslaved.[224] Abolitionists framed visual evidence as the means by which space between slave and Briton, producer and consumer, could be collapsed. Images, as well as the physical evidence collected by men like Thomas Clarkson, supposedly brought metropolitan Britons face-to-face with the suffering of slaves. Cruikshank argued, however, that visual evidence, removed from any sort of context and viewed by individuals with no first-hand experience of the subject matter, deluded a public "unable, because of the geography of empire, to see for itself."[225] While Cruikshank's critiques of such "strategies of visualization" were not enough to disrupt a growing trust in visual evidence rooted in scientific advancements, his images did contribute to an increasingly prominent "attack on the vested interests of colonial planters."[226]

Planters fought back, condemning free trade policies as "betrayals to faithful colonial subjects," and though the veritable flood of "broadsides, petitions, and memoranda that reflected these sentiments" were the result of planter meetings, the depression of the Caribbean economy was felt "most keenly, of course, among the region's working peoples."[227] In the end, however, arguments in favor of protection ultimately proved unable to withstand the weight of a resentful public, a government convinced that economic growth depended on "providing cheap food for the urban areas," and a providential

[224] Catherine Molineux, "Making the Middle Passage: Maritime Dimensions of Abolitionist Debate" in *Governing the Sea in the Early Modern Era: Essays in Honor of Robert C. Ritchie*, eds. Peter C. Mancall and Carole Shammas (San Marino: The Huntington Library, Art Collections, and Botanical Gardens, 2015), 275-309, quoted 302; Kriz, *Slavery, Sugar, and the Culture of Refinement*, 1-2.

[225] Molineux, "Making the Middle Passage," 299-300.

[226] Talbot, "On the Abandonment of Coffee Plantations," 158.

[227] Bonham C. Richardson, "Depression Riots and the Calling of the 1897 West India Royal Commission," *New West Indian Guide* 66, no. ¾ (1992): 169-191, quoted173-174.

imperial mandate offered by free trade ideologies.[228] Consequently, ideas concerning the nation's need to atone for its economic sins through a moral economic code gave way to ideas focused on an imperial project that facilitated "balanced economic growth, social harmony, political and constitutional order, and a peaceful international system based on the moral benefits of free exchange."[229]

Britons approached a transition to free trade in a variety of ways, which could largely be divided into two categories. The first, articulated by David Ricardo and other economists, was a secular sort of vision of "unlimited growth and progress" supported by "expansionist, industrialist, and cosmopolitan" tendencies. The second, identified by Boyd Hilton as "the more widespread and probably more influential," was more "cyclical, nationalist, [and] retributive," and saw competition "as a means to education rather than to growth."[230] As free trade triumphed, however, these two modes of thought seemed to coexist within an imperial mindset that conveniently allowed for the prioritization of domestic concerns as a means of achieving superiority over competing global powers. Open markets meant material and spiritual improvement for Britons, as well as the chance to "bolster British power within the world system" and shape that system in ways "that favoured Britain's economic power" via coercion and the dissemination of free trade ideologies.[231]

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[228] P.J. Cain, "Economics and Empire: The Metropolitan Context" in *The Nineteenth Century*, Roy Porter, ed., vol 3 of The *Oxford History of the British Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 40. That is not to say that protectionist policies wholly disappeared, only that the tides of public opinion and popular rhetoric had changed in favor of free trade.

[229] Howe, "Free Trade and the City of London," 400.

[230] Boyd Hilton, *The Age of Atonement: The Influence of Evangelicalism on Social and Economic Thought, 1795-1865* (Oxford:Clarendon Press, 1988), 69; Howe, "Free Trade and the City of London," 394.

[231] Anthony Howe, *Free Trade and Liberal England, 1846-1946* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), 21-23, quoted 22.

The shift away from protectionism towards free trade policies exported the structure of Britain's fiscal-military state to the colonies. Abolition of the slave trade, but especially of slavery itself, required a "strengthening [of] imperial jurisdiction" in order to check the power of planters and their allies in local governments.[232] That same drive to guard against arbitrary power became, in the aftermath of the Napoleonic Wars, a somewhat paradoxical impulse for reform in the metropole that required more significant government intervention. As the government began to loosen its grip on the economy it increased its presence in the day-to-day lives of Britons in attempts to answer the ever-present 'condition of England' question. These attempts included passing a new Poor Law in 1834 that set up workhouses for the purpose of poor relief, establishing and expanding preventative police forces, and making civil registration of births, marriages, and deaths compulsory. The Great Reform Act of 1832, which reformed Parliament and expanded the electorate, along with the appointment of prison inspectors, the restriction of the death penalty to violent crimes and treason, and the creation of numerous commission and committees of inquiry into various manifestations of "Old Corruption" can be read as victories for reformers looking to strengthen local communities and foster "responsible citizenship."[233]

Through Providence's blessing, Britain existed at the vanguard of a new world order based on liberty, industry, and moral uprightness. By doing away with protective tariffs, the British government facilitated "the operation of the providential order, with God-given rather than man-made pains and penalties."[234] Individual Britons, supposedly freed from the "economic bondage" demanded by protectionist economics, could pursue

[232] Lauren Benton and Lisa Ford, *Rage for Order: The British Empire and the Origins of International Law, 1800-1850* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2016), 10-11.
[233] Cannadine, 169-173.
[234] Howe, *Free Trade and Liberal England*, 9.

their own joy and happiness—with the help of benevolent, middle-class moral guides and interventionist government policies.[235] And through the perpetual growth promised by *laissez-faire* markets, supported by industrious Britons, and the pursuit of right behavior, Britain and her empire might become a beacon of light and inspiration for the world. But the ability of poor Britons to exercise agency over their lives did not extend to economic and consuming habits that might call into question the nation's virtue. In the mid-nineteenth century coffee became the star of parliamentary debates as the government attempted to regulate food and drink in ways that benefited both public health and the revenue. Legislators ran up against significant public resistance, however, when their attempts threatened Britons' subjective experience of coffee—its taste.

[235] Morgan, "Anti-Corn Law League and Anti-Slavery," 93; Hilton, *The Age of Atonement*, 15-17.

CHAPTER IV

POOR TASTE: SCIENCE AND CLASS IN A CUP OF COFFEE

In 1850, William Law wrote of a plant that had become "one of the standard discussions in the House of Commons." Some "honorable members" even carried out a "crusade against the use of the article." It was not corn or wheat, nor tea or opium that occupied Law's attention in his *History of Coffee*. The plant responsible for generating so much debate in Parliament was actually chicory, the roasted roots of which were habitually found mixed with coffee and passed off as pure, unadulterated coffee grounds. In May of 1849, Adam Young, a member of the Board of Inland Revenue's Chemical Department, wrote to the main office to tell them "no chemical means can enable us to distinguish chicory from coffee." The traditional method of testing solubility proved unreliable: highly roasted coffee dissolved in water the same way as chicory did. Young and other scientists employed by the government insisted that microscopic analysis could determine whether coarsely ground coffee was pure or adulterated, but such methods were useless in examining the finely ground coffee commonly sold by grocers. Therefore, according to Young, "adulteration [of coffee with chicory] might be practiced and yet scarcely a trace be observable."[236] A lack of reliable and efficient testing methods justified the government's policy of allowing the sale of unlabeled mixtures of coffee and chicory, a

[236] NA, CUST 119/426.

policy supported by a significant portion of the population that preferred the taste of such mixtures to unadulterated coffee.[237]

The prevalence of coffee in mid-century debates over adulteration and ethical trade practices is surprising given the lack of scholarly attention paid to coffee consumption after 1780. Most scholars of nineteenth-century Britain characterize coffee as an out-of-fashion commodity, eclipsed by tea in the hearts and cups of Britons.[238] Yet Britons spent three million pounds a year on coffee, and its role in debates over the ethics and practices of trade suggests it played a part in shaping regulatory legislation, moral understandings of the health consequences of trade practices, and the developing authority of expert scientific techniques of investigation into everyday life—all within the context of a government forced to reconcile domestic concerns with the demands of empire.[239] Coffee, a colonial crop, and chicory, which could be grown in Britain, reified tensions between the economic interests of metropolitan industrial classes and colonial producers. What many reformers and government officials saw as problematic and fraudulent trade practices, many working-class Britons viewed as legitimate means of making colonial commodities more palatable and affordable.

The advent of microscopic analysis of coffee in 1850 made the epidemic nature of its adulteration visible, as well as the fact that coffee sold to the working classes suffered from adulteration more frequently. A group of scientists concerned with microscopic

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[237] Smith, S.D. "Coffee, Microscopy, and the Lancet's Analytical Sanitary Commission." *Social History of Medicine* 14, no. 2 (2001): 179.

[238] Erika Rappaport, *A Thirst for Empire: How Tea Shaped the Modern World* (New Haven: Princeton University Press, 2017); Markman Ellis, *The Coffee House: A Cultural History* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 2004), 209-224; S. D. Smith, "Accounting for Taste: British Coffee Consumption in Historical Perspective," *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 27, no. 2 (October 1, 1996): 183-184; Aytoun Ellis, *The Penny Universities: A History of the Coffee-Houses* (London: Secker & Warburg, 1956), 223-239.

[239] John Burnett, *Plenty and Want: A Social History of Diet in England from 1815 to the Present Day* (London: Scolar Press, 1976), 130.

analysis and large-scale sampling, especially Dr. Arthur Hill Hassall, attempted to shift the rhetoric of the so-called 'chicory question' to concentrate on social justice and public morals. Their testimonies to the 1855 Parliamentary Select Committee on the Adulteration of Food, Drinks, and Drugs popularized this perspective on the problem, shaping the rhetoric of public debates that produced open lectures, monographs, newspaper articles, and other forms of printed interventions. This transformation of the chicory question reflects a larger pattern of reformers using scientific methods of investigation to influence public opinion, with the hope of effecting larger social and political change.[240] Middle class efforts to provide informal educational opportunities to the working classes developed alongside such efforts to make certain beliefs and convictions "'scientific' or normative."[241] And yet, other segments of British society—particularly those claiming to be a voice for the working classes—framed the chicory question as one that pitted domestic British tastes against the interests of colonial planters. What right did the government have to infringe on the taste preferences of the poor through regulations and taxes?

Hassall and other scientist-reformers, government officials, the media, and members of the public used coffee as a means of discussing taxation, relations between metropole and colony, national character, and, with increasing frequency, matters of social justice. Historians' insistence that coffee became a marginal commodity of British consumption as tea became increasingly popular has obscured the contested place of coffee in the nineteenth century. Viewing British coffee consumption only through a comparative lens—either with consumption of tea or Continental coffee cultures—neglects important

[240] Laura J. Snyder, *Reforming Philosophy: A Victorian Debate on Science and Society* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006), 7-8.

[241]), 81-82, 161-163; Lawrence Goldman, *Science, Reform, and Politics in Victorian Britain: The Social Science Association, 1857-1886* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 293-294; R.K. Webb, *The British Working Class Reader: 1790-1848, Literary and Social Tension* (London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd, 1955.

British debates arising around coffee that did not form around other commodities. William Ashworth's work on the intersection of industrialization, regulation, and public health highlights the transformations in production and consumption as "the regulation of quality switched from the state to the market" and the ability to judge quality became less reliable.[242] But while people might have "come to prefer the taste of adulterated" bread, tea, or sugar as a result of poor regulation policies, coffee's place in larger conversations about adulteration should be recognized as unique. In the case of coffee and chicory, it was the adulterating agent itself that people preferred, and attempts to regulate the additive resulted in debates over where to draw the line between personal preferences and 'objective' standards of quality.

Adulteration has been investigated within the framework of histories of state regulation, industrialization, and even public health, all of which tend to focus on sites of production and the perspectives of producers, whether they are importers, manufacturers, scientific experts, or excise men.[243] But by incorporating adulteration into the ever-growing body of scholarship on consumption, the voices of consumers can be put into conversation with producers in order to better understand how nineteenth-century Britons negotiated

[242] William J. Ashworth, "Quality and the Roots of Manufacturing 'Expertise' in Eighteenth-Century Britain," *Osiris* 25, no. 1, Expertise and the Early Modern State (2010): 231-254, quoted 245.

[243] For the relationship between adulteration, the state, and industrialization, see William J. Ashworth, *Customs and Excise: Trade, Production, and Consumption in England, 1640-1845* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), Alessandro Stanziani, "Negotiating Innovation in a Market Economy: Foodstuffs and Beverages Adulteration in Nineteenth-Century France," *Enterprise & Society* 8, no. 2 (June 2007): 375-412; John Burnett and Derek J. Oddy, eds., *The Origins and Development of Food Policies in Europe* (London: Leicester University Press, 1994). For adulteration and public health, see Williams, "The Perfect Food and the Filth Disease" and Smith, "Coffee, Microscopy, and the Lancet's Analytical Sanitary Commission."

debates over their food and drink.[244] Individual notions of taste often conformed to larger class-based preferences, for reasons that also helped to explain the socioeconomic roots of adulteration—those without the economic means to exercise discernment in their consumption habits received cheaper, often heavily adulterated, goods. In the case of coffee, consistent exposure to adulteration also meant developing a taste for chicory, which added a degree of sweetness to what many considered an overly bitter beverage.

Whether unconsciously or intentionally, by using scientific methodologies and quantitative data in order to establish the stratified nature of coffee adulteration, Hassall and other reformers subordinated personal sensory experiences to 'objective,' data based moral claims. Hassall and his supporters combined the idea of scientific objectivity, moral judgment, and ethical commerce in order to further a specific vision of reform.[245] Microscopic evidence and data analysis provided reformers with a concrete and visible body of knowledge on which to support their arguments against chicory adulteration to a public primed for accepting the supremacy of visual evidence. Pairing that knowledge with existing ideas concerning "commercial integrity" and ethical trade proved key in the fight for and creation of An Act for Preventing the Adulteration of Articles of Food and Drink

[244] The focus on studies of economic development shifted from supply to demand after the publication of Neil McKendrick, J.H. Plumb, and John Brewer's *The Birth of a Consumer Society: The Commercialization of Eighteenth-Century England* (London: Europa, 1982). Since then, there has been a veritable explosion of studies of commodities, material culture, and cultures of consumption. See John Styles and Amanda Vickery's introduction to *Gender, Taste, and Material Culture in Britain and North America* (New Haven: The Yale Center for British Art, 2006).

[245] For the relationship between adulteration, the state, and industrialization, see Chris Otter, "The Vital City: Public Analysis, Dairies and Slaughterhouses in Nineteenth-Century Britain," *Cultural Geographies* 13, no. 4 (October 2006): 517-537; William J. Ashworth, *Customs and Excise: Trade, Production, and Consumption in England, 1640-1845* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), Alessandro Stanziani, "Negotiating Innovation in a Market Economy: Foodstuffs and Beverages Adulteration in Nineteenth-Century France," *Enterprise & Society* 8, no. 2 (June 2007): 375-412; John Burnett and Derek J Oddy, eds., *The Origins and Development of Food Policies in Europe* (London: Leicester University Press, 1994). For adulteration and public health, see Jacob Steere Williams, "The Perfect Food and the Filth Disease: Milk-borne Typhoid and Epidemiological Practice in Late Victorian Britain" *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences* 65, no. 4 (October 2010): 541-545 and Smith, "Coffee, Microscopy, and the Lancet's Analytical Sanitary Commission."

(1860).[246] The struggle against adulteration practices that took advantage of the poor, while noble, was nevertheless entangled with ideas about class, the ability to make legitimate judgments concerning taste, and the true definition of free and fair trade.

A Capricious Crop

The Dutch altered the "structure of the international coffee market" in 1696 when they successfully smuggled a coffee plant from Yemen to the Indonesian island of Java.[247] The areas naturally suited to coffee cultivation mapped almost perfectly onto areas of European colonialism, including Britain's Caribbean colonies. The Dutch eventually expanded their coffee cultivation to include Surinam, and in 1715 the French began their own plantations on the islands of Réunion and Bourbon. The British were slow to join the party, waiting until 1728 to begin cultivating coffee on the islands of Jamaica and Montserrat.

Unlike the cultivation tactics of other European empires, coffee remained a secondary crop within the British Empire, subordinate to sugar and tobacco, which might help explain why it never lived up to Britons' expectations in terms of taste. Coffee's taste had always been a complicated issue within Britain's imperial system. Since the early eighteenth century, Britons had displayed ambivalence toward the coffee produced in their own colonies, particularly Jamaica, preferring instead beans grown in the Levant, French colonies (especially the island of Bourbon and Demerara), and Brazil. To understand why, and to better understand the debate over coffee's taste in the mid nineteenth-century, it is necessary to understand the reasons behind coffee's high degree of variability. The recent

[246] Arthur Hill Hassall, *Food and Its Adulterations* (London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1855), xxx.

[247] Cowan, Social Life of Coffee, 76.

work of food scientists to produce a sensory lexicon based on coffee's chemical composition opens up exciting new doors for historians of food and drink.[248] Taste, like any sensory experience, is an elusive figure in the historical record, but the ability to tie specific aromatic sensations to fixed chemical markers can serve as one more instrument in historians' tool kit.

Coffea arabica accounts for 70% of today's coffee production, and was the species smuggled, cultivated, and consumed by most Europeans from its introduction in the seventeenth century until the early twentieth century.[249] Indigenous to Yemen, coffee today is grown within the parameters of the global "coffee belt," which extends outward from the Equator to the Tropics of Capricorn and Cancer.[250] Coffee's cultivation has more in common with wine than it does tea. The character of a cup of tea is largely dependent on its processing methods, while our experience of a cup of coffee or a glass of wine is heavily dependent on the genetic strain of the plant, its geographical location, altitude,

[248] Edgar Chambers IV et al., "Development of a 'Living' Lexicon for Descriptive Sensory Analysis of Brewed Coffee," Journal of Sensory Studies 31 (2016): 465-480; Wenny Sunarharum, "The Compositional Bases of Coffee Flavour" (PHD diss., The University of Queensland, 2016); Natnicha Bhumiratana, Koushik Adhikari, and Edgar Chambers IV, "The Development of an Emotion Lexicon for the Coffee Drinking Experience," Food Research International 61 (2014): 83-92; Wenny B. Sunarharum, David J. Williams, and Heather E. Smyth, "Complexity of Coffee Flavor: A Compositional and Sensory Perspective," Food Research International 62 (2014): 315-325.

[249] Arabica includes several varieties. *Typica* and *bourbon* are the most popular, though each have produced other strains, including *tico, mokka, Blue Mountain*, and *mondo nuevo*, a Brazilian hybrid. *Coffea robusta* is the other main species of cultivated coffee. It is much more resilient, but produces incredibly strong and bitter coffee that is most commonly used in blends or instant coffees. *Maragogype* trees are a *typica* mutation that produce the world's largest coffee beans, usually called "elephant" beans, that are known for their smooth flavor. Attempts at producing hybrid species that combine the best elements of *arabica* and *robusta* are ongoing. For more, see Mary Banks, Christine McFadden, and Catherine Atkinson, *The World Encyclopedia of Coffee: The Definitive Guide to Coffee, From Simple Bean to Irresistible Beverage* (London: Lorenz Books, 2007), 58-59.

[250] Banks, McFadden, and Atkinson, *The World Encyclopedia of Coffee*, 56-58.

temperature, rainfall, sunlight, and agricultural practices in addition to the method of processing (see Figure 1).[251]

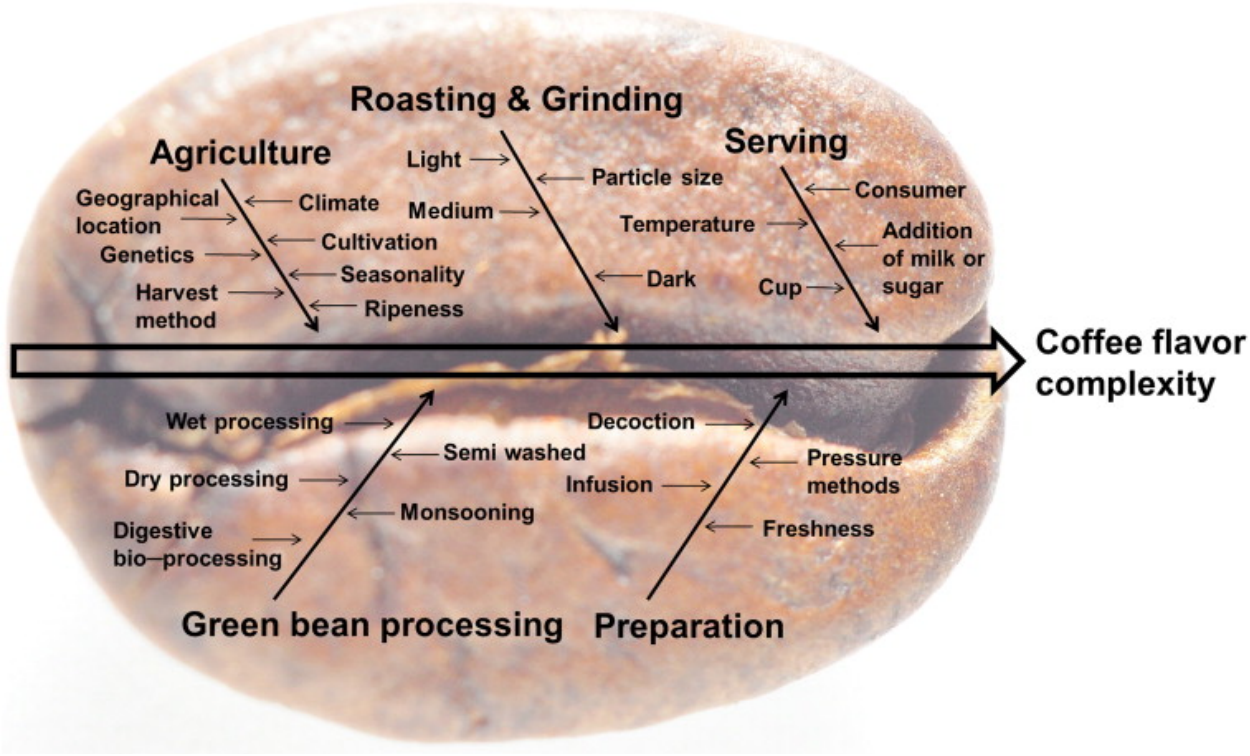

Figure 4.1. Factors that influence coffee flavor complexity from farm to cup.
Source: Sunarharum, Silliams, and Smyth, "Complexity of Coffee Flavor: A Compositional and Sensory Perspective," Food Research International 62 (August 2014): 317.

Our experience of coffee is composed of three main factors: aroma, body, and flavor. Descriptors of aroma, the "sensation of gases released from brewed coffee," can range from floral and fruity to sweet and nutty to burnt and pungent. Flavor, the "experience of aromatics once the coffee is in the mouth," is a combination of "aroma, taste, texture, and mouthfeel," and can be delineated by dozens of descriptors. Finally,

[251] Sunarharum, Williams, and Smyth, "Complexity of Coffee Flavor," 315-316; Keith Grainger and Hazel Tattersall, *Wine Production and Quality* (Oxford: Wiley, 2016), 225-226. Weather and climate certainly have an impact on the cultivation of tea, but it is often a matter of quantity rather than quality. For more on tea and climate see Anna Nowogrodzki, "The Changing Seasons of Tea," *Nature* 566 (7 February 2019): 10-11.

body, which is a combination of mouthfeel and texture, helps describe the physical sensation of coffee on the palate. Astringent, smooth, oily, crisp, strong, and acidic are all descriptors that would fall under the category of body.[252] These factors are heavily dependent on four of coffee's chemical components: caffeine, trigonelline, chlorogenic acids, and carbohydrates. Caffeine, an alkaloid, contributes to the perceived strength, body, and bitterness of coffee. Brewed coffee contains higher concentrations of caffeine than tea, which might explain the difference in perceived flavor profiles between the two beverages. Trigonelline, another alkaloid, helps determine "the overall aroma perception of both roasted coffee beans and a brewed coffee beverage" and is present in higher levels in arabica coffee than in robusta, which helps explain arabica's reputation as a better tasting coffee. Chlorogenic acids are sources of both "astringency" and antioxidents, but may contribute to coffee's overall bitterness when roasted. Carbohydrates, though not present in high amounts in coffee, impact sweetness and the presence of "caramel notes" in brewed coffee.[253]

[252] Timothy James Castle, *The Perfect Cup: A Coffee-Lover's Guide to Buying, Brewing, and Tasting* (De Capo Press, 1991), 26-27; Sunarharum, Williams, and Smyth, "Complexity of Coffee Flavor," 316.

[253] Sunarharum, Williams, and Smyth, "Complexity of Coffee Flavor," 318-319.

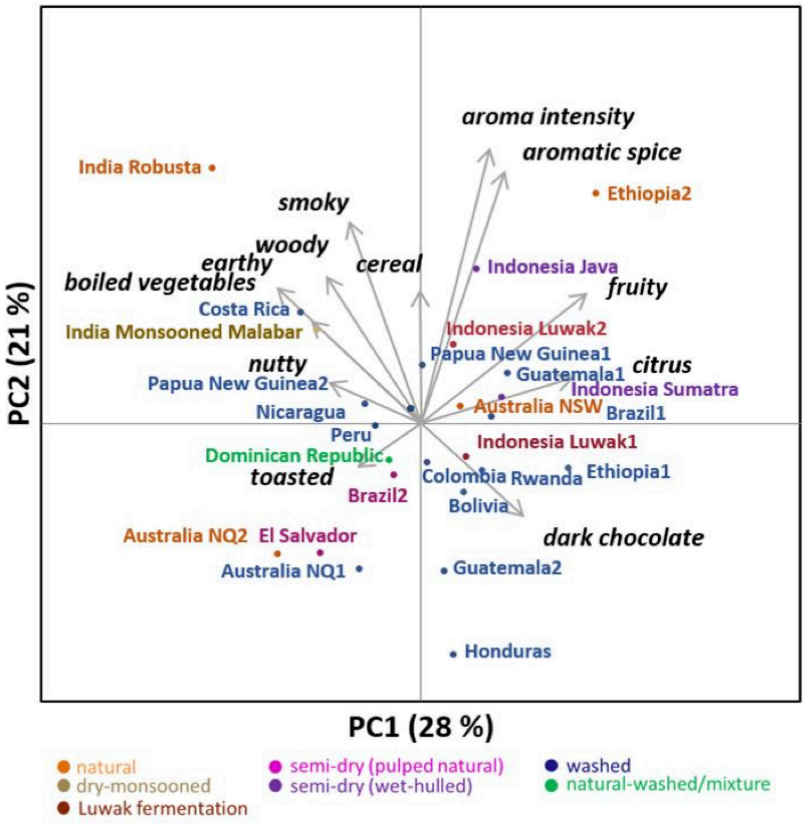

Figure 4.2. Model of various coffees' aroma profiles, with PC1 representing samples scored highly for citrus and fruity & woody and nutty and PC2 representing samples with high scores for aroma intensity, spice, smoke, and dark chocolate.
Source: Wenny Sunarharum, "The Compositional Basis of Coffee Flavour" (PhD diss., The University of Queensland, 2016), 66.

These four chemical components, along with myriad other compounds, combine to give consumers a unique experience with each cup of coffee. Ultimately, though, "roasting has the most significant influence on coffee flavor" due to heat's ability to degrade, form, or release "numerous chemical compounds" in the beans.[254] Nuanced coffee roasting is a relatively new occurrence—prior to the 1920s most coffee roasting was done in the home in ovens or in skillets over fire.[255] Unskilled undoubtedly contributed to coffee's reputation as an intensely bitter beverage, as roasting coffee to a dark color increases bitterness. The

[254] Sunarharum, Williams, and Smyth, "Complexity of Coffee Flavor," 317.
[255] William Ukers, *All About Coffee* (New York: The Tea & Coffee Trade Journal Company, 1935), 575-622.

primary method of preparing coffee before the nineteenth century was boiling, which further contributed to the bitter qualities of the beverage. Even after the French developed a plunger apparatus to create an infusion, rather than a decoction, most working- and middle-class Britons continued to boil their coffee since it was faster and required less equipment. Unlike its hardier cousin, *Coffea canephora* (or Robusta), Arabica coffee is more difficult to grow, more susceptible to disease, pests, and frost, and its quality varies to a much greater degree.[256] It is grown at high altitudes, resulting in slower growth and denser beans, which in turn produces coffee that is more acidic, aromatic, and flavorful. If cultivated with care and consistency, arabica coffee is complex and produces full bodied coffee. Poor soil management, unpredictable weather, and cultivating at low altitudes, however, can produce bland, weak-tasting coffee that is overly acidic. The majority of British coffee in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries came from Jamaican plantations; despite recent reverence for Jamaican Blue Mountain coffee, eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Britons preferred the coffee produced in Brazil, the Levant, and France's colonies due to the sweetness and low acidity of these crops.[257] But working class Britons found even more creative ways to tame coffee's bitterness by adding roasted chicory, which possessed an intense caramel flavor due to its high percentage of carbohydrates, to sweeten their brews.

Something in the Grounds

After hearing the government's claim denying the existence of an efficient way of detecting chicory and other additives in coffee, Dr. Arthur Hill Hassall, a highly accomplished physician and microscopist, presented a paper in 1850 to the London

[256] Banks, McFadden, and Atkinson, 58.
[257] Ibid., 78, 81, 84-85, 88-90; Castle, *The Perfect Cup*, 39, 43, 44.

Botanical Society. The paper introduced Hassall's new techniques of microscopic analysis, which could detect additives in even finely ground coffee, and revealed the extent of coffee adulteration.[258] Although the *Times* relayed the scientific conclusions of the paper almost instantly, Hassall's findings on the socioeconomic dimension of the adulteration epidemic were not published until the following year in the medical journal *The Lancet*. The journal, known for campaigning on socio-medical issues, published various reports on food adulteration sponsored by its own Analytical Sanitary Commission (ASC).[259] Hassall's *Lancet* reports went on to form the basis of both his testimony to the Select Committee and his published work, *Food and Its Adulteration* (1855). He argued that adulteration affected "the interest, the well-being, and even the safety of every individual," and that the poorer working classes experienced the pitfalls of unwholesome food and drink more acutely.[260]

Scrambling to catch up to Hassall's revelation, John Wood, Chairman of the Board of Inland Revenue, commissioned two reports from leading scientists to discover "efficient means for detecting the mixture of chicory or other vegetable substances with coffee."[261] The first report, compiled by John Lindley and Sir Joseph Dalton Hooker, documented the results of their various microscopic experiments. Lindley, a botanist and horticulturalist, had begun advising various government offices and private companies beginning in the 1830s. Hooker, a botanist who worked closely with Charles Darwin, eventually became assistant director of the herbarium and gardens at Kew due to his extensive global plant

[258] Smith, "Coffee, Microscopy, and the Lancet's Analytical Sanitary Commission," 179.

[259] Ibid., 171; Laurel Brake and Marysa Demoor, *Dictionary of Nineteenth-Century Journalism in Great Britain and Ireland* (Academia Press, 2009), 344-345.

[260] Hassall, *Food and Its Adulterations*, i.

[261] NA – CUST 119/426. The original report, submitted by Adam Young, was a product of the Chemistry Department of Inland Revenue. In answer to Hassall's public challenge, Wood clearly thought it necessary to seek expert help from outside his own office.

surveys.[262] Following their examination of samples of coffee and chicory in various states, Lindley and Hooker found "no difficulty in detecting their mixture however finely they may be ground if they be examined under a good microscope."[263] Lindley and Hooker's report included numerous sketches of chicory's and coffee's "wholly different" "anatomical structure," and avoided the use of jargon typical in a scientific report, in order to make apparent to even the most scientifically inept bureaucrat the ease with which additives might be detected in coffee grounds.

[262] Richard Drayton, "Lindley, John (1799–1865)," Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, https://doi-org.proxy.library.vanderbilt.edu/10.1093/ref:odnb/16674 (accessed 13 May 2019); Jim Endersby, "Sir Joseph Dalton Hooker (1817-1911," Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, https://doi-org.proxy.library.vanderbilt.edu/10.1093/ref:odnb/33970 (accessed 13 May 2019).

[263] NA, CUST 119/426.

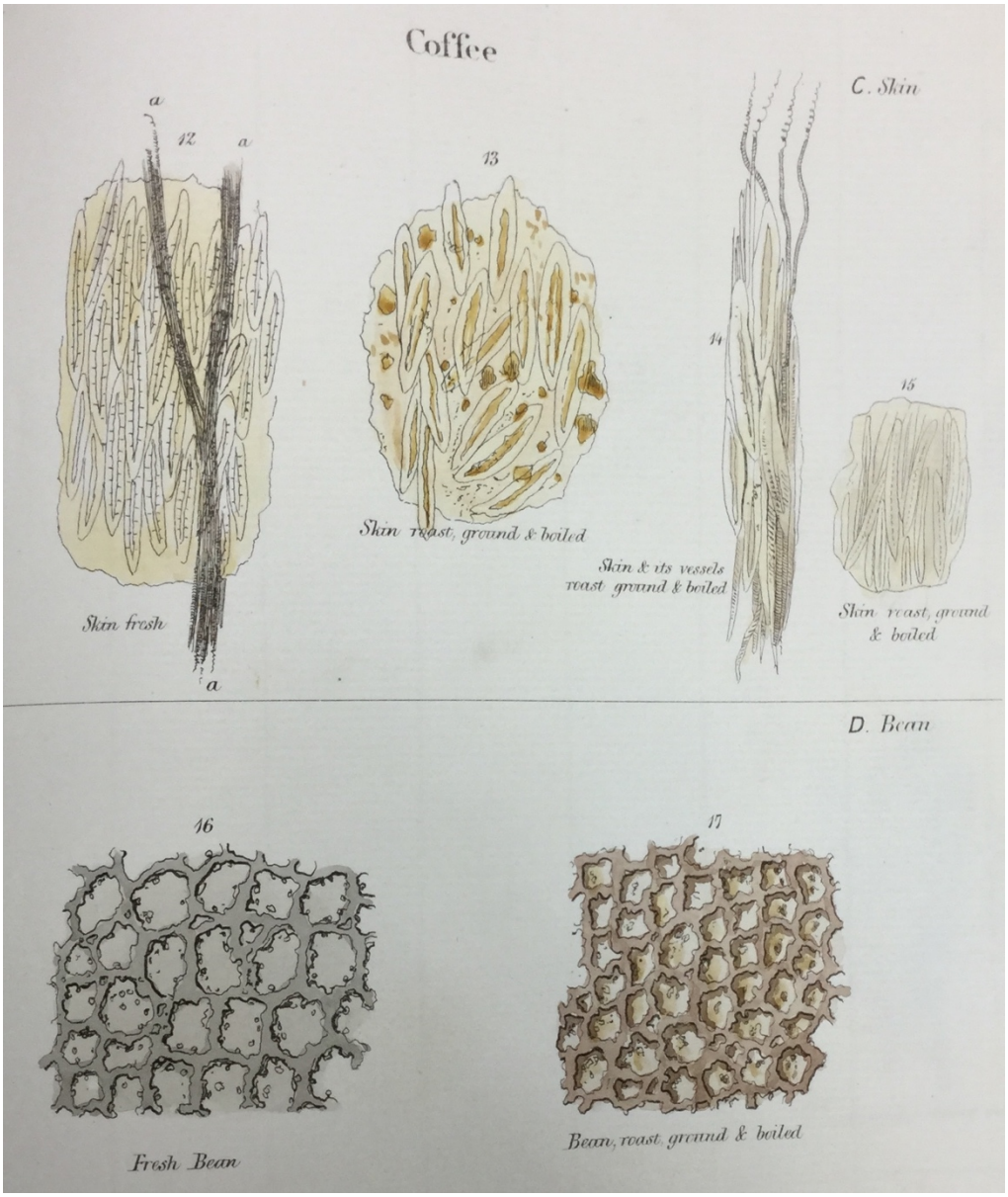

Figure 4.3. The microscopic structure of the skin and bean of coffee, both unroasted and roasted, from Lindley and Hooker's report.
Source: CUST 119/426, The UK National Archives.

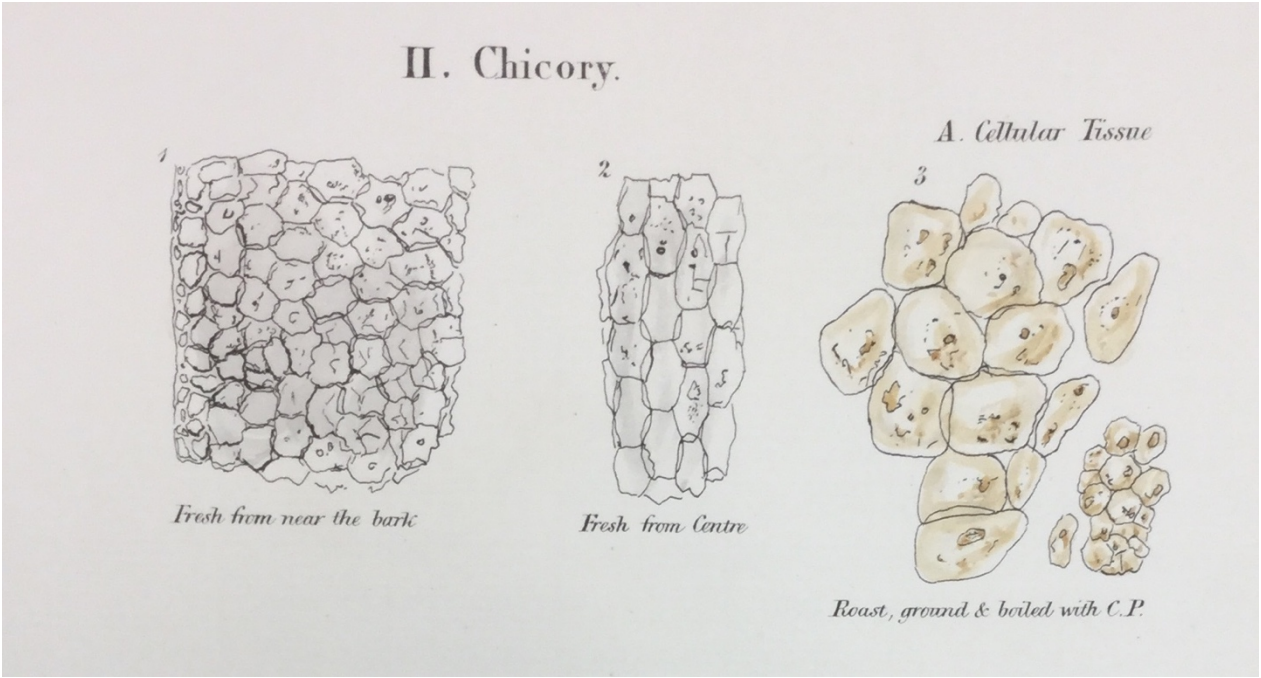

Figure 4.4. The microscopic structure of chicory, both unroasted and roasted, from Lindley and Hooker's report.
Source: CUST 119/426, The UK National Archives.

Lindley and Hooker provided a secondary means of testing mixtures, which involved boiling the product in "caustic potash" (potassium hydroxide). The process produced pale brown fragments from chicory powder but not from ground coffee.[264] However, if any of the parchment from the coffee berry remained on the bean, explained the scientists, a similar brown reaction might occur. For this reason, Lindley and Hooker recommended a double-verification test involving both potassium hydroxide and examination under a microscope, through which "the best evidence of adulteration can generally be found." Five months after submitting their report to the Board, Lindley and

[264] According to an 1892 report published by the US Department of Agriculture, "the coloring matter of chicory is not precipitated by iron salts, while that of coffee is colored green and is partially precipitated," Using Lindley and Hooker's test, one would expect the solution to turn a greenish color if only coffee was present, while chicory would turn the mixture a muddy brown color. One can only assume that this is what the scientists meant by "brown fragments," though it is odd that they do not mention potassium hydroxide's ability to turn coffee green. Harvey Washington Wiley, *Foods and Food Adulteration* (Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1892), 910.

Hooker provided additional information on recognizing root vegetables, peas, acorns, and other substances used to adulterate coffee.[265]

The second report commissioned by Wood concerned "chemical means of detecting vegetable substances mixed with coffee for the purpose of adulteration." It was compiled by Thomas Graham, who acted as a chemical adviser to the government starting in 1842, and two chemists from London's St. Bartholomew's hospital, John Stenhouse and Dugald Campbell. Before attending to the chemical properties of chicory, the scientists wrote that "no seed appears to be known which, roasted and pulverized, forms a true equivalent and sufficient substitute for Coffee, either in the physiological properties, or chemical composition of its soluble extract." While chicory cultivation could be traced back to ancient Egypt, the use of chicory as a coffee substitute and additive began in late eighteenth-century Holland, though it did not become popular until its introduction to France in 1801.[266] The French tried and failed to find an adequate substitute for coffee during the Continental Blockade, turning to homegrown crops to replace colonial products. The roots of chicory, carrot, beet, fern, earth-nut, and Butcher's broom were identified as the most acceptable alternatives and were still "extensively used in Germany."[267] Although chicory served as a palatable alternative to the taste of coffee, it could not replicate its physiological effects—a fact that reformers like Hassall would emphasize.

Stenhouse, Graham, and Campbell argued that the appeal of such roots as additions to coffee (they rarely served as wholly substitutive) derived from their high sugar contents. When roasted, the sugar in the roots caramelized, producing the taste of "bitter or burnt

[265] NA, CUST 119/426. The condensed nature of the report on these materials, in contrast to the individual report merited by chicory, implies that the issue of coffee adulteration with chicory occurred on a larger scale.

[266] Peter Lund Simmonds, *Coffee and Chicory: Their Cultivation, Chemical Composition, Preparation for Market and Consumption* (London: E & F.N. Spon, 1864), 88-89.

[267] NA, CUST 119/426.

sugar."[268] The trio described the taste as "one of the strongest and most general of our gustatory preferences," comparing it to the flavors found in brown beer, porter, and other malted liquors.[269] The scientists compiled a table describing the weight of various substances (including coffee and chicory) necessary to produce an equal depth of color when dissolved in water, intending such visual information to be a means of preliminary analysis. Inspectors familiar with the color of coffee in a range of water-based solutions would be able to detect the presence of other substances in the grounds, should the test result in a different hue. This information made fraud detectable by the eye, as well as the microscope.

Stenhouse, Graham, and Campbell also detailed methods to test the gravity of substances in water and other solvents, and claimed that "fermentation, by means of Yeast, gives a decisive proof of the adulteration of coffee by many vegetable substances," due to the high sugar content of such additives. Yeast requires sugar to ferment, and carbohydrates (chains of individual sugars) are readily available in vegetables, such as the roots of the chicory plant. The scientists compared the amount of sugar present, before and after grinding and roasting, in chicory and other sweet roots, as well as "the most dissimilar varieties of coffee," including "the wild and cultivated beans, and the beans of Ceylon and the West Indies, from Arabia, and the Neilgherry Hills"—twelve samples in all. They concluded that "the sugar in coffee appears to be increased by cultivation," citing the difference between the sugar found in native Ceylon coffee and that in plantation Ceylon

[268] French tastes for chicory developed alongside cultivation of sugar beets during the Continental Blockade when France found itself cut off from reliable shipments of coffee, sugar, and other colonial goods. In a similar vein, more work needs to be done to understand the impact of abolitionist abstention movements on British taste, particularly the role of sugar boycotts on the development of alternative sugary additives to various food and drink.

[269] NA, CUST 119/426.

coffee.[270] Nevertheless, once roasted, chicory contained fifteen times the amount of sugar as any roasted coffee, making it easy to detect in samples of coffee grounds. The day-long procedure necessary for such a test suggests it was never seriously considered to be an efficient option, though it confirmed the chemists' belief that it was the caramelized, burnt-sugar taste of chicory that made it so popular as an additive.

In *Food and its Adulterations*, Hassall outlined three types of adulteration. The first involved "the addition of substances usually of greatly inferior value, for the sake of bulk and weight, the choice being determined by the cheapness of the substitute, and its fitness for the peculiar adulteration required." Secondly, additives were used to alter the color of various products, for both aesthetic reasons and as attempts to conceal other forms of adulteration. The final type of adulteration consisted of "the admixture of substances for the purpose of imparting smell, flavor, pungency, and other properties" that might make a product more appealing to the consumer.[271] Coffee and chicory both suffered from adulteration of all three kinds. Chicory, with its saturated coloring and caramelized, burnt sugar taste, could easily be used to mask the presence of other, more obvious adulterants like sawdust and acorns at the site of manufacture. Adding chicory and other substances to coffee allowed grocers' supplies to last longer, enabling them to take advantage of changing price discrepancies between colonial coffee and chicory grown on British soil.

Hassall conducted six separate analyses of coffee samples, each resulting in an adulteration rate of 74% or higher (See Table 1). The third set of samples, which focused on canister coffee, revealed the most startling results. Of the twenty-nine containers tested, twenty-eight, or 97%, proved adulterated. Though Hassall noted "that greater caution is

[270] NA, CUST 119/426.
[271] Hassall, *Food and Its Adulterations*, iii-iv.

now observed in the sale of mixed chicory and coffee without a label," and that "a larger proportion of dealers sell the genuine article when asked for it," the mixture of coffee and chicory was "still palmed off as extensively as ever upon the public as [pure] coffee."[272]

Report	Number of samples	Cases of adulteration in samples taken	% of samples adulterated	Non-coffee substances present
1	34	31	91%	Chicory, roasted corn, beans, potato flour
2	42	31	74%	Chicory, horse chestnut, "some amorphous substance, probably used for coloring"
3	29	28	97%	Chicory, roasted wheat-farina, mangel-wurzel, acorn
4	20	19	95%	Chicory, red ferruginous earth, Venetian Red (pigment)
5	34	31	91%	Chicory
6	34	25	74%	Chicory

Table 4.1. Results of Dr. Arthur Hill Hassall's tests on various coffee samples.
Source: Arthur Hill Hassall, *Food and Its Adulterations* (London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1855), ix-xi.

Hassall also conducted multiple analyses of chicory, examining ninety-one samples gathered from both manufacturers and grocers. On average, half of the samples gathered had been adulterated with substances like roasted corn, ground acorns, roasted carrot, sawdust, ash, ferruginous earth, and Venetian Red pigment. Whereas the additives to ground coffee were almost always limited to other vegetable matter, ground chicory was

[272] Hassall, *Food and Its Adulterations*, ix-xi.

frequently adulterated with dyed ash, sawdust, and red earth in order to give it an appealing hue and to mask other additives.

Hassall blamed the pervasiveness of adulteration on the roasters and grinders in manufacturing warehouses. Grocers mixed chicory and coffee for a variety of reasons, but the addition of other vegetable matter, ash, earth, and pigment usually occurred at the site of grinding and roasting in manufacturing warehouses. Hassall insisted that "this distinction is important, because it points to the direction in which the chief efforts for the suppression of the different kinds of adulteration...should be directed."[273] Measures to stop grocers from mixing coffee and chicory in their stores would not prevent the adulteration of either product if additional measures were not taken to ensure purity throughout grinding and roasting.

Given that adulteration tended to start with the manufacturer, even wealthy consumers were not exempt from the risk of purchasing blended products. But Hassall displayed a keen and particular interest in ensuring the working class had access to 'quality' products. He insisted that the ability to exercise discernment in choosing which products to buy and where to buy them remained a privilege of the middle and upper classes: "The price of an article being comparatively less an object to the rich than the poor, the former usually go to the best shops, where, by paying high prices, they are generally, but not always, tolerably sure of procuring a good and genuine article."[274] For the working classes, however, the risk of purchasing adulterated products was more of a certainty. In seeking out the cheapest products, the majority of Britons gave "but little thought as to their quality and purity"; Hassall saw such a system as inherently unjust.

[273] Hassall, *Food and its Adulterations*, xxix.
[274] Ibid., xxx.

"These apparently cheap articles," he wrote, "in consequence of adulteration, are often the dearest in the end," for they sell to the customer a corrupted product for which they paid the price of a genuine one, including the necessary taxes. This system also threatened "the more honest and respectable portion of the trading community" by calling into question "the very foundation of trade, viz. faith in commercial integrity."[275]

Hassall held the Board of Inland Revenue, which collected the excise taxes on products like coffee and chicory, responsible for the commonplace nature of adulteration. Reformers, manufacturers, and grocers alike found a common enemy in the excise men. While Hassall blamed the Excise's over-reliance on amateur investigators for rampant adulteration, grocers like those who read the *Daily List* assumed that increased regulation would only result in more money for the tax collectors. Despite the fact that the Board spent nearly one million pounds a year enforcing adulteration laws, its methods were "clumsy and inefficient."[276] Investigators who resided on manufacturers' premises often formed bonds with owners that jeopardized their objectivity, while those who visited premises on a scheduled basis made it too easy for corrupt practices to be disguised. Grocers and coffee dealers, meanwhile, were "but seldom troubled with the visits of the excise officers at all." "Moreover," Hassall wrote, "the efforts of the excisemen are usually directed to the discovery of the adulterating ingredients in the mass, in the raw state...and not in the manufactured and adulterated article." This focus on beans, rather than grounds, was due in large part to officers' unwillingness to make use of microscopic methods,

[275] Hassall, *Food and Its Adulterations*, xxx.
[276] Ibid., xxxii.

preferring instead either time-consuming chemical analysis or crude, sensory observations.[277]

In addition to emphasizing the stratified nature of adulteration, Hassall also insisted on the potential dangers to public health inherent to the mixing of chicory with coffee. Echoing the pleas of Edgar Corrie on behalf of colonial planters who bemoaned Britons' poor taste in coffee, Hassall argued that such mixtures deprived the customer "of so much Coffee, with the valuable properties of which the substituted articles have nothing in common."[278] Chicory lacked caffeine and therefore the ability to impart energy or mental clarity, causing customers to miss out on the beneficial effects of coffee when their grounds consisted, either partially or wholly, of substances other than coffee.[279] Hassall equated this deprivation of sensory experience and physical benefit with thievery, and believed the moral effects of such an act included making men dishonest and distrustful of each other in their dealings, "and that it lowers the commercial character of the nation."[280] For Hassall, then, adulteration had both economic and moral consequences, and impacted both individuals and the nation at large. Customers found themselves deprived of the genuine products for which they had paid. At best, they potentially exposed themselves to substances without the health benefits of the true article; at worst they risked hazardous side effects from poisonous materials. The government lost money through tax evasion and the expenses of the existing systems of investigation. Finally, the pervasiveness of dishonest practices in the trade of food, drink, and drug put the character of ethical trade, and therefore the "commercial character" of Britain, at risk.

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[277]Hassall, *Food and Its Adulterations*, xxxii-xxxiii.

[278] Ibid., xxxiii.

[279] Caffeine is one of the main contributors to coffee's bitterness, so the lack of it in chicory probably only added to chicory's appealing flavor profile.

[280] Hassall, *Food and Its Adulterations*, xxxvi.

Hassall's research showed that the poor stood very little chance of obtaining a mixture of even mostly coffee, and none at all of purchasing pure, genuine coffee with no adulteration. Out of ten high price coffees only three (30%) revealed no adulteration. The remaining seven varied between containing "a little chicory," "much chicory," and "a good deal of chicory." Twelve medium price coffees contained other substances, such as chicory and corn. While some samples consisted of 75% coffee, half contained more chicory and roasted corn than genuine coffee. Likewise, all of the low-price samples proved adulterated, and eleven of the twelve samples (92%) consisted of "principally" or "nearly all" chicory and "very little coffee."[281] Unfortunately, Hassall's "Hints to Coffee-Drinkers" proved unlikely to help the poorer members of the public. What man or woman, working long days and living in cramped quarters, could afford the time and money it would take to buy whole coffee beans (rather than grounds), grind them themselves, and slowly infuse (rather than boil) them?[282]

A Very Public Debate

In 1852 the newly appointed Derby administration, led by Prime Minister Edward Smith-Stanley, 14th Earl of Derby, rescinded an 1840 Treasury Order that allowed the mixing of chicory and coffee. Following the decision, commonly called the 'Derby order,' the *Commercial Daily List*, a newspaper that published "the amount and description of goods offered daily by Public Auction, with the results at their close," ran an editorial concerning the chicory question. "Though everything has been quiet on the subject," it warned readers, "we understand that the Government have collected materials for

[281] Hassall, *Food and its Adulterations,* 7-8.
[282] Ibid., 9.

prosecuting a large number of grocers for violating the Derby order." According to the *Daily List*, such an action would "make [the Excise authorities] more odious in the eyes of the country than ever." In spite of the law, the public would "not abandon the mixture" and grocers would determine to supply them with it "at all hazards." The *Daily List* insisted that not only did chicory lack any "noxious property," but the plant also acted as a corrective for "the acidity of inferior Coffees" by improving both their "body and flavor."[283]

The paper put no stock in arguments that it was the act of illicit adulteration the Government was working against, nor the idea that such practices acted as "a fraud on the community, and [were] injurious to the morals of trade." Rather, they responded, were the permission to mix chicory and coffee restored, there would be practically no "*fraudulent* substitution at all." Due to the intensity of debate over the matter, they insisted, "the public are fully cognizant, not only of the practice of flavoring and strengthening Coffee by the aid of Chicory, but of the fact also that they could not have an agreeable and wholesome drink at a *low rate* without it."[284] Frustrated as the *Daily List* claimed to be with the British government, its main target was coffee growers, whom they accused of being "bent upon exterminating Chicory" for the purpose of "forcing down the throats of the public their own produce without any wholesome modification, no matter how much it may require it."

The *Daily List*, then, argued for a public preference for chicory-laced coffee, and claimed the government ignored that preference in order to increase revenue and appease colonial interests. By setting metropolitan tastes at odds with colonial interests, the editorial tapped into a longstanding tension between domestic and imperial priorities. The

[283] NA, CUST 119/425.
[284] Ibid.

loss of the American colonies, which many Britons viewed as a "rejection of the colonial system," had exacerbated a view of domestic consumption as negatively impacted by imperial policy.[285] Abolitionists who used graphic rhetoric to link the cruelties of slavery to colonial goods had also laid the groundwork for these arguments regarding the ability of ingested food and drink to corrupt British bodies and character.

This murky history of colonial influence on metropolitan life and governance proved useful for London merchants interested in peddling homegrown chicory alongside colonial coffee. The Derby order did not, argued the *Daily List*, "avenge real injury done to the revenue" through tax evasion, but was instead retaliation for "a supposed injury done to the interests of a class—the Coffee growers." The merchants' concerns were not baseless. Four years earlier, a delegation from the Commercial Association of Manchester had presented their concerns over chicory to the Chancellor of the Exchequer. "That a duty of 4*d*. per pound is levied upon colonial coffee," they argued, "while chicory, the produce of Great Britain, is untaxed" constituted a "serious evil...inflicted upon colonial coffee planters." Reducing the import duty on coffee would not be "any special advantage," but rather would place colonial planters, who had "expended large sums in the cultivation of their distant estates" on "equal footing" with growers of chicory. If the mixing of chicory with coffee was truly just a matter of taste, "why should deception be practised [sic] by the dealers?"[286]

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[285] Anthony Howe, "Restoring Free Trade: The British Experience, 1776-1873," in *The Political Economy of British Historical Experience, 1688-1914*, ed. Donald Winch and Patrick K. O'Brien (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 199. Gelien Matthews analyzes this oppositional relationship in the context of the British abolitionist movement in *Caribbean Slave Revolts and the British Abolitionist Movement* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2006). She argues that, as abolitionist tactics changes leading up to 1833, some "went so far as to challenge [West Indian] planters' jealous regard for their property by questioning the value of colonial investments to Britain and to its individual investors" (151).

[286] "Chicory in Coffee," *London Daily News*, 1 December 1849.

A year after the controversial 'Derby order' went into effect, Chancellor of the Exchequer William Gladstone repealed it, once again allowing coffee and chicory to be sold as mixtures. Disgruntled opponents of Gladstone's decision began arguing for a duty on domestically grown chicory, claiming that the price discrepancy between coffee and chicory went against the laws of free trade. Chicory prevented demand for coffee from achieving its "natural increase" given the degree to which it served as a substitute for the foreign-grown beans. "If coffee were grown in England," argued one petition, "your lordship would not call it free trade to let home grown coffee be duty free." Allowing chicory to remain untaxed kept it from "open competition with coffee as a rival production" and artificially engineering a public taste for chicory based on cost.[287]

Opponents of mixtures claimed that chicory had been "pressed upon customers" as a "help" to coffee, and that during the short period of prohibition coffee consumption increased while chicory sales fell.[288] But the exaggerated rhetoric of both sides in the halls of Parliament and in the press over-simplified a complicated issue—brazenly fraudulent instances of intentionally mislabeling chicory as coffee undoubtedly occurred, but such actions were not what appeared in the majority of 'chicory prosecution' cases. Several coffee dealers and grocers claimed to either be ignorant of the legal requirement to label mixtures, which is hardly surprising given the rapid pace at which legislation was passed and repealed.[289] Others insisted that the mixing was entirely accidental, the result of using

[287] "Mixture of Chicory and Coffee," *London Daily News*, 9 July 1953.
[288] "Chicory," *London Daily News*, 14 February 1853.
[289] "Police Intelligence, Bow-Street, Adulterated Coffee," *The Morning Chronicle*, 11 April 1859; "The Police Courts, Wandsworth," *London Daily News*, 25 December 1861.

the same grinders and scoops to handle both coffee and chicory or innocent mistakes made by shop workers.[290]

Many dealers, however, defended their actions by making alternative claims as to the definition of coffee itself. In August of 1854, tea dealer and grocer Henry Brown Hill was charged with selling chicory "in imitation of and as a substitute for coffee." An excise officer visited Hill's shop, bought "half a pound of the best coffee," and found it to contain 33% chicory. In answering the charge, Hill argued, "it was true that the witness had asked for the best coffee, but he did not ask for pure coffee, and merely asking for the best coffee did not mean genuine coffee."[291] In 1856, another grocer, Mr. White, defended his use of caramel and chicory in his coffee, claiming that it gave the coffee "more strength and body," was "not injurious" in any way, and actually benefited the Excise, "on account of the quality of sugar used" to make the caramel.[292] Neither Hill nor White saw their additives as adulterations; rather they framed them as key to providing their customers—rich or poor—with the best coffee possible. For many coffee dealers, chicory helped improve the flavor of coffee, particularly sub-par British plantation coffee. One Marylebone grocer insisted that though his 1*s.* coffee contained a significant amount of additives, "with the superior coffee he would not put that quantity of chicory."[293] In addition to pleas of ignorance and innocent mistakes, grocers defended their mixing practices by claiming the right to define coffee in ways that did not align with the government's purity standards.

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[290] "The Police Courts, Thames," *London Daily News*, 7 May 1857; "The Police Courts, Lambeth," *London Daily News*, 29 June 1857; "The Police Courts, Greenwich," *London Daily News* 16 September 1857.

[291] "The Police Courts, Chicory Prosecutions," *London Daily News*, 10 August 1854.

[292] "The Police Courts, Bow-Street," *London Daily News*, 9 June 1856.

[293] "Police, Marylebone, Excise Prosecutions," *London Evening Standard*, 30 November 1854.

British consumers, particularly those drinking lower quality coffee, also resisted both governmental efforts to enforce regulations that altered their sensory experience of coffee and colonial interest groups attempting to level the playing field through lowered import duties in the name of free trade. Even Thomas Graham, an unofficial chemical advisor to the government, claimed that chicory was not "the substantial part of the beverage, which continues to be coffee," and that "any interference with the sale of chicory" beyond laws concerning labeling would be "injudicious and uncalled for."[294]

Reformers tended to address the issue of the public's preference for adulterated coffee by ignoring it. They focused instead on the high degree of variation of the amount of chicory used in such mixtures, which often depended on the price being charged for what was passed off as coffee. But Britons' widespread preference for chicory-laced coffee went beyond price to the chemical factors that determined taste. The coffees that British consumers had always preferred were naturally sweeter than those produced in Jamaica and India. South American coffees, like those from Brazil, tend to be sweeter with heavier bodies than their Central American and Caribbean counterparts. Levantine coffees continue to be known for their chocolaty profiles, and the Bourbon coffee grown on France's islands to the east of Africa is known for being sweet and lush. Since most working-class Britons could not afford these sweeter, less acidic coffees, chicory served as a logical additive given its high sugar content. Chicory-laced coffee also complemented the tendency of home roasters to over-roast their beans—where burnt coffee becomes more bitter, over-cooked chicory creates a stronger caramel note. What reformers saw as fraudulent trade practices can instead be understood as innovative consumer practices based on expressions of personal taste. Moving past the black-and-white morality of reformers allows us to see

[294] BL, MS 44570/198.

the nuances of a struggle over who possessed the right to define the difference between good and poor taste. If standardization and regulation prevented British consumers from obtaining their desired sensory experiences of goods, could it still be called 'free' trade?

Government Regulation & The Moral Limits of Free Trade

The coffee controversy highlights how trade practices became "intertwined with a dominant narrative of political democracy" as the nineteenth century witnessed the dismantling of protectionist economics. The "commercial character" of the nation, bound up with its industrial prowess and imperial strength, became part of Britain's "hegemonic responsibilities."[295] Hassall's vision identified social and economic stratification as free trade's ultimate vulnerability—consumers only had the power to exercise discernment in consumption if they possessed the economic means to do so. Proper regulation provided the working classes with access to genuine commodities that might be otherwise out of reach. Such ethical trade trumped free trade because dishonest trade practices not only took advantage of the most vulnerable British consumers, but also jeopardized Britain's desired international role as the moral exemplar of a commercial nation. Hassall's version of ethical trade meant pure goods free from adulteration, while many Britons brought their own interpretations of 'free' trade to bear by insisting on their right to add other elements to their coffee. Though coffee adulteration with chicory remained an ongoing issue until the early twentieth century, 1860 saw a final and lasting legislative victory for Hassall and other reformers' regulatory vision.

When the Parliamentary Select Committee on the Adulteration of Food, Drink, and Drugs formed in 1855, the rhetorical figure of the 'poor man,' who did not have the luxury

[295] Howe, "Restoring Free Trade, 209-210.

of analyzing his coffee before drinking it, began to work its way into popular media.[296] First, *Adulteration of Food, Drink, and Drugs* (1855) reproduced in a single volume all of the expert testimony given to the Select Committee. The Preface stated that "the subject of adulteration is one which concerns so closely every member of the community," and that such a book, containing the opinions of "some of the most eminent chemists and medical men of the day" would serve as an "invaluable" addition to every household as long as "dishonest and pernicious practices...remain a stigma upon the trading classes of this country."[297] Hassall's *Food and Its Adulterations*, the content of which formed the core of his testimony, appeared in the same year, making the scientist's innovative work and reform-minded opinions available to the non-specialist public for the first time.[298] Amidst these publications, the *Times* reported on every meeting of the Select Committee, publishing over 40 articles between June 1855 and August 1856 and summarizing the findings of various scientists and experts. Almost half dealt with the coffee controversy that had inspired the Committee's creation. Mr. Scholefield, chair of the committee, claimed that "adulteration had so greatly increased that some inquiry was absolutely necessary." The English, he thought, had no reason to be any less successful than the French, Americans, or Prussians in their anti-adulteration efforts.[299]

An editorial published a month after the Committee first convened publicized the stakes of the debate, claiming that "death is not only in the pot, it is everywhere; not only

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[296] Though S.D. Smith's article argues that "publicity was provided by favourable press coverage of the ASC's reports and of the accompanying public agitating...in *The Times*, *The Chronicle*, and other newspapers," such publicity did not focus on, or even reveal, the socially stratified nature of adulteration. Smith, "Coffee, Microscopy, and the *Lancet's* Analytical Sanitary Commission," 184.

[297] *Adulteration of Food, Drink, and Drugs. Being the Evidence Taken Before the Parliamentary Committee* (London, 1855), iv.

[298] Hassall's work sold for 25s. for all eight volumes, making it unlikely, thought not impossible, that members of the working class purchased Food and Its Adulterations.

[299] *The Times*, June 27, 1855.

in our food and our drink, but in the very medicines which should cure our diseases." After detailing the extent to which adulteration pervaded British goods and highlighting the efforts of Dr. Hassall to bring the epidemic to the public's attention, the author asked what was to be done to put an end to the practice: "No doubt, great security may be obtained by a judicious selection of shops, but these means of choice are not within everybody's reach." The article went on to state that "poor customers demand even more protection than the rich," given their inability to be discerning in their choice of shops and wares. Ultimately, however, the article concluded that until the findings of the Select Committee came to light and "more direct measures" could be adopted, "the public will find the best safeguard in their own vigilance." As for the work of Dr. Hassall, the author found that only through "researches like his" would practices that "would otherwise be mere suspicion ... become producible as fact, and that truth is at length put before our eyes so palpably as to forbid either indifference or doubt."[300]

Newspaper editorials publicized the fight over where to lay blame for the adulteration epidemic. In June 1855 the *Daily News* ran an editorial railing against Mr. Henry Drummon, calling him "the spoiled child of the House of Commons." Mr. Drummon's crime was assuming that "because some tradesmen were proved to have adulterated the commodities they sold," the whole of the British middle class had turned "from being a nation of shopkeepers" into "a nation of rogues." Drummon then went on to "infer that none of [the middle class] could be trusted with the management of public business," and should therefore not be allowed to hold public office. The *Daily News* did not deny the "plausible foundation" of Drummon's accusations, but insisted the lowering of "the irreproachable integrity which was supposed to be characteristic of our mercantile

[300] *The Times*, July 24, 1855.

classes, and which ... has been the main cause of our national prosperity" was a symptom of a deficient judicial system.[301] That adulteration proved so common a crime said as much about the government's inability to enforce its laws as it did citizens' unwillingness to abide by them.

The following month, shortly after the Select Committee was officially formed, a reader named M.H. Feilde wrote a letter to the editor of the *Daily News*. Feilde believed that "ultimate good" would "no doubt result from the labours of Mr. Sholefield's committee," hopefully in the form of government "curators" who would be appointed to assess food displayed for sale. "Instead of complaining of Government interference in this matter," Feilde claimed, "the public would rejoice, for by such interference alone can the evil be remedied." Even "if the poor man had the ability," the letter-writer argued, he could not "afford the time to analyse" every food, drink, or drug that he purchased. Thanks to the Select Committee, the public could no longer be charged "with apathy and indifference," for they were "beginning to perceive that the most important subjects often admit of the least 'cry.'" The poor and working classes found it difficult to bring their burdens to the attention of those in power, but through the "aid of a scientific man" like Hassall, their unique sufferings within the context of the larger adulteration epidemic would be brought to light.[302]

In February of 1856 the *Chronicle* printed a notice of the Select Committee's reconvening. Though the disservice done to the revenue and British coffee planters was mentioned, the majority of the short announcement was dedicated to hopes that the Select Committee would expose "unprincipled retail grocers" and implement measures "to protect

[301] *London Daily News*, June 22, 1855.
[302] *The Morning Chronicle*, July 30, 1855.

the interest of the poor and laboring classes." The notice was particularly concerned with grocers' habit of mixing "109lb of chicory, and only 3lb of coffee, with which, as a mixture of 'chicory and coffee,' they legally defraud the poor man of his hard-earned wages."[303] Even if certain individuals preferred the taste of chicory in their coffee, the utterly unbalanced nature of the mixture meant they were paying for a pound of mixed coffee while receiving, at most, a few coffee grounds in their chicory.

The deliberations of the Select Committee, particularly the testimony given by experts, could be found regularly in newspapers throughout London. Though experts' opinions on the social issues inherent to the adulteration epidemic were rarely included in such accounts, editorials, letters to editors, and other notices provide clear examples of a shift in rhetoric to include, if not focus on, the socioeconomic consequences of coffee adulteration. While their reporting on the Select Committee proved similar to that found in the *Times,* the *Daily News* and *Morning Chronicle* published more frequently editorial elements that discussed the issues of social justice inherent in the debate over coffee adulteration. Information in newspapers was supplemented by public gatherings and lectures, as well as pamphlets and other forms of cheap print. In these various forms of media, the work of Hassall and other scientist-reformers began to shift the focus of public debate over adulteration to the nation's moral obligation to its poor. Their use of microscopy allowed them to expose and quantify the burdens of the working classes, so that the nefarious consequences of social stratification could no longer be treated as an abstract issue or the unavoidable result of economic inequality.

The surprising and complicated role that coffee and chicory played in British debates over food adulteration and purity laws does not fully reveal how working-class

[303] *The Morning Chronicle*, February 25, 1856.

Britons perceived and experienced coffee adulteration and the various legislative efforts to end it. Did they resent bearing a greater share of the burden caused by illegal adulteration? Or did they appreciate the "cheap form of sweetened hot drink" offered by mixtures of coffee and chicory?[304] The answer is likely a combination of the two. The success of various public education efforts suggests that working class Britons actively participated in the issues that concerned them, but the extent to which such engagement altered consumer behavior or conceptions of 'fair trade' in the urban marketplace remains unclear.

Hassall and other scientist-reformers, government officials, members of the public media, and (presumably) everyday Britons used coffee as a means of discussing taxation, relations between metropole and colony, the moral character of the national, and social justice. The transmission of Hassall's innovations in microscopic analysis, expert agitation for government action, and scientific testimony before the Select Committee caused a shift in rhetoric in various forms of media as Britons began to conceive of adulteration as inexorably bound to socioeconomic issues. The ability to visualize the economic and physical burdens of the poor through scientific study proved key in moving the debate over adulteration beyond retailers' arguments concerning the subjectivity of taste. Though that shift should not be taken as indicative of an all-encompassing overhaul of public opinion, it does reveal the ways in which coffee in this period can be used as a window through which to view histories of class, science, and public policy—a fact not lost on Hassall and other like-minded reformers.

[304] Smith, "Coffee, Microscopy, and the *Lancet's* Analytical Sanitary Commission," 195.

CHAPTER V

THE COFFEEHOUSE "REBORN"

In addition to ethical economics, British cultural values were seen as directly related to Britain's global reputation. How could Britain remain the greatest (and most morally upstanding) empire on earth if its own citizens engaged in various forms of vice and immorality? Though questions of liberty, morality, and fairness animated discussions during the entire nineteenth century, the second half of the century saw social reform movements play an increasingly loud—if not always effective—role in British life. Efforts to promote public order by moderating drinking habits dated back to the sixteenth century, but the modern temperance movement began in the early years of the nineteenth century with the anti-spirits movement, an effort to moderate drinking by favoring beer and wine over liquors like gin and rum.[305] The ground for a nation-wide temperance movement was fertile. Thanks to medical authorities, evangelicals, and industrialists, late eighteenth-century public attitudes had begun to change from indulgent to disapproving.[306]

The contours of class-based identities evolved throughout the nineteenth century, and combined with political developments and varying degrees of religious influence to create three relatively distinct periods of temperance effort that roughly correspond to the early, mid-, and late nineteenth century. In the 1820s and 30s, "an elite of working men" that made up a "labour aristocracy" aligned themselves with middle class reformers in

[305] Brian Harrison, *Drink and the Victorians: The Temperance Question in England, 1815-1872,* 2nd ed. (Staffordshire: Keele University Press, 2012), 85-89.

[306] Harrison, *Drink and the Victorians*, 89-90.

support of "constructive Liberalism."[307] In contrast to the "negative" Liberalism embodied in free trade ideologies, this constructive Liberalism sought to establish a balance "between individual freedom and social obligation" in the form of respectability.[308] During this period the importance of "culture and conduct" meant that members of the "respectable" poor—those who believed in thrift, prioritized family, sough opportunities for self-improvement, and put care into their appearance—had more in common with the middling classes than with the "rough" poor known for their vulgar language and wasteful spending habits.[309] From the beginning, British temperance was "highly institutional" and followed the model of religious organization by forming societies, signing pledges, and holding regular meetings to "propagate the temperance message." In these early decades church leaders from both established and nonconformist denominations participated in and supported the movement, allowing a harmony to develop between the Christian conscience and impulses towards social activism.[310]

When teetotalism—which forbade the consumption of all intoxicants—began to emerge in the 1830s, fissures opened between the church and the temperance movement. The perceived radicalism of complete abstention from alcohol alienated religious leaders who were unwilling to sacrifice the use of sacramental wine, as well as "many of the earlier middle and upper-class temperance supporters who were unwilling to condemn all consumption of wines and beers." A "secular self help movement" stepped in to fill the

[307] Peter Bailey warns historians against unwittingly adopting "19th-century presumptions of behavior consistency" by stereotyping a "basic and exclusive duality in working-class culture." Recognizing that the culture and conduct of the working class cannot be so neatly divided between respectable and rough, it is nevertheless important to note the ways in which certain segments of the working class found it easier than others to align themselves with the middle class. For more, see Peter Bailey, "'Will the Real Bill Banks Please Stand Up?' Towards a Role Analysis of Mid-Victorian Working-Class Respectability," *Journal of Social History* 12, no. 3 (Spring 1979): 336-353.

[308] Harrison, 26-27, 30.

[309] Ibid., 25-28.

[310] Lilian Lewis Shiman, "The Blue Ribbon Army: Gospel Temperance in England," *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church* 50, no. 4 (December 1981): 391-408, quoted 392.

void left by religious supporters; classes and education institutes, led mostly by working class men, sought to improve the material circumstances of members in addition to their morals and habits.[311] The Chartist Movement, spanning from the mid-1830s to the late 1850s, produced its own strain of temperance that aligned nicely with the secular improvement impulses of teetotalers. Chartist temperance minimized the "problem of drink" in order to link "broader social evils" to "working-class misery."[312]

Rob Breton has shown that a distinct working-class perspective is visible in the narratives constructed by Chartists, as opposed to those of middle class reformers. Though both sets of narratives "emphasize the problem of working class drinking," Chartists focused on systemic socioeconomic issues that drove workers to drink while middle class narratives made moral weakness the origin point of intemperance and alcoholism.[313] While Chartists and other working class radicals saw temperance as one link in the chain that might enact societal change, moderate middle-class reformers continued to emphasize the importance of achieving respectability through personal improvement. The political focus and radical nature of Chartist temperance created tensions in the ranks of reformers along class lines, a fact that might have helped contribute to the return of paternalist ideologies in the last decades of the century.

Chartism's defeat in the 1840s allowed "fear of the mob [to] recede," allowing Britons in the second half of the century to focus on learning to deal with "an increasingly urban society."[314] The focus of the late nineteenth-century movement shifted to providing the working classes with alternative forms of leisure to the public house and gin palaces; it also

[311] Shiman, "The Blue Ribbon Army," 392-393.
[312] Rob Breton, "Diverting the Drunkard's Path: Chartist Temperance Narratives," *Victorian Literature and Culture* 41, no. 1 (2013): 139-152, quoted 140.
[313] Breton, "Diverting the Drunkard's Path," 140.
[314] Hilton, *A Mad, Bad, and Dangerous People*, 629.

revived faith-based abstention to produce a version of temperance that still favored teetotalism, but that once again emphasized the moral over the material. "Gospel Temperance" came to Britain in the 1870s from the United States, creating tension between Blue Ribbon temperance advocates and established forms of British temperance due to its foundation in "revivalist as well as temperance traditions."[315] The language of salvation and all of its paternalist implications returned alongside desires to create a morally upstanding citizenry. The economic downturn of the 1870s and 1880s created fears over Britain's place in a world that was quickly catching up to British industrialization, making the superiority of Britishness all the more important.[316]

The coffee tavern movement of the 1870s and 80s represented a clear shift in the temperance movement away from the tactics of "legislative compulsionists," who preferred to agitate for legal prohibition at the national or local level, toward those of "moral suasionists," who believed that education would lead to widespread reform through individual change.[317] But reformers had no interest in supplying the working classes with just any type of social space. The coffeehouse, one of London's most international renowned institutions, needed to be adapted. Maintaining all the good, rational, sober elements of the archetypal British coffeehouse, while removing the extravagant trappings of debauchery known to follow its more elite patrons, would allow temperance advocates to produce a new type of imperial agent. Instead of bringing the farthest reaches of empire into the metropole, the coffee tavern was intended to cultivate a respectable, self-disciplined, and sober citizenry worthy of the imperial mantle.

[315] Shiman, "The Blue Ribbon Army," 404.
[316] A.E. Musson, "The Great Depression in Britain, 1873-1896: A Reappraisal," *The Journal of Economic History* 19, no. 2 (June 1959): 199-228.
[317] Harrison, *Drink and the Victorians*, 21.

Legitimate, Necessary, and Valuable

The coffeehouse was not always the obvious choice for temperance efforts. Some early reformers, like the women of 1650s London when the coffeehouse was first introduced, saw coffeehouses as just another distraction keeping working men from their homes and families. But seventy years of battles lost to taverns, ale-houses, and gin shops convinced many temperance advocates in the 1870s to begin establishing alternate "rational recreations."[318] A pamphlet, released by the Coffee Public House Association in 1879, articulated this agenda:

> Give the working-man a public house where he may meet his friends, and talk and smoke and play games with all the freedom to which he has been accustomed, and where good coffee and tea—with stimulus and nourishment in them to take the place of beer and gin, and you set before him for the first time plainly, the choice between sobriety and comfort on the one hand, and dissipation and wretchedness on the other.[319]

Florence Nightingale wrote to the President of the Coffee House Association to tell him of the young male patients who came into workhouse infirmaries from "the drink and, worse, come in again and again, knowing that it will be the drink again which brings them there." Away from their wives in order to be near work, the men complained they had "nowhere to go but the public house" to escape their crowded temporary lodgings. "What these men want," Nightingale wrote, "is a place where they can have coffee, read the newspapers, and play games (without temptations to gambling)."[320]

Reformers' goals went beyond creating an alternative to the public house, however. Coffeehouses became one of the instruments by which respectability could be cultivated in the working class. Rules and regulations helped circumscribe the behavior of patrons,

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[318] Mike Huggins, *Vice and the Victorians* (London: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2015), 67-68.

[319] The Coffee Public-House Association, *The Coffee Public House, How to Establish and Manage It* (London, 1879), 7.

[320] James Freeman Clarke, ed., *Coffee Houses and Coffee Palaces in England* (Boston, 1882), 8-9.

while abstinence pledges and religious instruction attempted to reform customers' behavior outside the walls of the coffee tavern. In 1844, Angus Reach, the prolific journalist and critic, described these spaces as "schools where instruction is meted out, as well as coffee sold."[321] In order for their efforts to be successful, however, reformers first needed to make the coffeehouse itself align with their idea of respectability. To do so, temperance advocates framed their exploits in the coffee trade by appropriating and adapting the imagery of "traditional" eighteenth-century coffeehouses.

Temperance reformers displayed a keen desire to distance themselves from coffeehouses of gentlemen scholars and wealthy merchants, as well as those houses frequented by Hogarthian "rakes and their misses."[322] In 1878, for instance, Edward Hepple Hall, a travel writer, simultaneously linked contemporary establishments to the "old-fashioned house" and distanced the modern form from it.[323] Coffeehouses, Hall claimed, "flourished down to the middle and nearly to the close of the eighteenth century, but from a variety of causes...the orthodox, old-fashioned coffeehouse...has all but drifted out of existence." Hall blamed the disappearance on encroaching clubs, as well as hotels, dining rooms, taverns, and restaurants. Such institutions, he argued, caused the "once broad domain of the original coffee house keeper" to grow "smaller by degrees." Coffeehouses that had once provided patrons with caffeine, meals, beer & wine, beds, and the latest news found themselves crowded out of an increasingly niche service sector. With the clubs and finer entertainments closed to them, the working classes turned, with increasing frequency, to taverns and gin palaces.

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[321] Angus B. Reach, "The Coffee Houses of London," *The New Parley Library*, 13 July 1844; P.D. Edwards, "Angus Bethune Reach," Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, https://doi-org.proxy.library.vanderbilt.edu/10.1093/ref:odnb/23213 (accessed 13 May 2019).

[322] *Moll King*, 8.

[323] Edward Hepple Hall, *Coffee Taverns, Cocoa Houses, and Coffee Palaces: Their Rise, Progress, and Prospects; with a Directory* (London, 1878).

To create a new, sober space for the working classes to spend their leisure time, temperance reformers needed to maintain the respectability of the most renowned coffeehouses while eschewing the behaviors associated with the most notorious. Temperance periodicals dedicated to the coffee tavern trade appeared to lament coffeehouses' gradual loss of "prestige" as a "political institution," but they did so by indicating a clear demarcation between the "celebrated old houses" and the "more humble" institutions established by reformers: "We have lost the intellectual, the high-born, and the politician, but we have assumed our proper place," wrote one of the writers of the *Coffee Tavern Gazette*. Echoing Hall's narrative, these periodicals went on to reassure readers that the early coffeehouses had "blossomed into clubs," and thus had "but small connection" to the modern coffee tavern.[324] Distinctions were made between the *coffeehouse* frequented by "the most illustrious politicians, the most brilliant wits, and the most renowned art and literature," and the *coffee tavern* that stepped into "its place with the legitimate, necessary, and valuable trades of the kingdom."[325]

The Coffee Tavern Company published their *Practical Hints for the Management of Coffee Taverns* for any enterprising soul "anxious to see Coffee Taverns established in their neighbourhood." Location, they advised, was the first and most important decision in the process of opening a coffee tavern, and could make or break a business. Would-be owners needed to find a thoroughfare "with a good average daily traffic," preferably "in the centre of a large poor population, or surrounded by large factories" or any other business "where many hands [were] employed." Avoiding dark alleys and dingy streets proved key, as "a house even two or three doors" from the "brightness and bustle of a

[324] "What the Coffee Shop Does," *Coffee Tavern Gazette*, 3 July 1886.
[325] "A Word for Ourselves and Two for the Trade," *Coffee Tavern Gazette*, 7 August 1886.

public thoroughfare" would not prove a sufficient lure for a customer looking to escape his own "dark, dingy and desolate" home.[326]

Figure 5.1. The supposed first London coffee tavern in London. In this image, as in all of the images of coffee taverns and palaces produced by reformers, crowds, filth, and the realities of urban life are erased and replaced by cleanliness and order. Though these are some of the only remaining images we have of coffee taverns, it is important to remember that they were meant to be advertisements as well as depictions.
Source: *The Refreshment News*, 9 February 1889, 106.

Location, specifically the character of the neighborhood, helped determine several aspects of the coffee tavern, from hours of operation to "the style and fittings." A coffee

[326] The Coffee Tavern Company, *Practical Hints for the Management of Coffee Taverns* (London, 1878), 2.

tavern shopkeeper in Whitechapel initially "thought well to begin very early and keep open late," but soon found that, since the majority of the workers in the area worked "between eight and eight,' few customers came in during the evenings. Having found that customers abounded between eleven in the morning through the late afternoon, the managers displayed "the judgment necessary in managing coffee public-houses" and altered their hours to meet the needs of the neighborhood. An Edgeware Road tavern run by the same company maintained a successful evening business, given that its customers worked mainly as household servants.[327]

[327] Hall, *Coffee Palaces*, 85-87.

Figure 5.2. The Edinburgh Castle Coffee Palace Exterior.
Source: Edward Hepple Hall, *Coffee Taverns, Cocoa Houses, and Coffee Palaces* (London, 1878), 53.

While the 'tavern' model first found its foothold in the City and West End, the coffee palace made its inaugural debut in the East End. At first glance, the arrangement may seem paradoxical, but coffee palaces were simply transformed gin palaces, "and as such [comported] most readily with the prevailing notions and habits of East-enders." The Edinburgh Castle opened in Limehouse in February 1873 and enjoyed immediate success (see Figure 5.2). The outside of these palaces advertised comfort and papers on their

expansive windows, fitted with abundant lighting. Inside, customers had access to "hot coffee, strong tea, rich cocoa, a warm room, [the] day's papers, [and] a hearty welcome." Subtle signs warned customers that "Wine is a Mocker" and advertised "Religious and Social Meetings Every Evening at 8'o clock" (see Figure 5.3). Rather than tables scattered about the room, the Edinburgh Palace contained semi-private booths that successfully invoked the older coffeehouses frequented by members of every class. Reading rooms provided both standing and sitting room to peruse a variety of papers and periodicals.

Figure 5.3. Interior of the Edinburgh Castle Coffee Palace.
Source: Edward Hepple Hall, *Coffee Taverns, Cocoa Houses, and Coffee Palaces* (London, 1878), 56.

Coffee stalls and carts could also serve some of the same purposes as coffee taverns, without the expense required to open a brick-and-mortar business. The temperance

movement opened a "wide field [of] industry" for that "large class of persons who are obliged to earn their own bread, yet possessing neither large capital in money nor business experience," and coffee stalls offered economic opportunities for "women (married or single), butlers, footmen, shop-men, and army and navy pensioners."[328] Perhaps more importantly, coffee carts and stalls facilitated opportunities to observe London's streets while they were shrouded in darkness. Contributors to the *Refreshment News* responded to claims that coffee stall owners had experienced tense run-ins with London police.

Figure 5.4. A Yorkshire coffee van.
Source: Edward Hepple Hall, *Coffee Taverns, Cocoa Houses, and Coffee Palaces* (London, 1878), 67.

Upon investigation, however, the reporters found that the coffee stalls targeted by police were the same ones patronized by "semi-drunken men and women," whereas those

[328] *Practical Hints on Coffee Stall Management, and Other Temperance Work for the Laity* (London, 1886), 2.

coffee cart owners who turned away such customers were held "in great respect by the police."[329] Another coffee stall owner informed reformers of the difference between those cart owners who opened at midnight versus those who opened at four in the morning. While "those that come out in the morning" catered to "the accommodation of working-men," the stall owners who came out at night pandered to "late stragglers" and the "homeless 'night-walker," as well as other "females who are to be found nightly in our streets."[330] Coffee stall owners, then, could either support or degrade the rule of law, and served as a means of round-the-clock social surveillance. But if Britons' souls were at risk, nighttime amateur surveillance would not suffice.

Reforming the Soul

For evangelicals devoted to disseminating the Gospel, coffee taverns offered opportunities to proselytize while convincing workers to renounce the drink. Elizabeth Cotton, the eventual Lady Hope of Carriden, founded one of the first coffee rooms to emerge from the temperance impulse. Born in Australia before moving to India and then to England, Elizabeth met and was influenced by several prominent evangelical leaders throughout her formative years. Once her family settled in Dorking, Surrey, she organized Sunday schools and assisted in meetings held by American evangelists Dwight L. Moody and Ira Sankey. It was in Dorking that Cotton opened her coffee room, which served food and non-alcoholic beverages and held Bible classes, prayer meetings, and Sunday evening services. In 1877 Elizabeth married Admiral Sir James Hope, a prominent evangelical and

[329] "Coffee Stalls," *The Refreshment News*, 28 April 1888.
[330] "A 'Coffee-Stall' Interviewed," *The Refreshment News*, 8 June 1889.

temperance advocate, and became Lady Hope, as she preferred to be called. Widowed only four years later, Lady Hope moved to London and opened several more coffee houses.[331]

During that time Cotton wrote extensively, publishing dozens of works dealing with temperance and evangelical issues—one of which, *Our Coffee Room* (1878), recounted the origin story of her first coffee room in Surrey. In it, Cotton critiqued contemporary remedies "for the evils of our country" that encouraged "a love of the beautiful" as a means of gradually elevating "the vitiated mind, deformed taste, and low pursuits of the working man." Praising the beauty of Dorking as an environment in which visitors claimed they "could always be good" if they were residents, Cotton nevertheless firmly asserts, "beauty does not cast our sin." More than beauty, she argued, the working man needed to be provided with an alternative to the "dangerous tool" of the "easily obtained drink." Offering the working man a "better way" that included "putting within his easy reach the offer of a new supply" and "telling him in simple words of a tender Saviour's love" proved the only way to correct the "widely-spreading malady" of drunkenness.[332]

[331] Laurence R. Croft, *Lady Hope: The Life and Work of Lady Hope of Carriden* (Lancashire: Elmwood Books, 2017), 3-5.

[332] Elizabeth Cotton, Lady Hope of Carriden, *Our Cotton Room* (London, 1878), 3.

Figure 5.5. Interior of Lady Hope's coffee room.
Source: Elizabeth Cotton, Lady Hope of Carriden, *Our Cotton Room* (London, 1878), Plate I.

Cotton traced the inspiration for her coffee room back to conversations with several local men. One claimed that, though he went to the public house "almost every night, and Sundays too," ultimately "nobody care[d]." Cotton depicted the public house, along with its owners and their wives, as "ever ready—ready to do their deadly work." While the publican attempted "with every brandishment to sell his wares," his wife made conversation with "unhappy visitors" in order to make them "feel at home." These efforts, Cotton argued, only simulated "a kind and individual interest," while in reality publicans and their wives brought their customers "to a lower level of pauperism and absolute misery" while filling their own pockets with "unblessed gold"—another sisterhood of

idols.[333] Her growing distaste for the public house coincided with increasing demands by the local poor for greater access to Biblical teaching. According to Cotton, her efforts to begin a Sunday school for poor boys developed into a desire for the same by their parents, who found the teachings of the preacher on Sunday largely incomprehensible. These circumstances coalesced into a vision of a coffee room for working men that would offer sober entertainment alongside edifying religious experiences, in hopes of bettering the lives of the men and their families.

A wealthy relative provided Cotton with the capital to get her vision off the ground; this relationship between private philanthropic impulses and religious reform projects would be replicated over the course of the coffee tavern movement. A nearby building, formerly an informal school for the village, provided two rooms—a coffee-room opened downstairs while the upstairs space served as a meeting-room. The coffee room contained two bars, one "for the display of provisions and sale of coffee," the other "for the reception of account books, &c," connected with a charity intended to collect the money "no longer spent in beer." Five tables and chairs covered with crimson cushions filled the room, while "cheerful" pictures adorned the walls. Cotton then went about finding a manager for the coffee room, which she considered to be "of the greatest importance." She needed to find a "devoted Christian, single-hearted, God-fearing, [and] trustworthy," who displayed a "special love for the work" and possessed a "ready tact in dealing with the varieties of character" that would enter the doors of the coffee room.[334]

Having found a manager, Cotton opened her coffee room with a night of free coffee in December of 1873. She quickly made the rules of her establishment known: no alcohol,

[333] Cotton, *Our Coffee Room*, 12-13.
[334] Cotton, 62-64.

no smoking, and no bad language. The rooms would remain open from five in the morning until ten at night, and no admission fee would be charged.[335] Cotton christened the establishment "The Beckenham Rooms" and enjoyed a booming business of fifty to one hundred customers a day from the first week of business. A pledge book, which allowed customers to undertake a vow of abstinence from alcohol, was soon acquired for the premises, as well. Before long, the size of the rooms proved inadequate for the number of customers patronizing them, forcing Cotton and her manager to turn people away.[336] A plan to require young boys to leave the rooms after seven o'clock in the evening ended with threats of their going instead to the public house. Luckily, a local carpenter volunteered to build an addition onto the rooms that would serve as a boys' coffee room—a place "where they might have their games and books and coffee, and disturb nobody."[337]

The coffee room, as well as the meeting room above it, proved to be a massive success. Sales continued at a "brisk and prosperous" rate; a night school began and was well attended; Thursday prayer meetings grew in attendance; and "every Saturday evening the men enjoyed singing hymns immensely."[338] Needing additional space, Cotton accepted an offer to use two rooms of the Town Hall for a satellite coffee space. She and her allies saw the Town Hall's location, near several public houses, as an advantage in combating the allure of alcohol.[339]

The desire to set up shop near the very businesses they branded as enemies would remain throughout the duration of the movement. In contrast to the coffeehouses run without a reforming agenda, Cotton attempted to regulate the behavior and character of her

[335] Cotton, 70. Most coffeehouses charged a small admission fee to vocer the cost of papers and periodicals. Coffee and other refreshments required additional purchase.
[336] Ibid., 89.
[337] Ibid., 94.
[338] Ibid., 97-98.
[339] Ibid., 153.

customers through the rules and programming of her coffee rooms.[340] When asked if it would be better to exclude religion from her charitable efforts, Cotton balked. "These men," she claimed, "value the Power that has dragged them 'out of the horrible pit and the miry clay, and set their feet upon a rock, and established their goings.'"[341] In her mind, the sobering properties of coffee went hand-in-hand with the reforming Spirit of the Lord. Like a child with a dangerous knife, a "better toy" must be put within "sight and reach" to convince the lost to turn from their sinful ways and find themselves "both happy and safe in the newly-provided environment."[342] Religious reformers' paternalist perspective meant that the reimagined coffeehouse was not a place to pursue one's unique interests, but to pursue the betterment of one's soul.

As time passed, the role of religion and even teetotalism in the coffee tavern movement became more contested. Many thought that explicit attempts to shape "the heart and conduct" would be perceived as intolerant, and should therefore be "kept in the background" given that the success of the movement depended on "the united suffrages of the whole community."[343] Though some evangelical coffee taverns continued to operate, the overall trend of the movement gravitated away from religious affiliation. The *Coffee Public House News* advised keeping religious instruction "apart from the business of the house, in rooms rented...and at times suitable." Notices of gatherings, prayer meetings, and other religiously minded efforts could be placed in the coffee room, "where mutual treating

[340] In some ways, this harkened back to the earliest coffeehouses, though seventeenth-century verses written on proper coffeehouse behavior should be read as idealistic and descriptive, rather than Cotton's proscriptive regulations. See "The Rules and Orders of the Coffee-House," in *Brief Description of the Excellent Vertues of that sober and wholesome drink, called coffee* (London, 1674).

[341] Cotton, 159.

[342] Ibid., 5.

[343] E.T. Bellhouse, *The Coffee-House Movement* (Manchester: Manchester Statistical Society, 1880), 126-127.

goes on, and family men can take home little niceties for their firesides."[344] But even as the coffee tavern movement distanced itself from more overt religious affiliations, it remained dedicated to the idea of replacing a slavish devotion to alcohol with commitment to respectability and moderation. The coffeehouse was no longer a place to encounter or even contribute to the imperial project, but had become a training ground to elevate the poor so that "those behind" could "move onward as swiftly as they can," allowing all Britons to "advance together."[345]

Charity or Business?

As the temperance movement grew and evolved, the relationship between philanthropy and the coffee tavern also came up for broader debate. In 1883, the *Coffee Public House News (CPHN)*, a weekly paper meant to encourage the coffee tavern movement and provide wholesome reading material for coffee tavern patrons, ran an article explaining the origins of the coffee tavern. Combining faith, benevolence, and love of nation, the *CPHN* was "born of prayer, it was nursed by Christian zeal and philanthropy...[and] educated by patriotism." The initial goal was, ironically, to keep men "from their homes (such homes!)" until their habits and convictions had been deemed sufficiently changed. Once true change was achieved, the men were expected to bring their new behaviors and priorities into their homes. These spaces were "designed to be a fulcrum upon which to rest a lever to raise the 'outcast' poor," and its supporters saw their "commercial success and popularity" as the "purpose of Divine Providence."[346]

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[344] "The Adaptation of the Coffee-Taverns to Mission-Rooms," *The Coffee Public House News*, 18 September 1886.

[345] "The Duke of Albany on Coffee Taverns and the Elevation of the Poor," *The Coffee Public House News*, 1 March 1884.

[346] "The Genus of the Coffee Tavern," *The Coffee Public House News*, 1 December 1883.

And yet, three years later, that same publication opined the unlikelihood of a strictly religious institution meeting much commercial success. "No company of shareholders would probably undertake Coffee-taverns" that doubled as "mission rooms"—designated spaces for religious instruction. The coffee taverns needed to find a way to maintain a degree of financial success *and* their reform agendas. Many reformers worried that those houses that attempted to exist in a purely philanthropic state—running on the donations of others, giving out more than they take in—gave the movement a bad name. They often lacked both pleasing aesthetics and comfort, took away customers from nearby houses running on a traditional business model, and ultimately damaged the prospects of the managers and staff associated with the house. In 1887, "An Onlooker" wrote about the prevalence of such houses, particularly in the beginning of what became known as the coffee tavern movement:

> There was in almost every instance a roughness in the arrangements, a poverty in the nature and extent of the accommodation and provisions, and a failure in attention, which plainly bespoke the fact that the excellent motives which had led to the establishment of these places were not being worthily worked up to by those who had the management, or we believe in some cases, the farming of them in the first instance.[347]

Another writer, self-described as "An Old Wanderer, Not An Abstainer," lamented the efforts of "the wrong sort of people" to "regenerate the Coffee-house in all its past popularity." The wrong sort of people turned out to be philanthropists and religious temperance reformers who kept "collecting and supplying cash till the end comes...and then down goes the lot."[348] Success depended on the ability to make customers "comfortable" in spaces "as suited to all classes as are the public houses and bars of

[347] "Coffee Taverns, Their Failures and Successes," *The Temperance Caterer*, 15 October 1887.
[348] "Business v. Philanthropy," *The Refreshment News*, 30 June 1888.

England." Without the attention to comfort, "you might just as well expect people to patronize the weaning ward of a foundling hospital."[349]

Critiques did not stop, however, once philanthropists updated the look and experience of their institutions. One group's solution to the seductive display offered by gin palaces was to create their own, more sober, spectacle. "The enemy should be fought with its own weapons," namely "gold, crystal, and gas." Groups of like-minded reformers came together to create such a temptation, which was to be financed by the subscriptions of well-to-do philanthropists. According to one observer, the coffee palaces managed to resemble their debauched counterparts in "every particular." These palaces, housed in "gigantic [buildings], sparkling with glass, [and] radiant with light," proved to be "powerful attractions for the poor," who appeared to be easily enthralled by their charms. Coffee palaces, which "the most sober citizen might enter...in error," believing them to be distributors of gin, attempted to inhabit the middle ground between bewitching, alcohol-fueled grandeur and humble, sobering comfort.[350]

Critics argued that, while intending to "destroy the liquor trade," coffee palaces run by collectives of philanthropists actually "injured most the very class" of coffeehouse proprietors that began the movement in the first place. In 1877, for instance, *The Coffee House Guardian* claimed to have received "many complaints from the owners of coffee houses, doing business in the neighbourhood of these handsome structures." The complainants pointed out that, while the owners of taverns and gin palaces in the area might have been "pricked," it was coffeehouse proprietors who had been "dangerously wounded." This [what] had to do, in large part, with the nature of the coffee palace's

[349] "Coffee Taverns at Home and Abroad," *The Coffee Public House News*, 1 July 1883.
[350] "Coffee Palaces and the Trade," *Coffee House Guardian*, 14 September 1877.

financing. The *Guardian* claimed that "if private speculation erects a sumptuous building…we can say nothing." But if, as in the case of the coffee palaces, "a body of men…by the aid of subscriptions from the philanthropic" open such an establishment, and ask "the not-over-wealthy, often struggling, coffee-shop keeper, to contend against charity" it was seen as an "immoral act."[351] To imbue morality in others required morality on the part of the reformers themselves, whether they ran a coffee tavern as philanthropy or a business. Engaging in unethical behaviors—even those that appeared, on the surface, to be virtuous—undermined the movement as a whole. "That no Coffee Tavern should be opened or managed otherwise than properly," argued the Coffee Tavern Protection Society, "is a matter directly affecting the welfare of every Coffee Tavern alike."[352]

All of the material produced by the coffee tavern movement points to a commonly held conviction concerning the necessity of these efforts. Coffee could be made and served for an absurdly low price, which allowed the "ill-paid clerk" to enjoy a "wholesome meal, genial warmth, and a flood of literature." In *The Coffee and Eating House Guardian*, an article entitled "What the Coffee Shop Does" passionately argued, "though we may have many failings, we are of more value to the poor than all the other trade put together, and are in a quiet, unostentatious way doing more genuine service to the State." Indeed, coffee taverns provided the means by which "the tastes, the imagination, the talkative faculty, the soul of man" could be tended to, alongside the appetites of the body.[353]

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[351] "Coffee Palaces and the Trade," *Coffee House Guardian*, 14 September 1877.

[352] Coffee Tavern Protection Society, *Practical Hints for the Management of Coffee Taverns* (London, 1878), 1-2.

[353] "The Genus of the Coffee Tavern," *The Coffee Public House News and Temperance Hotel Journal*, 1 December 1883.

For the Sake of the Nation

Temperance reformers tended to the souls, minds, and stomachs of the British working class with a specific purpose in mind—through individual improvement, the nation as a whole might be reshaped into a beacon of moral uprightness. Indeed, the absence of alcohol was not enough, in and of itself, to ensure a reformation of manners. Temperance institutions "must be free from *all* appearance of evil" or they left themselves open to accusations of hypocrisy. "The impression is abroad," lamented Thomas Collings in *The Refreshment News*, "that, save in the matter of temperance, there is no difference between a coffee house and any other. This should not be."[354] Coffeehouses held the potential to reduce crime, civilize the lower classes, and create a sober and moral citizenry, but only if the "social purity" of the movement was maintained.[355]

In the late nineteenth century British ideological justifications for imperial rule began to shift from notions of a "purposive moral project" to arguments focused on subjugated populations' readiness for nationhood. This moved the "source of imperial legitimacy, authority, and power" from the metropole to the colonies while keeping the ultimate ability to judge a nation's readiness for independent rule firmly in the hands of the British.[356] But this shift manifested in new cultural anxieties at home, with many Britons wondering if colonial excesses might "corrode English liberties" and lead to "racial decay."[357] The helps explain legislation like the Food and Drink Act and the Contagious Disease Acts of the 1860s. It may also help explain why a movement dedicated to

[354] "Gambling and Betting in Coffee Houses," *The Refreshment News*, 3 November 1888.

[355] "The Social Purity of the Coffee Tavern Movement," *The Coffee Tavern Gazette*, 22 January 1887.

[356] Karuna Mantena, "The Crisis of Liberal Imperialism" in *Victorian Visions of Global Order: Empire and International Relations in Nineteenth-Century Political Thought*, ed. Duncan Bell (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 127-131.

[357] Lauren Benton and Lisa Ford, *Rage for Order: The British Empire and the Origins of International Law, 1800-1850* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2016), 7; Cannadine, 450-451.

uprooting a centuries-old British drinking culture managed to achieve such a foothold in cities throughout the nation.

Though intemperance could be found amongst "high and low alike," workers and the poor needed particular guidance toward the path of righteousness given their lack of education and limited exposure to virtue.[358] Codes of conduct associated with coffee taverns ensured that, in this one setting at least, patrons found escape from "base," "unmanly" behavior, like "indecent conversation." Foul language and immoral conversation polluted the otherwise "unsullied and untarnished" atmosphere of the coffee tavern, and mangers were advised to "let the cowards" who used such language know "that you are a follower of the right, and in your house the sacred cause of pure, choice, sanctified converse must be accepted and followed." Words betrayed the character of the soul, and therefore needed to be carefully monitored. "How many prodigals perishing from some secret disease," asked one writer, "could trace the first wrong step to indulgence in impure utterance?"[359] In prohibiting both alcohol and immoral language, the coffee taverns attempted to limit patrons' exposure to corrupting influences.

In the absence of illicit temptations, reformers sought to cultivate a "refining and civilizing" atmosphere.[360] In attempting to uproot "that fatal passion for drink," reformers recognized the need for a communal space that did not depend on a culture of drinking. According to W.H. Hudson, a Fellow of the Royal Historical Society and a contributor to temperance publications, "the well-known English fondness for home life" drove working class men from their cold and dirty dwellings to the warm and hospitable public houses. Temperance social centers needed to provide a similar environment for "social

[358] Hilton, *A Mad, Bad, and Dangerous People?* 622-623.
[359] "The Social Purity of the Coffee Tavern Movement."
[360] Bellhouse, *On the Coffee-House Movement*, 125.

intercourse", as it was in these "social centres" that the "manners of the people" were improved.[361] The proliferation of societies and trade organizations in the nineteenth century point to a belief in the importance and power of public sociability to exert a positive influence on both individual and civic life. Coffee taverns also provided "an opportunity of developing the taste for art and music" in the working classes, two things that might help "cure" the intemperance that served as a "disgrace [to] the nation."[362] In all these ways, the coffee taverns actually did harken back to the coffee houses of old that acted as "key" sites of "masculine social discipline" and refiners of taste.[363]

But temperance reformers never meant for their mission to stop at the entrance to the coffee tavern. The vices perpetuated by the drink affected the "habits and character" of all Britons and were a "discredit to our nation."[364] A retrospective on the success of coffee taverns in honor of the Queen's Jubilee boasted that the movement's effects could be seen "in a declining drink revenue, the depreciated value of public-houses, and the conversion of brewing firms into limited liability companies." This loss of local and national revenue could be replaced by funds saved regarding policing and prosecuting crimes committed as a consequence of drunkenness, but only "when the number of coffee taverns bear an equal proportion to that of public houses."[365]

The coffee taverns were "guardians of the vast undertaking" to "transform a nation's *habits*," thereby ensuring that Britain's imperial obligations did not wreak havoc on British bodies or morals. But the ability of these spaces to serve such a purpose required disremembering the origins of the coffeehouses and the integral role they played in

[361] "Old Coffee Houses," *The Temperance Caterer*, 24 September 1887.
[362] Bellhouse, *On the Coffee-House Movement*, 125.
[363] Cowan, *Social Life of Coffee*, 244, 132-138.
[364] Bellhouse, *On the Coffee-House Movement*, 118.
[365] "The Status of Coffee Taverns in Her Majesty's Jubilee Year," *The Temperance Caterer*, 25 June 1887.

building, expanding, and maintaining the empire. The preservation of British culture, it seemed, depended on Britons' ability to forget.

EPILOGUE

IN SEARCH OF THE COFFEEHOUSE

In 1885, a columnist in a popular temperance journal observed that "coffee-drinking, though it had the start of tea, never obtained a firm footing in" Britain.[366] Oddly enough, that temperance journal was the *Coffee Public-House News*. Two years later, another writer remarked in *The Temperance Caterer* how "curious" it was to "observe how large a part coffee houses played" in the life of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Britons when one remembered "how completely they have now disappeared from our midst."[367] Even as they built coffee taverns and invented better methods for roasting, brewing, and drinking coffee, temperance reformers denied the existence of a British coffee culture. In doing so, they helped construct and perpetuate the narrative of the "disappearing coffeehouse," which describes the cultural decline of the British coffeehouse throughout the eighteenth century, and attributes such decline to the evolution of private clubs away from public spaces, the institutionalization of knowledge production and male sociability, and the erosion of the novelty attached to coffee as tea became increasingly popular.

The overwhelming acceptance of this late nineteenth-century narrative by twentieth and twenty-first century historians has meant that little work has been done to understand coffee's social, political, economic, and cultural significance in the modern era. Why did nineteenth-century Britons, and the historians who study them, insist on diminishing the presence and cultural influence of coffee? As prolific as the temperance reformers in the

[366] "The Decline of Coffee," *The Coffee Public-House News*, November 2, 1885.
[367] "Old Coffee Houses," *The Temperance Caterer*, September 24, 1887.

coffee tavern movement proved to be, they did not hold enough cultural sway to permanently alter the place of the coffeehouse in British cultural memory. And by the beginning of the twentieth century, even the coffee taverns had been written out of the history of British coffee consumption. Why? The answer lies in a historiographical tradition based on exclusionary definitions of "culture" that originated, ironically enough, in the nineteenth century.

Characterized as unique and democratic spaces almost from their inception, descriptions of the exceptional role played by coffeehouses in the formation of British identity can be found fully formed in John Timbs' *Club Life of London; with anecdotes of the Clubs, Coffee-Houses and Taverns of the Metropolis during the 17th, 18th, and 19th centuries* (1866) and Edward Forbes Robinson's *The Early History of Coffee Houses in England, with Some Account of the First Use of Coffee and a Bibliography of the Subject* (1893). Though "pictures of the Social Life of the Metropolis during the last two centuries are by no means rare," Timbs' "picture" had pride of place as the first attempt to "*focus* the Club-life" and bring into a single cohesive narrative the "leading Associations of clubbable Men...from the reign of Queen Anne, and the days of the *Tatler* and *Spectator*."[368] Timbs himself did not draw a strong connection between the rise of club-life and the demise of coffeehouses, though he mentioned that Covent Garden's "coffee-houses proper" had all but disappeared by the time of his writing.

Robinson's account, on the other hand, both expanded on Timbs' ideas concerning 'proper' coffeehouses and explicitly linked "the widespread popularity of subscription clubs" with the "period when coffee houses began to decline." According to Robinson, the

[368] John Timbs, *Club Life of London; with anecdotes of the Clubs, Coffee-Houses and Taverns of the Metropolis during the 17th, 18th, and 19th centuries* (London: John Edward Taylor, 1866), v.

lack of "literary activity" disqualified late nineteenth-century coffeehouses from belonging to the same category of sociability as their predecessors, which occupied a "peculiar social position, midway between the open tavern and the private club."[369] The tavern, known to be raucous and indiscriminate in its sociability, did not provide the ideal venue for the pursuit of intellectual or cultural interests. The coffeehouse, a socially democratic space that sold sobering beverages, provided a public space of sociability in which one might pursue social and intellectual refinement. The subscription club, which can be traced back to the same beginnings as the coffeehouse, fully matured in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries with the development of hyper-exclusive gentleman's clubs, and was, for Robinson, the evolutionary ideal of British sociability. In setting up these three social spaces along a continuum of sociability, Robinson implicitly places them on a chronological continuum as well. The British coffeehouse thrived during an exceptional period of time, the product of particular social, political, and cultural conditions. Once those conditions changed, the coffeehouse ceased to serve any of its original functions and consequently disappeared from the urban and archival map, to be replaced by a superior space of sociability.

Robinson chose to focus on the seventeenth century, not only because it was the time before the coffeehouse "lost anything of its generous social traditions," but also because "the issue of the struggle for political liberty was as yet uncertain."[370] The coffeehouses evolved from their Eastern origins by adapting to "English social conditions" and assimilating "some of the best elements of Puritanism," thus becoming a vibrant part of Londoners' daily lives in ways that imbued them with "magical power" and allowed

[369] Edward Forbes Robinson, *The Early History of Coffee Houses in England, with Some Account of the First Use of Coffee and a Bibliography of the Subject* (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., 1893), 211.

[370] Robinson, *The Early History of Coffee Houses in England*, ix.

them to exercise great influence "when more ancient institutions seemed temporarily paralyzed" in the face of Stuart misgovernment.[371] By tying the fate of coffeehouses so closely to the political turmoil of the second half of the seventeenth century, Robinson made the political role played by coffeehouses key to understanding their rise and fall from power. With the advent of an utterly free press and the political influence of groups like the Royal Society and the Rota Club housed in more formal institutions, the coffeehouses, emptied of their most influential patrons, became redundant spaces of sociability and gradually disappeared into oblivion.

The viability of this narrative depends, of course, on a severely circumscribed definition of coffeehouse-specific sociability based on gender and class. Yet, Aytoun Ellis' *The Penny Universities* (1956)—widely considered the first 'modern' history of Britain's coffeehouses—perpetuated Robinson's narrative concerning the coffeehouse's decline. Like Robinson, Ellis focused on the political and literary characteristics of coffeehouse culture, leading him to limit his investigation to the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries since, after that time, the character of the coffeehouses "completely changed" and therefore had "no real place in our story."[372] When the Stuart dynasty ended, the problems and injustices that had "engaged the attention of amateur politicians in the early coffeehouses" disappeared.

The coffeehouses remained popular haunts for "great poets, writers, artists and architects, scientists, and physicians," but "as with any democratic institution there was abuse," which prompted patrons with means to turn "the open house into an exclusive club.

[371] Robinson, *The Early History of Coffee Houses in England*, v-vii.
[372] Ellis, *The Penny Universities*, xv.

Once this transition began, the days of the coffee-house were numbered."[373] Once again, with the loss of their more illustrious patrons, the coffeehouse ceases to be worthy of further study. Ellis did add one significant new dimension to Robinson's narrative by considering the British East India Company's interest in tea as a third reason for the decline of the coffeehouse. "As it was the Government's policy to foster trade with India and China," he writes, "every encouragement was given to anything that would stimulate the demand for tea."[374] The advent of widespread consumption of tea became the final nail in the coffeehouses' coffin. By the end of the eighteenth century, coffeehouses had lost that 'special something' and, consequently, Ellis' interest.

Habermas' highly influential *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere* (1962) gives a specific name to the mysterious 'character' of coffeehouses so much admired by Robinson and Ellis. Although Habermas' concept of the public sphere has since undergone considerable criticism for the ways in which it focuses on a public that is overwhelmingly white and male, and for its overly dichotomous perspective on public and private life, it remains a useful analytical reference point for scholars investigating public sociability. With his emphasis on the importance of a "world of letters," the sequestration of the family from public life and economic activity, and the creation of an impersonal state opposed by a public engaged in rational argument and debate, it is small wonder that Habermas identified the British coffeehouse as the paradigm of his public sphere.[375] In so doing, he integrated key elements of earlier narratives of British coffeehouse culture while disregarding many of the more explicitly Whiggish perspectives on the rise and fall of coffee drinking.

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[373] Ellis, *The Penny Universities*, xvi.
[374] Ibid., 238.
[375] Craig J. Calhoun, *Introduction: Habermas and the Public Sphere* in *Habermas and the Public Sphere*, Studies in Contemporary German Social Thought (Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press, 1992), 10.

Much subsequent scholarship has attempted to recover elements of the history of the coffeehouse that Habermas overlooked, meaning that the historiography of the British coffeehouse in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries has been, in one way or another, framed by Habermas' ideas concerning sociability and the state. Work by Steven Pincus and Peter Lake, for instance, challenges Habermas' chronological limitations, and consequently calls into question the gender specific and socially exclusive nature of the Habermasian public sphere. According to Pincus, "it is precisely these sorts of limitations" that have led to feminist and other critiques of the public sphere as "a masculinist ideological notion that functioned to legitimate an emergent form of class rule."[376] Pincus' "'Coffeehouse Politicians Does Create'" (1995) argues that "widespread acceptance of the value of public opinion" in late seventeenth-century English culture points to the emergence of a Habermasian public sphere prior to the Glorious Revolution in 1688, and represents "a new conception of political and social space" that found its "social and cultural locus" in the coffeehouse.[377]

Pincus and Lake's "Rethinking the Public Sphere in Early Modern England" (2006) expands upon this idea, arguing that Habermas' eighteenth-century "crisis of capitalism" could not "in and of itself have generated" the public sphere found in English coffeehouses. Rather, they argue, the complex combination of religious reformation, political upheaval, and the need for innovative forms of fundraising first "called into being" and then normalized the idea of "an adjudicating public or publics able to judge or determine the truth of the matter in hand on the basis of information and argument placed

[376] Steven Pincus, "'Coffeehouse Politicians Does Create:' Coffeehouses and Restoration Political Culture," *The Journal of Modern History* 67, no. 4 (December 1995): 810; Nancy Fraser, "Rethinking the Public Sphere: A Contribution to the Critique of Actually Existing Democracy," in Calhoun, ed. *Habermas and the Public Sphere*, 116.

[377] Pincus, "'Coffeehouse Politicians Does Create,'" 811, 833.

before them." This development, combined with rapid urbanization and English consumers' increasing market consciousness, both helped create and came to full fruition in the space of the coffeehouse.[378] Between them, Lake and Pincus pushed against the strict temporal bounds set by Habermas for his public sphere, while also expanding our understanding of contributing factors to the emergence of such a space beyond the political and economic realms.

Such focus on high politics and structuralist perspectives, however, gave little attention to the physical space of the actual coffeehouse. Markman Ellis' *The Coffee House* (2004) and Brian Cowan's *The Social Life of Coffee* (2005) sought to fill in that social and cultural space. Ellis' cultural history of the coffeehouse attempted to understand how coffeehouses both produced and were produced by British literary and theatrical culture. It considered "works of literature as well as historical evidence," arguing that sources like "low and vulgar satires are not a simple indictment of coffee-house life, but part of their conversation, one voice in the ongoing discussion of the social life of the city." Citing Samuel's Johnson's 1755 definition of a coffeehouse, he argues that such a space "is also an idea, a way of life, a mode of socializing, a philosophy." *The Coffee House* is an attempt to explain how "a simple commodity rewrote the experience of metropolitan life" by teaching men new modes of friendship and providing spaces in which to turn discussions into "commercial ventures, critical tribunals, scientific seminars and political clubs."[379]

Though Ellis included short vignettes of British America, Continental Europe, and even the espresso revolution of the late twentieth century, the majority of his study concentrated on seventeenth- and eighteenth-century London and the ways in which the

[378] Peter Lake and Steven Pincus, "Rethinking the Public Sphere in Early Modern England," *Journal of British Studies* 45, no. 2 (April 2006): 291, 277, 282.

[379] Markman Ellis, *The Coffee House: A Cultural History* (London: Weidenfield & Nicolson, 2004), xii-xiii.

coffeehouse influenced and interacted with literary culture. Consequently, he concluded, like Robinson and the earlier Ellis, that, "although visitors to London in the final decades of the eighteenth century continued to note [the ubiquity of coffeehouses], they also complained that their tell-tale vivacity had evaporated." The coffeehouses "as an urban ideal...had become something of a dead metaphor: an accepted part of social life in the city, but unremarkable and commonplace." The "increasingly stratified" nature of coffeehouse sociability meant, according to Ellis, that the spaces "no longer conformed to the coffee-house ideal."[380] Though radical groups continued to meet at coffeehouses well into the nineteenth century, and the "working poor" patronized coffee stalls and taverns that, when combined, numbered over one thousand, "the stratification of the coffee-houses into distinct and separate institutions for the leisured elite and the working class segmented and atomized the celebrated coffee-house sociability of Queen Anne's reign."[381]

The narrative of the disappearing coffeehouses, then, is not actually about coffeehouses themselves vanishing from London's streets, but is rather about the decline of a particular culture that was formed and cultivated within their walls. That culture is described with an impressive degree of detail and texture in Brian Cowan's *The Social Life of Coffee*, the latest historical analysis of the British coffeehouse. Using three major themes—curiosity, commerce, and civil society—Cowan placed Britons' "evolutionary" acceptance of coffee within a larger context of highly contingent and "innovative consumption habits," which occurred alongside the invention of novel social institutions.[382] From the 1730s onward coffeehouses "ceased to be controversial" and "the Anglicization

[380] Ellis, *The Coffee House*, 212.
[381] Ibid., 214.
[382] Cowan, *Social Life of Coffee,* 2-3, 263.

of oriental coffee was complete."[383] Where earlier scholars had focused on the decline of literary culture, Cowan emphasized the erosion of novelty. Ultimately, however, the narrative remained the same—by the mid-eighteenth century the archetypal British coffeehouse, famed for its intellectually stimulating yet egalitarian sociability, had changed in character to such a degree as to render it indistinguishable from other spaces of public sociability in London's urban landscape.

And yet, over 400 coffeehouses remained in operation in London throughout the nineteenth century, with several remaining open throughout the 1890s and into the early twentieth century.[384] Reformers, government officials, producers, consumers, and cultural critics left behind a wealth of material with which we might reconstruct nineteenth-century British coffee culture. Abolitionist materials, temperance periodicals, children's literature, recipe and medicinal books, studies of adulteration, and advertising material—by incorporating women and the lower classes, examining private consumption of coffee, and expanding the definition of spaces of consumption, the history of British coffee culture is much richer than earlier analyses suggested. Historians must move beyond the misconceptions of received narratives in order to understand the ways in which Britons continued to navigate complex relationships with imperial goods even after such commodities became "Anglicized."

This dissertation takes the first step in this direction, reconstructing four critical moments of cultural development that mobilized and borrowed from coffee culture.

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[383] Cowan, *Social Life of Coffee*, 4. Cowan does discuss the decline of coffee drinking, in comparison to tea consumption, in his third chapter, "From Mocha to Java." Due to a colonial tariff system that favored sugar production in the British West Indies, and the decreasing price of tea thanks to the East India Company's access to the Chinese port of Canton, "a growing price differential between the two hot drinks encouraged the growth in tea consumption at the expense of coffee drinking" until, by the late eighteenth century, "coffee was clearly tea's second cousin" (75-77).

[384] See Appendix A.

Abolitionism radically altered consumers relationships to the imperial goods that they consumed, but also utilized the social and scientific practices of the *virtuosi* in bringing about that transformation. Debates about free trade then altered the relationship between lower class consumers and the newly freed producers of the bean, and helped shift attention to how conflict over free and protectionist policies meant making moral choices over which constituency such policies helped. Such focus on the working class is again visible in new political consideration of what we might call 'quality control,' which brought new practices of microscopy to the coffee market and debates about taste and adulteration. In the latter part of the century, moral reformers turned again to coffee as a means to achieve social and moral uplift, especially among the working classes, by providing spaces of education and sobriety to these London neighborhoods. These coffee 'taverns,' 'rooms,' and 'palaces' fused the evangelical spirit of reformed religions with accepted holistic views of the value of coffee consumption.

As a commodity that carries a distinct taste depending on its origin, processing style, and preparation method, coffee connected Britons to an ever-expanding world. As coffee moved from the Levant to the New World to the islands of the Pacific, Britons had the opportunity to encounter the farthest reaches of the globe in their coffee cups. At any given time, colonial goods could serve as luxuries, corrupting influences, moral quandaries, necessities, cultivator of virtues, symbols of imperial power, sources of oppression, poisons, or cures. As Britons negotiated the contours of their imperial identities, commodities like coffee provided both material and symbolic means of articulating fears and anxieties, ideologies, and national pride. From bean to cup, coffee kept Britons awake to the expanding world around them.

APPENDIX A

19TH CENTURY LONDON COFFEEHOUSES

Name(s)	"Coffeehouse" moniker adopted post-1800	Year "Coffeehouse" moniker adopted	Est. Begin Date	Est. End Date	Location
Abercrombie Coffee House & Tavern	Y	1830s	1830s	1850s	Lombard Street (Royal Exchange/Bank of England)
Abingdon's Coffee House/Gray's Inn Coffee House	N		1730	1851	Near Gray's Inn Gate, Holborn (near Russell Square)
(The) Adam and Eve	Y	1809	1809	1838	New Road, at the corner of Hampstead (Tottenham Court) Road
Osbourn's or Osbourne's Coffee House & Hotel	N		1780	1860	Corner of John and Adams Streets (Either Gray's Inn or near Charing Corss/Embankment)
African and Senegal Coffee House	N		1776	1833	St. Michael's Alley, No. 1 (Royal Exchang/Bank of England)
Albany Tavern and Coffee Room	Y	1805	1805	1808	Piccadilly
Albion Coffee House	Y	1801	1801	1814	Opposite Villiers Street, Strand (Charing Cross, Embankment)
Albion Coffee House	Y	1838	1838	?	26 Marleybone Lane, Oxford Street (Both near Baker Street/Oxford Circus)
Albion Coffee House	Y	1838	1838	?	Fore Gate, Clement's Inn (Near Royal Courts of Justice, Holborn)

Albion Coffee Rooms	Y	1838	1838	?	199 Church Street, Bethnal Green (East London)
Albio Coffee House and Dining Rooms	Y	1839	1839	1840	64 Gracechurch Street (Royal Exchange/Bank of England)
Aldersgate Street Coffee House	Y	1801	1801	1819	Aldersgate Street, No. 168 (1819) (Barbican/St Pauls)
Aldgate Coffee House	Y	1809	1809	1830	Aldgate; No. 2 Aldgate Within (1822-1824), No. 5 Aldgate Street Within (1826-1827) (Barbican/St Pauls)
Alice's Coffee House	N		1702	1854	near Westminster Hall
Allsop Coffee House	Y	1832	1832	?	New Road, Marlybone
American and Continental Coffee House	Y	c. 1840	c. 1840	?	Ludgate Hill (St Pauls)
American and New England Coffee House	N		1795	1814	Threadneedle Street (Royal Exchange/Bank of England)
Amphitheatre Coffee House	Y	1806	1806	1811	Newcastle Street, Strand
Anderson's Coffee House	Y	1803	1803	?	Fleet Street (St Pauls/Royal Courts of Justice)
Anderton's Coffee House	N		1702	1918	Fleet Street, No. 90, 162, 126, 162-165, 164 (St Pauls/Royal Courts of Justice)
Angel Inn, Coffee House, Tavern and Hotel	Y	c. 1801	1503, 1801	1853	Behind St. Clement's Church, Strand (Royal Exchange/Bank of England)
Angel Coffee House	N		1769	1824	John Street, America Square
Angel Inn & Coffee House	Y	1817	1817	1831	Angel Street, St. Martin's-le-Grand (St Pauls)
Antigallican Coffee House	N		1759	1824	Threadneedle Street (Royal Exchange/Bank of England)
Antwerp Tavern	Y	1814	1610	1814	Behind the Royal Exchange, Threadneedle Street

Arcade Coffee House	Y	1833	1833	1834	37 Throgmorton Street (Royal Exchange/Bank of England)
Army and Navy Coffee House	Y	1818	1818	1833	St. Martin's Lane, Charing Cross No. 2 (1822) (Leicester Square)
Atkinson's Coffee House and Hotel	Y	1801	1801	1814	Dean Street, Soho
Auction Mart Coffee House	Y	1810	1810	1864	Throgmorton Street and Bartholomew Lane; No. 4 Throgmorton Street (Royal Exchange, Bank of England)
The Axe Hotel, Tavern & Coffee House	Y	1826	1826	1840	20 Aldermanbury, on the east side (Guildhall/Royal Exchange/Bank of England)
Bacchus Coffee House	Y	1809	1809	1811	Hoxton (East London)
Baker's Coffee House	N		1695	1896	Exchange Alley, Cornhill (Royal Exchange/Bank of England)
Baker's Coffee House	Y	1826	1826	1838	Old Quebec Steet, Portman Square (Mayfair)
Baltick, or Baltic Coffee House	N		1765	1883	Sweeting's Rents, Threadneedle Street (Royal Exchange/Bank of England)
Baltic Coffee House	Y	1823	1823	1857	Threadneedle Street, No 58 (Royal Exchange/Bank of England)
Baltic and Hanseatic Coffee House	Y	1819	1819	1833	Cornhill (Royal Exchange/Bank of England)
Bank Coffee House	N	1831	1739, 1767	1838	Bank Buildings, Bank Street, south of Threadneedle Street; No. 14 Castle Alley)1826); also described as "opposite Batson's Coffee House"
Baptist's Head Coffee House	N		1760	1834	Aldermanbury, No. 2 (1799)
Baptist, or Baptist's Head Coffee House	N		1783	1814	Chancery Lane, No. 77 (1799)
Barley Mow Coffee House &	Y	1831	1831	?	Salisbury Square, Fleet Street

Cigar Divan					
Barnard's Inn, or Bernard's Inn Coffee House	Y	1813	1813	1840	Holborn, No. 20 (1833-1834); No. 20, Holborn Hill (1839-1840)
Bartholomew Coffee House	N		1799	1839	West Smithfield, No. 42
Bath Coffee House	N		1770s	1838	Piccadilly
Batson's Coffee House	N		1693	1833	Cornhill
Baxter's Coffee House	Y	1832	1832	?	116 Lower Thames Street
The Bay Tree Coffee House	N		1702	1812	St. Swithin's Lane
Bayly's Coffee House & Chop House	Y	1838	1838	?	267 Strand
Bayswater Coffee House	Y	1809	1809	1811	Bayswater
Bedford Coffee House	N		1730	1872	Covent Garden
Bedford Coffee House	Y	1809	1809	1811	Whitcomb Street, Leicester Square
Bedford Coffee House	Y	1813	1813	1834	42 Southhampton-row, Russell Square
Bedford Coffee House	N		1741	1838	Maiden Lane, Covent Garden
Bedford Head Coffee House	Y	1838	1838	?	Bedford Street, Bedford Square
The Bell Inn	N		1538	1897	No. 123 Holborn
Bell and Crown Coffee House & Hotel	U		1799	1846	132 Holborn Hill (1826); No. 133 Holborn (1832)
Bell Savage or Belle Sauvage	N		1676	1873?	Ludgate Hill; Without Ludgate, No. 37 (1838)
Bellamy's	Y	c. 1803	1803	1848	attached to the old House of Commons' Westminster
Betty's Coffee House	Y	1828	1828	1838	Strand
Black Bear Coffee House	Y	1822	1822	1824	220 Piccadilly
Blake's Coffee House	Y	1838	1838	?	No. 4 Postern row, Tower Hill
Blenheim Coffee House	N		1794	1838	Bond Street
Blue Posts Coffee House	Y	1819	1819	1838	Bennet Street, St. James's
Boar and Castle Coffee House	Y	1826	1826	1833	Oxford Street; No. 6 Oxford (1826)
Boston and New England Coffee House	Y	1819	1819	1833	Cornhill

Botterill's Coffee House	7	1838	1838	?	No. 113 Shoe Lane, Fleet Street
Brett's Furnival's Inn Coffee House	Y	1836	1836	1840	Holborn. As Holborn Bars, No. 139 (1838-1840)
Bristol Coffee House	Y	1833	1833	1834	267 Strand
British Coffee House	N		1702	1886	opposite Suffolk Street'; 'over against the Kings Mews in Charing Cross'; 'near Charing Cross'; 'Cockspur Street'; No. 27 Cockspur Street (1799)
British Coffee House	Y	1809	1809	1811	41 Great Suffolk Street, Charing Cross
British Imperial Coffee House	Y	1803	1803	1824	Tavistock Row, Covent Garden
Brown's Coffee House	Y	1811	1811	?	Covent Garden
Brown's or Browne's Coffee House	N		1693	1832	Mitre Court, Fleet Street (No. 7, 1799-1832)
Brown Bear Coffee House	N		1778	1825	Bow Street, No. 1117
Brunet's or Brunnet's Coffee House	N		1800	1819	Leicester Square
Bruton's Coffee House	Y	1801	1801	1822	Newgate Street
Buck's Coffee House	Y	1838	1838	?	124 Great Portland Street, Oxford Street
Bull and Mouth Inn	U		1630	1887	St. Martin's le Grand, no. 12 in 1840
Bunch of Grapes Coffee House	Y	1801	1801	1814	Shepherds Market, Mayfair
Burton or Burton's Coffee House	N		1798	1840	Freeman's Court, Cheapside
Cadogan Arms and Sloane Street Coffee House	Y	1809	1809	1811	Hans Town (b/t Pimlico & Chelsea)
Caledonien Coffee House	Y	1827	1827	1850	Russell Street, Covent Garden
Cambridge Coffee House	N		1799	1833	Newman Street. Corner of Newman and Charles Streets
Cannon Coffee House	N	1799	1729	1821	Cockspur Street
Cannon Coffee House	N		1781	1811	Portland Road
Carolina or Caroline Coffee House	N		1702	1838	Birchin Lane, Cornhill

Cathedral Coffee House	Y	1838	1838	1840	47-48 St Paul's Courtyard
Cecil Street Coffee House	N		1739	1819	No. 84 Strand
Chapter Coffee House	N		1715	1853	Paternoster Row
Chapter Coffee House	Y	1839	1839	?	15 Titchborne Street, Haymarket
Chapter Coffee House	Y	1833	1833	1834	1 Cross Court, Drury Lane
Circus Coffee House	N		1799	1811	near the Magdalen,' Blackfriars Road
City Coffee House	N		1793	1819	No. 70 Cheapside
City of London Coffee House	Y	1814	1814	1840	5 & 6 Bucklersbury
City of London Coffee House	Y	1838	1838	?	18 Old Broad Street, Royal Exchange
Clarendon Coffee House & Hotel	Y	1809	1809	1880s	New Bond Street, No. 169
Coal Exchange Coffee House	N		1780	1819	Billingsgate; Lower Thames Street
Cockerton's Coffee House	Y	1832	1832	?	16 King Street, Westminster
Coffee House	Y	1837	1837	?	Field Lane
Coffee House	Y	1832	1832	?	Leadenhall Market
Coffee House	Y	1830s	1830s	1830s	Newman Street, Oxford Street
Coffee House	Y	1832	1832	?	Southampton Buildings
Coffee House	Y	1823	1823	1832	Broadway, Hammersmith
Coffee House Alley	N		1746	1918	
Coffee Mart	Y	1832	1832	?	1 Skinner Street
Cole's Coffee House	N		1702	1833	Birchin Lane, Cornhill (1765), No. 1 Ball Court, Cornhill (1770)
Cole's Coffee House	Y	1838	1838	?	Bedford Court, Covent Garden
Collins' Coffee House & Hotel	Y	1819	1819	1833	19 Conduit Street
Colonial Coffee House	Y	1819	1819	1833	No. 1 Skinner Street, Corner of Skinner Street and Fleet Market
Colonial Coffee House	Y	1841	1841	?	78 Lombard Street
Commercial Coffee House	Y	1818	1818	1836	Poplar
Commercial Coffee House	Y	1833	1833	1834	18 Threadneedle Street
Commercial Coffee House	Y	1839	1839	?	5 St Martin's Court, Ludgate Hill

Commercial Coffee House	Y	1838	1838	?	9 Skinner Street, Snow Hill
Commercial Coffee House	Y	1826	1826	1832	No. 30 Mincing Lane
Commercial Hall Coffee House	Y	1809	1809	1813	Skinner Street, Snow Hill
Commercial Sale Rooms Coffee House	Y	1839	1839	?	Mincing Lane
Connor's Coffee House	Y	1838	1838	?	37 Upper Marylebone Street
Constitution Coffee House	N		1767	1870s	Bedford Street, Covent Garden
Cooper's Coffee House	Y	1819	1819	1838	Bouverie Street, Fleet Street, No. 15 (1832)
Corn Exchange Coffee House	N		1780	1834	Mark Lane, 'Opposite the Corn Exchange' (1798)
Corn Exchange and jack's Coffee House	N		1761?, 1838	1839	Mark Lane
Corn Factors Coffee House	N		1750	1811	Mark Lane
Covent Garden Coffee House	Y	1849	1849	1850	
Craven Coffee House	N		c. 1800	1838	Craven Street, Strand, Nos. 45 & 46 (1826)
Cross Keys Tavern & Coffee House	Y	U	1677	1833	Wood Street
Crown Coffee House	Y	1809	1809	1839	King's Row, Pentonville
Crown Coffee House & Tavern	Y	1809	1809	1811	Soho Square
Crown Coffee House	Y	c. 1830s	c. 1830s	c. 1840s	Duke Street, Lincoln's Inn Fields
Crown and Magpie Tavern and Coffee House	N		1771	1811	Aldgate High Street, No. 20 (1826)
Cumberland Coffee House	Y	1833	1833	?	Upper George Street, Bryanstone Square
Danbrook's Coffee House	Y	c. 1831	c.1831	?	St Clement's Lane, Strand
Davies' Coffee House	Y	1818	1818	1843	Threadneedle Street
Davis's Coffee House	Y	1811	1811	1829	King's Bench Prison, St George's Fields, Borough

Deacon's Coffee House	Y	1822	1822	1855	No. 3, Walbrook, near the Mansion House
Devonshire Coffee House	Y	1809	1809	1811	Russell Street, Covent Garden
Dick's or Richard's Coffee House	N		1680	1885	Fleet Street near Temple Bar
Dog Tavern & Coffee House	Y	1819	1819	1833	Holywell Street, No. 23
Don Saltero's Coffee House	N		1695	1867	Chelsea
Dover Coffee House	Y	1801	1801	1814	St. James's Street
The Doves Coffee House	N		c. 1740s	1860, 1951?	Hammersmith
Drury Lane Coffee House	Y	1801	1801	1833	Brydges Street, Covent Garden
Duke of Gordon's Coffee House	Y	1833	1833	1834	7 Wormwood Street, Bishopsgate
Eastey's, Eastley's, or Easty's Coffee House	Y	1814	1814	1838	Southhampton Street, No. 27 (1826-1838)
East India Coffee House	Y	1838	1838	?	No. 225 Poplar High Street
Ellice Coffee House	Y	1809	1809	1811	Old Palace Yard
English Opera Coffee House	Y	1839	1839	1840	4 Burleigh Street, Strand
Essex Coffee House	Y	1838	1838	?	41 Aldgate High Street, Whitechapel
Essex and Temple Coffee House	Y	1838	1838	1839	43 Essex Street, Strand
European Coffee House	Y	1833	1833	1844	Mansion House Street, No. 5 (1833-1834); No. 2 (1844)
Exchange Coffee House	Y	1819	1819	1824	No. 60, Strand
Exchequer or The Exchequer Coffee House	N		1733	1865	at Westminster Hall Gate
Excise Coffee House	N		1799	1839	Old Broad Street, No. 56 (1833)
Excise Coffee House	Y	1819	1819	1833	Tower Street, Tower Hill
Exeter Coffee House	Y	1838	1838	?	86 Strand
Exeter Hotel & Coffee House	Y	1839	1839	?	375 Strand
Feathers Tavern & Coffee House	Y	1833	1833	1834	1 Hand Court, Holborn
Fenton's Coffee House	Y	c. 1803	1800	1887	St. James's Street, No. 63

Finche's Coffee House	Y	1819	1819	1822	Russell Court, Covent Garden
Finish or The Finish Coffee House	N		1768	1829	Covent Garden Market
Finsbury Coffee House	Y	1838	1838	?	35 Wilson Street, Finsbury
Fitzroy Coffee House	Y	1833	1833	1834	43 Windmill Street, Tottenham Court Road
Fitzroy Coffee House, Hotel & Tavern	Y	1839	1839	?	7 Charlotte Street, Fitzroy Square
Fleet Prison Coffee House	N		?	?	
Four Swans Inn & Coffee House	Y	c. 1809	1677?, 1809	1827	Bishopsgate Street, as No. 83 Bishopsgate Street Within (1826)
Fowler's Coffee House & Tavern	Y	1809	1809	1811	1 Albion Street, Blackfriars Road
Frank's, Southey's & King's Arms Coffee House & Hotel	Y	1801	1801	1833	Lower Brook Street
Freemason's Coffee House	Y	1838	1838	?	119 Fleet Street
Furnival's Inn Coffee House	N		1744	1836	Holborn (the adress varies: 139, Lower Holborn (1799); 139, Holborn (1809); Lower Holborn (1819); 139 Holborn Bars (1838))
Garraway's Coffee House	N		1657?	1866	Exchange Alley, Cornhill
Garrick's Head Coffee House	N		1786	1843?	Bow Street, Covent Garden
General Woolf Coffee House	Y	1809	1809	1811	Oxford Street
George's Coffee House	N		1702	1833	Haymarket, Coventry Street
George's Coffee House	N		1723	1842	Without Temple Bar, Strand
George's Coffee House	N		1760	1811	Chancery Lane
George's Coffee House	Y	c. 1809	1677?, 1809	1811	West Smithfield
George and Blue Boar Coffee House	N		1708	1864	Holborn, No. 270
George's and Six Clerks Coffee House	N		1796	1819	Chancery Lane, No. 39
Gerard's or Gerrard's Hall	N		1677	1852	Basing Lane

Coffee House					
Giraudier's Coffee House & Tavern	Y	1833	1833	1838	Haymarket, No. 48
Gliddon's Cigar Divan	N		1825	1877	42 King Street, Covent Garden
Globe Tavern & Coffee House	N		1629	1833	Fleet Street on the north side
Globe Hotel & Coffee House	Y	1839	1839	?	37 Bow Street
The Globe	Y	1809	1809	1811	Upper Marylebone Street, Fitzroy Square
Glos Coffee House	Y	1838	1838	?	No. 1 Church Street, Bethnal Green
Gloucester Coffee House	Y	1822	1822	1824	No. 258 Oxford Street
Gloucester, Gloster, or Glostr Coffee House	Y	1826	1826	1842	No. 248 Oxford Street
Gloucester Coffee House	N		1785	1850	Piccadilly
Golden Lion Inn and Coffee House	Y	1809	1809	1827	112 St. John Street, West Smithfield
Gomm's Coffee House	Y	1839	1839	?	76 Strand
Grand Hotel and Coffee House	Y	1819	1819	1839	Covent Garden
Grasshopper Coffee House	Y	1830	1830	1891	Gracechurch Street, No. 13
Gray's Inn Coffee House	N		1695	1851	Holborn, near Gray's Inn Gate
Grecian Coffee House	N		1702	1843	Devereux Court Strand
Green's Coffee House	Y	1822	1822	1847	Serle Street, Lincoln's Inn
Green Man	Y	1878	1878	1892	Near Blackheath Hill
Grigsby's Coffee House	N		c. 1700	1833	Near the Royal Exchange on the Threadneedle Street side
Grillion's, Grilion's, or Grillon's Hotel & Coffee House	Y	1803	1803	1860	No. 7 Albemarle Street
Groom's Coffee House	N		c. 1777?	1909	Fleet Street, No. 16
Grosvenor Coffee House	Y	1819	1819	1833	Bond Street; Nos. 128 & 129 New Bond Street (1826)

Guildhall Coffee House	N		1685	1878	King Street, Cheapside
Gun Coffee House	Y	1819	1819	1822	Mansfield Street, Goodman's Fields
Guy's Coffee House	Y	1809	1809	1811	130 Holborn Hill
Hackney Coffee House	Y	1809	1809	1811	Hackney
Haines Coffee House	Y	1809	1809	1811	Kensington
Half Moon Coffee House	N		1780	1833	Gracechurch Street
Hall of Commerce	N		1840	1855	Threadneedle Street
Hambro', Hambrough, or Hamburgh Coffee House	N		1761	1840	Water Lane Tower Street No. 6 (1833)
Hamburgh Coffee House	N		1769	1834	No. 6 Sweeting's Rents
Hanover Coffee House	Y	1805	1805	1807	St. James's Street
Hatchett's Coffee House	Y	1801	1801	1838	Piccadilly
Heming's Coffee house	Y	1838	1838	?	10 Stamford Street, Blackfriars Road
Henry's Coffee House & Hotel	Y	1809	1809	1811	Duke Street, Manchester Square
Hindoostance Coffee House	Y	1819	1819	1833	34 George Street, Portman Square
Holborn Coffee & Chop House	Y	1810	1810	?	88 High Holborn
Holland, Holland's or Hollands Coffee House	N		1754	1819	near the Custom House Lower Thames Street
Holwill's Coffee House	Y	1838	1838	?	6 Bath Street, Newgate Street
Holyland's Coffee House	N		1787	1824	near Somerset House, Strand, No. 150 (1799)
Hope Coffee House	Y	1838	1838	?	79 New Cut, Lambeth
Hope Coffee House	Y	1838	1838	?	36 Tothill Streest, Westminster
Hope's Coffee House	Y	1826	1826	1834	41 Haymarket
Horn or The Horn Tavern	Y	c. 1840s?	1754	1838	Doctors' Commerce 10 Godliman Street (1826)
Howard's Coffee House	Y	1822	1822	1827	House of Commons
Howard's Coffee House	Y	1832	1832	1838	2 Duke's Place, Aldgate
Hummums Coffee House	Y	early 19th c.	1699	1823	Covent Garden
Humphrey's Coffee House	Y	1838	1838	?	41 High Holborn

Hungerford Coffee House	N		1790	1827 (1863?)	Strand, No. 470
Huntley, Huntly, or Huntly's Coffee House	Y	1809	1809	1833	Leicester Square, No. 17 (1822)
Hyde Park Coffee House	Y	1801	1801	1833	Oxford Street (the upper end)
Ibbotson's or Ibbetson's Coffee House	Y	1809	1809	1838	Vere Street, Oxford Street
Jack's Coffee House, Mark Lane	N		1761	1840	variously listed as Corn Exchange, Mark Lane
Jack's Coffee House	N		1765	1811	Dean Street, Soho
Jamaica Coffee House	N		c. 1680	1898	St. Michael's Alley, No. 12 (1767), No. 11 (1799)
Jamaica Coffee House	N		1677?	1838	Little Cherry Garden, Bermondsey
Jerusalem Coffee House	N		1730s	1890 (1892)	Fleece Passage, Cornhill (later known as Cowper's Court)
Joe's Coffee House	N		1716?, 1744	1833	Mitre Court, Fleet Street
John's Coffee House	N		1661	1840	Cornhill
Johnson's Coffee House	Y	1833	1833	1834	1 & 2 Bolt Court, Fleet Street
Johnson's Coffee House	Y	c. 1806?	c. 1806?	1838	adjoining the Surrey Theatre, Blackfriars Road
Kilpack's Divan	Y	c. 1840	c. 1840	?	42 King Street, Covent Garden
King's Arms Coffee House	Y	1819	1728	1833	Palace Yard, Westminster
King's Arms Coffee	Y	1809	1809	1811	Newgate Market
King's Arms Coffee House	N		1780	1811	Lower Brook Street, Grosvenor Square
King's Arms, King's Arms and Union Coffee House	N		1777	1819	Bridge Street, Westminster
King's Bench Coffee House	N		1754	1808	King's Bench Prison, St. George's Fields
King's Head Coffee House	N		1700	1834	"in the paved Stones in West Smithfield," No. 12 West Smithfield (1826-1834)
King's Head Coffee House	N		1720	1833	Opposite Tower Gate, Tower Street

King's Head Coffee House	N		1809	1832	18, Old Change, Cheapside
King's Head Tavern & Coffee House	Y	early 19th c.	1752	1880	Fenchurch Street, No. 53
King's Head Coffee House	Y	1819	1819	1833	Leadenhall Street
Kirkham's or Kirkman's Coffee House	Y	1809	1809	1833	Lower Brook Street, No. 48 (1833)
Langbourn Coffee House	N		1796	1827 (1863?)	Fenchurch Street, No. 164 (1822)
Langbourn Coffee House	Y	1839	1839	1898	Ball-Alley, Lombard Street
Langbourn Ward Coffee House	N		1763	1822	Fenchurch Street, No. 1 (1767); 'By No. 16' (1799)
Laver's Coffee House	N		1761	1850	King Street, Westminster
Le Fevre's Coffee House	Y	1819	1819	1822	Manchester Square
Leopard Coffee House	Y	1838	1838	1845	15 Wellington Street, London Bridge Foot
Leoparll Coffee House	Y	1838	1838	?	86 Fenchurch Street
Lewis's New London Tavern and Coffee House	Y	1801	1801	1821	Cheapside
Limmer's Coffee House	N		c. 1790s	1891	Conduit Street
Lloyd's Coffee House	Y	1809	1809	1811	Leadenhall Market
Lock and Key Coffee House	N	1799	1699	1918?	Bartholomew Close, West Smithfield
Lockhart's Coffee Rooms					Commercial Street, East
London Coffee House	N		1731	1867	Ludgate Hill
London Coffee House	Y	1838	1838	?	5 & 6 Bucklersbury
London Commercial Coffee House	Y	1832	1832	1840	Mincing Lane, No. 36 (1838)
London Stone Coffee House	N	1702	1669	1815	Cannon Street
Long's Coffee House & Hotel	Y	1809	1809	1893	Bond Street
Lord's Coffee House	Y	1833	1833	1838	14 New Street, Covent Garden
Lord Clyde's Coffee House					Sutton Place

Lothian's Hotel & Coffee House	Y	1801	1801	1814	Albemarle Street
Lowther Coffee House, Reading & News Rooms	Y	1848	1848	1850	434 West Strand
Ludgate Coffee House	Y	1832	1832	?	4 Pilgrim Street, Ludgate Hill
Lundy's Coffee House	Y	1854	1854	1855	
M'Niven's or MvNiven's Coffee House	Y	1826	1826	1840	Portugal Street; 1 Gilbert's Passage
Manchester Coffee House	N		1799	1838	Manchester Street, Machester Square
Martindale's Coffee House	Y	1801	1801	1813	St. Jame's Street, presumably Nos. 37-38
Maryb Coffee House	Y	1838	1838	?	34 East Street Manchester Square
Maryland and Virginia Coffee House	N		1800	?	Newman's Court, Cornhill
Mecklenburgh Coffee House	N		1799	1833	Cockspur Street, No. 2 (1799)
Menzies Coffee House	Y	1838	1838	?	2 Bridge Street, Southwark
Metheringham's Coffee House	Y	1838	1838	?	Sheffield Street Market
Metropolitan Coffee House	Y	1836	1836	?	City Road
Milestone Coffee House	Y	1838	1838	?	43 Essex Street Strand
Mill's or Mills' Coffee House	N		1702	1811	Gerrard Street, Soho, No. 12 (1809)
Miller's Coffee House	Y	1819	1819	1833	opposite Astley's Amphitheatre, Westminster Bridge Road
Millington's or Millingham's Coffee House	N		1795	1813	Gray's Inn, Holborn
Mitre Coffee House	N		1702	1840?	Fleet Street, Mitre Court
Mivart's Coffee House	Y	1816	1816	1849?	Lower Brook Street, No. 44
Molloy's or Mollay's Coffee House	Y	1819	1819	1833	New Bond Street
Monument Coffee House	Y	1819	1819	1839	Corner of Little Eastcheap and Fish Street Hill
Moore's Coffee House	Y	1838	1838	?	1 Arthur Street, London Bridge

Moorgate Coffee house	Y	1805	1805	1813	Moorsfields
Morecraft's Coffee House	Y	1838	1838	?	Princes Street, Edgeware Road
Morin's or Morro's Coffee House	Y	1819	1819	1822	Duke Street, Manchester Square
Morland's Coffee House	Y	1805	1805	1811	Dean Street, Soho
Morley's British Coffee House & Hotel	Y	1833	1833	1834	25 Cockspur Street
Mount, Mount's, The Mount, or Mount Street Coffee House	N		1727	1833	Grosvenor Street
Mourning Bush Tavern	Y	1831	1728	1860	St. Martin's-le-Grand, Aldersgate
Munday's Coffee House	N		1772	1840	Maiden Lane, No. 30 (1799), Nos. 30 & 31 (1826)
Museum Coffee House	Y	1819	1819	1833	Corner of Albion Street, Surrey side of Blackfriar Bridge
Nassau Coffee House	Y	1809	1809	1811?	Nassau Street, Soho
National Coffee House	Y	1838	1838	?	22 Newgate Street
Navy Coffee House	N		1796	1833	4 Newcastle Street, Strand
Newcastle Coffee House	N		1768	1834	St. Mary's Hill, Thames Street
Newton's Coffee House	Y	1819	1819	1838	St. Martin's Lane, No. 34 (1838)
New Baltic Coffee House	Y	1857	1857	?	South Sea House, 37 Threadneedle Street
New Bedford Coffee House	Y	1809	1809	1822	Southampton Row, Bloomsbury
New Chapter Coffee House	Y	1809	1809	1813	Duke's Court, Covent Garden
New England Coffee House	N		1720	1839	"Behind the Royal Exchange;" Threadneedle Street, No. 61
New Essex Coffee House	Y	1809	1809	1811	69 Strand
New Exchange Coffee House	N		c. 1730s	1833	Strand, No. 69 (1796)
New Exchange Coffee House	Y	1833	1833	1840	94 Leadenhall Street
New Exchequer Coffee House	Y	1809	1809	1811	Margaret Street, Westminster
New Exchequer Coffee House	Y	1833	1833	?	Palace yard, Westminster

New Hummums Coffee House	N		1796	1839	Covent Garden; 11 Great Russell Street (1826-1840)
New Hummums Coffee House	Y	1809	1809	1840	
New Inn Coffee House	N		1702	1814	Wych Street, Strand
New Jerusalem Coffee House	Y	1809	1809	1811	Rosamon Street
New Lloyd's Coffee House	N		1774	1844	Various locations, including: 'over the North West orner of the Royal Exchange,' City of London Tavern (No. 17 Bishopsgate Street), South Sea House (Threadneedle Street)
New London Tavern and Coffee House	N		1780s	1806	Cheapside
New London Coffee House	Y	1838	1838	?	11 London Road, Southwark
New Slaughter Coffee House	N		1742	1834	St. Martin's Lane
New Tavistock Hotel & Coffee House	Y	1833	1833	1834	19 Great Russell Street, Covent Garden
New Tunbridge Wells Coffee House	N		1685	1810	Islington
New York Coffee House	N		1759	1839	Sweeting's Alley, Sweeting's Rents
Norfolk Coffee House	Y	1809	1809	1863	Surrey Street, Strand
North and South American Coffee House	U	U			
Northumberland Coffee House	N		1780s	1833	Opposite Northumberland House, Charing Cross
Nott's Coffee House	N		1779	1819	Butcher Row, Temple Bar
Oake's Coffee House	Y	1833	1833	1834	135 Salisbury Court, Fleet Street
Offley's Coffee House & Tavern	N		c. 1790s	1841	23 Henrietta Street, Covent Garden
Old Betty's Coffee House	Y	1822	1822	1834	Strand, No. 314/315
Old Dog Tavern & Coffee House	Y	1830s	1830s	?	23 Holywell Street
Old Drury Coffee House	Y	1819	1819	1833	Brydges Street, Covent Garden

Old Furnival's Inn Coffee House	Y	1833	1833	1838	139 Holborn Hill (1833); 139 Holborn Bars (1838)
Old Hummums Coffee House	N		1799	c. 1865	Piazza, Covent Garden
Old Hummums	Y	1838	1838	?	Tavistock Row, Covent Garden
Old Slaughter Coffee House	N		1742	1843	St Martin's Lane, No. 77 (1799); Nos. 74-75 (1815-1838); No. 75 (1839-1843)
Old Turk's Head Coffee House	Y	1839	1839	?	142 Strand
Oliver's Coffee House	N		1702	1838	At Westminster Hall Gate; New Palace Yard; No. 28 Bridge Street, Westminster
Omnibus Coffee House	Y	c. 1830	c. 1830	1834	No. 71 Coleman Street
One Tun Tavern and Coffee House	Y	1819	1819	1834	107 Jermyn Street
Orange Coffee House	Y	1801	1801	1814	Opposite the Custom House
Orange Coffee House	N		1793	1811	Queen Street, Chelsea
Ordnance Arms Coffee House, Tavern and Hotel	Y	1801	1801	1819	Near Astley's, Westminster Road
Osborn's or Osborne's Coffee House & Hotel	N		1780	c. 1860	Adelphi, 'At the corner of John and Adam Streets'
Owen's and Sagoe's Coffee House	N		need to re-look up	1822	Holborn
The Oxford Coffee House	N		1702	1811	Without Temple Bar, No. 105 Strand
Oxford or Oxford Street Coffee House	Y	1805	1805	1833	No. 6 Oxford Street
Park Coffee House	Y	1809	1809	1838	Worcester Street, Southwark
Parliament Street Coffee House	N		1772	1834	Parliament Street, Westminster, No. 16 (1833)
Parsole's Subscription Rooms	Y	early 19th c.	1780	1819	85 St. James's Street
Paul's Head	Y	c. 1800?	1720s	1824	Cateaton Street
Pavyer's Coffee House	Y	1838	1838	?	43 Rufford's Buildings, Islington High

					Street
Payne's Coffee House	Y	1838	1838	?	King Street, Westminster, No. 63
Pearson's Coffee House	Y	1838	1838	?	74 Blackman Street, Borough
Peele's Coffee House	N		1715	1912	Fleet Street
Pelican Coffee House	Y	1838	1838	?	95 Fenchurch Street
Percy or The Percy Coffee House	N		1768	1839	Rathbone Place Oxford Street
Piazza Coffee House	??	??	look up	look up	Covent Garden
Plumb's Coffee House	Y	c. 1810	c. 1810	1876	Cary Street
Portland Coffee House	N		1789	1838	Great Portland Street, Mary-le-bone
Portugal and Will's Coffee House	Y	1809	1809	1811	Cornhill
Prince of Orange Coffee House	N		1702	1833	Haymarket
Prince of Wales' Coffee House	N		1793	1833	Conduit Street
Prince of Wales's Coffee House	N		1797	1838	Lisle Street, Leicester Fields
Princes Street Coffee House	N		1762	1816	Drury Lane? Probably Princes Street, Soho
Probatt's Coffee House	Y	1818	1818	1833	35 King Street, Covent Garden
Proctor's Coffee House	Y	1838	1838	?	21 Maiden Lane, Covent Garden
Pulsford's Coffee House	Y	1819	1819	1822	Berkeley Street
Pursell's Coffee House	Y	1855	1855	?	78 & 80 Cornhill
Queen's Arms Tavern	Y	c. 1819	1706	1833	St Paul's Churchyard, 'the West End of St Paul's'; at times mentioned as Ludgate Hill
Queen's Arms Coffee House & Tavern	U		1793	1824	St James's Street
Queen's Arms Royal Larder Hotel, Coffee House & Tavern	Y	1801	1801	1833	St. James's Street

Queen's Head Coffee House	N		1763	1824	High Holborn
The Rainbowe Coffee House	N		1656	1860	near the Inner Temple Gate Fleet Street
Rainbow Coffee House	N		1702	1840	Cornhill, no. 34 (1767), no. 76 (1826)
Rainbow Coffee House	N		1766	1839	King Street, Covent Garden. No. 3 (1799); Nos. 3-4 (1805); Nos. 4-5 (1814-1819); Nos. 3-4 (1826); No. 3 (1833)
Rainbow Coffee House	Y	1839	1839	?	1 Arthur Street
Raybould's Coffee House	Y	1838	1838	?	Tothill Street, Westminster
Read's Coffee House	Y	1801	1801	1834	Fleet Street, No. 102
Richardson's Coffee House	N		1793	1833	Piazza, Covent Garden
Rock Coffee House	Y	1838	1838	1845	3, Lethersellers Buildings, London Wall
Royal Hotel and Coffee House	Y	1838	1838	1839	No. 3, Leicester Square
Royal Coffee House	Y	1803	1803	1819	No. 1, St Jame's Street
Royal City Divan & Reading Room	N		1831	?	16, St. Paul's Churchyard
Royal Victoria Coffee Music Hall	Y	1881	1881	?	Waterloo Road, Lambeth
Russell Hotel & Coffee House	Y	1801	1801	1814	Southampton Row, nr. Russell Square
Russell Coffee House	Y	1809	1809	1834	Great Piazza, Covent Garden
Russell Hotel & Coffee House	Y	1833	1833	1839	Great Russell Street, Covent Garden
St. Alban's Tavern & Coffee House	U		1692	1813	St. Alban's Street, Pall Mall
St. Alban's Coffee House	Y	1822	1822	1840	12 Charles Street, Haymarket
St. Ann's Coffee House	Y	1825	1825	1826	Dean Street, Soho
St. Anne's Coffee House	Y	1838	1838	1839	No. 30, Shoemakers row, Blackfriars
St. Clement's Coffee House and Angel Inn	Y	1801	1801	1824	near St. Clement's Church
St. James's Coffee House	N		1705	1806	near St. James's Place (No. 87)
St. James's Coffee House	N		1784	1840	No. 88 St James's Place

St. James's Coffee House	Y	1832	1832	?	13 Duke Street, St. James's
St. James's Coffee House	Y	1838	1838	?	3 Duke's Place, Aldgate
St. James's Royal Hotel & Coffee House	Y	1819	1819	1840	St. James's Street
St. James's Street Coffee House	Y	1838	1838	?	No. 50, St. James's Street
St. Paul's Coffee House	N		1796	1840	St. Paul's Churchyard, No. 5 (1799); No. 6 (1838)
St. Paul's & Doctors' Commons Coffee House	N		1798	1822	South Side of St. Paul's Churchyard
Salibury Coffee House	Y	1801	1801	1822	Durham Street, Strand
Saloop Coffee House	Y	1809	1809	1813	No. 102 Fleet Street
Salopian Coffee House	N		c. 1749	1841	Charing Cross, 'near the Admiralty' (1782); 'Whitehall' (1784); No. 42, Charing Corss (1799); No. 41, Charing Cross (1833)
Salter's Coffee House	Y	1819	1819	1822	Piazza, Covent Garden
Sam's Coffee House	N		1702	1819	near the Custom House, Thames Street
Santry's Coffee House	Y	1838	1838	?	No. 245, Borough High Street
Saracen's Head Tavern and Coffee House	Y	c. early 19th c.	1681	1887	Aldgate
Saracen's Head	U		1720	1868	north side of Snow Hill; without Newgate
Saulieu's Coffee House	Y	1801	1801	1822	Nassau Street, corner of Gerrard Street, Soho
Saunder's Chocolate House	N		1758	1807	St. James's Street, No. 85. Nos. 85-86 (1774)
Saunder's Coffee House	N		1799	1819	opposite the New Church, Strand, No. 162
Saunders' Coffee House	Y	1838	1838	?	No. 17 Circus Street, New Road, Marylebone
Scott's Coffee House	Y	1830	1830	?	Piccadilly Circus
Seagoe's or Seagoes Coffee	N		1702?	1819	Holborn

House					
Senegal Coffee House	N		1680s?, 1776	1811/1833	St Michael's Alley, Cornhill, No. 1 (1799)
Serjeant's Inn Coffee House	N		1702?	1838	Chancery Lane, No. 4 (1826-1838)
Serle's Coffee House	N		1702	1840	Lincoln's Inn 'Lincoln's Inn'; 'corner of Lincoln's Inn Square'; 'corner of Serle Street and Portugal Street' and as 'New Square, Lincoln's Inn,' and from 1796 to 1838 as Carey Street; Carey Street opposite the gate into New Square; No. 4, Carey Street. In 1840 as No. 5 Carey Street, Lincoln's Inn.
Shades	Y	1826	1826	1827	London Bridge At Upper Thames Street and Old Swan Stairs, London Bridge
Shakespear or Shakespear's Head	Y	??	look up	look up	Covent Garden 27-28 Russell Street (1826)
Shakespear's Coffee House	Y	1808	1808	?	Powis Street, Woolwich
Ship Tavern & Coffee House	Y	1826	1826	1834	Charing Cross, No. 45 (1826); No. 44 (1833)
Ship Dock Coffee House	Y	1838	1838	?	No. 1, Lower Shadwell
Simpson's Tavern and Coffee House	Y	1808	1808	1839	Ball Court, Cornhill. No. 4
Slamjam Coffee House	Y	1862	1862	?	
Smith's Coffee House	N		1799?	1825	Mark Lane
The Smyrna Coffee House	N		1702, 1768	1820/1833?	St. James's Street, No. 86 (1799)
Somerset or Somerset House Coffee House	N		1744	1838	Strand 'By the New Church in the Strand'; No. 166 (1796); No. 162 (1826)
Southampton Coffee House	Y	c. 1815	c. 1815	1839	Chancery Lane
Spread Eagle Coffee House & Hotel	Y	1819	1819	1827, 1865?	Gracechurch Street

Spring Garden Coffee House	N		1730	1833	on the right hand in the entrance going into Spring Garden and St. James's Park.' Charing Cross
Staples Inn Coffee House	Y	1809	1809	1832?	Southampton Buildings, Chancery Lane
Star Coffee House	Y	1838	1838	?	No. 2, Star Street, Paddington
Star Coffee House	Y	1838	1838	?	No. 60, London Road, Southwark
Star Coffee House	Y	1838	1839	?	19, Finch Lane
Star Dinner & Coffee Room	Y	c. 1830s	c. 1830s	?	43 King Street, Covent Garden
Steel-Yard Coffee House	N		1702	1838 (1853, 1865-70?)	near the Steel-Yard, Thames Street. No. 88 Upper Thames Street (1769)
Stephen's Coffee House & Hotel	N		1798	1838?	Bond Street
Stephenson's Coffee House & Hotel	Y	1801	1801	1822	corner of Craven Street, Strand
Steven's Coffee House & Hotel	Y	1803	1803	1838, 1890?	Bond Street (1803-1819) 'corner of Bond Street' (1808) No. 15 New Bond Street (1813) No. 18 New Bond Street (1822-1838) Nos. 11-12 Clifford Street, Bond Street (1838)
Stock Exchange Coffee House	N		1773	1838?	in the upper part of the Stock Exchange.' Threadneedle Street at the end of Sweeting's Alley
Stock Exchange Coffee House	Y	1839	1839	?	3 Hercules Court
Storey's Gate Coffee House	?	??	look up	look up	Westminster, 'Bottom of Great George Street'
Stratford Coffee House	N		1764	1834	Oxford Street 'Near Stratford Place, Oxford Street'; 'No. 160 Oxford Street' (1809)
The Sun Coffee House	N		1740	1834	Ludgate Street, No. 31 (1833-1834)

Sun Coffee House	Y	1809	1809	1811	Barnes
Sun Coffee Tavern					Aylesbury Street
Surrey Coffee House	N		1796?	1838	Blackfirars Road, No. 123 (1838)
Surrey Hotel and Coffee House	Y	1809	1809	1811	Great Surry Street, Blackfriars Road
Surrey Theatre Coffee House	Y	1811	1811	1834	Blackfirars Road, No. 2 (1826-1827); No. 3, Great Surrey Street (1833-1834)
Surrey and Kent Coffee House	Y	1819	1819	1842	Blackfriars Road, Later known as Surrey Kentand Sussex Hotel, Great Surrey Street, No. 167
Sussex Cofffee House	N		1744	1838	Fleet Street 'Next door to the Wax Works' Bouverie Street (1809); 17-18 Bouverie Street (1826); 18 Bouverie Street (1838)
Swaley's Coffee House					Mill End Road (near the Palason(?))
The Swan Coffee House	Y	1819	1819	1822	foot of Westminster Bridge
Swan with Two Necks	N		1637, 1774	1859	Lad Lane
Swatman's Coffee House	Y	1833	1838	?	94 Leadenhall Street
Swigg's Coffee House	Y	1838	1838	?	26 Great Marylebone Street
Symond's Inn Coffee House	N		1796?	1840	Chancery Lane, No. 22
Tanner's Coffee House & Chop House	Y	1838	1838	?	No. 29 Coverntry Street, Haymarket
Tavistock Coffee House & Public Breakfast Room	Y	1801	1801	1877?	Piazza, Covent Garden
Tee-To-Tum Coffee House	Y	1872	1872	1890	Whitechapel
Temperance Coffee House	Y	1838	1838	?	Blackman Street, Borough
Temple Coffee House	N		1796?	1811	Devereux Court
Thames Coffee House	Y	1838	1838	?	49 Tooley Street, Southwark
The Coffee House	Y	c. 1830S	c. 1830s	1860s	Charlton Street 'off the Euston Road'; Somers Town
Thompson's Coffee House	Y	1838	1838	?	97, Drury Lane

Three Pidgeons Coffee House & Inn	Y	1809	1809	1811	New Brentford
Tidmarsh's Coffee House	Y	1838	1838	?	31, Church Street East, Edgeware Road
Tilt Yard Coffee House	N		1762	1827?	near the Treasury' Described by various writers as 'Spring Garden'
Tom's Coffee House	N		c. 1727?	1845?	Cornhill, No. 31 (1767)
Tom's Coffee House	N		1700	1814	Russell Street, Covent Garden No. 17
Tower Coffee House	Y	1808	1808	1811	New Bond Street, Bond Street
Tower Coffee House	Y	1833	1833	1834	10, Gilberts Buildings, Westminster Road
Tower Shades	Y	1841	1841	?	Tower Hill
Trinity Coffee House	Y	1805	1805	1838	Trinity Court, Aldersgate Street
Turf Coffee House	N		1776	1833	St. James's Street, No. 35 (1833)
Turf Coffee House	Y	1838	1838	?	Grosvenor Place, Pimlico
Turk's Head	N		1752	1838	East Street, Red Lyon Square As No. 8 East Street, Red Lion Square (1838)
Turk's Head Coffee House	N		1763	1840	Strand On the site of No. 142 'Opposite Catherine Street'
Turk's Head Coffee House	Y	1809	1809	1838	72, Aldgate High Street, Whitechapel
Turk's Head Coffee House	Y	1838	1838	?	7 Charlotte Street, Portland Street
Turk's Head Coffee House	Y	1838	1838	?	Butcher Row, Ratcliffe
Union Coffee House	Y	1809	1809	1811	Ranelagh Walk, Chelsea
Union Hotel & Coffee House	Y	1801	1801	1819 (1832?)	Pall Mall
Union Coffee House	Y	1801?	1801, 1819	1822	Bridge Street, Westminster
Virginia and Maryland	N		1798	1840	Newman's Court, Cornhill

Coffee House					No. 2 (1798); No. 4 (1833)
Waterloo Coffee House	Y	1826	1826	1834	69, Haymarket
Westminster Coffee House	N		1796?	1842	Westminster Bridge, Bridge Street, Westminster
Wheatsheaf Coffee House	Y	1806	1806	1827	433, Strand.
White Bear Tavern & Coffee House	Y	early 19th c.	1703	1834	Basinghall Street, No. 32 (1833)
White Hart Coffee House	N		1775	1827	Holborn High Holborn, No. 39 (1822)
White Hart Coffee House and Tavern	Y	1803	1803	1836	Abchurh Lane
White Hart Inn and Coffee House	N	1809	1809	1811	119, St. John Street
The White Hart Without Bishopsgate	Y	early 19th c.	1480?	1829	without Bishopsgate?
White Horse Coffee House	Y	c. 1809	1800	1827	Friday Street, No. 29 (1826-1827)
White Horse Coffee House & Hotel	Y	c. 1809	1677	1869	Fetter Lane, No. 88 (1826) On the west side of Fetter Lane towards the Holborn end
White Horse Cellar Coffee House	Y	1814	1799	1814 (1824?)	157, Piccadilly
Whyman's Coffee House	Y	1838	1838	?	19, Church Street East, Edgeware Road
Will's Coffee House	N		1702	1819	Cornhill, by the Royal Exchange
Will's Coffee House	N		1713?, 1736	1834	Lincoln's Inn 'near Lincoln's Inn'; 'Lincoln's Inn Fields'; 'Lincoln's Inn gate'; 'the back side of Lincoln's Inn-Square'; 'facing the passage to Lincoln's Inn New Square'; as Serle Street--No. 7 (1799); No. 3 (1809); No. 7 (1833-1839). In the Rate-books 1825 'at the north-east corner of Portugal Street and Serle Street.' In 1826-1827 as No. 1, Portugal Street.

Will's and Green's Coffee House	Y	1809	1809	?	7 Serle Street & Portugal Street
Williams Coffee House & Hotel	Y	1809	1809	1811	St. Clement's, Strand
Woods' Coffee House and Tavern	Y	1829	1829	1839? (1875)	9, Furnival's Inn, Holborn
Wood's Hotel and Coffee House	Y	1833	1833	1834	2, Arundel Street Coventry Street
Worcester Coffee House	Y	1804	1804	1819	Oxford Street, No. 324 (1819)
The Wrekin Coffee House & Tavern	N		c. 1790s	1871	Broad Court, Bow Street Broad Court, Long Acre
Wright's Coffee House	N		1769	1819	Soho Square
York Coffee House	N		1776	1833	St James's Street, No. 45 (1799); No. 46 (1809); No. 145 (1819); No. 146 (1822)
York Coffee House	N		1793	1833	New Bridge Street, Blackfriars No. 39 (1819)
York Hotel & Coffee House	Y	1801	1801	1832	Albemarle Street, No. 10 (1832)
York Hotel & Coffee House	Y	1819	1819	1839	1, Charles Street, Covent Garden

APPENDIX B

BLACK RUNAWAY SERVANTS & SLAVES WITH COFFEEHOUSE AS RETURN POINT

DATE	NAME (FUGITIVE)	NAME (MASTER)	NAME (CONTACT)	CONTACT ADDRESS	COFFEEHOUSE LOCATION
10/19/1700		Tho. Lemon	Tho. Lemon		Cornhill
4/8/1701	-	-	-	the Carolina Coffee-House, in Burchin Lane; on board the Charles Galley, lying against the Hermitage stairs	Cornhill
4/14/1701	-	Capt. Benjamin Stowe, commander of the ship Charles	Capt. Benjamin Stowe; Mr. Crisp	Carolina Coffee-house, Birchin Lane, London	Cornhill
9/30/1701	-	John Gandy	John Gandy	-	Cornhill
10/2/1701	-	Capt. Benjamin Quelch	-	Mr. Lloyd's Coffee-House, Lombard Street	Cornhill
12/12/1702	-	Capt. Benjamin Quelch	Mr. Llyod	his Coffee House in Lombard Street	Cornhill
1/2/1703	Bess	Capt. Benjamin Quelch	Mr. Lloyd	his Coffee House in Lombard Street	Cornhill
1/30/1703	Abraham	-	-	Robins Coffeehouse in Exchange Alley	Cornhill
5/22/1703	Pompey	Mr. William Stevens, merchant	Mr. William Stevens; Mr. Howard	East-lane on Rotherheth Wall; the Crown Coffee-House behind the Royal Exchange	Cornhill
1/8/1704	Pompe	Mr. William Stevens, merchant	Mr. William Stevens; Mr. Howard	East-lane on Rotherheth Wall; the Crown Coffee-House behind the Royal Exchange	Cornhill
1/10/1704	Pompe	Mr. William Stevens, merchant	Mr. William Stevens; Mr. Howard	East-lane on Rotherheth Wall; the Crown Coffee-House behind the Royal Exchange	Cornhill

6/24/1704	John Dod	-	John H[a]ddon	Etridges Coffeehouse in Birchin Lane; Cherry Garden Stairs at Redriff	Cornhill
6/24/1704	Jack Chelsea	Mr. Moses Goodyeare	Mr. Salter	his Coffee-house in Chelsea	Chelsea
7/10/1704	Jack	-	-	the Jamaica Coffee-House in Miles Alley in Cornhill	Cornhill
11/15/1705	Jack	Captain Joshua Winter	Captain Joshua Winter; Benjamin Boydon	B[]t[]'s street near Ratcliff Highway; the Salutation Coffee-house in Tower street, London	Tower/Thames
4/23/1707	Harry	-	J. Hammon	the Pensilvania Coffee-house in Birchin Lane	Cornhill
9/4/1707	Prince	Mr. Tobias Bowles	Mr. Lloyd; Mr. Joackime; Mr. Tobias Bowles	at his Coffee-house in Lombardstreet, London; Sittingborn; Deal in Kent	Cornhill
3/16/1709	John Adams	-	-	the Sun Coffee-house behind the Royal Exchange	Cornhill
12/27/1709	Kingston	-	Mr. Norris	Will's Coffee-house, Covent-Garden	Covent Garden
1/23/1710	Kingston	-	Mr. Morris	Will's Coffee-house, Covent-Garden	Covent Garden
2/10/1710	Kingston	-	Mr. Morris	Will's Coffee-house, Covent-Garden	Covent Garden
2/22/1710	Kingston	-	Mr. Morris	Will's Coffee-house, Covent-Garden	Covent Garden
1/10/1711	William Britton	Capt. Benjamin Rudyerd	Capt. Benjamin Rudyerd	Will's Coffee-house under Scotland-yard-gate, Whitehall	St James/Westminster
3/24/1711	-	-	-; Mr. Giles Batchelor; Major Day	Nandoe's Coffee-house near Temple [B]ar; he Hartichoak and B[] in Cheapside, London; Bristol	Holborn
1/17/1712	Scipio (Ossion)	Captain Foye		Bristol; Llyod's Coffee-house, Lombardstreet	Cornhill
1/22/1713	-	-	-	the Widow Hurts Coffee-house in the Strand, overagainst Katharine street; the Virginia Coffee-house near the Royal Exchange	Temple/Blackfriars;Cornhill
3/16/1713	Will Ralph	-	Captain Richard Read; Mr. John Bodicoate	his House in Rotherhith; next Lloyd's Coffee-house in Lombard-street	Cornhill
5/2/1713	Johnno	-	Capt. Tho. Jeffers	the Sun Coffee-house behind the Royal Exchange, London	Cornhill
1/6/1714	Haddington	-	-	the Jerusalem Coffee-house in	Cornhill

				Exchange-Alley	
6/19/1714		Mr. William Saunders, merchant	Mr. William Saunders; -	Bristol; Garraway's Coffee-house in Exchange-Alley	Cornhill
11/2/1714	Benjamin Wright (Ben)	Capt. John Opie	J. Gauthorne	the Sun Coffee-house on the Backside of the Royal Exchange	Cornhill
5/5/1715	Tho. Gosling	Mr. Francis Willis	Mr. Francis Willis; Mr. John Bully	Battersea; the Virginia Coffeehouse in Cornhill	Cornhill
5/7/1715	Thomas Gosling	Mr. Francis Willis	Mr. Francis Willis; Mr. John Bully	Battersea; the Virginia Coffeehouse in Cornhill	Cornhill
11/19/1717	Daniel	-	Mr. Parsons	the Carolina Coffee-house in Birchin-lane	Cornhill
12/17/1717	Cuff	Edward Man	Mr. Robert Man	the Strand; John's Coffee-house in Lombard-street	Cornhill
1/23/1718	James	-	-	the Jamaica Coffee House in Cornhill	Cornhill
1/24/1718	James	-	-	Jamaica-Coffee house in Cornhill	Cornhill
2/26/1719	Leander	-	Mr. Lyth	Laurence's Coffee-House in Freeman's-Yard near the Royal-Exchange	Cornhill
10/6/1719	Sharper	-	-	Tom's Coffee-house in Devereux Court, near the Temple	Temple/ Blackfriars
5/17/1721	-	-	-	the South-Sea Coffee-house in Broadstreet	Moorgate
2/19/1722	-	Capt. Henry Cornwall, Commander of the Royal African Packet	Mr. Morrice	Garraway's Coffee-house in Exchange-Alley	Cornhill
12/10/1725	Scipio	-	-	the Ship Succession (at Cherry-Garden Chain); the New England Coffee-house behind the Royal Exchange	Cornhill
1/10/1727	-	-	-	Forrest's Coffee-house, Charing-Cross	Charing-Cross (St James)
1/26/1727	Betty	Mrs. Mary Patterson	-	Munday's Coffeehouse in New Round Court; or to the Sword-blade Coffee-house in Birchin-lane	Charing Cross; Cornhill
2/22/1727	-	-	-	the Jamaica Coffee-house; the New England Coffee-house	Cornhill

7/6/1727	Alabaster	Capt. John Stevenson (or Stephenson), Master of the Guinea Hen	Capt. John Stevenson (or Stephenson); Mr. Tho. Jemson	Queen-street, Ratcliff; Lloyd's Coffee-house	Cornhill
12/8/1727	Dick	-	-; Capt. William Harris	Lloyd's Coffee-house in Lombard-street; Spring-street in Shadwell	Cornhill
1/17/1728	Charles Phylips	Mr. Brown	Mr. Brown; Mr. Norton; -	Great-Ormond-Street, London; at his Coffee-House in James Street by Bedford-Row, London	Holborn
8/8/1728	Caelia Edlyne	-	-	the Bar of the Jamaica Coffee-House	Cornhill
8/26/1728	Peter	-	Samuel Cary	the New-England Coffee-house, in Threadneedle-street	Cornhill
2/4/1730	-	-	Mr. Martyn	the Smyrna Coffee-house in Pall-Mall; the New England Coffee-house behind the Royal Exchange	St James; Cornhill
4/3/1730	-	-	Mr. Wintle; Mr. Isaac Hobhorse	Old Man's Coffee-house Charing-Cross; Bristol	Charing Cross
4/3/1730	-	-	Mr. Wintle; Mr. Isaac Hobhorse	Old Man's Coffee-house Charing-Cross; Bristol	Charing Cross
3/13/1731	John Lyon (Serialonas)	Capt. John Yeo	-	the Portugal Coffee-House in Sweeting's-Alley near the Royal Exchange	Cornhill
6/4/1731	Charles Phillips	Mr. Brown	-	the Inn at Gray's-Inn-Gate; Abington's Coffee-House by the Gate	Holborn
8/3/1731	-	-	Mr. Abraham Hadderton; Mr. Henry Pyne	next Door to the Crown Coffee-House behind the Royal-Exchange; Bristol	Cornhill
8/27/1731	Anthony Griffith Caesar	-	-	the Jerusalem Coffee-house	Cornhill
3/27/1732		James Pinnock, Esq	Mr. Davis	the Jamaica Coffee-house	Cornhill
3/27/1732	William Thomas	-	-	the Rainbow Coffee-house in Cornhill	Cornhill
4/27/1732	Billy Dow	James Lawes, Esq	Capt. Patrick Trekee; Mr. Charles Bernard	the Jamaica Coffee-house near the Royal Exchange in Cornhill; Barbers and Surgeons Hall in Monckwell-street	Cornhill

				near Cripplegate	
5/2/1732	Billydow	James Lawes, Esq	Capt. Patrick Trekee; Mr. Charles Bernard	the Jamaica Coffee-house near the Royal Exchange in Cornhill; Barbers and Surgeons Hall in Monckwell-street near Cripplegate	Cornhill
2/21/1733	Caesar Dawset	-	-	the Jerusalem Coffee-house in Exchange-Alley	Cornhill
8/18/1733	Jupiter	Samuel Cary, Commander of the Ship Susannah	Samuel Cary	the Ship Susannah, lying at Stone-Stairs; the New England Coffee-house behind the Royal Exchange	Cornhill
4/9/1735	Manuel Costa	Baron Connins	-	the Smyrna Coffee-house in Pall-mall	St James
10/7/1735	Greenwhich	-	-	Mr. Franklin's, at Goldsmiths Coffee-House in Ball-Alley, Lombard Street	Cornhill
10/10/1735	Greenwhich	-	-	Mr. Franklin's, at Goldsmiths Coffee-House in Ball-Alley, Lombard Street	Cornhill
4/7/1737	Sirro (Sirrllion)	-	Mrs. Gawthorne	the New-England Coffee-House	Cornhill
8/18/1737	-	Jasper Farmer, Commander of the Ship Katherine	Jasper Farmer	the Ship Katherine, Horsflydown-Chain and at the New-England Coffee-House	Cornhill
1/14/1738	Plymouth (Will)	-	-	the Sword-Blade Coffee-House in Birchin-Lane; Sam's Coffee-House, at the Custom-House	Cornhill
8/22/1739	Tom Foe	-	-	the Bar of the Pensylvania Coffee-House in Birchin Lane	Cornhill
12/31/1740	Pompey (Joseph Antony)	-	-	the Bar of the Tennis-Court Coffee-House under the Treasury, Whitehall	St James/Westminster
3/5/1741	Cyrus	-	Mrs. Crosse	the Rainbow Coffee-house in Cornhill	Cornhill
5/20/1742	Kenniston (Bacchus)	-	-	Edinburgh Coffee-House, near the Hermitage-Stairs	Cornhill
9/9/1742	-	-	-	the Virginia Coffee-House	Cornhill
9/11/1742	-	-	-; Mr. Thomas Ashington	the Virginia Coffee-House; on Stepney-Causey	Cornhill
11/6/1742	Peter	-	Mr. Thomas	Langbourn-Ward Coffee-House in	Cornhill

				Fenchurch-Street	
1/5/1744	Joe	-	-	the Bar of the Jamaica Coffee-House, near the Royal Exchange, London	Cornhill
1/5/1744	-	-	-	the Bar of the Jamaica Coffee-House, near the Royal Exchange, London	Cornhill
1/25/1744	Quaco	Capt. Bel[ineligible]	-	the Portugal Coffee-House in Swithin's Alley	Cornhill
2/13/1744	Adam	Capt. John Sutcliffe	Capt. John Sutcliffe	the Jamaica Coffee-House	Cornhill
3/3/1744	George Lewis	-	Capt. Dewar; Mr. Pitt's	the Ship Romney; the Jamaica Coffee-House	Cornhill
3/14/1744	Jack	Nathaniel Butterfield, owner of the Sloop, the Charming Molly	Mr. Alexander Allen; Mr. Chapman	Back Lane, near Sun-Tavern-Fields, Shadwell; Birchin-Lane	Cornhill
8/9/1744	Philip	-	Mr. Alexander Allen; Mr. Chapman; Mr. Barton	Sun-Tavern-Fields, Shadwell; the Marine Coffee-House in Birchin-Lane; the Flacon in Gravesend	Cornhill
8/13/1744	William	Henry Verdon, Commander of the Cur in Galley	Henry Verdon; Mr. John Wilimore; -	-; near East-Lane, Rotherhith; Jamaica Coffee-House, in St. Michael's Alley in Cornhill	Cornhill
9/7/1745	Waterford	-	Mr. Samuel Pitt; Mr. John Thompson	the Jamaica Coffee-House, London; Queen's Square, Bristol	Cornhill
9/7/1745	Julius Caesar	-	Mr. Samuel Pitt; Mr. John Thompson	the Jamaica Coffee-House, London; Queen's Square, Bristol	Cornhill
3/24/1746	Fortune (Thomas Clark)	Mr. William Daniel	Mr. James Peters; Mr. Smuel Pitt; Robert Yescombe	Clement's Inn; the Jamaica Coffee-House, London; Bristol	Cornhill
4/4/1746	Larry	-	James Cruikshank; Mr. Richard Ewerale	the Jamaica Coffee-House; Bear-Key	Cornhill
4/4/1746	Morgan	-	James Cruikshank; Mr. Richard Ewerale	the Jamaica Coffee-House; Bear-Key	Cornhill
4/21/1746	Peter Paul	-	Mr. Child; Simon Onely	Sam's Coffee-House by the Custom-House; Tower-Street, London	Tower/Thames
7/5/1746	Pompey	-	-	the Bar of Will's Coffee-House, Scotland Yard	St James
10/13/1746	George Lewis	-	Capt. Samuel Phillips; Capt. James Perreman	Garraway's Coffee-House, Exchange-Alley; on the Key at Bristol	Cornhill

10/29/1746	Andrew	-	-	Baird's-Coffee-House in Castle-Street, Leicester-Fields	Covent Garden
11/10/1746	Andrew	-	-	Baird's-Coffee-House in Castle-Street, Leicester-Fields	Covent Garden
2/10/1748	Ooronoko	-	Mr. Turner	the Portugal Coffee-House near the Exchange	Cornhill
11/30/1748	Taffy	-	-	Tilt-Yard Coffee-House	St James
5/6/1749	Jacob Collins	Captain Thomas Hart, in the Lisbon Trade	-	the Portugal Coffee-house behind the Royal Exchange	Cornhill
5/24/1750	John Haynes	Capt. James Rogers	Mr. Nathaniel Wraxall; -	Bristol; Cole's Coffee House, Birchin-Lane, London	Cornhill
6/19/1750	John Haynes	Capt. James Rogers	-; Mr. Nathaniel Wraxall	Coles Coffee-House, Birchin-Lane, London; Bristol	Cornhill
2/21/1751	-	-	-	the Jamaica Coffee-house, St Michael's Alley	Cornhill
6/7/1751	James Sudbury	-	Mr. Christian	Grigsby's Coffee-house near the Royal Exchange	Cornhill
7/31/1753	Peter	-	C.D.	Batson's Coffee-house	Cornhill
5/6/1755	Charlo	-	J.R.	the Carolina Coffee-house in Birchin-lane	Cornhill
5/15/1755	Charlo	-	J.R.	the Carolina Coffee-house in Birchin-lane	Cornhill
8/16/1755	Ambrose	Hugh Ferguson, Master of the Ship Concord	Hugh Ferguson	Lloyd's Coffee-house; Peter Cargill's, Robert Garey's, Mr. Alexander Belch's near the Hermitage	Cornhill
11/17/1757	Oliver	-	-	the Elizabeth, at King Stairs; Carolina Coffee-house in Birchin Lane	Cornhill
11/14/1758	Cambridge	Alexander Mac Millan	-; Alexander Mac Millan	-; -	Cornhill
10/25/1759	Boatswain	-	Richard Mackenzie	the Ship Hampden, lying off Cherry Garden Stairs; the Jamaica Coffee house, Cornhill	Cornhill
10/25/1759	Johnny Mass	-	Richard Mackenzie	the Ship Hampden, lying off Cherry Garden Stairs; the Jamaica Coffee house, Cornhill	Cornhill
10/25/1759	Jack Black	-	Richard Mackenzie	the Ship Hampden, lying off Cherry	Cornhill

				Garden Stairs; the Jamaica Coffee house, Cornhill	
10/25/1759	Hary Green	-	Richard Mackenzie	the Ship Hampden, lying off Cherry Garden Stairs; the Jamaica Coffee house, Cornhill	Cornhill
1/22/1760	John Peter	-	-	the Bar of the New York Coffee House	Cornhill
3/18/1760	Punch	-	Mr. Leever	the New England Coffee-House behind the Royal-Exchange	Cornhill
1/28/1761	Tom	Captain Ochterlony	Captain Ochterlony	New-York Coffee-house; the Ship Oliver, lying off Cherry-Garden Stairs	Cornhill
5/4/1761	Othello	-	-	Turk's Head Coffee-house in the Strand	Strand
5/6/1761	Othello	-	-	Turk's Head Coffee-house in the Strand	Strand
9/17/1761	Antony	-	-	Jamaica Coffee-house	Cornhill
10/26/1761	Bacchus	-	Gustavus Barton	Lloyd's Coffee house	Cornhill
10/26/1761	William Collier	Gustavus Barton, Commander of the Ship Christian	Gustavus Barton	Lloyd's Coffee house	Cornhill
5/26/1764	Thomas Cambridge	-	Mr. Woolly; -	Hatton-Garden; the Jamaica, Guinea, Pennsylvania, and West Florida Coffee-house in St Michael's Alley, Cornhill	Cornhill
11/6/1764	-	-	-; Sir John Fielding	Bar of Jamaica Coffee-house in St Michael's Alley, Cornhill; -	Cornhill
2/14/1765	Siriraus Monetanas	-	A.B.	the Bar of Garraway's Coffee-house	Cornhill
2/21/1765	Tom (Will. Johnson)	-	-	Jamaica Coffee-house	Cornhill
3/4/1765	George	-	Capt. James; -	East-Lane, Rotherhithe; Lloyd's Coffee-House	Cornhill
10/18/1765	John	Mr. Samuel Delpratt, Merchant	Capt. William Tomlinson; Mr Joseph Malpas	the Jamaica Coffee House; Wood Street, Cheapside	Cornhill
10/21/1765	Bacchus	-	Capt. Thomas Wheatle	the Jamaica Coffee House	Cornhill
10/31/1765	Jack	Mr. George Campbell	Mr. George Campbell	Mr. Lowrie's, opposite Mundry's coffee-house, in New Round-court in	Charing Cross

				the Strand	
7/8/1766	Hercules	-	-; Capt. Jordan	Bar of the Carolina Coffee-House, Birchin-Lane; on board the Ship Nancy, lying at Horslyndown	Cornhill
6/24/1767	Charles	Mr. Colin Reid, Merchant	Mr. William Bond; Capt. William Curtis; -	Bond-Court; Prince's-square, near Ratcliff-Highway; the Bar of the Jamaica Coffee-House	Cornhill
1/5/1768	Cuff []	Henry Botson, Commander of the Anne	Henry Botson	the Anne, lying at Iron-gate; the Carolina coffee-house in Birchin lane	Cornhill
1/25/1768	John Chalk (John Smart)	-	-	Mount coffee-house in Grosvenor-street	Mayfair
8/11/1768	John	-	-	the Bar of Lloyd's Coffee-house	Cornhill
8/11/1768	Charles	-	-	the Bar of Lloyd's Coffee-house	Cornhill
8/27/1768	Thomas Brown (Turpin)	Mrs. Sarah James	William Randolph; Capt. Pitt; Mrs. Sarah James	Orchard street, Bristol; the Jamaica Coffee-House, London; Cardiff	Cornhill
1/3/1769	Quintos	-	-	the Jerusalem coffee-house, Exchange alley, Cornhill	Cornhill
2/12/1771	William	John Lamb, Esq	-	the Bar of the Jamaica Coffee-House, Cornhill	Cornhill
8/19/1771	Tom	-	-	the Union Coffee-house, in Cornhill	Cornhill
12/13/1771	William Suza	-	-	George's Coffee house, Coventry-street	Piccadilly (St James)
11/13/1773	Philip	-	-	the Master of the Carolina Coffee-House, Birchin-Lane	Cornhill
2/26/1774	Pollidore	-	Mr. Fielding	New Lloyd's coffee-house	Cornhill
9/29/1777	Samuel Black	-	Capt. Askew Hillcoat	Sam's Coffee-House, near the Custom-House	Tower/Thames

Source: The University of Glasgow, "Runaway slaves in Britain: bondage, freedom and race in the eighteenth century," https://www.runaways.gla.ac.uk/database/ (accessed March 14, 2019).

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