

Pasqua Rosee's Coffee-House, 1652–1666

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Abbreviations:

GL	Guildhall Library
CLRO	Corporation of London Records Office
BL	British Library
PRO	Public Record Office
CSP	Calendar of State Papers

In the early Restoration period, many commentators perceived a telling analogy between the advent of the coffee-house and the political upheaval of the Commonwealth and Protectorate. As the news-sheet writer Henry Muddiman estimated in 1661, coffee was ‘first brought into *England*’ ‘Six or seven years ago’, at a time when, he quips, ‘the Palats of the English were as Fanatical, as their Brains’.² An anonymous satirist in 1665 tied the coffee-house to the cultural landscape of the English Revolution even more explicitly:

Coffee and *Commonwealth* begin
With one letter, both came in
Together for a *Reformation*,
To make’s a free and sober *Nation*.³

This essay explores the history of the first coffee-house in London, locating it against the urban and commercial context of Interregnum London. The extant history of this coffee-house derives from accounts given by antiquarians and historians in the late seventeenth century, especially by John Aubrey (1625–1697) and John Houghton (d. 1705), who proposed that the first coffee-house in London opened in 1652 in St Michael’s Alley in Cornhill Ward. This essay presents hitherto unnoticed contemporary documentary evidence concerning this enterprise drawn largely from the parish records of St Michael’s Cornhill, now preserved in Guildhall Library, London. In addition, it offers some account of the merchants who first engaged in the trade, drawn from parish and taxation records, and the contemporary records of public affairs in London and the Levant.

John Aubrey’s notes on the history of the London coffee-houses were collected in his *Brief Lives* in the early 1680s,⁴ amongst the biographical materials on the Levantine traveller and diplomat Sir Henry Blount (who had described coffee in his *Voyage into the Levant*, published in 1636).⁵ Despite Blount’s ‘wild’ predilection for ‘common wenches’, Aubrey says he repudiated other forms of debauchery, especially drunkenness. From some unspecified time (implying the late 1630s) Blount ‘dranke nothing but water or Coffee. When coffee first came-in he was a great upholder of it, and hath ever since been a constant frequenter of coffee houses’. Blount’s private coffee consumption initiates Aubrey’s digression on public coffee-houses:

The first Coffee house in London was in St Michael's Alley in Cornehill, opposite to the church which was sett up by one ... Bowman (Coachman to Mr Hodges, a Turkey-merchant, who putt him upon it) in or about the year 1652. 'Twas about four yeares before any other was sett up, and that was by Mr. Far. Jonathan Paynter, opposite to St. Michael's Church, was the first apprentice to the trade: viz to Bowman.

In a marginal note, he added (unable to supply the date) 'And the next [coffee-house to open in London] was Mr. Farr's a barber, which was set up in anno ...'.⁶

To Aubrey's speculative and patchy recollections of events can be added the testimony of John Houghton, who researched 'the original of Coffee and Coffee Houses' in the late 1690s, nearly half a century after the events he describes. A Fellow of the Royal Society, John Houghton delivered 'A Discourse on Coffee' to that body on June 14 1699, subsequently published in the *Philosophical Transactions* in September 1699,⁷ and republished two years later – broken into several instalments – in his popular weekly miscellany, *A Collection for Improvement of Husbandry and Trade* (1692–1703).⁸ Houghton's account is worth quoting at length, as it has been so widely employed by others.

To the same House of Merchandize where this *Rastall* was, came Mr. *Daniel Edwards*, a Merchant from *Smyrna* (where *Coffee* had been used immemorially) who brought with him, *Anno* 1652, a *Greek* Servant, named *Pasqua*, who made his Coffee, which he drank two or three Dishes at a time twice or thrice a Day.

The same Year *Edwards* came over Land into *England*, and married the Daughter of one *Alderman Hodges*, who lived I think in *Walbrook*. This *Hodges* used with great delight to drink *Coffee* with *Edwards*, so it is likely that this *Edwards* was the first that brought *Coffee* into *England*, although I am inform'd that Dr. *Harvey* the famous Inventor of the Circulation of the Blood, did frequently use it.

After this it grew more in use in several private Houses, which encouraged Mr. *Edwards* to set up *Pasqua* for a Coffee-man, who got a Shed in the Church-yard of St. *Michael Cornhil*, where he had great Custom, insomuch that the Ale sellers, fearing it should spoil their Trade, Petitioned the Lord Mayor against him, acknowledging his not being a Freeman. Upon this *Alderman Hodges* joined a Partner with *Pasqua* one *Bowman* his coachman, who was made Free, upon which they lived unmolested in the same place, where Mr. *Rastall* found them in the year 1654, but sometime after this *Pasqua* for some Misdemeanour run away, and *Bowman* had the whole Trade, and managed it so well, that by his profits, and the Generosity of his Customers, who contributed Sixpence a piece, to the number of almost a Thousand; he turned his Shead into a House, and when he died, left his Wife, who had been *Alderman Hodges's* Cook-maid, pretty Rich, but she died Poor not many Years since.⁹

Throughout his account, Houghton strives to achieve an appropriate scientific tone and rhetoric by actively foregrounding the authenticating strategies of empirical writing, asserting that his evidence derives from eyewitness observers or reliable intermediaries. Houghton did have some knowledge of the coffee business, as he had traded as an apothecary and dealer in tea, coffee, chocolate and other luxuries, from a shop first 'against the Ship Tavern in St. Bartholomew Lane, behind the Royal

Exchange' and subsequently 'at the Golden Fleece at the corner of Little Eastcheap in Gracechurch Street'. But unlike Aubrey, who probably was resident in London in 1652, Houghton does not claim to present his own direct experience of these events. His primary informant was Thomas Rastall, an 'English merchant' apprenticed to the Drapers Company in 1646, subsequently admitted to the Levant Company in 1654, and secretary to the Hudson's Bay Company in 1670–74.¹⁰ He was still alive in 1701, when he must have been in his seventies.¹¹ His second informant is the widow of Humphry Hodskins one of the early apprentices to the trade.

Aubrey and Houghton supply almost all the information hitherto available on the history of the coffee house in London in the 1650s.¹² Some eighteenth-century research adds minor elucidations, such as the work of the Scottish physician James Douglas (FRS), who revisited Aubrey and Houghton's findings in 1727 in a supplement to his prestigious botanical folio on coffee entitled *Arbor Yemensis fructum Cofe ferens*. Douglas approved of Houghton's empirical method, claiming that 'it will easily appear, by the bare reading of this Relation, that he took sufficient pains not to be impos'd on in any of the Facts he mentions'.¹³ Through his own eyewitness observers, Douglas too claimed a direct contact with the events 75 years earlier. He drew on the personal testimony of Walter Elford, whose father had a coffee-house when he was a school boy in the 1660s, and George Constantine, proprietor of the Grecian coffee-house in Devereaux Court, whom he describes as 'the oldest Coffee-Man now alive in London, and perhaps *Christendom*'.¹⁴

Aubrey and Houghton's account has exerted a powerful influence on subsequent writers, forming a peculiarly Anglo-centric myth of origin for the 'European' coffee-house.¹⁵ The attractions of Houghton's plotted history have been so compelling for later historians and commentators that even their antiquarians' rhetoric can be detected in some modern accounts. Driven by a powerful narrative force, Houghton's account offers strong and colourful characters acting with considered motive. His story, sometimes carefully attributed, often reinforced by Aubrey, can be further followed in eighteenth-century works by the botanist Richard Bradley (1721), the antiquarian William Oldys (1761), the historians Adam Anderson (1764) and John Ellis (1774).¹⁶ Numerous historians and scholars repeated the story in the nineteenth century,¹⁷ and, with some minor embellishments and confusions, it can be found in the major resources for coffee-house history, such as works by William Ukers (1922), Aytoun Ellis (1952), Bryant Lillywhite (1963), and from there has entered standard works of reference, such as *The London Encyclopedia* (1987).¹⁸ The story received its most public imprimatur in 1952, when the Corporation of London unveiled a blue plaque celebrating Pasqua Rosee's coffee-house on the Jamaica Wine House (a public house) in St Michael's Alley, invoking Aubrey and Houghton as authorities.¹⁹

By the late seventeenth century, as these diverse accounts testify, the coffee-house was a celebrated location in urban culture. Aubrey argued that the spirit of modern enquiry was fostered by the coffee-house: he himself was 'much well knowne' amongst men of letters only from 'the modern advantage of Coffee-houses [...]; before which, men knew not how to be acquainted, but with their owne Relations, or Societie.'²⁰ Houghton reported that the impetus for his research was the comment of an unidentified 'worthy member' of the Royal Society who argued 'that Coffee-houses have improved useful knowledge very much', for the 'Coffee-house makes all sorts of People sociable, they improve Arts, and Merchandize, and all

other Knowledge'.²¹ The coffee-house was a central forum for scientific circles associated with Robert Hooke and the early Royal Society.²² By the beginning of the eighteenth century, the coffee-houses' distinctive contribution to the modern, sociable and polite arts of conversation made it a felicitous home for *The Spectator* essays, in which Steele famously proposed to bring 'Philosophy out of Closets and Libraries, Schools and Colleges, to dwell in Clubs and Assemblies, at Tea-Tables and in Coffee-houses'.²³ In this manner, the coffee-house has often been proposed as a paradigm of the distinctive and innovative urban sociability of Restoration London, a constitutive element, for example, in Habermas's account of the rise of the 'public sphere'.²⁴ In the last decade, the coffee-house has been the focus of sustained research and analysis, especially in relation to questions of gender and the ideology of politeness.²⁵ This work has shown the Restoration and early eighteenth-century coffee-house to be a complex and contested space, variously an arena for the consumption of news, for the drama of politics, and the discussion of science and the polite arts.²⁶ In these accounts, the antiquarians' account of the origin of the coffee-house in the 1650s has been an accepted, albeit unexamined, assumption. In detailing an account of the coffee-house of Pasqua Rosee and Christopher Bowman before the Restoration, this essay is a contribution to a material and particular history of the coffee-house, in which a single coffee-house is examined in its urban location, as a commercial enterprise subject to regulation by authorities at parish and city-wide level, and reflecting the interests and sociability of a specific community, that of the merchants associated with the Levant Company. Rather than an expression of a civic ideal, the coffee-house in this instance is shown to be produced by and for specific contiguities within the urban culture of Interregnum London.

I

Before the 1650s, the private consumption of coffee in England was virtually restricted to two groups: those with personal experience of the Levant, such as aliens, travellers, and merchants of the Levant company, and the scientific virtuosi later associated with the Royal Society. Aubrey, of course, noted Blount's coffee drinking in the 1630s. To this can be added John Evelyn's recollection in his 'De Vita Propria' (probably written in 1697) that whilst he was at Balliol College, Oxford in 1637 there was a Greek Orthodox student called Nathaniel Conopios who 'was the first that I ever saw drink *Caffè*, not heard of then in England, nor til many yeares after made a common entertainment all over the nation.'²⁷ The physician William Harvey (1578–1657) was a regular drinker of coffee at home, obtaining supplies from as early as the 1620s through his brothers Eliab and Daniel, wealthy Levant merchants. Harvey left a silver 'Coffeypot' to his brother in his will written in 1652.²⁸ In his recommendation of Walter Rumsey's experiments on coffee published in 1657, James Howell (1594?–1666) claimed that the practice of 'this *wakeful* and civil drink' was introduced 'first to London' by 'that worthy Gentleman, Mr *Mudiford*'²⁹ – referring to the Turkey merchant James Modyford (d. 1673).³⁰ Private coffee-drinking in London in this period was associated with the 'Turkey merchants' of the Levant Company, presumably because they were the only group able to import regular supplies, albeit for their own consumption and on an *ad hoc* basis. Their monopoly on the trade in coffee was not challenged until December 31 1657, when the East India Company ordered ten tons of 'coho seede' or coffee berries to be imported

from Surat in India, purchased from Indian Bannians (traders to Mocha, in the Red Sea). The first sale of the new commodity by the East India Company was in August 1660.³¹

The coffee-house of Pasqua Rosee and Daniel Edwards can be located in the culture of coffee-drinking associated with merchants of the Levant Company. Daniel Edwards was a member of one of the principal families engaged in the Levant trade, and was active in the Smyrna Factory in the period 1646 to 1651. He was bound apprentice in the Draper's Company in 1639,³² and, having been apprenticed to his brother William, was finally admitted to the Levant Company on 13 January 1652/53.³³ Daniel Edwards played an active and important role in the Parliamentary party in the two major scandals that engulfed the Levant Company in the period: the separate conspiracies of Sir Sackville Crow (in 1646–1647)³⁴ and Sir Henry Hide (in 1650)³⁵ to seize the profits of the Levant trade for royalist purpose. The Edwards family, lead by Joseph Edwards, was one of the most prominent in this prosperous Ottoman city: their house a centre for the social life of the 'Franks' or foreign community. Their balls and suppers frequently attracted women from the Greek community, and even Turkish guests. Although Izmir (Smyrna) was noted for its boisterous cross-cultural socialising, in December 1651, the Council of State in London wrote to the English consul, Spencer Bretton, complaining that 'Some of the English residents there live in much licentiousness', further asking him to send them a list of 'names and their miscarriages'.³⁶ The European traders in Izmir relied on a 'cosmopolitan and commerce-oriented "Levantine" subculture' of non-Muslim Ottomans, especially those Armenians, Greeks and Jews who had valuable knowledge of local languages and customs. European merchants favoured the Greek community as a source for servants: Consul Paul Rycout later advised that Greek or Armenian servants were both cheaper and better than English.³⁷ Pasqua Rosee, according to the antiquarians, comes from this community (certainly his name suggests he was Christian): such a man would have been well placed to gain skills in coffee preparation, and have some knowledge of the local coffee-bean market and coffee-houses.³⁸ There were at least forty coffee-houses in Izmir, 'according to the register that Ismail Pasha...[made] in 1657–58' and noted by the Turkish historian Evliyâ Çelebi (?-1674).³⁹ The French antiquarian Jean de Thevenot, when visiting Izmir in the 1650s, remarked both on the numerousness and sociable nature of the 'Cahue-hane' or coffee-houses he encountered (which he called 'cabarets publics de cahue').⁴⁰

Although Daniel Edwards is known to have been in Izmir as late as August 1651, he returned to London soon after, perhaps to escape an outbreak of the plague in September 1651.⁴¹ In London he married Mary Hodges in St Stephen's, Walbrook on March 31 1652, the daughter of the prominent Levant merchant Thomas Hodges (1597–1656).⁴² A freeman of the Grocers' Company since 1630,⁴³ Thomas Hodges had gained considerable prestige and wealth through his membership of the Levant Company and the East India Company, in which he held high office between 1641 and 1655.⁴⁴ When he returned to London, Houghton notes, Daniel Edwards continued his Levantine habit of taking coffee prepared by Pasqua Rosee: drinking 'two or three Dishes [of coffee] at a time twice or thrice a Day'.⁴⁵ Through his sharing of Rosee's coffee with his father-in-law Alderman Hodges, Houghton says it 'grew more in use in several private Houses'. In this way, Edwards was continuing the distinctive custom of the Levant Company merchants in drinking this exotic and

expensive beverage. From celebrity amongst the Levant Company, coffee grew into a more general vogue: in 1761 the antiquarian William Oldys wrote that Edwards grew tired of the time and money spent on this sociable beverage, 'the novelty thereof drawing too much company to him'.⁴⁶ In response Edwards and Hodges resolved to open a public coffee-house, conceived as a business enterprise and modelled on the Ottoman *cave-hane*. Edwards himself was unable to open a coffee-house himself (a merchant of the Levant company was required to be a 'mere merchant', engaged solely in wholesale trading).⁴⁷ The solution was to sponsor Pasqua Rosee in the venture, setting him up in a small shed in a central location in the City.

II

As an immigrant alien, Pasqua Rosee left no record of his birth, marriage or death in parish registers. His name is recorded in one of a number of broadside hand-bills advertising the effects and properties of coffee issued by coffee-men, all of which are called *The Vertue of the Coffee Drinke*: one in the British Library has a subtitle indicating that coffee was '*First publicly made and sold in England, by Pasqua Rosee*', with the colophon '*Made and Sold in St. Michael's Alley in Cornhill, by Pasqua Rosee, at the Signe of his own Head*'.⁴⁸ This hand-bill (like all the other extant copies with different coffee-sellers' colophons) is undated. The antiquarians concur that Rosee first sold coffee in St Michael's Alley in 1652, and, while positive evidence for this date has not been discovered, parish registers show that Rosee was operating from a house in this location by mid-1656 with his trading partner Christopher Bowman. Even earlier, Samuel Hartlib, the Bohemian 'intelligencer', noted in his *Ephemerides* in August 4 1654, that 'A cuphye-house or a Turkish – as it were – Ale-house is erected near the Old Exchange [in Cornhill]' – perhaps referring to Rosee's business.⁴⁹ Of Rosee's character the archive tells us little. English was probably his third language, after Greek and Turkish – and he may have known enough Armenian and Hebrew to get along in the market. Nonetheless, despite his linguistic abilities, English satirists found his accent ridiculous. In *A Broad-side against Coffee; Or, the Marriage of the Turk* (1672), the satirist explains that the first coffeeman in London (Pasqua Rosee) was a coachman (to Daniel Edwards), and documenting his strongly accented speech: '*Me no good Engalash!*'. Rosee's advertising handbills promoted coffee through its medical effects, which the satirist describes as playing 'the Quack to salve his Stygian stuff', and recommending that the beverage was '*Ver boon for de stomach, de Cough, de Ptisick*'.⁵⁰

The location adopted by Edwards and Rosee was the churchyard of St Michael's on Cornhill, a small church described by John Stow in 1603 as 'fayre and beautifull', but 'greatly blemished' by the buildings that encumbered it. To the south of the church was a 'proper cloister', lined with memorials to eminent persons in the parish, and beyond, the graves and grass of the Churchyard, bounded by a high wall, and a pulpit cross like that of St Paul's Yard.⁵¹ From the mid sixteenth-century, the once free standing church had been progressively encircled by building: on the north side abutting Cornhill, a row of four houses were built in 1569, and to the south of the churchyard, four messuages had been built on land willed to the church in 1505 and 1528.⁵² The churchwardens allowed further building in St Michael's Alley, reserving the income for 'the better maintenance and sustentation of the said Parish Church of St Michaell in Cornhill'.⁵³ The development of the church's estate

reflects the intense pressure for new housing and retail space in the City, as well as a desire to protect the church's wealth from sequestration by moving it from plate to property. Through the records of the parish property, an unusually detailed picture of the alley's pre-fire property can be established. Three significant resources remain concerning the ward of St Michael's on Cornhill: Vestry Minutes (Guildhall Library MS 04072), Churchwardens' Accounts (Guildhall Library MS 04071), and a contemporary copy-book of the deeds and leases of the church property (Guildhall Library MS 04083). Both the Vestry Minutes and the copy-book of deeds were maintained by the churchwardens themselves, while the Accompt Book was written by a professional scrivener, working from rough notes supplied by the churchwardens (an arrangement that Charles Pendell suggests was conventional).⁵⁴

If the actions of the vestry are a reliable guide, the parish of St Michael's Cornhill was both radical and typical in its religious politics in this period. The 1640s had seen the vestry attack Laudian innovations in church architecture and liturgical practices: the Commons order of 1 September 1641 to remove altars and rails was effected, Keith Lindley has argued, in an orderly manner, supported and paid for by the vestry. In a similarly obedient fashion, the vestry and churchwardens removed all the crosses from its walls and windows in May 1643.⁵⁵ St Michael's was also in the vanguard of the systematic purge of 'scandalous' ministers. The Rector of St Michael's, William Brough, was closely associated with the Court and Laud, and was 'therefore esteem'd by the Puritans an Arminian, Popishly affected and I know what'.⁵⁶ In 1714 Walker described how Brough was 'Persecuted out of his Rectory... where he was also *Plundered*, and *his Wife and Children turned out of Doors*'.⁵⁷ In his stead a series of presbyters were installed as either minister or lecturer: Thomas Mall, 1643; Fulk Bellers, 1645; and Anthony Harford, 1645.⁵⁸ From 1647 Mr J. Wall filled the position of minister, until 13 July 1652, when 'according to his desire' Wall was 'discharged from being any longer minister of this parish'.⁵⁹ After further brief appointments (the Vestry Minutes refer to a Mr Witham and a Mr Styles), the Sequestrators found some continuity in the appointment on 21 Nov 1653 of Peter Vinke, a Flemish refugee educated at Cambridge and Leiden. Ordained under the authority of Parliament by the 4th London Classis in 29 Nov 1649,⁶⁰ Vinke was described by Calamy as 'A very good Scholar; of Grave Behaviour, and Moderate Principles'.⁶¹ His apologists said of him that he 'shone a bright Light' in the church until the Restoration, when he gave up the title to Brough 'more from an indisposition to contend, which was little suitable to his calm temper, than from *defect of Title*'.⁶² After Brough (d. 1672) in turn relinquished the living, John Meriton was appointed Rector in April 5, 1664, a position he held until his death in 1704.

Much of the church property was centred on St Michael's Alley. Leading off Cornhill, it opened onto several other alleys through built-over passage-ways: George Yard leading to Lombard St, and Bell Yard leading to Gracechurch Street (although there was no access through Castle Court to Birchin Lane until after the Fire). The alley itself, which twisted about around the west and south sides of the churchyard wall, was narrow, ranging from five or six feet wide at the narrowest, to 12 feet or so at its wider points.⁶³ The churchyard itself contained many gravestones and memorial stones, and was covered in grass (the vestry minutes record payments for grass cutters). The network of lanes and alleys leading off Cornhill and Lombard Street, near to the Royal Exchange had become central to the City's commercial culture in the seventeenth century, comprising an integrated residential, retail and business

space. The alleys' narrowness made them ideal for this purpose, for they could not be encumbered and congested by traffic of carriages and dray carts. They were paved with freestone, and lit with lanterns and lights from the shops and houses. The jettied architecture of buildings, nearly meeting over-head in the narrower lanes, even offered some protection against inclement weather. These alleys were famed for their provision of business services, offered by scribes, notaries, bankers, and booksellers; as well as businesses catering to the sustenance of the man of business, from shoemakers, buckle-makers and haberdashers to taverns, eating houses, grocers, and, later, coffee-houses.

The alley and the churchyard were further encumbered by sheds and shop-stalls. Disputes over several sheds in St Michael's churchyard were mentioned in the Vestry Minutes in the 1650s.⁶⁴ It is from such a structure that Houghton proposes that Rosee sold coffee. Peter Blayney's research concerning a shop planned by the printer John Day in St Paul's Cross Churchyard in the 1570s, derived from the leases issued by the cathedral authorities, allows some conclusions to be drawn concerning this type of shed. Its most typical attribute was an external wooden counter fixed to the wall below the window. The counter was known as a stall, stall board or shop board, and it was often hinged so it could be closed up, forming a horizontal shutter across the lower half of the window. The window, unless it was under cover, would be surmounted by the overhang of a larger board, known as a pentice or penthouse, which would function as an awning and cover to protect the stall and the customers from the rain and sun. The stall and pentice both folded flat against the window when the shop was closed like shutters, and each was held up by 'stooles, postes, and staves' when unfolded.⁶⁵ Such structures were typically constructed of temporary or short-life materials: a shed noted in the St Michael Vestry Minutes for 3 July 1603 was built 'of deale board' (fir or pine boards cut to a regular size).⁶⁶ If Rosee's business operated from such a shed, it is unlikely to have been a large or well-appointed 'coffee-house', but something more akin to a market stall around which clients would cluster.

As a new and innovative line of trade, Rosee's coffee-selling entered a potentially hostile economic environment, retailing a product for which there was no identified market. The distracted nature of Commonwealth politics, however, may have made this a good time to trial a new product. Wine and beer, the key competitors for coffee, were widely attacked by Puritan controversialists, who associated drunkenness and taverns with the licentious and immoral ways of Royalists.⁶⁷ Vintners and wine merchants complained in 1651 and 1652 that supplies of wine languished unsold despite a collapsing price: John Paige, a London merchant of Canary wine, complained on 6 May 1651 that 'amongst all nothing a greater drug than Canary wines'.⁶⁸ As a commodity, coffee was expensive on the Turkish market, but as an imported commodity it was transported in small consignments, before being transformed for sale in London by roasting, grinding and dilution with water. It was also advertised as a sober and healthful drink, conformable to rectitude. Curious about the 'cophye-house drinke', Hartlib was informed by William Brereton in 1654 that 'It is a Turkish-kind of drink made of water and some berry or Turkish-beane.[...] It is somewhat hot and vnpleasant but a good after relish and caused some breaking of wind in abundance.' Brereton estimated that 'The keeper of that shop or sellar of that drink gets 30. or 40. shill[ing]s a day', suggesting that Rosee enjoyed a prodigious turnover of between £450 and £600 per annum.⁶⁹ The price of Rosee's coffee is

not known: later in the century commentators noted that 'For a penny, you may buy a dish of Coffee, to quicken your Stomach, and refresh your Spirits', a rate which suggests Rosee sold over 600 dishes of coffee a day.⁷⁰

Although Brereton's estimates of Rosee's profits are probably overstated, his success drew attacks from entrenched business interests. Houghton suggests 'the Ale sellers, fearing it should spoil their Trade, Petitioned the Lord Mayor against him, acknowledging his not being a Freeman.'⁷¹ Rosee was not free of the City, and was not permitted to trade in the manner he did. Offences against the trading regulations of the city were prosecuted by the Chamberlain of the City in the Mayor's Court, enforcing the Act of Common Council 15 April, 4 James I ('no non-freeman may sell by retail in the City on pain of forfeiting £5'). In 1653–54, the Council of State received several complaints from 'native tradesmen' concerning the 'manifold abuses' of strangers and aliens trading in the City and Westminster.⁷² Searches of the city in 1654 sought to detain and examine foreigners living in the City.⁷³ Tavern-keeping, moreover, was tightly regulated. Proclamations by the General Sessions of the Public Peace in 1654 and 1657 required alehouse-keepers to be licensed, and restricted their number. Cornhill ward was permitted five ale-houses and taverns between 1654 and 1660, and the constables were required to inform the General Sessions of any 'who shall presume to sell or utter any Ale, Beere or other strong drinke as an Alehouse-keeper without Licence, or keep disorderly houses.'⁷⁴ The psychoactive properties of coffee and the sociable nature of its consumption, may have created sufficient ambiguity for the alehouse-keepers to assay a test of Rosee's coffee shed in the City regulations.

III

Daniel Edwards and Thomas Hodges, according to Houghton, sought to protect this profitable new trade, bringing it under the mantle of the Grocers' Company by forming a partnership between Rosee and one of Hodges's former apprentices, Christopher Bowman. Bowman was named in the 1641 Poll Tax returns as a resident of Walbrook Ward in the employment of Thomas Hodges.⁷⁵ The Grocers' Company Register of Apprentices establishes that 'Xtoferus Boman' was registered as an apprentice to Hodges on 2 April 1644,⁷⁶ and was formally admitted for seven years servitude on payment of the fine of 02s. 06d. on 2 May 1644.⁷⁷ The apprenticeship records further indicate that he came to London from 'Mymes in Midd[le]sex' (South Mimms) and that his father, also called Christopher Bowman, was a yeoman farmer.⁷⁸ Despite being registered for only seven years servitude, it was nearly a decade before Bowman earned his freedom: he was admitted to the 'Mystery of the Grocery of the Cittie of London' on 22 February 1653/54.⁷⁹

The new partnership also improved the physical accommodation of the building. From the temporary structure of the shed, the business moved into a more permanent building in a better position across the alleyway from the churchyard. At some time during the year 1656, Rosee and Bowman began to pay rent on this building, which was on a short lease, and in a state of some disrepair. Christopher Bowman first appears in the Churchwardens' Account book amongst the 'Rents Received' for 1656: which notes 'Re[cei]v[e]d of Mr Marborough for a yeares Rent for the house now in the holding of Christofer Bowman..... £iiij'. As this suggests, Bowman, having taken over Mr Marlborough's tenancy, paid the annual rent of £4 in 1657. Further-

more, the Accompt Book records the sums allowed to each lessee by the parish for 'Abatement of Taxes': stating in the accounts for 1656 'Allowed to Passo Rossee and Mr Bowman 12 months Tax..... xvij s.'⁸⁰ As this 18 shillings abatement suggests, the Churchwardens considered that Christopher Bowman operated his business together with Pasqua Rosee. This is the earliest mention of Rosee's name in contemporary materials.

The building occupied by Bowman and Rosee in St Michael's Alley, 'in and nigh unto the Churchyard' as the early leases said of it, was erected at least as early as 1604. The specific location of the building concerned can be determined through cross referencing the vestry minutes and Churchwarden's account books with a contemporary copy-book of the deeds and leases of the church property (GL MS 04083).⁸¹ The building occupied by Bowman and Rosee was built in 1604 as two messuages.⁸² The next lease, dated 15 March 1637, stated that the messuages were in the 'several [i.e. distinct] occupacons' of Thomas Wilkinson, an upholder (dealer in second-hand articles of clothing or furniture); and William Hope, a bookseller who traded from the Unicorn in Cornhill between 1635 and 1649, and from near the north door of the Royal Exchange from 1652-72.⁸³ In the last decade of this lease, due to expire in 1657, the building was occupied by several tenants in quick succession: Hannah Barker, John Craven, Mr Ffletcher, Mrs Robinson, before coming into the hands of Mr Marborough (elsewhere called Mr Marleborough or Malborow) between 1654 and 1656.⁸⁴ When the lease ran out in 1657, the two messuages were in the occupation of Christopher Bowman, Pasqua Rosee and Thomas Bladwill, a merchant of St Olave's Hart St.⁸⁵ The building was evidently in poor condition, for the new lease, granted to Bowman 'By Indenture Dated the 14th Day of August 1657', required him to repair or build anew.

The message occupied by Bowman and Rosee in 1656 can be identified as the building G, No. 3, in the Vestry's 1696 summary:

G No. 3 And all that message or tenemt erected on a Toft [a house with its adjoining lands] of ground scituate on the west side of St Michaells Alley att the West end of the said Church and Church Yard which said Toft conteynes in length from north to south att the east side or front thereof towards the said Alley and Churchyard & also att the west or backward side thereof twenty seven foot and an half. And in breadth from east to west att the north end and south end thereof nineteen foot of assize.⁸⁶

This is the most accurate summary of the size and location of Bowman's building, although it tells us very little about the building. This site is now known as No. 3 St Michael's Alley, and is directly across the alley from what is now the Jamaica Wine House.⁸⁷ At the vestry 14 July 1657, the minutes record that the Churchwardens established 'A committee for building and letting of two houses in St Michael's Alley', who were 'hereby impowered to determine as they shall think good concerning the building and letting of the houses in the holding of Christofer Boman Pars Rosee and Mr Bladwill'. Amongst those on the committee were Richard Norton and William Rowell, church elders who had been involved in the sequestration of William Brough in 1641-43,⁸⁸ and Nicholas Kelke, a pewterer who later served as Common Councillor for Cornhill (1671-78).⁸⁹ In the following weeks Bowman, Rosee, and Bladwill must have met with the Vestry committee, because on 31 July 1657 the conclusion of their negotiation was announced, and 'The two

houses in Church Yard in use of Chr. Bowman & Bladwill are Lease and Lett to Bowman'. The lease Bowman negotiated

for xl £ fine & x £ quarterly & that the said Christopher should within the first five years of the terme expend & lay out in the building of the same CCC £. before & during the terme of xxxj years beginning at & from the Lady Day 1658. This Vestry approved of the Same & ordered the Lease so be fairly drawne accordingly & the ffeoffees of these houses are desired to lease the same.⁹⁰

The terms and conditions noted in the Vestry Minutes are confirmed and adumbrated by a copy of the lease itself, and the Churchwarden's accounts. Described as 'Cittizen and grocer of London', Bowman's lease was granted for 31 years, at the rate of £10 per annum paid quarterly on 14 August 1657 (to begin next Lady Day, March 25, the beginning of the civil or legal year). In addition Bowman paid a fine of £40 on completion of the lease. Although the fine, length and rent yield of Bowman's lease was broadly in line with St Michael's Churchwardens' usual practice,⁹¹ it did however have some unusual 'Covenants and Agreemts on the Tennants part'. Bowman covenanted 'That he will in the first 5 yeares bestow £300 upon the substantiall new building of the two messuages with all materials and workmanship fitt necessary' and have receipts to prove to the Churchwardens that the work was done to this high standard. Once the new building was erected, the lease went on, he had to 'mayntayne support, susteyne, keepe and amend' it and its glass windows. Furthermore, in order to guarantee that Bowman carried out this work, the lease demanded of him a bond 'of the penalty of ffive hundred pounds to pay the Rent and perform the Covenant'.⁹² This was an enormous sum, not required of any of the other tenants of the church properties, although it may have been a surety only paid if Bowman did not meet the covenants. The Churchwardens accounts for 1657 do not mention the payment of any bond, although they acknowledge in 'Casuall Receipts: Rev. of Mr Bowman a fine for the new house in the Churchyard lett unto him by the parish... £xl'.⁹³

Almost as soon as the churchwardens had reached this decision, the proposed multi-occupancy (by Bowman and Rosee, and by Thomas and Hannah Bladwill) of the building in the churchyard began to unravel. For some unknown reason, the Churchwardens decided just before Lady Day in 1657/58 that Mr Bladwill should be evicted. Thus when the lease was granted, Bowman was given sole title to the property. Later entries in the Vestry minutes (8 July 1658) suggest that Bladwill's departure from the house was negotiated through John Sweeting, and that Bowman paid Bladwill £10 to give up his share of the lease. The Churchwardens' admitted some fault in this matter, as they ordered 'by voat and holding up of hands' that the Parish should grant Bowman half of this sum, especially as Bladwill did not depart until Midsummer 1658.⁹⁴ The accounts also note complex arrangements for the abatement of taxes due on the building by Bowman and Rosee, suggesting they occupied the two messuages as one from Midsummer in the last week of June 1657.⁹⁵ Although Rosee is still clearly Bowman's partner in June 1657, his name is not mentioned in the Churchwarden's records after the date these accounts were submitted, April 1658. It seems likely that Rosee took no further part in the business after this time. Houghton suggests 'sometime after' Mr Rastall encountered the two trading together in 1654, '*Pasqua* for some Misdemeanour run away, and *Bowman* had the whole Trade'. He continues by adding that Bowman 'managed it so well, that

by his profits, and the Generosity of his Customers... he turned his Shead into a House.⁹⁶ The manuscript evidence suggests a slightly different order, and that Rosee was still in London, still prosecuting his trade, as late as 1657 or 1658. No record of Rosee's misdemeanour has been found, nor any sign that he subsequently opened coffee-houses in Holland or Germany, as has been sometimes suggested.⁹⁷

No visual record survives of Bowman's coffee-house in St Michael's Alley, nor any of the pre-fire houses in the alley. The Hearth Tax returns for 1662–63 (levied at the rate of one shilling for each fire, hearth and stove in each dwelling) state that 'Christopher Bowman' was assessed at eight hearths, which suggests a building of some size.⁹⁸ Bowman covenanted in his lease to spend £300 on 'the substantiall new building of the two messuages... with all materials and workmanship fitt necessary'.⁹⁹ According to the schedule of building prices assembled by Stephen Primatt in 1667, this was sufficient to build a brick London town-house of three or four stories on a plot of this size.¹⁰⁰ Nonetheless, commercial expediency suggests he probably evaded this provision as far as possible, especially as his lease was for only 31 years. As Richard Neve complained in 1703, 'The greatest objection against London-houses... is their slightness, occasioned by the Fines exacted by Landlords. So that few houses at the common rate of Building last longer than the Ground-lease, and that about 50 or 60 years.'¹⁰¹ Bowman's building was most likely built in some version of the London vernacular favoured by the building trades: a timber framed structure with lath and plaster or brick infilling, perhaps only restoring or refacing the extant building. John Schofield, in *The Building of London* (1993), argues that in this period 'ordinary houses' continued to be built in much the same way as they had for the previous one hundred years, with timber framed structures, double-storeyed bay windows, and jettied upper floors.¹⁰² According to Walter Elford, who visited Bowman's coffee-house when he was a schoolboy, 'the Coffee-Room was up one pair of Stairs'.¹⁰³ Bowman's business may have innovated the kind of dedicated, specially-furnished coffee-room that was central to coffee-houses of Restoration London.

As the habit of coffee-drinking spread, the coffee-house established Bowman as a man of importance in the parish. The Churchwarden's accounts record his payment of the rent and the various allowances for taxes from 1658 through to 1661.¹⁰⁴ But other than paying his rent, Bowman was initially a recalcitrant, even difficult member of the parish. In the Vestry Minutes, on 7 January 1658/59, Mr Shepard declared that Bowman had finally agreed to pay tithes at 20 shillings a year, beginning at next Lady Day, 1659. At the vestry of 22 September 1659, Bowman subscribed £5 to the fund for the repair of the steeple, although he failed to pay it. At the Vestry for 7 May 1660, in which the Churchwardens decided to restore 'the King's Arms to ... the Chancell Window', they approved a request from Bowman to repair the pavement outside the coffee-house.

Upon the request of Christofer Bowman Coffee man in St Michael's Alley that for his own reckoning might at his own charge Levell the missing stone in the same Alley before the Cloyster. It was consented and agreed that he may accordingly cause the same to be done whereupon he gave 10s to the poore in acknowledgement of the benefit.¹⁰⁵

The Churchwarden's description of Bowman as a 'Coffee man' predates the first use of the term in the *OED2* (by Richard Leigh in 1673).¹⁰⁶ By 1662, Bowman had become a substantial member of the parish community. He is noted as security for

coffee imports by the Court of Committees of the East India Company on December 12, 1660.¹⁰⁷ He is listed amongst the parishioners appointed particular seats in the church in the Vestry Minutes for 20th September 1662 ('Mr Bowman Pew 21. Mrs Bowman Pew 17.').¹⁰⁸ But soon after, Christopher Bowman died of consumption, and he was buried in the south isle.¹⁰⁹ He had a funeral befitting his status: the Account Book for 1662 notes the receipt of 12s.4d 'Ffor Interment of Christofer Bowman in the Church' and 4 shillings 'Ffor his knell'.¹¹⁰

After Bowman's death, his coffee-house seems to have gone into decline. Rent payments for the building for 1662 and 1663 were made by Mrs Bowman, who also received the tax abatements.¹¹¹ In the City's census of coffee-house proprietors made in May 1663, 'Widow Bowman' is listed as one of six coffee-houses in Cornhill.¹¹² At some time in 1664, she remarried Jeremiah Jenoway (about whom little is known).¹¹³ In 1664 she continued to pay the rent as 'Mrs Jenoway formerly Bowman', and in 1665 and the first quarter of 1666 it was paid by 'Mr Jenoway for the house late Mr Bowmans'.¹¹⁴ Although it is not clear whether Bowman's coffee-house continued trading, Houghton argues that Bowman's apprentices continued the business:

*John Painter was Bowman's first Apprentice, and out of his Time in 1664, Bowman died 1663, and after one Year his Wife let the House to one Batler, whose Daughter Married Humphrey Hodskins, Bowman's second Apprentice, who was with him before Monk's March, Anno 1659. This Humphry lived long in St. Peter's-alley in Cornhil, and died not many Years since, and left there his Widow, Batler's Daughter, from whom I had this Account.*¹¹⁵

John Painter, Bowman's first apprentice, was admitted a freeman of the Grocers' Company on May 3 1666 (despite Houghton's claim that he had served out his time by 1664), suggesting that he was apprenticed in 1658 or 1659.¹¹⁶ In the 1670s, Painter went on to establish a rival coffee-house across Cornhill in Sweeting's Alley.¹¹⁷ Bowman's second apprentice was Humphry Hodskins: he was the son of a labourer residing in Spittlefield (Spitalfields), and was indentured on 13 June 1661 (not March 1659/60, known as Monks March, as Houghton says),¹¹⁸ and was admitted a freeman on 15 June 1668.¹¹⁹ Humphry Hodskins married a woman Houghton identifies as 'Batler's daughter'. An undated trade token, issued before the fire, suggests that Bowman's coffee-house was under the proprietorship of two men, George Backler (Batler) and Stephen Hayward, and it is possible that Hodskins continued working in the coffee-house with his father-in-law. On the obverse of this half-penny token was inscribed Backler and Hayward's names, with a device in the centre depicting a hand pouring coffee into a cup. On the reverse the inscription read 'At the Ould Coffee House in St. Michells Ally. Formerly Bomans'.¹²⁰ At the end of 1665, in Hearth Tax returns for the second precinct of Cornhill, 'George Backler and Stephen Hayward' were assessed at eight hearths.¹²¹

IV

Bowman's coffee-house, and the close-built wooden city around it, was destroyed in the Great Fire of 1666. The fire, which started in the early hours of Sunday 2 September, consumed St Michael's Alley, and the whole of Cornhill, including the Royal Exchange, on Monday 3 September. Yet when the fire was finally extinguished on Thursday 6 September, the tower and walls of St Michael's church still stood.

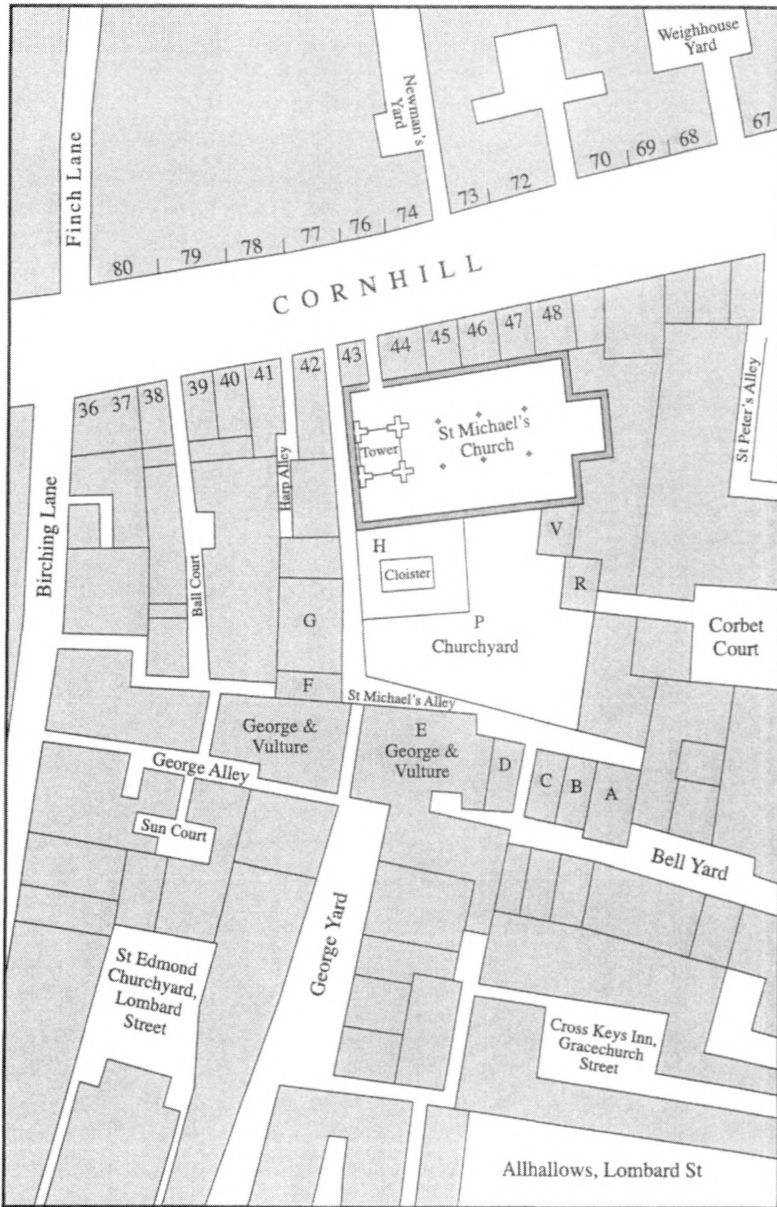
When St Michael's was rebuilt (completed 1672), the foundations of the church and its fourteenth-century tower were preserved.¹²² The old street plan and property boundaries in Cornhill Ward were re-established by the Rebuilding Commissioners from December 1667. Their 'Posting Book' records that 'Jeremy Jeneway in Michael's Alley' paid his fee of 6s. 8d. for surveying the foundations of a building on October 4 1669.¹²³ The Vestry Minutes on 30 June 1668 note the negotiations of the parish feofees with Jeremiah Jeneway, 'whoe marryed the Widow of Christopher Bowman deceased, [...] concerning the rebuilding of the house formerly in Mr Bowmans occupacon, belonging to this parish on the West side of St Michael's Alley which by the late fire in London was burnt downe'. Agreement was reached for a lease, finally granted on 6 August 1669, granting him 'the Grounds whereupon the said late house stood to build upon One house according the Act of Parliament for the rebuilding of the Cittie of London ffor the terme of ffourscore and one yeares from Michaelmas 1669 at his old rent of Ten pounds per an: payable quarterly'.¹²⁴ At the next Vestry, on 4 August 1668, the draft of Jeneway's lease was read and approved.¹²⁵ After the foundations were surveyed in October 1669, and the back-rent paid, Jeneway began construction.¹²⁶ Unfortunately, Jeneway did not live long to enjoy his new house, as he died and was buried in the south isle of St Michael's on March 5 1670/71.¹²⁷ After her second husband died, Widow Jeneway seems to have had no further interest in the house, and the lease was taken up by Mr William Cave, a 'clerke', later known as Dr Cave (probably not the divine).¹²⁸ Houghton, writing in 1699, remarks (without knowing of her second marriage) that when Bowman died he 'left his Wife, who had been Alderman *Hodges's* Cook-maid, pretty Rich, but she died Poor not many Years since'.¹²⁹ No record of her death has been found.

After the fire it seems clear that No. 3 St Michael's Alley was not used as a coffee-house.¹³⁰ The business had been facing stiff and increasing competition since the late 1650s. In September 1658, Thomas Garway (from a family of Levant merchants) was advertising in *Mercurius Politicus* a 'Cophee-house' located at the sign of The Sultanness-Head in Sweeting's Rents, only fifty yards away across Cornhill.¹³¹ By the 1660s, the most renowned coffee establishment in the area was the Great Coffee House in Exchange Alley, opposite the Royal Exchange, to which Pepys makes frequent reference in 1663.¹³² This alley, speculatively built by a consortium (a 'quadripartite') of goldsmith bankers lead by Charles Everard in 1661–1662, was planned and designed to maximise the commercial potential of the ancillary trading around the Royal Exchange. It quickly eclipsed the rival alleys on Cornhill. As Strype described it in 1720, it was 'a large Place vastly improved [and] well built, ... a Place of very considerable Concourse of Merchants, Seafaring Men and other Traders'.¹³³ By December 1662, 'the Coffee-house in *Exchange-Alley*' at the sign of Morat the Great was advertising in *Kingdom's Intelligencer*, and making a special offer of coffee 'on free cost' to attract custom.¹³⁴ The proprietor, Walter Elford, a girdler (the father of James Douglas's informant) was granted a lease on 27 May 1664 at an extraordinarily high price – a fine of £200, and a rent of £100 per annum for 21 years – which indicated the profitable potential of a coffee-house on this site.¹³⁵ After the fire of 1666, Elford could not meet the terms of the rebuilders (lead by the goldsmith Alderman Edward Backwell), and he was excluded with paltry compensation. Instead, Thomas Garraway took the lease on the substantial new building in the alley, where his famous coffee-house went on to gain renown as a place of business and rendezvous for merchants and traders until 1873.

Bowman's coffee-house, although superseded by its competitors in the 1660s, helped establish the coffee-house in the urban and commercial sociability of Interregnum London. The particular location of St Michael's Alley – proximate to, but separate from, the bustling commercial activity of the Exchange – encouraged the swift naturalisation of the coffee-house in the commercial culture of the city. From a narrow and limited appeal to merchants in the Levant Company, the coffee-house engaged the curiosity of the emergent scientific community and attracted a wide-ranging clientele that both eroded and reinforced deeply felt partisan and sectarian divisions. In December 1659, the agricultural improver John Beale (1608–1683) was already complaining of the 'wantonnesse' or popularity of 'the coffa-beane', arguing that such 'vanities & Luxury' corrupted the commonwealth, diverting English wealth 'to sustaine our forreigne brethren'. He cautioned Samuel Hartlib in December 1658, that the 'Coffa-drinke will growe into generall use having already obtaind such a general reception by young & old in our Innes of Courts; & I should rather wish our supply from our owne plantations, than from Turkye'.¹³⁶

In 1659, during the final year of the republic, the coffee-houses became firmly associated with the tumultuous political culture of the Commonwealth. Thomas Rugg, a barber of Covent Garden, wrote in his *Diurnal* in 1659 that 'theire ware also att this time a Turkish drink to bee sould, almost in evry street, called coffee'.¹³⁷ In the last months of the republic, James Harrington held the meetings of his famous Rota Club at the Turk's Head Coffee-house in New Palace Yard, Westminster, where debates on the future form of government were conducted around a specially constructed semi-circular table, provided by the proprietor Miles.¹³⁸ As one of the few social or political innovations of the Interregnum to survive virtually unaltered into the Restoration, the coffee-house to many contemporaries seemed to have been strongly marked by the Republic. To subsequent decades, the coffee-house was not simply associated with the Interregnum, and even perhaps republican thought, because of its emergence in that historical period, but also because of its association with a coffee-driven culture of debate and news amongst the common people.

The coffee-houses were, however, quickly subsumed into the Restoration settlement. The Excise Act of 1660, modelled on the system established by Parliament during the Interregnum, extended the excise to coffee (along with tea and chocolate), with the tax being levied on coffee-house keepers.¹³⁹ But although Royal revenues thereafter relied to some small extent on the coffee-house, Royalist commentators continued to associate the coffee-houses with Interregnum London. John Evelyn, writing in May 1659, thought them a clear sign of London's republican depravity. The city was, he said, 'a very ugly Town, pesterd with *Hackney-Coaches*', a 'pestilent Smoak', and obsessed and 'universally besotted' by coffee and tobacco: it was 'most deplorable', he continued, that 'the gentlemen sit, and spend much of their time [...] drinking of a muddy kind of *Beverage*, and *Tobacco*'.¹⁴⁰



V New Vestry House
 G Bowman's Messuage
 R Rectory
 P Pulpit Cross

Figure 1. Map of Parish Leases in St Michael's Alley 1652–1666.

St Michael's Cornhill leases in St Michael's Alley are ordered A to G in GL MS 04083, fol. 7r-v (probably written in 1696). The base map for this map is developed from Ogilby and Morgan's map of 1677, the first map of London based on a survey (redrawn by Edward Oliver, Cartographer, Geography Department, Queen Mary, University of London). Reproduced by permission. Bowman's coffee-house was located in the messuage named G from 1656 to 1666.

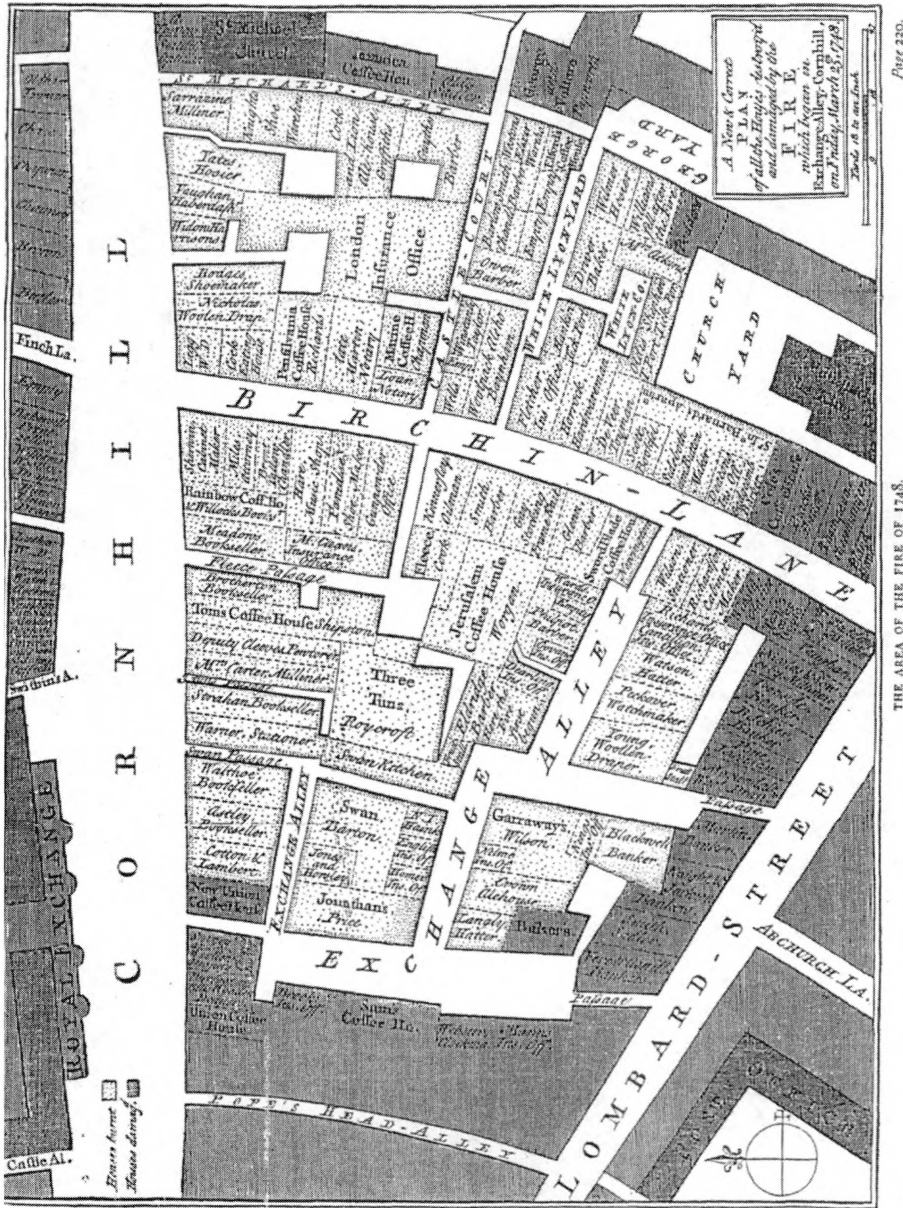


Figure 2. Jeffreys' 'A New and Correct Plan of all the Houses destroyed and damaged by the Fire which began in Exchange Alley Cornhill, on Friday March 25th, 1748' (BL: K Top XXI 9). Reproduced by permission. Following the chain of leases after the Fire allows cross-referencing with later maps detailing occupancy in the alley: Bowman's coffee-house was in the house occupied by William Guyther, a barber.

NOTES

1. I am grateful to the following for their advice and assistance in the preparation of this essay: Rebecca Beasley, Richard Hamblyn, Anne Janowitz, Miles Ogborn, Christopher Reid, and Susan Wiseman.
2. M. P., *A Character of Coffee and Coffee-Houses* (London: John Starkey, 1661), p. [1].
3. *The Character of a Coffee-House. Wherein Is contained a Description of the Persons usually frequenting it, with their Discourse and Humors. By an Eye and Ear Witness* ([London], no publisher, 1665), p. 6.
4. John Buchanan-Brown, 'Introduction', in John Aubrey, *Brief Lives*, ed. by John Buchanan-Brown (London: Penguin Books, 2000), pp. xxii-xxiii.
5. Henry Blount, *A Voyage into the Levant* (London: John Legat for Andrew Crooke, 1636), p. 105.
6. Aubrey, *Brief Lives*, p. 48.
7. John Houghton, 'A Discourse of Coffee, read at a Meeting of the Royal Society', *Philosophical Transactions*, Vol. 21, No. 256 (September 1699) p. 311.
8. John Houghton, *A Collection for Improvement of Husbandry and Trade*, Vol. 15, Numbers 457 to 461 (Friday, April 25 1701 to Friday May 23, 1701). This version makes several small alterations to the earlier essay.
9. Houghton, 'Discourse of Coffee', pp. 312-13.
10. Thomas Rastall or Rastell was apprenticed to the Draper's Company in 1646 (Percival Boyd, *Roll of the Drapers' Company of London* (London: J.A. Gordon at the Andress Press, 1934), and active from 1658. He was apprenticed to Mr James Man for 7 years, and admitted to the Levant Company on 7 July 1654 (Minute books of the General Court of the Levant Company, PRO SP 105/151 p. 216). He was appointed Secretary of the Hudson's Bay Company from 1670-74 (E.E. Rich (ed.), *The Minutes of the Hudson's Bay Company, 1671-1674* (Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1942), pp. 2-3), and advertised that he regularly kept office in Garroway's Coffee-house in Exchange Alley in the 1670s (for example *The London Gazette*, No. 865, March 2-5, 1674/75).
11. Houghton notes 'one Rastall whom I knew, and within these few days I saw' in *Collection for Improvement*, 15, Friday, May 2, 1701, No. 458.
12. Many authorities state that public coffee-selling was initiated in Oxford in 1650. No evidence is offered other than Anthony Wood's note in 'Secretum Antonii' (Bodleian Library, Tanner Mss 102, part I), written in 1671 and conjecturally dated by Wood's editor March 1650/1, that 'Jacob a Jew opened a coffey house at the Angel in the parish of S. Peter, in the East Oxon' (*Life and Times of Anthony Wood, antiquary, at Oxford, 1632-1695*, ed. by Andrew Clark, 5 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1891-1900), I, pp. 168-69). The earliest version of Wood's diary, written up to the end of 1659 ('The Diarie of the Life of Anthony à Wood Historiographer and Antiquarie' (BL Harley Ms 5409)) states that coffee was first consumed, in private, in Oxford in 1650, and at an unstated date between Aug 10 1654 and April 25 1655 was 'publicly solde at or neare the Angel within the East Gate of Oxon... by an outlander or a Jew' (BL Harley Ms 5409, fol. 43).
13. James Douglas, *A Supplement to the Description of the Coffee-Tree* (London: Thomas Woodward, 1727), p. 28.
14. Douglas, *Supplement*, p. 33.
15. Compare the French myth of origin for coffee-houses in Jean de La Roque, *Voyage de L'Arabie Heureuse* (Paris: André Cailleau, 1716), pp. 295-403. No earlier evidence has been offered for a coffee-house outside Ottoman territories before England.
16. Richard Bradley, *The Virtue and Use of Coffee* (London: Eman. Matthews and W. Mears, 1721), pp. 21-30; William Oldys, 'Notes on Trees', BL Add Mss 20724, fol. 99v; Adam Anderson, *An Historical and Chronological Deduction of the Origin of Commerce*, 2 vols (London: A. Millar, J. and R. Tonson, J. Rivington, R. Baldwin, W. Johnston et al, 1764),

- II, date 1652; John Ellis, *An Historical Account of Coffee* (London: Edward and Charles Dilly, 1774), pp. 13–14.
17. See for example Peter Cunningham, *A Handbook for London*, 2 vols (London: John Murray, 1849), p. xxiv; II, pp. 551–52; 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*, 2 vols (London: Richard Bentley, 1866), Vol II, p. 109; Edward Forbes Robinson, *The Early History of the Coffee-Houses in England* (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., 1893) pp. 89–90; Walter Besant, *Survey of London: London in the Time of the Stuarts* (London: Adam & Charles Black, 1903), p. 294.
 18. William Ukers, *All about Coffee* (New York: Tea and Coffee Trade Journal, 1922), pp. 53–54; Aytoun Ellis, *The Penny Universities: a history of the coffee-houses* (London: Secker & Warburg, 1956), pp. 31–32; Bryant Lillywhite, *London Coffee Houses: a reference book of coffee houses in the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1963), No. 972, p. 437; Ben Weinreb and Christopher Hibbert, et al, *The London Encyclopaedia* (London: Macmillan, 1987), pp. 81–82.
 19. John Shand, 'The First Coffee House', *The Manchester Guardian*, Monday March 17, 1952.
 20. Aubrey, *Brief Lives*, p. 3.
 21. Houghton, 'Discourse of Coffee', p. 311.
 22. Rob Iliffe, 'Material Doubts: Hooke, artisan culture and the exchange of information in 1670s London', *British Journal for the History of Science*, 28: 3: 98 (September 1995), pp. 285–318; Larry Stewart, 'Other centres of calculation, or, where the Royal Society didn't count: commerce, coffee-houses and natural philosophy in early modern London', *British Journal for the History of Science*, 32: 2 (1999), 133–53.
 23. Richard Steele, 'No. 10 (Monday March 12, 1711)', *The Spectator*, ed. by Donald F. Bond, 5 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965), I, p. 44.
 24. Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*, trans. by Thomas Burger (Cambridge: Polity, 1992), pp. 30–43, esp. p. 32. See also Richard Sennett, *The Fall of Public Man*, (1977; London: Faber and Faber, 1986), pp. 82–84; Peter Stallybrass and Allon White, *The Politics and Poetics of Transgression* (London: Methuen, 1985), pp. 80–118.
 25. Helen Berry, "'Nice and Curious Questions": Coffee Houses and the Representation of Women in John Dunton's *Athenian Mercury*', *Seventeenth Century*, 12: 2 (1997), pp. 257–76; Emma J. Clery, 'Women, Publicity and the Coffee-House Myth', *Women: a cultural review*, 2: 2 (1991), pp. [168]-77; Brian Cowan, 'What was masculine about the Public Sphere? Gender and the Coffeehouse Milieu in Post-Restoration England', *History Workshop Journal*, 51 (2001), pp. 127–57; S.B. Dobranski, "'Where Men Of Differing Judgments Croud": Milton and the Culture of the Coffee-Houses', *Seventeenth Century*, 9: 1 ((1994), pp. 35–56; Markman Ellis, 'The coffee-women, *The Spectator* and the public sphere in the early-eighteenth century', in *Women and the Public Sphere*, ed. Elizabeth Eger and Charlotte Grant (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001); Lawrence Klein, 'Coffeehouse civility, 1660–1714: An aspect of post-courtly culture in England', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, (1997), 59, 1, 30–51; Steven Pincus, "'Coffee politicians does create": Coffeehouses and restoration political culture', *Journal Of Modern History*, 67: 4 (1995), pp. 807–34.
 26. Markman Ellis, *The Coffee-House: a cultural history* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, forthcoming).
 27. John Evelyn, *The Diary*, ed. by E.S. de Beer, 6 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955), I, 14.
 28. Geoffrey Keynes, *The Life of William Harvey* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1966), p. 389. See especially 'Harvey's Use of Coffee', pp. 406–09. Harvey's will is reprinted as Appendix VII in Keynes, *Life*, pp. 459–63. See also Aubrey, *Brief Lives*, p. 145.
 29. James Howell, 'To Judge *Rumsey*' in Walter Rumsey, *Organon Salutis. An Instrument to Cleanse the Stomach. As also divers new Experiments of the virtue of Tobacco and Coffee* (London: R. Hodgkinsonne for D. Pakeman, 1657), p. xxi.

30. Modyford is noted as one of 'the Merchants and Factors Resident in Gallata of Constantinople' in *Newes from Turkie* (London: H.B., 1648), p. 32.
31. Ethel Bruce Sainsbury, *A Calendar of the Court Minutes Etc. of the East India Company 1655-1659* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1916), p. xxxiv.
32. Percival Boyd, *Roll of the Drapers' Company of London* (London: J.A. Gordon at the Address Press, 1934).
33. Minute books of the General Court of the Levant Company, 13 January 1652/53, PRO SP 105/151, p. 186.
34. *CSP Venetian*, vol. 28, 1647-1652, Oct 19 1647, pp. 20-22. Daniel Edwards was amongst those merchants who signed the Factors General Letter, 28 June 1646 (pp. 67-71) and 4 July 1646 (pp. 71-74) to the Company; and was illegally arrested on Crow's instigation by the prime Chiouz or officer of the Visier (pp. 72-73). Paul Rycaut, *The History of the Turkish Empire, from the Year 1623, to the Year 1677* (London: J.D. for Tho. Bassett, R. Clavell, J. Robinson, and A. Churchill, 1687). For another account see Alfred C. Wood, *A History of the Levant Company* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1935), pp. 90-92; and Gwilym Prichard Ambrose, *The Levant Company mainly from 1640-1753* (B. Litt dissertation, University of Oxford, 1932, pp. 241-57).
35. *The Travel Diary of Robert Bargrave, Levant Merchant (1647-1656)*, ed. by Michael G. Brennan (London: The Hakluyt Society, 1999), p. 109; *CSP. Venetian*, Vol. 28 1647-52, Nov 5 1650, p. 159. *The Speech and Confession of Sr Henry Hide* (London: G.H, 1651), p. 2 [Thomason tract E.625.(13)]. See also Mark Fissel and Daniel Goffman, 'Viewing the Scaffold from Istanbul: the Bendysh-Hyde Affair, 1647-1651', *Albion*, 22, 1990, pp. 421-48; Daniel Goffman, *Britons in the Ottoman Empire 1642-1660* (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 1998), pp. 158-77.
36. *CSP. Dom. Ser. 1651-52*, Dec 17 1651, pp. 68-69.
37. Daniel Goffman, *Izmir and the Levantine World, 1550-1650* (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 1990), pp. 77-92; Sonia Anderson, *An English Consul in Turkey: Paul Rycaut at Smyrna, 1667-1678* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1989), p. 11.
38. Ralph Hattox, *Coffee and Coffeehouses: The Origins of a Social Beverage in the Medieval Near East* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1988), pp. 72-91.
39. Evliyâ Çelebi, *Evliyâ Çelebi Seyahatnamesi* (Istanbul, 1984), vol. IX, pp. 92-93, 96; quoted in Daniel Goffman, 'Izmir: from village to colonial port city', in *The Ottoman City between East and West: Aleppo, Izmir, and Istanbul*, ed. by Edhem Eldem, Daniel Goffman, and Bruce Masters (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), p. 79.
40. Jean de Thevenot, *Travels... into the Levant*, trans. Archibald Lovell (London: Henry Clark for John Taylor, 1687), pp. 32-34.
41. *CSP Dom*, 1651, Sept 22 1651, pp. 445-46; 1651-52: May 31 1652, p. 269-71.
42. W. Bruce Bannerman, *The Registers of St Stephen's, Walbrook and of St. Benet Sherehog, London*, Harleian Society Register Section, Nos 49-50 (London: Harleian Society, 1919-1920), p 63.
43. Grocers' Company Admissions 1345-c1670 Alphabetic Book; GL MS 11592a.
44. Alfred Beaven, *The Aldermen of the City of London, Temp. Henry III-1908*, 2 vols (London: Eden Fisher & Company, 1908), II, p. 76. Hodges was identified by the aldermen as one of the 'first p'sons of abilitie' in Walbrook Ward in the 1640 City benevolence, and was assessed at £200 (W.J. Harvey (ed.), *List of the principal inhabitants of the City of London, 1640, from returns made by the Aldermen of the Several Wards* (London: Mitchell and Hughes, 1886); Levant Company Ledger Books, PRO, S.P. 28/162, quoted in Brenner p. 83). In the Poll Tax of 1640, he warned to the hall for 4s 6p for himself, his wife, three apprentices (including Christopher Bowman) and five maids (T.C. Dale (transcribed), *The Poll Tax for London in 1641* (London: Society for Genealogists, 1935-39), p. 37). On July 31 1651 Hodges was elected to the office of alderman of Billingsgate Ward, and was sworn and discharged on August 19 1651 upon payment of a fine of £800 (CLRO, Repertories 61. fol. 180r-v (elected); fol. 192v (discharged)).

45. Houghton, 'Discourse on Coffee', p. 312.
46. William Oldys, 'Notes on Trees', BL Add Mss 20724, 90r.
47. Ambrose, pp. 21–22.
48. *The Vertue of the Coffee Drink. First publicly made and sold in England, by Pasqua Rosee.* ([London], [no publisher] [undated]). BL C 20.f.2.(372). Two other versions, differently set, in the British Library (BL: 778.k.15 (10) and BL: 778.k.15 (10*)), carry the colophon 'This drink is to be sold at the Raine-bow in Fleet-Street, between the two Temple-Gates.'
49. Samuel Hartlib, *Ephemerides*, No. 254, 4 August 1654, *The Hartlib Papers*, 2nd edn (Sheffield: HROnline, Humanities Research Institute, 2002), HP 29/4/29A-B. This is the earliest reference to a coffee-house outside Ottoman lands.
50. *A Broad-side against Coffee; Or, the Marriage of the Turk* (London: J.L., 1672). Houghton's assertion that Bowman was a coachman is perhaps a misreading of these lines. The poem contrasts the Turkish origins of coffee with its English consumers, and implies that Rosee was the former coachman. Houghton's misreading was repeated and amplified in Douglas's poem (pseud. Adrianus del Tasso) called 'To Mr Pasqua Rosee at the Sign of his own Head', in Douglas, *Supplement*, pp. 29–30
51. John Stow, *A Survey of London reprinted from the text of 1603*, ed. by Charles Lethbridge Kingsford, 2 vols (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1908, 1971), pp. 195–96.
52. William Henry Overall (ed.), *The Accounts of the Churchwardens of the Parish of St Michael, Cornhill, in the City of London from 1456 to 1608* (London: Alfred James Waterlow, 1868), pp. 290–91.
53. GL MS 04083, fol 5v-6r.
54. Charles Pendell, *Old Parish Life in London* (London: Oxford University Press, 1937), 100–101.
55. Keith Lindley, *Popular Politics and Religion in Civil War London* (Aldershot, Hants: Scolar Press, 1997), p. 44, 47–48. See GL MS 04071/1, ff. 136–7; MS 04071/2, f. 137.
56. Richard Newcourt, *Repertorium Ecclesiasticum Parochiale Londinense: An Ecclesiastical Parochial History of the Diocese of London* 2 vols (London: Benj. Motte, 1708), p. 483
57. John Walker, *An Attempt towards Recovering an Account of the Numbers and Sufferings of the Clergy of the Church of England... who were sequester'd, harrass'd, &c. in the late Time of the Grand Rebellion* (London: J. Nicholson, 1714), part II, p. 33.
58. A.G. Matthews, *Walker Revised: Being a Revision of John Walker's "Sufferings of the Clergy during the Grand Rebellion 1642–60"* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1948). BL: C.134.g.1 [with ms notes by A.G. Matthews], p. 43.
59. GL: MS 04072, vol. 1, part 2 fol. 197r.
60. A.G. Matthews, *Calamy Revised: being a Revision of Edmund Calamy's 'Account' of the Ministers and others Ejected and Silenced, 1660–2* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1934), p. 503.
61. Edmund Calamy, *An Account of the Ministers, ... who were Ejected or Silenced after the Restoration in 1660s*, 2nd ed., 2 vols (London: J. Lawrence, J. Nicolson, J. Sprint, R. Robinson, N. Cliffe and D. Jackson, 1713), II, pp. 51–52.
62. John Howe, *A Funeral Sermon for that Faithful, Learned, and most Worthy Minister of the Gospel, the Reverend Peter Vink, B.D. Who deceased Sept. 6. 1702* (London: J. Robinson, 1702), p. 43.
63. John Leake *An Exact Surveigh of the Streets, Lanes, and Churches comprehended within the ruins of the City of London... 1666*, BL Add Ms 5415.E.1.
64. GL MS 04072, Vol. 2, Part II, fol. 197r, fol. 201r, fol. 207v.
65. Peter Blayney, 'John Day and the Bookshop That Never Was', in Lena Cowen Orlin (ed.), *Material London, ca. 1600* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000), pp. 323–43. See also Dorothy Davis, *A History of Shopping* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1966), pp. 100–104.
66. Overall, *Accounts*, p. 255.
67. David Underdown, *Revel, Riot, and Rebellion: popular politics and culture in England, 1603–1660* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985), pp. 268–69; Christopher Durston, 'Puritan

- Rule and the Failure of Cultural Revolution, 1645–1660' in *The Culture of English Puritanism, 1560–1700*, ed. by Christopher Durston and Jacqueline Easles (Basingstoke: Macmillan Press, 1996), pp. 210–33.
68. *The Letters of John Paige, London Merchant, 1648–1658*, ed. by George Steckley (London: London Record Society, 1984), p. 40.
 69. Hartlib, HP 29/4/29A-B.
 70. Henry Peachum, *The Worth of a Penny* (London: Samuel Keble, 1687), p. 15.
 71. Houghton, 'Discourse of Coffee', p. 312.
 72. *CSP Dom, March–June 1654*, May 4 1654, p. 148.
 73. *CSP Dom, March–June 1654*, June 9 1654, p. 204.
 74. CLRO: [Proclamation on Ale-houses], 16 August 1654, Alchin Coll. Box H/103.(7).
 75. T.C. Dale (transcribed), *The Poll Tax for London in 1641* (London: Society for Genealogists, 1935–39), p. 37.
 76. Grocers' Company Register of Apprentices, 1629–1666, GL: MS 11593, vol. 1, fol 139r.
 77. Grocers' Company, Wardens Accounts, 1642/3–1651/2, GL MS 11571 vol 13, fol. unnumbered.
 78. Grocers' Company Register of Apprentices, 1629–1666, GL: MS 11593, vol. 1, fol 139r.
 79. Grocers' Company, Wardens Accounts, 1652/3–1661/2, GL MS 11571 vol 14, 1653–54, p. 7.
 80. GL Ms 04071, vol. 2, fol. 182v, 184r.
 81. GL MS 04083 is organised by an abstract and summary of the parish property on fol. 7, probably written in 1696 to determine the extent of the pre-fire property of the church. Fol. 7 identifies each property with a letter (A-H), which was supplemented in the eighteenth century with a number which corresponds to the street number. The alphabetic identifiers are used throughout the volume to organise the various copies of deeds and leases granted by the church from 1604 to the mid eighteenth century. Each lease notes the previous lessee, allowing a chain of ownership to be established.
 82. GL MS 04083, fol 5v-6r.
 83. GL MS 04083, fol 6v. Henry Plomer, *A Dictionary of the Booksellers and Printers... from 1641 to 1667* (London: Bibliographical Society, 1907), p. 101.
 84. GL: MS 04083, fol. 40v, 37v; GL Ms 04071, vol. 2, fols 157v, 163v, 165v, 169v, 172v, 175r, 178v, 182v.
 85. Thomas Bladwill (or Bladwell) had married Hannah Leake, a widow of the parish, in St Michael's Church on November 3 1656. Their child Hannah was christened in the Church in February 28 1657/58. *Parish Registers of St Michael Cornhill*, p. 37, 171.
 86. GL: MS 04083, fol. 7v.
 87. The Jamaica Wine House was built on a site incorporating John Bulley's Virginia Coffee House in 1733 (GL MS 04083 fol 75r, 76r).
 88. Rowell, described by Lindley as a 'radical activist' and a 'parish zealot', had served on the Gresham College committee in October 1643 to receive inventories of distrained goods, and served on the Common Council between 1641–48. Lindley argues that wealthy merchant radicals like Rowell became, in the 1650s, more concerned with the maintenance of civic order. Lindley, *Popular Politics and Religion*, pp. 246–47, 268, 331–32, 341.
 89. J. R Woodhead, *The Rulers of London, 1660–1689* (London: London & Middlesex Archaeological Society, 1965), p. 101.
 90. GL MS 04072, vol. II, part 2. fol 213v.
 91. The messuages to the south of the Churchyard fined at between £28 to £42, with annual rents of between £6 to £12 (GL: MS 04083, fols 41v-43v).
 92. GL: MS 04083, fol. 41r.
 93. GL MS 04071, vol. 2, fol. 188v. This £500 may also be the origin of the story, related by Houghton in 1699, that celebrated 'the Generosity of his Customers, who contributed Sixpence a piece, to the number of almost a Thousand' when Bowman moved his business

- from the shed to the house' (although 1000 sixpences is only £25). Houghton, 'Discourse of Coffee', p. 313.
94. GL MS 04072, vol. II, part 2, fol. 216v, 218r
 95. GL MS 04071 vol. 2, fol. 190r.
 96. Houghton, 'Discourse of Coffee', p. 313.
 97. Ukers (*All about Coffee*, p. 43, 64) claims without evidence that Rosee opened the first coffee-house in Korte Voorhout in the Hague in 1664. The origin of this story may be the history of the occultist and adventurer Lucio Rozelli who opened a coffee-houses in Utrecht and the Hague in 1698 (*Memoirs of the Life and Adventures of Signor Rozelli*, 3rd edn (London: F. Fayram, 1725), p. 287.
 98. PRO E 179/252/27.
 99. GL MS 04083, fol. 41r.
 100. Stephen Primatt, *The City & Country Purchaser and Builder* (London: S. Speed, [1667]). See also Dan Cruickshank and Neil Burton, *Life in the Georgian City* (London: Viking, 1990), pp. 209–236, p. 218.
 101. Richard Neve, *The City and Countrey Purchaser and Builder's Dictionary* (London: John Nutt, 1703), p. 71.
 102. John Schofield, *The Building of London from the Conquest to the Great Fire*, 3rd edn (Stroud, Gloucestershire: Sutton Publishing, 1993), p. 168–70.
 103. Douglas, *Supplement*, p. 30.
 104. GL MS 04071, vol. 2, fol 194r, 197v, 201r, 202v, 206r.
 105. GL MS 04072, vol. II, part II, fol. 218r, 221r, 223r.
 106. Richard Leigh, *The Transproser Rehears'd* (Oxford: for the assignes of Hugo Grotius and Jacob Van Harmine, 1673), p. 48. See 'Coffa-Houses and the Coffee Man', *American Notes and Queries: a journal for the curious*, III: 6 (September 1943), pp. 85–86, which notes an earlier use of the term in a ballad dated 1662: *A Sad Relation of a Great Fire or Two*, in Hyde E. Rollins, *The Pack of Autolytus* (Cambridge, Mass: 1927), p. 105.
 107. *Court Book*, vol. xxiv, p. 326 in Ethel Bruce Sainsbury, *A Calendar of the Court Minutes Etc. of the East India Company 1660–1663* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1922), p. 61.
 108. GL MS 04072, vol. 2, part II, fol. 231r
 109. October 25 1662, *Parish Registers of St Michael Cornhill*, p. 257.
 110. GL MS 04071, vol. 2, fol. 210v.
 111. GL MS 04071, vol. 2, fols 209v, 215r, 213r, 216v.
 112. CLRO: Alchin Coll. Box H/103.(12).
 113. 'Jeremy, son of Jeremy Genaway and Joane his wife' is recorded as baptised on November 4 1632 in *The Register of St Dunstan in the East, London, 1558–1654* (London: Harleian Society (no. LXIX), 1939), p. 67.
 114. Guildhall MS 04071, vol. 2, fols 219r, 223r, 224v, 228r, 229r.
 115. Houghton, 'Discourse of Coffee', p. 313.
 116. Grocers' Company, Wardens Accounts, 1662/63–1670/1: GL MS 11571 vol 15, 1665–66, p. 3.
 117. Lillywhite, No. 635, p. 295–98.
 118. Grocers' Company Register of Apprentices, 1629–1666, GL: MS 11593, vol. 1, fol. 297v.
 119. Grocers' Company, Wardens Accounts, 1662/63–1670/1: GL MS 11571 vol 15, 1666–68, p. 7
 120. William Boyne, *Tokens Issued in the Seventeenth Century in England, Wales, and Ireland by Corporations, Merchants, Tradesmen, etc* (London: John Russell Smith, 1858), No. 2695.
 121. PRO E 179/147/617. Rogers (*Old London*, p. 31) and Lillywhite after him, date this record to 1668, but this date is certainly incorrect, as no records for the Hearth Tax were kept for this year. These undated returns are dated to 1665–1666 (probably Lady Day 1666) by Christopher Meekings in Jeremy Gibson, *The Hearth Tax and other later Stuart Tax Lists*, 2nd edn (Birmingham: Federation of Family History Societies, 1996), p. 39.

122. Paul Jeffery, *The City Churches of Sir Christopher Wren* (London: The Hambledon Press, 1996), p. 97.
123. Peter Mills and John Oliver, *The Survey of Building Sites in the City of London after the Great Fire of 1666*, ed. by P.E. Jones and T.F. Reddaway, 5 vols (London: London Topographical Society, 1962–67), I, p. 29. See also T.F. Reddaway, *The Rebuilding of London after the Great Fire* (London: Edward Arnold, 1940), pp. 50–67; Stephen Porter, *The Great Fire of London* (Stroud, Gloucestershire: Sutton Publishing, 1996), pp. 92–151.
124. GL, MS 04072, Vol. I, part II, fol. 249v; MS 04083, fol. 53r.
125. GL, MS 04072, Vol. I, part II, fol. 250r.
126. GL MS 04071, Vol 2, fol. 231v.
127. Joseph Lemuel Chester (ed.), *The Parish Registers of St Michael Cornhill, 1546–1754* (London: Harleian Society Register Section, 7, 1882). p. 257. The Churchwarden's Accompt Book also notes Jeremy Jeneway interred this year (GL MS 04071, Vol 2, fol. 238r).
128. GL MS 04071, vol. 2, fol. 237r.
129. Houghton, 'Discourse of Coffee', p. 313.
130. c.f. Lillywhite, p. 283.
131. *Mercurius Politicus*, No. 435, Thursday September 23 1658, p. 887.
132. *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*, trans and ed. Robert Latham and William Matthews, 11 vols (London: Bell & Hyman, 1970), IV, 28 May 1663, p. 162; 19 August 1663, p. 281.
133. John Strype, *Survey of the Cities of London and Westminster*, 2 vols (London: A. Churchill, J. Knapton, R. Knaplock et al., 1720), I, ii, 149.
134. *Kingdom's Intelligencer*, No. 51, 15–22 December 1662, p. 815.
135. BL Add MSS 5100 (55*, fol. 166r-v).
136. John Beale to Hartlib, 14 December 1658, Hartlib MS 51/43A-B.
137. *The Diurnal of Thomas Rugg, 1659–1661*, ed. William L. Sachse, Camden Third Series, Volume 91 (London: Offices of the Royal Historical Society, 1961), p. 29, 10.
138. Aubrey, *Brief Lives*, p. 136. See also Markman Ellis, *The Coffee-House: a cultural history* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 2004), chapter four.
139. 12 Car. II (1660): *A Grant of Certain Impositions upon Beer, Ale and other Liquors, For the Encrease of His Majesties Revenue during his Life*.
140. John Evelyn [?], *A Character of England. As it was lately presented in a Letter, to a Noble Man of France* (London: Jo. Crooke, 1659), pp. 28–29.