Coffee: grounds for debate? An assessment of the relationship between coffeehouses and the 'public sphere' in seventeenth and early eighteenth-century England.

At 84 High Street, a few doors down from the towering spires of Magdalen College, Oxford, passers-by are greeted with the welcoming blue façade of The Grand Café. Upon entering the chandeliered establishment, one quickly finds themselves subsumed into the milieu of the customers' chitter-chatter and regurgitation of whatever instantly-gratifying (or more likely, instantly-enraging) story caught their attention that morning. They are chatting on hallowed ground. Three hundred and seventy years ago, as civil war waned, and a new political order stood on the horizon, on this very site a rather similar, but completely new institution was established, one that would embrace so much more than trivial chat, and instead would become the champion of Jurgen Habermas' 'public sphere': the coffeehouse.[1] Both coffeehouses and the public sphere are terms that have often been intermingled ever since Habermas penned *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere* in 1962, making the public sphere the *sine qua non* of any prospective coffeehouse historian, and vice versa.[2] Of the German social theorist's work, that of particular relevance is his exploration of the development of the public sphere from the "status attribute" of the ruler, into the 'bourgeois public sphere'.[3] With the expanse of commerce, an emerging 'bourgeoisie' gained a foothold into the representation of publicity towards the latter half of the seventeenth century. This new 'public' began to replace the archaic public sphere where the monarch's power was presented "not for but *before* the people", with a new sphere, a 'bourgeois' sphere, which brought the authority of the state under enlightened and critical discourse "*by* the people".[4] It was this rational-critical debate of the early bourgeois public sphere which, according to Habermas, was so clearly represented in the coffeehouses of England in their "golden age" in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, becoming hubs for discussion and 'polite' sociability.[5] However, as celebrated as Habermas may be, he must not be put on a pedestal, as he may have been mischaracterising these institutions, neglecting some of their gravest limitations. Likewise, perhaps more troublesome is the frequent aggregation of the more fanciful interpretation of the public sphere with the bourgeois public sphere of this period. Not only was the scope of discussion restricted, so too was the access to some of the public sphere's key elements, including coffeehouses. In light of the potential flaws in Habermas' historical perspective, a dichotomy arises between theory and reality, not just between the theoretical and practical coffeehouse milieu, but also between the abstract concept of the public sphere and its *bona fide* realisation.

The historical application of the public sphere is one of polemic. Brian Cowan finds the persistent employment of the term most worrisome, arguing that it "has become so fluid that with little imagination it can be applied to almost any time and place", and that it is precisely this fluidity that has contributed to its vast success, particularly with its frequent association with the coffeehouse scene.[6] In stark contrast, Steve Pincus claims that a public sphere – "in the Habermasian sense" – did emerge as early as Restoration England, and that coffeehouses, due to their democratic nature,

[1] Ukers, W. H. *All About Coffee*, Tea and Coffee Trade Journal Company, 1922, p. 41.
[2] The original work was published in 1962; the English translation was first published in 1989, translated by Thomas Burger and Frederick Lawrence.
[3] Habermas, J. *Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*, The MIT Press, 1991.
[4] Ibid, p. 7; McCarthy, T. Introduction. Ibid, p. xi.
[5] Ibid, p. 32. Habermas is referring precisely to the years 1680-1730.
[6] Cowan, B. "What Was Masculine About the Public Sphere? Gender and the Coffeehouse Milieu in post-Restoration England". *History Workshop Journal,* vol. 51, no. 1, 2001, pp. 128-130.

were its prime representative and vehicle.[7] This has had a considerable influence on the coffeehouse-public sphere debate, contributing to an interpretation which takes the theoretical potential of coffeehouses and holds that they embraced all walks of society and entertained rational and critically focused discourse, making them a perfect fit for the more fanciful interpretation of the public sphere. This is not necessarily the case for either coffeehouses or the early bourgeois public sphere as they existed at the time; what would be more useful would be to take Cowan's theory of a "variegated set of publics" to more realistically depict the varying degrees of both quality* of discourse as well as restrictiveness of access that existed across the complex arena of the public sphere.[8] Controversy aside, what is undervalued in these two dialectical views, is the distinction between coffeehouses in theory and in practice, and their relationship with the varying interpretations of the 'public sphere'.

These new-fangled institutions ought to be investigated on two fronts, since "a public sphere adequate to a democratic polity depends on both quality of discourse and quantity of participation".[9] Accordingly, one must first explore the quality of discourse that coffeehouses upheld in seventeenth and early eighteenth-century England. Primarily, as a drink itself, the 'syrup of soot', despite "tasting not much unlike it", spread like wildfire across the country – as early as 1652, from his coffee 'shack' in St Michael's Alley, Pasqua Rosée was selling over 600 dishes of coffee each day.[10] It was the sobering effect that it had which made this novel beverage the perfect facilitator for the rational debate, and consequently, for the development of the public sphere; but it was not until the emergence of coffeehouses when the foreign drug could have its startling effect on a *public* scale. Not only were customers "trading one intoxicating environment for another without the potential hangover", they were also engaging in a space which was more orientated towards critical discourse, and therefore arguably more 'public' than that of taverns or alehouses.[11] This public arena was determined by the very layout of the coffeehouse: the long table, adopted from the coffeehouses of the Ottoman Empire, made the coffeehouse "a model of sociability" enabling and even coercing patrons to socialise, making it a "discursive space" (see figure 1).[12] Notwithstanding, this purely demonstrates the conversational potential of coffeehouses; to determine their true relationship with the 'public sphere', both the quality and focus of debate must be underpinned. Damningly, there is some evidence to suggest that coffeehouses were in fact havens for behaviour which stood contrary to the 'polite' society emerging in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. According to Helen Berry, some coffeehouses in this period were "little more than brothels", serving the debauched desires of the "infamous" metropolis; hardly spaces which

* 'quality' of discourse in this context refers to the subject of discourse and its rational-critical focus.

[7] Pincus, S. "'Coffee Politicians Does Create': Coffeehouses and Restoration Political Culture". *The Journal of Modern History*, vol. 67, no. 4, 1995, p. 811.
[8] Cowan, "What was masculine about the public sphere?", p. 150.
[9] Calhoun, C. (Ed.) *Habermas and* the *Public Sphere*. Cambridge, Massachusetts, and London, England, The MIT Press, 1992, p. 2.
[10] LoBiondo, M., 'Culture of coffee, "syrup of soot"'. Princeton Weekly Bulletin, 1999. https://pr.princeton.edu/pwb/99/0405/coffee.htm. Accessed 06/06/20; Quote attributed to Sir George Sands. Strange, W. "The Curiosities of Coffee Drinking". *Bradshaw's Journal*, vol. 2, 1841, p. 57; Green, M. *The Lost World of the London Coffeehouse*. Idler Books, 2013. Accessed via: https://publicdomainreview.org/essay/the-lost-world-of-the-london-coffeehouse. Accessed 03/06/20.
[11] Shriner, S. "Symbols of Behaviour in mid-17th Century English Coffee Houses". 2016, p. 93.
[12] Direct quotes from Judith Hawley, as featured in: BBC Radio 4. *In Our Time: Coffee.* 2019.

attracted politicking and the likes.[13] Likewise, one contemporary, upon entering a similar establishment in the capital, found himself in an "oglio of impertinence", making reference to, amongst other things, the "silly fop".[14] The derogatory attacks against the 'fop' or 'beau', highlighted how "men's participation within the public sphere provided opportunities not only for conforming to one's masculinity but also for exposing oneself to ridicule".[15] These dazzling displays of effeminacy led to the "Frenchified *'petit maître'* [being] seen as the bane of the polite coffeehouse society", as exhibitionists like the rather unfortunately named Sir John Foppington made coffeehouses their "stage".[16] This has led John Barrel to claim that, despite there being thousands of coffeehouses in London alone by the dawn of the eighteenth century, they were nothing more than little "caffs", whose clientele were "no more expected to be drawn into a discussion of Shakespeare's neglect of the unities than to be offered a latte when they ordered a milky coffee".[17]

However, off-comments and derogatory attacks on masculinity should not be taken as clear-cut evidence for a rowdy, debauched or vulgar coffeehouse milieu. Misogyny and prostitution hardly reveal the true nature of coffeehouses; another contemporary lamented the fact that "sordid holes … assumed [the] name ["coffeehouse"] to cloak the practice of debauchery".[18] In fact, some have argued that coffeehouses became the prime vehicle for the political transformation of the bourgeois public sphere. Coffeehouses, especially in a period of political upheaval, had the potential to be politically dangerous institutions, so dangerous that King Charles II, undermined by the critical atmosphere provided by coffeehouses, attempted to quell them with force with his 1675 *Proclamation for the Suppression of Coffeehouses*, denouncing them as "nurseries of sedition and rebellion".[19] The law was so unpopular it had to be abandoned within a fortnight, indicating how the arena of public affairs seemed to be shifting away from the archaic state, and into the grasping hands of the 'public', via the intermediating "tension-charged field" situated between state and society that was the bourgeois public sphere.[20] But it was not the threat that coffeehouses posed to the state that was important, but rather it the institutionalisation of "the practice of rational-critical discourse on political matters", which, according to Habermas, made them a core part of the bourgeois public sphere, as people made "public use of their reason".[21] Indeed, upon entering a coffeehouse one would instantly be greeted with a barrage of questions about any new knowledge on current affairs to fuel the discussion, inspiring the great John Arbuthnot to write the "*Quidnunc's* [sic]*",* a poem about a constant desire for news.[22] In this 'world of letters', Addison and Steele invented periodical literature, journals which "raised the standard of debate" and 'polite' discussion

[13] Berry, H. *Gender, society and print culture in late-Stuart England: the cultural world of the Athenian Mercury*, Aldershot, Ashgate, 2003.
[14] Edwin, J. *The Character of a Coffee-House, with the Symptoms of a Town Wit*, London, Three Roses, 1673.
[15] Carter, P. *Mollies, fops and men of feeling: aspects of male effeminacy and masculinity in Britain, c.1700-1780.,* Oxford University Press, 1995, p24.
[16] Cowan, "What was masculine about the public sphere?", pp.136, 138-139. During this period effeminacy did not necessarily refer to acts of homosexuality, it was rather focused on "putatively trivial (and feminine) matters as fashion, exhibitionism, over-decorous ceremony and the protocols of politeness" (Cowan, p. 136).
[17] Barrel, J. "Coffee-House Politicians." *Journal of British Studies*, vol. 43, no. 2, 2004, p. 210.
[18] Colby, C. W. (Ed.) *Selections from the Sources of English History*, London, Longmans, Green, and Co., 1899, p.212.
[19] Bakken, T. "Cultivating Civilization: The Age of the English Coffee House". *Social Education*, vol. 58 no. 6, 1994, p. 347.
[20] Habermas, *Structural Transformation*, pp. 29, 73, 141.
[21] Calhoun, *Habermas and the Public Sphere*, p. 9; Habermas, *Structural Transformation*, p. 27.
[22] Beattie, L. M., "The Authorship of 'The Quidnuncki's.'". *Modern Philology*, vol. 30, no. 3, 1933, pp. 317-320.

in coffeehouses during the early eighteenth century.[23] This has led Pincus to claim that coffeehouses were "so politically au courant, so ideologically up-to-date, so accurate a gauge of public opinion" that politicians and journalists frequently visited "to collect news and opinions".[24]

This can lead one to believe that most coffeehouses were 'polite' and a clear representative of the public sphere, but only because the vagueness of these two terms leaves rather much left to interpretation. Both coffeehouses in their ideal and practical aspects of discourse seem to relate closely to Habermas' public sphere, even to the extent that coffeehouses acted as "institutional bases" for the bourgeois public sphere's transformation from a literary to a political sphere.[25] Nevertheless, they don't entirely fit the mould.

Firstly, according to Habermas, the contribution of coffeehouses towards the development of the political public sphere, was limited, as the bourgeois public sphere "remained rooted in the world of letters, even as it assumed political functions".[26] However, this should be understood through the lens of Habermas' theory, as in this instance he is claiming that despite the political discourse emerging in coffeehouses – fuelled by the periodical – it did not lead to the overall transformation of the bourgeois public sphere away from its literary origins and into a full-blown political public sphere. Here arises the first instance of a clash not only between the more whimsical public sphere and the Habermasian public sphere, but also between Habermasian interpretation and what one could define as the 'practical public sphere'. By taking a more structural and ideological view, Habermas fails to emphasise the political discourse upheld by these institutions, even if in his eyes, owing to cultural and economic factors, the bourgeois public sphere remained rooted in the 'world of letters'.[27] This is an instance where Habermas is overwhelmed by his own ideology, as despite praising Addison and Steele's periodicals and Arbuthnot's political literature for forming the discussion of the coffeehouse locale, and for contributing to a "public sphere which functioned in the political realm", he is still committed that this political discourse remained within the framework of a literary public sphere, thereby undermining their political atmosphere.[28] Secondly, however, a significant factor which limits one's ability to claim that coffeehouses maintained a consistent flow of rational-critical debate is that it is too simplistic to assume one single coffeehouse culture. Both the subject of debate and its overall criticality could vary on a myriad of factors; just as the coffeehouse away from the sprawling metropolis of London maintained a less politically relevant area of debate as they were far removed from its ideas, coffeehouses within the capital could entertain varying topics. This could range from political and Parliamentary discussion at St. James', to literary lectures and religious debate in Exchange-Alley, all the way to the "plain inhospitable" coffeehouses of Tilt-yard and Young Man's, where men would often descend into duels and rancour, rather than debate the political implications of the Exclusion Crisis.[29] Rather, it would be better to define coffeehouse society, like the bourgeois public sphere, in relation to the idea of a "variegated set of publics", with the large majority making some kind of contribution to the wider public sphere, whether in a literary or political sense, and perhaps a greater political contribution than Habermas originally claimed. Thirdly, on generalisation and Habermas, his omission of some of the less

[23] A direct quote from Judith Hawley, as featured in: BBC Radio 4. *In Our Time: Coffee.* 2019.
[24] Pincus, "Coffee", p. 821.
[25] Calhoun, *Habermas and the Public Sphere*, p. 12.
[26] Habermas, *Structural Transformation*, p. 85.
[27] Ibid.
[28] Ibid, pp. 57, 59.
[29] Hawley, J. As featured in: BBC Radio 4. *In Our Time: Coffee.* 2019; Pincus, S. *1688: The First Modern Revolution,* Yale University Press, 2009, p. 79; Bakken, "Cultivating Civilisation", p. 347.

appetising aspects of coffeehouse society, even if they were exceptions to the rule, limits the scope of his argument and demonstrates his tendency to favour intellectual history when referring to this period.[30] Overall, an analysis of the quality of discourse in coffeehouses reveals how reality doesn't quite fit so neatly into theory.

The second, and equally important pillar of the public sphere, adequate to a democratic polity, is the quantity of participation. Measuring the quantity of participation in coffeehouses is no easy task, even if one can gauge the approximate number of coffeehouses during this period.[31] However, what reveals engagement in the public sphere much more clearly is an analysis into the diversity of its participants. In theory, just like with the most flexible and idealistic interpretations of the public sphere, coffeehouses were egalitarian in their outlook and diverse in their franchise. A frequently referenced source in relation to the supposed democracy of the coffeehouse locale is a broadside which reveals much about the duality of coffeehouse and public sphere inclusivity. The *'Rules and Orders of the Coffee-House'* (1674), featured alongside an article on the "sober" drink and its "incomparable effects" in curing diseases, sets out a rather classless view of coffeehouse society: "First, Gentry, Tradesmen, all are welcome hither, And may without Affront sit down Together […]" (see figure 2).[32] This has led Richard Sennett to argue that the "cardinal rule" of free discourse in coffeehouses was that "in order for information to be as full as possible, distinctions of rank were temporarily suspended; anyone sitting in the coffee-house had a right to talk to anyone else", a sentiment echoed by Habermas himself in the first of his 'institutional criteria', in which coffeehouses embraced "a kind of social intercourse that, far from presupposing the equality of status, disregarded status altogether".[33] However, once again ideal and reality clash in a dichotomous manner, as Habermas acknowledges how "this idea of the public [wasn't] actually realized in earnest".[34] Here one can observe another instance where the limitations of coffeehouses and the early bourgeois public sphere combine. Critics here may point to his third institutional criterion of inclusivity, yet this concept, he maintains, was available to any private person, "*in so far as they were propertied and educated*".[35] This was a key impediment of both coffeehouses and the early bourgeois public sphere and their quantity of participation, and even some of the most willing advocates of the egalitarianism of coffeehouses still only note how coffeehouses had their impact amongst the urban and commercial middle classes, claiming to represent the public; they were hardly a plebeian public sphere, perhaps a reason why Habermas did not focus on it.[36] Just because a cup of coffee could be purchased for a penny, this did not mean that the mostly uneducated lower social strata could engage in the debate. Nonetheless, it was partly because the uneducated could not fully participate in the coffeehouse milieu and early bourgeois public sphere that meant that discourse could remain rational and critical, and that the state could be the domain of common concern of the public, however narrow that public really was.

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[30] Calhoun, *Habermas and the Public Sphere*, p. 33.
[31] Green, *The Lost World*. Estimates range from 1,000-8,000 establishments in London alone in 1734.
[32] Greenwood, P., "Rules and Orders of the Coffee-House". *A Brief Description of […] humane bodies*, Broadside, 1674.
[33] Sennett, R. *The Fall of Public Man: On the Social Psychology of Capitalism,* New York, 1978, p. 81; Habermas, *Structural Transformation,* p. 36.
[34] Habermas, *Structural Transformation,* p. 36.
[35] Ibid, p. 37. Habermas' third institutional criterion: "However exclusive the public might be in any given instance, it could never close itself off entirely and become consolidated as a clique".
[36] Langford, P. "The Uses of Eighteenth-Century Politeness". *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, vol. 12, 2002, pp. 316-320.

In addition to social class, it has been claimed that coffeehouses disregarded political outlook, in the sense that as institutions, they were politically neutral. It is much less common to see historians make this claim, aside from Pincus who argues that they were open to any man, regardless of his political ideology.[37] Notwithstanding, the point here is *not* that coffeehouses were politically exclusionary, quite the opposite in fact, but rather, just as each coffeehouse had its own specialisation (or "charm" as Pincus acknowledges), each coffeehouse also had a separate political outlook, and therefore much more significantly, each had, by nature, a segregated clientele.[38] Even Pincus here seems to override his chain of reasoning by demonstrating how coffeehouses were frequented by both royalists and republicans, and by Tories and Whigs.[39] But the clear dividing line is that each group seemed to have its own coffeehouse, whether it was John's for the Whigs, Will's for the Tories, etc.[40] This does not undermine both the ideal and reality that coffeehouses *as a whole* were politically open institutions, but it does further reinforce the concept of a "variegated set of publics".

Aside from the issues of social class and political outlook, so far, another issue has been overlooked: gender. Not only is it arguably the most important, it also is the most contentious. On a theoretical level, women were not prohibited by convention or by law to engage in coffeehouse society, leading Pincus to claim that there is no reason to believe that women did not do so, in and fact "every reason to believe that women frequently attended the newly fashionable coffeehouses".[41] Whilst Pincus' thesis may over-generalise this complex issue, his argument does at least show elements of truth when one more closely investigates the social life of women during this period; it is essential to stress that women did live more public lives during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century than it has been previously asserted. Lawrence E. Klein brilliantly notes how social lives of women during the eighteenth century are too frequently viewed through the lens of the gender dichotomy of the nineteenth; women had "public dimensions to their lives", and it was "just as possible that eighteenth-century culture offered possibilities and opportunities that ceased to be available in the nineteenth".[42] Amanda Vickery too has commented on how "the female public world was both larger and much less menacing than historians have often allowed".[43]

The extent to which this was evident in coffeehouses is rather less convincing. It is certainly the case that some women were present in coffeehouses, most often in the operational aspect of things in the form of proprietors – "coffee-woman" – but also if they were attending auctions, or if they had relevant business, reflected in the diary of Thomas Bellingham, who in Preston met "with severall women att ye coffee house".[44] However, these were exceptions, and the exceptions prove the rule. Not only are the cases "far and few between", where women did attend events like auctions, not

[37] Pincus, "Coffee", p. 811
[38] Pincus, *1688*, p. 81; Anon, *General Advertiser*, London, England, 1745 (See figure 3, which demonstrates some of the political statement's coffeehouses (in this example Lloyd's) could make, such as "no popery", "no arbitrary power", "no slavery", and perhaps most daringly of all "no wooden shoes").
[39] Pincus, "Coffee", p. 816 and p. 826; Pincus, *1688,* p. 79
[40] Pincus, *1688*, p. 79.
[41] Pincus, "Coffee", p. 815.
[42] Klein, L. E. "Gender and the Public/Private Distinction in the Eighteenth Century: Some Questions about Evidence and Analytic Procedure." *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, vol. 29, no. 1, 1995, pp. 102-103 and p. 105.
[43] Vickery, A. *The Gentleman's Daughter: Women's Lives in Georgian England*, Yale University Press, New Haven CT, 1998, p. 228.
[44] Cowan, "What was masculine about the public sphere?", p.144; Bellingham, T. and Hewitson, A. (ed.) *Diary of Thomas Bellingham: an Officer under William III*, 19 Jan 1689, Preston, George Toulmin and Sons, 1908, p. 44.

only were the spaces physically segregated by gender, but also the very notion of the domestic artefacts being purchased (fine art, vases etc.) reinforced the idea of female domesticity, even if women had public dimensions to their lives.[45] Similarly, Barrel notes how women "evidently *were* admitted", however they were "unlikely to have been invited to participate in what appears to have been the exclusively masculine practice, even homosocial rite, of coffeehouse-conversation".[46] This excellently demonstrates how coffeehouses were not purposefully exclusionary or misogynistic institutions, but by nature the very debate they entertained was not considered feminine. Women could be, and importantly *were* present in some cases, although their ability to engage in a contextually masculine practice was arduous at best. This most certainly refutes the idea that coffeehouses in terms of their gender inclusivity represented the more whimsical and vague public sphere that Pincus claims they did. What it does reinforce however, is the concept of a "variegated set of publics", in which there were two "interlocking spheres" of masculine and feminine activity. Men and women shared a number of public – largely leisure orientated – activities, and indeed women were beginning to be considered equals to men in terms of their intellectual capacity, and engaged in a number of public spheres, not only tea rooms but also in the practices of business and even open religious dissent in some instances.[47] However, while the feminine public sphere was expanding, in practical terms it did not extend to coffeehouses, which remained a more separate and closed-off masculine sphere, perhaps even more so that Habermas was willing to acknowledge, a common feminist critique of his theory.[48] Whatever the case, just as the limited social strata of the coffeehouse clientele allowed for a politically-focused rational-critical debate, so too did the lack of a female presence, shown in the contrast in their political gravity in comparison to salons and tea-rooms, which entertained more trivial discourse, a distinction that Habermas acknowledges.[49]

In conclusion, it is undeniable that the coffeehouse represented a marked shift in the representation of publicity; it was truly the case that the monarchy was *no longer* represented "not for but '*before*' the people", but rather was increasingly side-lined as the representation of publicity shifted to an ever-expanding bourgeois society which refined its wit and gained its voice.[50] In providing an arena for the voice of public opinion coffeehouses were paramount, as the space and the drug that they offered combined to pose the exciting and dangerous potential for rational-critical debate, which was entertained in most legitimate establishments. While this quality of discourse demonstrates coffeehouses' relationship with the more abstract public sphere, so too does the exclusivity of these institutions in practice represent the harsh reality of the early bourgeois public sphere; a duality too frequently overlooked. Just as it is too naïve to suggest that coffeehouses were egalitarian spaces, it is similarly too simplistic to claim that coffeehouses only represented a select few. Rather, coffeehouses, and the wider bourgeois public sphere, served the newly emerging bourgeoisie – the

[45] Cowan, "What was masculine about the public sphere?", p. 145.
[46] Barrel, "Coffee-House Politicians", p. 217.
[47] Cowan, "What was masculine about the public sphere?", p.146; Fletcher, A. *Gender, Sex, and Subordination in England, 1500-1800*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1995, p. 397; Pollock, L. "'Teach her to live under obedience': the making of women in the upper ranks of early modern England" *Continuity and Change*, vol. 4, no. 2, 1989, p. 241.
[48] Calhoun, *Habermas and the Public Sphere,* p. 35
[49] Habermas, p. 33. This is not intended to be a sexist comment or argument – it is a rather complex, sociological problem – instances do exist where women were at the forefront of political thought and activity, the only problem being to what extent their opinions and actions were respected, combined with the societal role of women, as discussed. Women were largely being brought up in a society which, from birth, excluded them from a number of activities and instilled certain ideas preventing them from engaging in the crucial feature of the public sphere: rational-critical debate.
[50] Ibid, p. 8

urban and commercial middle classes – and were democratic in their discourse, but not in their franchise. The diversity that they did maintain contributed to the 'variegated set of publics' which serve to demonstrate the true complexity of the public sphere in reality, which the vague terminology fails to highlight. Naturally, as the bourgeois public sphere expanded its franchise – coinciding with the decline of the coffeehouse – it began to "degenerate", losing its fundamental principle of rational-critical debate. No wonder the grim picture that Habermas paints of the public sphere in its modern conception has inspired historians in the past thirty years to look back to this period as a golden age of independent thought and critical discourse.

3636 words (excluding title, footnotes, and bibliography)

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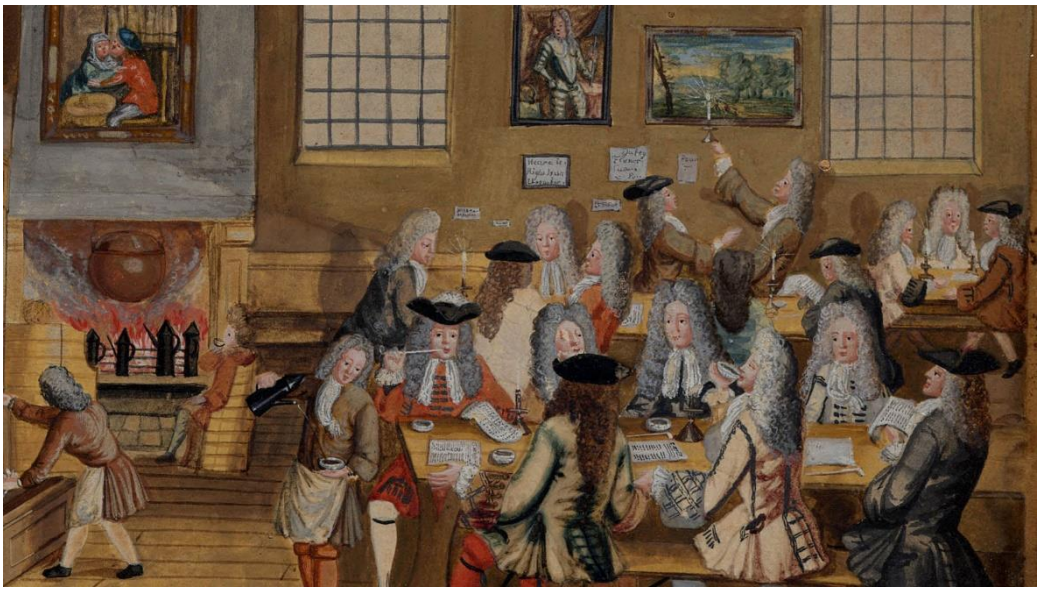
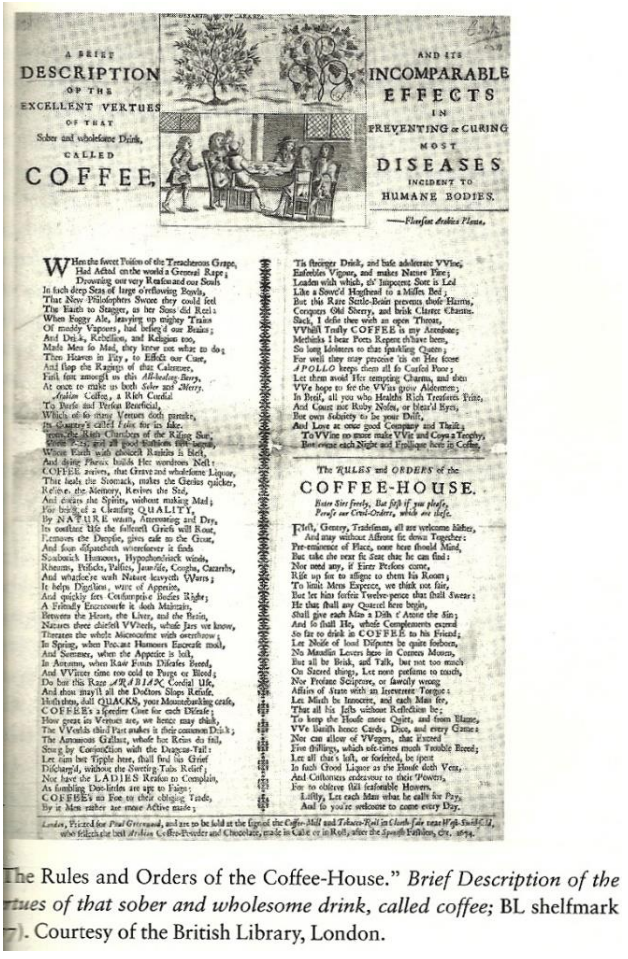
Fig. 1



Figs. 2 and 3



A BRIEF DESCRIPTION OF THE EXCELLENT VERTUES OF THAT Sober and wholesome Drink, CALLED COFFEE, AND ITS INCOMPARABLE EFFECTS IN PREVENTING or CURING MOST DISEASES INCIDENT TO HUMANE BODIES.

Florem Arabica Plantæ.

WHen the sweet Poison of the Treacherous Grape, Had Acted on the world a General Rape; Drowning our very Reason and our Souls In lusty deep Seas of large o'erflowing Bowls, That New Philosophers Swore they could feel The Earth to Stagger, as her Skies did Reel: When Foggy Ale, invying up mighty Trains Of muddy Vapours, had belch'd out Brains; And Drink, Rebellion, and Religion too, Made Men so Mad, they knew not what to do; Then Heaven in Pity, to Effect our Cure, And stop the Ragings of that Calenture, Took first amongst us this *Abhorred Berry*, At once to make us both *Sober* and *Merry*. *Arabian* Coffee, a Rich Cordial To Purge and Perfume Braincicial, Which of its many Vertues doth transfer, Its Country's called *Fælix* for its sake. From the Rosie Chambers of the Rising Sun, Comes Fair, and all good Fashions too: Whose Earth with choicest Rarities is Blest, And drinks *Pharos* health Her wondrous Nest: COFFEE sweet, that Grave and wholesome Liquor, That heals the Stomack, makes the Genius quicker, Refines the Memory, Revives the Sad, And cleans the Spirits, without making Mad; For Spight of 2 Cleansing QUALITY, By NATURE wrought, Attenuating and Dry, Its constant Use the sallowest Grief will Rout, Removes the Dumpish, gives ease to the Gout, And from Aspundrich wives relieves it finds Scandrick Humours, Hypochondrick winds, Rheums, Phthicks, Phlegm, Jaundice, Coughs, Catarrhs, And whatsoe're wait Nature leavyeth Warrs; It helps Digestion, wayes of Appetite, And quickly fets Consumptive Bodies Right; By NATURE wrought, Attenuating and Dry, Its constant Use the sallowest Grief will Rout, Removes the Dumpish, gives ease to the Gout, And from Aspundrich wives relieves it finds Scandrick Humours, Hypochondrick winds, Rheums, Phthicks, Phlegm, Jaundice, Coughs, Catarrhs, And whatsoe're wait Nature leavyeth Warrs; It helps Digestion, wayes of Appetite, And quickly fets Consumptive Bodies Right; A Friendly Encounter it doth Maintain, Removes the Head, the Liver, and the Brain, Nature's three chiefest VVorks, whose Jars we know, Threaten the whole Microcosme with overthrow; In Spring, when Treacle Humours Encrease most, And Summer, when the Appetite is lost, In Autumn, when Rare Fouls Diseases Breed, And VVinter time too cold to Purge or Bleed; Do but this Rare *ARABICK* Cordial Use, And thou may'st all the Doctors Shops Refuse. Hothrobin, full QUACKS, your Mountebanking craft, COFFEE's a speedier Cure for each Disease; How great its Vertues are, we hence may think, The VVealth which Fleet traders is their common Drink; The Armenoth Gallant, whole Inn Rents do fail, Stung by Contraction with the Dragon-Tail: Let him but Tipple here, shall find his Grief Discharg'd, without the Sweeting Tabs Relief; Nor have the LADIES Reason to Complain, As fumbling Doctor-lasses are apt to Feign: COFFEE's no Foe to their chiefest Trade, By it Men rather are more Active made;

To fluxingry Drink, and bale adulterate VVine, Enfeebles Vigour, and makes Nurses Pine; Leaden wits which, all Inspector Sour is Led Like a Slow'd Hogshead to a Misses Bed; But this Rare Sexile-Bean prevents those Harms, Conquers Old Sherry, and brisk Claret Charms. Bach, I defie them with an open Throat, VVhilst Trusty COFFEE is my Antedote; Methinks I hear Ports Repent th'have been, So long a Jolenesse to that sparkling Queen; For well they may grow precise 'tis on Her score *APOLLO* keeps them all so Cuckold Poor; Let them wood Her tempting Charms, and then VVe hope to see the VVits grow Aldermen; In Brief, all you who Healths Rich Treasures Prize, And Count our Ruby Nectar, or Heart's Eyes, But own Subjects to be your Duty, And Love at once good Company and Thrift, To VVine an ensure make VVit and Coyn a Trophy, But wowse each Night and Emptiuse here in Coffee.

The RULES *and* ORDERS *of the*

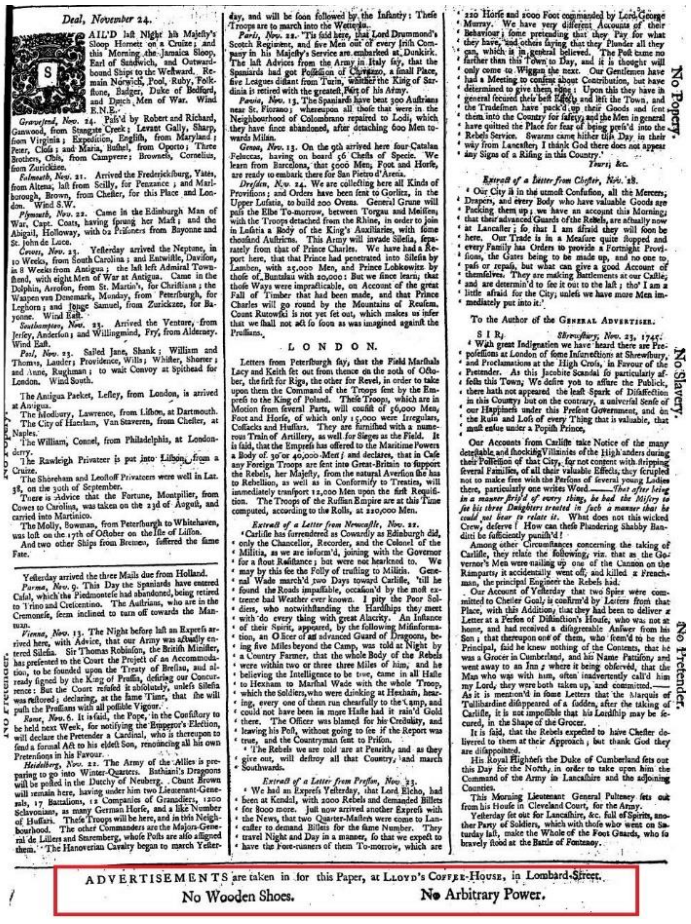
COFFEE-HOUSE.

Rules Sirs freely, But pish if you please,
Perufe our Civil-Orders, while we these.

FIrst, Gentry, Tradesman, all are welcome hither, And stay without Affront for down Together: Pre-eminence of Place, none here should Mind, But take the next fit Seat that he can find: Nor need any, if Strict Prefers come, Rife up for to affigne to them his Room; To little Mens Expence, we think not fair, But let him forfeit Twelve-pence that shall Swear: He that shall any Quarrel here begin, Shall give each Man a Dish o' Anger the Sin; And fo shall He, whole Complements exceed So far to drink in COFFEE to his Friend; Let Muse of loud Disputes be quite forbore, No Maudlin Lovers here in Corners Moors, But all be Brisk, and Talk, but not too much Of Sacred things, Let none prefume to touch, Nor Profane Scripture, or fawcily wrong Affairs of State with an Irreverent Tongue: Let Much be Rumour'd, and each Man lay, That all his Jests without Reflection be; To keep the House more Quiet, and from Blame, VVe Banish hence Cards, Dice, and every Game: Nor can allow of VVagers, that Exceed Five shillings, which oft-times much Trouble Breed; Let all that's loft, or forfeited, be spent In such Good Liquor as the House doth Vent, And Customers endeavour to their Powers, For to observe this reasonable Hours. Lastly, Let each Man what he calls for Pay, And fo you're welcome to come every Day.

London, Printed for *Paul Greenwood*, and are to be sold at the Signe of the *Coffee-Mill* and *Tobacco-Roll in Check-Lane near Woolchurch-H.* who keepeth the best *Arabian* Coffee-Powder and Chocolate, made in Cake or in Roll, after the *Spanish* Fashion, Ct. 1674.

The Rules and Orders of the Coffee-House." *Brief Description of the rtues of that sober and wholesome drink, called coffee;* BL shelfmark 7). Courtesy of the British Library, London.



Deal, November 24.

SAIL'D last Night his Majesty's Sloop Hornets on a Cruize; and this Morning the Jamaica Sloop, Earl of Sandwich, and Outwardbound Ships to the Westward. Remain Norwich, Pool, Ruby, Folkstone, Badger, Duke of Bedford, and Dutch Men of War. Wind E.N.E.

Gravesend, Nov. 24. Pass'd by Robert and Richard, Gainwood, from Seaguine Creek; Levant Galley, Sharp, from Virginia; Expedition, English, from Maryland; Peter, Clark; and Maria, Bethel, from Oporto; Three Brothers, Cibb, from Campere; Brownell, Cornelius, from Zuricksee.

Falmouth, Nov. 21. Arrived the Fredericksburg, Yates, from Altena, laft from Scilly, for Penzance; and Marlborough, Brown, from Chester, for this Place and London. Wind S.W.

Plymouth, Nov. 22. Came in the Edinburgh Man of War, Capt. Coats, having Convoy her Mast; and the Abigail, Holloway, with 62 Prisoners from Bayonne and St. John de Luce.

Cowes, Nov. 23. Yesterday arrived the Neptune, in 10 Weeks, from South Carolina; and Earnwille, Davilon, in 8 Weeks from Antigua; the laft left Admiral Townshend, with eight Men of War at Antigua. Came in the Dolphin, Anvelon, from St. Martin's, for Chriftian; the Waapen van Dennemark, Mondray, from Petersburgh, for Legborn; and Jonge Samuel, from Zuricksee, for Bayonne. Wind East.

Southampton, Nov. 23. Arrived the Venture, from Jerley, Anderson; and Willingmind, Fry, from Alderney. Wind East.

Peal, Nov. 23. Sailed Jane, Shank; William and Thomas, Lander; Providence, Wills; Whither, Shorter; and Anne, Rugbman; to wait Convoy at Spithead for London. Wind South.

The Antigua Packet, Lefley, from London, is arrived at Antigua.

The Modiourry, Lawrence, from Lisbon, at Dartmouth.

The City of Haerlam, Van Staveren, from Chefter, at Naples.

The William, Connel, from Philadelphia, at Londonderry.

The Rawleigh Privateer is put into Lisbon, from a Cruize.

The Shoreham and Leoloff Privateers were well in Lat. 38, on the 30th of September.

There is Advice that the Fortune, Montpilier, from Cowes to Carolina, was taken on the 23d of August, and carried into Martinico.

The Molly, Bowman, from Peterburgh to Whitehaven, was loft on the 17th of Octobor on the Ifle of Lifton.

And two other Ships from Bremen, fuffered the fame Fate.

Yesterday arrived the three Mails due from Holland.

Parma, Nov. 9. This Day the Spaniards have entered Casal, which the Piedmontese had abandoned, being retired to Trino and Crescentino. The Auftrians, who are in the Monaan.

Vienna, Nov. 13. The Night before laft an Express arrived here, with Advice, that our Army was actually entered Silesia. Sir Thomas Robinson, the British Minister, has presented to the Court the Project of an Accommodation, to be founded upon the Treaty of Breslau, and already figned by the King of Prussia, desiring our Concurrence: But the Court misled it absolutely, unless Silesia was restored; declaring, at the same Time, that she will push the Prussians with all possible Vigour.

Rome, Nov. 6. It is said, the Pope, in the Consistory to be held next Week, for notifying the Emperor's Election, will declare the Pretender a Cardinal, who is thereupon to send a formal Act to his eldest Son, renouncing all his own Pretensions in his Favour.

Heidelberg, Nov. 22. The Army of the Allies is preparing to go into Winter-Quarters. Rothaiel's Dragoons will be posted in the Dutchy of Neuberg. Count Brown will remain here, having under him two Lieutenant-Generals, 17 Battalions, 12 Companies of Grenadiers, 1200 Schwosians, as many German Horse, and a like Number of Hussars. These Troops will be here, and in this Neighbourhood. The other Commanders are the Majors-General de Lilliers and Sinremberg, whose Posts are also assigned them. The Hanoverian Cavalry began to march Yesterday, and will be soon followed by the Infantry: These Troops are to march into the Wetterau.

Paris, Nov. 22. 'Tis said here, that Lord Drummond's Scotch Regiment, and five Men out of every Irish Company in his Majesty's Service are embarked at Dunkirk. The laft Advices from the Army in Italy say, that the Spaniards had got Possession of Chevasco, a small Place, five Leagues distant from Turin, whither the King of Sardinia is retired with the greatest Part of his Army.

Genoa, Nov. 13. On the 9th arrived here four Catalan Polacres, having on board 56 Chests of Specie. We learn from Barcelona, that 5000 Men, Foot and Horse, are ready to embark there for San Pietro d'Arena.

Dresden, Nov. 24. We are collecting here all Kinds of Provisions; and Orders have been sent to Gorlitz, in the Upper Lusatia, to build 200 Ovens. General Grune will pass the Elbe To-morrow, between Torgau and Meissen, with the Troops detached from the Rhine, in order to join in Lusatia a Body of the King's Auxiliaries, with some thousand Austrians. This Army will invade Silesia, separately from that of Prince Charles. We have had a Report here, that that Prince had penetrated into Silesia by Lamberg, with 25,000 Men, and Prince Lobkowitz by those of Buntlau with 20,000: But we since learn, that those Ways were impracticable, on Account of the great Fall of Timber that had been made, and that Prince Charles will go round by the Mountains of Reusen. Count Rutowski is not yet set out, which makes us infer that we shall not act so soon as was imagined against the Prussians.

LONDON.

Letters from Peterburgh say, that the Field Marshals Lacy and Keith set out from thence on the 20th of October, the first for Riga, the other for Revel, in order to take upon them the Command of the Troops sent by the Empress to the King of Poland. These Troops, which are in Motion from several Parts, will consist of 36,000 Men, Foot and Horse, of which only 15,000 were Irregulars, Cossacks and Hussars. They are furnished with a numerous Train of Artillery, as well for Sieges as the Field. It is said, that the Empress has offered to the Maritime Powers a Body of 30 or 40,000 Men: and declares, that in Case any Foreign Troops are sent into Great-Britain to support the Rebels, her Majesty, from the natural Aversion she has to Rebellion, as well as in Conformity to Treaties, will immediately transport 15,000 Men upon the first Requisition. The Troops of the Russian Empire are at this Time computed, according to the Rolls, at 220,000 Men.

Extract of a Letter from Newcastle, Nov. 22.

'Carlisle has surrendered to Cowardly as Edinburgh did, 'only the Chancellor, Recorder, and the Colonel of the 'Militia, as we are inform'd, joining with the Governor 'for a foot Resistance; but were not hearkened to. We 'may by this fee the Folly of trusting to Militia. General Wade march'd two Days toward Carlisle, 'till he found the Roads impassible, occasion'd by the most extreme bad Weather ever known. I pity the Poor Soldiers, who notwithstanding the Hardships they meet with do every thing with great Alacrity. An Influence of their Spirit, appeared, by the following Misinformation, an Officer of an advanced Guard of Dragoons, being five Miles beyond the Camp, was told at Night by a Country Farmer, that the whole Body of the Rebels were within two or three Miles of him, and he believing the Intelligence to be true, came in all Haste to Hexham to Marshal Wade with the whole Troop, which the Soldiers, who were drinking at Hexham, hearing, every one of them run chearfully to the Camp, and could not have been in more Haste had it rain'd Gold there. The Officer was blamed for his Credulity, and having his Post, without going to see if the Report was true, and the Countryman sent to Prison.

'The Rebels we are told are at Penrith, and as they give out, will destroy all that Country, and march Southwards.

Extract of a Letter from Preston, Nov. 23.

'We had an Express Yesterday, that Lord Elcho, had been at Kendal, with 2000 Rebels and demanded Billets for 8000 more. Just now arrived another Express with the News, that two Quarter-Masters were come to Lancaster to demand Billets for the same Number. They travel Night and Day in a manner, so that we expect to have the Fore-runners of them To-morrow, which are 220 Horse and 2000 Foot commanded by Lord George Murray. We have very different Accounts of their Behaviour; some pretending that they Pay for what they have, and others saying that they Plunder all they can, which is in general believed. The Post came no farther than this Town To-Day, and it is thought will only come to Wiggan the next. Our Gentlemen have had a Meeting to consult about Contribution, but have determined to give them none: Upon this they have in general fetched their best Effects and left the Town, and the Tradesmen have pack'd up their Goods and sent them into the Country for safety, and the Men in general have quitted the Place for fear of being prest'd into the Rebels Service. Swarms came hither this Day in their way from Lancashire, I think God there does not appear any Signs of a Rising in this Country.'

Yours, &c.

Extract of a Letter from Chester, Nov. 28.

'Our City is in the utmost Confusion, all the Mercers, Drapers, and every Body who have valuable Goods are 'packing them up; we have an account this Morning that their advanced Guards of the Rebels, are actually now at Lancaster; so that I am afraid they will soon be here. Our Trade is in a Measure quite stopped and every Family has Orders to provide a Fortnight Provisions, the Gates being to be made up, and no one to pass or repass, but what can give a good Account of themselves. They are making Battlements at our Castle; and are determin'd to see it out to the last; tho' I am a little afraid for the City, unless we have more Men immediately put into it.'

To the Author of the GENERAL ADVERTISER.

SIR, *Shrewsbury, Nov. 23, 1745.*

'With great Indignation we have heard there are Professions at London of some Insurrections at Shrewsbury, and Proclamations at the High Cross, in Favour of the Pretender. As this Jacobite Scandal so particularly affects this Town, We desire you to assure the Publick, there hath not appeared the leaft Spark of Disaffection in this Country but on the contrary, a universal Senfe of our Happiness under this Present Government, and in the Rule and Love of every Thing that is valuable, that muft enfue under a Popish Prince,

Our Accounts from Carlisle take Notice of the many detestable, and shocking Villainies of the High-landers during their Possession of that City, for not content with stripping several Families, of all their valuable Effects, they scrupled not to make free with the Persons of several young Ladies there, particularly one whom We need——*That after being in a manner strip'd of every thing, he had the Mistory to see his three Daughters treated in such a manner that he could not bear to relate it.* What does not this wicked Crew, deserve! How can these Plundering Shabby Banditi be sufficiently punish'd!

Among other Circumstances concerning the taking of Carlisle, they relate the following, viz. that as the Governor's Men were nailing up one of the Cannon on the Ramparts it accidentally went off, and killed a Frenchman, the principal Engineer the Rebels had.

Our Account of Yesterday that two Spies were committed to Chester Goal, is confirm'd by Letters from that Place, with this Addition, that they had been to deliver a Letter at a Person of Distinction's House, who was not at home, and had received a disagreable Answer from his Son; that thereupon one of them, who seem'd to be the Principal, told he knew nothing of the Contents, that he was a Grocer in Cumberland, and his Name Patterson, and went away to an Inn; where it being observed, that the Man who was with him, often inadvertently call'd him by Lord, they were both taken up, and committed.

As it is mention'd in some Letters that the Marquis of Tullibardine disappeared of a sudden, after the taking of Carlisle, it is not impossible that his Landship may be secured, in the Shape of the Grocer.

It is said, that the Rebels expected to have Chester delivered to them at their Approach; but thank God they are disappointed.

His Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland sets out this Day for the North, in order to take upon him the Command of the Army in Lancashire and the adjoining Counties.

This Morning Lieutenant General Pulteney sets out from his House in Cleveland Court, for the Army.

Yesterday for our fine Lancashire, &c. full of Spirits, another Party of Soldiers, which with those who went on Saturday laft, make the Whole of the Foot Guards, who so bravely stood at the Battle of Fontenoy.

No Popery. No Slavery. No Pretender.

ADVERTISEMENTS are taken in for this Paper, at LLOYD's COFFEE-HOUSE, in Lombard-Street.

No Wooden Shoes. No Arbitrary Power.