

## THE PURPOSE AND USE OF PUBLIC-HOUSE CHECKS

*R.H.Thompson and A.J.Wager*

The pieces with which this paper deals are metal tokens issued in the nineteenth and early twentieth century by alehouses, beerhouses, hotels, inns, taverns, and other retailers of beer, wine and spirits. They bear denominations of 1d., 1½d., 2d., 2½d., 3d., (e.g. Pl.9) or less frequently ½d., 4d., 5d., 6d., or more. The main series emerged shortly before the middle of the nineteenth century: created since 1830 according to Grant Francis;<sup>1</sup> struck since 1840 according to Neumann;<sup>2</sup> first made in quantity by Hiron, who flourished from 1846/7;<sup>3</sup> dated pieces go back to 1848.<sup>4</sup>

Although, following French,<sup>5</sup> the pieces have often been called 'tavern tokens', the normal contemporary term was 'check', as Mr Hawkins demonstrated in a contribution to the colloquium, an extract from which he has kindly permitted us to publish as Appendix 1. To this we may add an 1873/4 advertisement for Helmore of Exeter, 'manufacturer of yellow metal checks, coins, stamps etc. for schools, clubs, billiards and skittle alleys', and an 1889/90 advertisement for E.Seage & Son of Exeter, 'Manufacturers of Yellow Metal Cheques, for Club Houses, Skittle Alleys, &c.';<sup>6</sup> and the consistent use of *check* or *cheque* in the numismatic and legal literature quoted in Section II below, with the ironic exception of French, who introduces the term 'scrip'. The contemporary significance of the word, referring to a metal disc, was twofold: either 'a means to ensure accuracy, correctness, security from fraud, etc.: as...A token, usually a memorandum of receipt, a ticket, or piece of metal duly stamped or numbered, used for the purpose of identification, or as evidence of ownership or title';<sup>7</sup> or 'a counter used in games at cards', which the *OED* Supplement takes back to 1845.<sup>8</sup> This latter sense, however, is marked *U.S.*, and American sources do not restrict it to card games.<sup>9</sup> Evidence in this paper indicates the same for Britain.

Section I below extracts evidence on the purpose of pub checks from a publication by Neumann, and Sections II-V examine well-attested uses of the checks in games and gaming, for admission to music-halls etc., by friendly societies, and as truck. Other suggested uses, and the basic purpose, are discussed in the Conclusion.

### I. ANALYSIS OF NEUMANN

The first list of pub checks was published in Prague by Josef Neumann (1815-78).<sup>10</sup> He was a lawyer, eventually justice at Prague (*Landesgerichtsrat*), with the post (amongst others) of examining magistrate in the criminal court. He played so active a part in the foundation in 1849 of the first Bohemian numismatic society (*Verein für Numismatik zu Prag*) that he became its first secretary. For twenty years he organised its activities and its

property, as well as the necessary membership returns to the police; he has been called its *spiritus rector*. It was Neumann's influence which led the distinguished numismatist Eduard Fiala first to take up the study of coins.

From 1852 the society was sponsoring a catalogue of Bohemian private coinage and medals initiated by Jindřich (=Heinrich) Otokar Miltner.<sup>11</sup> After Miltner's removal to Cracow in 1858 Neumann continued the work, on which he was engaged until 1870. By this time he was weary of numismatic labours, for in addition to a book on the Joachimsthal mintmasters (1866), Neumann was also compiling, and publishing at his own expense, the work by which he is best known, the *Beschreibung der bekanntesten Kupfermünzen* (1858-72). This catalogue sets out to describe, in volumes I-III, the copper coinages of all nations, and in volumes IV-VI the tokens and jettons (with a supplement). Although it is not a scientific catalogue like his work with Miltner, it remains a very complete and unrivalled corpus of material. A testimony to its continued value is the 1966 reprint, with the addition of a seventh, index, volume by Lore Börner.

Volume IV, covering the tokens, jettons and counters of the British Isles, was published in 1865. The pub checks it includes consequently represent the first two decades of the main series, when their original purpose is likely to have been most apparent.<sup>12</sup> The basis of the list must have been in large part the specimens collected in London by Dr W. Freudenthal, and now in the British Museum.<sup>13</sup> Many of these are in *fleur de coin* condition, and so likely to have been obtained direct from the Birmingham or London manufacturers. This may have resulted in under-representation of production from such places as Exeter and Dublin, but it can hardly have introduced a collector's bias towards particular themes. Indeed, there is every indication of an ambition to be totally comprehensive in copper coins and coin-like objects, both in Freudenthal's 19,000-strong collection,<sup>14</sup> and in Neumann's 40,000-entry catalogue.

Of the 1,632 pieces enumerated by Neumann from hotels, inns, gambling clubs, places of entertainment etc., a number not only identify a public house and perhaps its proprietor and the maker of the check, as well as giving the denomination, and perhaps advertising ales, wines and spirits, and tobacco (which may be considered basic to a public house), but also, despite the limited space available, mention various other facilities. Those that do so are in a minority; but in our present state of knowledge it is possible to suppose that they are exceptional only in referring to such facilities, and actually represent the original purpose and use of the checks as a series. Even if they are unrepresentative, they still constitute a significant body of evidence for some of the uses of pub checks.

To be rigorous with the material in Neumann it is necessary to omit those seventeen pieces referring to games, sixty-seven to other forms of entertainment, and sixteen others, for which there is no positive evidence of issue by a public house. This leaves approximately 1,532 pub checks ('approximately' because Neumann has duplicated half-a-dozen entries under different headings, and also interpolated in the numbering half-a-dozen additions). Of these, 285 (nineteen per cent) refer to the other facilities detailed below. Figure 1 presents their distribution graphically, and they are listed in Appendix 2.

#### (a) Games

No less than 203, or seventy-one per cent of these 285 checks, relate to games of various sorts, either by name, mutely by representing a player, or by use of one of the dies of bagatelle-table makers which Mr Hawkins has

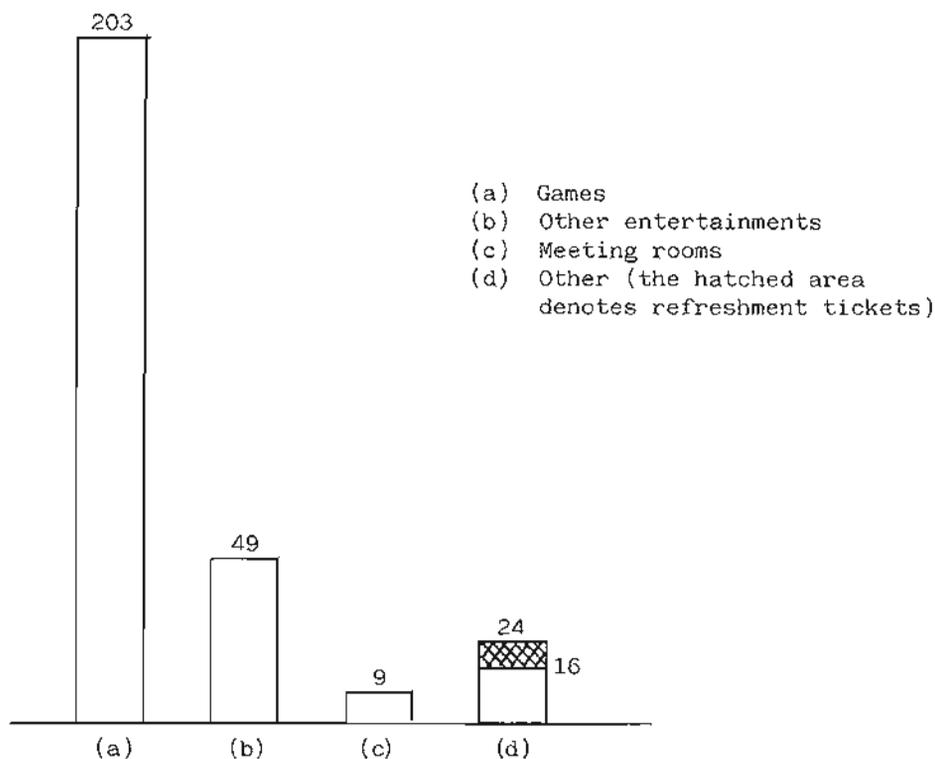


Figure 1. Pub checks listed by Neumann, 1865

studied.<sup>15</sup> Such a die will doubtless have related to a table already supplied; it would certainly not have been sensible for a publican to advertise a facility which his house did not provide, and indeed the game is sometimes mentioned on the other face.<sup>16</sup> The eighty-three checks using these table makers' dies are listed according to the Hawkins figure to which the descriptions correspond.

The remaining games checks are listed in order of frequency of the games; no attempt has been made to ascertain whether any of the different names relate to the same game. Bagatelle, including 'Billiard bagatelle',<sup>17</sup> has 23 in addition to the 83 of table makers; bowling, including American bowling, 49; skittles, 16; billiards, 4; 'Knock-'em-Down', 3; quoits, 2; lobbing, 1; racquets, 1; 'Recreative', 1; and combinations of games, 20. This function will be considered further in Section II.

#### (b) Other Entertainments

This heading comprises forty-nine checks, or seventeen per cent of the 285, which refer to the following forms of entertainment: concerts, 27; gardens (pleasure, tea, etc.), 11; music saloon, 5; harmonic hall, 2; music hall, 2; gallery, 1 (but if this were a shooting gallery it should be classed with games); and museum, 1. Four checks which it seems most appropriate to classify under games also mention such entertainments.<sup>18</sup> Music halls etc. will be considered further in Section III.

## (c) Meeting Rooms

Nine checks, or three per cent, indicate that a particular public house was used as the meeting place for a friendly society or club: a £50 investment society, a £50 investment and loan society, a £25 money society, a building society, a birth night society, a burial society, or a Loyal Wilson Lodge; there is also a cricket club. Two checks for a quoit club and a bagatelle club have been classed with games, and another item under that heading is combined with a 'Society Hall'. Friendly societies will be considered further in Section IV.

## (d) Other Facilities

Finally, twenty-four of the 285 checks, or eight per cent, refer to various other facilities. Pertaining to an inn- or hotel-keeping function are 'Well-aired beds' etc., 'B B' which is presumably to be understood as 'Bed & Breakfast', and 'Stables' etc. Two mention an ordinary, which was a public meal regularly provided at a fixed price, and one a tariff omnibus. Those mentioning an auctioneer, or a wholesale coal dealer, may relate in function to Section V. Also placed under this heading are eight 'refreshment tickets', which could be relevant to any of the facilities above. Five checks classified under games also mention some of the facilities mentioned here, or a 'Posting House', or 'Private Sitting Rooms'.

## II. GAMES AND GAMING

The most striking result of analysing Neumann is the preponderant context of games for the early pub checks. Some of them actually make their purpose plain with the legend BAGATELLE CHECK<sup>19</sup> (e.g. Pl.nos.3,4), BOWLING CHECK,<sup>20</sup> KNOCK-'EM-DOWN CHECK,<sup>21</sup> or SKITTLE CHECK.<sup>22</sup> How they were used is less clear, although certain legends may be indicative. For bagatelle there is AVAILABLE ONLY IN THE BAGATELLE ROOM,<sup>23</sup> ONLY AVAILABLE UP TO 11-50 P.M. & IN THE BAGATELLE ROOM,<sup>24</sup> and TO BE SPENT IN THE BAGGATELLE ROOM ONLY;<sup>25</sup> for bowling, WILL BE RECEIVED SUBJECT TO THE RULES OF THE BOWLING ALLEY;<sup>26</sup> and for 'knock-'em-down', WILL BE RECEIVED SUBJECT TO THE RULES OF KNOCK-'EM-DOWN.<sup>27</sup> See Pl.no.6 for a possible representation of this game; and for billiards or bagatelle, Pl.no.5.

Games also featured among the explanations of the earliest numismatic commentators. In 1867 G.Grant Francis referred to 'another trade convenience' which had been created by the issue of

little Copper, Brass, and Gilt Tokens, or Medallets termed 'cheques'; they are of the halfpenny and farthing size (chiefly the latter) and represent their nominal value, 1½d., 2d., and 3d., and are used nearly always at small taverns, where games are played, to enable, as I am informed, the customer to call in at any subsequent time and have his refreshment to the value indicated.<sup>28</sup>

Six years later H.S.Gill described a check of the Windmill Inn, Holloway Street, Exeter, as 'a specimen of the ordinary check frequently used in billiard-rooms, bowling-greens, skittle-alleys, &c., entitling the bearer to have the value of threepence, or other sums impressed on token [sic], in ale, cider, or spirits'.<sup>29</sup> Again, in one of the rare annotations in his vast catalogue, Batty recorded (with disappointing brevity) that eight halfpenny-sized pieces 'were used in the Public Houses at Whitby as Checks for Games at Dominoes, Cards, &c.'.<sup>30</sup> In 1917 E.J.French cited one Robert Archer for the use to which the Dublin pub checks had been put in the period 1850-65:

The game (billiards or bagatelle) was played for drink, never for money, and the loser paid for the 'round'. After two or three games, one, or perhaps two, of the players would not care to have another drink, but it was understood by the players that the landlord should get paid 8d. for the use of the table for each game played. The landlord accordingly got the 8d. from the loser and gave two creamy pints to the two thirsty ones and two 'scrips' to the men who said they had had enough.

Subsequently each of these latter could produce his 'scrip' and exchange it for a drink to the value of 2d., 2½d., or 3d.<sup>31</sup> Finally, Will Morgan of Neath has provided an enthusiastic account of the use of 4d. brass checks in South Wales public houses with skittle alleys in the years 1918-25: they were given as prizes after each game, and could be exchanged only in the particular public house for beer (at 4d. a pint), or cigarettes.<sup>32</sup>

All these accounts are apparently independent of each other, relating as they do to four or five different areas, and are the fullest explanations yet available of the employment of checks in connexion with games. Nevertheless, except for the last which is recorded late, none demonstrates for certain a first-hand acquaintance with the full use of checks, and they do need to be treated with some reserve.

Following a decision of the court of Queen's Bench in April 1869, checks were involved in several prosecutions of licensees for gaming, which (if knowingly permitted) was an offence against the tenor of their licence under the Alehouse Act of 1828. The court had decided, in the case of *Danford v. Taylor*, that it was equally gaming whether four men played for money or for money's worth; and Lord Chief Justice Cockburn added, 'they agreed by playing these games to determine who as losers should pay for those who won. This is simply gaming'.<sup>33</sup> Later in the same year, at the Birmingham petty sessions, James Wort, licensed victualler of the Old Guy, Digbeth, was summoned for having, on 16 October, knowingly suffered gaming upon his premises by permitting persons to play skittles for money, checks, and ale. Police Constable Harrison testified that on the evening in question he, with other officers, went to the defendant's skittle-alley and saw six men, four of whom commenced to play, and that after the game was over the two players who had lost paid the defendant's servant some money and checks for refreshments, which were thereupon distributed to the players.

Mr Michael Maher, on behalf of the defendant, contended that no gaming had been proved to have taken place. The defendant was entitled to have his skittle alley, and was at liberty, if he chose, to charge the players for the use of it; and by a custom which prevailed almost everywhere throughout the country, whether at billiards or at any other game, the parties who lose paid for the use of the board or ground, and the mere fact of checks being given out in exchange for the money so paid, even though the checks entitled the holder to refreshment, could not constitute gaming. In concert halls it was the custom to charge for admission to the performance, and a check was given, entitling the visitor to refreshment. The Bench agreed with this view of the case, and dismissed the summons.<sup>34</sup>

Other legal opinions did not concur. Checks may have been involved when Jonathan Holt of Dukinfield, Cheshire, was convicted at Hyde of allowing gaming, for a trade newspaper commented after his licence had been suspended, 'playing for checks is playing for money or money's worth, and that, in the eye of the law, is gambling'.<sup>35</sup> Again, a subscriber to *The Justice of the Peace* asked whether, in the editors' opinion, an offence had been committed in the situation where:

A is an innkeeper, and has upon his premises a covered skittle alley where persons play skittles for checks, which represent a certain payment in beer, upon tender of which to the landlord or his agent beer is given to the holder or winner, who goes into the house to drink same; B, a police constable, ...in reply to a question from A's son learns how many checks have been won and lost.

The answer given was, 'if the playing for checks, which represent money and for which beer is given, is proved, the innkeeper will be liable...'.<sup>36</sup> Lastly, in 1873 William Patrick, licensee of the Duke of York, Brick Kiln Street, Wolverhampton, was convicted of permitting gaming after four persons had been found playing bagatelle for checks, four per game, for which a player defeated previously had paid 6d. Patrick pleaded that 'the generality of the Licensed Victuallers throughout Wolverhampton and the district continued the same practices'.<sup>37</sup>

Thus there is no doubt that checks were used in what, from 1869, was legally considered gaming.<sup>38</sup> It does not necessarily follow that this was their purpose.

### III. PUB CHECKS AS ADMISSION/REFRESHMENT TICKETS

Sometimes the pub checks themselves clearly specify the use to which they were put. This is the case with those used by the concert halls which adjoined many public houses and which would usually charge an entrance fee, in return for which the customer would be given a check or 'ticket' which could be exchanged for drink or tobacco. One example of such a 'refreshment check' is that of the Spread Eagle Concert Hall in Birmingham. The reverse legend reads TO BE SPENT THE SAME NIGHT AS RECEIVED. The advertisement proclaiming the opening of the 'New and Splendid Concert Hall' at the Spread Eagle confirms this particular usage: 'Admission by ticket only, obtainable at Entrance. The amount returned in Refreshments'.<sup>39</sup>

Concert halls varied in size: usually beginning as small rooms attached to a public house, they often grew into sizeable theatres. It seems that most of those attached to public houses were laid out with rows of tables at which the patrons sat and drank, listening to the entertainment being performed from a stage at the front. This was so at Holder's Concert Hall, Birmingham, originally the Rodney Inn, but extended and enlarged at various times in the nineteenth century, until in 1886 it was renamed the Gaiety Theatre of Varieties.<sup>40</sup> The proprietor, Henry Holder, issued many different varieties of refreshment check. A typical example reads 3D / TO BE SPENT THE SAME EVENING AS RECEIVED SUBJECT TO THE RULES OF THE CONCERT HALL.

Refreshment checks were also used in connection with a variety of other entertainments and recreation which public houses offered. (E.g. Pl.no.2) Their association with games and gaming has been considered above. The Vine Inn, Cremorne Gardens, Aston, had several checks which variously said: BOWLING GREEN 3<sup>D</sup> TO BE RETURNED IN REFRESHMENTS; DANCING ON THE GREEN EVERY EVENING ADMISSION 3<sup>D</sup> TO BE RETURNED IN REFRESHMENTS; THIS CHECK TO BE RETURNED IN REFRESHMENTS.

The use of pub checks in this way is supported by a growing amount of documentary evidence. One very early reference to their use appears in a description of the Eagle Tavern, City Road, London, in *Chambers's Edinburgh Journal* for June 1839. Here, the visitor paid one shilling admission fee and received in return a 'check or ticket' which entitled him 'at any

period of the evening's entertainments, to call for whatever refreshment he pleases to the value of one sixpence'. The admission fee for the boxes ('the usual resort of the female visitants to these entertainments') was also a shilling 'but no refreshment is here included'.<sup>41</sup>

Later, in 1854, evidence given to the Select Committee on Public Houses revealed that refreshment checks were still in use at the Eagle Tavern: 'you have to pay sixpence for a refreshment ticket; a refreshment ticket gives the privilege of taking a lady in; they wait round the door to be taken in by gentlemen'.<sup>42</sup> Later in the same report it is implied that the Eagle may have used the checks to evade Sunday Licensing regulations: 'at the Eagle Tavern a Sunday Refreshment-ticket entitles you to admission and sixpenny-worth of refreshment; if you go upon other days of the week you pay for the amusements and the refreshments also'.<sup>43</sup>

In 1862 James Day extended his Birmingham public house (originally known as the White Swan) by opening a concert hall next door, which was known as 'Day's Crystal Palace Concert Hall'. Checks were issued bearing the reverse legend 3<sup>D</sup> TO BE SPENT IN THE CONCERT HALL ONLY, THE SAME EVENING AS RECEIVED. (Pl.no.1) In 1866 the manager of the concert hall, Daniel Saunders, interviewed by the Select Committee on Theatrical Licenses and Regulations, gave details of how this check was used:

What is the average admission fee at your hall? - I do not think it would amount to more than 6d.

Will you be good enough to inform the Committee the exact prices?

- Admission, 1s. front stalls; 6d. side stalls; 6d. for the floor, with 3d. returned in refreshments; 7d. or 8d. would be the average.

Threepence is returned in refreshments on the floor?

- Yes, 3d. is returned by check.<sup>44</sup>

When the Birmingham publican James Wort, of the Old Guy, Digbeth, was accused of gaming, it was successfully argued in his defence that the checks were being used in the same way as checks at concert halls.<sup>45</sup> This is supported by John MacMillan, a token collector and small-time dealer who lived in Edgbaston, Birmingham, at the turn of the century and whose manuscript list of the items in his collection is housed in Birmingham Reference Library. MacMillan wrote that this collection contained 'several hundred of these checks and many of the places represented are now happily closed forever. At not a few of these houses, cards, dominoes and other games were permitted and when the play was over and the drink consumed had been paid for, checks were given to those who had not had returns in the way of drinks'.<sup>46</sup> In the context of concert halls and other public-house entertainment, therefore, checks seem to have been used by the licensee in order to ensure that a minimum amount of money was spent in refreshments as payment for the use of his facilities.

#### IV. PUB CHECKS AND FRIENDLY SOCIETIES

The same basic function of checks is reflected in their well-documented use by publicans in connection with the hire of rooms for the meetings of friendly societies and other organisations. The nineteenth-century friendly society was usually a society of working men concerned in particular with the provision of benefits in sickness and old age by means of regular contributions to a fund.<sup>47</sup> It also offered social activities, and frequently chose to meet in the convivial atmosphere of the local inn. The registrar of friendly societies claimed in 1859 that 'in most populous villages every public house

has one or more clubs'.<sup>48</sup> In 1876 the registrar listed 178 public houses in Birmingham which were the registered offices of friendly societies.<sup>49</sup> Of these, at least 107 are known to have issued checks.<sup>50</sup>

In some cases the checks make specific reference to the friendly societies which occupied their premises, and which were often named after the public house where they met (see Pl.no.7). Typical examples have the legends THE SPREAD EAGLE SICK AND DIVIDEND SOCIETY ACOCKS GREEN and THE HEATH S<sup>T</sup> TAVERN SICK AND DIVIDEND SOCIETY WINSON GREEN. It seems to have been common practice for a publican to demand that a certain amount of liquor be consumed by the members of the society who used his premises, rather than charge a fixed rent. One way of operating this system was for each member of the society to buy metal checks which might then be redeemed for refreshment during the evening. The system was greatly criticised since it encouraged members to waste money on drink, and was the subject of discussion in the annual reports of the registrar of friendly societies. His report of August 1860 includes a letter from someone who claimed he was refused admission to a friendly society because he was unwilling to purchase a 'liquor ticket'.<sup>51</sup>

The 1871 Report of the Royal Commission on Friendly Societies shows that the commissioners were aware of this problem and keen to investigate it. John Noden, secretary of the Salford Funeral Friendly Society, reported that it was their practice to meet in a public house and that the publican was the treasurer of the society. He did not charge rent; instead, a proportion (1s. in the £) of the funeral benefits given to members in the event of a bereavement was paid by 'liquor-cheque'. In addition, at every meeting the committee members were each given 6d. in the form of 'four cheques of 1½d. a cheque' in consideration of their attendance.<sup>52</sup>

Similarly, the secretary of the New United Friendly Burial Society, Manchester, reported that the landlord of the public house at which they met was the treasurer of the society, and that part of the benefit paid to members was by way of a 'liquor-note'. Each officer of the society received 'four cheques of 2d. each' for attending the general meetings, which took place four times a year.<sup>53</sup> At the Fidelity Sick and Burial Society which met at the Nelson Tavern, Ashton under Lyne, 'each head of a family must take a 3d. cheque at each quarterly meeting. The publican cashes them, but the member may consume what he orders at home'.<sup>54</sup>

When the Hulme Good Intent Burial Society met at the George and Dragon, Moss Lane, Manchester, every member attending received 'sixpenny worth of cheques' in order to compensate the landlord for the use of the room. It was stressed by the secretary that not all these checks were spent on drink: 'they give them liquor, cigars, vinegar or anything else. Many take it in vinegar; they do not take it in intoxicating liquors'.<sup>55</sup> Again, the publican and the treasurer of the society were the same person.

Many members objected very strongly to the use of funds in this way, and in doing so Joseph Harrison, a member of the Foresters Lodge which met at the Red Cow Inn, Horse Fair, Birmingham, gave evidence to the commission and described in some detail how checks were used:

There is an item in the balance-sheet of £18.17s.6d. paid for 'remuneration to host'? - Yes.

What does that mean? - That money is spent in drink in lieu of rent.

Have you a cheque which you can hand in to show how it is done? - Yes (handing in the same).

This is a token with a name upon it and the 'Red Cow', and the figure 2½? - Yes.

Will you explain the meaning of this token? - That is to pay 2½d. Each member as he enters the room has one of those cheques presented to him, and after a certain time, if there are not sufficient members coming in to exhaust the amount which must be spent in liquor on that particular night, the cheques go round again.

Are the members in attendance entitled to the whole of the tokens? - Yes, each member is entitled to one at least.

But if there is a deficiency in numbers, are the members who do attend entitled to the full value of the tokens presented? - I have never seen a meeting in my experience, where there were many members there, that all of them did not get one each, but very frequently they nearly go round twice, except on quarterly or general meetings.

What is the highest number of tokens which you have ever known one member get? - Two would be the highest, speaking from memory. It does not happen often that they get two each, but generally one and a portion of another, by paying something in money to get one.<sup>56</sup>

A specimen of the check mentioned is illustrated on the plate, no.8.

#### V. PUB CHECKS AND THE TRUCK SYSTEM

Despite legislation such as the 1831 Truck Act, the truck system, 'the name given to a set of closely related arrangements whereby some form of consumption is tied to the employment contract',<sup>57</sup> continued to operate throughout much of the nineteenth century. The precise nature of the system varied in different industries and in different parts of the country. The commissioners of 1871 distinguished two types of truck: that involving 'outright compulsion' to purchase goods from the company shop; and 'conditional compulsion', which involved drawing wages in advance on condition of their being spent on company goods. The former was most common in the handloom-weaving, nail-making, and other Midland hardware trades; the latter was practised mainly in ironworks and collieries.<sup>58</sup>

Not only were wages frequently paid in public houses, but large employers frequently owned public houses. When the truck commissioners investigated the Blaenavon Coal and Iron Works, Monmouthshire, they discovered that at the back of the company shop was a beershop or 'drinking bar' commonly known as the *Drum and Monkey*. Edwin Jones, a blast furnaceman at Blaenavon, reported that if the workmen wished to draw wages in advance of payday, they could do so in the form of notes exchangeable at the company shop. 'Beer notes' were also available, which were negotiable at the drinking bar. If the whole amount of the note was not spent on drink, then change was given in the shape of 'checks' or 'dibs' for sixpence and threepence, which could be used in the bar on a later occasion but which were 'of no use except there'. The 'dibs' were described as 'small brass medals', with one produced for inspection having the legend 'Blaenavon Shops (limited) near Pontypool, Mon., 6d.'<sup>59</sup> Examples of these checks (of 5d. and 6d. values) are to be found in the National Museum of Wales (Pl.nos.10,11).

When a brass founder, David Jones, was examined, he described the same system, referring to the pieces he received at the bar as 'checks': 'a piece of brass, something like a farthing'.<sup>60</sup> A draper who used to work at the company shop, Thomas Parry, stated that the checks were issued as part of a bonus system of payment:

They had them given to them by the gaffers in the works for any little extra work they did. When there was any extra work the gaffers would

give the men some of these checks to go and get some beer... If a man had a check for 6d. he would go to the shop and say, 'I want a pint of beer'. That would be 3d., and he would get a 'dib' for 3d. with which he had to come back again at some other time.<sup>61</sup>

This explanation was supported by the manager of the shop and adjoining beerhouse, Morwent Bron Parker:

They [the men] are given checks by the Company, and I give checks for the company's notes. The company sometimes have 10 or 20 or 30 men who are doing heavy jobs of extra work. They may have been working all night charging the fires in the furnaces, or any other operation where there is intense heat, and the gaffer will say, 'Now, my men, you have worked very well. We will make you a present of so many checks, and you can distribute them among yourselves'. They bring the checks to me, and I supply them with the drink.<sup>62</sup>

How extensive this usage of pub checks was is as yet unclear, though there is some evidence that it was practised elsewhere. The landlord of The Fire Engine in St George, Bristol, reported that his father (who kept the public house before him) remembered brass checks being 'given' to miners who were short of money to enable them to buy drinks, presumably on a credit basis; and that some were given checks for extra duties carried out at the pit opposite the public house.<sup>63</sup> After receiving 'an astonishingly large number of replies' to his enquiry about the use of 'inn tokens' in the *Daily Telegraph* of 13 March 1964, H.A. Monckton illustrated a check issued by the Papermakers' Arms in Exeter with the explanation that 'the employer at the local paper mill purchased these tokens from the public house and then issued them to his workpeople as a beer allowance'.<sup>64</sup>

There is clearly scope for further research on this topic, particularly in establishing more precisely the relationship between publicans and the proprietors of local industries.

## VI. CONCLUSION

Various other uses of pub checks have been put forward, Mr Gunstone having assembled a total of eight possibilities, which do not include two of those considered above.<sup>65</sup> Perhaps the best-established uses which have not been discussed are, firstly, credit notes for the consumption of beer on a future occasion, as suggested by Francis, French, MacMillan, and some documents in Section V;<sup>66</sup> and secondly, gifts to promote custom, for which the evidence, however, is late. It is reported that, prior to the flood disaster of 1952, tradesmen visiting the Lyndale Hotel, Lynmouth, were presented with checks;<sup>67</sup> and that customers at the Redditch cattle markets were given checks by the auctioneers which were honoured in the local public houses and subsequently redeemed by the firm.<sup>68</sup> In addition, there has been a convoluted argument seeking to establish pub checks as pre-paid receipts for drink in a form of internal accounting.<sup>69</sup>

If, however, we turn to the uses for which there is strong contemporary testimony, we find a common factor. In the truck system, checks were given either as bonuses, or as change for notes; in each case they could only be used for drink. For friendly societies, the purchase of checks convertible into liquor was compulsory for use of their meeting rooms, and such checks were also part of the benefits paid out in the event of a funeral. For admission to a concert or music hall, a refreshment ticket was required, to be spent the same evening as received. For use of the games facilities in

a public house, it was necessary to buy checks; they might incidentally be used for gaming, but essentially they were a charge for use of the facilities, returnable in drink. A trade paper clearly acknowledged that the purchase of checks was an alternative to a straightforward payment for the amusements, in discussing whether licensed victuallers and beersellers 'must make a specific money charge, or charge by cheque, to be returned in refreshments... The check is, indeed, simply a charge'.<sup>70</sup>

It was not, though, always a simple charge, but rather a compound one. Those who chose not to join the ladies and children in the better areas of a hall or garden had to pay the same price of admission, except that it included a compulsory payment for 'refreshment'. Similarly, the checks of the friendly societies represented not only pre-payment for the accommodation but also a compulsory purchase of liquor, in which there would be further profit for the publican. As the registrar of friendly societies pointed out, 'the landlord receives a far larger sum as profit than the most exorbitant rent would amount to'.<sup>71</sup> Those who wished to meet socially, to watch entertainers, to play games, were obliged also to take the landlord's beer. While a publican, in providing meeting rooms, instruments of amusement, concert and music halls, could hope only for increased custom for his house, by the use of checks he was able to make some charge in the case of games, and a hidden additional charge for use of the other facilities, in the form of profit on his beer. This was the purpose of pub checks.

This practice has obvious similarities with the truck system in that both placed restrictions on expenditure. Pub checks, however, were not normally tied to an employment contract, and we propose to call their use the check system. Such a concept, indeed, finds some documentary support. A Wolverhampton magistrate referred in 1873 to 'the check-scheme';<sup>72</sup> and assistant commissioner Sir George Young reported in 1874 that the Great Western Annual Benefit Society in Bristol had become a mere 'drinking club'. The members 'pay 2s. a month, and get 3d. back in beer out of that. The beer is distributed on the 'cheque' system; so it is all drunk, and all are enlisted in keeping up the system'.<sup>73</sup> Whilst it would be unwise to exaggerate its importance, we would suggest that the check system is a neglected phenomenon deserving greater attention from historians and numismatists.

#### NOTES

This paper grew out of a colloquium on pub checks which the British Numismatic Society organised in June 1982. Since the papers we delivered usefully supplemented each other, it seemed appropriate to combine them for publication. Sections I, II, and Appendix 2 are largely the responsibility of R.H.T., Sections III, IV and V that of A.J.W., and the conclusion is written jointly; each of us, however, has contributed materially to sections other than his own. We are particularly grateful for the encouragement we received from Mr.J.D.Brand.

1. Grant Francis, *Brass, copper and silver tokens current in the Swansea district between 1666 & 1813...* (Swansea, 1867), p.116; reprinted from *The Cambrian*, 15 March 1867; a section of *The smelting of copper in the Swansea district...* (Swansea, 1867).

2. Josef Neumann, *Beschreibung der bekanntesten Kupfermünzen*, IV (Prague, 1865), 333.
3. R.N.P.Hawkins, 'Dictionary of Makers of British Nineteenth-Century Metallic Tickets and Checks', *SCMB* 1960, 180-1; 1966, 197-8.
4. Neumann, 28056. There may be isolated examples with earlier dates.
5. E.J.French, 'Tavern tokens', *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, 48 (1918), 164-73.
6. Yolanda C.Stanton and Neil B.Todd, *Devon Tavern Tokens*, forthcoming. Ms Stanton generously made this information available in advance of publication.
7. *OED*, *Check*, sb.<sup>1</sup>, 14 and 14b, cited from 1812, although the comparable definition in *The Shorter Oxford English dictionary*, third edition (1944), is dated from 1706; compare *Webster's third new international dictionary of the English language*, unabridged edition (London and Springfield, Mass., 1961), <sup>2</sup>*check* n., 11a: 'a card or small metal piece showing ownership, indicating payment of a charge or fee, identifying a person, or enabling him to make certain demands or claims'.
8. *OED*, 15; *A supplement to the Oxford English dictionary*, V (Oxford, 1972).
9. Webster, 11c: 'a counter used in various games (as card games) that is often cashed or otherwise turned in on leaving a game'; John S. Salak, *Dictionary of gambling* (London, 1963): *check* is the same as *chip*, 'A token used for betting purposes in place of money'.
10. The following account is drawn from C.Ernst, 'Nekrologe: Joseph [sic] Neumann', *Numismatische Zeitschrift*, 11 (1879), 448-50; Emanuela Nohejlová-Prátová and Eduard Šimek, *Dvě století vědecké numismatiky v Českých zemích (1771-1971)*, (Prague, 1971); and Emanuela Nohejlová-Prátová, 'Zwei Jahrhunderte wissenschaftliche Numismatik in den böhmischen Ländern, 1771-1971', *Sborník Národního muzea v Praze, A: Historie*, 26 (1972), 1-87, pls. [1-8]. A portrait of Neumann may be found in *Časopis Národního muzea v Praze, řada historická*, 150 (1981), 61.
11. Dana Svobodová, 'Z dějin české numismatiky: Jindřich Otokar Miltner a začátky organizace numismatické práce', *Numismatický Sborník*, 14 (1976), 133-98.
12. The relevant section is IV (otherwise II.D), 'Zeichen': ix, 'Hotels, Gast- und Spielhäuser, Vergnügungsorte &c.', pp.333-438, nos.26610-28241.
13. Neumann's collection of 30,000 copper coins and medals was at his request incorporated in 1876 in what is now the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna; and Dr Karl Schulz of that institution kindly reports that Neumann had only 162 specimens, less than one in ten of the pieces catalogued. Freudenthal's assistance in describing his collection is acknowledged in the foreword.
14. John Walker, 'The early history of the Department of Coins and Medals', *The British Museum Quarterly*, 18 (1953), 76-80 (p.78).
15. R.N.P.Hawkins, *Four studies of British metallic tickets and commercial checks of the 19th-20th centuries* (London, 1975), pp.35-51.
16. e.g. Neumann, 27173, 27497, 27556.
17. Neumann, 27607.

18. Neumann, 26811 (concert hall), 27403 ('Vauxhall'), [27849] (pleasure gardens), and 28187 (pleasure garden).
19. Neumann, 27160.
20. Neil B.Todd, *Tavern tokens in Wales* (Cardiff; 1980), p.21, no.4, dated 1880.
21. Neumann, 26674.
22. Neumann, 26781, 27418, 27432, 28015. There would be considerably more such checks if one could be sure that (e.g.) BAGATELLE curved above the denomination and CHECK curved below it constituted a single statement.
23. Neumann, 27329.
24. Neumann, 26839; R.N.P.Hawkins, *Guide list of public houses and beer shops and their proprietors featured on metallic checks issued within 1830-1910 in Birmingham and Smethwick* (Birmingham, 1978), p.15, confirms that this was a pub.
25. Neumann, 27146.
26. Neumann, 26893-4.
27. Neumann, 26774; Neumann, 26930, with confirmation from Hawkins, *Guide list* (note 24), p.51; Andrew J.Wager, 'How were nineteenth-century "pub checks" used?', *SCMB* 1981, 317-20 (p.318).
28. Francis, p.116. Attention was drawn to this by R.H.Thompson, 'A contemporary account of tavern tokens', *Irish Numismatics*, 11 (1978), 293.
29. H.S.Gill, 'On Devonshire tokens, Part II', *Report and Transactions of the Devonshire Association...*, 6 (1873), 159-72 (p.168). This reference was kindly pointed out by Ms Yolanda Stanton.
30. D.T.Batty, *Batty's catalogue of the copper coinage of Great Britain, Ireland...&c.*, Part XIII (Manchester, 1877), 310.
31. French, p.165.
32. Todd, pp.235-36.
33. *The Bar Reports*, 9 [= *The Law Times Reports*, new series, 20] (March-Aug.1869), 483-84; *The Justice of the Peace*, 33 (1869), 612-13.
34. 'Is it legal to play for cheques at bagatelle?', *Licensed Victuallers' Guardian*, 17 Sept.1870, p.316, quoting their report of November 1869.
35. 'Annual licensing meeting for the Division of Hyde, Cheshire', *Licensed Victuallers' Guardian*, 3 Sept.1870, p.298. Mr Philip Mernick found this and the previous reference at the Newspaper Library, Colindale, and kindly made them available.
36. 'Alehouses: offence against license: gaming', *The Justice of the Peace*, 35 (1871), 253. Four years earlier a subscriber had described the use of marked 'bits of cards' in a skittle alley as 'tickets or checks' for the winning of ale: 31 (1867), 827.
37. Wager, pp.318-19.
38. In 1849, when a correspondent outlined the case of two teams playing each other at bagatelle for quarts or pints of ale, and asked whether playing for money's worth was not equally gaming, the reply was 'we are not aware of any case which has been decided on this point'. 'Alehouses: gaming: bagatelle', *The Justice of the Peace*, 13 (1849), 543.

39. Undated press cutting in John MacMillan, 'Description of checks issued by Birmingham Concert Halls, Public Gardens, Public Houses, Bowling Greens etc., with newspaper cuttings on drink, taverns and the like, collected by John MacMillan c.1850-1920' (Manuscript in Birmingham Reference Library, ref.302179), p.62.
40. Hawkins, *Guide list*, p.59.
41. Quoted in Raymond Mander and Joe Mitchenson, *British music hall*, revised edition (London, 1974), pp.13-15.
42. Select Committee on *Public Houses* (Parl. Papers, 1854 (367) XIV), Q.4768.
43. Parl. Papers, 1854 (367) XIV, Q.4800.
44. Select Committee on *Theatrical Licenses and Regulations* (Parl. Papers, 1866 (373) XVI), QQ.7433-7435.
45. See above at note 34.
46. Newspaper cutting dated 12/5/1912, in MacMillan, p.118. John MacMillan's portrait can be found among those of 'Contemporary Collectors' in W.J.Davis, *The Nineteenth Century Token Coinage* (London and New York, 1904), frontispiece.
47. P.H.J.H.Gosden, *The Friendly Societies in England, 1815-1875* (Manchester, 1961), and *Self-help: Voluntary Associations in Nineteenth Century Britain* (London, 1973).
48. *Fourth Annual Report of the Registrar of Friendly Societies in England* (1859), p.17.
49. *Appendix to Reports of the Chief Registrar of Friendly Societies* (1876), pp.446-59.
50. Based on those checks listed in Hawkins, *Guide list*. Numerous additional specimens have been reported since the publication of the list, so this figure could be much higher.
51. *Report of the Registrar of Friendly Societies in England* (1860), pp.35-36.
52. Royal Commission on *Friendly and Benefit Building Societies, Second Report, Part II* (Parl. Papers, 1872 (C.514-1) XXVI), QQ.17,769-17,780.
53. Parl. Papers, 1872 (C.514-1) XXVI, QQ.18,031-18,050.
54. Royal Commission on *Friendly and Benefit Building Societies, Reports of the Assistant Commissioners: Cheshire...[etc.]* (Parl. Papers, 1874 (C.996) XXIII Part 11), p.87.
55. Parl. Papers, 1872 (C.514-1) XXVI, QQ.18,105-18,110.
56. Parl. Papers, 1872 (C.514-1) XXVI, QQ.18,664-18,682.
57. G.W.Hilton, *The Truck System* (Cambridge, 1960), p.1.
58. Hilton, p.10.
59. *Report of the Commissioners appointed to inquire into the Truck System, Vol.II* (Parl. Papers, 1871 (C.327) XXXVI), QQ.21,833-21,859.
60. Parl. Papers, 1871 (C.327) XXXVI, QQ.21,945-21,947.
61. Parl. Papers, 1871 (C.327) XXXVI, QQ.22,198-22,202.
62. Parl. Papers, 1871 (C.327) XXXVI, QQ.28,479-28,481.

63. John Durnell, Bristol, personal communication to A.J.W., 11 July 1982.
64. H.A.Monckton, *A history of English ale and beer* (London etc., 1966), p.227.
65. Antony Gunstone, *Nineteenth-century Lincolnshire beer tickets*, Lincolnshire Museums, Information sheet, numismatic series, no.1 (Lincoln, 1979); see also Wager.
66. Above at notes 28, 31, 46, 59, 61. To the extent that this may be considered a separate usage, however, it was very much a subsidiary one; and it was really no more than an extension outside the premises of the normal use of checks.
67. Monckton, p.227.
68. John Whitmore, Hagley, personal communication to A.J.W., 13 July 1982.
69. Neil B.Todd, 'What is a tavern token?', *British & Irish Tokens Journal*, 1 (1980), 32-39.
70. Above, note 34.
71. *Fourth Annual Report of the Registrar of Friendly Societies*, pp.17-18.
72. Wager, p.319.
73. Royal Commission on *Friendly and Benefit Building Societies, Reports of the Assistant Commissioners: Southern and Eastern Counties of England* (Parl. Papers, 1874 (C.997) XXIII Part II), p.63.

## APPENDIX 1

Numismatic nomenclature used by Birmingham makers for the discs they produced: a chronological list of quotations from their entries and advertisements in directories, and on dies

by R.N.P.Hawkins

- 1847 Samuel Hiron: 'Check / 2 / pence', and likewise for 2½d. and 3d., on stock reverse dies for public-house discs
- c.1847 Samuel Hiron: 'coins, tokens, checks, & presses' on his Dudley self-advertising disc
- 1850-1 T.Pope & Co.: 'Check / 3<sup>D</sup>' similarly
- 1850-2 Ryland & Johnson: 'Check / 2½<sup>D</sup>' similarly
- 1853 Edward Avern: 'coins, checks, and embossing presses'
- c.1856 Henry Smith: 'Check / 4<sup>D</sup> / fourpence' on a public-house disc
- 1856-8 H.Whitlock: 'Engraver, letter cutter, & check maker' on a public-house disc
- 1857 H.T.Bagshaw: 'maker of brass labels, tokens, checks, &c.'
- 1858/9 James White Senr.: 'Check / 1½<sup>D</sup>' on a public-house disc
- 1860 Edwin Cottrill: 'medals, coins, checks'
- 1860 Henry Smith (again): 'metallic address cards, tokens, checks'

- 1860 T.Pope & Co. (again): 'coins, medals, school tokens, checks for workmen's time, innkeepers' and publicans' checks'
- 1860 J.W.Lewis: 'medals, tokens, cheques' (but none have been identified)
- 1862 S.A.Daniell: 'metal labels, checks, and medals'
- 1866 J.Gretton: 'labels, checks, tokens, &c.'
- [1866] J.Bird: '1½<sup>D</sup> bagatelle check'
- c.1868 John Neal: 'checks, labels, &c.' on a pleasure-gardens disc ('tokens, labels, &c.' in directories)
- 1872 A.H.Alldrige: 'coin & check works'
- c.1880 J.Pittaway: 'check maker' on his sole known disc (for a fish salesman)
- 1887 Walter Middleton: 'metallic checks for publicans, hotels, theatre, and music hall proprietors'
- 1894 William York: 'brass checks for hotel proprietors, clubs, societies, &c.'
- 1900-3 G.A.Willson: 'metallic checks'

The list shows complete uniformity in use of the term *check* by nineteen makers. There were no dissentients: the rest of the makers used no term at all, they simply signed as 'maker' or not even that.

## APPENDIX 2

Pub checks listed by Neumann which refer to anything other than alcoholic beverages and tobacco

References added in brackets to the Neumann number provide evidence that the issuing establishment was a pub, 'Hawkins' being the work cited in note 24, and 'Todd' that in note 20.

### (a) Games

Mute representations are placed in square brackets.

Bagatelle: 26811 (Hawkins, p.45), 26839 (Hawkins, p.15), 26840, 26917, 27089, 27146, 27160, 27183, 27295 (Todd, p.55), 27297 (Todd, p.50), 27312 (Club), 27315, 27329, 27607, 27656, 27670, 27861, [27866], 28120, 28163, [28166], 28168, 28192.

Bagatelle-table manufacturers, listed in accordance with Hawkins (see note 15).

B (Twist, 26 mm): 26768, 26776, 26852, 26865, 26952, 27060, 27072, 27120, 27324, 27357, 27367, 27455, 27614, 27722, 27844, 28038, 28220.

C (Twist & Morris, 26 mm): 26618, 26640, 26644-5, 26777, 26803, 26979, 27321, 27325, 27409, 27437, 27441, 27458, 27467, 27472, 27481, 27497, 27535, 27645, 27834, 27886, 27961, 27970-1, 27983, 28039; (also 27835, listed under Combinations).

D (Morris): 26615, 26671, 27173, 27185, 27322, 27537, 27634, 27681, 27705, 27785, 27803 (also Posting House), 27812, 27847, 27855, 27972, 27976, 27982, 28084; (also 28187, listed under Combinations).

- E (Twist, 28 mm): 27165, 27171, 27556, 27566, 27715, 27833, 27944, 27951, 27973, 27987.
- F (Twist & Morris, 32 mm): 26619, 26799, 27480, 27990 (also Private Sitting Rooms).
- G (Beddows): 26842, 27210, 27225, 27500, 27530, 27984.
- (T.Harris, Birmingham): 27317.
- (G.Green, Leeds): 27682.
- Bowling: 26621, 26659, 26665, 26677, 26728, 26765, 26770, 26893-4, 26997, 27018, 27244-6, 27266, 27281, 27286, 27288, 27291, 27300, 27302, 27402-4, 27416, 27435-6 (also Society Hall), 27457, 27488, 27534, 27699, 27709, 27711, 27760, 27769, 27829, 27832 (cf. 27835), 28009, 29020-1, 28059, 28061, 28140, 28145, 28149-50 (Todd, p.106), 28161-2, 28164.
- Skittles: 26612, 26741, 26763, 26781, 27298-9, 27418, 27431-2, 27698, 27768 (Todd, p.186), [27849], 27872, 27985, 28015, 28186.
- Billiards: [26624], 26882, 27602, [27684].
- Knock-'em-Down: 26674, 26774, 26930 (Hawkins, p.51).
- Quoits: 27311 (Club), 27986.
- Lobbing: 27069 (Hawkins, pp.31, 62).
- Racquets: [27170].
- 'Recreative': 27824.
- Combinations of games: 26616-7 (Billiards, bagatelle), 26812 or '3 (Quoits, bowling, also Good stabling), 26994 (Quoits, bowling, also Good stabling), 27010 (Bagatelle, skittles, quoits), 27030 (Bowling, lobbing), 27287 (Bagatelle, bowling), 27349 (Quoits, bowling, also Good stabling), 27419 (Skittles, bowling), 27433 (Skittles, shooting), 27496 (Bagatelle, bowling), 27631 (Bagatelle, billiards), 27691 (Bowling, shooting, bagatelle), 27764 (Skittles, bagatelle), 27835 (Bowling, bagatelle), 27842 (Bagatelle, bowling), 28003-4 (Bowling, quoits), 28060 (Quoits, bowling, also Good stabling), 28187 (Bowling, bagatelle, also Pleasure garden).
- (b) Other Entertainments*
- Concerts: 26809-10, 26832, 26889-92, 26896 (Hawkins, p.59), 26904-5, 27088, 27095, 27180, 27187 (also Museum), 27189, 27200-3, 27279, 27362, 27541, 27770, 27776, 27853 (Todd, p.121), 28077, 28179.
- Gardens: 26732-4 (Hawkins, pp.48, 62), 26854 (also Camera Obscura), 27151 (Hawkins, p.62), 27396-7, 27447, 27762, 27836, 28177.
- Music Saloon: 27700-4.
- Harmonic Hall: 27174, 27412.
- Music Hall: 27363, 27893.
- Gallery: 26620.
- Museum: 26627.
- (c) Meeting Rooms*
- £50 investment (& loan) society: 27326, 28031.
- £25 money society: 27333.
- Building society: 27657.

Birth Night society: 28013, 28111.

Burial society: 27637.

Cricket club: 26648.

Loyal Wilson Lodge: 27504.

(d) *Other Facilities*

Well-aired beds, also Baths: 26792, 26945, 26965, 27026, 27098, 27979.

B[ed &] B[reakfast]: 26628, 26793.

Stables, Horses for hire, etc.: 27285, 27892, 27975.

Ordinary: 26753, 26769.

Auctioneer: 27047.

Wholesale coal dealer: 26814.

Tariff Omnibus: 27094.

Refreshment tickets: 27036, 27591, 27605, 27613, 27649-51, 27839.

KEY TO PLATE

1. Crystal Palace Concert Hall, 76 Smallbrook Street and 1 Hurst Street, Birmingham: James Day, 1862-76: 3d. British Museum, Department of British and Mediaeval Antiquities, *Catalogue of the Montague Guest collection of badges, tokens and passes...* (London 1930), 514; Hawkins, *Guide list*, 25.
2. Bee Hive Inn, 44 Bull Street, Birmingham: James Alexander Reynolds, 1854: 3d. Neumann 27036; Hawkins, *Guide list*, 14.
3. General Havelock Inn, 18 Aston Road North, Birmingham: Thomas Godwin, 1866-82: 1½d. bagatelle check; maker, J. Bird, 1861-73. Hawkins, 'Dictionary', *SCMB* (1971), 289.
4. Swan Inn, Good Knaves' End, Harborne Road, Birmingham: William Chapman, 1857-77: 3d. bagatelle check; maker, T. Pope. Batty (1876) 2300H; Hawkins, *Guide list*, 69.
5. Country House Inn, Exeter: Henry L. Elworthy: 1½d., representing a game of billiards or bagatelle.
6. Britannia Inn, Castle Cary: Jno. Speed Andrews: 1½d., possibly representing 'knock-'em-down'.
7. Cock & Magpies Sick and Dividend Society, Beech Lanes, Harborne, Birmingham: 3d. (obv. only).
8. Red Cow Inn, 23 & 24 Horse Fair, Birmingham: Samuel Jerome, 1866-75: 2½d. Batty 4306C, if 'anchor' is an error for 'archer'; Hawkins, *Guide list*, 57. See Section IV above; the reverse presumably refers to the Foresters Lodge.
9. Red Cow Inn, 23 & 24 Horse Fair, Birmingham: John Lloyd, 1909-: 3d. Hawkins, *Guide list*, 57.
- 10-11. Blaenavon Shops Limited, near Pontypool, Mon.: 5d. and 6d. See Section V above.

Source of specimens: 4, Mr H.Williamson, Birmingham; 10-11, Department of Archaeology & Numismatics, National Museum of Wales, Cardiff; the remainder, A.J.Wager.

Mr J.D.Cumbers kindly photographed nos.1-9, and Ms Y.Stanton nos.10-11.

