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Front cover: Dump reverse showing traces of original coin, milled edge and
Henshall's H in the centre; see p.23.

Contents

Lane, Peter & Peter Fleig	William Henshall: Maker of Holey Dollars and Dumps	1
Hanley, Tom	Sir William Dixson, Benefactor	31
Burnett, Andrew	Some Interesting Coins at ACANS	41
Sheedy, Kenneth	New Acquisitions at ACANS 2000-2004	45
Reynolds, Barrie	Walter Roth and the Missing Manuscript	52
Lane, Peter	Silver Ray Jewell Award for Services to the NAA	65
	NAA Inaugural Conference	66

William Henshall: Maker of NSW Holey Dollars and Dumps

Peter Lane and Peter Fleig

William Henshall had a very full life. He was a plater and a cutler by trade and a forger by activity; as a consequence of this activity he was arrested, tried and convicted. He betrayed his accomplices, turned informant for the authorities and even became an adviser on criminal matters to the Bank of England (Figure 1). He was sentenced to transportation to New South Wales where he became a legitimate maker of coins—the first coins minted in the colony. He married twice, had seven children in England by his first wife, remarried in Sydney and later returned to his country of birth. Such, in brief, was the life of William Henshall, a life that lasted over forty-seven years.

Introduction

William Henshall was born in 1770, the son of William and Susan Henshall of Warwick. William (the son) had at least one brother, John, who also became involved in illegal activities. Both brothers pursued careers in the metal-working trades as platers and cutlers, giving them the necessary skills for their later involvement in the forging of currency.

Metal-working was at that time new to the traditionally rural midlands of England. This region—around Birmingham and

Manchester—became the centre of the industrial revolution in the late eighteenth century and consequently, small towns grew into larger cities whose buildings were dominated by ‘manufactories’. In this new age of industrialisation, wages were inadequate, working hours often intolerable and conditions de-humanising (the establishment of trade unions was still a long way off). As a result of such harsh living conditions the level of crime in these industrial centres rose. In such an environment the Henshall brothers were tempted by easier money and decided a life of crime would help them avoid a life of drudgery.

At the age of twenty-three William Henshall married Nancy Hill. By the time Henshall was tried twelve years later, in 1805, they had had seven children (the oldest only 11 years). Children in those days are known to have been active members of crime networks but Henshall’s children were apparently not involved in his criminal activities. His wife, Nancy, may have helped him before his arrest but probably more in her role as a supportive wife. Neither she nor the children were charged along with Henshall.

During the reign of George III the forging of coins and banknotes was



Figure 1. The Bank of England building in Threadneedle Street, London, around the time of William Henshall's trial.
(Courtesy, Bank of England)

widespread, no doubt because of the growth in specialist trained metal workers, as well as ready access to machinery and tools now available. Of all the currency denominations circulating at the time, Henshall chose to forge the newly introduced and largely unfamiliar 1804 silver Bank of England five shillings or dollar coin. To him the dollar lent itself to forging, probably as it was the largest of the silver coins and provided a sufficiently high return for the labour and cost involved (Figure 2).

Henshall was able to produce relatively high quality 'coins' because he struck them from dies which he manufactured himself. In comparison, the more common practice of casting forged coins resulted in a cruder product. But in place of the silver of the genuine coins he used rolled-plated base metal made in his workshop.

In 1805 Henshall was apprehended and convicted of forging Bank of England silver dollars. He was given a seven-year sentence of 'transportation beyond the seas' to New South Wales.¹ He offered to tell the authorities all he knew about the forging trade and its distribution network in the hope of gaining a reprieve and, when that was refused, sought permission for his family to accompany him to the penal colony of NSW. Not only did he surrender his workshop machinery and tools of trade and help inform on a vast network of banknote and coin forgers and traffickers, he even recommended how the authorities could guard against future counterfeiting. He thus became one of England's most obliging informants of the period. In spite of every effort on his part, the authorities were not prepared to allow four of his children to sail with him and in the end Henshall was shipped without his family.



Figures 2. Obverse and reverse of a forged 1804 Bank of England dollar, showing the plating beginning to lift and wear away on the raised parts of the design. (Private collection)

He arrived in Sydney in 1806 to serve out his sentence.

By 1813, a year after Henshall had gained his liberty, Governor Lachlan Macquarie was already taking steps to produce a local currency. Macquarie intended to make use of the existing Spanish eight-real coin to create the 'holey dollar' and the 'dump', thereby turning one coin into two. The minting was to be done locally in Sydney. Of all the craftsmen in the colony it was the forger, Henshall, who was chosen to produce the proposed coins.

The Henshall dossier

Up to now the only information we have had about William Henshall prior to his transportation to Australia was that he was a convicted forger of Bank of England dollars. Unknown to numismatists and historians, an extensive dossier on William Henshall, around the time of his trial, lay tucked away in the Bank of England archives.

The authors were fortunate in being able to obtain photocopies of all the papers in this dossier, which turned out to be extensive, comprising over one hundred hand-written letters and notes, many in semi-literate hand often difficult to decipher. Because of this, many months were needed to transcribe the documents into a typed and readable format.

The dossier covers the period from around the time of Henshall's arrest up to the time just prior to his embarkation for NSW. It contains correspondence between the bank officials in London, their solicitor in Birmingham, the Secretary of State, the Warwick gaoler and Henshall and his associates.

The dossier provides us with a fairly complete picture of Henshall's criminal life in England and his troubled relationship with the authorities there, as well as the extensive forging activities going on at the time. A contemporary newspaper account also helps to fill in some details. The Australian

part of the Henshall story is sourced from contemporary colonial records held in NSW.

The end of Henshall's forging career

According to the dossier, Henshall was under police surveillance three months before he came to trial. In December 1804, the solicitor, William Spurrier, wrote to the Bank of England advising that Henshall was being closely watched. Apparently he was not yet under suspicion for coin forging but for illicit liquor trading. Every gallon of liquor passing through his hands was being secretly and meticulously recorded. Spurrier was able to intercept correspondence between Henshall and three other merchants, one of whom complains in one of the letters that 'Henshall was not a man of his word'. Apparently he had broken a sole-distributorship contract by supplying '...Tankards Pints &c &c...' to another merchant. From the contents of all these letters Spurrier and the police were able to ascertain that 'Henshall [was] carrying on a most extensive trade.' Also on the basis of these letters Henshall's home was searched in a raid beginning at 11pm on 30 December and lasting until 1.30am the next day. Spurrier seemed to be obsessed with getting a conviction against Henshall; he personally attended the midnight raid and fully expected to find incriminating evidence. But Spurrier reports that '...nothing [was] found...and I begin to despair of ever detecting him.' Spurrier did, however, find some partially completed dollar pieces which he describes

as '...2 Dollars ready for stamping...in different stages of manufacture.'²

Why did Spurrier say that he found 'nothing'? Spurrier may have decided that these metal discs would not help him gain the conviction for illegal liquor trading against Henshall that he was after. He had recognised the round pieces of metal as dollars and realised that they were ready for stamping into coins. But he may also have concluded that without any image stamped on them—even though they had already been plated—these blank pieces of metal would not be sufficient evidence to gain a conviction of forging, and consequently reported them as 'nothing'.

The fact that Henshall was trading in drinking vessels for the hotel trade suggests that he may have been carrying on legitimate metal-work production and even using such business as a front for his forging activities. The hotels Henshall had connections with would have provided him with ideal outlets for passing forgeries.

The Bank of England obviously did not consider the metal discs as nothing. In response to Spurrier's report the bank immediately took steps to infiltrate, with an undercover agent, what was suspected of being an extensive forging ring. This agent was a Birmingham constable, William Payn, who managed to gain the confidence of Henshall as well as the two brothers, Thomas and Richard Clarkson, and handed over a £20 deposit in order to take possession of some forged Bank of

England bank-note plates. The bank needed these plates as crucial evidence if it were to succeed with a conviction against the forging ring.

Payn regularly kept his superiors informed of his progress and, as a result, Henshall's premises were raided on 31 January 1805, by a party led by the bank's agent, William Stanton. Just before this raid, Payn had arranged to collect the bank-note plates from Henshall and the Clarksons and it was on the basis of seizing these plates in their possession that the raid was organised. But the plates were not found during the raid. The authorities had apparently been unaware that the plates had in fact been made by a George Smith, a Birmingham bank-note forger, who still had them in his possession (Henshall and the Clarkson brothers were later to come forward with these plates after the trial). During the raid Stanton did manage to find coin dies and forging equipment as well as forged coins and forged bank notes, sufficiently incriminating evidence to arrest and later successfully convict Henshall and the Clarkson brothers, as well as their assistant Thomas Ashford.

The fact that the raiding party was this time focused on finding evidence of forging does not adequately explain the success of the January raid. Henshall would not have left so many incriminating articles lying around his workshop within a month of the December raid, knowing that the authorities were after him. Very likely the real reason for the success of the January raid had to do with finding Henshall's

secret hiding places. From the dossier, we know that it was common practice for forgers to secrete their equipment when not in use—this is revealed later in this article. The records do not mention any secret hiding places at Henshall's premises, but the undercover agent may somehow have learnt of these and this would have resulted in the raiding party finding the equipment in January.

As a result of this arrest, the trio—Henshall and his partners-in-crime Thomas and Richard Clarkson—was tried and convicted on 26 March 1805, at the Warwick Assizes. Henshall was found guilty of forging and being in possession of counterfeit Bank of England dollar coins, and both the Clarkson brothers of 'possession without lawful excuse' of a forged one pound Bank of England note³ (Figure 3). Thomas Ashford, who worked for Henshall as well as the Clarksons as a coiner, was also tried and convicted the same day. The Clarksons were each sentenced to fourteen years transportation; Henshall and Ashford received seven years each.⁴

So far, the bank had expended a substantial sum of money. Apart from having paid the deposit for the plates, the bank was also responsible for paying witness fees. In the end it paid out £205 in costs to bring Henshall, Ashford and the two Clarkson brothers to trial.⁵ The bank naturally felt obligated to try and recover all expenses incurred in gaining the convictions and intended to do this by selling off the tools and equipment used as court evidence and evidently also the material



Figures 3. Obverse and reverse of an 1826 forged Bank of England one-pound note, over stamped 'Forged'. Although later than the Henshall trial period it is similar in design. Some handwritten names and figures have been added on the reverse. (Private collection)

and workshop machinery used by Henshall in his legitimate metal-working trade.

Payn was later authorised to take physical possession of these items. He also saw to the defacing of the dies to avoid their further, fraudulent use, and organised the sale of all confiscated items by auction. The auction was conducted by Thomas Warren & Son and the proceeds of the sale of these items realised £44/5/2 (Figure 4; Appendix I).

The sentence

When the sentence was pronounced: 'transportation beyond the seas', the felons were confronted by the probability that they might never see their families again. Transportation was effectively a life sentence of separation from loved ones. After serving out their sentences, emancipated convicts were rarely able to raise the capital needed for a return voyage to England. And without the support of their wage-earners, the trio's wives and children would inevitably experience extreme hardship.

Shortly after the trial the three prisoners discussed their problems with their gaoler, H. Tatnall, whom they evidently trusted. The hardship their families would undoubtedly now suffer was uppermost in their minds. Tatnall recommended they submit a petition to the bank and may have helped them write it. Part of the petition reads:

That your Petitioners were they at liberty could render the most important services to the Bank...in the hope...that mercy is not yet beyond their reach. Your Petitioners

most humbly pray that you would in tender regard to the wives and children ...grant their liberty...

The petition summarises the crimes for which they had been convicted and that 'they have offended against the interests of the Bank', makes mention of wives and number of children and, on the basis of mercy to keep their family units together, asks for full pardons. In return for full pardons the prisoners promise not only to do everything in their power to help the bank but with 'their own future conduct ...attone [sic] to God and man'⁶ (Figure 5).

The gaoling of the trio was, to the bank, a significant step in disrupting the forging network that operated in Birmingham and surrounding areas. But even with Henshall and his partners out of the way, the forging activities would continue because the infrastructure involved was so deeply entrenched. The Henshall dossier does not indicate what the bank's response to this petition was but we can assume that this plea by the felons for a full pardon was not accepted. The decision to grant a full pardon was, in fact, outside the bank's hands. But the bank needed the inside information offered by the prisoners; it was in the bank's interest to follow up on the offer made in the petition. Both Payn and Spurrier, acting as agents for the bank, continued to be in direct communication with the three.

Payn and the gaoler encouraged the prisoners to outline in greater detail what they knew about the forging activities in Birmingham and beyond. Realising that a full pardon was out of the question, the

Account of the Sale of Shop Tools &c belonging to M^r William Henshall of Birmingham, Aug^t 9th 1805 by
Thos. Warren Esq

Quantity of dies & cutting out Tools defaced.	11	9	3
14 1/2 lbs rolled plated metal	2	5	11
Pair rolls, 10 head &c	7	5	"
Wrought iron 2 sided cutting out Press	7	12	6
Cast iron	5	12	6
Large	21	"	"
			<u>£ 44. 5. 2</u>
Debit			
To paid for Carriage, Wharfage &c	5	4	5
" paid for cleaning Tools	12	10	
" Commission for selling at 10 p cent	4	8	6
Advertising, Catalogues &c all other Expenses included	2	4	3
" King's Duty at 5 p cent	2	4	3
" Cash advanced to Mr	21	"	"
Payn			
" Balance paid to Mr Payn	10	15	2
			<u>£ 44. 5. 2</u>

Figure 4. The auctioneer's 'Account of the Sale of Shop Tools &c belonging to M^r William Henshall'. The first four entries show that Henshall made his own dies, rolled-plated his own sheet metal, used a ten head pair of rolls and two-sided cutting-out presses. The sheet metal, metalwork tools and machinery would have been part of Henshall's legitimate trade. The last two debits are evidently to Constable Payn acting on behalf of the bank. (see Appendix I)

To the Governor and Company of the Bank of England.
 The Humble Petition of William Henshall Prisoner, Richard
 Clarkson, Slave, and Thomas Clarkson Farmer humbly

Sheweth,

That your Petitioners were all convicted at the last
 March Warwick Assizes of Offences against the Bank of England, viz. Your Peti-
 tioner W. Henshall of feloniously counterfeiting the five shilling Dollars of the
 Bank of England, Your Petitioner Ric. Clarkson of having feloniously in his Pos-
 session without lawful Cause, a forged one Pound Note resembling a one Pound No-
 te of England Note, and Your Petitioner Thomas Clarkson of having likewise
 feloniously in his Possession without lawful Cause forged Banks of England Notes.
 That your Petitioners Ric. Clarkson and Tho. Clarkson were severally convicted on
 their own Confession. That your Petitioner W. Henshall has a Wife and seven
 Children the eldest of which is only seven years old, Your Petitioner Ric. Clarkson
 a Wife and one Child, & Your Petitioner Tho. Clarkson a Wife & 3 Children.

That your Petitioners are fully sensible of the Justice of their Sentence and their former
 Misconducts, and in proportion as they have Repented against the Interests of
 the Bank before, so shall their future Life & Conduct be devoted to its Service should
 the Prayer of this their Petition be granted. That your Petitioners even they
 at Liberty could render the most important services to the Bank and not feeling
 no Thing or Industry should be wanted to do it, besides which their former
 Conduct should atone to God and Man for Crimes, and Offences they have
 formerly committed against each In the hope therefore that Mercy is not yet
 beyond their Reach. Your Petitioners most humbly pray that you
 would in tender regard to the Wives & Children of your Petitioners if out
 out of Compassion for your Petitioners themselves, if you will be pleased
 to grant their Liberty, and your Petitioners will faithfully & sincerely
 adhere to their Promises and ever pray &c.

We are Honourable Gentlemen
 Your Humble Petitioners
 William Henshall
 Richard Clarkson
 & Thomas Clarkson

Figure 5. This is the trio's first petition to the Bank of England submitted early April 1805. In this petition the prisoners ask for a full pardon in exchange for their total co-operation.

prisoners followed up their initial petition with another letter sometime early April, requesting free passage to NSW for their wives and children, to enable the families to be together there; in exchange, offering information and full assistance to the bank, but now, in greater detail. In their letter they ask the bank:

to grant to us the favour of indulging our wives and families to go with us void of expense to ourselves. That is to say Ricd Clarkson's wife and one small child, Thos Clarkson's wife and 3 small children and Wm Henshalls wife and 7 small children and let us go by the first conveyance providing the bank will ...undertake our requests as aforesaid we will be the mains of the bringing such things forward as will no doubt save the Bank some thousands of pounds...[and] put a stop to the traffic throughout the country.⁷

The bank was not prepared to make any concessions without full recompense. It wanted to be certain that information on those involved in the forging and trafficking of coins and bank notes would lead to a total clean-up of the entire operation, otherwise the plates and equipment confiscated would soon be replaced by other forgers. The prisoners would need to help procure the note-forging plates and all other forging equipment as well as providing a full disclosure of the forging network:

If you fairly give up all your plates & implements in your power for forging of coins, and make a fair disclosure of each thing you know we will recommend it to

the Director of the Bank to apply to the Sec. of State to permit your Wives and Families to accompany you to Botany Bay. You must however be assured that nothing less than a full & honest disclosure will entitle you to any favour.

The prisoners now had some assurance that the bank was prepared to do all in its power to allow the families to be together in New South Wales. The bank was so anxious to have this forging ring destroyed that it also promised immunity to those criminals who would turn King's evidence:

Any of your connections who may bring forward your plates or give information will not be prosecuted for those actions.⁸

The directors of the bank were willing to allow the wives and children to accompany the convicts to Botany Bay but needed official approval. They submitted a recommendation on behalf of the prisoners to Lord Hawkesbury, Secretary of State, who advised that the prisoners forward their own submission directly to his office. This would provide the State office with the prisoners' request as well as a supporting recommendation from the bank.

The submission subsequently forwarded to the State office was in fact signed by the trio and five other prisoners who apparently were also willing to offer up information on the forging activities. Of the five extra signatories only one had a wife but no children while the remainder had no families at all. So, having their families accompany them was not an issue. Perhaps the reason for these five wanting to sail on the same ship was to avoid possible revenge

from other criminals. After all, they were about to help bring down an extensive forging network. The documents do not clarify the fate of these other five prisoners.

On the 23 April 1805, Lord Hawkesbury agreed to the request of allowing wives and children to accompany the trio to 'New South Wales by the ship which is now fitted for that service'. But it turned out that this ship was for female convicts only and therefore the families could not sail together. The prisoners would need to sail separately in another ship, 'the first vessel which is employed for the conveyance of Male Convicts.'⁹

Preventing forgeries

The prisoners not only revealed the whereabouts of the forgers and traffickers known to them and advised the authorities on the devious methods necessary to catch them, but also gave advice on how bank notes were being forged and made recommendations on how to reduce the counterfeiting of notes and coins.

The prisoners explained that the forging of bank notes was a fairly straightforward process. The forger merely needed to 'score over with Black lead pencil Brittanica'¹⁰ to make a tracing from a new genuine bank note and from this tracing eventually print a forged note. The watermark was impressed into the paper with the aid of specially prepared steel moulds. The forger would have had all the other necessary materials readily available from the various existing trade workshops. The prisoners recommended that the bank cease using 'fine woven Bank post paper

and fine lined Bank post paper', and use a special security paper whose availability be restricted for use only by the bank-note manufacturers.

With regard to coins, Henshall advocated that these be made like the cartwheel coinage. His argument was that the cartwheels required a much more complicated manufacturing process than did the other circulating coins. The difficulty for the forger would be created by an indented centre field and a broad, raised rim with sunken lettering. Presumably Henshall was here identifying a metal-flow problem which would become crucial to the forger using a smaller and easily concealed back-yard press. A further problem for the forger would be created by an edge with incuse (sunken) lettering which would require a sectioned collar which in turn would need to be held by a second collar. This would help to make coin forging a less viable proposition in terms of work-load, cost and risk of discovery if the use of larger machinery became necessary.

The forging network

Henshall and the Clarksons began by focusing on the bank-note plates which had eluded the authorities on their recent raid on Henshall's premises. These plates needed to be retrieved from Benjamin Patrick of Phillip's Salutation Public House in Snow Hill. Various people had, in fact, been involved in the plate making process—those who engraved them, those who 'worked' them and finally those who 'filled up' the plates. Benjamin Patrick had engraved the £1 and £5 plates, Washington Patrick the £1, £2 and £10 plates and a

Mattox of Livery Street the £2 and £5 plates. Those who worked the plates were recorded in pairs and included Richard Clarkson and William Henshall, Washington Patrick and Joseph Topsall, and Mattox. Finally the documents record those who filled up the plates: George Smith, Washington Patrick (again), Mattox (again) and a man called Low. All these names show us that the forging of bank notes was a complex process involving a fairly extensive collection of people who co-ordinated in small groups.

According to a document dated 1 May 1805, Henshall and the Clarkson brothers revealed an astounding knowledge of forgers and traffickers and their haunts. They disclosed intimate details of the various individuals involved in the forging process as well as those people active in passing the forgeries. They knew precisely where the various forgers kept their tools and equipment hidden and the complex process often involved in gaining access to these carefully concealed places. In the coin stamping shop for example, coin dies were hidden on the farthest beam in the ceiling and other equipment was kept buried under the stove and under the shop hearth.

The premises of a Morton could only be accessed by the authorities via a 'shop ladder on the right hand side of the back door that leads to all parts of the house'. All other doors they would find locked. At these premises in Russell Street, Morton and a Mrs Bissek cut out, scoured and collared coin blanks. When sufficiently large quantities were required the pair carried out their work in London in Printers

Street near Green Man at the home of a Mrs Chandler.

The trio warned the authorities not to expect co-operation from the landlord of the Lamb & Flag, as he rented out a forging workshop and was just as heavily involved in these activities. The landlord was 'as deep in the mud as they are in the mire', as he also supplied and furnished the workshop with the required forging equipment.

Thomas Ashford (the coiner convicted with the trio, mentioned here because of his contacts) used two separate premises for his activities. Ashford struck his coins 'in John Street near the Lamb & Flag yard', while the process of collaring took place in his own home. Ashford produced coins not only for himself but sufficient quantities to supply three other distributors: a Phillips, a Big Baker and a Joseph Jennings. To gain a conviction against George Phillips the authorities needed to catch him in the act of making forgeries. The trio's advice was to plant an undercover agent who had not previously been seen in Birmingham, to pose as a deserter. This undercover agent would ask Phillips for shelter which he was likely to grant. The trio knew that Phillips would offer financial help with forged currency and 'furnish him with a few dollars & other base money'. After gaining Phillips' trust this agent would then introduce a second agent as a friend; he would eventually show interest in obtaining forged money and place a large order with Phillips and ask 'to see the first struck-off specimen'. In this way the authorities would know precisely when to raid Phillips' premises.

The trio warned that an escape route at 'bloods the breech yard' would need to be blocked off at the time of the raid.

A person referred to as 'The Publican', who had his hotel on Coach Road between Chester and Parkgate, was apparently involved in trafficking forged bank notes; he bought his notes from a Fenton and passed them to the public at Chester Fair and in Wales. The trio described him in some detail as 34 to 35 years of age, five feet nine or ten, slender, somewhat pitted with smallpox and with his own short brown hair. He had Irish horses at Chester Fair and whilst staying there he slept at Poole House, about a mile along the Liverpool Road. The best chance of catching him in the act of passing forged notes would be at Chester Fair.¹¹

Transfer to London

One of the Clarkson wives asked the bank for a loan of £4/10/00, of which she would hand over £4 to John Lonsdale to purchase George Smith's forged bank-note plates and keep the 10/- for associated costs as well as living expenses. The bank paid her the money and within a few days she and William Henshall's brother, John, handed the Warwick gaoler, Tatnall, some forging equipment.

In a letter to the bank, Henshall and the Clarksons describe this equipment as eight coin dies, two each for guineas, seven-shillings and 'old dollars', one for half-crowns, and one for shillings, as well as some hubs and milling tools. They express concerns about being able to continue with their assistance to the bank while at

Warwick but the letter does not clarify what the problem was. They suggest that 'if [they] were moved away from this place that [John Henshall] could get at John Low, Geo. Smith and Ben Patrick the engraver' (Figure 6). According to their gaoler, John Henshall was not only determined to get all the plates from Smith but to get him 'dead or alive'.¹²

The bank needed to apply to the Secretary of State for permission to move the prisoners. The bank's solicitor, William Spurrier, recommended that nothing be done until 'they afford essential assistance to the Bank', or in other words until the trio had kept its part of the bargain and helped with the arrest of Low, Smith and Patrick and secured the forged note plates that were still in the possession of George Smith.

There may have been several reasons why the three prisoners wanted to be moved from Warwick gaol. One may well have been that they felt themselves in danger there from other criminals, as in a later letter they say, 'as by doing what we have done we have turned everyone against us'.¹³ The bank was also interested in keeping the three from possible harm, as they still had crucial information to divulge. The bank's solicitor states 'that no attempts on Phillips or Ashford should be made until after Henshall and the Clarksons are removed from Warwick', suggesting that at that time, Phillips (a trafficker; see Appendix III) and Ashford may have been considered a threat to the prisoners.

But probably the main reason for wanting to be moved from Warwick was

1st This day delivered to Mr. Tatrall two Dollar Days two
 Guinea Days two seven Shilling Days, two Hubs, and the
 Milling tools to them, And John Henshall informs
 us that a few days ago; Tho^s. Clarkson Brother of Wm^o
 Clarkson attempted to sell the plates for 12 Guineas, to
 Geo. Smith Sam^l. Toy Alias Sam^l. Tompson and a man
 unknown. This Tho^s. Clarkson was employed by Mr. Spence
 and Mr. Pain a Janstaple of Bir^m but this attempt
 did not succeed; Mr. Key its impossibl for me to
 make our Engagement good if we are coⁿvinced this
 way Against our proceedings, John Henshall said
 if we were moved away from this place that he
 could get at John Low, Geo. Smith, and Ben. Postwick
 the Engraver, Henshall says at Birmingham till
 to Morrow for a Interview with Geo. Smith to see
 what he can make out off him. And on Monday
 morning he will start for Bristol, for while we
 are hear there cant be nothing done your answer will
 much oblige Your most Obedient and Able Serv^{ts}
 J. Clarkson
 R. Clarkson
 & Wm Henshall
 Warwick
 April 22. 1805

Figure 6. Letter to the Bank of England from the trio in Warwick gaol, advising that forging dies, hubs and milling tools had been surrendered to their gaoler. The three ask to be moved from Warwick to be able to continue their work for the bank.

that if the prisoners were transferred to London they would be in a better position to help the authorities complete the clean up of the forging network:

But if we were moved to London we know a friend there whom we could put in a method which way to do Phillips and his men, but while here we cannot do

*anything...if we were in London, there are several other people more whom we could nearly be certain we could do.*¹⁴

The bank authorities were obviously keen to destroy the whole forging network and had gone to the trouble of obtaining special permission from the Secretary of State to allow the prisoners to be moved to

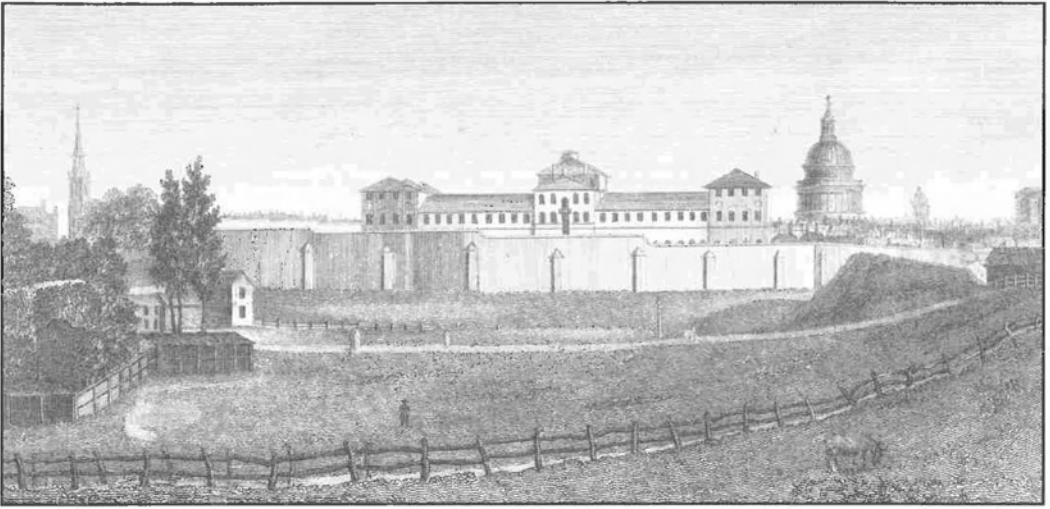


Figure 7. Coldbathfields gaol in 1798. This newly built, model prison kept inmates in individual cells specially designed according to relatively humane principles. (Private collection)

London. Sometime early May, the trio was transferred to the newly built, model prison, Coldbathfields (Figure 7).

The day after the transfer to Coldbathfields, Henshall received from his wife the following brief letter referring, among other things, to difficulties and costs involved in obtaining the articles of forging for the bank:

Dear Husband

I Rec^d your coind Letter, & am glad to hear you are In good Ealth. John & me ave got them things With a great Deal of Difficulty & great Expense & Shall be with you on Saterday John me & Lucey. John has been at Bristol & will Inform you the...[particulars] a bout them. youre—Famley is in good Ealth Mary is geting beter a great pase Remain Your Loving Wife till death—Nancy Hinshall¹⁵ (Figure 8).

After giving the bank authorities details of the forging network, William Henshall learnt that George Smith was working on a new plate for a £1 note. The documents indicate that the whereabouts of Smith's workplace was never discovered, otherwise the authorities would already have raided the premises and caught Smith in the act of forging his plates. Smith was obviously very cunning and could only be contacted via the intermediary, John Lonsdale. Thus, the authorities were only able to obtain Smith's plates but not Smith himself. Smith was always willing to sell his plates and John Henshall paid the required £20 for the one which he now delivered to Payn at Coldbathfields.

On 9 August, three months after this plate was sold, Smith and his wife, Ann, were at last arrested in Birmingham. They were tried at Warwick and jointly charged with 'receiving blank forged banknotes

Birmingham } July 9th 1805
 Dear Husband
 I Recd. Your kind Letter & am glad to hear you are
 in good Health. John & we have got them things with a great
 deal of difficulty & great expense & shall be with you
 on Saturday John Mr. & Lucy John has been at Bristol
 & will inform you the particulars about them - you
 know is in good Health Mary is getting better & great pace
 Remain Your Loving Wife till death - - -
 Nancy Henshall

Figure 8. The letter from Nancy Henshall to her husband William, reporting on the work being carried out by her and his brother John in obtaining and surrendering forging equipment.

and having them in their possession.' George Smith had three additional forging charges laid against him, the third 'for forging a £1 Bank note & for disposing of it knowing it to be forged.' This charge carried the death penalty. Smith made a desperate attempt to save his life and offered to plead guilty to the lesser charges on the condition that the capital charge be dropped. The authorities, however, considered their witness to be of 'very exceptionable character' and the charge remained. In lieu of the death penalty Smith received a sentence of fourteen years transportation. The court considered that Ann Smith had acted under the influence of her husband and behaved much as a dutiful wife and consequently she was acquitted. George Smith was eventually put on board the

convict ship *Alexander* and his wife was able to sail with him as a free person.

Early September, the trio learnt that two convict ships bound for NSW were being fitted out for departure at the end of that month. The prisoners anticipated sailing on one of these ships. On 5 September, they submitted a new petition asking the bank to allow their 'wives and children to accompany them 'to Botany Bay.' The petition came to nothing and the trio did not sail on either of these ships. The bank apparently still considered the three to be of value and wanted to keep them in England for a while longer, as they were proving useful in divulging more and more information. For example, William Henshall and Richard Clarkson reported to the bank

that another forgery had just come to their notice.

On the hulks

Early October, the trio was moved to Woolwich, to a prison hulk on the Thames, in preparation for being transported shortly thereafter. In the hulk, Henshall was approached by a Stephen Shipley who was in the process of engraving a banknote plate. Shipley had been sentenced to seven years transportation, but instead of showing contriteness, was now embarking on a scheme of raising capital for his arrival in Botany Bay by selling forged banknotes. His scheme came undone when he offered Henshall a partnership in the deal, unaware that this well-known forger was now an informant—who secretly reported him. Although a prisoner, Henshall clearly had the confidence of those still involved in forging activities.

Two visitors to the hulks, a Jacobs and a Phillips, invited Henshall to participate in a scheme involving a set of £2 plates. These plates were to be engraved by a Bryan who had been ‘convicted for life’ and while imprisoned on one of the hulks was busy passing forged notes. Henshall was apparently necessary to the scheme because of his forging background. Jacobs and Phillips had sought help within the prison system; ironically it was from here that their scheme was reported.

While being interviewed at Woolwich, Richard Clarkson stated that his brother Thomas had had in his possession a batch of two hundred forged £1 notes and John

Henshall was to have surrendered these to the bank. Instead, John sold them and pocketed the proceeds. Why Richard Clarkson needed to divulge this information to his interviewer we can only guess at; perhaps it was because his brother had been put into an awkward position by John’s actions.

It seems that sometime during the incarceration of the trio there was a split, causing Thomas Clarkson to distance himself from the other two. He sent his own petition to the bank from ‘Woolwich Prudential Hulk’, asking for a reduction on his sentence of fourteen years as he ‘never committed this crime [being in possession of forged notes] but was taken in unknowingly’. He pleads for financial assistance for his wife and three children as well as extra provisions for himself on the voyage and seems to disown the other two, including his brother, when he writes:

And as to Ric.^d Clarkson he may be taken for us to be friends but I can assure you he is not for I never new Ric.^d Clarkson nor W.^m Henshall while in trouble at Warwick Gaol

What this trouble was is not known and there is no document clarifying the matter. He repeats the plea for financial aid for a supply of sea stores for his wife and three small children and sea stores for himself, and ends his letter with:

it always was and always will be my principals to do write and behave well, this crime I do not merrett though I convicted myself.¹⁶

Cruel disappointment

Since their trial the three had informed on over one hundred and thirty criminals and their haunts (Appendices II to III); in exchange for this information they had been given assurance that their families would accompany them to Botany Bay. Their understanding all along had been that the families would all be together in Australia. Now they learnt that only the youngest children would be allowed to travel with them, the oldest having to remain in England. They were informed that:

*Mrs Henshall will be allowed to take her three youngest children, Mrs T. Clarkson her two youngest & Mrs R. Clarkson her infant, but it is out of the power of the Secretary of State to allow them to take any of the other children.*¹⁷

This news devastated all of them and the three prisoners submitted a further petition expressing their bitter disappointment. They were unable to hide their feelings of resentment at being betrayed—they had fulfilled every part of their side of the agreement and now were expected to split up their families by abandoning some of their children¹⁸ (Figure 9).

But the ruling of the Secretary of State was final. The prisoners, their wives and those children eligible, were to sail on board the convict ship *Alexander* moored at Long Beach.

The three wives, however, decided against sailing with their husbands, in

order to remain in England with all their children.

*Mrs Henshall and Mrs Richard Clarkson both declined going to the Bay. The former because all her children cannot go, the latter on account of ill health... Mrs Thomas Clarkson...seems anxious to go but says she cannot bear to leave her third child.*¹⁹

Nancy Henshall had seven children, Catherine Clarkson (Thomas' wife) three and Lucy Clarkson (Richard's wife) a recently born infant. The mothers wanted to avoid abandoning any of their children, the oldest probably still being pre-teenage. If those children were left behind they would very likely have ended up as State wards working in a poorhouse, or even in prison. The decision to stay behind as single parents, however, would present a new problem as the family bread-winners would be absent. For this reason the prisoners now asked the bank for financial support for their wives and children:

*But as we can't take the whole of our families with us...therefore as we have rendered the Bank all the services in our power we humbly beg the Honourable Gentlemen will consider and allow some small donation for our wives and families towards assisting them for distress while we are away.*²⁰

Each wife eventually received from the bank £10 for immediate provisions. The prisoners also needed to have provisions for the long voyage to Australia and

Gentlemen

Thos. Clarkson, Rich^d. Clarkson, and W^m. Marshall,

Humbly beg that as it seems the Honorable Gentlemen, do not
fulfill their promise made to them, for their Horses and Carriages
to accompany them to Detroit Bay's only by taking part of their
Carriages, as it can't be expected we can think of leaving the other
behind, and as we have fulfilled what we promised fulfilled and
that if our families can't wholly go with us —

We then trust the Honorable Gentlemen will take it into
consideration by giving them a Letter to the Governor to make
them free when born there, and we humbly beg as we have been
at a great expense by getting things and by going after, to give
every information in our power agreeable to our agreement
which as destroys what little we had and turned every one
against us, and brought us every day we hope you will come
and allow us something for the loss of our Horses the smallest re-
-compence will be gratefully accepted by —

Spencer's Hook & Wadsworth, Gentlemen, you Observe &c
Nov^r 24, 1795 Sent Humbly Yours^{ts}

Thos. Clarkson
Rich^d. Clarkson
W^m. Marshall

We hope Mr. Carver's Horses soon
be gone to Mr. Spurrins and take
-wise Thos. Clarkson and W^m. Marshall

Thos. Clarkson would like to see Mr. Dwyer personally

Figure 9. The petition in which the three bemoan the fact that their children are to be separated and as they are now destitute, ask the bank for financial aid for their families.

submitted yet another petition to the bank. The bank responded positively to the request for 'sea stock' and arranged a payment of £10 each for the voyage to New South Wales.

The prisoners were put on board the *Alexander* which then sailed from Long Beach to Portsmouth. In the end Catherine Clarkson also sailed on the *Alexander*, having decided to leave her oldest child

behind so that she could be with her husband. She had probably arranged for this child to stay with Lucy or another relative or a close friend.

Transported to Australia

The *Alexander* sailed from Portsmouth on 28 January 1806. She was still a relatively new ship having been built in Quebec five years earlier. She was also rather small for

a convict transport ship, being only 278 tons.

The captain was Richard Brooks, who only on his previous voyage to NSW had earned the reputation of being a callous and negligent master. On that voyage in the *Atlas*, Brooks had loaded the ship with his private trade goods (mainly spirits) to such an extent that little room had been left for the convict cargo. In addition to the resultant overcrowding of the living quarters, Brooks had badly neglected the hygiene and general welfare of the convicts. This neglect had resulted in sixty-five deaths during the voyage.

Brooks had been refused permission to unload his private cargo in Sydney Cove: the governor of NSW, Philip Gidley King, had reacted angrily to Brooks' negligent and self serving behaviour and had put sanctions into action against him.²¹

By the time Henshall was transported in the *Alexander*, Brooks had seemingly been taught his lesson and Henshall had a relatively uneventful voyage to NSW. The number of deaths on board the *Alexander* on this voyage was no more than four.²²

By the time the *Alexander* arrived at Sydney Cove on 20 August 1806, William Henshall had served almost seventeen months of his seven-year term. On 12 September 1812, six months before his sentence was to end, he received an absolute pardon.²³

The Holey Dollar and Dump

Throughout the early decades of the colony, coins were scarce and British and foreign coinage circulated in NSW side by

side. In 1800, Governor King issued a proclamation giving fixed values to the coins predominantly circulating in the colony. This helped to ensure a ready supply of coinage for local trading and stabilised the value of each coin used in the colony. The Spanish dollar (eight reales) was fixed at five shillings but there was nothing to prevent it leaving the colony.

NSW still needed to import virtually all manufactured goods and food (especially rum) and had almost nothing to export. Seafaring traders who ventured into Port Jackson required payment in international currency; the Spanish dollar was at that time the recognised international trade coin needed to pay these traders. Thus the Spanish dollar tended to leave the colony, depriving local merchants of the use and value of this important coin.

Governor Macquarie decided on the idea of cutting the centre out of the Spanish dollar and counterstamping the resulting two pieces. By doing this, he would mutilate the dollar and effectively destroy its international trade value. He would have been familiar with the cut and counter-stamped Spanish dollars in use in the West Indies. Macquarie ordered a shipment of 40,000 Spanish dollars which were sent from Madras. These arrived in Sydney in the *Samarang* on 26 November 1812.

The holed dollar and the removed centre piece would be given the values, five shillings and fifteen pence respectively and become the 'holey dollar' and the 'dump'. The inflated value of the new dollar would also help to guarantee that this coin remained in NSW.

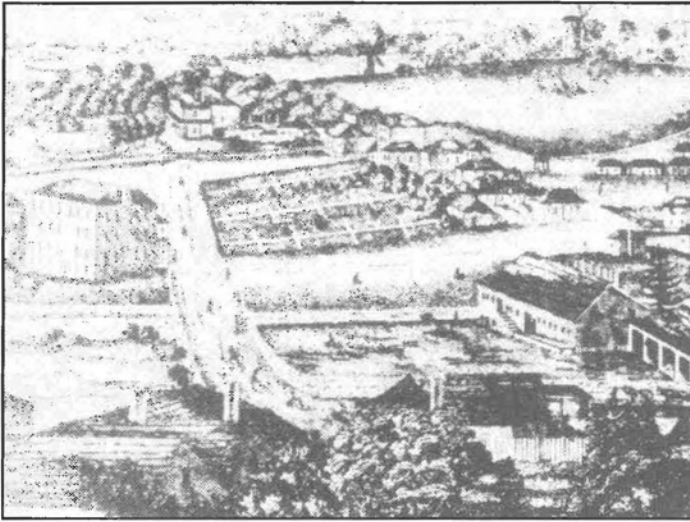


Figure 10. The Factory, middle right, where Henshall manufactured the holey dollars and dumps. Vertically on the left is Bridge Street looking east, at the top of which is the Government Domain and House.

(From: *View of a Part of the River of Sydney 1813*)

Macquarie needed a skilled coiner to carry out this project and chose Henshall. The basis of this choice is unclear. Henshall is described as 'silversmith' in a government muster of 1814, but the description there seems to be based on Henshall's work on the holey dollar and dump project; the previous muster of 1811 lists Henshall (spelt 'Henshaw') simply as 'convict'. The description 'whitesmith & silver smith'²⁴ is used some years after his employment by Macquarie and obviously based on that same work. So all Macquarie had to go on was what he would have learnt, probably by word of mouth, that Henshall was a capable die-sinker and maker of 'coins' and chosen him on this basis. Henshall also happened to reside close to where the coins were to be made. Furthermore, Henshall seems to have

already been working on government projects shortly after his pardon, as in October 1812, he was supplied with twenty pounds of copper designated for government use.

Australia's first mint and mint master

To manufacture the holey dollars and dumps, Henshall was provided with a workshop in the basement of a government building called the 'Factory' (long since demolished), where George Howe had his printing establishment²⁵ (Figure 10). This building was located near the corner of Bridge and Loftus Streets by the eastern bank of the Tank Stream in Sydney. The Factory thus became Australia's first mint.

It was not until June 1813, that Macquarie finally contacted Lord Bathurst, the

Colonial Secretary in London, and informed him of the final designs for his two coins. Around the hole of the holey dollar would be stamped NEW SOUTH WALES and the date 1813 on one side for the obverse and FIVE SHILLINGS and a wreath on the other side for the reverse. The dump would have on one side the King's crown in the centre, with NEW SOUTH WALES and the date 1813 around for the obverse and on the other side FIFTEEN / PENCE in two lines for the reverse (Figures 11, 12).

Henshall engraved a minute H above the centre of the wreath on some of the holey dollar reverse dies as well as between the words FIFTEEN and PENCE on some of the dump reverse dies. Contemporary records do not mention this H and it is doubtful that it had official sanction. Numismatists identified the H as only a solid mark. This was no doubt due to the mark being so minute and tending to look like 'a diamond-shaped dot' on the holey dollar and 'a square stop' on the dump.²⁶ Also on one of the holey dollar reverse dies Henshall added a *fleur de lis* between the words FIVE and SHILLINGS.

Macquarie anticipated that the task of converting the 40,000 Spanish coins into holey dollars and dumps would be completed within three months, but the whole project eventually took a little over a year to complete. Henshall first had to experiment making the necessary machinery for cutting the centre out of the Spanish dollars and stamping the new images satisfactorily. At one stage Macquarie wrote that Henshall was 'making a machine and it fail[ed]...several times.'²⁷

Mira believes that the holey dollar and the dump were most likely produced using a drop hammer rather than a screw press. The setting up of a drop hammer would have been within the capabilities of Henshall's workshop while the construction of a screw press would have posed serious difficulties. A screw press would, no doubt, have needed to be imported, but 'there is no record of such a device in any of the cargoes.'²⁸

The first batch of new coins was forwarded to the Deputy Commissioner-General, David Allen, on 25 January 1814. The batches were delivered regularly until 15 April, when there was a four-month gap, a final delivery of 3 thousand of each coin being made on 2 August. Official records do not offer a reason for the three and a half months' delay in handing over the final batch of coins to Allen. The following list shows batch quantities and their delivery dates:

<i>Holey Dollars & Dumps</i>	<i>Delivery Date</i>
6,000 coins	25 Jan. 1814
6,000	10 Feb.
6,000	23 Feb.
6,000	24 Feb.
12,000	4 Mar.
6,000	10 Mar.
12,000	16 Mar.
6,000	23 Mar.
6,000	24 Mar.
7,819	15 Apr.
<u>6,000</u>	<u>2 Aug.</u>
79,819 ²⁹	

Based on these figures, Henshall's workshop would have averaged around 5,500 coins per week.

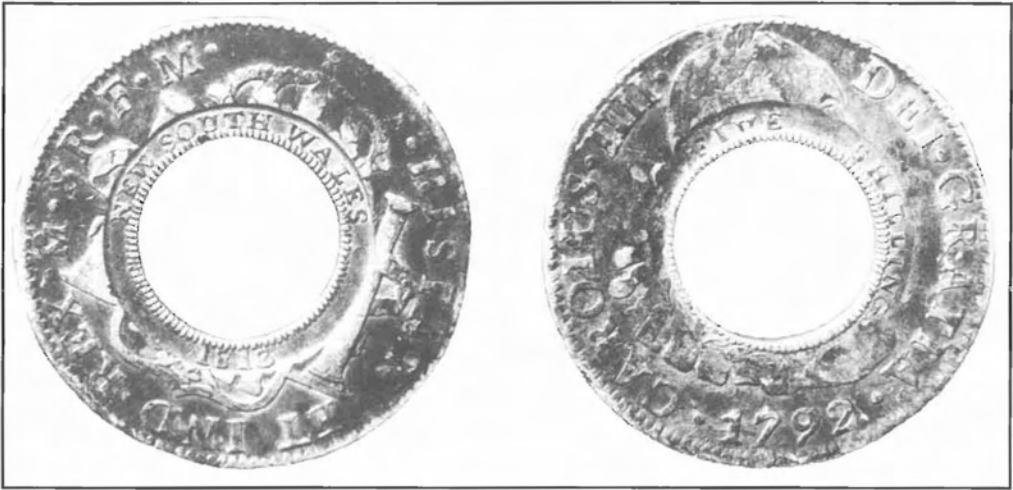


Figure 11. Obverse and reverse of a holey dollar over stamped on a Mexico mint 1792 Charles IV Spanish eight reales.
(Mira/Noble, 1792/4; private collection)



Figure 12. Obverse and reverse of a dump. This reverse shows traces of the original Spanish eight reales, milled edge and Henshall's H in the centre. (Courtesy, Paul Hannaford, International Auction Galleries) *Coins not to scale.*

Henshall's brother John arrived as a convict in the *Surrey* on 28 July 1814.³⁰ This was almost a week before the final batch of coins was delivered. Immediately upon his arrival he was assigned to his brother William and may well have helped in completing the final batch of holey dollars and dumps.

Also on 28 July, John's wife Hannah and their two children arrived on the

Bloxbornebury as free settlers. No doubt they took up residence in the same house with William.

That year, William took on two female convicts, Mary Harris and Catherine Kane, who had also arrived on the *Bloxbornebury*. Under the assignment regulations William would have needed to provide food, shelter and wages for all the three convicts, indicating the extent of his income.³¹

Within two months of his brother's arrival William remarried. His new bride was Sarah Gilbert Warrell, a 'spinster' and an emancipated convict, who had arrived in NSW on the *Sydney Cove* in 1807. The Church of England marriage service took place on 13 September 1814 (Figure 13).

Flogged in Sydney

In 1816, William Henshall trespassed on government property. He was arrested for 'going over the wall of the Government Domain'. In his defence, 'Henshall stated, that he had come there for the purpose of collecting some sand for casting metal, which it appears was the trade he followed in Sydney.' Two others were also involved in this trespass and the three were each given twenty-five lashes at Macquarie's orders.

Rather than interpret this punishment as Macquarie's over-reaction against the 'mint master' who may have embarrassed him, we need to keep in mind that Macquarie, at the time, was zealously waging a personal crackdown on the public using his Domain as a convenient shortcut. Such a flogging seems extreme to us today; in fact this sentence was reported as being unnecessarily harsh at the time. In his report to Parliament in London, Bigge deplores the excessiveness of the punishment and strongly criticises Macquarie for having overacted:

Mr. Wentworth states that the order or warrant of Governor Macquarie was shown to him by the gaoler before he proceeded to execute it, and that he felt the strongest desire to suppress it,

thinking that the governor had issued it in a moment of irritation, and that he would upon cooler reflection withdraw it. It was executed notwithstanding; and when the circumstances became known, created a great degree of alarm amongst all classes of the inhabitants. Amongst the most sensitive were many of the convicts whose sentences had been remitted by Governor Macquarie, and who afterwards joined in a petition to the House of Commons, complaining of this as well as other acts of his administration.

Bigge, in fact, accuses Macquarie of having failed to put this matter through the proper judiciary process:

Of the illegality both of the punishment itself, and of the manner in which it was executed, no doubt can be entertained; and the only justification of such an act could be found in the acknowledged inefficacy of the others, or the insensibility of the population of New South Wales to the same methods of restraint or control that are effectual elsewhere. Until legal methods had been tried and exhausted, I do not think that Governor Macquarie could find any excuse for the summary mode of proceeding and punishment to which he resorted.³²

At the time, Henshall was strongly suspected by the police of forging dumps, but this now seems unlikely; in fact no document has been found to indicate that this matter was taken further.³³

In 1817, Henshall's second wife died. In December of that year he left Sydney for England on the *Chapman* via Batavia and

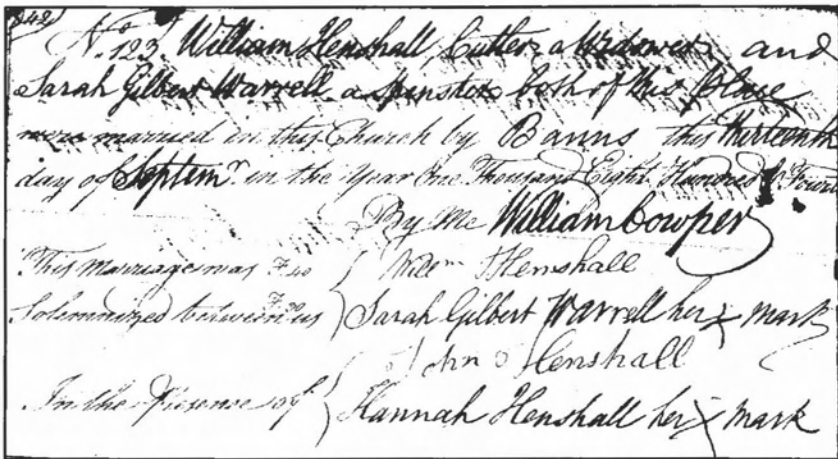


Figure 13. Marriage certificate of William Henshall and his second wife, Sarah, nee Gilbert Warrell.

Bengal, perhaps to see his children again or perhaps to escape from rumours circulation in NSW, but perhaps very likely as a result of his harsh and unjust treatment under the governor who had employed him as mint master. What happened to him after this is not known. No death records of William Henshall have been located.

Forgeries

Holey Dollars: Mira and Noble have recorded two reverse and one obverse ‘non standard counterstamp dies’ appearing on five holey dollars, the two reverse dies coupled to the one obverse die. They suggest these ‘were illegally produced, possibly by Henshall himself.’³⁴ Using ‘random sampling’, they project that if five examples of these non standard coins existed in 1988, it is possible that many hundreds may originally have been in circulation. On this basis they suggest that these non-standard dies were used as

working dies to make forgeries for circulation rather than trials or samples. This theory has merit if we accept that the forged coins were put into circulation when the holey dollar was current. If, however, the dies were made for trial purposes and the coins produced from them were not put into circulation but kept safely ‘in a drawer’ and discovered by numismatists much later, then their number may be very few indeed and possibly closer to the five recorded so far. The idea that the non-standard dies were trial dies and legally produced then has equal merit. The minute letter H is very clear on both reverses. It would seem odd that Henshall would risk having this H identified as his initial on a forgery; such a mark would only be included on a die meant to be used for legitimate purposes. The question should also be asked: would a forger have copied or been able to cast such a tiny initial? The case for these five non-standard holey dollars being trial or sample striking is very strong.

Dumps: The argument whether or not Henshall may have forged the dump remains unanswered. It seems unlikely, however, that Henshall would have risked his reputation making forgeries when he was, in effect, mint master. Henshall was a skilled craftsman and had access in his workshop to tools that could produce relatively high quality coins. The crudeness of the few surviving specimens seems to help rule out Henshall as their maker. Mira supports such a hypothesis.³⁵

Conclusion

It has long been known that William Henshall was the man who made Australia's first distinctive coinage, the holey dollar and the dump. Henshall was also known as a forger of Bank of England dollars. His full story has never been told, however. In this article we have revealed a fuller picture of his life in both England and Australia. The article also reveals previously unknown details about the forging activities in early nineteenth century England.

Henshall was convicted of forging Bank of England dollars and was transported to the remote convict settlement in NSW, where he became the colony's government coiner. After his coining project was completed there was hint of him reverting back to his old ways, as he was suspected of forging dumps.

In 1817 he returned to England where he seems to have led an honest life, as no records showing charges laid against him have been located.

August 2006 will mark the bicentenary of William Henshall's arrival in the Colony as a convict forger. Of the eighty thousand convicts transported to Australia over an eighty year period from 1788, Henshall is one of the few individuals who is today remembered for his work—the making of Australia's first coinage, the holey dollar and the dump.

Acknowledgments

The authors thank all individuals and institutions who have helped over the years, in particular: the Bank of England for providing a copy of their dossier on William Henshall; Birmingham City Council for providing a copy of Aris's Birmingham Gazette recording William Henshall's court appearance and Les and Margaret Carlisle who helped with accessing the NSW archives and the State Library of NSW as well as providing information from their own genealogical resources. We are grateful to the late Jean Biggins for helping to decipher the dossier. We thank Paul Donnelly, Maurice Keain, Dr JE Lane and Bill Mira for valuable information given via personal communication; Paul Hannaford of International Auction Galleries for permission to replicate the dump images and Barrie Newman for proof reading and correcting this article.

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Ian Turner, *In Union is Strength*, Nelson, Melbourne, 1978.

Notes

1. McClelland's Series, Book 26, Index 4, p.13.
2. BEHd, 30 Dec. 1804; from: Spurrier, to: Gents (bank of England).
3. *Aris's Birmingham Gazette*, 1 April 1805.
4. As for note 1.
5. BEHd, 17 May 1805; A/c from: Spurrier, to: Winter, Kaye & Co (bank).
6. BEHd, undated petition; from: the trio, to: bank.
7. BEHd, April 1805; from: trio, to: Hon. Gentlemen (bank).
8. BEHd, 10 April 1805; from: WKB & P (bank), to: trio.
9. BEHd, 23 April 1805; from: Whitehall (Sec. State office), to: Winter & Kaye (bank).
10. BEHd, undated; 'To prevent forgerys in general'.
11. BEHd, 1 May 1805; titled: 'Henshall Clarkson's further Examination'.

12. BEHd, 22 April 1805; from: trio, to: Sir (Kaye, bank), and

- 22 April 1805; from: Tatnall (Warwick gaoler), to: Sir (bank?).

13. BEHd, 9 Dec. 1805; from: trio, to: Sir (bank?).

14. BEHd, 1 May 1805; from: Spurrier ('Henshall Clarkson's further examinations'), to: bank?

15. BEHd, 8 May 1805.

16. BEHd, 13 Nov 1805; from: T Clarkson, to: Sir; (Kaye, bank).

17. BEHd, 3 Dec 1805; from: bank?, to: trio. The trio had obviously learnt of the Secretary of State's decision before 24 November, the date of the petition in note 18.

18. BEHd, 24 Nov 1805; from: trio, to: Gentlemen (bank).

19. BEHd, 9 Dec 1805; from: Spurrier, to: Gentlemen (bank?).

20. BEHd, 9 Dec 1805; from: trio, to: Sir (bank).

21. Bateson, pp.182-6. Despite having been refused permission to land his private cargo in Sydney, Brooks had been able to obtain consent to sell a small quantity of liquor desperately needed by Baudin's French expedition, whose ship was at anchor in Sydney Harbour at the time.

22. Op. cit. p.381. The four deaths are a combined figure for both ships, the *Alexander* and the *Fortune*.

23. Conditional pardon document, CP 69, and absolute pardon document, AP 69 237-8, Library of NSW.

24. Ritchie, p.58.

- Andrews, p.115.

- See also Spalding, p.193.

25. Op. cit. p.197.

26. Andrews, pp.118, 119.

27. Mira & Noble, p.5.

28. Mira, personal communication.

29. Based on Andrews, p.116.

30. John Henshall's convict records reveal he had been tried at Warwick Assizes on 29 March 1813, and given a fourteen year sentence. His crime is not mentioned—such an omission was reasonably common during this period. Conditional Pardon: 554-7; Ticket of Leave: 1572.

31. Ian Turner, *In Union is Strength*, Nelson, Melbourne, 1978, p.15. Convicts were often paid a combination of wages and provisions.

32. The two quotes from Bigge, pp.75-6.

33. Ritchie, p.58.
 34. Mira & Noble, pp.8, 9.
 35. Mira, *NSW Dumps*, p.16.

Appendix I: auction account

Account of the sale of shop tools &c. belonging to Mr William Henshall of Birmingham, August 9th 1805 by Thos. Warren & Son [see Figure 4].

Quantity of dies & cutting out tools defaced	9/3
14 ½ lbs. rolled plated metal....3/2	£2/5/11
Pair rolls, 10 head &c.	£7/5/0
Wrought iron 2 sided cutting out press	£7/12/6
Cast Iron ditto ditto	£5/12/6
Large ditto ditto	<u>£21/0/0</u>
	<u>£44/5/2</u>
Dr.	
To paid for carriage, wharfage, &c.	£5/4/5
“paid for cleaning tools	12/10
“commission for selling at 10 pc	
“Advertising, catalogues, &c pl	£4/8/6
“other expenses included	
“Kings Duty at 5 per cent	£2/4/3
“Cash advance to Mr Payn	£21/0/0
“Balance paid to Mr Payn	<u>10/15/2</u>
	<u>£44/5/2</u>

Appendix II: forgers

Thomas Ash.
 Thomas Ashford*: of John Street, convicted with the trio.
 Big Baker*.
 Mrs Bissek*: worked with Morton.
 Bryan*.
 Jenny Butts: called Chenney, ‘goes to Fairs & makes and passes said notes’.
 James Cartright: ‘of Worcestershire; and printer of bad bills’.
 William Cartwright: ‘at the old Bush at Dudley. He keeps the...in Livery & was to have been principal hand in Mr Boulton’s...at Soho’.
 John Duffell: ‘lives in Exeter and employs several men making all silver coinage. I expect he worked from home and sold his forgeries throughout the kingdom’.
 Matt & Thos Farriday: farmers near Dudley, ‘wanted to employ...he press’s the Notes under his Cheese press and has told...he can make them as well as Henshall could with his rolling press’.

Fenton*.
 Griffith: ‘worked at the top of the “lamb yard” and served most people with blanks and coins, both gold and silver and lived somewhere in the country’.
 Hicks: ‘an old Man...of Birmingham’.
 James Hill: ‘or alias Smith or alias Piper, of Aston St Birmingham; coins all kind of silver’.
 Jacobs*: forger? Visited Henshall on the hulks with Phillips.
 James Jones: ‘of Princes St, [Birmingham] cast mainly half crowns’.
 Landlord of the Lamb and Flag*: financed forging workshop.
 Litchfield: ‘of Red Lion Publick House, corner of Bread St; silver coins, employed men to do the work’.
 John Low*: (see John Lowe, trafficker).
 Charles Lunt: ‘of Great Hampton St, Birmingham; mainly shillings and worked from home’.
 Maddocks: (may be spelling variation of Mattox).
 Masling: ‘of Coleman Town, mainly silver coins’.
 Mattox*: ‘of Livery St engraved £2 and £5 plates for John Low of King Alfred St. Both of them printed together’ (see Maddocks).
 Morton*: of Russell Street and Printers Street; worked with Mrs Bissek*.
 Haley Mott and Mrs Bissek*: ‘of Russell St, coiners of all kinds of silver working from home’.
 Nicholls: ‘of Great Hampton St Birmingham; mostly half crowns and shillings and worked from home’.
 Benjamin Patrick*: of Phillip’s Salutation Public House in Snow Hill.
 Washington Patrick*.
 Phillips*: seems to have worked in the London area.
 Phillips*: forger? Visited Henshall on the hulks with Jacobs. May be the same Phillips above.
 George Phillips*: forger and trafficker.
 William Phillips: ‘forged gold, silver and other coins including dollars. His assistants were Charles Wholley, Thomas Ashford and John Hales Senior and Junior, and the coins were struck at the Lamb and Flag yard, in John Street, Sober Alley, Newton Street, somewhere in Great Charles Street and in his own home’.
 Povey: shoemaker, ‘George Smith has often struck off Notes at said Povey’s House’.
 Powell: ‘both gold and silver of all kinds’.
 Isaac Sheritt: forged £5 notes for J Low.
 Stephen Shipley*.
 George Smith*: was considered cunning and used

the intermediary, John Lonsdale.
 William Storey: 'of Bristol; cast all kinds of silver'.
 Joseph Stubbs: 'of New John St, coiner of all kinds of gold and silver'.
 Thomas Thomas: 'of Snow Hill; mostly half crowns and took great quantities into north England'.
 Joseph Topsall*: 'worked' note plates.
 Tyson: '...try to get Tyson's plates'.
 Charles Worley.
 John Yeats.
 Yates: (may be John Yeats).

Appendix III: traffickers

John Allen: 'a traveller in Scotland who attends fairs'.
 Mrs Allen: has received notes from Mrs Baker.
 Samuel Toy Baggot—alias Samuel Thompson: of 3 Jerusalem Court, Clerkenwell 'has agreed to give 12 Gns to George Smith for Clarkson's plates'. Also recorded as 'a deserter from the Derbyshire Militia, Lincolnshire Army Reserve, Warwickshire Militia and now of London'.
 Joseph Ball: 'of Litchfield St.'
 Baker: (may be Mrs Baker's husband).
 Mrs Baker: 'wife of Ben Baker who suffered at Washwood Heath'.
 Joseph Ball: 'Itchfield Street at the sign of the Elephant & Castle'.
 Thomas Ball: of Bath.
 Thomas Batt.
 William Bettridge: 'of Birmingham'.
 John Bird: 'of Swansea, Wales'.
 William Blunt: 'of Neath, Wales'.
 William Bradbury: 'of Pail St Birmingham'.
 Ric Bradley: 'who lives at the paper mill on Handsworth Heath'.
 William Bradley.
 Thomas Brown: 'of Towleys Hill Nottingham'.
 Thomas Collier: 'of Sheffield'.
 Thomas Dane: 'a former publican of Slany St.'
 James Droy: of Nottingham.
 Dudley: 'who lives at the Black Horse in Aldergate'.
 John Duffield: 'deals with Lowe in notes'.
 Dunn: 'a glazier of Manchester'.
 Thomas Dunn: (may be the same Dunn, above).
 William Feathers.
 Thomas Fenton: 'a broker of Worcester St' (may be the forger, Fenton).
 Fletcher: 'escaped when Pitt was taken...believe he is a young man drawn in by Pitt'.

Fletcher's brother: 'don't know him'.
 William Forster: 'of Bath St.'
 Joseph Gennings: (see Joseph Jennings).
 Arthur Gordain: 'a shoemaker of Nottingham'.
 George Harrison: 'late of Birmingham now of Stafford gaol'.
 Martha Hatby: 'of Wakefield, Yorkshire'.
 John Henshall*: William's brother, reported by Richard Clarkson.
 Joseph Hodges: 'uttering a £5 note...knowing it to be forged', sentenced to 14 years transportation.
 Samuel Jackson.
 Joseph Jennings*: (also spelt Joseph Gennings).
 John Jones: 'of Neath, Wales'.
 Mrs Jubb.
 Robert King: 'of Hull'.
 The landlord: 'at the Cross Keys Newport Shropshire'.
 Hannah Langstone: 'of Leeds'.
 Joseph Lea: 'of Walsall'.
 Little John: a dealer in stockings, 'about 12 miles from Chester'.
 John Lonsdale*.
 John Lowe: (may be John Low, forger).
 Joseph Mallin: 'of Dudley'.
 Robert Mapbest: 'near Smithfield'.
 Mrs Mercott: 'from the Isle of Man'.
 Millward.
 John Murray: 'of Sunderland'.
 Miss Muscott: 'who travels from Liverpool to Bristol to the Isle of Man'.
 Thomas Nixon: 'near Saint Clements Church in the Strand'.
 Jacob Offey: 'lives...opposite No. 31 Middelsex St. Wite Chappel...parcels...Directed to No. 31 his Mother in laws.'
 Old Allen: 'deals largely in Notes and Base Money'.
 Old Heath: of Great Charles Street.
 Old Peter: 'in Wales attends the Chester fair'.
 Charles Oliver: 'of Hull'.
 William Page: 'of Wednesbury'.
 Mrs Pepps: 'of Sheffield'.
 Perry: publican of the Elephant & Castle.
 Phillips: 'is now in Newgate Prison, dealt in everything bad'.
 Pitt: (see Fletcher).
 John Price.
 The Publican*: of Coach Road.
 William Rhodes: 'alias Addo Toads of Wednesbury'; also alias Dymock Roads, (possibly William Roads).
 Joseph Rowley.

Sam: 'a Butcher who lives by Towlinsons at Wednesbury'.

Savage: 'he does nothing'.

Robert Scott: 'of Wakefield Yorkshire'.

Joseph Shaw: 'of Street Ground no 2 Westminster'.

Edward Sheldon: 'his eldest son assists him'.

Thos Slate: 'of Gloucester who travels from fair to fair'.

Josh Sly: 'deals with Jennings'.

Ann Smith*: wife of George Smith, forger; she was not charged.

Thomas Snowhill.

Solomon: 'a Jew who lives near Pettycoat Lane'.

Mrs Solomon: 'of Liverpool'.

Robert Sparkes: 'of Swansea, Wales'.

Stubbs.

James Swain: 'of Swansea, Wales'.

Samuel Thompson: alias name of Samuel Toy Baggot.

Thomas Threswell: 'of Tilbury near Burton on Trent'.

Anne Tombs: 'of Nottingham'.

John Trimby: 'of Bristol'.

James Troy: 'of Nottingham'.

Joseph Twist: 'of Birmingham'.

Ric Twist: 'of Nottingham'.

Adam Use: 'of Gloucester who often stays at widow Smith's Publick House'.

H Westwood.

Appendices II to III list the felons identified by the trio and recorded in the dossier.

* The names followed by an asterisk are those mentioned in this article.

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The authors each won a bronze Ray Jewell award for their joint-article in NAAJ 13.