THE JEWEL HOUSE AND THE ROYAL GOLDSMITHS

By MAJOR-GENERAL H. D. W. SITWELL

A good deal has been published about the Crown Jewels and Plate from the time of King John up to the present day, and the goldsmith's trade has also been adequately dealt with. Very little, however, has been said about the Jewel House and Office organization which looked after the Crown Jewels and Plate[1], and practically nothing about the Royal Goldsmiths who provided it and the Plateworkers who made it, who are, for the most part, little more than a number of isolated names.

In the following article, I have attempted a survey of the Royal Goldsmiths and the Jewel House from the time of Henry VIII to the mid 19th century, when Messrs. Garrard, the present Crown Jewellers, first received their warrant in this appointment. The subject is a very complicated one, involving as it does the many changes of the financial and administrative systems under the Chamber and Exchequer, and this survey is probably an oversimplification, in the sense that I have endeavoured to separate the affairs of the Jewel House and the Goldsmiths with whom they dealt, putting in only such details of the higher administrative background as are necessary to complete the overall picture.

Development of the Jewel House

From the earliest times, the Royal Jewels and Plate, which included the Regalia, were roughly in two divisions; that in frequent use which was kept and accounted for by the appropriate officer of the Household, and the remainder, usually including the Regalia, which was lodged in the Exchequer Treasuries in the same way as silver might be put in a bank today. Should the King require it, the latter was issued to the appropriate officer of the Household on indenture; there were, of course, many variations of this arrangement, but the Exchequer seem always to have exercised some form of general audit over the whole of the treasure, though the 'Keeper', whoever he was, later claimed the right to account to the King alone. The treasure was looked upon by both the King and Exchequer as a reserve of capital to be drawn upon to meet extraordinary expenses such as wars, too great to come from the normal revenue, hence the frequent pawning and selling of jewels and plate recorded in medieval history.

During Richard II's reign a special officer was appointed for the first time as guardian or keeper of the King's Jewels, with the title of *Custos Jocalium Regis*, probably at the instance of the Exchequer, who wished to put a brake on the King's extravagance; one of the earliest, John Bacon, was in fact one of the Chamberlains of the Exchequer as well. The office was normally combined

[1] A. J. Collins, *Jewels and Plate of Queen Elizabeth I*, (1955), gives a lot of information about the Jewel House in describing the accumulation and dispersal of the collection, covering roughly the period between 1530 and the Civil War.

with that of Treasurer of the Chamber, with the same staff of subordinates apparently interchangeable between the two departments; the duties of the Jewel House officers as given in the Household Ordinances of Edward IV (*Liber Niger*) show that the establishment of the Jewel House at that time consisted of a clerk, yeoman and groom, besides the Keeper.

At the end of the fifteenth century came two important changes; firstly, a new Jewel House, to hold the whole of the reserve plate and the Regalia, was built on the south side of the White Tower at the Tower of London; the exact date of building is not known, but as there is an entry in the Book of the King's Payments dated 24 Nov. 24 Hen. VII of £100 to Henry (Smythe) towards work carried out at various palaces which includes 'the makeinge of the Juellouse wthin the Towre of London' it must have been commenced a few years before. The effect of this was to put the whole of the jewels and plate in the custody of the Jewel House organization. Secondly, after the execution of Sir Thomas Vaghan, Keeper of the King's Jewels and Treasurer of the Chamber, in 1483, no appointment to replace him was made until Henry VII appointed Sir William Tyler as Master of the Jewels (only) in 1485; the latter appears to have had little or nothing to do with either the Jewel House or the Treasury of the Chamber, which were looked after by the clerks, Henry Wiot (or Wyatt) and John Heron respectively.

This represented the split[1], in practice, between the Jewel House and the Treasury of the Chamber, as is shown by the fact that after the resignation of Sir William Tyler, Henry Wyatt is referred to several times as Master of the King's Jewels, though he did not receive the appointment under letters patent until 1515. Both he and John Heron were knighted on Henry VIII's accession.

Origins of the Royal Goldsmiths

Up to this time there are many references in the ancient records to Goldsmiths, and to some as King's Goldsmiths. Besides their ordinary trade as suppliers of jewels and plate, they appear as bankers, as officers of the Mint, and as bullion brokers on the King's behalf. For the purposes of this article, however, I have considered them in the first category only, as the tradesmen supplying the King's regalia and plate.

Before the sixteenth century the title 'King's Goldsmith' appears to have been principally a courtesy title, signifying satisfactory service to the King as a goldsmith; it was not, apparently, an official appointment[2] and the title may even have been self-assumed. If it carried any monopolies or privileges, they were granted to the individual, rather than by virtue of the appointment.

1 There was again a close link between the two departments with the appointment of Sir Henry Wyatt as Treasurer of the Chamber in 1524 on the resignation of Sir John Heron. Robert Amadas, King's Goldsmith, took the place of Sir Henry Wyatt as Master of the Jewel House.

2 Officers of The Royal Mint were usually appointed by letters patent. They were often King's Goldsmiths.

From the accession of Henry VIII, there is increasingly more information available, and during the next hundred years the system governing the relations between the Jewel House and the King's Goldsmiths gradually evolves, a system that was to last almost unchanged until 1782, when the Jewel House organization was abolished. The accounts of the Treasury of the Chamber have in the main survived; though the books of the Jewel House have not[1], there are many odd papers and accounts which are enough to enable the general story to be built up, but details and dates are liable to be somewhat inaccurate. I have included a list of the King's Goldsmiths at the end of this article (Appendix I), and have also been able to trace, as well as the Masters, all the subordinate officers of the Jewel House, with their approximate dates of appointment from the time of Henry VIII to the present day, but the dates, unless fixed by letters patent, are somewhat uncertain before the Civil War.[2]

Function of the Jewel House

With the separation of the Jewel House from the Treasury of the Chamber, the former gradually ceased to have anything to do with the personal jewels and ornaments which remained with the sovereign and his, or her, personal entourage. The State Regalia did, however, remain on Jewel House charge, and after the Civil War the latter became responsible for the provision of regalia and insignia for officers-at-arms, and sergeants-at-arms. From the dissolution of the monasteries until the Civil War, the coronation regalia remained at Westminster Abbey in charge of the Dean and Chapter, though occasionally individual pieces found their way to or from the Jewel House. After the Civil War the distinction between the two sets disappeared and all were kept at the Tower; although for a short period during the reign of James II a few pieces were kept at the Abbey, these remained on charge to the Jewel House.

On the other hand, the Jewel House became accountable for all the plate, of which there was an immense amount; as well as the reserve plate in store, this included all plate in use at the palaces, as well as that on loan to various officers-of-state and officials, both in England and elsewhere[3]. All new plate was provided by the Jewel House, and a large supply of this was needed, either as royal gifts at New Year's time and on other occasions to foreign ambassadors[4], nobles, and court officials[5], or to replace loans. Store plate was not disposed of except in an emergency, but under the Stuarts in the seventeenth century this principle was, to all intents and purposes, abandoned, and the reserve rapidly ran down.

[1] Except for the various inventories, or 'Books of Chardge' between 1521 and 1597.

[2] I have omitted a list of these from considerations of space, and as not relevant to this article.

[3] Plate for the use of English ambassadors overseas was normally on loan to them in the 16th century. It was on loan also during the latter half of the 17th century, but was usually given to the envoy on the termination of his appointment; later it remained on loan, and the envoy was accountable for it on his return.

[4] Jewels were often given in the 17th century, a source of dispute between the Lords Chamberlain and the Masters of the Jewel House, as the latter thereby lost their commission. Under a Treasury Order at the end of the 17th century all ambassadors' presents, jewels or not, were to be found by the Jewel House.

[5] These allowances of plate were mostly commuted to money in the 18th century, and were nearly all abolished by the early 19th century.

During the period of Chamber Finance, the Jewel House probably paid the goldsmiths in cash which they received from the Chamber; records show that in 1550/51 they were certainly doing so. During the latter part of Elizabeth's reign bills were paid by the Exchequer direct to the goldsmith; subsequently the Jewel House never had any cash dealings, except for the collection of obsolete coin which was sent to the Mint.

The establishment of the Jewel House at this time, which was to continue until its abolition, was a Master, two Yeomen, of whom one was the first, or eldest, Yeoman, and answered for the Master in his absence, a Groom, and a Clerk of the Jewels; later, as will be shown, relations with the King's Goldsmith became very close, and the latter really became part of the Jewel House establishment. The appointments of clerk and yeoman were sometimes filled by the same man after the Civil War.

There seem to have been several goldsmiths dealing with the Jewel House and Treasury of the Chamber at the beginning of Henry VIII's reign. Several were officers of the Mint, and one of the latter, Robert Amadas, succeeded Sir Henry Wyatt as Master of the Jewel House in 1524 when the latter became Treasurer of the Chamber; as Amadas continued to trade as a goldsmith, and supplied Cardinal Wolsey with his plate, at the same time as he was Master of the Jewel House, he must have been in a favourable position! One goldsmith, William Holland, complained that he could not possibly supply plate of good quality at the price the King was prepared to pay, but as he continued to supply plate, at intervals, for another two years, the problem was presumably settled satisfactorily.

The dissolution of the monasteries, and subsequent confiscation of their property, brought in a vast collection of ecclesiastical plate and jewels, usually referred to in contemporary inventories as 'chirche stuffe'; to deal with this property, a special 'Court of Augmentations of the King's Revenues' was convened, which continued to function until Queen Mary abolished it, the duties being taken over by the Exchequer; the court was subsequently partially revived by Elizabeth.

The vast majority of this 'chirche stuffe' was converted into bullion, and in this process the Jewel House, Mint and goldsmiths were all involved. Meanwhile, the supply of plate through the Jewel House for the King's use went on as before; very little of the 'chirche stuffe' remained with the Jewel House, though a good deal was converted into plate of a suitable character.

Royal Goldsmiths before the Civil War

It is almost impossible to single out any one or more goldsmiths as suppliers-in-chief until about 1540, when the principal one seems to have been Morgan Wolfe ('alias Phelip' he is sometimes called, or simply 'Morgan'). He had earlier been much involved, together with Cornelius Hayes (or 'Cornelis') with the spoil from the monasteries, and this continued after 1540. There seems no evidence of any specific appointment, but Morgan Wolfe appears to have been

the first of the King's Goldsmiths as the title was later to be understood, that is the goldsmith with the monopoly, or near monopoly, of supplying plate through the Jewel House. This continued until 1550, when during the next two years several goldsmiths are mentioned as supplying plate, including Jasper Fysshier and 'Morgan'.

In October 1552 Jasper Fysshier was appointed King's Goldsmith for life under letters patent, with wages 12d *per diem* payable from the Exchequer, and privileges and perquisites due to the office as in Henry VIII's time. He resigned in the following year after Mary's accession, and Robert Raynes, goldsmith, who had been 'goldsmith to ye Ladye Marye' before her accession, was appointed in his place also under letters patent.[1] In the latter are mentioned some perquisites, which were 'only making amending, etc., of her gold and silver plate and vessels and of spangles for coats[2] of footmen and yeomen of the guard'; during Fysshier's life a proportion of the 12d a day was to be paid to him and altogether Raynes was to enjoy 'all other profits as enjoyed by Morgan Wolfe or the said Jasper'.

From this it can be reasonably inferred that:—

(*a*) From Morgan Wolfe there was a definite household appointment as Goldsmith[3].

(*b*) As this appointment carried with it the monopoly of supplying, mending, etc., plate for the Royal Household, and the Jewel House was responsible for all the plate, it seems likely that all, or nearly all, their business was with him.

If these inferences are correct, it was probably from about this period that what was later to be known as the 'Goldsmith's Warrant' was first submitted.

An example of a 'personal ornament', with which the Jewel House was consequently not concerned was the new small crown made for Edward VI by Everard Everdyse on the orders of the Duke of Somerset. It does not appear in any of the Jewel House inventories. It had a big red stone on top, as a *monde*, and the list[4] describes this as 'oone grete ballyse poiz i oz oon peny wayt', an entry of considerable interest as this is generally believed to be the Black Prince's Ruby. At 150 carats to the ounce[5] this makes the weight 157½ carats; Garrards in 1852 estimated the weight as 170 carats since they were unable to remove the gold setting, which seems reasonably close to the earlier weight.

On the accession of Elizabeth two goldsmiths appear to have been Queen's Goldsmiths, though there is no record of when the appointments were made. There were two throughout the reign, though not the same two, and it is

[1] No goldsmiths were subsequently appointed under letters patent till Sir Robert Viner in 1661.

[2] Robert Amadas had made spangles for coats etc. earlier. This remained a monopoly of the King's Goldsmith, apparently, until the beginning of the next century, when it was transferred from the Jewel House, probably to the Great Wardrobe, where it subsequently remained.

[3] It could, of course, be shared, as any other household appointment.

[4] P.R.O., *State Papers* (*Domestic*). 10 Vol. III Fol. 7.

[5] W. Chaffers, *Hall Marks on Gold and Silver Plate etc.*, 6th Ed., 1883.

supposed by some writers that the pair were partners. They were, it is true, usually paid by a warrant authorizing a lump sum to be paid to 'X our goldsmith and Y one other of our goldsmiths' which looks as if they were partners, but as the gift rolls specify particularly which goldsmith provided each article this can hardly have been the case. It is, I think, more likely that they had to compete against each other for price and quality; gifts, for example, would be provided by both, and the Queen would select which she preferred.

During this period 'Queen's Jewellers'[1] appear, who seem to have dealt only in jewels, and advances of money and banking generally. They do not appear to have had any dealings with the Jewel House, nor, with the possible exception of Sir Richard Martin (Pl. XXVIIIA), do the Queen's Goldsmiths, as distinct from the Queen's Jewellers, appear to have indulged in banking operations involving the Exchequer either now or later on, until Sir Robert Viner in the time of Charles II.

Mr. Chaffers has pointed out[2] that three classes of person are involved in the production of plate, the designer, the plateworker who makes it, and the goldsmith who sells it and probably supplies the capital and/or bullion to the plateworker in the first place. Both the latter classes were classified as goldsmiths, but only if they were plateworkers as well was their 'touch' recorded at the Goldsmith's Hall. Since the Civil War, and probably to a great extent before, the Royal or King's Goldsmiths were usually goldsmiths only; that is they were registered as goldsmiths, but had no 'touch' recorded. In the eighteenth century some do not seem to have been registered at all. With the accession of James I, however, we have a King's Goldsmith who was probably a plateworker as well, John Williams.

Williams appears as drawing four yards scarlet cloth for being in King James I's procession through London on March 6th, 1603, as an artificer goldsmith, accompanied by John Acheson, artificer goldsmith, and George Herriot, William Hericke and Mr. Spilman, artificer jewellers. Williams appears later as His Majestie's Goldsmith[3] in the last New Year's Gift Roll for Queen Elizabeth I, signed by James I; he supplied a few pieces, a greater number being supplied by Hugh Keall, or Kayle[4], who had been in Elizabeth's service as one of the goldsmiths for some years; as goldsmith Williams received orders on the Treasury later on for payment for plate supplied through the Jewel House, for money paid to various subordinate Jewel House tradesmen, cutters, etc., as well, and also for 'necessaries' (which comprised stationery, fuel, etc.) for the Jewel House. Thus the Jewel House 'warrant' system developed, which started in the previous reign, and was to continue until 1782.

1 They were usually goldsmiths and jewellers, and are often called 'one of our goldsmiths, etc.'; I have called them jewellers throughout, to distinguish them from the King's Goldsmith proper who supplied the plate through the Jewel House organization.

2 W. Chaffers, *Gilda Aurifabrorum* (1883).

3 Sometimes 'One of H.M. Goldsmiths'. Herriot etc. were sometimes referred to as goldsmiths, but they did not deal in plate and had no dealings with the Jewel House.

4 He spells his name in at least five different ways.

A. Sir Richard Martin, 1562
(*from an Electrotype in the Royal Mint*)

B. Large altar dish, 1691/2, by Francis Garthorne. In the Tower of London
(*Crown Copyright, reproduced by permission of the Controller, H.M.S.O.*)

The conditions under which John Williams supplied plate for the use of the Royal Household are shown by an Exchequer Warrant dated March 1603/4. These seem so curious that I have reproduced the Warrant in full.

> 'A warrant to the Exchequer to pay unto John Williams one of his Magestie's Goldsmiths or his assigns for the making of such plate as he shall deliver to any of the Officers of His Majesty's house for his Highness's use such somes of money as shall be due for the fashion after the rate of sixpence for each ounce And further to allow unto him in case anie of the saide plate be lost or wasted while it is in his Majesty's handes such somes of money as the saide waste on use shall amount unto by waight when the same plate shall be delivered out of his Majestie's handes again to the custody of the saide Williams And likewise to allow unto him at the rate of X li in the C li for every C li worthe of the saide plate for so long a time as the saide plate shall be in his Majestie's handes above twentie days And lastly to deliver him by way of Imprest CC li towards the provision of Bullyon for making the saide plate to be defalted afterwards upon suche allowances as are made unto him.'

The allowance of sixpence per ounce fashion appears very small even for those days, and it does not seem a very good bargain for Williams. It had one advantage, however, in that the plate would never come on to the market, and so it would be reasonably safe to make it 'sub-standard'; there may have been some truth in the accusations made against Williams towards the end of James I's reign, that he supplied sub-standard plate to the King.

About this time John Acton replaced Williams as King's Goldsmith. Both names occur in the earliest of the Jewel Office books to survive, the Warrant and Letter Book of 1618-1678. Many pages of this book have been removed, and it has apparently been carefully edited[1] but it contains copies of all Acton's warrants from 1618 up to the Civil War. The last of his warrants was submitted to Parliament in 1649 by the Master of the Jewel House, Sir Henry Mildmay, who had joined them on the outbreak of war.

These warrants are really bills, submitted by the Goldsmith for payment, at intervals; under the Stuarts these intervals are irregular, and payments, generally delayed, more irregular still. The earlier warrants put the details very nearly in full, but later the expenditure was summarized under various heads. An invariable entry on the warrants before the Civil War, seldom repeated afterwards, is a payment to the 'Beadles of the Goldsmiths' for searching among the Goldsmiths for lost plate.

During the reigns of James I and Charles I the treasure was rapidly run down[2]; Charles I, in particular, appears to have been quite ruthless as to what he sold. His court at Oxford included a 'Jewel House' organization though there can have been very little in the way of jewels and plate to look after. There was no King's Goldsmith there, but a King's Jeweller, Francis Sympson, who had replaced Alexander Herriot.

1 Probably by Carewe Mildmay, Groom of the Jewel House, during the Civil War.

2 James I apparently did his best to replace plate taken from the Jewel House as gifts. See A. J. Collins, *op. cit.*

The Jewel House after the Restoration

From the accession of Charles II in May 1660, the relations between the Jewel House and the goldsmiths become much clearer, chiefly because there are more contemporary records available, notably the Lord Chamberlain's Warrant Books and records of establishments, and many others as well. The Jewel House Warrant and Letter Book is, I think, complete from this date, and later books form an unbroken series until the abolition of the Jewel House in 1782. The Jewel House Delivery Books and Account Books, from which alone the history of individual items can be traced, are unfortunately missing for Charles II's reign, the earliest commencing with the coronation of James II, but from this time they also form a complete series to 1782.

Another valuable source of information on the Jewel House routine at this time is the letters written by Sir Gilbert Talbot, the Master of the Jewel House, or, to give him his full contemporary title, Master and Treasurer of the Jewels and Plate. Sir Gilbert, who was appointed in July 1660 and remained in office until he resigned in 1690, suffered throughout his service from a grievance not unknown today; he did not consider that he received sufficient money for his job and its responsibilities. He drew £50 a year from the Exchequer[1], but relied for his income mainly on 'profits privileges and advantages' as did most holders of court appointments, and he considered the latter had been reduced to his disadvantage. Consequently, in 1667[2], he put up a comparatively moderate letter outlining the perquisites he considered he should have, and in 1680[3] a very much more forcible one in which he raised his claims considerably. A. J. Collins has dealt with these claims in detail[4] and dismissed most of them fairly thoroughly, nevertheless these letters do give important first hand information on the Jewel House responsibilities and routine at the time. From them and the books themselves it is possible to form a reasonably accurate picture, which can be summarized as follows.

The Jewel House was responsible to the King for all Royal plate whether in use, on loan or in store. Records of loans and issues were kept in the Jewel House books. The officers of the Jewel House were responsible for the provision of new plate as required, including gifts to Ambassadors, gifts at the New Year and other times, and plate for the household. They were also responsible for all maintenance and repair of existing plate. They were responsible for the Regalia, including that of officers and sergeants-at-arms. They were also responsible for providing the insignia of the Order of St. George when required. Apart from this, they were not concerned with other personal jewels and precious stones. They dealt with the King's Goldsmith only, who was responsible for all provision, repairs, etc., that might be necessary.

[1] This remained unchanged from the time of Henry VIII until 1782.

[2] P.R.O., *State Papers* (*Domestic*), 29-212, Fol. 129.

[3] B.M. Add. MS. 34359. There are several copies, one of which has been reproduced by Sir George Younghusband in *The Jewel House* (1921).

[4] A. J. Collins, *Jewels and Plate of Queen Elizabeth I.*

The appointment of the Goldsmith[1] was the right of the Master of the Jewel House. The subordinate staff were the same as before, a clerk, two yeomen and a groom.

The method of accounting was that at intervals the Goldsmith submitted a bill or 'Goldsmith's Warrant' as it was called; in it items of plate were summarized by weight and price under various heads, *e.g.*, new plate gilt and white provided for use by the King and others; gifts from the King at New Year and other times; presents to ambassadors; plate repaired, boiled, etc. Items of the Regalia, Georges and any unusual items were entered separately, as were payments made to certain subordinate tradesmen, such as case-maker, cutler, cap-maker, and to officers of the Jewel House for money spent on necessaries there such as fuel, account books, etc. This warrant was submitted to the Master who certified that the articles had been received and were properly accounted, and then passed to the King through the Lord Treasurer who, if he agreed, ordered payment by the Treasury under letters patent. At the end of the 17th century the Jewel Office provided all presents to Ambassadors, whether jewels or not, under a Treasury ruling, and from Queen Anne's time the goldsmith's warrant, certified by the Master of the Jewel House, was submitted direct to the Treasury for payment.[2] This system continued practically unchanged until 1782. The intervals, irregular and spasmodic under the Stuarts, became more frequent in the 18th century when warrants were submitted and paid every half year.

Royal Goldsmiths after the Restoration

The first goldsmith to be appointed after the Civil War was Charles Everard, in May, 1660. He was probably a nominee of Edward Backwell, a banker, a man who Sir Gilbert Talbot says was proposed as goldsmith by Colonel Blage, a groom of the bedchamber; Sir Gilbert objected to this appointment and was evidently upheld, since Robert Vyner, or Viner, probably the best known of all the Royal Goldsmiths, replaced Everard in July of that year, receiving letters patent in confirmation of the appointment for life a year later, in July, 1661.

Sir Ambrose Heal[3] records no less than six Viners as goldsmiths about this time; Sir Robert, Sir Thomas, and Sir George, all of Lombard Street, the first two being bankers, Robert of St. Mary Woolnoth, and William and James;

[1] The Jewel House Goldsmith. He is always referred to in his warrant, etc., of appointment as 'Goldsmith in Ordinary to His Majesty'. I have referred to him later as 'Principal Goldsmith'. Sir G. Talbot claims he had a right to appoint the Jeweller also. As the Jewel House had no direct dealings with the Jewellers this seems very unlikely.

[2] In 1626 the Master of the Jewel House, Sir Henry Mildmay, complained because some ambassadors' gifts, being jewels, were presented by the Master of Ceremonies instead of himself, whereby he lost his commission. The decision was, however, given against him. In B.M. Add. 34359, Sir Gilbert Talbot quotes this as a grievance, laying the blame on Sir Henry Mildmay, but gets his facts wrong!

Presents to ambassadors and their servants, usually gold chains, were not in any case always supplied by the Jewel House. In 1629 there is an order under the Privy Seal to pay Thomas Viner (not a Royal Goldsmith) for a chain given to an ambassador. This shows, incidentally, that Thomas Viner had dealings with the Royal Household before the Civil War.

[3] Sir Ambrose Heal, *London Goldsmiths 1200—1800*, (1935).

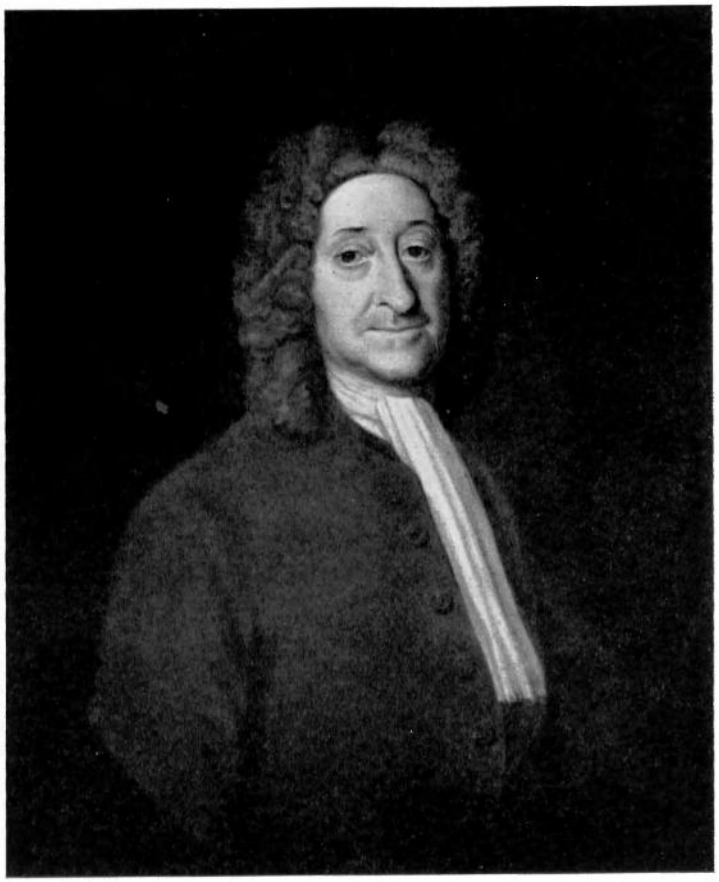
with the latter two we are not concerned. The first mentioned, who was knighted in 1665 and made a baronet in 1666, I have called Sir Robert Viner I (Pl. XXIXA). With the possible exception of Sir Richard Martin, of the time of Elizabeth I, he appears to be the only King's Goldsmith to have become involved with the national finances by making loans to the Exchequer, a risky pastime in Stuart times. Sir Thomas Viner (Pl. XXIXB), knighted by Parliament in 1654 and made a baronet in 1661, was probably even more deeply involved than Sir Robert Viner I, but died in 1665 before the crash came. The Viner who was probably the practising Goldsmith at this time, and may have provided the regalia for Charles II, was Robert Viner II (of St. Mary Woolnoth?); he is referred to as 'Robert Viner the Younger H.M. Goldsmith' in an order to remove the jewels from St. Edward's crown after Charles II's coronation. The three businesses must have been closely linked, as Sir Robert Viner I apparently continued to supply regalia and plate, as Goldsmith, until the day of his death in 1688, in spite of his bankruptcy towards the end of Charles II's reign. Robert Viner II, who succeeded him, was probably a nephew or cousin; he could not have been the son of either Sir Robert or Sir Thomas, as he did not inherit the title.

The Viners do not appear to have been plateworkers, but salesmen goldsmiths, and with the following possible exceptions none of the plate in the Tower, which is mostly of Charles II's period, bears marks at all likely to be theirs. The exceptions, a gold chalice, paten and cover, formerly in St. James's Palace, bear a TV mark partially defaced, alongside an S and A linked. A second gold chalice and smaller paten are unmarked. All, it is true, bear the arms of William and Mary, but experts all seem to agree that they are earlier than this, and it does appear possible that those marked TV were made by Thomas Viner at a much earlier date. This plate, not necessarily ecclesiastical, may have been made before the Civil War, and before Thomas Viner rose to importance; it may then have been remade in its present form by an unknown person, S.A., in 1660/1.[1]

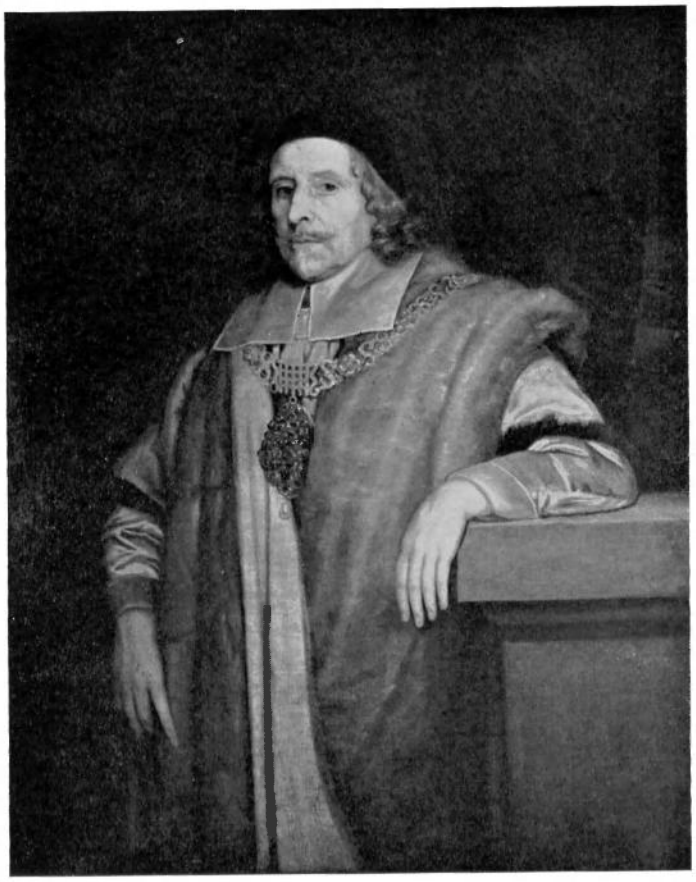
Establishment records show a 'workman jeweller', Peter Belloune, on the Jewel House establishment early in Charles II's reign; he was probably employed in an unofficial arrangement for the numerous minor jobs that might be necessary, which would not warrant the employment of a plateworker, such as fitting new staffs and assembling maces. In 1661 Walter Brydall was appointed as clerk of the Jewel House, and is described as being himself a master

[1] The Chalice and Paten used at Charles II's coronation are said to have weighed 61-12-12 oz. *Vide* B. M. Add. 44915. The Jewel Office delivery book gives the same weight for those used at James II's coronation; a chalice, paten and cover weighing together sometimes 74-1 oz. and sometimes 71-1 oz. were in frequent use (*vide* the delivery book) at St. James' Chapel subsequently, and at every coronation afterwards, where the weight is given as 74-0 oz. as a rule. As those in the Tower today weigh, Chalice 44 oz., Paten 16½ oz., Cover 13 oz., it looks as if they were the same. The smaller, unmarked, weigh, Chalice 36 oz., Paten 7 oz., and there are records *temp.* William and Mary of a gold chalice and paten, weight 41 oz., being constantly issued for the use of Princess Anne (later Queen Anne). All these are of course troy weight.

The weights in the delivery book were mainly for identification purposes and were not necessarily accurate.



A. Sir Robert Viner, 1631—1688



B. Sir Thomas Viner, 1588—1665

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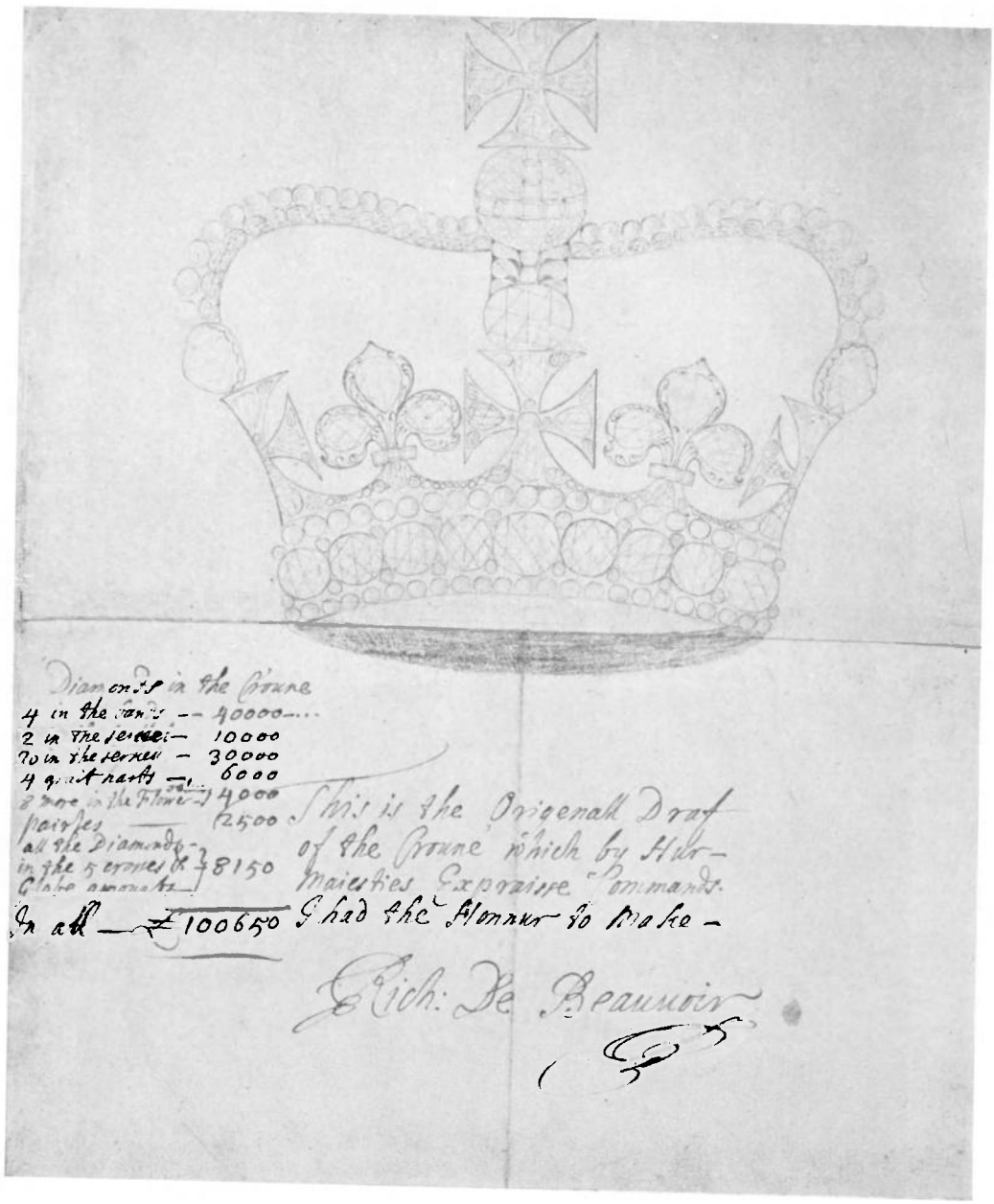
PLATE XXX

Facing page 141



Design for a crown for Mary of Modena, by Richard de Beauvoir, c. 1685

(*Reproduced by permission of the Trustees of the British Museum*)

goldsmith, so he would no doubt have been able to do these jobs himself, and teach others to do so.

The Jewel House got off to a somewhat shaky start; there were numerous staff changes, and Sir Gilbert Talbot does not seem to have been very popular. Some maces were bought by the Great Wardrobe for use in Ireland, two from Sir Thomas Viner, and the Lord Chamberlain ordered a mace for the Sergeant-Trumpeter from Robert Viner direct, instead of both orders being put through the Jewel House as they should have been; there were probably other instances as well. After the coronation things seem to have settled down to a normal routine; there was, however, a purchase in 1661 not through the Jewel House, which is, I think, worth mentioning here.

Whilst in exile in France, Charles II had some dealings with an English Jeweller, William Gomeldon (or Gomelton), apparently through Sir Gilbert Talbot. In January, 1661, Gomeldon sold some jewels to Sir Gilbert Talbot, who received them on behalf of the King; these included 'A large Orientall Ruby, provided for His Maties wearing at yc Coronation, agreed for £400-0-0 . This may very well be the same as the 'King's Great Ruby' set in the front of the State Crown in the next reign,[1] which we call the 'Black Prince's Ruby' today. It seems likely enough that it was the same stone as that set in Edward VI's small crown, to which reference has been made earlier; in view of the 'witch hunt' that had been going on for the jewels and plate belonging to the King which the Parliament were supposed to have 'embezzled', it is not surprising if William Gomeldon kept a discreet silence as to where he got it from![2] Gomeldon was never appointed either Jeweller, or Goldsmith to the King.

In January, 1667, Isaac le Gouch was appointed Jeweller-in-Ordinary to the King for life, on the death of the two Jewellers appointed on the King's accession, Francis and John Sympson; the letters patent of le Gouch's appointment (he is, to the best of my belief, the only jeweller ever to be appointed under letters patent) confer on him the sole power of making all badges of honour; this could not have included the Order of St. George (Garter), the provision of Georges through the Goldsmith being a Jewel House perquisite; this monopoly for orders was probably a personal one conferred on le Gouch alone, and not continued to his successors, as later the accounts show the Jewel House obtaining badges of the other orders of chivalry from the Goldsmith as well.

[1] E. Alfred Jones, *Old Royal Plate in the Tower of London*, 1908, includes transcripts from the Jewel Office account books dealing with the Regalia at coronations from James II to George IV. In these he records an entry concerning the setting of the 'King's Great Ruby' in 'His Majesty's Crown', at James II's coronation, as referring to' Her Majesty's Crown' at the coronation of William and Mary. This has misled writers ever since, who have assumed it was set in the Queen's Crown to emphasize the equality of sovereignty between Mary II and William III.

The mistake no doubt occurred because, with a change of Goldsmith on the death of Sir Robert Viner in July 1688, both Delivery and Account books restarted the paging at 1 for the new Goldsmith, Robert Viner. As a result, it so happens that both coronations are roughly pp. 10-15.

[2] Jewels, other than the Regalia, were no affair of Sir Gilbert Talbot's. Possibly this was a 'quid pro quo' for the maces referred to earlier, or vice-versa.

Le Gouch does not seem to have been popular in this appointment; his original letters patent were held up till the following May, and in June, 1670, he was issued with a new patent appointing him 'during Pleasure' instead of for life.

Meanwhile, national financial affairs were approaching a crisis, expenditure far exceeded income, and the gap was met by loans, mostly from Sir Thomas Viner (who died in 1665), Sir Robert Viner and Edward Backwell. In 1667 the Treasury Commissioners endeavoured to cut the Jewel House expenditure to £8,000 a year, but Sir Gilbert Talbot told them, reasonably enough, that if they wished to cut they had better approach the King direct, as he (Sir Gilbert) was only carrying out the King's orders.

On 2 Jan. 1672 the King closed the Exchequer, which remained closed for nearly two years, until the end of 1673. When it did reopen certain suspensions and reductions of payment remained in force for some years, and according to most writers a lot of money owing never was repaid.

The eventual effect of this was to bankrupt the King's chief creditors, Sir Robert Viner and Sir Edward Backwell, and others besides; many more are said to have been placed in great financial difficulties. Efforts were made to help them out of their trouble, and there are numerous orders for payment of moneys, etc., from the Exchequer, and of pensions and grants to Sir Robert Viner in particular. Though not successful in avoiding bankruptcy, Sir Robert Viner did manage to postpone it until the early 1680's, and apparently his business remained intact throughout.

Two goldsmiths, and fifteen jewellers were 'sworn' during the period 1672-1675. It seems fairly obvious that they were appointed as bankers rather than as tradesmen, and this is borne out by the fact that most of the names quoted as 'severe losers or ruined' by Mr. Chaffers in *Gilda Aurifabrorum* are included in the list which I have given in Appendix I.

In 1676, Isaac le Gouch, the King's Jeweller, who had been more cunning or more careful than many others and avoided loans to the Exchequer, flatly refused to supply the King with any more jewels until he was paid; John Lyndesey was appointed jeweller in this year, presumably to fill the gap, but le Gouch was presumably paid, as later on he supplied more jewels.

Accounts and Delivery Books

The earliest of the Jewel House accounts and delivery books begin early in 1685, and subsequently form an unbroken series up to 1782. The procedure for ordering new regalia or plate, or any other important repairs, etc., now becomes clear, and was as follows.

(1) The King or his representative gave his order, either verbally or by Lord Chamberlain's warrant, to the Master of the Jewel House or his officers, who passed it on to the Goldsmith; in certain cases, later on, this was done after reference to the Treasury. This warrant described

the article required in very general terms, and often its approximate weight.

(2) On receipt of the new plate, etc., the cost was entered in the Jewel House accounts book, and the article then issued to the recipient, after signature, in the Jewel House delivery or Day Book as it was usually called.

This procedure was carried out for anything leaving, or passing, the Jewel House, e.g., plate to the Goldsmith for repair, boiling, etc.

(3) Periodically, the goldsmith's warrant was made up, as already described, with the plate summarized under various heads.

This procedure, or something like it, had probably been in force since the time of Henry VIII or earlier, though the relevant books have not survived.

An interesting feature that comes to light in the first delivery book is the subdivision of the ounce Troy, as used by the Jewel House at this time. When Troy weight was first introduced during the reign of Henry VIII, replacing the Goldsmith's weight, the ounce was usually subdivided into halves, quarters and half quarters,[1] pennyweights and grains being seldom used. From before 1685 to about 1695 the Jewel House, the Goldsmith (sometimes) and probably others as well, subdivided the ounce into quarters and sixteenths, writing the weight as X ounces—Y quarters—Z sixteenths; this has been completely missed in all modern writings that I have ever seen, all authors reading these subdivisions as pennyweights and grains. For example, the weight engraved on the harp panel on the head of the House of Commons mace, 251-2-2, is always interpreted as 251 ounces, 2 pennyweights and 2 grains; it should be 2 quarters and 2 sixteenths of an ounce, $251\frac{2}{4}\ \frac{2}{16}$ or $251\frac{5}{8}$. The system appears to have been dropped after 1695, and pennyweights, and sometimes grains, used instead.

For the coronation of James II and Mary of Modena, new regalia had to be designed and made for the Queen and provided by the Jewel House. One of the two new crowns, the 'rich' crown, was designed and made by Richard de Beauvoir (though it is included in Sir Robert Viner's account) and the design and working drawing of this crown, probably the same as that mentioned by John Evelyn, are now in the British Museum[2] (Pl. XXX).

Sir Robert Viner died in 1688, and was succeeded as King's Goldsmith by Robert Viner II in October of that year. The latter had been serving for the previous year as groom of the Jewel House, a post which he took over from a Thomas Viner, who had been appointed in 1682; on Robert's appointment as King's Goldsmith, Thomas returned to his earlier post, remaining there until his death in 1694.

With Robert Viner II's appointment as Goldsmith, an immediate change is apparent in the delivery book. In Sir Robert Viner's day, when an article

[1] A. J. Collins, *Jewels and Plate of Queen Elizabeth I.* [2] B.M., Add. MS. 17019.

was sent to the Goldsmith for repair, etc., it was signed for by various individuals on his behalf; these are usually identifiable as goldsmiths themselves, thus showing that Sir Robert Viner was a banker, or co-ordinator, of other goldsmiths, and not practising himself. Robert Viner II, however, signed for most articles himself, and so was in all probability the practising goldsmith. To a certain extent, it is, I think, possible to identify some of the plateworkers employed by the Royal Goldsmiths in this way; I have dealt with this in detail in Appendix II, giving such names as I can find.[1]

Robert Viner II remained in office about eighteen months, being reappointed Goldsmith under letters patent of William and Mary, and dealing with the regalia and plate for their coronation. On his death in 1690 he was succeeded by Bernard Eales, also a practising goldsmith, who was followed on his death in 1694 by Charles Shales. Both of the latter generally signed for plate themselves.

From Sir Robert Viner I to Charles Shales all principal goldsmiths were appointed under letters patent. After Charles Shales, however, they were either appointed under the Lord Chamberlain's warrant, or else no warrant at all, the only evidence of a change being the different name on the goldsmith's warrant in the books of the Jewel House.

Charles Shales's successor, Samuel Smithin, was a case in point. He had been in partnership with Shales up to 1702, when apparently the partnership was dissolved, leaving Smithin on his own and Shales set up with another partner, Bowdler.[2] Smithin appears in the books as having submitted the goldsmith's warrant from directly after the coronation, at which Shales dealt with the regalia and plate and submitted the goldsmith's warrant accordingly. The only evidence of a change of goldsmith is the change in name on the warrant.

Charles Shales was a practising goldsmith, which Smithin and his successors up to 1760 apparently were not. From 1702, as in the time of Sir Robert Viner, the delivery book has signatures of a number of individuals receiving plate for new making, repairing, boiling, etc., on the goldsmith's behalf, and in most cases the name is that of a registered plateworker, or very similar. Curiously enough, one of the exceptions is Charles Shales, who apparently never had a maker's mark entered; in fact no principal goldsmith since the Civil War had a maker's mark, so far as is known[3], until Thomas Hemming in 1760. Shales apparently continued to deal with some plate, and occasionally the State crown, first on Smithin's and later on Tysoe's behalf until 1727.

With the Act of Union in 1707 the 'Thistle', or the 'Order of St. Andrew' was revived, and the insignia had to be provided. The collars were made by John Campbell, probably a Scottish goldsmith, and though the insignia was

1 The only one who can be identified for certain with marks on the plate at the Tower is Francis Garthorne. The entries usually refer to the repair, boiling etc., of existing plate.

2 Sir Ambrose Heal, *London Goldsmiths, 1200—1800*. Smithin received the Lord Chamberlain's warrant in 1714.

3 Very few makers' marks are, of course, known before 1697.

distributed by the Jewel House, John Campbell was paid direct on a Treasury Order instead of through the principal Goldsmith on the Jewel House warrant.

With the Hanoverians, Cabinet government became firmly established, and the sovereign entirely separated from any responsibility for the national finances. The division of the Royal Household expenditure on the King's behalf into what was accountable to the Treasury, and what was not (mostly through the Privy Purse) became complete. The Jewel House expenditure was still subject to Treasury control, and from the time of Queen Anne the goldsmith's warrants were submitted direct to the Treasury for payment. This was done regularly every six months by the Jewel House.

Smithin was followed as principal goldsmith by John Tysoe, then came Thomas Minors, followed by John Boldero, his partner, for one year only. All were the Smithin type, and appear to have farmed out most of the maintenance work. The form of the delivery book changes during the 1720's; there are lists of plate for the goldsmiths with no signatures, but later, against some pieces, the working goldsmith's name is entered.[1] Paul Delamarie was appointed as goldsmith to the King in 1716. He must have been paid through the principal goldsmith's warrant, there is no record of the Jewel House having had any direct dealings with him.

Thomas Hemming, the first principal goldsmith to have a known registered maker's mark, took over from John Boldero in 1760, and was responsible for the preparation, provision, etc., of the regalia and plate for the coronation of George III; he never seems to have been appointed by warrant as goldsmith, though he continued in this capacity until 1782. A possible reason for this is that, as shown by some Jewel House correspondence, a 'witch hunt' on the Jewel House expenditure was developing in the 1760's and 1770's, and Hemming's prices seem to have been high though his workmanship was excellent. Alternatively, it may have been a question of status, which is discussed later.

Abolition of The Jewel House

In 1782 the Treasury of the Chamber, Great Wardrobe and Jewel House were all abolished, the duties of the two latter departments being taken over by the Lord Chamberlain's Office. In the case of the Jewel House, the Master, eldest Yeoman and Groom were dismissed, the first, the Earl of Darlington, without compensation, the two latter, Charles Hope and John Paddy, on receipt of gratuities of £120 each. The second Yeoman, Philip Egerton, was appointed to the Lord Chamberlain's Office, where he continued for a short time to deal with the jewels and plate.[2]

At the Tower, the Regalia and some of the Royal plate were held at this time in the Martin Tower, where they were on view to the public. In charge,

[1] See *Appendix* II; the plate was for repair, boiling, etc.

[2] Philip Egerton, who was clerk as well as Yeoman of the Jewels and Plate in the Jewel House, left the Lord Chamberlain's Office after one month. He was replaced as 'Officer of the Jewels and Plate' by Whitshed Keene, who was later succeeded by John Calvert Junr. He received no compensation.

with quarters there was one George Hoare; his appointment was that held by Talbot Edwards in 1671 at the time of Blood's attempted robbery. Hoare, like Talbot Edwards, received no pay other than what he could make by admitting the public to see the Regalia. His appointment was in the gift of the Master of the Jewel House, which gift was of course transferred in 1782 to the Lord Chamberlain. The latter allowed Hoare to remain until his death in 1814, when he was succeeded by Edmund Lenthal Swift, appointed by the Lord Chamberlain on his warrant.

On taking over the Jewel House, the Lord Chamberlain's Department at once put in hand a detailed investigation into the expenses over the previous forty years, for comparison with those current at the time. As a result of this investigation, they reported that the expenditure during this time, excluding the coronation, had averaged £6,100 a year, and they considered that this could be reduced by £2,100 a year without any loss of standard or quality of workmanship.

A warrant was drawn up in December, 1782, for the appointment of Thomas Hemming as H.M. Goldsmith, but this was deleted and from 1783 William Jones, of the firm of Jefferys and Jones, carried on in his place also without a warrant until 1796. The prices tendered by Jones to the Lord Chamberlain in 1782 for the various jobs are given in full in the Jewel accounts book, and are certainly very much lower than Thomas Hemming's charges.

In March 1797, Philip Gilbert was appointed Goldsmith in Ordinary to the King under the Lord Chamberlain's warrant, and Jeweller in Ordinary in January the following year. Philip Rundell and John Bridge, as partners, were also appointed by warrant in March 1797, as Goldsmiths and Jewellers to the King. The Jewels and Plate accounts of 1797 show bills from William Jones, Philip Gilbert, Rundell and Bridge and John Wakelin; evidently some change from Williams Jones' monopoly was considered desirable. Philip Gilbert had gone into partnership with Jefferys and Jones in 1796,[1] and the firm was later known as Philip Gilbert; Wakelin[2] does not appear to have received the warrant.

In spite of their appointment, Rundell and Bridge apparently had no dealings with the Jewels and Plate Office of the Lord Chamberlain's Department until 1802, and Gilbert had it all his own way during this time. This included a comprehensive overhaul and repair of the Regalia in the Tower in 1799: if an account, published in 1785, is to be believed, this was probably badly needed.[3]

[1] Sir Ambrose Heal, *London Goldsmiths, 1200—1800.*

[2] Robert Garrard became a partner to John Wakelin at about this time. Garrards' book *Garrards 1721—1911* shows that the predecessors of this firm earlier supplied plate to Frederick Louis, Prince of Wales.

[3] I am indebted to Mr. H. R. Robinson of the Tower Armories for drawing my attention to an interesting account of a visit to the Crown Jewels, included in William Hutton, '*A Journey from Birmingham to London*', 1785. Here the author states that the jewels were shown him by a woman with a voice like a 'raree showman', who said she knew nothing of their history; he was invited to pick up the State Crown, and try on the spurs and bracelets.

A. J. Collins, *op. cit.*, says this had been the practice in the reign of Charles II, but was stopped after Blood's attempted robbery. The State Crown was later damaged in 1815 by a woman, believed mad, who got her hands through the grille.

From 1784 bills were submitted quarterly, all items being entered separately in the books, and the old Jewel House system of the Goldsmith's warrant, with expenditure summarized under various heads, ceased under the Lord Chamberlain's jurisdiction. Special accounts were, however, submitted on extraordinary occasions, such as coronations. The former Jewel House business seems to have been fairly evenly divided between Rundell and Bridge, and Philip Gilbert, for the period 1802-1820, the latter firm dealing with the Regalia at the Tower.

From 1817 a number of additional appointments as goldsmiths and jewellers were made under the Lord Chamberlain's warrant; two firms were appointed to serve H.R.H. the Prince of Wales and in 1819 a firm in Bridgwater were appointed Jewellers to H.M. the King.

On the Prince of Wales' accession as George IV in 1820, Philip Gilbert and Rundell and Bridge were both re-appointed as Goldsmiths and Jewellers, and also a Harley Street firm, Hart Davis, who were appointed for the coronation only. From this date there is a slight change in the form of the warrant as entered in the books, which makes it clear that, whatever may have been the case before, from this time the goldsmith and/or jeweller was on exactly the same footing as any other tradesman who received the warrant.

Rundell and Bridge took in several new partners, and were responsible for all the Regalia, plate, etc., used at the very lavish coronation of George IV, taking over the responsibility for what was at the Tower from Philip Gilbert; from this time the firm were known as Rundell, Bridge and Rundell, reverting to the older name, Rundell and Bridge, some years later.

During the years 1820 to 1830 firms were appointed as goldsmiths and/or jewellers to H.M. the King, in Dublin as Irish goldsmiths etc., in Edinburgh as goldsmiths etc. in Scotland, and others at Bath, Portsmouth and Worcester as goldsmiths etc. in these towns. Robert and Sebastian Garrard and two other firms received the warrant in 1830, without any mention of locality.

From 1837, the appointments books show the appointments of officers of the Royal Household only, there being a note to the effect that tradesmen were transferred to a separate book which does not appear to be available for public inspection. There is, however, a note later that Messrs. Garrard replaced Rundell and Bridge as Crown Jewellers in 1843, the appointment also appearing in the Tradesmen's Book.

Change in status of the Goldsmith

The appointment of additional goldsmiths during the reigns of George IV and William IV does not appear to have been caused by any change of policy regarding the disposal of the former Jewel House business; as before, orders continued to go to two firms only, for a time the same two, Rundell and Bridge, and Philip Gilbert. William Bennett took the place of Mary Gilbert[1] in 1830,

[1] She received the warrant in 1828 in place of her husband Philip. William Bennett had not received the warrant by 1837, probably because Garrard held the second one, and two only were allowed for the Jewel House business.

and from 1827 Garrards started to 'cut in' on Rundell and Bridge's share of the business, receiving the Lord Chamberlain's Warrant in 1830, and taking over as Crown Jewellers in 1843. If there was any dispersal of orders outside these firms, it was on a very small scale. The additional appointments did, however, bring about a change in the character of the Lord Chamberlain's warrant, and this was authorized probably on account of the change in the status of the goldsmith, which had been going on for a number of years.

In Charles II's time the goldsmith, Sir Robert Viner, was of national importance as one of the mainstays of the national finances with his loans, as a banker, to the Exchequer; his duties as a goldsmith proper, in providing and maintaining the Regalia and plate, were probably little more than a side line. The importance of his appointment is shown in that it was made for life under Royal letters patent, which had not been done since Robert Raynes and his predecessor Jasper Fysshier were appointed over a hundred years before.

By the early eighteenth century the position had changed; banks had been started, notably the Bank of England in 1694, and the National Debt established, so the services of the goldsmith, as a banker, to finance the Exchequer, were no longer required. On the other hand, such services probably were still needed in connection with the trade itself, though on a smaller scale. Large quantities of plate were still required annually by the King, and credit might well still be wanted on a scale a single goldsmith might find it difficult to grant. A banker or financial agent was needed for the appointment, capable of co-ordinating and financing practising goldsmiths, rather than a man who was a practising goldsmith himself, though he might of course be this as well.

The employment of a practising goldsmith in 1760, probably as a tradesman and nothing else, very likely marks a further decline in status, and may well be the reason why neither Thomas Hemming nor William Jones received the Lord Chamberlain's warrant; a goldsmith banker was awaited; when eventually it was decided to employ working goldsmiths and/or jewellers, the warrant was issued to two firms, Rundell and Bridge, and Philip Gilbert, instead of one individual as before, showing that a financial 'go-between' was now considered unnecessary.

The goldsmith was now in much the same position as any other tradesman employed by the Royal Household, except in one respect, financial; his business represented far more money. In spite of the measures for economy that had been taken, and the disposal by melting down or other means of quantities of Royal plate, expenditure by the Jewels and Plate department of the Lord Chamberlain's Office rose sharply during the Regency period; this may be attributed to the extravagance of the Prince Regent, the establishment of other Royal Households[1], and the general rise in cost due to the war.

The change that had come about in the warrant was, therefore, the logical outcome of the change in status of the goldsmith, which had declined from being

[1] These households still received a supply of the Royal plate from the Lord Chamberlain; most of the free allowances in plate had been abolished or commuted to cash by this time.

that of an important officer of the Royal Household in the seventeenth century to that of a tradesman in the service of the Royal Household in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The extension of the warrants to other goldsmiths was probably to ensure that they were received by all who had given satisfactory service to the sovereign under any circumstances, instead of only by those who had dealt with the former Jewel House business through the Lord Chamberlain's department, as previously. It is quite possible that it was extended to cover service to other members of the Royal family, in the same way. Whatever the reason, it altered the character of the warrant, which, in effect, ceased to be a warrant of appointment, and became instead a reward for satisfactory service to the sovereign; a reward which could, moreover, be withdrawn should the service cease to be satisfactory.

Crown Jewellers

There was still, however, one item which for reasons both of security and convenience remained the monopoly of one firm, the Regalia and Plate at the Tower. The care and maintenance of this gave the goldsmith concerned a status above the others, and it was probably for this reason that the firm selected received the title of Crown Jewellers some years later, a title which carries with it the responsibility for the maintenance of the Regalia and its preparation at coronations.

Little more remains to be said. Rundell and Bridge, somewhat optimistically submitted an estimate for the coronation of William IV and his consort, Adelaide, on the same lavish scale as for George IV's coronation earlier. In fact, at the King's own request, William IV's coronation was on a very modest scale, and expenditure reduced accordingly. Rundell and Bridge did, however, provide new coronation rings for the King and Queen, which were later used at the coronation of Edward VII and are now on view in the Tower as part of the Regalia. They also made the new State Crown for Queen Victoria, and provided the famous coronation ring, which was too tight a fit, and which she had great difficulty in removing after the ceremony.

Garrards provided the new regalia for the Kings-at-Arms at William IV's coronation, provided by Rundell and Bridge at the coronation before. As mentioned earlier, they were appointed 'Crown Jewellers' in 1843 in the place of Rundell and Bridge.

The firm of Garrards held this appointment until 1952, when they were bought up by the Goldsmiths and Silversmiths Company; the latter assumed the old name of Garrards, and were appointed Crown Jewellers, an appointment they still hold.

APPENDIX I

ROYAL GOLDSMITHS AND JEWELLERS

(I) 1509—Civil War

Goldsmiths and Jewellers

Henry VIII 1509	before	1509-1532	Robert Amadas
	before	1509-1510	William Rede
		1515-1523	William Holland
		1515	Henry Wheeler
		1515	John Twistleton
		1529-1540	Cornelius Hayes (or Cornelis)
		1532-1540	Morgan Wolfe
		1532-1534	John Freeman
		1534-1540	Thomas Trappes
		1539	Robert Trappes
		1540-1550	Morgan Wolfe (*alias* Phelip)
Edward VI 1547		1550-1552	Morgan
			Thomas Gardener
			Lawrence Warren
			William Hawtrie
			Richard Hilles
			John Harrison
			Henry Castell
			Jasper Fysshier

	Goldsmiths		*Jewellers*
Mary I 1553	1552-1554	Jasper Fysshier[1]	(List not complete)
	1554-1558(?)	Robert Raynes[1]	
Elizabeth I 1558	1558(?)-1576	Affabel Partrige Robert Brandon	Sir John Spilman
	1577-1580	Robert Brandon Hugh Keall (or Kayle)[2]	
	1581-1602	Hugh Wall[2] (Sir) Richard Martin	
James I 1603	1603	Hugh Keall John Williams	Sir John Spilman George Herriot Sir William Hericke
	1604-1624	John Williams[3]	
Charles I 1625	1618-1642	John Acton[3]	Alexander Herriot Jacques Duart Francis Sympson (at Oxford)

[1] Appointed under letters patent.
[2] This name is spelt in many different ways. 'Wall' is no doubt a mistake for Keall which appears subsequently.
[3] Paid under goldsmith's (Jewel House) warrant.

(II) 1660—1684/5

Goldsmiths

Charles II
1660

Principal Goldsmiths

20 May 1660 Charles Everard[1]

12 July 1660—1688 (Sir) Robert Viner[1] [2]

Sir Robert Viner, or Vyner, was sworn as Goldsmith Sept. 1660, appointed by letters patent July 1661, Knighted 1665 and created a Baronet May, 1666. He died in 1688 and was succeeded as Goldsmith by his nephew (?) also Robert Viner[2]

Other Goldsmiths (bankers?)

20 Nov. 1671 Richard Stratford[1]
Henry Lewis[1]

Goldsmith Extraordinary

12 July 1662 Charles Le Roux

Silversmiths

'*Silversmith in Ordinary* to His Ma^tie^ for chastwork within His ma^ties^ Closett and Bedchamber, and also the Closett and Bedchamber of the Queen.'

1660(?) Christian van Vranen
5 April 1661 John Coque, in van Vranen's place

Silversmith in Ordinary 1 July 1669 Uldarius Marchant

Jewellers

Principal Jewellers

13 June 1660 Francis Sympson[1]
John Sympson[1]
Dec. 1666 Isaac le Gouch[2]

Other Jewellers (workmen?)

20 Jan. 1661/2 Robert Russell
15 Nov. 1662 Henry Cokeyn
Dec. 1666 John le Roy (*extraordinary*)
19 May 1668 John le Roy (*in ordinary*)

Workman Jeweller (*Jewel House*)

Peter Belloune

Jeweller Extraordinary for the King's Cabinet

21 Jan. 1663/4 Martin Dardem

Other Jewellers (bankers?)

20 Jan. 1671/2 John Portman[1]
George Portman[1]
26 Mar. 1672 Isaac Meynell[1]
Guilbert White[1]
John Grimes[1]
27 April 1672 Robert Welsted[1]
Thomas Temple[1]
2 May 1672 Thomas Price[1]
Bernard Turner[1]
30 Oct. 1672 Jeremiah Snow[1]
1 April 1673 Pierce Reeves[1]
2 April 1673 Thomas Rowe[1]
Thomas Pardoe[1]
Dorothea Colvile[1]
16 Jan. 1674/5 Robert Ryve[1]
9 April 1676 John Lyndsey[1]

[1] Sworn to office.

[2] Appointed under letters patent.

NOTE: throughout this period, Sir Robert Viner alone of the above, submitted to the Jewel House, and was paid on, the goldsmith's warrant.

(III) 1684/5—1782

	Principal Goldsmiths[3]	*Principal Jewellers*
James II 1684/5	1660—1688 Sir Robert Viner[1 3]	(List probably incomplete)
	Oct. 1688— 1689/90 Robert Viner[1 3]	1684/5 Christopher Rosse
William and Mary 1689	Mar. 1689/90— 1694 Bernard Eales[1 3]	1689 Sir Francis Child
	Aug. 1694— 1702 Charles Shales[1 3] (of Shales and Smithin up to 1702, later Shales and Bowdler to 1715)	1698 Sir Stephen Evence
Anne 1702	1702—1723 Samuel Smithin[2 3] (Apptd. Ld. Chamb. Warrt. 1714)	1711 Samuel Smithin (also *Goldsmith*)
George I 1714	*Goldsmith* 1716 Paul Delamarie[2]	1714 Nathaniel Green[2]

Principal Goldsmiths and Jewellers

George II 1727	1723—1730 John Tysoe[2 3]
	1730—1759 Thomas Minors[2 3] (of Minors and Boldero, 1742—1760)
	1759 John Boldero[2 3]
George III 1760	1760—1782 Thomas Hemming[3]

(IV) 1782—Present Day

Goldsmiths and Jewellers

George III 1760
George IV 1820
William IV 1830
Victoria 1837

(1782 Thomas Hemming, *Goldsmith in Ordinary to H.M.*, entry of appointment deleted)

1783—1797 William Jones (of Jefferys and Jones 1779—1793)

15 Mar. 1797—Mar. 1826 Philip Gilbert[2] *Goldsmith in Ordinary* (Jefferys, Jones and Gilbert 1796)

31 Jan. 1798—Mar. 1826 Philip Gilbert[2] *Jeweller in Ordinary* (Firm as above; later Philip Gilbert, late Jefferys and Jones)

16 Aug. 1826—c. 1830, Mary Gilbert[2], *Goldsmith and Jeweller in Ordinary.*

15 Mar. 1797—1819 Philip Rundell and John Bridge (Firm Rundell and Bridge[2])

c. 1820—1830 Philip Rundell, John Bridge, Edward Walter Rundell, Thomas Bigge, John Gawler Bridge. (Firm Rundell, Bridge and Rundell[2])

[1] Appointed under letters patent.
[2] Appointed under Lord Chamberlain's warrant.
[3] Goldsmiths to whom money is payable under goldsmith's (Jewel House) warrant.

(IV) 1782—PRESENT DAY—*continued*

Goldsmiths and Jewellers

George III	1760	c. 1830—1843	John Bridge, Thomas Rundell, John Gawler Bridge (Firm Rundell and Bridge[1])
George IV	1820		
William IV	1830		
Victoria	1837	1797	John Wakelin (a few items, this year only) (of Wakelin and Garrard)
		1830—1843	Robert, James and Sebastian Garrard[1]
		1830—?	William Bennett

Crown Jewellers[2]

Victoria	1837	13 Feb. 1843—1952	Robert Garrard, Sebastian Garrard, Samuel Spilsbury[1] (firm Garrards) 'to be *Crown Jewellers in Ordinary* in place of Rundell and Bridge'
Edward VII	1901		
George V	1910		
Edward VIII	1936		
George VI	1936	1952—	Garrards taken over by Goldsmiths and Silversmiths Coy., who later take name Garrards and are appointed *Crown Jewellers*
Elizabeth II	1952		

APPENDIX II

SUBORDINATE GOLDSMITHS AND PLATEWORKERS

From the restoration until 1760, all goldsmiths who submitted the Goldsmith's warrant (principal goldsmiths), with the exception of Robert Viner II, Bernard Eales and Charles Shales, were apparently bankers or salesmen of the work of others, rather than practising goldsmiths and plateworkers who did the work themselves. In such cases, as has been explained earlier, plate for repair, boiling, etc., often appears to have been delivered direct to the plateworker who was to deal with it, the plateworker signing for it on the principal goldsmith's behalf.

This system of recording in the delivery book changed in the 1720's, and subsequent lists of plate appear as 'delivered to goldsmith' for repair, boiling, etc., without signature. In some cases, however, the names of plateworkers were entered against parts of the lists, *e.g.*, names are usually given for plate from St. James's Palace and later also from Kensington Palace.

From Thomas Hemming, in 1760, all principal goldsmiths were practising goldsmiths, and there is no clue to show whether the work was farmed out or not. From this date too they are firms rather than individuals.

In the following lists I have given the names of all who signed on behalf of the principal goldsmiths from 1684/5 to 1725, together with the names of plateworkers entered later. The first group includes names of individuals such as John Cully and Edward Balsom who were not probably goldsmiths at all.

[1] Appointed under Lord Chamberlain's warrant.

[2] This seems to have been first used as a title by Rundell and Bridge; only two firms have used it, Rundell and Bridge, and Garrards.

Apparently the title implies the responsibility for the preparation of the Regalia and Crown Jewels for Coronations, and their maintenance generally. It could, on this basis, have been applied to all the 'Principal' goldsmiths from 1660 to 1782 and probably to the Royal Goldsmiths since Morgan Wolfe in 1540.

Since 1782 it would have been held by William Jones 1782-1796, Philip Gilbert 1797-1820, and Rundell, Bridge and Rundell from 1821-1843.

GOLDSMITHS AND PLATEWORKERS EMPLOYED BY ROYAL GOLDSMITHS

1684/5—1760

Principal Goldsmith	*Subordinate Goldsmiths and Plateworkers*
Sir Robert Viner 1684/5—1688	Robert Smithyer Saunder Smith Francis Cooke Thomas Harris Richard Marchant William Kirton Ralph Leek Francis Leek Jere (Jeremiah?) Lammas — Smithson
Robert Viner 1688—1689/90	John Cully
Bernard Eales 1689/90—1694	John Cully P. Rolles 1690 only **P**
Charles Shales 1694—1702	Edward Balsom Jere (Jeremiah?) Lammas [1]William Dennet William Bull **P** } 1701 and 1702
Samuel Smithin 1702—1723	Philip Rolles **P** — Garthorne **P** [2]Francis Garthorne **P** Robor Garthorne — Lammas Charles Shales William Dennett — Pyne } **P** — Bates } **P** coronation of George I only
John Tysoe 1723—1730	— Rolles **P** Old Margas(h) **P** Young Margas(h) **P** Charles Shales — Edwards **P** — Hatfield **P** — Farren **P** — Allen **P** — Tanqueray 1729 only **P**

[1] As written in the book; possibly same as William Denny, a plateworker.

[2] Francis Garthorne's early mark, FG, appears on parts of maces dating from March 1684/5, and the large altar dish (Pl. XXVIIIB), date letter 1961/2, in the Tower. His later mark, G^A, appears on parts of other maces.

P Entered as plateworkers, after 1697.

GOLDSMITHS AND PLATEWORKERS EMPLOYED BY ROYAL GOLDSMITHS

1684/8—1760 (continued)

Principal Goldsmith	*Subordinate Goldsmiths and Plateworkers*
Thomas Minors 1730—1759	— Hatfield 1732—1740 **P**
	— Farren 1732—1742 **P**
	— Edwards 1732—1743 **P**
	— Tanqueray 1732 only **P**
	— Allen 1732—1745 **P**
	— Margas 1732 and 1733 only **P**
	— Hebart 1736—1740 **P**
	— Le Sage 1741—1759 **P**
	— Williams 1744 and 1746 only **P**
	— Fox 1746—1759 **P**
John Boldero 1759	—
	—

P Entered as plateworkers, after 1697.

The Institute wishes to express its gratitude to the Council for British Archaeology for a grant towards the cost of this paper.