

ART. XIII – *William Clark, Clockmaker of Kendal, 1716–1763.*

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“Clark, William. Kendal. Two longcase thirty-hour brass-dial clocks recorded, c1720.”<sup>1</sup>

**T**HIS laconic entry in the specialist work on Westmorland clockmakers was, until recently, the sum of knowledge of this man, his family and work. Far more remained to be found, in the Kendal record office, in London, and more importantly, in the evidence ticking away steadily in houses up and down the country. It is the purpose of the present article to set the record straight, and give some account of a man who deserves to be as well-known as the Hadwens or Burtons of his home town.

William Clark was born on 4 May 1716, the younger twin son of Joseph Clark and his second wife, Agnes Hodgson, of Thackmoorhead, Lambrigg. They were Joseph’s only children, his first wife having been a widow, apparently some years his senior. By this time he himself was over fifty: born in November 1665, the second of five children of one of the earliest Quaker families, who suffered for their faith. Agnes did not long survive the birth – twins were a severe complication in the 18th century, and William’s birth is recorded as being the day after his twin’s. Although Joseph soon remarried, he predeceased his third wife without further issue.<sup>2</sup>

Joseph died when the twins were ten; his will, drawn up when they were very young, was proved in 1726 and makes interesting provision for them. This we owe partly to his yeoman status, but more to his Quakerism, for lack of baptismal records meant that the will was often the only document available, recognised by the ecclesiastical authorities, to prove family relationships. In it, Joseph calls upon three friends, Quakers, to make the following provision for his younger son:

Further it is my will that seeing my personal Estate is small I doe hereby Order my said Tutors and Guardians to maintain and bring up my said two sons Equally forth of the mean profits arising both from my Real and personal Estate also I Desire Seeing I have Reposed this trust in them to see these my Sons well Educated and as much as in them lays Trained up in the feare of the Lord also it is my Desire that if my son William Do live to age of being capable to be put forth then I Desire my said three Friends if they in their Discretion shall see it proper and convenient for him to put him forth to some handy Craft Trade which they may think best sutes his Circumstance . . . <sup>3</sup>

The elder has the customary estate and the best furniture.

It is to be presumed that brother John did not get on well with his stepmother, for at about the time that William was apprenticed out, he abandoned the farm and ran away from home, eventually to found a milling dynasty in Cumberland and north Westmorland, which deserves an article on its own.<sup>4</sup> Joseph’s third wife thus seems to have stayed on at the farm until her death in 1739. The manorial court of Lambrigg in November 1740 found John right heir to his father at the yearly customary rent of 6s. 8d., with a

wood rent of 4d. John, now well established in Cumberland, apparently passed the estate on to William, who inherited in 1742 and immediately alienated it to one John Wilson, not having any desire to farm it either.<sup>5</sup>

William, the more docile of the two, had been apprenticed in 1729 to Isaac Hadwen, Quaker clockmaker of Kendal, for the statutory seven years.<sup>6</sup> Joseph's executors had fulfilled his will in the best way they could, finding the boy a skilled trade in a rising industry, and moreover with a master who shared their religious convictions – as was common amongst the Quakers. The boy thus had an excellent grounding in both his trade and his faith, both of which he maintained, unlike his brother, until his death.

Isaac Hadwen is one of the better-known of the Kendal clockmakers. Hailing originally from Sedbergh, but of a Quaker family supposedly with North Lancashire roots, he settled in Kendal in the 1720's. The *Book of Record* of the period shows him admitted to the freedom of the Corporation in February 1722 on payment of £8. There are only two such admissions recorded during the period covered by this volume (1696–1764), Hadwen's, and in the following year, that of a Mr Edward Walley of Liverpool, watchmaker, for £10. Hadwen is known to have had strong connections with Liverpool, where his widow and son later settled; Isaac junior, Joseph and Isaac III were all 18th century clock and watchmakers there. This presumably accounts for Mr Walley's interest in Kendal; Hadwen's own admission as a freeman occurred during the mayoralty of Mr John Hadwen, mercer, a major figure in the city corporation for the first forty years of the century, and, one would suppose, not disinterested in the clockmaker's affairs. Isaac Hadwen seems to have been a restless traveller, as were other Quaker preachers. His admission as a freeman occurred shortly after a trip to America; although in 1731 an established member of the Kendal Monthly Meeting of Quakers, his will drawn up in 1736 before a second trip to America, where he died, is among the Lancashire probate records, and shows him at that time resident at Over Gayle in the parish of Tunstall. Young William can only just have completed his apprenticeship before Hadwen was off on his travels again. Was he perhaps the Kendal operator of Hadwen's rather peripatetic trade? One wonders whether his first marriage to a Lancashire girl owes something to his master's other connections.<sup>7</sup>

Hadwen's clocks are best known for their maker's trick of putting engraved verses, rather than ornamental spandrels, in the corners of the dial. Dealing, appropriately for a timepiece, with mortality and mutability, they are also appropriate for a Quaker, rather than the ornate classical motifs commonly used. A typical verse runs:

Behold these hands;  
Observe the motion's tip;  
Man's precious hours  
Away like these do slip.<sup>8</sup>

William, as far as the authors have found, never used such verses. It is possible that he had enough of them as a boy. Much of the more delicate work on a clock – finishing the pointers, making the chain, even some of the engraving on the dial, if not contracted out to a specialist – was entrusted to a boy's nimbler fingers and better eyesight. One might well have had enough of *Memento mori*; quite apart from the change in fashion and the

hard fact that it was quicker and easier to buy in spandrels ready-made than to spend hours working on the dial.

William must have remained Hadwen's apprentice until the second American expedition, coinciding roughly with his own majority, and then after his master's death, have had to make his own way as a journeyman. Other young men were also newly qualified clockmakers: the two apprentices taken by Hadwen in 1727, Thomas Fawcett of Hawes, and Isaac Bispham of Yealand Conyers, and Thomas Braithwaite of Coniston, apprenticed in 1722 to Timothy Strickland, clockmaker. It was the latest, and fashionable, technology. A younger apprentice of Hadwen's, Tryall Rider, indentured 1733, may perhaps have had to finish his training with William, whilst a James Wilson of Kendal and William Wilson of Ulverston were apprenticed to William Burton, clockmaker, in 1734 and 1735 respectively. Despite this rush to join the new trade, it was never able to rival the older guild companies, or seek inclusion as did the barbers in 1730 and the hosiers in 1731.<sup>9</sup>

Given the tightly-drawn parameters of William Clark's working life, any authentic clock of his must have been made in the twenty-six years between his independence in 1736/7 and his death in 1763 – a useful limit, as William neither dated nor numbered any of the clocks that the authors have been able to examine. Dating and numbering seems to have been an idiosyncrasy of Jonas Barber II, whose clockmaking career began just as William's was ending.<sup>10</sup> The one date we can be sure about is that the surmised date of 1720 cannot apply to any William Clark clock, as William was then a child of four!

That error probably derives from the fairly old-fashioned styling, by London standards, of the clocks of many country makers, which frequently misled early twentieth century clockmaking authorities into assuming an earlier date than was really the case for provincial makers. William's earlier clocks are likely to be in the style adopted by his master Hadwen who was indeed producing clocks in the 1720's. As we have no way of identifying the clocks on which the false assumption was based, we cannot be more specific.

The one possible exception to the dating rule is the marriage clock made by William for the marriage of his brother John to Mary Richardson, eldest of the four daughters of Mr Richardson, Quaker, of Whamhead estate near Greystoke. The marriage took place in 1737, and William would only just have completed his apprenticeship, if indeed he ever strictly did; the clock was nevertheless signed by him as an independent journeyman, and bore the names of his brother and wife. It was the only clock he was able to make for a member of the family; by the time John's son Joseph was married in 1765, his marriage clock had to come from William Porthouse of Penrith; William Clark was two years dead.

The Clark marriage clock was, in 1777, bequeathed by John to his youngest son Robert, in whose family it remained at mills in the Kirkby Stephen area until 1964. Then, sadly, it was sold in Brough to a passing antique dealer; extensive enquiries have failed to uncover it, and it may well have left the country. It is thought to have been seen in a Lincolnshire antique shop a year or two later, but despite extensive searches and wide advertising the family has sadly lost all trace of it. William Porthouse's clock, ironically, is still a treasured possession.<sup>11</sup>

During the 1740's and 1750's William was quietly building up his business as a clock and watchmaker in Kendal. He can be traced through the Poor Rate books, and the

assessments for constables' funds, as a lesser tradesman, paying a gradually increasing poor rate which may indicate increasing prosperity. His first entry in 1744 in Stramongate, convenient for the Quaker meeting house, has his name added in a different hand at the end of the list, and shows him paying 1s. 2d. He does not occur in 1745, unless a William Clark in Stricklandgate, against whose name there is a blank, is he, or over the next two years, when assessments appear to have been levied on gentlemen only, or on later ones assessed on land. In April 1748 he appears again, paying 10d. – 4d. for trade and 6d. for a house – at a time when rates ranged from 3s. 4d. to 2d. He was certainly at the lower end of the list of ratepayers, as one might expect of a young man barely established in trade, and with a young family to support. In August 1749 he is paying 1s. 6d., and in November 3s., but the rates have increased, not his prosperity; the sum is still a low average when others in Stramongate were not uncommonly charged 7s. 6d.

A gap then occurs in the record, and by the time the second rate book picks him up in 1755, the rate has steadied to a regular 2s. for a house and 1s. for trade, which continues until the record ceases in 1758. This increase does seem to indicate a more prosperous business and a comfortable standard of living; he now pays a low-average rate, instead of being in the bottom 10% or so.<sup>12</sup> Certainly the value of his inventory bears out this impression. Household goods and furniture at over £44, £3. 10s. of plate and £22 stock in trade do not suggest he was struggling. The whole of his father's household and farming stock had not totalled £17.<sup>13</sup>

As far as one can ascertain from the evidence of the clocks themselves, he progressed from simple single pointers, or the cheaper thirty-hour clocks, through better quality eight-day items, and some of the 1750's clocks are as fine examples of the craft as one could wish for.<sup>14</sup> Surviving clocks cover the whole spectrum of the clockmaker's craft. Although we have not found the quantity of output of, for example, Jonas Barber, a comparison with the detailed analysis by Cave-Brown-Cave of Barber's clocks shows details of similar quality. We have even one example at least of an engraving trick always expected of the Barbers: the pigtail of a figure 5. Whereas Barber used this regularly on the single 5, to balance the lone figure, William's 25 scrolls into the clockmaker's signature on one of the finer engraved dials. Some of the better clocks show similar details of the arbor, pillars, and other metalwork, where, as Loomes says of Barber, it was "showing off": details that would never be examined by the owner but appreciated by a specialist servicing the clock.<sup>15</sup>

The earliest clocks in general use were all single pointers. The twentieth century, accustomed to fine calculations of time, is apt to forget the slower pace of eighteenth century life, when to know the time within fifteen minutes was usually enough. Only with the arrival of the railway timetable did precision to the minute really matter. As a result, these early clocks will be found to have the hour divided in quarters only, these markings often on the inner circle of the chapter ring (containing the numerals). Even when fashion dictated a two-handed clock to show the minutes, it was common for these markings to remain, whilst the outer circumference of the chapter ring carried the minute markings. This is often regarded as a traditional style on earlier two-pointer clocks, but the evidence indicates to us that some of William's better and later clocks (post 1755) continue to use this, almost as an habitual engraving style. It was of course possible for a clock to be adapted later, to form a two-hander, and in this case minute

markings might be punched on the outer circumference as a row of dots; a possible example of this is Dennison, though the movement seems genuine.

The main differences between clocks by the same maker arose from the price the customer was prepared to pay. As a generalisation, an eighteenth century thirty-hour clock would cost about £2. 10s., whilst an ordinary eight-day clock might be twice that price. The case of course was extra – the clockmaker was a metalworking craftsman, bought in his cases from elsewhere – and depended on the wood used: mahogany was five times the price of deal (perhaps £5 as against £1. 5s.). Not until about 1760 did it become a northern woodworking material, and only William's latest clocks can have an original case in this wood. An eight day brass dial clock in mahogany would cost about ten weeks wages for a skilled craftsman – an outlay far beyond his means. There was a certain amount of social snobbery in the type of clock possessed; hence the prevalence of clocks like the Gates clock, with dummy winding holes. They are not clocks whose dials have been later doctored to adapt to a different movement, but clocks designed from the first to appear more expensive than they were. As for refinements like a seconds dial, moon phase, arch dial with moon phase, quarter chiming, or fine cases of mahogany, they were beyond the reach of anyone not commanding a gentleman's income. The shortage of really fine clocks by William Clark says more about the incomes of his neighbours than about his own technical ability – and indeed the clock described at (D), with a similar example in the appendix, show just what William could achieve when the purchaser could afford to pay for it.<sup>16</sup>

At least his customers were not bedevilled by inflation. Prices remained fairly constant for the period 1650–1800, and the valuation of the marriage clock in John Clark's 1777 will – £2. 10s. – is the same as the usual purchasing price for such a clock, forty years earlier.<sup>17</sup>

All this is of course to concentrate on the visible dial, which was what the purchaser was most concerned with. The craftsmanship that went into the medium range of eight day clocks rivals anything by the better known Westmorland makers, and the plainer style of the thirty-hour works has nothing slipshod or flimsy about its construction. (For a detailed analysis of the horological craft aspect, see Part II below.)

The long case, which for many is the distinctive part of the clock, could have come from several sources. It is clear that the well-known Gillows of Lancaster supplied some Kendal makers, and not always the best known. Production of plainer cases in oak would not have been beyond the abilities of a local joiner, and the similar style of many cases – a standard thirty-hour case, for example, and “twins” among the known eight-day cases e.g. Dobson and Wilkinson – suggest that William had a joiner who regularly made cases for him. The fine arch-dial mahogany cases, on the other hand, are very probably Gillows work. It is a pity that receipts have not usually survived from either joiners or clockmakers to make the identification certain.<sup>18</sup>

A description of some typical examples of William's work give some indication of the range of his craft.

(A) A single-pointer clock.

One such is about 6'6" tall in a plain oak case, flat-topped and undecorated. The pillars on the hood are plain turned work. The long door has a slightly more decorative top, in a

style found on several thirty-hour two-handers. The chapter ring has large Roman numerals but no Arabic minutes, naturally. The half-hour is marked with a lily. The simple dial is ornamented with a sunburst engraved above the pointer, and a simple acanthus scrollwork around the date. The pointer is the delicate work typical of a genuine Clark pointer; replacement pointers are always clumsy by comparison. Classical “four season” spandrels (ornamental brasswork at the corners of the dial) suggest a date in the 1740’s, but it could easily be 1750.

(B) A thirty-hour clock.

The case is in most instances very similar to that described under (A). This example has more ornamental pillars, but the moulding of hood and base shows little change; it is probably made by the same joiner. The chapter ring now has both Arabic and Roman numerals, and minute markings around the outside; the half-hour is unmarked. The dial is plain, except for the concentric circles around the false winding holes; the arched datewheel filling most of the space. A penny-moon space at the top, which might have had a moon-phase calendar if the customer had chosen, simply bears the maker’s name; the design suggests a basic stock pattern was made and adapted to individual choice. The spandrels are the indeterminate “string of pearls” type, probably from the latter half of William’s career; date *c.* 1760.

(C) A standard eight-day clock.

Here the case has mahogany banding around the door, suggesting a date around 1760, which is supported by the “mask” spandrels, popular until about 1760.<sup>19</sup> The door is much shorter, to show off more mahogany banding on a trunk panel. The turned pillars to the hood are elegantly made, and show the greatest difference from this clock’s “twin”, which has plain ones, in keeping with its longer door. The chapter ring is finely engraved, with both minute and quarter-hour marking on outer and inner edges respectively. The maker’s name is well-executed, with pigstail ornament and linking to the numerals. The centre of the dial is all but filled with acanthus engraving, from the number aperture to the seconds dial. Surprisingly, this good quality clock has obviously stood on a farmhouse kitchen floor, where the swilling of scrubbing water has damaged the banding to the base.

(D) A fine quality clock.

This example is about eight feet tall: the better off had larger rooms. The fine case is of Spanish mahogany, with an arched hood ending in swan’s neck pediments, and ornamented with brass finials. The hood pillars are fluted and finished in brass. The trunk is well proportioned (country clocks can easily appear top-heavy), and the base gracefully panelled.

The arch-dial carries the maker’s name in full around a moon-phase dial, gilded, silvered and blued. Urn spandrels to the main dial indicate a date between 1740 and 1760; in view of the case, the later end of the range is likely. The centre of the dial is plain, with just a little acanthus scrolling around the date aperture, and the pointers similarly plain. The chapter ring on the other hand is most ornate, with the Dutch style wavy edge incorporating the minute markings, and half-hour lilies for additional ornament.

The clock is naturally eight-day, and was originally quarter-chiming; still in working order is the double-strike on the hour.

We have not yet found any evidence of William's complementary trade of watchmaker, of which he was evidently quite proud; as only five examples of Barber's far greater output have survived, and those from around 1780, this is not surprising. The Barber examples are finely crafted but are not in style readily distinguishable from the similar products of a good quality clocksmith.<sup>20</sup> Watchmaking was evidently regarded as the latest thing in modern technology, and as mass-production methods rendered the long-case clockmaker's skills obsolete in the last quarter of the century, William Clark's son must have been glad of this second string to his bow. William specifically leaves to his elder son John, "All my Worktools Implements and Utensils of my Trades of Clock and Watchmaker",<sup>21</sup> and John was to make good use of them.

Although eighteenth century watches survive in good numbers, they have been more susceptible to repair and alteration than longcase clocks, and the maker's name is more easily lost from inside the case than from the brass dial of the most expensive furnishing of the room. We should be glad to hear from any owner of a watch by William Clark who could throw light on this aspect of his craft. One watch by his son John, numbered 73 and crudely dated 1779, is known; it is, by this date, almost certainly a bought-in Prescott movement, though John's style might be expected to show affinities to the popular Lancashire movements. It is obviously of good quality but not exceptional.<sup>22</sup>

William was twice married; first to Mary Nickson of Stanah, near Thornton on the Amounderness peninsula, by whom he had John (10 January 1743/4), Mary (17 August 1744) who appears to have died in infancy, as she is not mentioned in his will, and Margaret (30 January 1747/8). Mary Nickson also came from one of the original Quaker families of her area: like William she was a third-generation Quaker. Like William also, she had been orphaned in childhood; born in 1720, the fifth child of Isaac and Mary Nickson, she was only eight when her parents died within a fortnight of each other, presumably in some epidemic. Nicksons then vanish from the Lancashire Quaker records; the older members of the family must have taken the child away. Perhaps similar childhood experiences gave the couple something valuable in common.<sup>23</sup> Sadly, Mary Nickson died in May 1750, aged only thirty, and William, left with small children to care for and a business to run, married again, in June 1751, another Mary (Carr), whose son William was born on 19 August 1752. This second Mary also died, in November 1755, William thereafter remaining a widower.<sup>24</sup> His household was presumably augmented by apprentices, as John would have been too young to help until the 1750's but from about 1758 he would certainly have been involved. Is it significant that the better clocks date from this period when William had a permanent assistant? Now he had an established business in a town where plenty of the second generation of clockmakers were competing for trade. Unfortunately there are no surviving records of apprentice indentures for this period to show who else may have trained under him, and the so-called Apprentice Register, well-kept in the 1680's, has no 18th century record bar a half-page covering 1782-9. One apprentice is however revealed by the minutes of the Quaker monthly meetings; in the autumn of 1743 William Walker of Lancaster, a boy member of the Friends, offered himself as an apprentice to a clockmaker, and it was decided to treat with William Clark about taking him on, repaying, one supposes, the

debt to William's master Hadwen. The matter is not raised again so the boy was apparently duly apprenticed. He does not seem to have profited from his stay in William's household; before he was thirty his name came up as one who "hath walked reproachfully" for some time past, and continued representations from Quaker worthies do not seem to have produced an amendment of life.<sup>25</sup>

Perhaps dating from this later era of John's apprenticeship are some of the outstanding specimens of William's work, such as the Bowland or Fellside clocks. (Part II below.) With boys to help with routine jobs like making the chains for the weights, and the intricate tasks such as filing and blueing the pointers, for which their better eyesight was invaluable, he would have been free to concentrate on producing really high quality clocks – and well enough known for the orders to come in.

So many questions remain unanswered. What was it really like to be a craftsman working in the tiny shops up the narrow yards? One would guess, unhealthy; his wives and at least one child died young; we have found no further trace of his younger son William and he may not have attained his majority either. William himself was only forty-seven at his death.<sup>26</sup> What must it have meant to a young tradesman with a young family to watch the Scottish army passing by in 1745, with all the indiscipline of a modern football crowd? It was a major event in the borough; the constable's expenses in 1745,<sup>27</sup> towards which William was contributing included:

	£	s	d
By setting watch, powder, ball, etc	3	15	8
expense with rebel rear guard	1	2	0
expense of Duke of Cumberland's guard		3	0
removing soldiers' wives and children		5	6
assisting the King's baggage	2	11	0
Mr Shaw's expenses in London about rebel prisoners		3	0

What role except that of taxpayer did William play in the community? He was not of status to be involved in borough affairs; the urban gentlemen provided the "capital burgesses", or aldermen. County families like Crakanthorp could have a member chosen as a freeman simply as an excuse to become a member of the corporation, and the Gurnalls, Wilsons, Scarisbricks and the like who were prominent in civil affairs probably ignored William's existence. The gentlemen assessors for Stramongate poor rate – Mr Isaac Wilson in 1744, Mr Thomas Ashburner and Mr John Tompson in 1746, were from an entirely different world to the young clockmaker at the lower end of their lists. Nor does his name ever occur in the Quarter Sessions records between 1744 and 1764, but as no other Quaker or clockmaker does either, little can be gleaned from this silence.<sup>28</sup>

William Clark, like his son after him lived and died a Quaker, unlike his brother who had reverted to Anglicanism soon after his marriage. One could assume he took his faith quite seriously; was he then a stalwart of the Kendal Quaker meeting? Not as far as one can tell. He was perhaps too young ever to rank among the worthies who ran the local meeting: Rebanks, Crewdsons, Whitwells, and the well-documented Wilsons are the names which occur frequently. His name arises routinely, declaring intention of

marriage to the two Maries, and his son's occurs in 1766, requesting a certificate as reference on his transfer to the Peele Monthly Meeting in the city of London. One might have hoped that the local Men's Preparatory Meeting, to which the Kendal Monthly Meeting stood in something of the relation of deanery to parish in the established church, might furnish more detail. By this time its records are becoming stylised, giving little but brief notice of marriage intents, names of representatives to the Monthly Meeting, and the amounts taken in collections for the poor. From the mid-50's complaints of poor attendance are common too. This probably explains a note tucked into the minutes book, dated 12 5 mo. 1754, listing those absent from the collection, with sums due and noting payment. Of the dozen or so on the list, two-thirds owed sixpence and the minority, one shilling; William's sixpenny due, second to last on the list, is one of three which is not marked as paid, for reasons which can only be guessed at. Had he a full order book, and pleaded pressure of business? Was the baby sick? Or was William an infrequent attender anyway, who considered the Sunday meeting sufficient commitment?<sup>29</sup>

As for domestic arrangements, it is not only the apprentices who elude us; did he have some housekeeper or servant to help with the children? Did the horse mentioned in his inventory take him round the outlying hamlets of the barony, delivering clocks, or down to Lancaster to visit the cabinet makers like Gillows who were to provide the clock cases? No paperwork survives to tell us.

One can assume that unhealthy living conditions, endemic urban disease, or even a chill caught riding to a customer, contributed to his death, of which the fact alone is recorded. (Riding Westmorland roads could be hazardous; four guineas' compensation was awarded at the Kendal Quarter Sessions in 1752 to the owner of a horse which *drowned* on the bad road between Coatflatt and Tebay.<sup>30</sup>) William's will of 1763 leaves all his clock and watchmaking tools to his son John, now twenty. The monies raised by sale of his goods were to be divided amongst the children, John receiving half the residue and the sums of ten and fifteen pounds being allocated respectively to Margaret's marriage and young William's education.<sup>31</sup> Identification of a younger William Clark amongst Kendal apprentices is impossible, as records are lost; even more difficult is it to guess where else his more travelled brother might have lodged him. Nor is there any sign of Margaret marrying, or even dying, in the Kendal area.

This is perhaps the less surprising, as son John made good use of his father's bequest; as soon as he could, he headed for the capital, where his career has been traced by Quaker researchers.<sup>32</sup> His leaving the north is considered unusual; one of the Haythornthwaites is the only other member of a Westmorland clockmaking family to have abandoned the northern counties, and trans-Pennine migration might have been more expected, although a Kendal Quaker, William Johnson, is also recorded as having transferred to the same London meeting ten years before John's departure, and there may well have been stronger links than commonly supposed.<sup>33</sup>

John settled first in Clerkenwell, where in 1769 he married Mary Lucas; at the time he is described as a watchmaker. Five children were born at St John's Square Clerkenwell, of whom only the third, Priscilla, survived; his wife died giving birth to twins in 1773, and in 1776 he moved with Priscilla to Bury St Edmunds, and in 1781 to Sudbury. The clockmaking authorities note him as a maker at both towns, without realising his identity. In 1777 he married Martha Fuller, by whom he had eleven children, of whom

only three survived childhood. John was sufficiently well-to-do to send three children to the recently founded Quaker school at Ackworth. In 1810 he retired, shortly after the marriage of his daughter Margaret to Daniel Smith, watchmaker of Chatham, Kent, and went to live in Chatham along with his only surviving son John, finally dying at a ripe old age in 1815.

John thus manages to figure as three different makers in the clockmaking guides, with at first sight nothing to connect him with the fine clockmaking tradition of Kendal in which he was reared; his surviving watch shows him as a watchmaker of Bury St Edmunds. William Clark of Kendal was not to know that he had established a clockmaking Quaker dynasty into the fourth generation, and his granddaughter's descendants probably have no idea of their antecedents. Rumour did, however, reach the family of John Clark's twin, in Cumberland for, in the 1850's, the miller of Greystoke, William Clark's great-nephew, believed that

My grandfather John Clark was a native of Kendal . . . his father was a clock and watch maker he had a large family and many of them followed their father's trade of Clock and Watch making . . . It was said that old Mr Clark the Clock and Watchmaker at Kendal was a very honest and upright Man and very much respected in Kendal.<sup>34</sup>

Over the course of one hundred years the generations, and the careers of William Clark and his son had become confused in family history, but the epitaph rings true: the honest Quaker, respected and remembered by those who knew him.

It is the belief of the present writers that William Clark's clocks are as fine examples of the craft as any product of Isaac Hadwen or Emmanuel Burton, and that the accidents of fame – compounded by a less memorable name – have deprived him of the recognition which is duly his. It is the hope of the present article to help restore him to his rightful position.

## **Part II: Known Clocks by William Clark**

The list that follows makes no claim to be an exhaustive catalogue of surviving clocks by William Clark. It includes all those which have been brought to the attention of the writers, and which in many cases they have been able to examine and photograph. Brief notes are given of case, dial, and, where examination has been possible, significant features of the movement; a general survey of Clark clockmaking techniques follows in Part III.

The titles given to each clock are for convenience of identification in the text, and have been deliberately chosen to conceal their identity and whereabouts from the unscrupulous. The numeration sequence is used for convenience in the technical section of this paper, and is not original or chronological.

### **1. The Dobson clock.**

8-day. Case fruitwood, banded mahogany, about 6'6" tall; short door with mahogany banded panel beneath; two well turned hood pillars. Mask spandrels. 12" dial,  $\frac{1}{4}$ hr markings on inside of chapter ring; centre beautifully engraved with acanthus



PLATE I A standard eight-day Clark clock – the Dobson Clock



PLATE 2 The Dobson Clock dial



PLATE 3 The Gates Clock (note the error in Kendall)

throughout dial; seconds dial. Signed W. Clark. Tail on 5 of 50; 3 of 35 links to W. of signature. Pigstail under signature.

2. The Gates clock.

30-hour, false-drilled. Plain oak case, about 6' tall; two hood pillars. "String of pearls" spandrels. 11" dial, plain; minute markings only. Wm. Clark; Kendal spelled with two ll's. Signature plate in place of seconds dial; semicircular date aperture.

3. The Kendale clock.

30-hour, oak case, 6'8" high; four free standing hood pillars. Four seasons spandrels. Matt 11" dial with sunburst. Slight engraving around date aperture, like Maltese cross. Quarter-hour markings and dots for minute markings. Fleur-de-lys half-hours. Original pointers. W. Clark. Interesting movement including e.g. grooved pillars, faceted hammer, apostrophe tail to bell stake, square ended lifting piece, single-piece crutch, closed curved end. (See Part III for discussion.)

4. The Asby clock.

30-hour false drilled dial, very similar to (2). Oak case with banding to door, brass fittings; trunk columns and two hood columns with two rear quarter columns. String of pearls spandrels. 12" dial, mounted on four feet to movement. Dial similar to Gates, plus marriage initials on shield under date circle. Attractive original pointers. Wil. Clark.

5. The Cleckheaton clock.

30-hour 7' tall dark oak case; well turned hood pillars with plainer quarter pillars; brass fittings to trunk and hood doors. Cherub spandrels. Diamond half hour divisions, with arrows on quarter-ring; silvered chapter ring; acanthus engraving around square date aperture. Original pointers. Wm. Clark links to 3 of 35.

6. The Samlesbury clock.

Single-pointer small (10½") dial not in original case. Twin cherub with crown spandrels; square date aperture with acanthus surround. Original fine pointer. Signed Will. Clark. Movement damaged, but original open ended crutch, apostrophe tail, lower of three plain pillars axle for date wheel.

7. The Ripon clock.

8-day; converted? Oak, attractive carved, probably 19th cent. case. Cherub spandrels. 11" dial, quarter hour markings, fleur-de-lys half hour. Will. Clark. in plate for seconds dial. Acanthus around square date aperture. Plain winding holes. Replacement pointers.

8. The Blackburn clock.

30-hour false dial, similar to Gates. Square topped oak case, 6'3", with mahogany turned pillars. Mask spandrels. 10½" dial, semicircular date aperture, moon phase. Minute markings only on chapter ring. Will. Clark.

9. The Fellside clock.

8-day arch-dial mahogany/inlaid; height 6'8" plus brass orbs and finial; a very fine

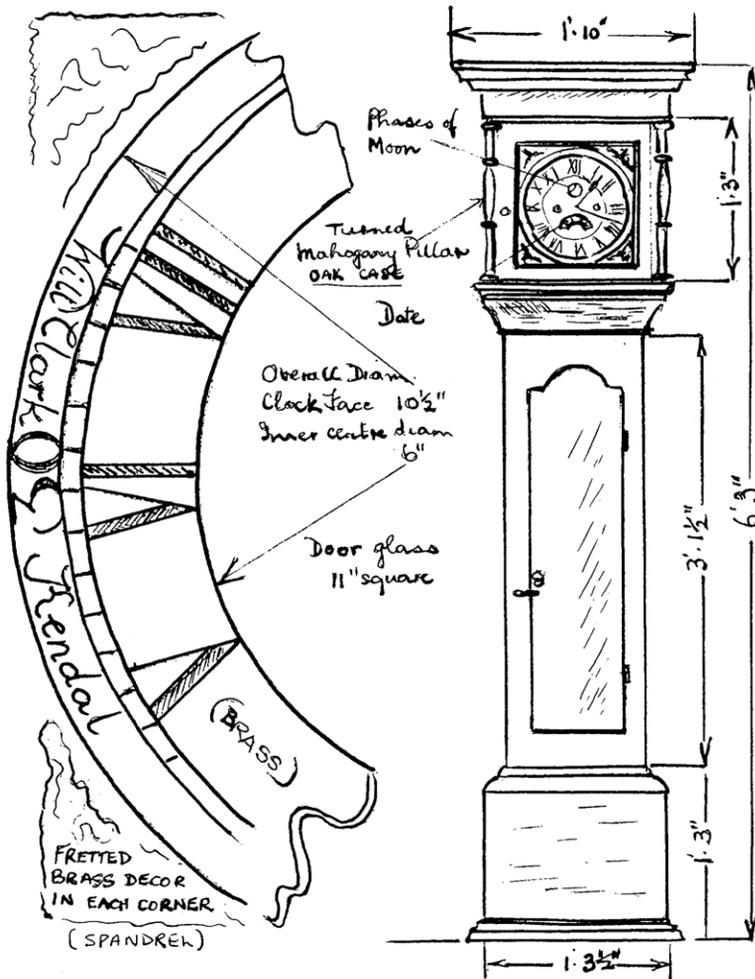


FIG. 1 A typical William Clark clock (The Blackburn Clock - 8)

clock. Urn spandrels. 12" dial, four dial feet. Original pointers and seconds hand. Seconds dial silvered, as are date and lunar calendars. Sunburst centre to seconds dial. Arch a separate sheet of brass, dolphin spandrels with wheatear design at top. Original pointers. Acanthus engraving around date aperture. Signature W. loops on to 35.

10. The Lakeside clock.

Single pointer, no case. Mask spandrels. 11" dial, acanthus scroll around date aperture only. Quarter hour and five-minute markings, with arrows at hour markings. Diamond half hour markings. Long pitch of chain typical of Barber and Burton. Signed W. Clark.

11. The Gornall clock.

30-hour mahogany/veneer, 6'6" tall; turned pillars plus rear quarter pillars to hood.

Woman's face spandrels. 12" dial. Sunburst in place of seconds dial and acanthus engraving around date aperture. Quarter markings and fleur-de-lys half hour. W. Clark.

12. The Seaside clock.

30-hour oak, 6'7" high; square topped hood, plain pillars, integral rear pillars. Cherub spandrels, with crown. 11" dial, double fleur-de-lys half hour markings. Dutch influence minute marking band. Acanthus engraving around date. Wm. Clark, scrolling into 35. Four pillars to movement.

13. The Wilkinson clock.

8-day oak/mahogany veneer, long door; 6' tall, plain, two plain hood pillars. Urn spandrels. 12" dial, with seconds dial, pointer missing. Nice acanthus engraving similar to (1), and chapter ring details. Arrow markings at quarter-hours on outer minute-circle. Inner circle with quarter hour divisions. Original pointers, fine quality. W. Clark, scrolling to 35. Movement very similar to Dobson clock. (1)

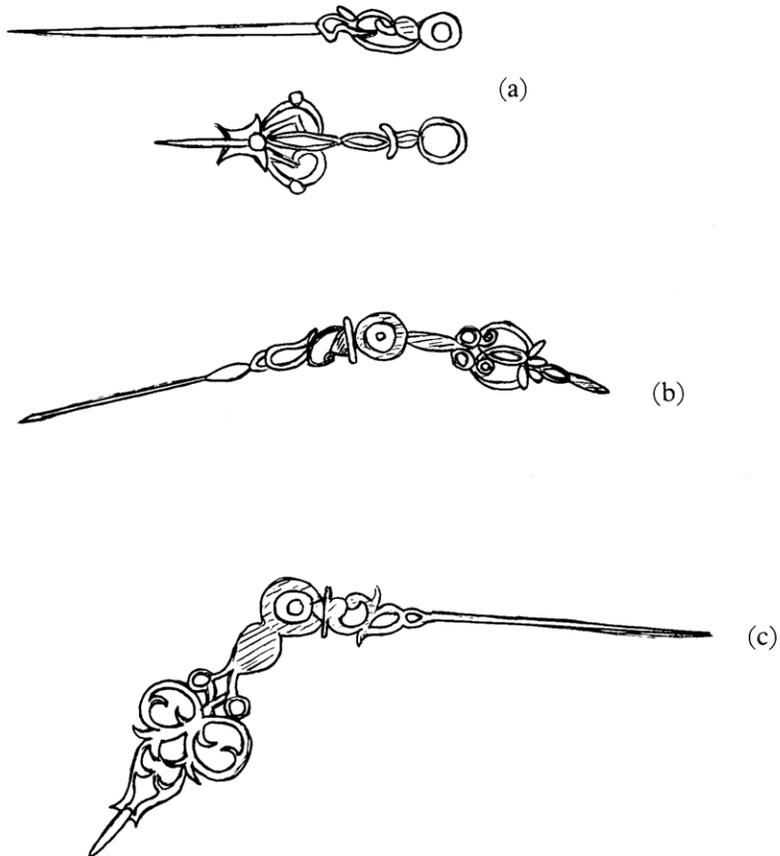


FIG. 2 Typical Clark pointers – (a) the Asby Clock, (b) the Cleckheaton Clock and (c) the Wilkinson clock

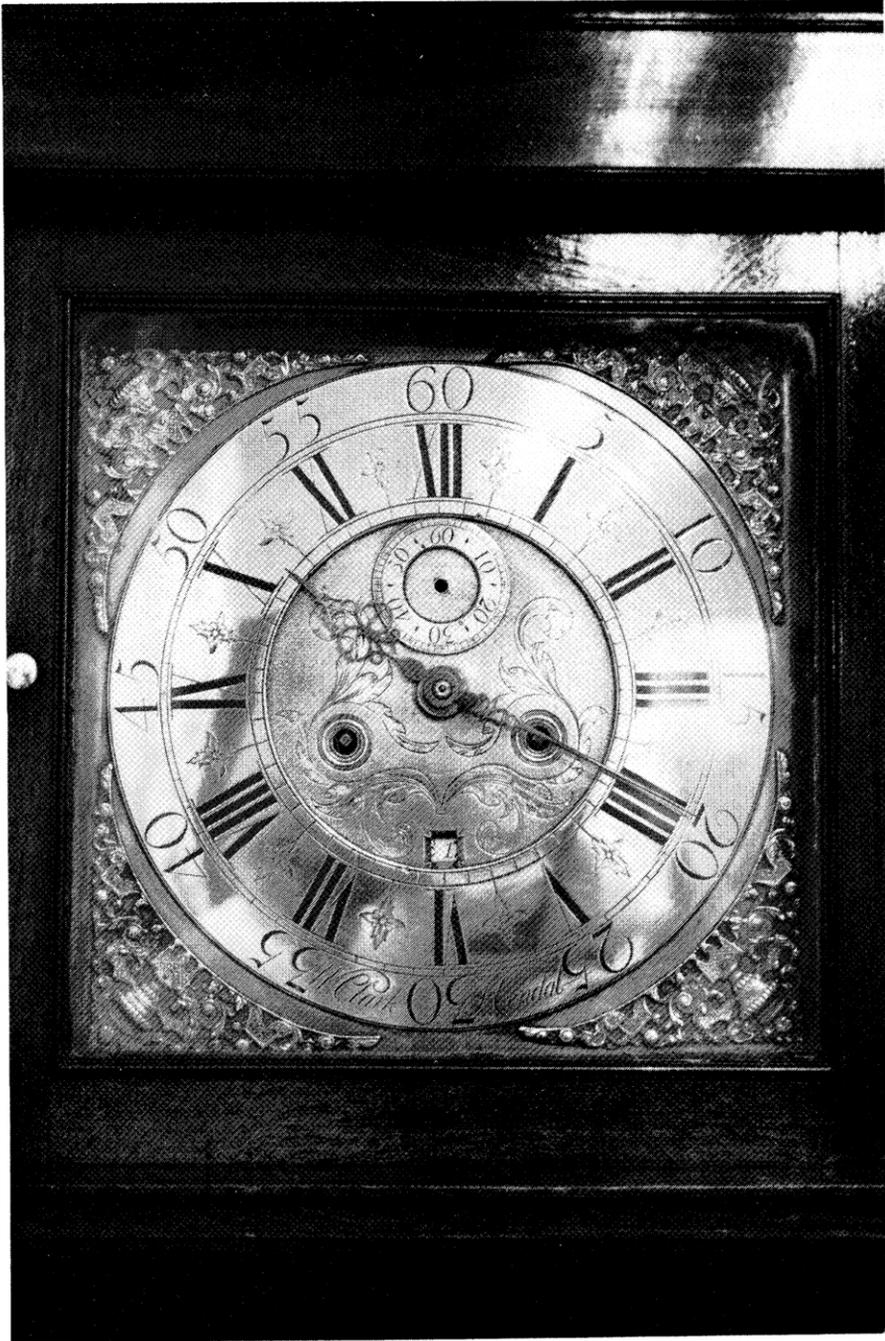


PLATE 4 The Wilkinson Clock

## 14. The Bowland clock.

8-day arch-dial. Mahogany, 8' tall; brass orb finials with central eagle; fluted pillars to hood and trunk. Urn spandrels. 13" dial; painted moon phase in arch, originally quarter chiming, double strike on hour. Dutch style chapter ring with half hour fleur-de-lys. Acanthus around date square, covering one third of dial. William Clark.

## 15. The Dickinson clock.

30-hour single pointer. Oak case, square topped hood, plain pillars, integral rear pillars, door identical to Gates. Four seasons spandrels. 11" dial, half hour lily with arrows at hour markings. Sunburst above pointer boss and acanthus scrollwork around date aperture. W. Clark. Interesting cleaning records on movement.

## 16. The Taylor clock.

8-day. Oak case. 12" dial, penny moon. Modern spandrels.

## 17. The Lakeland Museum clock.

8-day arch-dial. Oak case, over 8' tall; scroll and swan-neck pediments, orb shaped compass finial. Urn spandrels. Dutch style wavy chapter ring, minutes only marked. Acanthus scroll around winding holes. Seconds dial. Silvered chapter ring. Signed W. Clark.

*Clocks reported but not inspected by the writers.*

## 18. The Kent clock.

8-day moon phase. Oak, 6'4". Cherub spandrels. Dutch style chapter ring. Lunar calendar, acanthus scrolling. William in full?

## 19. The Hodgson clock.

30-hour single pointer. Case in original style of Gates and Asby until carved, as Ripon; now oak, carved case. Date marker. Simple dial without minute numerals. Half hour lily. Pointers probably not original. Cherub spandrels?

*Other clocks known by report.*

## 20. The Marriage clock.

30-hour, small oak case, flat topped. John and Mary Clark. Signed by William.

## 21. The Steavenson clock (stolen).

30-hour, oak case.

## 22. The Lambrigg Foot clock.

Probably 30 hour; Oak, carved case (dated 1698, cf. Ripon clock). 7'6" tall. Wm. Clark.

### Part III: The clocks of William Clark: a horological survey

In this more technical discussion of the clockmaker's craft the authors seek to establish the right of William Clark to be regarded as a valuable contributor to the clockmaking history of Westmorland.

The yardstick for any consideration of Westmorland clockmakers must be the Barbers. The most prolific clockmakers in their several generations whom the county can boast, they are naturally the most highly esteemed and the best researched. The exhaustive study by Cave-Brown-Cave of both the family history and the techniques of their craft provides a sure foundation for comparison and contrast.<sup>35</sup>

It must be admitted from the first that in certain aspects Barber clocks have no rival. One such is the care with which Barber II always attached the movement to the dial with carefully crafted latches, instead of rigid pins; another is in the decoration regularly found on the arbor which held the date wheel, as if for identification. He had perhaps the benefit of hindsight; by the later decades of the century it must have been obvious that he was going to be occupied in maintenance and repair, as well as clockmaking. Earlier makers (amongst whom we must include William Clark, for although he counts as second generation against Hadwen his master, he is a contemporary of Jonas Barber I), did not have the benefit of this hindsight. It is to the credit of the Barbers that they regularly took the care over clock movements which other makers sometimes bestowed. It is our contention that this painstaking craftsmanship is common in Clark clocks, and may well be with other less well known makers also.

The craftsmanship of the dials of Clark clocks is evident to the layman's eye, and requires less elucidatory comparison than do the parts of the movement itself.

#### *Dial: general*

The size of dial varies from 10" to 12". We have not found the small 9" dial, typical of earlier clocks, and only one certain example of the heavy 13" dial, which was coming into fashion in the third quarter of the seventeenth century (clock 14), on a particularly tall clock. The larger 12" dial is in better proportion, and more likely to be found with an eight-day movement, on a taller clock. Using more brass it was naturally more expensive, though it may well be found on clocks 6'6" tall, which are less graceful than the 11" ones of similar height. Here the case height has been dictated by the height of the farmhouse ceiling. The indication would be that the first owner was a man of some substance, and these larger clocks also appear to date from the second half of William's career. Barber clocks are always over 10" by 1720, and require 11" or 12" dials for an eight day movement.<sup>36</sup> By the end of the 1750's the 11" dial had become the minimum acceptable norm, though the 12" dial was not in general use until after the death of Barber senior in 1764.<sup>37</sup> Half of the number of Clark clocks we have examined have 12" dials, and 35 per cent 11"; was William perhaps more ready to change his style than Barber? (see e.g. clocks 1, 9, 14.)

The type of movement shows the same variation with the same economic constraint of the customer's purse. 20% of the surviving clocks are single pointers; another 20% are two handed, but simple thirty-hour movements. 25% are regular eight-day clocks, with

15% eight day arch-dials, with corresponding refinements. 15% reflect the social snobbery of those who wished to be thought to have a more expensive clock; the thirty-hour dials are false-drilled to resemble eight-day ones.

### *Chapter ring*

The style of the chapter ring does not seem to us to give any clear indication of date. Quarter hour markings, to be expected on an earlier clock, are lacking on some judged from other evidence to belong to the first half of his career. Likewise they may be present on later, eight-day ones, apparently as part of the greater ornamentation of the dial – especially the half-hour lily. One finds examples of every style from the single pointer with Roman numerals and quarter-hour markings, through the marking of both, to the marking of minutes only. Arabic numerals are not always employed with minute markings. We are convinced that these differences of style are not evolutionary but economic, dependent for the most part on what the customer was prepared to pay. Occasionally a single pointer clock was later adapted to take two hands; in these cases the minute markings were usually dotted round the edge of the chapter ring. In the case where dotted minutes are employed (clock 3), there is however no sign of adaptation; was this simply a cheaper expedient?

### *Spandrels*

These would have been bought in from the brass-founder ready-made, with only some filing down of rough casting required: a task which would have fallen to the boys. Casting and finish on Barber clocks pre 1748/9 is often poor;<sup>38</sup> we have not noticed this problem with any of William's.

The greater output of the Barbers has permitted close dating of many of their clocks, and therefore of spandrel types, and this has been used as a guide to William's probable habits.

Attempts to use their style as an indication of date may however be confused by the maker's having stock in hand of a particular style, or by his own or the purchaser's preference for a particular type. William seems to have used all styles. 20% of the survivors have cherub spandrels (earlier); 20% likewise have urn (later). The 20% with mask spandrels fall somewhere in between. At various times he also used the four seasons, cherub with crown, and string of pearls, suggesting that we have a range of clocks from all periods of his working life, and that he did not particularly favour one type over another. It may have been a question of availability.

### *Dial engraving*

Again, the purse is the dictator of the style, and William probably employed a specialist engraver. Variants on the acanthus design are most commonly found. On Barber clocks this begins *c.* 1750, spreading over the dial during the decade; the

sunburst appears around 1756.<sup>39</sup> If one can assume the same timescale for Kendal as for Bryan Houses, many surviving Clark clocks should be from the 1750's.

Embellishments are sometimes found to the numbers or the name on the better clocks. Thus the pig's tail 5, thought to be so much a Barber speciality as to suggest their own resident engraver,<sup>40</sup> occurs on clock 1, though not on the single 5 but towards the bottom of the dial. The 3 of 35 at the bottom of the dial often links into the W of the signature (clocks 1, 5, 9, 12, 13). Clock 1 thus shows both these features, plus a long pigstail scroll under Clark. On clock 12 the o's of 20 and 50 only also have a decorative loop. We are told by a clock specialist that he has often noted similar details on Westmorland clocks: there would be scope for a researcher into brass engraving to find the craftmaster responsible. (See Plates 2 and 4.)

### *Pointers*

These are one of the most distinctive features of William's clocks, where the originals have survived. (Minute hands have frequently been replaced, as they were more liable to damage through careless moving on to correct the time.) Minute hands are straight pointers, with rococo ornament near the boss, reaching neatly to the minute markings on the outer side of the chapter rings; hour pointers should likewise not overlap the inner ring. These hour hands of blued steel show a delicacy of design not commonly found on country clocks (see Fig. 2). They are most distinctive, and even if, as was so often the case, many pointers were the work of the apprentices, they seem to have worked to a definite Clark design. A much plainer pointer is also found on clocks 2 and 8, in a style not unlike the Barber no. 282. (See Plate 3.)

### *Pendulum, weights and chains*

Here replacement has been common and we can make few generalisations. Brass and copper pendulum bobs are noted (clocks 1, 13); both ropes and chains are found on thirty-hour clocks. Original weights on thirty-hour clocks are usually neat and not too heavy; replacement heavy weights on eight-day clocks usually indicate a later repairer's incompetence. We have removed an unnecessary and crude lump of lead from one well-formed weight, on a clock which did not require its assistance to the going train, and noted a similar extra lead sleeve on another.

### *Clock movements*

Cave-Brown-Cave, in discussing Barber clocks, made much of what he found scratched on the backplates of the movements.<sup>41</sup> This falls neatly into two categories:

- a) Calculations and rough drafting of dial design.
- b) Records of service and repair.

These latter are of little interest, for a study of William's clockmaking skills, except in as far as they show how much attention the clock has received. Some have received regular

servicing, especially in the 19th century. Clock 1, for example, has “GG Sep 48”, “July 22 Wm S-th 1848”, and three “clened”: 1836 Nov 4, June 28 1839, (far sooner than one would have thought necessary), and “87” – presumed 1887. Clock 15 has eight different cleaning marks, the earliest dated 1782 and the latest 1888. Clock 3 has repeated “Ro 22 n p c”, possibly relating to maker’s calculations rather than cleaning.

William’s own calculations would be of much more interest, showing the technological skill which was involved in calculating gearing ratios for the cog wheels, and the dimensions of the chapter ring on a particular dial necessary to show the time accurately. It has not usually been possible to dismantle the clocks of private owners to examine gearing ratios, and we cannot tell if William had a preferred gearing system. That he did use different ones on different clocks is evident from a comparison of the “twins”, clocks 1 and 13. Clock 1 is about 8” taller than 13, and yet cannot run quite a full week without winding; 13 has never had any such reported problem. Cave-Brown-Cave also thought it significant if the back of the dial behind the chapter ring had been cut away to save brass, an economy not practised on the better clocks. We have found this on William’s 3, 5, 7, 10 and 11, all thirty-hour clocks; it is not found on the better eight-day clocks, nor on those we believe to date from the later years of his output.

For the technically-minded, the following parts of the mechanism are usually worthy of attention on a genuine movement:

a) Pillars and dial feet.

It has been argued that the quality of a clock can be deduced from the number of pillars fastening the movement to the dial, and the care spent on turning them. Three pillars are standard, whilst four would be expected from a London maker. Three pillars are William’s norm, but he has taken ample care over them. Four are found on clocks 9, 12, 13, and 14, among his best output. They may also have rings engraved around them (8, 9; a particularly shapely one is on clock 5).

Ideally, the feet should not show through on the front of the dial, but one often does; this is more easily concealed on a highly engraved dial than a plain cheaper one. Barber is in the same case, with more likelihood of feet showing on pre-1735 clocks.<sup>42</sup> From c. 1756 Barber used the bottom foot as the axle for the date disc, but we think William used this device earlier: it is found on his clocks 3, 6, 7, and 15. One foot frequently shows on a matted dial, but on a highly engraved specimen like 13 they are concealed.

b) Lifting piece.

A tail on the strike mechanism is a usual feature of Barber clocks;<sup>43</sup> one is shown on William’s 2, 3, 4, 7; 10 and 15 are square ended: extant, but not closely resembling Barber. Similarly, Barber’s arrowhead tail to the bell-stake and hammer stake can be paralleled by clocks 3, 4, and 8.

c) Anchor.

The right hand pallet of Barber anchors is generally concave, though the examples given by Cave-Brown-Cave (p. 156) are similar to many of William’s. William’s style varies; they can be flat (4, 10), concave (5, 7), or it may be the right hand pallet which is concave (15).

## d) Detente.

A square headed design of detente for the count wheel is a perennial Barber feature.<sup>44</sup> William's 12, 15, are certain examples of good-quality clocks, although 30-hour, showing this feature.

## e) Pendulum cock.

This is beautifully formed on Barber I clocks. William's 9 shows a similar fine example with light engraving, but more variation in style than Barber, depending again on clock quality.

## f) Hammer.

The striking end of a Barber hammer is regularly faceted, not flat or rounded.<sup>45</sup> William's can be flat (clocks 4, 8); but faceted examples include 3 and 9, rather better clocks. Is this perhaps another example of getting what one pays for?

## g) Pendulum crutch.

Barber normally made the pendulum crutch of a single piece of metal, not jointed where it joins the fork. A pointed end indicates a date *c.* 1735–47/8; rounded, 1745–48/9; rectangular 1745/8 on.<sup>46</sup> Clark clock 6 is a single-piece with an open end, probably early; clocks 3 and 8 are single-piece, with a curved closed end; 15 a one-piece with rectangular closed end. The difference between Barber and Clark is not in the ability to use a technique, but the regularity with which it is employed.

*Clark clock cases*

It must be remembered that the clock case has not emanated from William's workshop, but its style and quality may tend to confirm the verdict on the clock dial and movement.

There are sufficient similarities between various cases to suggest that the same carpenter produced them. The flat-topped case of the average 30-hour can be echoed in several instances, *cf.* e.g. 2 and 4; 3, 5, 12, and 15. Clocks 1, 8, and 11, though flat topped, are better-quality cases. The dentil frieze is used by Barber from 1757; it is noted on William's clock 4. The two arch-dials 9 and 14 are in a league of their own (with 11 another possible candidate), and obviously from a fine cabinet maker, not just a local joiner. Arch-dials with swan pediments are thought to be mostly post 1760.<sup>47</sup> It is most unlikely that they could have come from any maker in the North of England but Gillows; Loomes and CBC reach the same conclusion.

The vast majority of these cases are of oak: 70%. 15% are mahogany, one of these (11) possibly not original; one which appears to be fruitwood nevertheless has mahogany banding and in other design respects resembles one of the oak ones. Softer pine or deal cases may simply not have survived; two clocks are now without cases, one having been at some time mismatched with an early eighteenth century "coffin" case.

Features of the case<sup>48</sup> which may be significant include:

a) Lock. A necessity on an eight-hour clock whose running must not be interfered with by children; there was after all no time check by which to restart it. A brass plate on the

front of the door, rather than a roughly executed keyhole, suggests some quality. (Clocks 3 and 4, although 30-hour clocks, have presumably had them added later, as have several drop-latch handles.) Simple blacksmith door skewers, as found on clock 2 would have been likelier.

b) Hinges. The expense of extra brasswork is also indicative of a better clock, as are brass trims to hood pillars, finials, and latches. Plain brass knobs to hood door were usual on Barber clocks to about 1760, when drop-latch handles as on clock 4 are found. Barber ironwork hinges had been abandoned by 1750; there are fine hinges to William's 4, 8, and 12, but many are later replacements.

c) Doorheads. These can be quite elegantly executed, as on clocks 3, 12, and 15; they are often plainer where the use of mahogany banding is ornament enough. Barber doorheads were much less bold in design from the 1750's.

d) Trunk pillars. An ornamental feature of better cases, found, for example, on clocks 1 and 13, whereas the arch-dialled 14 has fluted ones. They may, however, appear on thirty-hour clocks like 4. On Barbers they are first used around 1752, which agrees with our tentative chronology.

e) Carved cases. Almost certainly a result of the Victorian passion for the Gothic, as a result of which furniture received a dark oak stain and (often attractive) heavy carving. Clocks 7 and 19 had at some time received this treatment. To these an entirely fanciful date, apparently intended to match Jacobean court cupboards, may have been added; 1621 and 1698 have been found!

Any one clock case can show features indicating a different dating. No. 2 has a square trunk, usually an earlier feature, but shaped feet and turned hood pillars, which were usually later features. No. 13 confuses with a long door, shorter trunk pillars and a plain hood. The style apparently depends on the skill and stylistic awareness of the carpenter, as well as the wishes of the customer.

## APPENDIX

A Table to show significant features of Clark clocks.

<i>Clock</i>	<i>Date</i> *	<i>Type</i>	<i>Dial</i>	<i>Spandrel</i>	<i>Case</i>
Dobson	1755	8day	12"	Mask	Fruitwood
Gates	1760	30(f)	11"	S of Pearls	Oak
Kendale	1750	30hr	11"	4 Seasons	Oak
Asby	1760	30(f)	12"	S of Pearls	Oak
Cleckheaton	1750	30hr	12"	Cherub	Oak
Salmesbury	1740	30(s)	10½"	2 Cher. + crown	—
Ripon	1750's	8day	11"	Cherub	Oak
Blackburn	1745	30(f)	10½"	Mask	oak/mahog
Fellside	1760	8arch	12"	Urn	Mah/inlay
Lakeside	1745?	30(s)	11"	Mask	—
Gornall	1745?	30hr	12"	Woman's face	Mah/ven'r
Seaside	1740	30hr	11"	Cher + crown	Oak
Wilkinson	1760	8day	12"	Urn	oak/mahog

Bowland	1760	8arch	13"	Urn	Mahogany
Dickinson	1750	30(s)	11"	4 Seasons	Oak
Taylor	1755?	8day	12"	[modern]	Oak
Lakeland	1760	8arch	12"	Urn	Oak
Kent	1750+	8day	13"?	Cherub	Oak
Hodgson	1740's	30(s)	12"	Cherub	Oak
Marriage	1737	30hr	11"?	??	Oak
Stevenson	?	30hr	?	??	Oak
Lambrigg	1740's	30hr?	11"?	??	Oak

## Notes.

\*Dates approximate, using Barber as a guide.

(s) = single pointer

(f) = false-drilled thirty hour

## Notes and References

- <sup>1</sup> Brian Loomes, *Westmorland Clocks and Clockmakers* (Newton Abbot, 1974), 103.
- <sup>2</sup> C.R.O. Kendal, *Westmorland Quaker Digests and Supplement*, *sub nomine*.
- <sup>3</sup> Will printed in Somervell, *Some Westmorland Wills* (1921), original in L.R.O.
- <sup>4</sup> Narrated in William Robinson's ms. *Black Book*, copy in the author's possession, and to be the subject of a further article.
- <sup>5</sup> C.R.O. Carlisle, D/Lons/W/2/8, Lambrigg manorial court records.
- <sup>6</sup> C.R.O. Kendal, *WSMB/K Indentures and Records no 5 1690–1736*, unpaginated, and at P.R.O.
- <sup>7</sup> Biography in Loomes, *op. cit.*, 95–6; freedom C.R.O. Kendal, *WSMB/K Book of Record 1696–1764*, 130, 136; Quaker connection in WRO WDFC/F/1/14, unpaginated; will in L.R.O. Hadwen's family in B. Loomes, *Lancashire Clockmakers* (Newton Abbot, 1975), 97.
- <sup>8</sup> Letter from Mrs Kingsley in authors' possession; quoted also by Loomes.
- <sup>9</sup> C.R.O. Kendal, *WSMB/K Indentures and Records no 5; Book of Record 189*.
- <sup>10</sup> For the Barbers, a general account is in Loomes, *Westmorland Clockmakers*, chs 3 & 4, and an exhaustive study in B.W. Cave-Browne-Cave, *Jonas Barber, Clockmaker of Winstler* (Ulverston, 1979) (henceforth CBC).
- <sup>11</sup> Will C.R.O. Carlisle, Prob 1777 J Clark. Information on the fate of the clock from Mrs Ella Dent, Miss Annie Clark, and Mr S. Exton.
- <sup>12</sup> C.R.O. Kendal, *WSMB/K Kendal Poor Rate books 1745–58*, unpaginated; Constables Fund Assessment Lists, 1744–7, same ref.
- <sup>13</sup> Will in L.R.O.
- <sup>14</sup> See appendix for a detailed list.
- <sup>15</sup> Loomes, *Westmorland Clockmakers*, 68, and CBC.
- <sup>16</sup> A similar conclusion is reached independently both by Loomes and by CBC, who considers much of the Barber output to be rather run-of-the-mill.
- <sup>17</sup> Price details in these two paragraphs from Loomes, *Lancashire Clockmakers*, 49–53.
- <sup>18</sup> Loomes, both volumes, and authors' examination.
- <sup>19</sup> Dating based on Loomes, *Westmorland Clockmakers*, 28.
- <sup>20</sup> CBC, 181.
- <sup>21</sup> Will, *loc. cit.*
- <sup>22</sup> Information on John Clark's watch from the Keeper of Horology, The Clock Museum, Bury St Edmunds.
- <sup>23</sup> L.R.O. RG6/1105 f4, 321.

- <sup>24</sup> C.R.O. Kendal, Quaker Digests and Supplements, *sub nomine*.
- <sup>25</sup> C.R.O. Kendal, WSMB/K Apprentice Register no. 29; WDFC/F/1/14, 4.9.43 and 2.10.43; WDFC/F/1/15 2.6.58.
- <sup>26</sup> C.R.O. Kendal, Quaker Digests.
- <sup>27</sup> C.R.O. Kendal, WSMB/K Constables Fund Assessments, 1745.
- <sup>28</sup> C.R.O. Kendal, WSMB/K Book of Record 306, 321, 342, 374; WQ/SR 233, *passim*.
- <sup>29</sup> C.R.O. Kendal, WDFC/F/1/14, 3.10.42; F/1/15, p46 (a rare pagination), 7.5.66; absentee note in F/1/43, *sub anno*; complaints F/1/43 and 44, *passim*.
- <sup>30</sup> C.R.O. Kendal, WQ/SR 233/22.
- <sup>31</sup> L.R.O. WRW(K) 1763 W Clark.
- <sup>32</sup> We are indebted to the researchers of Friends House in London, who had traced John's career as an elimination exercise for another study, and thereby facilitated our own work.
- <sup>33</sup> Loomes, *Westmorland Clockmakers*, 93, but see C.R.O. Kendal, WDFC/F/1/43, 5.2.55, for contradictory evidence.
- <sup>34</sup> William Robinson, *Black Book*.
- <sup>35</sup> J.B. Penfold, *The Clockmakers of Cumberland* (Ashford 1977), provides a catalogue with historical detail. M.J. and C.T. Watts, "The Burton family of Clockmakers", CW2, lxxxi, give a Burton family history.
- <sup>36</sup> CBC, 105.
- <sup>37</sup> CBC, 111.
- <sup>38</sup> CBC, 108.
- <sup>39</sup> CBC, 114.
- <sup>40</sup> CBC, 125.
- <sup>41</sup> e.g. CBC, 172.
- <sup>42</sup> CBC, 114.
- <sup>43</sup> CBC, 28.
- <sup>44</sup> CBC, 26.
- <sup>45</sup> CBC, 27.
- <sup>46</sup> CBC, 27-8.
- <sup>47</sup> CBC, ch 7, *passim*, and especially 129.
- <sup>48</sup> CBC, ch 6, *passim*.