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The Adam clock — the Suffolk connection

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Front cover: The front door of 4 Lovat Lane, London, the new headquarters of the AHS.

The Adam clock — the Suffolk connection

John A. Robey*

Circumstantial evidence is presented that suggests that the Adam lantern clock, first described in this journal in September 2010, was made near Bury St Edmunds in West Suffolk, possibly by Robert Sparke who is Suffolk's earliest recorded clockmaker, or more likely by his son William Sparke. An unusual lantern clock signed for Luke Cocksedge, who was probably its owner, and not a clockmaker, may also have been made by William Sparke.

Introduction

Research into what is now known as the Adam lantern clock (Fig. 1) has progressed in a series of leaps as the understanding of its special features has developed. The first phase was a consideration of its construction, especially significant being the initial unsuccessful attempts to fit the dial using the usual taper pins, then two lugs through the front movement bar.[1] The latter method was used on a few early lantern clocks and occasionally later by makers such as Jeffrey Bayley of London. This indicated that it had been made by someone not very familiar with these clocks, and was probably the first one he had attempted. Despite numerous suggestions for the identity of the male figure wearing only breeches and short boots, as well as the other symbolic features cast into the brass corner pillars, no plausible suggestions were forthcoming at that stage.

However, once the figure was identified as being Adam as described in the Breeches Bible, along with an apotropaic (evil averting) saltire cross, and the Devil's head, understanding of the significance and importance of this unique lantern clock took a major step forward.[2] It was suggested that the clock had been made by a radical Puritan who also had a fear of the Devil and the power of witchcraft. Based on the concentration of known makers of lantern clocks working in areas where these beliefs were prevalent, it was proposed that the Adam clock originated in East Anglia, but

Fig. 1. The Adam clock with unique pillars, each with a cast-brass figure of Adam, an apotropaic saltire and the Devil's head.

*John Robey (john@mayfieldbooks.co.uk) has written articles on a wide range of horological topics, from early iron clocks to longcase painted dials.

1. John A. Robey, 'An Unusual English Lantern Clock', *Antiquarian Horology*, September 2010, 405–16.

2. John A. Robey, 'Adam, the Devil and the Supernatural: An unusual English lantern clock revisited', *Antiquarian Horology*, December 2017, 533–44.

Fig. 2. Lantern clock by Thomas Tue of King's Lynn with a galleried fret. (photo: Brian Loomes)

nothing more specific was deduced. Then working on a hunch — like in many popular detective stories — further research has succeeded in identifying quite closely the clock's likely origin, as well as a possible maker.

Early East Anglian clockmakers

While the distribution map published previously

Fig. 3. Signature and date 1663 underneath the alarm disc of the Tue clock. The floral engraving is not typical of London work. (photo: Brian Loomes)

indicates a concentration of makers of lantern clocks in Suffolk and Norfolk, where the population had very strong Puritan and witchcraft beliefs, most of these clockmakers were relatively late, few working before the middle of the seventeenth century, with many continuing well into the eighteenth century. However, there are four men early enough to be serious contenders for the maker of the Adam clock: Thomas Tue of King's Lynn, Norfolk, Luke Cocksedge of Bradfield St George and Drinkstone, both near Bury St Edmunds, Suffolk, and Robert Sparke and his son William of nearby Cockfield. Richard Copping, Bury St Edmunds's earliest recorded clockmaker, is also considered.

Thomas Tue, King's Lynn, Norfolk

Thomas Tue had an extraordinarily long life, being born in 1613 and not dying until 1710, aged 97.[3] Several lantern clocks signed by him are known, dated from 1646 to 1698. While they are generally similar to London clocks, some are said to have larger plates and dials with a dial design unique to him (Figs 2–3),[4] though at least one clock was made in London, and possibly others. He was free as a gunsmith,[5] which was probably the closest Lynn guild to his actual trade. He also made turret clocks, and especially roasting jacks, which are of a very high standard.[6]

Irrespective of the actual maker of Tue's lantern clocks, their quality (and that of his roasting jacks) compared to the naïve style

3. Brian Loomes, *Clockmakers of Britain 1286–1700*, (Mayfield, 2014), p. 495.

4. Brian Loomes, 'William Barlow & the first clockmakers in King's Lynn', *Clocks*, May 2010, 11–15, 36. A revised online version of this article is available at https://www.brianloomes.com/collecting/tue/index.html, with details of the clocks thought to have been made by Thomas Tue.

5. Clifford & Yvonne Bird, *Norfolk & Norwich Clocks & Clockmakers* (Chichester, 1996), pp. 169–70.

6. Information from Anthony Weston.

and workmanship of the Adam clock suggests that Thomas Tue was not its maker.

Richard Copping, Bury St Edmunds, Suffolk

The suggestion that he was born in 1615, either at Walsham-le-Willows, or at Ipswich, seems unlikely. He is more likely to have been the man who married at Bury St Edmunds in 1662 and paid hearth tax there in 1674. Though not a member of the Clockmakers' Company, in 1654 he took George Copping, not his son but probably a relative, as an apprentice (through William Petty). He died in 1689. A longcase clock and a lantern clock are known by him, though few details are known.[7] He appears to be too late to have been the maker of either of the two clocks discussed here.

Luke Cocksedge, Bradfield St George & Drinkstone, Suffolk

The unusual lantern clock in Figs 4–6 has the date 1644 scratched on the front of the dial, and a front fret signed 'Luke Cocksedge fecit'.[8] Not only are the dial engraving, the front fret and the hammer spring unique, the chapter ring is fixed by a lug through the dial and front movement bar. The pillars are cast integral with the feet and finials, while the rear edges of the plates are poorly finished. Though it has been suggested by Loomes that this clock was influenced by West Country lantern clocks, the dial fixing and one-piece pillars are also found on a few early London lantern clocks, including an unsigned one of about 1610–20.[9] The chapter ring of the Cocksedge clock has an 'LC' mark on the rear (Fig. 7), the movement bars are of a pattern used on the earliest London clocks, while the side frets are of a standard early London pattern.

There were, and still are, numerous Cocksedge families (with many spelling variants) in the villages near Bury St Edmunds (Fig. 8), at least back to Edmundo de Cokeshegh at Felsham in 1327. Luke Cocksedge was born in Norton in 1585, son of Luke Cocksedge I, with brothers John and William, but the latter is not mentioned in their father's will of 1621 so he may have died.[10] In his will Luke I is described as a yeoman, a term used at that period for a landowner only one step down from the gentry classes, living in a large farmhouse and employing many indoor and outdoor servants. In 1615 Luke Cocksedge II married Frances Sparke at Hawstead, who was probably related to clockmaker Robert Sparke of Cockfield (see below), but the exact relationship is unclear as the genealogy is quite complex.

Luke and Frances Cocksedge had children at nearby Bradfield St George in 1620–8, where they were tenants of John Baker the elder of Great Ashfield, whose will of January 1627/8 leaves 'to Elizabeth my wife my house in Bradfield St George in which Luke Cocksedge dwell'. She was the largest landowner in Great Ashfield in 1640, with a John Baker living in Bradfield St George, probably John junior now occupying the house formerly tenanted by Luke Cocksedge. As a result Luke had moved to Drinkstone by 1631, where he was a churchwarden in 1640.[11]

In 1640 Luke Cocksedge appears in the Suffolk Ship-Money Returns for Drinkstone, being assessed at £2 7s 3d.[12] Whereas the Subsidy Rolls were a tax mainly paid by the rich, Ship Money was an imposition by Charles I on both rich and poor, and though not actually a tax it was widely regarded as such. It became a major grievance which contributed to the start of the Civil War. The

7. Loomes, *Clockmakers of Britain*, p. 135.

8. Brian Loomes, 'An exceptional lantern by Luke Cocksedge', *Clocks*, April 2003, 11–14 and 35; 'Luke Cocksedge Again', *Clocks*, September 2007, 9–12; *Lantern Clocks & Their Makers* (Mayfield, 2008), 84–8.

9. Loomes, *Lantern Clocks*, pp. 30–1, 46–8.

10. Suffolk Record Office (SRO) IC500//1/77/58.

11. See footnote 7 and http://www.linleyfh.com/p205.htm#i7698. This very extensive website gives linking information to many Cocksedges and their kin in the area. It also includes information only available in transcripts and wills, which is not available on CDs published by the Suffolk Family History Society (SFHS) which rely solely on original parish registers.

12. Vincent B. Redstone, *The Ship-Money Returns for the County of Suffolk 1639–40,* Suffolk Institute of Archaeology and Natural History, 1904, Vol III, pp. 177–8. Also available online.

Fig. 4. Lantern clock by Luke Cocksedge with a unique front fret and dial centre. (photo: Brian Loomes)

assessment was primarily based on land ownership, the rate for Suffolk being £1 for 118.5 acres (2d per acre),[13] or for those who owned little land but had other assets, on their total wealth. Luke Cocksedge's charge, equating to 280 acres, was much larger than any other in Drinkstone and only occasionally exceeded elsewhere in neighbouring parishes. It was almost twice the next three largest payments in the parish, including that by the rector for the church lands. There were three

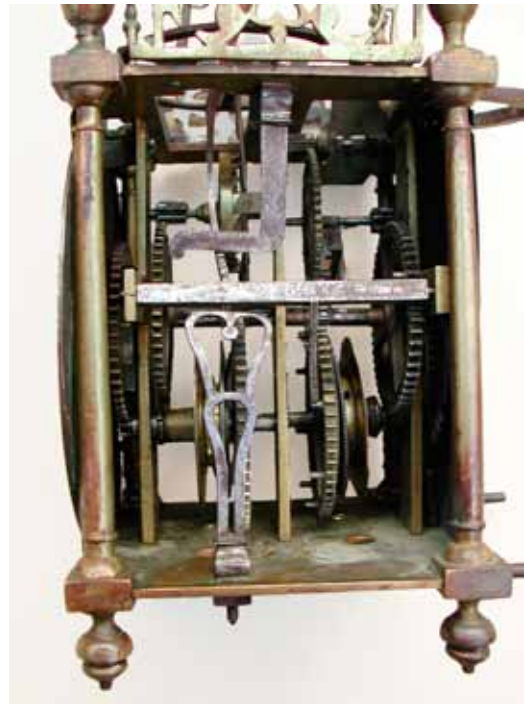

Fig. 5. The Cocksedge movement with one-piece pillars, feet and finials, and a unique hammer spring. (photo: Brian Loomes)

Fig. 6. The Cocksedge front fret with detail of the weeping eye and pierced heart in a shield. (photo: Brian Loomes)

13. Suffolk was required to provide money to build a ship costing £8,000, the rate being calculated by dividing this by the county's area.

14. William A Copinger, *The Manors of Suffolk Notes on Their History and Devolution: The Hundred of Thedwastry*, Volume 6, 1910. Available online.

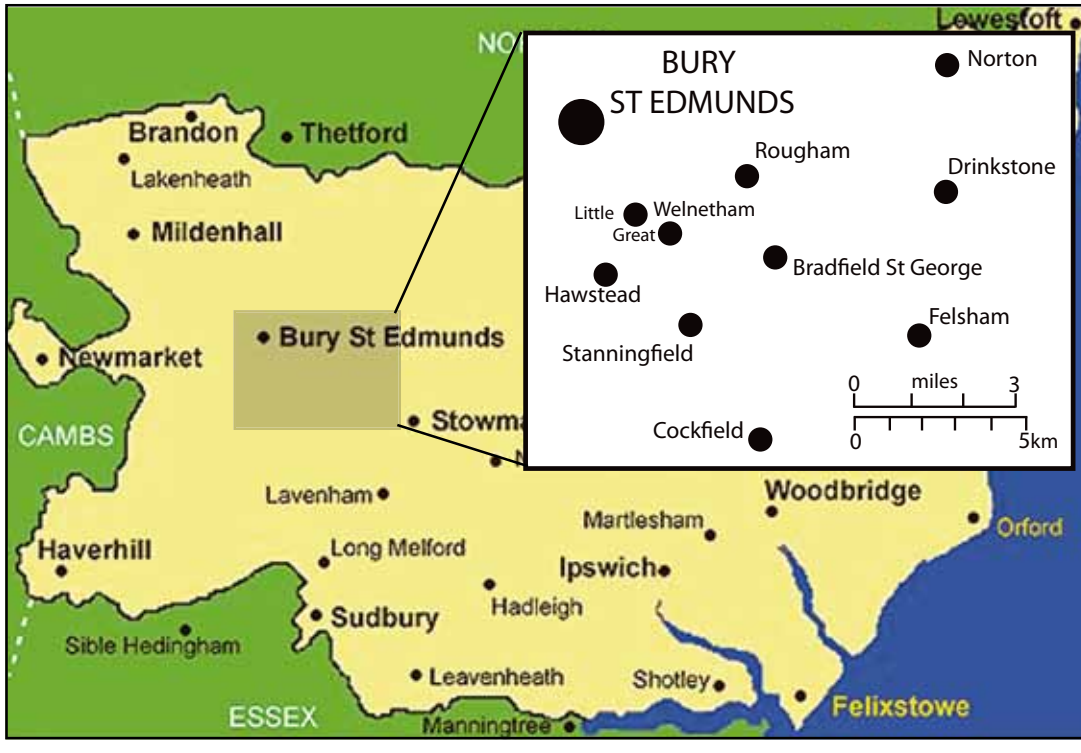

Fig. 8. Some of the villages near Bury St Edmunds associated with Luke Cocksedge and Robert Sparke.

Fig. 7. Mark on the rear of the Cocksedge chapter ring. (photo: Brian Loomes)

manors in Drinkstone, but Luke Cocksedge does not appear to have owned any of them.[14] Exactly where his landholdings were, and how he came to own them after being only a tenant in Bradfield St George (perhaps by inheritance), remains unknown.

Luke Cocksedge was still alive in February 1653, aged 67, when he was granted probate after the death of his son Thomas, who had died at Newcastle-upon-Tyne in September 1650, aged 22.[15] Thomas was probably a soldier in Oliver Cromwell's army, which after the end of the English Civil War and the execution of Charles I in February 1649, was sent north to repel an invading Scottish army. On 3 September 1650, though outnumbered, Cromwell's forces defeated the Scots at Dunbar, with 4–5,000 killed and 10,000 Scots taken prisoner. Thomas Cocksedge was probably badly injured during the battle at Dunbar and died as the prisoners were moved south. He only survived long enough to make a nuncupative will, given verbally to witnesses, leaving all his unspecified estate to his father. This must have been significant enough to make it worthwhile for Luke to travel to London in the middle of winter to claim probate.

It is not known when Luke Cocksedge died as the Drinkstone burial records do not survive for 1600–65, but it is probably before 1666 and he does not appear in the Hearth

15. National Archives PROB 11/221/901.

Tax returns for 1674.[16] His eldest son Luke III was born in 1620 and may be the man who married Mary Fuller at Bury St Edmunds in 1656, or the one who had a son by his wife Elizabeth at Stowmarket in 1657. Nothing further is known of him, nor of any of the other children of Luke Cocksedge II. A Luke Cocksedge who married in London in 1674, aged 30, is likely to be related, perhaps a grandson of Luke II.

There were no other Cocksedges paying Ship-Money in Luke's previous two parishes, but George Cocksedge, who was living in Bradfield St George in 1656–8, and Peter Cocksedge, living there in 1665–72, may have been nephews. Significantly Peter Cocksedge paid tax on seven hearths in 1674, by far the largest house in the parish, and he had married an Ann Baker, who might have been related to Luke's former landlord. There had been Cocksedges in Bradfield St George from at least the sixteenth century, and it is very likely that Luke was related to them. Perhaps they were kinsmen of his elder brother John, but the records are too confused to be certain. The fairly free movement between neighbouring villages also complicates research; for instance Peter Cocksedge was born in Rougham, but lived in Bradfield St George where his children were baptised and where he paid hearth tax, but was buried in Rougham. Whatever the exact relationship between these different branches of the Cocksedge family, it is clear that Luke was not only a wealthy landowner himself but was associated with other prosperous Cocksedges.

This is particularly the case in Drinkstone, where other influential Cocksedges lived, including Francis and Thomas in 1640, the former probably related to later rectors of the same name in both Drinkstone and nearby parishes. A Thomas Cocksedge was assessed for Ship-Money equating to 53 acres and he had six hearths in 1674, the second largest in the parish. His son, known as Thomas junior, was listed as a 'gentleman' when some of his children were baptised, while two of his sons, anther Thomas and Abraham, also had the status of gentlemen. Abraham was one of the 'principal proprietors of estates' in Drinkstone,[17] and his daughter Elizabeth married the wealthy William Moseley, son of the Drinkstone rector. In addition William Cocksedge, a Dublin cleric, who died there in 1743, had his body brought back to Drinkstone for burial, almost certainly where he had been born.

Owing to the loss of parish registers Luke Cocksedge cannot be directly linked to any of these landed gentry, but with his large landholdings he must have had an appreciable social status in the locality. So was he a clockmaker responsible for the lantern clock that bears his name? There is no evidence of an apprenticeship, his trade, occupation or social status. While the side frets of the lantern clock in Figs 3–4 are of a regular London pattern and appear to be original, the unique front fret is later. At the top is a bird facing left, probably representing the Cocksedge family, while a shield below has a weeping eye above a heart pierced by two arrows. This appears to symbolise crying for the loss of a much-loved son. If the scratched date of 1644 is accepted as the date of the clock's making, then it is reasonable to regard the front fret to have been replaced shortly after the death of Thomas in 1650. The inclusion of 'fecit' translates literally as 'made it', but it was widely used in a looser sense and, whether or not the 'maker' intended that meaning to be understood, it should be interpreted as 'creation overseen by'.[18]

The 'LC' mark on the back of the chapter ring is an enigma. Casting marks on clock components are not common and when present they are there for one of two reasons: to advertise the founder, or to identify the customer for whom the patterns and castings were made. Founders' marks are exemplified by the so-called 'matchstick man' symbol found on many mid-seventeenth century London lantern clocks, and the eighteenth-century 'IM', thought to be the mark of the John Mayor foundry in Moorfields.[19] If a clockmaker is casting brass parts for his own

16. *Suffolk in 1674, being the Hearth Tax Returns*, Suffolk Green Books, No XI, Vol 13, 1905, p. 95. Available online.

17. Anon, *A Concise Description of Bury St Edmunds and its Environs*, (1827), p. 108. Available online.

18. Information from Jonathan Betts.

use, why does he need to include his mark? He knows where they have come from. It is more likely that LC is not a casting mark, but has been stamped on a bought-in chapter ring,[20] using a steel punch that appears to have been originally made for another purpose. It is unlikely that a punch with such an elaborate design would have been specially made to mark the rear of just one chapter ring, and in a position where it was not normally visible. Similar punches were used to stamp the leaden wool seals attached to bales of cloth to indicate that the necessary taxes had been paid. These lead seals are one of the commonest type of artefact found by metal detectorists.

On the available evidence it is very unlikely that Luke Cocksedge was a clockmaker, and it is more likely that he was a prosperous grazier, a large-scale sheep farmer with extensive lands in Drinkstone parish. He may even have been a merchant selling wool to the clothiers. In any event a small rural village in Suffolk is a most unlikely location for an early seventeenth-century maker of lantern clocks, with little access to potential customers. The author believes that Luke Cocksedge commissioned this clock, and later had the front fret replaced with one engraved with emblems to commemorate the death of his son Thomas.

Robert & William Sparke, Cockfield, Suffolk

Robert Sparke is one of the very few clockmakers recorded in East Anglia in the early seventeenth century. His birth has not been discovered,[21] but he may have been related to one of the Sparke blacksmiths working in Hawstead.[22]

He is probably the Robert Sparke who married Bridget Nunne at Stanningfield on 6 August 1602, and had a daughter Bridget baptised on 1 January 1604 at Great Whelnetham, and a son Robert baptised on 15 October 1605 at Little Whelnetham.[23] By 1640 the family was at Cockfield, one of the largest villages in Suffolk, though widely dispersed with numerous hamlets, including nine greens. Robert Sparke senior was assessed there for Ship-Money at 2s 6d, representing 15 acres, and Robert Sparke junior at 3s 4d, implying a land holding of 20 acres. Their workshop was probably at Great Green, about a mile northeast of the church, where Forge Cottage is a seventeenth or eighteenth-century house. It was a 'house and blacksmith's shop' in the 1845 tithe survey and a smithy on later Ordnance Survey maps.[24] Alternatively they might have been at Blacksmith's Corner, a short distance west of the church, where a smithy existed within living memory.[25]

Robert Sparke senior was buried on 6 April 1648, perhaps aged about 70, having made his will nine months earlier.[26] This clearly states that Robert Sparke senior was a clockmaker, this being the earliest record of the trade in Suffolk. At this period he would have been making and repairing church clocks, as well as general ironwork, though fitting horseshoes was probably left to one of the three nearby smithies on the road south of Bury St Albans (Fig. 9). He mentions his wife, Bridget, who was to survive him by six years, being buried on 22 April 1654; his sons William, Robert

19. John A. Robey, 'Moorfields and Clock-Brass Founders, Part 2 The Mayor Family and Other Founders', *Antiquarian Horology*, September 2012, 609–23.

20. The Cocksedge clock is not currently available for this to be confirmed.

21. The assumption that he had been the master of Luke Cocksedge, hence about ten years older and born about 1575 or earlier, is unlikely. See footnote 7.

22. There were at least six generations of Sparke blacksmiths in Hawstead (sometimes known as Hastead) from the end of the fifteenth century: Andrew, alive 1488, died 1503; John, died 1609 leaving his tools to his son Ralph; William died 1582; John, died 1669 and his son Edward, died 1689. There were also seventeenth-century Sparke blacksmiths in the nearby villages of Whepstead, Ickworth, and Euston. http://www.prattens.co.uk/families/sparkes/text.txt, and Suffolk Burial Index, SFHS, CD BUI/2.

23. www.familysearch.org. The Nunne family included blacksmiths working in several local villages.

24. *Outbuildings at Forge Cottage, Cockfield, Suffolk COK 058 Historic Building Record.* Report published 2009 via Archaeology Data Service

25. Information from Gillian Hodge of Cockfield.

26. SRO, IC/500/1/105/29.

and Philip, and his daughter Bridget Smyth, who had married yet another blacksmith, Thomas Smyth of Bacton. Robert Sparke the clockmaker left to his son William 'all my workeinge tooles in my Shopp bellonging to my trade'.

William Sparke was taxed on four hearths in 1674, but his brothers are not listed separately. He would have continued his father's trade of making and repairing church clocks, although there is none that can be specifically attributed to either of them, as well as other smithing work. William Sparke, blacksmith of Cockfield, died in June 1681 without leaving a will, the administration of his estate being granted to his son John, also a blacksmith of Cockfield.[27] William Sparke the younger, who is probably a grandson rather than a son of the earlier William, died in 1749 and was recorded as a blacksmith in his will,[28] and as a farmer and blacksmith when he was buried on 3 July.[29]

Puritanism & witchcraft in West Suffolk

While the whole of Suffolk inclined to Puritanism and there is a greater occurrence of apotropaic marks on buildings to ward off evil spirits than elsewhere in England,[30] this is especially the case in the area around Bury St Edmunds. In particular Cockfield, where Robert Sparke and his sons lived and worked, had a very important and influential fire-brand Puritan rector, John Knewstub. He convened a meeting in Cockfield in 1582 of sixty clergy from Suffolk and Norfolk to discuss means to abolish cathedrals and bishops, as well as a conference at Hampton Court in 1604 when he opposed conformity.[31] It is inconceivable that Robert and William Sparke did not know and were influenced by John Knewstub, who died in 1624. (A later important Cockfield rector was the Rev Dr William Ludlam, the noted mathematician, astronomer and scientist, who was here in 1767–83 and used the church tower as an observatory.)

Most of the neighbouring villages, and also those further afield, were strongly Puritan, and many of the pilgrims who emigrated to form Puritan settlements in the New World, came from this region of Suffolk. During the Civil War, William Dowsing, who originated from Suffolk, was commissioned to remove or deface anything that might be idolatrous in churches throughout Cambridgeshire and Suffolk. The region also had a strong association with the Parliamentarian cause throughout the Civil War, and during this period Oliver Cromwell's Eastern Association met in Bury St Edmunds Guildhall.

This area of Suffolk was equally dedicated to a belief in evil spirits and the persecution of women accused of witchcraft, with the population having an unusually enhanced desire to protect themselves by using symbols, such as the saltire cross. The zealot Matthew Hopkins, known as the 'Witchfinder General', was responsible for the deaths of about 300 women accused of being witches during 1644–7, mainly in East Anglia. There were eighteen known witch trials in Bury St Edmunds alone, though about 200 were claimed, and some of these prosecutions were used as the basis for the infamous Salem Witch Trials in Massachusetts in 1692.[32]

Possible makers of the Adam and Cocksedge clocks

If we are correct in deducing that the symbolism of the Adam clock's pillars has a good claim to the Bury St Edmunds area, can its maker be suggested with some reliability? In the late medieval period this area of Suffolk became very prosperous from the wool trade, and while the prosperity of towns like Lavenham, which is only five miles south of Cockfield, had declined by the early seventeenth century, there were still families

27. SRO IC500/4/18/52.

28. SRO IC500/1/200/36.

29. SFHS, CD BUI/2.

30. Information from Timothy Easton, who has researched and published extensively on apotropaic symbols and their significance.

31. See the entry on John Knewstub (1544–1624) in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography.*

32. Information from Alex McWhirter, Moyse's Hall Museum, Bury St Edmunds.

wealthy enough to aspire to owning a London lantern clock. These would have needed regular servicing — frequent cleaning of balance clocks was essential at a time when only animal or vegetable oils were available and fairly consistent timekeeping depended on a constant driving force unfettered by variations in friction caused by deteriorating lubricants. Robert and William Sparke were the only clockmakers known to have been working in Suffolk in the first half of the seventeenth century. While their main work would have been making, repairing and maintaining church clocks, their knowledge of the basic principles of clockwork made them the obvious choice when a lantern clock needed cleaning or repairing.

And there was at least one such lantern clock right on their doorstep. An inventory dated 9 February 1664 of 'the goods and chattels of Richard Maninge of Cockfield … Gentleman, deceased' includes: 'one brasse clocke £1 15s'. This is one of the highest valued items out of a total of £626 7s, with a present day purchasing power of £66,000.[33] Richard Maninge was a prosperous tenant farmer at Cockfield Hall, originally a large Elizabethan farmhouse and just the sort of person to aspire to owning such a clock. He is unlikely to have bought an expensive item like this shortly before his death, so the 1640s, 1630s or even earlier is not an unreasonable estimate of when it had been made. It confirms that lantern clocks were not only owned by wealthy merchants and the like in towns such as nearby Bury St Edmunds and Lavenham, but also by those of means in rural communities.

When it needed cleaning, Richard Maninge would have taken his clock just a mile down the lane to Robert or William Sparke. They had plenty of opportunities to examine it, and others, closely and use them as prototypes when making a clock of their own.

Since the maker of the Adam clock had unsuccessfully tried taper pins and then lugs to fix the dial, examples of separate clocks with these methods must have been examined by him. But due to his inexperience in making lantern clocks he got in a muddle. The usual peg on the bottom of the dial into a hole in the bottom plate and taper pins through the front edge of the top plate were first attempted, but the shape of the pillars prevented the dial being set back far enough. Lugs near both the top and bottom of the dial and passing through the front movement bar were then tried. The top lug only fitted if both the dial and the movement bar were turned over, while they fitted at the bottom if only the dial was turned over, so alternative methods had to be sought. The dial was eventually fixed using two screws through the chapter ring into the front pillars.

The unique hollow-cast pillars would have needed the services of a specialist brass founder, such as one of the several bell founders known to have been working in Bury St Edmunds in the early seventeenth century, with the patterns being made by a local woodcarver. Likewise, the brass wheels and movement bars could also have been cast locally, or to avoid making patterns for just one set of parts, these castings could have been bought from a clock-brass founder in London. The bell strap and both movement plates were forged from iron, and though the hammer spring is neatly shaped and finished, the hammer stop is a crude L-shaped iron strip. The original balance top cock and the side doors may also have been made from iron, but as they are missing this cannot be conformed. The dial appears to be reused from some other purpose, such as a brass saucepan or cooking pot.[34]

It might be thought that a clockmaker-blacksmith making a lantern clock would forge all the parts of the movement from iron, but English lantern clocks with iron frames usually have conventional brass wheels and movement bars, though a few have forged iron bars.[35] Also, the work of many clockmakers who had been either apprenticed or worked as blacksmiths, shows little signs of their origins as smiths.[36]

33. SRO 592/9/242. Information from Gillian Hodge of Cockfield.

34. The plates and movement bars recycled from a brass cooking pot are known on an early eighteenth-century posted-frame movement, see John Robey, 'The cooking pot clock of Roger Lee', *Clocks,* September 2002, 20–3.

35. John A. Robey, 'English Lantern Clocks With Iron Frames', *Antiquarian Horology*, March 2011, 689–704.

While nothing is known of the Sparkes' personal beliefs, it is likely that they, like most people in the region, had a strong leaning towards Puritanism and a fear of evil spirits, so making a clock of their own that symbolised these ideas would be a natural thing to do.

So was it Robert Sparke or his son William who might have been responsible for the Adam clock? The loss of the frets leaves little stylistic evidence to suggest a date. The naïve dial with a chapter ring, closely delineated by wiggle-work borders, that would have been narrower than on any other known lantern clock, appears to be very early, but its rural style gives a false impression. The 1630s or 1640s would not be an unreasonable estimate of the clock's date. A clockmaker is unlikely to make a clock for himself, especially one of a type he had never made before, towards the end of his working life. So unless it was made at an exceptionally early date, Robert Sparke can be discounted.

This leaves his son William Sparke who is likely to have been apprenticed to his father and working with him from about the mid-1620s, sharing the tools that would later be passed down to him in 1648.

And what of the lantern clock that bears Luke Cocksedge's name? As he is most likely to have been its owner and not a clockmaker, can the actual maker be identified? The suggestion that this clock was either made or influenced by clockmakers in the West Country can be completely discounted. It has few stylistic similarities with early lantern clocks made in Salisbury by Nicholas and John Snow, or Solomon Wasson of Bristol, with some of their clocks being either made in the capital or influenced by London clocks. Nor has the Cocksedge clock any similarities to the work of Thomas Browne, who created the first distinctive Bristol style of lantern clock. In any event if Luke Cocksedge did not commission a clock from a local clockmaker, why would he go to Salisbury or Bristol when there was a direct highway from Bury St Edmunds via Sudbury and Chelmsford (Fig. 9) to the clockmakers of London, a distance of about 75 miles, with Bristol being a further 120 miles away?

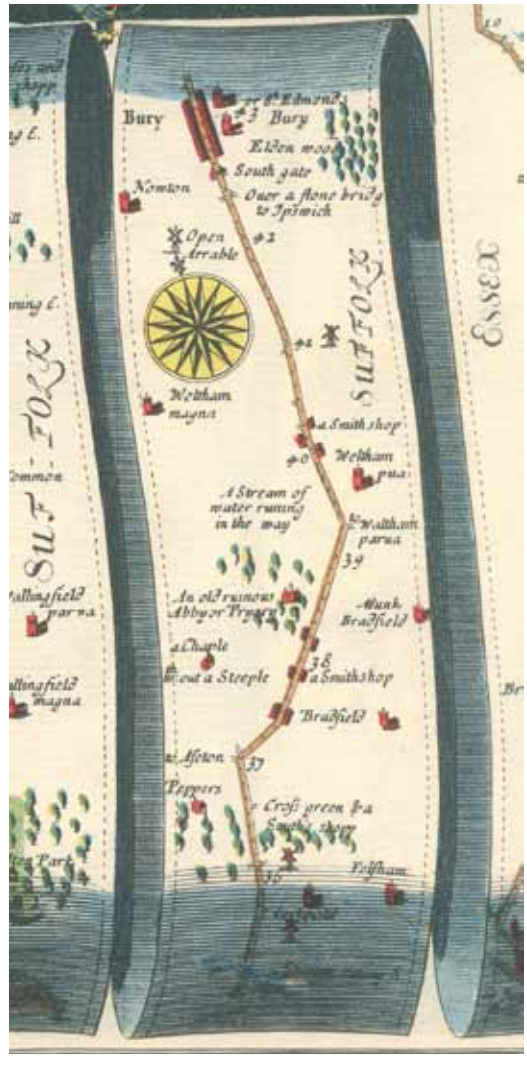

Fig. 9. The northern section of the highway from Chelmsford to Burry St Edmunds, showing three smithies alongside the road. Bradfield is Bradfield Combust, Munk Bradfield is Bradfield St George and Cockfield with a church and windmill is in the shaded area towards the bottom. From John Ogilby's *Brittania*, published in 1675.

It should not be forgotten that Luke Cocksedge's wife was a Sparke and probably closely related to Robert and William Sparke, who lived only six miles from him. Not only the family connection and their closeness made them the obvious choice, but there was no choice — the Sparkes were the only men qualified to make any sort of clock their side

36. Examples include Joseph Donisthorpe of Normanton, Leicestershire, whose early posted-frame clocks are finely made, also the Derbyshire clockmakers Francis Tantum and James Woolley, both of whom made good quality clocks.

of London. This time a much more fashionable clock was required, and though it is similar to an early London clock, the finish of the plates, the unique hammer spring and dial engraving, suggest that it was made locally and not just bought in from the capital. In this instance there were no special pillars to be made locally, so castings for the pillars, plates, movement bars, frets, dial, chapter ring and wheels would have been bought from specialist London founders. The chapter ring is likely to have been marked with LC using an existing punch at the request of Luke Cocksedge to further identify his property. Such a punch would have been used for stamping Cocksedge's wool seals. William Sparke may have even made the punch himself and tried it out on the chapter ring. With the problems with fixing the dial of the Adam clock behind him, William Sparke was able to fit the dial correctly this time.

Conclusions

The Adam clock has a good claim to be one of the earliest surviving provincial English lantern clocks, possibly made in the 1630s, and a unique example of horological folk art, even though the trains and strike-work of the movement are very conventional. Despite it being an unsophisticated clock, it has been in regular use throughout much of its long life. It was regarded highly enough to justify the successive installation of the latest pendulum technologies, and it was still in use in the twentieth century when a new chapter ring, frets and hand were added. This emphasises that during the last four centuries this clock has been esteemed as something rather special. While it no longer has any present-day religious significance, and the belief in its powers to keep evil spirits at bay are greatly diminished, it is part of horological, religious and folk-lore history.

The Adam clock has drawn attention to an aspect of horology that has previously not been recognised: the inclusion of symbols to prevent malevolent spirits from causing unexplained malfunction of the mechanism. It also gives a brief insight into the beliefs of some seventeenth-century clockmakers.

It has taken ten years of investigation to discover the true meaning of the figures and other symbols on this clock, but patience has been rewarded. It had once been thought that its origins would never be determined, but now William Sparke can be proposed as its maker. He is likely to have only made the Adam clock for himself and another for an in-law, so the chance of finding a lantern clock bearing his name is remote.

This attribution for these two clocks is not definite proof of course, that is very unlikely ever to be found, but there is intriguing circumstantial evidence.

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