**The Pagoda Clock at Anglesey Abbey**

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University of Manchester and the National Trust

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**Introduction**

My first experience working on the history of clocks and the eighteenth-century English “sing-song” trade with China was as part of a music project. “Handel in the Forbidden City”, a collaborative project with Dr Jon Banks of Anglia Ruskin University, looked at the mechanical music found on the clocks exported to China, as part of a broader topic concerning the exchange of ideas and aesthetics between East and West. Much of my research focussed on one particular clock in the collection of the Palace Museum, Beijing, which, unusually for an English-made timepiece, plays the well-known Chinese folk melody *Molihua* 茉莉花 (Jasmine Blossom). My background in the study of Western eighteenth-century music, as a professional musician for over twenty years, informs my studies of the history and art of the period, as does my specialist knowledge in the areas of Chinese art, literature and music. The BICC project appealed to me for two main reasons. First, it gave me the rare opportunity to combine two areas of expertise: China, and the art and music of eighteenth-century Europe, and secondly, it appealed strongly to my interest in object-based research.

**The Project**

Initially the remit of the project was to discover the provenance of one clock in the collection of Anglesey Abbey (AA), Cambridgeshire, which had been restored by Matthew Read, Brittany Cox and others at West Dean College. Following an initial inspection of the clock, and other items in the AA collection, it was soon realized that the project would need to expand in scope to include more than just this one clock, as there had clearly been a close relationship between two or more of the clocks in the collection since at least as far back as the turn of the nineteenth century.

Terminology

Two clocks in the collection of Anglesey Abbey have traditionally been known as the “Pagoda Clock” and the “Tower Clock” (see Appendix II). In fact, the second of these names might best be used to describe both clocks, the name “Pagoda Clock” being something of a misnomer. At the outset of the project I spent some considerable time looking at the latter term and why it should not be used to refer to the example at AA. It is clear that a number of clocks in true “pagoda” form do exist in collections worldwide and the Anglesey Abbey example does not directly relate to these.[[1]](#footnote-1) In the end, for the purposes of this project, it was deemed reasonable to continue referring to the AA clocks by the names by which they had been traditionally known in order to avoid confusion (see Appendix I).

The main clocks examined on in this report are:

The Anglesey Abbey Clocks

Pagoda Clock A[[2]](#footnote-2)

Tower Clock A[[3]](#footnote-3)

Singing Bird Clock[[4]](#footnote-4)

The pairs to the AA Clocks

Pagoda Clock B

Tower Clock B

Other Clocks in the Robersons’ Catalogue *Eighteenth Century Clocks*

Imperial Immortal Mountain Clock

Mirror Clock

Elephant Clock

Simon Harcourt-Smith

The project began with an examination of the available copies of the rare 1933 catalogue of the clocks in the Palace Museum, Beijing, written by the British diplomat Simon Harcourt-Smith, just eight years after the Forbidden City had been established as a museum. The *Catalogue of Clocks, Watches, Automata, and Other Miscellaneous Objects of European Workmanship from the XVIII to Early XIX Centuries in the Palace Museum and the Wu Ying Tien, Peiping* [Beijing], is the single most important source concerning the history of clocks in the Palace Museum, in the early part of the twentieth century and was important as far as the project is concerned, as it is the earliest document of its type available. The results of these initial investigations, although later found to be not directly relevant to the project, are included in Appendix II. Available information concerning the life of Simon Harcourt-Smith is scant, despite his importance with regard to the history of clocks in China, and the brief introduction found in the appendix may add, in some small way, to the history of Chinese clocks and automata in the early twentieth century.[[5]](#footnote-5)

Translation of Chinese Newspaper Clippings

During the restoration process at West Dean fragments of paper were discovered within the body of Pagoda Clock A. These were initially identified as having probably been torn from “Chinese newspapers” and their discovery was one of the reasons that an in-depth investigation into the history of the clock was proposed. It was also the reason for the appointment of a China specialist as the holder of the BICC Post-doctoral Fellowship.

Library Research

The Guildhall Library in London holds the libraries of the Clockmakers’ Company and the Antiquarian Horological Society and was a main source of material for the project. Regular visits to the library were facilitated through personal contacts at the library. Research was also carried out in the library of the School of Oriental and African Studies and the British Library.

Auction Houses and Commercial Contacts

From a brief analysis of textual information initially supplied by the National Trust, it was realized that information regarding a sale of clocks which took place at Robersons’ Gallery in London during the first half of the 1920s was of fundamental importance to the project. My first task was to track down a copy of *Eighteenth Century Clocks,* the rare catalogueassociated with the sale. In an effort to do this I wrote to all the London auction houses. All of these were helpful, but only Christie’s had a copy in their library. Philip Belcher of Christie’s was generous enough to provide me with a photocopy of the catalogue, which has proven to be indispensable to the research as perhaps the single most important source of information concerning the clocks in question. As will be discussed below, attempts were also made to contact antique specialists who had dealings with Lord Fairhaven of Anglesey Abbey in the past but, in all but one case, these proved fruitless.

Specialist Contacts

For logistical reasons it was not possible to arrange face-to-face meetings with specialists such as Ian White and Jonathan Betts during the three-month period of the project. I did have regular contact with Ian White via email and he generously supplied much interesting and important information that helped greatly with the progress of the project. Another clock specialist with whom I was able to maintain regular contact was Brittany Cox, who had worked on the restoration of Pagoda Clock A, and now works in the USA. Paul Buck of the British Museum was also generous with his expert knowledge.

Sources

For a list of books used in the project see the bibliography. Of these, one of the most important was Ian White’s *English Clocks for the Eastern Markets* which makes brief mention of both clocks that make up the “pairs”, or “twins”, to the clocks at AA. Chinese-language essays by specialists in the field were consulted, many of which, together with a selection of primary sources, had been previously researched by Catherine Pagani in her book (originally a PhD thesis) *Eastern Magnificence and European Ingenuity Clocks of Late Imperial China*.

**Main Findings of the Project**

The sale that took place at Robersons’ Gallery, Knightsbridge in the first half of the 1920s is central to the history of the AA clocks during the early twentieth century. In the wake of the destruction of manor houses around the British Isles during the interwar period, Robersons’ of Knightsbridge made its money by dealing in interior architectural features salvaged from these buildings, some of their main customers being wealthy industrialists from the USA.[[6]](#footnote-6) One of the main questions to arise during the course of the project (one that it has not been possible to answer) is why these clocks were sold through an architectural salvage company in the first place, rather than through one of the London auction houses. Robersons’ business archives do not survive and there is no way of checking the details of the clock sale from company records.[[7]](#footnote-7)

It was at the beginning of the 1920s that Robersons’ acquired their salerooms at 217-229 Knightsbridge and first fitted out its galleries “…to display the genuine old rooms” which came into their possession; displaying panelled interiors, mantelpieces and other architectural features salvaged from condemned historic houses.[[8]](#footnote-8) The most likely time of the clocks’ sale, although not indicated in the catalogue, is between 1923 and 1925.[[9]](#footnote-9) As cited by John Harris in his book *Moving Rooms: The Trade in Architectural Salvages*, an advert in the *Architectural Review* of October 1924 reads: “A Cordial Invitation is issued to all Architects to visit the Unique Exhibition of Antique Panelled Rooms Period Furniture & Old Mantels now being held at Knightsbridge Hall”.[[10]](#footnote-10) In the Robersons’ clock catalogue, an advertisement for what may well have been a publication associated with the same exhibition, states that on application: “A presentation copy of Volume II of Mr. C. L. Robersons’ work “Antique Panelled Rooms” will be forwarded post free…” It is possible that the publication of “Antique Panelled Rooms” took place sometime shortly after the “unique exhibition” of 1924, which would logically place the clock sale and the publication of the Robersons’ catalogue, *Eighteenth Century Clocks,* in late 1924 or 1925. Another possibility is that the sale took place in 1923; if it is agreed that all the clocks in the sale went through the hands of the clock restorer Harold Carter-Bowles in the years 1921-1922 (as discussed below) then a date soon after this might be the most likely time for the sale. Neither of these dating proposals is by any means certain, and further research will be needed to ascertain the exact year in which the sale took place. This is of the utmost importance to any future progress of the research into the provenance of the clocks, and information found in Roberson catalogue is crucial to the history of the clocks in the Anglesey Abbey collection. One paragraph in particular is key with reference to the ten clocks that appeared in the sale:

“The collection was gathered by an Irish gentleman during the course of his world travels before the Great War. In Peking, Teheran, St. Petersburg, Lahore and many other Eastern towns this gentleman made his purchases, paying fabulous prices, and he kept them for several years in his home in Danzig. At the outbreak of war he returned with them to Ireland...”[[11]](#footnote-11)

All avenues have been explored in an effort to determine the identity of this “Irish Gentleman” but every turn has drawn a blank. All mention of “Irish gentlemen” as military or religious figures in available sources on the internet, and elsewhere, has been examined but no reference can be found to an Irish man, of high rank, who had spent time in China, India, Persia or Russia, and who had at one-time been resident in Danzig/Gdansk. Existing Polish/Irish and Irish/Polish societies were contacted in an effort to track down the elusive figure but no replies were received.[[12]](#footnote-12) The identity of this individual is key to the history of these clocks in the late nineteenth century/early twentieth century and how they initially came to the West from China but exactly who he was remains a mystery. One possibility that must be entertained is that the character is entirely fictitious and the description as written in the catalogue was a fanciful construct devised to make the items in the sale more desirable to potential buyers, in a similar way to how auction houses still advertise sales of the “property of a Lady”, “property of an English gentleman”, or “property of a titled gentleman”.

The AA clocks and their pairs

From the available evidence it is clear that the vast majority of clocks of the type in question were manufactured in pairs. Some pairs have survived up to the present day but, in such cases, the two clocks are rarely found together in the same collection. The pairs to both AA clocks do survive and it is clear that these too are of central importance when it comes to tracing the story of the AA clocks. There has been some confusion over the years concerning the identity of the Pagoda Clock A in Anglesey Abbey and its pair, Pagoda Clock B, which is currently in a private collection in the USA (having once passed through the hands of the London antique dealers Jeremy Ltd., (see below)). In an article published in *Clocks Magazine* in 1983, written by the specialist who was at the time responsible for the restoration of Pagoda Clock B, it is suggested that it was this clock that had been sold at the Robersons’ sale.[[13]](#footnote-13) With the story as we now know it, it can be seen that this is most unlikely. All the evidence points towards it being Pagoda Clock A (the pair to the Jeremy clock) that appeared, together with Tower Clock A in the Robersons’ catalogue and was sold by them sometime during the mid-1920s.[[14]](#footnote-14) Although it is vaguely possible that Tower clock A and Pagoda Clock B were sold together in the sale, as would have been the case if Harding’s course of events had been correct, it is most unlikely. Harding also makes the suggestion that Pagoda Clock B “was looted at the plundering of the Summer Palace at Pekin in 1858 [*sic*] and brought back to Europe”.[[15]](#footnote-15) This is, of course, perfectly feasible, and it would make sense that the Irish collector had acquired his clocks sometime after the events of 1860. Indeed, the likelihood is that both the AA clocks and their pairs were looted from the imperial collections, possibly in 1860, at the time of the Sacking of the Summer Palace, but more likely during the time of the Boxer Uprising of 1899-1901. In fact, the history of Tower Clock B and how it came to the UK can be traced with some accuracy. As related by Ian White, in *English Clocks for the Eastern Market*, Tower Clock B, which is illustrated in the book, was:

“…taken from Peking in the aftermath of the Western relief of the siege of the foreign legations in 1900… by Lt-Col. W. J. R. Rainsford and Major J. J. C. Watson of the Royal Army Medical Corps sometime in 1901 and presented by them to the Royal Army Medical Corps, in whose possession it remains.”[[16]](#footnote-16)

In an effort to follow up on this lead, I wrote to the curator of the Royal Army Medical Services Museum, in the hope of making arrangements to see the clock. On receiving no immediate reply from the museum I wrote directly to the RAMC[[17]](#footnote-17) and was informed by the Regimental Secretary that the clock was not part of the museum collection and had been kept at “Camberley up until earlier this year [2015] when” it was “sent…away to be valued”. I was informed that the Corps had subsequently decided to have it restored completely and that it was “currently with the restorers” where it would remain until mid- to late-2016.[[18]](#footnote-18) Following a series of subsequent emails it was clear that, for some reason, those in charge really did not want me to see it. Thankfully, the history of the clock is well documented and further textual evidence exists. The following anecdote shows one method by which objects from the imperial collection were acquired by members of the British army and, as suggested by Ian White, is likely to refer to the clock in question (Tower Clock B):

“Colonel Rainsford of the Royal Army Medical Corps, on seeing some lacquer screens that he admired, put his card on them to indicate that they were reserved for him. The General on later seeing them declared that they would make a suitable present from him to the Queen, and removed Rainsford’s card, replacing it with his own. Rainsford then selected a clock…”[[19]](#footnote-19)

Following initial research at AA, it can be shown that the twin of the RAMC clock - Tower Clock A - also came from China but almost certainly at a later date (in 1914 in the hands of the “Irish Gentleman”) and, most likely, in the company of Pagoda Clock A. It should be noted though that this does not preclude the idea that these clocks had also been looted in China at an earlier date, in 1860 or 1900; indeed this does appear to be the most likely scenario. It is interesting to note that a similar clock to Tower Clocks A and B, still exists in the collection of the Palace Museum, Beijing (Tower Clock C). Tower Clock C has similar enamelling and ormolu work, and the same domed automaton mechanism which is found on both Tower Clocks A and B, but is formed of only two tiers, rather than the three tiers found on both looted examples.[[20]](#footnote-20) It is said in the information supplied by the Palace Museum, almost certainly incorrectly, that this clock was made by James Cox.

Conclusive proof that Tower Clock A had been in China for at least some of its life was discovered on an initial examination of the clock with Christopher Calnan of the National Trust. It was found that scratched crudely inside, were two Chinese characters, no doubt inscribed to identify the panels when the clock was being assembled, sometime prior to its arrival in Europe. One of these characters very clearly reads *you* 右 (right) and the other (which is much less clear) appears to read *shang* 上 (upper); together they translate as “upper right”.

Although there is no concrete documentary evidence about Tower Clock A to compare with that cited above concerning Tower Clock B, ascertaining the date at which Pagoda Clock A left China can be done with a certain amount of accuracy. This has been done through the deciphering of textual fragments on eight scraps of paper that were discovered in Pagoda Clock A. These had originally been used as padding to pack out the enamel panels, possibly to secure them in transit. Through an examination of these scraps of paper it has been possible to estimate the approximate time when the clock was last in China, plus a likely date, shortly afterwards, when both AA clocks left that country, almost certainly together with the other “Chinese” examples in the collection of the “Irish Gentleman” as seen in Robersons’ catalogue.

Three different types of paper were found in Pagoda Clock A. Although it might well be assumed these three different types were used at the same time, there is also a real possibility that different pieces of paper were used by clock repairers at three separate times to carry out running repairs. The pieces of paper are:

1. Letter paper:

These two small scraps of off-white paper cannot tell us anything significant about the history of the clock as there are only two characters, written by hand in ink, found on one of the pieces, plus minute traces of one, or two, single characters on the other. The readable characters are *si jiao* 四角 (“four corner” or “corner four”) and may have been written on the paper simply to indicate that this was to be used in the repair of “corner four” of the clock.

1. Several scraps torn from a single sheet:

No complete sentence can be found on these scraps but it has been possible to partly identify the origin of the woodblock printed sheet from the vocabulary used in the text. There are two possibilities: either the sheet from which the scraps were torn was part of a leaflet giving the instructions for a type of lottery popular at the end of the nineteenth century, or it was part of such a lottery ticket itself. The lottery in question, known as *Weixing* 闈姓, required the player to guess the family names of the candidates put forward for the imperial examinations and the order in which they would be placed in the examination results. This type of lottery was particularly popular in Southern China in the 1880s and 1890s but ceased to be played when the Chinese civil service examination system was disbanded in 1905. These scraps of paper do not tell us much about the clock except that it was in China during the late nineteenth century. By this time, it may or may not have already been looted from the imperial collections in 1860 although, as discussed above, it is more likely to have been removed c.1900. The relatively early printing date of this document does not of course mean that the clock was necessarily repaired at the time of the leaflet’s publication, as the paper could easily have remained on a shelf, or in a drawer, in a clockmaker’s workshop for many years after the time of printing.

1. Newspaper:

The scraps of newspaper are clearly of a later date. This can be seen from the vocabulary found within the text. However, these are also problematic, as again no one complete sentence is decipherable. The actual date of the newspaper is not shown on any of the fragments, so dating the scraps has had to be done with reference solely to vocabulary used.

The earliest year in which the newspaper could have feasibly been published, using the vocabulary as a guide, is 1912, the year of the founding of the Chinese Republic.[[21]](#footnote-21) This can be seen from the official title *Guowuyuan* 國務員 (Minister) and related terms found within the various fragmentary sentences. *Guowuyuan* was a title denoting the Premier and heads of all government departments and was a term that did not appear until the promulgation of the *Zhonghua minguo linshi yuefa* 中華民國臨時約法 (Provisional Constitution of the Chinese Republic), which was brought into being on 12 March 1912, at the time of the establishment of the *Guowuyuan* 國務院 (State Cabinet).

The latest possible date can also be deduced from the vocabulary and this is October 1914; the year that *Shuntianfu* 順天府 (Shuntian Prefecture), as mentioned in the text, was abolished as an administrative unit.[[22]](#footnote-22) After this time *Shuntianfu* became the *Jingzhao difang* 京兆地方 (Capital district); part of the city of Beijing.[[23]](#footnote-23) A related term to *Guowuyuan* also appears: *Yiyuan* 議員 (representative; member of a legislative body; Member of Parliament). Perhaps crucially, there is also mention in the text of the “re-election of members of parliament” with the partial-sentence *Yiyuan gaixuan ying yu ben* 議員改選應於本, which would translate as “The re-election of members of parliament should take place this…” The missing word, which would logically follow at the end of this sentence, would be either “year” or “month”. With this it is possible to estimate the time even more closely, as, according to the regulations of the *Zhonghua minguo guohui zuzhi fa* 中華民國國會組織法 (Organisational Laws of the National Assembly of the Republic of China), members of the assembly/parliament served for a period of six years, with every two years, one third being re-elected (this was decided by the drawing of lots). Such a re-election, two years after 1912, supports the date of 1914. As can be seen from the Robersons’ catalogue, the Irish Gentleman is said to have brought his collection of clocks back to the West before the outbreak of World War I, that is, before 28 July 1914.

Of course, this method of dating is by no means fool proof as the quoted texts could be referring to events that had occurred well before the time of publication, but as this is the only evidence we have, it must suffice until further information comes to light.

The Anglesey Abbey Clocks

The information currently available on the National Trust database regarding the history of Pagoda Clock A is only partially accurate. It is most unlikely that this clock was made by James Cox, as suggested in the NT catalogue, and it certainly does not appear in the information concerning his London exhibitions of 1772-1776.[[24]](#footnote-24) According to the available sources there does not appear to be any direct link between this clock and James Cox. It is likely to be the case that the replacement clock dial and movement were made by Henry Borrell who was working in London between the years 1790-1840[[25]](#footnote-25) but an attribution for Borrell as the maker of the clock itself is less likely. The musical movements of the pairs to the AA clocks were both made by John Mottram, who worked in London from 1790-1808, and it is highly probable that he also made those that were originally installed in the AA clocks.[[26]](#footnote-26) The Robersons’ catalogue states that Pagoda Clock A was by Cox (but with no supporting evidence) and Tower Clock A by Mottram; The Royal Army Medical Corp presents their own clock, Tower Clock B, as having been made by Mottram and that is the name which appears on the tune selectors of all the clocks, except Pagoda Clock A, which has a replacement (probably made by Harold Carter-Bowles). This is likely to mean that the musical movements were made by Mottram but not necessarily the clocks themselves.

As mentioned above, initial research showed the importance of tracing the history of Pagoda Clock A and Tower Clock A in tandem, but in fact, there are three clocks in the AA collection that research suggests were purchased together by Lord Fairhaven of Anglesey Abbey in the 1920s. A third clock, described in the Robersons’ catalogue as a “Singing Bird Clock by Le Roy”, is recorded by National Trust as being inscribed “*Le Roy and Fils, H'ers du Roi a Paris*” (Le Roy and Son, Clockmakers to the King in Paris). It is certainly possible that this clock was also looted in China but it is not of the richly flamboyant, paste-ornamented type, often associated with the “Chinese taste” and Chinese collections. It does, however, have a feature that would have appealed strongly to Chinese collectors which is described in the Robersons’ catalogue as follows:

“Within the tulip [-shaped mechanism on top of the clock] is a gilt ball which on the chiming of the hour, gradually opens, disclosing a minute bird of paradise, which with flapping wings and moving beak, sings its song with remarkable clearness. With the completion of the warbling the gilt ball closes again, concealing the bird from sight.”[[27]](#footnote-27)

Further research revealed that these clocks were in fact just three of a larger group, the histories of which, since the early twentieth century, have been inextricably linked. Research also strongly suggests that all ten clocks sold at the Robersons’ sale had gone through the hands of the clock restorer Harold Carter-Bowles in the early 1920s. The name “Carter-Bowles” which can be found scratched inside all three Anglesey Abbey clocks, is central to the history of this larger group.

Carter-Bowles

The crudely scratched signature of Harold Carter-Bowles (1889-1961) found its way over the years into the workings of many clocks, of varying degrees of importance and value: from the rather cheap-and-nasty Enamel Framed Picture Clock, recently sold at Bigwood Fine Art Auctioneers for just £40,[[28]](#footnote-28) to the George III Chased and Engraved Ormolu Quarter-striking, Musical and Automaton Clock, made by Henry Borrell in London in the late eighteenth century which recently sold at Christie’s for £735,650.[[29]](#footnote-29) Other examples include, a Tortoise Water Clock, and a Polychrome Wood and Ormolu Striking Table Clock by Robert Henderson (signed “Carter Bowles 1937”),[[30]](#footnote-30) both sold at Christie’s, in 1995 and 2014, respectively.[[31]](#footnote-31)

The available information shows that at least five of the clocks listed in the catalogue of the sale at Robersons’ Gallery bear the signature of Carter-Bowles and it is assumed that this will also be the case with the remaining five examples which have not been examined. Those that are known to have been signed in this way are listed below together with their current whereabouts (if known):

1. Tower Clock A Anglesey Abbey “Carter Bowles 1921”
2. Pagoda Clock A Anglesey Abbey “Carter Bowles 1922”?
3. Singing Bird Clock Anglesey Abbey “Carter Bowles 1923”
4. Borrell clock [sold through] Christie’s “Carter Bowles 1922”
5. Imperial Immortal Mountain Clock Collection of Liu Yiqian “H C Bowles 1921”

Carter-Bowles is also known to have directly supplied at least one clock to Lord Fairhaven. A surviving invoice for the sum of £85 in the archives of Anglesey Abbey, written in the unmistakable hand of Harold Carter-Bowles, for an “…Old Marble Base Sundial Clock for Anglesey Abbey”, is dated 9 October 1929.[[32]](#footnote-32) This still exists in the Anglesey Abbey collection.[[33]](#footnote-33)

A copy of the pamphlet *Ten Wonderful Clocks,* now in the collection of Anglesey Abbey, has additional information to that available in the Robersons’ catalogue. Although it is not altogether clear if this particular copy is a book of cuttings from the pamphlet or if it was actually published in this form (i.e. pages removed from the Robersons’ catalogue plus additions such as a title page with supplementary notes), it does seem likely that it was distributed in this ad hoc form with a view to selling on the ten clocks apparently purchased as a job lot from Robersons’ gallery. The following passage from the pamphlet, which undoubtedly refers to Harold Carter-Bowles, is important for the history of these clocks as it shows that he spent considerable time restoring them.

“A skilled horologist has spent two whole years in overhauling these timepieces and they are all guaranteed in perfect working order…”

Owing to the early dates of the signatures on the clocks as seen in the above list, it must be assumed that Carter-Bowles carried out work on them before the Robersons’ sale and not after. The title page of the pamphlet gives the identity of the subsequent sellers as M and R Geneen, Antiques and Works of Art and also includes brief information about the clocks for prospective customers. It can be seen from the title of the pamphlet, *Ten Wonderful Clocks,* that Geneen Antiques of New Bond Street were in possession of all the clocks (nine lots) following the Robersons’ sale and the fact that the pamphlet is in the Anglesey Abbey collection suggests it is likely that it was from Geneen that Lord Fairhaven bought the clocks in the 1920s.[[34]](#footnote-34)

According to the Christie’s 2012 auction report, the case of the Borrell clock (as seen in the above list) has at some time in the past been re-gilded, and it is suggested by the auction house specialists that this might have been carried out when it was with Robersons’ Gallery in the 1920s.[[35]](#footnote-35) It is possible that the restoration work done by Carter-Bowles prior to the sale included the re-gilding of this clock, and possibly also of Pagoda Clock A, which certainly also appears to have gone through such a process sometime in the not too distant past.

The Christie’s report points to a repair mark “Carter Bowles 1922” on the base and suggest that it is likely that some of the other restoration work that can be seen on the clock was also undertaken at that time. This is almost certainly the case. It is also suggested that some restoration had been carried out before this time, including, “a silvered Chinese-style gallery” that was added just above the base of the clock. It is pointed out in the catalogue entry that this addition can already be seen in the photographic image in the Robersons’ catalogue, suggesting that it is likely to be a 19th century replacement and “possibly a Chinese one”. It would have been interesting (but not practical) to have compared the red “silk and card to the rear door” found in the Borrell clock with the silk replacement in Pagoda Clock A, as these are also likely to have been Carter-Bowles restorations. The “paste-set tune-selection” mentioned in the condition report may also be similar to the crudely manufactured example found in the Pagoda Clock.[[36]](#footnote-36)

It is interesting to note that, in his obituary of 1961, it states that Carter-Bowles had carried out his business in Cheltenham for 30 years. This of course only takes us back to the period when he was working in the 1930s, some considerable time after his signature appears on the Robersons’ clocks. It is also interesting to note that he was still quite young - just over thirty years old - when he worked with the Robersons’ clocks. No further information as to his involvement with these clocks presents itself in his obituary:

Mr H. Carter-Bowles

The death has occurred after a long illness, of Mr. Harold Carter-Bowles, FBHI, of Cheltenham, one of the best-known horologists and antiquaries in Gloucestershire. He was 72.

Mr Carter-Bowles, who was born in Cheltenham, had carried on his business as horologist and scientific instrument maker in the town for 30 years, many of them at 6 Queen’s Circus, and his shop window was always a source of great interest for the many horological curios that were in it.

He was the first Chairman of the Cheltenham Branch of the British Horological Institute in the years 1950-51-52. A member of the BHI for nearly 20 years, he was afterwards elected Branch Vice-President and held that post ever since. He was also a member of the British Antiquary Society.

The business will be continued at Queen’s Circus, Cheltenham, by Mr. Douglas Payne.[[37]](#footnote-37)

Another important clock, in the above list of five, recently sold at auction. The “Imperial Immortal Mountain Clock” (or “Rock Monastery Clock” as seen in the Robersons’ catalogue) sold in June 2015. It set a new world record for an “Asian art object sold on an on-line auction”, at €3,370,000, when it was bought by the Shanghai-based billionaire and art collector Liu Yiqian刘益谦, founder of the *Long meishuguan* 龍美術館 (“Long Museum”) in Pudong, Shanghai. It is described in modern Chinese (not altogether accurately) as: *Qing Qianlong Penglai baxian babao zhuanting falang yinyue zhong*清乾隆蓬莱八仙八宝转亭珐琅音乐钟 (Qing Dynasty, Qianlong, Penglai [mountains of the immortals], Eight Immortals, Eight Treasures, Revolving Pavilion,[[38]](#footnote-38) Enamel Musical Clock).

The same clock, and another from the Robersons’ sale, had been illustrated many years earlier in a book written by the horologists Alfred Chapuis and Edmond Droz (first published in 1949 and translated into English the following decade).[[39]](#footnote-39) The authors introduce these two clocks together with one other example and suggest that they were all produced by the same workshop (something that is not altogether very likely). The latter example (at the time in the *Coleccion F. Perez de Olaguer-Feliu*, Barcelona[[40]](#footnote-40)), apart from the fact that it is made in the “Chinese style”, is not relevant to this research project, but images of the first and third clocks, as they appear in the book, can both be found in the Robersons’ catalogue.[[41]](#footnote-41) The Imperial Immortal Mountain Clock is illustrated in a full-page black-and-white photograph and appears as: “Fig. 116 Clock with moving Chinese characters and waterfall, representing the Sacred Mountain”.[[42]](#footnote-42) This is shown in Chapuis to have been in the collection of one L. Grinberg at the time of the book’s writing.[[43]](#footnote-43) Auctionata, in their on-line catalogue, give a partial provenance for the clock, showing that by the 1970s, it had entered a major American collection:

* Property of an “Irish Gentleman” and acquired during his travels in Asia circa 1900
* Exhibited at Robson [*sic*] Gallery in London, 1923 [*sic*]
* Collection Greenberg [actually Grinberg], New York before 1949
* Illustrated in Alfred Chapuis & Edmond Droz: *Les Automates, figures artificielles d'hommes et d'animaux.* Neuchatel, 1949.
* Collection of the Time Museum, Rockford, IL in 1970s

This provenance, patchy as it is, does make some interesting suggestions. First, it proposes that the clock was in the collection of the “Irish Gentleman” as far back as 1900, i.e. at the time of the Boxer Uprising. Secondly, it is quite specific about the date of the Robersons’ sale. 1923 is a good guess but perhaps it would be more accurate to say that it took place sometime between 1923 and 1925 (it will be remembered that the catalogue itself is undated). Lastly, it indicates that the clock was in the collection of the Time Museum in the 1970s. Although this may have been the case, according to Sotheby’s online archive, this clock does not appear to have been amongst the items sold in the major sale of the museum’s collection “Masterpieces of the Time Museum” which took place at Sotheby’s, some years later, on 13-15 October 2004. This perhaps suggests that it had left the American collection some time before the sale.[[44]](#footnote-44)

The whereabouts of two other clocks found in the Robersons’ catalogue can also be partially traced: the Mirror Clock and the Elephant Clock. The Elephant Clock, so-called because it is surmounted by a small model of an elephant, which appears in the Robersons’ catalogue as “X. 330 Ormulu [*sic*] Clock by James Cox”,[[45]](#footnote-45) can be found in Chapuis as: “Fig. 114 Elephant clock with parade of bonzes and revolving ornaments, of Chinese origin (Collection M. Sandoz)”. A selection of the objects in the collection of the writer, composer and collector, Maurice Yves Sandoz (1892-1958), can be seen in two books/catalogues housed in the Guildhall Library.[[46]](#footnote-46) Although the Elephant clock was apparently in the Sandoz collection in 1949, when Chapuis wrote his book, it does not appear in either catalogue, again perhaps an indication that it had been sold off before these books were published. It is noteworthy that, if the photograph in Chapuis’s book is compared to that in the Robersons’ catalogue, it can be seen that the elephants on the top of both clocks are facing in opposite directions. This is likely to indicate that these separate images show the two parts of a pair.

Another relevant clock is illustrated in Ian White’s *English Clocks for the Eastern Markets* and is described as a “Boudoir mirror clock with automata and rotating oriental figures” and is now in a private collection.[[47]](#footnote-47) An image of the pair to this clock can also be seen in White’s book, in a photograph reproduced from the Robersons’ catalogue, as X.335.[[48]](#footnote-48) It is again logical to assume that these illustrations show the two clocks which make up the pair. With the assistance of Ian White, it was possible to make enquiries from the owners of the first of these and as a result it has been assumed that this does not bear the signature of Carter-Bowles. It must be understood though that this tentative conclusion is based on what may have been just a cursory look inside the clock by the owners, so the existence of the signature should not be entirely ruled out. Again with the help of Ian White, I was able to contact the American restorers who worked on the pair to this clock. From the information available on the restorer’s website it was clear that any restoration work that was carried out was only on the exterior of the clock and that its inner workings were left untouched. The restorer has confirmed that she “did not get to see the signatures of people or companies which previously worked on these clocks” and “did not see any evidence of such signatures”, adding the crucial piece of information that she “never closely examined the clocks’ works, which might have evidence of such signatures”. The restorer was also able to confirm that she was not “privy to the history of prior ownership, etc.”[[49]](#footnote-49) Even with this information from both parties (the owner of the Mirror Clock A and the restorer of the exterior of Mirror Clock B) there is still some question as to whether or not one or the other of these clocks does indeed have the signature scratched inside; the information provided is unfortunately inconclusive.

Discrepancies in appearance between the two Mirror Clocks as illustrated in White, appear to be minor and are likely to be the result of restoration in subsequent decades. It is assumed that pairs of the clocks, at the time of manufacture, were all but identical and any additions or alterations are the result of subsequent restoration. Of the clocks in the catalogue to the Robersons’ sale the only ones that survived together as a pair up to the time of the sale are said in the catalogue to be “similar in outline and general appearance… [but differ] in detail”.[[50]](#footnote-50) Additions or omissions, with regard to the decorative appearance of clocks, are not unusual and can be clearly seen if a comparison is made between the examples found in the Harcourt-Smith catalogue of 1933 and those in the many books on the clocks in the Beijing collection published in modern times. The following statement by Harcourt-Smith is indicative of the changes that had already taken place with some of the clocks in the Palace Museum by 1933:

“In the last hundred years… [the Palace Collection] has fallen upon somewhat evil days. Some of the finest pieces have been spoiled by clumsy restorations and inept additions; others have been broken beyond repair…”[[51]](#footnote-51)

What he goes on to say is something that applies to many of the clocks examined in this research project, almost certainly, including both Pagoda Clock A and Tower Clock A:

“…an enormous quantity [were] destroyed or lost in the looting of Yuan Ming Yuan in 1860, that of the Forbidden City in 1900, and in the troubles of the last twenty years.”[[52]](#footnote-52)

It can be seen from the research up to this point that one of the biggest problems when it comes to identifying the clocks in question is the fact that they were all produced in pairs. This sometimes makes it difficult to know which of the pair we are actually dealing with when referring to examples in catalogues of collections and auction sales.

Robersons’ Clocks

It is assumed by Harding in his 1983 article “The Musical Clock the Emperor Never Heard” published in *Clocks* magazine, that it was Pagoda Clock B that appeared in the Robersons’ catalogue. However, based on the existing evidence, it can be seen that this was almost certainly Pagoda Clock A.[[53]](#footnote-53) In Harding’s article there are several photographs showing the detailed workings of the clocks (some reproduced in White’s book) none of which show the signature of Carter-Bowles. Although one would not necessarily expect to see such a signature in a published photograph of this type, Carter-Bowles was certainly in the habit of scratching his signature in prominent places on the clocks he had worked on, as can be seen from one of the on-line images of the Immortal Mountain Clock on the Auctionata website in which his part-signature can be clearly made out in the photograph. As we have seen, Carter-Bowles’s signature does appear in at least five of the ten clocks that were sold by Robersons’ and subsequently by M & R Geneen, Antiques and Works of Art.

The nine lots (ten clocks) as found in the sales catalogue *Eighteenth Century Clocks* are as follows:

1. X. 327 Singing Bird Clock by Le Roy (NT 514766 in the AA collection)
2. X. 328 Four Tier Ormulu [*sic*] Clock by John Mottram (Tower Clock A)
3. X. 329 Five Tier and Cupola Clock by James Cox (Pagoda Clock A)
4. X. 330 Ormulu [*sic*] Clock by James Cox
5. X. 331 Rock Monastery Clock Att. Rimbault
6. X. 332 Two Clocks by Rimbault
7. X. 334 Ormulu Case [*sic*] Clock by Henry Borrell
8. X. 335 Mirror Clock by Rimbault
9. X. 336 Mandarin Clock by James Cox

Any of the details in the list as to maker, or even description, should be taken with a pinch of salt; attributions to Rimbault or Cox are almost certainly incorrect. As mentioned above, it is significant that although pairs to all the clocks listed here are likely to have existed, it is only item number 6 in the above list (X. 332) that had survived as a pair up to the point of the sale.

Imperial Immortal Mountain Clock (The Rock Monastery)

The images in the Auctionata on-line catalogue, the Robersons’ catalogue, and the Chapuis book *Automata*, all appear to show the same clock.[[54]](#footnote-54) One clear difference between them, however, can be seen in the clock face. The image in the Robersons’ catalogue shows a clock, with a white dial, with two holes for winding keys; in the Auctionata catalogue (the most recent of the images) the clock face is shown, again with a white ground, and again with two winding holes, but these are shown in a different place, positioned rather higher than in the Robersons’ example. By contrast, in the black-and white image in Chapuis’s book, the clock face shows a dark (black or brown) dial with standard Chinese numerals. This might be considered unusual in itself, as, traditionally in China a different numerical system to the standard system was often used on clock faces. Clocks and watches, which have Chinese characters on their dials, often show the characters of the *tiangan dizhi* 天干地支 (Heavenly Stems and Earthly Branches), a numerical system traditionally used as part of ancient timekeeping practices related to astronomy, prognostication and divination, but widely used on Chinese clocks of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. A famous passage concerning this can be seen in the great Qing novel of manners *Honglou meng* 紅樓夢 (*Dream of the Red Chamber* also known as *The Story of the Stone*), by Cao Xueqin, in an excerpt were Wang Xifeng, one of the central members of this upper class family, is put in charge of running the household. In this chapter, Wang Xifeng, who is otherwise illiterate, explains how the keeping of time is of the utmost importance to her when running the household.[[55]](#footnote-55) She runs through her own daily schedule, using the traditional Chinese system to do so, in order to explain to the servants her timekeeping methods with regard to the running of the house. [[56]](#footnote-56)

There are two possibilities with regard to the clock face of the Imperial Immortal Mountain Clock: either this is the same clock that has had three different clock faces installed since the mid-1920s, or the different images show the two clocks that make up a pair. Again the Carter-Bowles signature might be the strongest clue when it comes to identification.

With regard to Tower Clock A, as indicated above, its identification and that of its pair is rather more straightforward, as the history of Tower Clock B is unusually well documented. This is important to the story of the AA clock, as it might well be assumed that if one of the pair of clocks is known to have been taken from the imperial collection in 1900, the other may well have followed the same course.

It is known that the clocks sold in the Robersons’ sale were all in one collection up until the mid-1920s. It has also been shown that Pagoda Clock A was certainly in China until 1914, as shown by the newspaper scraps found within. It might therefore be determined that both pairs of Tower and Pagoda clocks (if not the majority of the clocks in the Robersons’ sale) were taken from the Imperial Collection in c.1900. This of course does not tie in with the story of the Irish Gentleman who is supposed to have acquired the clocks in a variety of different countries, but if any truth at all can be attached to the story of this collector (who may equally well have been an entirely fictitious character), it might be more safely assumed that both AA clocks came into his collection in China. Although Harding’s *Clock* article suggests that Pagoda Clock B originally reached China by land “having crossed the Himalayas on the back of mules”, this must certainly be dismissed as complete fantasy and it would appear that the story that it was looted at the Sacking of the Summer Palace is also nothing but speculation as there is no documentary evidence to support it.[[57]](#footnote-57) Some useful information given by Harding, concerning the more recent history of Pagoda Clock B, is that in 1934 it was in the possession of one Miss Derry who, he implies may have purchased it from Robersons’ or perhaps subsequently from a third party. In 1968 it was in the hands of Miss Derry’s niece “who subsequently disposed of it”. It has not been possible to trace the identity of either Miss Derry or her niece.[[58]](#footnote-58)

At the time of its restoration in the early 1980s, Pagoda Clock B, was in the hands of the London dealers Jeremy Ltd. It has now been traced to California and can be seen amongst many flamboyant examples of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Chinese and Japanese art, and chinoiserie, in an image in the design book *Anne Getty: Interior Style* by Diane Dorrans Saeks. Among these objects are: eighteenth-century Chinese porcelain figurines, Japanese porcelain animals, and assorted vases and furniture, as well as an un-identified English clock in the “Chinese style”, possibly by Borrell.[[59]](#footnote-59) Pagoda Clock B takes pride of place in one photograph, as the central object in a group of antiques placed on a large marble-topped table. Although it was initially thought that this might be a third example of a “Pagoda Clock” - a Pagoda Clock C - it can really only be Pagoda Clock B, having been sold at some point in the past by the London dealers and ending up in the private collection of the Getty family in their San Francisco residence.[[60]](#footnote-60)

Sales receipts

I have followed up on a selection of existing sales receipts, dating from the 1920s to the 1960s, for clocks and other antiques purchased by Lord Fairhaven, most of which have unfortunately proven to be dead ends. For example, a letter sent to Godfrey Bonsack, concerning an invoice for a clock sold by this firm to the AA estate in 1964, has received no reply. Although the invoice is for a “Gilt, Bronze and Enamel Regency Clock (with eight day movement) ‘The Chinese Bird Hunter’” it would seem, even at the time it was sold to Lord Fairhaven in 1964, Bonsack’s speciality was in the sale of luxury bathrooms[[61]](#footnote-61) and indeed an on-line search today for Bonsack bathrooms reveals an outlet selling “luxury wet room products.”[[62]](#footnote-62) Likewise, it has not been possible to track down the successors to the firm of David Black, formerly of Burlington Gardens, the owner of which was in correspondence with Lord Fairhaven concerning several antiques in the 1940s. Be that as it may, a surviving letter from Black mentions “a large Gold quarter-repeating table clock by the famous French clock maker, Breguet, with contemporary Tortoiseshell and Ivory Stand”, said by the seller to be “undoubtedly unique and the largest Table Clock of this kind that I have seen”,[[63]](#footnote-63) which is still in the Anglesey Abbey collection.[[64]](#footnote-64) A search for details concerning an invoice, for “a fine Regency bracket clock in the chinoiserie taste; the case surrounded by a pagoda in bronze, the base decorated with conventional designs in gilt metal” sold by H. Blairman & Sons Ltd. in 1948,[[65]](#footnote-65) has also resulted in less than satisfactory results, although this time it was possible to contact the firm that sold the clock to Lord Fairhaven. I have exchanged correspondence with the current proprietor, who kindly went to the trouble of searching the firm’s archives. Unfortunately, he was unable to find anything of direct relevance to this project, in either the stock books or the sale ledgers from the interwar period.[[66]](#footnote-66) It is noteworthy, however, that the date of the invoice for the above clock, sold to Lord Fairhaven on 7 December 1948, is just one day prior to the sale of another “Regency” clock as discovered in the Blairman archives: “1 Regency Clock orm[olu]: w marble base” that was sold to a lady client on 8 December 1948. No references to Lord Fairhaven were found in the Blairman archives.

It can be seen from other sources though that in the earlier twentieth century H. Blairman and Sons was an important retailer of clocks of this type. Two black-and-white photographs of a four-tier pagoda clock (in true pagoda form) “with white enamel dial and bezel set with paste stones” appear in Ian White’s book “Courtesy of H. Blairman and Sons Ltd, London”. It is suggested that this clock was made for the “Chinese market” although, despite the prominent pagoda, it seems to differ considerably from other examples, in that its Neo-classical style decoration is particularly pronounced.[[67]](#footnote-67) A black-and-white photograph of a Bombé case clock by George Higginson also appears in White’s book, again “Courtesy of H. Blairman and Sons Ltd”.[[68]](#footnote-68) A related item, which passed through the hands of the firm in more recent years, is a necessaire, a colour photograph of which appears as part of a matching pair (the other being in the collection of the V&A[[69]](#footnote-69)), again appearing in White “…courtesy of H. Blairman and Sons Ltd”.[[70]](#footnote-70) Although it is clear that Lord Fairhaven did purchase at least one clock from Blairman “in the chinoiserie taste”, as there is the above sales invoice to prove it, its description does not appear to match any of the clocks now surviving in the Anglesey Abbey collection. The antique dealers Jeremy Ltd., through whose hands Pagoda Clock B passed, similarly, sold a number of clocks of this type over the years and images of these can also be seen in White’s book.[[71]](#footnote-71)

Music

Keith Harding, an acknowledged expert in musical boxes, carried out restoration on the musical movement of Pagoda Clock B in the early 1980s, apparently in an unusually sympathetic way.[[72]](#footnote-72) The restorer devised a way to “plot the position of the pins on the musical cylinder, one tune at a time, on to graph paper and to look for patterns in the music”. From the scarcity of named tunes that appear in publications about clocks and the apparent lack of consideration given by horologists to music in general, it would seem that the attention paid to the restoration of the musical movement by Harding, if not actually unique, should certainly be seen as most unusual. His conclusions are that the clock plays four *Scottish* tunes. Such a description fits well with the tunes found on Pagoda Clock A, which also appears to play traditional Scottish folk melodies. Unfortunately, despite modern computer technology, it is still not possible to search on the internet for musical melody in the same way as is possible with text. This being the case, the names of the tunes on both clocks remain unidentified. With reference to existing clocks with named tunes, it can be seen that the Scottish Air was a popular choice for use in clocks, automata and other mechanical music devices. A small selection of the named “Scottish” tunes often found on clocks include: Money Musk; Lass O Patties Mill (under various spellings including: Lass of Pattis Mill and The Lass of Peaty’s Mill); A Lovely Lass to a Friar Came[[73]](#footnote-73); New Highland Laddie, again under assorted spellings: Highland Laddy, High.d Laddie and even New Highland “Lassie”[[74]](#footnote-74); Auld Robin Gray; and various Scottish Reels and other dances.

**Problems Encountered**

The project was plagued by a number of difficulties along the way and sometimes it felt as if I was coming across a brick wall at every turn. By far the biggest problem encountered was the surprising lack of replies to emails and letters. On several occasions, having written sometimes detailed and lengthy letters to individuals or organisations, I would receive no reply whatsoever. This is something I have not encountered before in my research; I have been used to at least receiving some sort of reply to my requests, even if in the negative, but in many cases, and in fact more often than not, with this project I received no reply at all to a relatively large number of requests made over the three month period.

There were also serious obstacles to the research with regard to information that was simply not forthcoming. The most obvious example is the problems encountered in attempting to discover the identity of the mysterious “Irish Gentleman” and his collection of clocks. Early on in the research this individual was identified as being key to the history of the clocks and therefore a not inconsiderable amount of time was spent in trying to identify who he was. However, even after exploring a number of different avenues, no information at all was found on him. Such a dearth of information is highly unusual in the internet age with the support of search engines such as Google. Usually one would at least expect a hunt using the search terms “Irish” and “Danzig” together, to throw up at least a few small clues, but in this case nothing whatsoever was found.

Serious problems were sometimes encountered even when replies were received. As detailed above, having written to the curator of the Royal Army Medical Services Museum and receiving no response, I wrote directly to the corps itself. In reply, the Regimental Secretary informed me that the clock was with the restorers. The opportunity to see the clock in a restorer’s workshop was one that I certainly did not want to miss, so I wrote back to ask if it might be possible to examine the clock in the workshop. To my great surprise this request was flatly refused, as was the subsequent plea that I might be allowed to enter into correspondence with the restorers (whose identity is still unknown to me). This was of course all very disappointing and was a great obstacle to the progress of the project. I should say, it seems to be entirely against the spirit of academic research and cooperation between institutions (albeit in this case not an academic institution) to have been denied access in this way, especially for a researcher working on a project for three highly respected organisations: the National Trust, the University of Manchester and British Inter-University China Centre.

**Conclusion: A Brief History of the Clocks According to Findings**

Having been in the imperial collection (or perhaps other collections belonging to a high-ranking Chinese officials) since the latter part of the eighteenth century, the clocks in question remained in China until they were looted, either in 1860, at the time of the Sacking of the Summer Palace, or the Boxer Uprising in 1898-1901. They were acquired at this time, or perhaps subsequently, by a possibly fictitious, “Irish Gentleman” and brought back to Europe shortly before the outbreak of World War I. In 1923/1925 ten clocks, possibly including some acquired by the same collector from other sources, were sold at Robersons’ Gallery in Knightsbridge having been restored for two years by Harold Carter-Bowles. The clocks were acquired and sold on by M & R Geneen, Antiques and Works of Art. The clocks then dispersed into various collections and at least three were purchased by Lord Fairhaven of Anglesey Abbey, either directly from Geneen, or through an intermediary such as the clock restorer Harold Carter-Bowles. Out of the surviving clocks and their pairs, since the 1920s, examples are known to have been in private hands in collections in Switzerland, the USA, China and the UK. Today there are three in the Anglesey Abbey Collection, one in the collection of the Royal Army Medical Corps, one in a Shanghai-based museum, one in the private collection of the Getty family in the USA and others in unidentified private collections.

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**Appendix I**

Notes on Pagoda Clocks

At least four clocks currently in the collection of the Palace Museum Beijing are made in the form of a pagoda; all manufactured in the late eighteenth century, two in England, one in the port of Canton (Guangzhou) and another at the imperial workshops Beijing.

The first of the “true pagoda” clocks (clocks made to resemble a Chinese pagoda) in Harcourt-Smith’s catalogue is of English manufacture (c.1780) and is listed as being one of a pair. In fact, approximately half (60) of all the clocks and automata listed (111) in Harcourt-Smith’s catalogue are said to have been pairs at the time of the book’s publication. It would seem from a more recent catalogue entry concerning this particular clock in *Gugong zhongbiao* 故宫钟表 that only one of the pair now survives in the collection. The single example that now remains is 95cm high, rising to 122.5cm when the telescopic tower mechanism is at its height. The clock sits on a square base, on top of which, the five-tiered telescopic pagoda sits. Around the level of the clock face stand, what appear to be, four classical figures. From what can be seen in the photograph in Harcourt-Smith’s catalogue, originally, at the place where these figures now stand, were bunches of flowers of the type that swivel around as part of the automaton movement as seen on the Anglesey Abbey “Pagoda Clock”. In addition, twelve figures dressed in English military uniform of the period march around under the eaves. Other decorative motifs commonly found on both English and Chinese manufactured clocks, such as artificial waterfalls made of lengths of twisted glass can also be seen. The telescopic pagoda rises and falls to as yet unidentified music.[[75]](#footnote-75)

The second English clock in the Beijing collection is 120cm high. There are clock faces on three sides, each with hour, minute and second hands. It is made in the form of a nine-tier, octagonal pagoda, with floral decoration formed from multi-coloured paste stones. Each of the nine-gabled roofs is decorated with six, small hanging bells which jingle as the automated tiers of the pagoda are set in motion. As the telescopic tower ascends it plays the popular Chinese melody *Molihua* (Jasmine Blossom) and as it descends the music comes to an end.[[76]](#footnote-76)

These English clocks contrast strongly in appearance with the examples made in China, one of which was made in workshops in the port of Canton and the other in the Imperial workshops, both during the reign of the Qianlong Emperor (1736-1795). In common with the majority of Canton-made clocks, including, for example, the Imperial Immortal Mountain Clock sold by Auctionata in 2015, this example is decorated with figures from Chinese mythology. It is 111cm high and is made in the form of a seven-tier pagoda with a square base, ornamented with typical Canton, floral, enamel decoration on a blue ground. On each tier there are four niches with western-style pillar surrounds and arched lintels. The niches on the first tier contain a carved ivory Buddhist figure and in the others are placed painted models of figures such as Shoulao (God of Immortality), the ubiquitous *Baxian* (Eight Immortals) and Sun Wukong (The Monkey King), protagonist of the Ming dynasty novel *Xiyou ji* 西遊記 (Journey to the West). A single clock face appears on the front enamel panel. On the left panel is a Western-style oil painting of palace ladies, and on the right, another depiction of Shoulao. On each of the four corners of the base, lotus leaves serve as pedestals for ivory figures of servant boys. The tower rises and falls in the same way as with the English clocks and the boys reverentially bow to the sound of unidentified music.

The second Chinese-made example was manufactured in the 造辦處*Zaobanchu* (Imperial Palace Workshops).[[77]](#footnote-77) This is somewhat taller than the other clocks and is a fixed wooden structure, standing at 145 cm. Within each of the thirteen tiers a group of the Eight Immortals revolve to as yet unidentified music.

The pagoda had already become a familiar sight in England by the time of the clocks’ manufacture. Depictions of such “exotic” structures, in various interpretations by English artists and craftsmen, often appeared on ceramics, wallpaper, furniture ornament and other forms of decorative art. The Great Pagoda in Kew Gardens had been built some years before, in 1762, by Sir William Chambers (1723-1796), some thirty years prior to Lord Macartney’s embassy to China (1792-1794). The Swedish born, Scottish architect, Chambers, had been in the employ of the Swedish East India Company (1731-1813) from 1740 to 1749 and had made several voyages to China. He later studied architecture in Paris, and then for five years in Italy, before establishing an architectural firm in London in 1755. In 1763 Chambers published his *Designs for Chinese Buildings* and in 1772 a *Dissertation on Oriental Gardening*.[[78]](#footnote-78) These, and other similar books, would have been available to the designers of clocks, automata and other “curiosities” in the workshops of London and the images found within may have served as models for the English pagoda-shaped clocks.

If Pagoda Clock A at Anglesey Abbey is compared to the clocks in pagoda-form listed above, it can be seen that the name “pagoda” might not be the most suitable term to apply to clocks such as this. There are other examples in the imperial collection, though, that do bear more resemblance to the Pagoda Clock A, one of which appears in both the 1933 and the 2008 catalogue.[[79]](#footnote-79) Harcourt-Smith does not refer to this as a pagoda clock but he does talk about a “pagoda shaped roof” and its three “pagoda-like tiers”. He is correct in his description, not because the tiers themselves bear any strong resemblance to those of a pagoda, but because on each of the tiered rooves are the characteristic hanging bells that are seen on full-sized pagodas in China. Again, in the 1933 catalogue this clock can be seen to have been one of a pair. The description of the same clock in the Chinese-published modern “catalogue” (which has titles in both Chinese and English), is in the English-language description an “English Clock with Tower and Fountain” and in Chinese *Tongdu jinye qiu shuifa tashi zhong* 铜镀金叶球水法塔式钟 (Ormolu and Gold-leaf Tower-shaped Fountain Clock) and in the main body of the text a *Sanceng tashi zhong* 三层塔式钟 (Three-tier Tower-shaped Clock).[[80]](#footnote-80) “Tower-shaped” or simply “tower” clocks might then be considered the best term to use when describing both clocks in the Anglesey Abbey collection, but, as mentioned in the “terminology” section (on page 4), the terms traditionally used to apply to these clocks - “Pagoda Clock” and “Tower Clock” - have been adopted in the main body of the text of this report so as to avoid confusion.

**Appendix II**

Notes on Simon Harcourt-Smith

In the preface to his catalogue of the clocks in the collection of the Palace Museum, Simon Harcourt-Smith expresses his thanks to the authorities of the Palace museum, and in particular, to Yuan Tongli (T’ung-Li Yuan; T.L. Yuan 袁同禮 (1895-1965) - who at the time served on the Museum Council - for their assistance and encouragement in the compilation of the catalogue.[[81]](#footnote-81) During the 1930s and early 1940s Harcourt-Smith worked for the British Legation, Beijing and for the Far Eastern Department of the Foreign Office.[[82]](#footnote-82) Why it was he who was chosen to compile the catalogue is not known but no doubt it had something to do with his apparent expertise in the areas of archaeology, art and antiques. Before the publication of his 1933 catalogue, Harcourt-Smith had already published *Babylonian Art,* a book that was intended to: “…give a broad survey of the growth and development of the arts in Irak and Persia from the earliest times to the death of Alexander the Great.”[[83]](#footnote-83) This was completed in 1926 and published in 1928, appearing in the series Kai Khosru Monographs on Eastern Art, the general editor of which was the translator and sinologist Arthur Waley (at that time a curator at the British Museum). Simon Harcourt-Smith was to become a prolific writer, and amongst his later publications is the fictional: *The Last of Uptake or the Estranged Sisters* (1942). This work, which has been described as a “country house novella”, was first published by Batsford with illustrations by Rex Whistler in 1942 and many years later, in November 1977, was serialized on BBC Radio 4.[[84]](#footnote-84) During the war, Harcourt-Smith wrote several books on the situation of the war in the East. One of these, *Japanese Frenzy,* received a scathing review at the time of publication which includes the passage: “Oscar Wilde once remarked that history consists mostly of the things that ought to have happened. Most of the history in Mr Harcourt-Smith’s little volume consists of things that never happened at all”.[[85]](#footnote-85) Although the reviewer goes on to suggest that the book is full of errors he does concede that Harcourt-Smith was a man of many talents. His clock catalogue seems to have been more highly thought of than some of his later books and apparently became a favorite gift for Chinese scholars to present to foreign guests. One such copy of the book, now in the Royal Collection, was presented by the above mentioned Yuan Tongli to Queen Mary in 1944. Another example, in the library of the School of Oriental and African Studies, has a fascinating history all of its own and contains an interesting dedicatory inscription. This copy was presented, in 1946, by Shen Jianshi 沈兼士 (1886-1947), scholar of Chinese linguistics, member of the council of Palace Museum and Dean of the college of arts and letters at Furen University, to Father Harold Rigney. On the frontispiece of the copy a hand-written inscription reads: “Presented to me by Dean Shen Chien-Shih, K.S.S. of college of arts and letters, Fu Jen University. Fr. Harold Rigney s.v.d. [Society of the Divine Word].” On the front cover is another inscription, written by Shen Jianshi himself, which reads as follows: “芮歌尼司鐸惠存*Ruigeni siduo huicun* (For the Collection of Father Rigney), 沈兼士敬贈 *Shen Jianshi jingzeng* (respectfully presented by Shen Jianshi), 一九四六年聖誕節 *Yijiu siliu nian Shengdanjie* (Christmas 1946).” A single seal reads: 沈兼士 *Shen Jianshi.*

Father Harold W. Rigney (1900-1980) was the author of *Four Years in Red Hell,* a book that describes his experiences in a Chinese gaol. Rigney had been released from gaol in 1955 and returned to America during the height McCarthy’s anti-communist witch-hunts. An article in *Life Magazine,* published in the year of his release, reflects the fearful “Red under the Bed” atmosphere that was prevalent in America at the time:

“Father Harold Rigney of Techny, Ill., went through a series of court trials. Often he was forced to squat before a judge, with a guard standing at his back to jerk him up by his hair if he slumped. His ordeal included a sham sentence of death, another 10 years imprisonment, 10 confessions extracted by torture and 11 written reactions when he regained his senses. When first freed, Father Rigney wept at the thought of those still held in China. ‘I don’t weep any longer’, he now says, ‘for we have to be resolved to fight this cursed thing.’”[[86]](#footnote-86)

Ordained in 1937, Rigney worked as a palaeontologist in China and was appointed rector of Fu Jen University, Peking in 1946; the year Shen presented him with the book. Whilst still serving as rector, on 25 July 1951, Rigney was arrested and charged with being an American spy. He was imprisoned and only released on 11 September 1955 “due to the continuous interventions of his family and the international scientific community.”[[87]](#footnote-87)

The Swiss clock maker and jeweller Gustave Loup also owned a copy of Harcourt-Smith’s catalogue and mentions it in a letter of 23 April 1942 to Alfred Chapuis, the eminent Swiss horologist. Loup informs Chapuis in the same letter that at the time, he had in his possession what he describes as, the most beautiful parts of the collection from the Palace at Jehol[[88]](#footnote-88) and goes on to say that he had been able to acquire these clocks through intermediaries before the establishment of the Palace Museum in 1925.[[89]](#footnote-89) At least three of the clocks mentioned in this letter have a more recent history: one, signed “W.H. Craft”, was sold at Sotheby’s, New York, in 2005 and is described in the catalogue as: “A highly important George III Ormolu-mounted, enamel inset and paste-ornamented table clock with Chinese automaton movement…”[[90]](#footnote-90) The clocks popularly known as the “Swan Clocks” are also mentioned. This unique pair of clocks, which have since parted company, sold in London in 2003 and 2014, at Christie’s and Sotheby’s respectively.[[91]](#footnote-91) It is important to note that these bear much resemblance to Pagoda Clock A at Anglesey Abbey, although they are rather more elaborate in design, and their automaton movements more complex. The “Swan Clock”, which sold at Sotheby’s salesrooms, is described in the catalogue as: “A George III ormolu, Geneva enamel and paste-set musical automaton quarter striking tower clock for the Chinese market, London, circa 1790”.[[92]](#footnote-92) The term “tower clock” is used by both Sotheby’s and Christie’s to describe clocks that are strikingly similar to the “Pagoda Clock” at Anglesey Abbey.

1. Such true pagoda clocks are discussed in Birgit Kremer: *Europäische uhren und automaten für die kaiser von China: interkulturelle rezeption im kunsthandwerk des 18. und 19. jahrhunderts* / vorgelegt von Birgit Kremer, 1999. [↑](#footnote-ref-1)
2. National Trust NT 514745. [↑](#footnote-ref-2)
3. National Trust NT 514747. [↑](#footnote-ref-3)
4. National Trust NT 514766. [↑](#footnote-ref-4)
5. For a brief introduction to Harcourt-Smith with a focus on his short novel *The Last of Uptake*. London: Batsford, 1942, see Adrian Tinniswood’s blog:

   <https://adriantinniswood.wordpress.com/2014/01/04/the-last-of-uptake/> Accessed 20 October 2015. [↑](#footnote-ref-5)
6. It later had a branch in the USA: 24 East 67th St New York. John Harris: *Moving Rooms: The Trade in Architectural Salvages*. Yale University Press, 2007, p. 252. [↑](#footnote-ref-6)
7. Harris, p. 255. [↑](#footnote-ref-7)
8. Harris, pp. 252-255 citing the American, Robert Booth, onetime director of Robersons’, and J. Greenacombe: *The Survey of London Volume XLV: Knightsbridge.* Athlone Press, 2000. By the late 1930s the Knightsbridge Halls were being used for the motor trade. [↑](#footnote-ref-8)
9. Auctionata give the date as 1923. [↑](#footnote-ref-9)
10. Harris, p. 252. [↑](#footnote-ref-10)
11. *Eighteenth Century Clocks*. London: Robersons’, c. 1925, unnumbered page. [↑](#footnote-ref-11)
12. For example, The Irish Polish Society, in Dublin, was contacted on 15 September 2015 and POSK Dublin <http://en.poskdublin.org/> on 22 October 2015. I received no reply from either organisation. [↑](#footnote-ref-12)
13. Keith Harding: “The Musical Clock the Emperor Never Heard” in *Clocks* November 1983 vol. 6 no. 5, p. 32. [↑](#footnote-ref-13)
14. Photographs and accompanying textual information concerning the AA clocks can be seen as the second and third entries in the catalogue. [↑](#footnote-ref-14)
15. Harding. *Clocks* November, 1983, p. 32. [↑](#footnote-ref-15)
16. Ian White: *English Clocks for the Eastern Markets*. London: Antiquarian Horological Society, 2012, p. 245. Lt-Colonel Rainsford served in the Afghan war in 1879-8 with the Khyber Field Force (Medal). Served in the Egyptian War of 1882 (Medal, and Khedive’s Star); also served in the operations in the Soudan Frontier Field Force in 1885-86. Most relevant to this project he served in operations in China in 1900 (Mentioned in dispatches, *CIE).*  *Harts Annual Army List, Militia List and Yeomanry Cavalry list 1902*, p. 391. Watson’s medals sold at Dix Noonan Webb auctions as lot 68 on 6 Dec 2006: A ‘Boxer Rebellion’ C.I.E. pair to Major J. J. C. Watson, Royal Army Medical Corps. The Most Eminent Order of the Indian Empire, C.I.E., Companion’s 2nd type breast badge, gold and enamel, complete with brooch bar; China 1900, 1 clasp, Relief of Pekin (Major, M.B., C.I.E., R.A.M.C.) good very fine and better (2) £800-1000.

    John James Curl Watson was born at Woolwich on 5 October 1861. He qualified as a B.A., Dublin 1882, M.B., 1884 and M.D. 1885. Entering the Army as a Surgeon, afterwards Surgeon-Captain, in July 1886, he was promoted to Major in July 1898. Serving with the R.A.M.C. in China during 1900, he was present at the relief of Tientsin and at the relief of Pekin. For his services he was mentioned in despatches (London Gazette 6 November 1900) and was created a Companion of the Order of the Indian Empire (London Gazette 22 July 1901). Major Watson was placed on Retired Pay in October 1910 and died at Swanwick, Hampshire on 12 April 1913. <http://www.dnw.co.uk/auction-archive/special-collections/lot.php?specialcollection_id=112&lot_id=55195>

    Accessed 10 September 2015. [↑](#footnote-ref-16)
17. I did receive a reply from the museum curator much later. [↑](#footnote-ref-17)
18. Personal correspondence with Regimental Secretary of the RAMC. [↑](#footnote-ref-18)
19. Cited in White p. 298. As recalled in Major General Sir Courteney Clarke Manifold: *The ‘All Blaze’ of Life* (published privately c. 1941 [1956]; possibly earlier), p. 81 [British Library] Asia, Pacific and Africa ORW.1996.a.1236. [↑](#footnote-ref-19)
20. In the Robersons’ catalogue Tower Clock A is described as a “Four Tier Ormulu [*sic*] Clock”. [↑](#footnote-ref-20)
21. The Republic of China was established on 1 January 1912 after the *Xinhai* Revolution of 1911. [↑](#footnote-ref-21)
22. *Zhongguo lishi diming cidian* 中國歷史地名辭典 (Dictionary of Chinese Historical Place Names). Nanchang: Jiangxi jiaoyu chubanshe, 1986, p. 651. [↑](#footnote-ref-22)
23. Madeline Yue Dong: *Republican Beijing: The City and Its Histories*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003. [↑](#footnote-ref-23)
24. James Cox: *A Descriptive Inventory of the Several Exquisite and Magnificent Pieces of Mechanism and Jewellery, comprised in the Schedule annexed to an Act of Parliament made in the Thirteenth Year of His Present Majesty, George the Third: for enabling Mr. James Cox, to dispose of his Museum by way of Lottery*. London, 1773. [↑](#footnote-ref-24)
25. Brian Loomes: *Watchmakers and Clockmakers of the World*. London N.A.G. Press, 2006, p. 87 and Cecil Clutton et al. (eds.): *Britten’s Old Clocks and Watches and their Makers*. London: Bloomsbury Books, 1990 [1894], p. 377. The latter lists Borrell as working at 8 Aldgate Buildings in 1795 and Wilderness Row, London from 1795-1840. [↑](#footnote-ref-25)
26. Loomes, p. 555. [↑](#footnote-ref-26)
27. “Upon a gilded circular base, found which are carved the zodiacal signs, are four finely proportioned Corinthian columns supporting a frieze and cornice. Delicately chiselled figures representing each of the four seasons are set between the columns. Round the frieze over each of these four figures are the hour and minute numerals, so placed that the time may be seen from whatever angle the clock is approached…Over the cornice is a massive dome, heavily embossed and carved, which supports a tulip-shaped ormolu carving. Within the tulip is a gilt ball which on the chiming of the hour, gradually opens, disclosing a minute bird of paradise, which with flapping wings and moving beak, sings its song with remarkable clearness. With the completion of the warbling the gilt ball closes again, concealing the bird from sight.” *Eighteenth Century English Clocks*. London: Robersons’ Gallery, c.1925. The “tulip” system no longer existsand the singing bird mechanism in the upper part of the case is now missing. See also <http://www.nationaltrustcollections.org.uk/object/514766>

    Accessed 20 December 2015. [↑](#footnote-ref-27)
28. Lot 555: an easel framed picture clock. Alpine landscape with clock in tower of lakeside building, inscribed verso Carter Bowles, Cheltenham, overall 16cm x 12cm, £40. Bigwood Fine art auctioneers. [↑](#footnote-ref-28)
29. Christie’s: Sale 5702, King Street, 5 July 2012. The Exceptional Sale, Lot 36. Price realized: £735,650. [↑](#footnote-ref-29)
30. Christie's Interiors - Style & Spirit: Sale 5148. January 7, 2014. Estimate £1,200 – £1,800. [↑](#footnote-ref-30)
31. Christie's: Sale 6775, Lot 68 8 March 1995. [↑](#footnote-ref-31)
32. Invoice dated 9 October 1929 and counter-dated 15 October 1929. [↑](#footnote-ref-32)
33. National Trust. NT 514739. [↑](#footnote-ref-33)
34. M. & R. Geneen Antiques and Works of Art, of The Grosvenor Gate 51A New Bond Street. S.A.W. Rogers Manager. This may be the company Lionel Geneen Ltd that has since moved to Dorset and can be found at:

    811 Christchurch Road, Boscombe, Bournemouth, Dorset BH7 6AP. [↑](#footnote-ref-34)
35. Christie's: Sale 6775, Lot 68 8 March 1995. [↑](#footnote-ref-35)
36. <https://www.christies.com/lotfinder/print_condition_report.aspx?ObjectID=5585070&IsPrivateSale=False>

    Accessed 12 October 2015. The hand-set knobs are replacements on both the AA Pagoda clock and the Borrell clock. On the tune indicator dial found in Pagoda Clock B, the name “James Mottram” appears. The quality of the latter is far superior to the example in Pagoda Clock A which is rather crudely made. [↑](#footnote-ref-36)
37. *Horological Journal* (April, 1961). Vol. CIII, no. 1231, p. 230. [↑](#footnote-ref-37)
38. Small models of both a pavilion and a pagoda can be seen on this clock. The pavilion is fixed and does not revolve but the small pagoda along with the figures and the waterfall are set in motion whilst the music plays. [↑](#footnote-ref-38)
39. See also the English translation: Alfred Chapuis and Edmond Droz, Alec Reid (tr.): *Automata: a historical and technological study*. Neuchâtel: Éditions du Griffon, 1958. [↑](#footnote-ref-39)
40. 1955 catalogue n° 230. [↑](#footnote-ref-40)
41. This may now be in the Grassy Clock and Watch Museum in Spain (opened 1953). [↑](#footnote-ref-41)
42. Alfred Chapuis and Edmond Droz: *Automata.* p. 115. [↑](#footnote-ref-42)
43. L. Grinberg may have been a relative of Gedalio Grinberg who was born in Quivican, Cuba, on 26 September, 1931 and died 4 January 2009 at the age of 77. “The company, known for years as the North American Watch Company, first distributed other companies’ Swiss watches. It then acquired watch companies, including Movado and Concord, to manufacture its own and later developed watches for well-known designer clothing brands like Hugo Boss.”

    <http://www.nytimes.com/2009/01/07/business/07grinberg.html?_r=0>

    Accessed 28 September 2015. [↑](#footnote-ref-43)
44. <http://www.sothebys.com/en/auctions/ecatalogue/2004/masterpieces-from-the-time-museum-n08039/lot.808.html>

    Accessed 29 September 2015. [↑](#footnote-ref-44)
45. Information concerning this can be found in the Robersons’ Catalogue, pp. 113-114. [↑](#footnote-ref-45)
46. *Musée d'horlogerie de la ville du Locle au Château des Monts: la détermination de l'heure et sa conservation à travers les âges: montres et pendules du XVIe siècle à nos jours: Collection Maurice Sandoz, montres, bijoux et automates des XVIII et XIXes siècles.* Musée d'horlogerie du Locle [Switzerland], 1960 and *Supplément au catalogue de la collection d'horlogerie de la ville du Locle, édition 1958*, p. 99-105 [↑](#footnote-ref-46)
47. White, p. 255. [↑](#footnote-ref-47)
48. Ibid. p. 257. [↑](#footnote-ref-48)
49. Personal email correspondence 14 December 2015. [↑](#footnote-ref-49)
50. *Eighteenth Century Clocks*. Unnumbered page. [↑](#footnote-ref-50)
51. Simon Harcourt-Smith: *Catalogue of Clocks, Watches, Automata etc.*, pp. 2-3. [↑](#footnote-ref-51)
52. Ibid. [↑](#footnote-ref-52)
53. Harding, *Clocks*, 1983, pp. 31-35. [↑](#footnote-ref-53)
54. <https://auctionata.com/intl/o/125433/imperial-immortal-mountain-clock-guangzhou-workshop-qianlong>

    Accessed 5 October 2015. *Eighteenth Century Clocks*. London: Robersons’, c. 1925, unnumbered page; Alfred Chapuis and Edmond Droz: *Automata.* p. 115. [↑](#footnote-ref-54)
55. “Usually those who work for me carry their own watches. No matter whether the job is large or small it must be given its allotted time. I imagine it is the case that those of you who work in the master’s house also have timepieces. At two quarters after the second hour of the time of the rabbit (6.30) I come to take the register. At the second hour of time of the snake (10.00 am) I eat my morning meal. All those with tallies and reports to give, I will see only at the first quarter of the time of the horse (11.15). At the time of the dog (7.00 pm), when the evening paper offerings have been burnt, I go personally on a tour of inspection, and on my return, hand over the keys to those on night duty”. My translation. For more on this see: Cao Xueqin, David Hawkes (tr.): *The Story of the Stone*. London: Penguin, 1982, chapter 14. In the novel, clocks and timepieces are mentioned in thirteen separate chapters during the course of the narrative, perhaps a way to emphasize the wealth and status of the Jia family. [↑](#footnote-ref-55)
56. This method, which had already become standardized as far back as the Western Han dynasty, divides day and night into twelve periods of two hours with each two-hour period subdivided into *chu* and *zheng* periods, altogether making a 24 hour system. Each of the two-hour periods is associated with one of the twelve animals of Chinese cosmology. For more information see Endymion Wilkinson: *Chinese History: A Manual.* Cambridge Massachusetts and London: Harvard University Press, 2000, p. 210. [↑](#footnote-ref-56)
57. *Clocks*. November vol. 6 no. 5, 1983, p. 32. [↑](#footnote-ref-57)
58. Ibid. pp. 32-33. [↑](#footnote-ref-58)
59. Dorrans Saeks, Diane: *Anne Getty: Interior Style*. New York: Rizzoli International Publication, 2012 Photographs by Lisa Romerein, p. 22. Thank you to Brittany Cox for bringing this image to my attention. [↑](#footnote-ref-59)
60. The Jeremy website certainly states that it has sold to the Getty museum in the past. Ian White concurs with the above theory. Personal email correspondence, 14 November 2015. [↑](#footnote-ref-60)
61. Invoice dated 20 January 1964. [↑](#footnote-ref-61)
62. <http://www.bonsackdrains.co.uk/> Accessed 25 December 2015. [↑](#footnote-ref-62)
63. Letter dated 8 February 1946. [↑](#footnote-ref-63)
64. NT 514750. [↑](#footnote-ref-64)
65. Invoice dated 7 December 1948. [↑](#footnote-ref-65)
66. Personal correspondence with H. Blairman and Sons Ltd. 16 September 2015. [↑](#footnote-ref-66)
67. White, p. 247. According to White, this clock was “sold in England some years ago” but “no technical details are available”. [↑](#footnote-ref-67)
68. Ibid. p. 221. [↑](#footnote-ref-68)
69. Victoria and Albert Museum. LOAN: GILBERT.35:1 to 13-2008. [↑](#footnote-ref-69)
70. White, p. 168. [↑](#footnote-ref-70)
71. An anonymous clock, similar to the bracket clocks of Borrell appears in the book, as does a gilt and jewelled necessaire box with watch. Ibid. p. 214 and p. 225. [↑](#footnote-ref-71)
72. He states that the enamel tune indicator bears the name “John Mottram”, the same name that appears on the tune indicators of Tower Clock A and Tower Clock B. [↑](#footnote-ref-72)
73. This was also known by the Irish name *Cailín deas chun bráthar tainic* – a tune played by Cornelius Lyons (c1670-1740) a contemporary of Turlough O’Carolan (1670-1738). Lyons was harper to the Earl of Antrim. [↑](#footnote-ref-73)
74. It should be noted that many different tunes exist under this name. See James Hogg et al.: *The Forest Minstrel*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University, 2006, pp. 364-365 (notes). [↑](#footnote-ref-74)
75. Simon Harcourt-Smith p. 6 and plate III and *Gugong bowuguan* 故宫博物院 (eds.): *Gugong zhongbiao* 故宫钟表 (Clocks in the Palace Museum). Beijing: Zijincheng chubanshe, 2008, p. 175. [↑](#footnote-ref-75)
76. *Gugong zhongbiao* p. 170. [↑](#footnote-ref-76)
77. Ibid. p. 48. [↑](#footnote-ref-77)
78. Jennifer D. Milam: *Historical Dictionary of Rococo Art*. Lanham: Scarecrow Press, 2001, pp. 73-74. [↑](#footnote-ref-78)
79. Harcourt-Smith p. 7 and plate IV and *Gugong zhongbiao* p. 129. [↑](#footnote-ref-79)
80. *Gugong zhongbiao*, p .129. [↑](#footnote-ref-80)
81. Simon Harcourt-Smith: *Catalogue of Clocks, Watches, Automata, and Other Miscellaneous Objects of*

    *European Workmanship from the XVIII to Early XIX Centuries in the Palace Museum and the Wu Ying Tien, Peiping*. Peiping [Beijing]: The Palace Museum, 1933, p. 2. [↑](#footnote-ref-81)
82. Simon Harcourt-Smith: *Japanese Frenzy*. London: Hamish Hamilton, 1942, p. vii. [↑](#footnote-ref-82)
83. Simon Harcourt-Smith: *Babylonian Art*. New York: Frederick A. Stokes Company, 1928, p. 5. [↑](#footnote-ref-83)
84. Adrian Tinniswood: Blog https://adriantinniswood.wordpress.com/tag/simon-harcourt-smith/ [↑](#footnote-ref-84)
85. Simon Harcourt-Smith: *Japanese Frenzy*. London: Hamish Hamilton, 1942, p. vii. Other books on the Pacific war are *Fire in the Pacific* (1942) and *The Fate of Japan* (1945). Review by J. Pratt of: Simon Harcourt-Smith: *Japanese Frenzy.* *International Affairs Review Supplement*, Vol. 19 no. 9 (Sep., 1942), pp. 520-521. [↑](#footnote-ref-85)
86. “Sufferers in China: Faith of U.S. Missionaries Stood up to Red Tyranny” in *Life* 26 December 1955, pp. 125-126. [↑](#footnote-ref-86)
87. *Four Years in Red Hell* is not in the library of the School of Oriental and African Studies but the clocks catalogue made its way into the collection on 17 November 1966 (or perhaps July 1987, this is not clear). [↑](#footnote-ref-87)
88. Jehol (Rehe) had been the main point of contact between Lord Macartney and the court of the Qianlong emperor in 1793. [↑](#footnote-ref-88)
89. Sotheby’s catalogue: “Treasures Including Selected Works from the Collections of the Dukes of Northumberland” 9 July 2014, Lot 48. [↑](#footnote-ref-89)
90. Sotheby’s “Property of the Collections of Lily and Edmond J. Safra”, 3 November 2005, Lot 180. The clock is described as: “A highly important George III Ormolu-mounted, enamel inset and paste-ornamented table clock with Chinese automaton movement, the enamels by W.H. Craft, the cover of the timepiece signed W.H. Craft Invented 1773 Finished 1796”. Another, “decorated with a peacock feathers, the emblem of the Prince of Wales”, the current whereabouts of which is unknown, was made by Henry Borrell, the maker of the clock that was sold at Robersons’ Gallery in the 1920s. [↑](#footnote-ref-90)
91. One sale at Sotheby’s: “Treasures Including Selected Works from the Collections of the Dukes of Northumberland” on 9 July 2014 | 5:00 PM BST, Lot 48 and the other at Christies in June 2003, Sale 6749 - Boulle to Jansen: An Important Private European Collection 11 - 12 June 2003, London, King Street, Lot 45. [↑](#footnote-ref-91)
92. <http://www.sothebys.com/en/auctions/ecatalogue/2014/treasures-princely-taste-l14303/lot.48.html>

    Accessed 2 October 2015. Similarly, the Christie’s clock is described as: “A magnificent George III ormolu, enamel and paste gem-set musical automaton and quarter-striking tower clock, made for the Chinese market.” Christie’s, June 2003, Sale 6749, Lot 45. [↑](#footnote-ref-92)