

James Lambert, Senior and Junior, landscape painters of Lewes

by John H. Farrant

Working in Lewes, East Sussex, James Lambert (1725-88) and his nephew James (1741-99) undertook many of the types of painting for which there was demand in the provinces. The elder Lambert, the more competent and prolific of the two, was probably the first painter in eastern Sussex to have been an artist rather than an artisan. He was also a stationer and a musician. Over 600 pictures by them individually or jointly have been identified. These are mainly topographical watercolours, but also include oils of animals and imaginary landscapes. The latter were inspired by the work of George Smith of Chichester from whom the elder Lambert received instruction.

INTRODUCTION

In 1996 the artists James Lambert (1725-88) and his nephew James (1741-99) joined the Lewes pantheon along with such luminaries as William de Warenne, Tom Paine and Gideon Mantell, when the junction of Chapel Hill and South Street was named Lambert Corner on the town's tourist map.¹ The visitor will, however, search in vain for further commemoration beyond one or two watercolours displayed in the Barbican House Museum and memorials on the outer wall of the chancel of St John-sub-Castro church Lewes:²

Mr	Mr
James Lambert	James Lambert
Landscape painter	Herald and Landscape
(late of the Cliff)	Painter
died 7th December 1788	(late of the Cliff)
Aged 63 years	Died March 22nd 1799
His affectionate	Aged 57 years
nephew erects	His surviving friend
this	erects this

A reappraisal of these touristic icons to justify their place on the map is overdue.

James Lambert senior was baptized on 29 December 1725 at Willingdon, near Eastbourne, the youngest of the eight children of John Lambert (1690-1764) and Susan Bray (1687-1771). All the children were baptized at Willingdon, but both parents and six of the seven children who lived to

adulthood were buried in Lewes, so the family must have moved to Lewes in about 1730. There in the Cliffe the father worked as a flax-dresser, by 1735 attended the vestry and by 1747 until his death was tenant of 1 South Street. All his four sons lived their adult lives in the Cliffe, though two predeceased him. Neither of the survivors continued at 1 South Street, but in 1782 James' brother John did inherit from his business partner the nearby 2 Malling Street and 3 Chapel Hill and these passed on his death in 1794 to John's son, James Lambert junior (who had been born on 21 September 1741). Where the elder painter lived and worked in the Cliffe is not certain, but it was not immediately adjacent to 'Lambert Corner'. Both painters died in the Cliffe, but as the church there had no graveyard they were buried at St John-sub-Castro.³ Lambert, unqualified, should hereafter be taken to mean the uncle and Lambert jnr, the nephew.

James Lambert received a two-page obituary, seven years after his death, from Paul Dunvan.⁴ He consequently featured in M. A. Lower's *The Worthies of Sussex* of 1865 (which added only the remark that his watercolours had been faded by sunlight) and then in *The Dictionary of National Biography* (1892). George Holman, in *Some Lewes Men of Note* (1905 and later editions) augmented Lower with some comments on the Lamberts' decorative work. That aside, Lambert's brief entries in artistic dictionaries were assured by his having exhibited at the Free Society of Artists and the Royal Academy in their early days and by Sir William Burrell's bequest to

the Nation of his collection of Sussex topographical views. It is by those views that the Lamberts are best known today, mainly by the reproductions of 43 in *Sussex Views, Selected from the Burrell Collections* (1951).⁵ The next year W. H. Challen published a dense genealogical article, 'Baldy's Garden, the painters Lambert and other Sussex families', which is the more valuable for ranging over a network of friends and professional associates, as well as relatives. Colin Brent, in *Georgian Lewes* (1993), has added further references to the Lamberts' decorative work.⁶

KNOWN WORKS BY THE LAMBERTS

The known body of pictures by or associated with the Lamberts now exceeds 600 items, ranging from slight pencil sketches to large oils. A working list is deposited at SAS, Barbican House. Most of these pictures fall into the following groups, which are referred to hereafter by the given abbreviations:

- (1) 269 finished watercolours of Sussex churches, abbeys, castles and gentry houses, dated between 1767 and 1785, commissioned by, or collected by, Dr (later Sir) William Burrell, in British Library (BL), Add. MSS 5676 and 5677;
- (2) 49 similar watercolours, dated between 1762 and 1792, in the Sussex Archaeological Society picture collection (SAS), nine presented in 1892, and most of the remainder probably purchased in 1888, having descended from Thomas Wakeham of East Grinstead;⁷ and small numbers in other collections (e.g. Brighton Art Gallery, Yale Center for British Art (Yale));
- (3) an atlas folio volume of about 70 finished watercolours of Sussex antiquities, dated between 1762 and 1786, probably prepared for a gentleman's library in 1781, and purchased in May 1997 by SAS (accession: LEWSA 1997.7) (referred to as Atlas Folio with the pictures numbered as in the volume's original index);
- (4) 35 working sketches of Herstmonceux Castle made in 1776 (21 presented to SAS in 1892 and 14 acquired by the Victoria and Albert Museum (VAM) in 1911); and 18 finished drawings and watercolours in a portfolio from the Ashburnham collection, now at Yale, and two similar watercolours at SAS;
- (5) 62 working drawings, most of Sussex churches and castles and in pencil, dated between 1762

and 1785, presented to the British Library in 1995 by W. M. Cheale, BL, Add. MS. 71714 (not yet foliated; citations are to the donor's numbers); and a few similar at SAS;

- (6) oil paintings of imaginary landscapes, animals or still-life subjects, known variously from a few in publicly accessible collections, from passing through Christie's and Sotheby's auction rooms in the past 30 years and from the catalogues of London exhibitions between 1768 and 1778;
- (7) about 20 of their topographical views and animal portraits which were engraved and published in their lifetimes.

UNCLE AND NEPHEW

The elder James Lambert was the more competent artist. Many pictures attributed to the Lamberts are unsigned, but fortunately the nephew seems to have signed himself as 'junior', even after his uncle's death. The only works by Lambert jnr which can be dated to the 11 years by which he outlived his uncle, are the royal coat of arms in Eastbourne parish church (1791), a view of Michelham Priory (taken in 1792, copied 1793) and two copies of earlier views, Winchelsea church (1781/1795) and Battle Abbey Gatehouse (1787/1792).⁸ The last (Fig. 1) shows his poor command of perspective. Two pencil sketches of Litlington church from the same viewpoint, clearly by different artists, are presumably by uncle and nephew. Whereas the uncle could define the edge of a wall by *Ls* to indicate courses of stone, the nephew ruled a straight line. Two views of Robertsbridge Abbey by Lambert jnr for Burrell were copied and much improved by the uncle.⁹ Among the churches illustrated in *Sussex Views*, the hardness of line in Warbleton (plate 174) compares poorly with Uckfield by the uncle (plate 166); and the uncle's landscape in oils in Figure 3 may be contrasted with the nephew's oil of Brambletye. The nephew's foliage is poor (e.g. Newick Park, 1780, Atlas Folio 51 and Sotheby's 15 Nov. 1990), while the uncle's is competently represented by multiple small strokes and has been judged superior even to that of his mentor, George Smith.¹⁰

The representation in several topographical views of two artists working together may be taken to be uncle and nephew, rather than just a conventional motif.¹¹ The signed work suggests that some pictures are the sole work of one or other, some



Fig. 1. James Lambert jnr, Battle Abbey Gatehouse from the Market Place, 14 June 1781, copied 1792. (Watercolour on paper, 255 × 360 mm. Sussex Archaeological Society, Picture Collection, M29.)

are copies by one of the other's original and some are the joint efforts of both. One likely division of labour was that the nephew used a ruler to lay out the building which is the subject of the view, and his uncle added the foliage and the staffage in the foreground. This is what may have happened in the preliminary pencil sketch of Michelgrove (Fig. 4), in at least six finished watercolours in *Atlas Folio* and in views of Herstmonceux Castle. The 1776/7 pictures of Herstmonceux Castle show the nephew at his best: these were measured record drawings. He was more often the copyist. Appropriately he owned and bequeathed 'my case of drawing instruments, my drawing board square & parallel rule' and 'my pantagraft', a device of perforated rods for laying out copies to variable scales, as well as 'my best set of watercolours'. In his will he described himself as 'coach-painter', rather than the grander 'herald and landscape painter' on his memorial.¹²

The kindly uncle may have allowed his nephew to sign as his own, work to which they had both contributed. After his uncle's death, Lambert jnr could not produce quality work.

There is little evidence of Lambert jnr as an independent artist, rather than as his uncle's assistant. He exhibited in the London exhibitions only alongside his uncle, in 1769 to 1778 (aside from two dated 1768, the exhibited pictures of 1769–71 are earliest recorded of his work). He displayed mainly still life and none of these pictures is known to survive. But one of his other exhibited pictures may survive: the portrait traditionally said to be a self-portrait by Lambert snr, hanging at Barbican House, is a poor piece of work by his standards and is perhaps the 'portrait of a gentleman; three-quarters length' which Lambert jnr exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1776.¹³ This article hereafter is concerned mainly with the uncle.

THE PROVINCIAL ARTIST AND HIS PRECURSORS

The 'basic specialist types of provincial artist' identified by Fawcett for the early 19th century were present, if not to the same degree of specialization, in the Lamberts' time.¹⁴ They provide a useful framework within which to examine the Lamberts' work. Those branches in which they engaged are marked *:

drawing master * - slight evidence
 portraitist or miniaturist * - Lambert jnr?
 animal portrait painter *
 landscape *, topographical * or marine painter
 subject shading into history painter
 still-life painter * - Lambert jnr
 sculptor and carver
 engraver or lithographer
 heraldic and sign painter *
 scene painter for the theatre
 house painter *
 industrial artist (that is, employed by a
 manufacturer),

plus ancillary activities such as

art-dealing, repairing and restoring pictures *
 copying, selling prints and artists' materials *.

A first question is the extent to which these trades (or professions) were represented in Lewes and environs before James Lambert set up business in the 1750s. The most probable are heraldic and sign painter and house painter. The maker in the later 16th century of such a rare survival as the carved and painted sign for the Vine Inn, Lewes (now in Anne of Cleves Museum) is unknown, but 'painters' are recorded in Lewes from soon after. Mr Dape painted the sentences of scripture in St Michael's church in 1594; Mr Bugg of Lewes painted the gallery, ceiling, font and escutcheons in Cuckfield church in 1633, and the king's arms and the Ten Commandments in Cliffe church in 1661. John Head painted the tablet of benefactors in the Sessions House at Lewes in 1709. Robert Smith and Benjamin Conley shared the local work around 1720, both being employed at St Anne's and St Michael's churches, on king's arms, commandments and an altar piece. Conley also painted during the construction of Stanmer House and Compton Place. John Morris painted and gilded the face of the town clock in 1751.¹⁵ But if any local gentry afforded coaches or rooms in their houses decorated in the elaborate fashion of c. 1700, they probably employed

London craftsmen.

A related and better evidenced branch of decoration and representative art is cartography. William Gier, George Randoll and John De Ward all seem to have been based in East Sussex in the first quarter of the 17th century, Edward Gier and Anthony Everenden likewise in the 1640s.¹⁶ Their successors in the early 18th century could produce sketches of buildings, either as records of their clients' property or for the antiquity of the structures. Examples are the drawings of Wilmington Priory, by John Rowley (1710) and by Richard Budgen (probably 1725).¹⁷ Budgen, of Frant, and then Thomas Marchant, of Lewes, were the principal local surveyors in the second and third quarters of the 18th century.

None of these instances is evidence of anyone in or around Lewes before James Lambert making a living from painting as 'art' or for private delectation as distinct from public, functional, display and from working as an artist rather than as an artisan. Specialization in a small county town had not reached in Lambert's time the point at which he could devote himself to only one of the branches listed above, especially as he had no patron to support him as an artist, either by subsidizing training or living expenses or by buying pictures (as distinct from commissioning work) on a generous scale.

The absence of patronage is symptomatic of the structure of local society in the hinterland of Lewes in the mid-18th century. Although landownership on the Downs and the scarpfoot was dominated by a few gentry and noble families who had been engrossing copyholds and buying up small holdings for a couple of generations, the greater of them had their main (or significant) residences elsewhere and indeed the number of grand establishments in eastern Sussex diminished.¹⁸ On the death of the Earl of Wilmington in 1743, Compton Place, Eastbourne, became a secondary country residence of the Earls of Northampton and then of the Cavendishes. The Duke of Newcastle's establishments at Halland and Bishopstone were closed after his death in 1768. Bishop Trevor, owner of Glynde Place between 1743 and 1771, dividing his time between Glynde, London and Durham, was the exception, for he did buy foreign pictures from London dealers for Glynde.¹⁹ Lambert did work at Glynde and the bishop's collection may have provided some inspiration. The situation in West Sussex was contrasting, where Goodwood and Petworth were

main noble residences and founts of artistic patronage.

LAMBERT AS MUSICIAN, STATIONER AND DECORATIVE PAINTER

Dunvan gave the following account of Lambert's early life:

Indebted to education for no more than the humble advantages of a common writing-school, he applied to music and painting with the persevering enthusiasm of unassisted genius, and finally attained no small share of eminence in both arts. I have seen some early essays of his with a common pen before he was acquainted with the use of even a blacklead pencil, which exhibit the poultry yard, and other sketches of domestic scenery, with remarkable spirit and fidelity. As he advanced towards maturity, he received some instructions from a music master; but in painting he had still to trust solely to his own taste and application: and with such means, his proficiency in landscape became truly admirable.²⁰

One 'Master Jemmy Lambert' of Lewes subscribed to Thomas Boreman's *The Gigantick History, Volume the second, which completes the History of Guildhall, London* (1740) — which suggests a family supportive of study. Otherwise, it is of Lambert as a musician that we have the earlier record. The organ installed at St Thomas at Cliffe in 1739–40 was probably the only one in the district and he became organist in 1745, at the age of 20, continuing in office — with an annual fee of £5 — until his death in 1788. Perhaps the first organist, Mr Gibbs, was his music teacher. The church was refurnished and the organ enlarged in 1754–55, and it was probably then that Lambert prepared a volume of psalms, for use in that and neighbouring churches; the second edition of 1760 is the earliest to survive. In 1774 he published the second edition of *Select Hymns on Religious Subjects taken from David's Psalms and other passages of Holy Scripture* (with a fourth edition in 1782). Many similar volumes were produced in the period throughout the country for local use.²¹

'He taught both music and painting, and copied the former with singular facility and correctness', Dunvan recorded. A glimpse of Lambert teaching music comes from the cash accounts of John Bridger of Coombe Place (1733–1816). Between August 1755

and August 1756 Bridger entered seven payments of 1 guinea to 'a' or 'my Music Master'; (in April 1756) of £7 4s. for a 'cello; (in August 1756) of £3 3s. to 'Malchair' for a music book and of 19s. 6d. to 'Melchair' for an unspecified purpose. Thereafter references to a music master cease, but payments of 1 guinea continue, to Lambert, ten between November 1756 and June 1758, along with purchases of music and fiddle strings. A summary records £47 9s. 1d. as 'My expense of purchasing & learning of Musick from November 1755 to January 1759'.²²

John Baptist Malchair, later well-known for his teaching of both music and drawing in Oxford, came to England in about 1754. In London he taught music to 'mechanics' and gave little concerts at public houses. Through a Captain Bonfield, who had known his father in Cologne, he came to Lewes where he taught music to the officers of Bonfield's regiment; there he met Robert Price of Foxley, whose patronage next took him to Hereford. Malchair's sojourn in Lewes can now be dated to 1755–56.²³ Maybe he encouraged the church organist's natural talent for drawing.

Music can have provided Lambert only with a secondary income. Bridger also recorded 2s. 'spent at Lambert's Room', and Lambert was probably the vendor of the music, the print of the King of Prussia, the plan of St Malo and the picture frame bought at that time. Lambert was in business primarily as a stationer and coach and sign painter. He advertised maps and prints in 1758. As he used an elaborate engraved trade card by 1764, a letterpress trade label is probably earlier. It described him as 'coach and sign-painter at the Golden Head in the Cliff, Lewes', offering for sale artist's colours and equipment, maps and prints, printed books, writing paper and books, writing accessories, fans, musical instruments and sundries, and framing. The 1764 trade card mentioned neither artist's materials nor musical instruments, but otherwise included the same variety of goods plus embroidery materials. The range of painting undertaken was wider: 'coach and sign painting, gilding, writing, escutcheons for funerals and hatchments.' In 1776 he was selling tickets for a concert and in 1777 lottery tickets.²⁴

That he dropped artist's materials is unsurprising, as the market must have been limited, for painting (as distinct from connoisseurship of paintings) did not then rate highly as a gentlemanly recreation.²⁵ The retail business was maintained throughout his

life, perhaps under his wife's direction: Mary Capper, visiting Lewes in 1782, viewed his pictures while 'Mrs Lambert shewed us the first number of plates designed for Curtis "Botanical Work"', and it was Mrs Lambert whom Henry Poole paid for his 1784 diary. In 1786 his brother described James in his will as 'stationer', and after James' own death it was the stock in trade of 'bookseller, stationer, print-seller, and landscape painter' which was auctioned. If the workshop which Lambert jnr bequeathed in 1799 had been taken over from his uncle, then the latter's shop was facing the Fair place by St Thomas' church.²⁶

Lambert sold paint for decorating the new vicarage at Glynde in 1760 and for the bridge at the Hook, Chailey, in 1766. The bill he rendered in connection with renewing the pews in St Thomas' church in about 1754 may be the earliest record of his own decorative work; he probably gilded the weathervane as well. John Bridger's boat he painted in 1758. In 1759–61 he refurbished the crier's staff, the town arms, the royal arms and other items for the Borough of Lewes; in 1764 he painted the clock face at East Hoathly church, and in 1773 a constable's stave for Bishopstone hundred. In 1764 he gilded the golden ball above the stables at Glynde and in 1776 the weathercock at Coombe Place. At the Hook, Chailey, he or his nephew painted a bookcase in 1783 and a coach in the following year. Many of the old inn signs, which were still remembered by the older inhabitants of Lewes in 1905 as the best of such productions, had been painted by Lambert in his early days. The escutcheon of the royal arms in Eastbourne parish church, originally over the chancel arch but now on the north wall of the chancel, is credited to Lambert jnr, in 1791, as also are royal arms of 1773 which were removed from the old Sessions House to County Hall in about 1812. Another form of public art were the 'elegant designed transparent paintings' which Lambert put up in his windows to celebrate the result of the County Election in November 1774, depicting the successful candidates, the freeholders of the Cliffe who ventured to Chichester to cast votes for them and emblematical figures of Liberty, Peace and Plenty.²⁷ Exceptional commissions came from Bishop Trevor as he transformed Glynde Place, where in 1766 Lambert cleaned and repaired three portraits, a large still-life, a picture of fowls and one of Mars and Venus, gilding all the frames as well; further pictures he cleaned in 1768.²⁸

THE LANDSCAPE PAINTER IN OILS

For Lambert the house and sign painter Dunvan's account of his training is a plausible one, as it does not exclude technical, as distinct from artistic, instruction from a painter of the sort who had worked in and around Lewes for over a century. It is not plausible for a painter who was exhibiting in London, only eight years after the first public exhibition of painting to be held in Britain, albeit at the age of 42. Lambert must have had connections into the 'professional' art world of London and these are likely to have come from some form of instruction in conventional 'academic' painting.

George Smith of Chichester is the most likely teacher. His elder brother William Smith (c. 1707–64) was enabled by the Duke of Richmond's patronage (in a style by then uncommon) to study with a portrait painter in London, and if George (c. 1714–76) and John (c. 1717–64) did not benefit similarly, they could have learned from him and from working in London. In about 1750 George and John returned to Chichester and successfully painted still-life portraits and fashionable imaginary landscapes, selling both locally and in London. The inspiration for their landscapes is likely to have been in the neighbourhood of Chichester and, for river cliffs, in the Arun valley.²⁹ Lambert married at Stopham, in the Arun valley, and his bride was then resident at nearby Hardham. He was distantly related to the Smiths, a connection which must have been kept fresh by three of his Lambert uncles (one of them, like his father, being a flax-dresser) living in or by Chichester. George Smith, the longest lived of the three brothers, in 1775 made Lambert, 'landscape painter', his executor and guardian of his three children, and at his own death Lambert owned paintings by all three Smiths, including the portrait of the three Smiths by George and John.³⁰

The first evidence of Lambert as artist as distinct from artisan painter (or musician or stationer) comes from May 1762: a distant view from Sompting, over the Adur estuary to the cliffs as far as Seven Sisters, in pencil and grey and black wash with white highlights, perhaps a sketch for a view by moonlight. His wife's family came from the Adur valley and at some date his father-in-law was farming at Sompting (though at Hardham in 1760).³¹ Having married into western Sussex, did he, in his late thirties, receive tuition from the Smiths, despite Dunvan's assertion that his drawing was the result of unassisted genius?

Of 12 surviving views dated before 1771 (when we know he was under commission to John Elliot in Lewes), five are taken in or near the Adur valley, only two are of Lewes and four are coastal. Did he and George Smith meet midway between Chichester and Lewes, at his father-in-law's, to sketch together, and was Lambert trying to find a niche as a painter of coastal scenes?

When Lambert first exhibited in London, in 1768, it was at the Free Society of Artists, as had George Smith since 1761, and one (and possibly two) of his exhibits in that year were 'from a picture of Mr George Smith'. The 42 pictures which Lambert

exhibited, at the Free Society in 1768–73 and then the Royal Academy in 1774–78, divide into sixteen of sheep, seven of named places in Sussex (most of which can be identified with watercolour versions; two, of Lewes Castle, 1775, are catalogued as 'drawings'), eighteen landscapes (of which eleven with cattle and/or sheep) and one drawing from nature in black lead. Lambert jnr between 1769 and 1778 exhibited twenty portraits of flowers, fruit or cabbage (a genre also practised by George Smith), three of birds (two in watercolour), one of a gentleman (his uncle?), and a view of Brambletye. Most of their pictures were offered for sale.³²



Fig. 2. James Lambert, Longhorn cows with suckling calf beneath a ruined castle, 1774. (Watercolour on paper, 242 × 266 mm. Sussex Archaeological Society, LEWSA 1997.7, no. 41.)

The composition in Figure 2 (though in this case of cattle and in watercolour) may be characteristic of the exhibited pictures of sheep, as the animals are placed in an imaginary landscape; the cataloguers' distinction between 'sheep' and 'landscape with sheep' is unlikely to have been a sharp or consistent one. A more elaborate composition, possibly that exhibited in 1771 (no. 152), shows a farmyard with cattle and pigs by a pond and a man threshing in a barn.³³

Other animal pictures were clearly for the record. 'A prize ram, Sheffield Place', dated 1774 and including its dimensions, is likely to be 'Mr Bakewell's famous ram' exhibited in 1774. John Baker Holroyd of Sheffield Place hired a Dishley ram from Robert Bakewell at 25 gns for the 1772 season, to cross with South Downs. It was from pictures of South Down sheep by Lambert — similar to a surviving one dated 1778 — that plates were engraved in 1797/98 for the 1808 edition of the Revd Arthur Young's *General View of the Agriculture of the County of Sussex*.³⁴ Also for the record, in 1774 and 1775, Lambert portrayed bullocks which had been struck by lightning, to illustrate his detailed observations sent to the Royal Society, and in 1771 the Revd Mr Wenham's hounds caught a hare, all white except for spot of brown over its left eye: 'This hare was considered so extraordinary by the gentlemen, that they sent her to Mr James Lambert, in the Cliffe, to have her likeness pictured'. It was exhibited in London the following year.³⁵ Portraits of animals rather than people may have been what Mary Capper saw at Lambert's shop in 1782 and caused her to call him a 'portrait and landscape painter'.

Of pictures in oils which are first and foremost landscapes we have eight firmly attributed examples on record:

- [A] 1767 a river scene with thatched huts by a bridge over a weir (Yale, B1981.25.398);
- [B] 1767 travellers resting, others crossing a weir; a castle on a hill above the wooded river (Yale, B1981.25.399): Figure 3;
- [C] 1769 a lake or river in wooded landscape with thatched, timbered cottage to right and cows in foreground (Tate Gallery, ND 1658);
- [D] 1770 a wooded river landscape with sheep in the foreground and a castle beyond (Christie's 15 April 1988, lot 62);³⁶
- [E] 1770 same composition as [B] (Christie's 15 April 1988, lot 62);
- [F] 1770 a river scene with cattle and donkeys

under an oak tree, a bridge beyond (Christie's 19 December 1930, lot 84, with a questionable attribution to Lambert jnr);

- [G] n.d. a mountainous river landscape with a boy and his donkey on a path by a cottage (Sotheby's 14 November 1993, lot 75);
- [H] n.d. figures resting by a lake, a distant town beyond (Sotheby's 10 November 1982, lot 65).

These pictures may be examined in the context of Liversidge's assessment of the Smiths' achievement, which may be paraphrased as follows:³⁷

Coinciding with the emergence of the Picturesque taste there developed alongside it a new kind of rustic landscape which drew its inspiration more directly from the English countryside and which by the 1770s and 1780s had become a major theme within the Picturesque current. In the 'naturalization' of English landscape art which evolved out of Picturesque taste, the emergence of the rustic genre performed a significant role. The Smiths' landscape compositions reflect the growing interest in rural scenery apparent during the third quarter of the 18th century. As effected by George Smith, the synthesis of styles uniting elements of the (Claudian) pastoral and the (Dutch) picturesquely conceived rustic imagery, and the attention he gave to particular subjects, are in their own way unpretentiously original.

First, Lambert's (like most of the Smiths') pictures lack any motifs of the Roman *campagna* (actual or imagined) — colonnaded ruins or Roman villas or nymphs. All his buildings were (composites of) what he could see in Sussex. The building on the promontory in [D], traditionally described as Lewes Castle, is inspired by Herstmonceux and Brambletye. The timbered and thatched houses at Henfield (1765) and Glynde (1775), sketched in BL, Add. MS. 71714, nos 9 and 8, are like those in [C] and [G]. Similarly, the glimpses of Henfield church tower through the trees (1771), BL, Add. MS. 71714, no. 40, and of Chailey church and village from the turnpike (on which a herdsman drives cows), BL, Add. MS. 5677, f. 53, would not have served Burrell's antiquarian interests but were useful cartoons for landscapes such as [H]. The people Lambert could have observed any day in the countryside around Lewes. Amongst the trees oaks predominate. They

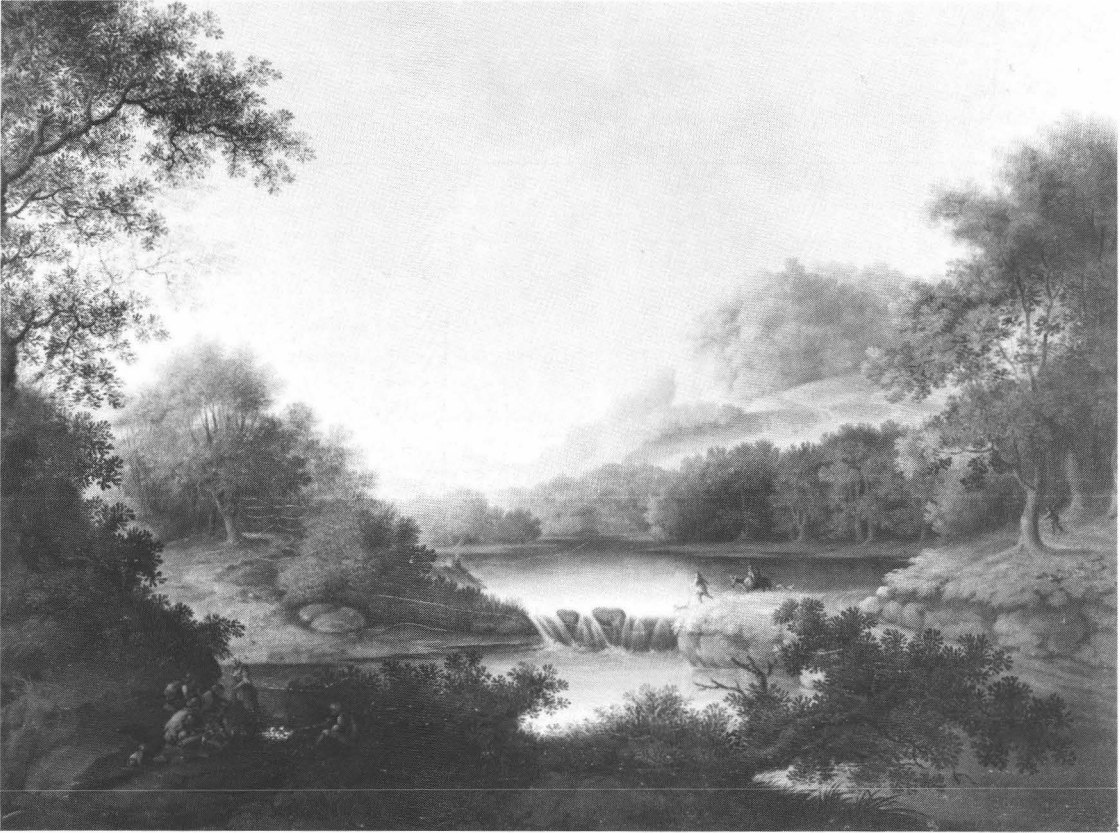


Fig. 3. James Lambert, *Travellers resting, others crossing a weir; a castle on a hill above the wooded river*, 1767. (Oil on canvas, 463 × 610 mm. Yale Center for British Art, Paul Mellon collection, B1981.25.399.)

are prominent features, in the foreground, and carefully observed.

Secondly, it is in the disposition of the components that the pictures are Claudian, with (for the Sussex landscape) exaggerated height of outcrops over large riverine vistas. As Liversidge says of some Smith pastoral scenes, they contain passages 'that recall Claude Lorrain and make use of formal elements borrowed from his pictures, such as the familiar device of framing an extensive view between trees with a stretch of tranquil water, river or road winding its way between the interlocking lanes of a carefully ordered sylvan landscape to carry the eye into the distance'.³⁸ All eight of these Lamberts contain wide expanses of water.

Thirdly, in contrast to George Smith, Lambert pays less attention to particular subjects. Smith's frost scenes are justly famed; and his pictures tend to have purposeful rural activity in progress —

picking hops or apples, gathering wood, extinguishing a chimney fire — even if no moral or story is intended. Such points of interest are lacking from Lambert's pictures. The people are usually travelling or resting. One watercolour, though, which does approach Smith's *The Hop Pickers*, for example, in composition, is *Southerham Chapel* (1780) which had become a cottage, with flowering shrubs to the right and shepherd and sheep under a tree to the left. And one oil by Lambert is identical in composition to one by George Smith: the former's 'River scene with thatched huts by a bridge over a weir' (1767) [A] and the latter's 'River landscape' at Goodwood.³⁹

For Lambert, the high point of his artistic career was probably the award of a premium of 15 guineas by the (later Royal) Society of Arts. But this was not quite the distinction he probably believed. What he entered for were the premiums of 50 and 25 guineas for the two best original landscapes painted

on canvas, in England during 1769. There were seven anonymous entries before the Society's Polite Arts Committee which started by agreeing that only 30 guineas should be awarded as the first premium, then selected Lambert's picture for it, by seven out of eleven votes, and recommended the second premium of 25 guineas to the runner up. But the Society in general meeting reversed these recommendations and reduced the second premium to 15 guineas. When the committee set about identifying the artists, it found that the winner had not followed the instructions for putting a secret mark on his canvas and the accompanying envelope, and duly disqualified him. Lambert received his 15 guineas, as the only premium awarded in that year's competition, indeed as the last awarded, as the Society had already agreed to suspend after 1770 the competition for landscape oils, perhaps reflecting disappointment already in 1769 with the number and standard of entries.⁴⁰

Lambert's exhibited landscapes and animal pictures in oils comprise most of his recorded early work. Thus of some 45 images from the first decade of dated activity (1762–71), half are exhibition works. The earliest dated landscape by George Smith is from 1753, so it is reasonable to see Lambert as an early disciple, within a decade and relatively innovative. But the balance of Lambert's dated work shifted strongly towards the topographical from 1772, and he did not exhibit after 1778.

THE TOPOGRAPHICAL ARTIST

It is Lambert's topographical pictures (preparatory pencil drawings and finished watercolours) which survive in relative abundance, and these do reflect a growing market which he exploited with some success. Descriptive topographical work was generally well-established as an important landscape genre and, indeed, was quantitatively the dominant one.⁴¹ Lambert's topographical work can be divided into three overlapping groups: house portraits for proud owners; pictures, both watercolours and engravings, of local sites for visitors to take away or for residents to display; and record pictures for serious antiquaries.

East Sussex is conspicuously lacking in house portraits, if John Harris' 'representative selection' in *The Artist and the Country House* is a test. Whereas 32 painted before 1800 are of houses in Surrey and 16 of houses in Kent, only 8 depict houses in Sussex — and of those only one in Sussex east of the Adur.⁴²

The reason is probably one already mentioned, the absence of grand houses which were the principal country residences of great landowners. Most of Harris' selection are oils on canvas by (London-based) artists who were commissioned to come from a distance and whose pictures relate to several parts of the country.

By contrast, the Lamberts painted in watercolours for, in the main, the middling gentry:⁴³

Date	View	Likely client
1763	Preston Manor and church	Thomas Western, Esq.
1777	The Friars from Lewes Bridge	Sir Ferdinand Poole
1778	Malling	Luke Spence, Esq.
1780	Bayham Abbey (also engraved)	John Pratt, Esq.
1780	Coombe Place	Sir John Bridger
1780	Glynde Place	Viscount Hampden
1780	Michelgrove, Clapham (Fig. 5)	Sir John Shelley, Bart.
1780	Newick Park (two views)	Lady Vernon
1781	Malling Deanery	Mr Serjeant Kempe
1782	Kidbrooke Park	Earl of Abergavenny
1784	Ashburnham Place	Earl of Ashburnham
1786	A house in Horsted Keynes	Capt. James Phelp
1787	Delves, Ringmer (two views)	Henry Blunt, Esq.
1788	Hammond's Place, Clayton	Mr Samuel West
n.d.	Danny, Hurstpierpoint	William (or Henry Courthope) Champion, Esq.

n.d. A house in Offham Michelgrove reproduced as Figure 4 is characteristic for larger houses. The viewpoint is slightly below and to left or right, the view is of the garden front and is framed by trees, while several gentlefolk or, in this case, racehorses occupy the central foreground, sometimes with the artist. This pencil view was probably, like several others, a cartoon for the client's approval. Lambert can be found adjusting the preliminary sketch before starting on the final version for the client, in a letter to John Elliot in February 1771 (the picture being the view of Lewes Castle from the north which, painted in oils, was exhibited at the Free Society of Artists in 1771 and sold at Sotheby's in 1961).⁴⁴

I went to the Wallands twice to correct the

Drawing I had formerly made of the Castle &c. I have now taken in more each way (viz.) to the end of the wall, on the left — and a little above the White Lion Lane to the right — which I doubt not but you will think a great improvement as it still keeps the Castle in the middle but it would not have a good effect if extended high enough to take in Mr Shelley's — nor farther to the left. I have therefore fixed on the size and have made a beginning on a canvas three feet long and two feet one inch high — which you may be assured I will not neglect for any other work. I will take a sketch from St Michael's churchyard at the first opportunity.

The second category, pictures of local sites for visitors to take home or for residents to display, are evidenced by several copies surviving of 'sights'. Lewes unsurprisingly features most strongly. There are, for example: 16 watercolours of Lewes Castle, of no more than six different views, with dates of

original drawing between 1772 and 1784 and with five also carrying a later date as that of copying; 15 watercolours of Lewes Priory, of possibly as few as three different views; and 4 copies of Lambert jnr's Lewes bridge (three dated 1781, one 1782). The studio copy of a prospect of Rottingdean from the east indicates how the Lamberts worked. It is endorsed with a note that the view was taken for Lady Vernon, copied in smaller size on 9 October 1786, and again for Miss Gwinnett. When Mary Capper visited Lambert's studio in 1782, Mrs Lambert no doubt hoped to take orders for copies of views on display.⁴⁵

Five of these standard views — Lewes Castle from St Michael's churchyard; the Barbican from the south; Lewes Priory from the west and from the east; the Priory gateway — and three others — Lewes Castle from the Wallands (as commissioned by John Elliot); Gundrada's tombstone; Pevensey Castle — were acquired by John Watson so that Basire might engrave them for his *Memoirs of the Ancient Earls of*

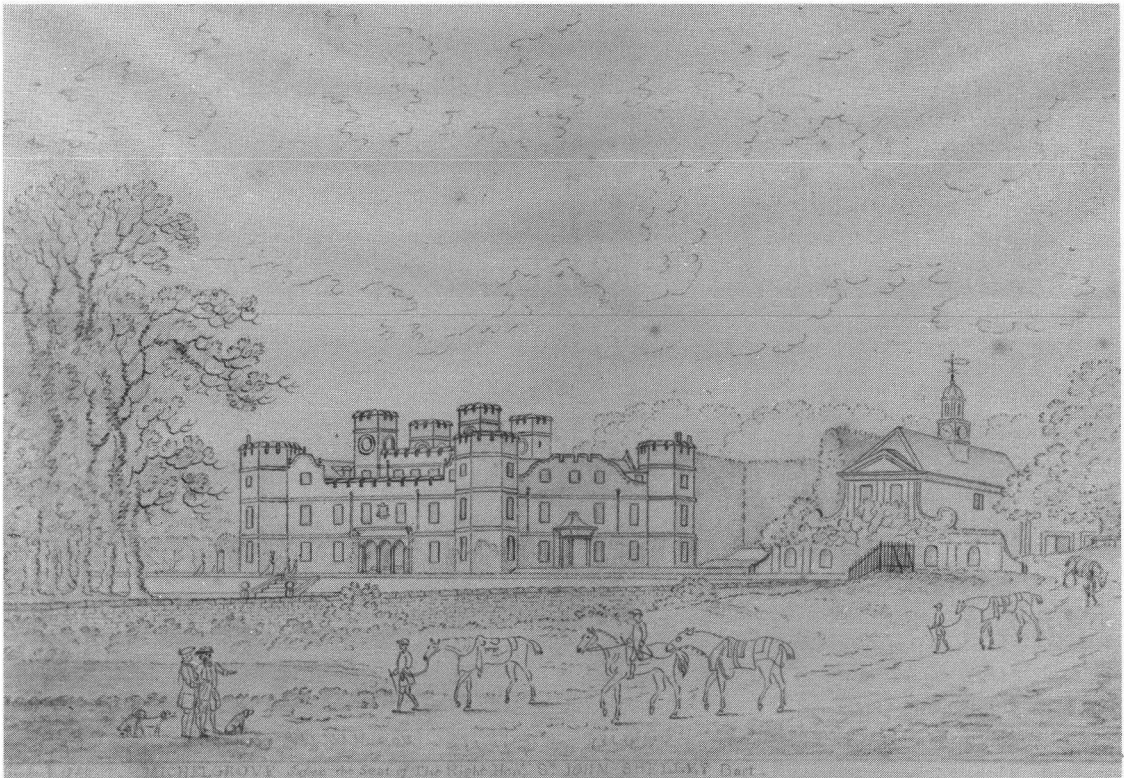


Fig. 4. James Lambert, Michelgrove, Clapham, 1780. (Graphite on paper, 305 × 455 mm. Sussex Archaeological Society, Picture Collection, 3506.)

Warren and Surrey (Warrington, 1788); Basire exhibited three of them at the Royal Academy in 1779. Lambert jnr may have produced for sale much more modest etchings of Lewes views. Also for a more popular market were the ten views by Lambert which J. Sprange had engraved for his *Tunbridge Wells Guide*, bearing dates between 1782 and 1791. The six of buildings in Kent were probably commissioned by Sprange. Related sketches are dated between 1780 and 1783, and the panoramic view of Tunbridge Wells, 1783 (Fig. 5), and views of the Rocks made in 1785–86, must be associated with such a commission.⁴⁶

On his own account Lambert made only one, apparently unsuccessful, venture into publishing an engraving. In August 1765 he issued a proposal for 'a print of a view of Brighthelmston and the Sea Coast as far as the Isle of Wight', of which drawings might be inspected at Messrs Baker's Circulating Library on the Steine. The print was to be subscribed for at 5s., or at a guinea with the opportunity to win a painting of the view on canvas, about five feet by three feet. Over a year later, in October 1766, he announced the print's publication but begged to be excused disposing of the painting until the following summer, because of 'the whole subscription falling greatly short of the expense he has already been at for engraving and publishing' it.⁴⁷

The earliest dated topographical pictures are among the sketches in BL, Add. MS. 71714, six being dated 1762–6; but these may have been notes for imaginary landscapes. The small, semi-ruined and ivy-clad St James' Hospital and St Nicholas' Hospital in Lewes, dated to 1762 on later copies, would also have served that purpose well.⁴⁸ It is from 1772 that topographical views, all of Lewes and South Malling, survive in quantity. Perhaps these 1772 pictures (which are mainly in Atlas Folio) were commissions from John Elliot, the lawyer and amateur antiquary (1724/5–1782) for whom Lambert was working in early 1771 and who bequeathed his tinted drawings of Sussex to Henry Shelley. His antiquarian notes he left to Dr William Burrell.⁴⁹ The 269 finished watercolours in Burrell's own collection can roughly be divided between pictures which the Lamberts were able to copy from stock (or which they worked up more fully, in the hope of further orders, or which Burrell acquired at second-hand) and pictures which Burrell commissioned and for which they did not anticipate a wider market. The division is broadly on subject matter, in the former category castles,

major residences and religious houses (generally ruined), in the latter category churches (generally not). The former are larger and more often coloured, the latter smaller and usually in grey wash. Fewer than half (121) are dated, but if these are a random sample, work for Burrell began in earnest in 1776, continued until 1784 and was never intensive over a long period. Perhaps a maximum of 50 or 60 finished pictures were produced in any one year (1777, 1782 and 1783). For an experienced artist like Lambert, perhaps aided by a camera obscura, a wash drawing of a country church would have been quickly done.⁵⁰

That chronology finds support in the dated pencil sketches in BL, Add. MS. 71714. The earliest would have served for his landscapes. A group of six church sketches are dated to September and October 1775. Fourteen are dated 1776, without any obvious pattern of tours made to cover a defined locality:

3 April	Rottingdean church
8 April	Plashet Park, man on horseback and cattle, study for a picture exhibited at the Royal Academy
3 June	Bexley church (Kent)
20 June	Groombridge church (Kent)
9 July	Sompting church
13 July	Oving church, Arundel Castle, Aldrington church
30 July	Pycombe church
31 July	Findon church (two)
8 August	Hellingly church
22 August	Kingston near Lewes church
11 September	Ovingdean church.

On 9 July, Lambert presumably travelled to Chichester and returned on the 13th. The last dated Sussex sketch is from 1783. Maybe Lambert was paid for each completed picture, as and when he was able to produce it, and he sketched while travelling on other business. Such an arrangement was different from that which Burrell had with S. H. Grimm, a much more accomplished and specialized watercolourist based in London, who toured Sussex sketching for about two weeks from Whitsun each year between 1780 and 1791 (except 1786) probably being paid at a weekly rate.⁵¹

The commissions for Burrell were not the only systematic antiquarian work which the Lamberts did. They seem to have been employed by interested local people to record Herstmonceux Castle before it was partially demolished in 1777. Two of the 35

working sketches (group (4) in the schedule of known works, above, mostly dated 1776 and in pencil), have in the margins the names of Lord Sheffield (John Baker Holroyd of Sheffield Place) and Thomas Wakeham (of the Hermitage, East Grinstead). The finished watercolours now at Yale apparently came from the library at Ashburnham Place. The sketches are measured perspective drawings, often with the dimensions on them, and are the work of Lambert jnr at his best.⁵²

Several views which are prospects rather than pictures of individual buildings have already been mentioned: the engraved view from the east of Brighton and the bay beyond; the view from above Rottingdean; the distant view of Lewes Castle from the Wallands; and Tunbridge Wells (Fig. 5). Two other prospects of named localities may have been taken for Burrell, for their distant views of antiquities: Mount Caburn from Beddingham, with the adjacent country from Spital Mills (west of Lewes) to Glynde church (1778); and Bramber Castle from Steyning Hill, with the surrounding country from Beeding church to Bramber church (1782).⁵³

These prospects link his topographical and his landscape work. Lambert's training — and first love in painting — was probably in landscapes in oils. But he did not achieve what the Smiths did, for they sufficiently established themselves in the London market to return to and work from Chichester where they also enjoyed the patronage of the Duke of Richmond's family. Dunvan acknowledged that Lambert was not cut out for the London art scene of the later 18th century: 'His natural modesty, and early habits of taciturnity in the cultivation of his favorite arts, gave a slowness and hesitation to his language, that, in the company of strangers, bordered on embarrassment . . . Constitutional diffidence, and his partiality to rural manners and scenery, restrained him from seeking due encouragement for his talents in the metropolis.'⁵⁴ Dunvan predicted, seven years after his death, that in view of 'the improving taste of the age', Lambert's landscapes 'will yet rise very considerably in the public estimation'. But they did not provide a sufficient competence in his lifetime. Unsold landscape oils, including the premium picture of



Fig. 5. James Lambert, panoramic view of Tunbridge Wells, 1783. (Watercolour on paper, 355 × 560 mm. Sussex Archaeological Society, Picture Collection, M27.)

1770, was what the visitor to his shop saw on the walls. The expanding market for topographical pictures, touristic and antiquarian, provided a better living in the 1770s and '80s, though still not good enough to prevent administration of his estate being granted to his creditors. It was by the old-fashioned term for a watercolourist, a limner, that the parish clerk recorded his burial. But it was as 'landscape painter' that his nephew commemorated him on his memorial plaque.⁵⁵

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NOTES

Abbreviations used in the footnotes:

BL	British Library, Department of Manuscripts
Christie's	Christie's, London, auction catalogue
ESRO	East Sussex Record Office
SAC	<i>Sussex Archaeological Collections</i>
SAS, PC	Sussex Archaeological Society, Picture Collection
Sotheby's	Sotheby's, London, auction catalogue
SWA	<i>Sussex Weekly Advertiser</i>
VAM	Victoria and Albert Museum.

¹ A. Gammon & C. Brent, *Lewes Town Guide* (Lewes: Chamber of Commerce, 1996).

² Now not wholly legible, but partly transcribed in G. Holman, *Some Lewes Men of Note* (Lewes: Baxter, 1905), 25–6.

³ W. H. Challen, 'Baldy's Garden, the painters Lambert and other Sussex families', *SAC* 90 (1952), 117–38, *seriatim*. I owe to Colin Brent the history of the tenements named.

⁴ [P. Dunvan], *Ancient and Modern History of Lewes and Brighthelmston* (Lewes: W. Lee, 1795), 323–5.

⁵ W. H. Godfrey & L. F. Salzman (eds), *Sussex Views, selected from the Burrell Collections*, Sussex Record Society, Jubilee vol. (1951). The plates which are of the Lamberts' pictures rather than of S. H. Grimm's, are those referenced to Add. MSS. 5676 and 5677 on pages xii–xviii. Nos 58, 71, 93, 97, 142 and 174 are signed by Lambert jnr, but many are unsigned. Nineteen of the 43 plates are also printed in *Victoria County History of Sussex* 4, 7 and 9 (1937–53).

⁶ Challen, 102–52. C. Brent, *Georgian Lewes 1714–1830: the Heyday of a County Town* (Lewes: author, 1993).

⁷ *SAC* 39 (1894), xxvii; 85 (1946), 85.

⁸ I. Nairn & N. Pevsner, *The Buildings of England. Sussex* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1965), 484. SAS, PC M45, M31, M29.

⁹ BL, Add. MS. 71714, nos 48 and 49. Godfrey & Salzman, xi, referring to BL, Add. MS. 5676, ff. 16–18.

¹⁰ M. H. Grant, *Old English Landscape Painters* 2 (Leigh-on-Sea: Lewis, 1958), pl. 149 (Brambletye); 165.

¹¹ e.g. BL, Add. MS. 5677, f. 58, reproduced on A. Payne, *Views of the Past* (London: BMP, 1987), front cover.

¹² Challen, 130, 132.

¹³ Reproduced in Challen, 139; presented by C. Thomas-Stanford in 1909 (*SAC* 53 (1910), xxii), but also in the collection bequeathed by John Every in 1941 (*SAC* 83 (1943), 135 and plate 8).

¹⁴ T. Fawcett, *The Rise of English Provincial Art: Artists, Patrons,*

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and Institutions, 1800–1830 (Oxford: Clarendon P., 1974), 15.

¹⁵ ESRO, PAR 414/9/1/1a (Dape). *SAC* 45 (1902), 21, and ESRO, PAR 415/9/1a (Bugg). Atlas Folio, 15 and ESRO, ABE/D560/1 (Head). ESRO, PAR 411/9/1 and 414/9/1/2 (Smith and Conley). Brent (1993), 213 (Conley). ESRO, LEW/C2/1/1 (Morris).

¹⁶ F. W. Steer, *A Catalogue of Sussex Estate and Tithe Award Maps*, Sussex Record Society 61 (1962), 4–18, reading Everenden for Suerenden; for an example of his work, J. Farrant *et al.*, 'Laughton Place. . .', *SAC* 129 (1991), 109.

¹⁷ J. H. Farrant, 'The Long Man of Wilmington . . .', *SAC* 131 (1993), 129, 133.

¹⁸ S. P. Farrant, 'The changing structure of land ownership in the lower Ouse valley, 1780 to 1840', *SAC* 116 (1977–8), 262.

¹⁹ e.g., ESRO, GLY 895/30, Feb. 1766, pictures bought at Mr Prestage's sales: a large Rape of the Sabines, £8 18s. 6d., two landscapes with sheep, £17 17s., 'the life of Christ by old Frank & flowers round it by Brughel', £22 11s. 6d.

²⁰ Dunvan, 323–4.

²¹ SAS Library, T. Woolgar, 'Spicilegia . . . Lewensis' 2, 333, 338–9. ESRO, PAR 415/9/16. SWA, 30 Oct. 1758: concert for his benefit as organist. *Select Psalms for the Use of Cliff Church, and the Churches in and about Lewes*. The Second Edition, printed for, and sold by James Lambert, at the Golden Head, in the Cliff, Lewes, MDCCLX (photocopy in SAS Library). This contains only the verses; in 1767, Bishop Trevor purchased a copy with the tunes written in (ESRO, GLY 896/46). SWA, 20 Oct. 1760, 11 Apr. 1774, 25 Mar. 1782. No surviving copy of *Select Hymns* is known, unless a later edition is: *The Psalms, and other Passages of Scripture, translated or imitated; and adapted as Select Hymns to Christian Worship* (Lewes: printed by William Lee, 1784), copy in SAS Library, in which the running title is 'Select Hymns'. N. Temperley, *The Music of the English Parish Church* 1 (Cambridge: Univ. P., 1979), ch. 5, for context.

²² ESRO, SHR 1373. Dunvan, 324, is the only other reference to Lambert teaching music and painting.

²³ P. Oppé, 'John Baptist Malchair of Oxford', *Burlington Mag.* 83 (1943), 191, following autobiographical notes taken down by William Crotch. BL, Add. MS. 5676, f. 82, view of Glyndebourne, by Melchair, c. 1756, copied by Lambert 1783.

²⁴ SWA, 19 June 1758. H. L. Mallalieu, *The Dictionary of British Watercolour Artists up to 1920* 3 (1990), 198. ESRO, PAR 378/9/2; another copy of the engraved card reproduced in Challen, 128, but improbably described as

- Lambert jnr's card. SAS Library, accn 21850, 'A collection of Lewes handbills 1768–1777', nos 18 and 30.
- ²⁵ I. Pears, *The Discovery of Painting: the Growth of Interest in the Arts in England, 1680–1768* (New Haven & London: Yale U.P., 1988), 182–5. Captain Grose c. 1760 is the earliest amateur painter whom I know to have worked in Sussex: J. H. Farrant, 'The making of Francis Grose's *Antiquities*: evidence from Sussex', *SAC* **131** (1993), 152–8.
- ²⁶ [V. Naish] (ed.), 'Mary Capper's diary', *Sussex Notes & Queries* **11** (1946–47), 125–6. ESRO, HOOK 16/33. Challen, 119, 130–31. *SWA*, 23 Feb. 1789.
- ²⁷ While Lambert jnr signed himself thus, clients in their accounts may not have differentiated the two, and the later decorative painting is likely to have been by Lambert jnr. ESRO, AMS 6253, f. 53v; HOOK 16/17; PAR 415/9/16; SHR 1373; LEW/C2/1/1; PAR 378/9/2; AMS 2132; GLY 2769; SHR 1379; HOOK 16/32, 33. Holman, 25. *SWA*, 21 Nov. 1774.
- ²⁸ ESRO, GLY 895/31; GLY 2937.
- ²⁹ S. J. Flower, 'The Smiths — a biography', in *The Smith Brothers of Chichester*, exhib. cat., Pallant House Gallery, Chichester (1986), 16–34; this book is the source for all statements on the Smiths unless otherwise indicated. Pears, 140–42, for patronage such as Richmond's being rare by the mid-18th century, though continued by the 3rd Duke's gallery for students at his London house, 1758–70: M. M. Reese, *Goodwood's Oak: the Life and Times of the Third Duke of Richmond, Lennox and Aubigny* (London: Threshold Books, 1987), 58–9.
- ³⁰ Challen, 113, 131, 140–46.
- ³¹ BL, Add. MS. 71714, no. 11. The attribution to Lambert is based on its provenance, rather than signature. Challen, pedigree opp. 152.
- ³² A. Graves, *The Society of Artists of Great Britain 1760–1791 . . . Dictionary of Contributors* (1907), 141–2; *The Royal Academy of Arts: a Complete Dictionary of Contributors 1769 to 1904* **4** (1906), 361, checked against the catalogues for the Society of Artists (Royal Society of Arts Archives). The exhibits at the Society of Artists in 1761–4 which Graves credited to James Lambert must surely be by George Lambert (1700–65), the Society's first President, except the bust of a gentleman which was probably by another James Lambert, the assistant to Roubiliac. Yet another J. Lambert made antiquarian drawings of Newcastle and vicinity now in Society of Antiquaries, R. P. Northumberland I, p. 11, II, pp. 5, 12, 17, 21, 26; and National Art Library, 246.G.2, extra-illustrated copy of H. Bourne, *The History of Newcastle upon Tyne* (1736), dated 1788–92.
- ³³ Sotheby's 17 July 1985, lot 610.
- ³⁴ Christie's 6 Apr. 1962, lot 81. *SWA*, 19 Oct. 1772. Revd A. Young, *General View of the Agriculture of the County of Sussex* (London: Phillips, 1808), following 286; also 55 and 281 for implements drawn by Lambert. Arthur Young snr was visiting Sheffield Park from 1770. J. H. Farrant, "'Spirited and intelligent farmers": the Arthur Youngs and the Board of Agriculture's reports on Sussex, 1793 and 1808', *SAC* **130** (1992), 202, 204.
- ³⁵ James Lambert & William Green, 'An account of a very extraordinary effect of lightening on a bullock, at Swanborow, in the parish of Iford near Lewes, in Sussex', *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society* **66** (1776), 493–503, does not contain illustrations and no originals survive in the Royal Society's archives. *SWA*, 9 Dec. 1771.
- ³⁶ Also reproduced in Grant **2**, no. 150.
- ³⁷ M. J. H. Liversidge, 'Landscape prints by the Smiths of Chichester', in *Smith Brothers*, 38–9.
- ³⁸ Liversidge, 40.
- ³⁹ BL, Add. MS. 5676, f. 86. *Smith Brothers*, 6, plates 6 and 40.
- ⁴⁰ Royal Society of Arts Archives, *Premiums offered by the Society . . .* (1769), nos 142 and 143; Minutes of the Society, 23 May 1770; Minutes of Committees, Polite Arts, 23 Feb., 20 April, 5, 15 June 1770.
- ⁴¹ Liversidge, 36, and authorities cited.
- ⁴² J. Harris, *The Artist and the Country House: a History of Country House and Garden View Painting in Britain 1540–1870* (London: Sotheby, 1979): the one is George Lambert's view of Kidbrooke Park, c. 1740s.
- ⁴³ Copies in Atlas Folio, except for Preston (Brighton Art Gallery, repr. *Sussex County Mag.* **30** (1956), 5), Clapham (SAS, PC 3506), Bayham (BL, Add. MS. 71714, no. 3, also engraved for J. Sprange), Ashburnham (repr. F. W. Steer, *The Ashburnham Archives, a Catalogue* (Lewes: ESCC, 1958), pl. 1), Horsted Keynes (West Sussex County Library (Worthing), uncat.), Delves (Yale, B1986.29.572 and 573), Hammond's (SAS, PC 2435), Danny (SAS Library, uncat., Baxter's copy of Horsfield) and Offham (BL, Add. MS. 5677, f. 23).
- ⁴⁴ Sotheby's, 26 July 1961. SAS Library, acc. 3718, Elliot papers, item 32.
- ⁴⁵ Bodleian Library, Gough maps 31, f. 35b. Challen, 132.
- ⁴⁶ Etchings of St James' Hospital, Lewes, 1784 (private collection) and of St Nicholas' Hospital, Lewes (Bodleian Library, Gough maps 31, f. 13a). SAS Library copy of *The Tunbridge Wells Guide* (Tunbridge Wells: J. Sprange, 1786) for nine views, and the edition dated 1801 for the tenth. Related sketches in BL, Add. MS. 71714, nos 10, 14, 18 and 56. The Rocks: Tunbridge Wells Museum, 1959/09 (1), (2); 1995/142.
- ⁴⁷ *SWA*, 26 Aug. 1765, 13 Oct. 1766. BL, Add. MS. 71714, no. 6, is a pencil study for the print; SAS, PC, purchased Nov. 1995, not yet accessioned, is a large working sketch; the watercolour in *Brighton Revealed*, exhib. cat., Brighton Museum & Art Gallery, 1995, no. 4, may be the copy for the engraver. The painting fell to pieces many years before 1903: 'Death of Mr William Blaber', *Brighton Gazette*, 19 Sept. 1903.
- ⁴⁸ Christie's 28 May 1980, lot 13, Atlas Folio 23 (possibly a 1762 original), SAS, PC 3794.
- ⁴⁹ Dunvan, 343–4. Challen, 107.
- ⁵⁰ The trade label quoted above is on the back of a zograscope, so he was trading in optical instruments for picture collectors.
- ⁵¹ Analysis of Grimm's pictures in British Library, Add. MSS. 5671–5678, and of copies dated to the day in Bodleian Library, Gough maps 31. R. Holt-White, *The Life and Letters of Gilbert White of Selborne*, 2 vols (London: Murray, 1901) **1**, 319, 326–8, and **2**, 3, for Grimm's employment by Gilbert White.
- ⁵² Two reproduced in D. Calvert & R. Martin, *A History of Herstmonceux Castle* (Herstmonceux: International Study Centre, 1994), 23, 26.
- ⁵³ Atlas Folio, 43 and BL, Add. MS. 5676, f. 85, reproduced in *SAC* **20** (1868), opp. 57 (Caburn); BL, Add. MS. 5677, f. 61 (Bramber).
- ⁵⁴ Dunvan, 324–5.
- ⁵⁵ *SWA*, 23 Feb. 1789. ESRO, PAR 412/1/1/5.