

◆ John Baptist Malchair, musician and artist, in Lewes, 1754–7

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German-born, John Baptist Malchair (1730–1812) came to Lewes as a musician in October 1754, with a regiment of dragoons. He made connections with local gentry and townsfolk, likely including James Lambert (1725–89), organist and artisan painter, before leaving in September 1756, with a brief return visit in July 1757. Under the guidance of Robert Price (1717–61) of Foxley, Herefordshire, Malchair developed his nascent interest in drawing from nature, and four watercolour views of Lewes are among the earliest of the datable examples of his work and are also the earliest surviving views of the town by an artist's hand. They reflect Price's distinctive style with the unusual, for England, combination of pencil and wash, rejecting pen and ink. The pictures may have been displayed together in Lewes in 1848, by Henry Wellesley, Principal of New Inn Hall, Oxford, the city in which Malchair settled in late 1759 for the rest of his life.

John Baptist Malchair has an established reputation both as an early collector of British folk music and as an influence on English landscape painters, including John Constable. The history of his early years in England is sketchy, though is known to have included time in Lewes. Amongst the earliest datable examples of his work are the four watercolours of Lewes from 1754–7 discussed here (Figs 1–4). They show already the influence on his style of Robert Price of Foxley, Herefordshire, whom he first met in Lewes, and they predate his settling in Oxford at the end of 1759 as leader of the band at the Music Room and taking his first pupils for drawing soon after. The four views also happen to be the earliest surviving views of the town by an artist's hand. The first pictorial representations of Lewes are bird's-eye views on two maps of 1620, by John Deward and George Randoll.¹ An engraved view features in the margin of Richard Budgen's map of Sussex (1724) and the Bucks published a plate of the priory and the castle from the south (1737). Then come Malchair's views, soon to be followed by Dominic Serres's large panoramic view in oils of the town from the south-east, dated 1760; by Francis Grose's watercolours in 1762; and by James Lambert senior's extensive output in 1762–86.²

The son of a watchmaker in Cologne, Johann Baptist Malscher (bap. 1730, d. 1812) was a member of the cathedral's choir, from which he had resigned by February 1751 when his successor was appointed. That much is evident from contemporaneous local records.³ What we know of his subsequent life down to 1759 (from when he was regularly named in the

Oxford Journal) has to be gleaned, firstly, from titles and memoranda on dateable drawings, and from loose notes in his earliest sketchbook. Secondly, having lost his sight in the later 1790s, in 1800 he spoke in Oxford of his early life to Joseph Farington and, during many meetings between about 1797 and 1805, to William Crotch (1775–1847), the university's youthful professor of music. Both of them made notes at the time.⁴ Although Crotch had been one of Malchair's last pupils in drawing, their discussions are likely to have focussed on music, and particularly on Malchair's longstanding interest in collecting 'national music' (folk music) which he had copied into several tune books. Crotch drew on these for lectures published c. 1809–10.⁵

Malchair recalled how, after the Battle of Dettingen (1743), English sentinels stationed in Cologne shook his hand and allowed him to ride on the guns. In or about 1750 he moved to Nancy in north-east France where he first began to sketch from nature; and then in or before 1754 to London. Anglicising his name as John Baptist Malchair, in London he played the violin at public-house concerts and taught music to 'mechanics' and others, and worked as the drawing master at a ladies' school. He also met an English Army officer, Captain Bonfield, who had known his father in Cologne, and followed his regiment to Lewes, where he was retained to teach music to the officers.

Malchair himself recorded, in his characteristically erratic spelling, when he came to Lewes: on the reverse of a drawing he made there in 1757, he wrote 'Lewes 4th of February - 1755 - this



Fig. 1. J. B. Malchair, Lewes Castle and the High Street, from The Mount, [1754-6] (Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, acc. WA1925.192. Image © Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford).



Fig. 2. J. B. Malchair, 'St John's church, Lewes, July ye 12th.' [1757] (Corpus Christi College, Oxford, MS. 443 (II), f. 33).



Fig. 3. J. B. Malchair, 'Lewes Castel of July ye 13th.' [1757] (Corpus Christi College, Oxford, MS. 443 (II), f. 34).



Fig. 4. J. B. Malchair, 'Lewes Castel wall July ye 14th' [1757] (Corpus Christi College, Oxford, MS. 443 (II), f. 35).

date I found upon a piece of music of my own writing - hence it follows that I must have come to that place in the year 1754, for arrived in Aithum, *this date has nothing to do with this drawing*.⁶

The regiment with a presence in Lewes from October 1754 until May 1756 was the Third (or the King's Own) Regiment of Dragoons. The officer Malchair had met in London was most likely Francis Bonham (not Bonfield) who was gazetted in that regiment as a captain in May 1751, a major in May 1756, and as its lieutenant colonel in May 1767, selling his commission in 1772. The regiment had fought at Dettingen and Bonham may have had earlier service, as a cornet or lieutenant or gentleman volunteer, in that or another regiment which had seen action in the battle.⁷

In peacetime much of the home-based Army was deployed to assist the justices of the peace and the Board of Customs' riding officers and their superiors in preventing smugglers and owlers from running goods. For this duty most of the cavalry's troopers were 'dispersed' in detachments of three or four along the coast and some way inland, billeted in public houses. On average in 1751–6, for one month a year, the 3rd Dragoons was 'concentrated' for advanced training in the manoeuvres required in battle and for 'review' by senior officers.⁸ In late September 1754 the regiment was called in from postings in Kent and Surrey to a review at Chatham. There Malchair must have met Bonham again and, when in October the regiment was dispersed, very thinly, between Winchelsea at the eastern end of Sussex and Christchurch at the western end of Hampshire and on the Isle of Wight, he must have accompanied the troops posted to Lewes.⁹

The regiment's establishment was three field officers and, split between six troops, 18 other officers, 30 non-commissioned officers, 18 musicians and 180 dragoons; but it was likely understrength with perhaps 150 dragoons. The headquarters was at Lewes, both for the regiment and for the troops dispersed from there. Thus in February 1754 a party from the regiment then dispersed in Sussex was ordered from Benson, Oxfordshire, to join it at Lewes with 'recruit horses', horses on which new recruits would learn how to ride in battle.¹⁰ There the Army had formed an exercise ground and riding school on the northern flank of the castle, and had built stables in the castle precincts.¹¹ The rides appear in part in Fig. 3. Few officers seem to have accompanied the dispersed

dragoons, that task falling to the NCOs. Rather, disdainful of the Army being used in a policing role, the officers probably congregated in Lewes, with all its attractions as the county town. Exceptionally, in October and November 1755 the whole regiment was concentrated at Lewes, presumably for a review on the Downs. Publicans raised continual complaints about the scant payment they received for their unwelcome guests, sometimes with success: £1300 of public funds was allocated in October 1756 to Lewes 'to redress the grievances of the publicans for losses sustained during long continuance of dragoons last winter', with the hosts of the Star and the White Hart each receiving at least £180.¹² The publicans also achieved the troops' removal from town for assizes, parliamentary elections and race meetings when their accommodation was essential to the proceedings and more profitably used for them.¹³

An Army officer in Lewes a few years later was the third artist whose drawings of the town have survived. His work also shows that duties similar to those of the 3rd Dragoons could afford leisure for other activities. Commissioned in November 1759 as a lieutenant in the Surrey Regiment of Militia, Francis Grose (1731–91) served until the regiment was disembodied in December 1762. In those three years he made the drawings which were later to yield at least 52 of the engravings in *The antiquities of England and Wales* (1772–6, *Supplement*, 1777–87). He took at least 27 views in Sussex. In May 1760 he probably marched from Portchester through Sussex to the Maidstone area and, after some time in Guildford, followed a similar route in June 1761, to Dover. After orders which took him as far as Northampton, come late July 1762 he was leaving Dover again, for Brighton, with a break at Lewes. From the end of the month until December he based in Lewes with sketching excursions in the surrounding countryside. Having drawn Beachy Head, the following day, Sunday 22 August 1762, he was mixing with Eastbourne's gentry, as Sarah Hurst from Horsham recorded in her diary, 'At Church in the afternoon, drink tea at Mr Lushington's with two officers of the Surrey Militia, one a good pretty figure, the other's name Grose & one of the oddest mortals I ever saw or beheld, said he should not like to live always with his Wife. God forbid my Husband should be of the same opinion.'¹⁴

The 3rd Dragoons' officers based in Lewes, as well as enjoying music lessons with Malchair, may

have visited Glyndebourne, as suggested by a view of house, signed 'Jas Lambert after Mr Melchair 1783', and inscribed on the mount as 'the seat of Thomas Hay Esq. From a drawing made in his father's time, the late William Hay Esq. about the year 1756'.¹⁵ Thomas (1733-86) was gazetted a cornet in the 7th Dragoons in 1751 and a lieutenant in the 9th in 1755, so he may well have entertained the officers of the 3rd Dragoons and been entertained by their musician, between October 1754 and his father's death in June 1755. As he had studied at Göttingen University, he may have had a ready rapport with Malchair.¹⁶ And maybe the officers commissioned the view of the house in gratitude for hospitality

Although Malchair's primary employment in Lewes was teaching the officers, he found at least one other pupil. In his cash accounts between August 1755 and August 1756 John Bridger of Coombe Place (1733-1816) entered seven payments of 1 guinea to 'a' or 'my Music Master', presumably Malchair; in April 1756 of £7 4s.0d. for a 'cello; in August 1756 of £3 3s. 0d. to 'Malchair' for a music book and of 19s. 6d. to 'Melchair' for an unspecified purpose. A summary records £47 9s. 1d. as 'My expense of purchasing & learning of Musick from November 1755 to January 1759'.¹⁷

Shared interests must have brought Malchair into early contact with James Lambert senior (1725-89) who since 1745 had been organist of St Thomas at Cliffe (where the organ was enlarged just as Malchair arrived), and who traded nearby as a stationer and a coach and sign painter. After John Bridger's payments to a music master cease, he paid 1 guinea to James Lambert, ten times between November 1756 and June 1758, along with purchases of music and fiddle strings, the only known instance of Lambert teaching music. In drawing Malchair may have been a model and encouragement, for the first evidence of Lambert as artist as distinct from artisan painter comes from May 1762, with the evidence pointing to George Smith of Chichester as his teacher in painting.¹⁸

The 3rd Dragoons was ordered from Lewes to Basingstoke in May 1756 and was replaced by the 1st Regiment of Dragoons.¹⁹ That regiment probably remained until late October, to be followed by a contingent of the Hanoverians, for no more than four months. Then came 10th Regiment of Dragoons under Sir John Mordaunt.²⁰ Several of its troopers can be seen in Fig. 4 patrolling a section of castle's curtain wall.

Malchair did not follow Bonham and his fellow officers in May but stayed in Lewes for a further four months as, according to *Sussex Weekly Advertiser* of 6 September:

On Thursday next, the 9th Instant, at the Assembly Room in Lewes, will be a CONCERT, for the Benefit of Mr MALCHAIR, who is going to leave this Place, and from a Motive of Gratitude for past Favours, will do his utmost Endeavours to give Satisfaction to those who will honour him with their Company

To begin exactly at Seven o'Clock, and conclude with a BALL

Tickets to be had of Mr Malchair, or at Verral's Coffee House

According to Crotch, Captain Bonham introduced Malchair to Sir William Hamilton (1730-1803, husband of Emma, Horatio Nelson's mistress), but without any benefit. In Lewes however he introduced Malchair to Robert Price (1717-61) of Foxley in Yazor, Herefordshire, an amateur artist and musician, an introduction which proved to be of great significance for his artistic career. Why Price should be in Lewes is not known. Maybe Malchair left Lewes with him for Foxley in September 1756. A sheet inserted loose in Malchair's earliest sketchbook carries the date 1757 and reads:²¹

The first sett of Drawings after Nature. The few attempts made before this were on single papers, the Methods of drawing in a book was adopted from Robert Price Esqr. of Foxley in Herefordshire, from him I received a deal of usefull information respecting the Arte of Drawing, for he was himself an Excellent Artist as well as Patron.

What is distinctive about Price's style is his unusual, for England, combination of pencil and wash, rejecting pen and ink. His visit to Lewes must have been more than fleeting, enabling Malchair to work with him and learn. To Malchair's time in Lewes in 1754-6 may be dated one picture, a view of the south flank of the High Street, evidently from The Mount south-east of the town (Fig. 1). Clearly it was drawn 'from nature', in the open air. As in Price's views, the buildings on the High Street are precisely drawn with pencil outlines and grey wash for mass and shadow (and accurately where comparison with buildings standing today is possible).²² In contrast, the trees in the foreground are deftly picked out with many small brush strokes, without any outline.²³ But, as the style is rather less crisp

than studies in Malchair's sketchbook of 1757–9, it can be dated earlier.²⁴ The result is, nonetheless, far superior, both artistically and topographically, to Grose's work of a few years later.²⁵

On the assumptions that the drawings in the sketchbook date from 1757, and that the leaves were not used strictly in order, Malchair was in Bristol and its environs in April and May, at Foxley in later June, in Lewes for at least three days in July, and back in Bristol at the beginning of August.²⁶

There is no clue why Malchair revisited Lewes. There are no drawings in the sketchbook on a route to or from Lewes. Indeed in all the other ten surviving sketchbooks, with dates as late as 1794, there are only two drawings from south of the Thames and Berkshire, and from east of Wiltshire, both of Cobham Hall near Gravesend. Nor are there any among the 400 or so loose drawings in the Ashmolean Museum, other than that in Fig. 1.²⁷ From that second, brief, visit to Lewes in July 1757, survive three drawings in the sketchbook (Figs 2 to 4).

The approach learnt from Price and apparent in Fig. 1 was carried further in these views. He was already exploring what became a hallmark of his work, taught to his pupils: when the technique was fully developed he made 'only faint exploratory outlines in pencil and combining wash and pencil, almost indistinguishably mixed, to create tonal drawings of great complexity.'²⁸ In 1757 Malchair was reliant entirely on music for his livelihood and for these drawings or anything based on them there was no client: they bear no notes for a worked-up studio copy. Such is the precision of the few brush strokes that the figure to the left in Fig. 4 is instantly recognisable as a soldier standing guard, even to the style of his bonnet. They are also interesting for his, presumably experimental, use of brown ink.

The south view of St John's church in Fig. 2 is from the site of today's Elephant and Castle public house. It shows the tower at the west end of the church which is mostly hidden by the (perhaps) Romano-British barrow removed in 1839 when the church was to be rebuilt. If he had wished to record the church, Malchair could have gone east of the barrow.²⁹ Malchair may have used the same viewing point, but facing in the opposite direction, to take the view of the castle in Fig. 3. It shows the south and west towers of the keep and, forward of it at an oblique angle, a section of the curtain wall. By 1796 much of that section had been demolished and

replaced by the north-west flank of Castle Precincts house, but the remaining part is still visible in Castle Lane. The rides formed by the Army are in the foreground. The second view of the castle (Fig. 4) also shows the same curtain wall, with, to the left, the west front and south gable wall of the St John's poorhouse, still standing in Castle Banks as The Old Poor House, but without Brack Mount towering over it. Malchair may therefore have been in today's New Road, around nos 59 and 61, with Castle Lane rising in the right of the picture.³⁰

Robert Price died in 1761, aged only 44, predeceasing his father. Robert's son Uvedale Price (1747–1829) inherited the family estate in 1764 and came of age in 1768. While an undergraduate at Oxford in 1763–7 he was taught by Malchair who indeed was drawing at Foxley in 1772 and 1773, and also in 1784.³¹ A decade later Price was to engage in print in the controversies on the picturesque. He lamented the uniformity being imposed on the landscape by the likes of 'Capability' Brown and argued that 'landscaping was safer in the hands of men of liberal education who understood the character of their own estates' and who had understanding of the paintings of Claude, Poussin, and Salvator Rosa. In June 1798 Malchair introduced Crotch to Price in Oxford, and it was from his writings that 'Crotch would partly derive his theorization of the sublime, the beautiful, and the ornamental in music.'³²

It is possible that the drawings reproduced here returned to Lewes in 1848. At the general annual meeting of the Sussex Archaeological Society held in the County Hall (now the Crown Court) on 10 August, there were exhibited 'Sketches of Lewes Town and Castle in 1754 and 1776, by Malchair. By the Rev. Dr. Wellesley.' If '1776' is a mistake for '1756', the dates approximate to those attributed here.³³ Henry Wellesley (1794–1866) had two years earlier been a founding member of the society and of its management committee, though he resigned from the latter after a year and was elected a vice-president.³⁴

The son of Richard Wellesley (from 1799 Marquess Wellesley), after Eton, Christ Church, Oxford, ordination and extensive travels in Europe, in 1827 Henry Wellesley took the first of a succession of livings, the third in Sussex as Rector of Woodmancote (1838–60), followed by Herstmonceux (1860–6). Although a partially

resident incumbent until his death, he was keen to gain a position at Oxford, which he achieved in 1842 with appointment as Vice-principal of New Inn Hall and in 1847 as Principal. A connoisseur of old master prints and drawings with contacts in the art trade, he built up his own remarkable collection which included the largest holding ever in single ownership of Malchair's work.³⁵ It included the sketchbook from which Figs 2 to 4 come and eight more of the eleven at Corpus Christi College, and 132 of the drawings now in the Ashmolean Museum. The latter did not include Fig. 1, and its provenance prior to the owner from whose estate it was bought in 1925 is unknown, but a lecture by

Wellesley published in 1862 shows he had access to drawings by Malchair beyond those in his own collection.³⁶

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NOTES

- East Sussex Record Office (hereafter ESRO), ACC 2187, ACC 3746.
- P. Myles, ed., *Thomas Paine in Lewes 1768–1774* (Lewes: PM Trading, 2009), 21, 50–6, for Serres. For Grose and Lambert, see below.
- C. Harrison, *John Malchair of Oxford, artist and musician*, exhib. cat. (Oxford: Ashmolean Museum, 1998), 9–10.
- J. Farington, *The diary of Joseph Farington*, ed. Kenneth Garlick, Angus Macintyre, and Kathryn Cave, 17 vols (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1978–98), 4, 1425. Crotch's notes are in Bodleian Library, MS. Mus. d. 32, but we have relied on abstracts in Harrison, *Malchair*, 9–10, 37–8, and P. Oppé, 'John Baptist Malchair of Oxford', *Burlington Magazine* 83 (1943), 191–2.
- S. Wollenberg, 'John Baptist Malchair of Oxford and his collection of "national music"', in *Music in the British provinces, 1690–1914*, ed. Rachel Cowgill and Peter Holman (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), 151–62, and A. Little, 'The tunebooks of J. B. Malchair, Oxford, c. 1760–1812' (unpub. DPhil thesis, Univ. of Oxford, 2018). See also H. Irving, *Ancients and moderns: William Crotch and the development of classical music* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999); and J. Rennert, *William Crotch (1775–1847) composer, artist, teacher* (Lavenham: Terence Dalton, 1975), espec. 39, 77, 93–6, pls xx, xxii. Rennert may overstate Crotch's influence on Constable, Sir George Beaumont being the more likely conduit of Malchair's practice: R. B. Beckett, ed., *John Constable's correspondence*, 4, Suffolk Records Society 10 (1966), 14–15; L. Parris, C. Shields, and I. Fleming-Williams, eds, *John Constable: further documents and correspondence*, Suffolk Records Society 18 (1975), 142–54; I. Fleming-Williams and L. Parris, *The discovery of Constable* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1984), 151–3; Farington, *Diary*, 8, 3153, 3163–5. Crotch was attracted to Brighton, though is not proven to have been there at the same time as Constable: S. Lancaster, ed., *Constable and Brighton: something out of nothing* (London: Scala Arts & Heritage, 2017); D. Beevers, ed., *Brighton revealed through artists' eyes c. 1760–c. 1960*, exhib. cat. (Brighton: Royal Pavilion, Art Gallery & Museums, 1995), 97, for Crotch's sketchbook of 1834.
- Corpus Christi College, Oxford (hereafter CCC), MS. 443 (II), f. 33v. The italicised words are deleted with a single oblique line through each letter.
- A list of the general and field officers, as they rank in the Army...August 1755*, (London: J. Millan, 1755), 20; ...1761, 27; ...1768, 31. *The London Gazette*, 21–25 Jan. 1772. He is not, though, named in *A list of...His Majesty's forces* (London: T. Cox, 1740).
- J. A. Houlding, *Fit for service. The training of the British Army, 1715–1795* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981), 12, 75–90, 94–5, 299–301, 401. See generally, with many detailed examples drawn from Sussex, P. Muskett, 'English smuggling in the eighteenth century' (unpub. PhD thesis, Open Univ., 1996), ch. 4, The army as a police force.
- The National Archives (hereafter TNA), WO 5/42, Marching orders 28 Sep., 9 Oct. 1754.
- Houlding, *Fit for service*, 418, 127, 84 (total of 150 dragoons in Sussex, 1766–7), 265. TNA, WO 5/42, 15 Feb. 1754.
- ESRO, LAN 292, dispute of 1825 about W. B. Langridge's maintenance of New Road. In 1808 the military still had stabling for 'a great number of horses' within the castle precincts (ESRO, PAR 412/13/2).
- Houlding, *Fit for service*, 39. C. Brent, *Georgian Lewes 1714–1830. The heyday of a county town* (Lewes: Colin Brent Books, 1993), *passim*. TNA, WO 5/42, 21 Oct., 14 Nov. 1755. *Sussex Weekly Advertiser* (hereafter SWA), 25 Oct. 1756.
- TNA, WO 5/42, 6 Apr. 1754, 28 Jun., 30 Jul. 1755.
- J. H. Farrant, 'The travels and travails of Francis Grose, FSA', *Antiquaries Journal* 75 (1995), 367, 378. J. H. Farrant, *Sussex depicted. Views and descriptions 1600–1800*, Sussex Record Society 85 (2001), 25–6, 109–12. S. C. Djabri, ed., *The diaries of Sarch Hurst 1759–1762. Life and love in 18th century Horsham* (Stroud: Amberley, 2009), 265.

- ¹⁵ British Library, Add. MS. 5676, f. 82. The other copy (in private hands) is reproduced in M. Binney and R. Runciman, *Glyndebourne. Building a vision* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1994), 15; R. Runciman, pers. comm. See also ESRO, BMW/C29/5, steel engraving by James Basire (1796–1869) of Glyndebourne House, inscribed ‘from a drawing by Melchair about 1756’ and ‘This illustration is presented by the present owner W. Langham Christie Esq.’ (1830–1913, succeeding his father in 1861).
- ¹⁶ History of Parliament, <https://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1754-1790/member/hay-thomas-1733-86>. T. W. Horsfield, *The history and antiquities of Lewes and its vicinity*, 2 vols (Lewes: J. Baxter, 1824–7), 2, 123. See ESRO, AMS 5842/10, 11 and GBN 23/2 for Hay’s vouchers while serving in Edinburgh in 1758 and in Germany in 1762.
- ¹⁷ ESRO, SHR 1373.
- ¹⁸ J. H. Farrant, ‘James Lambert, senior and junior, landscape painters of Lewes’, *Sussex Archaeological Collections* (hereafter SAC) 135 (1997), 254–8.
- ¹⁹ SWA, 10 May 1756.
- ²⁰ SWA, 18 Oct., 29 Nov. 1756, 3 Jan., 28 Feb. 1757. U. Dann, *Hanover and Great Britain, 1740–1760: diplomacy and survival* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1991), 96–7. TNA, WO 5/44, 14 Jul., 4 Aug. 1757.
- ²¹ CCC, MS. 443 (II).
- ²² Myles, ed., *Thomas Paine*, 50–1.
- ²³ Harrison, *Malchair*, 11 and fig. 2.
- ²⁴ C. Harrison, pers. comm., 11 Jan. 2000; Harrison, *Malchair*, 62, for a view in this style in CCC, MS. 443 (II), f.18.
- ²⁵ e.g. Farrant, *Sussex depicted*, 230, 269, and J. H. Farrant, ‘A garden in a desert place and a palace among the ruins’: Lewes Castle transformed, 1600–1850’, SAC 134 (1996), 173.
- ²⁶ Except for two at the end, of London (one dated 1759)
- ²⁷ D. B. Brown, *Ashmolean Museum Oxford catalogue of the collection of drawings, IV, The earlier British drawings: British artists and foreigners working in Britain born before c.1775* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982).
- ²⁸ Harrison, *Malchair*, 13 (quoted), 24.
- ²⁹ J. Bleach, ‘A Romano-British (?) barrow cemetery and the origins of Lewes’, SAC 135 (1997), 133–4.
- ³⁰ Four similar views date from the 18th century, here ordered from west to east. Grose in Aug. 1762 (Sussex Archaeological Society, VR 93) was on a similar line to Malchair, showing the poorhouse’s south gable, but definitely further away, e.g. in Baxter’s Field. S. H. Grimm, ?1785 (British Library, Add. MS. 5672, f.6 [10]) saw the poorhouse’s front elevation and secondarily its north gable, so was further east in The Paddock. Michael Angelo Rooker’s view from the Offham road (British Museum, Prints & Drawings, 1868-3-28-333) shows the reconstructed Castle Precincts house, probably based on sketches from his tour of 1796: J. H. Farrant, ‘Turner’s debt to Rooker: further evidence in *Lewes Bridge*, c. 1796’, *Turner Society News* 97 (2004), 5–9. Lambert in 1778 (Sussex Archaeological Society, LEWSA 1997.7, 3) drew from ‘the mount’ in St John’s churchyard, aligned with the poorhouse’s north gable.
- ³¹ I. Fleming-Williams, ‘Appendix I, Drawing-masters’, in *Water-colour painting in Britain. III, The Victorian period*, ed. Martin Hardie (London: Batsford, 1968), 228, wrongly named as Robert. CCC, MS. 443 (III), ff. 45, 46, 51, Sep. 1772, and 443 (X), f. 2, Oct. 1773. Brown, *Ashmolean Museum*, no. 1036.
- ³² D. Whitehead, ‘Price, Sir Uvedale, first baronet (1747–1829)’, *Oxford dictionary of national biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/22769>, accessed 4 Feb. 2019]. Norfolk Record Office, MS. 11,244, f. 87 (Malchair, Price and Beaumont were on close terms from at least 1784, along with Oldfield Bowles (1739–1810) whose seat was near Oxford at North Aston: F. Owen and D. B. Brown, *Collector of genius. A life of George Beaumont* (New Haven and London: Yale UP, 1988), 56–60, 98–100, 110). Wollenberg, ‘John Baptist Malchair’, 154 n. 13.
- ³³ Sussex Archaeological Society, ‘Report [for 1848]’, SAC 2 (1849), viii–x.
- ³⁴ ESRO, SAS/2/1/1, SAS minute book, 1846–62.
- ³⁵ S. Bailey, ‘Wellesley, Henry (1794–1866)’, *Oxford dictionary of national biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/29005>, accessed 14 Jun. 2019].
- ³⁶ Fig. 1 came from the Black Hall collection. Harrison, *Malchair*, 60–1.