

MRS. SARAH BAXTER, née BUCK (1770-?)

Norfolk Portrait-painter and Miniaturist

By MARGARET CAREY EVANS, B.A.

IN 1969 a letter was received at the Castle Museum, Norwich, from Miss Rosalie Fry of Llandebie, Carmarthenshire, asking whether the Museum would be interested in a miniature of Sir Joshua Reynolds "painted from life shortly before his death in 1792, by his pupil Sarah Buck", and a medallion presented to this artist inscribed on one side "A Tribute to Genius from the United Friars of Norwich No. 1, MDCCXC", and on the reverse "To Sarah Buck for a painting in oil". Miss Fry added that she had just sent a painting to be sold at Sotheby's, inscribed on the back "Portrait of Nadir ool Moulk Mahomed al Dowlah Baxter Bahadour Dowlat Rajah 1792". These family treasures had been left to her in 1930 by her aunt, Mrs. Caroline Vernede, who had described them in her will as "the large oil painting of Nadir Baxter also a miniature of Sir Joshua Reynolds by Mrs. Baxter and also a silver and blue medallion presented to Mrs. Baxter". In a later letter Miss Fry said she also possessed a miniature which had come to her under her aunt's will and had always been known by family tradition as a self-portrait by Sarah Buck. The question posed by Mrs. Vernede's will was, whether Sarah Buck and Mrs. Baxter were the same person; and there was the further problem, what connection she had with Norwich.

The existence of a Mrs. Baxter known as a "paintress" in Bengal was easily confirmed, by reference to Sir William Foster's *British Artists in India 1760-1820*.¹ But in his brief account of "this elusive lady" he explained he knew nothing of her background before her arrival in Bengal and did not know her maiden name. A search, under the auspices of the Castle Museum,² has now made it possible to solve this question and establish beyond doubt that Mrs. Baxter was, before her marriage, Sarah Buck, a young Norfolk painter sufficiently accomplished to have exhibited two portraits at The Royal Academy before she was 21. The purpose of this article is to piece together what is known of her life and work before and after she married John Baxter, a merchant of Bengal, and to revive interest in a long-forgotten artist whose story throws some light upon painting and its teaching in Norwich several years before the foundation of the Norwich Society.

In the announcement of her marriage in the *Norfolk Chronicle* for Saturday, 22 January 1791, Miss Buck "well known in this city for her ingenuity in painting" is described as the daughter of the late Mr. Buck of Stoke Mills. Her father appears in the Poll Book for 1780 as Paper Miller of Stoke Holy Cross, his christian name being "Ralph". "Buck" is not an uncommon name in Norfolk and Norwich—there was a large family so-named, for instance, in

the Parish of St. George's, Tombland, and another in that of St. Peter, Parmentergate, from which came the celebrated organist and choirmaster at the Cathedral, Zachariah Buck. But no-one else in the Poll Books or Registers bears the name of "Ralph". It therefore seems reasonable to suppose that the Ralph Buck who appears in the 1768 Poll Book is the same man as the Stoke Holy Cross miller, especially as in each case the parish registers show his wife's name to have been "Mary". In 1768, Ralph and Mary Buck lived in St. Giles' Parish, Norwich, and the registers record almost annual baptisms of their children. A daughter Sarah was born to them in 1768, but died almost immediately; so, according to the custom of the time, her name was given to the next daughter, born on 26 March 1770, and baptized on the 31st. Ralph Buck is described in the 1768 Poll Book as "Waggoner"—that is to say, he ran what was then the main transport service for goods, owning probably the kind of huge covered wagon drawn by six horses carved on the Catchpole tombstone in Palgrave churchyard. The produce of the looms of Norwich were distributed in this way, not only locally, but by a weekly service to London. Ralph Buck seems to have flourished sufficiently to give up his carrier business and rent the paper-mill at Stoke. The names of the Buck family disappear from the St. Giles' registers after 1771, and appear in those of Stoke Holy Cross with the baptism of a daughter, Ann, in 1779, so at any rate by the age of nine, Sarah was living at Stoke Mill. Her father died in 1784, but a notice in the *Norwich Mercury* of 15 January 1785 announced that the paper-making business would be carried on for the benefit of the widow and family, and it was still being run in 1793 by Robert Buck, presumably Sarah's brother. He moved later to a flour-mill at Flordon, and Stoke Mill became famous in local history as the original Colman Mustard mill. Next to the mill, which still stands, a picturesque white clapboarded building, is the Mill House, commodious and dignified, built perhaps in 1747, after a previous mill was destroyed by fire. Inside, the entrance hall and the ceiling of one room are decorated by delightful medallions and flowers, carefully preserved by the present owner, Mrs. Brock. It is pleasant to fancy that Sarah, like other contemporary women artists, such as Angelica Kauffmann and Mary Moser, used her gifts to decorate her early home.

Who discovered that she was exceptionally gifted, and arranged for her to have painting lessons, is not known. There were two drawing masters of repute in Norwich at the time [Sir] William Beechey and William Stevenson.³ Of these, Stevenson seems to be the more likely. It is said that he was a pupil at the Royal Academy, and that Sir Joshua Reynolds had recommended he should take up miniature painting, which he seems to have done with success. An entry in *Graves*⁴ shows that W. Stevenson, Miniature Painter, of Crown Court, Westminster, exhibited at the Royal Academy Exhibition in 1777, No. 334 Two miniatures, and in 1778, No. 295 Three miniatures. Perhaps Sir Joshua had shown some personal interest in him, as was his kindly habit towards youthful aspirants; perhaps Stevenson's study at the Royal Academy would have influenced him to admire Reynold's work and inclined him to teach his pupils to regard Sir Joshua as a model, when he opened his drawing

school at Norwich in the 1780s. He was, however, a man of many parts whose interests were not confined to art. He discovered the humbly-born Norwich poetess, Elizabeth Bentley, and helped her to publish her poems by subscription in 1791.⁵ The frontispiece was a stippled engraving by T. Barratt of London from "a portrait by Miss Buck". Does this not seem to show a master's encouragement of an accomplished pupil, or ex-pupil? Possibly the original of this engraving was the "Portrait of a Lady" shown by Sarah at the Royal Academy Exhibition of 1789, No. 64,⁶ but now unfortunately not to be traced. It might well have been Stevenson who looked after Sarah's interest when she had left England, and arranged for the exhibition at the Royal Academy of 1791 of her "Portrait of a Gentleman".⁷

The two miniatures ascribed to Sarah, possessed by Miss Fry, enable us to estimate her skill as a miniaturist.

The miniature of Sir Joshua Reynolds⁸ poses some problems. Miss Fry had described it as painted by "his pupil", which is the family tradition, but Sarah's name does not appear in the lists of Reynolds' pupils or visitors, nor has it been found in the many records of his social and professional life left by his friends and associates. Moreover, there are two inscriptions on the back, which again embody family beliefs, but which must be scrutinised. The miniature, in an oval frame, is mounted on a square velvet one, on the back of which is written in Mrs. Vernede's hand "Painted from life shortly before his death in 1792"; on the back of the miniature itself is written in an earlier hand, "Sir Joshua Reynolds, From Nature". Neither inscription names Sarah as the artist, but Mrs. Daphne Foskett, an authority on British Miniaturists, allows that family tradition in such cases can be accepted. Did Sarah in fact ever have a personal contact with Sir Joshua, and the opportunity to paint his miniature "from nature", as we would today understand the phrase? We know from the Royal Academy Catalogue entry for her exhibit in 1789, that her address was given as 62 Park Street, Grosvenor Square, perhaps a lodging house for visitors from Norwich, as the rate-payer was Elizabeth Hammond, a surname well known in East Anglia. It would not have been abnormal for William Stevenson to have given his star pupil while in London an introduction to Sir Joshua, or for Reynolds to have received her, as he did, for example, the young Ozias Humphrey "with singular courtesy and encouragement", and to have offered her, as he did Humphrey, "the choice of his own paintings in his studio, to copy in miniature".⁹ A further example of Reynolds' encouragement of youth could be found in Sarah's native city. Northcote records that James Burton "bred a clockmaker in the city of Norwich . . ." but "who always had the most violent desire to be a painter", wrote a letter to Reynolds and received an answer that caused him to go to London immediately and enter Reynolds' studio, where "he copied some of Sir Joshua's pictures".¹⁰

In Sir Joshua's studio, Sarah would probably have seen his "Self-portrait in Spectacles" which had been exhibited at the Academy the previous year; and there is no doubt that her miniature bears a resemblance to this. The portrait was later bought for George IV and is still in the Royal Collection;

but many copies were made of it; and indeed it is possible that Sarah could have copied it without having visited his studio, since Sir Joshua was in the habit of lending his pictures to be copied by pupil artists. The expression "from Nature" apparently did not at that time mean that the painting was done from a sitting by the subject. The miniature itself (3 in. by 2½ in.) is painted on vellum in very subdued tones, with delicate brushwork except the lower part of the face, which is covered with a brown wash, as though the artist had not had time to finish the modelling. It does not give the impression of a leisurely copy; Reynolds looks older and iller than in his self-portrait, but this may be due to hasty or unfinished execution.

The second miniature ascribed to Sarah, her self-portrait, is a very assured piece of work. Very small (1¾ in. by 1¼ in.), it is the picture of a delightful girl with handsome features and smiling expression. She has dark-gold hair, lightly powdered, and brown eyes; and is very stylishly dressed. The brushwork is delicate and the colouring very soft and beautiful. On the reverse of the miniature is a lock of deep-gold hair, held in place with gold thread and tiny pearls.

Whether encouraged by Sir Joshua Reynolds or not in London, Sarah's reputation in Norwich was assured, as is shown by the award of the medallion bestowed on her in 1790 by the United Friars' Society of Norwich as "a tribute to Genius".

There are several accounts of this remarkable Society,¹¹ founded in 1786 by a banker, Thomas Ransome. It was one of the many societies established in Norwich in the second half of the eighteenth century, with cultural and charitable aims; but it was unusual (especially in non-conformist Norwich) for taking as the framework of its constitution the example of a Pre-Reformation Monastery—its officers had the titles of Abbot, Prior, etc.; each member chose a particular Order to which to belong, and was called "Brother", their meetings were "Conclaves", and robes were worn based on monastic habits "blue, white and grey, with cords, beads, tonsures [*sic*], caps, etc.". Membership was by proposal and election. One is accustomed to think of the cultural climate of Norwich at that time as being Unitarian, Free-thinking or Quaker—the Norwich of the Taylors, Rigbys, Martineaus or Gurneys. The United Friars, however, represented more orthodox views, and, though members were drawn from varied professions, some were Anglican clergy. Among these was the Rev. John Walker (1756–1807), held in high regard in his day, but now forgotten—even his ledger stone in the ambulatory of the Cathedral is almost obliterated. He was a founder-member of the Society (he chose Bethlehemite of the Praemonstratensians as his Order) and was elected Abbot for the second time in 1790. He was Gospeller at the Cathedral and lived in the Close; but he was a notable pluralist, numbering among his benefices that of Stoke Holy Cross, so probably was personally known to Sarah Buck.

The minutes of the proceedings of the Society are preserved in the Norfolk and Norwich Record Office. The following extracts show the resolution that led to the presentation of the medal:—

CONCLAVE, 23 AUGUST 1790. It was agreed that the Society should accept Miss Buck's proposal of taking the portrait of one of the Society and that Brother Walker¹² be requested to sit.

18 OCTOBER 1790. The thanks of the Society were unanimously voted to Miss Buck for her handsome present of the Portrait of the present Abbot and that the same be transmitted to her by the Procurator.

(A special committee was formed to consider the best means of giving Miss Buck "some honorary tribute . . . for the Compliment she has paid the Society".)

28 DECEMBER 1790. The medal intended as a present from the Society for a portrait of the present Abbot, painted by her and given to the Society, was this evening exhibited to the Conclave. The plan of it, designed by Brother Wilkins¹³ and approved by the Committee appointed for that purpose, was much admired.

The design was as follows:—

(But this space was left blank.)

The medal has now been presented to the Castle Museum and is in its collection, and so can be examined by anyone interested in its design.

Sarah's portrait of the Rev. John Walker must have hung, with other pictures that had been presented to the Society by its members, in the "room with the handsome ceiling¹⁴ in a house on the east side of Crown Court Yard", where the Society met. Chambers, writing in 1829, says, "In this room were portraits of Richard Taylor and the Rev. *Robert Walker* by Sir William Beechey . . .". This is puzzling, as no Rev. *Robert Walker* appears in the list of members. Moreover, the only picture by Sir William Beechey listed as in the possession of the Society is "An Emblem picture in Oils",¹⁵ which was exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1786 No. 239. No sitter is mentioned, so it is unlikely to have been a portrait—in all portraits by Beechey listed in "Graves," the sitter is identified. This allegorical picture is in the catalogue of Beechey's works in W. Robert's biography of the artist (1907) and is the only one mentioned as painted for the Society. It does not seem probable therefore that the portrait Chambers ascribes to Beechey was in fact painted by him, nor has he named the sitter correctly. Is it not likely that it was the portrait of the Rev. *John Walker*, and that by the time Chambers wrote, all memory of the artist Sarah Buck had faded?

It would be interesting to know what became of this portrait. The Friars' Society petered out in 1828 and its possessions were scattered, the pictures being returned to donors, where possible. If Walker was painted in the robes of Abbot of the Society, the picture must have been a striking one. There is a portrait of him painted in 1780 by J. Sanders in a vestry at the Cathedral, which shows that he was a handsome man, with auburn hair tied loosely at the neck. The Abbot's robes can be seen in an interesting portrait owned by

Mr. T. C. Eaton, who inherited it from his great-great-grandfather, one of the last members of the Society. This Abbot was Elisha de Hague, Town Clerk of Norwich (1792-1826). He was a Brother of the Society from 1788 until his death in 1826; during that time, besides serving in various other offices, he "filled the Abbot's Chair" nine times. In the portrait he is seated in a huge "gothic" chair, wearing a blue robe with large red cross inscribed at the waist, over which is worn a red mantle and cape edged with white. On a table at his side is an imposing gold and jewelled mitre, and, resting against a pillar, a gold crozier. It is clear that the United Friars were wholehearted in carrying out their notions of pre-Reformation pomp, and it is perhaps not surprising the Society did not survive the Evangelical climate of early nineteenth-century Norwich.

Their medal must have been presented to Sarah very shortly after its exhibition to the Conclave, since her marriage took place only ten days later; possibly it was intended partly as a memento for her to take with her to India.

Her husband, John Baxter, had been a partner in a firm of shop-keepers in Calcutta for some years. He was probably a good deal older than his bride and he was a widower. There is a record of the baptism of his son, John Cartwright, in Calcutta on 20 July 1785¹⁶—the child died next day. His first wife's name is given as Mary Anne; her death is not recorded, but records at this time are scarce. His business was already established by 1784, when William Hickey¹⁷ mentions his pleasure at being able to get "really good claret" for a special party, at "Baxter and Joy's". Through Hickey we are also able to have some idea of Baxter's establishment; he made sketches from Daniell's *Twelve Views of Calcutta*, numbering the buildings shown and giving a key on the back. In the view of Old Court House Street, Nos. 11 and 12 are described as "Europe Shops where all Europe articles are sold". They appear to be substantial three-storied buildings, with awnings shading the ground floor. It seems that Baxter's firm changed its quarters later, as Sir E. Cotton¹⁸ states that in 1788 Baxter & Joys were in occupation of "the famous Harmonic Tavern". Good claret was only part of the comprehensive supply of "Europe" goods they imported for the comfort and pleasure of the European exiles in Calcutta, as can be seen in the following advertisement in the *Calcutta Gazette*:—¹⁹

"Thursday, July 15th, 1784. Fresh Europe Goods for Sale. Messrs. Baxter and Ord most respectfully beg leave to inform the Ladies and Gentlemen they have purchased the investment of Captain Johnson of the 'Berrington', consisting of the following elegant assignment of goods, which are of the latest fashion and the highest perfection, having left England so late as February last". The list that follows begins with "an elegant assortment of millinery" and "Piano-Fortes with organs underneath and Flute Stops", and ranges from Mahogany furniture, wines, ales, cheese, pickles, herrings, "ladies' hats with feathers, gentlemen's ditto, children's ditto", boots and shoes, fancy cloths, doe breeches and gloves, to vinegar, oil and mustard, guns and telescopes, books and "perambulators", spectacles and speaking-trumpets. Goods were to be "sold

at low prices with deduction of 10 per cent for cash on delivery and 8 per cent for all bills paid at the end of the month". This concession suggests that not all Baxter's customers were rich "Nabobs"; and indeed the new régime initiated under Cornwallis had reduced the possibility of making vast fortunes in Bengal, and times were thought of as "hard".

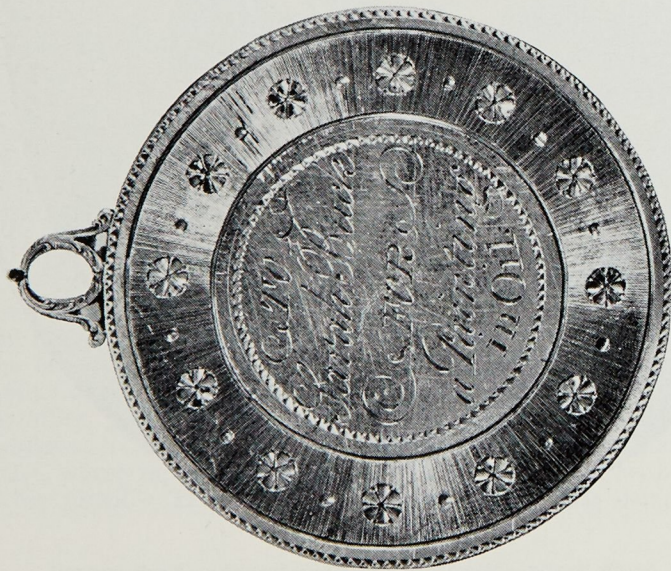
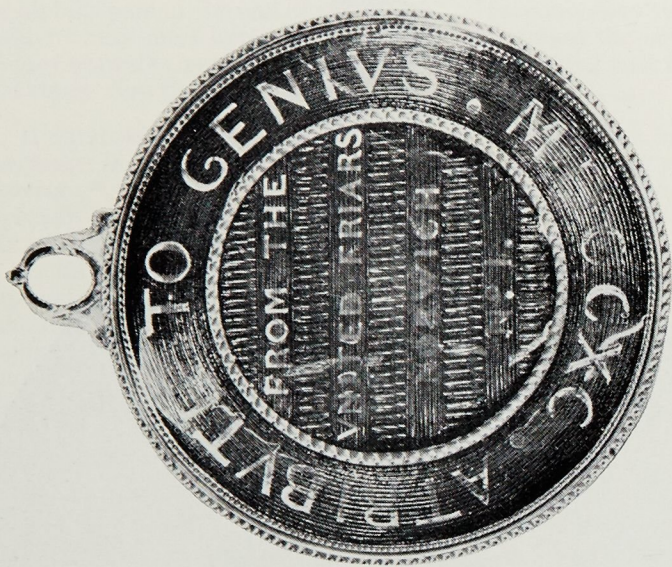
If Sarah knew how fashionable it had been for artists to seek fortune and patronage in India, and if she intended to pursue her art professionally after marriage,²⁰ she must have arrived in Calcutta with high hopes; it offered especially good prospects for miniaturists, because of the difficulties of keeping oils in that climate, and transporting large canvases. The first important event in her life there, however, was the birth of a son, John, on 22 November 1791, baptised privately on 28 December. That she did some work during the short time she was in Calcutta, and had some success, is clear from the extracts from Baillie's²¹ letters to Ozias Humphrey quoted in Sir William Foster's article on her. The good time for artists was in fact already over, and many had departed elsewhere; but even so, there was a number of minor artists competing for employment, pathologically jealous of newcomers. Baillie was of their number. He kept in touch periodically with Humphrey after the latter left for England, giving him an account of the fortunes of their artist friends, and lists of those still at work in Calcutta. The tone of his letters is in general peevish and complaining, but he can be generous in his estimate of other artists, so his venomous criticisms of Sarah make one wonder whether she had in some way incurred his personal dislike. The letters quoted by Sir William Foster are dated 23 November 1793 and 4 October 1795. In the first he writes: "There was [*sic*] a Mrs. Baxter here [in Calcutta] a paintress (now up country). . . . She affects to imitate Sir Joshua Reynolds in shadows dark as Erebus, fine black and purple, with lights of pure Naples yellow. Some of her pictures give me the idea of a man in the jaundice, being sadly mauled about the chops and eyes, and left black and blue. I do not fear her as a competitor". The reference in the second is equally ill-natured. "There is a female artist in the county, a Mrs. Baxter. She married Mr. B., who was a shop-keeper here, and passed, I believe, at home for a man of fortune. She is 'up the country' somewhere. She is a poor stick". Sir William continues his account with some conjectures about Mrs. Baxter's circumstances, which turned out to be mistaken; but continues with the following interesting suggestions:—

"We have possibly an allusion to Mrs. Baxter in the account given by the M.C. (17 May 1792) of a grand gala at Calcutta to celebrate the conclusion of peace with Tipu Sultan. Describing the illuminations, the journal says: 'Ord and Knox made a most brilliant appearance . . . two first-rate transparencies. The largest of the two was composed of a striking portrait of his Lordship [Lord Cornwallis, the Governor-General] with emblems. . . . The subject of the other, Justice. . . . Facing this and over the gate, a portrait of General Meadows. . . . These pieces, we understand, were from the hand of a female artist, whose reputation in the portrait line encreases with every production of her pencil'. There is of course nothing here that definitely connects the



Mrs. Sarah Baxter—Miniature; by family tradition, a self-portrait.

(By permission of Miss Rosalie Fry)



Medal in silver and blue enamel, designed by William Wilkins the elder, presented by the United Friars' Society of Norwich in 1790 to Miss Buck (later Mrs. Baxter).

(By permission of the Norwich City Museums)



Portrait by an unknown artist of Elisha de Hague in the robes of Abbot of the United Friars' Society.

(By permission of T. C. Eaton, Esq.)



Portrait of Naider Baxter, with his Bearer and Ayah, 1792, attributed to Mrs. Baxter.
Formerly in the possession of Miss Rosalie Fry; present whereabouts unknown.

(By permission of Miss Rosalie Fry)

unnamed artist with the subject of this sketch: but it is possibly of significance that the firm of Ord and Knox mentioned in the extract appears to have been the successor of the firm of Baxter and Ord'. It does indeed seem likely that Sarah had created the illuminations for her husband's late firm—he did not break off all connection with it. The rather arch expression of admiration for her work in a rival newspaper would not have appeased Baillie's rancour—he was at one time editor of the *Calcutta Gazette*.

Presumably it was the change in business prospects that decided John Baxter to sell his interest in the "Europe Shop" and join the boom in the indigo trade. It was a highly speculative venture, but if all went well, he could expect to make enough money in two or three seasons, to retire to England in comfort for the rest of his life. He continued, however, to be of some use to Ord and Knox, as he seems to have proposed receiving a consignment of Madeira to "mellow" in the climate of Cawnpore, to be sold in due season by them in Calcutta to special subscribers.²² "Up the Country", that is to say, following the course of the Ganges River—was the goal of indigo traders and artists alike—the artists seeing for the first time the beauties of the "real" India, away from modern European ports and settlements. Sarah, therefore, must have been as eager as her husband for the new venture, whatever its hazards. They were at Berhampore when a second son was born to them and baptised "Naidir" on 31 March 1793. Later that year Baxter's name appears in the list of Bengal European Inhabitants as "Indigo Manufacturer, resident at Chunar, but gone to Cawnpore". His name appears for the last time in 1795, when he was "up country".

The last known picture painted by Sarah is the portrait of Naidir Baxter as a baby, sent by Miss Fry to be sold at Sotheby's. It is listed in their catalogue for 17 December 1969 No. 95 as in the style of T. Kettle, and was sold to the Caelt Gallery, London. The date 1792 on the back of the canvas is puzzling, as Naidir was not baptised till 1793, and the child in the picture must be at least nine or twelve months old. Perhaps the inscription was written later, when dates were hazy; or possibly the child was not baptised till some time after his birth. One might also have expected to see the elder child, John, in the portrait; but he may not have survived infancy—the recorded "baptised privately" could indicate that the baby was weakly and not expected to live. Infant mortality was very high.

The picture has now been cleaned and it is possible for the first time to appraise Sarah's talents as a painter in oils. There is absolutely no truth in Baillie's criticisms, judging by this portrait. If she was painting in Calcutta as he describes, with exaggerated use of colour and shadow, perhaps it was in unconscious response to an entirely new vision, imposed by the strength of the light in India, and the rich colours of Indian hangings, saris and turbans. Hickey found that the clothes he had made in Calcutta were unwearable in London because of their garishness, but were the accepted fashion in Calcutta.

This picture is painted with delicacy, and the colours are fresh though not brilliant. The child is dressed in a white, low-necked frock, tied on the shoulders with blue ribbons—a familiar style in English portraits of the period—but his legs are clad in little jodhpurs of muslin. He is sitting on a table, holding a bunch of grapes in his raised right hand. He has his mother's golden hair, blue eyes, and a bright complexion that must owe more to the artist (or perhaps, restorer) than the Indian climate. There is something stiff in his pose and unchildlike in the definition of his features. Behind him are half-length figures of his Ayah and Bearer, painted with appreciation of their beauty and dignity. In the foreground are fruits and flowers, rather stylised, and above, leafy branches that seem English rather than Indian. There seems to be a happy blend of East and West. Is it fanciful to see in this picture an early and personal feeling for India's beauty and strangeness, a romantic attitude that developed later in England, and elicited such literary works as *Lallah Rookh* and Scott's *Surgeon's Daughter*? Sarah called her second son by a native name—who could imagine such a thing later in the relationship of the two countries? She expressed her love for her baby in the long invocation of Indian titles she wrote on the back of the Canvas—at first reading, a nonsense, but no doubt “a joke, giving the child the honorific Persian titles that would normally be given to a ruler or rajah . . . and roughly [meaning] “Rare one of the kingdom, praiseworthy one of the State, champion of the State, Raja”²³—touching joke, exulting in the little boy, painted lovingly with his Indian background.

Sad to say, family tradition has it that the canvas was slashed with a dagger through the child's face. Thereafter, family tradition is silent; nor so far have any records been found to show what happened to the Baxter family. No further pictures by Sarah are known to have been preserved or exhibited. It has been suggested that the family perished in some native rising; but the position was relatively quiet. East India Company troops were normally stationed at Berhampore, Chunar and Cawnpore, the places with which the Baxters are connected. If they moved into an isolated indigo plantation and works, they might have been in danger at the hand of marauders, as sometimes occurred, but there is no record of such a move. Always of course they were at the mercy of the climate and insanitary conditions: Mrs. Sherwood²⁴ gives a very gloomy account of Berhampore in the early nineteenth century. It would seem likely that Sarah outlived her husband since her treasures came down to Buck and not Baxter descendants; somehow they reached England and survived. Perhaps further information about John and Sarah's later life may yet come to light.

¹Walpole Society Publication 1930-31. Vol. XIX, p. 9.

²I would like to thank the staff of Norwich City Museums' Art Department for drawing my attention to this artist and for allowing me the use of their files.

³The ensuing account of Stevenson is taken mainly from Chambers—Excursions in Norfolk—1829. Vol. II under “St. Peter Mancroft”.

⁴Algernon Graves, F.S.A. The Royal Academy of Arts. A complete dictionary of Contributors and their work. 1769—1904. London, 1905.

⁵Poems—Elizabeth Bentley, Norwich. Printed by Crouse and Stevenson for the authoress, and may be had of her near the Norfolk and Norwich Hospital. 1791.

- ⁶R.A. Catalogue 1789*-64. Portrait of a Lady. Miss Buck. From 62 Park Street, Grosvenor Square. This was an extra work, hence the *. It was probably an oil as it was not in the section of the catalogue devoted to miniatures. (Information from Mrs. Marion Spencer, Paul Mellon Foundation for British Art.)
- ⁷Mrs. Baxter was an Honorary Exhibitor at the R.A. in 1791, contributing one work No. 129 Portrait of a Gentleman; her address is not given in the index (Information from Kenneth Sharpe, Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, London).
- ⁸Photographs of this miniature and other works by Sarah Baxter mentioned in this article are in the Castle Museum files.
- ⁹*Life and Works of Ozias Humphry, R.A.* Dr. G. C. Williamson. 1918.
- ¹⁰Quoted in *Sir Joshua Reynolds and his Circle*. Molloy. 1906.
- ¹¹e.g. Chambers. *Excursions in Norfolk*, Vol. II, St. Peter Hungate. Norfolk Arch., Vol. XX. F. R. Beecheno.
- Norfolk Arch., Notes & Queries. Vol. II, pp. 113 and 243.
- ¹²At this date the Rev. John Walker was Abbot-Elect.
- ¹³Brother Wilkins was William Wilkins the elder, a well-known Norwich Architect and father of William Wilkins, R.A., Designer of the National Gallery.
- ¹⁴An illustration of this room can be seen in Willins "Quaint Old Norwich", Plate XXXI.
- ¹⁵According to a note in the Society's "Chapter Songs" book, Beechey's picture was entitled *The Tomb of Cecowulf*.
- ¹⁶All references to Records in India are owed to the researches of Miss Sally Johnson of the India Office Records Department and are acknowledged with gratitude.
- ¹⁷Memoirs of William Hickey, 4 Vols. Hirst & Blackett Ltd., 1923.
- ¹⁸Sir Evan Cotton—Footnote to his article on the Humphry letters in *Bengal Past & Present*, Vol. XXXV.
- ¹⁹Quoted in *Calcutta Past and Present*. Kathleen Blechynden. Thacker 1905.
- ²⁰Sir William Foster points out in his article on Mrs. Baxter that she made no application to the Court for permission to do so; but he was under the impression that she was a widow who had come to Bengal on purpose to live by her art. Either she was of amateur status, or as wife of a Bengal resident was not required to apply for permission.
- ²¹Major William Baillie (artist). Bengal Engineers. Arrived Calcutta 1775. Died there June 1799, age 46—Sir William Foster, op. cit. page 8.
- ²²Advertisement quoted in *The Good Old Days of the Hon. John Company*. W. H. Carey, Vol. I, p. 183.
- ²³This explanation was kindly given to me by Mrs. Mildred Archer (India Office Records Art Department). The rulers of Northern India used the Persian titles of their ancient dynasties.
- ²⁴Mrs. Sherwood's autobiography, called "Life of Mrs. Sherwood", 1854 and later.