

*'Extracts from the Journals of  
Ethan A. Greenwood': Portrait Painter  
and Museum Proprietor*

GEORGIA BRADY BARNHILL

I BEGIN THIS YEAR with a great burden of debts upon my shoulders, with a great prospect of getting very rich, & a very great chance of very soon not being worth a cent. I have a great determination to be active & persevering & a very great hope that all will end well, my attention now will be strickly given to painting.<sup>1</sup> Ethan Allen Greenwood (1779–1856), a man of several different professions and many talents, decided on January 1, 1813, to focus all his energies on painting portraits. Prior to that time, he had supported himself as a schoolteacher, a lawyer, a clerk in a manufacturing company in Boston,<sup>2</sup> and as a part-time artist. Still to come was his career as the proprietor of several museums. He was not choosing to be an artist to follow a lofty ideal, rather he considered this option as a businessman, clearly sensible of the meaning of credits and debits.

The American Antiquarian Society is the fortunate owner of a

1. 'Extracts from the Journal of Ethan A. Greenwood,' January 1, 1813. Located in the manuscript department of the American Antiquarian Society, the gift of Barbara L. Wyatt, 1983.

2. In 1812 Greenwood moved to Boston and served as a director and clerk of the Linen Spinner Company which he apparently owned with Alexander Dustin of Westminster. This corporation was organized to manufacture linen by machine; it went out of business in 1819. Walter K. Watkins, 'The New England Museum and the Home of Art in Boston,' *Bostonian Society Publications*, 2d series, 2 (1927): 123.

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GEORGIA BRADY BARNHILL is the Andrew W. Mellon Curator of Graphic Arts  
at the American Antiquarian Society.

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Fig. 1. Ethan Allen Greenwood, Self portrait, probably Boston, Mass., ca. 1820. Panel, 8 x 6 inches. Courtesy, Worcester Art Museum, 1946.37, Bequest of Marianne Russell Bartholomew.

volume titled 'Extracts from the Journals of Ethan Allen Greenwood.' It had come into the possession of the donor, Barbara L. Wyatt of Barre, Massachusetts, because her husband had settled the estate of Marianne R. Bartholomew, whose grandmother's second husband had been Greenwood. The Wyatts kept the book, found among Mrs. Bartholomew's papers, from 1945 until 1983. Recognizing the historical value of the 'Extracts,' she presented the volume to the Society, which already had twenty memorandum books, dating from 1801 to 1810, in its manuscript collection. The volume of extracts, which covers the years from 1798 to 1825, is based on the memorandum books and includes material for the fifteen years for which no other record exists. I believe that Mrs. Bartholomew, who compiled the checklist of Greenwood portraits, created the edited version of the diary and then destroyed the full volumes.<sup>3</sup>

When entries in the 'Extracts' are compared with the memorandum book entries for the same dates, they reveal that Mrs. Bartholomew had carefully refrained from transcribing almost all the comments about Greenwood's family and personal life and much of the detailed information about his daily movements. The commentary in the memorandum books is detailed and full. Greenwood's daily entries often include notations on his reading, social engagements, and activities as well as progress on portraits or the study of law. On May 5, 1808, he wrote, 'From setting out on this visit, I felt a dissatisfaction with my pursuit and by this time was resolved to relinquish it entirely. Returned to Merrimac, spent the evening pleasantly rescinding all contracts with M M R [?] forever by mutual consent. The girl was well enough but where love does not lead, I will not follow.' There is no mention of this severed relationship in the 'Extracts.' One of the most interesting passages describes his visit with the artist Archibald Robertson on March 10, 1806. 'Called on Mr. Robertson, the drawing master. Found him what I expected—a proud conceited *buff*. Teaches by copying

3. 'A list of portraits painted by Ethan Allen Greenwood, 1801-24,' *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society* 56 (April 1946):129-53.

prints &c. in watercolours. This method may please young misses but can never make an eminent painter. Spent the evening in looking over Mr. Savage's portfolios.' No mention of this visit is in the 'Extracts.'

Other passages in the memorandum books describe the painting of portraits. In 1808, for example, he was commissioned to paint the posthumous portrait of Charles Blood, the young son of Thomas H. and Mary Blood of Sterling who drowned at the age of ten. Of this experience, he wrote, 'Finished my piece of painting which was acknowledged a greater likeness and gave greater satisfaction than I expected. To paint a likeness of a dead person whom I never saw while living is such a job I wish to never undertake. It is disagreeable and uncertain.' This level of detail, absent in the early passages in the 'Extracts,' increases as the years progress. The years 1801 through 1810 are covered in eighteen pages. The following fifteen years occupy the other sixty-eight pages in the volume, which ends in 1825, as do the account books of his museum in Boston. This ending does not seem to be a particularly important moment in Greenwood's life or career. For whatever reason that they conclude at this point, the 'Extracts' are an important document for the description of the development of an artist. Furthermore, beyond describing his own career as an artist, Greenwood's comments on the celebration of patriotic and seasonal holidays, the development of his museum collection and business, the richness of cultural life in Boston, and the popular entertainments of his day are significant now as we seek to understand society and culture of the nineteenth century.

Greenwood was born in Hubbardston, Massachusetts, on May 27, 1779, the eldest son of Moses (1752-1827) and Betsey Dunlap Greenwood (1756-1826). Hubbardston was and remains a rural community some twenty miles northwest of Worcester. Moses Greenwood owned a farm and a store in Hubbardston and probably was a man of some importance in the community. Nothing is known of Ethan's life until the diary begins in 1798, when at the age of nineteen he is attending the New Salem Academy.

Greenwood's first professional experience was as a teacher in several district schools in Worcester County. He then decided to continue his education at Dartmouth College, graduating in 1806. As a student at Dartmouth and while studying law with Solomon Strong of Westminister, Massachusetts, he pursued a second career as an itinerant portrait painter.<sup>4</sup> By 1813, he had moved to Boston, established a studio, and decided to devote his efforts entirely to painting portraits.

Greenwood painted over 800 portraits between 1801 and 1825, although the period from 1811 through 1818 was his most active as an artist. From his diary we learn that his instructors included Edward Savage (1761-1817), an artist who painted one of the well-known portraits of George Washington. During the brief period that Greenwood was a cadet at West Point, he would have received some instruction in drawing. Greenwood had the opportunity to visit the Boston studio of Gilbert Stuart (1755-1828) and to show him some paintings which received Stuart's approbation. He was also in contact with other artists of his generation including John Ritto Penniman (1782-1841), John Vanderlyn (1775-1852), Francis Guy (ca. 1760-1820), and John Wesley Jarvis (1780-1840). Greenwood, as we know from his diary, looked at works of art during his travels and sought out other artists. His reputation does not rival Stuart's or Vanderlyn's, but his portraits were certainly competent.

After 1818, the number of likenesses that Greenwood made began to decline because of his increasing involvement in a third career as museum proprietor. He had begun to form a collection as a student at Dartmouth College and in April 1806 he noted that he exhibited some paintings and prints that he had purchased in New York. His acquisition of works of art was an ongoing activity, particularly after he moved to Boston. He purchased a 'book of portrait prints' in May 1813 and noted at the end of that year that

4. This phase of Greenwood's life is described in detail in the editor's essay, 'The Early Career of Ethan Allen Greenwood' *Itinerancy in New England and New York*, ed., Peter Benes (Boston: Boston University Press, 1986), pp. 212-25.

he had painted ten portraits for his own collection. At an auction in February 1815, he spent thirty dollars to purchase French prints. After the death of Edward Savage in July 1817, Greenwood began to negotiate with Edward Savage, Jr., for the purchase of Savage's museum. That agreement was concluded in April 1818 and Greenwood opened the New England Museum in Boston on July 4, 1818, 'in hopes that it will prove a place of pleasing amusement & gratification to those who visit it & of some profit to the proprietors.'<sup>5</sup> Greenwood went on to acquire several other museums and collections: the Columbian Museum, which was run by William Massy Stroud Doyle in Boston; the Boston Museum established by Philip Woods in 1804; John Mix's museum in New Haven; and the collections of the Linnaean Society at Harvard. By the end of the period covered by the 'Extracts,' 1825, Greenwood had opened museums in Providence, Rhode Island, and Portland, Maine. His entrepreneurial spirit, which pervades even the 'Extracts,' reveals his determination to vanquish his competition. By acquiring the collections of his rivals and incorporating special acts in the museum's schedule, he reduced the competition from other museums and competed against the transient entertainers and exhibitors that frequently performed in Boston. This competition drove him to place such a large number of advertisements in the Boston newspapers.<sup>6</sup>

The 'Extracts' contain a great deal of information about Greenwood's museums and the business of running them. The detail is rich, both about the work that had to be done to maintain the

5. Greenwood prepared a petition for the Massachusetts legislature in January 1818. The legislation to incorporate the New England Museum and Gallery of Fine Arts was approved by the governor on February 3, 1818. Among his associates were Peter B. Bazin, John Dwight, and Samuel Jackson, *Laws of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, Passed by the General Court* (Boston: Printed by Russell, Cutler, & Co. for Benjamin Russell, 1818), p. 473.

6. The experiences of Charles Willson Peale and his sons Rembrandt and Rubens in running the Peale Museum are detailed in *Mermaids, Mummies, and Mastodons: The Emergence of the American Museum* (Washington: American Association of Museums, 1992). There are certainly parallels in their struggle for public patronage. Joel J. Orosz, *Curators and Culture: The Museum Movement in America, 1740-1870* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1990) chronicles the development of museums from Hartford, Connecticut, south to Charleston, South Carolina. Both books provide the context for Greenwood's New England Museum and Gallery of Fine Arts.

buildings and the exhibits, and about the effects of competition. Among the entertainments that had to be offered to attract customers were freaks of nature such as the 'Wonderful Dwarf,' who appeared in 1819; also in 1819 and again in 1822, 'Signior Helene,' who performed simultaneously on several musical instruments; and a veritable menagerie of living and preserved animals, including a giant turtle, an elephant, assorted bears, a buffalo, and an ostrich. Recording the income for the museum in his account book, he noted instances of poor weather and competing attractions that adversely affected attendance.

The contents of the New England Museum are partially and sporadically described in the 'Extracts.' Collateral documents provide additional information. A typescript in the Myerson Library of the Art Institute of Chicago reproduces the catalogue of Edward Savage's Columbian Gallery in New York which he moved to Boston and which was subsequently purchased by Greenwood. Almost 150 paintings are listed in this catalogue providing one means of access to the contents of the New England Museum. The inventory of Edward Savage's estate assigns values to Savage's property in Boston, including the collections of natural history, artificial curiosities, paintings, and prints.<sup>7</sup> There is less detail than we would wish for today, but there were stuffed animals, preserved reptiles, boxes of minerals and fossils, wax figures, a Chinese pagoda, a large organ, magic lantern, telescope, a physiognotrace, and 'sundry rubbish.' There were twenty-two portfolios of prints. Only three of Savage's own paintings were mentioned—*The Washington Family*, *Christopher Columbus*, and *Liberty*—and appraised for a total of \$550. In addition, two broadside advertisements for the Columbian Museum, dated 1808 and 1811, in the Society's collection, list the contents of that museum prior to its purchase by Greenwood. Finally, the *Catalogue of the Paintings, Marble and Plaster Statuary and Engravings Comprised in the Collection of the*

7. Savage's estate was appraised by Greenwood, John Ritto Penniman, and William M. S. Doyle (1769–1828), the owner of the Columbian Museum and a painter of miniature portraits. Dated September 12, 1817, the inventory can be found in the Worcester County Courthouse, Series A, Case 52130.

*Boston Museum and Gallery of Fine Arts* (Boston, 1842) records the holdings of the institution shortly after Greenwood sold his museum operation to Moses Kimball in 1839.

The sale of the collection to Kimball marked the end of Greenwood's career as a museum proprietor. His direct involvement in the museum had already decreased as he had returned to Hubbardston in 1830 after the death of his parents, leaving the museum in care of a superintendent. Thomas Ball (1819-1911), a noted sculptor, who worked at the museum in the 1830s, describes his experiences among the dusty cases that it was his duty to keep clear of fingerprints. As Ball described Greenwood, 'The proprietor [was] a perfect Goliath, of very imposing presence. . . . [He] appeared about once a month, from his home in Hubbardston, to collect the "quarters" that had accumulated from visitors to the Museum. . . . He was a rather jolly old giant, especially when he found a goodly amount of cash to carry back with him to his country home, where he had a large hotel and made other improvements in his native town that speedily swallowed up all the money that the Museum could be made to yield. He never spent anything in Boston but tickets, if he could avoid it; making a practice of paying for everything with either season or single tickets to the Museum.'<sup>8</sup> Greenwood had an additional reason to be in Boston frequently for he represented the town of Hubbardston at the General Court of the Commonwealth in 1833 and 1834. The sale of the museum at the end of the decade may have been precipitated by illness. An advertisement in the February 7, 1838, issue of the *National Aegis*, a Worcester newspaper, indicated that Greenwood's health was poor and that he wanted to move to a milder climate. This he did not do; rather, he continued to live in Hubbardston in retirement. Kimball carried on the museum for many years, although he may have begun to sell the paintings as early as the 1840s.<sup>9</sup>

8. Thomas Ball, *My Threescore Years and Ten* (Boston: Roberts Brothers, 1891), pp. 46-47.

9. Apparently two paintings of Mount Vernon by Edward Savage displayed in Greenwood's museum were sold by Kimball about 1840. Rudolf G. Wunderlich of Mongerson Wunderlich, Chicago, to the editor, February 27, 1989.



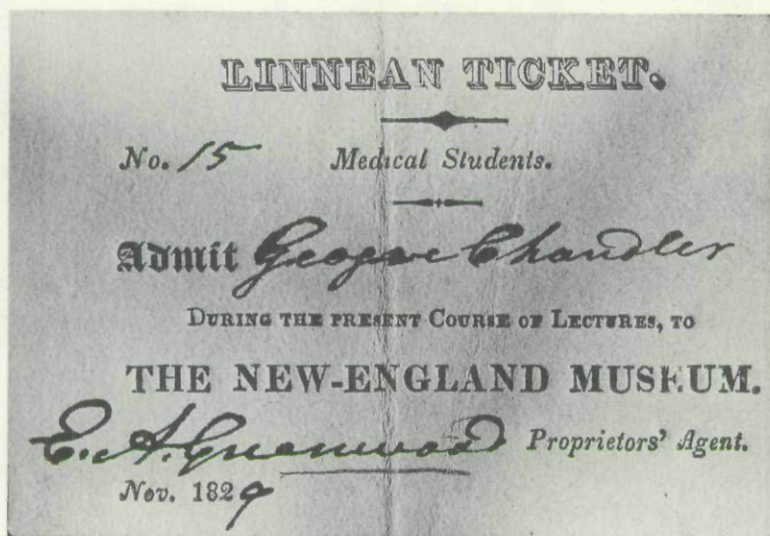


Fig. 2. Ticket of admission to the medical lectures at the New England Museum, signed by Greenwood.  $2\frac{1}{2} \times 3\frac{5}{8}$  inches. Ethan Allen Greenwood Collection, American Antiquarian Society.

Greenwood, who had married Caroline Carter Warren of Roxbury on February 1, 1829, returned to Hubbardston with his wife and built a new home on the old family homestead. Among other activities in his native town, he renovated the former Clark Tavern, renaming it the Star Hotel, and apparently was responsible for the building of the Mechanics Hall in Hubbardston. In addition to representing the town in the legislature, he served as a justice of the peace and as a selectman in 1833, certainly a sign of respect by his fellow citizens. He owned several farms and a great deal of real estate.

Greenwood's life and times are revealed by the 'Extracts.' Of particular interest are his comments at the end or beginning of each year that reflect on his personal affairs as well as national events. Optimism was one of his strongest personal characteristics. He describes his activities in the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company, notes the annual African-American parades on July 14,

reports that 20,000 people attended the hangings of four pirates and murderers, and recorded closing the Gallery of Fine Arts because of a general lack of interest in the fine arts. He contributed to the Bunker Hill Monument and welcomed General Lafayette to the museum. Social ills, such as intemperance, affected his business when an assistant became inebriated and failed to post hand-bills for an evening's events.

The tangible remains of Greenwood's world are stunning. Two of the three paintings purchased from Edward Savage survive. *The Washington Family* is in the collection of the National Gallery of Art in Washington and *Liberty* is in the National Museum of American History. Other paintings that he exhibited are in other collections. The portrait of the Chinese merchant WaShing may have disappeared, but a box with bolts of silk that WaShing imported for Mrs. Edward Carrington of Providence is in the collections of the Rhode Island Historical Society.<sup>10</sup> Some of the Indian dresses displayed at the Columbian Museum in 1811 and later acquired by Greenwood may be among the ethnographic collections presented to the Peabody Museum at Harvard by the heirs of Moses Kimball in 1899. Likewise, of the 800 portraits that he painted, about 100 are recorded by the Catalogue of American Portraits at the National Portrait Gallery and by the Bicentennial Inventory of American Paintings at the National Museum of American Art. Four portraits are in the collections of the American Antiquarian Society. These numbers do not include hundreds of silhouettes that were probably never signed and therefore cannot be attributed to him, but many of which are probably still extant in private collections.

Because Greenwood was an important person, a prolific artist, an entrepreneur, and a leading citizen of a fast-growing town in rural Massachusetts, his comments about his life and surroundings remain of interest. In particular, the problems of making a museum a profitable business are of real significance in our day when cul-

10. Carl L. Crossman, *The China Trade* (Princeton, N.J.: The Pyne Press, 1972), p. 241.

tural institutions are plagued by the same problems that Greenwood faced.

In 1839 after recovering from a serious illness, Greenwood drafted a document offering the museum to Robert G. Shaw and the Reverend Edward J. Taylor of Boston. In this letter, he described his efforts to sustain the museum in the following words: 'After twenty years increasing toil, during which time I have alone established and maintained this Institution, devoting myself incessantly and without relaxation to its welfare, I need some respite. Not a single Holiday, from the beginning have I ever appreciated to myself, on the contrary when all others, even the poorest and most destitute, were enjoying themselves with all manner of recreations, I have been the slave of business, confined to the most arduous labor.' Why did he devote himself exclusively for so many years to this level of work? 'It had ever been my desire to do some good in the world, that my labours should in some way, be made available for the improvement of my fellow beings in knowledge, in virtue and happiness—that my life should not pass away as a blank. I was strongly impressed with the belief that it was my duty to do so.'<sup>11</sup>

Greenwood died in Hubbardston on May 3, 1856. His wife remained at the homestead until her death on January 20, 1875.

11. Draft of an undated letter in the Ethan Allen Greenwood Collection, American Antiquarian Society.

*Extracts from the Journals of  
Ethan A. Greenwood*

Ethan A. Greenwood born in Hubbardston May 27th, 1779. Went to New Salem Academy Dec. 1798. In Feb. 1799, engaged to keep school in Athol for two months at \$3.00 a month.

At home from the 1st of April 1799 till middle of Aug. 1799, when I went to Princeton to study with Rev. Mr. Russell.<sup>1</sup> While in Princeton went to Boylston to buy Geography & other books of Robert B. Thomas, also went to Sterling to Muster. This day Oct. 30th 1799 Pres. Adams was 64 yrs. old.

In 1799 was engaged to keep the largest school in Princeton at \$14.00 a month, and commenced teaching Nov. 2nd. Had 25 scholars the first day, & number increased to 83. Dec. 15th 1799 went to Sterling to dedication of new Meeting house, a vast concourse of people there from different towns.

In April 1800 went to Leicester Academy.<sup>2</sup> In July 1800 I carried my bass viol into the church in Hubbardston three times, & the first time many eyes & mouths were opened with wonder at the great thing. In Sept 1800 played the fife for Capt. Sprague at Worcester Muster. Left Leicester Oct. 3rd & began school in Athol Oct. 13th. Dec. 22nd began school in Westminster. Feb. 25th 1801 was initiated into Masonry at Northfield, Harmony Lodge. Finished Westminster school last of March, & returned to Leicester Academy April 21st & began Greek. Left Leicester on Oct. 3rd, & on Oct. 12th 1801 stretched canvas & brown holland on frames suitable for painting, & tried my skill by copying the portrait of Betsy Parker. On Oct. 16th I resolved to have a college education, & returned to Leicester Academy Oct. 20th. While there I painted 3 portraits & a clock face!!

1. Joseph Russell was minister of the Congregational Church from 1796 to 1801. Francis E. Blake, *History of the Town of Princeton*, 2 vols. (Princeton: Town of Princeton, 1915), 1: 161-62.

2. Leicester Academy was founded in 1784. Luther Wright, *Education. An Address Delivered at Leicester, before the Trustees and Students of Leicester Academy* (Worcester: S. H. Cotton and Co., 1834), p. 25.

Left Leicester Jan. 2nd 1802 & commenced school in Westminster Jan. 4th at \$17.00 a month & finished it Mar. 27th. Sunday April 10th went to meeting in Petersham, Mr. Foster the minister was very short but comprehensive, a tolerable good preacher.<sup>3</sup> May 27th 1802 two years since I became of age, tho perhaps I am not one cent richer in pecuniary matters, yet I trust I have gained an improvement of my mind, which is more satisfactory, & in the end will be more conducive to happiness, than hoards of wealth. What a pity that so many of the fair parts of creation should err so extremely as to prefer the fop. gallants & the fawning hypocrite, to men of real worth. Yet it is the case, & an evidence of their rarity that they are more fond of external appearances, than of true merit, & sober life.

Entered Dartmouth College Aug. 25th 1802. Left College Nov. 13th & began school in Westminster Dec. 13th at \$22.00 a month. Pursued wolves one day & drove them to Mt. Wachusett where they built fires round the *hill* to prevent their coming off. Next day they drove them to the lower part of Leominster. They caught a wolf on Jan. 31st. 1803.

Returned to College Mar. 12th 1803. April 2nd being Sportsmans day I set up my violin in a lottery of 11 tickets at 50 cents each. Violin fell to Geo. Chapman.<sup>4</sup>

July 18th nailed the portrait of Dr. E. Wheelock 1st President of Dartmouth Coll. & Dr. Phillips a great benefactor of the same, upon their frames, & hung them in the Philosophic room.<sup>5</sup>

Left College on Commencement 25th of August & began teaching in the Latin Grammar School in Lancaster Sept. 19th 1803.

3. Festus Foster (1776-1845) was the minister in Petersham from 1801 to 1817. Mabel Cook Coolidge, *The History of Petersham Massachusetts* (Petersham: Petersham Historical Society, Inc., 1948), p. 222.

4. George T. Chapman (1786-1872) was a student at Dartmouth College. George T. Chapman, *Sketches of the Alumni of Dartmouth College* (Cambridge, Mass.: Riverside Press, 1867), pp. 116-17.

5. Eleazar Wheelock (1711-1779) was president of Dartmouth College from 1769 to 1779. He was succeeded by his son John (1754-1817). John Phillips of Exeter, New Hampshire, made many generous donations to the college from 1764 to 1793, when he resigned from the Board of Trustees. Leon Burr Richardson, *History of Dartmouth College*, 2 vols. (Hanover: Dartmouth College Publications, 1932), 1: 39, 224.

Was introduced to Mr. Edward Savage on Oct. 23rd.<sup>6</sup> Painted three portraits while in Lancaster & finished my school Jan. 26th 1804, & returned to College Feb. 25th.

May 27th 1804. I was this day 25 years old, if I mistake not, & what do I know? Slow in the progress of human acquirements. Left College for a while on Nov. 23rd & began school at Lancaster Nov. 27th. On Dec. 24th 1804 went to Boston & saw Macbeth, noticed improvements in digging down Beacon Hill &c. Returned to Lancaster. School increased to 100 scholars. The 2nd of March gave up teaching forever unless from necessity. Returned to College on April 4th 1805. Commencement Aug. 28th. Had my pocket picked of \$14.00 all I had, traced a \$9 bill but the man who spent it at a store had left the county.

Aug. 20th began to take profiles. Aug 31st went to Cornish to paint a stand of colors. On Sept. 6th went to Haverhill where I worked on my machine Physiognotrace, bought a lamp & a new cloth for transparency & began to take Profiles.<sup>7</sup> Back to College on Oct. 19th. On Dec. 30th fastened my door & took stage for New York. Arrived in Hartford the morning of Jan. 2nd 1806, was invited to attend an assembly & bought a pair of pumps & went. The Assembly was conducted with the greatest propriety & I learned some things that might be applied to Balls in Hanover. Found New Haven pleasant, but destitute of that din of business which is always heard in Boston. Went to prayer in the Chapel of the College, & noticed more disorder than we have at Dartmouth. Went to the old Brick Meeting House, saw many pretty ladies, none that deserved to be celebrated for their beauty. Arrived in New Haven the 4th of Jan. & remained till the 6th when I took stage for New York at 5 o'clock a.m. My fellow companion, an Englishman who changed his name for a large estate, & is much

6. Savage was born in Princeton, Mass., a town contiguous to Hubbardston, in 1761. He became a portrait painter, engraver, and museum proprietor. He died in Princeton in 1817. Blake, *History of the Town of Princeton*, 1: 294-97.

7. One of Greenwood's memorandum books records that he was introduced to the physiognotrace by Amos B. Doolittle (1786-1809). This machine projects the sitter's profile onto paper so that the craftsman can cut out or trace the profile.

of an epicure. A handsome Frenchman who appeared to have been an officer, & a blubbering German who could speak both french & english, also a haughty young lad a junior in Cambridge College. These companions were by no means very pleasant, as everything was beneath their notice, which did not imitate European grandeur which *perhaps* they might have seen! Our Englishman who made great pretention of learning, I considered as having been educated under the care of a private instructor, of limited knowledge, & an illiterate mind. The Frenchman from Connecticut was a gentleman of pretty good information & quite agreeable. Arrived in New York on Jan. 7 & secured a lodging place & bought a load of wood! Began drawing & painting with Mr. Edward Savage on Jan. 9th. While there did a great deal of reading, went to the theatre often, saw Othello, Richard III, School for Scandal, Romeo & Juliet, Hamlet. After piece 'All the World a Stage.' Mr. Cooper performed Hamlet with great approbation.<sup>8</sup> On Jan. 20th began to instruct Mr. Savages daughters.<sup>9</sup> Went to a fire & worked at the pump upwards of an hour. 7 or 8 buildings were consumed. Feb. 21st went to the Custom House to see the collection for [of] Academy of Fine Arts.<sup>10</sup> Went with Mr. Savage to see big organ 1000 pipes, largest in the country, built for a Phila. church. On Mar. 6th went to Fort Jay to see Lieut. Estabrook & Olmstead who gave me some points about West Point & met some West Point cadets.

While in New York painted 10 portraits, copy's, among which

8. Thomas Apthorpe Cooper was one of the most popular actors of his era. For information on the New York theater during Greenwood's stay in New York, see George C. Odell, *Annals of the New York Stage*, 15 vols. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1927-45), 2: 251-57.

9. At this time, there were two daughters who might have taken lessons, Charlotte (b. 1796) and Lydia (1798-1852). Blake, *History of the Town of Princeton*, 2: 260-61.

10. The New York Academy of the Fine Arts was founded in 1802 by New York mayor Edward Livingston and others. The Custom House had been Government House and was on the south side of Bowling Green at the foot of Broadway. The collections included plaster casts of classical sculpture including the Apollo Belvedere, the Laocoön, and the Dying Gladiator as well as busts of Homer, Cicero, Alexander, and Cleopatra. Savage became the keeper of the museum in 1803. Mary Bartlett Cowdrey, *American Academy of Fine Arts and American Art Union*, 2 vols. (New York: New-York Historical Society, 1953), 1: 9-14.

was Jefferson, Franklin, John Adams, head of Washington, & Stuarts full length of Washington, Cleopatra & others, besides making a sketch & painting my own likeness. Attended different churches while in N. York.

Left N.Y. on Packet Polly early March 21st & made a quick passage to New Haven arriving at 9 in the evening. Next morning between 4 & 5 took passage in stage & arrived at Dartmouth at 7:30 March 26th. Found my room had not been broken open by taking out a panel &c. April 11th. Had an exhibition of the portraits, & some prints purchased in N.Y. The government of [the] College, their families, & some other ladies called on me at my room to see my pictures, took several profiles of the ladies. Between the time I returned from N.Y. & Commencement Aug. 27th painted 10 portraits, also painted signs, standard of colors, backgammon board &c. & capes for light light [*sic*] infantry. Grand Solar eclipse June 16th 1806. July 16th was an important day with me being my last college examination. At 9 o'clock we went into the Chapel & were examined in the languages, in the afternoon in the Arts & Sciences in general, the class was so happy as to pass an excellent examination, & at 5 o'clock rec'd the entire approbation of the Gov.<sup>11</sup>

Pres. [John] Wheelock addressed the class in a suitable manner. Having now completed my course of collegiate studies, I felt a degree of freedom & independence, of which I had long been deprived. No bell can now imperiously call me up in the morning, nor tutors grin for non attendance. Decided to remain till after commencement, & spent my time painting [and] reading Blackstone, which is the commencement of the study of law.<sup>12</sup> Rec'd with my class the degree of A.B. & was appointed to conduct the procession to & from the meeting house. Aug. 29th was a solemn day, as I took my final leave of some of my best friends. Sept. 13th.

11. John Langdon (1741-1819) was governor of New Hampshire at the time. John N. McClintock, *History of New Hampshire*, (Boston: B. B. Russell, 1888), p. 474.

12. William Blackstone's *Commentaries on the Laws of England* was the classic text for the study of law. Copies of this work were imported from England as well as printed in the United States.



Set out for West Point, spent Sunday in Rutland & next day took stage for Troy & Albany, 35 miles that day, stopped in Manchester & arrived in Bennington on 16th. Visited his excellency the Gov. who treated me very politely, also called on Gov. Robinson being acquainted with his lady.<sup>13</sup> Sept. 17th. Rose early and rode to Troy. Sept. 18th. Took stage for Albany & there took ship for West Point, in the sloop Ontario, proceeded about two miles & run [*sic*] aground where we staid till sometime in the night, made little progress on the 19th, but arrived in Poughkeepsie on the 20th where we went ashore, the wind dying down in the night, proceeded & landed at West Point about noon Sept. 21st. Procured a room & began lessons in drawing & French. Attended the Academy & was also reading Blackstone. On Nov. 9th concluded to go home immediately, & went on board a sloop for New York, on Nov. 11th arrived in N. York & found a New Haven Packet just setting sail. On Nov. 13th, found in the morning we had made ahead only 12 or 15 miles, had 20 or 30 agreeable passengers on board, & arrived in New Haven about 4 o'clock p.m. Nov. 14th. Here five of us chartered an extra stage to bring us on to Hartford where we arrived at midnight. Took stage at 3 o'clock for Tolland where I staid over Sunday & next day took stage through Stafford, Brimfield to Brookfield, hired a coachee & driver there to take me to Hubbardston, for which he charged me \$7.00. Arrived here on Nov. 17th & on Dec. 1st began to teach the Centre School in Westminster & also study law in Mr. Strongs<sup>14</sup> office. Scholars increased to 85 & then to 96. School finished Mar. 4th 1807.

June 9th. Went to Worcester to attend court & became more acquainted with lawyers, clerks, &c. Returned to Westminster June 16th. On June 29th set out on a journey & found a \$2.00 bill in the road, a good omen, if any omen at all, for I deal very little in signs

13. Isaac Tichenor (1754-1838) was governor of Vermont in 1806. Savage also called on the former governor, Moses Robinson, (1742-1813) who served in that position in 1789-90.

14. Solomon Strong (1780-1850), one year younger than Greenwood, graduated from Williams College in 1798 and studied law with his father before starting his own practice in Westminster in 1805. William Sweetzer Heywood, *History of Westminster, Massachusetts* (Lowell, Mass.: Vox Populi Press, 1893), p. 884.

& wonders, except signs of 'goods for sale.' Went to New Ipswich & viewed a cotton yarn factory. 51 lbs of cotton is here made into yarn every day, visited many classmates on my way, & finally reached Hanover for 4th of July. Enjoyed seeing my old friends & left July 6th. When I reached Bradford met a party of friends on their way to the 'White Hills.' July 9th. They persuaded me to join the party for the 'White Mts.' Therefore ordered my horse to pasture, & took passage in one of their carriages, & rode to Bethlehem. July 10th. Proceeded 14 miles in which we found but one house, till we came to Rosebrook.<sup>15</sup> This was the last house on the west side of the mountain, & afforded pretty good accommodation. In the afternoon some went to view the 'notch' & some went fishing as trout was plenty. July 11th. Having procured a guide & provision, blankets &c. together with philosophical instruments which we brought with us, consisting of a Thermometer, two Barometers, one five foot Quadrant, surveyors instruments, tests for minerals, a Telescope, Fireworks &c. we commenced our march through the woods for Mount Washington. The badness of the travelling exceeded all belief, woods were very thick & the wind falls in every direction, rendered it almost impossible to get along. At 7 P.M. we judged we had gone 12 miles & encamped for the night being half way up the Mountain. July 12th. Having proceeded up the Mt. to the farthest vegetation, there tried to prepare our Barometer, but having lost one bottle of mercury failed in the attempt. We had then a mile & a half to climb over crags of rocks before we could reach the Summit. When we arrived at the highest peak we were fatigued & bruised with our journey. Our elevation was such that nothing interrupted our view & with the telescope we could see the Atlantic Ocean on the east & Green Mountains on the west. North & south prospects not so good, on account of a continued chain of mountains. Several observations were taken with instruments, for determining the altitude, latitude, &c. of

15. This house, owned by Eleazar and Hannah Rosebrook, was on the west side of the White Mountains in what is now Fabyan, and was the first accommodation for travelers in the area. Frederick W. Kilbourne, *Chronicles of the White Mountains* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1916), p. 73.

the highest peak. The travelling was very bad going down the Mt. Sun shone right in our faces, & when we got into the region of vegetation again, the heat was very oppressive, & the air was filled with clouds of Mosquitoes, not a drop of water was to be found, in this situation I think I spent two hours as unpleasantly as any part of my life. At length arrived at a brook where we quenched our raging thirst, & proceeded about a mile & encamped for the night. Next day resumed our march, hoping to reach settlement by 9 or 10 o'clock, but with every possible exertion did not arrive till after 1 P.M. when we were exceedingly fatigued. We saw but few wild animals, partridges & squirrels were plenty, moose tracks we frequently saw, & one of the party saw a *Bear*. After dinner I settled our bill at Rosebrooks which including the service of our guide was \$25.00. Set out on our journey homeward & rode 14 miles to Bethlehem. July 14th. Rose early & breakfasted in Concord, & rode on to Haverhill for dinner. Settled our expenses which I had paid as purser. Continued my journey & arrived in Hanover on 15th of July & attended the public examination of the Senior Class.

July 21st. After visiting several classmates returned to Westminster & began to attend to my studies regularly. August 31st Went to Worcester & was in Mr. Blakes office for study.<sup>16</sup> Sept. 4th 1807. Many of the attorneyes were sick with 'Influenza.' Sept. 7th. I was taken with influenza & it has prevailed throughout this part of the country for 3 or 4 weeks. Nov. 1st. Dr. Thompson of Barre preached in Templeton, I found him a very agreeable man.<sup>17</sup>

The year 1807 closed with gloomy prospects to the citizens of the United States, an embargo being just laid & war with Great Britain threatening, & will probably soon commence, with all the horror & calamities to which our defenceless condition exposes us, & all this in consequence of the madness & folly of our present administration, which is past all doubt directed by French in-

16. Francis Blake was born in 1774 and graduated from Harvard College in 1789. He studied law in Lancaster and moved to Worcester in 1802. Isaac Davis, *Reminiscences of Past Members of the Worcester Fire Society* (Worcester: Printed for the Society, 1874), pp. 13-18.

17. Dr. James Thompson (1780-1854) was the minister in Barre at the time. *A Memorial of the One Hundredth Anniversary of the . . . Town of Barre*, (Cambridge, Mass.: John Wilson & Son, 1875), p. 265.

fluence. Thus we see the last Republican Government with rapid strides approaching Destruction.

## 1808

On Jan. 7th 1808 bought land in Westminster to build a house, office, & barn on.<sup>18</sup> Feb. 25th. Left Westminster for Boston where I remained till April 27th painting. While there painted 12 portraits. On June [15] while in Worcester, was called before I was up in the morning to go to Sterling to take a likeness of Major Blood's son, who was drowned, a very difficult thing to do as I had never seen him alive.<sup>19</sup> July 5th. On Monday took stage with Mr. Strong for Barre, breakfasted at Templeton and arrived seasonably. The exercises of the day performed with decency, & the character & number that attended added a splendor to the scene. Muster at Barre on Aug. 29th. Sept. 20th. Violent hail storm, tho' it lasted but a few minutes 4000 squares of glass were broken in Westboro. Oct. 13th. Took an inventory of all my books, which amounted to 167 Vols. & at retail price to \$234.82. Oct. 20th. Went to Templeton to take a likeness & finished it in 2 days, my quickest performance but not the worst!!<sup>20</sup> Oct. 26th. Rode to Westboro to ordination, & dined with the literati &c. Oct. 28th. Went to my brickyard in Gardner & counted between 28 and 29,000 small ones, & 17,500 large ones, found fewer than we expected & concluded to count them again. On Dec. 14th cut 32 profiles. Dec. 31st. Our National concerns are in a deplorable condition. America never saw so gloomy a day since the revolution.

## 1809

Much anxiety expressed in these days about the 5th embargo law, lately passed, it is thought to destroy the peoples rights, & to be

18. The house stands on Academy Street in Westminster. It is featured in a painting by Robert Peckham in the collection of the Westminster Public Library.

19. This portrait is owned by Mr. and Mrs. David Greenwood of Millbrook, New York. Charles Blood was the son of Major Thomas H. and Mary Blood. He died at the age of ten.

20. Miss P. Kendall. *A List of Portraits painted by Ethan Allen Greenwood* (Worcester: American Antiquarian Society, 1947; hereafter cited as *List of Portraits*), p. 8.

unconstitutional. I presented the Female Westminster Social Library Co. with books to the amount of 12 or 13 dollars, for their use as long as they continue a Library Co.

Feb. 9th. Had town meeting for petitioning the legislature to redress our grievances, by doing all in their power to have the embargo raised. The early part of 1809 was busy superintending the building of my house, furnishing materials &c. in June it seemed as if I could make nothing go right, men contrary & as lazy as they are contrary, & I am determined that when a man will not follow my directions, whether he works by job, or hire, he shall quit my services.

June 10th. A glorious day for America. The vexatious restriction on whose trade being this day removed, & Jefferson measures like himself passing rapidly into oblivion.

Of late there has been much speculation on Banks, & it has become dangerous to keep a bill over night, lest the Bank should be cried down in the morning. On Aug. 19th having made all arrangements with my workmen set off for Dartmouth Coll. commencement. Aug. 23rd. Had breakfast with the President. At 10 o'clock was appointed Marshal of the day, & formed & conducted the procession to the meeting house, & rec'd the degree of A.M. myself, for which I paid \$5.00. In the eve attended a splendid ball. Aug. 28th. Went to Windsor Vt. where I remained till Oct. 6th & painted while there 8 portraits & 5 in Rockingham. My friends treated me with great civility. The people of Windsor like all others have their peculiarities, for instance, offer your hand to a gentleman, & he will present you three fingers, the fore finger & thumb being always occupied with a large pinch of snuff. Dec. 31st. I have studied less than last year, yet I trust I have not been idle, my health required more exercise & less study, my leisure hours have been generally employed about my buildings.

## 1810

Jan. 18th. 1810. The weather for several days has been very remarkable, more like April than Jan. The next day the 19th the N.W.

wind so high as to endanger buldings. Staging about my house blown down, & nearly a thousand  $\frac{1}{2}$  inch boards blown away & shivered to pieces. The oldest men cannot recollect such a sudden change. Mar. 20th. Spotted fever prevailing in Barre. Apr. 17th. Set out to attend Supreme Court in Worcester & returned on Apr. 21st. On April 27th we set out about my house & by the wall down the hill about 30 rock maples & 6 lombardy poplars. May 30th. Election day. Democracy again assumes the reins of government of this commonwealth. June 11th. Went to Worcester to attend court & returned on the 17th. June 26th. Went to Templeton to raising of the meeting house, great collection of people. July 2nd. Set off for Boston on horseback. July 4th. Anniversary of American Independence was celebrated in Boston with unusual splendor by firing, ringing bells, oration, music procession, illuminations, & fireworks. To attend, hear & see as much as possible took up the whole day & evening. Returned to Westminster on July 9th. Mr. Savage called on me on Aug. 4th.<sup>21</sup> On Sept. 6th went to Worcester to attend court & paid county Treasurer \$20.00 admission fee. Attended court & immediately after opening in the afternoon I was admitted an attorney at court of Common Pleas, & took the oath by law prescribed. On Oct. 25th sold my house & office with the land. Thus have I parted with that beautiful situation!! Dec. 31st Thus ends the year 1810 in which I have done less good than I ought to have done. Tho' I am not so pleasantly situated in pecuniary matters yet my spirit is unbroken, & my distant prospects good.

## 1811

Feb. 3rd. Laid gold leaf on two signs. Feb. 5th. Sized & painted 14 pieces of canvas, snow during first week in Feb. was nearly 26 inches. April 13th. Split my palette and made another. April 27th. Finding that the town of G[erry] with all her pride & ostentatious splendor, was too poor to afford any employment to a portrait painter, I concluded to try some other place. May 6th. Peach &

21. Savage had returned to Massachusetts sometime in 1810, the last year his name appears in the New York City directories.

cherry trees in full bloom. May 13th. Went to church in Billerica, the people, particularly some of the female people looked very well. May 15th. Engaged to paint Esq. Locke & wife spent time very pleasantly while I visited in his family.<sup>22</sup> May 27th. My birthday. How swiftly time passes! I've done little in the world yet!! June 24th. Attended the celebration of St. John at Pawtucket Falls. July 12th. Rode to Andover to call on my old classmate Joe K—took a 'shine' to his sister.<sup>23</sup> Aug. 5th. Worked hard preparing canvasses, stretched 12, sized 18, & painted 14 pieces. Sept. 19th. Went to the dedication of the new Meeting House in Templeton, exercises very good. Ball in the evening. Oct. 10th. Went to Medford to the 'races', had a pleasant ride, saw many people & some amusement. Oct. 18th. Paid Dike \$1.50 for paint when .50 cts was all he ought to have had, but who would quarrel with Dike!! While in Concord Nov. 28 went to a shooting at Turnpike Gates & killed [sic] 3 turkeys. Dec. 31st. The year closes, I have spent this year in painting, traveling, & settling my old affairs. I have painted during the year 66 portraits, some in crayons, & some at reduced prices, on account of the extreme scarcity of money & other causes. Our political affairs are worse than ever, all business is paralyzed, money is extremely scarce, & the ruling party seems determined to plunge the Nation in a ruinous, unjust, & impolitic war. When this system of madness will end God only knows. As the times are I am content, & feel confident that I have done much better than to have commenced the practice of Law.

## 1812

Jan. 2nd. Being snowed in at Royston began a likeness & finished it next day.<sup>24</sup> Did this gratuitously to avoid idleness, it was pro-

22. Probably Joseph Locke (1772-1841), a Dartmouth College graduate (class of 1797) and lawyer. By 1811 he had married Lydia Goodwin of Plymouth and had five children. Henry A. Hazen, *History of Billerica, Massachusetts* (Boston: A. Williams & Co., 1883), p. 92.

23. Joseph Kittredge (1783-1843) was a physician in Andover. Chapman, *Sketches of the Alumni of Dartmouth College*, p. 128. He had three unmarried sisters, Susan (1772-1829), Catherine (1788-1824), and Maria (1792-1873). Mabel T. Kittredge, *The Kittredge Family in America* (Rutland, Vt.: Tuttle Publishing Company, Inc., 1936), pp. 31, 71-73.

24. The subject was Lucy Lee. *List of Portraits*, p. 12.

nounced a good one, tho' painted quick. Jan. 13th. At Ashby bought 3 more clocks at Willards & 5 at Edwards.<sup>25</sup> Feb. 15th. Have worked very diligently & very fast this week, having painted three likenesses, which is rather quicker than I ever painted so many before. Feb. 17th. Agreed to paint a Mr. [Edmund] Foster's likeness for several books, among them Laws of United States 3 Vols. \$10.00 & 5 others total \$22.50. Feb. 18th. This day will be long remembered in the county of Worcester, as the 'dog day,' as it was called, on account of their being about 300 citizens from almost every town in the county sued for suffering their dogs to go uncollared. More than 500 people attended. The Defts. were acquitted, the magistrates had great difficulty to prevent riots, but all dispersed peaceably. Feb. 26. Very busy nailing canvas, grinding paint &c. 27th. Nailed and sized 100 pieces of canvas. 28th painted 100 pieces.

Mar. 4. Agreed with Mr. Whittemore of West Cambridge to paint 10 likenesses in his family for \$150.00. One daughter ill & couldn't sit up in bed but ten minutes at a time, a difficult job. Carried 'Uncle Amos' & 'their portraits' to the Museum, which were highly approved by Mr. Savage & others.<sup>26</sup>

April 20th. Began my first miniature. May 11th. Began Miss W's likeness in such attitude as she chose, next day having changed her mind in the course of the night, as a woman is very liable to do, wished her portrait begun anew, in a different attitude & I accordingly began it again on another canvas.<sup>27</sup> May 27th. My birthday. Alas! how fast time slips away & how little good have I done!! Don't know as I've grown any better, hope I am no worse.

June 28th. Attended service in Park St. Church heard the great, that is large, Dr. Griffin, disappointed in his orating.<sup>28</sup> July 4th. Whilst others thoughtlessly celebrated the birthday of that glori-

25. It is possible that Greenwood was purchasing clocks for later resale.

26. Amos Whittemore was a member of the Whittemore family. In all, Greenwood painted eighteen portraits of members of this family. *List of Portraits*, p. 12.

27. Caroline or Hannah Whittemore. *List of Portraits*, p. 12.

28. Edwin Dorr Griffin (1792-1837) was the minister. William B. Sprague, *Annals of the American Pulpit*, 10 vols. (New York: Robert Carter & Brothers, 1858), 4: 26-39.



ous Independence, which I fear we are rapidly losing, I showed my independence only by staying in my room & painting diligently all day. July 9th. Began my 1st fruit piece. July 10th. Visited the rooms of the great [Gilbert] Stuart, much delighted with his pictures. July 15th. Introduced to Mr. Stuart & met a favorable reception. July 21st. Showed some of my paintings to Stuart & spent the forenoon with him. He approved of my painting more than I expected tho' he pointed out many errors in a friendly way & appears to treat me kindly.

Aug. 20th. National Fast. Attended meeting, the Democrats got a democratic Baptist to preach, but he more wise than they, said nothing about politics. Sept. 2nd. News of Gen. Hull's defeat. Oct. 8th. Went to Muster. 2 regiments met on the Common, 3 companies Artillery & 2 of horse. Oct. 14th. Bought 160 ft. of basswood boards for painting.<sup>29</sup> Dec. 31st. Thus ended the year 1812 in which I have painted about 70 portraits & did but little in Jan., Aug. & Sept.

## 1813

I begin this year with a great burden of debts upon my shoulders, with a great prospect of getting very rich, & a very great chance of very soon not being worth a cent. I have a great determination to be active & persevering & a very great hope that all will end well, my attention now will be strictly given to painting. Jan. 23rd. Hannah<sup>30</sup> disliking some parts of her portrait & thinking the whole too large, agreed to pay me for another if I would begin it anew, according to her directions, so began a new portrait.

Feb. 28th. Began two portraits of Washington. Boxed Mr. Fessenden's portrait & put it on board a Sloop for Portland.<sup>31</sup> Gave

29. Greenwood did paint some portraits on wood panels, including those of Isaiah Thomas and Isaiah Thomas, Jr., in the collections of American Antiquarian Society.

30. Hannah Whittemore. *List of Portraits*, p. 12.

31. Samuel Fessenden (1784-1869) of Fryeburg and later Portland, Maine was a classmate of Greenwood's at Dartmouth and a lawyer. Chapman, *Sketches of the Alumni of Dartmouth College*, p. 126, and *Appleton's Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, s.v. 'Fessenden, Samuel.' 2: 443.

lesson to Miss Hicks. Mar 27th. Visited State Prison & Constitution at Charlestown. This week I've done very little to profit, all immediate engagements seeming to drop off at once. A gloomy prospect indeed. War & Poverty!! Lesson to Miss Goodrich.<sup>32</sup>

May 18th. Began a portrait of 'Wha Shing' a Chinese gentleman. May 25th. Rec'd my Portfolio<sup>33</sup> & bought a book of portrait prints, containing 175. May 27th. This is my birthday, aged 34 yrs. so old & yet so little have I done. May 31st. Began a full length portrait of John Smith a dwarf 18 yrs old.

June 1st. Chesapeake sailed & was captured by the British frigate Shannon. June 12th. Was introduced to Gov. Strong by Rev. Mr. Cushing & Gov. Strong says he will sit for his portrait.<sup>34</sup> June 15th. Bought 14 Vols. of the Portfolio for 1806 inclusive for \$25.00. June 24th. Rec'd works of Sir Joshua Reynolds. June 25th. Spent the evening with Miss Parker at the Mansion house on Beacon St. of the late Gov. Hancock, now Mrs. Scotts, in viewing the very valuable collection of paintings & pictures in that house, was highly gratified & I hope improved by this examination.<sup>35</sup>

July 3rd. Rose at 5 & took stage for Plymouth. Arrived at 2 & commenced a portrait of Mrs. Shaw. July 5th. Began a portrait of Mr. Shaw, he is 79 yrs of age, has great knowledge of antiquities & in many things is very interesting.<sup>36</sup> July 17th. Rose at 3 & sailed about 20 miles in the harbor with Capt. Brewster a fishing, but caught nothing. July 23rd. Made a bargain with Mr. Avery (Book-

32. Probably Sarah Goodridge (1788-1853). She was born in Templeton and apparently received encouragement in her painting from Gilbert Stuart. *The New-York Historical Society Dictionary of Artists in America* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1957, hereafter cited as *Dictionary of Artists*), p. 265.

33. WaShing was a Chinese silk merchant. See Introduction. *The Portfolio* was a literary periodical published in Philadelphia beginning in 1801. After his purchase of back issues in June 1813, Greenwood's file began with New Series, vol. 1 (January 1806). Neal Edgar, *A History and Bibliography of American Magazines 1810-1820*, (Metuchen, N.J.: The Scarecrow Press, 1975), pp. 217-20.

34. *List of Portraits* does not indicate that Governor Strong sat for his portrait at this time.  
35. Dorothy Quincy Hancock Scott (1747-1830) was the widow of John Hancock (1737-1793). After she married Captain James Scott (d. 1809) on July 28, 1796, they resided in the Hancock home on Beacon Street. (Ellen C.D.Q. Woodbury, *Dorothy Quincy Wife of John Hancock* (Washington: Neale Publishing Company, 1901), pp. 221-38.

36. Report of the death of Ichabod Shaw in Plymouth, aged 87. In 1813 he would have been seventy-nine years of age. *Columbian Centinel*, September 1, 1821.

seller) to paint 4 portraits & take my pay in books, amounting to \$100.00<sup>37</sup> July 24th. Prospect of more business variable, sometimes flattered with hope, then dulled with indifference & stupidity.

Aug. 15th. Sailed from Plymouth for Boston at 2 P.M. Evening fine, but at 2 in the morning in Boston Harbor, a thick fog came on near Castle Island, had to anchor till 9, arrived at Navy Yard at 11 & got my lodgings at Province House about 12. Found my room had been unfastened for three weeks, & several articles gone, scattered about the house.

Sept. 3rd. Attended a book auction & bought 50 or 60 Vols. amounting to \$18.18<sup>38</sup> Sept. 8th. Painted a likeness at one sitting of Mr. Harry Gates of Hubbardston, to commemorate the looks of a true Patriot, whose face was distorted by a wound on Bunker Hill. Gave lesson to Miss Reed. Oct. 9th.

Oct. 10th. Taking a likeness of Mr. Hubbard's child who had died that a.m.<sup>39</sup> Oct. 14th. General Muster 3 regiments turned out & 2 battalions. Oct. 15th. Can have 3 rooms in Scollays building for \$120. a year. Concluded on Oct. 25th to take two rooms in Scollays building & to apply myself strictly to painting.

Nov. 7. Awakened about one in the morning by the taking [of] a thief in the house, got up & assisted in calling the Watch & saw him confined. Nov. 15th. Moved into my new rooms at 1 Tremont St. Nov. 19th. At auction & bought about \$10.00 worth of books.<sup>40</sup> Nov. 24th. Bought a season ticket for the Theatre. \$20.00. Nov. 25th. Thanksgiving. Went to Trinity Church to see Capt. Stewart of the Constitution married.<sup>41</sup>

37. Joseph Avery (1799-1822) was a bookseller in Plymouth from 1806 to 1822. His parents lived in Holden and Greenwood painted their portraits in April 1814.

38. Nolen & Gridley advertised an auction of household goods and 100 'Books, among which are Don Quixote, 4 vols; Washington's Letters, 2 vols; Gleaner, 3 vols; Ramsey's Works; Knickerbocker's New York, 2 vols; Smith's Wealth of Nations, 3 vols; Shakespeare's Plays, 16 vols. &c.' *Boston Daily Advertiser*, September 2, 1813.

39. Possibly the child of Samuel Hubbard, a lawyer in Boston. The portrait was painted in Boston. *List of Portraits*, p. 15.

40. Stratton & Gridley advertised an auction of theological and miscellaneous books including works by Plutarch, Rees's Encyclopaedia, the *New-England Biographical Dictionary*, and a variety of French books. *Boston Daily Advertiser*. November 18, 1813.

41. *Dictionary of American Biography*, s.v. 'Stewart, Charles.'

Dec. 11th. Rode to Lexington to paint a portrait of a young lady in feeble health.<sup>42</sup> Dec. 31st. And now another year is gone, I have done but little during the last very short year & yet I have been very diligent in my business. I have painted about 80 portraits in all, 10 of which were for my own collection. I have now got my room & apparatus in good order for painting, & hope to pursue my profession as an artist with more profitable success the year ensuing.

## 1814

There has been a great deal of good news this week. Defeat of the French by the Allies. An Armistice & proposals for Peace between U. S. & Great Britain & strong hopes are again cherished of this abused & injured country's once more seeing days of peace & prosperity. The news wants confirmation. Jan. 14th. Rose & took stage at 3 A.M. for Montpelier Vt. on a business trip, arrived in Boston on return on Jan. 19th. Been absent about 6 days & travelled upwards of 180 miles.<sup>43</sup> Feb. 13th. Sat for Mr. Hancock who wished to take my miniature.<sup>44</sup> Feb. 10th. Attended ordination of Mr. Everett.<sup>45</sup> Feb. 12th. began this day a subscription for the Weekly Messenger & took the first paper.<sup>46</sup> Having trouble with my left eye so am doing very little painting. Went to theatre on Feb. 24th which was held for the accommodation of Mr. Cooper.<sup>47</sup>

Mar. 18th. Got home a pair of Globes that I bought at Auction.

42. This is Mary Anne Swan. While in Lexington he also painted portraits of Col. Monroe, Mrs. Swan, Son Charles Swan, and Mr. Swan. *List of Portraits*, p. 16.

43. Greenwood apparently painted no portraits on this trip.

44. Nathaniel Hancock (1762-1833) was a miniature artist active in Salem, Portsmouth, and Boston from the 1790s to the early 1820s. *Dictionary of Artists*, p. 288. Obituary notice, *Columbian Centinel*, March 27, 1833.

45. Edward Everett (1794-1865) was pastor of the Brattle Street Church (Unitarian) at the age of 20 in 1814. He went on to brilliant careers in literature and politics. *Dictionary of American Biography*, s.v. 'Everett, Edward.'

46. This was a Boston newspaper established in 1811 by James Cutler. Clarence S. Brigham, *History and Bibliography of American Newspapers, 1690-1820*, 2 vols. (Worcester: American Antiquarian Society, 1947), 1: 347-48.

47. Probably the same actor whom Greenwood saw perform in New York in 1806.

March 23rd. Much important news in town concerning the fall of Bonaparte, success of the Allies &c.

April 12th. Bought 8 prints on Auction for \$14.85.<sup>48</sup> April 16th. Took stage for Holden to do some painting & on my return stopped at Westboro & Northboro where I painted some portraits, returning to Boston on May 5th.<sup>49</sup> May 27th. My birthday. How fast the years roll away, how little of good do I perform!!

June 15th. Religious Festival at the Stone Chapel in honor of the victory of the Allies over Bonaparte. June 18th. Anniversary of the declaration of this abominable War. Attended the launch of the new 74 which got stuck & would not go off in honor of such an anniversary. Attended the displays of fireworks & illuminations. Two years this day since I came to Boston to follow painting. June 19th. Another attempt to launch the 74 but she would not move. June 22. Began to take the Boston Advertiser.<sup>50</sup> On June 30th bought the old black fiddle for \$10.00.

July 1st. Went to State House & examined a cane with a spy glass &c. July 4th. Attended the celebration & oration at the Old South. Bought a cane containing a Spy glass for \$15.00. July 7th. Painted on Mr. Rogerson early in the a.m., on Dr. Smith from 12 to 2. Attended a lecture on Geography by Gleason at 4. Went with Dr. Smith to Mr. Tucker's Garden at 6. Called on Dr. Shurtleff & went to Museum in the eve (sample of one day).<sup>51</sup> July 16th. Sold Cleopatra, Alexander of Russia Adams & Jefferson to Mr. Wood of Boston Museum for \$100.00. July 28th. Tornado at 12 which blew down the U.S. great building at Charlestown.

Aug. 18th. Bought a piece of silk for standards. Aug. 24th. Went with a party down the harbor a fishing or rather it should be called

48. Whitwell & Bond advertised an auction of French prints to be held on April 12, 1814. *Columbian Centinel*, April 9, 1814.

49. During this trip Greenwood painted portraits of the Reverend and Mrs. Joseph Avery of Holden. These portraits are owned by the Holden Historical Society.

50. This newspaper was established in 1813 by William W. Clapp. Brigham, *Bibliography of American Newspapers*, 1: 287.

51. Probably Benjamin Shurtleff (1774-1847) a physician whose portrait Greenwood painted in 1815. *Historical Catalogue of Brown University*. (Providence: Brown University, 1905). p. 84.

a 'chowder party.' Called at Fort Warren as I returned. Aug. 27th. Sold the picture of Wha Shing the Chinese to Mr. Wood of the Museum. Aug. 31st. Attended commencement at Cambridge, spent the afternoon at the private entertainments of several graduates at the public Dining Hall.

Sept. 1st. Went with a party up the Canal & dined in Woburn. Sept. 5th. Was this day elected a member of the Ancient & Honorable Artillery Co. & spent the eve. with them in Faneuil Hall.<sup>52</sup> Sept. 10th. The town was in great confusion, people moving out with their effects for fear of invasion. The streets crowded with teams, the Military flocking in from the Country, all looks like approaching combat. Sept. 20th. Worked in the fortification at Noddles Island, very much fatigued. 500 worked this day. Sept. 24th. Gave Clapp & Nichols my last years blue coat to alter for a uniform in the A. & H. Co. & bought of them a pair of small clothes & garters for \$15.00.

Oct. 17th. Rose between 2 & 3 & took stage for Troy. Arrived in Albany about 9 in the eve. on the 18th. Took stage on the 19th for Troy. On the 20th began a portrait of Dr. Eldridge & his wife & on the 21st of his sons Darwin & Charles. Was introduced to Dr. Le Baron in Albany who requested me to embrace the first opportunity to paint for him the portraits of his Father & Mother in Plymouth. There is great attention paid to religion in Troy by most of the people who are very pious & sincere. Attended Church & in the eve. We had a baptist itinerant preacher who presented Zeal without knowledge. Left for New York by steamboat from Albany on Nov. 12th. I arrived on the 13th & took lodgings with Mr. Betts on Wall St. On Nov. 20th left N.Y. in sloop Randolph for New Haven. Had fine passage a little less than 12 hours. 20 miles west of N. Haven saw a sloop dismasted, one man only in sight & he waved his hat as a signal of distress, but our barbarous Captain could not be persuaded to go to his relief. Took stage to

52. The Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company was founded in 1638 as The Military Company to defend the colony. During the War of 1812 it was active as militia. More recently it has become more of a social organization. Zachariah G. Whitman, *The History of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company* (Boston: John H. Eastburn, 1842).

Hartford & then stage to Providence. Had three young men in the stage, two of whom were rather stupid & the other possessed as much upstart impudence & impertinent ignorance as ever I met with. Had a pleasant young lady part of the way. Arrived in Boston Nov. 23rd. Nov. 26th. Went to call on a friend & met his cross daughter. He calls her the 'Admiral.' Dec. 17th. Attended in the eve. the Phil Harmonic Society. Dec. 27th. Brought home Mr. Tileston's portrait to alter to his present leanness.

## 1815

Jan. 2nd. Spent most of the day painting Mr. Rice's Mother who had died yesterday, Widow Rachel Rice. Jan. 20th. Put my poorest picture of Washington for sale at Nolens. Jan. 22nd. Put up & arranged prints for sale in lots in my room.

Feb. 1st. Coldest day for many years mercury 16 below which is 10 degrees colder than the cold Friday of Jan. 10th. Feb. 11th. Rec'd 7 frames from Tolman, prepared & gilt by him, but I had furnished the frames cost \$7.00 & 15 books of gold leaf \$10.00.<sup>53</sup> Feb. 13th. About 9 a.m. the town was in the most perfect uproar occasioned by the arrival of the news of Peace by an express in 32 hours from New York, stating that a treaty had been concluded at Ghent, ratified by the Prince Regent, & only waits the ratification of the President & Senate, to put an end to this abominable war!! The citizens were so overjoyed that business was totally suspended for the day & many houses illuminated in the evening. Feb. 21st. A little before daylight the news of the ratification of the treaty arrived, which was immediately announced by the ringing of bells, the shouts of citizens &c. Great preparations were made through the day for celebrating the Peace tomorrow, Washington's birthday, all of which I am going to leave behind & retire to the Country. Feb. 21st. Attended auction sale of prints at the exchange & bought \$30.00 worth.<sup>54</sup> Feb. 22nd. Rose at 4 & took stage for Westminster

53. William Tolman was listed at 53 Newbury Street in *The Boston Directory* (Boston: E. Cotton, 1813), p. 245.

54. T. K. Jones & Co. advertised an auction of 1000 'Elegant Prints,' imported from France. *Boston Daily Advertiser*, February 18, 1815.

to attend the ordination, met many friends & spent an hour with the clergy.

March 8th. Went to Princeton to Mr. Savage's, was entertained in viewing Mr. Savage's works, his great panharmonic &c.<sup>55</sup> Mar. 13th. Took stage for Boston at 9 o'clock & arrived at Concord at 9 at night, being all we could do on account of the mud. 14th. Took stage & arrived in Boston at 11 o'clock, & found my room in the same disorder in which I had left it.

April 3rd. Town meeting for Gov. Federalists very remiss. April 7th. Bought a chapeau, a plume &c. & got ready my uniform, in the afternoon turned out in full dress uniform with the Ancient & Honorable Artillery. April 30th. During the last week such news has been rec'd from France as renders it certain that Bonaparte is again on the throne of France.

May 9th. Went to see the 'Landing of the Fathers.'<sup>56</sup> May 10th. Called on Mr. Savage at the Museum. May 14th. Walked down Long Wharf, saw the alterations & improvements which are commenced. May 27th. This is my birthday. How fast I grow old & how slow I grow wise!! May 30th. Painted on Gov. Strong. Gov. Jones, Lt. Gov. Phillips & Gen Cobb called on me. Gov. Jones of R. I. agreed to sit for a portrait & I began a portrait of him at 6 in the a.m. on May 31st.<sup>57</sup> Also a portrait of Rev. Mr. Thompson of Barre.

June 5th. Artillery Election. Prepared myself, met the company at Faneuil Hall at 9 o'clock & thence to the State House, 1st church & back to the Hall to dine. June 6th. Went to see the 'View

55. The panharmonic was a 'form of pinned barrel-operated pipe organ with percussion devices.' (Fred Dahlinger, Jr., to editor, October 6, 1988). There were at least two that Greenwood knew, Edward Savage's and one built by William Goodrich advertised in 1823.

56. An advertisement in the *Colombian Centinel*, May 3, 1815, noted that this painting by Henry Sargent would shortly be shipped to New York. The artist donated the painting to the Pilgrim Society in 1824. Peter J. Gomes, *The Pilgrim Society, 1820-1970* (Plymouth: Nimrod Press, 1971), pp. 10-11.

57. Caleb Strong (1745-1819) was governor of Massachusetts from 1800 to 1807 and 1812 to 1816. William Jones (1753-1822) was governor of Rhode Island from 1811 to 1817. William Phillips was lieutenant-governor of Massachusetts from 1812 to 1823. David Cobb (1748-1830) was an officer in the American Revolution who, as a resident of Maine, was active politically in Boston in the early 1800s. *Dictionary of American Biography*, s.v. 'Strong, Caleb,' 'Jones, William,' 'Phillips, William,' 'Cobb, David.'





of Constantinople.<sup>58</sup> June 14th. Began a portrait of Dr. Jeffries for my collection.<sup>59</sup> June 18th. Anniversary of the declaration of the War. June 21st. Saw the elegant Panorama of Paris. June 22nd. Went to see the young tigers at the Museum.<sup>60</sup>

July 29th. This week has been principally devoted to exhibiting the dying Hercules.<sup>61</sup> Aug. 6. Began a copy of the dying Hercules & worked very hard on it. Aug. 24th. Went to visit Miss L. Smith at Milton was very highly gratified in viewing Miss Smith's elegant paintings as well as her good sense & elegant manner.<sup>62</sup>

Sept. 5th. Bought two old segar boxes & had the boards of them planed for small portraits. Sept. 6. Grained 20 panels for painting.<sup>63</sup> Sept. 23rd. Rainy in the a.m. At 10 a.m. faired off, the wind then rose to a perfect hurricane. Shingles, slates, railings & sometimes roofs of buildings were shivered & flying about the streets, so that it was dangerous to pass. The gale continued till 3 P.M. Immense damage was done to buildings, shipping, trees fences &c. In short it was a day of terror & desolation which can only be conceived of by those who witnessed it. The impression it made

58. 'A panorama View of the great City of Constantinople, which appears like reality,' was advertised as on display at the Museum in Boylston Hall. *Columbian Centinel*, May 3, 1815.

59. John Jeffries (1744/5-1819) was a renowned scientist and physician of Boston. *Dictionary of American Biography*, s.v. 'Jeffries, John.'

60. Exhibited in the Circus, Charlestown, 'The painting is one hundred and fifty feet in length by eighteen feet high, and cost in London between three and four thousand guineas. It embraces a view of all the Public Edifices, Squares, Gardens, Bridges, Palaces, Churches, Theatres, the Seine [*sic*], Pleasure Barges, Bathing Houses, &c. and all that delightful country which surrounds Paris.' *Columbian Centinel*, June 3, 1815. Edward Savage had obtained two young tigers for his museum from the crew of the *Constitution*. 'Their playfulness, together with the brilliant hues of their skins, make them the most interesting animals which were ever shown to the public.' *Columbian Centinel*, June 28, 1815. The American Antiquarian Society has an illustrated broadside advertising the display of the tigers in Worcester in January 1816.

61. This was the famous painting by Samuel F. B. Morse (1791-1872) that won favorable attention when it was displayed in the 1813 spring exhibition at the Royal Academy in London. A lengthy advertisement notes that the public could see it at 'Greenwood's Painting Room, No. 1, Tremont-Street.' *Boston Daily Advertiser*, July 25, 1815. The copy is included in *List of Portraits*, p. 19.

62. Lydia Smith Russell was the daughter of Barney Smith, who purchased the former Governor Hutchinson estate in Milton in 1812 from Patrick Jeffrey. She in turn acquired the estate from her father and lived there until her death in 1859. *The History of Milton, Mass. 1640 to 1887*, ed. Albert K. Teele, (Boston: Rockwell & Churchill, 1887), pp. 139-40.

63. The portrait of Isaiah Thomas at the American Antiquarian Society was grained to simulate canvas.

on the mind of man can only be forgotten with life. Therefore I shall not attempt any description of it.<sup>64</sup> Sept. 24th. Walked round town to view the havoc of the gale. Many of the fine trees of the Common & Mall were blown down, some of which had stood for years. Sept. 30. Sent a standard as a present to the militia of Hubbardston.

Oct. 1st. Evening at Mr. Dow's. My picture of Mr. Dow together with both of Coles paintings had been there for several days under the ordeal of criticism & mine had gained the preference.<sup>65</sup> I was glad of this for I was reluctant of putting myself in trial with Coles, but as it was a plan of his own, I had no objection to beating him.<sup>66</sup> Oct. 2nd. Began & completely painted the head of a Mr. R— at one sitting 3 hours 20 min.<sup>67</sup> Oct. 3rd. Called on Mr. Scott & borrowed the portrait of Gov. Hancock & began to copy it. Applied for the great buttonwood log in the mall & it was granted to me. Tried to get the log sawed off in the Mall but the men couldn't be spared. Finally procured a team & had it carried to the mill in Charlestown. Oct. 12th. In the eve went to see Potter Ventriloquist performance.<sup>68</sup> Oct. 20th. Went to Dr. Morse & was introduced to his son who painted the dying Hercules & had just returned from Europe.<sup>69</sup> Oct. 23rd. Attended the Anniversary of the Am. Antiquarian Society with the A. & H. Artillery.<sup>70</sup> Oct.

64. Conditions in Boston would have been similar to those in Providence. The storm was of such interest that James Kidder produced a folio aquatint, *A Representation of the Great Storm in Providence, Sept. 23rd, 1815*. The print was published in Boston by D. Bowen and J. Kidder on October 8, 1816.

65. Josiah Dow was the subject of this portrait. *List of Portraits*, p. 19.

66. This was probably John Cole, Jr., (1776–1854), a portrait, miniature, and heraldic painter listed in the Boston city directories from 1803 to 1825. *Dictionary of Artists*, p. 139.

67. Mr. Reed. *List of Portraits*, p. 19.

68. Richard Potter gave several performances at the Columbian Museum, offering 'upwards of one hundred curious, but mysterious experiments.' *Columbian Centinel*, October 10, 1815. Ricky Jay believes that Potter, a mulatto, was 'the first native-born American magician to become a prominent performer in his country.' *Many Mysteries Unravelled* (Worcester: American Antiquarian Society, 1990), p. [14].

69. Jedidiah Morse (1761–1826) was a Congregational clergyman and founder of the Park Street Church in 1809. His eldest son was Samuel Finley Breese Morse who had studied in Europe from 1811 to 1815. *Dictionary of American Biography*, s.v. 'Morse, Jedidiah.'

70. The Society met at the Exchange Coffee House at 10 a.m. William Paine gave an address at 3 p.m. in the Stone Chapel that was open to the public. *Columbian Centinel*, October 23, 1815.

27th. Applied to the Gov. & Council for the portraits of the old Governors to copy, granted & an order on the keeper given me. Oct. 28th. Got the portraits of Gov. Winthrop & Bradstreet from the State House to copy.<sup>71</sup>

Nov. 6th. Mr. James of Barre called on me with young ladies, engaged me to paint Miss Granger's portrait.<sup>72</sup> Nov. 27th. Exhibition of ancient paintings in my room.<sup>73</sup> Dec. 9th. Began a portrait of the late Rev. John Murr[a]y to be placed in the Universal Church.<sup>74</sup> Mr. Stuart & others called, but the Italian paintings do not excite much attention. Dec. 19th. Packed up my things & went on board the Schooner 'Ann' for Plymouth, had fine passage. Dec. 21st. The measles prevailed in about every family in Plymouth, which convinced me that I should do no painting. Dec. 22nd. This day is the 198th Anniversary of the landing of the Pilgrims. The day was celebrated by a large concourse of people. The discourse by Rev. Mr. Flint of Bridgewater was excellent.<sup>75</sup> I partook with them of a public dinner & ball, which closed the festive rejoicings on the occasion. Disappointed of business & of a passage by water, sought to return by land, heard of a horse & sulkey for Boston which I procured & arrived at my room before 9 o'clock P.M.

## 1816

Began head of Rev. Mr. Murr[a]y on smaller scale they deciding to hang it in the Vestry, instead of the church. Jan. 8th. Sale of

71. This practice was not uncommon. The American Antiquarian Society has copies of several portraits in the State House that were commissioned by William Bentley of Salem about the same time.

72. Miss Ranger. *List of Portraits*, p. 19.

73. An advertisement notes that 'This collection of ancient Italian paintings, many of which are from the first masters' was brought to Boston by a Mr. Audebert from Rome. *Boston Daily Advertiser*, November 28, 1815.

74. John Murray (1741-1815) was the founder of Universalism in America and served as the pastor of the Universalist Society in Boston. *Dictionary of American Biography*, s.v. 'Murray, John.'

75. James Flynt, *A Discourse Delivered at Plymouth, December 22, 1815 at the Anniversary Commemoration of the First Landing of our Ancestors* (Boston: Lincoln & Edmands for Joseph Avery of Plymouth, 1816).

Italian paintings in my large room.<sup>76</sup> Jan. 30th. Bought some statuary selected in London by a Mr. Wheeler.

Feb. 12th. Rose at 1 a.m. & took stage for Westminster where I arrived before 12. Feb. 15th. Thermometer 12 below. Returned to Boston on March 9th, 14 passengers in the coach part of the way, very unpleasant journey very rough & jammed & bruised, without the power of changing position. March 25th. Engaged a woman to wash my rooms.

April 4th. Fast Day. Went to meeting all day to hear Mr. Holley, who was very eloquent having for his subject a comparison of the improvements & institutions of our forefathers with those of the present day.<sup>77</sup> April 20th. Carried Gov. Winthrop and Bradstreet to State House & got Gov. Leverett. April 25th. Mr. Farmer of Barre called on me. I carried the embroidered 'Washington Family' painted by Miss Goodrich to Mr. Dows store.<sup>78</sup>

May 1st. Began copies of Gov. Endicott & Leverett. May 3rd. Went with 'Board of Health' to Rainsford Island, went in a Hingham Packet the party was large, the weather fine, & the entertainment suited to the occasion. May 11th. Borrowed of Mrs. Scott the portrait of S. Adams. May 16th. Went to Fort Independence & painted the portraits of Col. Tunson & wife.

June 2nd. Attended meeting with Rev. Mr. Thompson. June 3rd. Artillery Election. Gov. Brooks was escorted into town as Gov. of the Commonwealth by a large Calvacade. He appeared in full uniform. I joined the A. & H. Artillery for the duties of the day. Everything was performed in the most splendid manner & the most numerous & respectable assemblage that was ever known

76. 'A quantity of ancient and valuable Paintings, which have been exhibited at Mr. Greenwood's Painting Room, . . . some of which are very valuable, and of the most celebrated artists of antiquity.' *Boston Daily Advertiser*, January, 3, 1816.

77. Horace Holley (1781-1827) of the Hollis Street Church in Boston.

78. *The Boston Directory* (Boston: E. Cotton, 1816) lists a Benjamin Dow, drygoods, 56 Cornhill, and Asa Dow, drygoods, 1 Cornhill Square. It also might have been the Josiah Dow whom Greenwood had painted a year earlier. Embroideries after popular prints, in this case probably the Edward Savage engraving his own painting, were commonly made by young women. In this instance, Sarah or Eliza Goodridge might have painted the heads in *The Washington Family* for someone else. For an example of such an embroidery, see Betty Ring, 'Needlework Pictures at Bassett Hall,' *Antiques* 121 (February 1982): 479.

on such an occasion. June 25th. The weather has been cold & in some places a frost. June 23rd. Mercury at 102.

July 3rd. Bought a model of a 74 gun ship for \$20.00 made by a prisoner. July 18th. Went to the Female Asylum, this was an interesting scene. 52 female children snatched from the most miserable situation are here fed, taught, clothed & happy. I shall visit this institution often. [Aug.] 1st. Began a portrait of Mr. Burke a celebrated singer.<sup>79</sup> Aug. 3rd. Mr. Jewett a painter from Kentucky called on me.<sup>80</sup> Aug. 13. Began a portrait of Major McDonald of Kentucky in full uniform & epaulettes.<sup>81</sup> Aug. 21st. My rooms much frequented of late & my business as much as I can attend to. Aug. 22nd. Took tea and spent the eve. at Miss Paine's on Milk St.

Sept. 4th. Attended a sale of French books & bought a few. Sept. 6th. Went with Mr. Taylor of Phila. to visit 'Old President Adams.' Found him in excellent health & spirits. Sept. 8th. Went to meeting at College; young Ware preached.<sup>82</sup> Sept. 9th. Began a portrait of Gov. Burnett taken from the State House. Began a portrait of Day Francis the great Emperor of the Conjurors, is very intelligent.

Nov. 18th. Attended a book auction & bought 58 Vols. of Clark's travels, \$14.73.

Dec. 18th. Went to auction a little, & elsewhere a little, & thus I litted away the day. Dec. 31st. During this year I have worked with great diligence in my business & though I was unable by illness to do much till May or June I have since had full employ & painted a great number of pictures. Several I have painted for my own collection & several I shall lose the payment of through the

79. The *Columbian Centinel*, July 17, 1816, carried an advertisement that Mrs. Burke was to perform at Vauxhall, Washington Gardens, for four nights beginning July 17, 1816. Mr. Burke first appeared on July 29.

80. This may have been William Jewett (1792-1874) a portrait painter who studied in New York City from 1812 to 1818. *Dictionary of Artists*, p. 350.

81. William McDonald became a major on April 29, 1816. Francis B. Heitman, *Historical Register and Dictionary of the United States Army* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1903) p. 663.

82. Henry Ware, Jr., (1794-1843) graduated from Harvard in 1812 and began to preach in July 1815. He was ordained in the Second Church, Boston, on January 1, 1817. Sprague, *Annals*, 8: 472-84.

inability or wilfulness of my employers. Compared with other painters, I have had my full share of patronage.

## 1817

Jan. 1st. Attended part of the ordination of Mr. [Henry] Ware.  
Jan. 2nd. Went to a party at Genl. [Henry] Dearborn's in Roxbury, gentlemen of the A. & H. Artillery. Jan. 8th. Was asked to paint a likeness of a whale which had arrived in town for exhibition. Jan. 15th. Attended meeting of Selectmen made my request to them to let me the old State House. Jan. 25th. Called on R. B. Jones & paid her a pair of gloves, which she won of me long ago about the Peace. Jan. 27th. Became discouraged of having the old State House, everything went wrong. Gave a pair of shoes to C. P. instead of going to the theatre. Began to paint 4 angels (images) for Mr. Bell. Jan 30. Had a fracas with a hackman who carried off one of my signboards, pretending that he found it when it was only set out to dry.

Feb. 4th. Began to prepare to take a journey southward. The boy who has been living with me for several months left me yesterday having an opportunity to tend a store in the country. I gave him a new hat, shoes, books &c. Feb. 6th. Rode out to Newton saw the unfortunate Lucy W. who has been sick 51 yrs. A cousin of my Father's. Feb. 9th. Set out in the stage for Providence, the river was entirely frozen over & no possibility of getting a water passage, so took stage for New London & riding all night arrived at 6 A.M. Feb. 10th. Understood a packet would sail, soon, but had to wait for a fair wind. Feb. 11th. Wind still obstinate, waited with as much patience as I could. Feb. 12th. Wind still S. W. Feb. 13th. Was very uneasy by being thus detained on my journey. On the 14th Rose early & took stage for New Haven, the wind blowing a gale. In crossing the Connecticut River the passengers suffered much, some their hands, & some their ears frozen, we had to go some distance up the river on the ice & then with difficulty got across. The stages were bad, the taverns poor & full of people

drinking whiskey. Feb. 15th. Last night the coldest for years, mercury 14 below 0. Took stage for New York, & on the way experienced all the rascally treatment, which a gang of 'Stage Proprietors' could inflict to sponge money from unfortunate travellers. After many unnecessary delays, they set us down in the evening 16 miles short of New York, without further conveyance, at a tavern without beds, the landlord drunk &c. In about an hour we hired a driver at an extra expense who after a tedious drive landed us at New York at 2 in the a.m. Obtained for the night a little bunk of a bed & next a.m. took lodgings with Mr. Betts on Wall St. Feb. 17th. Spent the day calling on friends, delivering letters &c. & at Academy of Arts & in the eve at the Theatre. Feb. 18th. Went to Elizabeth. 19th. Rose early, breakfast at Brunswick, stopped a few minutes at Princeton College, dined at Trenton, & arrived in Philadelphia a little before sunset, very pleasant trip this day, through a fine country. Feb. 20th. Called on several friends & was given letters of introduction to several gentlemen in Washington. From New York to Phila. was in company with Genl. Miller, & Abbie Waldo of Windsor, Vt., was in the same stage, having lately married a Spaniard, with whom she was going away. Banks began to pay specie. Feb. 21st. Took stage for Baltimore, country fine for some distance but as soon as we came within the limits of Delaware & Maryland, where slaves perform the labor, the misery & stupidity of the inhabitants was to be seen on all sides. The land of weak soil was miserably cultivated & the buildings show the ignorance & total want of taste in the inhabitants. Feb. 22nd. Rode into Baltimore & arrived at 3 P.M. Called on Mr. Rice's family where I spent the night. 23rd. Continued my journey to Washington City, saw its desolation & barrenness. 24th. Snow storm & windy, attended the debates in the Senate & House of Representatives. The Capital City is now crowded with company & the people use every means to sponge them of their money. 25th. Attended debates & went to Georgetown. 26th. Attend debates. In the evening attended Mrs. Madison's drawing room with Mrs. Strong & was introduced to Mrs. Madison. She is a noble looking woman & is



very amiable in her manner. The rooms were exceedingly crowded & a constellation of beauty shone forth, in the number & variety of very elegant ladies that were collected on the occasion. 27th. The eather was so uncomfortable that I staid at Georgetown all day. 28th. Visited the Capitol, heard the debates, called on Wood the Miniature Painter & visited Patent Office & National Library.<sup>83</sup>

Mar. 1st. Concluded to leave the seat of Gov't & be on my way home. Completed my visits to all the public places, the Navy yard & Capitol in particular, called on Gen. Harrison, Mr. Wood &c. Left Washington at 6 A.M. & arrived in Baltimore at 5 P.M. Mar. 2nd. 3rd. Spent the day very pleasantly, called on Mr. King<sup>84</sup> & delivered many letters. 4th. Spent the day in examination of works of art, chiefly at Peales Museum & Mr. Kings rooms.<sup>85</sup>

5th. Met with several of my old acquaintances from Boston. During the evening the Penetentiary was partially burned by the prisoners. 6th. Devoted myself diligently to seeing every curious thing. Visited a curious executive genius called 'Sir Francis Guy' an Englishman 'Landskip [*sic*] Painter.'<sup>86</sup> 7th. Took stage at 3 o'clock for Phila. via York & Lancaster, two of my friends & their wives & Rufus King, & also one of my old classmates were of the party. Had a slow but pleasant journey to York. Roads bad. Here a new difficulty presented [itself]. The team from York to Lancaster would little more than draw the empty carriage, the night was uncommonly dark & the roads dreadful. We stuck even in the streets of York. I walked at that time of night 3 miles out of 4, which we were 6 hours in performing, having got several times stuck in the mud. From Columbia to Lancaster we were carried very quick, having got a good team & the moon being up we

83. Joseph Wood (ca. 1778-1830) was a miniature and portrait painter. He worked with John Wesley Jarvis from 1802 to 1810 in New York. He moved to Philadelphia about 1813 and to Washington about 1816. *Dictionary of Artists*, p. 699.

84. Probably Charles Bird King (1785-1862) a portrait painter active in Philadelphia and Baltimore at this time. *Dictionary of Artists*, p. 370.

85. Rembrandt Peale (1778-1860) operated a museum in Baltimore from 1797 to 1802 and again for many years from 1814. *Dictionary of Artists*, p. 493.

86. Francis Guy (ca. 1760-1820) emigrated from England to America in 1795 and established a silk dying plant. He moved shortly to Philadelphia and then to Baltimore where he began a new career as a landscape painter. *Dictionary of Artists*, p. 280.

arrived before 3 in the A.M. I staid at Lancaster. This is the largest inland town in Penn. but I was disappointed in its appearance, the inhabitants are principally Dutch & while they keep their doorsteps & their houses very clean, yet there is a want of elegance in everything, no taste in buildings, dress, or manner. 9th. Took stage for Phila. & arrived at sunset & I took lodgings at 212 Chestnut St. 10th. Went to the Museum<sup>87</sup> besides calling on friends. 11th. Visited the Museum, Vanderlins<sup>88</sup> [*sic*] exhibition & the Hospital, evening attended at Lodge at Mason's Hall. 12th. Spent the day chiefly in visiting the various exhibitions in the City & in the eve went to the Theatre.<sup>89</sup> 13th. Was spent in calling on friends. 14th. Violent snow storm, went to a few places & delivered my letter to Rev. James Taylor & took tea with him. 16th. Sunday. Went to meeting at the Dutch Church where not a word of English was spoken. 17th. Called on Mr. James Rice formerly of Princeton [Mass.] Mr. Taylor very politely took me to the Mint & the Atheneum & got me a letter to the Type Foundry. Evening at Theatre. 19th. Examined Bookstores & Print Shops. Gilding frames I found much cheaper than in Boston & engaged some to be done. 20th. Took a long walk with Gen. Hunt, proceeded to the new water works on the Schuylkill. Here is the most powerful steam engine in the U.S. The water is raised 105 feet into an artificial pond, which externally resembles a Fort, from which it passes off to the city in five large aqueducts [*sic*.] In the afternoon purchased some paints & other notions & in the eve attended a concert at Washington Hall. 21st. Took stage for New York. We had not gone more than 2 miles

87. An advertisement for Peale's Museum lists a model of a seventy-four-gun ship, a hand of an Egyptian mummy, the sanctorian balance or weighing chair, and new portraits of Gen. Gaines, Maj. Gen. Brown, Capt. James Biddle, Isaiah Lukens, and Jacob Perkins, all by Peale. *Aurora General Advertiser*, March 3, 1817.

88. John Vanderlyn (1775-1852) returned from thirteen years abroad in 1815. He had originally gone to Europe to collect busts for the Academy of Fine Arts (which Greenwood visited in 1806), but he remained to study and paint. On his return to New York he was celebrated for the success of his painting, *Marius Amid the Ruins of Carthage* which had won a gold medal from Napoleon. He exhibited his paintings in New York and later in Philadelphia and Boston. Marius Schoonmaker, *John Vanderlyn Artist, 1775-1852* (Kingston, New York: Senate House Association, 1950) pp. 13, 35-39.

89. *The Aethiop; or the Child of the Desert* and *My Landlady's Gown* were playing at the Philadelphia Theatre that night. *Aurora General Advertiser*, March 12, 1817.

before the stage broke down & while the driver was getting it re-fitted at a blacksmith I walked on with a Mr. Grosvenor of N. Y. We tried at 7 taverns before we could obtain a breakfast, dined at Trenton, & staid at Brunswick. Next day to Elizabethtown where we took a steam boat for N. Y. arriving at 2 P.M. & I took lodgings at Mr. Bett's in Wall St. Eve to the Theatre. 24th. Devoted myself to see & examine everything relating to the fine arts & called at a number of Print Shops & Gilders, called on Jarvis the Painter.<sup>90</sup> Called on other Painters. On the 25th I was introduced to Dickinson [the] Miniature Painter.<sup>91</sup> Called again on Vanderlin [*sic*] & had a long talk about the arts. 27th. Called on Miss Way Miniature Painter, went to Fort Columbia on Governors Island.<sup>92</sup> Having taken leave of my friends & the good city of New York, I took passage on the Packet Sloop 'Little Farm' for Providence, arrived safely in Newport & I went over to the Fort to visit Col. Towson & lady & spent the evening pleasantly. Returned to the Packet & arrived in Providence where I took stage for Boston. Arrived on March 31st. Found my room needed 'washing', procured a woman & worked myself in moving & guarding the things from injury, for such a woman will usually spoil more than the amount of work they do.

Apr. 3rd. Got up my tools & paints & painted a little. Discovered a sensible difference in my sight & my hand from having been otherwise employed only so short a time & felt unwilling & unfit to go on finishing a picture. Apr. 4th. The marriage of Miss Lydia Smith to Jon. Russell took place at 12 o'clock in the Stone Chapel & I attended. 5th. Went to Charlestown to call on Penniman who was painting some scenery for the new circus.<sup>93</sup> 7th. Went to town

90. John Wesley Jarvis (1780-1840) was active in New York as a portrait and miniature from 1802 to 1810 and from 1813 until his death. He was described as the 'foremost portrait painter in New York in the first quarter of the nineteenth century.' *Dictionary of Artists*, p. 346.

91. Anson Dickinson (1779-1852) was a miniature painter from Milton, Connecticut, active in New York after 1804. *Dictionary of Artists*, p. 179.

92. Mary Way was a miniature painter and drawing instructor from New London, Connecticut, active in New York from 1811 to 1819. *Dictionary of Artists*, p. 667.

93. John Ritto Penniman (1782-1841) was a portrait and ornamental painter. He lived in Roxbury, just outside of Boston. For further information see Carol Damon Andrews

meeting and gave my vote for Gov. Brooks. 10th. Waited on Miss Hannah Adams to see Bonaparte's pictures, St. Domingo &c. 11th. Evening at the Theatre 'Dickinson Benefit' & last appearance. 17th. Lt. Percival called & took leave of me & sailed for England. 25th. Called at Mrs. Scott's & got a picture of Gen. Warren & began a copy of it.<sup>94</sup> Evening at the new Amphitheatre.<sup>95</sup>

May 5th. Turned out with the A. & H. Artillery & we marched out to Roxbury to Gen'l Dearborn where we dined & Manoeuvred for an hour or two & then marched back into town. 30th. Went to Charlestown & took tea with Mrs. Ware & attended Circus in the eve. 31st. Painted on portrait of Mr. H., the man with the eyebrows!!<sup>96</sup>

June 1st. Artillery election. I devoted myself to the duties of the day, an elegant sword was presented to the Governor. 4th. Called at Mrs. H. & took tea under the smile of Sophia. 11th. Auction of Prints, bought a few. 14th. Mr. Freeman of Barre commenced his studies.

July 2nd. President of U. S. arrived in town. (Munroe) [*sic*] Everybody went to see him. 7th. Grand review of the Brigade by the President.

Oct. 6th. Mr. Vanderlyn of New York arrived in town & called on me concerning exhibiting his pictures. He began a small portrait of me. 13th. Attended to getting Vanderlyn's pictures prepared for the exhibition, went with him to Stuart's. 14th. Went to Brighton to Cattle Show. 15th. Got Vanderlyn pictures ready for exhibition, wrote advertisements & put them in the paper.<sup>97</sup> 18th.

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'John Ritto Penniman (1782-1841), an ingenious New England artist,' *Antiques* 120 (July 1981): 147-70.

94. Joseph Warren (1741-1775) died at the Battle of Bunker Hill. Copley probably painted the portrait that Greenwood was copying; Edward Savage also copied it.

95. An advertisement refers to the Amphitheater as the 'Late Circus, at Charlestown, near Boston.' *Columbian Centinel*, April 26, 1817.

96. Greenwood finished a portrait of Joseph L. Hastings on June 9. *List of Portraits*, p. 22.

97. An advertisement for 'the much admired Pictures of Mr. Vanderlin' indicates that they were exhibited at 13 Cornhill Square with Mr. and Mrs. Duchesne in attendance. 'These superb Paintings have attracted much notice, and given great satisfaction in Paris, New York, and Philadelphia.' *Boston Daily Advertiser*, October 16, 1817.

Called on Ciprianai & purchased some Statuary in plaster. 19th. Vanderlyn painted my picture & then we went out to Stuart's to dine with him, had a remarkably pleasant time. 20th. Mr. V. left the care of his business with me to receive the income, pay the bills &c. & set off in the stage for New York via Worcester. He is very much of a gentleman with rather an air of French manner. He gave me the portrait he painted of me. Began a portrait of Mr. Burns of the Boston Museum on a contract that I should have the Cleopatra which I sold to Wood.

Nov. 10. Bought some more plaster statuary. Nov. 16th. The weather was very hot for the season, dandelions & other flowers of Spring are in bloom like 'May Day.' 17th. Election of Representatives to Congress, great exertion for 'Mason & Ritchie,' Mason gets it. I voted for Mason. Long conversation with Edward Savage about the Museum. 18th. Copied the inventory of Savage's Museum. 19th. Got home box of 6 clocks from Almshouse Wharf, which has been there about 2 years, without my knowledge. 22nd. Went to examine the tools, paints &c. of the late Edward Savage, concluded not to take them at the price offered. 29th. Mr. & Mrs. Duchenere [*sic*] sailed for New York.<sup>98</sup> They gave me the model of a farm house from their West India Plantation. Dec. 11th. Edward Savage called on me & we concluded an arrangement concerning the Museum. 12th. Called on Mr. Stuart & presented him a print of Ariadne from Mr. Vanderlyn. 15th. Paid Allerandri \$10. for a small sleeping Venus in Alabaster. 22nd. Evening at Installation of Columbian Lodge, many ladies there. 30th. Got Vanderlyn's pictures aboard the 'Farmer's Fancy' for Richmond. 31st. A remarkable fine day to close the year. The Common appears green & there is no ice in the vicinity. The year 1817 has been remarkably favorable to mankind. The season was uncommonly fruitful. All nations at peace. The U. States have enjoyed

98. Edward Savage died in Princeton, Massachusetts, on July 6, 1817. He had a son, Edward (1795-1858) with whom Greenwood negotiated. Joseph Duchesne, artist, was listed in the Boston city directories for 1813 and 1816. He and his wife assisted Greenwood in the operation of the New England Museum. Like others, their names are spelled in a variety of ways in the manuscript.

great prosperity. 'Party Spirit' dissolving like mist & general health & plenty reign throughout the country. As to my own affairs in consequence of my absence in Feb. & Mar. and my sickness for more than two months in the summer, I have not accomplished so much in my business as I hoped to have done, but when at home & in health have never dispatched business faster nor made more rapid improvements. Have increased my Library, my collection of paintings, prints, statuary &c. very considerably. If I could now collect what I have due me it would more than pay all that I owe. Patience & Perseverance overcome great difficulties & embarrassments, I have strong hopes that before the close of another year I shall be free from the misery of owing any one.

## 1818

Jan 8th. Stept into Channing's Auction & bought 15 Vols.<sup>99</sup> 11th. Made a catalogue of prints in my large portfolio for New England Museum & Academy of Fine Arts. 15th. Meeting at Wm. Thorntons of several gentlemen to consult in the affairs of Dartmouth College. 19th. Prepared to put in a petition to the Legislature for an Academy of Fine Arts. 23rd. Staid at State House to hear the debate on raising the salary of the Governor.

Feb. 4th. Agreed with Cipriania for Hercules & Alexander for \$5.50. 14th. Sawed some wood for exercise. 18th. Took a lease for 5 years of my new rooms. 24th. In spite of the snow storm set out for Hubbardston. 27th. Turned out in H. to help break roads which was useless for they immediately filled up again, in the afternoon got some jackets & went to Princeton to Mr. Savages.

Mar. 2nd. A heavy rain & thaw, snow that was four feet on a level had settled at least 3 feet; many bridges were overflowed or carried away. Mar. 7th. Started for Boston. Bridges all gone in Lancaster but one. Mar. 16th. Concluded a bargain for the upper

99. This auction was held by Winslow & Channing. There were multiple copies of an 'Ancient Geography and Atlas' as well as works by Lady Montague, Letters of Cicero, Paul and Virginia, etc. *Boston Daily Advertiser*, January 8, 1818.

hall, middle room & garrets for \$450. Borrowed a portrait of Rev. Dr. Lathrop of Mr. Motley. 27th. Mr. Savage in town. Went with him to Boylston Hall to see about the Museum.

Apr. 3rd. Began a portrait of Maj. Maxwell, an old veteran soldier who has been in 26 pitched battles & is now 76 yrs. He has lately travelled to Boston from Detroit on horseback, his faculties are bright & he has not a gray hair. 7th. Capt. Austin arrived. 8th. Went on board Capt. Austin's ship<sup>100</sup> 10th. Attended training of A. & H. Artillery who turned out for 1st field day. Just went out & fired a few times. 11th. Wrote & executed indenture with Edward Savage concerning the Museum & went to Boylston Hall & made arrangements about moving. 13th. Began moving collection of the late Mr. Savage to New England Hall; Employed 5 or 6 men with hand carts with Edward Savage & myself. 15th. Capt. Austin gave me a young Antelope which died in the night. Hired the chambers of 69 Market St. for \$250 for the Gallery of Fine Arts. Assisted Mr. Savage in getting ready for his sale of Prints, put up, number & arrange the articles for sale. 25th. Bought a lot of elegant brushes for \$20.00.

May 2nd. Assisted in various ways at the Museum. Agreed with Adams to set up the clock, Goodrich took the organ to repair & I agreed with Cipriani to make casts of Franklin. 4th. Began to prepare rooms of 69 by taking away the upper floor. 14th. Retailed & stretched the 'Washington Family.'<sup>101</sup> 15th. Goodrich having repaired the organ & brought it back commenced setting it up & tuning it.<sup>102</sup> 23rd. Went with Miss Goodrich to see the Battle of Waterloo.<sup>103</sup> 28th. Drill with cannon, evening with old & new officers at Gen'l Mattrow. I was made 2nd Sargeant.

100. Capt. Austin arrived from Bombay on the ship, *Fawn*. He brought news of an uprising in India. *Boston Daily Advertiser*, April 8, 1818.

101. Edward Savage's famous painting is now at the National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.

102. Ebenezer Goodrich, who died in Boston on May 13, 1841, at the age of fifty-eight, was an organ builder. He became a member of the Ancient & Honorable Artillery Company in 1814. Whitman, *History of the Artillery Company*, p. 386.

103. The panorama was painted by H. A. Barker of London and measured 2,400 square feet in size. It 'represents the moment when he [the Duke of Wellington] directed a general charge to be made on the French columns, which decided the fate of the battle.' The panorama was displayed at Roulstone's Circus. *Boston Daily Advertiser*, April 27, 1818.

June 1st. We performed at Artillery Election in spite of the rain & our uniforms were much injured. 2nd. Began to move. Took furniture &c. to my new rooms 76 Court St. Moved statuary into lower Hall. 6th. Auction sale at my old rooms of books, prints &c.<sup>104</sup> Had a sitting of 65 minutes of Gen'l Mattrow & succeeded in getting a very good sketch of him. He has now gone home probably not to return as he is totally deprived of sight. 13th. Went before a committee of the Council to approve a military petition from Hubbardston at request of Capt. Greenwood. 17th. Rev. J. G. Palfry ordained at Brattle Square.

July 4 1818. In the morning I joined with the Masons & attended the laying of the corner stone of the Mass. Gen'l Hospital, in the evening opened the New England Museum. Thus have we after much labor in arrangement commenced our entertainments on the anniversary of Independence in hopes that it will prove a place of pleasing amusement & gratification to those who visit it & of some profit to the proprietors.<sup>105</sup> July 6th. Had illumination in the eve when we lighted all the windows in the two upper stories. 14th. Negro procession this day.<sup>106</sup> 20th. Painted on signs for Museum & Gallery. 24th. Finished signs for the front & back of the Museum. 26th. Went to meeting at Stone Church on Summer St. 27th. Disappointed of Mrs. Sullivan who wanted a set of teeth, instead of a picture.

Aug. 4th. Mr. J. W. Langdon called & examined the Hall of the Gallery & consented his pictures should for the present be placed therein. I got hand cartmen & with them 3 times, got them moved in hand barrows.<sup>107</sup> 11th. Began to fix the large perspective views. 14th. Worked chiefly on the Cosmorama, on cabinets, & cases &

104. Blake & Cunningham held the auction on Greenwood's behalf at 3 Tremont Street. For sale were 'A great variety of Prints, Patterns for drawing, &c. Bust of Dr. Franklin; Drawing Tables; Port Folios . . .' and 'about 500 volumes of English and French Books.' *Boston Daily Advertiser*, June 6, 1818.

105. Greenwood advertised that 'The New England Museum, No. 76 Court-Street, will be opened this morning, July 4.' *Columbian Centinel*, July 4, 1818.

106. The African Society, formed in 1796, held an annual celebration of the act prohibiting the importation of slaves after January 1, 1808.

107. Langdon was listed as a merchant in the *Boston Directory* for 1810. He resided on Chambers Street.



opened the Gallery to visitors in the eve. 19th. Had great illumination of the whole building, fixed transparencies. Band of music &c. & a large & handsome company attended.<sup>108</sup> 20th. Agreed with Redman for circus.

Sept. 2nd. Had the mammoth Boy on exhibition in the eve. 12th. A large Sun fish having been brought in last night I went & persuaded the fisherman to give it to the Museum. Got a hand cartman to bring it up & had two men to work on the fish. 16th. Dr. Locke's collection of minerals. 18th. Busy fixing cabinet of minerals & the Musical clock. 25th. Looked for glasses to preserve reptiles in spirits.

Oct. 2nd. Began a portrait of Midshipman Green from the 74. 4th. Went to meeting all day at Holley's, his last performance, his eloquence & his sentiments never appeared to more advantage, house full to overflowing.<sup>109</sup> 5th. Turned out with the A. & H. Artillery who called & partook refreshments at my rooms. 6th. Went to view Capt. Dorr's collection from New Holland. 8th. Made sketch of Mr. Wm. Perkins (deceased). 20th. Began a portrait of an old lady 83. Go to her daughter's in Middle St. to do this, she is so feeble can sit in position only a few minutes. 24th. Bought Capt. Dorr's collection from New Holland for \$62.50. 25th. Went to meeting at new Stone Church to hear F. P. Greenwood who was ordained last Wednesday.<sup>110</sup>

Nov. 3rd. Having advertised for an illumination, engaged music &c. for this evening, lighted up & just began to receive company

108. Greenwood noted that 'The Department of the Museum contains a very large and interesting collection of Curiosities, the most rare and difficult to be obtained—including the whole of the immense and very valuable Collection of the late Mr. Savage (formerly called the New York Museum, kept at the Boylston Hall,) together with many additions, amounting in the whole to upwards of Twenty Thousand Articles. . . . The Department of the Gallery of Fine Arts, contains a respectable Collection of Valuable Paintings, (many of which are from the best Masters) Statuary, superior Prints, Busts, Cameos, and Medallions, handsomely arranged in an elegant Hall, with Lobbies, compartments, &c.' He also invited travelers of all types to contribute 'valuable curiosities' to the Museum. *Columbian Centinel*, August 19, 1818.

109. Horace Holley became president of Transylvania University in 1818. *Appleton's Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, s.v. 'Holley, Horace.'

110. Francis William Pitt Greenwood (1797–1843) was ordained on October 21, 1818. Sprague, *Annals*, 8: 485–88.

when the cry of fire & ringing of bells caused general alarm. The Exchange Coffee House was on fire. Put out lights & closed the Museum. By 9 o'clock this immense & elegant building burnt down, all was confusion & consternation.<sup>111</sup> 4th. Nobody did anything but talk about the fire & view the ruins. 6th. Got home two elegant figures bought of Mr. Weller at \$70. 13. 13th. Had the little Dwarf on exhibition afternoon & evening. 17th. Began a portrait of the little Dwarf 'Sally Marietta Snow.'<sup>112</sup> 27th. Went to Barry's & looked at Buffalo skins.

Dec. 3rd. Thanksgiving. Got the Wax figure room ready, illuminated Band & c. 8th. Indian Chiefs attended in the eve. 12th. Lowered cases into the Monkey room. Tore away walls for making iron door. 16th. Agreed for 2 iron doors at 15 cts. a pound. 17th. Attended sale of pictures & paintings & bought 4.<sup>113</sup> 31st. Went to Roulstone exhibition of his riding school. Attended to advertisements for the New Year. The year 1818 has been a happy & prosperous one to America & to the World. The U. States have had no check to the high career of national happiness, or the rapid progress of their advancement. The seasons have been delightful & productive. Commerce, Manufactures & Agriculture have shed their various comforts on the people. Industry has been everywhere crowned with success. In my private concerns I have been very diligent & my labors have been crowned with favorable prospects. The 'New England Museum' & 'Gallery of Fine Arts' have been established under my care & principally by my great exertions. The prospects of their permanent success is now good. The expense has been great but that will it is hoped eventually be found

111. This was a major calamity, as the building housed many commercial offices, a reading room, and the Masonic Hall. It was worth over \$600,000. *Columbian Centinel*, November 7, 1818.

112. 'She is only nine years old—weighs 16 pounds, is uncommonly active and pleasing in manners, she reads, writes, and can speak many pieces, also sew, braid straw, & c; is perfectly well formed and comely.' *Columbian Centinel*, November 28, 1818.

113. The advertisement for an auction held by Blake & Cunningham listed 'A collection of Paintings lately imported from Europe, among them several rich Scripture Pieces, Landscapes, Heads; a variety of handsome Engravings.' A week later, Greenwood advertised 'Two very fine pieces of Statuary from France have lately been added to this rapidly increasing and valuable Establishment, also several excellent Paintings and Prints, the entire Works of Hogarth, with explanations.' *Columbian Centinel*, December 16, 23, 1818.

to have been well appropriated. Have painted nearly 60 portraits tho' some were without pay. I am now well established in business & prospects good.

## 1819

Busy all the month of Jan. painting portraits and working with the carpenters at the Museum changing stairs, making cases, cabinets, pedestals & also putting up Prints, arranging portfolios &c. Evenings at the Museum, Theatre & Gleason lectures.<sup>114</sup> 28th. Wind almost a gale & our front sign was blown down.

Feb. 6th. Got paper &c. for back scenery of Wax figures. 8th. Bought a skin of a calf with 8 legs. Procured some small crockery figures. 11th. Sent invitations to guests & procured articles for my squad, the Cadets met for the 3rd time. 12th. Busy getting ready for my entertainment, had Parsons & Benson for attendants, evening dark & stormy. My invited guests to about 20 came. The fore part of the evening was spent in my room, before supper we took a promenade through the Museum & at 9:30 sat down to table in music room. Enjoyed ourselves remarkably well. Excellent singing by B. Brown Esq. & Capt. J. Dodd. 13th. Sent home furniture & put things in place in my room. 18th. Very little business done in town this day, it being 'Hanging day.' The four pirates were executed, more than 20,000 people witnessed this awful spectacle.<sup>115</sup> 19th. Had some work done in my room on the Physiognatrace, placed coins in the new case, made arrangements to have the Wonderful Dwarf 5 days & nights. Carried manuscripts to printers for advertisements & bills. 22nd. Washington's birthday. Worked hard to get everything ready for eve, had a splendid illumination, with the Wonderful Dwarf.

114. Benjamin Gleason (1777-1847) was a school teacher in Charlestown and the author of a book of lectures on geography published in Boston in 1814 by Munroe & Francis. He also presented lectures to the public in Boston and elsewhere. *The Historical Catalogue of Brown University 1764-1934* (Providence: The University, 1936), p. 104; *Boston Daily Advertiser*, September 11, 1813.

115. John Williams, Francis Frederick, John P. Rog, and Peter Peterson were executed on February 18 for murder and piracy.

March 2nd. Our woodchuck which had laid dormant since Nov. 20th was disturbed by the carpenters, for some time appeared quite stupid but being in a warm room soon became lively & fed as formerly. Mar. 8th. Went to town meeting & voted for selectmen, great pull with the Democrats. 10th. Was called to go to Westford & paint a likeness of Mr. Rob. Thompson (deceased). Also painted portraits of Mrs. T. & her two children & returned to Boston on the 19th. 31st. Arranged with Mr. Tilson who is going to Illinois to send me Buffalo & Elks skins.

April 5th. April meeting, having been appointed a vote distributor I attended to that duty & distributed upwards of 1500 votes. 9th. Turned out with the A. & H. Artillery being first field day of the season. 14th. Went to ordination of Mr. Pierpont.<sup>116</sup> 19th. Concluded with Mrs. Duchene to put up a Dandy & Lady wax figures.

May 1st. Painted on a transparency of Washington. Went to Fairbank's hat factory to fashion a hat for Dandy.<sup>117</sup> May 5th. Went to Roxbury to the funeral of Capt. Calvin Warren. 6th. Went with Miss Abigail Dean to Binour & had moulds of her arms taken for wax figure of the Princess Charlotte. 10th. Got some Indian dresses of Capt. Dorr. 13th. Attended town meeting. Democracy made much strife & noise about the number of Representatives that should be sent. With Binour & began to cast wax arms for Princess Charlotte. 14th. Worked in the Museum fixing wires for suspending lamps. 20th. Went to examine a Camera Obscura. 28th. Began to prepare the Hall for the Clergy, also gave up my room to Mr. Foster. 165 Clergymen dined in the Hall, they expressed themselves highly gratified with the appearance of the Gallery. June 2nd. Medical Society dined in Gallery of Fine Arts. June 7th. Artillery Election, Company turned out full & appeared well. I was engaged with them all day. I resigned my office as Sargeant with great pleasure being very glad to be freed from its duties. 14th. A fellow by the name of Wheeler came without my

<sup>116</sup>. John Pierpont (1785-1866) became the pastor of the Hollis Street Church in 1819.

<sup>117</sup>. There is an entry in *The Boston Directory* (Boston: E. Cotton, 1818) for Gerry Fairbanks & Co., Hatters, 2 Province Row, and 109 Orange St.

knowledge & took down our large Musical Clock. This was very strange. June 28th. Mr. Stuart called upon me in the afternoon.

July 3rd. Had auction sale of books, prints &c.<sup>118</sup> 5 of July. Great National Festival, the public rejoicings were greater than on former occasions. I labored hard in preparing for the evening, hoisted National Flag & put up all our Naval victories in transparency, illuminated, & had the fullest house since opening the Museum. 12th. Bought a hand organ for \$55.00. 14th. Bought a Deer for \$10.00 & took him to Dr. Shurtliff's farm. 22nd. Employed Mr. W to make a new machine for weighing which I have just planned & which I call the 'Pandrometer.' 24th. Went to Central Wharf & got a skin of a reindeer.

Aug. 5th. One Cogswell called & bothered me with his conversation. Suspected him to be a thief & told Jacob to watch him. He stated to us that Sunday before last he went into the Museum, that happening to be the day our coins were stolen. Suspect him, look for further proof. 9th. Some Italians called & I engaged Signior [*sic*] Helene for the Museum.<sup>119</sup> 10th. Went before Justice & had Cogswell committed. 21st. Attended the religious performance of Elizabeth Walker a Quaker. She appears a sensible woman & a fine orator. 25th. Went to Cambridge to Commencement. Dined in the Hall, sang St. Martin & returned.

Sept. 7th. Heard that two sharks were taken in the harbor. Found out the Captors & persuaded them to present them to the Museum which they did, had them taken to Charlestown where they were skinned & stuffed. 11th. Had all the females of the Orphan Asylum about 60 members to visit the Museum. 25th.

118. David Hale's advertisement for this auction noted the 'great variety of very valuable Prints, in Landscape, History, Portraits &c. consisting of the entire collection of an Artist.' Also for sale were an 'elegant Spy Glass Case, Busts of Franklin, small statues of Bonaparte, few lots [of] Music, Songs, &c.' *Boston Daily Advertiser*, July 3, 1819.

119. Signior Helene was 'the only person in the U. States who can play on five instruments at once.' He played the Italian violin, Pandean Pipes, Chinese bells, Turkish cymbals, and tenor drum. The music included marches, waltzes, contradances, Italian airs, and he could imitate a mockingbird. A week later it was noted that he alternated with Messrs. Vago and Dotty who played on six instruments at once. They were engaged through August 25. *Columbian Centinel*, August 11, 1819.

Museum has been dull this week. The Circus, Indian jugglers, &c., occupy the public attention at present.<sup>120</sup>

Oct. 6th. Evening attended the Circus, Benefit for the female asylum. 7th. Concluded a bargain with Mrs. Clarke for the 'Dwarfs' at \$25.00 a week.<sup>121</sup> 12th. Went to Brighton Cattle Show home through Cambridge called at Dr. Plympton's & bought of him a Heathen God from India.<sup>122</sup> 12th. 2nd night of the Lilliputian Songsters. 13th. The little singers gain in the public's estimation. 25th. Mr. Penniman began transparency of the Burning [of] the Exchange Coffee House.

Nov. 1st. Tried the lights with the great transparency of the Conflagration of the Exchange Coffee House, in the Gallery of Fine Arts.<sup>123</sup> 6th. Got home the old Meloci organ. 9th. Dark to such a degree that lamps were used in shops & counting rooms all day. Attended auction & bought some Copley Prints.<sup>124</sup> 18th. Disclosed to Savage some plans of great alterations in the Museum, such as moving the Organ, taking down the great Alcove, opening 3 doors to give a free passage round, besides building 2 forests, & a large apartment for Wax figures. This plan rather

120. The circus began a series of performances at the Washington Gardens on September 8.

121. The 'Dwarfs' were Caroline and Edward Clarke, the 'two most extraordinary Dwarfs ever in America. . . . This young lady is upward of 20 years of age, is 42 inches high and weighs but 30 lbs. In form she is a complete Woman in Miniature. She has been well educated, is very accomplished in her manners, and sings delightfully. Master Edward is 16 years old, and is about the same size as his sister, and has made similar accomplishments.' *Columbian Centinel*, October 13, 1819. They performed through November 11 and again from November 24 to December 2.

122. This is probably Dr. Sylvanus Plympton who died at the age of seventy-nine in Woburn, Mass. *Columbian Centinel*, January 21, 1837.

123. 'Fire! Fire!! Fire!!! A splendid Transparent Painting, 15 feet square, just executed by Penniman, representing the conflagration of the Exchange Coffee House. . . . The public are respectfully invited to witness this wonderful imitation of reality. It is hoped those who turned out last year with so much promptness, will be found at their posts on this occasion, where they may be perfectly safe, free from labor, and in no danger of taking cold.' *Columbian Centinel*, November 3, 1819.

124. Winslow & Channing advertised '200 elegant Engravings from Paintings by Copley' for sale. Their value in London was £350. *Columbian Centinel*, November 6, 1819. The most famous engravings after paintings by Copley were the *Death of Lord Chatbam* engraved by Bartolozzi and the *Siege & Relief of Gibraltar* engraved by W. Sharp. Jules David Prown's *John Singleton Copley*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1966) lists eighteen, 2: 394-95.

startled him at first, but he soon gave into it & I set about procuring help. 22nd. Worked very hard in altering & new arranging the Museum. 24th. Continued the improvements & put the wax figure case into the Hercules room. 27th. Putting up columns & arches in front of the stage. Evening at the 'Phil Harmonic Society.'

Dec. 2nd. Thanksgiving had a very full house far exceeding any before, the crowd was very pressing & it was with difficulty I could preserve order. 4th. For several days have been in treaty with D. Greenough about building halls over his new Market House.<sup>125</sup> 6th. Bought a hand organ of Capt. Swan of Medford at \$40.00. 18th. Bought some Statuary. 23rd. Went into the woods in Cambridge to collect moss for the forest. 24th. Bought green boughs & decorated for Christmas.<sup>126</sup> Attended Auction on the 28th & bought Prints, \$23.00.<sup>127</sup> 29th. Concluded arrangements with D. Greenough for building the two upper stories of the new Market House. Evening at Theatre, 'Paul & Virginia.' 31st. Snow from 15 to 18 inches deep & much drifted.

## 1820

Painted on an arm & hand for the Pandrometer. 28th. Had 6 deer which I had bought for the Museum skinned &c.

Feb. 10th. 3 of my pictures arrived from Princeton. Feb. 10th. Distributed cards of invitation to the Gov., Lt. Gov., Council & both houses of the Legislature to visit the Museum & Gallery of Fine Arts tomorrow. 11th. Our establishment was visited by nearly all the members of the Legislature in the afternoon & Museum in the evening. The Gov., Lt. Gov., the Council & many distinguished characters attended. There were 179 in the Gallery & still a great number in the Museum in eve. The gentlemen uniformly expressed

<sup>125</sup>. A David Greenough, 16 State Street, was listed in *The Boston Directory* (Boston: John H. Frost and Charles Stimpson Jr., 1820) as a broker.

<sup>126</sup>. Greenwood advertised 'Christmas Amusements, Grand Illumination, Lilliputian Songsters, Band of Music, &c., &c.' *Columbian Centinel*, December 25, 1819.

<sup>127</sup>. This was probably the household auction advertised by Holbrook, Dexter & Co. Framed engravings were listed among the contents. *Columbian Centinel*, December 25, 1819.

their satisfaction with the amount & arrangement of the establishment & their best wishes for its prosperity. 25th. Having advertised & prepared to give this night's receipts to the Savannah Sufferers, we illuminated, had music &c. Only a small number attended probably on account of the weather & walking.<sup>128</sup>

Mar. 10th. Rain, Snow & Ice. Trees broken down with ice. 14th. Went to Pomfret, Conn. to paint Gen'l Grosvenor's portrait. 19th. Went to meeting in Pomfret & dined & spent the eve at Mr. Hall's. He possesses a fine & valuable collection of pictures which he has shown me very politely. Pomfret seems to be well settled with independent & enlightened farmers, several elegant & accomplished young ladies there too. 23rd. Returned to Boston.

April 18th. Concluded a bargain with Mr. Barton to build the portico at the New Market 40 ft. by 16.

May 2nd. Benjamin West the great painter died the 10th of March, aged 82. May 6th. Capt. Partridge my classmate called on me. 27th. This is my birthday, more old than good.

June 1st. Having previously engaged the Hall to Mr. Foster for the convention of Clergy to dine I was busily engaged in removing Statues &c. My room was also given up. Nearly 200 clergymen dined in the Hall. June 3rd. Engaged in finishing & fitting up the Pandrometer. June 14th. Moved the live stock to the Market Halls. 18. Went to Charlestown to see about white Bear Skin. 23rd. Maxwell busy setting up the great Bear.

July 4th. Anniversary of Independence was observed by every demonstration of Joy, to wit, *Noise!!*<sup>129</sup> 20th. Went to Nahant in steamboat Eagle. 29th. Concluded a bargain for an organ for \$100 & got it home.

Aug. 5th. Savage is urging me to buy all his stock in Museum & Gallery. Savage concluded to accept my offer all his stock 100

128. On January 11, 1820, a fire swept through Savannah destroying some 321 wooden buildings and 35 made of brick. The estimate of damage was \$4,000,000. William Harden, *A History of Savannah and South Georgia* (Atlanta: Cherokee Publishing Co., 1969), pp. 288-89.

129. In an advertisement in the *Columbian Centinel* July 4, 1820, Greenwood noted that July 4 was the second anniversary of the New England Museum.



shares at \$5,000. 10th. Bought a shark taken this day at Lynn. 13th. Hired fishermen to stuff & finish the Shark. 21st. Engaged with Mr. Bradford to exhibit Sargent's painting of 'Landing of the Pilgrims.' 23rd. Dined at Fenno's with a number of Dartmouth graduates in honor of Commencement which happened this day. 24th. Worked hard painting upper hall in body color. 26th. Preparing for Sargent's picture he is very particular about his lights &c. 28th. Went to glass house in South Boston to see about having glass eyes made. 30th. Went to Commencement at Cambridge, illuminated & music at Museum in the eve.

Sept. 8th. Went to Worcester, stopped at my old boarding place & met many of my old companions of the Bar, also many new faces of the same profession. It seems lawyers have increased since I left the County. 9th. Went into Court, made several calls, viewed the Antiquarian Collection, the new Penitentiary & all other improvements. 13th. Very clear so much so that the planet Jupiter was visible to the naked eye most of the day. 21st. Devoted myself to Mr. King an artist from Washington. 24th. Vanderlyn called & we dined at the Marlboro Hotel. 13th of Oct. Called on Mrs. Suter & got some Indian dresses. 17th. Went to Brighton Cattle Show.

Nov. 8th. Had application to take the Elephant's skin. 11th. Went to Cambridge & had the Bear 'Old Simon' taken to Coos's in Charlestown. 15th. This was an important day for me, good or ill, for I this day executed writings with Mr. Savage for the purchase of all his rights in the New England Museum & Gallery of Fine Arts. This makes me the owner of all the establishment except 2 shares. Shall now use my greatest exertion to make it flourish & prosper. 16th. Engaged to set up the skin & skeleton of the Elephant. 18th. Worked in lower hall, made a raised floor in the long Wax figure case.<sup>130</sup> 28th. Engaged Wood to carve a head of the Elephant. 30th. Purchased a pair of Elephant's tusks.

130. An advertisement noted the addition of ten new wax figures to the lower hall, including Baron Bergami, Lady Hamilton, and French and English beauties. A new room, twenty-five by thirty feet, was being added to 'contain many of the Wonders of the Deep.' *Columbian Centinel*, November 22, 1820.

Dec. 5th. Began a frame for the Elephant; Capt. Swan arrived & brought out a young Lion. I agreed to keep it this Winter. 7th. Bought an Eagle. 9th. Got the Lion cage ready & put it in it. 11th. Got the Elephant's head mounted & had a tanner from Cambridge to scrape the skin. 12th. Hoisted the skin on to the frame of the Elephant & began sewing up, first with twine, next with marline, & lastly with Cod line which only was found sufficient. Worked hard on the Elephant, had an under jaw carved. 18th. Had a platform made & the El. hoisted up on to it. 22nd. Illuminated in the eve in honor of the Landing of the Forefathers at Plymouth 200 yrs. ago today. 28th. Sale of pictures in the Gallery Hall. An accident took place by the settling of part of the floor & the Sale was postponed. More than 500 persons were standing near together when the floor settled.<sup>131</sup> 29th. Procured timber & 5 carpenters & repaired the break in the floor, had to take down 50 yds. of plastering to get at it. Disagreeable job.

## 1821

Jan. 3rd. Attended Cartwright's exhibition of 'Musical Glamor.' Small stuff.<sup>132</sup> 5th. Had a Buck skinned for Museum. 8th. Opened Museum Hall with the Elephant. 11th. Went to Indian Wharf to get an Alligator skin. 25th. Coldest day ever known, 15 to 25° below zero.

Feb. 1st. Thawing & buildings all white with frost coming out. 6th. Had remainder of Statuary removed to the Gallery Hall. 9th.

<sup>131</sup>. The auction, advertised in the *Boston Daily Advertiser*, December 19, 1820, was held by Blake & Cunningham. For sale were 135 cabinet paintings, 'selected with great care and expense, from the various cabinets of Rome, Naples, Florence, Amsterdam, Paris and London, and they are warranted to comprise the Works of the Great Masters, from the fourteenth century to the present time.' Works by Bruegel, Poussin, Rembrandt, and Raphael, as well as Shaw, T. Barker, and Birch were featured. A descriptive catalogue was issued, a copy of which is located at the American Antiquarian Society. The auction was postponed because one of the crossbeams supporting the floor gave way. It was held on January 4, 1821. *Gallery of Paintings. Descriptive Catalogue of Original Cabinet Paintings* (Boston: W. W. Clapp, printer, 1820.)

<sup>132</sup>. Cartwright performed a concert on 'musical Glasses, which for Melody, Expression and Sweetness of Tone, challenge competition in a variety of the most admired compositions of English, Irish and Scotch Melodies.' *Boston Daily Advertiser*, January 2, 1821.

Distributed cards of invitation to the Gov., Lt. Gov., Council & both Houses of the Legislature to visit our establishment next Monday. 17th. Mr. Kean commenced at the Theatre & the whole town has been raving mad to see him ever since, a dull week for us.<sup>133</sup> 22nd. Washington's Birthday. Adorned the Museum with the National Flag, illuminated in the eve.

Mar 1st. Bought an Opossum. 2nd. Put up full length portraits of the Emperor & Empress of Russia. 4th. Congress must have last night finished their long & stupid session & we shall in all this week hear the end & amount of all their wonderful doings. 5th. Illuminated in the eve in honor of the 'President's Inauguration.' Democrats show their joy by eating & drinking. 11th. Rec'd Wolf, wild Turkey & several birds that had been stuffed & set up, also Deer Skin, Catamount & Bear skin not set up. 13th. Dedication of Masons Hall. Old State House. 15th. Lecture on Astronomy in upper Hall excited little attention<sup>134</sup> 17th. Opened passage from Monkey room to the upper Wax figure room. 20th. Mrs. Duchene busy refitting Wax figure dresses. 21st. Bought a piano forte for \$55. Got 64 squares of glass & had them set in cases for birds.

April 1st. Got into Gallery 2 of Willard's models of Temples. 3rd. Attended in the eve 'Kemble's Recitation' so called, the ne plus ultra of Nonsense, Impudence & Importance.<sup>135</sup> 9th. Voted on the ammendment of the Constitution, busy repairing head of Liberty. 16th. Began a Cosmorama in Museum Hall. 25th. Set up a calf with 2 heads. 30th Went to N. E. Glass house to get various glasses blown for eyes.

133. An advertisement for the Boston Theatre announced that Kean would play the lead role in Shakespeare's *Richard III*. His original engagement of eight nights was extended to two weeks and the actor would play the parts of Hamlet, Shylock, King Lear, Macbeth, and Othello. *Columbian Centinel*, February 10, 1821.

134. Greenwood announced a series of fifteen lectures on astronomy. The first lecture was free; the rest would continue if there were sufficient patronage. *Boston Daily Advertiser*, March 13, 1821. A similar series was advertised in the *Boston Evening Gazette* on October 30, 1824, with the lecturer identified as Goodacre from England. Greenwood's lecturer in 1821 was not identified.

135. 'Mr. Henry Kemble, late from London, Proposes to give Recitations from the following plays: Richard the 3d, Macbeth, Hamlet . . . in which characters he will introduce imitations of the celebrated Mr. Kean.' *Columbian Centinel*, March 28, 1821.

May 2nd. Moved the Lyon Organ to Museum Hall & brought Swan organ from the upper hall in front. 3rd. Finished the Monster Calves & put them in a case in lower hall. 4th. Bought a hand organ for \$120. 5th. Bought a Lion & set it up. 9th. Busy setting up a Buck. 11th. Peasley who had been repairing the musical clock came & set it up in lower hall. 15th. Began a portrait of Paul Jones, the naval hero of the Revolution from a Print. 24th. Bought old musical clock for \$80. 27th. My birthday. Older but not better or richer.

June 6th. Hired Maxcy the celebrated Bugle player. 7th. At the State House before the Committee on the subject of 'Itinerant Shows.' 12th. In the Senate, bill postponed till next season. 16th. Hired Dunbar & Freeman musicians to devote their whole time to my service. 28th. Capt. Goodrich called to see me about a Camel, agreed for the skin for \$50 & less if damaged. 29th. Decided to go to Newburyport & Salisbury, took stage at 12 & had a pleasant ride to N. Called on Capt. Ross who took chaise & we rode to Salisbury & saw the Camel, gave directions for help to kill & skin her, took the skin in behind the stage next a.m. & returned to Boston.

July 3rd. Had bills printed & collected evergreens, roses &c. & decorated the lower hall. Got flags & everything in readiness for the 4th. Independence Day. Up early & dressed our building with flags, naval transparencies, etc. 6th. Attended sale of pictures & bought 5.<sup>136</sup> 14th of July. Bought a lot of birds of Mr. Bartlett at the North end. Worked several days getting the Camel set up. 28th. Bought cambric & put it on the inside of the skylights to prevent the glare of the Sun. Rearranged Statuary &c. 31st. Began to take minutes of the Gallery to prepare a Catalogue.

Aug. 3rd. Rec'd an order to paint a likeness of Gen. Warren for Mass. Lodge. 7th. Cadets arrived in town. Everyone went to see them, I among the rest. Invited the corps of cadets to visit the

<sup>136</sup>. An auction of 200 'original paintings' by Veronese, Murillo, Titian, Cuyp, Guido, Rembrandt, etc., was advertised on June 28 and postponed to July 4. Many paintings remained unsold and a second auction would be held by Blake & Cunningham on July 20. *Columbian Centinel*, June 28 and July 4, 1821.

Museum with the officers in a body.<sup>137</sup> 29th. Went to Commencement at Cambridge. Dined in the Hall, sang St. Martin & returned home.

Sept. 3rd. Mr. Guill[e] ascended in his Balloon from the West Garden & descended on the Ten hill farm in Medford.<sup>138</sup> 6th. A Mr. Meigs from Savannah called on me & requested that I would go to New Haven & buy the Columbian Museum late the property of John Mix deceased. 8th. Accounts from different parts of the Country it appears that the Gale of last Monday eve. the 3rd did extreme damage to shipping, buildings, & orchards & that it will be remembered with the Sept. Gale of 1815. 12th. Bought a small organ (hand) of superior tone & power for \$17.50 13th. Mr. Meigs called again about New Haven Museum & I almost concluded to go & see it. 15th. Decided to go to N.H. rose at 3 & took stage for N. H. & arrived at New London late at night. This day's journey was rendered pleasant by some intelligent & pleasant companions. 17th. Took steamboat for New Haven, had a fine run & arrived at 2, went ashore & spent 4 hours chiefly in examining the contents of the Museum in conference with Mr. Hodgkins, part owner. Took steamboat again at 10 for New York. 18th. Arrived at the 'Great City' at 8:30. Devoted this day as I intended to viewing every interesting curiosity I could meet with. Began at the English Gallery of Wax figures in the Shakespeare Gallery. Some good heads but mostly gaudy trash, the figures are only from the hips upwards, & are like meal bags dressed with head & shoulders, few of them show but one hand. Next to Scudders Museum, this is indeed worthy of attention, the elegance of arrangements & nature of the articles fully answered my expectations, was surprised to find it so small, the collection not being more than half as large as the New England Museum. To Vanderlin's 'Rotunda.' Disappointed the 'Garden of Versailles' gone, the picture that was in View of Paris but ordinary. Viewed his other pictures in various

137. Description of the visit of the West Point cadets. *Columbian Centinel*, July 8, 1821.

138. Advertisement for the ascent of Mr. Guille. *Columbian Centinel*, September 1, 1821.

rooms. Went to the Academy of Fine Arts, found but little for entertainment or improvement, went into several of the Society rooms, viewed the various improvements of the City, Mechanical Theatre some minor exhibitions. In the evening went again to Scudder's & thence to Theatre & at 10 o'clock returned on board the Steamboat & slept. Arrived in New Haven & viewed the Museum again & after about 3 hours of conversation & bantering I purchased the whole collection at \$575 & he is to remove it safely on board. Began to take down & pack the things. 21st. Had a carpenter to assist in boxing up the articles & worked all day in packing up & had them in good condition before night when I took Steamboat for New London. 22nd. Arrived in New L. at 3 A.M. & took stage for Providence. Pleasant journey & companions, arrived in P before 12 & was in Boston before 8 worn down with fatigue. 28th. Had a panther skin set up in the Museum.

Oct. 2nd. Got 2 white Bear skins from the coast of Labrador, one of them very large. 3rd. Worked on Bear skins, put in alum & arsenic &c. 4th. Began to set up the great Bear. 5th. Got the skin of the smaller Bear in readiness. 8th. Began in the upper room to set up the smaller Bear in an upright position. 9th. Mr. Thompson of Barre called. Had the Bears washed to cleanse & whiten the hair. Went to Brighton Cattle Show with Mr. Thompson. 12th. Took the stage & went to Providence. 13th. My object in visiting Providence at this time being to ascertain the opportunity of establishing a Museum there, looking round for a suitable place &c. Made a partial contract for the two upper stories in the Union Building so called. 14th. Returned to Boston in the stage. 16th. Drying white Bears. 18th. Articles from New Haven Museum arrived began immediately with handcart men to bring them up & put them into the Garret. 19th. Secured the likeness of Capt. Pierce as well as I could & he set off on his journey to Pensacola. Put the eyes into the Bears. 22nd. Bought 12 yds. of silk for dresses. 23rd. Placed a wax figure of 'New Haven Beauty' in the dress of the 'Olden time' into the Museum. Went to Mr. Taylor's at South end & got a model of a Chinese Pagoda done in rice. Bought 41

Prints, views of Temple buildings &c. of a Mr. Dill from Leghorn. Sent bills to the coast of Africa by Capt. Bassett. 25th. Bought a young Penobscot Bear.

Nov. 1st. Thin house, went to Theatre, & that was thinner still if the Circus doesn't stop we shall all be ruined. 2nd. Went to view the splendid coat of arms of the late Emperor Chrisopher lately brought from St. Domingo. 8th. Met with a Raccoon in the Market & bought the skin & carried it to Charlestown to be dressed. 12th. Bought a perspective apparatus & 50 Prints. 19th. Bought 4 Squirrels, made arrangements with a Mr. Noyes of Newburyport to put his Temple of Industry in the Museum. It is a thing of some ingenuity & I take it at present on trial & I helped him set it up. 20th. Prepared an advertisement for Mr. Trumbull for the Worcester Spy.<sup>139</sup> 22nd. Went to Central Wharf & got 22 pictures & put them into the Gallery. 26th. Attended Auction sale of pictures & bought only 3.<sup>140</sup> Croxford began to make Cage for the Bear & I got iron rods for the Cage. 29th. Set up two figures, the Priest & the Widow in the upper Wax figure room. Finished the Bear Cage & put him in it. 30th. Moved several articles & carried down figures in the group of Sampson & Delilah.

Dec. 1st. All hands worked hard & fitted up 11 figures, this has been a dull week for business, the bad weather & the Circus have left us poor. 15th. Mr. Noyes concluded to take my offer for the Mechanical Panorama.<sup>141</sup> 24th. Bought the Elephant 'Horatio' skin & skeleton \$400. 25th. Christmas, decorated the Museum

139. Greenwood had advertised the New-England Museum during 1820 and 1821 and inserted a new text in December, noting that 'more than three thousand articles have been added' and two new 'apartments' had been created. Greenwood's purchase of the Columbian Museum, 'late the property of Mr. John Mix of New Haven, containing, besides numerous other articles, Forty-five Wax Figures. . . . The New-England Museum now far exceeds any other in America, and receives the universal approbation of visitors. The whole receipts continue to be appropriated to its advancement. Thus, while its patrons receive the most ample gratification for their money, they will have the satisfaction to know that they are contributing to build up an Establishment which shall be an honour to the country and age.' *Massachusetts Spy*, December 5, 1821.

140. Advertisement for Doggett's auction of 'Splendid Cabinet Paintings.' *Boston Daily Advertiser*, November 24, 1821.

141. An advertisement noted that 'the Grand Mechanical Panorama, recently added, has given very great satisfaction.' *Boston Evening City Gazette*, June 22, 1822.

with evergreens &c. Business has been extremely dull this week, receipts small, more [illeg.] than visitors.

## 1822

Jan. 7th. Town meeting to vote for 'Town or City' City has it. Got home the the large picture of Imogene. 19th. Set up a Deer in the Museum. 25th. Making a Catalogue of Gallery of Fine Arts. 26th. Commenced writing a key & abstract of the different apartments of the New England Museum.

Feb. 4th Went to the State House to hear the debates on the specific tax bills. Major Goodhue of Brattleboro brought me a Catamount Skin. 7th. Mr. Doyle wishes me to purchase his Museum.<sup>142</sup> 20th. Called on his excellency the Gov'r & invited him to visit the Museum on Friday eve. which he was pleased say he certainly would. Had the honour of a half hour conversation with him. 21st. Got cards of invitation for Legislature printed & distributed among the members & to several gentlemen in town. 22nd. Washington's Birthday. Up early & hoisted our Flags & put up our Naval victories in front in honor of the day. The interior also decorated with Flags. The Museum appeared to great advantage both inside & out. The Gov'r, Lt. Gov'r & many members of both branches of the Legislature attended together with a very genteel & numerous company of other visitors nearly 800. All were pleased & grateful.

March 4th. Town meeting to vote on City Charter which was accented by a majority of 916. 6th. Town meeting to vote on 'Wooden Buildings,' carried in favor of Wooden Buildings 5 to 1. 12th. Painted on Gen'l Warren & carried home the Grand Master Jewel. 20th. Moving Market Museum & Gallery of fine Arts to the N. E. Museum, got up all the wax figures, the Camel, Moore, White Bear &c. 23rd. Continued to move up articles, Cosmorama,

<sup>142</sup>. William M. S. Doyle (1769-1828) was a portrait and miniature painter, pastel and crayon portraitist, and a silhouette maker. Doyle also owned the Columbian Museum which had been started in 1791 on State Street. Walter K. Watkins, 'The New England Museum and the Home of Art in Boston,' *The Bostonian Society Publications*, 2d ser., 2 (1917): 124.



Panorama nearly all but the Elephant.<sup>143</sup> 25th. Began to prepare to move the Elephant; took down & widened the door, procured a man with ropes & tackle & from a hold fast at an upper window hoist him out at a window of the lower hall of the N. E. Museum, we found it impossible to get him up the stairs without sawing off two of his legs which I had done with much reluctance, but we had got him so far in the belief that he might pass that there was no alternative, placed him upright & retired much fatigued. 27th. Made changes in the Marine room. 31st. Put up the portrait of Gen. Warren in Masons Hall.

April 8th. Attended town meeting or ward meeting I should say to choose Mayor & other City officers.

May 1st. Commencement of City Government. Mayor & City officers were sworn into office; many ladies attended. At night had the Museum illuminated in beautiful style & had a very genteel but not full house. 6th. Turned out with the A. & H. Artillery; their 2nd Spring Field day. 18th. Goodrich tuned the piano to the Musical Clock.<sup>144</sup> 25th. Mrs. Duchene came & we put up several wax figures near & back of the Panorama & two Indians in the Forest & took off dresses to be washed. 29th. General Election. I worked from 5 o'clock to 12 to get all ready, engaged Music &c.

June 2nd. Went to Charlestown & engaged Mr. Muzzy to dress the Bear skin. June 3rd. We lighted very early & I assisted at the door & saved much by detecting bad bills, the house was very full, receipts greater than at any time, more than 900 paid money & reckoning [illeg.] tickets & 'hangers ons' there must have been 1100 persons. 6th. Failures are taking place very fast among Merchants. 7th. Got Schubert to cut the N. E. Museum for the Boston Gazette.<sup>145</sup> 17th. Anniversary of Bunker Hill, went out to Charles-

143. 'The Proprietors of this extensive establishment have the pleasure to announce . . . they have just added another entire Museum, making now one Grand Consolidation of four Museums united in one.' *Boston Daily Advertiser*, April 23, 1822.

144. An advertisement identifies William M. Goodrich as the creator of the 'Pan harmonicon,' a 'surprising and grand instrument' which played music. *Columbian Centinel*, May 28, 1823.

145. In the advertisement the name of the museum is surrounded by a decorative border. Additional information on the mechanical panorama noted that there were 130 'curious Figures' engaged in various trades. *Commercial Gazette*, June 10, 1822.

town. 18th. Ten years this day since I came to Boston to reside. War being declared the same day. 19th. Rec'd two articles from Mr. Stephen Sewal from Mobile. 27th. Mrs. D. began to clean, repair & new dress the Wax figures. Went to examine the Boston Museum which they wish me to purchase. Mrs. D at work on some figures of ancient costumes.

July 4th. Independence. Up early & had all our Flags & Transparencies displayed. Fine run of company in the afternoon, but evening receipts were ruined by the Fireworks on the Common. 9th. Failures & distress threaten every Merchant. Business dull & gloomy. 9th. Purchased a very beautiful multiplying reflector. 10th. Made an offer of \$500 for the Boston Museum entire. 19th. At 2 A.M. set out in stage for Hubbardston. 24th. Took my Father home & set off on an excursion. Went to Templeton, found the Center quite improved. 25th. Started for Athol, stopped in Petersham & dined with Nat. Chandler, went to Hon. Mr. Bigelow, Dr. Parkhurst & Mr. Wilson & staid at Dr. Parkhurst's. 26th. Spent part of the morning with my old friend Rev. Luther Wilson & others & then set off for Barre. Called on Mr. James, dined at Blacks, called at Mr. Thompson but he was absent. Spent some time looking around the town & called on Mr. Houghton. Returned to H. A very pleasant excursion. 27th. Very cool, frost was said to have been in some places. 30th. Arrived in Boston. Mr. S whom I had left in charge while I was gone & expected he would have done something for the improvement of the Museum it seems had been wholly engaged in improving & Dandyfying his person & entertaining his friends. However, I found all safe so was satisfied.

Aug. 1st. Took Stage for Providence, talked with Gen'l S about apartment in Union Building. He asked double the rent of last Fall & I left them to their own reflection. Providence is a thriving flourishing place but contains a rare set of sharpers. 14th. Boston Museum was just up at Auction & bid off to me. My object in buying it was as much to break up the establishment, as to obtain the contents. The Boston M. & the keys of the rooms containing

it were delivered to me. 28th. Went to Commencement at Cambridge, dined at College Hall, sang St. Martin & came home.

Sept. 4th. Mr. [ ] of Worcester called concerning sale of Wax figures & proposed to buy 12 at \$700, for travelling exhibitions. 7th. Sold a man from Montreal 7 wax figures & an Alligator from the B. M. for \$200. 14th. News this a.m. that the Yellow Fever which prevails in New York is spreading & filling the inhabitants with terror. 28th. Helene arrived from Europe, engaged him at \$5.00 a night to perform in the Museum. 30th. Helene commenced. Bird imitations omitted on account of feeble health.<sup>146</sup>

5th. Oct. At Auction I bought about 15 moulds for hands & as many for heads. 9th. All the world going to Brighton to Cattle Show I went too. 18th. Perplexed with Insurance office folks about 'iron doors.' 20th. The weather was so warm mosquitoes were more troublesome than in the Summer. 28th. Had Turtle skinned.

Nov. 1st. Gov. Flint in town from Havana devoted some of my time to him. Nov. 4th. Congressional Election. 'Webster or Putnam.' Webster has it by 1078 majority. 11th. Rec'd word that the Boston Museum Building was about to be let so prepared to remove the articles. 13th. Finished moving & got all the articles into our Building though crowded to overflowing. 15th. Began to re-pack & arrange them in the Garret. 16th. Died last eve our little dog Phile, she was about 3 yrs. old born in China without hair, she was very affectionate & universally pleasing as a curiosity in the Museum. Brought up the full length portrait of Washington from the B. M. 25th. Sold the hand organ I bought for \$40.00 for \$70. 29th. Put up Snake skins in Marine Room. Bought a Monkey.

Dec. 5th. Thanksgiving. Lighted up before dark & company began to come, for two hours the stairs were crowded & I had as much as I could possibly do with two assistants to tend the door. The fullest house we ever had, upwards of 1200 persons. 14th. Went to Charlestown to see the Caravan. 16th. Began to collect books for Auction my room over full of trash. 17th. Buckingham

<sup>146</sup>. Signior Helene had performed for Greenwood at the New England Museum in August 1819.

trial was finished & he was acquitted. 24th. Bought green boughs & vines & began to dress the Museum for Christmas. 25th. Few people appeared the first hour but 2nd hour they came as fast as two of us could admit them. 26th. Matthews [sic] began at the Theatre. 30th. Thin house, all the world running after Matthews.<sup>147</sup>

## 1823

Jan. 3rd. Helene finished his engagement. Has played 14 or 15 weeks but has never performed the bird imitations. His ruling passion like most Italians is Avarice. 17th. Received picture of Calhoun & was ordered to get it framed & had permission to copy it. 3rd. Bought scarlet Bombazet & had Caslin paint new transparency for the door. 27th. We are now cleaning & improving the Museum every day.

Feb. 1st. Tristram repairing glass, it is very evident that a Museum is a bad place for a youth to set glass; it takes too much of his time to view the curiosities. Sold some articles to a Montreal gentleman. 1 big Monkey combing a Child's hair, 1 skin of Lion's Whelp, 1 Armadillo, 1 Ram horn, 1 Peccary, 1 old Porcupine, 1 bottle, 1 Otter, 1 eight legged Lam, 1 case of Birch & 1 Tiger Cat for \$67. 7th. Very cold, sent cards of invitation to Gov'r, Legislature &c. So cold put up 3 additional fires & made rooms warm & comfortable. 28th. Attended sale of marble Statues, bought none, they were more adapted to outdoor use.

Mar. 3rd Attended Meeting to vote on the Mayor & Alderman. Amendments to City Charter were rejected 1600 nays, 35 yeas. 5th. Began a copy of Peter the Great of Russia & Frederick Le Grand of Prussia loaned to me by Mr. Nat Amory. 15th. Business of all kinds except electioneering very dull. Travelling very bad. Mud, Mud, Mud!! The 'Wild Beasts' close their exhibition this day in Hanover St. No doubt have drawn much custom from us

<sup>147</sup> Charles Matthews (1776-1835) was a very popular British actor. Lillian A. Hall lists 125 portraits of him. *Catalogue of Dramatic Portraits in the Theatre Collection of the Harvard College Library*, 4 vols. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1932), 3: 168-77.

of late.<sup>148</sup> 31st. Snow so deep no stage could leave the City though several attempted it.

Apr. 1st. Refitted our transparent sign broken down by the snow. 7th. Annual Meeting throughout the State to vote for Gov'r. Be it remembered that this day I have given my vote politically different from what I have ever done before. The Federal Candidate Otis I could not vote for nor for the Federalist Senators. I therefore voted for the Republican & Union ticket entire. I have not left the Federalist party, but they have left me. 8th. Eustis gains & Otis goes down. 16th. Wallach playing at Barrett's benefit.<sup>149</sup> 19th. Gave large portrait of Washington second coat of varnish which brought it out very well. 21st. Bought seal skin dress, Esquimaux & Indian. 23rd. Went to Kidder's room to give him some instruction in painting.<sup>150</sup>

May 1st. City Gov's John Quincy new Mayor installed. 16th. Mrs. Duchene arrived from New Orleans & she will attend to repairing our Wax figures. 17th. Bought an Alligator just arrived from North Carolina. Mary ran against the pedestal of the Mercury & gave it such a shock that its head fell off & was broken to pieces. Fitted up the large Alligator. May 22nd. Bought some spruce trees & had them set up in the Piazza. 27th. My Birthday. Grow older every year. Ear locks quite gray. Various itinerant & vagabond exhibitions arrived. 29th. Hired the upper Hall in City Market House for 2 years for Gallery of Fine Arts at \$137.50. 30th. Attended the swearing in of the Gov'r & Lt. Gov. at the State House.

June 2nd. Artillery Election. An important day with us. Rec'd day & evening \$258.50 notwithstanding the many 'Itinerant Exhibitions.' 10th. Had help & moved Statuary to Gallery Hall. 11th.

148. The 'Grand Caravan,' advertised as a 'Rare Collection' of animals, was in Boston for several weeks. *Boston Daily Advertiser*, March 8, 1823.

149. Henry Wallack starred in William Dunlap's *Fraternal Discord* after which several short pieces were acted by him and George Hooker Barrett. *Boston Daily Advertiser*, April 16, 1823.

150. Undoubtedly this was James Kidder, a landscape artist, engraver, and aquatintist of Boston, active from 1813 to 1840. In 1823 he was working for Abel Bowen, a wood engraver. *Dictionary of Artists*, p. 369.

Bought 5 Prints & began to take down large pictures in Museum & hang them in Gallery of Fine Arts. 18th. Attended sale in Cornhill Sq. of Worrall's pictures, bought more than I intended, but the articles were purchased with good judgment.<sup>151</sup> 20th. Very little company in the Museum, there being no less than 8 itinerant & temporary exhibitions now in the City.<sup>152</sup> 23rd. Bought a Glass Ship. 25th. Removed the Dying Hercules to the Gallery & renailed it.

July 4th, 1823. 47th year. Opened 'Gallery of Fine Arts', kept open till 11:30; rec'd in all \$216.50. Thus we enter on the 6th year. 7th. Got an old picture at [Lemuel] Blake's, fruit, flowers, & parrot &c., much damaged. Got a new stretching frame, cut away some parts of it, lined & repaired it. 8th. Went to Boston Glass House to see about large sheet of Chelmsford glass; can get it 36 x 26. 14th. Jefferson Benefit at Amphitheatre. 15th. Bought the celebrated large picture 'Passage of the Delaware' for \$510. This is a great undertaking but I hope it will be a good one.<sup>153</sup> 18th. Got the large picture boxed & on board the Sloop for Portland. 19th. Started on the Sloop for Portland. 21st. Walked about looking for a place for a Museum. Took tea with Gov. Parris, evening at Theatre.<sup>154</sup> 22nd Can have either of two places on Haymarket Row. 24th. Up early & with two carpenters was at work fitting up the pictures in Union Hall, had two boys distributing bills I had printed yesterday; got ready & opened in the afternoon. 25th. Engaged Mr. Brown to take care of the pictures during my absence, the picture was visited by some of the most distinguished citizens

151. Samuel F. Coolidge auctioned 'a variety of furniture and paintings, viz:—Paintings of Shakespeare, Buonaparte, Fete de Village, Boor Drinking, Vio de Flandre—several on copper or tin, etc.' *Columbian Centinel*, June 18, 1823.

152. Advertisements for a performance of the Panharmonicon, an exhibition of an Egyptian Mummy, and various experiments by Mr. Stanislas were followed the next day by an advertisement for the display of Thomas Sully's painting of the *Passage of the Delaware*. *Boston Daily Advertiser*, June 18, 19, 1823.

153. This painting by Thomas Sully on display at Doggett's Repository of the Fine Arts which was 'eighteen feet long and twelve feet wide, represents the Passage of the Delaware on the 25th of December, 1776 by the American troops, under the command of General Washington.' *Columbian Centinel*, April 26, 1823. This painting now hangs in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

154. Albion Keith Parris (1788—1857) was a lawyer and politician who served as governor of Maine from 1821—26. *Dictionary of American Biography*, s.v. 'Parris, Albion Keith.'

& met their highest approbations.<sup>155</sup> 26th. Took stage at 4 A.M. & arrived in Boston at  $\frac{1}{4}$  of 10. Pleasant though fatiguing day. 28th. Got 56 lamps, oil filter, a lot of curiosities, pictures &c on Packet Sloop & on the 29th started for Portland. 31st. Got up lamps & issued bills for illuminating the picture.

Aug. 5th. Concluded an arrangement with the occupants of Mr. Marston's building. Rent to commence Oct. 1st. Rec'd a visit from Gov'r Parris. 7th. Worked all day at the building I am preparing for the 'Portland Museum' near the Stage House Haymarket Row. Worked hard the 8th, 9th, & 10th with two carpenters, masons &c. 12th. Two men began to make raised floor for Wax figures. Dined with Gen'l Fessenden, he had a party of literary gentlemen. 13th. Drove [?] on the work got just [enough] brick &c. to build Balcony on the roof. 14th. Learned that a foolish & false report had got abroad that the picture was to become part of the Portland Museum & people were saving their money to see both together & thereby save 25 cts. 15th. Last day of the exhibition, took it down, packed & got it on board together with my other luggage before 11 P.M. Went on board the Packet when lo she got aground & we had to wait till the 16th at 9 a.m. Floated out & at sunset found ourselves 20 miles east of Cape Elizabeth. 17th. Heavy swell & the Sloop rolled very much. Unpleasant passage but arrived in Boston safely at sunset. 19th. Got up the 'Passage of the Delaware' in the Gallery of F. A. & worked hard putting up pictures. 21st. We are now busy fitting up 10 Wax figures for Portland. 26th. Met a little fellow on board a sloop from Wells, Me., very small engaged him for the Museum. 27th. Went to Commencement at Cambridge, dined in College Hall & sang St. Martin's & returned to Boston.

Sept. 4th. Got some articles ready for the Portland Museum & got them on board the Sloop, attended Auction & bought Prof. Peak's 'Moving Chair' \$21.65. 6th. Mr. B. O. Tyler from Washington City called on me & presented 1 Print of H. Clay, 3 of J.

<sup>155</sup> Greenwood advertised that the painting would be at Union Hall for two and one half weeks. *Christian Mirror*, July 25, 1823.

Adams & I of Franklin.<sup>156</sup> 9th. Bought a large leather bottle made of the stomach of the Camel. 11th. Busy now putting birds into cases & Mrs. D at work making dresses for Wax figures.<sup>157</sup> 15th. All hands busy setting up Albatross. 16th. Bought a Vol. 75 portraits of eminent painters. 17th. Began to set up a sword fish that I bought yesterday. 18th. Bought a very nice Panther Skin. 19th. A Whale of the kind called black fish was brought in from Salem & I bought her for \$20.00. Hired men to skin it & carried skin to Charlestown. 20th. Setting up a Crane.<sup>158</sup> 24th. Bought a load of Barley Straw to stuff the Whale. 26th. Put up a portrait of Lord Wellington which I bought at Auction for \$75. 28th. My labors have been unusually hard these two weeks but I hope eventually to reap the benefits of them. 29th. Went to see the Whale which we found was drying fast.

Oct. 4th. Took Stage & went to my Father's in Hubbardston. Hon. John Q. Adams was in the stage to Princeton & added much to the pleasure of the journey. 8th. On my return stopped at Worcester at the Cattle Show, it was very creditable to the County & far exceeds what is usually done at Brighton. Worcester is much improved since I saw it. 18th. Last night by the assistance of some men from the Portland Packet we got the Whale hoisted into the upper hall. 20th. Worked all day with Mrs. D casting wax heads. 24th. Went to Glass House & engaged glass for cases of birds. 27th. Mrs. D began to stuff Manikins. 31st. Busy preparing things for Portland. Sent Box of shells, 2 cages & Hand Organ on board, also 4 boxes glass for larger sashes, 230 squares.

Nov. 2nd. Eleven days since the Sun has been seen but nice. 4th. Attended Court as Juryman. Got Pianoforte on board, also a lot of Manikins, trunks of wax heads, & cases of birds & other articles.

<sup>156</sup>. Benjamin Owen Tyler was an engraver and lithographer. *Dictionary of Artists*, p. 640.

<sup>157</sup>. The Museum 'is in the best possible condition for visitors. Many valuable additions have just been made. Mr. Stevens, the Little Man, is a great curiosity.' *Columbian Centinel*, September 13, 1823.

<sup>158</sup>. An advertisement notes the presence of the Race Horse Eclipse, the Live Rattlesnake, the Cosmorama of London, the Arabian Battle, Prof. Peck's Moving Chair for Invalids, and Mr. Stevens. *Columbian Centinel*, September 20, 1823. Greenwood had earlier advertised for live rattlesnakes. *Boston Daily Advertiser*, June 20, 1823.



9th. Took Stage at 2 A.M. with Mrs. D. & little Joe, breakfasted in Newburyport, dined at Dover & reached P at 9:30. Left little Joe at Wall's among his friends. 11th. Men brought up the articles from the Sloop. Mrs. D. busy at dresses. Got up figures & pictures & Cosmorama. Capt. Knight arrived with rest of cases for minerals & shells & got the Hand Organ & Piano in. 17th. Wax figures, 26 in number were put up, also paintings & gave notice that the Museum would be first opened for the benefit of the Wiscasset Sufferers. On the 17th of Nov. 1823, Portland Museum was opened for the reception of visitors. Admission 25 cts. Season ticket \$1.50 without distinction of age. Was gratified that everybody else was gratified. It was approved that it was managed, with much judgment & good taste. 18. Rose at 3 & took stage at 4 with Mrs. D for Boston. Found little Joe at Kennebunk & arrived home about 9. 20th. Thanksgiving. Busy getting all things ready & had a fine run, at the close counted \$268.50, which is the best evening we ever had. Began to look up articles for Portland M. & bought a lot of Prints. 30th. Set up the White Owl.

Dec. 2nd. In court again & slept all the afternoon having been out all night on the jury. 6th. Put up 1 Ashby clock, 1 bust of Franklin, 1 of Hamilton, 2 Candlestick figures, 2 1 figures 'Wisdom & Justice' on board for Portland.<sup>159</sup> 9th. Wrote Rev. H. Packard of Wiscasset & enclosed \$13 for Sufferers by fire. 9th. Now comes the Winter of our discontent. The infernal Circus commenced its performance, our receipts less than half. 15th. Went to the Circus with little Joe. Performance ridiculous. It is astonishing that any part of the public can be pleased with such nonsense. 16th. Bought a White Bear Skin. 19th. Snow slid off the roof and broke our transparent sign. 23rd. All hands busy fitting up the Museum for Christmas. Gave a new dress to Princess Charlotte. 24th. Putting up green boughs, evergreens, &c. 27th. Bought a Parrot. 31st. Got

<sup>159</sup>. Ironically, as Greenwood gathers items to be displayed in the Portland Museum, he advertises in Boston that: 'This establishment continues to increase in extent and variety of entertainments—is open every day and evening, well lighted and well warmed. The Conflagration of the Exchange is up every evening at 8 o'clock. Band of Music &c.' *Columbian Centinel*, December 3, 1823.

sword fish on board for Portland. Thus closes the year 1823. For the last four weeks our business has been cut down by the Vag-abond exhibitions & bad weather.<sup>160</sup> The Portland M. has been established & is in a prosperous condition. Should we be able to stem the torrent of nonsense & buffoonery which now inundates this devoted City & almost destroys our income we may still hope to go on properly again.

## 1824

Jan. 3rd. Put 4 sashes & the dog 'Whang' on board for Portland. Bought 3 Albatros skins, attended auction of paintings & bought 2, regretted my want of money to buy more as they went very cheap.<sup>161</sup> 10th. Bought an owl. 25th. Took passage in the accommodation stage with little Joe for Portland. Stopped in Portsmouth & found Mr. Blunt & conferred with him about a building for a Museum in Portsmouth. On to Portland & got out some bills announcing the 'Wonderful Little Man' Joe.

Feb. 3rd. Witnessed the proceedings of the Legislature of Maine. 5th. Coldest day ever known. 19 below zero. Called on the Gov'r &c. & invited them to visit the Museum on Thurs. eve. 18th. My situation at the Barkers has been pleasant though crowded, there being about 30 members of the Legislature there. Rec'd several letters & packets containing money for persons in Boston. 14th. Rose at 3:30 and took mail stage & arrived in Boston about 11 at night. 27th. Bought the skin of a 4 horned sheep from the Cape of Good Hope for \$4.00. Feb. 29th. This is a singular day being the odd day & the 5th Sunday in Feb. The like will not happen again for many years.

160. One way that Greenwood could counteract the presence of the circus and other popular amusements was to advertise. 'The New-England Museum . . . will display its numerous varieties of entertainments, on the evening of Thursday, January 1, 1824.' Mr. Stevens was still performing, as were Tom and Jerry, protagonists of a popular play of life in London. The addition of such popular entertainments to the more passive offerings of the Museum was another way for Greenwood to face the competition. *Columbian Centinel*, December 31, 1823.

161. Whitwell, Bond & Co. at Doggett's Repository advertised '145 Paintings, said to be a valuable collection of them possess great merit.' *Columbian Centinel*, January 3, 1824.

Mar. 4th. Forgot that this day is sometimes noticed as the Inauguration of the President, until I heard the cannon in the morning. 11th. Got 4 specimens of Coral & a lot of Indian articles. 24th. Got some bottles & began putting up reptiles. Dr. Bigelow spoke to me about taking the Linnaen Coll. 26th. Got 2 dozen more bottles. Went to Cambridge to confer with Pres. Kirkland about the L. Coll. Think I shall arrange to take it. Bought a live Raccoon.<sup>162</sup> 29th. Bought 65 bottles & 4 gallons of spirits & worked all day putting up reptiles. 30th. Bought more bottles & spirits.

April 2nd. Had a man in to clean our great Musical Clock. I took it to pieces & did part of the work. 3rd. Ball our new tender though slow appears to be very diligent & for cleanliness and civility much better than Charles. 5th. Voting for Gov'r & Senator throughout the State. I voted for Eustis & a select list of Senators. The Federalists scold me for this but I am determined to do all in my power to free the state from Aristocracy. 6th. Went to Cambridge again to see Pres. Kirkland & went to Botanic Garden to see a beautiful plant. 10th. Bought a Sturgeon taken off Cape Cod by some fisherman, it is a very nice specimen & cost only \$5.00. 14th. Putnam Bugle player began his engagements. 17th. Mr. Van Ritter called on me to sell the skin of the Vampyre of the Ocean. Asked \$400. Can't trade. 19th. Anniversary of the Lexington Battle hung out Flag &c. Mr. Van Ritter made further application to sell his fish lowering his price a little. 20th. Van Ritter again has got down to \$250. 21st. Devoted chief of the day to Van Ritter & his fish looking for a room to exhibit it. Looked at Barn on Beacon St. 22nd. Agreed to purchase Van Ritter fish on certain conditions to pay him \$150 in money, succeeded in having 13 Brattle St. 23rd. Rose early & raised help & moved the Vampyre from on board vessel & got it into 13 Brattle St., though it rained all the time. Van Ritter & the other Dutchmen went to work fitting it up. 26th. Applied to Mayor

162. Jacob Bigelow (1786-1879) was a botanist and physician as well as professor in the Harvard Medical School from 1815 to 1855. *Dictionary of American Biography*, s.v. 'Bigelow, Jacob.' John Thornton Kirkland (1770-1840) was president of Harvard College from 1810 to 1828. *Dictionary of American Biography*, s.v. 'Kirkland, John T.'

& Aldermen for license for Van Ritter to exhibit the Vampyre. 29th. Got bill printed for the Vampyre & opened the exhibition.

May 1st. City officer sworn in. 3rd. Went to Glass house & ordered 72 large square Chelmsford Glass 15 x 25 for cases & called on Dr. Waterhouse in Cambridge.<sup>163</sup> 5th. Went to the Wharves but found no curiosities this day. 8th. Found could have a passage to Portsmouth & at 4 sailed with Capt. Tuckerman & took little Joe with me, had a rough passage but arrived just in time to escape a gale which set on off shore. 10th. Spent the morning with Mr. Blunt & Fernald looking at Buildings & in afternoon took stage for Portland. 11th. Got paint & painted the Great Sign on the brick wall outside. 12th. Began to paint & paper the Entries, find the new lamps I brought down do excellently well. 15th. Had carpenter & finished Balcony on top of the Building & took a 3 years lease of Mr. Martin. 16th. In the evening had a long & pleasant [visit] with Gov'r Parris. 18th Began to make a Pandrometer. Took Steamboat for Boston and arrived on the 20th. Went to New England Glass House & ordered a large lot of jars for preserving reptiles. 24th. Henry is repairing our Models of Ships. Bought a skin Cloak of a man from Norfolk Sound N. W. Coast. 27th. A large Barking Shark was brought in here from Cape Cod & I went to see it & bought it. \$10.00 this is my birthday again. 29th. Moved Mineral Case & insects from Medical College.

June 1st. A Mermaid arrived here last week & I agreed to exhibit it.<sup>164</sup> Busy setting up Shark. 2nd. Purchased some Indian Curiosities. 3rd. Bought four figures of an Italian \$4.00. 5th. Bought four Busts of Voltaire, filling up jars of reptiles. Dr. Parkhurst of Petersham called. 7th. Artillery Election good run of business & in the

163. Benjamin Waterhouse (1754-1846) was an eminent physician residing in Cambridge.

164. Greenwood advertised the Mermaid as 'this most extraordinary production of nature.' More information appeared in the issue of June 26. 'It was captured on the Coast of an Island in the China Sea, and brought here in the brig Otter, from Manilla. The appearance of this fish is most extraordinary, the upper or forward part bearing a very strong resemblance to the human figure, the features of the Face considerably perfect, the back of the head covered with *Hair*, the hands and arms very perfect, the Teeth sharp and hooked like those of several kinds of Fish—the shoulders and elbows covered with scales and all the lower part having fins and scales like a Fish.' *Columbian Centinel*, June 2, 26, 1824.

eve a 'Glorious House' \$342.75. Best day since Museum began. 10th. Bought a young Shark. 12th. Preparing articles for Portland, closed exhibition of the Vampyre. 14th. Dexter with his hand cart moved the Linnaen Coll. After the Museum we rallied 15 men & removed the Vampyre into the lower hall of the Museum, this was a heavy job & took nearly 2 hours. 18th. Got ready to go to Portland, got articles on board the Sloop, spy glasses &c. & bought 2½ bushels of Pear for presents to my friends at Portland. Bought the Mummy & put her on board. 19th. Went on board at daylight & arrived at Portland at daylight on the 20th. Sent round my green Pear to Gov. Parris, Dr. Nichols, Mr. Waterhouse &c. Last Friday I bought the Egyptian Mummy together with the cases &c for \$350.00. 23d. Got out bills for the Mummy exhibit. 25th. Working on the pandrometer. Called on Gov'r Parris & sold him a spy glass which he had requested me to procure for him. 26th. Went on a boat to Peake Island, & got 2 jaw bones of a Whale 14 feet long, out in a violent storm, got wet, & at one time in great danger. Put one bone in Museum here, & the other on board for Boston. 27th. On board Sloop for Boston.

July 3rd. This day completes 6 years since Museum was opened. Independence Got out all our Flags at Sunrise, rec'd a lot of roses & flowers & they created much fragrance in the rooms. I was on my feet nearly all day. A great crowd especially on the stairs & I had to use my best exertions to preserve order however the people were satisfied & sufficiently squeezed, did not close til Midnight, receipts were \$480.25 the greatest we ever had.<sup>165</sup> 7th. A tremendous fire in Charles & Beacon Sts. which burned 15 large & elegant houses besides other buildings. The fire was stopped at my friend Beans house which was partly destroyed. 8th. Bought Boston in

<sup>165</sup>. A lengthy advertisement noted that 'the New England Museum, 76, Court Street, Boston, Will be elegantly decorated, with a variety of Flags, and National Emblems, representations of National Victories, festoons of Roses, in great numbers, &c. and in the evening it will be splendidly illuminated, with more than one thousand variegated, and other Lamps, and enlivened by a Band of Martial Music.' Several new exhibitions including 'the Vampyre of the Ocean,' an Asian lion, and a whale were offered. The 'proprietors have spared no labor or expense to render it worthy of the patronage of an enlightened Public.' *Columbian Centinel*, July 3, 1824.

Miniature of Dr. Waterhouse in Cambridge, returned & assisted the removing furniture &c. on the Common. 9th. Took Stage & went to Providence to hire a building for a Museum. Rents were very high, examined Tavern House on North Main St. Think I shall hire it if I can get it at a reasonable rent, returned to Boston on the eve of the 10th. 13th. Interviewed Mr. Wild past owner of the Providence building but he asks too much rent. He politely gave me leave to store my articles there for the present. Began in earnest to get articles ready for Providence. 17th. Worked hard & got several bulky things on board Sloop for Providence. Engaged Henry the blind boy for the Organ. 19th. Bought articles for dresses & Mrs. D is busy making them. Potter again for this week & two other exhibitions of nonsense. 20th Set up Sword fish. 21st. Attended Auction & bought several Prints and 4 paintings.<sup>166</sup> Bought a fish called the Sea Devil. 23rd. For several days J. Scudder of New York has been here strutting with as much pomposity as any Dandy I ever saw, devoted all suitable attention to him & have sold him some plaster figures to the amount of \$36.00. 26th. Got a portrait of LaFayette & put it up in the Corner Hall. Concluded a bargain with Mr. Wild to hire front part of his home at Providence \$220 per year. 28th. Put up heart, lungs, gizzard &c. of Ostrich in bottles also old iron parts of knives &c. found in his stomach. 29th. Got aboard Sloop for Portland, but she got aground so here I am yet. 30th. Set sail & arrived in P. on the 31st. Took down the Mummy, packed it & attended to some affairs of the Museum & set sail for Boston.

Aug. 2nd. Had the great case with the Mummy put on board the Schooner for Providence. 7th. Put several articles, Organ, box of pictures &c. on board for P. 13th. Took Steamboat & went to Newport & met the Schooner with my articles in the river. 14th. Articles were brought up to the Building. 15th. Took Stage for Boston. Late at night with several hands got up the Great Shark into

<sup>166</sup> J. L. Cunningham held an auction at Doggett's Repository of English engravings including Biblical, historical, landscape, and sporting subjects. *Boston Daily Advertiser*, July 20, 1824.

the Marine Room. 17th. Took Stage with Mrs. Duchene, the boy John & went to Providence leaving the Museum in charge of Mr. Stone. 18th. Worked at fitting up & Mrs. D. at dressing Wax figures. 20th. Drive on the work of fitting up. LaFayette expected this way soon. Baggage wagon arrived with our things. 22nd. Gave directions for business in my absence & took Stage for Boston. 23rd. Prepared bills & advertisements for Gen'l LaFayette's arrival, & for Commencement. Got Flags to decorate the Museum. The City is in a great uproar in preparing for the reception of Gen'l LaFayette. 24th. This was a splendid & a proud day for Boston, description of the goings would be too long for this journal but may be found 50 years hence in all the publications of the day. We decorated in great style & had a good deal of very genteel company.<sup>167</sup> 25th. Commencement at Cambridge went & staid 2 or 3 hours but couldn't get into meeting house so returned. Bought a live Ostrich of Capt. Safford of Portland \$65.00, intended to exhibit it in Cambridge but couldn't find a suitable place. 26th. Sent the Ostrich to Providence. 27th. Took Stage & went to Providence & resumed fitting up the Museum hired a young man to do any & everything he is capable of doing. 29th. After preparing bills took stage for Boston to be present at the Grand Military Parade in honor of Gen'l LaFayette. 30th. Grand Parade 10,000 troops on the Common another great day for Boston & LaFayette too, everything was well done. 31st. Took Stage & went to Providence.

Sept. 1st. Got out bills for Museum. Mummy & Ostrich & opened all three at 10 o'clock. Commencement was held in the Meeting House in front of the Museum. 3rd. Got up some Indian Wax figures in upper hall, & busy putting up cases. 5th. Returned to Boston. 6th. Attended Auction of paintings bought 13 pictures \$38.75.<sup>168</sup> 7th. Got up my paints & began a portrait of Gen'l

167. Greenwood advertised the preparations for LaFayette's visit: 'The New-England Museum . . . will be Splendidly Decorated, in honor of the Nation's Friend, and the Nation's Guest, Gen. Lafayette, and Brilliantly Illuminated Every Evening this Week.' *Columbian Centinel*, August 25, 1824.

168. The auction at Doggett's Repository included 'Ancient Paintings, consisting of Scripture Subjects, Landscapes, Roman History, &c. by Salvator Rosa, Guido Reni, Spagnoletti, Poussin, Michael Angelo da Caravaggio, Carlo da Cortona and others.' The paint-

Warren. 9th. A man setting up a large Sun fish, I paint & tend door. 11th. Sent several pictures to the Gallery. Discharged Cooley it being more painful to see him work than to do it myself. 18th. Bought two flying squirrels. 20th. Early in the morning was notified of the arrival of a great Turtle went on board & bought it. Spent 5 hours in finding a room to put it in, got the Irishmans Intelligence Office 14 Brattle St. Got it moved in & ready to show & opened the exhibition on the 21st. It is the great Leviathan Turtle precisely like Scudder's<sup>169</sup> Bought a lot of Monkeys. 23rd. The great Turtle died yesterday, hired Mr. Simson to skin it. Several young doctors assisted worked at dissecting. 24th. Mr. Pratt of Providence called on me & I bought his Panorama of Providence \$35.00. Began to sew up & stuff the Turtle. 30th. Bought 2 Prints of Lafayette at \$12.00 each.<sup>170</sup>

Oct. 1st. Fitted frames to the Prints of Lafayette. 2nd Bought a grand Musical Clock & with other things took stage for Providence carrying the clock. 3rd. Went with Dr. Parsons to the College to examine the Anatomical preparations. 4th. Took Stage & returned to Boston by way of Taunton. 5th. Rec'd note from Mr. G. W. Adams with permission to copy the portrait of his Father the Hon. John Quincy Adams. 8th. Bought another Piano & got it home & fitted up. 10th. Rose early & took stage for Providence. 16th. Returned to Boston hired a horse & went to Brighton & procured a place to exhibit the Ostrich & Turtle, having sent the Ostrich from Providence in baggage wagon. 19th. Got bills printed for the Ostrich & Turtle & had them fitted up for Brighton Cattle Show. Illuminated the Museum & the receipts of the eve-

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ings had been 'selected by a gentleman from Boston, and are worthy the attention of amateurs.' *Columbian Centinel*, Sept. 4, 1824.

169. The advertisement suggested that the turtle, 'a rare production of nature,' would not survive much longer. 'Grand Leviathan Turtle. This Day and Evening only. This monster of the Deep, 7 feet, 4 inches long, and weighing upwards of 800 lbs, just captured and brought in on Monday by the Captain and Crew of a fishing schooner, from about 90 miles E. of Cape Ann.' *Columbian Centinel*, September 22, 1824.

170. The proposals for an engraved portrait of Lafayette by Francis Kearney after a painting by L. le Paon were published in the *Columbian Centinel* on April 21. Measuring fifteen by eighteen inches, the projected cost was \$3.00. Perhaps Greenwood purchased two of these prints.



ning \$41.00 were given to Bunker Hill Monument Association. 21st. Had Ostrich & Turtle brought home. Got a live Peccary from a vessel & paid \$3.00 freight. Bought at Brighton a male & female Buffalo at \$40.00. 22nd. Moved the Great Turtle into the Museum & began to fit up No. 16 Brattle St. for the Ostrich, tried to find a place for the Buffalos, put them into Mr. Beans Stable till I could find a suitable place. 23rd. Paid for an Esquimaux Canoe \$15.00. Gen'l Dearborn gave to the Museum an elegant Glass Bee Hive. Had word from Dr. Parsons that Mrs. Duchene was sick & got Mrs. Gray to go to Providence to take care of her. 26th. Moved all the Monkeys to No. 16 Brattle St. 27th. Attended sale of paintings at Concert Hall & bought 9 at \$43.50.<sup>171</sup> Bought a large painting Market Place in Rome \$25.00. 29th. Bought a stove for No. 16 Brattle St.

Nov. 3rd Procured a license to exhibit Ostrich. Bought the skin of a Beaver. 4th. Opened exhibition of Ostrich. Bought two pairs of pistols for Dr. How to carry out to the Greeks.<sup>172</sup> 5th. Got case for glass Bee hive done & fitted it in the Museum & also fitted up the rattlesnake. 8th. Got home Pagoda & prepared to go to Providence. Made transparent sign for Ostrich. 7th. Rose at 3 & went to Prov. carried with me the Pagoda, Portrait of Jefferson some Minerals &c. 9th. Put up the Panorama. 11th. Took Stage & went home found all safe & the Ostrich had done wonderfully well, having taken nearly \$40.00 in 3 days. Went to see about a place for the Buffalo's. 12th. Moved the Buffalos in the evening to Davis Stables. 15th. Bought last Friday a clock that is carried by a secret power which has gone well & kept good time ever since in my room. 18th. Moved the Peccary into same place with the Buffalo's. 19th. Ostrich slipped down & broke his leg. This is a severe loss as he was producing a very good daily income. 20th. Left for Portland

171. The advertisement noted that the paintings were 'chiefly from the Flemish and Italian Schools.' Sculpture also was for sale, including 'many from the ruins of Hercules.' *Boston Daily Advertiser*, October 23, 1824.

172. Samuel Gridley Howe (1800-1876) spent six years in Greece from 1824 to 1830 assisting Greek patriots in the struggle against the Turks. *Dictionary of American Biography*, s.v. 'Howe, Samuel G.'

& arrived on the 22nd. Put up 'View of London' in the Cosmorama. 23rd. Rose at 3 & took Stage for Boston, found Ostrich alive. 28th. The Ostrich still lives & produced \$15.00 last week. Bought a Bear. 30th. Put up the pictures in Gallery & arranged many things in the Museum, fitted up Lion, Bear, Moose, Elks, Great Turtle &c. Bought a live Sable. Smith building Bear Cage.

Dec. 1st. The Ostrich died this morning.<sup>173</sup> 3rd. Rose & took Stage for Providence at 3. 8th. Put Musical Clock in order. 9th. Returned to Boston. 10th. Bought a lot of Prints. Charles had skinned the Ostrich & they set it up. The large Monkey died on the 12th. 20th. Bought hemlock & evergreen for Christmas. 22nd. Landing of the Pilgrims 204 years ago.<sup>174</sup> 23rd. Spent part of the day with Mr. Doyle examining his Museum which I have concluded to purchase. 24th. Decorated for Christmas. 27th. Finished 3 portraits of John Quincy Adams and sent one copy to Portland & one to Providence.<sup>175</sup> 31st. Agreed to purchase the Columbian Museum \$5,000.

## 1825

Jan 1st. This is, & ever will be an important 'Day' to me. The bargain was closed for the purchase of the Columbian & City Museum, & this day was chosen for the payment, by the proprietor of the New England Museum & Gallery of Fine Arts. The sum

173. Under the heading of 'Thanksgiving Amusements,' Greenwood advertised: 'Within the last year, immense additions and improvements have been made in the Establishment, too numerous to mention, particularly the Whale; the Vampyre of the Ocean; the Lion; the great Basking Shark; the Great Leviathan Turtle; the Moose; and the Elk, are among them. Also just added—The Glass Bee-Hive, a very great Curiosity, and a very Curious Clock, which goes and keeps time without any apparent means.' *Columbian Centinel*, December 1, 1824.

174. An advertisement provided some important details about the Gallery of Fine Arts. '... It now contains upwards of 200 Valuable Paintings, (several of them large,) a fine collection of Statuary, superior Prints, &c. among which are the Entire Works of Hogarth. The Gallery is now under the care of Mr. Pratt, an eminent Portrait and Landscape painter, whose Room is adjoining and whose talents merit the patronage of the public.' *Columbian Centinel*, December 22, 1824. Henry Cheever Pratt (1803–1880) was brought to Boston from New Hampshire by Samuel F. B. Morse about 1817. *Dictionary of Artists*, p. 515.

175. The third portrait was placed in Greenwood's Museum, according to an advertisement in the December 25, 1824, issue of the *Columbian Centinel*.

given is \$5000, payment according to agreement, \$1000 every six months for 2 years, & \$1000 in cash, everything about this contract has been done with the utmost harmony. I find my mind filled with anxiety at the large amount I have run in debt, but shall use every exertion, both of economy & activity in business, to meet my engagements. Sunday Jan. 2nd. After several days & nights of hard labor & anxiety, I was glad to make this a day of rest. 3rd. Began to prepare for a large bill for Providence getting cuts finished & bills ready for printer. 6th. Put more articles on board for Portland, some from Columbian M. Lafayette & 3 other wax figures. 8th. Anniversary of the Battle of New Orleans. Went to Providence, found the Caravan in front of the Museum does us much harm. 16th. After giving directions for business took Stage for home. 15th. Took stage for Newburyport. 16th. Stage full, rode in a chaise to Portsmouth, then on runners to Kennebunk where we waited two hours & a half for the mail which came by Dover & arrived in Portland at 9:30. Found Barker's home full to overflowing, with representatives, Vermonters &c. 18th. Dr. Leavit called on me & offered me a new Hand Organ from France & I bought it, & put it in immediate use in the Museum, put up 4 wax figures & some other things. 19th. New Organ is much admired. 20th. Put old Hand Organ on board Sloop for Boston, called on Governor & invited him & Council to visit the M. on Tues. eve. 25th. Had piano tuned. Illuminated &c. & the Gov'r etc. attended the establishment seem to be rapidly advancing. 26th. Returned to Boston by Stage.

Feb. 2nd. Busy fitting pictures into frames. 4th. Goodrich busy repairing old French Organ, and I gave him another to repair. 5th. Started for Providence carried French Organ & pictures, & a portrait of Henry Clay. 7th. Returned to Boston, Gov. Eustis died yesterday aged 73. 10th. Got home a skeleton from Dr. Keep. Bought a full length anatomical figure of Dr. Fisher \$20.00. 11th. Funeral of Gov. E & our windows were filled with ladies to see the procession pass. 13th. Spent the evening at Mr. Beans, Miss Houghton from Barre. 14th. At 2 in the morning news arrived that John Quincy Adams was chosen President of the U.S. In ten minutes had the

M. illuminated & kept it up till daylight. During the day many salutes were fired, & a general joy prevailed. 15th. Charles busy skinning wild geese. 18th. Busy moving from the Columbian. 19th. Put Washington & other large pictures on board for Portland & a great lot on board for Providence, also 9 cases of birds. 21st. Tremendous snow storm. Getting ready for Washington's Birthday, this is the poorest day we've had these 4 years, receipts only 50 cts.<sup>176</sup> 22nd. Moved things from Columbian M. on the boat for Providence. 25th. Took Stage & went to Providence & returned on the 27th.

Mar. 1st. Began to unroll the mummy & had good success. Dr. Fisher & others assisted. Put articles from Columbian M. on board for Portland. 4th. 'Wide Awake' This day John Quincy Adams is inaugurated into the office of President of the United States, the day in Boston devoted to rejoicing. We put out Flags, Transparencies, &c. 5th. Jos. Stevens the *little man* who has been as far South as Washington returned, & is now with me. 11th. Put two large cases & some pictures on board for Portland. This day made insurance for \$5000 on the Collection of the New Eng. Museum. 15. Shipped a lot of articles on board Capt. Baker for Providence. 19th. Mrs. Duchene arrived from Prov. to refit our wax figures. 21st. Made additions to Wax figure cases, & sent dresses to be washed, & bought several articles for dresses. 24th. Moved several Wax figures from the Columbian.

April 7th. At 11 at night Great Fire Commenced. 8th Had been up all night at the fire which will be long remembered & recorded in the annals of Boston.<sup>177</sup> 9th Sent my Buffaloes to my Father in Hubbardston to be kept. 11th. Sailed for Portland. 13th. Began work in the upper story of the New Hall. 21st. Built a case & put the Wax figures in & opened our new apartment in the eve. 25th.

176. Greenwood seldom missed an opportunity to attract a crowd for a celebration. He advertised a 'special evening' for members of the Massachusetts government to commemorate the anniversary of the granting of the charter to the Massachusetts Bay Colony. *Columbian Centinel*, February 16, 1825.

177. Among those whose property was destroyed was the auctioneer Joseph L. Cunningham on Liberty Square. The area burned was on State Street, Kilby Street, Doane Street, Broad Street, and Central Street, just one block from Long Wharf. *Columbian Centinel*, April 9, 1825.

Returned to Boston. 26th. Paid for 4 cases of Insects. 27th. Went to Providence. 28th. Took down the Panorama of Providence & put it on board for Boston, rearranged the room & put up signs in the corner, which can be plainly seen from the Market. April has been unusually warm. Peach, Pear, & Plum trees & some apple trees in full bloom.

May 2nd. A letter from Portland offering to take \$3,000 insurance on Portland Museum at 1 perct. a year. Refitting the Marine Room. Sibley is skinning the Bear. 6th. Got the great Ox on board Capt. Knight's for Portland. 7th. Put up pictures for Providence, & Charles got Bear Skin ready to set up. 8th. Took Stage & went to Providence got paint & painted the stairway, put up pictures & made other improvements. 10th. Took Stage & returned to Boston. 11th. Bought some curiosities from Africa, bought a Bear Skin. 12th. Towards evening rec'd word that the two statues of Charity, from the top of the Almshouse were at my service, procured help & removed them into lower hall. 14th. Took Stage & rode to Hubbardston to visit my aged Parents. 15th. Made arrangements for keeping my Buffaloes. 16th. Returned to Boston, my Father & Mother show infirmities of age. 17th. Engaged about selling two organs. Bought 3 paintings at Auction done by Pratt. 21st. Prepared the Mummies for exhibition. 23. Filled up the green room & fitted the Panorama of Providence. 25th. Election Got out Flags Transparencies &c. & attended to company. 26th. Sent the white Bear, a Black Bear a number of pictures & other articles on board Capt. Knight for Portland. 27th. My birthday growing old fast. Hair gray on temples, & thin, approaching baldness on top of my head. 28th. Took stage & went to Providence carried some pictures & put them up. 30th. Returned to Boston & began moving things from the Gallery of Fine Arts. 31st. Finished moving all the articles from the Gallery without the least accident or damage. The Gallery has not paid expenses for the last two years, yet I wished to keep it up in hopes public taste would presently improve. It will now remain stored till I can get a better place.

June 1st. Mummies beginning to attract. June 6th. Artillery

Election. Flags & transparencies out. Very genteel company & at 11 at night receipts were \$329.25. retired at 1 o'clock fatigued.<sup>178</sup> 10th. Charles & Joe cleaning out the room back of Egypt & fitted it up for a dressing room. 16. Gen'l Lafayette arrived yesterday privately.<sup>179</sup> 50th Anniversary of the Battle of Bunker Hill & the most splendid day ever witnessed in this country. For all the particulars of this great occasion, I refer to Public papers & records. I had subscribed \$50.00 towards the Monument which I paid yesterday. The city was very full & we had a great deal of company. 18th. I called on Gen'l Lafayette & invited him to visit the Museum which he was pleased to say he would do on Monday. Called on Gov'r Lincoln &c. & invited them. 20th. Was up early & worked hard decorating the Museum for the reception of Gen'l Lafayette, by 12 our rooms were handsomely filled with Genteel company, as Major Russell would say with the beauty, taste, & fashion of the town. Between 12 & 1 Gen'l Lafayette & the Gov'r came & then all was bustle activity & life. The Gen'l staid nearly an hour & was all the time busy either in viewing the curiosities or receiving the salutations of the Ladies & Gentlemen. 21st. Took passage for Portland, the vessel being in ballast rolled considerably. Arrived at Portland Light at 5 A. M. wind & tide against us, had to cast anchor to get carried ashore at the Fort, walked to the Ferry, & thence proceeded to town. 23rd. We all worked fitting up the Museum, the City began to raise arches &c. for the reception of Lafayette. 25th. Finished our improvements & put up the remainder of the Wax figures. Gen'l L entered town at 10 & every body was in motion. He was received here with the same enthusiasm as every where else & everything was well conducted. Our illumination last eve & this,

178. Greenwood advertised that the Museum would be open during the day and during the evening, 'brilliantly illuminated.' The major new attraction was 'Major J. M. Stevens, the wonderful Little Man, 21 years old, 37½ inches high and weighing only 34 lbs. who has lately excited much admiration at several Theatres in the U.S.' *Columbian Centinel*, June 4, 1825.

179. Greenwood took advantage of Lafayette's presence: 'Heroes of Bunker Hill. The New-England Museum will be Brilliantly Illuminated every evening during Gen. Lafayette's visit. This Evening the Museum will be visited by all the surviving Heroes, who fought at the Battle of Bunker's Hill, in a body.' *Columbian Centinel*, June 18, 1825, July 23, 1825.

# BUNKER HILL MONUMENT ASSOCIATION.

Corrected Order of Procession, for the Seventeenth of June, 1825.

The Procession will move from the State House PROCESSION at TEN O'CLOCK, through Park, Common, and School streets, Cornhill, Dock square, Union, Hanover, and Stone streets, over Charles River Bridge, the Main street, Green and High streets, to the site of the Monument.

Those who constitute the Procession, are respectfully requested to assemble at the places for them, respectively designated, precisely at NINE O'CLOCK, that the procession may be arranged in season to move punctually at the appointed hour.

For obvious reasons, (which the good sense of the public will duly appreciate) no CARRIAGES, but from necessity, will move in the procession.

**MILITARY EXPERTS.**  
SURVIVORS OF THE BATTLE, with badges—Bunker Hill, June 17, 1775. To assemble precisely at 9 O'CLOCK, at the Subscription House, corner of Park and Beacon streets, where they will receive their badges, and be placed in open carriages, to form part of the procession.

**THE MEMBERS OF THE BUNKER HILL MONUMENT ASSOCIATION,** distinguished by badges worn on the left breast; every member who walks in the procession will wear the "B. H. M. A." Members are to assemble in the Beacon street Hall.

**THE GRAND LODGE OF MASSACHUSETTS**—The Most Worshipful Grand Master, John Abbot, Esq. having accepted an invitation to lay the Corner-Stone is accompanied by the Fraternity of Boston. To assemble in the Hall by Common street.

The President H. H. M. A.  
The Rev. Joseph Thaxter, Revolutionary Chaplain, and Rev. James Walker, Chaplain of the occasion.

Vice Presidents of B. H. M. A.  
Directors.  
Committee of Correspondence.  
Other Committees.

**Secretary and Treasurer.**  
To assemble at the office of B. H. M. A.  
The PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES, in a carriage.  
(It is suggested that the President is unable to attend.)

General LAFAYETTE, and Son, in an open carriage.  
Gen. LAFAYETTE'S Suite, in a carriage.

**THE OFFICERS OF THE REVOLUTIONARY ARMY AND REVOLUTIONARY NAVY.** To assemble at the Adjutant General's Office, State House, where they will be furnished with badges.

**THE CLERGY OF MASSACHUSETTS,** and of other States. To assemble in the West Entry (lower door) of the State House.

His Excellency the GOVERNOR.  
His Honors the LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR and the EXECUTIVE COUNCIL.  
Adjutant General, Secretary, Treasurer.

The Honorable the SENATE.  
The Honorable the HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.  
Governors of other States in the Union.

On the westerly side of the area of the State House floor.

Heads of Departments of United States. At the same place as next above.

Senators of the United States. At same place as next above.

Members of the House of Representatives of the United States. At same place as next above.

Members of Foreign Legations, and Consuls. At same place.

Judges of the United States Courts, and of the State Courts of Massachusetts and other States, Attorney and Solicitor General, Attorney of U. States, Marshal of U. S. Shores, Clerks. On the floor of the State House.

Delegations from Charleston, S. C. and Providence, R. I. specially commissioned to attend this celebration. On the steps of the State House.

Strangers of distinction, of other States, invited to attend. Area of floor of State House.

Officers of the Army and Navy of the U. States. State House floor.

Members of the Legislatures of other States.—State House floor.

The Mayor of the City of Boston, President of the Common Council, and Board of Aldermen of the City of Boston, and the Chairman and Selectmen of Charlestown. State House floor.

PRESIDENTS AND OFFICERS OF COLLEGES, and the Reverend CLERGY. To assemble at Mrs Terry's, late Gov. Hancock's house, Beacon st. HEADS OF SOCIETIES. In Eastern Entry of the State House.

The HISTORICAL SOCIETY of Massachusetts. In the Treasurer's Office, State House.

Delegation of the PILGRIM SOCIETY (of Plymouth.) At next above.

OFFICERS of the MILITIA, in uniform. To assemble and form on the west side of the State House Yard, extending along the west end of the State House, and in the rear thereof.

INVITED CITIZENS of Massachusetts. At the Lead Office, State House.

The Publication intended will consist of the programme in the SOUTHERN BRIDGE square. On arriving at the site of the monument, the different parts of the programme will be distributed, in close order, on the sides of the square, into which no person can be admitted, the space being limited, but those who belong to the procession.

The ceremonies of laying the Corner Stone, will then take place, and immediately afterwards the procession will be dispersed in the Amphitheatre, erected on the north side of the hill, to hear the ADDRESS, to be there delivered by the President of the Association, accompanied by suitable addresses.

A new procession will then be formed, to be composed of those persons only, who shall have provided themselves with cards of admission to the dinner, and of the few persons, whom the Directors supposed they should consult the wishes of the Association in receiving as GUESTS, and, so formed, this procession will move in the place prepared on Bunker Hill square.

A part of the Amphitheatre (all that could be) has been appropriated for LADIES, who will enter by ONE AVENUE on Elm street. The streets leading to the Hill, where the ceremonies are to take place will, with a view to prevent accidents and collisions, be ABSOLUTELY BARREN AGAINST CARriages. Gentlemen who attend Ladies, will not be admitted into the Amphitheatre. Ladies will be received from their carriages, at the entrance to the Avenue, by Marshals appointed for that purpose. When the procession has left the Hill, gentlemen will be admitted to attend ladies there, and not before. The ladies will remain seated until the procession comes to dinner. The streets for Ladies will be open precisely at ELEVEN O'CLOCK.

As there will be in this assembly many persons of advanced age, and who are consequently feeble, all the ceremonies will be as SHORT as can be, consistently with the dignity of the occasion. This consideration will have its due weight in impressing all concerned with the necessity of PUNCTUALITY and READINESS that no time may be wasted.

It having been stated that the government of the Association had assumed the payment of the expenses of STRAY TRAVELERS attending, on this occasion, it should be known, that it is said so. No liability to do this, nor to incur any expense not absolutely necessary, has been given, or exercised.

If any such payment be made, it must be a consequence of an expressed opinion, of the members of the Association.

W. M. SULLIVAN, Recording Committee.  
S. D. HANSEN, Secy. of B. H. M. A.  
Boston, June 15, 1825.

Fig. 4. Bunker Hill Monument Association, Corrected Order of Procession for the Seventeenth of June, 1825. [Boston, 1825] 10 1/2 x 7 1/2 inches. Broadside collection, American Antiquarian Society.

was very elegant. 27th. Took passage in Sloop for Boston & arrived on the 29th.

July 2nd. This day closes the 7th year since the Museum was first opened. 4th. Independence. Ned Howard got drunk & instead of distributing our bills lost them, by which, & the fireworks we

had a thin house. 11th. Extremely hot 101°. Many persons dropped down & some died from the heat. 12th. Bought two rattlesnakes.<sup>180</sup> 13th. More than 30 persons have died from the heat & drinking cold water in Boston & vicinity. 16th. Took Stage & went to Providence & returned on the 18th. 23rd. Overcome with the heat, & was sick for a week with a mine [?]. 30th. Went into the Country as far as Northboro where I staid at my sisters till Aug. 5th when I went to Providence.

[Aug.] 6th. Took steamboat for New York. 8th. Devoted the day to look at everything curious, spent some time at the Museum, & Academy of Fine Arts, visited Castle Garden & the Paintings in City Hall & made several calls. 9th. Took passage for Philadelphia in Steamboat to Brunswick in Stage to 7 miles below Trenton, & in Steamboat to Phila. arrived before 6. & in the eve went to Sharpless [*sic*] Museum the other not being open. 10th. Visited Peales & Sharpless Museum & Academy of Fine Arts, West's great picture of Christ healing the Sick in fact looked at everything with all my might. 11th. Rose early & took passage for New York where I arrived at 6 & went to Scudders Museum in the eve. 12th. Called on Dr. Mitchell [*sic*] who very politely showed me the Lyceum, the Museum of the Medical College &c. He is a very learned man, with the simplicity of a child in his Manner.<sup>181</sup> Purchased 24 lens glasses & some other articles. 13th. Spent the a.m. in still further examination of everything curious, with Col. Trumbull.<sup>182</sup> Took leave of New York by Steamboat. Arrived in Providence on the 14th & in Boston on the 15th having been absent 17 days, & travelled above 800 miles.

180. They came from the shores of Lake Erie and were 'well secured in glass cases.' *Columbian Centinel*, July 23, 1825.

181. Samuel Latham Mitchill (1764-1831) was a physician intensely interested in natural science. He founded the Lyceum of Natural History in New York in 1817. Joseph Kastner, *A Species of Eternity*, (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1977), p. 202.

182. John Trumbull (1756-1843) was an artist who had studied in London. After several extended stays in England, Trumbull settled in New York in 1816 where he was active as an artist and as the president of the American Academy of Fine Arts. *Dictionary of Artists*, p. 638.



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