Art/Self: Martha Ann Honeywell and the Politics of Display in the Early Republic

Laurel Richardson Daen

College of William & Mary - Arts & Sciences

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Art/Self:
Martha Ann Honeywell and the
Politics of Display in the Early Republic

Laurel Richardson Daen
Greenfield, MA

B.A., Wesleyan University, 2005

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Laurel Richardson Daen

Approved by the Committee, September, 2010

Committee Chair
Karin Wulf, Associate Professor of History and American Studies
The College of William & Mary

Leisa Meyer, Class of 1964 Distinguished Associate Professor of American Studies and History
The College of William & Mary

Elizabeth Barnes, Vera W. Barkley Associate Professor of English and American Studies
The College of William & Mary
This thesis examines the life and career of Martha Ann Honeywell, an early nineteenth-century itinerant artist who traveled throughout America, Europe, and Canada to exhibit her cut-and-paste silhouettes, embroidery, waxwork, and miniature writing samples. Honeywell was widely regarded as an “extraordinary phenomenon” as much for her skillful artistic creations as for her singular body, which lacked hands and had just three toes on one foot. Exploring the intersections of gender and dis/ability, this thesis argues that Honeywell used her artwork to selectively challenge and conform to social prescriptions in order to advance her career.

Drawing on a collection of nearly 300 newspaper advertisements that Honeywell published to promote her exhibitions, this thesis traces her travels across fifteen American states and five countries over a period of sixty years. Also included is a catalogue of over 100 samples of Honeywell’s artwork. By uncovering the life and works of an as-of-yet little known artist, this thesis begins to document the often unrecognized contributions of women and people with disabilities to developments in marketplace capitalism and public culture in the early nineteenth century. Even more, it exposes the strategies that many aspiring entrepreneurs, especially those in the burgeoning arts and entertainment industries, may have used to capitalize on the very characteristics of their marginalization and turn potentially debilitating qualities into tools for economic and social success.
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I stumbled upon Martha Ann Honeywell’s artwork during my first day as an intern in the curatorial department at the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation. From that day forward, I have benefited from the support and guidance of many insightful and dedicated individuals.

My advisor, Karin Wulf, has been an invaluable mentor to me for the duration of this project. She has read multiple drafts and always provided thoughtful feedback that helped to clarify my ideas and push my writing in new directions. I would also like to thank the members of my thesis committee, Leisa Meyer and Elizabeth Barnes, for their suggestions during my colloquium and continued support throughout the process.

Barbara Luck, Curator of Paintings, Drawings, and Sculpture at Colonial Williamsburg, first introduced me to Martha Ann Honeywell and contributed a wealth of knowledge about her life and art to this project. Barbara served as an important resource for me and I am grateful for her assistance. I would also like to acknowledge Laura Barry, Associate Curator of Prints, Maps, and Paintings, who was a kind and supportive mentor during my time at Colonial Williamsburg.

My fellow graduate students, especially those in my research seminar during the fall of 2009, have provided constant encouragement for my work. They read drafts, looked over sources, served as sounding boards for ideas, and offered tips on relevant material. I feel fortunate to have a smart and fun group of colleagues with whom I can share my graduate school experience.

Lastly, I am deeply grateful to my loving family and friends. Many have read drafts of this work; even more have engaged in thought provoking conversations and asked tough questions about the sources that I have examined and the conclusions that I have drawn. I am also thankful for the endless opportunities that family and friends have provided for fun, silly, and exciting distractions. My work has been much sweeter for the many opportunities for play with which it has coexisted.
On November 3, 1828 the celebrated artist Martha Ann Honeywell arrived at Rembrandt Peale’s Museum in Baltimore. For eight days prior, Rembrandt’s brother Rubens had advertised her artistic achievements and extraordinary appearance in the *Baltimore Patriot*, and local citizens greatly anticipated her arrival.\(^1\) Honeywell was known as an “extraordinary phenomenon” throughout the United States and Europe as much for her accomplishments in embroidery, miniature writing, and paper cutting as for her singular body, which lacked hands and had just three toes on one foot.\(^2\) Now, the Peale brothers could add Honeywell to their selection of artistic and scientific exhibitions.

During the first week of Honeywell’s show, over 600 visitors came from Baltimore and surrounding cities to purchase her artwork and watch her perform.\(^3\) Some visitors, like Harriet Thomson of the Copeley Plantation in Virginia, saved Honeywell’s needlework samples and cuttings in their scrapbooks.\(^4\) Others, like the cabinetmaker George Woltz, sat for a profile, which Honeywell cut by holding scissors in her mouth.\(^5\) A 15-year old girl even dedicated a poem to her: “What skill, what taste, what neatness shine / In all thy various works of art / They surely show the hand Divine / Has stamped his image on thy heart.”\(^6\) Due to popular demand, Honeywell exhibited at the Museum for just over one year.\(^7\)

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\(^1\) *Baltimore Patriot*, October 25, 27, 29, 31, and November 1, 1828.
\(^2\) *Aurora General Advertiser*, July 5, 1809; *Vermont Republican*, November 27, 1820.
\(^4\) Scrapbook of Harriet D. Thomson; Valentine Museum, Richmond, VA.
\(^5\) Silhouette of George Woltz (1744-?); Museum of Early Southern Decorative Arts (7-9708).
\(^6\) *Baltimore Patriot*, December 4-9, 1828.
\(^7\) Honeywell exhibited at Peale’s Museum in Baltimore from November 3, 1828 to October 29, 1829. *Baltimore Patriot*, November 3, 1828; *Baltimore Patriot*, October 29, 1829.
Martha Ann Honeywell provides a unique case study for examining the politics of entrepreneurship and public display in early nineteenth-century America. As a woman and an atypically-bodied person, her vocational opportunities were severely limited. However, by cultivating her public persona to negotiate social conventions, she was able to pursue her visual and performance art, acquire financial profit, and establish herself in the “middling” sector of society. Honeywell’s story reveals the often unrecognized contributions of women and people with disabilities to developments in marketplace capitalism and public culture at the time. Even more, her case exposes the strategies that many aspiring entrepreneurs, especially those in the burgeoning “freak show” industry, may have used to capitalize on the very characteristics of their marginalization and turn potentially debilitating qualities into tools for economic and social success.

This thesis begins by narrating Martha Ann Honeywell’s biography and contextualizing her life within larger developments in industry, commerce, transportation, print media, art, public culture, and medical science at the time. It then examines the process by which Honeywell crafted her public persona in her newspaper advertisements and exhibitions. To appeal to the general public, she seems to have disguised her defiance of some cultural norms with deliberate acts of compliance to others. For example, she often emphasized the features of her physical disabilities as a way to break free from the confines of femininity. Other times, she abided by gendered conventions in order to subvert notions of ablebodiedness. This practice of masking her radical propensities with socially acceptable traits may have shielded her from some of the discrimination and derision that she might have experienced as a publicly prominent and financially successful woman or person with disabilities. In addition, although she
exhibited in commercial freak shows, her strategy of self presentation may have enabled her to escape some of the contempt and ostracism that workers in this industry often experienced. With her keen cultural perception, artistic abilities, and entrepreneurial skill, Honeywell is best remembered as an accomplished visual and performance artist who capitalized on her position of marginalization in order to develop her career and assert her autonomy in early nineteenth-century American society.\(^8\)

The Life and Works of Martha Ann Honeywell (1787-1856)

Martha Ann Honeywell was born in 1787 to Gilbert and Martha Honeywell of West Chester, New York.\(^9\) Although Martha Ann was in good health, she had an unusual physique. Her arms were just short stumps extending half the length from her shoulders to would-be elbows, and she was without fingers or hands. Her legs were also stumps, of

\[^8\] This thesis draws from a rich body of primary sources on Martha Ann Honeywell. I have located sources in four general categories: newspaper advertisements; visual artworks; governmental documents, such as census records and immigration listings; and writings from customers. In the first category, I have found 276 newspaper advertisements that Honeywell published to promote her exhibitions. Of these, 66 are originals and 210 are repeated prints. The advertisements hail from 15 different states and 6 cities in England and Scotland. The first advertisement dates from March 9, 1798 (The Time Piece, March 9, 1798); the last dates from March 7, 1844 (Public Ledger, March 7, 1844). In the second category, I have located 101 accounts of visual artworks by Honeywell. These works are diverse in media, and include: needlepoint samples, watch-papers, cut-and-paste silhouettes, drawings, miniature writings, and paper cuttings. The first work dates from 1807 and the last dates from 1848. In many cases, the original artwork was not marked with the date, location, and name of the sitter. Using both primary and secondary sources, I have attributed tentative dates, locations, and names to many of these pieces. This information in included in the catalogue attached to the thesis. In the third category, I have found documentation of Honeywell in 7 governmental records, including the United States and Canadian Census, ship passenger lists, and immigration listings. In the final category, I have 16 writings from Honeywell’s customers about her artwork and exhibitions. These writings include journal entries, opinion articles, medical reports, poems, and fictional prose.

\[^9\] There is discrepant information about the date of Martha Ann Honeywell’s birth. Most sources point to the year 1787; see: Columbian Centinel, June 21, 1806; and William Bentley, Joseph Gilbert Waters, Marguerite Dalrymple, and Alice G. Waters, “The Diary of William Bentley, Volume 3: 1803-1810” (Salem, MA: The Essex Institute, 1911). However, some sources point to other years ranging from 1788-1794. See: The Time Piece, March 9, 1798; Baltimore Patriot, October 25, 1828; Ancestry.com New York, 1820-1860 Passenger and Immigration Lists [database online]; and Ancestry.com, 1851 Census of Canada East, Canada West, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia [database online].
which only the right was equipped with a diminutive foot and three toes.\textsuperscript{10} Despite her atypical appearance, Martha Ann's "indigent but industrious" parents worked to provide her with "all of the comforts of life."\textsuperscript{11} With a 250-acre farm, fruit orchard, "cyder mill," and three other children to care for, however, this proved to be no easy task.\textsuperscript{12} Soon after her birth, Gilbert advertised the sale of their property and moved the family to the Lower East Side in New York City.\textsuperscript{13}

The Honeywells' relocation was a bold decision to further their economic and social prospects. Although most Americans at the turn of the nineteenth century still lived in rural areas, more and more people migrated to cities and industrial towns, particularly in New England and the Mid-Atlantic States, as the century progressed.\textsuperscript{14} Some of these migrants, like the Honeywells, came from rural regions in America, while others came from abroad, especially Britain, Ireland, and other parts of Europe.\textsuperscript{15} After arriving in a city, most workers found employment in the rapidly growing textile, paper, and shoe industries. In addition, many completed outwork, such as tailoring, shoe-stitching, and other handicrafts, for piece rates in their homes.\textsuperscript{16} With their newly acquired wages, urban workers and their families actively engaged in the economic and social culture of city life. The establishment of banks also helped to infuse capital into

\begin{thebibliography}{16}
\bibitem{10} For a detailed description of Martha Ann's physique, see: \textit{The Time Piece}, March 9, 1798.
\bibitem{11} Ibid.
\bibitem{12} \textit{Daily Advertiser}, February 3, 1787; Ancestry.com, 1790 United States Federal Census.
\bibitem{13} \textit{Daily Advertiser}, February 3, 1787.
\bibitem{15} Christopher Clark, \textit{Social Change in America: From the Revolution through the Civil War} (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee, 2006): 80-85.
\end{thebibliography}
cities both in the form of everyday exchange and as a tool for business investments.\textsuperscript{17} Although this money rarely ended up in the hands of common laborers and many experienced considerable financial hardship, their efforts to acquire commercial profit suggest that the early nineteenth century was a key period in the rise of modern capitalism in America.\textsuperscript{18}

The Honeywell family was part of this capitalist turn. After settling into an apartment on Harman Street, later known as East Broadway, Gilbert immediately began to look for steady employment.\textsuperscript{19} He likely found work in the growing printing and publishing industries or at the shipyard just a few blocks away from the family’s residence.\textsuperscript{20} On account of his efforts, as well as the contributions of Martha and the children, the Honeywell family soon obtained a “day-to-day subsistence” in their new environment.\textsuperscript{21} Nevertheless, Gilbert and Martha continued to worry about their financial security, especially in regards to Martha Ann’s well being after they had passed away.\textsuperscript{22}

With Martha expecting yet another child, they were intent on procuring money in any

\textsuperscript{17} Christopher Clark, \textit{Social Change in America: From the Revolution through the Civil War}, 118.


\textsuperscript{21} \textit{The Time Piece}, March 9, 1798.

\textsuperscript{22} Ibid.
way possible. Perhaps that explains why Martha Ann, who was often known by her nickname Patty, began exhibiting her extraordinary body to paying customers at the Museum of Gardiner Baker at the age of 11.

Gardiner Baker was one of a number of entrepreneurs in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries who established public institutions for the education and entertainment of the American people. Perhaps inspired by Charles Willson Peale’s Philadelphia Museum, which was founded in 1786, Baker began to collect and exhibit objects in 1791 with financial support from the Tammany Society. Although both Peale and Baker knew that museums held business potential, they also believed that these institutions contributed to the nation’s democratic ideals by providing venues for public edification and “rational amusement.” Martha Ann exhibited at Baker’s Museum in 1798 when it was located on the second floor of the Exchange Building on Broad Street. On the first day of every month, she performed her skills in “sewing all kinds of plain work” and “[h]elp[ing] herself to all kinds of food, drink, &c” alongside a selection of wax figures and preserved animals. Her mother accompanied her on these shows in order to provide customers with “information respecting the cause of her condition...which was her situation at her birth.” Their exhibition was well received

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23 Gilbert Honeywell’s United States Federal Census records from 1790 to 1800 indicate a one-person increase in the number of “free white females under 16.” It is likely that Martha gave birth to another girl during this time period. Ancestry.com, 1790 United States Federal Census [database on-line]; Ancestry.com, 1800 United States Federal Census [database on-line].
24 *The Time Piece*, March 9, 1798.
27 *The Time Piece*, March 9, 1798.
28 Ibid.
29 Ibid.
by local patrons who enjoyed the opportunity to see a “great curiosity” while also demonstrating their “motives of real charity and benevolence.”

After Martha Ann’s positive reception at Gardiner Baker’s Museum, she knew that her body and art had the potential for commercial and cultural success. She soon traveled beyond the Museum and the city of New York to conduct her exhibitions. After visiting New Haven in 1806, she began a lifestyle of itinerancy, which she continued for the remainder of her career. Over the next four years, Martha Ann traveled to 10 American states including Pennsylvania, Virginia, South Carolina, and Georgia to conduct her shows. Her mother joined her on these expeditions as did a similarly figured artist named Sarah Rogers. Martha Ann enjoyed the company of Rogers and the two organized joint exhibitions while working in South Carolina and Georgia. Despite their partnership, however, Martha Ann continued to focus on her own financial gain. To protect her customer base, she often distinguished herself from Rogers in her newspaper advertisements, stating that “her performances are entirely different from the aforementioned lady” since Rogers works with her mouth while she works with her mouth and the stump of her arm.

As an itinerant artist, Martha Ann made use of the rapidly expanding transportation system in the early nineteenth century. At the turn of the century,
turnpikes, canals, and, after 1828, railroads increased exponentially and networked disparate towns, cities, and peoples together. Numerous artists, performers, and peddlers, like Martha Ann, identified opportunities in these developments and aimed to profit by delivering goods and services to greater numbers of consumers. People with disabilities were among these early entrepreneurs and many worked to earn a living by exhibiting their atypical bodies. There were also a few women itinerants, such as the portrait painter Ruth Henshaw Bascom. For the most part, however, travel by women and people with disabilities was a dangerous endeavor. Harsh weather, long distances between towns, and unknown male passengers all posed potential challenges. In addition, transportation was slow and fares were expensive. In 1825, for example, a stagecoach ride from Boston to New York City cost $11.00 and took nearly 36 hours. Martha Ann refused to let these risks limit her business and visited more than 25 cities and 13 American states in her 50 year long career.


Martha Ann also capitalized on developments in print media to advertise her shows. In the early nineteenth century, literacy rates reached nearly ninety percent for white adults and numerous publications arose to cater to this mass audience. Cheap books, periodicals, and penny press newspapers highlighted sensational stories to a wide readership of men, women, and children. Some scholars have even described this period in print culture as a “circus” that simultaneously fostered national cohesion and served as a venue for debate about social issues. Martha Ann submitted her advertisements into this milieu. She employed sensational language, such as “To the Curious” and “The Wonder of the World,” as well as bold fonts and enlarged letters to attract customers.

In addition, she may have used print to prepare patrons to view her physique during exhibitions. Many customers expressed apprehension about visiting her shows and seeing her anomalous body. By including descriptions of her body in her advertisements, she may have been able to calm their fears while still piquing their curiosity.

Martha Ann designed her exhibitions to highlight her skills as both a visual and performance artist. Throughout her career, she pursued an array of media in the visual arts including embroidery, tambouring (lace-making), waxwork, ink drawing, miniature

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43 For example, see: H. M. T. Foley, “Acrostic To Miss Martha Honeywell,” in *Baltimore Patriot*, November 21, 1828; “The following lines were written by a young lady, 15 years of age, after seeing Miss Martha Honeywell,” *Baltimore Patriot*, December 4-9, 1828; and Martha, “For the National Intelligence,” *Daily National Intelligencer*, April 6, 1832.

44 For examples of Honeywell’s simultaneously engaging and conciliatory language, see: *The Time Piece*, March 9, 1798; and “The Wonder of the World,” *Aurora General Advertiser*, July 5, 1807.
writing, and cloth and paper cutting (such as watch-papers and cut-and-paste silhouettes).\textsuperscript{45} Her works were usually small (less than a 2x2 inch area), made from readily available materials, and intricately detailed.\textsuperscript{46} In addition, she often tailored her productions to her immediate clientele. For example, she inscribed customers’ initials on their watch-papers and used ink to decorate their personalized silhouettes. She signed all of her pieces with mention of her name, choice of medium, and artistic technique; for example: “Cut by M. Honeywell with the Mouth.” She usually sold her works for between 25 and 50 cents, in addition to her standard 25 cent admission fee. She also may have charged greater amounts for especially detailed compositions or full length silhouettes.\textsuperscript{47} These sales comprised a central part of her earnings and were crucial to her financial livelihood.

American artistic production and consumption grew rapidly in the early nineteenth century. After the Revolution, many artists and patrons worked to convince their fellow citizens that the arts were not frivolous pastimes but rather essential to the

\textsuperscript{45} For more information on Honeywell’s artwork, see the attached catalogue.
\textsuperscript{47} There are two paper cuttings that still have the price markings of 25 and 50 cents. Scrapbook of Harriet D. Thomson, Valentine Museum, Richmond, VA. Although Honeywell’s admission fee was usually 25 cents, after 1831 she increased it to 50 cents while exhibiting in select cities. She also charged $1.00 while showing with Sarah Rogers in Charleston, S.C. and Savannah, G.A. in 1808. Daily Louisville Public Advertiser, September 15-28, 1830; Lynchburg Virginian, August 15, 1833; Richmond Whig & Public Advertiser, December 27, 1833; Gazette and Charleston Courier, December 12, 1834-February 21, 1835; The Republican and Savannah Evening Ledger, April 5, 1808. These prices were typical for artists with and without disabilities at the time. For more on the price ranges of itinerant artists, see: Joyce Hill, “Itinerant Portraittists” and Peter Benes and Jane M. Benes, “Editors’ Introduction,” in Itinerancy in New England and New York: 5-16, 160; and David Jaffee, “The Age of Democratic Portraiture: Artisan-Entrepreneurs and the Rise of Consumer Goods,” in Meet Your Neighbors: New England Portraits, Painters, & Society. 1790-1850.
creation of a new national culture.\textsuperscript{48} Portrait painting became particularly popular and many people with expendable income commissioned these pieces as family keepsakes and symbols of social status.\textsuperscript{49} In fact, an inventory study of Massachusetts households from 1800-1840 suggests that one in five families owned “pictures” or “likenesses.”\textsuperscript{50} Numerous artists worked to meet these desires. Although some traveled to Europe for academic training, most cultivated folk or naïve styles that emphasized bold colors, broad applications of paint, generalized light, and stock postures and expressions.\textsuperscript{51} Despite folk artists’ lack of formal education, many were highly trained and talented. Thus, their creative choices should be recognized as reflective of the desires of their patrons, not their individual capabilities.\textsuperscript{52} Both academically-trained and folk artists regularly experienced periods of itinerancy as they worked to secure commissions.\textsuperscript{53} In addition, it is important to note that most professional artists were men.\textsuperscript{54} Although gendered conventions did not dissuade women from creating art, they rarely attained professional status on account of their domestic obligations and exclusion from commercial circles.

As a woman with physical disabilities, Martha Ann was a unique member of the nineteenth-century American art world.

\textsuperscript{50} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{52} Carrie Rebora Barratt, “Nineteenth-Century American Folk Art,” in \textit{Heilbrunn Timeline of Art History}, \url{http://www.metmuseum.org/toah/hd/afkp/hd_afkp.htm}.
During her exhibitions, Martha Ann coupled the presentation of her visual works with the performance of her artistic processes. In fact, she often set up her galleries so that visitors first entered a room that displayed her artworks and then went into a second room to watch her perform. Martha Ann’s appearance and demeanor were crucial elements of her shows. She usually worked sitting on a table with her lower limbs curled under her “a la turque” or as if sitting astride a horse. She wore a dress, an ornate lace covering over her feet, and, in her later years, a gold and pearl ring on the big toe of her right foot. Many customers noted that she was “amiable,” “pleasing,” and “intelligent,” and often engaged them in lively exchange during their visits. Some even suggested that they enjoyed her exhibitions as much for her “manners and conversation” as for her artistic productions. Martha Ann may have cultivated her clothing and character to have this effect. By carefully attending to her appearance, she not only enhanced her customers’ appreciation of her visual works, but also ensured that they felt comfortable viewing her body and performances.

Martha Ann’s performances highlighted her extraordinary capabilities in the visual arts. In 1809, Reverend William Bentley visited her exhibition in Salem and described some of her artistic techniques in his journal. He remarked:

55 *Columbian*, November 10, 1809.
She has only the first joints of both arms & one foot with three toes & in my presence wrought at embroidery, entering the needle with her toes & receiving it by the mouth, & putting the thread into her needle by her mouth & toes. She cut papers into various fancy forms, using her scissors with her mouth & the short stump of her arm & she wrote a good letter with her toes.  

In addition to these skills, Martha Ann created personalized silhouettes during her shows. She began a silhouette by having her subject stand in profile in front of a light source, such as an open window. Holding one handle of the scissors in her mouth and moving the other with the stump of her arm, she cut their features free-hand out of black paper. Next, she pasted their profile onto a white background, embellished it with white, gold, or black ink highlights, and signed her name with her toes either at the bottom of the paper or under the bust. Martha Ann was theatrical during these performances and often completed especially difficult tasks, such as writing her name, multiple times so that visitors could see. In the end, it was this combination of visual and performance media that enabled Martha Ann to advance her career.

Martha Ann modeled her exhibitions after those in commercial freak shows. At the turn of the century, numerous people with physical disabilities or bodies that were

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seen as different began traveling throughout America and Europe to conduct exhibitions. Some of these people might still be perceived as having physical disabilities today, such as dwarfs or conjoined twins, while others would not, such as people of non-white races and ethnicities. In 1841, Phineas Taylor Barnum employed many of these performers at his newly-established American Museum in New York City. By 1850, his institution had become a staple in the booming entertainment industry and had sparked the development of smaller dime museums throughout the nation. Although freak shows are now regarded as distasteful, in the nineteenth century they attracted family audiences from diverse social classes and backgrounds. Martha Ann often performed at these establishments; her first exhibition, for example, was at Gardiner Baker’s Museum in New York City. Even when Martha Ann did not work at commercial venues and created her own galleries instead, she drew on the elements of spectacle, exaggeration, and display that characterized the industry to design her exhibitions and attract customers.

In 1811, Martha Ann set sail for London. If domestic travel by women and people with disabilities was unique in the early republic, her choice of international travel was even more remarkable. Nevertheless, over the next sixteen years, Martha Ann traveled throughout the continent and visited at least 11 cities in England, Ireland, the Isle

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67 The last mention of Honeywell before she leaves the United States is *Columbian*, January 26, 1810. The first mention of her in London is *Caledonian Mercury*, September 7, 1811.
of Guernsey, and France. In addition, Sarah Rogers did not accompany her to Europe and instead spent time in Philadelphia before passing away on October 30, 1813. It is unclear whether Martha Ann’s mother joined her in Europe. Although there are no records of her mother’s presence, sources do not indicate that Martha Ann was expressly alone until 1827 when she sailed by herself from Le Havre, France to New York City. What is clear is that Martha Ann spent her sixteen years abroad honing her artistic skills, conducting shows, and attracting great acclaim. Perhaps her most important accomplishment during this period was her creation of an elaborate paper cutting of the Lord’s Prayer with the words and letters cut out in script. She gave this piece to Princess Elizabeth, the Duke of Clarence, and the Queen of England during their visit to Bath in 1816. After her presentation, the work received widespread recognition and she continued to create and sell similar compositions throughout her career.

While in Europe, Martha Ann maximized her opportunities for personal and professional growth. After working at the Bartholomew Fair in London, she joined a group of traveling performers with whom she conducted joint exhibitions. These collaborators included a “Negro Boy,” two “giantesses,” “Mr. and Miss Batstone, the smallest couple in the world,” and “Miss Biffin,” the celebrated painter who received

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68 For Sarah Rogers’ death notice, see: Poulson’s American Daily Advertiser, November 2, 1813.
69 Ancestry.com New York, 1820-1860 Passenger and Immigration Lists [database online]. Honeywell was recorded on Ship Edward Bonaffe, which sailed from Le Havre, France to New York City on December 11, 1827. If her mother was not with her at this time, it is likely that she hired assistants to help her travel. For more, see Footnote 105.
70 For example, see: “Paper Cutting of the Lord’s Prayer and Flowers,” Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, Williamsburg, VA.
71 Hampshire Telegraph and Sussex Chronicle, July 15, 1816 and The Hull Packet, October 12, 1819 state that Honeywell was “patronized by the late Queen, their Royal Highnesses the Princess Elizabeth, and Duke of Clarence.” The Morning Chronicle, May 28, 1819 includes “paper portraits cut in profile of the Members of the Illustrious Houses of Brunswick and of Mecklenburg Strelitz, both male and female...Of the same subjects, the most remarkable was the Lord’s Prayer, cut out in paper with a pair of scissors, by an artist born without hands!” among the articles that were sold from the Queen’s “Cabinet of Curiosities.” “The Mirror of Fashion,” The Morning Chronicle, May 28, 1819.
training and financial support from the Earl of Morton. While at the Bartholomew Fair, Martha Ann also began her practice of traveling and exhibiting in a “beautiful pavilion” that enhanced the presentation of her artwork and facilitated her movement. In addition, in 1824, newspapers recounted a sensational story about a “Miss Honywood” who was “totally destitute of...hands and arms” and proficient in cutting watch papers. The papers state that, while exhibiting in Dublin, Honywood was proposed to by a young “swain” who placed the wedding ring “upon one of her toes.” Although the story is not supported by other documentary evidence, it may account for the gold and pearl ring that visitors noticed on Martha Ann for the remainder of her life.

When Martha Ann arrived back in the United States in 1827, she used her successes in Europe to assert her status as a celebrity. In her newspaper advertisements, she rarely mentioned her name without the prefix “much celebrated” and often noted that she had “travelled thro’ Europe where she was much admired and carrressed (sic).” Charles Willson Peale and his two sons, Rembrandt and Rubens, soon took notice of Martha Ann and commissioned her to work at their New York, Baltimore, and Philadelphia Museums. Beginning in 1828, she performed a long run at these

72 Honeywell performed with a “Negro Boy” and Miss Biffin in 1811, Caledonian Mercury, September, 1811; “Mr. and Mrs. Batson” in 1819, The Hull Packet and Original Weekly, October, 1819; and “two giantesses,” Liverpool Mercury, January 17, 1834. For more on Miss Biffin, see: Elree I. Harris and Shirley R. Scott, A Gallery of Her Own: An Annotated Bibliography of Women in Victorian Painting (Routledge, 1997): 15.
73 Hampshire Telegraph and Sussex Chronicle, July 15, 1816; The Hull Packet, October 12, 1819.
74 The Newcastle Courant, November 27, 1824; The Aberdeen Journal, July 27, 1825.
75 Ibid.
77 For example, see: Baltimore Patriot, October 25, 1828; The Scioto Gazette, December 31, 1828.
78 Baltimore Patriot, October 25, 27, 29, 31, and November 1, 1828. In 1786, Charles Wilson Peale started his Philadelphia Museum. In 1810, he turned the operations over to his son Rubens. In 1814, another of one Charles Wilson’s sons, Rembrandt, started a museum in Baltimore. Rubens moved on to work with Rembrandt in Baltimore and then, in 1825, established his own museum in New York City. Honeywell worked in Philadelphia in 1807 and 1831, in Baltimore in 1828-1829, and in New York in 1828. For more
institutions, spending three months in New York, just over one year in Baltimore, and another three months in Philadelphia. \cite{Alderson2001} At each location, she earned a weekly salary of $15. \cite{Ibid} In Baltimore, she exhibited in the much heralded “Long Room” that displayed hundreds of natural specimens according to contemporary theories of biological development and cultural evolution. \cite{For example, Charles Willson Peale displayed portraits above cases of natural specimens as a way to signify man’s position over the nature. For more, see: David C. Ward, Charles Willson Peale: Art and Selfhood in the Early Republic, 105; and David R. Brigham, Public Culture in the Early Republic: Peale’s Museum and its Audience, 45-46.} While in Philadelphia, she donated “cut paper and needlework…likewise her shoes, which exactly resembles (sic) the diminutive shoes of the Chinese ladies” to the Museum’s collection. \cite{Honeywell donated these objects during her first tenure at the Philadelphia Museum in July 1807. “Late Donations and Additions to the Philadelphia Museum,” October 12, 1807; Aurora General Advertiser, July 7, 1807.}

Martha Ann catered her artwork and exhibitions to audiences from diverse backgrounds. Although many of her patrons were prosperous members of the upper middle class—as well as the aspiring socially-mobile—her shows attracted people from all trades and walks of life. \cite{During the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, “middling” and wealthy Americans were the most common patrons of the arts. Lillian B. Miller, Patrons and Patriotism: The Encouragement of the Fine Arts in the United States, 1790-1860.} Her silhouettes depict clergymen, businessmen, cabinetmakers, watchmakers, schoolteachers, wealthy farmers, and numerous women and children. \cite{Some examples of Honeywell’s customers include: Thomas Reed (1828-1904), a cabinetmaker from West Chester, PA, http://thevirtualdimemuseum.blogspot.com/2008/09/honeywell-silhouette.html; George}

customers who had to work during the day. In addition, she often attracted the patronage of families. Silhouette albums were popular ways of recording kinship networks and illustrating social status at the time. By creating paired profiles of husbands and wives or of parents and children, Martha Ann catered to patrons who wanted to compile these works later in their scrapbooks. She also likely cut silhouettes of the deceased for customers who wanted to preserve the memory of loved ones who had passed away. By offering a variety of services for an affordable admission fee of 25 cents, Martha Ann ensured that her exhibitions were well attended and financially profitable.


For more on evening hours at the Peale Museums, see: David R. Brigham, Public Culture in the Early Republic: Peale’s Museum and its Audience, 135.

For example, see: the silhouettes of Sylvester and Clementine Loisel Papin, Missouri History Museum, and the silhouettes of William F. and Alexander Elliot Spotswood, Valentine Museum and Colonial Williamsburg Foundation. Honeywell also cut the profiles of five members in the Davis family (E. Davis; G. W. Davis, M. L. Davis; Master L. Davis; and Master M. Davis) around 1835. Robert C. H. Bishop, The Border Limner and his Contemporaries (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Museum of Art, 1975): 74-76.


A silhouette of Alexander Elliot highlights Martha Ann’s likely creation of silhouettes of the deceased. There is a death notice for Alexander Elliot in the Richmond Enquirer on December 2, 1834 that states that, at the age of 14, he died after being thrown from a horse. Advertisements locate Honeywell in Lynchburg on August 15, 1833, Richmond on December 27, 1833, and Lynchburg again on November 13, 1834. Thus, Alexander’s profile may or may not have been created after his death. Silhouette of Alexander Elliot Spotswood, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation. For more on artwork of the deceased, see: Anne Verplanck, “The Silhouette and Quaker Identity in Early National Philadelphia,” 41-78; and Helen Sheumaker, Love Entwined: The Curious History of Hairwork in America (Philadelphia: The University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007).

Charles Willson Peale also charged 25 cents for admission to his Philadelphia Museum. Peale once explained his rationale on pricing, stating “if a Museum was free to all to view it without cost it would be over-run & abused—on the other hand, if too difficult of access, it would lose its utility; that of giving information generally.” Honeywell may have modeled her pricing scheme after Peale and other artists and
Martha Ann’s visual and performance art particularly captured the attention of scientists and medical professionals. Inspired by eighteenth-century Enlightenment ideals of reason, empirical study, and taxonomic organization, many scientists in the nineteenth century worked to observe and classify diverse natural phenomena, particularly naturally-occurring anomalies such as people with physical and mental disabilities. Later termed “teratology,” this study of human “monstrosities” attracted many leading scientists, as well as the general public, to the exhibitions of people with disabilities. In Richmond, Martha Ann entertained both the clergyman/physician Bishop Richard Channing Moore and Doctor Henry Latham of Lynchburg. She also received mention in numerous medical publications. For example, in 1833, Robely Dunglison wrote in Human Physiology that she “was still possessed of feeling—of a sense of resistance” even though she lacked “the usual organs of touch.” By emphasizing her physical disabilities along with her artistic capabilities, Martha Ann appealed to this scientific audience and further enhanced the popularity of her shows.

Scientists and medical practitioners were also interested in Martha Ann’s artistic medium of cut-and-paste silhouettes. In the 1770s, Johann Caspar Lavater, a Swiss evangelical minister, published Essays on Physiognomy, which claimed that moral and


90 John C. Greene, American Science in the Age of Jefferson (Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1984);

91 Robert Bogdan, Freak Show: Presenting Human Oddities for Amusement and Profit, 6-7, 110-111;

92 Silhouette of Bishop Richard Channing Moore, Virginia Historical Society: 902.06; Silhouette of Doctor Henry Latham, Museum of Early Southern Decorative Arts.

93 Robeley Dunglison, “Dunglison’s Physiology,” The American Quarterly Review, 13, 26 (June 1, 1833): 384.
spiritual character could be determined through facial features. “Profiles” or “shades” soon became the preferred method for analyzing physical attributes and inherent disposition. After Lavater’s work was introduced in the United States in 1794, the science of physiognomy and the art of silhouettes both attracted widespread recognition. Perhaps the best known silhouette artist in America was Charles Balthazar Julien Fevret de Saint-Memin, a Frenchman who cut silhouettes of many distinguished figures from 1796-1809. However, itinerant artists like Martha Ann also created these works for customers. After John Isaac Hawkins patented the physiognotrace (a machine that assisted in the creation of profiles by tracing the sitter’s face and reducing the size of the image to less than 2 inches) in 1802, interest in physiognomy and silhouettes only increased. Thus, when amateur and professional scientists, as well as the general public, visited Martha Ann’s exhibitions, they may have drawn on the principles of physiognomy to analyze her physical form. After she cut their profiles, they then may have used these concepts to assess their own physique and reflect on their own natural character.

Many customers praised Martha Ann’s artwork and she used their enthusiasm to further cultivate her success. There is one account from a customer who derides her body by italicizing the words “hand,” “foot,” and “arm.” All of her other patrons, however,

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98 On July 31, 1828, *The Pittsfield Sun* reprinted an article from the *Lancaster Gazette* entitled “Hands Off!” Although the article describes Honeywell’s physique as “hand-some” and her artistic skills as “very
responded positively and described her productions as “gifts of extraordinary genius” and “the most delicate pieces of embroidery and paper cutting we ever saw (sic).” Some even likened her skills to that of a non-disabled person, stating that “[she] threads a fine needle much quicker than any other person with their hands can.” Other admirers went so far as to say that, if not for her physical disabilities, her accomplishments would make her greater than human. In a poem entitled “Miss Honeywell,” Joseph writes: “Could Nature finish all her task / And the fine Limbs bestow / The gazing crowd would eager ask / What Angel’s come below?” Scientists too suggested that her artistic abilities made up for her physical “deficiencies,” positing that perhaps the “hand is not so necessary an inlet of knowledge as some philosophers have imagined.” Martha Ann often republished these accolades along with her own advertisements to attract customers and assure them that they would be satisfied with her work. Even more, these positive reviews increased her popularity through word of mouth. By catering her visual and performance art to her patron’s desires, she enhanced the appeal of her shows and the success of her career.

Over the course of her lifetime, Martha Ann continued to develop her artistic skills. After more than two years of steady employment at the Peale Museums, she

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remarkable,” the author italicizes the words “hand,” “foot,” and “arm” as a way to mock her accomplishments. For example, the article concludes by stating “we hope she will make a visit to this part of the country and bestow her foot upon some one of our numerous host of bachelors who have hitherto ungallantly kept at arm’s-end from the ladies, and who can have no especial dream of her embraces.” These rhetorical choices portray Honeywell as an individual to be laughed at and therefore undermine her achievements. For examples of complimentary accounts, see: Joseph, “Miss Honeywell,” Weekly Museum, December 23, 180; Martha, “For the National Intelligence,” Daily National Intelligencer, April 6, 1832; “Miss Honeywell,” Ohio Columbus Sentinel, March 22, 1831; and “Philanthropy,” Daily Louisville Public Advertiser, September 22, 1830.

99 Baltimore Patriot, November 15, 1828; Ohio Columbus Sentinel, March 22, 1831.
100 Baltimore Patriot, December 22, 1828. Also see: Daily Louisville Public Advertiser, September 22, 1830.
resumed her lifestyle of itinerancy and traveled to Louisville, Kentucky and Columbus, Ohio in 1830-1831 and Virginia, South Carolina, and Georgia from 1832-1835. While in Charleston, she showed at the same boarding house that she had visited with Sarah Rogers nearly thirty years before. The proprietor, Mrs. Cochran, must have been thrilled to see her and she extended her stay there for over one year. Since Martha Ann’s mother had most likely passed away by this point, she may have relied on friends, acquaintances, and hired aides to help her travel and perform her daily necessities. With this assistance, she further perfected her visual works. In 1831, she began selling stock “Likenesses of Distinguished Americans and Europeans” whom she had entertained and, in 1833, started to “Bronze and Frame” all of her profiles. With these improvements, she raised her admission fee to 50 cents in select cities.

Martha Ann’s final international adventure was Canada. She was last documented in Leeds County, Ontario in 1851 as part of the Canadian Census. Now in her late 60s, she was still creating and exhibiting her remarkable talents. Little is known about Martha Ann’s time in Canada. In fact, after 1851, there are no records of

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103 Daily Louisville Public Advertiser, September 22, 1830; Ohio Columbus Sentinel, March 22, 1831.
104 Courier, December 23, 1834; Southern Patriot, February 21, 1835. For more on Honeywell’s time in Charleston, see Anna Wells Rutledge, Artists in the Life of Charleston: Through Colony and State; From Restoration to Reconstruction (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1949): 150.
105 This conclusion is drawn from research on other artists and entrepreneurs with physical disabilities at the time. Important examples include: Jason Roberts, A Sense of the World: How a Blind Man Became History’s Greatest Traveler (New York: HarperCollins, 2006); and Elisabeth Gitter, The Imprisoned Guest: Samuel Howe and Laura Bridgman, the Original Deaf-Blind Girl (New York: Farrar, Strauss and Giroux, 2001).
106 For example, see: Richmond Whig & Public Advertiser, December 27, 1833; and Baltimore Patriot, September 3, 1834.
107 Honeywell charged 50 cents while she was exhibiting in Louisville, KY (Daily Louisville Public Advertiser, September 15-28, 1830); Lynchburg, VA (Lynchburg Virginian, August 15, 1833); Richmond, VA (Richmond Whig & Public Advertiser, December 27, 1833); and Charleston, S.C. (City Gazette and Charleston Courier, December 12, 1834-February 21, 1835). For more on the price ranges of itinerant artists, see Footnote 47.
108 Honeywell was recorded in Crosby, Leeds County, Ontario. Ancestry.com, 1851, Census of Canada East, Canada West, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia [database online].
her until her death on November 10, 1856 at “about 70 years” in Philadelphia.\textsuperscript{109} The death notice states that she died “of paralysis,” but surprisingly makes no mention of her long and distinguished career.\textsuperscript{110} Martha Ann likely returned to Philadelphia because she had friends and family there. The notice states that her funeral procession began at the residence of Hillery Mullikin, a broker who lived with his family in the neighborhood of Spring Garden.\textsuperscript{111} Although the relationship between Martha Ann and the Mullikins is unclear, the family arranged for her burial in Monument Cemetery on Broad Street just north of the city.\textsuperscript{112} When Temple University bought the property one hundred years later, her body was relocated to Lawnview Cemetery in Montgomery County and her gravestone, along with hundreds others, found its final resting place in the Delaware River.\textsuperscript{113}

\textbf{Martha Ann Honeywell and the Politics of Display}

Martha Ann Honeywell’s visual and performance art provides an instructive metaphor for her life. During her exhibitions, she allowed patrons to stare at her extraordinary body and understand it based on preconceived notions of gender and ablebodiedness. As paying customers, they had license to examine and analyze her in any way they chose. However, by selecting the artistic medium of cut-and-paste silhouettes, she established a period of time during her shows when her customers’ gaze

\textsuperscript{110} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{111} Ancestry.com, \textit{1850 United States Federal Census} [database online].
\textsuperscript{112} \textit{New York Herald}, November 13, 1856.
was redirected and she had the opportunity to look back at them. As they turned to have
their profile done, she stared at them and asserted sole control over the visual dynamics
of the room.\textsuperscript{114}

This practice of “staring back” illustrates the process by which Honeywell crafted
and refined her public persona. As a woman with physical disabilities, she contended
with two social prescriptions—femininity and ablebodiedness—that threatened to limit
her personal and professional opportunities. In the early nineteenth century, the
consequence for defying these ideologies was often social derision and exclusion. Thus,
most women and people with disabilities could not break free from these constraints and
attain positions of economic and social autonomy. However, Honeywell’s case suggests
that her ability to manage social expectations through the cultivation of her public
persona gave her access to greater measures of flexibility and freedom. In her newspaper
advertisements and exhibitions, she crafted her self image so that she masked her
challenges to one social prescription with acts of compliance to another. This strategy

\textsuperscript{114} Rosemarie Garland Thomson’s models of “staring” and “staring back” provide a framework for this
study. She states that staring often serves as “a form of nonverbal behavior that can be used to enforce
social hierarchies and regulate access to resources.” In this sense, non-disabled people often stare at those
with physical disabilities in a way that emphasizes their social difference and presages inferiority.
However, Garland Thomson suggests that people with disabilities often develop “staring-management
routines” to mediate this gaze and put “starers” at ease without losing face. Visual and performance artists
with disabilities also use their artistic license to manipulate the exploitative nature of the gaze and assert
Artists,” \textit{American Quarterly} 52, 2 (June 2000): 334-338. For more on “staring back” through visual and
performance art, see: Jennifer Eisenhauer, “Just Looking and Staring Back: Challenging Ableism Through
Press, 2005); David T. Mitchell and Sharon Snyder, eds., \textit{The Body and Physical Difference: Discourses of
Disability} (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1997); and \textit{Vital Signs: Crip Culture Talks Back},
DVD, directed by David Mitchell and Sharon Snyder (Boston, MA: Fanlight Productions/A Brace
Yourselves Production, 1995).
may have allowed her to defy aspects of both ideologies and still obtain favorable reviews from her customers. With this tactic, she was able to practice her visual and performance art and advance her economic and social standing in early nineteenth-century America.

Contemporary conventions of femininity discouraged women from exercising economic and social autonomy. While republican ideals and practical realities during the revolutionary period had provided some women the freedom to work both inside and outside the home, in the early to mid-nineteenth-century women experienced a “revolutionary backlash” that harshly criticized their public actions. White middle and upper class women—or those, like Honeywell, who aspired to be so—particularly felt these effects. Although many supported their husbands in business ventures and engaged in the buying and selling of household goods, most pursued unpaid domestic labor—not moneymaking—as their primary responsibility. As a prominent and profitable artist who made a living by exhibiting her body, Honeywell was forced to directly confront these gendered ideals. In fact, the financial requirements of her business and her need to

115 Barbara Welter’s 1966 article entitled “The Cult of True Womanhood: 1820-1860” was one of the first to identify and analyze the presence of a private women’s sphere in nineteenth-century America. Since Welter’s publication, the concept of “separate spheres” has defined scholarship in women’s history as both a point of departure and contention. Today, most historians agree that the model holds true as a social prescription, especially for white women in the middle and upper classes during the mid to late nineteenth century. However, in practice, ideological conceptions of femininity were seldom followed as women balanced numerous and conflicting pressures in their daily lives. Barbara Welter, “The Cult of True Womanhood: 1820-1860,” *American Quarterly* 18 (Summer 1966), 151-74. Also see: Linda Kerber, “Separate Spheres, Female Worlds, Woman’s Place: The Rhetoric of Women’s History,” *The Journal of American History* 75, 1 (June 1988): 9-39; Linda Kerber, Nancy Cott, Robert Gross, Lynn, Hunt, Carroll Smith-Roseburg, Christine Stansell, “Beyond Roles, Beyond Spheres: Thinking about Gender in the Early Republic,” *The William and Mary Quarterly* 46, 3 (July, 1989): 566, 585; and “Redefining Womanly Behavior in the Early Republic: Essays from A SHEAR Symposium,” *Journal of the Early Republic* 21 (Spring, 2001).


appeal to customers often pulled her in opposing directions. Her success relied on her ability to mediate these pressures and cater to patrons in socially acceptable ways.

The conventions of ablebodiedness also limited Honeywell’s opportunities. Although nondisabled people have long regarded those with atypical bodies with fear and anxiety, physical disability and normality acquired new meanings in the early nineteenth century. With developments in industry and commerce, many people began to associate ablebodiedness with the ability to work, earn an income, and achieve economic independence. Conversely, physical disability came to denote depravity, dependency, and the failure to contribute to society. At this same time, philanthropists and social reformers launched a number of private institutions intended to educate and rehabilitate those with physical and mental disabilities. Inspired by the republican values of civic duty and self reliance, as well as the rise of modern medicine, these initiatives aimed to help people with disabilities overcome their perceived limitations and contribute to mainstream society. Despite this seemingly progressive goal, these reformers often treated people with disabilities as objects to be fixed rather than as persons in their own right. Honeywell’s artistic success required her to directly confront these degrading and patronizing notions of disability and prove her basic humanity to patrons.

Many Americans in the early nineteenth century emulated the ideals of femininity and ablebodiedness and closely monitored the behaviors of their fellow citizens.

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Scholars today use the term "freak" to describe those who defied social conventions and may have experienced discrimination and ostracism as a result. As one scholar explains, "[the freak is] a discursively constructed identity created when a person is defined a marginally human public spectacle [that] patrols the border of all bodily configurations." In this view, women who engaged in commerce, publicly exhibited their bodies, or otherwise challenged the ideologies of femininity ran the risk of becoming freaks. People with atypical bodies also often received this condemnation. In fact, commercial freak shows were a primary means of reinforcing social prescriptions, particularly those of ablebodiedness, since they served as powerful visual examples of deviance and normalcy. Once one was labeled as a freak, this identity became immutable and irrevocable. Since freaks, by definition, challenged the culturally constructed bounds of humanity, the consequence for defying conventions in the early nineteenth century was often a point of no return.

Although Honeywell performed at numerous freak shows, she avoided much of the censure and ostracism that many of these workers experienced. She achieved this position of greater economic and social autonomy by carefully cultivating her public


124 Ibid., 12, 51-52.


persona. She gained control over her self image by closely monitoring the personal and professional choices that she had available to her. For one, she did not establish a household or start a family. Although there are few documents to support her marriage to the admiring Irish patron, even if this did occur she did not settle in one location, start a household, or bear children. These choices released her from the responsibilities of housework that characterized the lives of most women at the time. She did not have to support the vocational aspirations of a husband or perform the unpaid domestic and reproductive labor of a family. In addition, unlike most people with disabilities in the early nineteenth century, she did not remain in her family home where she may have been isolated from society and reliant on her immediate family members for support. She also avoided hospitalization or institutionalization for her physical condition. In all aspects of her personal life, Honeywell remained committed to her individual agency and autonomy as best as she was able. This decision seemed to give her greater control over her public image and the advancement of her career.

In particular, Honeywell used the practice of itinerancy to construct her persona. Every time she traveled to a new city, she had the opportunity to modify the entrance fee to her exhibitions, expand her artistic offerings, and highlight her latest accomplishments. She often tailored her newspaper advertisements and artworks to customers in specific locations and as trends changed over time. For example, many of her advertisements began by “present[ing] her compliments to the Ladies and Gentlemen” of a select city and describing specific items for sale, such as waxwork or the likenesses of

“distinguished Americans and Europeans.” In addition, itinerancy facilitated Honeywell’s tactic of conforming to social conventions in order to attract patrons in non-threatening ways. After years of traveling and exhibiting, she must have acquired a unique perspective on the thoughts, fears, and desires of her visitors. She was able to compare different regional cultures and reflect on the developments in transportation, industry, and commerce that had characterized her lifetime. She used itinerancy to capitalize on these insights. By continually manipulating her self image in her advertisements and exhibitions, she increased her appeal among customers and her potential for profit.

Honeywell crafted her persona so that her challenges to the conventions of femininity and ablebodiedness did not compromise her patronage. She often disguised her defiance of one social prescription by highlighting her compliance to another. In some cases, she called attention to her physical disabilities in order to subvert notions of femininity. In her newspaper advertisements, she described herself as a “curiosity” who was “born without hands” and with “an imperfect foot with three toes.” Sometimes she was even more explicit, stating that “[she] is in perfect health, has beautiful and pleasing features; she is without either legs, feet, arms or hands; her arms are only short stumps, on one of which is an imperfect foot, with three toes…” Then, she often juxtaposed the description of her physical disabilities with that of her artistic capabilities, noting that she creates “elegant” samples despite her “unfortunate” physique. By

128 For example, see: New York Commercial Advertiser, September 28, 1809; and Daily National Intelligencer, March 15, 1832.
129 For example, see: The Time Piece, March 9, 1798.
130 The Time Piece, March 9, 1798.
131 Columbian, November 11, 1809; Torch Light, May 10, 1832; Rhode Island America, March 23, 1832; Baltimore Patriot, December 22, 1828.
detailing the features of her physical disabilities in print, Honeywell aimed to pique her customers’ curiosity while also preparing them to see her anomalous body during exhibitions. In addition, her descriptions served to distinguish her from a nondisabled woman who may have experienced gender constraints more severely. By presenting herself as a “rare and singular artist,” rather than a nonconforming woman, Honeywell hoped to attract greater numbers of customers to her shows.132

Honeywell also called attention to her physical disabilities during her exhibitions. Patrons were fascinated by her body and she exaggerated her unique characteristics and capabilities to capture their interest. As one customer remembered, “[she] several times drew the thread out of her needle to show us that she could rethread it without difficulty.”133 In addition, she often performed everyday skills that were seen as difficult for someone with her disabilities. For example, she showed visitors that she could read a book, comb her hair, and eat with utensils.134 Like her newspaper advertisements, these displays of her extraordinary body emphasized the ways that she was different from a nondisabled woman and appeased customers who may have felt uncomfortable with her public expositions and her commercial success as an entrepreneur. By calling attention to the features of her disabilities, Honeywell distracted patrons from her unconventional professional choices and profited from their business. In this way, she used her physical disabilities to overcome the constraints of femininity and advance her artistic career.

Other times, Honeywell showcased her feminine characteristics to challenge conceptions of ablebodiedness. This appeal to gender did not undermine the performance

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132 *The Columbian*, November 10, 1809
133 “Extraordinary Phenomenon,” *Niles’ Weekly Register* (November 11, 1820).
134 Ibid.
of her physical disabilities as discussed previously. Rather, these two presentations worked in tandem and she used one or both tactics depending on circumstance and objective. In her newspaper advertisements, Honeywell states that her looks are “agreeable” and her body is “well proportioned, except for her limbs.”\textsuperscript{135} She employed gendered rhetoric to alleviate the fears of her potential patrons, commenting that she was “cheerfully resigned ... to her peculiar lot” and “an instructive and consolatory example to the world generally and to her own sex particularly.”\textsuperscript{136} These statements about her feminine “felicity of disposition” aimed to highlight the ways that her body conformed to gender norms and distract patrons from her potentially disconcerting physique.\textsuperscript{137} By emphasizing the characteristics of her femininity, she made her appearance more acceptable to customers and encouraged them to visit her shows.

Honeywell also performed femininity during her exhibitions. She wore a dress, lace coverings over the stumps of her legs, and an eye-catching ring on her big toe.\textsuperscript{138} In addition, patrons note that she paid attention to her appearance by combing her hair and “adjust[ing] her dress very attentively.”\textsuperscript{139} She even cultivated a genteel ambiance. She titled her exhibitions “Splendid Gallery[ies] of Needlework and Cutting” and hung her own silhouette at the door to her exhibitions as “proof of her countenance and likewise a specimen of her work.”\textsuperscript{140} Many customers commented on her femininity and attractiveness. One patron described her countenance as “beauteous,” while another stated that “she present[ed] a face and bust of which most of our dashing belles would be

\textsuperscript{135} Hampshire Telegraph, July 15, 1816; Connecticut Herald, October 28, 1806.
\textsuperscript{136} Aurora General Advertiser, July 5, 1807.
\textsuperscript{137} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{139} “Extraordinary Phenomenon,” Niles’ Weekly Register, November 11, 1820.
\textsuperscript{140} Hampshire Telegraphy and Sussex Chronicle, July 15, 1816.
proud."

Like her newspaper advertisements, these choices to cultivate her femininity tempered the display of her physical disabilities and reassured customers who may have felt distressed by her anomalous form. By highlighting her gendered attributes, she worked to secure their patronage and advance the success of her career.

Honeywell’s ability to manipulate her public persona to negotiate the prescriptions of femininity and ablebodiedness may have enabled her to access greater measures of economic and social autonomy. Although she was born to impoverished parents who exhibited her body for monetary gain, by the height of her career she had secured her own financial stability and profit. She derived income from her entrance fees and the sale of her visual artworks. Then she used this money to support her various expenses, including: supplies (paper, ink, thread, and tools, such as scissors and needles); exhibition venues at boarding houses and taverns; and transportation tickets for stagecoaches, steamships, and railroads. She also likely paid for assistants to help her travel and conduct her daily activities. Just as Honeywell successfully mediated the constructs of femininity and ablebodiedness, she also handled her financial responsibilities with skill. By the time of her death, she had acquired enough money to be buried in a Philadelphian cemetery that catered to the middle and upper classes. Although women and people with disabilities were characterized as economic dependants, Honeywell proved herself to be a perceptive and profitable businesswoman in early nineteenth-century America.

141 “Extraordinary Phenomenon,” Niles’ Weekly Register, November 11, 1820.
142 The Time Piece, March 9, 1798. There are no records of Honeywell’s financial dealings that suggest exactly how much money she made. However, she did acquire enough to afford her personal and professional expenses, as well as her burial in a cemetery that was patronized by middling and prosperous Philadelphians.

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Honeywell’s tactic of negotiating the ideologies of femininity and ablebodiedness may also have allowed her to establish her position in the burgeoning American middle class. For the most part, Honeywell’s patrons lauded her artistic abilities and suggested that her commercial and cultural successes were perfect examples of social uplift and accomplishment. As one contributor to the *Daily National Intelligencer* stated:

[Martha Ann Honeywell] is a female, a helpless being, once considered, no doubt, a burthen to herself, her friends and society, who has by the constant and steady exertion of her mind, for more than twenty years, risen above her great deprivations, and rendered herself useful to society by affording an example of what may be accomplished by industry and perseverance. Shallow and barren indeed must that mind be which cannot derive some instruction from a visit to her rooms, where a lesson in usefulness and humility may be learned from seeing her execute those matchless specimens of her art, and reflecting that by patient and preserving efforts she has overcome difficulties and surmounted obstacles which most people would have pronounced impossible.\(^{143}\)

As this author suggests, many patrons interpreted Honeywell’s story as evidence for the republican values of industry and self-reliance that were believed to characterize the “middling sorts” in American society. Even more, since these ideals lay at the core of American national identity, some admirers even used her as a symbol of national pride. For example, one customer described her as a “Yankee-girl” of “domestic growth” and argued that her skills were superior to artists with physical disabilities in Europe.\(^{144}\) By presenting her visual and performance art to mediate cultural conventions and promote national values, Honeywell was able to elevate her social standing and gain public recognition and respect for her accomplishments.

\(^{143}\) Martha, “For the National Intelligence,” *Daily National Intelligencer*, April 6, 1832.

\(^{144}\) *Niles’ Weekly Register*, November 11, 1820. The author states: “[Martha Ann Honeywell] publicly did as queer things in her own country several years ago!—but she is forgotten, for she was of domestic growth, and not imported! She has not received celebrity from a London newspaper!” Although the claim that Honeywell was “forgotten” in 1820 was far from correct, the author does regard Honeywell as a symbol of national pride and accomplishment.
Most importantly, Honeywell used her strategy of self presentation to pursue her career as a visual and performance artist.\footnote{Economic and social autonomy was an important ideal for many Americans in the early nineteenth century. As Joyce Appleby explains, during this time period, “the exemplar [of the autonomous individual] took shape as an ideal, a filter, a measure for invidious comparison, and the human underpinning for market enterprise and moral reform. [It] came to personify the nation and the free society it embodied, a patriotic icon that differentiated the United States from the savagery at its borders and the tyranny across the Atlantic.” Appleby also draws connections between this spirit of ambition and the proliferation of careers in early nineteenth-century America. Not only did more individuals seek to elevate their economic and social position, but they also went about this in new ways and by working in new industries, such as art and print media. Joyce Appleby, Inheriting the Revolution: The First Generation of Americans, 7, 90-92. Honeywell’s story exemplifies this drive for autonomy and participation in new industries. At the same time, her case reveals some of the cultural conventions that limited many people’s ability to achieve this ideal of the “autonomous individual.” For more on autonomy and careers in the early republic, see: James A. Henretta, The Origins of American Capitalism: Collected Essays (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1991), 256-295; Richard Stott, “Artisans and Capitalist Development,” in Wages of Independence: Capitalism in the Early Republic, Paul A. Gilje, ed., 101-103; and Gordon S. Wood, Empire of Liberty: A History of the Early Republic, 1789-1815, 27-31.} For fifty years, she exhibited her artistic works to thousands of admirers across five countries. She attracted acclaim from renowned cultural institutions as well as distinguished individuals in the sciences, arts, and elite classes. She also gained the opportunity to travel, both domestically and internationally, and determine her own schedule of employment. Although women and people with disabilities were seen as dependents in the early nineteenth century, she elevated her economic and social position and enjoyed the many rights and privileges that this accorded her in American society. In addition, profit was not her only inspiration. She approached her work with great care and attention to detail, and likely drew personal satisfaction from her creative methods and relationships with customers. Although she participated in the exploitative industry of commercial freak shows, she did so, in large part, according to her own artistic and entrepreneurial vision. Honeywell did more than resist categorization as a freak. By capitalizing on the politics of display, she pursued her remarkable career as a visual and performance artist in early nineteenth-century America.
Entrepreneurship in the Early Republic

Martha Ann Honeywell’s story reveals the power of prescriptive ideologies as well as the ability of individuals to overcome social constraints and access greater measures of autonomy and opportunity. To develop her career, Honeywell had to confront the conventions of femininity and ablebodiedness that dually limited her economic and social options. Some scholars have even suggested that women with disabilities experience the intersection of these ideologies more severely than they would each alone.146 Honeywell’s experiences attest to this acute level of social subordination. At the same time, however, her case demonstrates that some individuals in the early nineteenth century found ways to resist cultural conventions and elevate their position in society.147 In fact, her experiences indicate that it was the very multiplicity of the


147 Since Michelle Fine and Adrienne Asch’s 1985 article, “Disabled Women: Sexism without the Pedestal,” scholars have worked to uncover the complex ways that the ideologies of femininity and disability impact the lives of women with disabilities. Honeywell’s case resonates with the findings of scholars who suggest that, at times, women with disabilities may be able to access greater measures of opportunity since their accordancs with one ideal frees them from accordance to another. For example, in “The Construction of Gender and Disability in Early Attachment,” Adrienne Harris and Dana Wideman contend that disabled women are less “sex-role stereotyped” and often experience gender constraints less severely as their nondisabled counterparts. In “Integrating Disability, Transforming Femininity Theory,” Rosemarie Garland Thomson follows up this assertion and discusses the ways that the freedom from femininity can be both liberating and debilitating. She holds that, in some cases, women with disabilities escape the sexual objectification of their nondisabled peers and find that they can be truer to themselves. These scholars do not conclude that this complexity enables women with disabilities to escape social oppression. Instead, as Harris and Wideman conclude, “[women with disabilities] may operate under a
ideologies that she faced that facilitated her empowerment. The story of Martha Ann Honeywell serves as a reminder that social prescriptions rarely accord with lived realities and that individuals actively negotiate these constructs for their own ends.148

Honeywell’s case challenges and expands standard narratives about the rise of modern capitalism in early nineteenth-century America. For one, her story demonstrates that women and people with disabilities worked as commercial and cultural entrepreneurs alongside their often-recognized white, male, and able-bodied counterparts. Although women and people with disabilities were discouraged from attaining economic independence, they too engaged in the commercial sector and capitalized on their profits. Honeywell’s story testifies to their participation in this period of capitalist transformation and their contributions to developments in business, art, and public culture.149 In


addition, her case illustrates the power of self presentation as a tool for economic and social advancement. By manipulating her public persona to mediate conventions, she enhanced her opportunities for commercial profit and self expression. Perhaps other entrepreneurs in diverse industries also employed this strategy for their own ends.

In particular, Honeywell's strategy of self presentation may have been used by other artists and performers in the nineteenth-century freak show industry. Although her talents in the visual arts were extraordinary, the display of her body for profit was akin to the experiences of many of these individuals. Her case suggests that they too manipulated their self image for commercial and cultural gain. In addition, perhaps some, like Honeywell, asserted control over their artistic choices and gained satisfaction from their interactions with customers. At the same time, however, Honeywell's story suggests a greater level of complexity. She participated in freak shows because they were one of the few venues where she could practice and profit from her artwork. She did not display her body on her own accord but rather because her career depended on it. Thus, while her story demonstrates that her tactic of self presentation may have been a powerful tool for nineteenth-century freak show artists and performers, her experiences also testify to the vulnerability and mistreatment that characterized work in this industry.150

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150 Honeywell's case accords with the conclusions of Robert Bogdan and David Gerber, who have debated the degree of agency that performers in nineteenth-century freak shows exercised over their personal and professional lives. In *Freak Show: Presenting Human Oddities for Amusement and Profit*, and Rosemarie Garland Thomson, ed. *Freakery: Cultural Spectacles of the Extraordinary Body*. Bogdan argues that freak shows were "stylized presentations created in tandem between businessmen and people with disabilities for the purpose of making money." He also suggests that many freaks participated in the industry on account of their own desires for cultural and commercial advancement. In "Volition and Valorization in the Analysis of the Careers of People Exhibited in Freak Shows," Gerber reacts to
Honeywell’s strategy of self presentation may have been most widely used by artists and performers in the early years of the freak show industry. During the first decades of the nineteenth century, people who exhibited as freaks often worked independently from museums or split their time between multiple venues. Although this lack of steady employment was often a source of hardship, it also increased the ability of these performers to determine the location and structure of their exhibitions. As the century progressed, however, freak shows became more institutionalized and businessmen began to employ workers full time and capitalize on their profits. The establishment of Barnum’s American Museum in 1841 is particularly seen as a marker of this transformation. The majority of Honeywell’s career occurred prior to this shift. She traveled easily between museums and her self-established galleries, and did not have an agent who governed her travel route and finances. Her strategy of self presentation may have been particularly related to these early years of flexibility and fluidity in the industry. In addition, even if artists and performers throughout the century employed her

Bodgon’s analysis and argues that freaks often had no other alternatives to work in the industry, which suggests that their participation was not evidence of personal choice or consent. Gerber’s objective is to “remoralize the question of the freak show” and show that recognition of the agency of freaks must coexist with the acknowledgement of their exploitation. Honeywell’s case accords with both Bogdan and Gerber’s arguments. Although she used her participation in freak shows to further her economic and social status, she also had limited opportunities and experienced social marginalization and discrimination. Robert Bogdan, Freak Show: Presenting Human Oddities for Amusement and Profit; David A. Gerber, “Volition and Valorization in the Analysis of the Careers of People Exhibited in Freak Shows,” Disability, Handicap & Society 7 (1992): 53-69. For more on Bogdan and Gerber’s debate see: Rosemarie Garland Thomson, “Introduction: From Wonder to Error—A Genealogy of Freak Discourse in Modernity;” Robert Bogdon, “The Social Construction of Freaks;” and David Gerber, “The ‘Careers’ of People Exhibited in Freak Shows: The Problem of Volition and Valorization,” all in Rosemarie Garland Thomson, ed., Freakery: Cultural Spectacles of the Extraordinary Body.

tactic, those who worked earlier on may have had the most to gain from its implementation.

In the end, Martha Ann Honeywell’s story reveals the power of visual and performance art as a means for professional advancement and personal expression. Honeywell used her talents in the visual arts to gain monetary profit and cultural recognition. Her skills as a performer enhanced the presentation of her visual works and allowed her to craft a public persona that guaranteed her patronage. In addition, she used print as a medium for performance by describing her body to accord with the desires of her customers and the necessities of her business. Drawing on her abilities in diverse artistic media, Honeywell capitalized on her position of social marginalization and maximized her economic and social autonomy in early nineteenth-century America. By challenging and conforming to the conventions of femininity and ablebodiedness—and ultimately defying both—she was able to pursue and profit from her extraordinary career as a visual and performance artist.

Samples of Honeywell’s Artwork

Paper Cuttings with the Lord’s Prayer Written in Miniature
Collection of M. L. Blumenthal
In Blumenthal, “Martha Ann Honeywell Cut-Outs,” *Antiques* (May, 1931): 360

Silhouette of William F. Spotswood (1827-1895)
Richmond, VA, circa 1835
Valentine Museum, Richmond, VA

Silhouette of Eliza L. Tinsley Wharton (1812-1887)
Amherst, VA, 1842
Lynchburg Museum, Lynchburg, VA
Paper Cutting of the Lord’s Prayer and Flowers
Unknown location, 1830-1848
Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, Williamsburg, VA
Curiosity and Sympathy Gratified.

At No. 267, Broadway, over the watch-maker's shop, may be seen Miss Honeywell, a young lady without hands, and with but one foot that she uses, but whose performances in Needle Work, Wax-Work, &c. are equalled by few of her sex. The benevolent and feeling mind, as well as the mere curious and speculative, will find much to admire in the productions of this rare and singular artist. She exhibits a collection of her works, such as Wax-Work and Artificial Flowers, Cut and Embroidered Fancy Pieces, Watch Papers, and other varieties of Scissors Work; and executes them in the presence of the spectator—writing her name, threading her needle, cutting figures with the scissors, &c. &c. with the most astonishing ease and facility. She cuts Watch Papers with the initials of any name, at different prices. Miss Honeywell (who will be distinguished from Miss Rogers, formerly at the Museum) is a native of this city—and never fails to satisfy and please any ladies and gentlemen who favor her with their company.

Admission 25 cents, and children half price.

Nov. 9.

The Columbian, December 29, 1809
New York, NY
FOR A SHORT TIME!
MISS HONEYWELL'S SPLENDID
GALLERY OF
CUTTINGS AND
NEEDLE WORK.

Is now open at Mr. Mellhenny's Tavern in
Hagerstown.—Those persons, therefore, who
wish to obtain their family likenesses, (cut in a
few seconds without arms, by MISS HONEY-
WELL,) are invited to embrace the present op-
portunity. This interesting Lady though born
without Arms, has acquired such use of a com-
mmon pair of Scissors, by holding them in her
MOUTH, as to be able to cut out of paper, the
most curious and difficult pieces of

CUTTINGS,

Ever attempted, such as the likenesses of distin-
guished Americans and Europeans: Together
with a variety of others, such as Watch Papers,
Flowers, Landscapes, and even the Lord's Pray-
er, perfectly legible; not only the outlines, but
to resemble copperplate engravings. She writes,
draws, and does all kinds of Needle Work, with
the utmost facility and ease. She has travelled
through Europe, where her work has been uni-
versally admired. An extensive variety of spe-
cimens of her elegant performance, are for exhi-
bition in the house she occupies. All her ele-
gant works are for sale. She can be seen at her
various occupations, from 10 o'clock, until 9 P. M.

Admittance, including a Profile Likeness,
(cut in a few seconds, without hands, by Miss
Honeywell,) 25 Cents, Children half price.

May 10

The Torch Light and Public Advertiser, May 10, 1832.
Hagerstown, MD
Map of Honeywell's Travels in the United States, England, Ireland, France, and Canada (1806-1856)
Catalogue of Martha Ann Honeywell’s Artwork

**Embroidery**

1. *Embroidery of Flowers*
   Philadelphia, 1810
   Silk
   9 x 7¼
   Inscribed at top: *Done by Martha Ann Honeywell, with her toes & Mouth, having lost both her Arms, in the presence of Geo D B Keim at Britons Tavern Front between Arch & Race Streets 1810; likewise the watchpaper__*
   Hanes & Ruskin Antiques, Old Lyme, CT

2. *Embroidery of Flowers*
   Unknown location and date
   Silk
   Peggy McClard Antiques, Houston, TX
   http://www.peggymcclard.com/aaa%20Silhouettist%20Biographies.htm#Harrington

3. *Embroidery of Flowers*
   Richmond, VA, unknown date
   Silk; ink
   1.5 x 1.5
   Inscription: *Needlework done with the Mouth by M. Honeywell*
   Scrapbook of Harriett D. Thomson
   Acc: 58.89.1-4, Valentine Museum, Richmond, VA

4. *Embroidery with the Lord’s Prayer Written in Miniature*
   West Chester, PA, after 1835
   Silk; ink
   Inscribed at center: *[Lord’s Prayer]; Written without Hands by M. A. Honeywell*
   Private Collection

**Ink Drawing and Writing**

1. *Ink Drawing of Bird*
   Richmond, VA, unknown date
   Ink; wood
   Circular, 1.25 in diameter
   Scrapbook of Harriett D. Thomson
Acc: 58.89.1-4, Valentine Museum, Richmond, VA

2. *Lord’s Prayer in Miniature*
   Unknown location; 1831
   Woven paper; ink
   Inscribed: [*Lord’s Prayer*]; *Written with the Toes by M. A. Honeywell, Sept 19, 1831*
   Peggy McClard Antiques, Houston, TX

3. *Lord’s Prayer in Miniature*
   Unknown location and date
   Woven paper; ink
   Galt Papers, Earl Gregg Swem Library, Williamsburg, VA

**Paper Cutting – Watch Papers**

1. *Watch Paper*
   Tappanannock, VA, September, 1841
   Woven paper; ink
   Private Collection; Copy in Virginia Historical Society Artist File, Richmond, VA.
   Note in Artist File: “R. Jordan Watchmaker and Jeweler, Main Street, Tappanannock, VA. September, 1841.”

2. *Watch Paper*
   Philadelphia, 1810
   Woven paper; ink
   Inscribed at top: *Done by Martha Ann Honeywell, with her toes & Mouth, having lost both her Arms, in the presence of Geo D B Keim at Britons Tavern Front between Arch & Race Streets 1810: likewise the watchpaper__*
   Hanes & Ruskin Antiques, Old Lyme, CT

**Paper Cuttings – Decorative Designs**

1. *Paper Cutting of Flowers*
   Unknown location and date
   Woven paper
   Galt Paper; Earl Gregg Swem Library, Williamsburg, VA

2. *Paper Cutting of Flowers (Forget-Me-Not Pattern)*
   Richmond, VA, unknown date
   Woven paper; ink
Circular, 1.75 in diameter  
Inscription in design: *Forget Me Not*  
Inscription at top: *Price: 50 cents*  
Scrapbook of Harriett D. Thomson  
Acc: 58.89.1-4, Valentine Museum, Richmond, VA

3. **Paper Cutting of Boy and Dog**  
Unknown location and date  
Black inked paper; white woven paper  
Inscription at bottom: *Cut with the Mouth by M. A. Honeywell*  
Valentine Museum, Richmond, VA  

4. **Paper Cutting of an Endless Knot**  
Unknown location and date  
Woven paper; ink  
6.25 x 5  
Inscribed at top: *The Endless Knot*  
Inscribed at bottom: *M. A. Honeywell Work Done Without Hands*  
Cowan’s, Auctioned: May 22, 2004, Spring Americana and Early Decorative Arts  
http://www.cowanauctions.com/past_sales_view_item.asp?itemid=10820n

5. **Paper Cutting with the Lord’s Prayer Written in Miniature**  
Richmond, VA, 1811  
Woven paper; ink  
Circular; 5/8 in diameter  
Inscription in center: *[Lord’s Prayer until “deliver us from evil”]; M.H. 1811*  
Scrapbook of Harriett D. Thomson  
Acc: 58.89.1-4, Valentine Museum, Richmond, VA

6. **Paper Cutting with the Lord’s Prayer Written in Miniature**  
Unknown location and date  
Woven paper; ink  
Inscription in center: *[Lord’s Prayer]; Cut with the Mouth by M. A. Honeywell*  
Private Collection  

7. **Paper Cutting with the Lord’s Prayer Written in Miniature**  
Unknown location and date  
Woven paper; ink  
Inscription in center: *[Lord’s Prayer]; Written with the Toes by M. A. Honeywell, 1835*  
Private Collection

8. **Paper Cutting with the Lord’s Prayer Written in Miniature**  
Massachusetts, unknown date  
Woven paper; ink  
Circular, 8.875 in diameter  
Inscription in center: [Lord’s Prayer]: Cut with the mouth by Martha A. Honeywell  
Private Collection  

9. **Paper Cutting with the Lord’s Prayer Written in Miniature**  
Woven paper; ink  
Private Collection  
American Silhouettes, March 16, 2009  
http://silhouettesamericana.blogspot.com/search?q=honeywell

10. **Paper Cutting of the Lord’s Prayer and Flowers**  
Unknown location, 1830-1848  
Woven paper; watercolor; ink  
Prayer alone: 4; Embroidered star-shaped surround: 7.38  
Inscribed: *Cut with the Mouth by Martha A. Honeywell*  

**Paper Cutting -- Cut-and-Paste Silhouettes (Identified Sitters)**

1. **Silhouette of Lucyanna Z. Green**  
Unknown location and date  
Black inked paper; white woven paper  
Inscribed under bust: *Cut by M. Honeywell with the Mouth*  
Inscribed on back: *Lucyanna Z. Green, 1829*  
EBay Online Auction (December 6, 2006)  

2. **Silhouette of E. Tupper**  
Unknown location and date  
Black inked paper; white woven paper  
4½ x 3½  
Inscribed: *Cut Without Hands by M. A. Honeywell*
3. **Silhouette of Sylvester Papin**
   Unknown location, 1830
   Black inked paper; white woven paper
   4.63 x 3.13
   Inscribed at top: *S. A. Papin, 1830; cut by Miss Honeywell without hands*
   Acc: 1919 068 0024, Missouri History Museum, St. Louis, MO

4. **Silhouette of Clementine Loisel Papin (1807-after 1870)**
   Unknown location, 1830
   Black inked paper; white woven paper
   4.63 x 3.13
   Inscribed under bust: *Cut by M. A. Honeywell with her Mouth*
   Inscribed at bottom: *Mrs. Clementine Papin; Cut by Miss Honeywell without hands*
   Inscribed at top: 1830
   Acc: 1919 168 0023, Missouri History Museum, St. Louis, MO

5. **Silhouette of Theodore Laveille (1822-after 1880)**
   Unknown location and date (1840?)
   Black inked paper; white woven paper
   4.75 x 3.25
   Inscribed under bust: *Theodore Laveille; Cut by Miss Honeywell with her Mouth*
   Acc: 1961 181 0001, Missouri History Museum, St. Louis, MO

6. **Silhouette of Unidentified Clark Family Member**
   Unknown location and date (1830?)
   Black inked paper; white woven paper
   4.88 x 3.25
   Inscribed under bust: *Cut by M. Honeywell with her Mouth*
   Acc: X14007, Missouri History Museum, St. Louis, MO

7. **Silhouette of William F. Spotswood (1827-1895)**
   Richmond, VA, circa 1835
   Black inked paper; white woven paper
   1.25 x 2
Inscribed under bust: *Cut by M. Honeywell with the Mouth*
Acc: 52.167.4, Valentine Museum, Richmond, VA

8. *Silhouette of Alexander Elliot Spotswood (1821-1834)*  
Richmond, VA, circa 1835  
Black inked paper; white woven paper  
2.63 x 2.13  
Inscribed under bust: *Cut by M. Honeywell with the Mouth*  
Acc: 1981-220, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, Williamsburg, VA

9. *Silhouette of Mary M. Arendell*  
Unknown location and date  
Black inked paper; white woven paper; gold paint  
4.06 x 3.06  
Inscribed under bust: *Cut by M. Honeywell with the Mouth*  
Acc: 1976.206.5, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, Williamsburg, VA

10. *Silhouette of William H. Dornin (1821-1890?)*  
Campbell County, VA; August, 1833  
Black inked paper, white woven paper  
3.071 x 2.677  
Inscription at bottom: *Cut by M. Honeywell with the Mouth*  
Acc: 85.5.1; Lynchburg Museum, Lynchburg, VA

11. *Silhouette of George Henderson*  
Black inked paper, white woven paper  
Sotheby’s  
Sale: 4048, Lot: 634, November 17-19, 1977  
Copy in Colonial Williamsburg Foundation Artist File, Williamsburg, VA

12. *Silhouette of Miss Catherine Elwell*  
Black inked paper, white woven paper  
Sotheby’s  
Sale: 4048, Lot: 634, November 17-19, 1977  
Copy in Colonial Williamsburg Foundation Artist File, Williamsburg, VA

13. *Silhouette of Mrs. Wentworth Winchester (1810-1910?)*  
Unknown location, 1848  
3.2 x 2.4  
Ref: 111,788, Private Collection

14. *Silhouette of Isabella Ann Bishop (1812-1895)*  
Unknown location, 1826  
Black inked paper, white woven paper  
5.75 x 4.69 (framed)  
Inscribed on bottom: *Cut with the Mouth by M. Honeywell*
15. Silhouette of John Ashley Stone (1799-1852)
   Virginia
   Black inked paper, white woven paper
   1.5 x 2.5
   Inscribed on bottom: *Cut with the Mouth by M.A. Honeywell*
   Acc: POR 926.41, Virginia Historical Society, Richmond, VA

16. Silhouette of I. M. Scott
   Fauquier County, Virginia
   Black inked paper, white woven paper
   1.5 x 3
   Inscribed on bottom: *Cut by M. Honeywell with the Mouth*
   Inscribed on back: *I. M. Scott. Not very much like her profile when taken as her hair worn as it is here represented.... [Signature: L. Scott?] Dec 23th (sic) 1845. M. Groor.*
   Acc: 985.62, Virginia Historical Society, Richmond, VA

17. Silhouette of Kitty H. Scott
   Fauquier County, Virginia
   Black inked paper, white woven paper
   3.9 x 3.1
   Inscribed on bottom: *Cut by M. Honeywell with the Mouth*
   Inscribed on back: *Kitty H. Scott's when a child. [Signature: L. Scott?] Fauquier Co, VA, Meadow Groor (?) Dec 23th (sic) 1845. Granddaughter of Patrick Henry.*
   Acc: 0000.258, Virginia Historical Society, Richmond, VA

18. Silhouette of Christian B. Scott (1815-after 1860)
   Fauquier County, Virginia
   Black inked paper, white woven paper
   3.6 x 2.9
   Inscribed on bottom: *Cut by M. Honeywell with the Mouth*
   Acc: POR.985.62, Virginia Historical Society, Richmond, VA

19. Silhouette of H. J. Belt (1780-1880?)
   Unknown location, 1816
   Black inked paper, white woven paper
   3.019 x 0.625
   Acc: 68.132.1, Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore, MD
20. *Silhouette of Belle Ensey (1800-1900?)*
   Unknown location, circa 1805-1820
   Black inked paper, white woven paper
   1.75 x 1.125
   Acc: 76.15.6, Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore, MD

21. *Silhouette of Millicent Stedman McCabe (1810-1910?)*
   Unknown location, circa 1830-1848
   Black inked paper, white woven paper
   3.875 x 1.625
   Acc: 68.42.1, Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore, MD

22. *Silhouette of Maria T. C. Preston (1805-1842)*
   Unknown location, circa 1825-1835
   Black inked paper, white woven paper
   2.94 x 1.94
   Private Collection; Ref: VA160169

23. *Silhouette of Rebecca Perrine*
   Salem, OH, unknown date
   Black inked paper, white woven paper
   Copy in Colonial Williamsburg Foundation artist file, Williamsburg, VA

24. *Silhouette of Daniel Perrine*
   Salem, OH, unknown date
   Black inked paper, white woven paper
   Copy in Colonial Williamsburg Foundation artist file, Williamsburg, VA

25. *Silhouette of Edmunds Family Member*
   Fauquier, Co., VA, unknown date
   Black inked paper, white woven paper
   Acc: S-6276, Museum of Early Southern Decorative Arts, Winston-Salem, NC

26. *Silhouette of Edmunds Family Member*
   Fauquier, Co., VA, unknown date
   Black inked paper, white woven paper
   Acc: S-6277, Museum of Early Southern Decorative Arts, Winston-Salem, NC

27. *Silhouette of Robert Tinsley (1793-1862)*
   Amherst, VA, 1842
   Black inked paper, white woven paper
   5.039 x 3.661
   Inscription on back: For Annie Conrad, Mrs. E. Robert Tinsley, 1842
   Honeywell’s signature (Cut by M. Honeywell with the Mouth) was also cut out and pasted on back
   Acc: 83.15.2; Lynchburg Museum, Lynchburg, VA
28. **Silhouette of Eliza L. Tinsley Wharton (1812-1887)**
Amherst, VA, 1842
Black inked paper, white woven paper, gold ink
5.354 x 3.819
Inscription on back: *For Annie Conrad; Tinsley, 1842: Mrs. Eliza Robert Tinsley (Aunt Eliza); Cut by Mary (sic) Honeywell with her mouth, 1842.*
Honeywell’s signature (*Cut by M. Honeywell with the Mouth*) was also cut out and pasted on back
Acc: 83.15.1; Lynchburg Museum, Lynchburg, VA

29. **Silhouette of Mr. Coob**
Amherst, VA, 1842
Black inked paper, white woven paper, gold ink
Inscription on back: *For Annie Gillion (?) Conrad; Cut by Mary Honeywell (sic) with her Mouth; Mr. Coob – Stepfather to Mrs. Tinsley “Aunt Eliza”*
Honeywell’s signature (*Cut by M. Honeywell with the Mouth*) was also cut out and pasted on back
Acc: 83.15.3; Lynchburg Museum, Lynchburg, VA

30. **Silhouette of Henry Latham (1831-1903)**
Lynchburg, VA, unknown date
Black inked paper, white woven paper
Museum of Early Southern Decorative Arts, Winston-Salem, North Carolina

31. **Silhouette of Daniel James Brooks (1760-1840?)**
Brooklyn, NY, 1830-1840
Black inked paper; white woven paper
Inscribed: *Cut by M. Honeywell with the Mouth*
Betty Howell Traver Collection; John and Susan Howell Family Trees

32. **Silhouette of Elizabeth Thompson Heard (1817-1872)**
Brooklyn, NY, 1830-1840
Black inked paper; white woven paper
Inscribed: *Cut by M. Honeywell with the Mouth*
Betty Howell Traver Collection; John and Susan Howell Family Trees

33. **Silhouette of Mrs. E. Davis**
Unknown location, circa 1835
Black inked paper; white woven paper
4 x 3.5
Inscribed at bottom: *E. Davis* (pencil); *Cut Without Hands by M. A. Honeywell* (in ink)
Private Collection

34. **Silhouette of Mr. G. W. Davis**
Unknown location, circa 1835
Black inked paper; white woven paper
4 x 3.5
Inscribed at bottom: *G. W. Davis* (pencil); *Cut Without Hands by M. A. Honeywell* (in ink)
Private Collection

35. **Silhouette of Mrs. M. L. Davis**
Unknown location, circa 1835
Black inked paper; white woven paper
4 x 3.5
Inscribed at bottom: *M. L. Davis* (pencil); *Cut Without Hands by M. A. Honeywell* (in ink)
Private Collection

36. **Silhouette of Master L. Davis**
Unknown location, circa 1835
Black inked paper; white woven paper
4 x 3.5
Inscribed at bottom: *L. Davis* (pencil); *Cut Without Hands by M. A. Honeywell* (in ink)
Private Collection

37. **Silhouette of Master M. Davis**
Unknown location, circa 1835
Black inked paper; white woven paper
4 x 3.5
Inscribed at bottom: *M. Davis* (pencil); *Cut Without Hands by M. A. Honeywell* (in ink)
Private Collection

38. **Silhouette of Thomas Reed (1828-1904)**
   West Chester, PA, after 1835
   Black inked paper; white woven paper
   Inscribed at bottom: *Cut without Hands by M. A. Honeywell*
   Private Collection
   Lidian: The Virtual Dime Museum: Adventures in Old New York;

39. **Silhouette of Pauline Storrs (1809-1841)**
   Richmond, VA, before 1841
   Black inked paper; white woven paper
   4 x 3
   Inscribed at bottom: *Cut by M. Honeywell with the Mouth*
   Inscribed on back: *Paulina Storrs born at Huns... Hall near Richmond. 1809, married Robt Williamson, died 1841, sister of Cornelia Storrs Taylor/Surely in character as in person/Aunt of Jacqueline P. Taylor. Label for ‘Gem Art Co., Richmond, VA. Brunk Auctions (Sold: 2006)*

40. **Silhouette of Harriett D. Thomson**
   Richmond, VA, unknown date
   Black inked paper; white woven paper
   1.2 x 2.4
   Inscription at bottom: *Cut by M. Honeywell with the Mouth*
   Scrapbook of Harriett D. Thomson
   Acc: 58.89.1-4, Valentine Museum, Richmond, VA

41. **Silhouette of George Woltz (1744-?)**
   York, PA, unknown date
   Black inked paper; white woven paper
   3.25 x 2.5
   Inscription at bottom: *Cut by M. Honeywell with the Mouth*
   Acc: 7-9708, Museum of Early Southern Decorative Arts, Winston-Salem, NC
   http://www.bornwithoutarms.blogspot.com/

42. **Silhouette of Samuel Effinger**
   Unknown location (Virginia?) and date
43. Silhouette of Lydia Ann (Battin) Hughes (1827-after 1900)
West Chester, PA, unknown date
Black inked paper; white woven paper
Inscribed at bottom: Cut without Hand by M. A. Honeywell
Inscribed on back: Lydia Ann (Battin) Hughes
Ruby Lane Antiques
http://www.rubylane.com/shops/antique-silhouettes/item1/MP-4480#pic2

44. Silhouette of Jackson Hughes (1822-before 1890)
West Chester, PA, unknown date
Black inked paper; white woven paper
Inscribed at bottom: Cut without Hands by M. A. Honeywell
Inscribed on back: Jackson Hughes
Ruby Lane Antiques
http://www.rubylane.com/shops/antique-silhouettes/item1/MP-4480#pic2

45. Silhouette of Solomon Truby
Virginia; unknown date
Black inked paper; white woven paper
5 x 4 (overall)
Inscribed: Solomon Truby; Cut with the Mouth by M. A. Honeywell
Private Collection
American Silhouettes, July 12, 2008
http://www.silhouettesamericana.blogspot.com

46. Silhouette of Mary Lizzie Robeson
Unknown location and date
Black inked paper; white woven paper
Inscribed: Cut with the Mouth by M. A. Honeywell; Paper stamped “Sturges & Co.”
Box 3 / Folder 12; The Joseph Downs Collection of Manuscripts and Printed Ephemera; Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum, Winterthur, DE

47. Silhouette of Ruth Hanford Brown
Cincinnati, OH; unknown date
Inscribed: Cut by M. Honeywell with the Mouth
Black inked paper; white woven paper
Inscription

48. Silhouette of James Crilly
Unknown location and date
Black inked paper; white woven paper
Inscribed at bottom: Cut without Hands by M. A Honeywell; James Crilly
Private Collection
American Silhouettes, January 18, 2006
http://www.bornwithoutarms.blogspot.com/

49. Full Length Silhouette of Darius Tallmadge (1800-1874)
Unknown location and date.
Black inked paper; white woven paper
Colonial Williamsburg Artist File

50. Full Length Silhouette of Bishop Richard Channing Moore (1764-1841)
Richmond, VA, unknown date
Black inked paper; white woven paper
8.75 x 3.5
Inscribed on right side: Bishop Moore taken by Miss Honeywell
Acc: 902.6; Virginia Historical Society, Richmond, VA

Paper Cuttings – Cut-and-Paste Silhouettes (Unidentified Sitters)

1. Silhouette of a Woman
Unknown location and date
Black inked paper; white woven paper; gold and white ink
Inscribed under bust: H.H.
Inscribed at bottom: Cut with the Mouth by M. A. Honeywell
Private Collection
http://1.bp.blogspot.com/_XWw15g578Z8/Rc4zIvlidol/AAAAAAAAAAU/llmlzehBbJY/s1600-h/honey+1.JPG

2. Silhouette of a Man
Cincinnati, OH, 1826
Black inked paper; white woven paper
Inscribed at bottom: Cut by M. Honeywell with the Mouth, Cincinnati, 1826
Peggy McClard Antiques, Houston, TX
http://photos1.blogger.com/blogger/7461/1130/1600/H1.jpg;
www.peggymcc1ard.com

3. Silhouette of a Woman
Unknown location and date (1830?)
Black inked paper; white woven paper
4.75 x 3.13
Inscribed at bottom: Cut by M. Honeywell with her Mouth
Acc: X14006, Missouri History Museum, St. Louis, MO
I&CISOPTR=760&CISOBOX=1&REC=3

57
4. **Silhouette of a Woman**  
   Unknown location, 1845  
   Black inked paper; white woven paper; white and gold ink  
   Prices for Antiques, Item: D9820799  

5. **Silhouette of a Woman**  
   Unknown location and date  
   Black inked paper; white woven paper  
   3 x 1.75  
   Inscribed on bottom: *Cut by M. Honeywell with the Mouth*  
   Virginia Historical Society, Richmond, VA

6. **Silhouette of a Young Man**  
   Unknown location and date  
   Black inked paper; white woven paper  
   1.25 x 2  
   Virginia Historical Society, Richmond, VA

7. **Silhouette of a Young Man**  
   Unknown location and date  
   Black inked paper; white woven paper  
   1.25 x 2.5  
   Inscribed on bottom: *Cut by M. Honeywell with the Mouth*  
   Virginia Historical Society, Richmond, VA

8. **Silhouette of a Man**  
   Unknown location and date  
   Black inked paper; white woven paper  
   2 x 4  
   Inscribed under bust: *Cut by M. Honeywell with the Mouth*  
   Pam Boynton, Groton, MA  
   In *Maine Antique Digest* XVII, 2 (February, 1989)

9. **Silhouette of Man**  
   Unknown location and date  
   Black inked paper; white woven paper  
   4 x 3  
   Inscribed at bottom: *Cut with the Mouth by M. A. Honeywell*  
   Pook and Pook, Inc. Auctioned: September 4 and 5, 2008, Lot 1268, $380  
   [http://www.pookandpook.com/cat/2008-09-05/1268?xfsid=o1tm6um31bbaa53a60hj9e0g2d6](http://www.pookandpook.com/cat/2008-09-05/1268?xfsid=o1tm6um31bbaa53a60hj9e0g2d6)
10. **Silhouette of a Man**  
Unknown location and date  
Black inked paper; white woven paper  
3 x 3.5  
Inscribed: *Cut by M. Honeywell with the Mouth*  
Ruby Lane Antiques  
http://www.rubylane.com/item/540480-MP-4738/Scarce-Martha-Anne-Honeywell-Silhouette

11. **Silhouette of a Man**  
Unknown location and date  
Black inked paper; white woven paper  
4.375 x 3  
Inscribed: *Cut by M. Honeywell with the Mouth*  
Estate of Fred J. Funk, Jr., Elgin, Illinois; Live Auctioneers  
http://www.liveauctioneers.com/item/6692211

12. **Silhouette of a Woman**  
Unknown location and date  
Black inked paper; white woven paper  
4.375 x 3  
Inscribed: *Cut by M. Honeywell with the Mouth*  
Estate of Fred J. Funk, Jr., Elgin, Illinois; Live Auctioneers  
http://www.liveauctioneers.com/item/6692211

13. **Silhouette of a Man**  
Unknown location and date  
Black inked paper; white woven paper  
Inscribed: *Cut with the Mouth by M. A. Honeywell*  
Peggy McClard Antiques, Houston, TX  
http://www.peggymcclard.com/aaa%20Silhouettist%20Biographies.htm#Harrington

14. **Silhouette of a Young Woman**  
Unknown location and date  
Black inked paper; white woven paper  
Galt Paper; Earl Gregg Swem Library, Williamsburg, VA

15. **Silhouette of a Woman**  
Unknown location and date  
Black inked paper; white woven paper  
Smithsonian American Art Museum (no accession number), Washington, DC

16. **Silhouette of a Woman**  
Unknown location and date  
Black inked paper, white woven paper
17. **Silhouette of a Woman**  
Unknown location and date  
Black inked paper, white woven paper  
*Inscribed: Cut by M. Honeywell with the Mouth*  
American Folk Paintings, #1465  
http://www.americanfolkpaintings.com/MI1IHTML

18. **Silhouette of a Man**  
Unknown location and date  
Black inked paper; white woven paper  
4 x 3.4  
Ref: PA150210, American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia, PA

19. **Silhouette of a Young Woman**  
Unknown location and date  
Black inked paper; white woven paper  
3.7 x 2.5  
Ref: VA140088, Private Collection

20. **Silhouette of a Young Woman**  
Unknown location and date  
Black inked paper; white woven paper  
4.4 x 3.75  
Ref: CA140425, Private Collection

21. **Silhouette of a Woman**  
Unknown location and date  
Black inked paper, white woven paper  
*Inscribed: Cut with the Mouth by M. A Honeywell*  
Sotheby’s, The Robert E. Crawford Collection  
Lot 228, Sale: N07713, New York, October 13, 2001  
http://www.sothebys.com/app/live/lot/LotDetail.jsp?lot_id=Q6CK

22. **Silhouette of a Man**  
Cincinnati, OH, 1829  
Black inked paper, white woven paper  
Copy in Colonial Williamsburg Foundation Artist File, Williamsburg, VA

23. **Silhouette of a Young Woman**  
Unknown location, 1835  
Black inked paper, white woven paper
3.88 x 2.75
Inscribed: *Cut with the Mouth by M. Honeywell*
Acc: 1996.306.3,1, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, Williamsburg, VA

24. *Silhouette of a Young Woman*
Unknown location, 1835
Black inked paper, white woven paper
3.89 x 2.81
Inscribed: *Cut with the Mouth by M. Honeywell*
Acc: 1996.306.3,2, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, Williamsburg, VA

25-33. *Silhouettes x 8 (All from the Same Family)*
Unknown location and date
Private Collection
American Silhouettes, June 27, 2010
http://silhouettesamericana.blogspot.com/search?q=honeywell
Bibliography

Primary Sources

Newspaper advertisements

I have located 276 newspaper advertisements that Honeywell published to promote her exhibitions. Of these, 66 are originals and 210 are repeated prints. The advertisements hail from 15 different states and 6 cities in England and Scotland. The first advertisement dates from February 3, 1787 (Daily Advertiser, February 3, 1787); the last dates from March 7, 1844 (Public Ledger, March 7, 1844). All advertisements are accessible on America’s Historical Newspapers and British Newspapers 1800-1900 databases.

Visual artworks

I have located 101 visual artworks by Honeywell. These works are diverse in media, and include: needlepoint samples, watch-papers, cut-and-paste silhouettes, drawings, miniature writings, and paper cuttings. The first work dates from 1807 and the last dates from 1848. In many cases, the original works were not marked with the date, location, and name of the sitter. Using both primary and secondary sources, I have assigned tentative dates, locations, and names to many of these pieces. Records of all artworks are included in the attached catalogue.

Governmental Documents

I have located Honeywell and her family in 7 governmental records, including United States and Canadian Censes, ship passenger lists, and immigration listings. These documents are all available on Ancestry.com.


“Communicated / Philanthropy.” Daily Louisville Public Advertiser (September 22, 1830).

“Extraordinary Phenomenon.” Niles’ Weekly Register (November 11, 1820).


Martha, “For the National Intelligencer.” *Daily National Intelligencer* (April 6, 1832).

“Minute Writing.” *Liverpool Mercury* (January 17, 1834).

“Miss Honeywell.” *Baltimore Patriot* (November 15, 1828).

“Miss Honeywell.” *Ohio Columbus Sentinel* (March 22 – June 7, 1831).


“The following lines were written by a young lady of Providence {R.I.} on visiting Martha Ann Honeywell.” *Poulson’s American Daily Advertiser* (April 28, 1809). Reprinted in various newspapers until 1829.

**Secondary Sources**


Kerber, Linda; Nancy Cott; Robert Gross; Lynn, Hunt; Carroll Smith-Roseburg; and Christine Stansell. “Beyond Roles, Beyond Spheres: Thinking about Gender in the Early Republic.” The William and Mary Quarterly 46, 3 (July, 1989): 566, 585.


