



HAMMATT BILLINGS.

PORTRAIT OF HAMMATT BILLINGS BY (GEORGE W. ?) HILL. WOOD ENGRAVING
(AFTER A DAGUERRETYPE), *Ballou's Pictorial*, APRIL 19, 1856
Courtesy of the Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities.

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Hammatt Billings, Artist and Architect

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DESIGNS for a pyrotechnical display on the Boston Common, a case for a famous organ, a Pilgrim monument, a clubhouse, two churches, a theater, and a college building—these were some of the commissions undertaken by the versatile artist and architect Charles Howland Hammatt Billings.

Born in Boston in 1818, Hammatt Billings (as he called himself after 1842) was the eldest son of Ebenezer Billings, Jr., and Mary D. (Janes) Billings. His ancestors had been among the earliest settlers of Milton, Massachusetts, the Billings family having kept the well-known Blue Hill Tavern in that town since the late seventeenth century. For a few years during Hammatt's childhood, his father returned to Milton to run the tavern, but by 1828 he settled down to a commercial clerkship in Boston, where Hammatt attended the Mayhew School and the English High School. As a child he demonstrated a remarkable talent for drawing, and at the age of seventeen he

apprenticed himself to the architect Asher Benjamin. Some years later he entered the office of Ammi B. Young, who was engaged in building the Boston Custom House (1837-1847). It was said that Hammatt Billings drafted many of Young's plans for the interior of the new building.¹ About this time he also studied wood engraving with Abel Bowen.²

In 1842 Billings listed himself as an architect and designer in the *Boston Directory*. It seems that he worked mainly at design until 1846, when he established an architectural office in partnership with his brother Joseph E. Billings (c. 1821-1880). Their first important commission was the theater and exhibition hall called the Boston Museum (Fig. 1), which opened on November 2, 1846. Located on Tremont Street, near Court Street (on the site of the present Kimball Building), the Museum was a precocious and quite successful adaptation of the round-arched "Lombard" or "Venetian" style. Many observers judged it to be an admirable design, but it failed to please every-

one. A lively and—for this date—rather unusual debate about the architectural merit of the building took place in the pages of the *Boston Courier* and the *Boston Post*. In a letter to the editor of the

On August 26 the *Courier* permitted "One of the Profession" to reply to his colleague's letter. Denying that the Lombards were ignorant barbarians, he praised the Museum for its "massiveness,



FIG. 1. THE BOSTON MUSEUM, TREMONT STREET. DESIGNED BY HAMMATT BILLINGS AND BUILT IN 1846. PHOTO SHOWS IT AS IT APPEARED IN 1903

Courtesy of the Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities.

Courier, August 22, 1846, a writer who signed himself "Architect" attacked the design for lacking an appropriately grand and spacious entrance, for monotonous fenestration, and for its Lombard inspiration (the Lombard reign in Italy being "ignorant and barbarous").

repose and dignity." The massiveness would be destroyed, he believed, by changing the fenestration. A similar exchange in the pages of the *Post* drew the architect Arthur Gilman briefly into the fray. On August 15, 1846, Gilman published a letter in which he called Ham-

matt Billings "my friend . . . one of the most learned, and at the same time most modest artists in the country" and referred to the Museum as a "beautiful structure." In the long run Gilman's support was justified: the Boston Museum became a much-beloved Boston landmark and continued to operate as a theater until its demolition in 1903.³

In the following years Hammatt Billings became better known as an illustrator and designer than as an architect, but he never abandoned the practice of architecture. Until about 1851, and again after 1865, he practiced in partnership with his brother Joseph, who specialized in civil and naval engineering. In addition to the Museum, they undertook commissions for the Temple Club (c. 1850) and the Church of the Saviour (1846-1852).

The Church of the Saviour, or Second Unitarian Church, Bedford Street, was apparently Billings's first essay in the Gothic style. Perhaps it reflected the influence of his friend Arthur Gilman, an early champion of the Gothic in this country. Built of "rough Newark stone" at a cost of \$70,000, the church was begun in 1846 and dedicated November 10, 1852.⁴ Its pretty tower and shaded churchyard provided for many years a pleasant relief from the commercial humdrum of Bedford Street. In 1883 Charles Cummings recalled the church as a "graceful and effective composition whose destruction a few years since, to make room for a warehouse, was a real misfortune."⁵

In 1850 the proprietors of the Boston Athenæum were engaged in finishing the interior of their new building at 10½ Beacon Street, designed by Edward C. Cabot (assisted perhaps by his brother James Elliot Cabot). The vestibule had been temporarily fitted up with an iron

staircase in 1848 while the proprietors sought new funds to complete the interior. There was some resistance to the domed and colonnaded vestibule included in Cabot's plans. The original estimate of the cost of the building had already been exceeded by \$40,000, and Cabot's plan would be expensive. Some felt that more light was needed in the vestibule. The events that brought Hammatt Billings into the matter are obscure, but it is clear that he was consulted. As Ralph Waldo Emerson remembered it: "The Cabots built the Athenæum; Billings went into it and said, this hall and staircase want greatness, and drew his plans. The Committee and the Cabots assented at once, and Billings was added to the Cabots as one of the architects."⁶

Billings's first design for the vestibule (Fig. 2) was sketched at the top of a note to Thomas G. Cary, chairman of the building committee, in April, 1850.⁷ During the following summer, he formally submitted this design, with its segmental-vaulted and compartmented ceiling, as well as two alternative designs. George Snell, Paul Schultz, and E. C. Cabot also submitted designs. On October 14, 1850, Billings's first plan was adopted by the proprietors, and in November Cabot agreed to supervise construction of the vestibule according to the new scheme, with some modifications of his own. Charles Sumner, a member of the building committee, reportedly persuaded Billings and Cabot to model one of the staircases on Bernini's "Scala Regia" in the papal palace at the Vatican. The "Sumner staircase," as it came to be called, was taken down in 1889.⁸ Whatever remained of Billings's work was probably removed when the Athenæum was reconstructed in 1913-1915; more research is needed on this point.

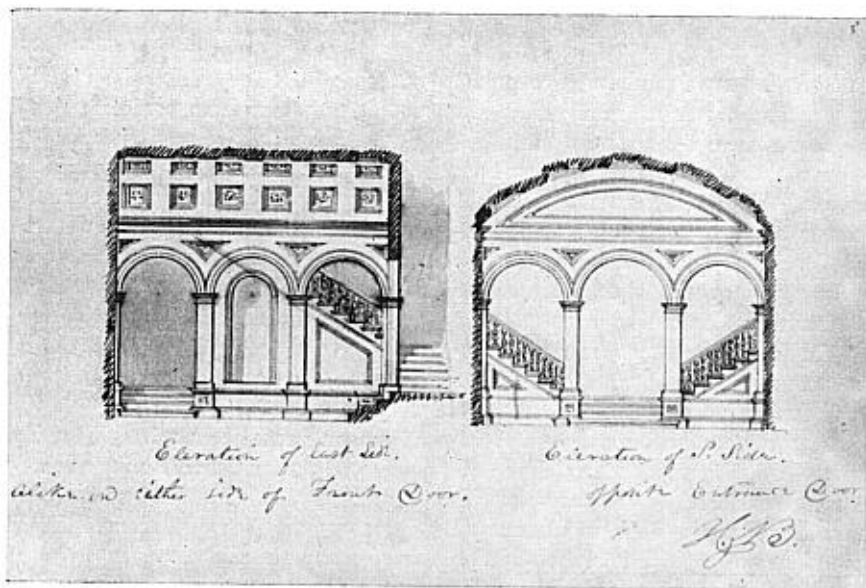


FIG. 2. HAMMATT BILLINGS, DESIGNS FOR THE VESTIBULE OF THE BOSTON ATHENÆUM, 1850

Courtesy of the Boston Athenæum. Photo by George M. Cushing.

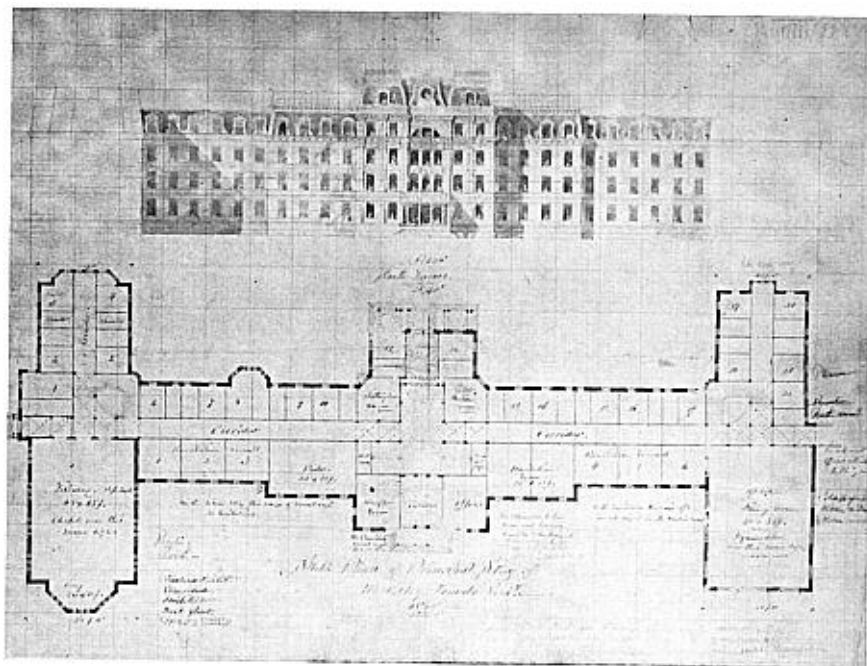


FIG. 3. HAMMATT BILLINGS, PLAN AND ELEVATION OF COLLEGE HALL, WELLESLEY COLLEGE, 1871

Courtesy of the Wellesley College Library. Photo by Chaluc.

Hammatt Billings also designed the Massachusetts Charitable Mechanic Association Building (1860), Bedford and Chauncy streets, adjoining the Church of the Saviour. Described as "Italian Renaissance" in style, this design may be interpreted in relation to the tremendous commercial growth of the city in the decade of the 1850s. It seems that Billings caught the confidence and expansiveness of those bustling years. Leaving behind the simplicity and directness of the Boston Museum and the Temple Club, he created a florid, eclectic style characterized by pavilions, pilastered windows, statuary in niches, and heavy neobaroque ornament. He again employed the florid style in his Cathedral Building (c. 1874), Franklin and Devonshire streets, built to replace an earlier building of the same name destroyed in the fire of 1872. Both structures have long since been demolished.⁹

The Tremont Methodist Episcopal Church, which still stands at the corner of Tremont and West Concord streets in the South End, was dedicated on January 1, 1862. One of Billings's best designs, this picturesque Gothic church was built under the architect's supervision by Shepherd S. Woodcock and G. F. Meacham.¹⁰ On November 17, 1874, a few days after Billings's death, the *Boston Morning Journal* related a curious anecdote about the conception of the design:

Among the many achievements of the late Hammatt Billings, the Methodist church on Tremont street will long remain a monument to his taste. When he was asked to draw a design for the exterior of that church, he walked to the spot to see the shape of the lot. Standing on the corner, he drew upon a piece of paper, resting on his hat, the outline of the structure, to which he subsequently added a few slight embellishments. It was the work of a few minutes.

The church was closed in the fall of 1970 after a fire had damaged the interior, and it has since fallen into disrepair. The New Hope Baptist Church (Rev. Madison Bryson, pastor) has recently purchased the building from the Methodist Board of Missions. Happily, the new congregation plans no extensive alterations. The church is one of the finest public buildings in the South End—certainly the only one conceived on a hat—and it should be preserved with as few changes as possible.

Hammatt Billings's largest architectural commission was the first building at Wellesley College, in whose 400-odd rooms the entire faculty and student body lived and worked for many years. Called College Hall, it was located on a rise overlooking Lake Waban, where Tower Hall is situated today. The founder of the college, Henry F. Durant, had originally intended the site for his country house. Durant took a keen interest in the building of College Hall; indeed, it seems that the final design was as much his own as it was Billings's.¹¹

Construction was begun in 1871. No contracts were let, the entire project being executed by day labor, with the founder on hand daily, rain or shine, to supervise the workmen. Billings's plan and elevation have been preserved at the Wellesley College Library (Fig. 3): a straightforward French Second Empire design with a central pavilion, somewhat reminiscent of James Renwick's Vassar College (1865). The many queries and notes on the design demonstrate Durant's close supervision.

Billings died November 14, 1874, nearly a year before College Hall was completed. Clearly, Durant discussed some changes with the architect while he was still alive, but after his death the founder apparently altered the design freely. The result was a curious *mélange*

of Gothic, Italianate, and French Academic elements. (Cover.) College Hall served its varied purposes well for many years, but it came to be considered a fire-trap, and when it was destroyed by fire March 17, 1914, the students who lived there had been so well drilled that they all escaped without injury.¹²

Information on Hammatt Billings's architectural activity is still incomplete. Most likely he designed many more buildings than those already mentioned. Bainbridge Bunting has reasonably conjectured that Billings furnished plans for residences in the Back Bay,¹³ but evidence is lacking. In noticing Billings's death, the *Boston Daily Advertiser*, November 16, 1874, remarked that he was not well known as an architect because "his work was largely done for others in his profession."

About 1847 Billings began his long and prolific activity as an illustrator of books and magazines. Among the dozens of books he illustrated were Whittier's *Poems* (Boston: Mussey, 1850), Hawthorne's *A Wonder-Book for Girls and Boys* (Boston: Ticknor, Reed & Fields, 1852), Mrs. Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (Boston: Jewett, 1853), Tennyson's *Poems* (Boston: Tilton, 1866), and Dickens's *A Child's Dream of a Star* (Boston: Fields, Osgood & Co., 1871). When *Gleason's Pictorial* was established in Boston in 1851, Billings found a ready market for his illustrations. He put his hand to all kinds of scenes for the *Pictorial*—topical, architectural, fanciful—and earned the respect of M. M. Ballou, the editor and later proprietor of the magazine. In the issue of April 19, 1856, *Ballou's Pictorial* printed an article fulsomely praising the artist, with an accompanying portrait engraved by one Hill (probably George W. Hill) after a daguerreotype. (Frontispiece.) As an edi-

tor, Ballou especially appreciated Billings's talent for turning out quick work on many subjects:

As a designer on wood he is without a rival in this country, and only one English artist, [Sir John] Gilbert, can compare with him. We do not mean by this that there are not artists who cultivate specialties who might not surpass Mr. Billings in their particular lines, such as heads, marine drawings, or architecture, but we know of no one who draws so many things so well. . . . Perhaps his forte is in the drawing and grouping of the human figure. All his figures have a naturalness and correctness on whatever scale they are drawn. . . . Nothing can exceed the mingled precision and freedom of his drawings on the wood. The effect is always good, and there is just enough of detail to convey his idea perfectly to an engraver of taste and feeling. The facility with which Mr. Billings executes these beautiful works is truly remarkable. He will dash off a design in two or three hours, which would cost an ordinary draughtsman as many days labor. He rarely, if ever, makes a sketch of his works on paper, but sits down to the prepared block and makes his drawing as rapidly and correctly as if he were tracing a design instead of originating it. He conceives his design so clearly and distinctly in his mind that he actually sees it in the wood before him. . . . His faculties have been so carefully trained that without the aid of lines and compasses, he can reduce a drawing to any scale by the aid of the eye alone.

Billings's facility (if he were practicing now he might be called "slick") was perhaps too great for the good of his reputation. Today his illustrations have been forgotten while more careful and finished work such as Winslow Homer's is collected and reproduced. Yet Billings's versatile work for the *Pictorial* has a delicacy and ease all its own. In his day he enjoyed a reputation justifying Ballou's praise. At his death the *Boston Daily Globe*, November 16, 1874, commented that his illustrations of popular works had made his name a "household word where art is appreciated."

Hammatt Billings was also well known as a designer of monuments, both

civic and cemetery, and it is for his National Monument to the Forefathers in Plymouth (Fig. 4) that he is best remembered. Early in 1855 the Pilgrim Society of Plymouth advertised a competition for the design of a Forefathers monument, and in due course the trustees selected a design by "two Hungarian gentleman of New York, Messrs. Zucker and Asboth."¹⁴ The Society intended to proceed to erect the monument at its own expense. However, in April or May, 1855, Hammatt Billings proposed a plan by which he would raise the money himself, indemnifying the Society against loss, if the trustees would accept his own design. This was a colossal composition 153 feet high—comprising a figure of Faith 70 feet high on an 83-foot-high pedestal, projecting from the base of which were four buttresses supporting 40-foot figures of Law, Morality, Education, and Freedom. The trustees, shrewd businessmen, were suitably impressed. Tossing out Zucker and Asboth's design, they signed a contract with Billings, granting him permission to raise subscriptions in the Society's name, while he agreed to complete the Monument to the Forefathers within twelve years. Billings also agreed to design and erect a canopy over Plymouth Rock within four years.¹⁵

The cornerstone of the canopy was finally laid in 1859, but it was not finished until 1866. The Civil War intervened, raising costs and delaying work on the monument. Billings organized a nationwide fund-raising campaign, offering a 20-inch-high bronze model of the monument to \$100 subscribers, a 30-inch bronze and silver model to \$500 subscribers, and a "splendid" 36-inch model to \$1,000 subscribers.¹⁶ In connection with the fund raising he published *The Illustrated Pilgrim Almanac* (later *The Illustrated Pilgrim Memorial*), including

articles written and illustrated by himself.¹⁷ The inflation of the years after the war forced him to propose halving the size of the monument, making it 81 feet high (a 36-foot figure of Faith on a 45-foot pedestal, with subsidiary figures). The Pilgrim Society graciously agreed to this proposal in 1874, soon before Billings died.

Joseph E. Billings carried on the work after his brother's death. In 1875 he commissioned the well-known sculptor William Rimmer to make a 9-foot plaster model of the figure of Faith. The sculptor's model, based on the Venus de Milo, was clad in draperies too thin and clinging for Joseph Billings's taste. He turned Rimmer's work over to a little-known sculptor named Perry (probably John D. Perry), who thickened the drapery and altered the head.¹⁸ Funds for the subsidiary figures of Law, Morality, Education, and Freedom, and for the sculptured panels on the faces of the buttresses, were hard to find, and the monument was not completed until 1889. Some years ago, it was considered a Victorian folly, but it has come to be regarded with affection by many Plymouth residents and visitors.

Another of Hammatt Billings's monumental projects, a memorial for the Civil War dead of Boston, was frustrated by politics. On May 4, 1866, the Boston City Council advertised a competition for a Soldier's Monument to be erected on Flagstaff Hill in Boston Common. By June 18 fifteen designs had been submitted. The councilors, finding none of them satisfactory, invited Hammatt Billings and others to compete, and in November they unanimously selected Billings's design. A photograph of his proposal has been preserved at the Boston Public Library. (Fig. 5.) He estimated the cost at \$100,000. The Council has-

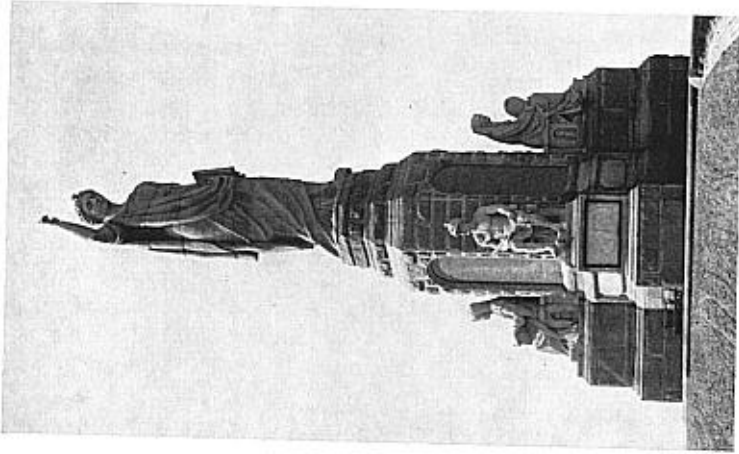


FIG. 4. THE NATIONAL MONUMENT TO THE FOREFATHERS, PLYMOUTH, MASSACHUSETTS, 1875-1889. DESIGNED BY HAMMATT BILLINGS

Courtesy of the Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities.

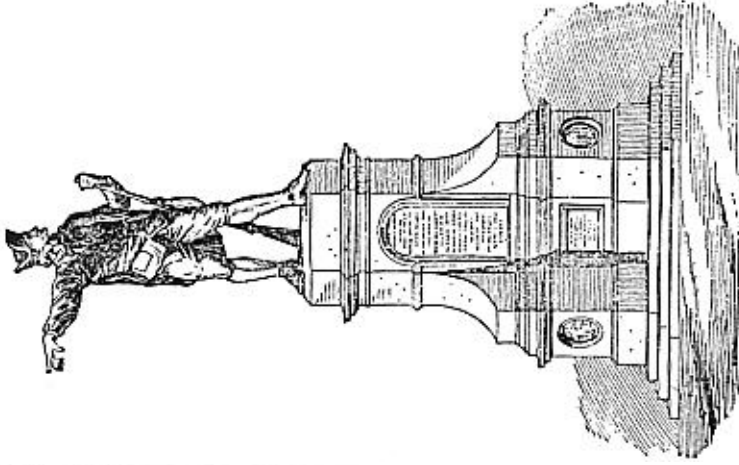


FIG. 6. HAMMATT BILLINGS, UNEXECUTED DESIGN FOR A MINUTE-MAN MONUMENT, C. 1860, INTENDED FOR ERECTION IN LEXINGTON, MASSACHUSETTS. FROM *American Architect and Building News*, JULY 9, 1881

Courtesy of the Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities.

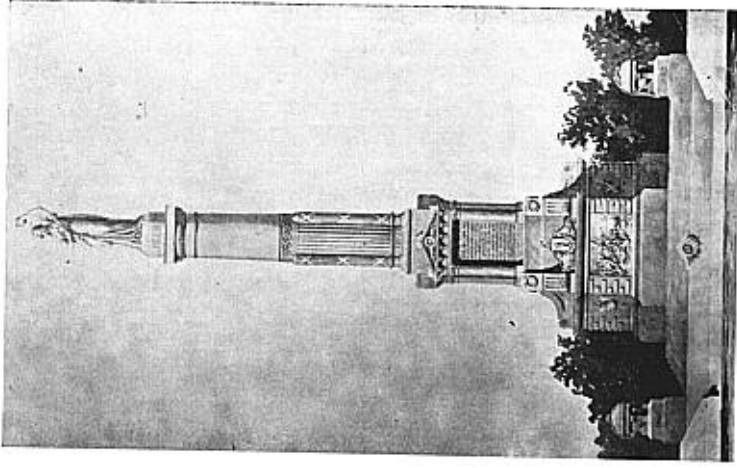


FIG. 5. HAMMATT BILLINGS, UNREALIZED DESIGN FOR A MONUMENT TO THE CIVIL WAR DEAD, 1866, INTENDED FOR ERECTION ON FLAG-STAFF HILL, BOSTON COMMON

From a photograph in the Print Department, Boston Public Library.

tened to have the foundation laid before a new government came in in January, 1867. When the new councilors solicited proposals for the construction of the monument itself, they found that the work could not be accomplished for less than \$160,000. Billings modified the design to reduce the cost to \$125,000, but even this amount failed to receive the approval of the necessary two-thirds of the Council members. The site was resodded and the scheme forgotten until 1871, when a new competition was announced.¹⁹ Martin Milmore entered the winning design, and it is his Soldiers' and Sailors' Monument that stands on Flagstaff Hill today.

Billings's project for a Minute-Man Monument to be erected by the Lexington Monument Association was equally ill-fated. This association was incorporated in 1850 for the purpose of erecting a Revolutionary War memorial in Lexington—something grander and more fashionable than the granite obelisk put up in 1799. As designed by Hammatt Billings, it presented the soldier in cocked hat, waistcoat, long coat, and knee breeches, a musket held upright at his left side, his right hand pointing dramatically into the distance. (Fig. 6.) Billings also designed a huge engraved certificate for presentation to donors.

The Civil War and subsequent inflation, which almost did in the Monument to the Forefathers, definitely quashed the association's plans, and Billings's Minute-Man was never executed. In 1875, the Town of Concord erected Daniel C. French's handsome bronze Minute-Man at the Old North Bridge. French's figure, his plow at his side, presents the citizen-soldier concept more explicitly than Billings's Minute-Man. But Billings's design won praise from Truman H. Bartlett (Rimmer's biographer), who

lamented its fate in an article for the *American Architect & Building News*: "It has more reach, nerve, bigness and sweep in it than any statue or design for a statue we have ever seen by an American."

Hammatt Billings's career as a designer included such miscellaneous commissions as a proposal for laying out the Public Garden in Boston, executed for *Gleason's Pictorial* in 1853; the emblematic fireworks for the Fourth of July celebration on Boston Common in 1853; relief sculpture and statuary for the exterior of a commercial building designed by G. J. F. Bryant; the baroque walnut case for the Great Organ in the Boston Music Hall (installed in 1863); the granite obelisk in Concord Square commemorating the Civil War dead (1867); the attractive pedestal for Ball's statue of Washington in the Public Garden (1869); and a number of private monuments in Mount Auburn Cemetery and elsewhere.²⁰ The Great Organ was sold in 1884, stored, then sold again in 1897 to E. F. Searles of Methuen, Massachusetts, who built a hall for it at his house and rededicated it with a concert on December 9, 1909.²¹ Still in its original case, the organ continues in use today.

In addition to his work as an architect, illustrator, and designer, Billings painted in oils and watercolors and executed pen-and-ink drawings that were widely applauded. It was reported that he painted the following oils: "Sir Galahad," "Italian Mother and Child," "New England Scene in Winter," "View on the Thames," and "Happy Hunting-Ground." Among his drawings were "St. Agnes's Eve," "The Sleeping Palace," "The Lady of Shalott," "The Angel of Death," "Confidence," "God's Acre," "The Supplication," "The Ministering Angel," "Titania in Love," and "Sym-

Continued on page 76.

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pathy.”²² The present locations of these works have not yet come to light. In the 1880s Wellesley College owned a pen-and-ink drawing by Billings called “The Presentiment,” as well as a watercolor, “The Parting of Abraham and Lot,” and a series of fifty-four drawings illustrating the Apocalypse. All have disappeared, and the Wellesley College Art Gallery has no record of them.²³ However, the location of two oil paintings by Billings is known: Dartmouth College owns his portraits of Edward E. Phelps (Fig. 7) and Albert Smith.²⁴

The Boston Public Library has a volume of twenty-three photographs of Billings’s “Illustrations of the Book of Revelation,” with a note by the former owner stating that only two prints were made of each design before the negatives were destroyed. These dramatic illustrations—almost like baroque scene designs in their boldness—present a striking contrast to the artist’s rather prosaic illustrations for books and magazines. Each is captioned with the Scriptural passage it is meant to illuminate. The location of the original drawings is a mystery. The Boston Public Library also owns two original pen-and-ink drawings by Billings: St. Simeon on his pillar and a page of illustrations of Chinese subjects, perhaps intended for a travel book. The library once owned, in addition, a series of thirteen pen-and-ink drawings, “Who Killed Cock Robin?” but they have been missing since 1928.

In 1865 Hammatt Billings spent at least five months in Europe, principally in London, where he reportedly designed illustrations for books.²⁵ (No English editions including his work have yet been identified.) While abroad he kept a sketchbook which has been preserved at the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston.²⁶ A small volume 2¾ x 4½ inches, it con-

tains sketches of figures, animals, landscapes, and studies for larger projects, with notes on colors. The sketches demonstrate his graceful and precise draftsmanship.

In his day Billings enjoyed an enviable reputation. James Jackson Jarves included in *The Art Idea* (1864) an enthusiastic appreciation of his talent:

His taste is refined, talent versatile, fancy subtle, and imagination inventive. . . . The mere overflow of his mind would make a reputation for the common run of architects and artists. Indeed, we fancy, more is already due him in Boston than appears on the surface, for his own generous virtues and modest self-appreciation stand in the way of his worldly prosperity. . . . The Methodist Church, on Tremont Avenue [sic], a Gothic group, the Bedford Street Church, and the adjoining building for the Mechanics’ Association, the finest public architecture Boston has, are but meagre examples of what his taste could do if scope were allowed.²⁷

Notices of Billings’s death, which invariably cited the Monument to the Forefathers and the case for the Great Organ as his best-known works, also included tributes to his modesty and his generosity to younger artists. The *Boston Daily Advertiser*, November 16, 1874, asserted that he was “truly a great artist, and had that rare quality of being ever ready to recognize merit in others. He was . . . generous even when he could ill afford it. Many a young genius has been given his first start toward the realization of his aspirations by the kindly aid of Hammatt Billings, who would pinch himself rather than refuse assistance to another.”²⁸

Like the sketch of Hammatt Billings’s architectural work, the foregoing account of his activities as an artist and designer is incomplete. Clearly, he was a man of remarkable energy and productiveness. His work outside the Boston area remains to be investigated. (In noticing his death the *New York Times*, November 16,

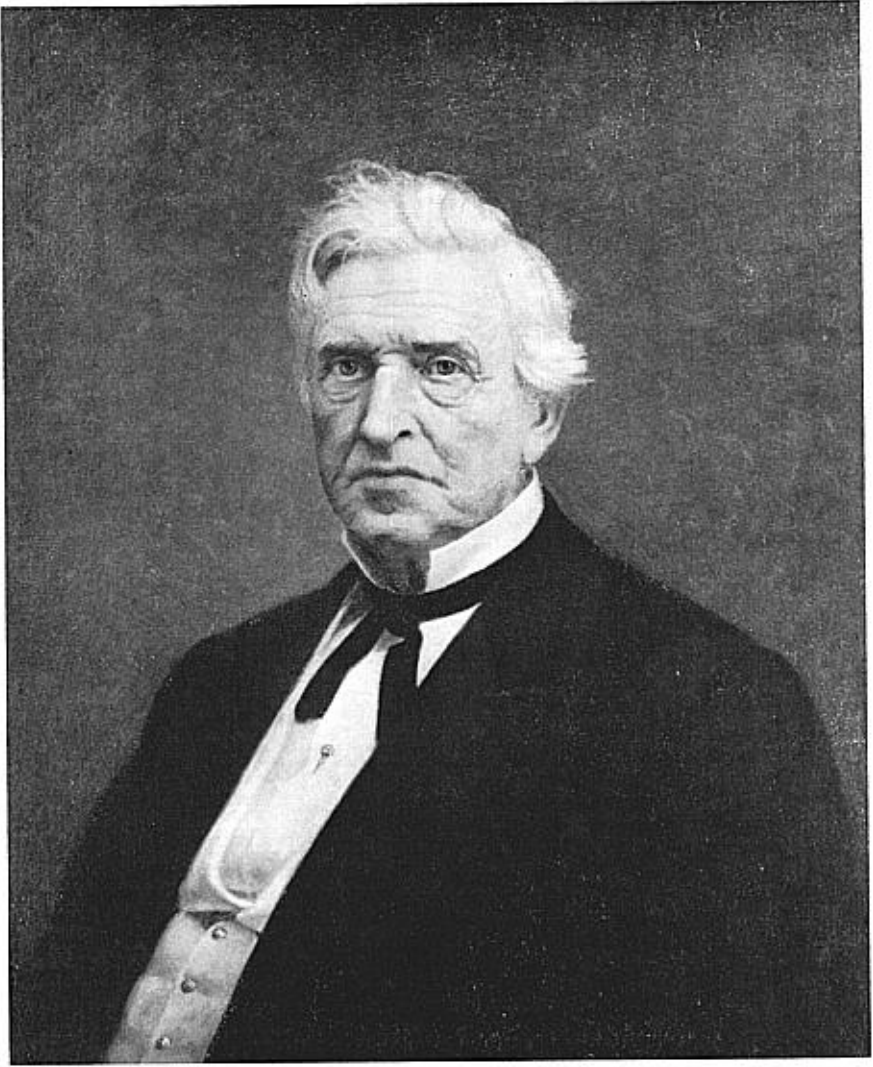


FIG. 7. PORTRAIT OF EDWARD ELISHA PHELPS PAINTED BY HAMMATT BILLINGS. OIL ON CANVAS, 30" X 35"
Courtesy of the Hopkins Center Art Galleries, Dartmouth College.

1874, commented: "He was one of the best known of his profession in the country, having been engaged in nearly every city in the United States.") His activities in England are still obscure, and many of his paintings and drawings cannot be

located. The names of his pupils have not yet come to light. When all the facts are in, Hammatt Billings may well emerge as a major figure in the history of art and architecture in Victorian Boston.

NOTES

¹ Obituaries in the *Boston Daily Globe*, *Boston Daily Advertiser*, *Boston Post*, and *Boston Morning Journal*, November 16-17, 1874; Harold Ward Dana, "Ebenezer Billings of Milton, Mass., and Some of His Descendants," *New England Historic & Genealogical Register*, XCI (July, 1937), 235-236; Albert K. Teele, *The History of Milton, Mass., 1640 to 1887* [Boston: Rockwell and Churchill, 1887], p. 171; George C. Groce and David H. Wallace, *The New-York Historical Society's Dictionary of Artists in America, 1564-1860* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1957), p. 49. These accounts differ in identifying the place and year of Billings's birth—some say Milton in 1818, others Boston in 1819. Groce and Wallace's date 1816 seems quite wrong, since Billings's parents were married on September 14, 1817 (*Columbian Centinel*, September 17, 1817). Since Hammatt was their first child, since the *Boston Directory* lists his father as a hardware dealer in Union Street in 1818 and 1819, and since his gravestone in Milton Cemetery says he died on November 14, 1874, aged 56, it seems likely that he was born in Boston in 1818. In a six-page paper, "Hammatt Billings, Artist and Architect," read before the Bostonian Society in 1920, Charles F. Read reached the same conclusion. Read's paper, preserved in manuscript at the Society, is undocumented, but it furnished me with several useful leads. I am grateful to Mrs. H. Ropes Cabot for bringing this manuscript to my attention.

Billings's association with Benjamin and Young was noted in the *Morning Journal* obituary, November 16, 1874. Some proof of his assistance in planning the Custom House may be found in an engraved broadside, *New Custom House, Boston, A. B. Young, Archt.* (Boston Public Library), with an elevation "Drawn by C. H. Billings" and a notice of copyright dated 1840.

² William Henry Whitmore, "Abel Bowen," *Bostonian Society Publications*, I (1886-1888), 35.

³ Howard M. Ticknor, "The Passing of the

Boston Museum," *New England Magazine*, n.s., XXVIII (1903), 378-396.

⁴ *The Boston Almanac for the Year 1854* (Boston: Jewett; Cleveland: Jewett, Proctor & Worthington [1854]), p. 59, including an illustration. In the Print Department of the Boston Public Library is a handsome photograph of the church in 1860, by Southworth and Hawes. Suffolk County deeds, Lib. 559, fols. 196-197, dated April 1, 1846, is an interesting building contract between the authorities of the church and Billings.

⁵ "Architecture in Boston," in *The Memorial History of Boston*, ed. Justin Winsor (Boston: James R. Osgood & Co., 1881-1883), IV, 484.

⁶ *Journals of Ralph Waldo Emerson*, ed. E. W. Emerson and W. E. Forbes (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1909-1914), X, 250.

⁷ A.N.S. from Hammatt Billings to Thomas G. Cary, April 15, 1850, at the Boston Athenæum. I am very grateful to Mr. David M. K. McKibbin of the Athenæum for bringing this item to my attention, as well as Emerson's comment and other Billings material.

⁸ Josiah Quincy, *The History of the Boston Athenæum* (Cambridge, Mass.: Metcalf and Co., 1851), pp. 192-237; William I. Fletcher, "Some Recollections of the Boston Athenæum, 1861-1866," *Library Journal*, XXXIX (August, 1914), 579. A photograph of the staircase is reproduced in *The Athenæum Centenary* ([Boston]: The Boston Athenæum, 1907), opposite p. 186.

⁹ The Mechanic Association Building is illustrated in Edward Stanwood's *Boston Illustrated* (Boston: Houghton, Osgood & Co. [c. 1878]), p. 75, and also in *King's Handbook of Boston*, 9th ed. (1889), p. 325. A later edition of *Boston Illustrated* (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Co. [c. 1886]), p. 97, includes an illustration of the second Cathedral Building.

¹⁰ *Boston Post*, July 31, 1860; printed rec-

ord of the dedication ceremony (Boston University Theological Library). The church is illustrated in *King's Handbook*, 9th ed. (1889), p. 186.

¹¹ Florence Morse Kingsley, *The Life of Henry Fowle Durant* (New York and London: Century Co., 1924), pp. 196-197; paperbound souvenir, *College Hall* (Boston: N. Allen Lindsey & Co., Printers [c. 1915]), at the Wellesley College Library.

¹² *Boston Evening Transcript*, March 17, 1914. A kitchen wing, added after Billings's death, survived the fire and is now used to house college employees. In his paper read before the Bostonian Society, Charles Read stated that Billings designed "several smaller buildings and the lodges at the entrances" to the campus. The two charming lodges are still in use.

¹³ *Houses of Boston's Back Bay* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1967), p. 157.

¹⁴ Manuscript Minutes of the Pilgrim Society (P.S. Rec. Sec. Records, Vol. I), at Pilgrim Hall, Plymouth, under date May 28, 1855.

¹⁵ *The Boston Almanac for the Year 1856*, pp. 54-55, including an illustration; Minutes of the Pilgrim Society; *Old Plymouth: A Guide to Its Localities and Objects of Interest* (Plymouth, Mass.: Old Colony Memorial Press, 1878), pp. 66-81. Billings's canopy over the Rock was removed in 1920.

¹⁶ *New England Historic & Genealogical Register*, XI (July, 1857), 283.

¹⁷ These articles, it may be noted, were not Billings's only publications. He also wrote "Sketches of Mount Auburn" for *The Boston Almanac for the Year 1857*, pp. 49-60, with illustrations probably designed by himself. His remarks on the "bizarre fancies" found at the cemetery suggest that he was not sympathetic to the Egyptian Revival style and similar fashions. The *Morning Journal* obituary, November 16, 1874, mentions "his many articles—published and unpublished."

¹⁸ Truman H. Bartlett, *The Art Life of William Rimmer* (Boston: James R. Osgood and Co., 1882), p. 87. Rimmer's model, for

which he was paid \$2,000, is illustrated in a photograph following p. 50. On Perry, who got \$300 for his work, see Thieme-Becker, XXVI, 444. T. H. Bartlett, "Civic Monuments in New England.—IV," *American Architect & Building News*, X (July 9, 1881), 16, criticizes the execution of the monument.

¹⁹ Boston City Council, *Reports of Proceedings, 1870* [Boston, 1871?], pp. 287-288.

²⁰ *Gleason's Pictorial*, IV (February 26, 1853), 137, 143 (Public Garden proposal; recently reproduced in *Back Bay Boston: The City as a Work of Art* [Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1969]), and V (July 9, 1853), 32 (fireworks); *Boston Almanac for 1859*, p. 52 (Bryant building); *New England Historic & Genealogical Register*, XXI (July, 1867), 282 (Concord monument); William H. Downes, "Monuments and Statues in Boston," *New England Magazine*, n.s., XI (November, 1894), 362 (pedestal).

²¹ William King Covell, "The Old Boston Music Hall Organ," *OLD-TIME NEW ENGLAND*, XVIII (April, 1928), 182-189, including two photographs of the organ.

²² Elizabeth H. Denio (comp.), *Catalogue of the Works of Art Belonging to Wellesley College* (Boston: Printed by Frank Wood, 1883), pp. 18-19.

²³ *Ibid.*, pp. 18-19, 43-44, 72, noting that Billings also executed a series of watercolors illustrating the life of Joseph and that he left unfinished a series on the life of Moses.

²⁴ Hopkins Center Art Galleries, catalogue nos. P.874.2 (Phelps) and P.X.37 (Smith).

²⁵ Obituary, *Boston Morning Journal*, November 16, 1874.

²⁶ Registration no. 28144 50/50, with dates from May to September, 1865.

²⁷ *The Art Idea*, ed. Benjamin Rowland, Jr. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1960), pp. 196-197, 243. First published in 1864.

²⁸ It may be noted, however, that the wood engraver E. N. Tarbell was one of Billings's boarders in 1860 (Groce and Wallace, *Dictionary of Artists*, p. 49).