

Drawn to the Sea: Charles Bradford Hudson (1865-1939), Artist, Author, Army Officer, with Special Notice of His Work for the United States Fish Commission and Bureau of Fisheries

A Special Issue of the Marine Fisheries Review

Preface

The biography of Charles Bradford Hudson that follows this preface had its seeds about 1965 when I (VGS) was casually examining the extensive files of original illustrations of fishes stored in the Division of Fishes, National Museum of Natural History, Smithsonian Institution. I happened upon the unpublished illustration of a rainbow trout by Hudson and was greatly impressed with its quality. The thought occurred to me then that the artist must have gone on to do more than just illustrate fishes. During the next 20 years I occasionally pawed through those files, which contained the work of numerous artists, who had worked from 1838 to the present. In 1985, I happened to dis-

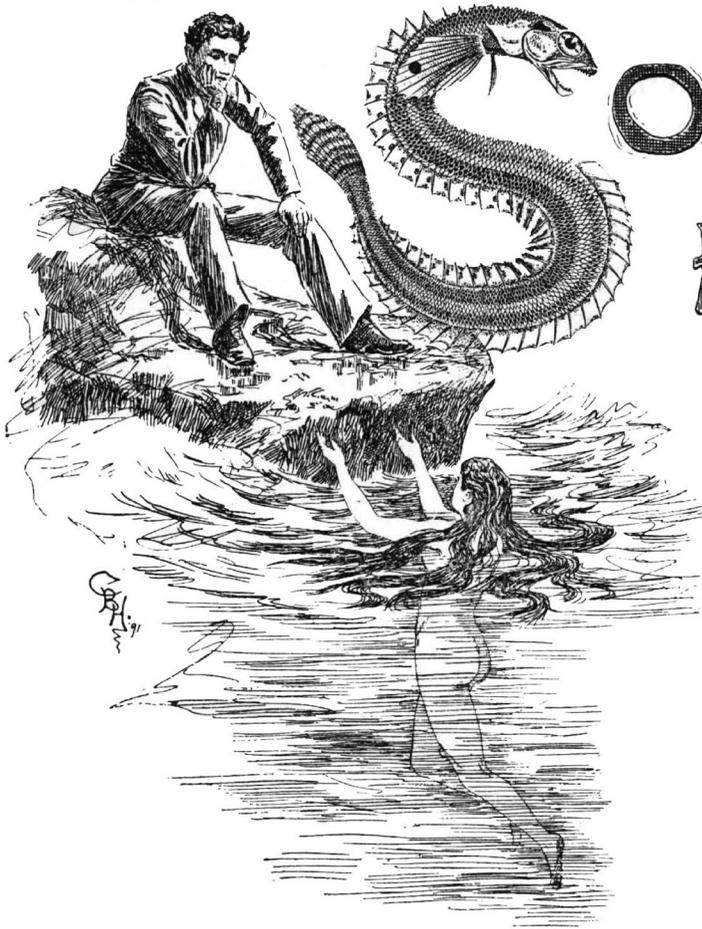
cuss the files with my supervisor, who urged me to produce a museum exhibit of original fish illustrations. This I did, selecting 200 of the illustrations representing 21 artists, including, of course, Hudson. As part of the text for the exhibit, *Drawn from the Sea, Art in the Service of Ichthyology*, I prepared short biographies of each of the artists. The exhibit, with an available poster, was shown in the Museum for six months, and a reduced version was exhibited in U.S. and Canadian museums during the next 3 years.

In the process of obtaining information on Hudson for the exhibit, I came into contact with members of his families, and particularly the daughter of his

second marriage, Claire Hudson Brett. Thus began a period of years during which we exchanged information about her father. She encouraged me to prepare a detailed biography of him, but to her disappointment, I was too busy with my ichthyological research to do that, and we ceased contact in the mid 1990's. When I retired in 2005, I returned to the subject and contacted Claire's son, Hudson Brett, and we began to exchange information about Hudson (Claire was not well at that time). Gradually, I decided to prepare the Hudson biography with the help of my assistant Kristin A. Murphy, and we worked intensively on it beginning about 2007.

It is with sadness that we report that Claire Hudson Brett, who died in 2007 in her late 90's, did not live to see our biography. We, nevertheless, dedicate it to her memory.

Victor G. Springer
December 2009



ong the S of ea.

THE sea-foam is kissing my
lips,
The salt is blown loose thro
my hair,
Through the crest of the waves'
snowy tips,
White hands seem to beckon
me there.

2

O syren from under the main,
Shall I yield to thy luring embrace?--
If I go I shall come not again,
No foot-prints are left to retrace.
And yet this were nothing to dread,
For what to the many is one?--
Like the sand that the storm-wind has spread,
Like the rain on the sea when it's done!

3

O sea, never silent nor sad,
My life offers homage to thee,
In thine arms I would lie and be glad,
In thy bosom find life that's to be!
I yield, then, I go, I depart.
O, spirit that's born of the wave,
Cling close, lovely syren, this heart
Must find a new life or a grave!

Figure 1.—Illustration initialed CBH and dated '91, accompanying poem by Juan Lewis (1892), "The Forging of the Sword, and other poems," (2nd edition). The illustration and first two stanzas of the poem are on page 17 in the book, to which the third stanza from page 18 has been added. Stanzas have been retyped and numbers 2 and 3 added to clarify their positions. The fish in the illustration is not identifiable. The black spot on the pectoral fin appears to be a printing error.

Drawn to the Sea: Charles Bradford Hudson (1865–1939), Artist, Author, Army Officer, with Special Notice of His Work for the United States Fish Commission and Bureau of Fisheries

VICTOR G. SPRINGER and KRISTIN A. MURPHY

Introduction

A life involved with the sea was clearly unplanned in 1882, when Charles Bradford Hudson (Fig. 2), 17, was a student at Columbian College Preparatory School in Washington, D.C. It was during that year Hudson's main instructor, Otis Tufton Mason¹(Fig. 3), an ethnologist who had a close working relationship with the Smithsonian Institution's U.S. National Museum, became aware of his student's artistic abilities. Mason had Hudson prepare a few illustrations for ethnological studies, for which the Smithsonian paid Hudson.² Smithsonian daily account books³ indicate this arrangement continued after Hudson graduated from the preparatory school, in 1883, until at least 1885, when he was in his second year at Columbian College (now George Washington

¹10 Apr. 1838–5 Nov. 1908. Beginning in 1884, Mason became Curator of Ethnology, United States National Museum, and from 1902 he was head curator, Department of Anthropology (Register to the Papers of Otis Tufton Mason by L. H. Coen, revised by K. T. Baxter, 1983, National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution Archives, unpagin.; reference includes a detailed chronology of Mason's life: <http://www.nmnh.si.edu/naa/fa/mason.htm>).

²Based on the number of square inches (letter from Hudson to his mother, Emma, dated 8 July 1882, quoted in letter, 13 Feb. 1985, from Hudson's daughter from his second marriage, Claire Hudson Brett, to VGS). We learned from Smithsonian account books, that he was paid \$0.50 a square inch for illustrations. The account books show payments only for the period 1882–85, but details of drawings were provided only for the years 1882–84.

The authors are with the Division of Fishes, MRC-159, Department of Vertebrate Zoology, National Museum of Natural History, Smithsonian Institution, P.O. Box 37012, Washington, D.C., 20013-7012 (springer@si.edu; murphyk@si.edu).



Figure 2.—Charles Bradford Hudson (courtesy of Hudson Brett).

University). We have no information on Hudson's activities in 1886, other than that he was still attending college.

In 1887, Hudson graduated from Columbian College, from which he received awards in mathematics, Greek, and Latin, and he was offered a chair "in the classics"⁴ by the college. His interest in illustrating, however, was greater than his scholarly interests and, opportunely, Otis Mason was in a position to help.

Mason had left the preparatory school in 1884 and joined the U.S. National Museum as curator of ethnology, one of

³Smithsonian Institution Archives, Record Unit 100, Box 88. The ledgers are detailed for 1882–84, but only Hudson's name and a reference to another ledger, which was not found, is present in the 1885 ledger.

⁴In litt., 22 May 1985, Claire Hudson Brett to VGS. We were unable to verify this assertion. Christine H. Kempton (age 96), Hudson's daughter by his first marriage, interviewed by VGS on 3 May, also mentioned that CBH was offered a chair, but was uncertain as to its subject.

the few salaried curator positions in the Museum. The Museum had a growing need for artists, although they were not always so designated. A. Z. Shindler⁵, on the staff since 1876, had worked on many different types of projects. W. H. Chandlee was hired on 7 June 1886 to prepare illustrations for ethnological projects, and Mason was able to employ Hudson in June 1887 to prepare illustrations for ethnological and geological studies. The biennially published "Official Register of the United States"⁶

⁵"Antonio Zeno Shindler (~1899) began his association with the Smithsonian Institution in 1876 when he was hired by Spencer Fullerton Baird, then Smithsonian Assistant Secretary, to paint casts of natural history specimens. He continued in various artistic positions with the United States National Museum until his death: SIA RU 7371, historical note. The Division of Fishes illustration files have a number of his original watercolor paintings of fishes, recognizable by inclusion of his distinctive monogram, comprising the letters AZS overlaid on each other.

⁶The following general description of the Official Register of the United States is from the web (10 Feb. 2009), <http://www3.wooster.edu/library/gov/serialset/agency/II/officialregister.htm>: "The Register of Officers and Agents, Civil, Military, and Naval, otherwise known as the Official Register, began publication in 1816 and was made a biennial publication in 1817, reverting to annual publication after 1921. (The dates refer to the latest date covered by the Register, not the imprint date.) The Official Register became known as the "Blue Book" due to its binding in blue roan from 1817 onward. It was originally published by the State Department, but the publication was transferred respectively to the Interior Department, the Census Bureau, and finally the Civil Service Commission; not all issues, however, were published as part of the Congressional Serial Set." The full title of the volume we cite here: Official register of the United States, containing a list of the officers and employes [sic] in the civil, military, and naval service on the first of July, 1887; together with a list of vessels belonging to the United States. Volume 1, legislative, executive, judicial. Compiled under the direction of the Secretary of the Interior, by J. G. Ames, Superintendent

continued on next page

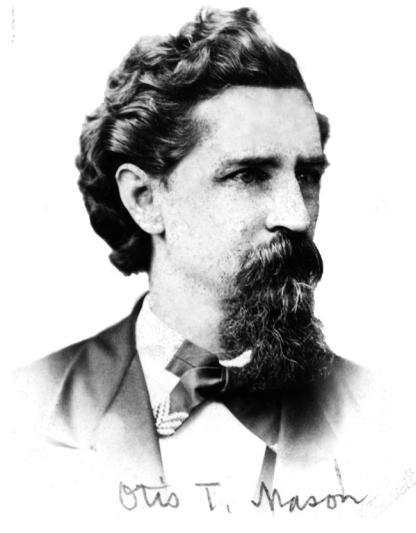


Figure 3.—Otis Tufton Mason, Curator of Ethnology, U.S. National Museum. CBH's instructor at Columbian Preparatory School and supervisor of his first salaried position (SIA image #2009-0006).

lists all Federal employees as of 1 July of the fiscal year covered by the register. In the 1887 edition, Shindler is listed as an “artist,” with a salary of \$110.00 per month. Chandlee and Hudson are listed as “draftsmen,” Chandlee, with a salary of \$75.00 per month, and Hudson at \$40.00 per month.

As soon as Mason was employed by the National Museum in 1884, he began keeping a diary⁷ of the dates worked by the artists he was supervising (Shindler was not among them). On Friday, 10 June 1887, a few days before Hudson's college graduation ceremony, Mason made his first entry relating to Hudson, “Mr. C. B. Hudson came to draw,” and Hudson did so regularly for 3 months, through 15 Sept. 1887, but that was the end—something more attractive had

⁶(continued) of Documents. Washington, Government Printing Office, 1887. It is also listed as House of Representatives, 50th Congress, 1st Session, Miscellaneous document, 87, Part 1. *N.B.* Few, if any libraries, have a complete set. In mentioning other volumes in the series, we use the abbreviated title Official Register of the United States + year; all such references are to volume 1 for that year.

⁷National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution, Anthropol. Hist. Off., 49033: Diary of Otis T. Mason from 1 July 1884 to 23 May 1891.

presented itself. The diary indicates that Hudson was on leave from 17 to 24 Sept., and from 26 Sept. to 12 Oct. it indicates he was “drawing for Capt. Collins,” who worked for the U.S. Fish Commission. Finally, from 14 Oct. 1887 to 10 Apr. 1888, it indicates “CBH—Fish Commission.” Mason's diary contains no further entries relating to CBH, and it appears that they never interacted again.

Stepping back a few years, in 1883, George Brown Goode (13 Feb. 1851–6 Sept. 1896), director of U.S. National Museum, appointed Captain Joseph William Collins⁸ (Fig. 4) as an unsalaried honorary curator in the Section of Naval Architecture, Department of Arts and Industries, Division of Anthropology.⁹ The appointment, in the same general division as Mason's, explains how Collins came to know both Mason and Hudson. Collins held the honorary position jointly with his Fish Commission position, but the demands of the latter prevented him from devoting much, if any, time to the former, particularly in 1888, when he had just been assigned demanding new duties.

In 1888 the Fish Commission was preparing an exhibit for the Cincinnati Centennial Exposition and had an opening for an artist. Collins was in charge

⁸Collins (1839–1904) was a former captain of the Gloucester fishing schooner *Marion*. We first encountered mention of him in Earll (1880:703) and Verrill (1882:226, 334, 397), mainly as someone providing information on or specimens of, sea life. By 1879, Collins was either working for, or collaborating closely with, the U.S. Fish Commission. By 1883, he was definitely employed, as an “assistant,” with the Commission. In the Official Registers of 1883 and 1885, he is listed as an “assistant” with, for 1883, a monthly salary of \$125.00, and for 1885, with an [unchanged] annual salary of \$1,500.00. In the Register for 1887, he is listed as the captain of the schooner *Grampus*, at a monthly salary of \$150.00, but in 1888, he was placed in charge of the newly created Division of Fisheries, and the Register for 1889 has him as an “Assistant in charge of [a] Division” at a monthly salary of \$200.00. At that time, aside from the Commissioner, he was one of the Commission's two most highly paid employees. He was clearly well schooled, an able writer, illustrator, and draftsman, and if not trained as a naval architect or engineer, he was able to perform outstandingly well in those capacities. He was, additionally, extremely ambitious, and in 1892, failed in his attempts to oust his superior, U.S. Fish Commissioner Marshall McDonald, and become his replacement. Despite attempts by President

continued

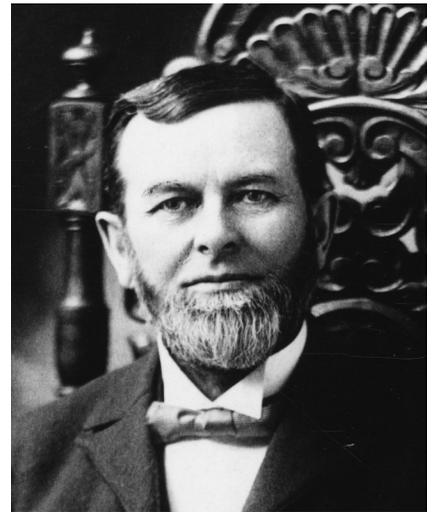


Figure 4.—Joseph William Collins, first USFC Assistant in charge of the Division of Fisheries and early supervisor of CBH; designed schooner *Grampus* (SIA image # 2009-0004).

of preparations, and after witnessing Hudson's abilities, he decided to hire him. On 15 Sept. 1888, Hudson began working for Collins in the newly created Division of Fisheries of the Fish Commission (Collins, 1891c:337, 343).¹⁰ According to Collins (1892c: CXIII), Hudson's salary was \$75 per month, and the position apparently only lasted to the end of the fiscal year, i.e. 30 June 1889. We do not know if Hudson's original position with Otis Mason was intended to be permanent or temporary, or if Hudson disliked his assignments, but we believe it most likely that it was Collins' magnetic 87.5% increase in salary that caused Charles

⁸ (continued) Benjamin Harrison, Senator Francis B. Stockbridge (Michigan, chairman of the Senate Committee on Fisheries, and a close friend of Collins), and even McDonald, himself, to keep Collins in his Commission job, Collins resigned his position on 28 Dec. 1892 and took the position of Chief of the Department of Fisheries for the World's Columbian Exposition (a detailed account of what we have abbreviated here can be found in the *New York Times*, 29 Dec. 1892: 5). Collins published on many fishery topics, often historically related, and especially on commercial fisheries and the types and construction of fishing vessels. Based only on his work for the Fish Commission, Collins merits a biography.

⁹R. V. Szary's historical note on SIA, RU 239, National Museum of History and Technology, Division of Transportation.

¹⁰See next page.

Bradford Hudson to be drawn to the sea, and, if license permits inclusion of some lakes and rivers, the sea, directly and indirectly, would have a major influence on him for the rest of his life.

In our text, we frequently use the following abbreviations for the names of people, organizations, or manuscripts:

- CAS**—California Academy of Sciences
- CASA**—California Academy of Sciences Archives
- CAS GSMAEL**—GSMYers/AELeviton Biographical, Historical and Portrait File in the Natural Sciences (located at CAS)
- CBH**—Charles Bradford Hudson
- CHB**—Claire Hudson Brett, CBH's daughter from his second marriage
- CHBMS**—CHB's unpublished manuscript chronology outline "Charles Bradford Hudson," a copy of which she sent VGS in 1985

¹⁰Hudson may have been employed by Collins to fill a vacancy created when Albertus Hutchinson Baldwin (12 Dec. 1865–17 Mar. 1944), an artist employed by the U.S. Fish Commission, left the Commission in 1887 to study art in Paris and Venice, from 1887 to 1889 (*Washington Post*, 7 June 1925:1; Hill, 1909:164). Baldwin was employed by the Fish Commission from 1884 at least until 30 June 1887, at some point in Woods Hole, Mass., but lastly in Washington, D.C. The Official Registers of the United States for 1885 and 1887 list him as an assistant working in D.C., at a salary of \$60.00 per month in 1885 and \$75.00 per month in 1887 (as of 1 July in each year). Baldwin and Hudson probably became acquainted during the 1885–87 period and became reassociated later. Both would illustrate fishes for Evermann and Marsh's (1900) "Fishes of Porto Rico" and Jordan and Evermann's (1905) "Shore fishes of the Hawaiian Islands." Only Baldwin would accompany the USFC expedition to Puerto Rico, but both were together on the 1901 USFC Hawaiian expedition. Baldwin probably intended to pursue a career in the fine arts (four of his paintings are in the permanent collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art and were viewable on the Internet in 2008), but he found earning a living as an artist to be difficult. Ultimately, he became a bureaucrat, variously working for the departments of Agriculture (1897–1900), Interior (1902–05), Commerce and Labor (1905–06), Post Office (1906–09), Commerce and Labor, again: Census Bureau (1909–10); Bureau of Manufactures (1910–12); Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce (1912–14). He was commercial attaché in London, England (1914–16) (*Washington Post*, *ibid.*), and "later served in a similar capacity at the embassies in Brussels and Paris (*New York Times*, 22 Mar. 1944:19). He left the U.S. Government and represented the British–American Tobacco Company in New York City and later was a vice president of the Guaranty Trust Company in New York (*New York Times*, *ibid.*).

DVA—Department of Veteran's Affairs, Regional Office, Federal Building, 31 Hopkins Plaza, Baltimore, MD 21201. Charles Bradford Hudson files under No. XC or C-2-301-454, which contains a large number of pages referring to his pension, health, military service, and numerous supporting documents. We note that we received these records over a year after requesting them and after our manuscript was in press.

- DULS**—Duke University Libraries, Special Collections
- NAASI**—National Anthropology Archives, Smithsonian Institution
- NARA**—United States National Archives and Records Administration
- SIA**—Smithsonian Institution Archives
- SQBMS**—Sarah Quayle Brett's (CHB's granddaughter) unpublished manuscript "Captain Charles Bradford Hudson Index of Correspondence" sent to VGS on 27 Oct. 1998, and again by CHB's son Hudson Brett, on 24 Oct. 2005¹¹
- SULS**—Stanford University Libraries, Special Collections
- USBF**—United States Bureau of Fisheries (successor as of 14 Feb. 1903 of the United States Fish Commission)
- USFC**—United States Fish Commission
- USNM**—Division of Fishes, U.S. National Museum of Natural History
- VGS**—Victor G. Springer.

In describing the length of a fish, we use the ichthyological abbreviations:

- SL** (standard length)—distance from the tip of the snout to the base of the caudal fin
- TL** (total length)—distance from the tip of the snout to the end of the longest caudal-fin ray

The text is organized as follows: first, we present a more-or-less generalized

¹¹Copies of CHBMS and SQBMS are in the files of VGS held at USNM.

narrative of Charles Bradford Hudson's life as we have been able to learn or infer it. Following the narrative, we present more detailed sections on his contributions that we covered in the narrative, including more description and documentation than we do in the narrative. The sections are in the form of annotated listings of CBH's own publications, the non-ichthyological publications of others that contain his illustrations, a detailed discussion and atlas of his ichthyological illustrations, and a brief but necessary treatment of his "fine art," mostly in support of our thesis that he was drawn to the sea.

Beginnings

Charles Bradford Hudson was born 27 Jan. 1865 in Oil Springs, Ontario, Canada, where his parents were visiting while his father, a newspaperman, was gathering information on the petroleum industry. CBH was the son of Thomson Jay Hudson¹² (22 Feb. 1834–26 May 1903), born in Windham, Ohio, and Emma Little Hudson (Apr. 1844—about Jan. 1908¹³), born in Canada. Thomson and Emma were married in Port Huron, Michigan on 28 May 1861, when Thomson was 27 and Emma was 17. In the 1900 Census, Emma is reported to have given birth to two children, but only one [CBH] is indicated as living.

CBH was descended on his father's side from Edward Hudson, who emigrated from England and settled at Jamestown, Va., in 1607 with Captain John Smith, and on his mother's side from Massachusetts governor William Bradford, who arrived at Plymouth on the *Mayflower* in 1620. Thomson was admitted to the Ohio bar in 1857, but moved his practice to Michigan in 1860, and abandoned it in 1865 for a career in journalism. From 1865 to 1875 he was an editor of a Detroit newspaper, during

¹²Most of the following history concerning Thomson Jay Hudson, is derived from his biographies in: C. B. Hudson (1904:iv–vii); Anonymous (1917:520–521); Malone (1932:341–342); U.S. censuses for 1870, 1880, 1900 (records for 1890 were destroyed and copies are not available).

¹³Inferred from SQBMS and correspondence during mid-to-late 1980's between VGS and CHB.

which time he became politically prominent. He ran for the U.S. Senate in 1866 but was defeated.

In 1877, when CBH was 12, the Hudsons moved to Washington, D.C. There, Thomson Hudson became correspondent for the Scripps Syndicate, supplying news to its five daily newspapers (Detroit, Buffalo, Cleveland, Cincinnati, and St. Louis). He left that position in 1880, and for the next 13 years he was a U.S. patent examiner, being promoted to the position of a Chief Examiner in 1886. In 1893 he published his first book, "The Law of Psychic Phenomena," which sold nearly 100,000 copies during the next 10 years. It has been reprinted many times, most recently in 2007, and it is currently in print.¹⁴ Royalties from the book, and others Thomson would publish, must have been large enough to assure Thomson and his wife a very comfortable living. He, therefore, left his position as patent examiner and devoted his life to publishing and lecturing, very successfully, on subjects similar to those he wrote about in his first book. Thomson and Emma remained in Washington at least until 1900, but by 1902 they had moved to Detroit, Mich. Thompson died in Detroit in 1903 with Emma and CBH attending him. Emma died about 5 years later.

CBH was exposed to a highly charged intellectual atmosphere in his youth. He was surrounded with books in his father's extensive library¹⁵ and he would probably have been present when persons of learning and accomplishment visited his parent's home and discussed ideas and issues of the day with his father. Both his father's intellectuality and ability to earn a living from writ-

ing (as reporter and editor) must have impressed CBH, whose apparently native writing ability was comparable to his ability as an artist. But CBH only authored his first two articles, one about deep-sea fishes and the other about the USFC's intended exhibit for the Chicago world's fair, when he was 28 (in 1893, the same year his father published his first book).¹⁶

Work for the Fish Commission

In his initial full-time employment with the USFC, it is unclear exactly what CBH's contribution was to the Fish Commission's exhibit for the 1888 Cincinnati Centennial Exposition. Collins (1892d:872) merely includes CBH's name among those of many others, in a list of "collaborators" who worked on the exhibition. During 1888, however, CBH spent considerable time illustrating fishing boats, which were a special interest of J. W. Collins, his supervisor and person in charge of preparing the USFC exhibit. Collins had designed and overseen construction of the USFC schooner, *Grampus* in 1886, and Collins (1891b) published a detailed report on the ship's design, construction, and equipment. CBH provided several illustrations for that article, including a line drawing of the ship at sea and illustrations of the *Grampus'* interior (illustrations variously dated 1888 and 1889).

Furthermore, CBH painted a picture, probably in color, of the *Grampus*, which was also dated 1888, and which was either the basis for, or based on, his 1888 illustration in Collins (1891b). The painting was framed and under glass and, quite possibly, was exhibited at the Cincinnati exposition. A reproduction of the painting did not appear in print until 1987 (Backus and Bourne, 1987), almost 100 years after CBH painted it, and then the published illustration was

based on a print made from an old photographic negative, which is present in the files of the Smithsonian's Photographic Services. If the original painting exists, its current location is unknown.

CBH would illustrate other fishing craft and boats during his salaried year with the USFC, which probably ended with the close of the fiscal year in the fall of 1889. Many of these illustrations would be published by Collins (1891a), and one, of the USFC steamer *Albatross*, would be published by Richard Rathbun (1892)¹⁷, a high ranking official in the Fish Commission. Another such illustration appeared in Watkins¹⁸ (1891) and, although not published for the USFC, Watkins' article was published in the Annual Report of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian. It was an inkwash painting of the "*Savannah*," which, purportedly, was the first steamship to cross the Atlantic under its own power. The painting, dated 1889, is indicated to have been done by CBH under the supervision of J. W. Collins, and both men signed the painting.

Finally, Collins (1901) would publish a fine 1888 CBH pen-and-ink drawing of a British sailing trawler that was included in the 1898 International Fishery Exposition* in Bergen Norway, at which CBH was awarded a silver medal for his "drawings of fishing vessels and boats." He also would receive a bronze medal

¹⁷Rathbun (1852–1918) was trained as a paleontologist. His association with the USFC began as a volunteer in 1874, but by 1875, and until 1878, he was a geologist with the Geological Commission of Brazil. In 1878 he rejoined the USFC as a scientific assistant, and remained on the staff until 1896. In 1897 he joined the Smithsonian Institution, in which he rose, in 1898, to the position of Assistant Secretary, in charge of the National Museum, a position he occupied until his death (SIA, RU 7078, historical note (Anonymous)).

¹⁸John Elfreth Watkins (1852–1903), variously a railroad employee and museum curator. His Smithsonian employment, as honorary curator of the Section of Steam Transportation, Department of Arts and Industries, U.S. National Museum, began in 1885, while he was still a railroad employee. He was promoted to Curator of Transportation in 1887. In 1893, he joined the staff of the Field Columbian Museum, but in 1895 he returned to the Smithsonian where he served in various positions until 1903. (Distilled from W. R. Massa, Jr., undated, Historical Note, SIA RU 7268, q.v., for more detail).

*United States report (Collins, 1901) used the word Exhibition.

¹⁴One web site (<http://www.psitek.net/index2.html>) describes it: "This book explores all areas of the metaphysical world from early philosophies to hypnotism and mesmerism, clairvoyance, visions, right through an overview of the psycho-therapeutic practices. The phenomena of spiritism is [sic] covered in all its [sic] forms including contact with the spirit world as well as case histories of witchcraft, hauntings and possession."

¹⁵His father's house in Washington was "filled with thousands of books on the subject of psychic phenomena." CHB, unpubl. manuscr. (not CHBMS), 28 Nov. 1996 (courtesy of her son, Hudson Brett). We suspect the subjects were more varied than just on psychic phenomena.

¹⁶Based on a letter CBH sent his mother, he may have published illustrations in the "Penny Paper" around the time he was 17 (CHB to VGS, in litt., 10 Feb. 1985). Penny paper was a general term of the period that applied to newspapers or other publications that were sold for a penny or pennies. We were unable to learn which penny paper or what CBH's contribution might have been, and consider the attribution problematic.

for a painting about mackerel fishing that was included in the Exhibition. The painting was not reproduced in a publication and the current location of the original is unknown.

A Short Interruption

On 1 Oct. 1889¹⁹, immediately after completing his work with the USFC, CBH, age 24, married Christine Schmidt, age 19, daughter of German immigrants living in Washington, D.C. We know almost nothing about her, or when and how they met, although she would have a disquieting affect on CBH's life. On 3 Aug. (according to Social Security Death Index) or 21 Aug. 1890 (according to CBH, DVA, Declaration for Pension, 18 March 1927), their first child, a daughter, Christine²⁰, was born. Shortly thereafter, on 4 Nov. 1889, CBH was in New York City beginning 2 months of evening sketch classes at the Art Students League with George deForest Brush²¹ (1855–1941), a promi-

nent, successful artist, who painted in a romantically realistic style. We do not know if CBH's wife was with him in New York.

During CBH's year with the USFC he probably met William Temple Hornaday²² (Fig. 5), who was Chief Taxidermist for the Smithsonian from 1882 to 1889. During 1889 and 1890, Hornaday apparently contracted with CBH to provide illustrations for a book on taxidermy (Hornaday, 1891), which became a bestseller. These illustrations appear to be the first CBH made for pay after leaving salaried employment with the USFC. The contact with Hornaday was to prove quite profitable as Hornaday would go on to have CBH provide illustrations for several of his articles and books, published intermittently until 1906. Hornaday (1899b) published a highly complimentary article about CBH.

Reassociation With the Fish Commission and On His Own

From 1890 to 1892, CBH was again illustrating ships for J. W. Collins, but these were probably done on contract. In 1891, under Collins' direction, CBH published a highly detailed illustration of a merchant sailing ship for "The Century Dictionary"; it was to appear in all editions of the dictionary through the last in 1914.

The year 1891 was an important one in CBH's life. He exhibited his fine art²³, for what may have been the first time, in a show at Washington's exclusive Cosmos Club, followed by another inclusion in an exhibit held in December of the same year by the Society of Washington Artists. Hornaday (1899b) remarked that CBH was an illustrator because he enjoyed the work. That may

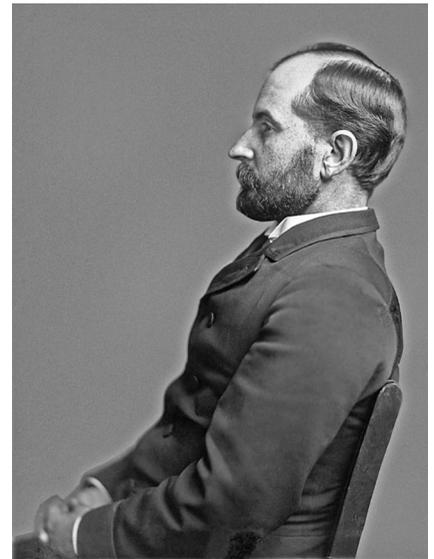


Figure 5.—William Temple Hornaday, first director of the National Zoological Park and of the New York Zoological Society, author (National Zoological Park files).

¹⁹In CBH's posthumous biography (Anonymus, 1941:498-499 + photograph) indicated that the wedding took place on Nov. 3, which is undoubtedly erroneous. The *Washington Post* for 1 Oct. 1889 indicated that their marriage license had been issued, which means it was issued no later than 30 Sept. 1889. According to a sworn statement to DVA by the minister who "solemnized" the marriage, it took place on 1 Oct. 1889, and this is the wedding date often referred to in DVA papers by both CBH and Christine.

²⁰She would attain the age of 103. VGS, on 3 May 1985, interviewed her in her Annapolis, Md., apartment looking out onto Chesapeake Bay. She claimed her greatest pleasure was watching the sailing ships with binoculars. Christine had three daughters (no sons). Aside from Christine, among the sea's indirect draw on the life of CBH, were her brother, Lester Jay Hudson (21 Apr. 1894–4 July 1974), CBH's other child of his first marriage. Lester was a graduate of the U.S. Naval Academy in Annapolis, Md., and retired with the rank of rear admiral. Lester had four sons. His oldest, Allan, also was an Annapolis graduate, still living at this writing (12/2008). Allan had four sons (and four daughters): Patrick, his eldest, is an Annapolis graduate and naval engineer, with a Ph.D. and the rank of commander; Alexander, deceased, was a naval officer (did not attend Annapolis) on a destroyer, and Michael, who was a Navy radioman. Alexander and Michael both served during the Viet Nam war. (Telephone interviews with Patrick J. Hudson, most recent, 17 Dec. 2008).

²¹Emails 7–8 Jan. 2008, from Stephanie Cassidy, Archivist, Art Students League of New York, to VGS. CBH also is reported to have studied with William Merritt Chase at the Art Students League, but there is no record of this. Probably, he studied with Chase in 1914 (see narrative for 1914).

²²1 Dec. 1854–6 Mar. 1937. In 1889 Hornaday became the first director of the Smithsonian's National Zoo, a position he held until 1896. In 1896 he left to become the founding director of the New York Zoological Society (Smithsonian News Service article, Feb. 1989).

²³There is a fine, if any, line of distinction between what is illustration and what we term fine art. In general, illustrations, especially the type that CBH produced, were intended to provide information, and were permitted less freedom of artistic expression than fine art, which is usually intended to appeal to our aesthetic sensibilities.

be, but we assume that illustrating at this early period of his life was probably more profitable and secure a profession for a family man than painting pretty pictures. Ultimately, however, CBH would give up illustrating and restrict his artistic efforts to painting seascapes and landscapes, which we believe was his preferred occupation.

It was also in 1891 that CBH began preparing illustrations of fishing vessels for the USFC exhibit at the World's Columbian Exposition (also known as the Chicago World's Fair) to be held in 1893 (McDonald, 1894:lxxi), and it was the year he illustrated Juan Lewis'²⁴ (1892) self-published little book of poems, from which we took our frontispiece (Fig. 1).

It appears that 1892 was the first year that CBH both illustrated and authored an article. It was published in 1893 (Hudson, 1893a) and concerned

²⁴Pen name of John Woodruff Lewis, 27 May 1835–18 Aug. 1919, poet and novelist, and sometime patent examiner in Washington (source 01/2009: http://www.ulib.niu.edu/badndp/lewis_juan.html) during the same period as CBH's father, one-time patent examiner, who probably introduced CBH to Lewis.

the USFC exhibit for the Columbian Exposition. The article contained a few illustrations of fishes, and, except for our Figure 1, are the first such by CBH that we know of, either for himself or for others. During 1892 and 1893, he illustrated and wrote an article about deep-sea fishes (Hudson, 1893b), and it may have been about this time that CBH came to the attention of Barton Warren Evermann²⁵ (Fig. 6), who had been employed by the USFC in 1891 as an Assistant in the Division of Scientific Enquiry. Evermann would avail himself of CBH's services frequently over the years, involving him as illustrator and participant on two major expeditions, recommending him as illustrator to David Starr Jordan²⁶ (Fig. 7), employing him for many years as a background painter of dioramas at the California Academy of Sciences, where Evermann became director (in 1914), and recommending him as a fine-art artist to Gump's Department Store in San Francisco, which was to be the sole sales representative for CBH's landscape and seascape paintings.

Late in 1893, CBH would again leave his wife and young daughter, this time to study art under W. A. Bougereau at the Academie Julian in Paris. They would, however, join him there, but it could not have been for long, as Christine would give birth to a son, Lester Jay, in the City of Washington, on 21 Apr. 1894, and we presume CBH was with her at the time. During 1893, while in Paris, CBH began preparing illustrations of Parisian scenes, which he used to illustrate his lively article about the Latin Quarter (Hudson, 1894). CBH would illustrate three articles for Hornaday in 1894, and in 1895, he would illustrate and author three of his own articles: one about the work of the USFC (Hudson, 1895a), one about a particular kind of fish for a

²⁵Evermann (24 Oct. 1853–27 Sept. 1932). A detailed biography of Evermann was published by Jennings (1997).

²⁶19 Jan. 1851–19 Sept. 1931; early president of the University of Indiana, first president of Stanford University, world renowned ichthyologist; for a brief biography and a bibliography of his publications see Hays (1952); for his ichthyological importance at Stanford University, see Brittan (1997).

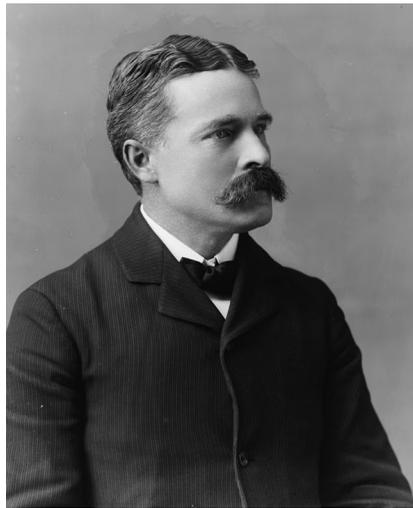


Figure 6.—Barton Warren Evermann, 1899; USFC scientist, 1891–1914; Director, California Academy of Sciences, from 1914 until his death, 1932 (CAS GSMAEL).

children's magazine (1895b), and one about the life history and behavior of several kinds of fishes (1895c). He also provided illustrations for a novel written by Hornaday (1896).

In 1896, CBH was again working contractually for the USFC. During 3–14 Sept. he was at Cape Charles, Va., illustrating fishes in color, and from 24 Sept. to 8 Dec. he was at Woods Hole, Mass., doing the same. With a short break after Woods Hole, from 2 Jan. to 27 Mar., or perhaps 2 Apr. 1897, he was illustrating fishes again, this time in Key West, Fla. Not surprisingly, during these absences, it appears that his wife remained at home to take care of their children. On the other hand, it is surprising that none of these illustrations were included in the USFC exhibit at the International Fishery Exposition in Bergen, Norway. During 1897, CBH prepared illustrations for another novel (Inman, 1898).

Military Service

From 20 Dec. 1888 through 1898, CBH's service with the District of Columbia National Guard (henceforth, DCNG), also referred to in records and reports as the District National Guard and the District Militia, paralleled

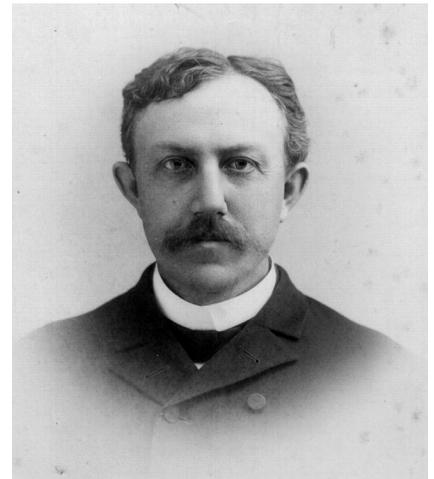


Figure 7.—David Starr Jordan, 1891; noted ichthyologist, first president of Stanford University (CAS GSMAEL).

his other activities. During the Spanish–American War, 1899, the DCNG troops were called to duty and served as the First District Volunteers in the U.S. Army. The records of the DCNG (including those of the District Volunteers) are complex and dispersed among several different archives. There are gaps in the records that probably represent lost or misfiled records, or records in some repository of which we are unaware. DVA contains many of CBH's post-military records relating to his pension applications and amounts, and those devolving onto his wife after his death. His pension was merited only because he served during the Spanish–American War. Also included in DVA are some complete physical exams (more below) and other personal information in supporting documents.

CBH's earliest DCNG military records are deposited at the National Personnel Records Center (henceforth NPRC), in St. Louis, Mo.²⁷ His initial

²⁷According to the website of the NPRC, it has no records prior to those of World War I (ca. 1917), and that records prior to WWI are at NARA in Washington, D.C. We tried unsuccessfully to locate CBH's early records at NARA, as well as at several other non-Federal institutional archives in Washington, D.C. Finally, we called the DCNG office and by chance the lady who answered the phone said, "those records used to be here, but I

continued on next page

enlistment “as a soldier,” no rank given, but presumably as a private, was on 20 Dec. 1888 for a period of 3 years (expiration 19 Dec. 1891).²⁸ Indicating his occupation as “artist” and place of business as “U.S. Fish Commission Exhibit²⁹,” CBH re-enlisted on 2 Jan. 1892 for another 3 years, “unless sooner discharged.” The enlistment period must have ended “sooner,” as there is a record that he was “honorably discharged per S[pecial]. O[rder]. 1, par 1 Series 1893.” CBH next signed an enlistment paper on 20 Dec. 1893³⁰ for another 3 years (“unless sooner discharged”), which would have terminated 19 Dec. 1896. On that paper he gave his occupation as “illustrator” (there was no space provided to indicate place of business on that application). Possibly, as a result of a change in his military status, CBH was again discharged, “S. O. No. 7, par 2, series 1895, and on 9 May 1895 he again enlisted for 3 years, this time as a “Sergeant Major,” giving his [civilian] occupation as “Illustrator and Journalist.” The termination date of this enlistment was given as 9 May 1898 on a separate piece of paper dated 10 May 1895, which indicates he is Sergeant Major, 1st Regiment. This last paper has a handwritten note “Discharge when commissioned to date July 22/95” followed by “honorably discharged per S. O. No. 44, par 1 Series 1895.” On another sheet, dated 26 Jul 1895, CBH is also listed as Sergeant Major, 1st Regiment, with a note, “Transferred to Gen[eral] Non-com[missioned]. staff, by S. O. 34 c.s.”

²⁷(continued) sent them to NPRC a couple of years ago.” She gave us the name and telephone number of the person, William Seibert, she had sent the records to. Seibert informed us that the only pre WWI records at NPRC were those of the DCNG. We obtained copies of those that were available, but the most recent was 19 Dec. 1896.

²⁸We made several unsuccessful attempts to determine what time and training requirements were required of National Guard enlistees in the late 19th Century. Most training was probably done on weekends and evenings, and at some time during the year there was a short period of bivouacking. Undoubtedly training at least included learning to take orders, marching, handling arms, and target practice.

²⁹Probably an indication of his working on the Cincinnati Centennial Exposition.

³⁰Soon after this date, CBH must have departed for Paris, where he remained for a few months.

The only information we have of CBH’s military service between 26 July 1895 and 16 May 1898 is indicated in papers in possession of CBH’s family.³¹ They list two records, the first is dated 26 Aug. 1895: “War Department, Adjutant General’s Office, Washington: Commission of Adjutant of the First Regiment of Infantry of the Militia of the District of Columbia; endorsements (2 pages);” and the second, dated 6/03/1897: “Headquarters of D.C. Militia letter regarding commission as Captain & A.DC [aide-de-camp] (1 page).” An article in the *Washington Post* (1 Dec. 1900:9) included an announcement of CBH’s resignation from the “District Guard,” stating that he was “on the general staff since July 3, 1895.”

Records of CBH’s service during the Spanish–American War were available to us and date from 16 May 1898³², when that organization was mustered into the U.S. Army, as the 1st Regiment, District of Columbia Infantry [U.S. Army Volunteers], commanded by Colonel George Herbert Harries, during the war. On that date, CBH was listed as first lieutenant, Company K; however, a chronological sheet accompanying his records indicates, “May 30 commission as 1st Lt, 1st D.C. Vols.” He served in that position during the time (beginning 14 July) his unit participated in the Siege of Santiago, Cuba. A fortnight later, 29 July, he was entered on the list of sick and wounded as having “Intermittent Fever” associated with “Jaundice.” We assume that he had been infected with yellow fever, which was epidemic, and often fatal, during the War. CBH would

³¹The information presented here is all that was available to us. It is contained in SQBMS.

³²Information concerning CBH’s military records during and after the Spanish–American War were obtained from NARA (Washington, D.C.), Archives Records Center, Old Military and Civilian Records, Spanish–American War, Carded Records, Volunteer Organizations, 1 D.C. Infantry, Charles B. Hudson; identifying numbers: 41091797, 41091874, 41092021, 41092168, 41088244, 41088282, 41088283; 41093565, 41093573, 41093586, 41093013, 41093032, 41093052; also, NARA, Archives Records Center, General correspondence of the Adjutant General’s office, 1890–1917, Hudson – HUGHEN: 351005, 353858, 363439.

suffer from its effects for several years. On 1 Aug. 1898, 3 days after being diagnosed, and undoubtedly as a result of the fever, he was “Transferred . . . from Company K to be Adjutant 2nd Battalion” (the Regiment comprised three battalions), a staff position probably requiring less physical stress than that of an officer with direct command responsibility. He remained in that capacity until he was mustered out of the Army on 20 Nov. 1898. After mustering out, he returned to his status in the District National Guard, reverting to his pre-war rank of captain and as aide-de-camp to Harries, who also returned to his pre-war rank as brigadier general.

The *Washington Post* (9 Sept. 1898:4) has a full page of drawn portraits, probably based on photographs, of the “Officers who led the District heroes.” They are predominantly full faced and hatless, and include one of CBH (Fig. 8, right) with a handlebar mustache. Hornaday (1899b:449) provided a photograph of CBH in uniform, which we reproduce as Figure 8, left.

On 20 Nov. 1900, CBH resigned his commission in the D.C. Guard, and on Nov. 26 his resignation took effect. Between Dec. 1900, and early Feb. 1901, CBH applied for appointment as a second lieutenant in the regular U. S. Army. Several letters of recommendation, including that of General Harries³³, on his behalf, were received by the War Department, Adjutant General’s Office. On 9 Oct. 1902, CBH was notified that he was ineligible for appointment because these appointments were limited to men from 21 to 27 years of age; CBH was 37.

³³Harries recommended five men for commissioning, which he listed in order based on his opinion of their merits. CBH was third. Harries general recommendation for all five read, “All of the gentlemen named served in the District of Columbia quota during the war with Spain, and each one of them is of that type of soldierly manhood which should be essential to the possession of a commission in the regular establishment. Each of them is fully capable of attending to any military duty, either in the line or staff.” His particular recommendation of CBH read, “Mr. Hudson was one of the most industrious and painstaking of those who rendered such excellent service in this country, and through the siege of Santiago, and during the prolonged struggle with disease until the day of muster out.”



LIEUT. CHARLES B. HUDSON.
(First Lieutenant and Battalion Adjutant.)

Figure 8.—CBH, first lieutenant, First District Volunteers, during Spanish–American War, 1898: left, from Hornaday (1899b:449); right, from *Washington Post*, 9 Sept. 1898, p. 4 (Proquest Historic Newspapers).

We find CBH's persistence to have a military career of particular interest, and hazard the opinion that he was driven to affirm his masculinity. In conversations with VGS, both his daughters stressed his small size and slight build. His military records during the Spanish–American War describe him as being 5 ft. 5½ inches [1.66 m] tall, of light complexion, with blue eyes and brown hair. A DVA medical exam record dated 5 Jan. 1938 (roughly 40 years later and 18 months before his death) describes him as being 5 ft 4¼ inches [1.63 m], weight 117 lbs, stripped [53.2 kg], highest weight in past year, 135 lbs [61.4 kg]; cardiovascular system abnormal: “all arteries are hard, beaded and tortuous,” appendectomy scar, all upper jaw teeth absent, lower jaw lacking 12 teeth, but “dentures satisfactory.” And concluded, “Claimant is 100% disabled to perform manual labor due to his arteriosclerosis . . .” Various other records indicate his height as 5'6" [1.68 m] and 5'8" [1.7 m], but these were not associated with medical exams and are probably inaccurate. An age related decrease in height from 5 ft. 5½ inches to 5 ft 4¼ inches over a period of 40 years, seems reasonable, especially if there was associated osteoporosis.

Henceforth, as a result of his military service, CBH was frequently addressed or referred to as Captain Hudson by his friends and colleagues.

Return to Washington, D.C.

On return to the United States, CBH's unit was stationed at Camp Wikoff, N.Y., a demobilization and quarantine camp established Aug.–Sept. 1898 for troops returning from the Spanish–American War.³⁴ By 12 Sept., CBH was back in Washington, D.C. He appears to have returned to his family then, but by November he left them and moved into his father's home on Capitol Hill, in which he would reside until he left for California in the spring of 1901. Although, he would have close relations with his children, it appears that he never saw his wife again.

CBH now entered what was probably a difficult period of his life. Suffering from the ill effects of yellow fever and the emotional stress of separating himself from his children, if not from his wife, he produced only a few magazine illustrations in 1899 and published no articles

³⁴New York State Military Museum, http://dmna.state.ny.us/forts/fortsT_Z/wikoffCamp.htm (15 Dec. 2008).

of his own (nor would he until 1903). He produced few, if any, illustrations of fishes during the year, as we imply in the section on “CBH's Ichthyological Illustrations” (see date illustrated for illustrations P03239, P03416, P06885, P09663, P10343, P15116).

By 1900, CBH was busily at work again. He prepared several illustrations, published in 1902, for the reports of several of the scientists who participated in the Harriman Alaska Expedition of 1899.³⁵ The original of one of these illustrations, a small oil painting of sea lions, hung in the E. H. Harriman home for many years, but its whereabouts have been unknown since about 1993. CBH completed a few magazine illustrations during 1900 and a series of pictorial identification labels for the bird exhibit of the New York Zoological Society, of which his friend Hornaday was the director and probably the source of his employment (CBH apparently did this work in New York³⁶). In late 1900, CBH was awarded a bronze medal for his paintings of fishes, which had been included in the Paris Exposition Universelle (World's Fair).

On 29 Dec. 1900, the first publication of CBH's ichthyological illustrations would appear (Evermann and Marsh, 1900). These included colored lithographs of the paintings he had made mostly in Key West, Fla., in 1896, and pen-and-ink illustrations made in either 1899 or 1900.

In early Jan. 1901, Christine Hudson brought her first suit for divorce, claiming CBH deserted her in 1898.³⁷

³⁵The Harriman Alaska Expedition was organized by E. H. Harriman, a railway magnate and financier, to explore the coastal waters and territory of Alaska. The expedition extended from 31 May to 30 July 1899, during which thousands of documentary photographs were taken. The scientific findings were published in 14 volumes, issued between 1901 and 1914. Harriman published the first two volumes, but then turned the copyright over to the Smithsonian Institution, which published the remaining volumes and reissued the first two volumes under its own imprint. Several prominent scientists participated in the expedition: John Burroughs, Edward S. Curtis, William E. Ritter, G. K. Gilbert, George Bird Grinnell, William H. Dall, Clinton H. Merriam, and John Muir.

³⁶CHBMS

³⁷The *Washington Post*, 9 Jan. 1898, p. 10 (Proquest Historical Newspapers).

West to California and Beyond

Hawaii became a territory of the United States on 22 Feb. 1900. By Act of Congress, 20 Apr. 1900, the Commissioner of the USFC was “empowered and required to examine into the entire subject of fisheries ... in the Territory of Hawaii ...” (Smith, 1902:123). The Commissioner placed the investigations under the direction of D. S. Jordan, then President of Stanford University, and B. W. Evermann, ichthyologist, with the Commission (Smith, 1902:124). The artists selected to go on the expedition to Hawaii were CBH and A. H. Baldwin, both of whom had previously prepared illustrations of fishes for Evermann

The expedition was scheduled to begin in June 1901. Apparently, in early March 1901, Jordan had written Evermann requesting that CBH illustrate certain species of fishes and offering CBH an “appointment [without pay] as associate artist in the Hopkins Laboratory,”³⁸ located in Pacific Grove, Calif., when CBH came out to California. Hudson accepted with alacrity, but his response puzzles us. In it (dated 15 Mar. 1901) he indicated that he will leave for California as soon as he could arrange his affairs, “I have an order from the U.S. Fish Commission for three drawings in color which will probably require between two and three weeks to complete ...” We do not know of any CBH USFC paintings in color done in 1901 other than those prepared during his participation in Jordan and Evermann’s expedition to Hawaii.

CBH departed Washington, D.C., for California, probably arriving sometime in mid Apr. or May, 1901. By the first of June, he was on the boat for Hawaii together with the rest of the expedition’s participants, and some other folks (Fig. 9). Among them was Claire Grace Barnhisel (in the future usually known as

³⁸SULS 058, Series IA, D. S. Jordan, Box 28, Folder 280, 18 Mar. 1901, CBH to D. S. Jordan; SULS 058, Series IAA, D. S. Jordan, Box 2, Folder v.3, 21 Mar. 1901, D. S. Jordan to CBH. Jordan mentioned that he still had 175 new species of Japanese fishes to be illustrated and “So far as I can see there is likely to be all the work you can do for a long period, perhaps several years.”

Grace), a Stanford University graduate, on her way to Hawaii to teach school. Two and one-half years later (9 Dec. 1903), CBH (38) and Grace (32), born 29 Oct. 1871, would marry.³⁹

CBH painted Hawaiian fishes from life from early June to late July 1901, at which time he and the other members of the expedition returned to California. An article in the Honolulu *Evening Bulletin*, 8 July 1901, described him at work: “Hudson’s studio is an interesting den. It is not in at [sic] attic nor under a eucalyptus tree. He is perched on a bench at the outer end of the pier seaward from the Moana hotel. He has before him a glass aquarium, full of sea water. Here he poses his models.” The article also mentions that it took CBH a week to complete each illustration (Fig. 10).

The fishes he illustrated were published in Jordan and Evermann’s (1905) study of the shore fishes of the Hawaiian Islands. They would be reproduced in postcard format, though suffering in quality, in several editions over the years by the Waikiki Aquarium⁴⁰, and four would also be reproduced as postcards by the Steinhart Aquarium, San Francisco, about 1923.

On his return to California from Hawaii in Aug. 1901, CBH resumed preparing illustrations, probably for D. S. Jordan’s studies of Japanese fishes. In August, the first filing of Christine Hudson for divorce was dismissed “without prejudice,” but a second filing was made about 20 Aug. It alleged that CBH had left his home in November 1898, and had been absent for more than 2 years.⁴¹ The divorce was granted 21 Nov. 1902 (DVA copy of divorce

³⁹DVA contains a copy of their marriage license, which, based on handwriting, appears to have been filled out by CBH. On it, he gives his age as 38 and hers, erroneously, as 30. We obtained her birth date, which she included in a letter, 7 May 1944, she wrote to DVA.]

⁴⁰These reproductions also included the color paintings of fishes that A. H. Baldwin produced on the expedition. Baldwin worked in watercolor, CBH in oil on academy board. (See also footnote 92 for more information on the postcards.)

⁴¹*New York Times*, 20 Aug. 1901, p. 10. The article also indicated that she was the sole support of her daughter, but that CBH’s parents had contributed partly to the support of her son.

decree), in which it was specified that CBH’s wife would have custody of their daughter, Christine, during her minority, but allowing CBH to have her visit him for 2 months each year. Similarly, CBH was granted custody of their son, Lester, but allowing Christine to have him visit her for 2 months each year.

At some period during 1900–01, CBH’s parents would move from Washington, D.C., to Detroit, Mich.

On 4 Feb. 1902, CBH, in Pacific Grove, wrote J. O. Snyder⁴² at Stanford that he was working “seven days in the week” and that “... my health, which I have never fully recovered since the war, has been better here than in any other place.”⁴³ He wasn’t only drawing fishes, however, as in March he began working on his first novel.⁴⁴ On 22 Apr. 1902, A. H. Baldwin, who was at Stanford University illustrating fishes, wrote Dr. Hugh M. Smith, soon to be the first Deputy Commissioner of Fisheries, “Hudson is here now and looks very well. He enjoys California more than I do I think, and expects to stay here some time I believe.”⁴⁵ Baldwin’s thinking was spot on! From that time until his death in 1939, CBH would make California, mostly in Pacific Grove, his permanent home. Probably, contributing to his initial desire to stay, we presume, was a blooming romance between him and Grace Barnhisel, enhanced when his wife’s divorce decree was granted.

About 12 Feb. 1903, however, CBH had been called to Detroit to help his mother attend to his father, who had serious health problems.⁴⁶

⁴²J. O. Snyder, 1867–1943, spent most of his professional life as a professor teaching ichthyology and fisheries biology at Stanford University. Hubbs (1943:265) and Brittan (1997) include information about him.

⁴³SULS SC058 IA, D. S. Jordan, Box 28, Folder 305.

⁴⁴CHBMS.

⁴⁵NARA RG 106, Smithsonian Institution, Hugh M. Smith, Box 5.

⁴⁶Information for the period 12 Feb.–11 Oct. 1903 is contained in letters between Jordan and CBH in SULS SC058 IA, D. S. Jordan, Box 36, Folders 352, 353, 355, 357 and Box 37, Folder 368, and SULS SC058 IAA, D. S. Jordan, Box 6, Folders 11 and 12, Box 7, Folders 13 and 14, and Box 9, Folder 17.



Figure 9.—Members, in part, of Evermann and Jordan’s expedition to the Hawaiian Islands, Nuanu Pali, 12 June 1901. Back row from left: Charles Bradford Hudson, Edmund Lee Goldsborough (USFC, Evermann’s assistant), Michitaro Sindo (Jordan’s assistant). Front row from left: Albertus Hutchinson Baldwin (artist), Barton Warren Evermann (USFC), Grace Barnhisel (CBH’s future wife, recent Stanford University graduate, not an expedition member), Knight Jordan (age 13, Jordan’s son), David Starr Jordan, Alvin Seale (curator of fishes, Bishop Museum), John Treadwell Nichols (age 18, volunteer, future curator of fishes, American Museum of Natural History). Photograph by John N. Cobb (USFC statistician, in charge of expedition arrangements) (DULS, E. L. Goldsborough file).

CBH had taken specimens with him, which he was illustrating as time permitted, and Jordan repeatedly importuned him to finish them so that he could submit his papers for publication. CBH remained in Detroit, and on 26 May 1903, his father died. CBH would stay on in Detroit until at least November to help settle his father’s estate and also to write a biography of his father and preface for his father’s posthumous book, “The Evolution of the Soul and Other Essays,” 1904.

By early Dec. 1903, CBH was back in California, and on 9 Dec. 1903, he and Claire Grace Barnhisel were married in San Jose.⁴⁷ They would make their permanent home in Pacific Grove, building a house in 1910 at 317 Alder Street

⁴⁷His first wife, Christine, was granted a divorce in 1902 and she would remarry in 1903 (*Washington Post*, 4 Aug. 1903, p. 3), to Guy N. Collins (1872–1938), prominent chief botanist for the U.S. Department of Agriculture, Bureau of Plant Industry (*New York Times*, 16 Aug. 1938, p. 19). They would remain married until he died. Information from ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

and, with occasional extended absences would live there until CBH died in 1939 and his wife moved away in 1941 (in litt., 6 Jan. 1941, Grace B. Hudson to DVA). It was in the Alder Street home that they would raise their two children, Bradford Benedict and Claire Barnhisel, and Lester, son of CBH’s first marriage. By 1926, CBH would build or acquire a separate studio at 440 Asilomar Avenue (from the Spanish, *asilo*, a refuge + *mar*, sea, hence, refuge by the sea), less than a mile (1.61 km) from their home, near to, and with an unimpeded view of, the

Pacific (Fig. 11).⁴⁸ After Grace, 93, died (1964), or perhaps some years earlier, the Alder Street home was sold, but today the entranceway bears a Pacific Grove historic marker, “Grace Hudson 1910.” The studio remains in the family and the ashes of Claire Hudson Brett, are spread on the grounds around a tree.⁴⁹ CBH was also cremated, and his ashes, presumably, were similarly dispersed. The ashes of his son, Rear Admiral Lester J. Hudson, were dispersed at sea off Point Lobos, Calif., a favorite subject for CBH’s paintings (Fig. 12, 13).

From Lake Tahoe to the Golden Trout of the High Sierras

In the spring of 1904, Stewart Edward White⁵⁰, a prominent author who had visited California’s Sierra Nevada Mountains in 1903, wrote President Theodore Roosevelt of his concern for the preservation of the golden trout, *Oncorhynchus mykiss aguabonita*, of the High Sierras. It was considered to be the most beautiful of all trout species. It had a limited distribution and it was easily caught by trout fishermen, who could fish it to extinction. Roosevelt contacted George Meade Bowers⁵¹, fifth

⁴⁸Although the geographic position of the studio remains the same, the original short driveway to the studio from Asilomar was allowed to become overgrown and blocked, and a long, two-track dirt road leading off Sunset Drive on the opposite side of the studio is now the entryway to the property. Sunset Drive is the closest road between the studio and the Pacific Ocean. Today, there is no street number posted for the studio on either Asilomar Avenue or Sunset Drive. The driveway entrance on Sunset Drive, however, is between addresses 1642, to the south, and 1600, to the north. One can still just discern the remains of the short, original Asilomar driveway of the studio in an aerial photograph that was available on the web during 2009.

⁴⁹Telephone interview, by VGS, 21 July 2008, with Cmdr. Patrick J. Hudson, great grandson of CBH’s first marriage.

⁵⁰12 Mar. 1873–18 Sept. 1946, novelist, adventurer, and conservationist, one of a select few made an Honorary Scout by the Boy Scouts of America. Barton Warren Evermann (1906:20) named *Salmo whitei* [= *Oncorhynchus mykiss whitei*] in recognition of White’s effective concern about the preservation of the golden trout.

⁵¹13 Sept. 1863–7 Dec. 1925, Commissioner 1898–1913, U.S. Representative from 2nd District, West Virginia, 1916–1923. For an interesting statement about his initial appointment see the *New York Times*, 2 Feb. 1898, p. 3.



Figure 10.—Charles Bradford Hudson at work in his “studio” on a dock in Oahu, during 1901 Evermann–Jordan expedition to the Hawaiian Islands (note Diamond Head in background). Photograph by John N. Cobb (DULS, E. L. Goldsborough file).

U.S. Commissioner of Fisheries, who wrote White on 22 Apr. 1904:

Dear Sir:

I have received a letter from the President in which he calls attention to the golden trout of Mount Whitney, concerning which he states that he has received a letter from you. It affords me pleasure to inform you that this Bureau is alive to the interest attaching to this beautiful trout and has already taken steps toward its preservation. During the summer an investigation will be made for the purpose of determining in just what streams it is now found and what steps may be taken for its preservation and wider distribution.

Bowers appointed Barton Warren Evermann to head the investigation of the golden trout, which was known from Volcano Creek⁵² in the Kern River region of the High Sierras, an area of rugged terrain, deep canyons with vertical walls, streams, waterfalls, and meadows, among mountains reaching heights well over 10,000 ft (3,048 m), with Mt. Whitney having the highest peak (15,505 ft, 4,421 m) in the contiguous United States. Evermann knew that an expedition into such wilds to make a biological study of a fish would

⁵²The Volcano Creek of Evermann (and as used by us in the above discussion) is today called Golden Trout Creek, and a southern tributary, which flows through a boulder field before joining Golden Trout Creek, is now designated Volcano Creek. The golden trout in Golden Trout Creek is still an isolated pure population (Robert J. Behnke, email to VGS 23 Jan. 2009).



Figure 11.—CBH's studio at 440 Asilomar Avenue, Pacific Grove, Calif., and view of Pacific Ocean from driveway leading to studio from Sunset Boulevard (Oct. 2008). Photographs courtesy of Monica Hudson.

require several weeks, much equipment, and pack animals to carry the supplies, personnel, and equipment.

Among the personnel he wanted were scientists with differing specialties, assistants, packers, a cook, and a competent artist to capture the life colors of what was considered to be the most beautiful trout in the United States. Trout fishermen in the early 1900's were just as avid about their sport and prey as they are today, and the Bureau sought to make every effort possible to learn about and to protect such an attractive fish, no less than how to satisfy Theodore Roosevelt.

Evermann put together a team of 10 people, which included, beside himself: Oliver Peebles Jenkins, (1850–1935), professor of physiology and histology, and Rufus L. Green (3 Mar. 1862–19 Nov. 1932), professor of mathematics, both of Stanford University; Chancey Juday (5 May 1871–29 Mar. 1944), then professor of zoology (limnologist, freshwater planktonologist) of the University of Colorado; and three assistants, two packers, a cook, and, last but not least, the artist, Charles Bradford Hudson.

But first, there were the moderately complex problems involving the genteel art of financial negotiations and overcoming what appears to have been a budgetary obstacle to the Bureau of Fisheries' paying CBH's transportation expenses from Michigan to the expedition's origination point in Visalia, Calif., and probably those of Chancey Juday, who was in Colorado.

Sometime before May 1904, CBH, with his wife, had returned to his mother's home in Detroit and Evermann had written him there requesting him to participate in the expedition to the Sierras. On 1 May 1904, CBH replied⁵³:

⁵³The remaining narrative includes extensive quotes from letters exchanged between CBH and Barton Warren Evermann. In general, we thought it best to let these men speak for themselves. What is omitted from the incompletely quoted letters, even when the body of the correspondence might be quite businesslike, are the men's friendly closing comments concerning their respective families, or invitations to visit and reside in their homes. Formality of the day, however, always reigned: it was always Dear Captain or Mr. Hudson, and Dear Professor or Dr. Evermann.



Figure 12.—“October afternoon, Pacific Ocean near Carmel, Calif.” Oil on canvas, signed lower left, no date, dimensions not provided. Claire H. Brett family collection. (Photograph courtesy of late Claire H. Brett). Could this scene have been from CBH's studio (see Figure 11)?

Dear Professor Evermann,

Your very kind favor of offering me the opportunity of a trip into the Sierras next summer is at hand, and makes me regret more than ever that I am not in California. It appeals to me a lot. There is little possibility, however, that I shall go west before next winter—if, indeed, I go then. But if I were there I should certainly accept your proposition, not only for the sake of the chance to paint the trout, but for the outing with you and Dr. Jenkins. I thank you for the invitation. I infer that the Fish Commission would not pay my expenses from a point as remote as this. If that could be arranged I should be very much tempted.

On 25 May 1904, Evermann included the following comment in a letter to Jenkins, “Our party, so far as provisionally determined, will include [a list of participants follows]. To these I would add Hudson, if he were on the coast, for the Golden Trout of Mount Whitney surely ought to be done in colors and Hudson can do it beautifully. He may be willing to go anyway.”

Also, on 25 May, Evermann wrote CBH in response to CBH's May 1 letter:

My dear Mr. Hudson:

I am awfully sorry you are not on the coast; for I would like mightily to have you go with me to beard the Golden Trout in its native waters. And I would be pleased if *some way* [emphasis ours] could be arranged by which you might be induced to go. I regret that there is so little money available for this investigation; but as there are so few fishes in that region available for painting, the Bureau could not offer the compensation which you should have as an artist. The best that I can offer is a most delightful trip into America's wonderland, which I was sure would appeal to you. I can assume all our expenses while in the field. Now how much toward your other expenses (getting to Palo Alto, etc.) would induce you to go? If it is not too much, I'll try hard to raise it. There are special California rates which we might strike. My idea is to start as early in July as possible and



finish up sometime in August, I hope not later than the 10th.

It appears that CBH had not received Evermann's 25 May letter before 2 June, when CBH wrote him the following:

My dear Professor Evermann:

I have been thinking very hard about your proposed trip, and confess it is a great temptation; but I really do not feel that I can afford my part of the expense. I wish very much that I could do so, for I appreciate the value of the opportunity, to say nothing of the pleasure of bashing my shins on the Sierras with you and Doctor Jenkins. I would be glad to give you my time and would be willing to travel tourist or any other old way, but my expenses have been rather heavy this winter and I am pretty nearly as hard up as our Uncle Sam. I am sorry that I can not give you a more favorable reply. If I were in Palo Alto I would not hesitate a moment. Is it quite impossible for the office to furnish transportation?

Two letters were sent to CBH, both dated June 7, that allows us to understand how Evermann solved CBH's transportation problem and, perhaps, permits us to hazard a guess as to why CBH's three paintings of the Lake Tahoe cutthroat trout, made before the Sierra expedition, were never published by either Evermann or D. S. Jordan, both of whom published extensively on California salmonids. The first 7 June letter reads:

Captain Charles B. Hudson

Sir:

You are hereby appointed a temporary assistant in this Bureau and assigned to duty in connection with the study of the statistics and methods of fisheries of the interior waters of California. Your compensation, until otherwise



Figure 13.—Two Charles Bradford Hudson paintings of Point Lobos, Calif., both signed lower left, no date. Upper, 15×13 in (38×32 cm), oil on canvas board, private collection. Photograph courtesy A. Bales. Lower, 28×26 in (71×66 cm), oil on canvas. Photograph courtesy Neville–Strass Collection.

ordered, will be at the rate of sixty dollars per month. Your actual and necessary expenses while engaged upon this work will be refunded to you upon the presentation of properly executed vouchers. At your earliest convenience, you will proceed to Lake Tahoe, where you will report to Professor Chancey Juday.

Respectfully,
Geo. M. Bowers
Commissioner

The other letter was written by Evermann. We did not find a copy of Evermann's response to CBH's letter, which Evermann stamped "Answered June 7 1904," among the CASA Evermann files. A copy of that letter, however, is mentioned in SQBMS, with a brief descriptive note of its contents. The note reads (bracketed inclusion is ours), "Barton Evermann letter to CBH informing him to proceed to Lake Tahoe and report to Professor Chancey Juday to render assistance and paint four species [specimens?: male and female of each of two species?] of trout: the Pogy or Snipe (*Salmo henshawi*) and the Silver Trout (*S. tahoensis*)—be sure to save and tag specimens" *Salmo henshawi* is now considered to be a valid, but extinct, subspecies of the cutthroat trout, *Oncorhynchus clarkii*. *Salmo tahoensis* is now considered to be a junior synonym of *Oncorhynchus clarkii henshawi*.

It appears that there were funds to hire an assistant for a study of statistics and methods of fisheries, but not for an artist to illustrate fishes. Whether Bowers was aware of the content of Evermann's letter is unknown, but it might have been embarrassing for a copy of Evermann's letter to be available in the files. In any event, under the guise of working on a research project as an assistant to Juday, CBH would receive pay that would be adequate to cover his transportation to Lake Tahoe and to the expedition starting point in California. As for the Tahoe paintings, neither Evermann nor Bowers would

have wanted to call attention to their provenance, so they sat in the USFC files unutilized until well after the death of everyone concerned.

CBH replied to Evermann's June 7 letter on 9 June 1904:

My dear Doctor Evermann,

Your letter of instructions and my marching orders came this morning. I will leave for California on the 11th—the day after tomorrow via So. Pac. to Tahoe. The compensation mentioned in the orders comes as a very agreeable surprise for it was quite unexpected. I thank you very sincerely.

I am taking a good supply of materials and will work in watercolor, as I find it much more speedy than the oil, and consider it quite as effective for fresh-water species, whose markings are not usually elaborate. I would be very glad, if you can do so, if you will send the large proportional dividers⁵⁴ which I used before. Mine are too small for convenience. However, I will take them along. Could you not send the F. C. [Fish Commission's] proportionals to Prof. Juday?

Mrs. Hudson sends her greetings, but tells me to say that she does not consider it a bit nice that she has not been invited. She would like to go, but declines to cook. I suggested it as a possible open-

⁵⁴An instrument consisting of two equal-length halves with each half pointed at both ends, and with a sliding lock screw holding the two halves together. It is used to accurately enlarge or reduce an original measurement taken between the points of one end and transferring the distance represented by the points at the other end to an illustrating surface. For example, the dividers are expanded at one end to the actual length of a specimen and the sliding lock screw is adjusted so that the opposite ends indicate half the original measurement. In this way numerous measurements of different parts of a specimen (e.g. length of head, length of tail) can be made and marked on a drawing surface in order to create an illustration in which all parts are equally proportionate (half in this example) to those of the original. CBH's letters to Evermann and others at the USFC frequently requested the use of proportional dividers to aid in his illustrating.

ing, but she refuses to make herself useful otherwise than in her former capacity as cousin to the party.

I hope to see you very soon.

Yours sincerely,

CBH arrived in Tahoe on 14 June, and immediately began work on painting the trout. Apparently, Evermann was not concerned about CBH's letter becoming noticed. We suspect that a similar subterfuge was used to cover the transportation of Juday who, unlike CBH, was professionally competent to "study the statistics and methods of the fisheries of the interior waters of California." Juday did not require any help from CBH, as his letters concerning CBH alluded only to the latter's painting and equipment for the High Sierras trip.

We found it most interesting that the Commissioner's reports from 1904 to 1906 contain comprehensive reports of the fishery studies the Bureau was involved in, but make no mention of Juday, Hudson, or the Bureau's order for an investigation of the fisheries of Lake Tahoe. Juday (1907), then working for the Wisconsin Geological and Natural History Survey, did publish a short report on his Lake Tahoe investigations in the Bureau of Fisheries Bulletin 26, but he included no illustrations and made no mention of CBH. Nevertheless, the three illustrations of the Lake Tahoe cutthroat trout that CBH made are the only ones known that record the life color of that subspecies. Two (Plate 16 A, C) were first published by Ono et al. in 1983, 79 years after their preparation, and we publish the third (Plate 16 B) for the first time, over 100 years after it was prepared.

To finally get CBH to Visalia, Commissioner Bowers wrote CBH at Lake Tahoe on 28 June 1904:

Sir:

Having completed the statistical inquiry upon which you have been engaged at lake Tahoe, under orders dated June 7, you will, on or about July 8, report at Visalia, California to Dr. Barton W. Ever-

mann whom you will assist during the investigation of the trout and trout streams and lakes of middle and southern California.

Your compensation will be at the rate of sixty dollars per month. Your actual and necessary expenses will be refunded to you on presentation of proper vouchers.

The expedition departed 13 July 1904 (Evermann, 1906:3) and reached Volcano Creek, in which the golden trout was originally endemic, no later than 30 July (O. P. Jenkins in Evermann, 1906:40–41) (Fig. 14). The trout, which Evermann would name for Roosevelt, occurred throughout the entire creek from near its mouth at an altitude of about 6,300 ft (1,920 m) to its highest reach, about 10,000 ft (3,048 m). The expedition would go on to explore terrain and streams around and well beyond Volcano Creek (Evermann, 1906: foldout map), reaching or nearly so, the peak of Mt. Whitney, and continuing west about 6 miles (9.6 km) along Lone Pine Creek to a position ca. long. 118°10'W, lat. 36°35'N. We were unable to locate an ending date for the expedition. Jennings (1997:200) mentioned the expedition lasted 2 months, but his source for this is not given. In Evermann's CASA files is a printed invitation of the Massachusetts Fish and Game Protective Association, dated 6 Mar. 1909. It announces a lecture to be given by Evermann, 18 Mar. 1909, in Boston, with the title, "With pack train to the tip-top of the United States in search of the Golden Trout," and includes the following statement in its brief description of the talk, "The party was composed of fifteen men and they were gone a month or six weeks, going in by donkey pack train."

If we accept the month estimate, CBH, would have been away from his new bride for at least 2 months since leaving Detroit for Lake Tahoe. During that time, he would have made three illustrations of the endemic Lake Tahoe cutthroat trout subspecies and two illustrations, one each, of two endemic subspecies of golden trout from the Sierras, both of which Evermann thought represented undescribed species. Evermann's



Figure 14.—Charles Bradford Hudson, 1904, dining out at South Fork Meadow 9 (on south fork of Kaweah River, High Sierras) (CASA Evermann files, Box 76).

Salmo whitei would persist as a valid subspecies, *Oncorhynchus mykiss whitei* (Evermann), but his *Salmo roosevelti* would ultimately be found to be a junior synonym of *O. m. aguabonita* (Jordan). Roosevelt (27 Oct. 1858–06 Jan. 1919), however, would not live to learn of his patronymic loss.

CBH did not restrict his artistic efforts only to fishes during the expedition; he was also sketching the scenery. He made an etching from one of his sketches, prints of which he intended to give to the expedition participants as a souvenir, and Evermann (1905) published it.

CBH returned to Michigan after the High Sierra trip. Evermann must have been as pleased with CBH's trout paintings as he had anticipated. Within a few weeks (29 Sept. 1904) after his return, CBH was telegraphed orders to travel east to Maine to prepare paintings of the local freshwater trout species. He arrived in Mountain View, Maine, on 6 Oct., accompanied by his wife. Between 6 Oct. and mid Dec. 1904, CBH would complete ten color illustrations of salmonids. The work on these would take place in Maine, New Hampshire, and Vermont. We are uncertain that Claire was with him during the entire trip, but

presumably, CBH was with her and back at his mother's home in Detroit in time for Christmas.

Fish Illustrations for Ernest Thompson Seton⁵⁵

In the following discussion, all references to numerous letters (dated between 07/15/1901 and 11/05/1906) from Ernest Thompson Seton (Fig. 15) to Barton Warren Evermann, and relevant other papers (two letters from other sources to Evermann and undated handwritten notes made by Evermann

⁵⁵Ernest Thompson Seton (also Ernest Seton Thompson) was born Ernest Evan Thompson, 14 July 1860, in England. In 1866 he moved to Canada with his family. At least between 15 July 1901 and 10 Feb. 04, he was living in New York City (80 West 40th St), but by 16 May 04 he was living at his estate, Wyndygoul, Cos Cob, Greenwich, Conn. He studied art and illustrated many articles and books, both those he authored and those of other authors. His subjects were varied but included color plates of fish in at least one publication (Commissioner, 1907:15). In 1881 he became Naturalist for the provincial government of Manitoba, Canada. He was an early and important organizer of the Boy Scouts of America. He died 23 Oct. 1946. (Information from various sources, including Beach and Rines (1912), websites of Boy Scouts of America and Wikipedia, and the Seton letters in the Barton W. Evermann letter file, Box 19, Archives of the California Academy of Sciences.



Figure 15.—Ernest Thompson Seton, author, naturalist, early organizer of Boy Scouts of America; contracted with CBH to prepare illustrations of fishes, which he never used. Photograph from Wikipedia, 23 Mar. 2009.

and an unknown employee) are based on the contents of CASA, Barton Warren Evermann, letter box 19. For the sake of brevity, we indicate only a few of the actual letter dates in support of statements we make. No copies of Evermann's letters to Seton were available and may not exist.⁵⁶

Seton (1898⁵⁷) had published a list of the fishes of Manitoba and continued his interest in the subject by planning an update to the list. At least as early as July 1901 and as late as May 1904, Seton was corresponding with Barton Warren Evermann, then with the USFC in Washington, D.C. Seton had been sending Evermann specimens of Manitoba fishes, and occasionally amphibians, for identification and, in some cases, for deposit in the U.S. National Museum.

Seton was planning a book on Manitoba that was to include an appendix listing and illustrating all the species of

fishes found in the province. Although only Seton's letters relating to obtaining the illustrations of fishes are available, it was possible to infer much about the content of Evermann's letters. In addition to available line cuts of species of fishes that occur in Manitoba that appeared in Jordan and Evermann's (1900), Bulletin 47, volume 4 of the United States National Museum, Seton needed 13 more illustrations. Evermann, who was based in Washington, D.C., arranged for CBH, who had returned to California, to prepare the illustrations, which CBH did during 1905. Apparently, there were 12 inkwash (gray-scale) drawings and one in color. Evermann sent the completed illustrations to Seton at Seton's Connecticut home before receiving Hudson's invoice for payment. Seton inscribed his initials, E. T. S., in small letters, on the reverse of each illustration.

It appears that Seton had been led to believe that he was to be charged \$5.00 for each illustration, and his publisher had limited him to spending a total of \$85 (he originally thought he was going to need 17 species illustrated). The total cost for these was later increased to \$90 and then to \$100. CBH, however, sent Evermann a bill for \$325⁵⁸ for the 13 drawings, and Evermann, forwarded the bill to Seton. Seton was clearly surprised by the size of the charge and stated that he was put "in a most distressing predicament." He requested Evermann to intervene on his behalf with CBH, and have CBH reconsider the charges.

Seton suggested three solutions to the problem: "First, CBH would 'keep all the drawings' and use them as he wanted, and Seton would pay CBH a 'bonus' of \$40. Second, Seton and his intended publisher would share in the cost of the drawings, but would pay only \$10 each for the drawings [i.e. a total of \$130, which is what CBH would

have charged the USFC for similar illustrations]. Third, the Fish Commission would take ownership of the drawings and Seton would pay the Commission \$65 and promise not to use the drawings for a year, in order that the Commission would have the first opportunity to publish them.

It is uncertain what CBH's decision was, but because the illustrations were among the large group that the Department of the Interior, Fish and Wildlife Service (under which the Bureau of Fisheries was placed in the early 1940's) transferred to USNM in 1962⁵⁹, it appears that some aspect of the second option, proffered in Oct. 1905, was agreed on. Between October and 5 Nov. 1906, there is no correspondence in the file. On 5 Nov. 1906, before which date Seton had returned the illustrations to Evermann to be processed for publication, Seton asked to countermand his order that half-tone plates be made from them because he found he could only use line cuts (black and white drawings as opposed to gray-scale or colored ones) for his purposes. Not only did Seton not use the illustrations, he never published another paper on fishes—from Manitoba or elsewhere.

In 1909, at the annual meeting in Winnipeg of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, the Association issued "A Handbook to Winnipeg and the Province of Manitoba." In it, Seton authored a paper on the mammals and birds, of which groups he was an authority; the article on the fishes and fisheries was authored by E[dward]. E[rnest]. Prince (1858–1936; British-Canadian scientist). Neither article contained illustrations.

Return to General Illustrating and Authorship

By the end of 1905 CBH was either close to finishing, or had finished, writing his first novel and submitted it for publication. Also about this time he completed three book illustrations that appeared as half-tone plates in Hornaday

⁵⁶Jennings (1997: end note 78 includes the following statement, "Many of the [U.S.] Bureau [of Fisheries] records now in the Evermann files (Archives, California Academy of Sciences) contain official Bureau information . . . that can be found nowhere else . . . René M. Jaussaud (formerly with the National Archives) once informed me that Congress authorized a number of the old Bureau files in Washington, D.C. to be destroyed . . ."

⁵⁷Authored as Thompson, E[rnest] S[eton], 1898:214, reference not seen, cited in Evermann and Goldsborough (1907:118) and alluded to by Seton in a 16 May 1904 letter to Evermann.

⁵⁸Each of the figures is about 8 inches long and 2.5 inches deep, or about 20 square inches in area. CBH was receiving \$0.50 a square inch for his fish illustrations from the U.S. Fish Commission. Thus, CBH would have charged the Commission about \$10 per illustration, or \$130 for all thirteen, indicating that CBH billed Seton for 2.5 times the amount he would have charged the Commission for similar illustrations.

⁵⁹Letter from C. F. Pautzke, Commissioner, Fish and Wildlife Service, Department of the Interior, to L. P. Schultz, Curator of Fishes, USNM, 23 Jan. 1962 (Registrar's Accession No. 239954).

(1906). They are the last illustrations he did for Hornaday. At least one of the plates was rendered in color as an oil painting, but it was redrawn in gray scale for the published version.

During 1906, CBH was illustrating fishes again for the USBF (successor of the USFC). He produced one inkwash painting of a new species of a freshwater fish from Argentina for a paper by Evermann and Kendall (1906) and spent the summer and fall in Michigan preparing seven colored illustrations of Great Lakes whitefishes for the USBF, but his presence in Michigan began in the spring⁶⁰, probably a response to concern for his mother's health. The illustrations were first published by Koelz (1929)⁶¹ 23 years later. Given the delay in publication, we presume that the order for the fish paintings was partly Evermann's desire to support CBH while in Michigan, and probably for a study Evermann intended to undertake, given his interest in salmonids (at that time whitefishes were considered to belong in the family Coregonidae, separate from, but related to the Salmonidae).

On 8 Dec. 1906, Grace Hudson gave birth in California to their first child, Bradford Benedict Hudson, who would later become a professor at Rice University, specializing in the culture of the Near and Middle East. We assume that CBH had returned to California from Michigan in time to be present for his son's birth.

The year 1907 was a busy one for CBH. He again spent time with his mother in Detroit. He would have received proofs on his first novel, "The Crimson Conquest," a romance based

⁶⁰In CASA Evermann, letter Box 18, is a copy of a CBH letter, dated 30 Apr. 1906, from his mother's home in Detroit, to Evermann, hoping Evermann will visit on his way to Grand Rapids.

⁶¹Walter [Norman] Koelz, 11 [Sept. or Nov. depending on source] 1895–24 Sept. 1989, did not use his middle name or initial as an author. He received a Ph.D. from the University of Michigan in 1920. Under his name on the title page of this study, he indicated, "Formerly Associate Aquatic Biologist, U.S. Bureau of Fisheries." After this study, he only published one other paper on fishes, in 1931. He published extensively on Asian birds for awhile, and became interested in Asian textiles and plants. He led a very interesting life.

on Pizarro's conquest of Peru which would be published in October, and he published a nonillustrated article in the Popular Science Monthly on the background of emerging militarism in China. Evermann requested more illustrations of salmonids, but we only have evidence that CBH illustrated two (Plates 15 E and 16 F).

By the end of 1907 or the beginning of 1908, CBH's mother died, and CBH returned to Detroit to settle her estate (CHBMS, entry: ~8 Jan.–8 Mar.).

The End of Fishes

There is no firm evidence that CBH illustrated fishes in 1908 or 1909. Although doubtful, it is possible, however, that three species of Oregon freshwater fishes that Evermann collected in 1904 and CBH illustrated in gray tones (Plate 2 B, C, D), and which appeared in Snyder (1908; issued 28 Sept.), were prepared in 1908.

In the summer of 1908, CBH began painting pictures of fruits and flowers for the seed catalogs of Luther Burbank⁶², an internationally famous and immensely successful horticulturist, whose farms were in Santa Rosa, Calif. CBH sketched at the farms in 1908, and in the summer of 1909, and appears to have finished some of the paintings at home. By 20 Nov. 1909, CBH completed 20 illustrations for Burbank, for which he received a total of \$1,015.00 in at least two payments.⁶³

Among the illustrations for Burbank are a series of seven colorful paintings of some of Burbank's fruit and berry cultivars. In 1982, the Luther Burbank Home and Gardens in Santa Rosa, issued "Artistry With Plants" (Anonymous, 1982), a group of high-quality reproductions (each 8 × 10" [20.3 × 25.4 mm]) of these paintings printed on firm paper and suitable for framing, together with a card, describing each cultivar

⁶²Mar. 1849–11 Apr. 1926. Burbank was survived by his wife, who willed his historic home in Santa Rosa, Calif., to the city. It is now a nonprofit organization listed as the Luther Burbank Home & Gardens.

⁶³Library of Congress, Manuscript Division, Papers of Luther Burbank (General Correspondence), Box 6, Folder H, miscellaneous, 1907–16.

and brief biographies of Burbank and CBH. These seven prints appear to be the only CBH paintings that have been reproduced individually and intended for sale and display.⁶⁴ As of March 2009, the individual prints were still available. See also Anonymous (1982) in section "CBH's Non-Ichthyological Illustrations in Publications by Other Authors."

Claire Hudson (later, CHB), CBH's daughter of his second marriage, was born in early 1910⁶⁵, about the time of the building of the Hudson's permanent home at 317 Alder St, Pacific Grove, Calif. The 1910 Census report, entered 12 May, indicates that CBH, his wife Claire, Lester (age 15, son of CBH's first marriage), and both children of his present marriage were residents at the Alder St home.

In early 1910⁶⁶, CBH illustrated three species of California salmonid fishes in color for the California Fish and Game Commission at the request of Charles A. Vogelsang, Chief Deputy of the commission. These illustrations are signed, dated, and presently framed and hanging in the commission offices in Sacramento. A fourth painting, of a Chinook salmon, clearly done by CBH, but unsigned and undated, is also present and framed in the commission offices. We suspect it was painted about the same time as the other three, as all the correspondence listed between Vogelsang and CBH in SQBMS is dated 1910.

⁶⁴We exclude CBH's 1901 paintings of Hawaiian fishes and his 1904 paintings of salmonid fishes, which were issued as postcards, variously, by the Bishop Museum (beginning in the early 1900's) and the Steinhart Aquarium beginning about 1923, as well as the poster for the 1985 Smithsonian "Drawn from the Sea" exhibition, which included 11 illustrations of fishes, two by CBH, and the *Cosmopolitan* magazine advertisement poster of Sept. 1895, reprinted in recent years and currently available for purchase by the New York City Public Library.

⁶⁵The Social Security Death Index (SSDI) has her birth date as 30 Dec. 1912, but the 1910 Census, indicates she was 3 months old at the time of enumeration, 12 May 1910, therefore born in Feb. 1910). According to the SSDI, she died on 26 Mar. 2007, based on information from her death certificate.

⁶⁶CHBMS entry, "1/14/1910: Chas. A. Vogelsang letter to CBH enclosing a check for three colored drawings of Rainbow, Steelhead and Eastern Brook Trout..."