

The Sincerest Form of Flattery: Grace Hudson's *Little Mendocino* and Its Many Copies

by Karen Holmes

As autumn turned to winter in 1895, something of a scandal brewed in San Francisco's art world. The general public became aware of it via an exposé in the December 8 issue of the *San Francisco Chronicle*. Entitled "An Imitation of 'Little Mendocino,' It Makes Trouble in Art Circles. A Local Dealer's Scheme," the article revealed that displayed in the window of "a Grant Avenue store" was an oil painting by a 30-year-old artist from California named Grace Carpenter Hudson, whose star was on the rise. Her 36" x 26" canvas was called *Little Mendocino*. It portrayed a Mendocino County Pomo Indian baby sobbing with palpable misery, laced in its traditional cradle basket and propped against a redwood tree. The painting bore a \$1000 price tag and was owned by "Colonel" Marcus H. Hecht, a prominent San Francisco businessman and civic leader, who had presumably put it up for sale. The scandal arose from the fact that alongside Hudson's original had been a nearly identical copy by an unidentified painter, priced at a mere \$150.

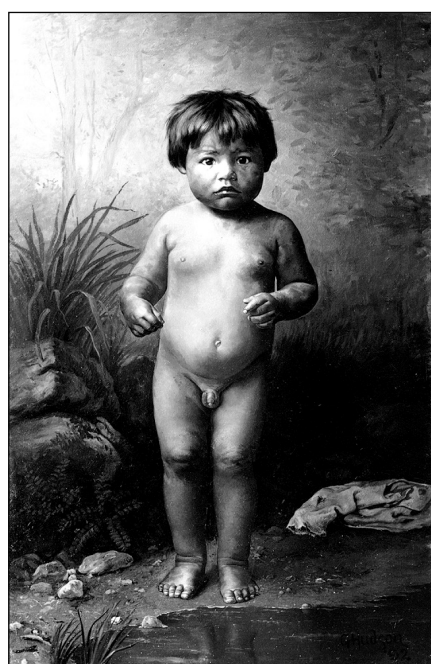
As the newspaper article pointed out, the artists of the city were angered "over what they regard as unjust treatment of one of their number by a local exhibitor and dealer." It was further explained that other "exhibitors, quite a number of them, seem to think the grievance a just one, and are rather caustic in their criticisms." The juxtaposition of the copy with the original at a fraction of the price was considered an insult to Hudson, who first portrayed the rather unusual subject matter and brought it to fruition in a masterly way. Those in San Francisco's artistic community felt that to undermine the originality and the monetary value of her work was "a gross breach of the proprieties." After complaints were made, the original was removed from the store window. With a hint of intrigue the article continued, "The identity of the imitator and how he obtained the opportunity to make a copy of the picture are questions which a number of artists would like to have answered. The dealer knows, but does not care to talk."¹

An Artistic Life Begins

Grace Hudson, née Carpenter, was born on February 21, 1865, in Potter Valley, Cali-



Grace Hudson, *Little Mendocino*, (#5), 1892, oil on canvas, 36" x 26". California Historical Society, Gift of the San Francisco Art Institute, the Bridgeman Art Library.



Grace Hudson, *The Interrupted Bath*, (#4), 1892, oil on canvas, 38 1/4" x 22 1/4". Collection of the Monterey Museum of Art, Monterey, California. Bequest of Mr. & Mrs. W.R. Holman. Photo courtesy of the Grace Hudson Museum & Sun House, Ukiah, California.

fornia, some 130 miles north of San Francisco in rural Mendocino County. Grace entered the world with a twin brother, Louis Grant Carpenter (known as "Grant"), and together they joined an older sister named May. Grace's parents, Helen McCowen Carpenter and Aurelius Orlando "A.O." Carpenter, were enterprising and creative.



Grace and John Hudson around the time of their marriage, circa 1890, Aurelius O. Carpenter, photographer. Photo courtesy of the Grace Hudson Museum & Sun House, Ukiah, California.



The Carpenter family, circa 1873, Aurelius O. Carpenter, photographer. Standing at rear, May Carpenter. Seated, left to right: Helen, Grant, Frank, Grace, and Aurelius Orlando "A.O." Carpenter. A.O. Carpenter took this family portrait via a camera shutter release bulb he held behind Grace's back. Photo courtesy of the Grace Hudson Museum & Sun House, Ukiah, California.

Among the first white settlers in Potter Valley in the late 1850's, they came by way of Kansas Territory, where A.O. had served alongside revolutionary leader John Brown in the fight to secure Kansas's entry into the Union as a state free from slavery and where A.O.'s mother, Clarina Nichols, sought to get improved rights for women written into the state's constitution. Once in California, Helen taught school while A.O. ranched and worked as a newspaperman.²

The Carpenters found the native Pomo Indians of Potter Valley suffering because of the arrival of white pioneers into their ancestral territory. As the endlessly appearing newcomers continued to take the most fertile land in the valley for themselves, the Indians were increasingly in distress and on the brink of starvation. Many of their traditional ways of life became unsustainable. The members of the Carpenter family were sensitive to the local Indians' plight, and helped them in what ways they could. A cordial, if paternalistic, relationship developed between the family and their indigenous neighbors, many of whom were frequent visitors to the Carpenter homestead.

Today considered among the most accomplished basket makers in the world, the Pomo peoples and their striking basket weaving interested the Carpenter family. Helen and Grace would eventually collect notable examples of their beautiful work. The baskets were made of native plants such as sedge, bulrush, and redbud, while some of the more lavishly decorated examples were embellished with feathers and beads or enhanced with dangles of abalone and clamshell. Throughout her childhood, Grace keenly observed these cultural artifacts and the people who made them, building visual memories and social connections that would serve her well in the years to come.³

At age four, Grace moved with her family to the county seat in nearby Ukiah, where a final Carpenter child, Frank, was born. While Helen and A.O. ventured jointly into a new profession—studio photography—Grace finished grammar school and devoted a good portion of her spare time to drawing with noticeable skill. As no high school existed in Ukiah in the late 1870's, the Carpenters sent their children elsewhere for secondary education. Grace attended a



Grace Hudson, *National Thorn*, (#1), 1891, oil on canvas, 30" x 30". Grace Hudson Museum & Sun House, Ukiah, California. Photo courtesy of the Grace Hudson Museum & Sun House.

high school in San Francisco, although it is unclear how long she was enrolled there. Because of the artistic talent that she and her parents knew she possessed, after a short time she was registered at the prestigious San Francisco School of Design, probably in early 1879 at about the time of her 14th birthday.⁴

The school of design was founded by the members of the San Francisco Art Association (SFAA), which had formed in 1871 for the "promotion of painting, sculpture, and fine arts akin thereto," for "the diffusion of a cultivated taste for art in the community at large," and most significantly for "the establishment of an academy or school of design." Officially organized on December 31, 1873, the new art school was the first of its kind west of the Mississippi. Around the time of Carpenter's initial enrollment, it had approximately 60 students and was under the management of the SFAA and the directorship of painter Virgil Williams.⁵

At the school, Grace learned to draw from casts and sculptures, eventually moving on to live models. She also painted in a variety of media and benefited from *plein air* classes. By the end of 1881, the SFAA awarded her the highly coveted Alvord Gold Medal for best full-length study in crayon from a cast. Oscar Kunath, Grace's portrait teacher at the school of design, later commented to her that he always remembered her with pleasure as the "most talented pupil I ever had."⁶

Vivacious teenaged Grace enjoyed her time in San Francisco, reveling in the fashions and social possibilities offered in the cosmopolitan city. A petite, attractive brunette with a sprinkling of freckles across her face, she drew her fair share of beaux, including fellow painting student Edward Espey. Other long-lasting friendships developed during her art school days included those with the deaf artist Theophilus d'Estrella and landscape painter Lorenzo P. Latimer.

In addition to her schoolwork, Grace helped her parents in their photography business by hand-tinting portraits that they sent to her at the various boarding houses in San Francisco where she lived throughout her student days. She continued this practice during school vacations and holidays back home in Ukiah, where she also picked up ideas about lighting and composition by observing the workings of the family photo studio.

Though Grace's art school records did not survive the 1906 earthquake and fire in San Francisco, it is likely that her attendance there ended with the final term of 1883.⁷ She returned to Ukiah in December of that year under somewhat strained circumstances. She had fallen in love with William T. Davis, a real estate and money broker, who was 15 years her senior and the father of a child. As her parents became aware of the seriousness of their daughter's relationship, they increasingly showed their disapproval. They did not encourage 18-year-old Grace to return after the holidays to the city, where it would be much easier for her to

entertain visits from her suitor.

To complicate matters, Edward Espey was still interested in her and was due to return soon from his continued art studies at the Académie Julian in Paris. If she pressed for a formal engagement with Davis, whose finances and future were questionable, she would lose Espey, a promising young painter whom her parents much preferred.⁸ Grace spent the spring and summer living at home, traveling locally with her family, helping in the studio, and trying to decide between her two admirers. She did make up her mind, and by the fall she was back in San Francisco. Much to Helen and A.O.'s dismay, Grace eloped with Davis in September 1884.

Little is known about the groom or the marriage, other than that it was short-lived. Only 27 months later, by December of 1886, the couple's divorce was finalized. Mrs. Grace Davis, as she was now known, had returned by this time to Ukiah. There she helped out in her parents' photography studio and gave art lessons in her own small atelier that her parents built for her on their property.

Grace's own artistic output dwindled to a period of relative inactivity following her divorce, and few examples of her work remain bearing a "Grace Davis" signature. She remained young and talented, however, and soon met the man who would provide the direction, partnership, and encouragement she needed to help establish her art career.

Lasting Marriage and Early Career

John Wilz Napier Hudson arrived in California from Nashville, Tennessee, in 1889. He was trained as a medical doctor, but his true passion was ethnography. He found work as a physician for the newly extended San Francisco and North Pacific Railroad Company that had its terminus and medical office in Ukiah. A tall, handsome bachelor, he was a welcome addition to Ukiah society, and he came across Grace and her relatives often at the small town's gatherings. Having left Nashville in part to escape his conventional and conservative family, who expected him to be a doctor just as his father had been, Hudson found that in many ways the Carpenters were everything his own family was not. Charmed by bohemian Grace and intrigued by her progressive parents, John was accepted on his own merits in a way that he hadn't quite been accepted by his own family in Tennessee. Within a year Grace and John wed, this time with the full approval of Helen and A.O. Carpenter.

Through the Carpenters, Hudson discovered a wealth of information regarding Indian basketry and culture. He also greatly benefited from their longstanding connections to local Native families, which provided him with a foundation for his own cultural and linguistic studies. John joined Grace in her interest in basketry. Over the course of several years and with her help, he developed a sizeable and much-admired basket collection, which was comprehensive in style and function. As for the career of his bride, he became her champion, urging her to focus her paintings on the Pomo people, with whom she was so familiar.

As Native Americans across the country continued to suffer the debilitating cultural effects of years of war, disease, and dislocation, Grace and John Hudson genuinely believed that the local Pomo peoples were on the verge of extinction. Though they felt it their duty to preserve and record all they could about them, they were also well placed to take advantage of a growing national nostalgic interest in "all things Indian," as Native ways of life disappeared. Both were astute enough to realize that Grace could make a professional name for herself portraying a subject matter that no other artist at that time was attempting to depict.⁹

Working out of her studio, modestly remodeled to serve additionally as the Hudsons' home, Grace now started



Unframed *Little Mendocino*, 1893, Aurelius O. Carpenter, photographer. This image closely resembles the one on which so many of the *Little Mendocino* copies seem to be based or overpainted. Photo courtesy of the Grace Hudson Museum & Sun House, Ukiah, California.



Anonymous, *Little Mendocino* copy, unknown date, oil on panel, 9 3/4" x 7 3/4". Photo from painting file on *Little Mendocino* larger oil copies. Photo courtesy of the Grace Hudson Museum & Sun House, Ukiah, California.

to approach her art in a more systematic manner. In the summer of 1891, she began to keep a "painting diary," in which she planned to record information regarding her oil paintings that she felt were of high quality, complete, and saleable. Numbered "1" in this diary was *National Thorn*, a realistic portrait of a slumbering Pomo baby in a cradle basket, protected by a watchful dog.

The motherly choice of a sleeping Indian child for the painting's focal point did not particularly occur to male artists of the day, and it was one that Hudson would return to consistently throughout her career. Its initial novelty was not lost on H. Jay Smith, the director of the art department of the Minneapolis Industrial Exposition, who happened to be visiting the Hudsons on a Pomo basket buying expedition. When he spied the piece unfinished on Grace's easel, her sensitive portrayal and unusual theme prompted him to make an offer on the painting, with the intent of hanging it at the exposition for sale. Hudson readily agreed.

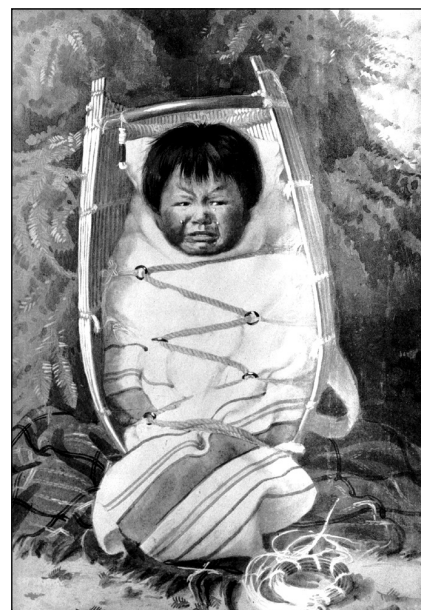
The canvas was very well received in Minneapolis and quickly sold. Its positive publicity paved the way for the display of Grace's second, third, and fourth numbered works at the exposition the following year. Emboldened by her success in the Midwest, Hudson now set her sights on exhibiting at a respected venue closer to home—the annual fair of the Mechanics' Institute of San Francisco.

The Mechanics' Institute and Columbian Exposition Fairs

As California's Gold Rush wound down in the mid-1850's, those formerly attracted to mining sought other ways to make a living that would allow them to remain



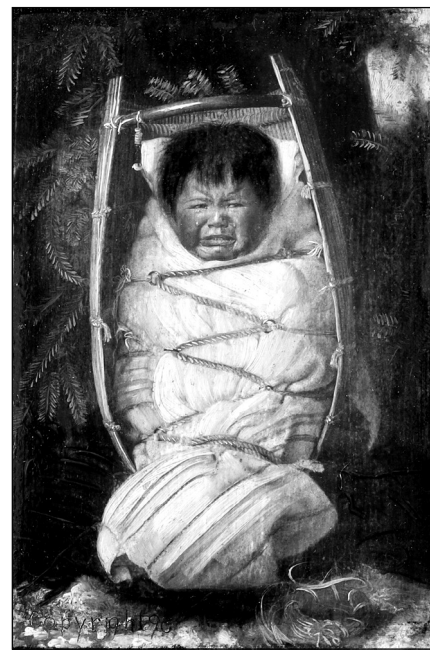
Anonymous, *Little Mendocino* copy, circa 1896, oil over photographic reproduction adhered to panel, 6" x 4". This particular copy has a heavy application of paint around the baby's eyes. It is inscribed "Copyright 96" in the lower left corner. Grace Hudson Museum & Sun House, Ukiah, California. Karen Holmes photo.



Anonymous, *Little Mendocino* copy, unknown date, watercolor, 9 1/2" x 7 1/2". Photo from painting file on *Little Mendocino* watercolor copies. Photo courtesy of the Grace Hudson Museum & Sun House, Ukiah, California.

in the newest state to join the Union. Many saw agriculture as the state's next potential goldmine. Fortunes were also envisioned in the manufacturing of a wide variety of goods to sustain the burgeoning and diverse populace that had previously relied on products brought in at great expense from elsewhere. Yet growth in these areas was hampered by the fact that there were few educational opportunities available in the young state for industrial training. In 1854 a group of likeminded San Franciscans who craved a place for technical instruction, adult education, and the advancement of industries formed a Mechanics' Institute in their city to fill this need. One of its members' earliest goals was to establish a library and reading room, which was soon achieved in a rented building. The institute rapidly became a welcome center for educational, social, and cultural activities in the somewhat wild outpost of San Francisco.¹⁰

Always seeking to enlarge its book collection and membership, and to secure a building of its own, the mechanics' organization soon developed a plan for an annual fundraiser—an industrial fair to promote local manufacturing and agriculture. In keeping with its support of cultural pursuits, the institute encouraged artists and writers to submit works for consideration and exhibition as well. The agricultural and industrial displays, emphasis on technological marvels and inventions, impressive art exhibits, and



Anonymous, *Little Mendocino* copy, circa 1896, oil over photographic reproduction adhered to panel, 6" x 4". Grace Hudson Museum & Sun House Ukiah, California. Karen Holmes photo. Here the paper base of the baby's face is relatively untouched by overpainting. It is inscribed "Copyright 96" in the lower left corner.



Anonymous, *Little Mendocino* copy, unknown date, oil on canvas, 9" x 7". Photo from painting file on *Little Mendocino* copies obviously not by Grace Hudson. Note the "G Hudson" signature in the lower left corner. Photo courtesy of the Grace Hudson Museum & Sun House, Ukiah, California.



Anonymous 1898 print inspired by *Little Mendocino*, approximately 10" x 8". Note the Herrman Cohen copyright information in the lower left corner. Photo from painting file on copies inspired by *Little Mendocino*. Photo courtesy of the Grace Hudson Museum & Sun House, Ukiah, California.

evening band concerts all created a great success for the first Mechanics' Institute Annual Fair and Exposition in 1857.¹¹ Not only did it provide entertainment and enlightenment for the people of San Francisco and environs, but it also showed the world that California was still the land of opportunity and a self-sufficient land of opportunity at that.

By the time Grace Hudson considered submitting her work to the 27th Industrial Exposition of the Mechanics' Institute in 1893, the fairs had become a staple in San Francisco's artistic life. Though a quantity of beginners and "Sunday painters" applied for entry each year, it was generally accepted that the best artists of the city and the region regularly vied for inclusion in its halls. Application to this particular fair offered more opportunity, and thus more competitiveness, than usual. The management of the Mechanics' Institute had teamed with the California World's Fair Commission to sponsor and advertise the fair as a dress rehearsal for the state of California's entry in the World's Fair to be held in Chicago that coming May. The World's Fair, also known as the Columbian Exposition, was planned as a commemoration of the 400th anniversary of Christopher Columbus's arrival in America. A good showing at the Mechanics' fair in San Francisco would smooth the way for exhibition in Chicago. The World's Fair also dictated the timing of the 1893 Mechanics' Institute Fair. In order for its exhibitors and producers to fully prepare for the Columbian Exposition in the Midwest, the Mechanics' Institute moved its own event from its customary opening in the fall to an earlier date in January.¹²

As a young painter at the start of her career, faced with stiff competition and high expectations, Hudson was not confident that her work would be accepted at the Mechanics' Institute Fair. She arrived in San Francisco from Ukiah the beginning of January, leaving behind in her studio her most recently completed canvas, *Little Mendocino*, with its paint still slightly wet. On January 6, John shipped her now "perfectly dry" painting to the San Francisco art supply shop of Sanborn, Vail & Co., presumably for framing. Grace's photographer father took several good pictures of *Little Mendocino* and *The Interrupted Bath* ("Number 4"). Though the latter was passed over, she happily wrote that *Little Mendocino* had been accepted for inclusion. John responded, "Your letter caused universal joy with us—you are a brick, honey... Now for the grand prix on genre. My cup of joy will run over and you will be announced to the Western artistic world."¹⁵

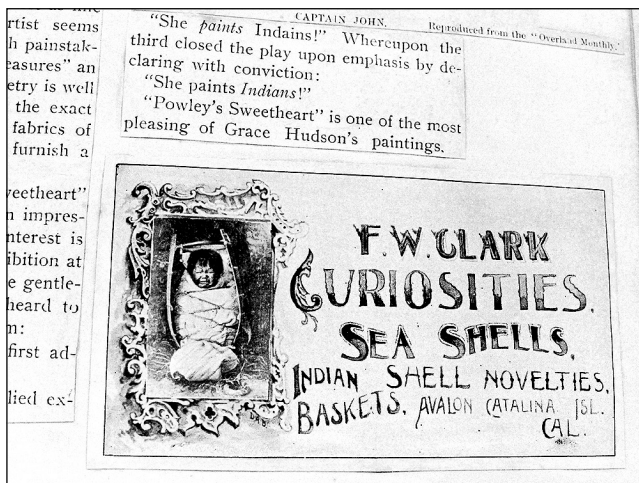
The fine arts division at the fair offered prizes for best figure painting, best portrait, and best genre painting. The Hudsons felt that *Little Mendocino* best fit this last category. Its subject matter of a cradled baby with coiled basket-making materials at its feet, whose mother was going about her daily chores (albeit outside the picture frame), struck them as representative of the everyday life of many of the Pomo people they knew. John and Grace hoped that Grace would secure "the best genre painting" award—a silver medal and its

accompanying prize of \$25. Although the prizewinners in the fine arts division were not to be announced for several weeks, the Hudsons were increasingly optimistic about Grace's chances as it became clear that *Little Mendocino* was proving very popular with critics and the crowds at the fair. Family friend Gene Warfield later recounted a possibly apocryphal story that the painting was moved from a neglected corner of the exhibition gallery to a prime location better able to accommodate the throngs always viewing it.¹⁶ The *San Francisco Call* termed it "a distinct success" and praised its ability to please from a distance and upon close inspection, while the *Ukiah City Press*, in an outburst of support for a hometown denizen, referred to it as "Mrs. Hudson's already famous picture" and claimed that "connoisseurs pronounce it the best painting on exhibition."¹⁷

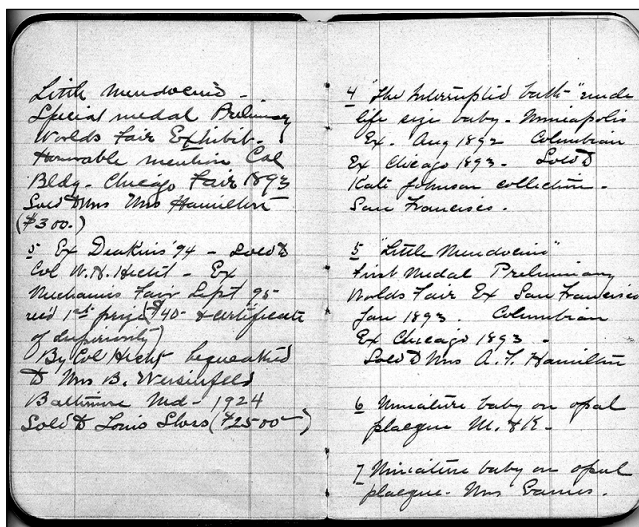
As interest in *Little Mendocino* grew, Grace found her-



Fine Pomo basketry collected by John and Grace Hudson, circa 1893, Aurelius O. Carpenter, photographer. Photo courtesy of the Grace Hudson Museum & Sun House, Ukiah, California.



Page from Grace Hudson's scrapbook about her artistic career, circa 1896. Grace Hudson Museum & Sun House, Ukiah, California. Karen Holmes photo.



Grace Hudson's painting diary, with entries regarding *Little Mendocino*, various dates. Grace Hudson Museum & Sun House, Ukiah, California. Karen Holmes photo.

self in great demand by San Francisco socialites, collectors, and the managers preparing California's entries for the World's Fair. John, who was hoping to find buyers for their basket collection, now began to view his wife's vocation and his own avocation of ethnography in a new light.¹⁸ "How much I would like to be with you now sweetheart," he wrote to Grace from Ukiah. "Go to your booth every night and watch the people and meet new faces, talk baskets and art... [F]rom what I saw in the art gallery in front of your picture I feel you have made a reputation worth thousands to any artist even if you don't get a prize and a crown..." I agree of course with general opinion that you have made a reputation and you should profit by it in all these requests and propositions. Six months ago either of us would gladly accept any of them, but now both our exhibits are known, admired and sought after so that we can make the conditions not they."¹⁹

As the days of the fair passed, the Hudsons began discussing Grace's next career move. Interest in displaying both *Little Mendocino* and *The Interrupted Bath* at the Chicago World's Fair came from two women prominent in the organization and management of exhibits of women's work there. Mrs. Frona Eunice Wait, on the National Board of Lady Managers for the World's Fair, desired that the paintings be shown in the California Room of the Woman's Building, while conversely, Mrs. E.O. Smith, on the California State Board of Lady Managers, envisioned them in a room of



Little Mendocino is shown displayed on an easel at the World's Columbian Exposition. This picture is from the California World's Fair Commission's *Final Report of the California World's Fair Commission, Including a Description of All Exhibits from the State of California, Collected and Maintained Under Legislative Enactments, at the World's Columbian Exposition, Chicago, 1893* (Sacramento: State Office, A.J. Johnston, Supt. State Printing, 1894), facing page 58.



A variety of picture postcards featuring *Little Mendocino*, 1908-18. Grace Hudson Museum & Sun House, Ukiah, California. Karen Holmes photo.

When the fine arts winners were announced, however, their hopes were dashed. Young Ernest C. Peixotto secured the prize for best genre painting in oil, the judges having deemed that Grace's work was not actually a genre painting but a figure painting. Mary Curtis Richardson won in that category. John fumed, "Don't feel hurt at losing a prize but for being misjudged through ignorance or design. Your picture cannot be a figure painting, only the face is seen... Perhaps after all dear they may give you a special medal—don't bother if they don't."²¹

There was indeed a provision in fair's rules, set out before the fair began, which allowed for "any meritorious article on exhibition" to be considered for awards, even those not falling within the approved prize categories.²² With this in mind, and with the close of the fair only about eight days away, Grace swallowed her initial disappointment and concentrated on the future. She knew from the overwhelmingly positive response to *Little Mendocino* that the likelihood of her being able to sell that work was good. John suggested that she place both *Little Mendocino* and *The Interrupted Bath* at the Post Street galleries of art dealers Morris & Kennedy after the close of the fair while she decided where they were to be

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displayed in Chicago. Perhaps they would sell in the interim.²³

In the end, the Hudsons' belief in Grace's talent was vindicated. At the closing of the fair she received a special silver medal for *Little Mendocino*. She left her paintings for sale with Morris & Kennedy and returned home in triumph to Ukiah around February 20, truly changed by her experience at the Mechanics' Institute Fair. Her name was now known, and inclusion at the World's Fair was guaranteed. Her career was launched in earnest.

Within weeks, dealer William Morris wrote to Grace in Ukiah to inform her that one of her friends, San Francisco heiress Julia Shafter Hamilton, was the new owner of *Little Mendocino*, purchasing it for \$300, minus a 15% commission.²⁴

Mrs. Hamilton was the daughter of the respected California judge James McMillan Shafter, recently deceased, who had developed the town of Inverness. Julia's parents dated their connection with the Carpenter family back to Vermont, where they had lived near Grace's paternal grandmother and respected women's rights activist Clarina Nichols. Because of this special relationship, Julia now took more than an ordinary collector's interest in Grace's budding career. She sent out invitations to a tea on March 30 in Grace's honor to introduce Hudson and her work to Julia's wealthy friends. The event made the society pages in the *San Francisco Chronicle* the next day.²⁵

Though Hamilton now owned *Little Mendocino*, she gladly allowed Hudson to send it off to the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago, which Hudson did, along with *The Interrupted Bath*. In deciding where to display her paintings once there, Grace heeded John's sentiments that Frona Eunice Wait was indiscriminating and only out to make a name for herself as a decorator.²⁶ Grace decided in favor of Mrs. E.O. Smith's proposal to display her works in the Woman's Department, located in the northwest corner of the second floor of the California Building.

Thanks to a thorough description of California exhibitions and an accompanying photograph of Grace's exhibition space in a report of the California World's Fair Commission, it is known that the ambitious Woman's Department measured some 2200 square feet and was divided into three parts: the Eschscholtzia or Poppy Room, painted in the yellow-orange tones of the California poppy and filled with objects and paintings in honor of that state flower; the Wildflower Room, with walls of olive green silk, hung with botanical paintings and collections; and the remaining space of about 80' in length, dedicated to a variety of creative work by women from throughout California. This final gallery opened on one long side to a large lightwell-like space that rose from the ground floor to the skylight above, bordered only by a balustrade to prevent viewers from tumbling into thin air. It was here, in front of a palm frond-decorated support beam close to the balustrade, that *Little Mendocino* was prominently displayed on a freestanding easel. Though the adjacent "Art Gallery" room, which ran the width of the second floor at a right angle to the Woman's Department, displayed the work of better-known California painters such as Thomas Hill and William Keith, Hudson's *Little Mendocino* reached a broader audience, being more visible from many points within the California Building.²⁷

Unfortunately John missed the fortuitous display. He remained behind in Ukiah to pursue the sale of the Hudson basket collection and ready it for display at the California Midwinter International Exposition at San Francisco's Golden Gate Park in January 1894.²⁸

Grace did attend the World's Fair in Illinois, where she sought to keep an eye on her work, gain artistic inspiration, and soak up the exciting and educational atmosphere there. As at the Mechanics' Institute fair, her painting received enthusiastic response, and Grace was extremely pleased to receive an honorable mention

for it at the Columbian Exposition. As the *Ukiah Dispatch and Democrat* noted, "Coming in competition, as it did, with the greatest paintings of the masters of the world, this honorable mention is a recognition of Mrs. Hudson's work of which she may well feel proud."²⁹

Grace stayed some weeks with relatives in the Chicago area in the late summer while she searched for a reputable dealer for her work in that city. Already so far from home, Grace took advantage of her return trip to meet John's family for the first time in Nashville, Tennessee. At John's suggestion, while there she placed one of her paintings in a show window downtown, where it attracted much attention, but it is unknown if this work was *Little Mendocino*.³⁰

Hudson was back in California by November, at the end of the World's Fair and an event-filled year that had often found her away from her studio. As a result, her 1893 artistic output was limited for the most part to small and miniature pieces that she could turn out with relative ease. Notably, that year Grace listed "Number 14" in her painting diary as "Miniature copy of Little Mendocino," and its owner as personal friend Captain C.B. Johnson, but no image or further provenance on this piece has ever been found.³¹

In keeping with the smaller works of 1893, illustration assignments for the popular San Francisco-based periodical *Overland Monthly* kept Grace increasingly busy around this time. She had produced artwork for seven of its articles within the preceding 16 months and continued her work for the magazine in 1894 and 1895.³² During those two years, she traveled less and so was able to finish 36 canvases of varying sizes. By December 1895, her painting diary bore a total of 53 entries for paintings completed since she began her professional career with *National Thorn* in 1891. In addition, several articles appearing in national publications profiled her working methods and subject matter.³³

The Copies of Little Mendocino

The energy Grace Hudson poured into her career in the first half of the 1890's led to her fame and recognition. Her success was helped by her drive but ultimately was the outcome of impressive talent and training. It was also enhanced by her choice of subject matter, which proved timely, since as Native cultures were increasingly decimated across the U.S., collectors, scholars, and other members of the art world began to show an interest in what was being lost. The fever for Indian basket collecting was one expression of this interest; the marketability of paintings on Native themes was another.³⁴ For Grace Hudson, as is the case for many successful people, others sought to achieve something of her success through imitation of her work. The most blatant imitator was the painter behind the previously mentioned copy of *Little Mendocino*, displayed in a Grant Avenue store window in San Francisco in 1895.

As reported in the *San Francisco Chronicle*, the details surrounding this first documented copy are vague. Neither the artist nor the dealer nor the dealer's store is named. The dealer was quoted as remarking, "An artist said to me that he could paint just as good a picture of an Indian baby as Mrs. Hudson could. I did not believe it, but I told him he could try it, as I wanted to see what he could do... All the old masters are copied. Besides, we had the copy photographed, thinking we could sell the pictures, but they did not sell. I am going to take the picture home. Colonel Hecht is abroad, and knows nothing about the copy having been made."³⁵

A week later, on December 15, 1895, the *Chronicle* reported for the second time on the *Little Mendocino* brouhaha. It maintained its silence on the identity of the offending dealer, only noting cryptically that *Little Mendocino*, "by the way,

was not exhibited at Schussler's," by this referring to Schussler Brothers, a major gallery and art supply store at 27 Grant Avenue. The second story did name the copyist. "Theophilus Reichard, the Eastern artist, who has only been in San Francisco eighteen months, was the man who copied the picture." According to the paper, Reichard claimed he had also touched up the original for Hecht, perhaps in preparation for its sale, and noted that famous paintings were regularly copied and sold. In a bit of self-promotion he added, "Sometimes the copies are better than the originals. I can't see that it reflects either on the painter or the artist who copies."³⁶

The details of what Grace Hudson did next, in response to this unsanctioned reproduction of her work, have become faint and confused with the passage of time. The confusion partly stems from the

There are a surprising number of other Little Mendocino copies in existence.

fact that beyond Reichard's imitation (currently unlocated), there are a surprising number of other *Little Mendocino* copies in existence by unidentified artists, the bulk of them dating from the last five years of the 19th century. Though the total number of extant copies is unknown, several facsimiles of the painting, of varying quality, reliably appear annually on the contemporary art market.

Just as reliably, every year the staff at the Grace Hudson Museum & Sun House, in Ukiah, California, receives communications from owners and potential owners of these artworks nationwide, inquiring as to their value, authenticity, and history.³⁷ Sorting out whether any are by Grace Hudson's hand, and how and why so many copies were made, has become a matter of great interest not only for those charged with caring for her work and artistic reputation after her death, but also for collectors and dealers intent on owning a genuine Grace Hudson.

As referred to earlier, some details about the early reproduction of *Little Mendocino* are known. Grace Hudson's father, A.O. Carpenter, photographed the original before it left her studio for exhibition at the Mechanics' Institute fair in 1893. In the process, he produced several glass plate negatives from which any number of contact prints could be made. It can be surmised that photographs taken of these contact prints could have been made and printed in various sizes by A.O. Carpenter or other photographers. Grace Hudson painted at least one copy herself in 1893, numbered "14" in her painting diary and noted as a miniature. It was almost certainly an oil and its whereabouts is unknown. Theophilus Reichard made the copy of it that was displayed in San Francisco in 1895; and the unnamed dealer in whose shop window Reichard's work was exhibited claimed to have photographed the copy to make photo reproductions for sale, the sizes of which are not noted. Beyond these known facts are a number of tales, rumors, and clues that when examined help flesh out our understanding of the origins of the many copies of *Little Mendocino*.

The copies tend to fall into five general categories. The first and most common comprises approximately 6" x 4" (postcard-size) oils. In these examples, paint is applied with varying degrees of success over a photographic reproduction on paper, usually sepia toned, of the original (or perhaps Reichard's copy of) *Little Mendocino*. The overlying paint is usually thick enough that it is difficult to detect the underlying paper reproduction, although often the paint is thinner—or almost nonexistent—over the baby's features, depending instead on the photograph beneath to provide facial details. This is likely a sign that the copyist had limited ability in rendering a human face. The paper base is usually adhered to a redwood panel, and there is often some variation of "copyright '96" painted or etched into the paint at the bottom of the

work. The owners of several of these copies have relayed the oral history that they were gifts from Grace Hudson (or sold by her) to an ancestor or earlier owner. These copies may or may not sport a "G Hudson," "GH," or other related signature. Hudson herself almost exclusively signed her professional work "G Hudson."

The second category consists of approximately 9" x 7" reproductions in oil, sometimes painted over a paper photographic base, though at least one lithograph without any paint applied on top of it has surfaced. The copyright information, signature, and backing are inconsistent but in keeping with the variety found in category one.

Category three features pieces executed in watercolor and/or gouache on paper and tend to be approximately 9" x 7". These are often quite skillfully rendered and may or may not be painted over a photo layer. Again, signatures and copyright information are varied. The best of these could be by Grace Hudson's hand, but there is no corroborating proof of that.

Perhaps the most entertaining is the fourth category, consisting of obvious fakes. These are not painted over photographs, are usually oils, but include odd media such as wood burning on hides or the use of a redwood burl as the painting base. Imitation signatures and copyright information may or may not be present.

Finally there is the fifth category, that of a variation on the *Little Mendocino* theme. These works reflect a true pastiche of cultures and surroundings and are executed in oil and in watercolor. The focal point is not a Pomo baby in a cradle basket but a generic American Indian child strapped to a cradleboard. At the foot of the cradleboard is a Southwestern basket, rather than Pomo basket-making materials, while the tree against which the cradleboard rests may be a redwood or a pine, under which are pinecones and/or California poppies. The works in this category cannot be considered copies or fakes. They have been inspired by the subject matter of *Little Mendocino* and generally do not bear a replica of Hudson's signature, though owners and potential owners of these works usually want to attribute them to her.

Beyond the works in the above categories are pieces that use the *Little Mendocino* baby as a device to market or advertise something or as a decorative element in a larger context. These include greeting or holiday cards in a true picture postcard format that date to the first two decades of the 20th century, when picture postcards were experiencing a boom in popularity. Whether Grace approved these commercial applications of her painting is unknown. Ever the astute businesswoman, she would have seen the marketing potential for commercial picture postcards when they made their American debut as souvenirs at the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago in 1893.³⁸

Because Grace Hudson was such an accomplished draftswoman, it is easy to discredit the authenticity of many of the painted copies because of their poor quality and shabby technique. The question remains, however, whether she sanctioned the photographic reproductions on which so many of the copies are overpainted. It should be mentioned that these photo reproductions bear a very close resemblance to Hudson's *Little Mendocino*. If they are photographs of Reichard's copy, then that copy would have been very good indeed, but because the photos bear such a close resemblance to Grace's own painting, there is a possibility that they are photographs of her original. It could be that contrary to the Grant Avenue dealer's statement that he photographed the Reichard copy, he actually may have photographed Hudson's original. This is an action that Grace would surely have forbidden.

Who was this dealer on Grant Avenue? Though research has yet to positively identify him, many of the 6" x 4" copies, in particular, have a "Herrman Cohen" label affixed to their backs. This firm is advertised under various headings

in Langley's *San Francisco Directory for the Year 1895* as an importer of mirrors and frames, a purveyor of artists' materials and moldings, a manufacturer of picture and looking glass frames, and most importantly, a dealer in pictures and engravings. Its address was 19 Grant Avenue. No other concern handling art and artists' needs was located on this street, aside from Schussler Brothers, which as previously mentioned, the *Chronicle* article pointedly noted was not home to the offending dealer. It is quite possible that Herrman Cohen, or whoever was the dealer in charge at the firm, is one source for the photographic reproductions and even sold such reproductions with paint on their surfaces. Whether or not Reichard was involved or continued to have a hand in painting *Little Mendocino* copies of any size is unknown.³⁹

Another possible source for the copies, of course, is Grace Hudson herself. Unsubstantiated rumors persist that she purchased existing unauthorized photo reproductions and painted over them to protest the theft of her work and to lay claim to her own creation. Naturally she would have resented that others profited from her work and would have sought to halt damage to her reputation due to poorly done copies passed off as her own paintings. There is also the possibility that she herself produced or commissioned reproductions, either in response to bootleg versions or as a way to keep her work fresh in the public's eye. She certainly had access to the glass plate negatives of the original *Little Mendocino*, created by her father, from which other versions could be made. It is important to note, however, that no concrete evidence has been found that confirms Hudson's involvement in bulk production of copies.

There are tantalizing stories, though, such as that connected to one *Little Mendocino* copy in the possession of the California State Parks' Courthouse Museum at the Shasta State Historic Park, near Redding. According to that museum's donor files, its *Little Mendocino* copy was a gift to the museum from Mae Helene Bacon Boggs. Boggs was a patron of the arts, an Indian basket collector, and very actively involved in organizing the 1915 Panama-Pacific International Exposition, particularly its art exhibits, in San Francisco. Boggs, who later donated her collection of California art to the Courthouse Museum (including the *Little Mendocino* copy) is thought by Courthouse Museum staff to have received her painted postcard-size *Little Mendocino* as a gift from Grace Hudson herself. Unfortunately, as of this writing, the corroborating documentation to confirm this has been misplaced. It is certain, however, that Boggs did know John Hudson through basket collecting activities and was comfortable in artistic circles.⁴⁰

If giving *Little Mendocino* copies to friends and appreciative acquaintances was a habit of the Hudsons, Grace may well have had a stockpile of reproductions to paint over and hand out, perhaps in a variety of sizes. It is known that Hudson did send photos of her works, unadorned with overpainting, to friends and family members. She also could have sold, rather than given, some of her own painted copies, as the previously noted oral histories connected to the 6" x 4" oils suggest. Ultimately, though, the variable quality of the overpainting on many of the copies would indicate that Grace was not the source of all, or even many, of the reproductions.

Copyright Matters

"Copyright '96" is inscribed in the lower left corner of the painting in the Courthouse Museum. Many of the copies, particularly the postcard-size versions, bear a similar inscription. Through the years, those interested in Grace's career have assumed that she began legally copyrighting her work in response to Reichard's theft of her Indian baby image in 1895. It seemed logical that she would start pursuing copyright protection the following year, in 1896. A recent search of copyright registrations for the years

1892-97 revealed no such registration by Grace Hudson for paintings entitled *Little Mendocino* or *Crying Indian Baby* or any similar moniker. Nor is there any painting, photograph, or print registered under a similar title nor in fact any likely registration by either Theophilus Reichard or Herrman Cohen.

The "copyright '96" designation, then, does not seem to reflect any legal registration of copyright for the original or the copies of *Little Mendocino*. Nonetheless, Grace Hudson would have been aware of the necessary steps to take in the copyright process, for the search through the registrations revealed that one of her friends, photographer Floride Green, and her own father, A.O. Carpenter, copyrighted photographs in 1896.⁴¹

The concept of a painter copyrighting his or her own work evolved slowly. The original U.S. Copyright Act, passed by Congress in May 1790, essentially defined copyright as the right of American citizens to make copies of their original works of authorship via printing or reprinting as well as the right to publish and sell the copies or to assign these rights of copying to another. Though these rights existed naturally for a creator of a work from the moment he or she created it, registration of the work with the appropriate agencies provided enhanced protection if one wished to bring forth a lawsuit for infringement.

Initially, the U.S. Copyright Act specified only authors of maps, charts, and books as qualifying for protection under the law. Subsequent supplementary acts, amendments, and revisions broadened the categories of articles considered copyrightable to include those of photographs and photographic negatives in 1865 but did not include paintings until 1870. The relative novelty of painters thinking to copyright their works is further evidenced by the fact that, even by 1878, of the approximately 15,800 copyrighted publications of all types entered in the Office of the Librarian of Congress for that year, only 13 were paintings.⁴²

Though long described as one of the earliest American painters to file copyrights for her works, Grace Hudson did not begin noting in her painting diary any copyright registrations for her paintings until 1906. The earliest example at the Grace Hudson Museum of a Hudson oil painting with any inscription on its surface regarding copyright is *Rosa's Baby in Basket* ("Number 225"), painted in 1903. This does not exclude the possibility that notice of copyright exists on the backs of some of her canvases, hidden by backing materials, though this is not true for the original *Little Mendocino*.⁴³ In any case, it does not seem likely that Hudson seriously began registering her works until after the turn of the century, some 30 years following the granting of copyright protection for paintings under U.S. law.

It is still a mystery, then, why "Copyright '96" appears on so many of the *Little Mendocino* copies. The answer may lie in two connected court cases regarding the copyrighting of paintings that were in the news in 1894 (*Werckmeister v. Pierce & Bushnell Mfg. Co.*, 63 Fed. Rep. 445) and in 1896 (*Pierce & Bushnell Mfg. Co. v. Werckmeister*, 72 Fed. Rep. 54). Both cases concerned vague language in the Copyright Act and its statutes and the resulting possible interpretations of that language. These possible interpretations were sufficiently confusing that the cases were still in discussion a decade later, when a similar case came to trial.⁴⁴



Grace Hudson, circa 1897, Aurelius O. Carpenter, photographer. This photo illustrated the article "The California Indian on Canvas," in *Frank Leslie's Popular Monthly*, (Vol. XLIII, no. 4, April 1897: pp. 380-87), written by Ninetta Eames about Grace Hudson and her career. The article also included a photograph of *Little Mendocino*, which could have aided and inspired copyists. Photo courtesy of the Grace Hudson Museum & Sun House, Ukiah, California.

The decisions in both cases hinged on the presence or absence of the copyright notice—the word copyright followed by the date of registration and the name of the copyright holder. In the first case it was decided that this notice was not needed on an original painting (or its support) for the copyright to be valid but that it was needed on copies of the original. The second case, an appeal by the defendant in the first case, overturned the first ruling with respect to originals. That is, from 1896 forward, statutory copyright was valid only for registered images bearing the copyright notice, whether they were originals or copies. Notice of the appeal appeared in popular trade publications such as *Publishers' Weekly*, where it would have been of interest to artists and copyists.⁴⁵

The "Copyright '96" found on so many *Little Mendocino* copies could have been a result of the appeal, since copyists attempted to make their works look like authentic originals or current as dictated by the latest interpretation of the law. Also, because of the complexity of the two cases and of copyright law in general, the mistaken belief could have continued that simply inscribing copyright information on the surface of copies would provide statutory protection for their creators.

Back to the Original

Though many *Little Mendocino* copies exist, there is only one full-size original oil. It has passed through relatively few hands. Grace Hudson regarded *Little Mendocino* as one of her most important works and kept careful track of its whereabouts in her painting diary. She noted that despite his apparent attempt to sell it at Herrman Cohen's store, Marcus Hecht, its second owner, instead bequeathed it upon his death in 1909 to a "Mrs. B. Weisinfeld" (Grace's spelling) of Baltimore, Maryland. It is not known how Hecht and Weisinfeld were connected, but Hecht spent his youth in Baltimore before joining his brothers in San Francisco in several shoe-manufacturing businesses.⁴⁶

Grace added that Mrs. Weisinfeld sold *Little Mendocino* to Louis Sloss [Jr.] in 1924 for \$2500. This purchase price was over eight times that paid by its first owner, Julia Hamilton, some 30 years

earlier and proof of Hudson's ascent as a professional artist. The notation regarding Sloss's ownership of *Little Mendocino* was the last entry Hudson made in her diary regarding "Number 5" prior to her death at age 72 in 1937.

Sloss was a successful San Francisco businessman and, like his parents, Louis Sloss Sr. and Sarah Greenebaum Sloss, a philanthropist, supporter of the arts, and avid collector of paintings, primarily by California artists. Upon his death in 1933, Sloss Jr. bequeathed his collection of 51 works (including Grace Hudson's *Little Mendocino*) to the San Francisco Art Association (SFAA).⁴⁷ In 1957, because of a lack of adequate exhibition space and care capability, the Sloss collection was lent to the California Historical Society (CHS) in San Francisco, where it fit nicely with the society's mission.

By 1989, the San Francisco Art Institute (the most recent incarnation of the SFAA and its school) reached an agreement with CHS to change the long-term loan to a permanent gift. In the newest chapter of its life, *Little Mendocino*, along with a variety of 19th- and early 20th-century paintings from the CHS collections, now resides at the Autry National Center in Los Angeles through a collaborative agreement reached in 2005 to bring the society's collections to a broader audience.⁴⁸

After the creation of *Little Mendocino*, Grace Hudson continued to paint consistently and productively through the 45 years of her life that remained. Ultimately, she completed over 680 numbered oils, though none is as well known as "Number 5."⁴⁹ Ranked with the finest California artists during her lifetime, Hudson—whose subject matter and style never wavered—fell out of favor with collectors as artistic tastes changed in the mid-20th century. More recently, collectors, anthropologists, art historians, and students of Native cultures have taken a renewed interest in her exquisitely rendered and ethnographically significant works that document cultural artifacts and practices from an earlier time. With this heightened regard for her work has come an increase in the monetary value of her original artworks, which regularly bring tens of thousands of dollars at auction.

Though the *Little Mendocino* copies themselves are not particularly valuable monetarily, they continue to hold great historic interest on a number of fronts. For example, they point to Hudson's impact and achievement as an artist, particularly as a female artist, at a time when well-regarded women painters were something of a rarity in an art world generally dominated by men. Hudson's upbringing by tough pioneer parents, and the strong female role models given her by her mother and paternal grandmother, surely informed her view of what a woman could do. Having no children of her own, she could devote herself to her career and was supported in that by her husband in what we'd now consider a "modern" marriage.

It is also of historic interest to ponder why the copies were produced and what drove the demand for them. Some thoughts do occur. For instance, while today it is common to purchase posters and prints of one's favorite painting from any number of vendors (and even to create them on demand at kiosks in various museum stores), this was not possible at the close of the 19th century. The *Little Mendocino* copies may have been an attempt at fulfilling that age-old longing for a memento.

Also, the copies are evidence of the nation's general fascination with Native peoples over a century ago and of the

appreciation for Grace Hudson's skill in depicting a particular Pomo baby. They make visible a range of late 19th-century views on the indigenous peoples of the United States—from curiosities to a vanishing race, a race whose cultures were capable of being preserved and exploited. There is also a sense that Hudson's combi-

nation of a maternal subject with a Native American theme struck members of the public as a novelty and was something that they wanted access to themselves. Copyists would have capitalized on this desire as a moneymaking proposition.

The search for hard evidence that Grace Hudson produced some of the *Little Men-*

docino copies herself continues. Information leading to that end builds with each new inquiry from a hopeful copy owner. For the copies that are clearly not by her, whatever may have been the motivation for producing them, copyists paid Grace Hudson the sincerest form of flattery—imitation. Ultimately, though the defini-

tive origin and purpose of the copies may never be known, it is apparent from the ongoing interest in *Little Mendocino* and its copies today that after all these years Hudson's unique California baby still captivates our imagination.

Endnotes

- All quotations are from "An Imitation of 'Little Mendocino,' It Makes Trouble in Art Circles. A Local Dealer's Scheme," *San Francisco Chronicle*, 8 December 1895.
- For biographical details on the lives of the Carpenter family, see Searles R. Boynton, *The Painter Lady, Grace Carpenter Hudson* (Ukiah: Sun House Guild Corporation, 1978); Karen Holmes, "Grace Carpenter Hudson," *American Art Review* XI, no. 3 (1999): pp. 158-167; and Marvin A. Schenck, Karen Holmes, and Sherrie Smith-Ferri, *Aurelius O. Carpenter, Photographer of the Mendocino Frontier* (Ukiah: Grace Hudson Museum & Sun House, 2006).
- Although the Pomo peoples were usually referred to as members of one tribe, they actually comprised seven distinct linguistic and cultural groups. Historically they populated what are today northern California's Lake, Mendocino, and Sonoma Counties.
- In May 1878, Grace graduated from Ukiah's grammar school at age 13. By the fall of that year she was living in San Francisco, presumably attending a standard high school and receiving private art lessons. By February 1879 it seems she was enrolled in art school. Her mother wrote to her telling of a hoped-for introduction to painter William Keith through a family friend, adding, "People inquire a great deal more about you than as if you were going to an ordinary school." See Helen McCowen Carpenter to Grace Carpenter, 9 February 1879, Grace Carpenter Hudson correspondence, Grace Hudson Museum & Sun House, (hereafter cited as GCH correspondence).
- The Directory Publishing Co., comp., *Langley's San Francisco Directory for the Year Commencing April, 1880* (San Francisco: Francis, Valentine & Co., 1880), p. 1133.
- Oscar Kunath to Grace Carpenter Hudson, 6 January 1897, GCH correspondence.
- Jeff Gunderson, San Francisco Art Institute (SFAI) librarian, e-mail correspondence, November 2008. (The SFAI is the current incarnation of the San Francisco School of Design.)
- Various letters from Grace's San Francisco friend, landlady, confidante, and go-between, Maggie Kirk Reilly, are particularly revealing regarding the Davis/Carpenter romance. See Maggie Kirk Reilly to Grace Carpenter, 14 December 1883; 18 and 31 January 1884, GCH correspondence.
- After the turn of the century, artists such as Elbridge Ayer (E.A.) Burbank and photographer Edward Curtis would document the Pomo peoples of northern California.
- For discussion of the Mechanics' Institute and its fairs, see Nora Leishman, "The Mechanics' Institute Fairs, 1857 to 1899," *The Argonaut* 10, no. 2 (1999): pp. 40-57, and Mechanics' Institute, "Establishment of the Institute (1855-66)," (www.milibrary.org/about/history/1855).
- Though not strictly annual, the Mechanics' Institute fairs continued almost yearly, 1857-98, with a total of 32 fairs held in all. (Leishman, "The Mechanics' Institute Fairs.")
- The 1893 Mechanics' Institute Fair was the only institute fair to be held in the winter, and for this single year it was known alternatively as the "Mechanics' Mid-Winter Fair" and the "Preliminary World's Fair Exhibit." This fair is not to be confused with the California Midwinter International Exposition, held in 1894 in San Francisco's Golden Gate Park.
- John Hudson to Grace Carpenter Hudson, 8 January 1893, GCH correspondence. A.O. Carpenter would continue to document the majority of Grace's numbered oils for the next 20-odd years, though she photographed them herself when he was unable and certainly after his death in 1919.
- Mechanics' Institute, *Report of the Twenty-Seventh Industrial Exposition of the Mechanics' Institute and Preliminary World's Fair Exhibit of California: Held at the Mechanics' Pavilion from the 10th day of January to the 18th day of February Inclusive* (San Francisco: Hinton Printing, 1893), p. 135.
- John Hudson to Grace Hudson, 12 January 1893, GCH correspondence.
- Gene Warfield, typescript with handwritten addendum, "Little Mendocino," n.d., Sloss Bequest Files, California Historical Society.
- "Pictures in the Art Gallery: Some of the Works of California Artists," *San Francisco Call*, 23 January 1893, and "Our County at the Fair, We Are 'In It' Far Better Than We Knew," *Ukiah City Press*, [27?] January 1893.

18. The Hudsons' interest in Indian basket collecting had dovetailed nicely with a growing nationwide middle-class hobby of acquiring and decorating with Indian artifacts. John Hudson did his best to nurture this trend, in part by displaying his collection at the fair but also by publishing shortly thereafter an article, "Pomo Basket Makers," in the June 1893 edition of *Overland Monthly*. (Vol. XXI, no. 126: pp. 561-78.) The article included numerous illustrations by Grace Hudson.

19. John Hudson to Grace Hudson, 9 February 1893, GCH correspondence.

20. Frona E. Wait to Grace Hudson, 18 January 1893; John Hudson to Grace Hudson, 15 February 1893, GCH correspondence.

21. For fine arts prizewinners see Mechanics' Institute, *Report of the Twenty-Seventh Industrial Exposition*, pp. 90-91. For Hudson's reaction see John Hudson to Grace Hudson, 10 February 1893, GCH correspondence.

22. Mechanics' Institute, *Report of the Twenty-Seventh Industrial Exposition*, p. 27.

23. See note 19.

24. William Morris to Grace Hudson, 7 March 1893, GCH correspondence.

25. "Society News," *San Francisco Chronicle*, 31 March 1893.

26. See note 19.

27. California World's Fair Commission, *Final Report of the California World's Fair Commission, Including A Description of All Exhibits from the State of California, Collected and Maintained Under Legislative Enactments, at the World's Columbian Exposition, Chicago, 1893* (Sacramento: State Office, A.J. Johnston, Supt. State Printing, 1894).

28. The Hudsons sold their highly regarded Pomo Indian basket collection in 1899 to the Smithsonian Institution, where it remains to this day. See Sherrie Smith-Ferri, "The Development of the Commercial Market for Pomo Indian Baskets," *Expedition* 40, no. 1 (1998): pp. 21-22.

29. "Local News," *Dispatch and Democrat*, 6 July 1894. *Little Mendocino* perhaps won one other award during Grace's lifetime. She did note in her painting diary that it received a "1st prize (\$40 - & certificate of superiority)" at the Twenty-Eighth Mechanics' Institute Fair in September of 1895. However, the final report of the cash awards for oil paintings that year lists her prize-winning work as *An Indian Baby*. This is odd as *Little Mendocino* was consistently referred to as *Little Mendocino* since its inception and was known by that title when it won awards at the Mechanics' Fair and the Columbian Exposition in 1893. See Mechanics' Institute, *Report of the Twenty-Eighth Industrial Exposition of the Mechanics' Institute of the City of San Francisco Held at the Mechanics' Pavilion from the 13th day of August to the 14th day of September 1895, Inclusive* (San Francisco: [Hinton Printing?], 1895), p. 121.

30. John Hudson to Grace Hudson, 7 October 1893, GCH correspondence, and an untitled article from the *Nashville Mirror*, November 1893, pasted in Grace Hudson's scrapbook of media references to her career, Grace Hudson Museum & Sun House.

31. As Hudson listed only oil and a few bitumen works in her painting diary, it is assumed that this miniature was done in oil. It is also assumed that this work was on canvas or board, as differing surfaces were otherwise specified. In addition to this miniature, in 1893 Grace completed 11 works, three of which she termed "miniature," though it is unknown what dimensions that might entail.

32. Grace's illustrations for *Overland Monthly* included those for articles by Ninetta Eames (aunt of Charmian Kittredge, the future wife of author Jack London); Grace's mother, Helen Carpenter; Grace's husband, John Hudson; and *Overland* editor Charles S. Greene. For digitized copies of all issues see: University of Michigan, "Making of America," *Overland Monthly*, (<http://quod.lib.umich.edu/m/moajrnl/browse/journals/over.html>).

33. See "Finds Art in the Digger, A California Girl Who Has Taken Up a Novel Model and Made a Success," *San Francisco Examiner*, 21 April 1895; "Little Indian Tribbles. Mrs. Hudson Tells How She Gets Papposes to Pose," *San Francisco Call*, 27 October 1895, reprinted as "Very Hard to Get Papposes to Pose; A California Woman Artist Describes Her Methods," *New York Times*, 5 November 1895. She also appeared regularly during this time as an artist of note in *The Quarterly Illustrator*, published by Harry C. Jones in New York, New York.

34. See Note 18 and Smith-Ferri, "The Development of the Commercial Market for Pomo Indian Baskets," pp. 15-22.

35. See Note 1. Grace entered extensive comments in her painting diary regarding "Number 5." Though Julia Hamilton purchased the piece in 1893, according to Grace's entries, it was exhibited at "Deakins" (presumably the art goods store owned by the Deakin brothers on New Montgomery Street in San Francisco) in 1894. This notation is followed by "sold to Col W.H. Hecht" [sic]. It is unclear if Colonel Hecht purchased the painting from Deakins or when and why Hamilton put it up for sale in the first place. It appears from the *Chronicle* article that Hecht himself was hoping to sell the painting in 1895.

36. See "Picture Sales and Exhibitions. View of Charles R. Peters' Work. Little Mendocino Again. Theophilus Reichard Copied It," *San Francisco Chronicle*, 15 December 1895. Theophilus Reichard (or Reichardt) was born in Germany in 1855. He immigrated to the United States at age ten, eventually studying art in New York City. By 1894 he was living in San Francisco, where he had a studio on Post Street and specialized in painting portraits from photographs. See Edan Milton Hughes, *Artists in California 1786-1940*, vol. II, L-Z, 3rd ed. (Sacramento: Crocker Art Museum, 2002), p. 922.

37. The Grace Hudson Museum & Sun House (opened in 1986) is an art, history, and anthropology museum and historic home devoted to Grace Hudson and her remarkable family and their varied interests. It holds the world's largest collection of her paintings.

38. See Dorothy B. Ryan, *Picture Postcards in the United States 1893-1918*, updated ed. (New York: Clarkson N. Potter, 1982).

39. See Painter & Co., *Langley's San Francisco Directory for the Year 1895* (San Francisco: J.B. Painter Company, 1895), pp. 392, 1587, 1590, 1720-21, 1732, 1740-41. This print bears the words "Copyright 98, Herrman Cohen, SF Cal" in its lower left corner, indicating that at the very least, Cohen (the man or the firm) was producing and distributing related prints within a few years after showcasing Reichard's *Little Mendocino* copy in the store window.

40. Winnie Yeung and Janet Howard, California State Parks curatorial staff, phone conversations, November 2010.

41. Library of Congress, Copyright Office, *Catalogue of Title Entries of Books and Other Articles Entered in the Office of the Register of Copyrights, Library of Congress, at Washington, Under the Copyright Law*, no. 1-no. 339 (Washington, D.C.: Treasury Department, 1891-97), microfilm.

42. For text of key United States copyright documents see Arts & Humanities Research Council, "Primary Sources on Copyright (1450-1900)," eds L. Bently & M. Kretschmer, (www.copyrighthistory.org). For statistics on early copyrighting of paintings see Ainsworth R. Spofford, *Annual Report of the Librarian of Congress, for the Year 1878* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1879), p. 4.

43. Cheryl Maslin, California Historical Society Registrar, e-mail correspondence, June 2011.

44. See [George Chandler Holt], "Copyright of Pictures—Werckmeister vs. American Lithographic Co.," *Publishers' Weekly* LXVIII, no. 27, whole no. 1770 (30 December 1905): pp. 1876-79.

45. Ibid. See also, "Copyright Matters: Appeal in the Werckmeister Suit," *Publishers' Weekly* XLVII, no. 5, whole no. 1201 (2 February 1895): p. 277.

46. Martin A. Meyer, *Western Jewry: An Account of the Achievements of the Jews and Judaism in California, Including Eulogies and Biographies*, "The Jews in California" (San Francisco: Emanu-el, 1916), pp.106-107.

47. Jean Martin, "Louis Sloss, Jr., Collection of California Paintings," *California Historical Society Quarterly* 37, no. 1 (1958): pp. 19-38.

48. Cheryl Maslin, California Historical Society registrar, and Amy Scott, Autri National Center curator of visual arts, e-mail correspondence, May 2011.

49. Because of discrepancies in her painting diary in its final year (1935) and to the numbering on the backs of some of her canvases, it is unclear exactly how many numbered oils Hudson produced. It is safe to say that 683 to 685 numbered oils left her brush. John Hudson passed away on January 18, 1936, and it appears that Grace did not paint again after his death. She followed him 14 months later, on March 23, 1937.