

Chapter Two – Western Frontiers: Birth of the Carmel Art Colony (1896-1909)

Why in 1896 would a twenty-seven-year-old woman, who had just expended a considerable amount of time, money and personal effort to complete a college education in the humanities, suddenly relinquish her new appointment as Assistant Principal and travel across the country to a university of modest reputation and one without a graduate program in the very major she sought to pursue? The answer is Bolton Coit Brown.¹ By the late 19th century Brown had developed a strikingly different reputation as a painter and a proponent for a new aesthetic ethos. His philosophy was synthesized from the works of John Ruskin, a contemporary English social theorist and art critic, and William Morris, an immensely influential artist, craftsman and social reformer. From May of 1889, when Brown left his position as the Instructor in Drawing at Cornell University, until September of 1891, when he established the Department of Drawing and Painting at Stanford University, he traveled extensively in the Midwest to lecture, paint and tutor. It was during his lengthy visit to St. Paul that Jennie Vennerström met the ruggedly handsome, charismatic exponent of *plein air* painting. His own style rejected most of the tenets of the Barbizon school in favor of a more open palette. He stressed the necessity of the rapid execution of “natural subjects” in the wilderness. One critic characterized Brown’s thirty-two paintings on exhibition at Stanford as having a “striking artistic harmony” and colors that were “glowing, sunny, and warm.”² Jennie, who may have been intimidated by the cliquish studio traditions of the Midwest and East, saw an opportunity to thrive on the Pacific shores. With the obvious complicity of Bolton Brown she employed a subterfuge to enter Stanford. In the fall of 1896 the purely undergraduate program there in art had a paltry twelve students.³ Since she could only qualify for financial aid in a graduate school, she passed the entrance exams for Stanford’s Department of German.⁴ During her tenure at Hamline University she had excelled in that language and once worked as an editor for a German newspaper in St. Paul. With her admission and aid secured she proceeded exclusively with the curriculum in Brown’s art department where she garnered such respect as a serious and competent pupil that the University relented and made her the first official graduate student in art.⁵

This good fortune was tempered by disappointments and challenges. There were the minor mishaps, such as a biking accident during a painting excursion. The University newspaper proudly announced her return to classes after two weeks of convalescence.⁶ More serious were the lengthy absences of her mentor, Bolton Brown. As Jennie quickly learned from her frequent visits to his studio-home, discussions of art were often sidetracked by a variety of environmental and political causes. His frequent mountaineering expeditions with his wife, Lucy, and his series of popular lectures on that subject brought him much recognition. By combining traveling exhibitions of his paintings with proselytizing on behalf of the new Sierra Club, he was able to sell most of his oils and sketches. Brown had in many respects a larger than life persona. He climbed hitherto unvaulted mountains in the Sierra Nevada and rather cavalierly named one after Stanford University. In addition, he drew some of the first scaled maps of the area and made preliminary sketches for his oil paintings at the sheer edges of cliffs. Eventually, a mountain was named after him and a strategic pass was given the designation “Lucy,” in honor of his wife. Brown also maintained a vigorous schedule of academic publications. These activities and his high-profile appointments to prestigious committees left Jennie with considerable independence.⁷

One opportunity offered to Stanford students during the Easter vacation of 1897 that she availed herself of was the reduced rate for travel and “chaperoned” accommodations in Pacific Grove, an alcohol-free Methodist community on the Monterey Peninsula.⁸ Here over an eight-day period she made her first extensive hiking trips into neighboring Carmel to sketch the unblemished coast. In 1935, 1938 and 1945 the editor of the *Carmel Pine Cone* asked Jennie to summarize this first visit in articles with such titles as “Reminiscences of a Pioneer” and “Girls of the Nineties Find Three Houses in Carmel.”⁹ She recounted one walk with a friend from Pacific Grove via the Seventeen Mile Drive past a log cabin (the future home of Frank and Jane Powers) to the slope of Mission Carmel where she made a drawing and promptly gave it to an interested visitor. Jennie continued her hike through the redolent pine woods and finished exhausted at the “straw-laden, burro-congested street of Alvarado” in Monterey. It was “a day full of *wild* memories” for one of the first female artists who recognized the scenic potential of the area. Those memories fueled a love affair with Carmel that lasted her entire life and would have the most profound effects on that “forested hamlet.”

Despite the area’s rich history, the development of the “hamlet” languished.¹⁰ The toponym “Carmel” was first attached by Spanish friars to the nearby river in 1602-03 and in 1771 to the Mission church founded by Father Junípero Serra. The place that would eventually become the town of Carmel had its real beginnings in the late 1880s when two brothers, Santiago and Belisario Duckworth, purchased three hundred and twenty five acres of the Rancho las Manzanitas from Honoré Escolle. Their intent was to establish a Roman Catholic summer colony as a counterpoint to Pacific Grove’s Methodist enclave. Santiago, whose brochure touted the “commercial” potential of the area, helped to finance the construction of a small eight-bedroom hotel at Ocean and Junípero Avenues. By 1890 about two hundred lots had been sold, primarily to San Francisco Bay Area school teachers, but only a few houses had been built. The absence of an all-weather road or railway to Monterey and the paucity of clean drinking water hindered the development of the first subdivision. In 1891-92 Duckworth faced the inevitable and discovered another promoter for his Carmel real estate, Abbie Jane Hunter, the founder of the Women’s Real Estate and Investment Company. Although her son, Wesley Hunter, and brother, Delos Goldsmith, made a number of improvements, including the bath house at the end of Ocean Avenue, her efforts also met with failure.¹¹ By 1899 there were no more than fifteen homes with year-round occupants and a long history of failed businesses in what became a “paper town.” For Jennie Carmel’s charm was certainly its lack of development.

It may have been on her first visit to the Monterey Peninsula that she met an undergraduate from Stanford’s Botany Department, William Austin Cannon, who frequently studied the coastal flora in conjunction with his research at Pacific Grove’s Hopkins Seaside Laboratory.¹² William, or simply Will to his friends, was an avid naturalist and hiker. When it was announced that Bolton Brown was to begin a one-year sabbatical in September of 1897 for study in New York and Paris,¹³ Jennie gravitated closer to Will who was thirteen months younger and possessed of a far more mature demeanor than the average student at Stanford. He was a late bloomer academically and had endured just two years earlier the tragic death (suicide?) of his first wife, Laura Milner, in Yosemite Valley.¹⁴

To everyone’s amazement Jennie and Will were secretly married by Rev. Delos L. Mansfield in Pacific Grove on January 9, 1898 at St. Mary’s-by-the-Sea, the local Episcopal

Church.¹⁵ The two witnesses, Mr. E. P. Price and Mary E. Lockett, were supplied by the church and there is no evidence of guests in attendance.¹⁶ Jennie obviously found admirable qualities in a man who was officially her academic inferior and thought this match the advantageous “last chance” for a woman approaching the age of thirty. Her training from childhood stressed the social imperative of marriage and family. She may have envisioned herself an equal partner in their professional quests, much as Lucy Brown was to her husband, Bolton. After a stay of only three days in Pacific Grove the newlyweds ended their elopement and “returned to Palo Alto and their studies at Stanford.”¹⁷ The couple apparently enjoyed married life and their new residence at Stanford’s College Terrace.¹⁸ Jennie even joined the expeditions of the Outing Club where Will served as secretary.¹⁹

She was always in need of academic challenges, but found little inspiration in the overly ambitious and rather snobbish Miss Zoë Fiske who was Bolton Brown’s temporary replacement.²⁰ The introverted and highly intelligent Arthur B. Clark, the other faculty member in the Department of Drawing and Painting, had a passion for both lineal perspective and Modernist art, but was very conventional in his expectations for female students whom he assumed would go on to careers in magazine illustration. Jennie transferred her scholarly attention to a young Professor in the History Department, Dr. Kriehn. He specialized in the art history of Western Europe and provided the inquisitive academic with reading lists and extended office hours to answer questions.²¹ Jennie and Will spent the summer of 1898 in Pacific Grove and managed several trips weekly to Carmel.

At the start of the new term in September of 1898 Jennie returned with renewed interest to her art studies and to Bolton Brown. Her department had just moved into a new building where Brown had personally designed the studio rooms with the most “radical” innovations. One of his novelties was to illuminate the interiors “solely by one continuous belt of glass” eight feet high.²² On the walls he hung reproductions and original pieces “by the avant-garde artists of Paris.” This Impressionist and Post-Impressionist art, some of the earliest examples ever seen in the San Francisco Bay Area, would have a profound influence on the artistic development of his students. Almost twenty-three years later, when Jennie summarized Brown’s significance for American art, she mused on his importance for her own career:²³

. . . . In thinking of Bolton Brown as a teacher, perhaps his most marked characteristic was his silence. He taught much but said little. In fact, one look at his face was criticism enough, very often, and you silently regretted your stupidity and resolved that from thence on you, at least, would attempt to turn over a new leaf. When one comes to really analyze what he taught, it was not so much art that lingered with you as the eternal verities. I do not recall that he ever mentioned morals, but I know I should have abhorred his discovering anything that was mean or shallow or in the least bit underhanded, and you somehow felt that life to be life must be devoid of all catering and chicanery. . . . One who early in life, whether intuitively or intentionally, decided to walk the stern and narrow path mapped out for artists, finds life is not all roses. The impression left by such a life is in proportion to the difficulties and trials that beset the way. To one who has made the journey and borne the standard, I owe more than is my opportunity to repay.

Evidently, Brown had great respect for Jennie’s talents and he invited her to contribute to a University sponsored exhibition in July of 1899. By that spring she had prepared a large portfolio of oil paintings, drawings and watercolors from which Brown chose a selection to join the faculty display at the National Education Association Convention in Los Angeles.²⁴ This is the first evidence of a public exhibit of art by Jennie Cannon.

Will, who had completed his requirements for a bachelor's degree by late December of 1898, was appointed in the fall term an "assistant" in the Botany Department.²⁵ Although this was the lowest ranking faculty appointment, it gave him the financial security to pursue a master's degree. When Will's parents arrived from Michigan for a visit in January of 1899, they not only congratulated their son on his long-delayed academic success and his new wife, but they also received more joyous news.²⁶ Jennie had to resign temporarily from her department because University regulations did not allow visibly pregnant women in the student body. On May 16th she gave birth to a healthy baby boy, Milner Vennerström Cannon.²⁷ Why Will insisted on making his deceased wife's maiden name his son's first name and why Jennie acquiesced explains much about the dynamics of their marriage. That summer and the next the Cannons spent in Pacific Grove for the convenience of Will's work. Here they rented a small home at 211 Fourth Street.²⁸ With the baby Jennie's movements were restricted and she could only paint in Carmel when a suitable sitter was found for the afternoons.²⁹

There is no record of the precise date when Jennie returned to her departmental studies, but she graduated with Stanford University's first master's degree in art.³⁰ In her autobiography she spoke of this period with some personal regret over the pace of her artistic development:³¹

So many years had been lived, so little art had been learned. Art was a will-o'-the-wisp, so illusive, so fragmentary, so intangible; how could this be?

It was undoubtedly due to Bolton Brown, who told frequent stories of the vivacious and progressive art colony in New York City, that she fixated on continuing with advanced classes in the East. Jennie had considerable influence on Will's decision to leave Stanford and accept a doctoral fellowship at Columbia University.³² Upon completion of his Stanford master's degree in May of 1900 Will departed Pacific Grove in mid August and traveled by train via the Southwest to New York. After he had established a suitable residence Jennie and young Milner were summoned to join him in the early fall.

She was admitted directly into the National Academy of Design in New York City. Here she studied with Edgar Ward, who filled her days with "casts and life classes," and briefly in the spring of 1902 with the newly transplanted Bolton Brown.³³ During her tenure at the Academy she was awarded the Elliott Bronze Medal in sculpture and the Woodbury G. Langdon Prize for design.³⁴ Will's fellowship at Columbia, which had been renewed for a second year, allowed him to complete his PhD. Fate was especially kind to Mr. Cannon because his wife had become best friends with Louise Fisher MacDougal, a fellow art student and coincidentally the wife of Daniel Trembly MacDougal, the director of the laboratories for the New York Botanical Garden at Bronx Park. The four frequently socialized. In the early summer of 1902 Will accepted a position as "assistant" to the director at the Botanical Garden. His continued residence in the city permitted Jennie to enroll that fall at the New York School of Art and specifically in the classes of William Merritt Chase.³⁵ It is here that she made the acquaintance of another life-long friend, Channel Pickering Townsley, a prominent instructor in drawing and the manager of Chase's Shinnecock Summer School. Daniel MacDougal grew so fond of the Cannons that he chose Will for the position of "resident investigator" at the new Desert Botanical Laboratory of the Carnegie Institution in Tucson, Arizona.³⁶ Jennie, who had been completely absorbed with her classes as well as visits to the galleries and museums, left New York in late September of 1903 to join her husband.³⁷ Will had reached Arizona a few weeks earlier.

There were no promises that the move to Tucson was permanent, but it was an adventure. Will's miserly salary of two thousand dollars was approved annually. The vague pledge to decide on the permanence of the Laboratory within five years only magnified the Cannons' unease. The conditions in Arizona were primitive at best. The small Laboratory building on the flank of Tumamoc Hill was located about two miles west of Tucson, a decentralized desert town with a population of seven thousand five hundred. In addition to his official academic research, Will had to supervise the completion of the lab's interior, improve the access road, surround the eight-hundred-acre compound with a fence of iron posts, purchase a small academic library, and install a phone service.³⁸ Initially, the Cannons with their four-year old son rented a small shack "not far from the University."³⁹ In less than two weeks they suddenly became guests of the Hall family and by early December they were living in canvas tents on lots that they had purchased. Will had to admit sheepishly to his supervisor MacDougal that "we enjoy the freedom from rent more than the close association with the elements; but hope soon to have the one and avoid to a degree the other."⁴⁰ Their new "cottage" on this site was completed in June of 1904.⁴¹ During his first few months Will attracted the attention of the Tucson newspapers. After MacDougal bluntly reminded "Dr. Cannon" of his low-ranking status at the Desert Carnegie Laboratory he maintained a far lower profile in society.⁴² Between January of 1904 and May of 1906 Will was mentioned only three times in the local press, when he leaves town on business. In contrast, when MacDougal arrived for a brief inspection visit in late January of 1904, he was fêted by the town and invited by one of the Tucson churches to give a public lecture under the auspices of the local University and the Carnegie Institute.⁴³

Jennie, who never expected to live in such primitive circumstances, patiently endured Tucson and used every opportunity to paint during the temperate winter. The sun-bleached desert and its vast range of pastels had a profound impact on the development of her style. The teachings of Chase and the examples of the French Impressionists – their broken brushwork and penchant for bright complementary colors – were painstakingly adapted into a more softly dissolving palette. She mastered the long-distance perspectives of the shimmering plains, struggled to interpret the ever-changing "Alpine glows" on the nearby Catalina Mountains, and found the most stimulating subjects among the Spanish missions and indigenous Indians, whose culture she deeply admired. Of this process she remarks:⁴⁴

Years were spent splitting colors into impressionistic dots. Would I never succeed in getting colors clear, clear as crystal? How cold the canvas looked! Earth colors had been forgotten. Alack and alas, I started keying all over again.

Cannon was one of the first Impressionists to establish a residence in Tucson and was nearly contemporary with the earliest visits to the Southwest by the California painters Maynard Dixon and Xavier Martinez.⁴⁵

Unlike her husband, Jennie showed no reluctance to test the social waters of Tucson, especially if there were potential venues to exhibit and sell her art. In October of 1904 she joined the local Woman's Club and volunteered her services to the "Civics' Committee," "Park Association" and "Mothers' Congress."⁴⁶ However, the art section of the Club was tightly controlled by long-standing members who favored book reviews and the occasional tableau vivant. Rather than stifle herself in this provincial atmosphere, she resigned her active membership in the Club, but accepted the occasional invitation to lecture on art history.⁴⁷ What turned out to be far more

beneficial was her relationship with Tucson's Grace Episcopal Church. Here on October 27, 1904 she co-chaired a well-publicized charity event of "social entertainment" for the Rector's Aid Society.⁴⁸ In that late spring of 1905 Jennie and Milner began what became their habitual summer pilgrimage from the sizzling desert to the balmy Pacific.⁴⁹ On June 24th they reached La Jolla.⁵⁰ She painted in the environs of neighboring Oceanside where she rendered a study of the Mission San Luis Rey in her purest Impressionist style (Plate 4a).⁵¹ Before returning to Arizona in late September she spent the last half of her vacation in Monterey and made regular visits to Carmel, her first since 1900.

Her choice of Monterey in 1905 was carefully calculated since the town possessed the only recognized Pacific coast art colony south of San Francisco and had the picturesque cachet as one of California's oldest settlements. Although it took almost two hundred and thirty years from the time of its discovery by the Portuguese navigator Juan Rodriguez Cabrillo, the Spanish crown did establish a permanent settlement in Monterey by the spring of 1770 and "civilized" the indigenous population through the efforts of proselytizing missionaries. The period of semi-independence for Alta California under Mexican authority between 1822 and 1846 ended with the military occupation of American troops. Except for a brief interlude in 1849, when land speculators and a state constitutional convention flooded the temporary "capital of California" with gringos, Monterey remained a "somnolent backwater village."⁵² In fact, during the next thirty years this bankrupt settlement regressed, first with the forfeiture of its status as an incorporated city in the mid 1850s, and then in 1872-73 with the humiliation of losing its position as the county seat to Salinas, an Anglo farming community to the east. By far the worst plague for Monterey's predominately Spanish-speaking population came in the mid-to-late 1870s with the obnoxious tourists who gawked at the "dreamy romantic history" in the decaying buildings and imbibed the "bad whiskey" during day-long bacchanals that spilled into the untidy streets. For Frederick Somers, the editor of San Francisco's *Argonaut*, the town was "charming to the Bohemian" on a budget, especially one who could tolerate the bad water and incessant fleas.⁵³ Into this laissez-faire world of drifters and derelicts arrived a number of literati, including Charles Warren Stoddard and Robert Louis Stevenson. The latter, whose Monterey visit in 1879 resulted in the short story "The Old Pacific Capital," described the place as having:⁵⁴

. . . . two or three streets, economically paved with sea-sand, and two or three lanes, which were watercourses in the rainy season, and were, at all times, rent up by fissures four or five feet deep. . . . The houses had at the approach of the rainy season a deathly chill and a graveyard smell began to hang about the lower floors; and diseases of the chest are common and fatal. . . . There was no activity but in and around the saloons, where people sat almost all day long playing cards. . . . In a place so exclusively Mexican as Monterey it was a matter of perpetual surprise to find, in that world of absolutely mannerless Americans, a people full of deportment, solemnly courteous, and doing all things with grace and decorum.

In addition, several of San Francisco's finest painters, such as Jules Tavernier and Julian Rix, arrived to sketch the area.⁵⁵ Their stunning depictions of the rugged coast and cypress groves made the Monterey Peninsula almost as popular with painters as Yosemite. Most of these artists were never long-term residents, but merely brief visitors who had limited contact with the local population and sold their canvases in San Francisco.

However, change came rapidly to Monterey and in 1892 DeeJay Mackart declared in his assessment of the "Bohemian Resort" that:⁵⁶

. . . . the day for the painter at Monterey has perished. It has become too fashionable for a rollicking man in a paint-stained blouse, with a soiled shirt, and patched trousers. . . . [It] is now a veritable picnicking ground for the whole State. . . . Monterey is now in possession of the Bohemian who loves carpets and many other accessories of civilization equally comfortable. . . . and much of the picturesqueness of the place has vanished. May some other painter of genius discover another Monterey where the affairs of life are not perpetual worry.

It was not simply the arrival of the Southern Pacific railroad in 1880 that heralded change, but also the construction of the Del Monte Hotel, brick buildings on Alvarado Street and noisy sardine canneries. There was also the concomitant settlement of white middle-class and blue-collar families. The constant improvements in sanitation, roads and property values created a very different world where English speakers became dominant.⁵⁷ When the first Del Monte Hotel was destroyed by fire on April 1, 1887, the Pacific Improvement Company rebuilt the edifice as a much larger “luxury retreat” with the capacity for seven hundred and fifty guests who were offered a world-class polo club, the first golf course west of the Mississippi, a race track for horses and automobiles, an electric trolley to the Hotel’s private railroad station, gardens, beach, yachting dock as well as a lake and “forested walk.”⁵⁸ From the Hotel the more adventurous could unobtrusively stroll to the fashionable brothels and “gambling salons” that were later immortalized in John Steinbeck’s *East of Eden*. The Del Monte also attracted a few visiting painters in search of luxury accommodations, including William Keith and George Inness.

In July of 1896 Hugh A. Burke published in the *San Francisco Call* a prominent article that predicted “The Art Renaissance at Monterey” with the imminent return of long-absent San Francisco artists. Burke noted that Charles Rollo Peters had recently established an atelier there and that Elizabeth Strong promised a retrospective exhibition at “her studio in the old town.”⁵⁹ Unfortunately, Strong did not stage an exhibit in her temporary studio and Peters returned to Europe. It was only in 1901-02 that the artists in Monterey collectively constituted *for the first time* an “art colony” because a sufficient number of painters maintained permanent or seasonal residences within and near the town for the purpose of sharing common aesthetic interests and were recognized as a valued group by the community.⁶⁰ This art colony was publicly proclaimed in lengthy articles that appeared in two of San Francisco’s most popular journals. The first by Harriet Quimby was a rather gushy vacuous account, while the second by Ellen J. Donovan was a far more mature didactic piece.⁶¹ Both writers described in text, photographs and illustrations several prominent artists who were revered by the local population and whose presence attracted scores of professional and amateur painters as visitors.⁶² At this time the most notable members of the colony were: Charles Rollo Peters,⁶³ Evelyn McCormick, Francis McComas, Charles Dickman, Isabel Hunter, Henry S. Fonda,⁶⁴ Charles P. Neilson and Arthur and Lucia Mathews.⁶⁵ Peters, McCormick, Dickman and Fonda maintained informal viewing galleries within their studio-homes where visitors negotiated the purchase of canvases. Artists also sold some paintings to residents and tourists from a public gallery in Oliver’s Mission Art & Curio Store.⁶⁶ Unfortunately, the space for display in the clutter of this small shop was limited and poorly lighted.

The “art gallery” in the local Hotel Del Monte was not created to foster the local art colony. In fact, the early attempts to display paintings by area artists in the Hotel were unsuccessful. Peters, Dickman and a few others hung their art “on the walls of the improvised art gallery in the hostelry” and in January of 1902 “even induced the management to equip the ballroom with a long

row of electric lights” for the display of paintings, but as Scott Shields has observed: “the guests generally mistook them for decoration” and “the gallery remained little known.”⁶⁷ Four and a half years later in an effort to attract more guests to the Del Monte in the off-season and to counter the exhibition building of the Arts and Crafts Club under construction in Carmel, A. D. Shepard, the Manager of the Pacific Improvement Company, invited seven male artists to discuss a new proposal. Namely, that artists should establish and manage “under their absolute control” a permanent art gallery on the Hotel premises to display the work of Californians. The 1906 San Francisco earthquake undoubtedly gave a special impetus to this decision by the Hotel management who had simultaneously embarked on a massive advertising campaign to attract displaced San Francisco professionals. The Del Monte’s not-so-subtle advertisement in *The Argonaut* offered: “a welcomed shelter Why not make this attractive resort near San Francisco your permanent home? Special terms for families.”⁶⁸ For those well-known and well-connected artists who lost their studios and galleries in San Francisco the Del Monte Art Gallery was a godsend. Not only did their peers manage the selection and pricing of the displayed art, but the consigners paid no overhead fees and no commissions to the Hotel.⁶⁹ The Del Monte even paid the costs of transporting the canvases from all parts of California to Monterey and the salary of the first curator, Frederick A. Woodworth. At a cost of five thousand dollars the Hotel installed an entirely new lighting system in the exhibition area and painted the walls an impartial moss gray. Since this same space regularly functioned as the ballroom and “meeting center,” it was sometimes closed to gallery visitors. The first managing directors of the gallery were: Eugen Neuhaus, Xavier Martinez, Charles Rollo Peters, Porter Garnett, Harry Stuart Fonda, Arnold Genthe, Charles S. Aiken – the editor of *Sunset* magazine – and James King Steele, secretary to A. D. Shepard. Only Peters and Fonda were Monterey residents. Shortly thereafter other male artists, including Charles Dickman, Arthur Mathews and Charles C. Judson, were asked to help organize the inaugural exhibition which was opened on April 20, 1907. All of the directors, with the exception of James Steele, were San Francisco Bohemian Club members who continued their tradition of opulent stag dinners in Monterey.⁷⁰ Of the original seven jurors, who also constituted the “hanging committee,” only one, Isabel Hunter, was a woman. In 1908 Mrs. Alice F. Lafler, the wife of the famous writer Henry Anderson Lafler, was appointed as the first female curator.⁷¹ She was succeeded in the spring of 1911 by the highly successful Josephine M. Blanch who assumed the additional title of Gallery “director” when the jury was abolished to curtail expenses. All responsibilities for the day-to-day management rested in the hands of the curator-director.⁷² During World War I public interest in the Gallery “sagged” considerably, but was quickly revived.⁷³ Throughout the 1920s and into the 1930s the Gallery, which was still “maintained by private interests” (i.e., the Del Monte Hotel), had its general policies revised by the Advisory Committee that met annually. At various times this Committee included: Jean Mannheim, Detlef Sammann, Evelyn McCormick, William Sparks, Gottardo Piazzoni, Armin Hansen, Paul Dougherty, Arthur Hill Gilbert and William Ritschel.⁷⁴ In 1921, when Sammann resigned to return to Germany, he was replaced by Edgar Walter. According to Jennie Cannon, the Committee primarily made general decisions on the types of art that “shall constitute the collection.”⁷⁵ We learn from the 1923 interview with Blanch that she received a “nominal percentage of the sale price” on each work of art sold and selected paintings from throughout the state, with an increasing emphasis on southern California.⁷⁶ While some of the best Monterey Peninsula painters were represented, the Gallery was never intended

as a showcase for local talent. It became established policy that whenever a picture was sold, that work was replaced by another from the same artist. Jennie Cannon described the original Gallery as “one large rectangular room . . . connected with but still separate from the main portion of the hotel . . . entered both from within the building and without . . . free to all between the hours of 1 and 5 o’clock and during the evening.”⁷⁷ The devastating Hotel fire in late September of 1924 destroyed the Gallery, but most of the paintings were saved and housed in small temporary quarters until a another exhibition space was constructed.⁷⁸ In 1926 Cannon provided this information on the “modern” quarters at Del Monte:⁷⁹

The new gallery is very different from the old, geographically speaking. It is on the mezzanine floor, while the other was on the main. It is not as large but has the added advantage of never being closed to be used for other functions nor is art confined to this one room. Canvases are also on the walls of the entrance to the gallery. When we consider the hotel decorations which are a very important factor in the new building, we become aware that art has become more universal throughout the hotel, so that instead of hotel management lessening its space for art, it has actually . . . increased it.

The Gallery, which survived until 1942, presented one of its last one-man shows in May of 1939, a display of watercolors by James Fitzgerald.⁸⁰ The Hotel was closed during World War II and sold to the U.S. Military.⁸¹

With all this momentum in the arts Jennie Cannon anticipated that Monterey in 1905 would provide her with infinite opportunities, but instead she faced disappointments. She discovered that the small art colony was primarily a closed rather snobbish clique of San Franciscans with very conservative tastes in art. Their social gatherings, as illuminated in the diaries of George Sterling,⁸² were often all-night affairs with plenty of liquor and consequently inappropriate for a pregnant woman with a child in tow. Jennie found Monterey “full of clamor and horrid smells . . . and wholly unsuitable.”⁸³ Carmel offered a better chance to prosper. The Carmel that Jennie discovered during her twice weekly visits in 1905 had changed remarkably in just five years due to “redevelopment.” The town, officially called Carmel-by-the-Sea, had approximately one hundred and twenty permanent inhabitants and was the creation of two speculators, Powers and Devendorf. The wealthy Franklin Powers, a graduate of the U.C. Berkeley law school and a prominent fraternity member, had acquired a quantity of Carmel property in exchange for legal fees and through a direct purchase from William Saunders, but he quickly discovered that he lacked the expertise and time to market his holdings. James Franklin Devendorf, affectionately called Frank or “Devy,” had earned a reputation in real estate as the co-developer of Menlo Park and Morgan Hill in Santa Clara County and had acquired independently large parcels in Carmel directly from the relatives of Santiago Duckworth and possibly through the foreclosure of Abbie Hunter’s land. Precisely when and where the two men first met is unknown, but both lived in Berkeley. By 1897 the Powers family had a comfortable residence on Channing Way which they maintained until their move to San Francisco about 1905.⁸⁴ In late 1900 Devendorf and his family had relocated from San Jose to a Berkeley home on Dwight Way, in close proximity to the Powers.⁸⁵ The two men were obviously well acquainted by May of 1902 when Devendorf was sued in Alameda County Superior Court by a disgruntled San Jose investor who claimed that the defendant paid him fifteen thousand four hundred dollars with a note from an insolvent bank.⁸⁶ Powers represented his Berkeley neighbor and the suit was never brought to trial, no doubt because of its spurious nature. Certainly this incident became the start of their enduring trust. Devendorf’s charm, business

acumen and enthusiasm were a perfect fit with Powers' financial backing and the two established the Carmel Development Company in November of 1902. They filed a survey map with plans for a new subdivision.⁸⁷

From the beginning Carmel struggled to establish its identity. In the fall of 1904 a group of neo-Gnostic Christians, who were intent on creating a "world-wide empire," purchased a huge tract of land for their "capital city" at Hermosa in southern California. These evangelicals formally incorporated as "Mount Carmel-by-the-Sea" and sold stock. The following spring Frank Powers filed an action in San Francisco Superior Court claiming that his earlier settlement in Monterey County with a similar name would be damaged by association with this "religious cult" and asked for a restraining order on the use of that name at Hermosa.⁸⁸ In another rather curious undertaking Powers traveled to Washington, D.C. in March of 1906 and with "documents of proof" personally petitioned the United States House of Representatives to recognize Carmel-by-the-Sea, and not Jamestown, as the nation's earliest European settlement. A congressional committee had just voted a substantial grant to finance an exposition in Jamestown. The California delegation was trying to use Powers' claims "as a lever in behalf of an appropriation for the San Francisco Exposition in 1913."⁸⁹ Unfortunately, the earthquake in April of 1906 delayed the opening of the San Francisco's Panama-Pacific International Exposition (PPIE) until 1915. Frank Powers played his appointed role and collected free publicity for his new settlement.

According to the 1903 promotional brochure the intent of the Carmel developers was to preserve the natural beauty of the seaside town as a retreat for "the School Teachers of California and other Brain Workers at Indoor Employment." There was no specific mention of struggling artists or poets. Carmel was not founded as an art colony. Decades after the fact Ella Winter, the well-bred English socialist and second wife of Lincoln Steffens, spread the unfortunate rumor that Frank Powers had offered free lots in Carmel to any artist who would build a residence. This has become part of the mythology of the seaside hamlet and is today repeated as sacred writ.⁹⁰ There were no gifts of land to artists. Only Eugen Neuhaus makes the somewhat suspicious claim that he was "privately" offered free lots on the condition that he build a house.⁹¹ Devendorf controlled the marketing of the real estate. When the initial sales were weak, he lowered the price for the less scenic lots and offered after 1903 to forego the normal down payment, requiring only a monthly installment of five dollars. Low-income artists in search of a primary residence could afford such bargains which were really intended to attract middle class buyers to purchase a vacation home.⁹² Devendorf emphatically claimed that he never wanted to start an art colony, just a "healthy little town."⁹³ Carol Kobus in her very perceptive article on early Carmel remarks:⁹⁴

The idea that Carmel started out as a haven for impoverished intellectuals and literati is a myth, whose origin is as hard to establish – and counteract – as the belief in the existence of the leprechauns of Ireland. Devendorf and Powers were hard-headed business men and as such weren't interested in establishing a non-paying Shangri-la. They did encourage artists, writers, musicians, educators and other "cultured" people to buy and build in Carmel, but only because "cultured" people gave an air of "quality" to a community and might attract wealthier buyers.

When the scenic potentials of Carmel were discovered, it was impossible to keep the artists out.

By 1902 Frank Powers and his artist-wife, Jane, began to bring their children on lengthy vacations to Carmel. Their habitual presence in the summer inspired many of their socially prominent friends to visit and eventually acquire property. By 1904 weekend and holiday

excursions between the San Francisco Bay Area and Carmel were regularly advertised in the press.⁹⁵ In respect to a future art colony, the most important new arrival was the popular Berkeley socialite, Mabel Gray Lachmund. In 1903 and for many summers thereafter she made well-publicized visits to Carmel with her family in tow. Within two years she had constructed a cottage at Lincoln Street near Fourth Avenue and was a supporter of the local Arts and Crafts Club.⁹⁶ Mrs. Lachmund was not simply a decorative Victorian, but an accomplished pianist and amateur painter who co-founded Oakland's Palette, Lyre and Pen Club. It was not a mere coincidence that Mary DeNeale Morgan, Sydney Yard and Xavier Martinez exhibited at that Oakland Club, attended Lachmund's "studio suppers" and eventually settled in Carmel.⁹⁷ A large number of academics soon built summer homes there.

In 1903 the Pine Inn, which was created from the partially dismantled and relocated Hotel Carmelo, was opened as well as a "company store," contracting office, dairy and two restaurants. New settlers generously received tents until their cottages were built. With the continued absence of a railroad connection the newly re-graded road to Monterey allowed a horse-drawn coach to make the trip in one or two hours, as long as the male passengers disembarked to walk the steep crest of "Carmel Hill."⁹⁸ Over time the Carmel Development Company invested heavily in new construction, such as a water conduit and small public school, and even imported prefabricated units from San Francisco. However, the sewage system, when it functioned, remained inadequate into the 1920s. Another factor that mitigated Carmel's appeal was the demand from its influential conservative residents, which was acceded to by the Company, for a "prohibition clause in *all* deeds" to "prevent the sale of liquor and insure the absence of the 'Sunday picnic' class." Still the proximity of Monterey guaranteed the availability of alcohol.

By 1905 Carmel had become the home of *two very distinct* art colonies – one of painters and the other of poets, dramatists and writers of fiction as well as non-fiction. The latter group, which is henceforth referred to in this text as the "literati," received far more publicity in the regional press prior to 1913 than the former because of their Bohemian lifestyle, popular publications and Forest Theatre.⁹⁹ This theatre, which was organized by the poet Herbert Heron and built by Frank Devendorf, opened in July of 1910 with the production of *David and Saul* under the direction of Garnet Holme of Berkeley.¹⁰⁰ Unlike the "artists" of Monterey, who came almost exclusively from San Francisco, the majority of Carmel's creative talent were migrants from Berkeley, Piedmont and north Oakland - the cultural center of the East Bay. For them Carmel was the inspirational alternative to Monterey – a small quieter place of far more difficult access and one devoid of crowds, posh hotels and smelly industries. The literati quickly established themselves in the village. Their unofficial leader was the poet George Sterling who had come to California in 1890, settled in Piedmont and published in 1903 a small volume of poetry, *The Testimony of the Suns*. His immediate literary neighbors and close friends in the East Bay were Joaquin Miller, Jack London, Harry Wilson and James Hopper.¹⁰¹ The latter was a successful writer who received his law degree from U.C. Berkeley where he also played football. After Sterling permanently moved to his Carmel home in 1905 he persuaded all of them to become residents or long-term visitors. One of their most vocal supporters, the satirical iconoclast Ambrose Bierce, frequently called upon the Bohemians at their "Pacific haven." Sterling even enticed the novelist and "free spirit," Mary Austin, to join him.¹⁰² In 1906 his friend, the "art photographer" Arnold Genthe, *briefly* migrated to Carmel from post-earthquake San Francisco.¹⁰³ When a firestorm of controversy followed Sterling's

publication of *A Wine of Wizardry* in the *Cosmopolitan* magazine of September 1907, other rebels flocked to Carmel. Within a year Upton Sinclair had joined the group and the MacGowan sisters followed. Because of their heavy drinking and more “open” lifestyle, most of the literati as well as Genthe maintained themselves as a distinct social group outside the art colony of painters, whose members were either contented spinsters or happily married.¹⁰⁴ Jennie Cannon naturally gravitated to the latter group.

Like the literati, the art colony at Carmel was a distinct entity by 1905, but it took several years to emerge as a cultural force. Prior to 1913 the “Carmel art scene” was always undervalued by its prosperous neighbor to the immediate north. The Monterey artists especially tended to disparage the fledgling colony of painters and viewed them as unequal rivals. The wife of Xavier Martinez, Elsie Whitaker Martinez, bluntly stated:¹⁰⁵

We had stayed with Rollo Peters in picturesque Monterey - - which was the center of interest and art activities - - and strange as this may seem, did not consider Carmel as interesting or important. . . . Monterey was the art colony in the early days. We first belonged to the Monterey group - - Charles Rollo Peters, Francis McComas, Armin Hansen, . . Charles Dickman, a genial character, Arnold Genthe - - they were the group. They thought nothing of Carmel. . . . In the meantime, Carmel, which was nothing but a bunch of sand lots, grew very fast and an effort was made to keep it unique, while Monterey lost its picturesqueness.

In her reminiscences Gene Baker McComas echoed this sentiment, expressed regret that Carmel eventually became the art center of the Peninsula and cited her husband Francis: “He was contemptuous and impatient of bad painters - he considered Carmel full of them.”¹⁰⁶ The simmering hostility between the art colonies at Monterey and Carmel continued through the 1920s and into the 1930s. H. L. Dungan, art critic for *The Oakland Tribune*, discovered the animosity during a visit to the Peninsula in the spring of 1935: “We gather from the argument we started quite by accident that Monterey claims to be the art center, a claim that is vigorously denied by Carmel as the first, only and original art center on the Coast.”¹⁰⁷

At the turn of the century Carmel attracted a number of artists who visited on an infrequent basis,¹⁰⁸ but by late 1905 ten *professional* painters could be classed as either permanent or seasonal residents. The latter resided in the hamlet for at least two months each year. Six of the ten – Charles C. Judson, Sydney J. Yard, Jane G. Powers, Mary DeNeale Morgan, Christian A. Jørgensen, and Katherine W. Newhall – were East Bay residents. Not one of the four other artists was a transplant from San Francisco: Jessie Short-Jackson moved from Fresno, Arthur H. Vachell migrated from England and both Josephine M. Culbertson and Ida A. Johnson relocated from New York. In respect to the artistic movements that were favored, all of the earliest members of the Carmel art colony, except for Culbertson and Johnson, embraced the Barbizon School or Tonalism or some variant of the two. Within ten years this relative homogeneity in artistic styles gave way to a panoply of Impressionism and especially Post-Impressionism.

Charles Chapel Judson was the product of an art education that included study in München and Paris as well as three years at the California School of Design in San Francisco. He so impressed his tutors that he was hired to teach at the latter in 1898 and two years later was placed on the faculty at the University of California in Berkeley. If we evaluate Judson by the frequency of his exhibitions, the positive content of art reviews and his ability to sell paintings, then he was certainly ranked among the best artists in California. He painted on the Monterey Peninsula as

early as 1891 and several years later was exhibiting in San Francisco his landscapes of Pacific Grove and its environs. By the late 1890s he was, according to MacLennan's serialized history of the Carmel Art Association, the first painter to become a regular summer resident of Carmel with an established studio. There is contemporary support for this conclusion from the *San Francisco Call* which reported in 1901 that Judson had spent his habitual summer in a studio in the "Point Lobos lighthouse." There was never a large-scale lighthouse on the Point, but rather a lookout station to guide ships to the whaling docks and later to the Allen-Kodani abalone factory at Whaler's Cove.¹⁰⁹ Judson apparently rented a work space at Point Lobos and lived in Carmel. He may have met Sydney Yard, his future father-in-law, about this time. Although Judson was a Berkeley resident, he became a regular summer fixture in Carmel and an exhibiting charter member of the local Arts and Crafts Club. When his home was destroyed in the great Berkeley fire of 1923, he relocated first to Carmel, then to Pebble Beach and eventually back to Hatton Fields in Carmel. He was a co-founder, officer and frequent exhibitor at the Carmel Art Association. At one point he personally assumed the mortgage on the Association gallery to lower the interest rate. Although he experimented with more modern techniques in painting, he remained for most of his life a follower of the Barbizon school. In 1946 he died in Carmel.

Sydney Jones Yard abandoned his career as a professional photographer in San Jose and by the mid 1890s began with considerable success to exhibit his watercolors and oil paintings in San Francisco. He trained under the British watercolorist, Sutton Palmer. By 1898 Yard was painting in Monterey, Pacific Grove and Carmel. In 1902 he and his family relocated their residence to Oakland where Sydney became acquainted with Goddard Gale, DeNeale Morgan and Charles P. Neilson. Soon he was sharing a San Francisco studio with Charles C. Judson. Yard and his family began to spend their summers in Carmel by 1903 and within three years they left Oakland to occupy a permanent residence there. In 1907 Sydney built a studio near his "pretty little home within the sound of the breakers." In the fall of 1908 he began construction on a larger Carmel residence of his own design. He was a co-founder of the local Arts and Crafts Club, where he organized the exhibitions, and actively supported the community. Through most of his career Yard was a devotee of Tonalism (Plate 27).¹¹⁰ His many devoted students and the popularity of his exhibitions with critics as well as the public confirm his status as one of the region's great painters. In 1909 he died in Carmel.

Jane Gallatin Powers was one of the spiritual rocks on which the early art colony was built. She was born and raised in Sacramento where her immensely wealthy and politically influential father spared no expense for his daughter's education, including private tutors and study in Europe. In 1891 she married the successful attorney and co-developer of Carmel-by-the-Sea, Franklin (Frank) Powers. By the mid 1890s the Powers family resided in Berkeley whence she commuted to classes at the School of Design and exhibited at both the San Francisco Art Association and Sketch Club. She also helped to organize Berkeley's Art Loan Exhibition Society. In 1902 she began the conversion of a Carmel ranch house into what became "The Dunes," her very fashionable studio-home and a center for the Carmel art community. Soon she spent almost half of each year at the seaside hamlet. In 1905 Jane was a co-founder of the Carmel Arts and Crafts Club and became its first vice president. She persuaded many of her acquaintances in the academic communities of Berkeley and Stanford to settle in Carmel, but frequent social activities on behalf of her husband often derailed her career as an artist. In spite of the brief and very

scandalous separation from her husband in 1910, her support for the art colony remained constant. In 1914 she studied under William Merritt Chase and served as one of the unofficial hostesses for his Carmel Summer School. Two years later she continued her training under his successor, C. P. Townsley. With the death of her husband in 1920 she permanently moved to Europe and opened studios in Capri and Rome. Powers' constantly evolving style of painting, which adopted many of the features of the "Modernist" movements, was exhibited in Europe to much acclaim through the 1930s. In 1944 she died in Rome.

Mary DeNeale Morgan, who became an habitual summer denizen of Carmel by 1904 and a permanent resident five years later, displayed throughout her long career unselfish dedication to the continuance and expansion of the art colony. She began her career in the mid 1880s when she commuted from her family home in Oakland to what became a protracted education at the School of Design. She also had private lessons from William Keith in Berkeley. In 1909 on the death of her close friend Sydney Yard she assumed the role of director-curator for the Annual Exhibitions at the Carmel Arts and Crafts Club and purchased his studio-home on Lincoln Street. She began to teach drawing and painting at the Arts and Crafts Summer School in 1910. Between 1917 and 1926 she was the director and principal instructor of the Carmel Summer School of Art which was founded by her teacher in 1914, William Merritt Chase. Thereafter her style evolved into a unique Post-Impressionism (Plate 13b).¹¹¹ Morgan's impact extended far beyond her classes and included a vigorous schedule of exhibitions. In 1948 she died in Carmel.

Christian August Jørgensen, the Norwegian-born prodigy who studied and briefly taught at the School of Design, exhibited his watercolors with considerable success at numerous professional venues in San Francisco. By the mid 1890s he had established a home in Oakland with his wife, the chocolate-heiress Angela Ghirardelli. The two devised a scheme in 1903 to spend much of each summer at their Yosemite studio and a substantial part of the intervening September thru May in Carmel. At the latter venue Jørgensen completed construction between 1905 and 1908 on his gigantic studio-home of stone, "La Playa," at Monte Verde Street and Seventh Avenue. He became an avid supporter of the Arts and Crafts Club where he exhibited and hosted several very profitable benefits. The tragic death of Angela's niece in Carmel Bay caused the couple to relocate to Pebble Beach in 1911. Over time his palette became more vivid and the subjects for his popular landscapes and seascapes more sharply focused (Plate 11a).¹¹² In 1935 Jørgensen died in Piedmont.

Katherine White Newhall received extensive art training in New York prior to relocating to Berkeley in the late 19th century. She exhibited widely in the San Francisco Bay Area and reportedly accompanied William Keith on sketching expeditions in the East Bay hills. Her earliest verifiable visit to Carmel was in 1904. She temporarily moved to that seaside hamlet in January of 1905 to paint "local views" and four months later the Wallace Johnsons staged in their Carmel home a display of her paintings. This was the first recorded exhibition in Carmel by a professional artist and it received a highly flattering review in the *San Francisco Chronicle*. This display also included a selection of painted miniatures by Frances S. Campbell and several photographs by Louis S. Slevin. Newhall was one of the earliest exhibiting members of the Arts and Crafts Club and sketched with both DeNeale Morgan and Josephine Culbertson. Her paintings were characterized by carefully rendered subjects in a modified Barbizon style (Plate 15a).¹¹³ After 1915 Miss Newhall ended her regular summer stays in Carmel. In 1917 she died in Berkeley.

Jessie Short-Jackson was essentially a self-taught artist who won several prizes in drawing and painting at the California State Fair and Fresno County Fair. In the summer of 1903 she and her publisher husband began construction in Carmel on a large cottage which she soon occupied as her permanent home. Jessie Short became a founding member as well as an exhibitor at the Arts and Crafts Club, studied watercolor with Sydney Yard and held exhibitions in her studio. In 1909 she moved her primary residence to Berkeley and continued after her second marriage to maintain a Carmel summer home until 1940. She exhibited her watercolors of Monterey Peninsula subjects throughout the state for over fifty years. In 1945 she died in Napa.

Arthur Honeywood Vachell immigrated from England to join his novelist-brother on a large California ranch. By 1905 he had established his residence in Carmel and a year later completed construction of his studio-home. The extent of his formal art education is unclear and in comparison to most of the early Carmel artists his record of exhibitions is slight. When he did display, his seascapes and landscapes were habitually well received. During his two decades in Carmel he was a generous supporter of the art colony, the Forest Theatre Society, and the community at large. He was a charter member of the Arts and Crafts Club where he exhibited. In 1933 he died in England.

Josephine Mary Culbertson studied art in New York City, including instruction from Arthur W. Dow as well as William Merritt Chase, and exhibited widely on the East Coast before moving permanently to Carmel in late 1905 with her partner, Ida Johnson. Culbertson was a member and constant contributor to exhibitions of the Arts and Crafts Club. Her paintings, which combined American academic traditions with a bright palette, were displayed at professional venues throughout California (Plate 8a).¹¹⁴ In addition to her regular support for community charities, she was instrumental in founding the Carmel Art Association in 1927 and served until 1932 as one of its elected officers. In 1941 Culbertson died in Pacific Grove.

Ida A. Johnson trained in art at the Parker School in Brooklyn and with Arthur W. Dow before she became the instructor in ceramic design and painting at Adelphi College. In 1905, when she moved to Carmel with Josephine Culbertson, she was president of the National League of Mineral Painters. After living in Carmel for over a decade the two women established their legendary studio, "Grey Gables," on the corner of Lincoln Street and Seventh Avenue. Johnson was a member of the Arts and Crafts Club where she periodically exhibited and taught ceramic painting. She was constantly involved in charitable activities on the Monterey Peninsula. In 1931 she died in Carmel.

Jennie Cannon, who spent her summers between 1905 and 1907 in Monterey, was able to visit Carmel only twice a week because of the difficulties of finding a suitable caregiver for her children. In her comments on the Carmel art community during this period she mentions her watercolor lessons from Sydney Yard and "the news" that the locals had "formed a special committee to organize a club for the arts and crafts. . . . this place will soon become the painters' sanctuary." She added that "Sydney Yard conceived the idea of organizing the club."¹¹⁵ There is no evidence that Jennie herself had any direct involvement with the organization of this group. In the early summer of 1905 the first meeting of this "committee" was held in the home of Miss Elsie J. Allen, a former editor at *Harper's Magazine* and a retired faculty member of Wellesley College. This pillar of the community and close friend of the Devendorf family was elected president of the newly formed Arts and Crafts Club of Carmel that November. Mrs. Jane Powers was chosen as

vice president, Louis Slevin as treasurer and Mary Brady as both recording and corresponding secretary.¹¹⁶ Brady, a respected painter who actually resided in Pacific Grove that summer, was undoubtedly selected because of her extensive knowledge of the San Francisco Bay Area art scene. The seven elected members of the Club's board of directors were equally impressive. In addition to Sydney Yard and his wife, Fannie, there was fellow artist Arthur Vachell as well as the architect, craftsman and former president of the San Francisco Press Club, W. E. Wood. Also included on the board were Mrs. Josephine K. Foster, a civic leader and future president of the Arts and Crafts Club, Mrs. Mary E. Hand, another future president, and Caroline (Carrie) Rand Sterling. The latter was not only the wife of the revered local poet, George Sterling, but also the sister-in-law of the wealthy East Bay speculator, Frank C. Havens. At this time Havens was in the process of amassing California's largest private art collection for his planned Piedmont gallery and he reportedly wanted Carrie to monitor the artists of the Peninsula.¹¹⁷ Unfortunately, her tenure there was brief. Due to her husband's frequent infidelities she fled Carmel, filed for divorce and committed suicide in 1918. Mary Hand as well as Sydney Yard, Josephine Foster and Arthur Vachell served on the Club's 1906 incorporation committee.

Mary Hand specifically remembered that "owning no club house, exhibitions, up to 1906, were held in the bath house or hotel lobby."¹¹⁸ According to the Club's unofficial historian, Eunice T. Gray, "That winter [January-February of 1906] the club held [for members only] its first exhibition of paintings by visiting artists, in a little building donated by the Carmel Development Company for use as a club room."¹¹⁹ This building, which measured twenty-four by twenty-six feet, was located on Ocean Avenue near Junípero Street. In addition to paintings, Russian peasant crafts were also displayed in 1906. The Club's official "inaugural" art exhibition was advertised and opened to the public that summer. The *Berkeley Daily Gazette*, obviously proud of its local contributing painters, reported on July 14, 1906 that the this exhibit was accompanied by a vocal duet, musical instruments and a dramatic "reading" by Mrs. Bessie Yard-Judson.¹²⁰

Saturday afternoon at Carmel-by-the-Sea an interesting event occurred. It being the initial reception given by the Carmel Club of Arts and Crafts, which was organized one year ago The charter membership list is made up of well known persons [from] the surrounding bay cities. The hall of the Carmel Pavilion was hung with pictures contributed by several artists who are enjoying an outing at the romantic resort. Among the paintings exhibited are those by William Adam, member of the Glasgow Scotland Art Club; Miss Frances Soule Campbell and Charles Chapel Judson of the Art Department of the University. . . . Other Berkeleyans who are members of the club are Miss Kate Newhall, Mrs. Mabel Grey Lachmund, Miss Sally Daingerfield and Miss M. Hale.

William Adam did not live in Berkeley, but was an established resident of Pacific Grove. We can assume that most of the unnamed exhibitors were Carmel artists, but no complete list has yet surfaced. According to Will Sparks' short note on this Carmel display in the *San Francisco Call*:¹²¹

A quantity of summer work was brought together last week and an exhibition given. This proved quite a feature of the season and was largely attended. I have been told that several pictures have been sold. This is certainly good news.

This was the first public art exhibition sponsored by an organization of professional artists on the Monterey Peninsula. Initially, membership in the Arts and Crafts Club was open to all applicants who paid the nominal fee, but years later it became more restrictive and was bestowed by its board of directors for community service. Artists could exhibit in the Club without holding formal membership as long as they met the requirements for residency.

One of the great misconceptions about the art colonies on the Peninsula is that the San Francisco earthquake and fire in April of 1906 brought a wave of migrating artists into the area. Will Sparks specifically reported that September on the professional artists who left the San Francisco Bay Area:¹²²

There has been a greater pilgrimage to Santa Barbara this year than ever before. McComas, Breuer, Wores and Welch have been putting in their time there and from all accounts doing some of their very best work. Monterey, this year, has been quite deserted, only the regular residents doing any work there. Peters and Dickman have both produced a number of pictures. Clausen, Robinson and Greenbaum have been working around Los Angeles and Pasadena. Dixon did some work out on the desert Latimer is still at Healdsburg Jorgensen and Best are still in the Yosemite Sandona was in Honolulu

In fact, Charles Dickman found Monterey so desolate of artists that he spent the second half of the summer in the Bohemian Club Grove. Not a single painter settled in Carmel as a result of the disaster.

On September 4, 1906 the "Arts and Crafts Club of Carmel" was legally incorporated and Mrs. Josephine (Nana) K. Foster was elected president for the succeeding year. By collecting a thirty percent commission from all of the art sold on Club premises as well as membership dues there were sufficient funds to purchase with a mortgage two large lots on Casanova Street, which had a total frontage of eighty feet, for only six hundred dollars, the discounted price offered by Frank Devendorf. At this time the foundation for a new "Club Hall" was laid, but construction was briefly suspended due to a lack of funds. By the following March the Club had at least one hundred members and amassed over two thousand dollars by selling stocks in "The Arts and Crafts Corporation" at ten dollars a share. Additional funds were raised with a bazaar and "café chantant." In the early spring of 1907 construction continued on the Hall with wood donated by Devendorf. The building, which was designed by W. E. Wood, was completed before August 1, 1907 for the grand opening reception at the Club's First Annual Summer Exhibition of Art, an event that was repeated through 1924. According to the *San Francisco Call*, the 1907 Annual was to continue for the entire month and "about 100 pictures were hung, many by the best known artists of the state."¹²³ Sydney Yard was the curator of the exhibition. The viewing gallery measured thirty feet by fifty feet. In addition to the regular showings, there were plans for a "permanent exhibit . . . of the work of prominent artists from all over the State." The permanent exhibit never materialized. However, the Annual Exhibitions as well as the frequent open studios drew wealthy visitors from the Del Monte Hotel whose own art gallery had just opened that April. In order to prevent any hostilities between the fledgling institutions Sydney Yard told the *San Francisco Call* that it "is not the intention of the Club to compete with the permanent exhibition at Del Monte, but it has been found that the demand for pictures during the time when tourists visit the place is very great, and it is hoped that an art gallery [in Carmel] will attract the artist and the art lover together to the advantage of both."¹²⁴

The Carmel Arts and Crafts Club was obviously more than an exhibition space. Officially, the Club's stated purpose was to encourage "the arts and crafts in the most liberal sense." Yet Frank Devendorf's overt sponsorship had a very practical intent. The organization obviously provided a social outlet for a number of permanent residents, but in the eyes of a developer it became a lure for vacationers and summer residents. After 1906 there was a noticeable increase

in the quantity of visiting painters in part because the Club provided a meeting place where they compared their work, discussed inspiring venues and purchased art supplies. Monterey had no comparable organization. The Club also sponsored a regular lecture series on various topics, as well as dress balls, card parties, concerts, vaudeville nights, “dramatic performances” and receptions for various organizations and dignitaries. Its elaborate community festivals, including the “Whirl-around” in 1909, Maypole Dances and immensely popular Dutch Fairs, drew large crowds of tourists and raised money for what had become Carmel’s unofficial cultural center.¹²⁵ Certainly, one of the most bizarre fund raisers was the elaborate 1910 Christmas-birthday party where the “inner-circle” of Carmel society, including DeNeale Morgan, Ferdinand Burgdorff, the MacGowans, the Newberrys and the Powers, watched Jack London and a “bedizened, diminutive dog” named Fluffy Ruffles consume lady fingers and lemonade while they were seated at the same table.¹²⁶ Seasonal visitors filled the regular summer classes for both adults and children that were sponsored by the Club and initially funded by Devendorf. In 1910, the first year of the regular Arts and Crafts Summer School, Mrs. Sydney Yard served as “the director” for classes that began in early June. The instructors were the following: “Mrs. Sydney Yard for dramatic reading [including speech and culture], Mrs. Carrie L. Carrington for music [primarily pianoforte], Miss Helen W. Parkes for botany, Miss Mary DeNeale Morgan for drawing and painting, Miss Etta M. Tilton for pottery and Mrs. Pell for metal work.” The summer classes of 1911 began on June 19th and continued for six weeks. Additional instructors for this expanded school were: Victoria Rhodes with “nature classes for little folks,” Ida A. Johnson for china painting, Frances Farrington for metal work and jewelry (replacing Mrs. Pell) and Claire M. O’Rourke for art needlework.¹²⁷ When the limited number of rental cabins and hotel rooms was unable to handle the summer influx, Devendorf set up a low-rent tent city near the beach for the vacationers.¹²⁸ He had managed through his encouragement and largess to transform the Arts and Crafts Club into a prototype of Club Med. Although the Club had become the cultural force in Carmel, Jennie Cannon’s participation in its activities between 1905 and 1907 was limited for a variety of reasons.

Mrs. Cannon gave birth to her second son in Tucson on January 1, 1906. Will insisted that the child bear the identical name of his grandfather, George Henry Cannon, and Jennie deferred to the husband she sincerely loved.¹²⁹ This blessed event made her expeditions into the more remote corners of southern Arizona less frequent, so she painted local scenes. Tourists in Tucson bought with increasing frequency the desert landscapes that she consigned to the hotels and “trading-posts.” But the locals remained uninterested in her work. What Jennie’s art needed was far more publicity and Grace Episcopal Church provided that opportunity. In late 1906 she joined the board of the Church’s principal charity, the Arizona Health League.¹³⁰ She conceived the idea of a benefit “Arts and Crafts Exhibition” and directed the three-day event in April of 1907.¹³¹ In fact, she was the main lecturer on opening day. Granted that the proceeds from the sale of her many “landscapes and sketches” were donated to charity, the publicity sparked interest in what the locals once deemed her “radical art.” The event was such a success that in October of the next year it was recreated as a much larger “Country Fair” where Jennie again exhibited and served as an “assistant” in the art section.¹³²

What also added to Mrs. Cannon’s rising social status was the arrival of her very urbane friend, Louise MacDougal. In July of 1905 the Carnegie Institute decided to make its Tucson Laboratory a permanent station. Daniel MacDougal was appointed its Director on January 1, 1906

and his arrival a week later was greeted with great ceremonial fanfare.¹³³ Amid all this ballyhoo there was only one very small published notation in the local press that William Cannon would remain on the Laboratory staff with an unspecified promotion.¹³⁴ In contrast, every movement and utterance of MacDougal's was detailed in lengthy newspaper articles.¹³⁵ Jennie realized that her husband's academic success and certainly her family's future depended to some degree on the *public* perception of Will as a pillar of the scientific community, not merely the source of dry academic articles. A few weeks after Louise and her daughter Alice arrived in late September of 1906 Jennie hosted a well-publicized "informal" reception at the Cannons' University Heights home to introduce the MacDougals to Tucson society.¹³⁶ She invited the entire Laboratory staff, select city officials, and a number of prominent faculty from the local University. For entertainment she employed three pianists, a soprano, and two bards to read a selection of poetry. The fête was a resounding success. Jennie also drew Louise into charitable work with the Arizona Health League which conveniently provided her friend with a venue to display and sell her art.

Admittedly, there was an ulterior motive to Jennie's careful cultivation of Louise and Daniel MacDougal. William Cannon was asked to evaluate the research of the renowned plant breeder, Luther Burbank, who had been a recipient of Carnegie grants.¹³⁷ Rather than continue to spend the painfully hot summers in Tucson assisting visiting scholars or to encamp in Burbank's isolated research center at Santa Rosa, Will wanted to join Jennie and the children on the more temperate Pacific Coast. It is probably safe to assume that it was Jennie's idea to select Carmel, her favorite haunt for painting, as the site for her husband's Burbank research. While dozens of sites along the California coast offered laboratory facilities and residential amenities, Carmel was largely undeveloped. The Cannons' plan, which becomes apparent from the ensuing well-documented events, was to find outside help to acquire Carmel lots and construct a small laboratory where Will and perhaps a few associates from Tucson could work during the summer. They would use MacDougal's influence to persuade the "Carnegie Institute people" in Washington D. C. to accept as a gift ownership of the lab which in turn the Institute would equip and maintain. As the staff and wives of the Tucson Laboratory would presumably demand access to the Carmel retreat, there would be a need for a larger year-round facility. This, in turn, would allow the Cannons to relocate permanently to Carmel. With the exception of the final goal, this elaborate scheme actually worked.

Throughout the summer of 1906 Jennie and the children rented rooms in Monterey and twice weekly she commuted to Carmel by stage. During Will's three-week visit in August he sent Jennie "over from Monterey, where he was working, to see if there was a suitable place for a summer station . . . for the Arizona folks [of the Carnegie Institution] in Carmel-by-the-Sea."¹³⁸ Jennie approached the most influential man in Carmel, Frank Devendorf, with the proposition that he should donate the land as well as a building for a Carnegie Research Laboratory to enhance Carmel's prestige. She argued that the presence of such an institution would stimulate the sale of real estate which was then moribund. Jennie's appeal was perfectly timed and she developed an immediate rapport with Devendorf. As an act of good faith she also negotiated the purchase of three lots on and near Ocean Avenue for her family's personal use. Devendorf was politely supportive, but needed to consult his partner, Frank Powers, as to the feasibility of the Carnegie undertaking.¹³⁹ When the Cannons returned to Tucson in the fall, they made no mention of their negotiations with Devendorf.

In early May of 1907 Will and Jennie departed Arizona for their California summer. For the first time since September of 1903 one of Tucson's most prominent newspapers proudly ran a lengthy article on Mr. Cannon and his forthcoming research in Santa Rosa, but with no mention of the Pacific coast.¹⁴⁰ After the couple established their residence in Monterey near the old Custom House, Will continued his journey to Santa Rosa and collected plant samples from the Burbank center.¹⁴¹ On his return he spent a few days at Stanford University, where he hoped for a professorship in the Botany Department, and then rejoined Jennie and the children in Monterey.¹⁴² Will set up his testing and plant evaluation at the nearby Hopkins Seaside Laboratory where he shared space and equipment with the very dissimilar projects of other scholars.¹⁴³ In July of 1907 the Cannons officially purchased their own Carmel lots. In Will's letter of July 21, 1907 sent from Monterey to MacDougal there is absolutely no mention of a Carnegie presence in Carmel or of Will's plans to conduct research there:¹⁴⁴

I have just contracted for some lots at Carmel, near here, on which to put up a summer cottage for Mrs. Cannon. The place is a new one and very attractive. Mrs. Cannon likes it well.

William Cannon states that he "contracted" for the Carmel property. However, the actual titles on the property were in Jennie's name.¹⁴⁵ Because Jennie had a small but regular income from the sale of her paintings, it is highly likely that she contributed all or a large part of the purchase price. We know that on May 1, 1907 she received a check for two hundred dollars in payment for her art; this sale was arranged by MacDougal.¹⁴⁶ During the summer of 1907 the Cannons maintained very visible profiles. Jennie attracted much attention and many questions from admiring artists when she sold her Impressionist landscapes of southern Arizona, the first desert scenes ever displayed in Carmel. Will gave a public lecture in Pacific Grove on the work of the Carnegie Laboratories.¹⁴⁷ He later returned to Santa Rosa for several weeks. Jennie also corresponded with Daniel and Louise MacDougal and praised the balmy scenic vistas of Carmel.¹⁴⁸ This summer was the first time Daniel MacDougal heard of the Cannons' interest in Carmel.¹⁴⁹ There is no evidence that Mrs. Cannon contributed to the First Annual Exhibition of the Arts and Crafts Club in August of 1907 because no catalogue of contributors has yet come to light.¹⁵⁰ She certainly had every opportunity to visit the exhibition that was intended to popularize the new club house. Thirty years later Jennie reminisced about the summer of 1907 in Carmel:¹⁵¹

In those days I knew who lived where, in every building. We could literally, at that time, leave our purse on the doorstep; none stole our paper or looted our milk. Our wearing apparel was by turns both green and ancient. It mattered not at all. Everyone knew everybody. Rivalry, jealousy, hatred, as noticeable among individuals and nations today, were unknown. All our wants were posted on the Carmel bulletin board near Mr. Slevin's – I can see its dazzling contents still. The place has not been the same since it [Slevin's "general store"] vanished, alas!

Miss Culbertson and Miss Johnson's studio had their tag of welcome at the door, and Sydney Yard (where Miss Morgan's studio now is) entertained daily those who just had to have a "Yard" picture to remind them of beautiful Carmel-by-the-Sea.

Jennie departed Carmel on September 24, 1907 for a five-to-six-week stay at the art colony in Berkeley where she received a commission to paint a dozen illustrations. That November Carmel was rocked by the suicide of poetess Nora May French in the home of George Sterling.¹⁵² Under glaring headlines with suggestive illustrations and excerpts from her poems the newspapers of San Francisco sensationalized the event: **Midnight Lure of Death Leads Poetess to Grave, . . .**

Poetess Lured by Death's Desire Drinks Acid, . . . Friend has Telepathic Vision of Poet's Death Scene, . . . Talent and Beauty Hers: Motive Unknown and Acid at Midnight. Couched in the romantic vocabulary of the day there were references to her: immense talent, ambition, natural beauty, melancholia, flare for the dramatic "in that elect coterie of Bohemians," Presbyterian upbringing, fixation on suicide and frequent male visitors with suggestions of nymphomania. The press even covered the scattering of her ashes at Cypress Point. In a lengthy and somewhat sympathetic article *The Oakland Tribune* recounted how Nora May, ailing physically and mentally, had failed days earlier in an attempt to shoot herself with Sterling's revolver and finally succeeded with a painful dose of cyanide of potassium. Questions arose as to why suicide was so popular in Carmel and why so many of her intimate male callers, including the local literati and artists Charles Dickman, Xavier Martinez, Rollo Peters and H. Stuart Fonda, had failed to intercede. This was the kind of publicity that Devendorf dreaded.

William Cannon had approached Frank Devendorf in late August of 1907 regarding his wife's earlier overture for a donation of land and facilities devoted to his personal research as a staff member of the Carnegie Institute. Apparently, the two men came to a verbal agreement on specifics. In November Cannon approached MacDougal with this stunning proposal and when the latter gave his enthusiastic support the following letter was sent on December 2, 1907 to the Carmel Development Company:¹⁵³

Gentlemen: -

Referring to a certain conversation which I had last August with your Secretary, Mr. Devendorf, in regard to the building of a laboratory at Carmel, for my use, I may say that I have discussed the matter with Dr. D. T. MacDougal, Director of the Department of Botanical Research of this Institution [Tucson's Desert Botanical Laboratory], and he advises me as follows: If the Carmel Development Company should wish to construct a substantial wooden building about 18 x 36 feet in size, provide either electricity or gas for laboratory work, furnish connection with adequate water supply, locate the structure conveniently, and on a plot of ground of sufficient size and character for limited experimental purposes and vest the title of the same in the Carnegie Institution of Washington, that the matter would be brought before the Trustees of the Institution for their consideration.

Very truly yours,

[signed] W. A. Cannon
Staff Member

Immediately Devendorf sent his approval and the Carnegie Institute accepted the donation within a few months. Jennie's dream of turning their summer residence into a permanent Carmel home seemed so much closer. Will probably arrived in Tucson by the first week in October of 1907 "to put up a shanty for the family to occupy when they return in November." The "shanty" was temporary until their new home was completed on Speedway Avenue.¹⁵⁴ Again, Jennie was forced to do without such basic amenities as internal plumbing. Despite the added time and labor to maintain a household in these primitive conditions, she still painted whenever possible.

Her social prominence in Tucson continued to grow. In January of 1908 she was included in the published list of the "Beau Monde" at the annual charity ball.¹⁵⁵ Two months later her public lecture on the *Barbizon School* was prominently reviewed in a local newspaper.¹⁵⁶ For the first time in *The Tucson Citizen* her husband was mentioned alongside MacDougal in reports on the Desert Laboratory.¹⁵⁷ The most significant event that March was Jennie's fortunate encounter with Cleveland H. Dodge, the immensely wealthy entrepreneur and art collector who was visiting

Tucson. Officially, Dodge had arrived to inspect the Desert Laboratory in his capacity as a member of the Carnegie "Advisory Board" and to examine his many mining interests in Southern Arizona. In addition, his vast holding company owned a number of railroads and energy producers.¹⁵⁸ Jennie was enlisted to give Dodge a guided tour of the nearby San Xavier Mission, a site which she frequently painted. Obviously, their discussion turned to art and after viewing some of her smaller oils he commissioned at an exceptionally generous price two large desert scenes for delivery in early 1909.¹⁵⁹

In the spring of 1908 the Cannons did not return to Monterey, but to their new laboratory-home in Carmel. Will wrote to MacDougal that May to announce:¹⁶⁰

I am just getting into my laboratory. It is a two-room structure on the main street of the tiny town, but enough to one side to be out of the usual beat of the tourist people. The front room is fitted up with a fire-place and is to be used by Mrs. Cannon as a study; the rear room, about 16 ft. square, is to be my laboratory, - I am writing in it now. I am to have acetylene gas piped from the plumber's, and water. A working table with gas and water are being made to order as the [Carmel Development] Company has turned a carpenter over for my use. I think everything will be in running order early next week.

When Will asked the Carnegie Institute to pay for his new equipment, MacDougal politely obliged.¹⁶¹ In fact, MacDougal even declared: "You and Mrs. Cannon are to be congratulated on the facilities and I hope they [the Carmel Development Company] will not attempt to make a feature of you to exhibit to tourists."¹⁶² MacDougal anticipated the notice that was later placed in the local Monterey newspaper by Frank Devendorf: "W. A. Cannon and his family are here for the summer."¹⁶³ But publicity is exactly what Jennie wanted since she sold her paintings from their cozy front room which also functioned as her studio.

This new Carnegie Laboratory, which Will praised as a "great improvement over last summer," sparked such interest that MacDougal decided to accept Jennie's invitation and make his first visit to Carmel in strictly an "unofficial capacity" with his wife Louise.¹⁶⁴ His request for two rooms and a bath at a Carmel hotel elicited this response from Will: "the most desirable rooms are probably taken. If I cannot get you a bath with the room, there is plenty of water in the bay on tap and it is all yours."¹⁶⁵ The MacDougals arrived on August 11, 1908 for a short stay before traveling to the East Coast. Jennie charmed Louise with a grand scenic tour and proposed that they should jointly hold a public exhibition and sale of their art in Carmel next summer. Mrs. Cannon also arranged a meeting between Daniel MacDougal and Frank Devendorf. No notes survive from that conference, but it is safe to assume from the subsequent correspondence that Devendorf made a generous verbal proposal to donate at least three acres of land in Carmel as the site for a significantly larger Carnegie Laboratory. Louise MacDougal, who as much as anyone needed an escape from Tucson's summer, applied pressure on her husband to support the venture. On August 21st MacDougal wrote to Will from the Carnegie Headquarters in Washington D.C. that:¹⁶⁶

The more I think over our scheme at Carmel the better it appears to be, and the people here all think that it would be a splendid acquisition for our Department. . . . My wife grows more and more enthusiastic over the idea of being able to work in Carmel next summer. We are both greatly obliged to you and Mrs. Cannon for the fine visit we had, and we hope that nothing will interfere with the carrying out of our plans in full detail.

In Will's letter to MacDougal five days later he announced that:¹⁶⁷

Mr. Devendorf says that he sent his explicit offer of land etc. [i.e., an improved access road, water, sewer and electricity] to the Carnegie Institution some days ago so that

it is very likely in your hands at this moment. He is waiting with more or less uneasiness, I suspect, the outcome as he appears greatly interested in our plans.

MacDougal acknowledged that “such a concession” from Devendorf gave great personal pleasure to Mr. Carnegie himself and should contribute immensely to the success of the plan.¹⁶⁸ After the Cannons had carefully reviewed the written proposals from the Carmel Development Company they decided to entertain the local “gentry,” Jennie’s euphemism for those permanent residents who were very protective about development in the hamlet, and to broach the issue of a larger Laboratory. The couple soon discovered that these Carmelites were “greatly pleased” with an increased Carnegie presence in the town.¹⁶⁹ It is quite ironic that Jennie Cannon’s stubborn insistence on becoming a resident of Carmel led to the import of the very “non-artistic” Carnegie Institute. In July of 1908 she was formally welcomed into Carmel “society” at a high tea hosted by Mrs. Mary Hand.

Also in 1908 the seasonal colony of artists was supplemented by the addition in the late spring of two visiting painters who had recently become “famous art photographers,” Laura Adams Armer and Anne W. Brigman. In October both exhibited their work at the Arts and Crafts Exposition in Oakland’s Idora Park under such titles as *Carmel* and *The Witch Tree*.¹⁷⁰ A well-known art instructor at Berkeley’s California School of Arts and Crafts, Isabelle Percy(-West), spent the entire month of July with twenty-one students in her summer class “of outdoor sketching and craft work.”¹⁷¹ Over the next two decades classes from that institution taught by Xavier Martinez and Perham Nahl made a similar pilgrimage as did the University of California Extension courses taught by Charles Judson, Eugen Neuhaus, Alfred Schroff and James Blanding Sloan. In November of 1908 Upton Sinclair arrived in Carmel to visit George Sterling for several weeks.¹⁷² Of great importance for the art colony was the appearance of a new Carmel resident, Ferdinand Burgdorff of Cleveland. His sublime and brilliant “atmospheric” canvases won him immediate recognition in several San Francisco galleries and a coveted membership in the Bohemian Club (Plate 3b).¹⁷³ Through 1911 he rented a small studio-gallery in the corner of the Carmel Arts and Crafts Clubhouse where he also donated his time and paintings in support of local events. Burgdorff even performed at the local Forest Theatre. Despite his many absences he managed to maintain a home in Carmel or the Carmel Highlands until he moved to Pebble Beach in 1923. He regularly exhibited in Carmel through the 1960s. The career of this highly successful painter lasted longer than any other professional artist in the colony.

Jennie and the children returned to Tucson in mid-September of 1908 and to a house that was nearly complete.¹⁷⁴ News of the commissions from Cleveland Dodge did not go unnoticed among Tucson’s patricians who now competed to purchase her paintings. The show and sale of Jennie’s “beautiful” Carmel paintings in October was a resounding success.¹⁷⁵ Shortly thereafter a review of her exhibit at Tucson’s “Country Fair” noted that her work “showed artistic discernment of a high order and a display . . . not only of great art value, but a commercial value of hundreds of dollars.”¹⁷⁶

Through early 1909 the Cannons were frequently mentioned for their “social entertaining.”¹⁷⁷ What could escape no one’s notice that spring was the manner in which her departure for California was announced in a prominent local newspaper. Instead of a terse summary or a one-line notice that the wife and children would accompany Dr. W. A. Cannon on his Burbank research in Carmel, there was a decidedly different approach:¹⁷⁸

Mrs. W. A. Cannon and family will leave on Tuesday for California, they will visit in Berkeley, also at Stanford University, later going to Carmel where they will remain until fall. During the summer Mrs. Cannon and Mrs. D. T. MacDougal will hold an art exhibition in Carmel. Mrs. Cannon will take with her a number of fine views of scenery about Tucson. She is an artist of rare ability, working entirely in oil colors . . . Dr. Cannon, who has just returned from a trip to California, will accompany his family.

The characterization of William as a mere appendage to his wife's entourage and professional plans must have been galling. No description has yet surfaced of Jennie's short trip early that summer to the Berkeley art colony, a place that she visited two years earlier; undoubtedly, she delivered the last of the twelve "illustrations" in oil that were commissioned in 1907 by the Lemos Brothers Illustrating Company (Plate 13a).¹⁷⁹ Pedro Lemos and his wife visited the Cannons in Carmel in August of 1909.

In Carmel Jennie and Louise MacDougal meticulously converted Will's Carnegie lab, which was strategically located in close proximity to Ocean Avenue, into an art gallery. Between June 28th and 30th both artists exhibited their oils and watercolors. A local reporter briefly reviewed this exhibition for the front page of the *Monterey Daily Cypress*.¹⁸⁰ After the untimely death of her close friend and tutor, Sydney Yard, Jennie decide to take several private lessons from Isabel Hunter.¹⁸¹ That summer the artists and literati jointly established the town's first literary journal, *The Carmel Whirl*, "with the idea of bettering the financial condition of the arts and crafts club."¹⁸² In the first issue was a summary of a local symposium on "California as an art center." At this time the Persian Consul from Washington, D.C. predicted that Carmel would become a hub for creative arts in America. Unfortunately, the journal died as quickly as it was born. On July 6, 1909 the Arts and Crafts Club elected at their annual meeting new officers: Mrs. Mary E. Hand as president, Mrs. Josephine Foster as vice-president, Mrs. Sydney Yard as corresponding secretary and Miss DeNeale Morgan as treasurer. Miss Ida Johnson and Miss Etta Tilton, both ceramists, were elected to its "board of managers" along with Mr. Wilson and Dr. Beck. With the exception of the last two names, the leadership here was entirely female. Two days later the Third Annual Exhibition of the Arts and Crafts Club was held.¹⁸³ In accordance with local requirements, all participants had to be permanent or summer residents of the Monterey Peninsula; not one of the exhibitors came from the Monterey art colony. Among the contributors of "crafts" were Ida Johnson with painted china and Josephine Culbertson with pottery and tooled leather. Mrs. McDow, who was also a still life painter, displayed "needlework." Oils and watercolors were contributed by the following eleven artists: Arthur Vachell, DeNeale Morgan, Ferdinand Burgdorff, Jennie Cannon, Louise MacDougal, Josephine Culbertson, Jessie Short, Goddard Gale, Hermann Rosse, Dora Jacobs and Julia Hollister. The last four names on the roster were apparently new faces in Carmel. Hollister had an uneventful career.¹⁸⁴ The California-born Dora Jacobs trained at San Francisco's Mark Hopkins Institute of Art where she received honorable mentions in three classes during 1904-05. Her still lifes and photographs were exhibited at several venues, including the San Francisco Sketch Club, but she never established a profession as a serious artist. Goddard Frederick Gale trained at the Royal College of Art in South Kensington before he left his influential London family and immigrated to North America. By 1899 he was a resident of Oakland where he taught mechanical drawing and art. His meticulous watercolors were displayed frequently in England and San Francisco to great acclaim and in 1909 he received the grand prize in that category at the Alaska-Yukon-Pacific Exposition in Seattle. On the recommendation of his friend

Sydney Yard he first summered in Carmel in 1907; between 1909 and 1917 the Gale family leased a seasonal cottage there. Until Gale's death in 1938 he exhibited at venues throughout California. Hermann N. Rosse was born in The Hague, Netherlands, and after completing art studies near his home and in London he graduated with a degree in architecture from Stanford University in 1910. When this twenty-two-year-old student appeared in Carmel, he was undoubtedly seen as an artist with a promising future. What no one realized at that time was just how famous he was about to become. His decorations for the Dutch building at the 1915 PPIE received the medal of honor. In 1917 he was hired as the Instructor of Decorative Design at the California School of Fine Arts and exhibited extensively to stellar reviews in the San Francisco Bay Area. Thereafter he became Director of the School of Design at the Art Institute in Chicago and received international recognition for his theatrical sets. Rosse was hired by Universal Pictures in Hollywood to create the scenery for such films as *Frankenstein* and *Emperor Jones*. In 1930 he received the first Academy Award in Art Direction for the *King of Jazz*. His murals appeared in the Victoria and Albert Museum in London and throughout Europe. His most profound influence was in New York City where he designed sets for the Metropolitan Opera and Broadway; among his many credits were Gershwin's *Rhapsody in Blue* and the *Ziegfeld Follies*. Subsequent Annual Exhibitions of the Arts and Crafts Club would exhibit the work of many truly seminal figures.

The sale of Cannon's desert scenes at both of the Carmel exhibitions was successful. These profits, combined with the earnings from the Cleveland Dodge and Lemos Brothers commissions, led her to a momentous decision. She now resolved on a long-held dream, namely the formal study of art in Europe.¹⁸⁵ Jennie had been in correspondence with her old friend from New York, C. P. Townsley, who some years earlier had become the director of the London School of Art. Her plans were to leave Tucson in early January of 1910 with her two sons in tow. In London she would place her children in boarding schools and devote herself to art. After the completion of a full semester of formal study she intended to tour Europe and north Africa for one year. The first public announcement of Jennie's plans appeared on the front page of the *Pacific Grove Review*.¹⁸⁶ While William Cannon received some acclaim for his connection with the Carnegie Institute and his local lectures,¹⁸⁷ Jennie had clearly become in the eyes of Carmel a personality that was very independent of her spouse. Her prominence was confirmed in July of 1909 on the front page of the *Monterey Daily Cypress* which carried a lengthy description of the annual breakfast of the Arts and Crafts Club at the Pine Inn and the list of distinguished guests:¹⁸⁸

Mr. William Greer Harrison acted as toast-master, those answering to the toasts being Merzi Ali Kuli Khan, consul from Persia, who with Wadam Kahn were the honored guests, Mr. Michael Williams, Miss Alice MacGowan, Mrs. Cannon, Mrs. George Sterling, Mrs. Mary E. Hand and Mrs. Josephine Foster.

After Jennie's departure in September Carmel received special recognition in the San Francisco press when the distinguished painter Ernest Peixotto and his wife again visited the art colony. In his honor DeNeale Morgan hosted a celebratory "gathering of distinguished artists" at her studio-home. In addition to guests from the East Coast, there were several local artists, including: Anita Murray, Josephine Culbertson, Ida Johnson, Sarah Chandler, Ferdinand Burgdorff and Arthur Vachell.¹⁸⁹

When the Cannon family returned to Tucson Jennie was again mentioned in the local newspapers with more exposure than her husband.¹⁹⁰ As she began to calculate the expenses for

two years abroad she decided to hold one last exhibit and sale on January 11, 1910, just two days before her departure.¹⁹¹ Louise MacDougal converted her own house into a gallery for their joint exhibition. A large turnout by the gilded set insured success.¹⁹² Will financed his own European tour by obtaining a grant from Daniel MacDougal in the form of a two-month “research sabbatical” in the Algerian Sahara.¹⁹³ He departed Tucson for Europe in April of 1910.

During the twenty-month absence of the Cannons the MacDougals adopted Carmel. After the Carnegie Institute gave formal approval in December of 1908 for the larger botanical laboratory, construction began in the following May and was completed in just over a month.¹⁹⁴ Daniel MacDougal himself came out to inspect the completed project on June 15th and stayed for five weeks. He and his wife so loved Carmel that they purchased newly surveyed lots from Devendorf for a “summer residence.”¹⁹⁵ In 1910 the architect M. J. Murphy built their spacious Craftsman bungalow at the southwest corner of Dolores Street and Twelfth Avenue.¹⁹⁶ Daniel assumed the title of “director” of the Coastal Laboratory of the Carnegie Institution and became a resident Carmelite.¹⁹⁷ The MacDougals later moved to a more spacious home in the Carmel Highlands. The Cannons, for reasons that will become apparent in the ensuing narrative, never made Carmel a permanent home. Ironically, the most frequently cited “local history” of the Coastal Laboratory has absolutely no mention of the Cannons, but quotes MacDougal’s erroneous story that he *alone* accidentally discovered this “Oasis-by-the-Sea” in 1908 and “brought the laboratory branch to Carmel.”¹⁹⁸

In the late fall of 1909 reports from Berkeley indicated that political turmoil was threatening its fledgling art community. Cannon’s daybook entries from her visit there two years earlier, our longest surviving contemporary narrative on the first Berkeley art colony, described with great wonderment an artistic utopia. Chapter Three presents a brief history of the rise and fall of that colony and cites for the first time her complete narrative.

Endnotes – Chapter Two

- ¹ Neil C. Trager et al., *Bolton Coit Brown, A Retrospective*, Exhibition Catalogue of the Samuel Dorsky Museum of Art, New Paltz, New York, 2003, pp.1ff ; cf., Falk, p.460; Hughes, p.154. When Jennie Cannon reviewed B. C. Brown’s 1924 solo exhibition at The Print Rooms of San Francisco for the *Berkeley Daily Gazette*, she included an extensive biography on the artist (BDG, July 26, 1924, p.6).
- ² DPA, March 10, 1899, p.3. In another review his work was described as “tender and delicate . . . truly poetic in spirit” and possessed of “large-minded simplicity” (DPA, March 13, 1899, p.1; cf. J. M. Bowles, “The Color Harmonies of Bolton Brown” AAD 1, 1911, p.439). Later his landscapes were given successful one-man exhibitions in New York and Chicago; his collected works also appeared at San Francisco’s Vickery, Atkins & Torrey Gallery (SFL, April 30, 1911, p.33).
- ³ DPA: October 8, 1897, p.1; March 17, 1898, p.1.
- ⁴ DPA, September 24, 1896, p.1.
- ⁵ DPA, October 13, 1898, p.1.
- ⁶ DPA, December 2, 1896, p.4.
- ⁷ DPA: December 9, 1896, p.1; February 19, 1897, p.4. Most notorious was Brown’s appointment by James D. Phelan, the Mayor of San Francisco, to chair a committee of fifty prominent citizens to lobby for the independence of Cuba. Reportedly, this “honor” was granted after an all-night drinking party at the Bohemian Club where the artist was a frequent guest (DPA, March 15, 1900, p.1).
- ⁸ DPA, March 16, 1897, p.3.
- ⁹ CPC: August 30, 1935, p.16; December 2, 1938, p.7; July 20, 1945, pp.1, 7; cf. CPC, September 8, 1939, p.7. For precise information on the relative locations of Carmel, Monterey, Pacific Grove, and the Seventeen Mile Drive refer to Clark, pp.72-79, 319-321, 366-68, 522.
- ¹⁰ Temple, pp.56-59; Clark, pp.72-79; Hale, pp.1-8. Sharron Hale’s book is filled with interesting details on Carmel. Unfortunately, most of this material is undocumented.
- ¹¹ According to Sydney Temple, Abbie Hunter was arrested for embezzlement on St. Valentine’s Day in 1895 and spent a day in jail. The Sheriff auctioned her home in Carmel as a foreclosure on a delinquent mortgage (Temple, pp.60f;

- cf., Carol Kobus, "The Romance of Carmel," in White, pp.25-30; Hale, pp.3-8). A biography of Delos Goldsmith and his family is in CPC, October 6, 1915, p.1.
- ¹² DPA, May 6, 1889, p.3; PGR, April 21, 1900, p.2; Clark, pp.220f.
- ¹³ DPA: September 3, 1897, p.1; January 28, 1898, p.1; March 23, 1898, p.1.
- ¹⁴ The information on Laura Milner is contained in a letter dated August 12, 2004 from Joan Tweit, the granddaughter of William and Jennie Cannon, to Robert W. Edwards.
- ¹⁵ DPA, January 17, 1898, p.4.
- ¹⁶ Archives of St. Mary's-by-the-Sea Episcopal Church, Pacific Grove, California. In her diaries Jennie reveals that her future husband arrived in Pacific Grove only the evening before the marriage (Cannon, *Diaries*, January 8, 1911).
- ¹⁷ PGR, January 15, 1898, p.3.
- ¹⁸ DPA, October 13, 1898, p.1.
- ¹⁹ DPA: March 2, 1898, p.4; March 3, 1898, pp.1, 4.
- ²⁰ DPA: September 3, 1897, p.1; January 28, 1898, p.1; cf. Falk, p.652; Hughes, p.217.
- ²¹ DPA, October 25, 1897, p.3.
- ²² DPA: September 23, 1898, p.1; October 5, 1898, p.5. Brown exercised control over interior decoration to the smallest degree, including the muted terra cotta and gray tones on the walls.
- ²³ BDG, March 26, 1921, p.6.
- ²⁴ Appendix 5. Unfortunately, the fragmentary file on the Department of Drawing and Painting in the Stanford archives provides no information on the specific displays, only the names of the participants in that exhibition.
- ²⁵ DPA: May 24, 1899, p.9; September 12, 1899, p.3; *Stanford University and Palo Alto Directory, 1899-1900*, Palo Alto, 1899, p.6.
- ²⁶ DPA, January 17, 1899, p.2.
- ²⁷ The date of Milner's birth at Stanford University is confirmed in Cannon's 1909 U. S. Passport application (No.17455, M1490-Roll 98).
- ²⁸ According to the U.S. Census of 1900 [ED 11, Sheet 9B], which was taken on June 8th, the Cannons rented their summer home. On this Census William's occupation was listed as "School Teacher" with no recent record of unemployment. Jennie's occupation was not specified.
- ²⁹ Carmel was somewhat risky for a day visitor with a new baby. Unlike the well-maintained town of Pacific Grove, the rather primitive village of Carmel had no sewage system and an inadequate supply of clean water (Carol Kobus, "The Romance of Carmel," in White, pp.28-30).
- ³⁰ The staff at the Stanford archives was unable to locate any records of Jennie's graduation because most of their holdings from that period were destroyed by the earthquake and fire in April of 1906. However, a formal legal notice in the Palo Alto newspaper revealed that "Jennie V. Cannon" completed her Stanford degree (DPT, January 15, 1917, p.5).
- ³¹ Cannon, *Drama*, pp. 100.
- ³² DPA, April 25, 1900, p.3.
- ³³ According to Cannon, her early classes at the National Academy of Design were free, probably because of her husband's association with Columbia University (Cannon, *Drama*, p.100). Bolton Brown's abrupt departure from the Stanford staff was somewhat scandalous. When the University authorities censured Brown for employing nude models in his advanced life-drawing class, he segregated his classes by sex. Shortly thereafter the University demanded that all models wear suitable clothing. Brown resigned in protest and traveled to New York City where his stay was reportedly very short. He went on to explore the Catskill Mountains and co-founded a utopian arts and crafts colony at Woodstock (Neil C. Trager et al., *Bolton Coit Brown, A Retrospective*, Exhibition Catalogue of the Samuel Dorsky Museum of Art, New Paltz, New York, 2003, pp.1, 5-8).
- ³⁴ Appendix 5. This 1901 Elliott Bronze Medal is still in the possession of Joan Tweit, Jennie's granddaughter. The complete inscription on the medal reads: "National Academy of Design / New York / Antique School / Night Class - Head / Jennie V. Cannon / 1901." An attached and very faded newspaper clipping notes that Mrs. Cannon (née Jennie Vennerström) won first prize for the best sculpted head. Her 1902 Langdon Award, a "third prize" for coin and medal design, was a monetary grant which helped to pay Jennie's expenses at the New York School of Art (NYT, May 17, 1902, p.7).
- ³⁵ Here Jennie undoubtedly had live models in her drawing classes and experimented with a variety of mediums. My contacts with the Kellen Archives at Parsons, The New School for Design, the successor to Chase's New York School of Art, and with the research team preparing the *catalogue raisonné* on William Merritt Chase, yielded the unfortunate fact that no records of student enrollment have survived from the early 1900s. For information on the New York School of Art (known at its founding in 1896 as the Chase School of Art) refer to: Pisano, *Chase*, pp.95-97, 99f and Bryant, pp.173-76, 190f, 209f. There is no documentation on Mrs. Cannon's whereabouts in the summer of 1902. It is possible that she enrolled in the last season of the Shinnecock School of Art, located at the eastern end of Long Island. Cannon herself does not provide specific dates for her studies under Chase (CPC, January 10, 1930, p.9).
- ³⁶ Bowers, pp.6ff. MacDougal was among the most influential "advisors" in the Carnegie Institute.
- ³⁷ In her autobiography, Jennie Cannon states that she resided for two years in New York (Cannon, *Drama*, p.100). In the *1924 Alumni Record of Hamline University* (St. Paul, 1924, p.23) Jennie lists her New York period as "3 years." She actually lived there two years and ten months. On September 26, 1903 Jennie arrived in Tucson with her son, Milner (MacDougal, September 27, 1903 Letter from Cannon to MacDougal, Box 3, Folder 23, p.1).
- ³⁸ Bowers, p.8; TTP: September 26, 1903, p.3; September 19, 1903, p.3.
- ³⁹ MacDougal, September 15, 1903 Letter from Cannon to MacDougal, Box 3, Folder 23, p.4; TTP, September 26, 1903, p.3.

- ⁴⁰ MacDougal, December 7, 1903 Letter from Cannon to MacDougal, Box 3, Folder 23, p.2.
- ⁴¹ MacDougal: November 9, 1903 Letter from Cannon to MacDougal, Box 3, Folder 23, p.2; January 5, 1904 Letter from Cannon to MacDougal, Box 4, Folder 32, p.1; June 15, 1904 Letter from MacDougal to Cannon, Box 4, Folder 32, p.2.
- ⁴² ADS, September 4, 1904, p.6; TTC, December 27, 1905, p.4. Will certainly made a strategic error in his handling of the local press. Upon his arrival he gave a rather high-profile interview to a reporter from *The Tucson Post* (TTP, September 19, 1903, p.3). Whether by intent or error he was described as the “new director” of the Desert Laboratory. Dr. MacDougal is mentioned only as a member of the “Carnegie Advisory Board.” Officially, the Laboratory had no director, but was governed by the Advisory Board during this probationary period. Will did not take the opportunity to correct this error in a subsequent *Post* article where he is again referred to as “the director” (TTP, September 26, 1903, p.3). Academics, like officers in the military, are extremely sensitive about titles and seniority. When MacDougal, who was famous for his short temper and authoritarian style, arrived in January of 1904 he put Cannon in his place. In 1906 MacDougal became the first official “director” of the Desert Laboratory and he skillfully focused what public attention the Laboratory received on his activities.
- ⁴³ ADS, January 22, 1904, p.4; cf. notes 133-35 below.
- ⁴⁴ Cannon, *Drama*, pp.89f, 95, 100-01.
- ⁴⁵ Westphal, *North*, p.112; Hagerty, pp.51ff.
- ⁴⁶ *Woman's Club of Tucson, 1904-05 Yearbook*, MS 605, Arizona Federation of Women's Clubs, Box 11, Folder 78, Archives of the Arizona Historical Society, Tucson.
- ⁴⁷ Refer to Appendix 5.
- ⁴⁸ TTC, October 28, 1904, 5.
- ⁴⁹ Tucson residents of even modest means made it a habit to escape to the cool Pacific in the summer (TTC, June 28, 1906, p.4).
- ⁵⁰ MacDougal, June 24, 1905 Letter from Cannon to MacDougal, Box 5, Folder 40, p.2.
- ⁵¹ Refer to the discussion in Appendix 6.
- ⁵² Fink, *Monterey*, p.122ff; SFL, July 26, 1896, p.18.
- ⁵³ TAT, October 26, 1878, pp.1-3.
- ⁵⁴ Robert L. Stevenson, “The Old Pacific Capital,” *Travels and Essays of Robert Louis Stevenson*, vol.15, New York, 1924, pp.158f.
- ⁵⁵ In addition to Tavernier and Rix, some of the other San Francisco artists who came to paint at this “venue of inspiration” from the mid 1870s to the late 1880s were: Raymond D. Yelland, Virgil Williams, Carl von Perbandt, Meyer Straus, Léon Troussset, Nellie Hopps and the brother and sister, Joseph and Elizabeth Strong. Only the latter, Tavernier, Rix and von Perbandt experimented with longer stays on the Monterey Peninsula. For a history of the early San Francisco artists on the Monterey Peninsula the reader is advised to consult the superb survey by Scott Shields (Shields, pp.11-57; cf. SFL, July 26, 1896, p.18).
- ⁵⁶ SFL, July 10, 1892, p.13.
- ⁵⁷ Brian McGinty, “Charles Warren Stoddard: The Pleasure of His Company,” CHQ, Summer, 1973, pp.153-169.
- ⁵⁸ Clark, pp.131-35; C. W. Higgins, “A Day's Golfing at Del Monte,” SNT 5.4, 1900, pp.159-61; Arthur Inkersley, “Golf at Del Monte,” SNT 12.4, 1904, pp.335-39; *ibid.*, “Automobiling at the Del Monte,” SNT 14.3, 1905, pp.285-87; I. Manning King, “Three Times Little Rhody, Facts and Pictures that Tell of the Natural Marvels and Industrial Resources of Monterey County, California,” SNT 14.4, 1905, pp.394-403; Katherine Chandler, “The Pleasant Duty of the Del Monte,” SNT 27, 1911, pp.425f. The Del Monte gardens were regarded as one of the region's finest (SNT 2.3, 1899, p.58).
- ⁵⁹ SFL, July 26, 1896, p.18.
- ⁶⁰ For a definition of an “art colony” see the Introduction. I do not regard the San Francisco artists who visited the Peninsula in the last quarter of the 19th century as a “Monterey art colony.”
- ⁶¹ Harriet Quimby, “The Artists' Colony at Monterey,” SFL August 25, 1901, pp.10f; Ellen Donovan, “The Artists of Monterey,” SFN Christmas, 1902, pp.18-25. Prior to 1901 it was not uncommon in the San Francisco press to characterize Monterey as the painters' “Mecca” or place of “pilgrimage” (e.g., SFC August 5, 1900, p.12). Recognition of the Peninsula's new art community was confirmed in 1902 by the *Mark Hopkins Institute Review of Art*: “Monterey has become an artists' colony of late” (MHR, June, 1902, p.24).
- ⁶² Among the *visiting* professional painters attracted to the art colony in this early period (1901-05) are: Henry Joseph Breuer, Theodore Wores, Joseph Greenbaum, Amédée Joullin and Giuseppe Cadenasso.
- ⁶³ Charles Rollo Peters became a resident of Monterey in November of 1895, but was often absent. By the summer of 1901 he had completed construction of his grand house on a thirty-acre estate at the edge of town. His presence on the Peninsula became infrequent after 1909 and his house was eventually rented. The best survey of his life is in Shields, pp.59-81, 296-300.
- ⁶⁴ Henry Stuart Fonda established his Monterey residence, nicknamed “The Rookery,” by 1901 and remained until his death in 1942. A short survey of his career is in Shields, pp.223-26, 320.
- ⁶⁵ Arthur and Lucia Mathews began painting on the Monterey Peninsula in the late 19th century and by 1902 they became regular summer visitors. Two fine references on the couple are: Jones, *Mathews*, pp.135ff and Shields, pp.83-109, 300-303.
- ⁶⁶ Refer to the biography on Myron Oliver in Appendix 7.
- ⁶⁷ SFC, February 9, 1902, p.14; Shields, pp.205f.
- ⁶⁸ TAT, June 2, 1906, p.15.
- ⁶⁹ TAT: February 16, 1907, p.463; April 27, 1907, p.633; June 29, 1907, p.778; TOI, February 17, 1907, p.22; MDC, April 21, 1907, p.1; SFL: April 21, 1907, p.32; April 19, 1908, p.19; CPC, August 29, 1930, p.5; Schwartz, *Northern*,

- p.20. In the early years the art gallery did not charge a commission, but by World War I this policy had changed. The press highlighted an exhibition where the commission on sales was waived (SFC, February 28, 1915, p.24).
- ⁷⁰ MDC, April 23, 1907, p.1.
- ⁷¹ TCR, September 10, 1908, p.14; MDC, October 15, 1910, p.1; SFL, October 16, 1910, p.45; Schwartz, *Northern*, pp.21-24.
- ⁷² TOT: July 29, 1917, p.20; August 5, 1917, p.20. Refer to the biography on Blanch in Appendix 7.
- ⁷³ TOT, June 25, 1922, p.S-5.
- ⁷⁴ AAA: 13, 1916, p.68; 14, 1917, p.59; 17, 1920, p.111; BDG, October 23, 1926, p.5; CPC: August 29, 1930, p.5; August 24, 1934, p.4.
- ⁷⁵ BDG, October 23, 1926, p.5.
- ⁷⁶ TOT, August 19, 1923, p.S-7.
- ⁷⁷ BDG, June 25, 1921, p.6.
- ⁷⁸ CPC, October 4, 1924, p.1; TOT, December 28, 1924, p.S-7.
- ⁷⁹ BDG, October 26, 1926, p.5; cf. SFC, March 7, 1926, p.D-3.
- ⁸⁰ CPC, May 19, 1939, p.10.
- ⁸¹ For details on the history of the Del Monte Hotel and Art Gallery refer to: *WPA Historical Survey of the Monterey Peninsula*, Project No. 4080, Files 47 and 65, September 23, 1937; *Fortune* (magazine) 21.1, January 1940, pp.59-67, 104; Hoag, pp.3ff; Shields, pp.205-10. In addition to her short notices in the *Del Monte Weekly*, the rather flowery articles by Josephine Blanch contain some useful information on the Gallery and the Peninsula art colonies: "The 'Barbizon' of California: Some Interesting Studios of Old Monterey," OVM 50, 1907, pp.63-68; "The Del Monte Gallery," *Western Art* 1.2, 1914, p.34; "The Del Monte Art Gallery" AAP 5.11, 1914, pp.387-92. See also: BKI, August 14, 1907, p.3 and the brief histories of the Gallery by Jennie Cannon and Josephine Blanch in BDG, June 25, 1921, p.6; CPC: August 29, 1930, p.5; August 24, 1934, p.4.
- ⁸² Sterling: April 8, 1906; November 4, 1907; July 19, 1908; July 25, 1908; August 28, 1908; July 12, 1913.
- ⁸³ Cannon, *Correspondence*, Letter to Emily, August 29, 1905.
- ⁸⁴ The earliest entry for the Powers family in the Berkeley Directory was in 1897, when they occupied the residence at 2719-2721 Channing Way (Polk: 1897, p.664; 1900, p.624; 1901, p.531).
- ⁸⁵ Gilliam, pp.60-64, 80; CPC, November 7, 1930, p.5. The U.S. Census in June of 1900 [ED 63, Sheet ?] shows that the Devendorfs lived on a "farm" in the Berryessa district of Santa Clara County. According to the Berkeley Directory, Frank Devendorf and his family moved to 2243 Dwight Way that same year (Polk: 1900, p. 589; 1904, p.610; 1905, p.632). The Berkeley Register of Voters and the local phone directory confirm the Devendorfs at this address through 1905 (cf. BDG: September 24, 1904, p.8; November 14, 1904, p.5). By 1906 they occupied a new Berkeley address at 2536 Ellsworth Street (Polk, 1906, p.662). Frank Devendorf maintained a high social profile in Berkeley and was active in the local Trinity Methodist Church which appointed him to its "building committee" (SFL, January 21, 1904, p.5). He also signed and sent a petition to the Trustees of the City of Berkeley that demanded the closure of a notorious local saloon, the "Army Canteen" (BDG, December 14, 1903, pp.1, 8). The Berkeley newspaper habitually announced the summer departure of the Devendorfs to Carmel-by-the-Sea (e.g., BDG, June 29, 1904, p.4). By 1909 they had moved from Berkeley to a home at 38 Herrick Avenue in Piedmont. Frank Devendorf also maintained a pied-à-terre at Carmel's Pine Inn where the U.S. Census officially listed his occupation as "manager" (SFL: May 30, 1909, p.37; June 16, 1910, p.11; U.S. Census of 1910, Piedmont: [ED 151, Sheet 14A/B] and Carmel: [ED 12, Sheet 6A]). Devendorf registered to vote in Carmel between 1904 and 1910 (CVRI, Monterey County: 1904-1910). In 1906 he began to develop the Carmel Highlands and eventually built the Highlands Inn which he sold in 1922; he reportedly employed his artist-friend, William Ritschel, to help plan lots for the best ocean views.
- ⁸⁶ Unfortunately, there is little specific information on the allegations against Devendorf outside of the official announcement in the press (SFL, May 25, 1902, p.31).
- ⁸⁷ Clark, pp.136f; Temple, pp.63ff; Hale, pp.8ff; Carol Kobus, "The Romance of Carmel" in White, pp.30f.
- ⁸⁸ LAT: October 6, 1904, p.2-1; May 20, 1905, p.1-3; SFL, May 20, 1905, p.9.
- ⁸⁹ LAT, March 24, 1906, p.1-4.
- ⁹⁰ Esther L. Stineman, *Mary Austin, Song of a Maverick*, New Haven, 1989, pp.86f; Barbara J. Klein, "The Carmel Monterey Peninsula Art Colony: A History," ART 8.4, 1996, pp.111-13; SFC, November 14, 2004, p.17-A.
- ⁹¹ Neuhaus, *Self Portrait*, p.79.
- ⁹² Genthe, p.73.
- ⁹³ Gilliam, p.85.
- ⁹⁴ "The Romance of Carmel," in White, p.31.
- ⁹⁵ SFL, November 22, 1904, p.6.
- ⁹⁶ MDC, June 9, 1907, p.1.
- ⁹⁷ BDG: July 2, 1904, p.8; July 5, 1904, p.4; July 6, 1904, p.6; August 18, 1904, p.4; December 12, 1904, p.6; Monica Hudson, *Carmel By-the Sea, Images of America*, Charleston, 2006, p.27. Mabel Lachmund married her second husband, Stanford University Chemistry Professor Stewart Young, about 1907 and moved to Palo Alto (U.S. Census of 1910 [ED 75, Sheet 16A]).
- ⁹⁸ MDC, June 23, 1907, p.1. In August of 1907 George Sterling claimed that he took the "automobile bus" from Monterey to Carmel in just half an hour. This was obviously the exception for horse transportation was still the norm in 1908 (Sterling, August 1, 1907; cf., Whitaker, p.111; MacDougal, July 14, 1908 Letter from Cannon to MacDougal, Box 8, Folder 102, p.1).
- ⁹⁹ Several examples of press coverage include: Ida L. Brooks, "Among the Artists, Writers and Poets at Carmel-by-the-Sea," SFL, January 14, 1906, p.10; The Literary Pilgrim, "The Literary Craftsman of Carmel," SFL, January 17, 1909,

p.l-5; E. French Strohter, "The Literary and Art Colony at Carmel," *TCW*, March 26, 1909, pp.277-82; Willard Huntington Wright, "Hotbed of Soulful Culture. . .," *LAT*, May 22, 1910, pp.2.1, 8; Michael Williams, "The Forest Theatre at Carmel," *SNT* 29.3, 1912, pp.319-25. When Willard Wright reported on the Carmel "colony" for his Los Angeles readers, he focused on the literati and included only flippant comments about the personalities of a few local painters. He described Arthur Vachell's curious position in one "social faction" and the "peevisishness" of Ferdinand Burgdorff. The only painter actually mentioned at work was Christian Jørgensen.

¹⁰⁰ Gilliam, 121-44; *MDC*, May 29, 1910, p.1; June 5, 1910, p.1; June 12, 1910, p.1; June 19, 1910, p.1; June 29, 1910, p.1; July 3, 1910, p.1; July 19, 1910, p.1; *SFL*: July 3, 1910, pp.37f; July 10, 1910, p.39. At this same time the city of Monterey supported a number of popular theatres.

¹⁰¹ Polk: 1904, pp.291, 424, 471; 1905, pp.248, 298, 439; cf. Whitaker, pp.160-62, 178-81; Idwal Jones, *Ark of Empire, San Francisco's Montgomery Block*, New York, 1951, pp.23-37; Gilliam, pp.85-120. James Hopper often joined Sterling during his prolonged stays in San Francisco, especially for dinners at Coppa's, the Bohemian hangout. There they fraternized with other "rebels," including Xavier Martinez, the Stanford biologist Vernon Kellogg and the socialist-to-be, Lincoln Steffens. Sterling resided in Piedmont and periodically worked in his uncle's nearby real estate office until 1905. By 1907 Henry Lafler had rented his San Francisco bungalow on Telegraph Hill to Perry Newberry and joined the Bohemians in Carmel (*SFL*, July 5, 1908, p.5). According to Ferdinand Burgdorff, Sterling enticed many literati to Carmel with his magical descriptions of the place (*MPH*, October 29, 1960, p.A-4). He even encouraged the young Robinson Jeffers to explore the area. In the fall of 1914 Sterling abandoned Carmel to become an "important literary figure" in New York (*CPC*: March 24, 1915, p.4; April 28, 1915, p.4; May 12, 1915, p.6). Tragically, he succumbed to a severe bout of depression in 1926 and committed suicide in his lodgings at San Francisco's Bohemian Club. Refer also to the assessment of Sterling by Willard Huntington Wright (*SFB*, May 19, 1919, p.15).

¹⁰² *LAT*, November 15, 1907, p.1-13. For a colorful account of Mary Austin's early period in Carmel, including a chronicle of the sexual and "homoeerotic attachments" among the literati, see Esther L. Stineman, *Mary Austin, Song of a Maverick*, New Haven and London, 1989, pp.84ff; cf. *CRM*, January 15, 1930, pp.4f.

¹⁰³ Arnold Genthe, who held a PhD in philosophy, was primarily a portrait photographer and only marginally committed to Carmel. In his autobiography he devotes just a few pages to his tenure there and makes no mention of Carmel's importance to his photographic "art" (Genthe, pp.73-77). He prefers to dwell on the literary celebrities that he knew. Genthe's original intent in 1905 was to build a summer bungalow in Carmel, but the San Francisco earthquake the following April temporarily forced him to reside there. Elsie Whitaker Martinez reported that Genthe was in the group that "thought nothing of Carmel" (Whitaker, pp.111f, 198f). By 1907 boredom drove him to establish his primary residence and studio at 3209 Clay Street in San Francisco. A year later he spent six months in Japan. Aside from occasional visits to Carmel his principal residence remained San Francisco until he moved to New York in 1911; Charles Dickman hosted his "farewell dinner" at the Bohemian Club (Crocker: 1907, pp.668, 1941; 1908, pp.729, 2129; 1909, p.652; 1910, pp.700, 2058; *TOT*, June 11, 1911, p.26; cf. Shields, pp.180-201, 314-17). Genthe did not return to visit Carmel until October of 1937 (*CRN*, October 13, 1937, p.5).

¹⁰⁴ Fink, *Monterey*, p.246. Willard Wright characterizes the MacGowans as the "Eminently Respectables" among the literati because they abstained from alcohol (*LAT*, May 22, 1910, pp.2-1, 8). In Wright's illustration of the *Carmelites* there is only one painter, Xavier Martinez, who was at best an infrequent visitor to the area. The only Carmel artists who associated with the literati were Arthur Vachell and Ferdinand Burgdorff (*TOT*, December 3, 1911, p.48; Sterling: August 29, 1907; April 18-28, 1909; December 20-31, 1909; May 16-24, 1910; June 3, 1910; February 14, 1911; etc.). Sterling had tea on one occasion with Sydney Yard and his wife and once met Chris Jørgensen in the company of Burgdorff (Sterling: March 26, 1908; January 21, 1911). The more modern assessments of Carmel's "intelligentsia" between 1905 and 1914 provide either little mention of the resident painters or complete silence on the art colony (e.g., Walker, pp.31f, 49, 54, 71, 92-94; Michael Orth, "Ideality to Reality: The Founding of Carmel," *CHS* 48.3, 1969, pp.195-210). In the mid 1930s Arnold Genthe defined the "Carmel Art Colony" as a group of talented writers (Genthe, p.73f).

¹⁰⁵ Whitaker, pp.111f, 198f.

¹⁰⁶ *MPH*, February 13, 1968, p.5.

¹⁰⁷ *TOT*, March 31, 1935, p.7-S; cf., *MDC*, May 25, 1921, p.4; *CPC*, August 25, 1939, p.11.

¹⁰⁸ In this early period between the 1890s and 1910 numerous painters stayed in Carmel for short periods to sketch, but were not regular long-term visitors. Some of this talent included: William C. Adam, Josephine Blanch, Mary Brady, Henry J. Breuer, Frances S. Campbell, Louise Carpenter, Sarah Chandler, Charles M. Crocker, Sally Daingerfield, Maurice Del Mue, Charles J. Dickman, Harry S. Fonda, Joseph Greenbaum, James Griffin, Charles Henry Harmon, Charles B. Hudson, Isabel Hunter, the Kleinschmidts, Bertha Stringer Lee, Pedro Lemos, Sydney Lemos, Xavier Martinez, Arthur and Lucia Mathews, Evelyn McCormick, Anita Murray, Charles P. Neilson, Eugen Neuhaus, the Partingtons, Ernest Peixotto, Isabelle Percy, Charles R. Peters, Gottardo Piazzoni, Harry Seawell, Elizabeth Strong, Jules Tavernier, Calthea Vivian, Theodore Wores and Raymond D. Yelland. Maren Froelich was a Carmel summer resident in 1904 and 1905, but her long absence thereafter precludes her inclusion in the list of early art colony members. Refer to the biographies in Appendices 7 and 14 of this publication and to *CPC*, June 22, 1922, p.7.

¹⁰⁹ E. Cashion MacLennan, "Through the North Window," *CSP*, March 3, 1949, p.12; *SFL*, August 25, 1901, p.11; Hale, pp.155f; Clark, pp.604f. Judson's small studio was probably on Whalers Knoll or Signal Hill. Claims have also been made that Jane G. Powers established the first art studio in Carmel; refer to the biographies on Powers and Judson in Appendix 7.

¹¹⁰ Refer to Appendices 6 and 7.

¹¹¹ Refer to Appendices 6 and 7.

¹¹² Refer to Appendices 6 and 7.

¹¹³Refer to Appendices 6 and 7.

¹¹⁴Refer to Appendices 6 and 7.

¹¹⁵Letter to Will from Jennie Cannon, August 28, 1905, cited with permission by Joan Tweit; BDG, August 5, 1922, p.5.

¹¹⁶Nixon; CPC: May 12, 1915, p.7; December 14, 1928, p.7; May 4, 1934, p.6; McGlynn, p.9; cf. Temple, p.78.

According to one account, the idea for the Arts and Crafts Club came out of a conversation between Miss Allen and Mr. Brewster (Brewer?), an official with the Columbia Park Boys Club. After Miss Allen's tenure as president (November of 1905 to early 1907), Mrs. Josephine K. Foster served in that position for two terms from 1907 to 1909 and was succeeded by Mary E. Hand (Mrs. Joseph W. Hand) who served for an astonishing sixteen years from 1909 through 1925 (MDC, July 11, 1909, p.1; AAA: 13, 1916, p.68; 22, 1925, p.130). Mrs. Hand was also elected president of the board of school trustees. Her husband sold real estate and insurance in Carmel (CPC: April 14, 1915, p.2; May 12, 1915, p.4).

¹¹⁷Whitaker, pp.155ff; Chapter 3, notes 107-109.

¹¹⁸CCY, July 27, 1926, p.16.

¹¹⁹AAP 6.4, 1915, p.119; cf. CCY, July 27, 1926, p.16.

¹²⁰BDG, July 17, 1906, p.5. Cf. the short notice of this exhibition in PGR, July 6, 1906, p.4. The *Berkeley Independent* had a brief "social note" that Kate Newhall had "exhibited her work at the Carmel Club" (BKI, August 7, 1906, p.3).

¹²¹SFL, August 5, 1906, p.27.

¹²²SFL, September 16, 1906, p.27.

¹²³SFL, August 19, 1907, p.6; cf., MDC: June 9, 1907, p.1; June 23, 1907, p.1; July 14, 1907, p.1; CPC, May 12, 1915, p.7. No lists of exhibitors for the First and Second Annuals of the Club have surfaced. In 1907 Ernest Peixotto was a Carmel summer visitor and may have been one of the "best artists" exhibiting at the Club.

¹²⁴SFL, April 29, 1907, p.6.

¹²⁵Examples of the various Arts and Crafts sponsored cultural events are mentioned in: MDC: March 10, 1908, p.1; June 25, 1908, p.1; July 12, 1908, p.1; August 5, 1908, p.1; September 25, 1908, p.1; June 17, 1909, p.1; June 25, 1909, p.1; May 8, 1910, p.1; June 12, 1910, p.1; June 19, 1910, p.1; June 29, 1910, p.1; July 3, 1910, p.1; July 6, 1910, p.1; July 17, 1910, p.1; July 20, 1910, p.1; July 24, 1910, p.1; July 31, 1910, p.1; August 21, 1910, p.1; April 18, 1911, p.1; SFL, July 25, 1909, p.41.

¹²⁶LAT, January 7, 1911, p.1-5.

¹²⁷MDC: May 29, 1910, p.1; August 14, 1910, p.1; April 18, 1911, p.1; June 18, 1911, p.1; Nixon; Chapter 5, note 15.

¹²⁸MDC: March 25, 1908, p.1; May 27, 1908, p.3.

¹²⁹The birth date and place are confirmed on Cannon's 1909 U.S. Passport application (No.17455, M1490-Roll 98).

¹³⁰According to the "Ledger of Membership Dues and Accounts" of the Arizona Health League, William and Jennie Cannon maintained their membership in the League into 1909 (*Drachman Papers*, MS 225, Box 1, Folder 7, pp.6f, Archives of the Arizona Historical Society, Tucson).

¹³¹TTC: April 5, 1907, p.4; April 6, 1907, p.4; April 10, 1907, p.4; April 11, 1907, p.4.

¹³²ADS, October 30, 1908, p.8; October 31, 1908, p.8; TTC November 2, 1908, p.5. See also *Programme of the Country Fair*, MS225, Ephemera of the Arizona Health League, p.5, Archives of the Arizona Historical Society, Tucson.

¹³³ADS: January 2, 1906, p.8, January 7, 1906, p.8, January 28, 1906, p.8; TTC: January 3, 1906, p.1, January 24, 1906, p.4, January 25, 1906, p.4, January 26, 1906, p.4.

¹³⁴TTC, January 8, 1906, p.5.

¹³⁵A four-year sampling of two local newspapers revealed that MacDougal carefully cultivated the press (TTC: April 26, 1906, p.4; September 3, 1906, p.5; September 29, 1906, p.4; October 25, 1906, p.4; January 30, 1907, pp.2, 8; February 5, 1907, p.4; February 11, 1907, p.4; February 20, 1907, p.5; February 28, 1907, p.8; October 11, 1907, p.5; October 30, 1907, p.5; December 18, 1907, p.8; January 23, 1908, p.5; ADS: June 13, 1908, p.7; November 22, 1908, p.11; November 29, 1908, p.7; January 3, 1909 p.5; April 4, 1909, p.9; December 5, 1909, p.11; January 9, 1910, p.8).

¹³⁶TTC, October 19, 1906, p.4.

¹³⁷Bowers, p.13.

¹³⁸CPC, September 8, 1939, p.7.

¹³⁹Unfortunately, the brief history of the Carnegie Institute in Carmel by Professor Lloyd tells us nothing about the founding of the facility (CPC, May 12, 1915, p.4).

¹⁴⁰TTC, May 3, 1907, p.4.

¹⁴¹In a letter dated sometime between May 5th and May 16th 1907 the Cannons' mailing address in Monterey was given as P.O. Box 530 (MacDougal, Undated Letter from Cannon to MacDougal, Box 7, Folder 67, p.1). However, their actual Monterey residence was at 309 Van Buren Street (Perry/Polk 1907, p.8).

¹⁴²MacDougal: May 18, 1907 Letter from Cannon to MacDougal, Box 7, Folder 67, pp.1-2; June 1, 1907 Letter from Cannon to MacDougal, Box 7, Folder 67, pp.1-2; cf., September 17, 1907 Letter from Cannon to MacDougal, Box 7, Folder 67, pp.1-2.

¹⁴³MacDougal, June 7, 1907 Letter from Cannon to MacDougal, Box 7, Folder 67, p.1.

¹⁴⁴MacDougal, July 21, 1907 Letter from Cannon to MacDougal, Box 7, Folder 67, pp.1-2.

¹⁴⁵CPC, May 17, 1916, p.2.

¹⁴⁶MacDougal apologized that the amount was inadequate compensation for the efforts of "Mrs. Cannon" (MacDougal, May 1, 1907 Letter from MacDougal to Cannon, Box 7, Folder 67, p.1).

¹⁴⁷MacDougal, June 4, 1907 Letter from Cannon to MacDougal, Box 7, Folder 67, p.1; June 12, 1907 Letter from Cannon to MacDougal, Box 7, Folder 67, p.1; August 17, 1907 Letter from Cannon to MacDougal, Box 7, Folder 67, p.1.

William Cannon's lecture was advertised in the local Pacific Grove newspaper and reviewed in the *Monterey Daily*

- Cypress* (PGR, June 21, 1907, p.1; MDC, June 22, 1907, p.4). His lecture extolled the virtues of the Carnegie Institute and its value to the Tucson community.
- ¹⁴⁸ MacDougal, June 4, 1907 Letter from MacDougal to Cannon, Box 7, Folder 67, p.1. In his letters to MacDougal William Cannon also emphasized the scenic and research potentials of the Carmel area.
- ¹⁴⁹ MacDougal: August 29, 1907 Letter from Cannon to MacDougal, Box 7, Folder 67, p.1; August 31, 1907 Letter from MacDougal to Cannon, Box 7, Folder 67, p.1. In fact, MacDougal teases William Cannon about his acquisition of "personal" property, not realizing that the Cannons are planting a seed in Carmel for a future Carnegie Laboratory (July 28, 1907 Letter from MacDougal to Cannon, Box 7, Folder 67, pp.3-5).
- ¹⁵⁰ SFL, August 5, 1907, p.6. According to the Berkeley press, Katherine Newhall was a likely exhibitor (TCR, May 25, 1907, p.13). It is probably safe to assume that the members of the Carmel Art Colony were represented.
- ¹⁵¹ CPC: August 30, 1935, p.16; September 8, 1939, p.7.
- ¹⁵² SFX: November 15, 1907, pp.1f; November 17, 1907, p.54; SFL: November 15, 1907, pp.1f; November 16, 1907, pp.1f; SFC, November 15, 1907, pp.1; TOT, November 15, 1907, p.4; cf. Gilliam, p.100.
- ¹⁵³ MacDougal, December 2, 1907 Letter from Cannon to The Carmel Development Company, Box 7, Folder 67, p.1.
- ¹⁵⁴ MacDougal: August 30, 1907 Letter from Cannon to MacDougal, Box 7, Folder 67, pp.1-2; cf., August 26, 1907 Letter from MacDougal to Cannon, Box 7, Folder 67, p.1; April 29, 1907 Letter from Cannon to MacDougal, Box 7, Folder 67, p.1. The land for the Cannons' new Tucson home was donated by the Carnegie Institute on MacDougal's recommendation.
- ¹⁵⁵ TTC, January 4, 1908, p.8.
- ¹⁵⁶ TTC, March 14, 1908, p.8; cf., TTC: October 10, 1908, p.2; November 21, 1908, p.3.
- ¹⁵⁷ TTC: February 21, 1908, p.8; April 7, 1908, p.6.
- ¹⁵⁸ TTC: March 18, 1908, p.8; March 25, 1908, p.3; December 10, 1908, p.3.
- ¹⁵⁹ Cannon, *Drama*, p.101.
- ¹⁶⁰ MacDougal, May 21, 1908 Letter from Cannon to MacDougal, Box 8, Folder 102, p.1.
- ¹⁶¹ MacDougal: August 4, 1908 Letter from Cannon to MacDougal, Box 8, Folder 102, p.1; August 7, 1908 Letter from MacDougal to Cannon, Box 8, Folder 102, p.1; September 3, 1908 Letter from Cannon to MacDougal, Box 8, Folder 102, p.1; September 23, 1908 Letter from MacDougal to Cannon, Box 8, Folder 102, p.1.
- ¹⁶² MacDougal, May 29, 1908 Letter from MacDougal to Cannon, Box 8, Folder 102, p.1.
- ¹⁶³ MDC, June 5, 1908, p.1.
- ¹⁶⁴ MacDougal, June 16, 1908 Letter from Cannon to MacDougal, Box 8, Folder 102, p.1. In the June 24, 1908 Letter from MacDougal to Cannon (Box 8, Folder 102, p.1), the former insists that no social arrangements be made for him in Carmel, since "he would much rather roam about unmolested."
- ¹⁶⁵ MacDougal: August 3, 1908 Letter from Cannon to MacDougal, Box 8, Folder 102, p.1; August 7, 1908 Letter from MacDougal to Cannon, Box 8, Folder 102, p.1.
- ¹⁶⁶ MacDougal, August 21, 1908 Letter from MacDougal to Cannon, Box 8, Folder 102, p.1.
- ¹⁶⁷ MacDougal, August 26, 1908 Letter from Cannon to MacDougal, Box 8, Folder 102, p.3.
- ¹⁶⁸ MacDougal: August 27, 1908 Letter from MacDougal to Cannon, Box 8, Folder 102, p.1; September 23, 1908 Letter from MacDougal to Cannon, Box 8, Folder 102, p.1. MacDougal came to see the Carmel Lab as a summer retreat and a reward for his Tucson people: "The idea of a Station at Carmel appeals to everyone. It will give the administration the idea that we are being appreciated." See the undated (certainly written between August 30th and September 10th 1908) Letter from MacDougal to Cannon, Box 8, Folder 102, p.1.
- ¹⁶⁹ MacDougal, September 3, 1908 Letter from Cannon to MacDougal, Box 8, Folder 102, p.1.
- ¹⁷⁰ SFC, October 19, 1908, p.5.
- ¹⁷¹ TOT, June 10, 1908, p.12.
- ¹⁷² Gilliam, pp.94-96.
- ¹⁷³ Refer to Appendices 6 and 7.
- ¹⁷⁴ MacDougal, September 13, 1908 Letter from Cannon to MacDougal, Box 8, Folder 102, pp.1-2.
- ¹⁷⁵ TTC, October 21, 1908, p.6.
- ¹⁷⁶ TTC, November 2, 1908, p.5.
- ¹⁷⁷ ADS: April 4, 1909, p.9; May 9, 1909, p.10; October 3, 1909, p.6.
- ¹⁷⁸ ADS, May 9, 1909, p.7.
- ¹⁷⁹ Refer to the narrative in Chapter 3, Appendix 6 and biography on Lemos in Appendix 7.
- ¹⁸⁰ MDC, July 3, 1909, p.1.
- ¹⁸¹ BDG, April 17, 1923, p.10.
- ¹⁸² SFL, August 1, 1909, p.32. *The Carmel Whirl* was a sixteen-page magazine published on July 24, 1909 in conjunction with the local "Whirl-around" festival. Among its many contributors were: George Sterling, Mary Austin, the MacGowan sisters, Herbert Heron, Sinclair Lewis, Ferdinand Burgdorff and Michael Williams (CPC, February 21, 1930, p.9).
- ¹⁸³ MDC, July 11, 1909, p.1; Appendix 2.
- ¹⁸⁴ Julia S. Hollister (1859-19??) was born in New York and about 1909 occupied a cottage in Carmel. According to the U.S. Census of 1910 [ED 12, Sheet 8A], she shared this home with her older sister, Helen, and listed her occupation as "Artist, painting." Hollister contributed to the Annual Exhibitions of the Arts and Crafts Club in 1909 and 1910 and then dropped from the radar (Appendix 2). Biographies for the other exhibitors at the 1909 Third Annual Exhibition of the Arts and Crafts Club are in Appendix 7.
- ¹⁸⁵ In one source Jennie asserted that the sale of art to Dodge alone paid the round-trip passage across the Atlantic for herself and her sons (Cannon, *Drama*, p.101).

¹⁸⁶ PGR, August 27, 1909, p.1.

¹⁸⁷ MDC: June 17, 1909, p.1; June 26, 1909, p.1.

¹⁸⁸ MDC, July 20, 1909, p.1.

¹⁸⁹ SFL, September 29, 1909, p.10.

¹⁹⁰ ADS: September 6, 1909, p.7; September 12, 1909, p.3.

¹⁹¹ ADS, January 11, 1910, p.5.

¹⁹² ADS, January 9, 1910, p.9. From a letter to William Cannon we discover that the original dates for this art exhibit were the 6th and 7th of December, a period intended to coincide with Will's return from the Midwest (MacDougal, October 15, 1909 Letter from MacDougal to Cannon, Box 10, Folder 129, p.2). The reason for the delay until January is unknown. We also learn that the MacDougals were very protective of "Mrs. Cannon and the boys" in Will's absence. They not only entertain them at dinner, but in one case Daniel MacDougal agreed to act as a courier and bring Jennie's "pictures" from Washington D.C. (MacDougal, December 16, 1909 Letter from MacDougal to Cannon, Box 10, Folder 129, pp.1-2). In another letter from Cannon to MacDougal the latter notes: "Mrs. Cannon comes here for her mail and I saw her yesterday evening" (September 18, 1909 Letter, Box 10, Folder 129, p.1).

¹⁹³ In her biography of William A. Cannon Janice Bowers refuses to recognize the existence of Jennie and the two Cannon children and is unable to explain his sudden departure for Europe and North Africa (Bowers, p.14).

¹⁹⁴ MacDougal: May 14, 1909 Letter from MacDougal to Cannon, Box 10, Folder 129, p.1; May 22, 1909 Letter from MacDougal to Cannon, Box 10, Folder 129, p.1; May 28, 1909 Letter from Cannon to MacDougal, Box 10, Folder 129, p.1; May 29, 1909 Letter from Cannon to MacDougal, Box 10, Folder 129, p.2. The three-acre parcel for this new lab was located within the "old 80-acre tract" on a private road at the east end of Twelfth Avenue. The brick Colonial-style building that housed part of the Carnegie Institute was unique architecturally (see note 196 below; Bostick, pp.81f; Hale p.70; Clark, p.109).

¹⁹⁵ MacDougal: May 31, 1909 Letter from MacDougal to Cannon, Box 10, Folder 129, p.1; September 30, 1909 Letter from Cannon to MacDougal, Box 10, Folder 129, p.2; October 3, 1909 Letter from Cannon to MacDougal, Box 10, Folder 129, p.2.

¹⁹⁶ *Historic Houses, Carmel-by-the-Sea*, Number One, "Carnegie Institute" & "MacDougal [sic] House," The Carmel Architectural and Historic Survey, Carmel, November, 1992. See also MDC, June 19, 1910, p.1.

¹⁹⁷ Throughout the 1920s MacDougal arrived in Tucson by December and returned to Carmel in the early spring; *TTC*, December 2, 1928, p.2. The Coastal Laboratory permanently closed in July of 1940.

¹⁹⁸ One of the "authoritative" histories on the Laboratory was authored by Betty P. Greene ("Dr. D. T. MacDougal and Carmel's Carnegie Lab," *MPH, The Herald Weekend Magazine*, October 29, 1978, pp.12-14). This article reproduces a photograph of the Carnegie staff wherein MacDougal and Lloyd are identified, but William Cannon (prominent in the center of the photo) is unnamed! Sharron Hale only mentions the presence of Dr. William Cannon as a member of the "staff" (Hale, p.70).