

Chapter Four – Artist versus Wife: Europe, Tucson and Carmel (1910-1913)

Reports from friends on the political turmoil in the Berkeley art colony saddened Jennie, but all of her attention was directed toward the much anticipated escape to Europe. During the transcontinental journey she and her sons repeatedly disembarked the train to visit relatives and view art exhibitions in the Midwest and East. On January 24, 1910 Jennie, the boys and Dana – a distant relative who would act as George’s governess and “Mrs. Cannon’s chaperone” – departed Philadelphia on the U.S. Hansford for England.¹ Because of George’s age, it was decided that only Milner would attend a boarding school in London and “visit” on the weekends. At the beginning of the twelve-day voyage Jennie suffered from severe seasickness, but soon fell into the routine of socializing on deck and reading classics, including Charles Dickens. She took a motherly pride in the reputation that Milner earned for his prowess in shuffleboard. Curiously, within hours of docking at Liverpool she attended an organ recital.² Throughout her stay in England she devoted as much of her surplus time to concerts and operas as she did to prowling through museums, cathedrals, and tourist haunts.³ Within a week they moved into their damp London apartment. Jennie frequently commented on the lack of heat and the “unhealthy smoky gas” emitted by the furnace.⁴

Regular classes for the London School of Art, which was located on Stratford Road in Kensington, opened on February 14th with the ominous announcement that its greatest luminary, Frank Brangwyn, would be absent until early March due to an undisclosed “illness.”⁵ Her first impressions of the place were decidedly negative:⁶

It is not satisfactory as our New York or Philadelphia schools. . . . their paintings are of a sooty quality Students read, knit, chat, smoke and eat not friendly and cordial like those in our own country.

Jennie immediately gravitated to the classes of a talented Australian painter, George Lambert (1873-1930). He made upon her a very favorable impression with his demanding critiques of nudes in the life classes. In her diaries and autobiography the only instant where the narrative takes on a slightly sexual overtone is with the description of Lambert:⁷

He was a fine Nordic type. The clearest skin imaginable, clear blue eyes, taffy-colored hair, auburn beard. . . . Very large, splendid manner, a fine physique and bearing. . . . One morning as we students entered, we saw Mr. Lambert in front of the hall mirror seemingly looking at his physiognomy very closely. The audible ejaculation “Damn fine color” made us realize he had been mentally making an oil portrait of himself. We agreed with him.

Lambert, who was born in Russia to a British mother and an American father, first came to England in 1878 before settling in Sydney nine years later. After completing his studies in Paris he returned to London and achieved considerable success between 1902 and 1921; he was appointed an official war artist in 1917. Lambert was not devoted to education, but accepted the occasional semester of teaching to earn money between portrait commissions. Initially, he came to the London School of Art as a temporary replacement for Frank Brangwyn. Lambert’s unconventional methods of instruction and his clever adaptation of Impressionism’s tenets into his own realist style attracted a loyal following of students.⁸ His relationship with “Mrs. Cannon” was a struggle. He quickly realized that Jennie’s opinions of her own work were far more critical than his own assessment. At the age of forty she was substantially older than the average student, somewhat

self-conscious and frequently accused of being “too quiet” for an American. Jennie often received his well-deserved words of encouragement with a shy embarrassment.⁹ In reply she took delight in quoting Whistler’s witticism: “Art is a stern mistress.”¹⁰ The confidence that she soon felt with Lambert and her own work was suddenly shattered with his abrupt withdrawal from the London School of Art on April 15th: “Mr. Lambert was called to Paris, I shall have no more criticisms from him.”¹¹ She began to sense that there were deep political rumblings at the institution.

Her one compensation was Frank Brangwyn (1867-1956). His arrival in early March meant instruction at the hands of a master. He was born in Bruges to a family of architects and textile designers who moved to England in 1875. After formal studies in art he was apprenticed to William Morris between 1882 and 1884. Brangwyn’s plein-air paintings reflected initially the subdued tones of Whistler, but over time he adopted a brighter palette. The style of his illustrations and mural commissions was heavily influenced by Dutch Realists and the Pre-Raphaelites.¹² Jennie borrowed the rich and dark tones from these traditions for several class assignments that included the rendering of a model in monk’s garb.¹³ Brangwyn also required compositions to be completed at home, usually a still-life with specific components or sketches of body parts. For the latter she employed her children as models. He stressed the importance of sound techniques, but tended to impose his own style on students.¹⁴ The master soon began to skip classes, largely due to the demands of his private studio commissions and exhaustion.¹⁵ In the absence of Brangwyn Jennie was transferred to the classes of William Nicholson (1872-1949), a successful portrait painter and minor protégée of Whistler.¹⁶ Because of her new-found devotion to Whistler, she approached the instructor with great expectations. Despite the favorable comparisons made between the two painters, Jennie found that Nicholson had “just the opposite view of Whistler.”¹⁷ She soon became “exasperated” with his ineffectual criticisms and bluntly stated that it was “impossible to continue with him.”¹⁸ Jennie’s least favorite genre was portraiture and her perfectionist tendencies combined with Nicholson’s confusing standards led to the rupture. She continued with other competent instructors, including C. P. Townsley and the widely respected John M. Swan (1847-1910).¹⁹ Along with Brangwyn the latter was the co-founder of the London School of Art.

What Jennie admired during her self-directed education in the museums and great houses explains much about her development as a proselytizing artist. Her repeated visits – almost pilgrimages – to the tombs and homes of Lord Frederic Leighton (1830-96) and George Frederick Watts (1817-1904) reveal a great admiration for Britain’s 19th-century pseudo-Hellenistic Classicism.²⁰ She also made an inordinate number of “special trips” to visit the church with the unmarked grave of James McNeill Whistler. However, it was Dante Gabriel Rossetti (1828-82) and Edward Burne-Jones (1833-98) who captured her attention as both painters and historical figures.²¹ The former was a co-founder of the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood and a brilliant re-interpreter of the late medieval world as romantic escapism.²² The latter, who continued in this same tradition, was also a highly talented decorative artist and an important contributor to the Aesthetic Movement.²³ In addition, Burne-Jones was a lifelong companion and working associate of William Morris (1834-96), a fellow Anglo-Catholic. Both men embraced the teachings of John Ruskin (1819-1900) who envisioned art as a vehicle to better man’s life through the contemplation of nature and the Divine. Morris, whom Jennie regarded as the most important artist of the 19th century, carried this philosophy to the level of social reform.²⁴ As a poet, entrepreneur, zealous

Socialist and sometimes Marxist, he envisioned a proletarian art beyond the corrupt class system.²⁵ For beauty to reach the lives of all men it should be found in the *design* of everyday objects: furniture, book bindings, wallpaper, tile, embroidery, etc. He stressed a clarity of form and a firmness of structure combined with a rich application of detail. Throughout her life Jennie maintained a belief that art contributed to social wellbeing.

Like all long-term visitors in a foreign metropolis, Jennie struggled with the issues of daily life. Aside from her habitual complaints about the London weather and its “somber colors,” her lingering Victorian sensibilities were at odds with “those disquieting” foreign habits: “Odd to see so many girls smoking. Sorry to hear the custom is growing in our own country.”²⁶ The air pollution caused her severe eye irritation and the start of a bronchial condition that required the house calls of a doctor.²⁷ However, the British capital did challenge her expectations for women. She was delightfully shocked to see in full public view “bear-headed ladies” playing cricket in a driving rain and found the speeches at a rally of Suffragettes a revelation.²⁸ She spent a considerable amount of her free time lavishing attention on her two sons with walking tours, concerts, and the rental of a piano.²⁹ Frequently, Dana took the children out to allow Jennie the therapeutic recreation of reading, studying French, and most importantly, sewing.³⁰ The simple act of cutting pieces of cloth and stitching the patterns into utilitarian articles was calming and deeply satisfying – an occupation in which Battle Lake women took particular pride.

Her frequent visits to the Townsleys were a source of comfort. C. P. Townsley appeared in London on or before February 23rd and thereafter Jennie made frequent social calls at his Cheswick home where she was often entertained on the piano by his wife and daughter.³¹ As we learn from later entries in her diaries, Townsley slowly revealed to Cannon that the London School of Art was plagued by administrative problems and the disenchantment of the faculty with teaching repetitive courses. His own demise there seemed imminent. Aware that his mentor and long-term employer, William Merritt Chase, was declining in health, Townsley discussed with Jennie the possibility of employment as an art instructor in California.

The arrival of William Cannon in London on May 3rd reunited Jennie with her husband. The two spent their leisure hours in tourist spots and art galleries where both admired the works of Sargent and Velasquez.³² For ten days they traveled north through the Lake Country, Oxford, and Scotland.³³ They also watched the spectacle of great historical events, including the state funeral of King Edward VII, the ascension of George V, and the official visit of Theodore Roosevelt.³⁴ While Jennie was occupied with her classes, Will briefly entertained his parents in London as well as Professor Hall. The latter was a close associate from Stanford who accompanied him on a motorcycle trip.³⁵ Hall was working to obtain a professorship for Will at his university.

During the second half of her term at art school, amid the disappointments with “head studies” and portraits, she suddenly realized that the methods and goals of the classes were designed to render repetition, not originality.³⁶ There was, she decided, no further value in art training. Moreover, this quiet American was taunted by her English classmates for admiring the work of William Merritt Chase, her esteemed New York teacher.³⁷ This criticism was also a not-so-subtle slap at the art school’s Director, C. P. Townsley, who managed Chase’s European business affairs. Near the end of her stay Jennie went on a shopping spree for bargains.³⁸ She complained that the sewing of clothes in preparation for their grand tour took too much time away from her painting. The day prior to their departure for the Continent Milner finished his term at St. Paul’s

School and in a special ceremony was awarded a volume of the *Canterbury Tales* as the first prize in Latin.³⁹ Earlier Will had traveled to Belgium to meet Townsley and arrange for a comfortable family boarding house.⁴⁰

On Thursday, July 28, 1910, the Cannons arrived in Bruges. This great medieval center was chosen for its artistic charm and because of the strong recommendation by Frank Brangwyn. Their first week there was spent on logistics, “settling-in,” and sightseeing. In her autobiography she remembers: “In Bruges . . . we also met Frank Brangwyn. He hoped to go to Mexico and asked us many questions.”⁴¹ After a short stay at an English – “and therefore dusty and not well kept” – pension the Cannons moved into the “crowded but comfortable home” of Madame Galin, an acquaintance of Brangwyn. Jennie, who was fortunate to rent the vacant studio of the Detroit artist Francis Petrus Paulus, spent half of her free time painting favorite sites, such as Porte St. Croix and St. Anne’s Church.⁴² She was often annoyed by passersby and crudely stereotyped the Flemish children as brazen beggars and rude, while finding the French speakers to be of a “higher class.” On especially cold and rainy days she stayed inside to study French, make clothes and jam, and read.⁴³ She made a special visit to sketch in Holland and perused local art exhibits whenever possible.⁴⁴ As usual, Townsley played an important role in her social and artistic life.⁴⁵ She visited a joint show of his paintings and had “very jolly” times at the 4 o’clock teas with his family. The Townsleys’ departure on August 18th for the States left a definite void in her life. On her 41st birthday there was a very low-key celebration and this curious introspection from Jennie: “I have reached an age where a woman has no contemporaries.”⁴⁶ Shortly thereafter she and Will traveled with the ubiquitous Professor Hall. They spent the entire month of September in northern France, Switzerland, München, and western Germany. Art galleries and churches commanded her attention. She found the contemporary paintings in Germany “very harsh and bold . . . poor in harmony.” Of Köln’s cathedral she waxed: “A dream – a poem in stone.”⁴⁷ The welfare of her children was always an issue. While in München she scrimped and saved by staying in the cheapest hospice, but she showed no hesitation in choosing between two posh boarding schools in Basel and Bern where the boys would stay during her extended travels in 1911.⁴⁸

During the last week of her September vacation she traveled alone because Will and Professor Hall had left for Algeria via Marseilles. The two men arrived in Algiers by early October, studied the root systems of desert plants in their trek across the Atlas Mountains, and left in late November. They rejoined Jennie and the boys in Belgium on December 10th. Jennie’s activities in Bruges during this period were a repetition of her August stay. She changed residences twice to avoid “the cold and damp.”⁴⁹ There were far fewer opportunities for painting plein air: “It has done nothing but rain, rain, rain – even worse than London.”⁵⁰ She created diversions, such as buying lace for Louise MacDougal, but she clearly had cabin fever: “Children [are] very noisy, restless and fatiguing.” At one point her youngest, George, declared: “It is no longer a pleasure to live in the same town with you, Mama.” He shyly declined his mother’s offer to pack his bags and return him to Tucson.⁵¹ Jennie’s attendance at Sunday church, especially the “dead, dead sermons” at the English chapel in Bruges, brought her no comfort. Her bronchial condition had worsened and in mid December it was decided that she would fulfill a life-long dream and journey to Egypt. Will agreed to stay with the boys while writing his study of Saharan plants.⁵² When they entered the Swiss boarding school in January, he would join Jennie in Luxor. The specialist that she had consulted in Paris confirmed the salubrious qualities of the desert air for lung ailments.⁵³ She

stayed a week in the French capital, absorbing the art scene like an Aegean sponge, before traveling on to Marseilles whence she departed on December 29th for Alexandria. Jennie had deep regrets for this Christmas away from her family, but was buoyed by the news from Louise MacDougal that the University of Arizona had purchased another of her paintings.⁵⁴ This infusion of cash was especially appreciated. In the middle of the Mediterranean on New Year's Eve she wrote: "It is a strange interesting old world. It has been a good year."⁵⁵ She hobnobbed with Europe's elite, enjoyed the haute cuisine, and heard a well-educated Armenian prophesize that Germany would soon dominate the region.

Mrs. Cannon arrived in Alexandria at 1:30 pm on January 2, 1911 for what would become an almost two-month stay in a land of romantic enchantment, jarring customs, and Biblical history. Unlike the normal terse entries in her diary, in her daybook she lavished on daily events a prose that becomes literature:⁵⁶

The moment one lands in Cairo beggars, dragomans, and other individuals of the Arab race take note of your arrival and for the next 48 hours one's life is not worth living. Eating, standing or walking you are henceforth made wretched by individuals who hover about you like satellites a lunar body. And once reveal you possess the power of speech in any language whatsoever, your case from that moment becomes more desperate, if that were possible.

On her first trip to the pyramids she mused:⁵⁷

The human mind fails to grasp the years of toil, the price, and the continuation of conditions that have brought together these nuanced masses of masonry. Like Stonehenge – we see but do not understand how it was accomplished.

Everything became a source of fascination: the crush of impoverished humanity, the incessant noise of street traffic, the "leisurely and sleepy elegance" of Arab gardeners in flowing robes, the variegated fragrance of bazaars, the subtle tonality of a blushing sky, and the methodical farmers with their exotic animals.

After Jennie and Miss Ashley, a traveling companion and close friend of Mrs. Townsley, arrived in Luxor they joined the coterie of affluent foreigners in their dignified hotels for afternoon teas. Dr. Dunn, a local practitioner who catered to the prosperous, admonished Jennie not to travel through the desert, but to remain quiet and just read.⁵⁸ Soon faced with boredom she slipped away to sketch the necropolis and temples. She was also determined to investigate a world that her companions chose to ignore. Her fascination with the mistreatment of Islamic women, handsome Coptic men kissing in the street, singing boatmen on the Nile, flies crawling over the peasants' food and pilgrims returning from Mecca was soon translated into pastels and watercolors.⁵⁹ At one point she commented:⁶⁰

The Arab seems as proud as Lucifer They are more agile in their movements than the Mexicans They seem quarrelsome They are most insolent and cruel Arabs are picturesque to look at but very awkward to live near. They remind one of the Negroes in our own country, always making noise with their mouths.

Unfortunately, Jennie carried the same racial prejudice against non-whites that was endemic among the Europeans.

Will's arrival in Luxor on January 31st allowed her to travel into the desert and to more distant sites. Within a week they had arrived in Aswan where they were "comfortably lodged" in a Catholic mission – Will with the priests and Jennie with the nuns.⁶¹ Jennie studied Italian with

Sister Julia, the Mother Superior, painted and explored the environs with her husband. Upon their return to Cairo via Luxor she mailed a selection of her completed art to Carmel where it was shown that summer at the Annual Exhibition of the Arts and Crafts Club.⁶² They sailed from Alexandria on February 25th and after a “very stormy” crossing via Syracuse arrived in Bizerte whence they took a train to Tunis. She sketched the ruins of Carthage before moving on to Biskra, the place of Will’s proposed research.⁶³ Their stay here from March 4th thru April 4th was a disaster.⁶⁴ In addition to paying a “hold-up price” for their pension, they were constantly challenged by an indifferent, and at times hostile, Arab population as well as the “monotonously” rainy cold weather. According to William Cannon’s biographer, whose narrative is based exclusively on the botanist’s correspondence with MacDougal, “he made Biskra his headquarters for a month of local excursions.” However, Jennie’s diaries contradict the upbeat letters from a seemingly busy researcher.⁶⁵ In fact, it was only on March 13th that Will made his first short trip away from Jennie with a drive about town on his motorcycle.⁶⁶ That same day she held the first of her plein air painting sessions and encountered suspicious neighbors and a constant stream of “trying beggars.” It was not until the 25th that Will left for his first “run across the mountains.” On March 27th the Cannons packed and shipped the motorcycle, Will’s only transit for research, back to America. They essentially maintained a self-imposed isolation in their pension which Jennie called “my Biskra harem existence.”

After a few pleasant days in Algiers they sailed for Naples on April 7th. That day William Cannon posted a curious letter to MacDougal in which he asked “the [Carnegie] Laboratory” to sell the recently dispatched motorcycle because of “shifts in my affairs.” He continued:⁶⁷

I shall be under additional expenses next fall, owing to the necessity for Mrs. Cannon to have the best opportunity . . . I can hardly thank you enough for your kindness in offering a possible 100 or 200 [dollars] in addition. I should not, under unusual conditions, think of accepting after the Laboratory had done so much, for I think it may be best for me now to do so. I am anxious to do the best for Mrs. C[annon] and I am spending my income quite up naturally. As a matter of fact, too, I have nearly exhausted the appropriation.

There is no evidence at this time that “Mrs. Cannon” required any “additional expenses.” Unlike Jennie, who scrupulously managed her budget, Will had obviously overspent and was playing on MacDougal’s affection for his wife to get surplus funds. In Naples the Cannons visited the typical tourist spots, including Pompeii, and stayed at the Pension Baker. It is here that they met the charming American couple, Mr. and Mrs. Varney, and became fast friends. Jennie found in Ella Shaw Varney a sophisticated and erudite companion, a product of fine New England stock. They toured Naples together and even rode the funicular for a panoramic view of the bay.⁶⁸ The two couples would meet again in two months’ time. For reasons that are long buried with the protagonists, Will began a clandestine affair with Ella that had the most tragic consequences.

The Cannons arrived in Rome on April 13th and rented an apartment until June 1st. As expected, they frequented all the “worthy monuments,” often with visiting Stanford faculty in tow, and Jennie never failed to miss the smallest art gallery. On Easter Sunday she attended the extravagant ceremonies at St. Peter’s “for a while,” but found more pleasure in discovering a mosaic by Burne-Jones.⁶⁹ On April 20th Jennie visited a “specialist” about her lungs and according to Will’s letter home: “she was in very good shape, . . . the threatened trouble had nearly entirely passed away – thanks to her good constitution and to the desert trip.” He added that “She is now

taking a little treatment from him.”⁷⁰ In the Vatican Jennie was thrilled to study the original Raphaels, reproductions of which provided the stimulus for her earliest art historical work at Hamline University. She made a private visit to the Protestant cemetery where she lingered at Keats’ grave and the repository of Shelley’s heart. With the arrival of her two sons and Dana on May 3rd Jennie adopted the role of tour guide, offering carefully crafted lectures that combined the ruins with western history.⁷¹ The children were willing participants. Milner’s twelfth birthday was celebrated at the Castelo St. Angelo and by attending the International Art Exhibition. Jennie took a special pride in the fact that Sargent was exhibiting not with the British, but with the Americans. The one painting that captivated her like no other was the portrait of Innocent X by Velasquez: “Such a canvas! A wonderful painting – perfect.”⁷² On May 26th Will left for Venice to join the Varneys who had leased an apartment near the Lido.

Jennie’s arrival in Venice via Sienna on June 2nd was to be the start of a “two-month sketching season.”⁷³ Will departed two days later for München, leaving Jennie and the boys in the care of the Varneys. At the age of five her youngest son, the affable George, received “a great deal of attention because he was so tactful and charming with everyone.”⁷⁴ When she was not “avoiding naughty children” on her painting expeditions and searching the obscure corners of museums, Mrs. Cannon spent many social hours with Ella Varney in complete ignorance of what was happening behind the scenes with her husband.

On June 15th Jennie and her entourage settled in Florence. Like much of Italy, the city was an artistic bonanza and a “revelation.” When her time was not committed to her sons and museums, she painted vistas along the Arno. In addition, Mrs. Cannon had a special campaign in mind. During her fourteen days here she conferred with the recently arrived C. P. Townsley at least four times at Chapman House, the location that year of the William Merritt Chase Summer School of Art. On one occasion she and Townsley met with Chase at his private residence, Villa Stilli, shortly after his arrival on June 20th.⁷⁵ Although we have no precise information on what was said at this meeting, it is likely from what transpired the following year that she suggested California, and specifically Carmel, as a future location for the Chase Summer School. The great painter, ever mindful of his growing debts, probably told his former student that he might seriously consider such a proposal if there was sufficient financial inducement. Townsley, who was eager to find a permanent position on the West Coast, undoubtedly gave his enthusiastic support.

Beginning in the early spring of 1910 Jennie had received detailed reports on the Carmel art colony in her regular correspondence with Louise MacDougal. She was undoubtedly shocked at the initial rumors of the threatened divorce of Frank and Jane Powers, the pillars of the seaside community.⁷⁶ There was also news that the local artists were becoming increasingly visible and assertive. The *San Francisco Call* ran a short notice on the opening of the Arts and Crafts Summer School and specifically mentioned the “classes in drawing and painting “ conducted by Mary DeNeale Morgan.⁷⁷ When the display and sale of paintings at the Hall of the Arts and Crafts Club was complicated by countless social events, Louise MacDougal, Ferdinand Burgdorff and DeNeale Morgan organized in June of 1910 a coordinated “Open House at the Arts and Crafts Studio.” Here local vacationers and visitors from Monterey could study and purchase the work of Carmel painters.⁷⁸ Every Tuesday and Saturday the paintings of Arthur Vachell and Morgan were displayed. Also on Saturdays Burgdorff, Josephine Culbertson, Ida Johnson and MacDougal exhibited their work. Jennie Cannon was careful not to be forgotten during her long absence and

prior to her departure from Tucson sent several desert scenes to the Fourth Annual Art Exhibition of the Arts and Crafts Club which was held from July 19 thru September 1, 1910.⁷⁹ The published list of exhibitors was as follows:⁸⁰ Charles Judson, Ferdinand Burgdorff, Arthur Vachell, Goddard Gale, Josephine Culbertson, Ida Johnson, Louise MacDougal, DeNeale Morgan, Jennie Cannon, Jessie Short, Dora Jacobs, Julia Hollister, David Howard Hitchcock, Abbie McDow, Sydney Lemos, Sarah Elizabeth Chandler, Otis Carrington, Hugo Pedersen, Theodore Richardson, Chris Jörgensen, Alice Best, Lester Boronda and Evelyn McCormick.

The last eleven names were apparently new contributors who enriched the Carmel scene with their diverse talents. David Hitchcock, Hawaii's artistic prodigy, came with impeccable credentials in respect to his art training and possessed a refined talent for rendering landscapes that would lead to a brilliant career. While Abbie McDow never developed beyond the level of a capable amateur, Sydney Lemos eventually achieved a reputation as a fine commercial artist and Lizzie Chandler became one of Carmel's talented resident painters who seldom exhibited. Otis Carrington found some success as a watercolorist early in life, but devoted most of his energy to musical composition and was regarded by the 1920s as one of North America's premier composers of children's operettas. The distinguished painters Hugo Pedersen and Theodore Richardson were seasonal residents who exhibited only in 1910. Chris Jörgensen had been a longtime summer fixture in Carmel and was one of California's most respected watercolorists. Another new figure on the roster, Alice Best, was undoubtedly regarded as an equal to DeNeale Morgan. Alice had established with her husband one of San Francisco's most respected private art schools. She exhibited widely to great acclaim and along with Mrs. William Keith was a conspicuous figure in the fight for women's suffrage. Her repeated summers in Carmel focused attention on the fledgling art colony in the San Francisco press:⁸¹

Mrs. Alice Best, . . . stopped by Carmel-by-the-Sea for a few days While there, she held an exhibition in conjunction with Mrs. Maud Arndt The affair was a great success. Mrs. Best's oil and pastel studies, especially her exquisite little sand dune scenes, are winning great praise, . . . They have both decided to eventually [and] permanently establish themselves in Carmel, as soon as the cottage and studio they are building there have reached completion. The studio when finished will be large enough for exhibition purposes.

For unknown reasons Alice Best ended her summers in Carmel in 1913. Two of the new contributors to the Fourth Annual were widely recognized in regional art circles, Lester Boronda and Evelyn McCormick. Boronda was born in Nevada, raised in Monterey County and educated at the California School of Design. After further training in New York City, München and Paris he became in 1910 "the young sensation" of the San Francisco and Monterey Peninsula art scenes with multiple exhibitions at the best venues; at this time he resided in Pacific Grove. His Tonalist-inspired works, especially the romantic recreations of Spanish California, were snapped up by eager collectors. Despite Boronda's eventual relocation to New York City, where he established an award-winning career and a renowned studio, he painted and exhibited regularly on the Monterey Peninsula through the 1940s. Evelyn McCormick, who was born in Placerville and likewise educated at the School of Design in San Francisco, received recognition prior to 1889 for her skillfully executed still lifes. Thereafter she studied in France and was heavily influenced by Monet and the Impressionists. She absorbed most of the conventions of this "radical" movement into her very personal style and by the first decade of the 20th century joined Mary C. Brady and

Jennie Cannon as one of the three professional women Impressionists in northern California. By 1898 Evelyn had established a studio in Monterey which eventually became her permanent home. Her paintings of the Peninsula, especially the historic buildings of the old capital, were immensely popular. Although the pace of her exhibitions had declined by 1935, her work was periodically seen in Carmel for another decade. McCormick's appearance at the 1910 Arts and Crafts Club Annual is particularly significant since she is the first artist closely associated with the Monterey art colony to exhibit here. Although nearly one hundred paintings were hung at the Fourth Annual and the number of exhibitors more than doubled from the previous year, the conspicuous absence of other contributors from the Monterey colony leaves only two possible conclusions: the continuation of a boycott or their intentional exclusion by Carmel.⁸² The fact that McCormick and Boronda were allowed to contribute, implies that other Peninsula painters refused to pay the Club's small annual dues and participate. Regular contributors from Carmel showed no hesitation in hanging their work at the simultaneous exhibitions in the Del Monte Art Gallery where they apparently received a warm welcome. That July the *Del Monte Weekly* carried a lengthy summary of the events from the annual breakfast of the Carmel Arts and Crafts Club at the Pebble Beach Lodge.⁸³

As noted earlier Jennie sent several of her scenes of Europe and Egypt to Carmel in 1911. These were displayed at the Fifth Annual Exhibition where four paintings by the late Sydney Yard were hung in memoriam.⁸⁴ The published list of the eleven contributing artists (excluding "crafts") at this summer exhibition was as follows: Sydney Yard (†), Ferdinand Burgdorff, Arthur Vachell, Alice Best, DeNeale Morgan, Josephine Culbertson, Louise MacDougal, Chris Jørgensen, Anita L. Murray, Jennie Cannon and Jessie Short. The only new name on the Carmel scene was the Pacific Grove-Seaside artist, Anita L. Murray who became a respected if somewhat inconspicuous member of the Peninsula art community. Compared with the previous Annual the roster was significantly smaller and no artists from Monterey participated. On June 19th the summer session of the Arts and Crafts Club opened with DeNeale Morgan and Ida Johnson teaching the art classes.⁸⁵ Mrs. Cannon was grateful that her paintings were well received in Carmel, but disappointed that she was no more than a distant eavesdropper on the events of the art colony.

In pursuit of cooler Italian weather Jennie, Dana and the boys followed the habitual migration route from Florence to the Como region via Modena and Milan. During their six-day stay at the pension Corona on Lake Menaggio she translated the breathtaking scenery into sketches.⁸⁶ On July 7, 1911 they met Will in München where he was conducting research for his book on the Sahara. During her five days in this "interestingly clean city" she managed to see two disappointing exhibitions of German art. Thereafter Leipzig, Dresden and Berlin made a greater impression artistically on this overly critical American who strangely found the time to visit the tomb of Frederick the Great. On July 20th Jennie and Will left Berlin for Christiania (modern Oslo). There she connected the family stories from her childhood in Battle Lake to the "ancestral homeland." She spent one of her eight days in Scandinavia with her maternal uncle, Christopher Tangen. Decades later in her autobiography the memories of that visit were still poignant.⁸⁷

We, my husband and I, . . . made a railway excursion to a small settlement, called Dal. So similar were the country surroundings on this occasion to places I had known in my native Minnesota I found it difficult to realize that I had never been in this particular neighborhood. It seemed more than a first journey, so thoroughly had I experienced it before. There are days interspersed throughout one's life on which one recalls everything that happened. This was such a day. From sunrise until long after sunset minutes ticked

vividly away. All objects seemed distinct: the bright blue lakes, the serene dark evergreen trees, the gently rolling stretches of green meadows, yellow fields of grain; over all a silence – yes, somewhere I had sensed this all before we reached a large, white house, silent in the sense that a sanitarium is silent, and clean in the sense that a hospital is clean. Spaciousness, quietude – solitude seemed to reign here; and the most noticeable of all was the flower garden in front. In the midst of these flowers, stood my uncle It was indeed a strange moment: a gentle, quiet face of genial mien, a serene presence, he stepped forward and greeted us warmly, as did also other members of his family who had come to join him in the garden As I think about my uncle . . . I come to realize that I have never seen the lamb and the lion so finely blended in any person. We felt that we had talked with Christ on the one hand; we sensed that he had occult knowledge which, had he divulged it, would have surprised us, that his composure grew out of a lying-in-wait quality.

During this trip Jennie also visited that part of the Swedish coast whence her paternal family had migrated.

Their arrival in Bruges left Jennie with only one week to pack and sew the family's clothes in preparation for their return to the States. She was profoundly disappointed that there was no time for final sketches.⁸⁸ Just prior to sailing from Antwerp for New York on August 12th she paid a visit to the tomb of Rubens. Here she realized that her substantive training in art had ended. No longer plagued with self-doubt, she now decided "irrevocably" on a career as a professional artist and was determined to promote the study of art in the American West. After an uneventful trip, which included a brief stop in Battle Lake for Jennie's impromptu lecture on Egypt, they reached Tucson on September 1, 1911.⁸⁹

On her return Mrs. Cannon reflected on what she believed was the tragic lack of development in the art community of northern California:⁹⁰

The long ride across our continent made me feel a vast underdeveloped expanse existed, from the standpoint of art, between New York City and San Francisco. How could such a vast expanse be bridged?

San Francisco, the cultural epicenter of the West from the 1860s, obviously did not lack art, but had become a victim of the influential nouveaux riches who selectively imported the more conservative aesthetic tastes from France and Germany.⁹¹ Resident artists, often scions of the Hudson River School as well as devotees of the Barbizon and Tonalist movements, had considerable success in the local art market. The few brief visits by East Coast luminaries, such as George Inness, tended to reinforce the old "decorative" aesthetic. The near ossification of artistic development in northern California and the overt fear of Impressionism can be blamed on the San Francisco Art Association, which was founded in 1871, and its teaching arm, the School of Design, established three years later. With instruction based on conservative French paradigms art directors such as Virgil Williams and Arthur Mathews enforced an autocratic approach to teaching and criticism.⁹² When the 1894 Midwinter International Fair was held in San Francisco, the handful of Impressionist paintings was vastly overshadowed with works by Corot, Daubigny, and the bourgeois products of the École des Beaux-Arts. Jennie found it shocking that after 1906 the artistic isolation of northern California was compounded by the reappointment of conservative art instructors to the newly created San Francisco Institute of Art. She concluded that if the northern half of the state was ever to compete with the more progressive art scene that was emerging in the south then it needed a superstar educator who carried the progressive credentials of America's greatest art center. William Merritt Chase would deliver New York City to the Pacific. Soon she would act on her bold proposal to bring the great master to Carmel.

Jennie's arrival in Tucson proved to be something of a psychological shock. She immediately turned to "mending everything in the house" and lamenting that so many friends had not yet returned from their summer vacations. Will, who never forgot all of the pre-departure publicity that Jennie received in the local press, promptly went to *The Tucson Citizen* and made certain that the paper published the "edited" details of *his* research over the last eighteen months.⁹³ The resulting, rather lengthy article contained not a single mention of the artistic undertakings of his wife. Jennie outwardly acquiesced in her return to the role of dutiful housewife. She made an especially large birthday cake for Will, dressed the children, entertained the "Laboratory people" at Will's suggestion, and attended Sunday church. The large gaps in her 1911 diary after September 3rd suggest a certain complacency. With the exception of school teachers this was a society devoid of professional women and consequently there was no support for a serious woman artist. The Women's Club emphasized the role of "household manager" and the local newspapers carried regular columns under such titles as "A Mother's Duty." Everything from child rearing to food budgets was considered appropriate study.

It is not until October 14th that she even returned to painting with "a study of the Catalina" mountains.⁹⁴ She found some consolation in the social contacts and sketching trips with one of the few female artists in Tucson, the effervescent Katherine F. Kitt.⁹⁵ To stave off depression she read incessantly and completed courses in German and Spanish literature at the University.⁹⁶ Her absence from the public stage ended temporarily on October 25th when she submitted twenty entries in various categories to the art exhibitions of the Pima County Fair. To the amazement of the local press Jennie received eight first prizes and three second prizes.⁹⁷ She naturally took a certain pride in this achievement, but also realized that she had become a big fish in an extremely small pond. What she found impossible to reconcile was the social straightjacket of Tucson with her twenty-one months abroad and the freedom to please her artistic desires.

This struggle between aspiring artist and dutiful housewife continued into 1912. The meager seven entries in her diary for January and February all deal with such wifely obligations as a carefully planned birthday party for George, the treatment of Milner's scarlet fever and several social functions. At Will's insistence Jennie held a formal "high tea" for sixty-five guests in their Speedway Avenue home to honor Mrs. Herman Augustus Spoehr, the wife of an important academic who was recently added to the Desert Laboratory staff. Since Dr. Spoehr had valuable contacts at Stanford University, Will made sure that at least one local newspaper gave the event wide coverage.⁹⁸ On the "Society" page of *The Tucson Citizen* "Mrs. William Austin Cannon" was conspicuously congratulated for her decorations "with red carnations and pepper boughs." In addition, Jennie also made sandwiches for a tea in honor of the "University girls," formally toasted the same group at a dinner for seniors and kept a visible profile at public lectures and concerts.⁹⁹ During Will's prolonged absences in March and April she painted with more frequency, but only when her "housekeeping is done." Some of Jennie's paintings repeated the successful "desert themes" that Cleveland Dodge had earlier purchased. She often went to the Desert Laboratory where she and Louise MacDougal shared the single studio. Louise, who returned from Egypt and Khartoum in early May, was also preparing art work for sale in Carmel.¹⁰⁰ The late spring always brought "the escape from Tucson."

Although only one fragment of correspondence survives, we know from subsequent events that Mrs. Cannon and C. P. Townsley were in frequent contact during this period. Townsley,

known as “Chas” to his family and friends, visited relatives in Kansas after the sale of the London School of Art in 1911. At this time he wrote to Jennie of his need for a “position” and added:¹⁰¹

If Michael Angelo were to come to Kansas, he would buy an automobile and go to raising hogs. I regret to say the people here do not even care for Mr. Chase’s portrait of me.

In her replies Jennie was trying to flesh out a specific plan to establish a Chase Summer School in Carmel and as a corollary to help find Townsley a teaching post in the West Coast. This explains her curious itinerary after she left Arizona.

Mrs. Cannon initially stopped on May 25, 1912 at Loma Linda University to meet Dr. and Mrs. Spalding, acquaintances from her stay in New York City. Here she inquired about a forthcoming appointment for a “Drawing Instructor.” Five days later she met for the first time Jean Mannheim in his Pasadena studio. Since he was a former colleague of Townsley and Brangwyn, she undoubtedly had an introduction from one or both of the artists.¹⁰² Jennie stayed for lunch at his “comfortable house and garden” where they discussed his early studies in Paris and his encounters with James McNeill Whistler.¹⁰³ She so charmed him that he accepted her invitation to be the Cannons’ “houseguest” in Carmel. Mannheim had recently corresponded with Townsley regarding his availability to direct and teach at a yet to be established art school in Pasadena and Jennie discreetly inquired about the project.¹⁰⁴

Louise MacDougal and her daughter Alice, who had reached “ever charming” Carmel days before Jennie, invited the latter to dinner on her June 2nd arrival. Since Louise used her own house as a private studio and Will’s original Carnegie Laboratory was now unavailable, Jennie made arrangements on the following day to rent a studio-gallery for the summer and by June 7th it was open for business.¹⁰⁵ In his rather enchanting 1939 article Francis L. Lloyd, the news editor of the *Carmel Pine Cone*, reminisced on the artists of 1912. At that time he was taken as “a weary-legged child” for visits to the workshops of William Watts, DeNeale Morgan, William Silva, “and to the studio of Jennie Vennerström Cannon.”¹⁰⁶ Her gallery became a popular meeting place and visiting artists, such as the renowned Jean Mannheim, were always welcome to show their sketches there.¹⁰⁷ Mannheim, armed with his “charmingly friendly personality,” arrived on June 6th and during his two-week stay was often taken on sketching trips by Jennie. Once they were joined by Louise MacDougal and DeNeale Morgan for an outing to Cypress Point where the “witch trees” reminded him of Dante’s *Inferno*.¹⁰⁸ This Pasadena resident was so enamored by the area that he asked Jennie and Will to help him “evaluate acreage” that was available for sale.¹⁰⁹

Aside from creating and selling her own art, as well as entertaining guests, Jennie had three tasks that demanded a considerable amount of time during her summer. First, she was invited to participate as a “guest lecturer” in the Arts and Crafts Summer School where she attended the staff reception on June 14th.¹¹⁰ She fretted over the suitability of her talks on art history, but was comforted by a new friend on the Carmel art scene, William P. Silva. She gave her first lecture in the Arts and Crafts building on June 21st: “Mr. Silva of Wash. D. C. was very complimentary, said it was one of the very best he ever heard, which was some consolation.”¹¹¹

In the early spring Jennie was asked by a Dean of the University of Arizona at Tucson to assemble and curate for December of 1912 the school’s first exhibition of “Modern Art from the American West” at the Library Gallery. In general, she decided to eschew the local talent and extended invitations to primarily California artists. Maynard Dixon, whom she befriended in 1907 while he was painting murals in Tucson’s Southern Pacific Railroad Depot, agreed to contribute

four oils.¹¹² DeNeale Morgan, whose exposure outside of Carmel was slight, immediately accepted her friend's offer and lent two paintings. William Silva, at this time only a Carmel summer resident from the East, reluctantly declined the invitation due to previous exhibition commitments. Other contributors to her Tucson show from the Monterey Peninsula included Sydney Yard with two watercolors lent posthumously by his wife, Josephine Culbertson with three paintings and Rowena Meeks Abdy with two works. For personal reasons Jennie was compelled to include several works by her friend, Louise MacDougal.

Her final and most formidable task in the summer of 1912 was to fulfill that long-held dream of delivering the East to the West, namely the creation of a Chase Summer School of Art in Carmel. Jennie's approach was the same combination of stealth and influence that had succeeded in bringing the Carnegie Institute here five years earlier. As before, the Manager of the Carmel Development Company, Frank Devendorf, was looking for "attractions" that would boost the lackluster sales of real estate. In 1940 Mrs. Cannon was asked by the *Carmel Pine Cone* to contribute an article on the founding of the Chase School in which she detailed many of the important events that summer. On an unspecified date in mid June she recalled: "I interviewed Frank Devendorf to learn what his company would contribute to induce William Merritt Chase . . . to conduct a summer class in art and I penned the contents of the interview to Chase's manager, Mr. C. P. Townsley, then in Venice [Italy]."¹¹³ Typically, Devendorf would not offer his own written commitment until he had received from Chase's agent a letter of intent, which specified the reciprocal terms. He did authorize Cannon to quote a monetary figure that was in line with the amount that Chase proposed during her Florence meeting in June of 1911. No one in Carmel with the possible exception of Frank Powers was told of this initial offer. Jennie mailed her letter to Townsley on June 30th, then walked alone to a lodge near Pebble Beach.¹¹⁴ That evening after dinner she was so unnerved by the boldness of her secret undertaking that she returned to the postmaster, Louis Slevin, to retrieve her correspondence, but he had closed and the letter was already in transit. On August 14th she received Townsley's "hopeful" announcement that he "thinks Chase will come" to teach on the West Coast, but certain facilities would have to be provided. Because of Chase's commitments in 1913, he would not be available until the summer of 1914. Jennie confessed uneasily to her diary: "[We] will have to reorganize Arts and Crafts [Club] into something larger."¹¹⁵ That evening she "conferred with Devendorf about [the] Chase project" and he formally offered gratis "studios and cottages" for Chase and his team.¹¹⁶ Later he would volunteer to pay the round-trip rail transportation for the New York artist. Since Devendorf had generously subsidized the purchase of the land and donated building materials for the Arts and Crafts Club Hall in 1906-07 – another of his efforts to stimulate the sales of Carmel property – he simply assumed that its studios would be available.

Jennie understood that the year-round Carmel residents who controlled the "Club" were especially protective of their prerogatives and would view with hostility the efforts by mere summer residents, such as herself and Devendorf, to invite someone as important as Chase. To soften the eventual shock she blatantly sought to ingratiate herself with its hierarchy. Within a few days she invited Helena Wood Smith, the designated director of the Club for 1913 and a painter of some ability, to contribute to her Tucson exhibition in December. Miss Smith quickly accepted this unexpected offer and insisted on contributing three oils and one pencil sketch. Mary Hand, the Club's president, and Smith were first told of the Chase project in the late fall of 1912 by

Devendorf. There is no surviving account of this meeting, but we learn from later events that their discussion was unpleasant. Both women were angry that the Club studios had been committed to the detriment of their regular summer arts program and that they were left completely in the dark regarding the terms of the invitation to Chase. They apparently acquiesced on Devendorf's request for studio space, but insisted that they have administrative control over the Chase Summer School which historically was under the exclusive supervision of C. P. Townsley. To pacify the Club's officers Devendorf appears to have made vague and unauthorized promises in this regard.

Cannon's diary of 1912 reveals much about the complex social life among Carmel's artists. At a professional level they freely critiqued one another's work. For example, while the Cannons attended a reception at the Silvas, Jennie met privately with William Silva to discuss his fascinating "experiments" with diffused light and to hear the latest gossip on the artist-members of New York's Salmagundi Club. Regarding one of Jennie's "fog studies," Mr. Silva "thought the color was nice, but said [the] foreground needed something."¹¹⁷ When Jennie visited Rowena Meeks Abdy in Monterey, she stayed for several hours to review her recent sketches of "the old cemetery," tour her lovely house, and meet her writer-husband. As if following an un-inscribed but required custom, ten days later Mrs. Abdy, despite her physical disabilities, made a reciprocal visit to Jennie's studio to review her work.¹¹⁸ Over "tea" Jennie exchanged horror stories with Goddard Gale and his wife about the inadequate prices paid for their paintings and expressed amazement at the success of one of their colleagues, Henry Joseph Breuer, "who receives large sums for his work in the East."¹¹⁹ Among the artists there was always a generous atmosphere of camaraderie that was immediately extended to new residents and visitors alike. In early August Francis McComas briefly occupied a bungalow in Carmel and was welcomed by Jennie and Louise MacDougal, who found the "lovely colors" of his recently completed desert studies "marvelous."¹²⁰ Other acquaintances became fast friends in a mutually beneficial social circle. In June she met William Ritschel who in 1911 had started to spend summers with his wife in Carmel at a residence provided by Devendorf's Carmel Development Company. The Cannons and Ritschels frequently socialized and Jennie included them in dinner parties where they talked shop with William Silva, DeNeale Morgan, Sarah Parke and the latter's "companion," Josephine Blanch, the new curator of the influential and potentially lucrative Del Monte Art Gallery. At one of her "picnic dinners" in honor of Parke and Blanch the socially prominent artist, Mrs. Jane Powers, was included.¹²¹ Jennie paid casual visits to Ritschel's studio where on one occasion she viewed his recently completed painting of Mission Carmel.¹²² Another close friendship that Jennie made in 1912 was with the "San Francisco painter" Anne Bremer. On July 7th in the Arts and Crafts Club Hall Mrs. Cannon noticed something peculiar: "a lady carrying a *European* sketch stool came in."¹²³ Jennie introduced herself and was immediately invited by Anne to her rented cabin to view some "decorative sketches." Four days later she took Miss Bremer on a sketching expedition to The Eighty-Acres tract.¹²⁴ Anne, who had just returned from France and was completely enamored of the European styles, failed to see the "advances in American painting" which the ever-chauvinistic Jennie defended in their discussions. On July 12th in Jennie's studio Miss Bremer gave her first Carmel exhibition, primarily paintings of Paris. The opening of this show was followed by a home-made dinner in Miss Bremer's honor with Dr. MacDougal chosen to make the welcoming address.

In addition to Jennie's rigorous schedule of exhibitions for her own paintings, Carmel in the summer of 1912 provided many diversions. In conjunction with the annual "Historical Pageant"

there were the theatrical productions of *The Toad* by Mrs. Bertha Newberry, *Alice in Wonderland*, and an adaptation of a short story by Robert Louis Stevenson. All were well received.¹²⁵ Jennie found time for reading in art, history and literature; the supernatural world of *Gosta Berling* especially captured her imagination. Part-time residents, such as the *San Francisco Examiner* art critic and war correspondent Michael Williams and his wife Peggy, provided special diversions.¹²⁶ Their friendship later proved invaluable, when Jennie needed Michael's help in a publicity crisis with the Chase School. She also seized the opportunities for scenic drives with her family, visits to the Del Monte Art Gallery, and a special overnight trip to the San Francisco Bay Area. Here she celebrated her birthday on August 31st with artist-friends at the Alameda home of Isabel Hunter.¹²⁷ But business was never far from pleasure. She took the opportunity to ask two prominent artists, Isabelle Percy and Helen Clark Chandler, to contribute to her University of Arizona exhibition in December.

On September 5, 1912 Jennie returned to Tucson and like a well-rehearsed schizophrenic assumed the role of efficient homemaker. Her diary, which just one week ago was filled with the intimate details on California's elite artists, was now cluttered with entries on the price of melons and tomatoes, extra homework for Milner, and the prolonged absences of her husband.¹²⁸ She escaped in her painting expeditions, literature, language courses at the University, and evenings with "Victrola" recordings in the company of a few trusted friends. Marian Cummings Stanley, who was a prominent writer and likewise "marooned" in the desert with her husband's employment, became Jennie's kindred spirit.¹²⁹ Marian had stayed with the Townsleys on her recent New York trip and brought back the most current news on Chase and the lively art scene. The only public organization in Tucson where Jennie still maintained a membership was the Collegiate Club. This group sponsored "serious" lectures, often in conjunction with tours of local historical sites.¹³⁰ To many she may have seemed a snob, but in her own eyes she had simply learned not to tolerate fools. Another break from her monotony came in mid October, when she contributed her time and art to the regional fair where her works won six first prizes and two second prizes.¹³¹ This entire exhibit was sent to the equivalent fair in Phoenix, but the judges there preferred "accurate" representational art over Jennie's "modern" school: "The good was called bad and the bad good." In October she wrote to all the artists contributing to her Tucson exhibition with details on how to ship the pieces for display.¹³² She received all the promised works, except for paintings by Helen Clark Chandler and Marion Wachtel, who both had unexpected conflicts.

The December exhibition at the University of Arizona with its list of prominent contributing artists should have been one of Jennie's great public triumphs, but all her efforts to function in so many roles at once took the eventual toll on her health. She had a "relapse" involving her earlier bronchial condition that now affected her heart.¹³³ On November 30th she insisted on traveling downtown to have the labels and brochures printed for the exhibit. She was so ill on December 1st that she was unable to direct the hanging of the pictures in the Library Gallery. The next day Dr. Rogers confined her to prolonged bed rest and Marian Staley volunteered to care for her sons in the absence of Will. On December 6th Jennie dragged herself from home to attend the opening "party" for the exhibition and collapsed the next day. To her credit the exhibit was well-received by the Tucson press and public.¹³⁴ Jennie herself contributed four contrasting "Desert Studies" of Arizona and Egypt. It is only on December 15th that she was well enough to attend church. Marian was frequently at her side and on Christmas presented Jennie with an autographed copy of

published poems by their mutual friend, Sara Teasdale. Will was inexplicably absent in Palo Alto, where Ella Varney happened to be in residence, but he did send his wife a selection of books. Typically, Jennie never forgot her responsibilities. On December 27th she wrote to Maynard Dixon, DeNeale Morgan and the other contributing artists to ask where they wanted their pictures shipped. She closed 1912 quietly by playing hooky from church and preparing for a New Year's celebration.

During a decade in which we have extensive documentation on Jennie Cannon's personal life, the year 1913 remains something of an enigma. Her last diary entry for that year is May 7th, apparently because that volume was inadvertently packed with the rest of her library and sent to Palo Alto. Thus her narrative for that entire Carmel season and the fall is absent. The picture we have of Tucson from her 1913 diary is a repetition of her role as the self-sacrificing dutiful housewife, but now cracks in the façade are more apparent. Her youngest son, George, received his expected birthday party on January 1st, however, mother's typically frivolous presents were replaced with a "French reader," not an unexpected gift for an adolescent who was told to treasure the privilege of education.¹³⁵ Because her bronchial condition, which she habitually called a "constant cold," left her fatigued, she hired, when finances permitted, an American Indian housekeeper to deal with the heavy chores. She consulted doctors and visited the hospital with an unusual frequency.¹³⁶ Her struggle to thaw frozen water pipes during one of Tucson's coldest winters and the devastating fire at the nearby home of Marian Stanley left her disgusted and traumatized.¹³⁷ She regretfully dropped her German literature course at the University and considered doing the same with Spanish because: "It is difficult for married people to pursue this education If a house and children are well conducted there is no time for very much outside."¹³⁸ More and more she channeled her available time into plein air painting and during a bout of inclement weather she finished indoors "a Venetian study to show in Carmel." She also "painted over a Bruges street scene" and "carried it along further." To these efforts she added parenthetically: "I do gain some from year to year in spite of all sorts of obstacles. . . . certainly [it] is up hill work and all because there are not sufficient funds."¹³⁹ She envied Louise MacDougal, who was spending the first winter in her new Carmel home far away from the Tucson society that she loathed. When invited by Louise to be her guest that February she confided that "It would be very restful and carefree to just eat and sketch, but I cannot accept."¹⁴⁰ Every time Mrs. MacDougal writes of exhibits in San Francisco and her work in etching, Jennie becomes more "anxious to get to Carmel." She could never afford a competent nanny to manage the family in her absence. At times her diary reveals a woman trapped in the consequences of her marriage.¹⁴¹

A glorious day after the rain. I have still several bits of sewing to finish before I begin painting. It is a shame to sew all this when one ought to paint. After the storm there will be fine cloud effects over the desert and all the time sewing with a guilty conscience because I ought to paint.

During this period she received correspondence from Will who was on one of his lengthy California visits, lecturing and conducting research at both Loma Linda and Stanford University. At home Jennie read insatiably and occasionally fulfilled the requisite and all too numerous social obligations with the wives of the Carnegie Desert Laboratory. In spite of Will's active encouragement in that regard, she succeeded in avoiding "unnecessary" social contact:¹⁴²

I spend my time dodging visitors; very trying, not used to it. I shall soon be out in the public again [Carmel in the spring] and it will be fun. I do not like this nun-like existence at all. I shall paint much before it gets too hot.

When both of Jennie's sons came down with measles, she was not at all disappointed that "people will be very afraid of this house for a long time to come."¹⁴³

She emerged from this self-imposed exile for causes that excited her interest. For a benefit at a Tucson Presbyterian Church she gave an art and travel lecture on Egypt.¹⁴⁴ When Will bought their first automobile, a "Maxwell," Jennie insisted on learning how to drive.¹⁴⁵ Two visiting Boston artists were befriended, entertained and aided on their sketching expeditions by Mrs. Cannon for the sheer delight of having a sophisticated diversion.¹⁴⁶ Jennie even takes up the very controversial cause of publicly registering women voters through her Collegiate Club, much to the consternation of the male populace and especially of Mrs. Dixon, one of Tucson's most influential dowagers. Mrs. Cannon and a dozen other Collegiate women appeared on the steps of the County Court House at a widely publicized date and time to make sure that applications were not rejected on technical grounds.¹⁴⁷

On February 17, 1913 Jennie received formal notification from C. P. Townsley of what would become one of her great accomplishments, namely the commitment of William Merritt Chase to conduct his first summer class on the Pacific in 1914. Townsley added in his letter that "Mr. Chase has never painted better than at present" and that he planned to sell his villa near Florence once his family departed in the summer.¹⁴⁸ Of paramount importance was the registration of enough paying art students to make the project viable. Since this could only be accomplished through publicity, Jennie and Townsley agreed jointly to design an official four-page brochure to advertise the 1914 school. Her more immediate attempt to gain attention came just three days after Townsley's letter, when she wrote her friend, the reporter Michael Williams, to ask that he publish the announcement on Chase in several San Francisco newspapers. Mindful of the recent conflict between Devendorf and the officers of the Carmel Arts and Crafts Club, she urged him to pay due deference to the latter: "He will know just how to do this and where to send it."¹⁴⁹ Jennie herself wrote bulletins for Tucson's two most important newspapers.

What emerges from these notices are the clear motives of Cannon and Devendorf for inviting Chase to Carmel. After a short preliminary announcement in the *San Francisco Call* on March 16th, that newspaper carried a "special dispatch" four weeks later:¹⁵⁰

With the coming of Mr. William M. Chase of the American Academy to Carmel for the summer of 1914 there will be established a school for the study of painting that the west has not known before.

Mr. Chase's reputation as a painter and teacher has become national . . . [he] will have his assistant and manager, Mr. C. P. Townsley with him . . .

Preparations are being made for this work to be carried on in connection with the Arts and Crafts Club of Carmel. The present building will be used as an assembly hall. Studios will be erected for the use of the students on adjoining property.

Shortly thereafter on April 27th the *San Francisco Examiner* declared unequivocally in its own excited announcement:¹⁵¹

William Merritt Chase, one of the foremost artists of the United States, will conduct a summer school in painting under the auspices of the local Arts and Crafts [Club] next year. . . . The Arts and Crafts are planning a large studio on the site of their club house and will probably build a tent city near the beach for the California artists who will take advantage of this opportunity to study under this famous master.

Devendorf, who was anxious to advance his own agenda, apparently submitted his own press release to another local newspaper:¹⁵²

Mrs. J. V. Cannon has enlisted the active co-operation of two of the most influential artists . . . Chase and Townsley Next year *this movement will be started definitely* [my italics] and California will become the Mecca of a great number of artists, who will be shown just what the state has to offer the landscape painter.

As far as the press was concerned, Carmel had been anointed as the artistic venue in the state.

While the *Arizona Daily Star* condensed the article that Jennie submitted for publication and simply announced that Mrs. Cannon and another local artist, Mrs. Stewart of Oracle, would attend the forthcoming Chase Summer School in Carmel, *The Tucson Citizen* published the entire Cannon draft.¹⁵³ Apart from the introductory information and the obligatory praise of Chase and Townsley, the last paragraph in the *Citizen* begins: "The plan for Chase's visit to the west is to *expand* [my italics] the [Carmel] School of Arts and Crafts, organized by the water colorist Sydney Yard." She tactfully omitted any reference to her own involvement in bringing Chase to Carmel. What is apparent in the spring of 1913 is that Cannon and obviously Devendorf envisioned this event as merely a first visit by Chase to his permanent Carmel Summer School of Art under the management of C. P. Townsley. By the following year this became such a clear expectation for the entire art community on the Peninsula that the *Monterey Daily Cypress* declared that the present plans for the Chase Summer School "point to a future location on the peninsula."¹⁵⁴ Such an institution could only be "connected" logistically or under the general "auspices" of the present Arts and Crafts Club which was to be marginalized into the role of providing class rooms. Both Devendorf and Cannon viewed the Arts and Crafts Club as too diffuse and amateurish to administer such a program. They believed that the only way to attract a large body of serious artists was with a professional art school. Chase's national reputation superseded by far any other artist in the West and his school in Carmel could potentially become preeminent. Unfortunately, such an institution would make redundant and probably eliminate the Club's two summer art classes. Neither Cannon nor Devendorf was able to predict the very bitter reaction of the Club's entrenched hierarchy who in all fairness saw their authority usurped in what amounted to a coup by two summer residents.

To a certain extent Cannon and Devendorf were justified in their assessment of the Arts and Crafts Club. The latter was envisioned by Devendorf as a place where summer tourists could join with "the little group of resident art lovers" to practice music, writing and crafts.¹⁵⁵ In 1910 the Club opened a "summer school" with classes of short duration (usually six weeks) that provided "educational" diversions for the tourists.¹⁵⁶ The official printed program for the Club in 1913 advertised thirteen introductory courses between July 7th and August 15th that were taught by residents of the Monterey Peninsula: French by Paul Ferriol, Spanish by A. V. Cotton, piano forte by Carrie Carrington, dancing by Sadie Van Brower, physical culture with reading and dramatic expression by Sara Huntsman, china painting and design by Ida Johnson, pottery by Josephine Culbertson, leather by Marjory Wood, metal work by Francis Farrington and advanced jewelry by Catherine Comstock. For the uninitiated students DeNeale Morgan taught "outdoor sketching in water colors" and Helena Wood Smith gave twelve lessons in "drawing and painting from nature." The former was the Club's secretary and the latter its director. This Club was hardly a professional institution that could attract serious art students from the East and manage the affairs of a world-class painter. Chase wisely kept all administrative affairs in the hands of Townsley.

In the spring of 1913 Jennie was absorbed by another momentous event, her family's permanent move to Palo Alto. Their six-room Tucson bungalow, which Will helped to construct in

1907 at 1189 Speedway Avenue, was put up for sale in May.¹⁵⁷ Their decision to relocate was influenced by a variety of factors: Milner would soon begin his undergraduate studies at either Stanford or U.C. Berkeley; Jennie was anticipating lung surgery at a well-equipped hospital near San Francisco; Will expected a permanent appointment at Stanford in the very near future; and the “artificial” world of Tucson had simply become a place to escape from.¹⁵⁸ Prior to her departure for the summer in Carmel she painted and “remodeled” the house to increase its appeal to potential buyers.¹⁵⁹ There were no flamboyant “good-bye” parties and by April 30th they quietly limited all contacts to their “closest friends.” Jennie departed Arizona on May 9th to “see Mr. Mannheim,” no doubt to discuss Townsley’s soon-to-be-announced appointment at the Stickney Memorial School of Fine Arts in Pasadena. Specifically, she wanted to know whether Townsley would have his summers free to manage an art school in Carmel. During her absence Carmel began its theatrical season with four new productions at the Forest Theatre: the Robin Hood drama entitled *Runnymede*, Perry Newberry’s children’s play *Aladdin*, Mary Austin’s *Fire* starring George Sterling and Takeshi Kanno’s poem-play *Creation-Dawn*.¹⁶⁰ A rather rowdy split among the literati over “commercialism” in the theatre productions led to the founding of the California Drama Society of Carmel by George Sterling and Herbert Heron. Within weeks this organization was re-christened the Western Drama Society; the opposing camps were eventually reconciled.

During the summer of 1913 Jennie’s star was shining brightly over the Monterey Peninsula. It appears from the surviving exhibition records that she contributed for the first time to the Art Gallery at Monterey’s Del Monte Hotel. Due to the efforts of Josephine Blanch, the Gallery’s curator, female artists throughout California were given increasing visibility and added as “Charter Members.” During her almost thirty-year tenure, Blanch encouraged the exhibition of painters, “who emphasized the modern tendencies in art,” and she *specifically* included in this category: “Armin Hansen, Charlton Fortune, Clark Hobart, Joseph Raphael, Jennie Vennerström Cannon, August Gay, Bruce Nelson and Ray Boynton.”¹⁶¹ Jennie’s inclusion here was the sort of peer recognition that she could never receive in Tucson. That summer she was invited to contribute to what was supposed to be a semi-annual exhibition of Peninsula Artists in Pacific Grove under the sponsorship of the Arts and Crafts Club. After the inaugural show the Pacific Grove venue was not revived due to a decided lack of local interest.¹⁶² At this time Jennie met and socialized with the Santa Barbara painter, John M. Gamble, in Carmel where he was spending part of the late spring and early summer teaching several students, including the young Berkeley artist, Lucy Valentine Pierce.¹⁶³

The selection of Carmel as the venue for the Chase Summer School suddenly elevated the Annual Exhibition of the Arts and Crafts Club to a lofty status and attracted artists who had in the past either ignored or intentionally boycotted this summer show. The official list of the twenty-four contributing painters to Carmel’s Seventh Annual Art Exhibition in 1913 included eight prior exhibitors –DeNeale Morgan, Jennie Cannon, William Adam, Louise MacDougal, Ferdinand Burgdorff, Josephine Culbertson, Arthur Vachell, and Jessie Short – and sixteen new faces:¹⁶⁴ Rowena Meeks Abdy, E. Charlton Fortune, Maren Froelich, Isabelle Percy, Mary Herrick Ross, Henry Percy Gray, Clark Hobart, Lee Randolph, William Silva, William Ritschel, Helen Vail, Georgia Bordwell, Helena Wood Smith, J. Edward Walker, Ada Clark and W. D. Jordan. The last five names belong to respected artists with modest reputations; Helen Vail remains an obscure figure.¹⁶⁵ Ritschel and Jordan joined Detlef Sammann to serve on the “hanging committee” of the

Seventh Annual.¹⁶⁶ These three artists united with Jean Mannheim and William Silva to form the “committee of awards.” Louis Slevin offered a photographic display as part of the Annual.

From exhibition records we know that five of the first-time women artists had especially notable careers. Rowena Abdy was born in Vienna to American parents and briefly trained at San Francisco’s School of Design. Between 1910 and 1915 she lived in Monterey with her husband and studied with Armin Hansen. Despite a severe physical handicap she frequently exhibited throughout California her drawings and paintings which emphasized the architecture of colonial California. Her work won several awards and was eagerly collected by connoisseurs through the 1920s and 1930s. Abdy continued to exhibit in Carmel into the mid 1940s. In her early years the Sausalito-born Charlton Fortune led a very peripatetic life that included art studies in Edinburgh, London, San Francisco and New York. By 1913 she had established a reputation as a sensitive and very competent portrait artist; she maintained a summer studio in Monterey where she eventually had her primary residence. Fortune’s experience with William Merritt Chase at his 1914 Summer School of Art in Carmel solidified what ultimately became her unique Post-Impressionist style (Plate 6b).¹⁶⁷ Her landscapes, which won numerous awards at the San Francisco Art Association (SFAA) and in international expositions, were immensely popular. After she returned from Europe in the mid 1920s her newest work received disparaging and enthusiastic reviews in California. Seeking a dramatic change in direction of her life she established the Monterey Guild to focus her efforts on the creation of liturgical art and furnishings for the Roman Catholic Church. Here again Fortune excelled and had a profound influence on her contemporaries. Maren Froelich moved from her home near Fresno to San Francisco where she won several student awards at the School of Design in the late 1880s. Her still lifes and landscapes were well received, but it was figure studies, especially her renderings of boudoir scenes, ballet girls and Chinese subjects in exotic costumes, that won her great fame (Plate 9a).¹⁶⁸ Her training in France between 1907 and 1910 mellowed her regional academic style; she began to paint landscapes with a brighter palette and a more open brushwork. Beginning at the turn of the century Froelich regularly visited and painted in Carmel. Isabelle Percy(-West) left her East Bay home to study art at the Mark Hopkins Institute in San Francisco, Columbia University in New York City and in England. In 1907-08 she taught at Berkeley’s California School of Arts and Crafts (CSAC) before returning to Columbia and Europe. By 1913 Percy(-West) had moved back to the family home in Oakland and began to exhibit extensively; she was a conspicuous figure in Carmel. After further travels she finally settled at the CSAC in 1920 with an appointment as Professor of Costume Design and Composition, a post she held for two decades. In the mid 1870s the San Francisco-born Mary H. Ross was one of the first female students at the School of Design. Her paintings, which were composed in a subdued academic style with soft colors, were widely exhibited and uniformly praised. After returning from Europe in 1909 she began to distort her subjects and render them in hyper-bright pigments. Her once complacent still lifes were characterized by glowing highly magnified flowers, an approach that had a profound influence on the regional art scene (Plate 16b).¹⁶⁹ By 1911 Ross and her husband were spending summers in Carmel and five years later they bought a home there that remained her primary residence until 1930.

At the Seventh Carmel Annual four of the new male contributors were about to establish themselves as important figures in the art world and one already had a national reputation. The San Francisco-born Percy Gray studied for three years at the School of Design, but settled for a

career as a newspaper artist between 1893 and 1915. By 1907 his “atmospheric” landscapes in watercolor began to attract attention. He visited the Monterey Peninsula in 1910 and two years later his first paintings of that area appeared at the Del Monte Art Gallery. A bronze medal awarded for his study of the Oregon desert at the Panama-Pacific International Exposition (PPIE) of 1915 greatly enhanced his reputation. His many friends at the *San Francisco Examiner* continued to promote his career after he moved to the Monterey Peninsula in 1923. Gray’s bucolic scenes of moody oaks, pastures and sea were extremely popular with those collectors who chose to avoid the more modern trends in art. Clark Hobart left his native Illinois to study in San Francisco and at the Arts Students League in New York City. In 1913 he moved to Monterey and began experiments with brightly colored, highly innovative monotypes that soon catapulted his career into the front ranks of the regional art scene (Plate 26a). William Merritt Chase awarded him a second prize at the Society of Monterey Artists exhibition in 1914; a year later he received a silver medal at the PPIE. During the spring of 1916 he relocated to San Francisco and opened a very successful portrait studio. At the apex of his career in 1924 Hobart abruptly retired from easel painting and print production to collaborate with his wife as an interior decorator. Lee Randolph was born in Ohio and studied art in Cincinnati and New York City. In 1902-03 he trained at the École des Beaux Arts and at Académie Julien in Paris; his work appeared at Salons there and in Rome. He and his new wife briefly moved to Pacific Grove in 1913, the year his work was first exhibited in northern California. His prints and paintings received prizes at the SFAA and at the PPIE. In 1917 he was appointed the director of the California School of Fine Arts in San Francisco, a post that he held for twenty-five years. In 1943 Randolph established his permanent home in Carmel where he became an active member of the art colony. The Savannah-born William P. Silva pursued employment as a furniture salesman and china merchant until he decided on a career in art at the age of forty-seven. After a summer of instruction with Arthur W. Dow he studied in 1907 at the Académie Julien. In Paris his work was accepted at the Salon d’Automne as well as at private galleries. From his new studio in Washington, D.C. he visited Carmel in 1911 and two years later made that seaside hamlet his permanent home. His work was frequently exhibited across the United States and was awarded numerous prizes. Silva became one of the more influential personalities in the Carmel art colony. Certainly the most imposing figure at Carmel in the summer of 1913 was William Ritschel who was born and educated in Germany. He immigrated in 1895 to New York City where his “theatrically vigorous” style, which incorporated several of the characteristics of the Impressionists, won numerous awards and quickly established his reputation as one of the region’s most prominent artists. The National Academy of Design not only elected him an Associate (“A.N.A.”) in 1910 and a National Academician (“N.A.”) four years later, but also honored him with the Ranger Fund Prize on an unprecedented three separate occasions. By 1911 he was a regular seasonal resident near Carmel and in 1920-21 he located his permanent home in the Carmel Highlands. The extraordinary popularity and value placed on his regional seascapes and studies of the South Seas made him, according to contemporary sources, the preeminent painter on the Monterey Peninsula for over two decades.

The unprecedented number and high caliber of contributing artists to the Carmel Annual, which included three prominent members of the Monterey art colony (Fortune, Abdy and Hobart), rivaled the display at the Del Monte Art Gallery and attracted attention far beyond the Peninsula. In its first extensive review of any Carmel show the *San Francisco Chronicle* reproduced canvases

by Ritschel and Morgan, declared the fifty exhibited paintings to have “exceptionally high standards” and agreed with Mannheim that there were “no marked contrasts between the best and the lesser works.”¹⁷⁰ However, the *Chronicle* was annoyed that only permanent Carmel residents were eligible for the one-hundred-dollar prize money which Morgan received for her *Afternoon on the Dunes*. Of the few artists specifically named by the *Chronicle* for their “merits” the reviewer said of Mrs. Jennie Cannon that her desert scenes of Arizona have “attracted attention.” Cannon had eight official entries selected and hung by the jury in the Annual, more than any other artist.

Jennie’s prestige soared in the community when news of her prominent role in luring Chase to Carmel leaked out. Increasingly, the denizens of this gossipy hamlet were asking why the Arts and Crafts Club had been sidelined from such a momentous event. The resident members of the Club publicly declared with some justification that they were sacrificing without reimbursement their own 1914 summer program, while Chase was collecting all the profits. They lacked the foresight of both Cannon and Devendorf to see the ramifications of the visit. What sent the Club hierarchy over the edge was the arrival in October of 1913 of the official printed brochure advertising the Chase Summer School in Carmel.¹⁷¹ Nowhere therein was the Club acknowledged as the visionary instigator of his visit or even as Chase’s partner. It was succinctly stated that “the interest and cooperation of the Arts and Crafts Club” to place “their studios at the disposal of Mr. Chase” led the great painter to decide on Carmel. What was clear from the pamphlet was that C. P. Townsley insisted on managing the entire School; the cavalier promise made by Devendorf a year earlier to hand “administrative control” over to the Club was obviously void. At some unknown date between October of 1913 and January of 1914, Mary Hand, DeNeale Morgan and Helena W. Smith, acting as the Club’s principal officers and possibly in concert with other Club members, met privately with Devendorf. From subsequent events we know that they demanded some administrative control over the Chase School, financial compensation and recognition that the Club was solely responsible for bringing Chase to Carmel. Devendorf quietly agreed to the last demand and sent the following announcement to Anna Cora Winchell, art critic for the *San Francisco Chronicle*, who published this notice on February 8, 1914: “The Arts and Crafts Society of Carmel is responsible for the coming this summer of William Merritt Chase, N.A., to Carmel.”¹⁷² The Club’s officers continued the offensive and sent Townsley a potentially devastating telegram that demanded monetary reparation. He turned the matter over to Jennie, who had the choice of resolving the issues or canceling the Chase Summer School. The year 1914 was to become one of the most exhilarating and tragically difficult of her life.

Endnotes – Chapter Four

- ¹ Cannon, *Diaries*: January 21-24, 1910. Dana also received a small salary in addition to her expenses. Jennie’s application for a United States Passport (No. 17455) was approved on December 27, 1909. Cannon is described as “40 years old, 5 feet 8 inches tall, with blue eyes, a small nose, medium mouth, high forehead, a round face and chin, light brown hair, and a blond complexion.” At this time photographs were not required. Both of her sons were included on her passport.
- ² Cannon, *Diaries*: January 25-February 5, 1910.
- ³ *Ibid.*: February 6-10, 13, 15, 26-27; March 4-6, 8, 10, 25; April 3, 9, 20, 23, 1910.
- ⁴ *Ibid.*: February 11, 20, 1910.
- ⁵ *Ibid.*, February 14, 1910; Cannon, *Drama*, p.101.
- ⁶ Cannon, *Diaries*: February 14, 16; March 7, 9, 1910.
- ⁷ *Ibid.*: February 18, 25; March 2, 1910; Cannon, *Drama*, p.106.

- ⁸ Turner, pp.672f; Amy Lambert, *Thirty Years of an Artist's Life*, Sydney, 1938, pp.53ff; Andrew Motion, *The Lamberts: George, Constant & Kit*, New York, 1978, pp.51-57.
- ⁹ Cannon, *Diaries*: March 11, 18; April 6, 8, 1910; Cannon, *Drama*, p.106.
- ¹⁰ Cannon, *Diaries*: March 11; April 6, 1910.
- ¹¹ *Ibid.*, April 15, 1910. Lambert briefly returned to the School on May 25th and advised Jennie on that day only.
- ¹² Turner, pp.672f.
- ¹³ Cannon, *Diaries*, March 14, 1910.
- ¹⁴ *Ibid.*, April 7, 1910; Robert Brangwyn, *Brangwyn*, London, 1978, pp.104-06.
- ¹⁵ Cannon, *Diaries*, April 8, 1910.
- ¹⁶ *Ibid.*, April 15, 1910; Turner, p.102.
- ¹⁷ Cannon, *Diaries*, April 21, 1910.
- ¹⁸ *Ibid.*, May 5, 1910.
- ¹⁹ Cannon, *Drama*, p.101; *McGraw-Hill Dictionary of Art*, ed., Bernard Myers, vol.5, New York, 1969, p.260; CPC, January 10, 1930, p.9.
- ²⁰ Cannon, *Diaries*: February 10, 19; March 5; April 10; May 15, 1910; Cannon, *Drama*, p.101.
- ²¹ Cannon, *Diaries*: February 6; March 6, 12, 16, 17, 20, 30; April 1; June 2; July 17, 1910.
- ²² Turner, pp.185-88.
- ²³ *Ibid.*, pp.265-70.
- ²⁴ Cannon, *Diaries*, March 20, 1910. In 1923 Jennie lectured in Berkeley on Morris as artist and social reformer (BDG, March 28, 1923, p.5).
- ²⁵ Turner, pp.141-46.
- ²⁶ Cannon, *Diaries*, April 4, 1910; Cannon, *Drama*, pp.81, 106.
- ²⁷ Cannon, *Diaries*: March 27, 30; April 12; May 15, 26-27, 30; June 1, 1910.
- ²⁸ *Ibid.*: June 18, 30, 1910; Cannon, *Drama*, p.112.
- ²⁹ Cannon, *Diaries*: February 19, 24, 28; March 1-2, 12, 28; May 19, 23; June 25, 1910.
- ³⁰ *Ibid.*: March 22, 24, 26, 30-31; April 1-2, 12, 25, 29; May 21; July 1-2, 5-6, 20, 1910.
- ³¹ *Ibid.*: February 23; March 13; April 17, 26; May 1, 1910.
- ³² *Ibid.*: May 4, 6, 10, 12-16, 24, 28; June 2, 9; July 24, 1910.
- ³³ *Ibid.*: July 8-18, 1910; Cannon, *Drama*, pp.101f.
- ³⁴ Cannon, *Diaries*: May 7-9, 17, 20, 29, 31, 1910; Cannon, *Drama*, pp.107f.
- ³⁵ Cannon, *Diaries*: May 30; July 15, 21, 23, 1910.
- ³⁶ *Ibid.*: May 18; June 13, 20-21, 1910.
- ³⁷ *Ibid.*, May 11, 1910.
- ³⁸ *Ibid.*, July 23, 1910.
- ³⁹ *Ibid.*, July 26, 1910.
- ⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, May 21, 1910.
- ⁴¹ *Ibid.*: July 28-August 5, 1910; Cannon, *Drama*, p.101.
- ⁴² Cannon, *Diaries*: August 6, 8-9, 11, 12-13, 17, 25, 28-31, 1910; Cannon, *Drama*, p.102; Falk, p.2542.
- ⁴³ Cannon, *Diaries*: August 4, 13, 24, 26-27, 1910.
- ⁴⁴ *Ibid.*: August 9; September 1, 1910. She expresses great disappointment that in an exhibition of six local Bruges artists all the contributors had abandoned the "Dutch technique."
- ⁴⁵ Cannon, *Diaries*: August, 6-7, 14, 17, 1910.
- ⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, August 31, 1910.
- ⁴⁷ *Ibid.*: September 17, 28, 1910.
- ⁴⁸ *Ibid.*: September 13, 16, 1910.
- ⁴⁹ *Ibid.*: September 25, 30; November 15, 1910.
- ⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, November 18, 1910.
- ⁵¹ *Ibid.*: November 13, 29; December 6, 15, 1910.
- ⁵² *Ibid.*, November 27, 1910; cf. *ibid.*, September 25, 1910. As a result of this research William Cannon published the *Botanical Features of the Algerian Sahara*, Washington D. C., 1913.
- ⁵³ Cannon, *Diaries*, December 21, 1910. This was the first doctor that Jennie had consulted since June 1st and was an indication that her bronchial condition had become chronic.
- ⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, December 25, 1910.
- ⁵⁵ *Ibid.*: December 31, 1910; January 1, 1911.
- ⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, January 2, 1911 (these daybook entries are located in the Memoranda section of the *Diaries* volume).
- ⁵⁷ *Ibid.*
- ⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, January 5, 1911. Jennie had written to her husband upon arrival in Cairo to announce "a betterment of her health." According to Will's letter of January 18th she left Cairo "because of the possibility of cholera" and "for a better climate" in Luxor. He added: "Her condition may not be serious, but worries me a lot" (MacDougal: January 11, 1911 Letter from Cannon to MacDougal, Box 13, Folder 179, p.2; January 18, 1911 Letter from Cannon to MacDougal, Box 13, Folder 179, p.2). However, when Will arrived in Luxor and met Dr. Dunn his assessment of Jennie's health was far more grave: "Mrs. Cannon's condition is much better than when she left Europe, but there is something seriously the matter with her, I fear. A physician at Luxor. . .says her lungs are somewhat affected, how badly we do not really know." Will continued: "It will be necessary for her to be very careful of herself for some time to come" (MacDougal, February 8, 1911 Letter from Cannon to MacDougal, Box 13, Folder 179, p.2).
- ⁵⁹ Cannon, *Diaries*: January 7-9, 12-20; February 1-5, 1911.

- ⁶⁰ Ibid.: January 6, 9; March 13, 24, 29, 1911.
- ⁶¹ Ibid.: February 7-14, 1911; Cannon, *Drama*, p.103.
- ⁶² Cannon, *Diaries*: February 20-24, 1911; MDC, June 18, 1911, p.1; Appendix 2.
- ⁶³ Cannon, *Diaries*: February 25-March 4, 1911. Will's letter from Syracuse indicated that "Mrs. Cannon is much impressed by the Egyptian trip but will keep to dryness of climate for some time to come" (MacDougal, February 27, 1911 Letter from Cannon to MacDougal, Box 13, Folder 179, pp.2-3).
- ⁶⁴ Cannon, *Diaries*: March 4-April 4, 1911.
- ⁶⁵ Janice Bowers, who practically deifies Will, has not dealt with these discrepancies (Bowers, p.140).
- ⁶⁶ Will wrote to MacDougal from Biskra that "the [motor]bike is proving useful here," but failed to mention the mechanical problems and the limited time that it was actually available. He added that "Mrs. Cannon is about so-so. With care and a desert climate she will come out of it all right" (MacDougal, March 15, 1911 Letter from Cannon to MacDougal, Box 13, Folder 179, p.2).
- ⁶⁷ MacDougal, April 7, 1911 Letter from Cannon to MacDougal, Box 13, Folder 179, p.2. Will received these funds in his Tucson account as well as a promise for "an additional amount" (MacDougal, May 12, 1911 Letter from MacDougal to Cannon, Box 13, Folder 179, p.2). We also learn from MacDougal that his wife Louise exchanged regular correspondence with Jennie (MacDougal, April 10, 1911 Letter from MacDougal to Cannon, Box 13, Folder 179, p.1).
- ⁶⁸ Cannon, *Diaries*, April 11, 1911. Valuable information on Ella Varney's age, marital status, and background are to be found in the U.S. Census of 1930 [ED 43-22, Sheet 37] which was taken on April 18th in Palo Alto.
- ⁶⁹ Cannon, *Diaries*, April 16, 1911.
- ⁷⁰ MacDougal, May 9, 1911 Letter from Cannon to MacDougal, Box 13, Folder 179, p.1. In less than a month Will changed his opinion of this Italian specialist (MacDougal: June 7, 1911 Letter from Cannon to MacDougal, Box 13, Folder 179, p.2; June 24, 1911 Letter from MacDougal to Cannon, Box 13, Folder 179, p.1): "Mrs. Cannon is pretty good. The Roman doctor whom we consulted (on recommendation) was probably good, but with unlimited conceit and exaggerated ideas of the wealth of all Americans. We cut his bill 33% . . . One gets very tired of being told America has no culture, no well-trained men in any line, only pork-packers and Indians. I have heard this from London to Luxor, especially from un-traveled Englishmen."
- ⁷¹ Cannon, *Diaries*: May 3-31, 1911.
- ⁷² Ibid., May 29, 1911.
- ⁷³ Ibid.: June 2-14, 1911.
- ⁷⁴ Ibid., June 6, 1911.
- ⁷⁵ Ibid.: June 15-16, 19-20, 23-25, 1911. The Villa Stilli was purchased by Chase in 1910 and was located just outside of Florence (Gustav Kobbe, "The Artist of Many Studios," NYH, November 20, 1910, pp.10f).
- ⁷⁶ Refer to biography on Powers in Appendix 7.
- ⁷⁷ SFL, May 22, 1910, p.42.
- ⁷⁸ MDC, June 19, 1910, p.1; Klenke, p.32; MPH, October 29, 1960, p.A-4.
- ⁷⁹ MDC: July 6, 1910, p.1; July 20, 1910, p.1; July 24, 1910, p.1; July 31, 1910, p.1; Appendix 2.
- ⁸⁰ Biographies for all of these exhibitors are located in Appendix 7.
- ⁸¹ SFL, August 7, 1910, p.40.
- ⁸² See Chapter 2; cf. MDC, October 15, 1910, p.1.
- ⁸³ DMW 1.38, 1910, p.10.
- ⁸⁴ MDC, June 18, 1911, p.1; Appendix 2.
- ⁸⁵ SFL, May 21, 1911, p.82.
- ⁸⁶ Cannon, *Diaries*: July 1-6, 1911. According to Jennie, their stay in the "lovely" Como region was so enjoyable that she hoped "to spend more time here – a few years hence." However, Will stated in his July 3rd letter from München that (MacDougal: July 3, 1911 Letter from Cannon to MacDougal, Box 13, Folder 179, p.3; July 7, 1911 Letter from Cannon to MacDougal, Box 13, Folder 179, p.2): "Mrs. Cannon is at Lake Como, but may come here this week. Reports from her are not altogether encouraging and I will be glad to get her back to God's country again." Again, this is another case where Will's assessment of his wife does not correspond to the entries in her diaries. He himself appears to be homesick for "God's country," while Jennie thrives on the travel.
- ⁸⁷ Cannon, *Drama*, p.9; cf. Cannon, *Diaries*: July 20-28, 1911. There is another curious contradiction in the narrative of events. Will states in a letter sent to his supervisor that (MacDougal, July 13, 1911 Letter from Cannon to MacDougal, Box 13, Folder 179, p.2): "Mrs. Cannon is on her way to Christiana and the galleries of north Germany. I leave here in two days for . . . Bruges." What is clearly specified in Jennie's diaries and autobiography is that William accompanied her throughout Scandinavia. Why would Will deceive MacDougal? There may be the possibility that he does not want his boss to learn that Carnegie funds are used for his leisure travel.
- ⁸⁸ At this time Jennie received from Daniel MacDougal a brief note in which he announced that his wife, Louise, had abandoned watercolors in favor of "black and white," a medium more suitable for "Khartoum and the Libyan desert" (MacDougal, July 24, 1911 Letter from MacDougal to Cannon, Box 13, Folder 179, p.1). As with Carmel, the MacDougal soon followed the Cannons' example and visited North Africa (TTC, October 19, 1911, p.1).
- ⁸⁹ MacDougal: August 21, 1911 Letter from Cannon to MacDougal, Box 13, Folder 179, pp.2-3; September 4, 1911 Letter from Cannon to MacDougal, Box 13, Folder 179, p.1.
- ⁹⁰ Cannon, *Drama*, pp. 95, 104; cf., Cannon, *Diaries*: August 13-September 2, 1911; CPC, January 10, 1930, p.9.
- ⁹¹ Raymond L. Wilson provides a very eclectic summary of this period ("Towards Impressionism in Northern California," in Westphal, *North*, pp.5-14); cf. Hjalmarson, pp.21ff.
- ⁹² Terry St. John, "California Impressionism After 1915," in Jones, *Impressionism*, p.17; Harvey L. Jones, *Mathews, Masterpieces of the California Decorative Style*, Santa Barbara, 1980, pp.49-52; Ibid., *Twilight and Reverie, California*

- Tonalist Painting, 1890-1930*, Oakland, 1995, pp.5-10. After 1899 Mathews abandoned the use of Impressionist methods because he disliked the colors. Aside from Mary C. Brady, Evelyn McCormick, Jennie Cannon and perhaps Henry J. Breuer, there were no resident Impressionist painters in northern California before 1912. These four artists did not teach at this time and the periodic exhibition of their work apparently had little impact on the male-dominated art scene. William Gerds bluntly declared that "no American Impressionist of national repute painted actively in Northern California until 1914, when . . . William Merritt Chase taught at the art school in Carmel" (*The Plains States and the West, Art Across America, Two Centuries of Regional Painters, 1710-1920*, New York, 1990, p.277). Local artists, who were known for their Post-Impressionist styles after 1914, were generally painting in a more conservative manner prior to that time. Between 1912 and 1914 Armin Hansen, Clark Hobart, and Ernest Bruce Nelson experimented with facets of the Impressionist style (Gerds and South, pp.26, 31-34, 110ff; Phillips, pp.132-35).
- ⁹³ *TTC*, September 2, 1911, p.5. William Cannon's account of the trip is highly boastful and very inaccurate. For example, in Biskra he claims that his wife was in Europe and his research there occupied "almost two months." In reality, he spent only a few days in active research (refer to notes 64-66, above). Compare the much shorter article on Mr. Cannon's research in *ADS*, September 3, 1911, p.2.
- ⁹⁴ Cannon, *Diaries*: September 23, 26, October 13-23, November 9-11, 17-19, December 1-2, 6, 8, 10, 1911. By December she appears to be completing a number of paintings that she intends to sell in Carmel next spring.
- ⁹⁵ *Ibid.*: October 22, November 9, December 2, 1911; January 17, May 27, 1912; Sarah Moore in Trenton, pp. 131f.
- ⁹⁶ Cannon, *Diaries*: October 24, 29; November 7-8, 12, 1911.
- ⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, October 25, 1911. *TTC*, October 31, 1911, p.5. *The Tucson Citizen* did not list all of the categories which received awards. See also Appendix 5.
- ⁹⁸ Cannon, *Diaries*: January 1, 16-17, 31, February 1-2; cf., March 4, 10-11, 14, 27, April 8, 14, 19, May 23-24, 1912; *TTC*: February 4, 1912, p.2; February 12, 1912, p.2.
- ⁹⁹ Cannon, *Diaries*: March 4, 10, 18, 27, 29, April 20, 1912.
- ¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*: January 16, March 5, 28-29, May 6, 1912. In the newspaper article on the return of the Desert Laboratory's Director, which Daniel MacDougal probably wrote, his wife was mentioned as a partner on his expedition (*TTC*, May 11, 1912, p.6).
- ¹⁰¹ Cannon, *Drama*, pp.106f. Jennie actually received this letter sent from Kansas in August of 1911 on the eve of her departure from Belgium to the United States (*BDG*, February 5, 1921, p.5).
- ¹⁰² Townsley, who was appointed director of Frank Brangwyn's London School of Art in 1905, persuaded Mannheim, who was vacationing in Switzerland, to join its staff as a teaching assistant in the fall of 1907. Mannheim stayed for one year and then returned to the States. Townsley remained at the School until it closed in the late spring of 1910 (Reitzell, pp.47-49).
- ¹⁰³ Cannon, *Diaries*: May 25, 30, 1912.
- ¹⁰⁴ Reitzell, pp.68f; Falk, p.2174.
- ¹⁰⁵ Cannon, *Diaries*: June 2, 7, 1912.
- ¹⁰⁶ *CPC*, August 25, 1939, p.7.
- ¹⁰⁷ Cannon, *Diaries*, June 17, 1912.
- ¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, June 12, 1912. It is significant that there is no mention of Mannheim's acquaintance with Detlef Sammann during his two weeks in Carmel which was part of his "extended visit to San Francisco" (Reitzell, pp.65f, 180, 232).
- ¹⁰⁹ Cannon, *Diaries*, June 16, 1912. In this entry Jennie admits that she owns "about five" acres in and around Carmel.
- ¹¹⁰ Cannon, *Diaries*, June 14, 1912.
- ¹¹¹ Cannon, *Diaries*, June 21, 1912. Because of the lack of documentation and omissions in her diaries we know little about her other lectures. She was probably invited to give some of the "Friday Evening Talks."
- ¹¹² *SFL*, April 22, 1907, p.6; Hagerty, pp.88-91.
- ¹¹³ *CPC*, April 26, 1940, p.12. A slight error of memory has the Townsley letter sent in "1913," when it was actually sent in 1912. Jennie makes the same mistake in her autobiography (Cannon, *Drama*, pp.104f), but has the correct year in her 1921 article for the *Berkeley Daily Gazette* (*BDG*, July 9, 1921, p.6) and in her 1930 letter to the *Carmel Pine Cone* (*CPC*, January 10, 1930, p.9).
- ¹¹⁴ Cannon, *Diaries*, June 30, 1912.
- ¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, August 14, 1912.
- ¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, August 15, 1912.
- ¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*: June 21, 24, 28; August 4, 17-19, 1912.
- ¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*: June 5, 15, 1912; Donovan, p.9.
- ¹¹⁹ Cannon, *Diaries*, July 15, 1912. According to the local paper, Breuer received as much as five thousand dollars for one "high Sierra canvas" (*MDC*, March 20, 1914, p.3; biography on Breuer in Appendix 7).
- ¹²⁰ Cannon, *Diaries*, August 3, 1912; biography on McComas in Appendix 7.
- ¹²¹ Cannon, *Diaries*, August 17, 1912.
- ¹²² *Ibid.*: August 19, 28, 1912.
- ¹²³ *Ibid.*: July 7-12, 1912.
- ¹²⁴ Clark, p.565.
- ¹²⁵ Cannon, *Diaries*: June 29; July 3-6, 1912; *MDC*: July 2, 1912, p.1; July 4, 1912, p.1; July 6, 1912, p.1; Michael Williams, "The Forest Theatre of Carmel," *SNT* 29.3, 1912, pp.319-325; *SFX*: July 4, 1912, p.5; July 5, 1912, p.11; July 6, 1912, p.5; July 14, 1912, p.79; July 20, 1912, p.6.
- ¹²⁶ Cannon, *Diaries*: June 2-September 2, 1912. The Williamses had a long association with Carmel. Michael Williams was an early member of the Carmel literary flock. Unfortunately, his own work tended to lack focus. After co-authoring a book with Upton Sinclair on reforms in modern hygiene, he turned to a study of the commercial potential of

- eucalyptus trees in Carmel (Walker, pp.63-65, 74, 85; TWC, March 26, 1909, pp.277-82; Whitaker, pp.210-12; MDC: February 10, 1914, p.1; August 14, 1914, p.3; September 26, 1914, p.4; CPC, April 29, 1927, p.9).
- ¹²⁷ Cannon, *Diaries*: August 30-31, 1912.
- ¹²⁸ *Ibid.*: September 20, 29-30, October 12, 18, 1912.
- ¹²⁹ *Ibid.*: September 21-22, 1912.
- ¹³⁰ TTC, November 7, 1912, p.8.
- ¹³¹ Cannon, *Diaries*: October 14, 19, 1912. TTC: October 16, 1912, p.8; October 27, 1912, p.3. Aside from winning in a variety of "art" categories, Jennie also took second prize for a "knitted sweater" and first prize for a "crocheted shawl" (Appendix 5).
- ¹³² Cannon, *Diaries*: October 20; November 24, 1912.
- ¹³³ *Ibid.*: November 30-December 31, 1912.
- ¹³⁴ TTC, December 7, 1912, p.4.
- ¹³⁵ Cannon, *Diaries*, January 1, 1913.
- ¹³⁶ *Ibid.*: January 2-3, 15, 19, 27, February 14, 19, April 7, 24, 1913.
- ¹³⁷ *Ibid.*: January 6-10, 1913; TTC, January 8, 1913, p.4.
- ¹³⁸ Cannon, *Diaries*, January 13, 1913.
- ¹³⁹ *Ibid.*, February 16, 1913; cf. *ibid.*: January 9, 14, 20, 25, February 3, 10, 18, April 1, 11, 22, 28, May 2, 1913.
- ¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, February 12, 1913; cf. *ibid.*: February 15, March 26, 1913.
- ¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*, February 10, 1913.
- ¹⁴² *Ibid.*, February 5, 1913; cf. *ibid.*: January 10, 15-16, 18, 21-22, 24, 27, 30-31, February 2, 6, 15, March 10, 13, 25-26, 29-30, April 1-3, 5, 8-11, 13-15, 22-26, 29, 1913; TTC, April 10, 1913, p.4.
- ¹⁴³ Cannon, *Diaries*, March 20, 1913; cf. *ibid.*: March 8, 12, 21-22, 1913.
- ¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, March 13, 1913.
- ¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, March 28, 1913.
- ¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*: April 6, 10-11, 1913.
- ¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, April 12, 1913; TTC, April 17, 1913, p.2.
- ¹⁴⁸ Cannon, *Diaries*, February 17, 1913; Pisano, pp.142-45.
- ¹⁴⁹ Cannon, *Diaries*, February 20, 1913.
- ¹⁵⁰ SFL: March 16, 1913, p.31; April 12, 1913, p.7. *The Oakland Tribune* paraphrased the April 12th announcement the next day (TOT, April 13, 1913, p.52).
- ¹⁵¹ SFX, April 27, 1913, p.45. Carmel's "tent city," originally the idea of Frank Devendorf, was erected annually by local entrepreneurs and the Carmel Development Company, not by the local Arts and Crafts Club.
- ¹⁵² This notice is in the official "Scrapbook of the Carmel Arts and Crafts Club" at the History Room of the Harrison Memorial Library, Carmel. An attached note claims that the author is "F. Devendorf." When this article was removed from the original newspaper, the collector failed to note the place of publication, month and day; cf. Nixon.
- ¹⁵³ ADS, March 2, 1913, p.2.1; TTC, March 2, 1913, p.2.
- ¹⁵⁴ MDC, September 20, 1914, p.3.
- ¹⁵⁵ Gray, p.119.
- ¹⁵⁶ For a list of the courses and instructors in 1910 and 1911 see Chapter 2, note 127.
- ¹⁵⁷ It was purchased in 1913 by Andrew E. Douglas who expanded the house while keeping the original stone exterior. The "Cannon-Douglas House" is a protected Historical Landmark of Tucson (Edward Lempinen, "Tucson Homes," ADS, September 15, 1980, p.11).
- ¹⁵⁸ Cannon, *Diaries*, May 1, 1913.
- ¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*: March 12, May 4, 1913.
- ¹⁶⁰ SFX: April 27, 1913, p.45; May 25, 1913, p.46; June 29, 1913, p.44; July 27, 1913, p.71; August 17, 1913, p.35.
- ¹⁶¹ *WPA Historical Survey of the Monterey Peninsula*, Project No. 4080, Files 47 and 65, September 23, 1937, p.2.
- ¹⁶² SFC, September 14, 1913, p.21.
- ¹⁶³ TOT: March 13, 1913, p.12; June 10, 1913, p.12.
- ¹⁶⁴ With the exception of Helen B. Vail biographies for all the listed artists are in Appendix 7. Because no records for the Club's Sixth Annual Exhibition of 1912 have been located at present, it is impossible to determine whether any of the "new" 1913 exhibitors were contributors a year earlier.
- ¹⁶⁵ Helen Bogart Vail contributed three works to the Seventh Annual Exhibition of the Carmel Arts and Crafts Club in 1913: *Boats and River*, *California Oaks* and *Point Pinos Pines* (Appendix 2; cf. Jacobsen, p.3293).
- ¹⁶⁶ SFX, June 29, 1913, p.38.
- ¹⁶⁷ Refer to Appendices 6 and 7.
- ¹⁶⁸ *Ibid.*
- ¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.*
- ¹⁷⁰ SFC: July 6, 1913, p.27; July 20, 1913, p.27; Appendices 2 and 5. Compare the very pro-Carmel review in the *San Francisco Examiner* (SFX, July 6, 1913, p.26).
- ¹⁷¹ Dennis Frederick Baker located this brochure in the Cincinnati Art Museum Archives and very generously sent me a copy (Appendix 3). A tattered brochure is glued into the Scrapbook of the Carmel Arts and Crafts Club, now deposited in the History Room of Carmel's Harrison Memorial Library.
- ¹⁷² SFC, February 8, 1914, p.21.