

Chapter Seven – Carmel’s New Identity: the Peninsula’s Art Colony (1915-1933)

Carmel experienced fundamental changes in the years immediately following the 1914 visit of William Merritt Chase. On November 1, 1916 it was officially announced that the citizens of Carmel “after protracted debate” had overcome their fear of public government and voted one hundred and thirteen to eighty-eight to incorporate.¹ The local gentry under considerable pressure from county authorities abandoned its sublime isolation and accepted an independent marshal to preserve the peace. In spite of all the negative publicity from the murder of Helena Wood Smith, the sale of Carmel real estate had reached an “unprecedented level” within a month of Chase’s departure. When the *San Francisco Chronicle* ran a series of full-page articles on the “Idyllic Retreat” of Carmel, which touted the “pageants and dramas” of the Forest Theatre, art schools, scenic wonders, accommodations and “new county roads,” it added this note of achievement:²

The year 1914 was the banner year in the development of Carmel-by-the-Sea; many high class homes were built for permanent residents and the year 1915 bids fair to outstrip all former years in building operations. Many homes are now in the course of construction, and Carmel is justly proud of the class of residents coming to it - artists, writers, college men and women and many of national reputation.

Chase had focused nation-wide attention on the spectacular beauty of the rugged coastline and provided the celebrity cachet that gave the final impetus to a locale that was ripe for development. Here the New York artist first enshrined in northern California the principles of Impressionism at a time when the 1915 Panama-Pacific International Exposition (PPIE) emphasized a far more conservative aesthetic.³ The sanitized events of Chase’s summer class were repeated in high-profile stories that appeared not only in newspapers, but also in national journals, such as *American Art News* and *Art and Progress*; San Francisco’s prestigious weekly, *The Wasp*, devoted two pages to Chase and his class that included a lengthy remembrance by Mary DeNeale Morgan and an assessment of Carmel artists.⁴ In addition to Katherine Roof’s discussion of Carmel in her semi-official biography on Chase, Frances Lauderbach posthumously published in 1917 the “selected” verbatim texts of his “Carmel talks” to preserve the divine writ of a teacher whose influence was “unquestioned.”⁵ This publicity attracted throngs of young artists and turned the normally heavy flow of summer visitors into a flood.

The most visible symbol of the art colony was the Carmel Summer School of Art, the Chase-anointed venue to study “modern painting.” As Jennie Cannon and Frank Devendorf had so carefully planned, the School opened its second year under the directorship of C. P. Townsley. Classes “in oils, water-colors, pastels and black and white” were held between July 7 and August 31, 1915. According to the *American Art Annual* and the influential *Index*, the School was officially founded in 1914 by Chase and was now administered through the Stickney Memorial School of Fine Arts in Pasadena where Townsley served as Director.⁶ From the Summer School’s official brochure we learn that there were no requirements for admission to any of the classes. Following the Chase model, Townsley scheduled Monday mornings for “a general criticism and a talk on Art” and devoted “two days each week to criticizing the work of students both in open air and in the Studio.” The latter was located in the Arts and Crafts Club Hall which also sold “art materials at the lowest price” through its Devoe Art Store. Non-students could attend the Monday morning criticism for a fee of one dollar. At the end-of-term exhibition two prizes were awarded to students – one for the “best study” and the other “for the sketch showing the best selected motif.”⁷ In order to avoid

another confrontation with the summer art classes offered by DeNeale Morgan at the Carmel Arts and Crafts Club, Townsley enrollment was restricted to twenty-five students. The tuition was thirty-five dollars for the eight-week course or twenty dollars for four weeks. Most of the students were from out of state, primarily from urban centers such as Chicago and Seattle, and one, a Miss Rosaria Modina, traveled from Valparaiso, Chile. Classes in landscape and “costume model” were held outdoors, while still life and “portrait model” were confined to the studio. A special class in “composition” met once a week. During the month of July “the most famous artists’ model,” Antonio Corsi, was hired to pose in costumes “from his remarkable collection” for the portrait class.⁸ In August of 1915 the local newspaper published a lengthy description of Townsley’s School and observed that it was modeled on the 19th-century Shinnecock Summer School at Long Island.⁹ Neither institution was intended to educate teachers in technical skills, but rather to polish soon-to-be professional artists. The article concluded by thanking the Carmel Development Company for its financial support and the Arts and Crafts Club for allowing Townsley’s school to headquarter in the Club Hall. In early September at the end-of-term student exhibition prizes were awarded to Irma Kohn of Rock Island, Illinois, and to Mrs. Clarence Black of Santa Barbara.¹⁰

The following year Townsley was permitted to increase his enrollment to thirty students and the length of the term to ten weeks. He advertised on the cover of the *American Magazine of Art*.¹¹

Cool and invigorating climate. Landscape picturesque and varied. Well equipped Art School. Models posing daily. Excellent boarding accommodations.

Enrollment was filled with students from California, Montana, Indiana, Michigan, Texas and Arizona for classes that ran from July 5 thru September 9, 1916.¹² According to the brochure of the 1916 Carmel Summer School of Art, the content and organization of the classes had not changed from the previous year. DeNeale Morgan, who often held the position of “corresponding secretary” in the Arts and Crafts Club, was promoted at Townsley’s Summer School from “administrative assistant” to “secretary.” For two dollars the general public could purchase a “season’s ticket” to Townsley’s weekly illustrated lectures on art.¹³ On September 12, 1916 over two hundred student canvases were put on display in a well-attended public reception. Jane Gallatin Powers, who evidently felt the need to continue her formal training, was awarded the students’ first prize.¹⁴ The second prize was awarded to Ethel D. Turner and honorable mentions were given to Bernita Lundy and Margaret Conklin. In late 1916 or early 1917, for reasons that are undoubtedly buried in local politics, Townsley resigned from the Summer School and its management was relinquished for the first time to Carmel, specifically to the Arts and Crafts Club, which had so bitterly resented the outside administration. Matteo Sandona, the renowned portrait painter, and DeNeale Morgan became the co-directors and joint instructors for 1917. Although the tuition increased to forty dollars for what was an eight-week course, the enrollment almost doubled. The following year Sandona resigned and the summer art classes of the Arts and Crafts Club were merged into the Carmel Summer School of Art and its prestigious association with William Merritt Chase. Morgan acted the sole director and Chase’s Summer School prospered until the early 1930s.¹⁵

The residents of Carmel, more than sixty percent of whom were “devoting their time to work related to the aesthetic arts,” celebrated the accomplishments of their local painters.¹⁶ In the newly established *Carmel Pine Cone* there were not only regular reports on the Carmel Summer School of Art and intimate details on director Townsley and his family, but also periodic columns of general “Art Notes.”¹⁷ For example, on April 14, 1915 there appeared three excerpts on important art

events from two East Coast publications, the *American Art News* and the *New York Times Art Review*.¹⁸ In the latter was a report on William Merritt Chase, Carmel's artistic mentor, and the exhibition of his portrait of Senator W. A. Clark, a work that was executed locally in the summer of 1914.¹⁹ The *Pine Cone* called for the establishment of a municipal art gallery and posted frequent notices for special exhibitions by local and visiting artists, such as William Silva and F. Hopkinson Smith, at venues that included the Arts and Crafts Club House, Carmelita Art Gallery, hotels and even the Blue Bird Tea Room.²⁰ The Carmel Public Library staged in the spring of 1915 an exhibition with fifty-six wild flower paintings by regional artists and included an elaborate opening reception.²¹ When DeNeale Morgan and Arthur Vachell exhibited outside of town, it made front page news.²² The *Christian Science Monitor* of Boston reported that several of Carmel's resident artists, including Vachell, Morgan, Perry Newberry, William Ritschel and Laura Maxwell, volunteered their time to paint scenery and act in two of the 1916 productions at the Forest Theatre, *Yolanda of Cypress* and *The Piper*.²³ In large numbers residents and tourists from throughout the Monterey Peninsula attended the regular exhibitions and art history lectures sponsored by the Arts and Crafts Club. The "art talks" by C. P. Townsley were especially popular and excerpts were published in the local press.²⁴ In fact, the impact of the "art-hunting" visitors on the local economy was so pronounced that the *Pine Cone* in its 1916 obituary of William Merritt Chase gave specific credit to the New York painter for the town's new fame and prosperity:²⁵

Distinguished Artist, Crosses Over

. . . through the efforts of the Carmel Club of Arts and Crafts and Mrs. Jennie V. Cannon, he [Chase] decided to establish his summer school here. As a result, Carmel, known only locally as a gathering place of artists and students, immediately came to the front as an art center, and through the efforts of C. P. Townsley, Carmel's place has been maintained.

A year later the same newspaper declared with the headline **PUBLICITY THROUGH ART** that "it is the artists, resident and visiting, who best have made Carmel known the world over . . . we are indebted principally to the artists."²⁶ When local celebrities, such as Charlton Fortune and DeNeale Morgan, donated their "beautiful paintings" to the 1915 benefit-sale for the restoration of Mission Carmel at the Carmel News Company, the whole village noticed.²⁷ Fortune later held a seat on the official restoration committee. Artists soon began to post prominent advertisements in the *Pine Cone* with their professional hours as well as notices of studio exhibits. DeNeale Morgan was the first to advertise her atelier on Lincoln Street near Ocean Avenue.²⁸ Under such heading as "CARMEL ARTISTS" or "ART STUDIOS" others followed, including J. Edward Walker, Josephine Culbertson, Ida Johnson, William P. Silva and Charlton Fortune.²⁹ Fortune had her summer residence first in Pacific Grove and then in Monterey, but she established a studio in Carmel to sell to the many "tourists in search of the art colony." After the hiatus during World War I, other artists eager for tourist dollars proudly posted their hours in the newspaper: Laura Maxwell, Ida M. Curtis, Catherine Comstock, George J. Seideneck, Hamilton Wolf, Anita Murray and Arthur Vachell.³⁰

Carmel had become the destination where artists not only painted the untarnished scenery, but also fraternized with the elite members of their profession. The frequent exhibitions of William Ritschel's Point Lobos paintings on the East Coast contributed to the image of Carmel as the "Elysium of the Pacific" and sent painters in search of this new paradise.³¹ It was on Ritschel's recommendation that the prominent New Yorker, De Witt Parshall, came to Carmel for a sketching vacation in the fall of 1915 and was so impressed that he returned for subsequent visits.³² The following April the *Pine Cone* reported: "After hearing William Ritschel tell of Carmel and seeing

pictures of the place, Daniel Garber, one of America's most prominent painters, is anxious to come here with his family."³³ In the fall of 1916 Ritschel persuaded Paul Dougherty to see the seaside hamlet which he would eventually make his permanent home.³⁴ The quantity and fame of the visiting painters grew so conspicuous that California newspapers routinely quoted the "art events" directly from the *Pine Cone*. On June 29, 1917 the *Monterey Daily Cypress* reported:³⁵

Among the celebrated artists now sojourning in Carmel are George Bellows, Roy Partridge, William Ritschel, Matteo Sandona, Hamilton A. Wolf, Jonas Lie, Louis Hels, F. B. Duveneck. De Witt Parshall will be here in August.

George Bellows, Jonas Lie and the München expatriate, Frank Duveneck, were in 1917 three of New York's most celebrated artists.³⁶ Like William Merritt Chase before him, Bellows used his four-month stay in Carmel to visit the San Francisco Bay Area. When he took the opportunity to stage a controversial exhibition of his paintings and lithographs at the Oakland Art Gallery, it focused media attention on the Carmel art colony.³⁷ Louis Hels, a Parisian portrait artist of some renown, brought his family to Carmel for a five-month vacation before moving on to San Francisco.³⁸ Several prominent architects joined the art community as regulars, including such luminaries as John Galen Howard, who had purchased a bungalow in Carmel, and Julia Morgan. The latter designed a number of Carmel residences.³⁹

The *Christian Science Monitor* dispatched in the summer of 1917 a special correspondent to Carmel who described these visitors with glowing commentaries.⁴⁰ The permanent resident artists, such as William Silva, William Watts, Arthur Vachell, DeNeale Morgan and Detlef Sammann, were also singled out for their artistic excellence. The *Monitor* reported that Monterey only "had two San Franciscans in residence . . . this summer – Armin Hansen . . . and Miss Charlton Fortune." The only permanent artist-resident of Monterey worthy of mention was Francis McComas. Carmel's other visiting artist in 1917 was the conservative English painter, H. J. Thaddius, who built and briefly occupied a studio overlooking the Carmel river.⁴¹ Soon thereafter appeared the notorious Lillian Genth, who had gained international fame as a painter of scandalously sensual female nudes, but recently sought diversions in coastal landscapes.⁴² Martha Walter and Ernest Haskell, nationally known artists, also summered at the Carmel colony.⁴³

One of the most noteworthy figures to arrive in 1917 was Ralph Helm Johonnot who moved his Summer School from Pacific Grove to the Carmel Highlands. After Johonnot completed his education in the United States, France and England he was appointed head of the Department of Design at the Pratt Institute of New York in 1909. He left his teaching post in 1912 and for over two decades gave public seminars and taught popular university courses across the United States on design and color as well as arts and crafts. For much of this period Ralph and his wife, Salome, maintained their primary residence in Pacific Grove and regularly taught on the Monterey Peninsula. Although Dene Denny and Hazel Watrous as well as Catherine and George Seideneck had some standing locally for interior decoration, it was Johonnot who made a national reputation in residential "art design" for what was euphemistically called his "Carmel style." His highly original paintings, such as *The Magic Moon* with its juxtaposed colors in whimsical motifs, were immensely popular and featured in the best urban galleries (Plate 11b). In 1930 the Johonnots opened Carmel's first gallery devoted exclusively to the display of modern art and home design.⁴⁴

Carmel also became a site of pilgrimage for southern California's plein air painters. In 1915 Marion K. Wachtel visited and subsequently lectured to Los Angeles audiences on the perfection of

the area. Guy Rose, the renowned exponent of Monet's Giverny style, paid three prolonged visits between 1918 and 1920 and executed some of his most memorable oils. Among the early long-term visitors from the south were Edgar Payne, Evan Mosher and Donna Schuster.⁴⁵ In fact, there were so many painters in the seaside village that the *Pine Cone* posted this notice in June of 1918: "Artists and students painting in and about the forests of Carmel and vicinity are requested not to toss their used tubes and rags where persons are likely to have shoes and clothing spotted with paint."⁴⁶ An important consequence of the elevated status given to the art colony was that many painters, who had experimented with a summer studio, became permanent residents of Carmel or the Carmel Highlands between 1915 and 1919. Among the settlers during this period were William C. Watts, Kate Carew, Laura Maxwell, George Koch, Catherine Comstock, George Seideneck, John O'Shea, Thomas Parkhurst, Theodore Criley, Ida M. Curtis, Shirley Williamson, Mary Herrick Ross, S. Elizabeth Chandler, Helen C. Brown, Eva B. Adams and the mother and daughter artists, Julia and Julie Stohr. Even William Ritschel, who since 1911 had shuttled between summers in Carmel and winters in New York, decided in 1919 to build his home-studio in the Highlands.⁴⁷

Outside of the commercial doors of the private and very selective Del Monte Hotel Art Gallery, the adjoining city of Monterey between 1915 and mid 1919 had no regular exhibitions for its local artists, no public clubs for the same, and to judge from the pages of the *Monterey Daily Cypress* no consciousness of its small art community. The Society of Monterey Artists, which was founded about 1913 and boasted a membership of forty at the time of its successful 1914 exhibition, quietly disintegrated the following year.⁴⁸ With the exception of Francis McComas, most of the great painters who were identified with the old capital at the turn of the century, such as Charles Rollo Peters and Charles Dickman, had relocated to the San Francisco Bay Area long before the opening of the PPIE. Charles P. Neilson ended his summer studio on the Peninsula by 1910 and returned to Europe. Isabel Hunter moved back to Alameda in 1911 and Clark Hobart relocated to San Francisco in 1913. Harry Stuart Fonda remained in Monterey, but became a recluse and seldom painted after his 1914 accident. A year later Rowena Meeks Abdy permanently left her comfortable home for several years of travel and then moved to San Francisco. Evelyn McCormick, who had established a seasonal studio in the old capital by the late 19th century, did not move permanently to Monterey until 1918. She neither taught nor made any attempt to organize the local artists; her paintings were sold primarily through private galleries. By 1916 Charlton Fortune had established a summer residence in Monterey where she conducted an art class for a small group of students. Unfortunately, her teaching style proved too severe and incoherent to develop any sort of following and she abandoned the experiment after a few years.⁴⁹ It was not until the summer of 1916 that Armin Hansen began to teach groups of art students in Monterey; three years later he opened a "summer school" with an institutional affiliation. The most telling sign of the near disappearance of the Monterey art colony was the complete absence of its artists from the roster of eighteen contributors to the Tenth Annual Exhibition of the Carmel Arts and Crafts Club in 1916. Just three years earlier Monterey was well represented at that venue by such luminaries as Abdy, Fortune and Hobart. With the exception of Detlef Sammann from Pebble Beach, all of the exhibitors at the Tenth Annual were from Carmel, either permanent or summer residents, including a few students from the Carmel Summer School of Art. Ironically, Carmel, which in the previous decade had been derided by the cultural elite of Monterey, now had its own sources of pride. The *Pine Cone* showed no hesitation in poking fun at its larger neighbor to the

north and conspicuously posted on its front page a letter from a Pacific Grove soldier in Limoges, France: "This is a dirty little city with narrow streets and a fishy smell that reminds me somewhat of dear old Monterey."⁵⁰

When the savagery of World War I inflicted unspeakable privations on the civilian population of northern Europe, the art colony heeded the call for aid. Although Jennie Cannon had been absent from Carmel in 1915 due to her commitments at the Exposition in San Francisco and the demands from her family, she helped organize that October a "European market day given in aid of the starving Belgians" and enlisted the help of several Carmelites, including William Silva who sold fresh Monterey fish from a truck.⁵¹ The following January on the front page of the *Pine Cone* Josephine Culbertson authored an article on how every citizen could help feed "the starving multitudes in northern France and Belgium" and listed donation centers that accepted clothes, money, food and medicine.⁵² When the French government circulated two masterworks by Albert Besnard, *La Paix* and *La Victoire*, the Carmel Arts and Crafts Club charged admission to see the paintings and donated the proceeds to the "families of French artists who have been killed or wounded in the great war."⁵³ When the United States declared war on Germany in April of 1917, a variety of committees within that Club were established to support the American troops with everything from donated "reading materials" to Red Cross "garden teas," Liberty Bonds and War Emergency Stamps.⁵⁴ The local artists supported these efforts with small displays in private studios. On one occasion Eva Belle Adams, Ida Johnson, Josephine Culbertson, DeNeale Morgan, Laura Maxwell, Arthur Vachell, J. Edward Walker and William Watts jointly exhibited at William Silva's Carmelita Art Gallery in conjunction with a fund raiser.⁵⁵ Hamilton Wolf offered a portrait in pastel to anyone who donated ten dollars or more to the local Red Cross chapter.⁵⁶ In 1917 the Arts and Crafts Club replaced its regular summer Annual Exhibition with a display of "original" war posters and charged thirty-five cents admission.⁵⁷ The fact that the Arts and Crafts Hall was given free to all Red Cross affairs created "considerable inconvenience" for DeNeale Morgan who used the same space for the painting sessions of the Carmel Summer School of Art.⁵⁸ In compensation, her end-of-term student exhibition was extended and became part of the "tourist itinerary" through the artists' studios of Carmel. When the Oakland Art Gallery solicited paintings for its 1917 Red Cross Benefit "Auction Comique," six of Carmel's finest contributed to this war effort: William Ritschel, Arthur Vachell, William Watts, DeNeale Morgan, Theodore Criley and William Silva.⁵⁹ In May of 1918 Vachell, Watts and Silva went door-to-door for two days throughout Monterey County seeking donations for the Red Cross.⁶⁰

Over the years it had become something of a commonplace to claim that the artists of Carmel hindered commercial development in an ultimately fruitless effort to preserve the charm of their Bohemian village. It is quite true that before Carmel incorporated ad hoc groups of locals periodically approached the developers, Devendorf and Powers, with the intent of mitigating some new plan for expansion. Most artists voted for incorporation because they were told that their property taxes would not increase and that they could assist "in the planning" of roadways "to insure pleasing prospects and vistas."⁶¹ However, when it became apparent in the early spring of 1918 that the city's board of trustees, which was controlled by real estate interests and small business owners, was about to grade, straighten and urbanize Carmel's streets with a substantial loss of trees, the artistic community and many of the literati galvanized in opposition and offered their own slate of candidates for election to the board. The habitual Southern gentleman, William

Silva, wrote a lengthy and eloquent compromise proposal to allow only the modest paving and development of Ocean Avenue and to maintain the “charming” gravel and dirt roads elsewhere.⁶² When the next election resulted in no decisive change to the board of trustees, a new leader emerged, Perry Newberry, who was prominent among the literati and artists for his involvement in the local theatre. In April of 1921 he assembled a meeting of all those opposed to the “proposed improvements” to city roads; among the attendees were the MacGowan sisters, DeNeale Morgan, William Silva and many of the “old guard.” They agreed to engage an attorney to file an injunction against the entire board and begin the recall of one of the trustees. Newberry’s assembly also passed a motion favoring the prohibition of motorized traffic on Ocean Avenue west of San Antonio Avenue. After a lengthy trial the art community won most of its demands, but road improvements on Ocean Avenue were made.⁶³ Soon proposals surfaced to build a new city hall with bonds and a resort at the bottom of Ocean Avenue. The “old guard” quickly mobilized. When Newberry and two other “reactionary candidates,” poetess Helen Parkes and ecologist William Maxwell, took control of the board of trustees in the spring of 1922, the regional press satirized the event as a “highbrow” revolution. Oakland’s *Post-Enquirer* carried the typical story under the bold headlines, **ART WINS OVER LOW-BROW POLITICS: “NO NOTHING” SLOGAN OF TRUSTEES:**⁶⁴

The long-haired citizenry of Carmel-by-the-Sea are today planning a novel demonstration to celebrate their victory over the low-browed Philistines in the town election.

Led by Perry Newberry, poet, and Grace McGowan [sic] Cook, author, and with Jimmy Hopper rooting on the sidelines, the literary and artistic colony near Point Lobos administered a severe rebuke to encroaching real estate agents and chamber of commerce boosters by electing three out of four possible town trustees. The victory at the polls was based on a platform that is thought to be unique in American political annals.

The platform of the esthetic element stood for no street paving; no street lights; no improvements that were not absolutely necessary as health measures; death to the chamber of commerce idea; war on real estate agents, and it urged that all those recreant ones who advocated an extension of the railroad to Carmel should be drawn and quartered, or at least boiled in oil.

On the other hand, the Philistine element, which contested the election and which went down to inglorious defeat, characterized the highbrows as obstructionists who thought more of “art” than of progress.

The Newberry alliance persuaded Devendorf to sell the fifteen acres of dunes at lower Ocean Avenue to the city which prevented its development.⁶⁵ On two occasions, when Newberry received the most votes for the board of trustees, he was automatically elected president of the board, the equivalent of mayor. Years later he served as co-publisher and editor of the *Pine Cone*, positions which he routinely used to prevent obtrusive development. The events of 1918 began a struggle of almost three decades in duration during which the art community won as many battles as it lost. Without the aggressive participation of the artists and literati Carmel as a bucolic haven for Bohemians would have dissolved far sooner.

The Annual Exhibitions of the Carmel Arts and Crafts Club continued to receive attention in the metropolitan press and officially introduced a number of new exhibitors to the regional art scene between 1916 and 1919. Blanche Marie d’Harcourt, art critic for *The Wasp*, devoted an entire page to the 1916 Annual with descriptions of works displayed, a commentary on the Carmel studios and a reproduction of a triptych by DeNeale Morgan; part of this review included:⁶⁶

. . . . All of it is fresh and much more individual than would have been found in small community exhibitions a few years ago. Artists today are not afraid to express themselves

boldly and to experiment with color along new lines. . . . By thus giving young people encouragement and allowing them to exhibit with artists who have attained distinction, we are paving the way for a new school of distinctly American Art.

Of the seventeen resident artists, the work of M. DeNeale Morgan, William C. Watts, C. P. Townsley and Julie Stohr is most individual and gives strength and character to the exhibition. . . .

In addition to the well-known C. P. Townsley, nine new artists appeared at the 1916 Tenth Annual. Three established artists made their local debut, Laura Maxwell, Detlef Sammann and William Watts, as well as the Berkeley student, Edwina Devendorf, and five students from Townsley's Summer School of Art: Shirley Williamson, the daughter and mother Julie Stohr and Julia C. Stohr, Ethel D. Turner,⁶⁷ and Pauline Park.⁶⁸ The last three were minor figures and quickly vanished from the art scene. Julie Stohr became a talented and recognized painter on the Monterey Peninsula and the East Coast. Edwina Devendorf, the daughter of the co-founder of Carmel, had a modestly successful career as a sculptress. Although Shirley Williamson was far more prominent as an exhibitor in the San Francisco Bay Area, she made contributions of some importance to Carmel beyond her participation in two Arts and Crafts exhibitions. In 1924 and 1925 she was hired by the Carmel Summer School of Art to teach crafts, specifically batik, wood carving, costume design and puppet making. Laura W. Maxwell, who received her earliest art instruction with Sydney Yard in 1906-07 and continued her training in New York, Paris and Boston, exhibited only once at an Annual of the Arts and Crafts Club, but returned to Carmel in 1930 and became a frequent exhibitor at the Carmel Art Association (CAA). Although Maxwell's career spanned more than fifty years her record of exhibitions outside the Monterey Peninsula is not extensive, but did include several minor awards at the California State Fair. Detlef Sammann, who was born and educated in Germany, established a highly successful career in New York as a muralist before moving in the mid 1890s to Los Angeles where his Impressionist-inspired canvases became immensely popular. By 1912 he had moved to the Monterey Peninsula, but anti-German hysteria during World War I led to his permanent return to Dresden in 1921. Of all the new participants in 1916 William Watts was by far the most important. After completing his studies at the Pennsylvania Museum School of Industrial Arts and the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts he and his wife traveled to Europe. In 1915 the couple rented a Carmel bungalow and stayed the rest of their lives. He was a frequent exhibitor at the Arts and Crafts Club and later at the CAA. In 1923 at the insistence of his immensely wealthy spouse he constructed in the Carmel Highlands an elegant Italianate villa that became the object of local pride, derision and jealousy. The couple traveled the world and his watercolors of exotic foreign scenes combined with his studies around Carmel garnered numerous awards during his fifty-year career and established his reputation nationally as one of the preeminent Post-Impressionists on the Monterey Peninsula. A typical example is his elegant *Rocky Coast* with its luminous palette and dramatic composition (Plate 24b).⁶⁹

As a substitute for the 1917 summer Annual the Arts and Crafts Club sponsored a short Winter Exhibition of Paintings that opened on December 21, 1917.⁷⁰ Of the fourteen contributing artists not one resided in Monterey, but eleven were Carmel regulars: Josephine Culbertson, DeNeale Morgan, Mary H. Ross, Shirley Williamson, Louise MacDougal, William Watts, Louis Slevin, Arthur Vachell, William Silva, Kate Carew and John O'Shea. The last two were new exhibitors to Carmel. Three were apparently summer visitors who decided to stay through the early winter: Inez Brizio,⁷¹ Horton Denny and Ambrose Patterson. While the histories of Brizio and

Denny are obscure, the Australian and Parisian-trained Patterson became one of the most respected painters in Washington state. Kate Carew was an artist of international renown who initially studied at the School of Design in San Francisco and specialized in drawing humorous caricatures of the world's rich and famous for the metropolitan newspapers of New York and London. The Irish-born and New York-educated John O'Shea became one of the region's great Modernists whose highly original paintings were characterized by a complete disregard for established conventions, including the widely popular Impressionist aesthetic, and were exhibited nationally to the greatest acclaim. A superb example of his work is the watercolor *Coastal Rocks* with its powerful surging semi-abstract forms (Plate 15b).⁷²

The Twelfth Annual Exhibition of paintings by "resident and visiting artists" opened on July 2, 1918. There survives one very fragmentary account of this display which lists only four of the many contributors: Kate Carew, Perry Newberry, DeNeale Morgan and Julia Stohr. Newberry, who is often associated with the literature, theatre and politics of Carmel, was apprenticed in his youth as a wood engraver and took this opportunity to display his wood block prints.⁷³ There is no evidence that artists from Monterey, the Peninsula's largest city, were represented.

It was not until June of 1919 that Monterey again became aware of its community of artists. That year Armin Hansen, who for several seasons had conducted private art classes in the old capital and once taught "life drawing" at Carmel's Summer School of Art, was asked to become the director and instructor of a Monterey "summer school drawing program" for the California School of Fine Arts in San Francisco. The local paper, a newly merged daily with the title *Monterey Cypress and American*, began to extol the virtues of Hansen's promising students. There was a glowing description of his 1919 portrait class with the names of eight of his fifteen students, which included Gene McComas and Francis Todhunter; the latter was a summer resident of Carmel in 1918 and 1919.⁷⁴ Unfortunately, the newspaper's enthusiasm was marred by envy and inaccuracies:⁷⁵

As Monterey boasts of more artists than any town in Monterey county, it is to be deplored that sufficient studios are not available for their work. [William] Ritchel [sic], who recently stopped at the Hotel del Monte, contemplated coming to Monterey, but was unable to find a suitable studio.

The number of professional artists, both permanent and summer residents, was substantially greater in Carmel than in Monterey; before the appearance of this story William Ritschel had purchased lots in the Carmel Highlands for his permanent studio-residence.

To her great credit DeNeale Morgan seized the opportunity to end this incipient rivalry in the Monterey press with a dramatic gesture. In her capacity as director of the Carmel Summer School of Art and as secretary of the Arts and Crafts Club she published an open invitation for all Monterey artists to contribute in June of 1919 to the Thirteenth Annual Exhibition of the Carmel Arts and Crafts Club.⁷⁶ Her long-standing friendship with Hansen insured success. The Monterey newspaper offered the following summary of the show's opening:⁷⁷

An exhibition of paintings by the artists of the Monterey Peninsula opened Thursday evening at Arts & Crafts Hall with a reception and private view to the members of the club, exhibitors and their friends. Over 150 attended and all were enthusiastic in their praises of the pictures on exhibition. All together 108 paintings are hung. Artists represented are Armin Hansen, Godfrey Fletcher, Phillips Lewis, Evelyn McCormick, Lucy Pierce, Esther Stevens, Charlton Fortune, William Adam and Kate Carew of Monterey; Thomas Parkhurst and John O'Shea of Carmel Highlands; William P. Silva, William C. Watts, A. H. Vachell, Hamilton Wolf, Paul Prince, J. M. Culbertson, M. DeNeale Morgan,

Ida M. Curtis, Helen C. Brown, Jane Powers, L. S. Slevin, L. F. MacDougal, George Seideneck and Guy Rose of Carmel. A marine by William Ritschel loaned by Dr. and Mrs. D. T. MacDougal is hung in the exhibition.

The exhibit will continue open to the public every afternoon except Sunday until August 1st from 2:30 to 5 o'clock.

Of the nine artists included in the Monterey group, only three, Armin Hansen, Evelyn McCormick and Esther Stevens, were permanent residents of that city, while E. Charlton Fortune was a summer fixture and Kate Carew was in transit.⁷⁸ Lucy Pierce and Phillips Lewis both made the San Francisco Bay Area their home and were the only students enrolled in Hansen's summer course to contribute to the exhibition.⁷⁹ Another summer visitor to the Monterey Peninsula was Godfrey Fletcher who lived in Watsonville. William Adam was a famous and long-time resident of Pacific Grove, not Monterey. Of the sixteen artists from Carmel and the Carmel Highlands all were permanent residents except for Guy Rose. Apparently, Helen Cheney Brown had moved to Carmel about 1915, but had not exhibited extensively before 1919. Louis Slevin was a local art photographer. In an effort to limit participation to "professional artists" none of the twenty enrolled students in the Carmel Summer School of Art contributed to this Annual Exhibition; their work was exhibited separately at the end of the school's term.⁸⁰ To the list published above the *Pine Cone* added the names of four additional Carmel exhibitors: Ida Johnson, Edith Russell,⁸¹ Ida Longyear⁸² and Eliza McKnight.⁸³ The last three as well as Paul Prince quickly disappeared from the Peninsula art scene. Many of the newcomers were quite distinguished. The English-born Thomas Parkhurst established a successful career as a painter and decorator in Toledo, Ohio, before he moved in 1917 to the Highlands where he rendered many "forceful seascapes." Born deaf into a prosperous Oakland family Phillips F. Lewis was a favorite student of Xavier Martinez at Berkeley's California School of Arts and Crafts and adored by critics for his colorful modern landscapes, but met an untimely end with his suicide and the attempted murder of his own son. Esther Stevens was born in Indiana, educated in the San Francisco Bay Area, New York and Europe and eventually settled in southern California where she received awards for her vivid flower paintings. Ida M. Curtis trained as an artist in Massachusetts and Paris before moving in 1919 to Carmel where she executed her "lyrical" realist landscapes and for the next forty years exhibited the same to popular acclaim throughout California and along the Atlantic seaboard. Godfrey Fletcher was an artistic prodigy who received his art training in New York and Paris and specialized in vivid watercolors that won him three of the most prestigious awards in San Francisco between 1918 and 1920; his untimely death from tuberculosis in 1923 saddened the entire art community. Born into wealth and educated in Berkeley and Boston Lucy V. Pierce exhibited her acclaimed portraits and landscapes extensively in the San Francisco Bay Area, resided in Monterey between 1924 and 1932, and returned to her Berkeley home before finally settling in La Jolla in the 1960s. Guy Rose, who received his academic education in art at the School of Design in San Francisco, became with his work in Paris and Giverny the quintessential Impressionist who found new inspiration during his three summers in Carmel; his debilitating stroke in February of 1921 precluded further visits.

Two of the new exhibitors at the Carmel Annual became seminal figures in the California art scene. By any definition one of the most exceptional artists on the Monterey Peninsula was Armin Hansen. After his education at the School of Design was tragically terminated, his ensuing studies in Europe opened a world of possibilities beyond the conservative academic traditions of northern California. In painting Hansen's assertive brush translated his maritime and rural world into strong

emotional colors (Plate 10a).⁸⁴ His graphic art displayed a remarkable originality. He was the recipient of numerous awards and was made a National Academician (“N.A.”) by the National Academy of Design in New York. His legacy is felt especially in the dozens of successful students who matured under his tutelage. Although he was a Monterey resident, his steadfast support of the Carmel art colony insured its success. One of the most original minds on the Monterey Peninsula was Hamilton Wolf. Educated in New York City and Paris he moved in 1912 to Los Angeles where he established a successful career as a portraitist as well as a Symbolist and Allegorical painter. In 1917 he spent the season in Carmel with his friend George Bellows and two years later settled there. Although he ultimately made his home in Berkeley, Wolf regularly summered in Carmel where he often displayed his work with fellow progressives Ray Boynton, Roberta Balfour and William Gaw in private shows to avoid a conservative counterattack. Never content to make minor modifications on his successful and award-winning works, Wolf constantly borrowed theories from the latest artistic movements and reformulated them into his own unique style which ranged from highly representational art to Abstract Expressionism (Plate 25).⁸⁵ For three decades as a teacher at the University of California and the California School of Arts and Crafts he was responsible more than any of his colleagues for popularizing the various schools of European and East Coast Modernism in northern California.

The year 1919 saw another triumph for the Carmel art colony, namely the selection of the Arts and Crafts Club Hall by the American Federation of Art in Washington, D. C. as the exclusive West Coast venue for the Exhibition of Water Colors by Eastern Artists. This show contained the best examples from the American Water Color Society and from the Water Color Clubs of New York and Philadelphia; it was held in Carmel between December 26, 1919 and January 8, 1920. The *Pine Cone* published a complete list of the one hundred and five exhibited paintings by artists which included F. Luis Mora, Colin Campbell Cooper, Frederick Lamb and Paul Dougherty.⁸⁶

By 1920 the Carmel Club of Arts and Crafts was so certain of its place as the epicenter of the art community on the Peninsula that it advertised itself nationally for the first time as exhibiting also the “work by Monterey artists.”⁸⁷ At the Club’s Fourteenth Annual Exhibition, which intentionally opened on August 9th to overlap the classes of the Carmel Summer School of Art, thirty-seven painters from the Peninsula contributed seventy-two works.⁸⁸ The foremost names among the returning exhibitors were: E. Charlton Fortune, William Silva, Armin Hansen, Guy Rose, William Watts, Josephine Culbertson, DeNeale Morgan and Mary H. Ross. Among the new contributors fifteen were of modest distinction: H. A. Alderton, Ada Beecher,⁸⁹ Ada Champlin, Frances Clark, Wickliffe Covington, Ernst Curjel, Francis Cutting, Marie Duggar, Nellie Gere, Emmeline Harrington, Robert James, Lewis Josselyn (art photographer), E. Minturn-James, Lucy Peabody and Ethel Rose. Seven of the first-time exhibitors, who had well-established reputations or were soon to become important, deserve mention. The New York and European educated Celia Seymour taught for fifteen years at the Pratt Institute before she accepted a position in 1914 at Berkeley’s California School of Arts and Crafts; she became a prominent exhibitor of portraiture in the San Francisco Bay Area and in 1926 was appointed director of the Summer School of Art in Carmel where she made her permanent home. Catherine Comstock Seideneck, who trained at the Roycroft Studio and the Institute of Art in Chicago, shared a gold medal at San Francisco’s PPIE in 1915, permanently moved to Carmel three years later and established over the next fifty years a successful career as a craftsman and painter. Charlotte Morgan, the sister-in-law of DeNeale

Morgan, completed degrees in art at the School of Design in San Francisco and at U.C. Berkeley before she relocated to Carmel in 1928 and exhibited her landscapes for the next twenty years with great success. The Dutch-born Cornelius Botke and his wife, Jessie Arms Botke, resided in Carmel between 1919 and 1927 and received many commendations at competitive exhibitions in the Midwest and East. Clayton Sumner Price, who was educated in St. Louis and San Francisco with private instruction under Gottardo Piazzoni and Armin Hansen, moved stylistically from the illustrative and representational idiom to the decidedly Expressionistic during his Monterey period from 1921 to 1928; his frequently exhibited and critically acclaimed oils won him national fame in New York City. Born in Ireland and educated in London Edith B. Maguire moved to Berkeley in 1914, permanently settled in Monterey eight years later as a student of Armin Hansen, and became one of the region's illustrious award-winning watercolorists. Her scene entitled *The Docks – Monterey* is characterized by broad emotional strokes of color which vary from the darkly moody to the highly reflective (Plate 10b).⁹⁰

Jessie Fremont Herring, art critic for several San Francisco Bay Area publications, penned the following review of the Fourteenth Annual:⁹¹

The annual exhibition at the Arts and Crafts Club house in Carmel has a national significance most unusual in art colony shows. The motifs were gathered from the farthest point of Cape Cod to Pont Lobos and from north to south. The traveler finds reminiscences on every wall and art lovers' suggestions and influences of all schools of all epochs.

The show is eminently eclectic. The spectator is able to vision at a glance the needs of the past, the present and the future. He feels as it were the verity of the Fourth Dimension. For art to be the authentic history of a nation's spirit [it] must not only stand for that nation's evolution but its involution.

There was also a subtle prophecy in this exhibition. Just a hint that the American ideal would be expressed not through the philosophy of the physical perfection of Greece, but in a school of landscape painting.

Although Herring's assessment is somewhat prosaic, it does indicate the extent of the "spiritual" influence of the Carmel art colony. For the first and only time at an Annual the jury for awards consisted of the visiting public, whose total attendance reached nine hundred and forty-five. The top three artists by the popular vote were Fortune, Silva and Anita Murray, followed by Hansen, Rose and Culbertson. As a result of this show the Arts and Crafts Club was petitioned to create a "permanent exhibition . . . so that transient visitors at all times may see what the artists here are doing, without disturbing them in their studios."⁹² From the very beginning the Club had envisioned some sort of constant display that it might profit from the commissions on the sale of art. Mrs. Mary Hand, the Club's regularly elected president, sympathized with the needs of the art community and now solicited the names of thirty volunteers to act as rotating curators. However, the majority of the Club's members voted against the proposal because plans were quietly afoot to change the direction of the organization. Also that summer three teachers from Berkeley, Minna Harper, Mabel Spicker and Sallie Burr, established in Carmel The North Berkeley Outdoor School, a supervised program for adolescents that encouraged the arts and a love of nature.⁹³

In 1920 Jennie Cannon made at least three trips to Carmel. During her almost four-year absence the art colony had grown and solidified into a cultural force that was in part due to her efforts. Somewhat uncertain of the reception that she might receive after her involvement in the tumultuous events of 1914, her very public divorce, her flight to New York City and prolonged stay at Laguna Beach, she briefly appeared in January and quietly returned for three weeks in late July

and August to sketch and see her son, Milner, in a local play. Her search for a new summer studio ended in failure.⁹⁴ When she visited that November, the local Carmel newspaper observed: “Mrs. J. V. Cannon is here for a fortnight, to do some important work in painting.” She diligently painted for forthcoming exhibitions and secured a promise of shared accommodations for part of the next summer in the newly decorated cottage of her long-time friend, Elizabeth Strong.⁹⁵ Also that November the Arts and Crafts Club sponsored a Holiday Exhibition of Small Paintings that included many of the region’s prominent figures as well as three newcomers: Evan Mosher, Paul Mays and Elizabeth Strong.⁹⁶ Mosher was a talented artist, but ultimately a dilettante who preferred acting in the theatre and extended trips abroad with his wealthy wives. Paul Mays was at the other end of the spectrum. After extensive art training in the United States and Europe he apprenticed to a New York muralist and moved to Berkeley by 1915. Four years later he began his long relationship with Carmel where he moved his family, taught at the Summer School of Art and exhibited extensively, especially at the CAA. His many commissioned murals, which were enthusiastically received across the country, as well as his watercolors and oils on canvas were executed in his own modern style with clean rhythmic colors and a simplified design that was comparable in some respects to the later work of Maynard Dixon. Elizabeth Strong was one of the most accomplished artists in northern California and from the 1870s a frequent visitor to the Monterey Peninsula. She established a stellar reputation for her animal portraits and landscapes in Paris and the San Francisco Bay Area; after a long residence in Berkeley she settled in Carmel during the early 1920s and became a champion of the art colony, especially the CAA. Her style evolved from the pedantic academic traditions at San Francisco’s School of Design to the far more open, Impressionist-inspired approach that we see in her 1918 *View from Cragmont – Berkeley*; in Carmel her landscape compositions are marked by a dramatic simplicity (Plate 23).⁹⁷

In 1921 the art colony made significant strides. The *Pine Cone* resurrected its column of “Art Notes” with reports on local art activities as well as national events. A major Bay Area venue, the Art Gallery of Stanford University, requested that DeNeale Morgan assemble an exhibition of exclusively Carmel artists. Pedro Lemos, the Gallery’s director, wanted to showcase this close-knit group of “strong, virile painters of the West; portrayers of Nature in her various moods.”⁹⁸ Such an honor had yet to be bestowed on Monterey where the small colony of painters was stylistically far too diverse and too transitory. In June Stanford University hosted these “representative artists of Carmel.”⁹⁹ William Watts, William Silva, Cornelius and Jessie Arms Botke, George and Catherine Seideneck, Ada Champlain, Ida M. Curtis, Josephine Culbertson, Ida Johnson, Mary H. Ross, Elizabeth Strong, DeNeale Morgan and Wickliffe Covington. In order to limit the size of the show, Carmel’s summer art colony, which included such artists as William Ritschel and Jennie Cannon, was excluded from participation.¹⁰⁰ As expected this exhibition received coverage in the Carmel press, but complete silence in the Monterey paper, which focused primarily on the affairs of its own artists and seized any opportunity to ridicule the Bohemians to the south.¹⁰¹ The participation of Peninsula artists in the Fifteenth Annual Exhibition of the Arts and Crafts Club, which was held between July 22 and September 15, 1921, was overwhelming. The members of its “exhibition committee,” which consisted of the jury of selection and hanging committee, included the new chairman, Cornelius Botke, as well as William Watts, William Silva and Ada Champlain.¹⁰² Under the title “Exhibition of the Artists of Carmel and the Peninsula” seventy-seven works were chosen from the contributions of forty-one artists. Among the prominent repeat exhibitors, some of whom

returned after a long hiatus, were: William Adam, Ferdinand Burgdorff, Jennie Cannon, Josephine Culbertson, Armin Hansen, DeNeale Morgan, William Ritschel, Mary H. Ross, William Silva, Elizabeth Strong and William Watts. The unnamed reviewer in the *Pine Cone* mused:¹⁰³

The annual exhibition of the Carmel Peninsula artists opened with a brilliant reception at Carmel Arts and Crafts Hall last Friday evening. The spacious hall was filled with the admiring friends and relatives of the exhibiting artists.

This year's exhibition, it was agreed, surpasses those of former years, not alone in the quality of work but in the acquisition of new artists and the enthusiasm shown. Much credit is due to the hanging committee for the splendid handling of a difficult problem. In this exhibition each picture seems to be in the right place - and not only shows to its best advantage, but helps along its neighbors by contrast. A more harmonious blending of color could not be made.

The various exhibits represent the work of the artists of the Monterey Peninsula and show the wide scope of subjects available in this beautiful corner of the world. . . .

On August 18th the *Pine Cone* reported that over two thousand visitors had seen the show and added that the "standard of art displayed ranks with the best in the country, and it is the aim of the directors to continue to raise the standard until . . . it is possible to maintain a permanent exhibit, the privilege of exhibiting at Carmel Arts and Crafts Hall will call for the attainment of a certain degree of merit by the exhibitor."¹⁰⁴ The poor quality of some of the displayed work produced numerous and less diplomatic complaints that generated the following assessment. In his official report on the Fifteenth Annual Cornelius Botke seemed to apologize for and even to challenge the Club's long-standing and apparently irrevocable policy that each professionally trained artist, who submitted his works for display, was to have at least one piece hung:¹⁰⁵

While the jury did not accept all paintings sent in by each exhibitor, everyone who submitted was represented. Whether or not this is a good policy, will be for future committees to decide. The present committee has great hopes that the standard will continue to be held higher each successive year in consonance with the highest ideals of art.

As Carmel is nationally, if not internationally known as an art center, our annual exhibition should be in keeping with our wide reputation. . . .

A true jury, he believed, should be able to exclude **all** unworthy work. To anyone even remotely familiar with the art colony the obvious target of this criticism was DeNeale Morgan. Many of the newer arrivals believed that she abused her power as the Club's "chairman of the arts" and protected a contingent of Peninsula regulars who feared their exclusion under an authentic jury system. In keeping with the Club's tradition of encouraging new participants, thirteen of the exhibiting artists in the summer of 1921 were apparently first-time contributors: Josephine Blanch, D. F. Ehrensfieldter,¹⁰⁶ Jessie Featherstone, Mary B. Groom, Frances Hanique, Frances Rives, Frederick Zimmerman, Sybil D. Emerson, Arthur H. Knott, Frances Gearhart, Edgar Payne, Margaret Bruton and August Gay. The first seven names achieved some degree of success as artists but never emerged beyond modest reputations. The last six artists would soon distinguish themselves. Sybil Emerson received professional training in Ohio, New York, San Francisco and Paris and over her long career frequently exhibited her landscapes and still lifes in those cities to critical acclaim. She was a student of Armin Hansen and distinguished herself as a teacher, muralist, designer and writer. The Canadian-born Arthur Knott was educated in New York and spent most of his professional career in California where his popular dramatic seascapes were widely exhibited. Frances Gearhart abandoned her career as a Los Angeles high school history teacher, studied painting in New York and Boston, and moved from watercolors to the production

of beautifully executed and brightly colored woodcuts that rivaled those of Gustave Baumann. The Missouri-born Edgar Payne, an essentially self-taught painter, relocated from Chicago to California in 1918, briefly contemplated a home in Carmel, but preferred the larger urban centers where he marketed his highly prized landscapes. Margaret Bruton, one of three talented artist-sisters from Alameda, studied in San Francisco, New York and Monterey. She became a prolific exhibitor and prize-winner for her portraits and landscapes in a Modernist style characterized by bold simplified compositions in salient luminous colors as seen in her *California Rolling Hills* (Plate 2b).¹⁰⁷ The French-born August Gay studied art in Berkeley, San Francisco and with his fellow Society of Six painter, Selden Gile, before moving in 1921 to Monterey where he was trained by Armin Hansen. To survive and satisfy his deep desire to engage in crafts he regularly carved furniture and picture frames. His fame rests in his beautiful murals and his dazzling, austere Fauvist creations that confirm his place today as one of the most creative minds on the Peninsula.¹⁰⁸

On the heels of the successful 1921 summer Annual the Arts and Crafts Club sponsored a Fall Exhibition of Small Paintings. Among the twenty-two contributors were some of the Peninsula's most prominent artists, including: Josephine Culbertson, Armin Hansen, DeNeale Morgan, Jennie Cannon, the Botkes, the Seidenecks, Clayton Price, Mary H. Ross, Elizabeth Strong as well as two new painters on the Carmel scene, Howard Ellis¹⁰⁹ and Gunnar Widforss. The former was at best an obscure figure. The Swedish-born Widforss was educated in Stockholm and Paris and in 1920 permanently moved to the United States where he achieved a national reputation for his superb ultra-realist watercolors of the unspoiled American West.

The art community warmly welcomed Cannon's very public return in 1921, showered her with attention and apparently received her new and "far more modern" style of painting with polite interest. The Carmel newspaper dutifully reported on her exhibited work at the Oakland and Del Monte Art Galleries.¹¹⁰ In July of 1921 Mrs. Roberta Balfour, a newly arrived artist of considerable talent, offered her large Carmel home for an exhibition of fifty coastal subjects by Cannon. Mrs. William Silva assisted at the opening which had so many attendees that a long line formed in front of Balfour's house. To accompany the festivities the pianist Davis Alberto played selections from Grieg and Chopin. The *Pine Cone* concluded that Cannon "gave fresh evidence of her usual virility, clearness of spiritual vision and unique style."¹¹¹ At this same time two of Jennie's canvases, which had recently returned from an exhibition in Honolulu, were placed in a special display at the Arts and Crafts Club. That fall the review of her joint exhibition with William H. Clapp, director of the Oakland Art Gallery and a member of the Society of Six, at the Stanford University Art Gallery was most laudatory and focused on her "broad, free use of the brush, with paint strokes at a slight distance falling into land and sky and water areas, to give vibrating light and color."¹¹²

The chronicles of Carmel in 1921 cannot be closed without mentioning the arrival of two very talented artists. The first was Joseph Mora, the highly successful New York-trained illustrator and sculptor who was commissioned to create the monumental sarcophagus for Father Junípero Serra at the Carmel Mission. This work was unveiled three years later as part of an elaborate Serra Pilgrimage Festival which he helped to organize. Mora frequently supported the local community with his volunteer efforts, especially the Forest Theatre, and taught sculpture at the Carmel Summer School of Art. The other new resident of note was Ira "Rem" Remsen, a somewhat enigmatic figure. He hailed from an academic family in Maryland and had his art training in Paris and New York City. Throughout its history Carmel had artists who acted in local

plays and playwrights who showed some competence as artists, such as Perry Newberry. However, Rem proved himself equally adept at painting, especially portraits, and as a writer and producer for theatre. He quickly became a popular figure in the colony.

In 1922 the Carmel newspaper placed Cannon among the Peninsula's preeminent painters and dutifully reported on her solo exhibition at the Twentieth Century Club and her exhibited oils in the first "all-women's show" at the Stanford University Art Gallery.¹¹³ The latter was an exhibition of twelve of northern California's most prominent female artists held in January of 1922. More than half of its participants were painters associated with Carmel: Jessie Arms Botke, DeNeale Morgan, Ada Champlin, Isabel Hunter, Enid Kinney, Celia Seymour and Jennie Cannon. Cannon's Carmel scenes at that event were described by Margaret Medbury, art critic for the *Chronicle*, as:¹¹⁴

Sapphire waters, mists like floating chiffons mark the tone of J. V. Cannon's "The Opal" and "Through the Mists," while her "Glimpse of the Sea" is a strong and vital study of a bare limbed tree and a choppy sea. In this picture a heavy use of paint and broad style are used to good advantage.

Cannon's name soon began to appear on the *Pine Cone's* society page.¹¹⁵ If she had any doubts about her status in town, they were now dispelled. By the spring of 1922 she had purchased a lot on north San Carlos Street at the corner of First Avenue and began construction on a small cottage that became her second residence for the next sixteen years.¹¹⁶

Between 1922 and 1924 the colony's reputation continued to grow. In addition to the large number of new seasonal residents who exhibited at the Arts and Crafts Club, dozens of well-established visiting artists mingled with the colony and painted the dramatic scenery. One of these was Mary J. Coulter, a figure of considerable reputation and the former "curator of etchings and paintings in the Art Institute of Chicago." She staged an informal exhibition of her "paintings and prints" at Carmel's Mission Tea Room in May of 1922.¹¹⁷ Coulter also delivered a series of lectures locally on etchings and bookplates.¹¹⁸ Some of the other visitors included: sculptor Finn H. Frolich, who later settled in Carmel,¹¹⁹ Bruce Nelson,¹²⁰ R. Clarkson Colman,¹²¹ Joseph Kleitsch,¹²² Colin Campbell Cooper¹²³ and Maurice Braun.¹²⁴ The art colony not only attracted the famous, but obligingly accepted talented eccentrics, such as Edward Kaminski with his unerring "law of dynamic symmetry" that placed objects on a canvas "through a knowledge of natural geometric proportion".¹²⁵ When H. Ellsworth Bassett announced his theories on harmonizing colors with musical vibrations, the *Pine Cone* proclaimed that "his coming here will mean additional fame for Carmel as an art center".¹²⁶ Young artists, who habitually followed their initial training with studies at the great institutions on the American East Coast and in Europe, now added Carmel to their "finishing school" list as we see with the Canadian prodigy, Margaret Frame.¹²⁷ In 1923 she spent her *de rigueur* Carmel summer sketching with Paul Mays between her classes in Boston and Paris. Likewise, Philip Nesbit and Robert L. Eskridge followed similar paths in their early careers.¹²⁸

Normally, the arrival and departure of visiting artists were greeted with polite attention, but Ralph M. Pearson was an entirely different matter. He was a nationally recognized print maker who trained at the Art Institute of Chicago, was a co-founder of that city's Society of Etchers and by his early thirties had won numerous awards, including the silver medal in etching at San Francisco's PPIE in 1915. In early April of 1922 he was driving a collection of etchings and monotypes from Taos to San Francisco and stopped in Carmel at the request of the Arts and Crafts Club. The latter, which was exhibiting the work of the Hawaiian sculptor, Kamuela Searle,

added Pearson's collection to the show and asked him to lecture on his own prints to "stimulate enthusiasm" for that medium (Plate 17a).¹²⁹ About this same time several Carmel artists, including Cornelius Botke, George Seideneck and DeNeale Morgan, planned to purchase an etching press for the Club by selling subscriptions which could be redeemed later for original prints. For some years Armin Hansen and DeNeale Morgan had taught separately the fundamentals of etching. Although Hansen was regarded as a master in this medium, he never generated a groundswell of interest for print making in Carmel. The reception given to Pearson and his Modernist approach to graphic arts was wildly enthusiastic. According to the *Pine Cone*, Pearson:¹³⁰

. . . . arrived here at the psychological moment, and the talk he made that day at the Arts and Crafts affair was a revelation of the scope and possibilities of print-making not only to the laymen in attendance, but to the artists as well. Shortly after the [etching] press arrived a class was quickly formed to get a course of instruction under Mr. Pearson. That class was notable in that many of them were already supreme in their individual lines of endeavor. Among them were C. Sumner Greene, already artist in that most vital of arts - Architecture, Dr. Alfred E. Burton, formerly Dean of the Boston School of Technology, Joe J. Mora, sculptor, known internationally.

In addition to Botke, Seideneck and DeNeale Morgan, his other Carmel students included Evan Mosher, Josephine Culbertson, Mary Coulter, Ida M. Curtis, Caroline Blackman and Dorothy Vedder Wegg.¹³¹ Pearson instructed his class in the use of the newly arrived press, publicly demonstrated the difference between good and bad printing and curated an exhibition of etchings from the private collections of Carmelites at the Arts and Crafts Club while Mary Coulter lectured on the subject.¹³² By December of 1922 a large collection of recent etchings by Carmel artists was placed on public display in the Arts and Crafts Hall where subscribers to the etching press chose their prints by drawing lots.¹³³ Among the contributors of note was Pearson himself as well as Ferdinand Burgdorff, DeNeale Morgan, Jo Mora, Josephine Culbertson and Cornelius Botke. Jessie Arms Botke donated "two small decorative pictures" and Johan Hagemeyer gifted three photographs to the drawing. After Pearson's departure Cornelius Botke continued the momentum and arranged for the Print Makers of California to stage their "traveling exhibition" at the Arts and Crafts Hall the following spring.¹³⁴ This was the first time the Monterey Peninsula had seen the very best practitioners from Europe and the preeminent Americans, including May Gearhart, Oscar Carl Borg, Gustave Baumann, George Plowman and Ambrose Patterson. When the Botkes left for Europe in May of 1923, DeNeale Morgan taught printmaking from "copper plates."¹³⁵

In addition to the newly born passion for printmaking, 1922 would prove in many ways to be a memorable year for Carmel's art colony. A scandal, which had been quietly brewing in the upper echelons of the art community after the previous year's stage production of *Pomander Walk*, exploded in the March 30th edition of the *San Francisco Examiner* with this ominous black headline: **AUTHOR AND ARTIST IN DUEL OF FISTS, CARMEL PLAY STIRS HARRY WILSON'S IRE.**¹³⁶ The International News Wire carried the story with all its lurid details to readers across the country through the *Waterloo Evening Courier* of Iowa, *San Antonio Evening News*, *Indiana Daily Gazette*, *New Castle News* of Pennsylvania, *Chronicle Telegram* of Ohio, *Los Angeles Times*, *New York Times* and dozens of other newspapers where it appeared on the front pages. The *Examiner* carefully unfolded every excruciating event of the six-month feud that began when the noted playwright, Harry Leon Wilson, took vehement umbrage at the theatrical love scene between his wife, the daughter of Grace MacGowan Cooke, and Theodore Criley, the landscape painter. In

early January of 1922 Wilson “wrote a twenty-four page invective” in which he slanderously attacked the painter and demanded satisfaction in this “affair of honor.” He then sailed to Honolulu for three months of physical training and instruction in boxing. On his return Criley agreed to a “duel of fists” and Wilson wrote another silly diatribe which the ever-obliging *Examiner* published:¹³⁷

. . . . As to “a more enduring settlement” can it be possible you believe this affair will ever be settled? I have barely started on you and surely our mere physical encounter will settle nothing. That is merely a tender blossom growing from the main stalk through all the years that you live here. You are going to be made ridiculous. My friends may have outlined the valuable use I shall make for fiction purposes of certain material suggested by your penchant for suicide in the grand manner.

The next morning the two men met with their witnesses “in the approved dueling fashion” near William Ritschel’s original studio at Yankee Point “on a high cliff overlooking the sea,” south of Carmel. Both men wore thin riding gloves and were soon bleeding from continuous body blows; Criley was thirty pounds lighter than Wilson. Although the painter sustained serious injuries to his nose and left eye, he reportedly thrashed the exhausted writer in ten minutes. He was quoted after the fight: “The whole thing was childish. . . . schoolboy stuff and I told Wilson so.” Wilson threatened to return for another bout. For most of Carmel the initial amusement over the affair quickly turned to chagrin and the *Pine Cone*, always protective of the gentle image of the colony, made absolutely no mention of the “duel.” The Monterey press was equally silent. The country, especially the Midwest, was still hungry for details on these “feuding intellectuals” and the following month the press supplied more “facts” along with cartoons of protagonists as well as photographs, including Mrs. Wilson in an alluring costume and a bizarre, bare-chested Harry Leon Wilson.¹³⁸

The artists of the Peninsula were distracted by more important business in 1922. At the Arts and Crafts Club the same directors who had killed the proposal for a permanent art gallery voted early that spring to purchase land and build the Arts and Crafts Theatre. To allay the fears of some in the art community, who increasingly felt marginalized by the Club, the directors portrayed this project as an “investment” that would generate income to support the other arts. In September they issued stocks to fund the venture.¹³⁹ A few artists, including DeNeale Morgan and Cornelius Botke, supported this new project. Pedro Lemos, who wanted to repeat the success of last year’s Carmel show at the Stanford University Art Gallery, was under pressure to include Monterey artists. In order to avoid the gritty scenes of wharfs and dilapidated buildings, which often dominated the canvases from the old capital, he chose the more decorative works of Myron Oliver, Clayton Price and Frederick Gray to blend with the subdued landscapes and idealized animals of Carmel’s William Silva, Cornelius Botke and Jessie Arms Botke. These six artists contributed a total of fifty-eight paintings. Stanford’s exhibition of “Paintings by Carmel and Monterey Artists” was held in April and received consistently favorable reviews in the press.¹⁴⁰ Under the auspices of the Club the ninth season of the Carmel Summer School of Art opened in June of 1922; DeNeale Morgan served as director and teacher. Her two co-instructors were Cornelius Botke, who conducted “classes in landscape and decorative composition,” and Frederick Gray, who taught “classes in figure work, draped and nude, and in portraiture.”¹⁴¹ The Club’s Sixteenth Annual Exhibition of Paintings and Etchings was held in the Arts and Crafts Hall between July 20th and September 15th. Cornelius Botke again served as chairman of the exhibition committee and was assisted on the jury by Armin Hansen, Frederick Burgdorff, Jo Mora and Ada Champlin. To the great annoyance of the art community the Club’s administrators had “inadvertently” scheduled

other events that summer in the Hall. Botke had to announce that “owing to lack of wall space the number of outside artists will be limited and special prominence given to artists of Carmel and members of the local organization” and “not more than four paintings from any one artist will be hung.”¹⁴² In the exhibition catalogue the thirty-one exhibitors were listed alphabetically, but divided geographically into two groups, twenty-two Carmelites and eight Monterey painters.¹⁴³ Josephine Blanch was listed as the sole representative of Del Monte. The Carmel artists were: Eva B. Adams, H. Ellsworth Bassett, Caroline Blackman, Cornelius Botke, Jessie Arms Botke, Ferdinand Burgdorff, Helen C. Brown, Jennie V. Cannon, Ada B. Champlin, Josephine M. Culbertson, Robert B. Howard, Edward B. Kaminski, Arthur Knott, DeNeale Morgan, Evan Mosher, Ralph M. Pearson, Lucy L. Peabody, Alfred H. Schroff, George J. Seideneck, Elizabeth Strong, Roberta Balfour and Dorothy V. Wegg. The artists representing Monterey were: Albert W. Barrows, Mary C. W. Black, Sybil Emerson, Mary B. Groom, Armin Hansen, Clayton S. Price, Frances Todhunter and Charlotte Morgan, the sister-in-law of DeNeale Morgan. At this time Charlotte was a student of Armin Hansen, but a summer resident of Carmel.

In addition to the previously mentioned Ralph Pearson, five of the first-time contributors to this Carmel Annual had illustrious careers. The Massachusetts-born Alfred Schroff won early recognition as a multi-talented artist, became head of the Art Department at the University of Oregon in 1917 and, as a regular summer resident of Carmel in the 1920s, achieved considerable success in the San Francisco Bay Area. Francis Todhunter, born and educated in San Francisco, was highly regarded as a commercial artist by 1915. After further training under Armin Hansen he achieved during his long career lasting fame for his representational studies in watercolor and oil. Robert B. Howard, one of three artistic sons born to the renowned architect John Galen Howard, studied in Berkeley under Xavier Martinez and Perham Nahl from 1913 to 1916 and continued his education in France after World War I. He often summered at the family’s Carmel cottage. He discarded academic methods for the “ultra modern” approach in painting and sculpture; his work was uniformly praised and the recipient of numerous awards. Albert Barrows, a San Francisco native, abandoned his profession as an engineering draughtsman following his recovery from severe wounds in World War I. After studies with George Plowman and Armin Hansen he adopted a highly original semi-abstract style that won tremendous critical acclaim; a fine example of his work is the alluring *Bounty* (Plate 2a).¹⁴⁴ Barrows also gained recognition as a muralist and colleague of Diego Rivera. Along with Clayton Price and August Gay he ranks in the 1920s as one of Monterey’s most avant-garde artists. The Canadian-born Roberta Balfour studied art in London and Paris, deserted her career as a successful journalist and moved in 1920 to Carmel where she organized a branch of the Baha’i faith and trained under William Watts. She gave complete reign to her unorthodox spirit and produced some of California’s most advanced Modernist art as seen in her Pebble Beach oil *Point to Point of Seven Tides* (Plate 1b).¹⁴⁵ At numerous exhibitions throughout California and the United States her scintillatingly colorful work generated unreserved praise and controversy. She lived in Carmel until her death and reluctantly supported the CAA.

For a variety of reasons Jennie Cannon and a number of painters in Carmel’s 1922 summer colony left earlier than usual and many of the Peninsula regulars were already abroad, including William Silva and Myron Oliver in Paris, E. Charlton Fortune in London, Theodore Criley in Oxford, William Ritschel in the South Seas and John O’Shea with his new bride in Ireland.¹⁴⁶ On August 10, 1922 it was announced that the “business and professional men” of the Peninsula had taken

the “first steps” in planning a Monterey Peninsula Industries and Art Exposition for that September.¹⁴⁷ The exhibit of Peninsula artists at this Exposition in Monterey was predicted to be “probably . . . the finest and largest ever assembled on the Pacific Coast.”¹⁴⁸ Cornelius Botke was appointed “chairman” of its art committee and the original jury had three Monterey artists, Armin Hansen, Frances McComas and Frederick Gray, and two Carmelites, Jessie Arms Botke and Matteo Sandona. For unexplained reasons the two Carmelites abruptly resigned.¹⁴⁹ When only three residents of the “Carmel colony of artists,” the obscure Dorothy Vedder Wegg and Cornelius and Jessie Botke, contributed to this hastily arranged art show, the local Monterey newspaper ran the annoying headline: “LOOKS BAD FOR CARMEL.”¹⁵⁰ Equally shameful was the fact that only seven resident artists from Monterey contributed: Armin Hansen, Gene and Francis McComas, Frances Rives, C. S. Price, Isabel Lewis and Lucy Pierce. Just a few miles away the Carmel Annual was still displaying its rich plethora of talent. The quick action of Francis McComas saved the Monterey show from becoming a lopsided embarrassment. He traveled to San Francisco and borrowed the works of deceased or retired artists as well as canvases by painters long absent from the Peninsula, including: William Merritt Chase, Clark Hobart, Phillips Lewis, Bruce Nelson, Joseph Strong, Julian Rix, Myron Oliver, Charles Rollo Peters, Gottardo Piazzoni, Joseph Raphael, Henry V. Poor, William Ritschel, Isabel Hunter and Rowena Meeks Abdy.¹⁵¹ There is no evidence of an intentional boycott by Carmel artists, but simply the bad timing of the Monterey promoters who staged a show during the final weeks of the Annual of the Arts and Crafts Club. Cornelius Botke remained steadfast in his support for another such Monterey show the following year.¹⁵²

By the late spring of 1923 most of Carmel’s important artists had returned to their nests and Cannon remarked on the large turnout of “Berkeley people” at their cottages for the summer events.¹⁵³ The Arts and Crafts Club, in order to accommodate their own expanded theatrical schedule and the start on September 1st of the Second Monterey Peninsula Industries and Art Exposition, allotted only thirty-nine days for the entire run of its summer Annual Exhibition which in the previous year was held for fifty-eight continuous days. The regional artists, who regarded the Annual as an important venue for exposure and sales, were distressed with this curtailment and with the continued lack of a permanent exhibition space. Having received sufficient notice many of Carmel’s best painters decided to contribute to the four-day Exposition in Monterey, including William Ritschel, Paul Mays, Jo Mora, William Silva, DeNeale Morgan and William Watts.¹⁵⁴ Armin Hansen chaired the Exposition’s art section and was assisted by co-jurors Francis McComas and Bruce Nelson. No Carmelites were involved in the organization. It was again decided to include a large selection of deceased and retired artists from the entire state. Monterey’s most vocal booster, the art critic Laura Bride Powers, predicted in *The Oakland Tribune* that the display of California artists at this Exposition, “maintained for three or four years with increasing momentum,” would become the premiere show in the state.¹⁵⁵ However, for a variety of financial and logistical reasons the Exposition was never revived and Monterey lost its chance for an annual exhibition controlled by its own artists. Between July 25th and September 1st the Seventeenth Annual Exhibition of Paintings by Artists of Carmel and Monterey Peninsula was held in the Arts and Crafts Hall with thirty-two artists contributing the largest quantity of paintings ever at that event.¹⁵⁶ William Silva was the chairman of the exhibition committee and was assisted on the jury by Paul Mays and William Watts.¹⁵⁷ A few of the regular Monterey contributors, including Armin Hansen, were absent. Among the Carmel artists the Seidenecks, the Botkes and William Ritschel did not exhibit;

Percy Gray, Short-Jackson and Arthur Vachell returned after long absences. Aside from the habitual list of entrants, which included such prominent names as Balfour, Burgdorff, Cannon, Mays, DeNeale Morgan, Price, Silva, Strong and Watts, there were eight painters who had apparently not exhibited before at the Annual: Margaret Frame, Frederick Gray, Julian Greenwell, Enid Kinney, Lillie May Nicholson, George Kegg, Myron Oliver and F. Carl Smith. Most of the new contributors established themselves as respectable artists. The Kansas-born Myron A. Oliver deserves special mention for he not only fashioned a career as a craftsman and fine Post-Impressionist landscape painter, but he also used the family curio shop in Monterey to exhibit regional artists and donated much of his time to support the Peninsula art communities.

The majority of directors of the Carmel Arts and Crafts Club, who favored the expansion of theatrical events, continued to distance themselves from the art colony. One rather subtle but ominous change in the organization was that it stopped entertaining visiting painters of distinction with “teas” or receptions. When the noted New York artist, Bertha Case Rihani, spent two weeks in Carmel, it was Roberta Balfour who held a reception in her honor with the local artists.¹⁵⁸ Late that summer the Club voted to merge with the financially troubled Forest Theatre Society whose substantial debts they reluctantly had to absorb.¹⁵⁹ DeNeale Morgan supported this unanimous action and was elected to the post of secretary, the only artist in a position of influence.¹⁶⁰ The habitual complaint of many Carmel artists, namely that the quality of the Annual was diminished under the Club’s policy of accepting works from every submitter, was brutally repeated by Laura Bride Powers to her large audience of readers in the San Francisco Bay Area. She declared that: “For quantity shows are the curse of small communities of art, lowering standards and inflating the dull, the uninspired At Carmel’s Arts and Crafts there’s manifestly nothing said in the whole bunch of stuff on the wall, except in two or three instances. Perhaps next year there may be both a professional and an amateur show.”¹⁶¹ The only artists Powers reserved for praise were DeNeale Morgan, Jessie Short-Jackson, Paul Mays and Detlef Sammann; the last painter was not listed in the official catalogue for the Seventeenth Annual. The directors of the Arts and Crafts Club continued to ignore calls for jury reform, perhaps as a deliberate attempt to alienate an influential part of the art colony. If this were not enough, many of the literati and artists resurrected the periodic complaint that the continued development of the town was “destroying their muse.” The *San Francisco Examiner* recounted this story in December of 1923 with a pronounced degree of sarcasm under the ominous headline: “ART COLONY THREATENS TO QUIT CARMEL – Advancing Modernism of Town Grates Upon Temperamental Natures of Writers, Artists.”¹⁶²

Carmel, long noted as the retreat of the “intelligentsia,” is yielding to the encroachments of the physical manifestations of an advancing civilization, at the expense of the continuing presence of its temperamental artists, writers and others who have made its cloistered confines their bohemia.

Carmel, with paved streets, telephones, electric lights, sewers, and other attributes of the conventional up-and-coming American community, must sacrifice its position as the habitat of those who wish to live the life of the unconventional, untrammled by rules and regulations that fetter the existence of the proletariat.

Discontent that has been growing in the artistic colony proportionately as Carmel at large has been growing by the advent of a newer class of citizens who “do not belong,” and is responsible for the determination on the part of the truly artistic to seek an abode elsewhere.

It is understood that those of the unconventional “inner circle” are of one opinion that they must move elsewhere, anywhere away from the municipal confines and environment

of Carmel, to some place where they may live undisturbed and without the fetters of restricting ordinances and plebian influence.

Among the colonists who publicly threatened to quit were: Grace and Alice MacGowan, Perry Newberry, Evan Mosher, Laura Maxwell, and Cornelius and Jessie Arms Botke.

Not all the news of 1923 was disappointing. That spring George Kegg arrived in town with an unusual surprise. Kegg, who received his art training under Perham Nahl and Xavier Martinez in Berkeley, developed a reputation as a fine commercial artist and was widely recognized for his intricately carved marionettes. In conjunction with his wife, Mable, and Fannie Goldsmith he created an elaborate production of *Cinderella*. Carmel had seen puppet shows before, but never one with the sophisticated coordination of live music, costumes and sets. They performed in the spring and summer and were welcomed into the art colony.¹⁶³ The enthusiastic reception in Carmel brought invitations for other performances throughout California. Kegg garnered more fame when he created a widely publicized method of drawing with lithographic crayons.

The year 1924 marked the revolt against the Arts and Crafts Club which held an iron grip over almost all theatrical productions as well as the only suitable space to display art at the colony's famous Annual Exhibition. In addition, the Club controlled the content and staffing of the only publicly recognized art courses in Carmel. Edward Kuster, a retired attorney and recent transplant from Los Angeles, fired the first salvo in April when he completed construction of his 400-seat Golden Bough Theatre with adjoining shops at the corner of Ocean Avenue and Monte Verde Street. The façade of this complex was built in the European "fairyländ" style that was copied in subsequent construction in the area.¹⁶⁴ He immediately announced his own series of elaborate costumed plays with out-of-town professional actors to run in direct competition with performances of the Club. Due to Kuster's influence at the University of California in Berkeley and with the reported lobbying by several unnamed Carmel artists, the Extension Division of the University agreed to staff at the Golden Bough from June 30th to August 8th nine different classes which included psychology, history, short story writing, photoplay writing and art. The three art courses, "Etching; Theory & Practice of Theatre Design and Theory & Practice of Painting," were to be taught by the recently arrived James Blanding Sloan whom the *Pine Cone* called "a star faculty."¹⁶⁵ Sloan was a Texan who overcame a severe physical handicap and completed his art education at the Academy of Fine Arts in Chicago, the city where he fashioned a successful career as an artist, art teacher and theatrical designer. After further triumphs in New York, which brought him international recognition, he came West in 1924 and maintained residences in both San Francisco and Carmel until 1931. Not since the arrival of William Merritt Chase and Ralph M. Pearson had any single artist created so much interest. Sloan was a master etcher and became one of the most exhibited and acclaimed printmakers on the West Coast between 1925 and 1932. His art invited attention because he customized his composition and style, which ranged from the rough and abstract to the most precise realism, to each of his themes. His subjects were sometimes controversial and even iconoclastic, but he was always inventive and maintained the highest standards. In the early 20th century he mastered the muted Tonalist-inspired aesthetic of the American arts and crafts movement, but he soon abandoned that approach for other pursuits. Between 1911 and 1914 he experimented in oils with the Impressionist aesthetic, but deserted that style when he could do nothing more than imitate the French masters. Thereafter his painting developed with more simplified forms in solid colors. By the 1920s he received national acclaim for

creating singularly original *modern* prints on every subject imaginable. Included in his corpus of over three hundred print titles were many Carmel subjects, including *Enthusiastic Student, Sanctuary – Carmel* and *The Edge of the Woods*, as well as his uniquely California scenes such as *Church Gate-Sausalito, Campanile from Berkeley Hills*, and *Water Wheel at Angel's Camp* (Plates 19a-21b).¹⁶⁶ His talents turned to social criticism and satire in his *Ascetic* and he explored theological questions and iconography in his *Dual Christ* (Plates 22a-22b).¹⁶⁷

The publicity given to Sloan brought in so many early applications that the *Pine Cone* placed on the top of its front page a plea for Carmel and Monterey households to rent rooms with board to the incoming flood of students.¹⁶⁸ Among his pupils from the permanent art colony were: Josephine Culbertson, Alberta Spratt, Eva Belle Adams and Moira Wallace. Among the outside attendees was the eminent pictorialist photographer Anne Brigman. Kuster and the entire art community fully understood that these extension courses were not only scheduled at the same time as the Carmel Summer School of Art in the Arts and Crafts Hall, but also duplicated many of its classes, including William Gaskin's "Theory of Painting and Design" as well as DeNeale Morgan's "Etchings and Monotypes".¹⁶⁹ That year Morgan had the lowest enrollment for her classes in the history of the School. When the Arts and Crafts Hall was conveniently unavailable to hang Sloan's recently completed solo exhibition of etchings and photo-points from the League of Fine Arts in Berkeley and the City of Paris Gallery in San Francisco, Kuster quickly refurbished the foyer of the Golden Bough Theatre and opened the Sloan exhibition free to the public for two full weeks.¹⁷⁰ Kuster also hired Eugen Neuhaus, the respected artist and historian at the University of California, to give six free public lectures at his theatre on art and architecture.¹⁷¹ All of this combined to bring a new level of competition to Carmel.

What was expected to be in 1924 Carmel's most impressive Annual Exhibition of paintings, became a disaster. During the past several years the chairman of the Arts and Crafts Club's exhibition committee habitually accepted submissions in late June for the opening of the Annual in the third week of July. However, a majority of the Club's board of five officers, comprising vice-president Herman Spoehr, treasurer Fenton Foster and recording secretary John Jordan, decided that the Club Hall was needed for activities related to theatre productions through the entire summer. The staging of plays had become the cash cow for the organization. Mary Hand, the long-standing Club president, and DeNeale Morgan, the corresponding secretary, could do no more than beg for an inopportune exhibition time in the fall. For years the art community had pleaded for the Annual to "extend over the entire summer season - June, July and August" to benefit from the height of Carmel's tourist season.¹⁷² By mid September visiting teachers and parents had returned home, leaving the colony with fewer potential buyers. In July of 1924 Miss Morgan, chairman of the exhibition committee, placed this upbeat notice in the *Pine Cone*:¹⁷³

ART EXHIBITION LATER THIS YEAR

The Eighteenth Annual Exhibition at the Arts and Crafts Hall of work by Carmel and Peninsula artists will be held later in the summer and will continue during the Serra Pageant, which will be held in October. Due notice will be given to resident and visiting artists of the dates on which pictures may be submitted.

The annual pageant honoring Father Serra habitually drew a modest number of local residents and some visitors, but not the quantity of the summer shoppers. The enlarged celebration for the 140th anniversary of Serra's Pilgrimage promised to be something more. Despite the poor timing, forty artists contributed to the Annual Exhibition that opened on the 15th of September. Morgan was

assisted on the exhibition committee by Arthur Hammond and Ada Champlin.¹⁷⁴ Among the first-time exhibitors were: Mary C. Brady, Henry Joseph Breuer, Leonora Daroux, Arthur Hammond, Charles B. Hudson, Edith Ward Hunt, Isabel Hunter, Ada Howe Kent, George Koch, Ralph D. Miller, Sarah Parke, J. Charles Reeve,¹⁷⁵ Blanding Sloan, Will Sparks and Edith Grace Ward. In addition to the revered Henry J. Breuer (Plate 3a),¹⁷⁶ many of these new exhibitors already had brilliant careers. Mary C. Brady, who was born in Ireland and educated in San Francisco at the School of Design and in Paris at the Académie Julian, was one of the earliest exhibiting Impressionists in California. The Canadian-born Charles B. Hudson had his art training in New York City and Paris, and divided his life between the writing of romantic novels and the painting of representational seascapes and desert scenes. Except for a five-year residence in Monterey Isabel Hunter spent most of her life in Alameda, received her art training at the School of Design and regularly displayed her Tonalist-inspired still lifes and landscapes to great acclaim. Ralph D. Miller briefly studied art in Kansas City and resided in Los Angeles for over two decades before moving in 1924 to Carmel where he established himself as a gifted landscape painter. He returned to southern California in 1930. Educated in St. Louis and Paris Will Sparks began his career as a staff artist for several newspapers before he moved in 1900 to Alameda and found his calling as a painter of enamel-like Tonalist landscapes with an emphasis on Spanish colonial subjects.

Undoubtedly, some of the exhibiting artists wanted to come in the fall to see the enlarged pageant, which ran from the 12th through the 18th of October, and other events on the Peninsula.¹⁷⁷ It was also an opportunity to meet the local hero, Jo Mora, who had sculpted Serra's sarcophagus and other decorations in the Carmel Mission church. At the start of the Carmel Annual there was the ominous announcement of competition from the Del Monte Art Gallery which planned to stage in early October "the greatest showing of works by California artists in many years" and appointed as jurors such sterling figures as Hanson Puthuff, Joseph Kleitsch, Colin Campbell Cooper, Matteo Sandona and Gottardo Piazzoni.¹⁷⁸ The best southern California artists were to be given equal representation. Both exhibitions were doomed when the main portion of the Hotel Del Monte, including the art gallery, burned to the ground at 3:00 am on Saturday, September 27, 1924.¹⁷⁹ The fire was only stopped with dynamite. Fortunately, all the art was saved and a month later was transferred to a temporary gallery in a surviving wing of the hotel.¹⁸⁰ Since the majority of visitors to the Serra Festival were to be guests at the Del Monte, that event turned into a financial disaster for its underwriters; the Carmel Annual saw its lowest attendance in years.¹⁸¹ Among the displaced guests was Anne Brigman who had earlier exhibited at several "seaside salons" in Carmel.¹⁸²

The theatre contingent of the Arts and Crafts Club completed its coup by denying the use of the Club Hall for any further summer Annuals. The announcement was made informally in early 1925 after the *Pine Cone* casually mentioned the Club's forthcoming annual summer exhibition on its front page.¹⁸³ No comparable venue was available in Carmel during this busy season. As an insulting consolation the Club's directors did offer to rent their Hall for up to one week and take a twenty-five percent commission from sales only when space and time permitted during the summer. In protest DeNeale Morgan did not seek reelection to her habitual position as Club secretary, but she continued to direct and teach painting, etching and monotype at the Club's Carmel Summer School of Art.¹⁸⁴ When the *Pine Cone* published the figures for the School's enrollment in 1925, most of the theatre, music and juvenile classes had respectable numbers, while Miss Morgan had an embarrassing total of only seven students.¹⁸⁵ A well-intended

Josephine Culbertson thought to revive the spirits of the art community that summer by organizing a five-day exhibition of “Carmel Artists” at the Arts and Crafts Hall.¹⁸⁶ Unfortunately, the colony’s collective anger had not subsided and there were few contributors and visitors. In October of 1925 several artists decided to bring their colony together “during the winter months” on Mondays and Thursdays to sketch nude models in a life class; Cornelius Botke and DeNeale Morgan were chosen as “class monitors.”¹⁸⁷ About twenty local artists committed themselves to the group, but interest soon flagged and the classes ended. In April of 1926, just two months prior to the start of that year’s Summer School, Morgan resigned as director and teacher without warning. The Arts and Crafts Club scrambled to find a replacement and claimed that “Miss Morgan’s retirement is due to a lack of time to devote to . . . several important commissions . . . and in addition [she] has a number of private pupils.”¹⁸⁸ In truth, the Arts and Crafts Club had stopped advertising the Summer School and many prominent artists, including William G. Gaskin, A. Clay Otto, Cornelius Botke, George Seideneck and Robert Hestwood, began teaching their own well-advertised private art classes in Carmel.¹⁸⁹ At the last minute Cornelius Botke agreed to direct the Carmel Summer School of Art and to share the art classes with the acclaimed local watercolorist, Stanley Wood.¹⁹⁰ In 1926 Sarah Deming and other Club officers felt the growing anger of the art community and decided that several artists, including Theodore Criley and DeNeale Morgan, should stage solo shows of short duration; Deming’s attempt to revive the long-dormant “annual crafts exhibition” was not repeated.¹⁹¹ Mrs. Mary E. Hand remained on the board of directors until her retirement in the summer of 1926; she died the following spring.¹⁹² In 1927 Celia B. Seymour became the director and primary art instructor of the Carmel Summer School of Art under the auspices of the Arts and Crafts Club.¹⁹³ She and her five co-instructors managed to remove the School from the control of the Club which was preoccupied with its insolvency. It became apparent in the summer of 1926 that the Club had a staggering debt of three thousand dollars due to the construction of its new theatre in 1922 and its acquisition of the Forest Theatre; the latter lost money at an alarming rate.¹⁹⁴ In July of 1927 paintings by some of Carmel’s best artists were donated to the “white elephant” sale on behalf of the Arts and Crafts Club.¹⁹⁵ This proved to be too little too late and the Club was forced to sell its Clubhouse and Theatre. In February of 1928 the Carmel Arts and Crafts Club officially became an organization without a home.¹⁹⁶

The cancellation of the Annual Exhibitions of the Carmel Arts and Crafts Club not only ended a tradition that had begun in 1906, but also an event that had a state-wide reputation. With the exception of the shows at the San Francisco Art Association and the California State Fair, the Carmel Annual had been the longest continuous series of public art exhibitions on the Pacific.¹⁹⁷ In addition to serving the Carmel community, it became the venue for Monterey’s brightest talents, such as E. C. Fortune, August Gay, C. S. Price and Armin Hansen, and attracted many notable artists from the Bay Area and southern California, including Henry J. Breuer, Frances Gearhart, Edgar Payne, Guy Rose, Blanding Sloan, F. Carl Smith, Will Sparks and Hamilton Wolf. Unlike the private and very profit-conscious Del Monte Art Gallery, which exhibited only the California artists favored by the tight clique of habitual advisors or a single appointed director, the Carmel Annual democratically displayed the work of permanent and seasonal Peninsula residents. It offered encouragement and exposure to talent that did not have powerful patrons. All artists could present their experiments on canvas and receive an immediate critique from the cadre of professionals that summered there. The social life afforded by the gathering of so many influential painters allowed

novice artists to cultivate friendships with future jurors and administrators of grants. If a displayed work at the Annual sold early, artists were on hand to greet visitors, especially those on the twice daily buses from the Del Monte Hotel, and negotiate the sale of their other works. The summer show was a magnet for tourists whose presence benefited the entire town. The end of the Arts and Crafts Annual left a profound financial and psychological void in Carmel.

After the destruction of the Del Monte Hotel and with the once beloved Carmel Annual in its final days many of the established artists quietly left town in late September of 1924 to promote their work elsewhere. Jennie was one of these. She arrived at the Los Angeles Museum to view the exhibition of Impressionist Paintings by Western Artists which had been assembled and displayed earlier that summer in the Oakland Art Gallery. Five of Cannon's oils were chosen for display in that show, more jury-selected paintings than from any of the other contributors whose numbers included such established figures as: Guy Rose, Hanson Puthuff, William Gaw, Selden Gile, William Watts, Joseph Raphael, Donna Schuster, William Clapp and Benjamin Brown. Antony Anderson of the *Los Angeles Times* singled out Cannon's "palette-knife landscape" entitled *Evening* as "particularly fine in color and composition."¹⁹⁸ Thereafter she hurried back to the San Francisco Bay Area to prepare for a joint exhibition with the "Modernist" artist Blanche C. Wagner at San Francisco's Gump Gallery in late October. Her careful selection of paintings reaped dividends in the sterling review given by Josephine Hart Phelps in *The Argonaut*.¹⁹⁹

Mrs. Cannon is a fine draughtsman, as we perceive in her "A Street in Chinatown," in which the receding vista is beautifully conveyed. Orientalism is its color note, but the greater number of Mrs. Cannon's canvases have received their inspiration from the various places about Monterey. Luminosity is a marked characteristic of these fine paintings, and a feeling for the expression of motion, as shown in the wind-blown skies, a Monterey eucalyptus with its long suspended streamers of foliage almost swinging in the breeze that we sense, and the tumbling flood of surge washing over the rocks.

These and other of the Cannon canvases are fairly swimming in light, which seems to vibrate, for her pictures are all alive with the glory of the sunlit atmosphere, an atmosphere that is at once flooded with color, and transparent with light that seems to shower from a sunlit sky.

Jennie found the time to visit Blanding Sloan at the University of California Extension Headquarters in San Francisco where he staged a well-publicized display of prints completed in the summer by his many Carmel students.²⁰⁰ That November the Stanford University Art Gallery staged a major solo exhibition of her work. Cannon ended 1924 with contributions to the MacDowell Club in Los Angeles and to the Laguna Beach Art Association where she had already exhibited from January to May of that year.²⁰¹ In 1925 she was the first woman from California chosen by the American Federation of Arts as an "Exhibiting Artist" on the Educational Tour of the Northern States which included the Dakotas, Wyoming, Montana, Idaho and Washington. Typically, between forty and sixty of her works toured dozens of schools and campuses where many were sold; these one-man shows and her contributions to American Federation group exhibits traveled as late as 1940.²⁰²

All Peninsula artists faced the difficult decision of where to exhibit locally. The few artists selected for the walls of the Del Monte Art Gallery were normally allowed to display two canvases at most. W. L. Overstreet, in his front-page *Pine Cone* editorial of September 1925, suggested that an art gallery be constructed in central Carmel to attract tourists and "give an impetus to the sale of pictures."²⁰³ No action was taken on that suggestion, but the *Pine Cone* did offer to any Carmel artist the small interior of its front office to hang a few paintings "at his own risk."²⁰⁴ Displays in

artists' studios proved to be problematic because tourists found them difficult to locate and open at irregular hours. Only on very rare occasions did an artist devote his limited studio space to show the work of his peers. Carmel hotels seldom displayed paintings for sale. Other establishments, including The Lark, Carmel Tea Garden, Kay's, Blue Bird Tea Room and Mission Tea House, sporadically offered "small exhibitions" of local painters, but the canvases were placed higgledy-piggledy on available wall space and difficult to view between the diners, their tables and the animated conversation. The opening of the "foyer art gallery" in the Golden Bough Theatre provided an alternative to the expensive rental of the Arts and Crafts Hall, but this space proved too small for colony-wide exhibitions; the availability of foyer exhibits to visitors always depended on the schedule of theatrical productions.²⁰⁵ There was an important development in early 1924 when the respected photographer, Johan Hagemeyer, decided to devote the "main unit" of his new "artfully designed studio" at the junction of Mountain View and Ocean Avenues to the periodic displays of local and visiting artists.²⁰⁶ A problem arose in that he spent much of his professional life at his San Francisco portrait studio and only opened his Carmel digs from May through September; he also devoted more of his exhibition space to photographers than to painters.²⁰⁷ Carmel's Seven Arts Court Building, a two-storey structure designed and built by Herbert and Helena Heron with a central patio and wishing well surrounded by a complex of studios and shops, initially sold books, magazines, art supplies, arts & crafts furnishings and "ornamental fixtures."²⁰⁸ In December of 1924 the Seven Arts opened its first solo show of art with an exhibition of prints by Amos Engle. Unfortunately, space there was available only between the expiration and the signing of new leases. Equally important were Miss Dene Denny and Miss Hazel Watrous, Carmel's most prominent lesbian couple after Josephine Culbertson and Ida Johnson, who started in 1923 as "designers, builders and decorators of homes," but soon constructed a very fashionable venue open to all arts.²⁰⁹ At the Denny-Watrous Gallery the duration of exhibitions was dictated by competition from concerts and theatrical productions.²¹⁰ In the spring of 1926 the small former cottage of Mary Hand at San Carlos Street and Fourth Avenue was converted into the private "Carmel Art Gallery" by Harriet Stoddard who acted as co-curator with the elderly Mrs. Sydney Yard. The display at the Gallery, which totaled between fifteen and twenty paintings, changed monthly; much of the art was from well-known conservative painters.²¹¹ When sales began to decline in the spring of 1927, the Gallery offered a display of "crafts" and opened a tea garden, but the venture was never a long-term success. What the Carmel artists needed was a large permanent centrally located exhibition space that they themselves controlled.

If the resident artists of Monterey had organized in the mid 1920s an art association and gallery with regular exhibitions, then the spiritual center of the art community would have shifted to the old capital. As it was, Monterey had only a few venues that were suitable for even small displays. The Antique Shop of Elizabeth Parrish, who was Evelyn McCormick's sister, and the Theatre Gift Shop were able to show only a few canvases among the bric-a-brac.²¹² In early 1926 Myron Oliver revived the exhibition space at his father's emporium, the Mission Art and Curio Store, for small infrequent displays which included such well-known artists as Thomas Parkhurst, Armin Hansen, Cornelius Botke, Allan Cram, Jennie Cannon and Theodore Criley.²¹³ In December of 1926 Fredrik Rummelle, whose new Monterey shop "specialized in the primitive arts and crafts of Old Cathay, the Latin Countries and Old Mexico," staged a solo exhibition of works by Carmelite painter Ralph Davison Miller, but for unspecified reasons he never repeated the experiment.²¹⁴

After the failure to continue the annual art shows at the Monterey Peninsula Industries and Art Exposition of 1922 and 1923 the local art community embraced the proposal to establish an art gallery for Peninsula artists at the new Hotel San Carlos. Mrs. Alice Lafler, who had once been the curator for the Del Monte Art Gallery, assumed that position here and both Evelyn McCormick and Armin Hansen were engaged "in an advisory capacity." Myron Oliver "assisted in hanging the paintings."²¹⁵ In addition to the three above-mentioned artists, the inaugural exhibition in October of 1926 had among its stellar contributors: Stanley Wood, Cornelius and Jessie Arms Botke, Margaret and Helen Bruton, John O'Shea, Ferdinand Burgdorff, Ina Perham, A. Harold Knott, Roberta Balfour and Theodore Criley. Unfortunately, the gallery languished and quickly closed. The last hope for the artists of Monterey rested with an alliance of young painters. This association initially consisted of Armin Hansen and ten of his most progressive and talented *former* students: Clayton S. Price, Robert V. Howard (not to be confused with Robert Boardman Howard who exhibited in Carmel), August Gay, Myron Oliver, Margaret and Helen Bruton, Ina Perham, Lucy V. Pierce, Albert Barrows, and D. H. Douglas. For their first and only exhibition in Carmel at the Johan Hagemeyer Studio-Gallery in May of 1925 they were collectively named the "Ten Monterey Painters." Hansen contributed only one painting to the show; the intent was to focus attention on the many contributions by this new wave of Peninsula artists. The exhibit received a modest amount of publicity and a lukewarm reception.²¹⁶ Thereafter some friction occurred within the "Ten" and over the next twenty months there is no record of further exhibitions; Hansen, Barrows, Oliver, Helen Bruton and Douglas dropped out. It became a somewhat amorphous organization called the "Monterey Group." They were renowned for their Bohemian parties and acquired three new members: Julian Greenwell, Gene McComas and Flora M. Johnstone.²¹⁷ McComas left the Group soon after joining for unexplained reasons. The Group's one chance at national exposure came on May 5, 1927 when San Francisco's Galerie des Beaux Arts sponsored a well-publicized two-week exhibition of their work.²¹⁸ Gene Hailey of the *San Francisco Chronicle*, H. L. Dungan of *The Oakland Tribune* and Jehanne Bietry Salinger of *The Argus* offered short mixed reviews of the eight contributing artists and were somewhat positive about the collective effort.²¹⁹ Unfortunately, Junius Cravens, the widely respected art critic for *The Argonaut*, savaged the show with only a few complimentary remarks for select paintings. Most of that review follows:²²⁰

Considered as a whole the exhibition of the Monterey group . . . does little to revive a dying season. In fact it fits into its role of one of the last gasps very aptly. Its strongest point is the fact that it serves to confirm the collective judgment of Boston critics to the effect that most California landscape painters are not interpreting California as it is to be seen through their own eyes, but as it might be seen through the eyes of some of the French and other foreign modernists. Their zeal to be modern at all costs and to imitate the best modern foreign masters carries them beyond the point of theory, with the result that the hills, towns and coast lines that they paint might be anywhere in the world. Their paintings have no special distinction unless it be unusual banality.

Most of the canvases of August Gay, C. S. Price and R. V. Howard . . . have no more relation to Monterey or Carmel Valley than they have to Badajoz or E. Douro. Not so much, in fact, for if they were listed with such titles as "Trans-Os-Montes Sketch" or "Oporto Street" they would be more convincing, for one could conceivably believe them to be Spanish whereas one knows too well they are not American. Aside from this too common fault the exhibition has a pretty deadly sameness throughout its landscapes and the figure subjects contribute but scant interest, if any.

One ultra-modern canvas, "Decoration," by August Gay, reveals no special originality but a degree of distinction. It is a marine subject worked out in prismatic color

patterns. It has solidity, depth, real movement and a delightful play of color harmonies. It is by far the most interesting modern contribution to the show and is superior to Mr. Gay's other canvases.

. . . . Armin Hansen . . . is conspicuous for his absence from this exhibition. We can hardly say we blame him.

Thereafter the Monterey Group and any possibility of galvanizing a formal organization around their collective vanished. It became apparent that Monterey artists were unwilling to shoulder the responsibilities of running even a rudimentary organization to exhibit their own paintings.

Between 1925 and 1927 Carmel artists, who habitually stayed through the long summer season, were increasingly absent to paint and exhibit elsewhere. Jennie Cannon participated in over forty major exhibitions during this period and her life provides a paradigm on how artists prospered. In fact, Cannon received a degree of recognition that very few Carmel or Berkeley artists had achieved. In the spring of 1925 she left Carmel to participate in the founding of the San Francisco Society of Women Artists and was placed on that organization's "committee for publicity" with two other Carmelites, Jessie Short-Jackson and Celia B. Seymour.²²¹ Cannon took her job seriously by publishing several articles to explain the goals of the new Society, by recruiting new members and by contributing to its exhibitions.²²² That April, just after her ex-husband and his new wife moved from Carmel to Palo Alto, she staged a joint exhibit with B. C. Wagner at the Arts and Crafts Hall; the *Pine Cone* reproduced Jennie's *El Adobe*.²²³ At such exhibitions it was customary for women, usually friends of the exhibitors, to serve as "hostesses" for tea and in this case Jennie had the old guard at her side, including Josephine Culbertson, Ida Johnson, Mrs. Sydney Yard, Mary Hand, Elizabeth Chandler, as well as Roberta Balfour. During the summer, when she was not in Berkeley, she sketched throughout the state and then spent the winter of 1925 in La Jolla.²²⁴ Cannon, who had been instrumental in founding Berkeley's California League of Fine Arts in 1923, strenuously objected in 1925 to its reorganization. The League's governing bodies were hijacked by non-artists who diluted the focus of the group by adding the disciplines of music, dance, drama, poetry and architecture to the sponsored activities; women were no longer given equal representation on juries.²²⁵ In protest she and others resigned from the League. Also that winter a large corpus of her work was sent on a traveling exhibition thru the West and Midwest.²²⁶

In February of 1926, after reporting on the opening of the San Diego Art Gallery for the journal *Western Arts*, Cannon headed to Phoenix to exhibit her art on what was euphemistically called "The Circuit."²²⁷ This consisted of art galleries in three or more cities that displayed in succession the same solo exhibition. Paintings sold in the first show traveled to the other venues and only returned to the buyer at the end of the circuit. Armin Hansen, William Silva and William Ritschel frequently followed this protocol in New York and southern California. Jennie had found her niche in the Southwest where patrons wanted not only local scenes, but the restful seascapes of California. For ten days in early March at the Miller-Sterling Galleries in Phoenix sixty-three of her paintings were displayed and the local press lionized her work:²²⁸

Mrs. Cannon impresses one as being, not an extreme individualist in her use of colors, but one in whom the sense of individualism has been highly developed. Her colors are vibrant and in the graduations of hues, she has keyed her work on two of the most pleasing notes – blue and yellow. Blue in every variation has been used – the blue which dominates the waves of the sea when the sun strikes the white caps; blue which frowns from a threatening cloud; the blue of a summer sky and the greenish, glittering blue of an angry sea, all have their place in an absolute harmony of color. The yellow employed by the artist has been adroitly linked to the blues by a deft touch of orchid and mauve.

. . . . The contrast in the paintings is marked. One, an "Arizona Sunset," is filled with subtle beauty. The usual flaming reds are missing, and like a benediction on a reverent world, the sun has passed into the night in a mist of golden glory. Hanging near, "A Gray Day," shows the waves of a weary, mysterious sea, lapping against the bleak gray of a rugged rock. The artist has painted her own spirit into the picture – and for that matter the spirit of many a person who waits on a gray day for what life may bring. Another canvas, "A Clear Day," calls aloud with youth and joy to the world, and the artist has done a charming thing in the picture. Drooping boughs from the trees hover over a sun flecked carpet of earth. One thing that appeals to the average person is Mrs. Cannon's disregard for absolute form. She paints as she sees the thing, and in so doing she turns out work which has the inspiration of the lover of art. "Capistrano Mission" has every ear mark of dignity. The colors introduced bring a rare beauty to the edifice, and the heavy lines which are lost in the light, pick themselves up again as the shadows advance. . . .

"Madame Cannon" was fêted at teas and dinners and interviewed by an admiring public; a handsome portrait photograph of this "thoughtful painter" was widely reproduced in the press (Plate 28b).²²⁹ In late March her circuit exhibition opened at the San Marcos Hotel Art Gallery in Chandler and then in early April it was divided between the Fourth Annual Exhibition of Arizona Artists in Phoenix, which received twenty canvases, and the Tucson Fine Arts Association with forty-eight paintings.²³⁰ In these lucrative markets artists and their displays often crossed paths and in Tucson Jennie met Maurice Braun, the respected southern California painter, who was lecturing on his philosophy of art in conjunction with his own circuit exhibition.²³¹ The two celebrities were jointly entertained and sketched together in the nearby desert.²³² She reportedly sold all but twenty of her canvases and had one painting, *The Old Adobe*, reproduced on the cover of *Progressive Arizona*, whose critic, Mildred Lawrence, said of Jennie and her Southwest paintings.²³³

. . . . Mrs. Cannon makes periodic visits to her old haunts. On these excursions she attempts to catch new phases of fleeting lights on the desert mountains and mesas and to study more closely the characteristics of the natives, both Indian and Mexican. Although Mrs. Cannon is primarily a landscape painter, she introduces the native figures into her compositions and these invariably become the accents of high color, in otherwise general-toned areas of blues, and mauves and greys.

This painter perhaps more than any other worker in Southwestern themes, sees the landscape enveloped in atmospheres of purple, grey or gold. Keeping the colors clear through these varying atmospheres is the distinctive feature of Mrs. Cannon's work, and makes her sought as a teacher both in California and Arizona. She has developed a type of impressionism that is peculiarly her own. She fought the battle in the desert, which may in part explain her clear high range and key. There are no muddy, fumbled passages in her work. She carries colors on her palette from the very highest light, to the strongest dark.

Reproductions of her paintings on the covers of popular periodicals, such as *California Outdoors and In*, and on the brochures for hotel chains in New York, Atlantic City and Los Angeles became an important source of income.²³⁴ By April of 1926 she had settled into her Carmel bungalow and greeted her long-time Berkeley friend, Laura Adams Armer, who had just staged a solo exhibition of nineteen of her canvases at the Arts and Crafts Club where she also co-directed a seminar on American "Indian Magic, Song and Art" that was attended by throngs of Berkeley residents.²³⁵ Jennie herself was preparing for her two-week solo exhibition of forty-five paintings in the Foyer Gallery at Carmel's Golden Bough Theatre.²³⁶ The *Pine Cone* reviewed this show favorably and reproduced her charcoal drawing of *San Xavier Mission* in Tucson.²³⁷ Some of her other exhibitions that summer and fall were at the: California State Fair, Fine Arts Gallery in San Diego, Laguna Beach Art Association and Myron Oliver Gallery in Monterey.²³⁸ She also contributed to

and reviewed the display at the Del Monte Art Gallery.²³⁹ Her crowning glory in 1926 came with the publication by the State of California of its five-volume official history in which she was the *only* female painter to be selected for a biographical entry.²⁴⁰ Cannon was chosen for this honor because she had achieved “permanent distinction in her field” and contributed to “the development of art on the western coast.” Her biographer noted that “she thought of and helped to make possible financially the . . . School conducted by William Merritt Chase in Carmel” where “she was one of the pioneer artists in the colony.” Jennie had achieved such status in the San Francisco Bay Area that even her return from a painting expedition was prominently announced in the “Artists” section of a local Sunday paper.²⁴¹ In addition to the Art Associations of San Francisco, Berkeley, Laguna Beach, La Jolla, Phoenix, Tucson and Oakland, Cannon was an exhibiting member of the: Fine Arts Society of San Diego, American Federation of Art, Galerie Beaux Arts (San Francisco), Pen Women of America, New York Independent Artists, Scandinavian Society of America, San Francisco Society of Women Artists and Professional Artists League of New York.²⁴²

In 1927 Cannon hit the ground running. That January she joined Gottardo Piazzoni, Ralph Stackpole, Lee Randolph, Frank Van Sloun and E. Spencer Macky in a very public petition that opposed attempts by conservatives at the Oakland Art Gallery to remove two paintings of explicit female nudes; according to the front-page headlines in *The Oakland Tribune*, the presence of the nudes dramatically increased attendance and the vast majority of the visiting public voted to continue the paintings.²⁴³ The following month her work was accepted at the Fifth Annual of the Oakland Art Gallery and fifty-seven of her paintings traveled “the circuit” with Cannon to the Miller-Sterling Galleries in Phoenix for a two-week solo exhibition.²⁴⁴ After it closed on March 7th the show was enlarged and opened a week later in the Santa Rita Hotel Art Gallery under the sponsorship of the Tucson Fine Arts Association. According to the regional press, her marine paintings were favored by the locals because she “has caught the azure blue of the California skies and its reflection in the water to an admirable degree.”²⁴⁵ At this same time for the Forty-ninth Annual of the San Francisco Art Association the jury accepted for exhibition four of her canvases, a unusually large number considering the competition for this coveted venue.²⁴⁶ In late April of 1927 after her visit to Carmel she exhibited at the Third Annual of Berkeley’s All Arts Club with fellow Carmelites DeNeale Morgan, Celia Seymour, Hamilton Wolf and Jessie Short-Jackson.²⁴⁷ She arrived in Palo Alto late that May to assemble at the Stanford University Art Gallery her one-man exhibition with thirty-four of her oils – her fourth solo show at that venue – to decidedly positive reviews in the press.²⁴⁸ That Gallery’s director, Pedro Lemos, arranged for the entire exhibit to become a traveling show through the northern Western States. When her Stanford show closed on July 3rd, she rushed to the Laguna Beach Art Association where she joined other members in donating her art to the Benefit Exhibition in support of the building fund for the local art museum. By mid July she was exhausted and managed to retreat to her Carmel bungalow for several days; at this time she displayed three paintings of Camel scenes and one Arizona subject at the private Carmel Art Gallery. On July 20, 1927 she began teaching in Berkeley a summer art class of “landscape, portrait and genre subjects” which culminated on August 16th with a public exhibition of her students’ work.²⁴⁹ One of her promising students, Rudolph Shafer, left that summer to continue his studies in New York City at the Art Students League.²⁵⁰ For reasons discussed forthwith, Jennie made only the brief July visit to Carmel, instead of her previously announced stay from mid August through the fall, and remained in Berkeley where she painted and contributed to several

exhibitions, including the California State Fair. She did not return to Carmel until October. Jennie ended 1927 on a high note when she and Hamilton Wolf gave lectures at the William Merritt Chase Memorial Exhibit in the Oakland Art Gallery; both were former students of Chase in New York.²⁵¹

In the “interregnum period” between the last Annual of the Arts and Crafts Club in the fall of 1924 and the opening of the Inaugural Exhibition of the CAA in October of 1927 there was a decided drop in the quantity of artists visiting Carmel. When they did come, they stayed for far shorter periods without the inducement of the famous Annual. Finn Frolich lodged for several weeks in early 1925; Franz Bischoff spent part of each summer between 1925 and 1928 at the Maurice de Haaff cottage in the Eighty Acres tract of Carmel.²⁵² Bertha Stringer Lee and Louis Sharp lingered for only two weeks in July of 1925.²⁵³ That September R. Clarkson Colman moved from Laguna Beach to Carmel, but within two years tired of the latter and left.²⁵⁴ Also in 1925 Arthur Hill Gilbert briefly visited and bought property in the Eighty Acres tract, which he later decided not to build on, and Arthur Hammond permanently left Carmel for the East Coast. In March of 1926 Maynard Dixon stayed for less than a week.²⁵⁵ Blanding Sloan and his wife, now regular spring-summer residents, sought to revive the town’s flagging spirits and brought their San Francisco puppet production to the Golden Bough Theatre. There they performed the highly acclaimed *Rastus Plays Pirate* between April and July. Unfortunately, some in the community found the oblique sexual references and social satire inappropriate for young adults and the Sloans made no further attempts at live theatre in Carmel.²⁵⁶ In May of 1926 the artist couple, Elizabeth and Samuel Theobald, painted and exhibited, but departed when they found the colony had no suitable organization for artists.²⁵⁷ At this same time Pierre Matisse, the son of the famous French Fauvist Henri Matisse, made a quick and “unofficial visit” to the Pacific’s “most famous art colony” and was diplomatically obtuse in declaring Carmel’s “primitive life” charming; he never returned to the hamlet as he promised.²⁵⁸ One of the few bright spots in the spring of 1926 was the Soap Sculpture Contest which attracted such eminent participants as William Silva, Ira “Rem” Remsen and Jo Mora as well as the attention of the Bay Area press.²⁵⁹ The artist Mildred H. Collyer arrived in January of 1927 for a brief stay and was followed in the summer with short visits by Mary Curtis Richardson, Orrin White, Clara McChesney and Martin Konopackie.²⁶⁰ Many of the visitors and residents of the art colony were deeply shocked in July of 1927 when the highly respected Jo Mora was so humiliated by the scandal involving Carmel’s new public library that he felt compelled to publish on the front page of a local weekly a detailed explanation that exonerated him of any misdeeds.²⁶¹ The controversy began years earlier when the probated will of Ella R. Harrison left a bequest to build a library as a memorial to her husband, the California Supreme Court Justice Ralph Chandler Harrison. The executors of the will chose Jo Mora to design the structure. Soon a faction of interested “artists” and other citizens circulated a petition that nominated the local architect C. Sumner Greene for the job. The quiet debate turned loud and ugly when Mora’s competence was publicly challenged. Bernard Maybeck became the compromise choice and the library was finally completed in 1928. This fractious display within the art colony came at the very moment when a determined group of painters was about to organize the CAA.

There are two frequently repeated assumptions about the CAA: first, that it was casually born in early August of 1927 as a result of the “optimistic” description of the Laguna Beach Art Association given by Ada B. Champlin to a group of local artists at Grey Gables; and second, that the CAA, despite various financial vicissitudes, simply blossomed into the thriving organization that

we have today.²⁶² However, the facts offer a picture of a sharply divided organization which in its early years nearly collapsed on several occasions. It should be remembered that the CAA did not incorporate for six and half years, while the Carmel Arts and Crafts Club incorporated as a non-profit within fifteen months after its founding and the Laguna Beach Art Association was incorporated twenty-one months after it was established. The antecedents of the CAA can be traced back to events that occurred several years earlier.

The full monetary and psychological impact of terminating the Annual Exhibition of the Arts and Crafts Club was not felt until the late summer of 1925.²⁶³ The art community was alarmed by the noticeable decline in the sale of paintings and by the first threats from Cornelius and Jessie Arms Botke to move permanently from Carmel. W. L. Overstreet, editor of the *Pine Cone*, penned on September 19th this front-page editorial:²⁶⁴

What Carmel Needs: A GENERAL ART GALLERY

One of the first questions asked by travelers who come here for a limited time is: "Where can I see the work of your artists?" They are referred to the various studios, search for them, often do not find them, and give up. An up-town gallery, open all day, would be not only an attraction, but would give an impetus to the sale of pictures.

A week later Jennie Cannon published a lengthy reply to Overstreet in that same weekly. After reminding her readers that she has been an "intermittent visitor" to Carmel since 1897 and often a summer resident she bluntly attributed the failure to establish a local art organization to personal feuds, squabbles over juried exhibitions and the brazen selfishness of each artist:²⁶⁵

. . . . We all do know there are enough artists painting in the locality – why then is the organization weak? Each artist rides his own horse, and looks neither to right nor left. It is each for himself and the devil for all – is it not? Harnessed for team work, what a caravan they could haul!

I have been four years a member of the Laguna Beach Art organization. Why did I join? Because Laguna has a constant exhibit, every canvas of which changes every two months. There is a curator present, a small admission is charged which does more than pay the director – and they sell the works not only of Laguna artists but such stray Californians as myself who belong really in Carmel or Berkeley.

Now the Laguna Beach artists do not all like one another – but they overlook small things in order to achieve big. Not everyone in Laguna paints well. They have the same problems of keeping out bad work and keeping good feeling meanwhile that Carmel does. In a room one-third as large as the Arts and Crafts hall they have made in ten years an international reputation. Why? They have pulled together. They have their work up and every stranger that enters Laguna Beach pay ten cents at the door, and now they are building a fine new art gallery. Why do not Carmel artists get busy and do the same?

Jennie, perhaps better than anyone else in the Carmel art colony, understood the difficulties of forming an organization of artists. She personally witnessed the founding of the first Berkeley art colony as well as the People's Art Guild in New York City and understood the reasons for their failure. In 1918 she summered in Laguna Beach, carefully followed the establishment of its local Art Association and became in 1921 a life member.²⁶⁶ She was a prominent co-founder in 1923 of the California League of Fine Arts in Berkeley. As early as March of 1924, when she published her illustrated article on the history of the Laguna Beach Art Association for Bay Area readers, it was apparent that she viewed that organization and its by-laws as a model for Carmel: "The members of the Laguna Beach colony have accomplished what the artists of Carmel have failed to do. I mean the crystallization of their united forces into an organization that operates, not spasmodically, but all year round in supporting a permanent display of the best that is produced in their own

colony."²⁶⁷ W. L. Overstreet, who feared for the survival of the Carmel art colony, also admired Laguna Beach and published in October of 1925 an excerpt from the journal *Laguna Beach Life* which resoundingly confirmed, despite rumors to the contrary, that all its residents were committed to the completion of their new art gallery.²⁶⁸ This flurry of comments on an art association for Carmel was followed by a year and a half of stony silence, at least in public.

This unusually quiet period was punctuated by a mildly scandalous event in the art colony. In early 1927 George Seideneck was arrested for cutting down two pine trees on public land near his property in violation of the 1917 Municipal Ordinance No.7 which required a permit from the Carmel Board of Trustees for such actions.²⁶⁹ This matter was settled at Carmel's first jury trial that attracted a "big audience that packed the city hall and its corridors." It was conducted in "an entirely credible" fashion and ended in the prompt conviction of the obstinate Seideneck who was compelled to pay a fine of ten dollars. The artist publicly declared to the delight of many that "if the trustees object to my taking down this tree you can tell them to go to hell."²⁷⁰ In his weekly *Pine Cone* editorial Perry Newberry noted with a certain ironic glee that it was Seideneck who recently appeared before the Carmel City Council to demand that merchants be prevented from removing trees on Ocean Avenue; one of those merchants served on the jury that convicted the artist.²⁷¹ Two months later in a peculiar *mea culpa* Seideneck published on page one of the *Pine Cone* an article in which he decried the needless felling of so many trees for sewer work.²⁷²

It was decided after extensive private negotiations to establish an art association in Carmel in the summer of 1927. By mid April Jennie Cannon had arrived in Carmel for a well-publicized ten-day visit.²⁷³ On April 20th she wrote a two-page letter to her son, George, who was about to join his mother in Carmel and was requested to bring from Berkeley needed items for their home on San Carlos Street.²⁷⁴ She added this curious postscript: "I learn that Mr. Lemos finally acceded to my pleadings to be our president – on condition we resolve the jury issue, but I will not attend the meeting planned for July as some may resent my interference – Miss Culbertson and Miss Champlin will carry the torch." This run-on sentence is ripe with information. Jennie's well-documented activities in Carmel are littered with secret deliberations, but she *never* acted unilaterally. It is certain that fellow artists Josephine Culbertson and Ada B. Champlin endorsed her talks with Pedro Lemos who was Jennie's long-time friend. For a new organization in need of star power in its most conspicuous office Lemos was a perfect choice. He had been both the Instructor of Decorative Design and the Director at the San Francisco Institute of Art prior to his appointment as head of the Stanford University Art Gallery. In addition to being an acclaimed artist, articulate lecturer and curator of numerous exhibitions, he had published monographs on art and was the long-serving editor of *The School Art Magazine*, a post which constantly put him into contact with influential people across the country. He was adored both by Carmel's business leaders and its art colony for his sensitive and tasteful development of store fronts. In addition, he owned a Carmel home at Seventh Avenue and Casanova Street which he and his family visited seasonally.²⁷⁵ Negotiations evidently slowed when Lemos insisted on jury-selected paintings at exhibitions, the same issue that had plagued the now defunct Arts and Crafts Club Annual. By mid March these private talks must have taken a positive turn for he wrote to Perry Newberry that "I hope before many moons to be even more of a Carmelite."²⁷⁶ Since Lemos had been developing property in Carmel for several years, it seems unlikely that he is referring to the further expansion of his real estate interests. Jennie spent most of May in Berkeley where she made the final

preparations for her month-long one-man show at the Stanford University Art Gallery. In Palo Alto during June she had plenty of opportunities to work out the final details for Lemos to assume the presidency of the CAA. She planned to spend the first half of July at Laguna Beach to exhibit at its benefit show for the new art gallery, briefly stop in Carmel and then return to Berkeley. It was assumed that Culbertson and Champlin could persuade a sufficient corpus of artists to join the new association and dissuade potential rivals of Lemos from seeking the presidency. The two women were under additional pressure that June when the Botkes carried out their threat and permanently moved to southern California, an act that confirmed to some that the art colony was doomed.²⁷⁷ Lemos arrived in Carmel by mid July, when he undoubtedly met with Cannon during her short stay; for unexplained reasons the initial meeting of the CAA was postponed to August 8th.

On Friday, August 5, 1927, the *Pine Cone* published in an inconspicuous corner of its “Artists and Writers” page the first and only announcement of this meeting:²⁷⁸

The artists of Carmel and vicinity are invited to the studio of Miss Culbertson and Miss Johnson, corner of Lincoln and 7th, on Monday afternoon next at four o'clock, to discuss the advisability of forming a Carmel Art Association, with a permanent gallery, open to the public every afternoon. Come and express your views either for or against.

On the other side of this same page Ada Champlin wrote: “I hope . . . that Carmel may soon have an art gallery similar to the one sponsored by the Laguna Beach Art Association.” When the *Pine Cone* announced the formation of the CAA the following Friday and published a summary of the poorly-attended August 8th meeting, it was apparent that it was held not to debate the “advisability” of forming an organization, but to stage a vote by supporters who had already decided the issue.²⁷⁹ The most complete catalogue shows that there were only twenty-four attendees:²⁸⁰

Eleven Female Artists

Eva B. Adams
Rose Campbell
Ada B. Champlin
Josephine Culbertson
Ida Johnson
M. DeNeale Morgan
Isabel L. Nicholson
Catherine C. Seideneck
Celia Seymour
Elizabeth Strong
E. Grace Ward

Seven Male Artists

Homer Emens
Charles C. Judson
George Koch
Pedro Lemos
Ralph D. Miller
Clay Otto
George Seideneck

Six Non-Artists

Katherine Ball
Sarah Deming
John W. Hopkins
Beth Ingalls
Mrs. J. A. Jackson
Mr. W. Seivert Smit

At a time when over one hundred professional artists lived on the Peninsula only eighteen attended the meeting and none were from Monterey! One of those present, Charles C. Judson, had his home in Pebble Beach. John W. Hopkins, who resided in Monterey, was a retired art teacher from the Boston public schools and once taught at the Pratt Institute, but he never exhibited on the Peninsula.²⁸¹ Curiously, Sarah Deming, who was the current president of the Carmel Arts and Crafts Club, attended despite the poor opinion that some held of her organization.²⁸² Many artists may have supported the goals of the new CAA, but decided not to attend the meeting where the outcome was a *fait accompli*; others cautiously chose to wait and see what eventually resulted. This carefully orchestrated meeting, which was chaired by Culbertson with Lemos in the post of “secretary,” adopted verbatim the preamble of the Laguna Beach Art Association as its own: “To advance the knowledge of and interest in art; to create a spirit of co-operation and fellowship between painter and public.”²⁸³ The *Pine Cone* reported that “the original plan [for the CAA] was

fostered by Mrs. J. Vennerström Cannon” and that “the unanimous decision of those present” favored a permanent art gallery in central Carmel.²⁸⁴ The group decided that the Arts and Crafts Clubhouse could host the early CAA exhibitions, but it was unsuitable as the permanent venue which Clay Otto was elected to find. When the assembled realized that artists from the Peninsula’s largest city were absent, they resolved: “as soon as the organization is on its feet, there will be an arrangement made whereby the Monterey artists may join it, exhibit their pictures and have a definite part in the program.”²⁸⁵ They declined to call the new organization the “Peninsula Art Association” under the bizarre pretext that it would be confused with the region directly south of San Francisco. The group obviously wanted to keep the spiritual heart and administrative control of the CAA firmly in Carmel. As this assembly, which began at four p.m., quickly and intentionally approached the supper hour Culbertson adjourned by scheduling the next meeting for the following Monday and appointing without debate Lemos and Champlin as the sole members of the “constitution committee.” This calculated move allowed Lemos to compose the specific requirements for juries to select all exhibited paintings. Knowing full well the divisive nature of the art colony Culbertson and Champlin chose to control carefully the outcome of this first meeting, but they gradually lost control of the agenda. With only a few exceptions all CAA meetings through 1929 were held at Grey Gables, the Culbertson-Johnson studio.

The second meeting of the CAA opened on Monday, August 15th, and immediately elected Lemos as president and W. Seivert Smit as treasurer, but deferred the selection of the other officers and the board of directors until later. Evidently, the proposals for a constitution generated “aggressiveness” and “plenty of argument,” especially with the issue of juries. On this subject Lemos and Champlin sharply diverged with the latter favoring a plan that allowed every CAA artist to exhibit regardless of the quality of work submitted. The majority rebuffed Lemos’ more strident proposal that juries be empowered to reject all inferior work and voted that the board of directors should select the art gallery’s curator. The latter was empowered to organize all exhibitions and display for sale at least one painting from each member, “selected by a jury or the curates.”²⁸⁶ In other words, they instituted the same procedure that had been practiced at the Arts and Crafts Club Annuals and the one that had angered so many of the professional artists. The choice of a gallery would be deferred for future discussion. The majority at this second meeting agreed that the CAA should remain independent of any other organization and that all Carmelites could join with various classes of membership from junior to patron-life members with a class of “honorary members” for non-Carmelites. Artists or “active members” were to pay annual dues of one dollar. Lemos, evidently feeling betrayed at the outcome, departed Carmel prematurely for his scheduled visit to “the Navajo country in New Mexico” and was conspicuously absent from **all** subsequent CAA meetings.²⁸⁷ On August 21st Florence Lehre, art critic at *The Oakland Tribune*, congratulated “Jennie Vennerström Cannon and Miss J. M. Culbertson” for taking “definite steps” to establish the CAA and thus prevent “Carmel’s threatened downfall.”²⁸⁸ A few weeks later in the *Tribune* H. L. Dungan declared: “Credit is due to Mrs. J. Vennerström Cannon, artist of Berkeley and Carmel, whose suggestions were instrumental in bringing about a realization of what all Carmel has felt the need of for years – a permanent art display of local artists.”²⁸⁹ The Laguna Beach Art Association reportedly regarded Carmel as its “sister art colony.”²⁹⁰

The third meeting of the CAA on Friday, August 19th, was attended by several more artists and chaired by Culbertson in the absence of Lemos. The group elected Henry F. Dickinson as the

first vice president, Culbertson as the second vice president and Ida M. Curtis as secretary.²⁹¹ For several weeks during Curtis' absence Edith G. Ward acted as "secretary pro tem."²⁹² The first two members of the board of directors were selected: Jo Mora and George Seideneck. This conclave discussed methods for a "membership drive" and postponed the selection of an art gallery. On Monday, August 29th, the fourth CAA meeting decided on a rented room in the Seven Arts Court Building at Lincoln Street and Ocean Avenue as the "temporary art gallery" which Seideneck, W. Seivert Smit and Homer Evans were to decorate and equip with new lighting. In the absence of a full board of directors Miss Culbertson appointed committees to select the gallery's curator, to solicit new members and to handle printing and advertising in addition to finances.²⁹³ Committee members included the above mentioned as well as Paul Mays, Ada Champlin, Rose Campbell, Isabel Nicholson and Sarah Deming. Curiously, Henry F. Dickinson resigned his post as first vice president for reasons not disclosed in the press and was replaced by John W. Hopkins.²⁹⁴

Under the page-four heading "Artists Do Business in Businesslike Way" the *Pine Cone* summarized the fifth CAA meeting on September 5th with a sugar coating that could not hide the disappointment of many.²⁹⁵ It was succinctly noted that Hopkins chaired the meeting in the continued absence of Pedro Lemos. Various committees reported and there was continued debate on the suitability of two different exhibition spaces at the Seven Arts Court Building. Despite a month of frequent meetings and constant publicity the CAA treasury had a mere seventy-three dollars with a total of five "sustaining (non-artist) members" and just nineteen artist members, only one more than the eighteen artists who attended the first meeting! The advertising and membership committees continued to believe that the distribution of "circulars" was the best way to expand the organization. An advertisement in the *Pine Cone* encouraged applicants for CAA membership to apply to Alberta Spratt. In that same newspaper there was a conspicuous and lengthy assessment of three simultaneous Carmel art exhibitions which included the well-known British artist W. C. F. Gillam, Moira Wallace (now a rising star in the San Francisco art world) and the paintings from Elizabeth Dickinson's classes.²⁹⁶ The day before the fifth CAA meeting these shows were all held at the Arts and Crafts Clubhouse, a venue that had not seen art exhibitions for some time. Was this an attempt to persuade the new art association to select the Clubhouse for its gallery as was originally agreed to at the inaugural CAA meeting on August 8th? At this point Culbertson privately feared for the survival of the organization and opened regular correspondence with Cannon asking for her advice.

The sixth CAA meeting on Monday, September 12th, had several surprises. Under the substitute chairmanship of Hopkins, who was now performing all the duties of the president, it was decided to complete the board of directors with the election of Homer Emens and Sarah Deming. The latter was chosen because of her administrative experience and her control over the Arts and Crafts Club; it was tactfully decided to bring a potential rival deeper into the fold and encourage her cooperation. Deming was authorized by Hopkins to engage a curator for the CAA gallery once that space was selected.²⁹⁷ It was reported that only "several new members had been added" and that the treasury had just ninety-four dollars, which was still insufficient to cover the overhead of the gallery. The majority voted that sustaining, patron and life members along with their guests should not have to pay the mandatory ten-cent admission to the gallery. Culbertson read into the official minutes of this meeting one of the letters from Jennie who congratulated the members for promptly organizing the art association and made several suggestions, only three of which were quoted in

the authorized summary of the meeting: place a guest book in the gallery, publish the names of visitors in the local press and stage uninterrupted exhibitions at two-month intervals to maximize exposure and sales. All three were standard practices at the Laguna Beach Art Association.

When the *Pine Cone* reported that the “informal meeting” of CAA members on September 19th at the Seven Arts Court decided on the larger second floor gallery in that complex for a rent of forty dollars a month, it also advertised on the same page a new exhibition at the private Carmel Art Gallery which included works by Alan Cram, Isabel Nicholson, A. Harold Knott and Jennie Vennerström Cannon.²⁹⁸ Everyone was acutely aware that the CAA had not scheduled its first exhibition and some began to doubt the viability of the organization. The next official CAA meeting on September 26th, which only thirteen members attended, made some progress by appointing Miss Catherine Corrigan as its first curator. After considerable debate it was decided not to offer her a regular salary due to an embarrassing lack of funds, but to pay her with a twenty-five percent commission on all sales.²⁹⁹ Those present formally approved the renting of the larger gallery, but failed to pass a ban on smoking in that venue. Again at that meeting the only letter read into the official minutes was from Jennie Cannon. Part of that correspondence recounted that she was able to enlist through *personal contacts* “eight associate and active members from Berkeley” for the CAA, including the one-time Carmel resident, Hamilton Wolf. This was more new members than had been collected in Carmel during the past three weeks!

Decisive measures taken at the October 3rd CAA meeting dramatically reversed the fortunes of the fledgling organization. Following Cannon’s lead the membership committee “agreed to go to every artist on the Peninsula and ask for support.”³⁰⁰ They extended “charter membership” until November 1st and opened it for the first time to “all of the Peninsula artists.” After it was decided to launch the CAA’s Inaugural Exhibition on October 15th the applications for membership dramatically increased. Ralph D. Miller, Homer Emens and Charles C. Judson were appointed to hang the paintings.³⁰¹ Beyond the twenty-five percent commission for the curator, it was decided to subtract an additional five percent from the sale of all art for the maintenance and rent of the gallery.³⁰² When the Kingsley Art Club of Sacramento asked to stage an exhibition of CAA artists, the request was sent to Corrigan and Lemos. On the official notice for the opening of the CAA art gallery was the list of elected officers with the name of the president, Pedro Lemos, prominently at the top.³⁰³ The only problem was that Lemos had not been seen in Carmel since August 15th and many outside the CAA were beginning to wonder why.

At the next CAA meeting on Tuesday, October 11th, the plans for the Inaugural Exhibition were finalized. The chairman of the advertising committee, George Seideneck, sent out over five hundred invitations and was requested to invite the Japanese Consul of San Francisco, Tarao Kawasaki, to lecture before the organization. The wives of many important Peninsula artists, some of whom included “Mesdames” William Watts, Charles C. Judson, Percy Gray, John O’Shea and Louis Legendre, volunteered to serve on the “reception committee” as official art gallery “hostesses.” The exhibition space was provided with a pot-belly stove and burlap wall coverings on which to hang paintings. It was unanimously decided to prohibit members of the association from using the gallery “as a place to hang out” and to change the start of the fiscal year for the CAA from August to January “to avoid conflict with government taxes.”³⁰⁴ The next issue of the *Pine Cone* declared in banner headlines on the front page: **THRONGS VIEW PAINTINGS BY CARMEL ARTISTS AS NEW GALLERY OPENS DOORS.**³⁰⁵ The excited overflow crowds spilled

into the Seidenecks' studio, which adjoined the gallery, and congratulations were offered to all involved in the undertaking. For the entire run the gallery remained open "every afternoon from two to five." More than sixty paintings were displayed.³⁰⁶ Of the forty-three contributors, most had exhibited previously with the Arts and Crafts Club, including such well-known names as William Adam, Robert Balfour, Jennie Cannon, Josephine Culbertson, Percy Gray, Charles Judson, Ralph Miller, Charlotte and DeNeale Morgan, Myron Oliver, John O'Shea, the Seidenecks, Elizabeth Strong and William Watts. The thirteen CAA members who were contributing for the first time to a collective exhibition in Carmel were: Rose Campbell, Theodore Criley, Homer Emens, Robert Foster Flint, Edward Fristrom, Medita Kellett, Louis Legendre, William Long, Gene Baker McComas, Jo Mora, Alberta Spratt, Paul Whitman and Stanley Wood. In addition to Jo Mora, six of the others had either established or were about to establish significant careers. The Kansas-born Theodore Criley studied in Germany, Chicago and Paris before he moved to the Carmel Highlands in 1917. Here he painted provocative "Modernist" landscapes and portraits in both oils and watercolors; his constant socializing and emotional volatility limited his output. In 1915 Homer Emens arrived in Carmel bringing his reputation as one of New York City's top theatre designers; he quickly endeared himself to the small community where he painted theatre scenery, exhibited his popular seascapes and served as an officer of the CAA. Gene Baker McComas, wife of the famous watercolorist, studied art under Xavier Martinez in Berkeley, lived the gilded life in Pebble Beach and moved from a modest career in the early 1920s to become a successful and very innovative artist in the late 1930s. The Gilroy-born Alberta Spratt studied at the San Francisco Institute of Art and settled in Carmel by 1924; she was widely respected as one of the more extreme Modernist painters and by the mid 1930s was known for her intense wildflower studies in watercolor. Paul Whitman first studied art in St. Louis, moved to Carmel in 1926 and continued his training with Armin Hansen. He became an accomplished and award-winning painter, lithographer and etcher. Stanley H. Wood was born in New Jersey, received a degree in architecture from the Drexel Institute of Philadelphia and studied art in France with George Plowman in 1919. When he moved from San Francisco to Carmel in 1926 he was recognized as one of the country's preeminent watercolorists. His reputation, built on stunningly executed paintings of non-sentimental and often challenging subjects, grew unabated for the next decade and made him, along with Armin Hansen and William Ritschel, one of the most widely recognized Carmel artists. A superb example is his surreal study of the *Purple Hills – San Jose Canyon* (Plate 26b).³⁰⁷

On Monday, October 17th, the CAA again met at Grey Gables and heard reports on its successful show. J. B. Salinger, art critic for *The Argus* and *San Francisco Examiner*, reportedly praised the event and promised future publicity; similar admiration came from Florence Lehre of *The Oakland Tribune*.³⁰⁸ The meeting decided various committee assignments, including the replacement of Ada Champlin who "is away for the winter." Members approved a petition to restrict the height of buildings in Carmel and voted for a monthly members' dinner organized by Lillie May Nicholson and Mrs. David Ball.³⁰⁹ Several specific suggestions regarding the display of art at the gallery were not acted upon before the meeting's end. From the very beginning Culbertson and Champlin had carefully composed the summary of every CAA meeting that was published in the *Pine Cone*, always cautious to avoid mention of the absent president, Pedro Lemos. What the Inaugural Exhibition boldly advertised was the serious split in the ranks of Peninsula artists over the issue of juries. Not only had Lemos, the CAA president, refused to submit his work to the

Inaugural Exhibition, but many of the area's eminent artists boycotted, including Armin Hansen, William Ritschel, Ferdinand Burgdorff, E. Charlton Fortune, Arthur Hill Gilbert, Charles Hudson, Edith Maguire, Francis McComas, Mary Ross, William Silva and the three Bruton sisters. The CAA exhibit displayed too many inferior works and a number of the highly respected first-time exhibitors joined the boycott for succeeding shows, including Roberta Balfour, John O'Shea, Percy Gray, William Adam, Gene McComas, Jo Mora and Stanley Wood. In fact, the average number of artists participating in each of the subsequent CAA exhibitions between December of 1927 and June of 1929 was just twenty-three, almost half the number of participants in the Inaugural Exhibition. Although Jennie Cannon and DeNeale Morgan privately supported Lemos' views on jury selection, they continued as regular exhibitors in the expectation that reforms would be adopted.

At this critical moment Lemos decided to use the carrot-and-stick approach. He dispatched a letter that was read during the October 24th CAA meeting. Therein he endorsed the proposed exhibition of Carmel artists in Sacramento under the sponsorship of the Kingsley Art Club and suggested that the same show open on May 27, 1928 at the Stanford University Art Gallery, a venue where all group exhibitions were habitually juried.³¹⁰ Desirous of publicity and acceptance beyond the Peninsula the members debated the necessity of juries for "outside exhibitions because the reputation of Carmel as an art center would rest largely on the quality of the show sent out." A "straw vote" was almost unanimous in approving jury selection *for outside exhibitions only*; that motion was formally approved at the next meeting. The members decided not to impose "a set of standards" on CAA displays in Carmel: "Because the constitution of the organization allows no jury to select paintings for local exhibitions this organization was started as a purely commercial affair, and for that reason it was decided that every artist in Carmel who desired would be allowed to exhibit in the gallery."³¹¹ With this resolution the members publicly admitted to a dual standard and knowingly permitted the display of work in Carmel that was not worthy to be seen elsewhere. For Lemos it was a minor victory that offered hope of further reform.

The dinner meeting of the CAA on November 7th at the Pine Inn again was conducted by vice president Hopkins in the absence of Lemos and opened with the surprise announcement that Mrs. Nellie Comstock, the mother-in-law of George Seideneck, had donated a five-hundred-dollar "Liberty Bond" to the building fund for a permanent CAA Gallery.³¹² Treasurer W. Seivert Smit reported that the Association had two hundred and fourteen members, primarily non-artists, and had paid all of its bills, but he made no mention of any surplus. After adding an additional level to categories of paid membership, it was agreed that the curator, Catherine Corrigan, would be "added to the list of officers to countersign checks." She was now required to charge each artist one dollar when a new painting was hung in the gallery. A week later the CAA's board of directors rescinded this last measure as objectionable.³¹³ According to the summary in the *Pine Cone*, the only letter read at the November 7th meeting was a message of "good will" from Jennie Cannon "who is credited with the idea of starting the organization of artists in Carmel."³¹⁴ This seems highly unnecessary since Cannon had reportedly sent identical messages to two previous meetings. Edited from the upbeat published summary were probably her recommendations on juried exhibitions and the terms for a reconciliation with Lemos. Shortly after the reading of this letter Preston W. Search, a highly regarded musician and long-time friend of Cannon, addressed the same meeting with "a very forceful talk, and commended the club in choosing Pedro Lemos as president." No other CAA officer had ever been supported in such a manner and it may indicate a

growing and open antagonism toward the absentee president. About a week later at the next CAA meeting an “effort” was made to invite Lemos to lecture in Carmel; he politely declined the offer.³¹⁵ Just after Thanksgiving Cannon abruptly traveled to Carmel and stayed not in her own bungalow, but with Josephine Culbertson at Grey Gables.³¹⁶ Both women were desperately seeking to resolve the crisis that was threatening the future of their beloved CAA.

When the Second Exhibition of the CAA opened on December 3rd, the meager list of eighteen contributors publicly proclaimed the artists’ boycott. The four new CAA contributors were modest figures in the art world: Elliott R. Bradley, Pauline Pierson, José Ramis and Elmer Schmidt.³¹⁷ This show of “Thumb Box Sketches,” which was designed to take advantage of the popular Christmas shopping season on the Peninsula, was a financial failure. The Third Exhibition started on January 7, 1928 and received only a few lines of publicity with no list of contributing artists.³¹⁸ At the CAA meeting on January 23rd the organization congratulated itself on providing a reception for Jo Mora’s brother, the visiting New York artist Luis Mora, who made appreciative comments on the local art scene.³¹⁹ The focus of this meeting was the debate over jury selection for local CAA exhibitions. Charles Judson, “who had previously manifested some doubt as to its feasibility,” purposed a “motion for a non-juried gallery.”³²⁰ Josephine Culbertson, who had apparently equivocated on this issue for several months, seconded the motion which “won by a healthy margin.” Many believed, as Luis Mora supposedly claimed, that the CAA did not attract enough paintings to justify the culling by a jury; others deemed that the display should represent all Carmel artists for the convenience of discriminating shoppers. That the issue of juries had been a constant thorn in the CAA’s side was made obvious in the *Pine Cone*: “now that one of their major problems has been disposed of – that the gallery shall be non-juried – they can go forward steadily.”³²¹ Unfortunately, we do not have the names of the artists who voted for juries. One can assume that the less established artists or those whose style was regarded as “old fashioned” supported the non-jury side, fearing their displacement by more successful painters. A few “Modernists” undoubtedly sided with the majority because the conservative block in Carmel had a reputation, according to Alberta Spratt, of “discouraging the vital, growing, striving art of today.”³²² For the victors Pedro Lemos did not pose a problem as he quietly continued to avoid Carmel, but they underestimated the tenacity of Jennie Cannon who believed that the type of juries used by the Art Associations in Laguna Beach and San Francisco were vital for the success of the CAA.

The CAA had to deal with the abrupt resignation of the gallery’s curator, Catherine Corrigan, who was unable to pay even her personal expenses on the commissions from the inadequate quantity of art sold. On February 10, 1928 the *Pine Cone* announced her replacement, Miss Katherine (Kitty) Smit, who was the daughter of the CAA treasurer and apparently far less demanding of monetary recompense.³²³ Her father had just borrowed over two hundred and fifty dollars against the Comstock “Liberty Bond” just to cover expenses and had to employ “every economy.”³²⁴ To increase sales and attendance at the gallery the CAA began a “meet-the-artist” tea every Sunday afternoon for an admission of twenty-five cents. As if to pour salt on an open wound the *Pine Cone* placed on the same page with the above announcements a list of the current exhibitors at the Del Monte Art Gallery which included the names of many of the Peninsula luminaries who declined to exhibit at the CAA: Armin Hansen, Gottardo Piazzoni, Margaret Bruton, Evelyn McCormick, William Ritschel, E. Charlton Fortune, Albert Barrows, the Botkes, Phillips F. Lewis, William Silva, Rowena Abdy, Lucy Pierce and Isabel Hunter. With great fanfare the CAA

meeting of February 14th nominated twenty-five artists who, after several rounds of secret ballots, were to choose seven jurors. The latter were to select thirty paintings for the traveling exhibitions to Sacramento and Palo Alto.³²⁵ By the March 6th CAA meeting the financial situation had grown so dire that suggestions were solicited for making money “outside the routine business of sales.”³²⁶ The one bright spot was the CAA’s Fourth Exhibition in March and April of 1928 which attracted twenty-nine exhibitors because the thirty juried paintings for the traveling exhibition were to be chosen exclusively from the entries. Among the first-time contributors to the CAA were Helen Cheney Brown, Edda Maxwell Heath and E. McNulty³²⁷ as well as three notables from Berkeley: Gene Kloss, Frederick Lamb and Jessie Short-Jackson. The latter was one of the founding artists of the Carmel colony and widely respected in the community. Frederick Lamb was born in New York City to a family of renowned stained glass makers and educated on the East Coast and in Paris. By 1900 he had established an international reputation as a fine painter and art community activist. In 1922 he moved to Berkeley where his Tonalist landscapes were praised. The Oakland-born Gene Kloss studied at the University of California under Perham Nahl, Charles Judson and Ray Boynton and became one of the nation’s preeminent etchers. From 1925 to the early 1940s she often summered in Carmel between trips to Taos and successfully sold her prints of the Carmel area and the Southwest at the CAA (Plate 12a).³²⁸ She was the only female artist on the Peninsula to receive the rank of National Academician (“N.A.”) from the National Academy of Design.

Apart from the vicissitudes of the CAA, life in the art colony continued. The former center for art exhibitions and one of the most valuable cultural symbols in Carmel, the Arts and Crafts Clubhouse, was sold along with the Arts and Crafts Theatre to the local Abalone League in February of 1928.³²⁹ The League promised to continue with theatrical productions at both venues. That same month the village received another surprise with the exhibition of “French Modernist” etchings, lithographs and woodcuts which contained in part the works of Camille Pissarro, Paul Gauguin, Pablo Picasso and Henri Matisse.³³⁰ This show was held at Roger Sturtevant’s Studio, previously Johan Hagemeyer’s digs at Mountain View and Ocean Avenues, and also offered prints by several prominent Americans such as Arthur Davies. The Laguna Beach painter and potter, Lillian F. Ferguson, arrived in the early spring of 1928 for a month of sketching and family visits; R. Clarkson Colman decided to return to Carmel after nine months in La Jolla and Julie M. Morrow, the “distinguished New York painter,” came for the summer season.³³¹ The established artists were preoccupied with their exhibitions outside of Carmel and Jennie Cannon was no exception. Between February and April of 1928 she contributed to seven shows, including the: Regional of the American Pen Women, Spring Annual of the Laguna Beach Art Association, Fiftieth Annual of the SFAA and the Del Monte Art Gallery.³³² What occupied most of Jennie’s time in the early spring was the one-man show with fifty-five of her paintings at Berkeley’s Casa de Mañana Gallery. This exhibit received rave reviews and most importantly attracted her habitual patrons from across the country who purchased with only a few exceptions the entire show:³³³

Of the noted people who have visited the exhibit to see Mrs. Cannon’s work are Cleveland Dodge of New York, O. Crouse of the Cincinnati Steel Corporation, Miss Elizabeth Lowden, daughter of Governor Lowden, Count Minetto, whose wife was Miss Swift of the Swift Packing Company, and Mrs. D. T. MacDougal of the Carnegie Institution.

Individual purchases by tourists or casual collectors were important, but it was the patrons, who eagerly collected an artist’s work over the years and donated these pieces to museums, that

became the mainstay of a painter. Jennie also found the time to visit the Sixth Annual Exhibition of the Society of Six at the Oakland Museum where she was undoubtedly welcomed as one of their earliest supporters and the “godmother” who gave the group its collective name.

On May 1st Jennie arrived in Carmel to spend the early summer and attend the opening of the CAA’s first celebrity exhibit, “A Special Exhibition of Paintings by F. Luis Mora of New York,” which attracted substantial crowds during its two-week run.³³⁴ Cannon, whose only immediate commitment outside of Carmel was her submission to the Oakland Annual in June, turned her attention to the issue of juries at the CAA. In her letter of May 5, 1928 to her eldest son, Milner, she offers some friendly but apparently unsolicited advice on the affairs in his household and mentions that she is about to “approach Mr. Newberry and other newspaper people to save our art association from itself.”³³⁵ Believing that private negotiations had lost all value, she contacted at least two influential Peninsula journalists and carefully explained how damaging a non-jury policy had become. Cannon’s case was strengthened by the opening on May 17th of the CAA’s Fifth Exhibition whose organizers could find only fifteen contributors, a number that set the lowest mark for participation over the next three decades. The only bright spot were the new contributing members: Cornelius Botke, August Gay, Marylka Modjeska and Lawrence Parker.³³⁶ The first two names had been important exhibitors at the Arts and Crafts Club; Parker was a minor figure at best. The Illinois-born Modjeska, an extremely talented etcher, was trained at the Chicago Art Institute under George Senseney and Blanding Sloan and in Paris. Although she made her permanent home in Tucson, her popular prints were exhibited nationally. The day following the opening of the Fifth Exhibition Perry Newberry went on the offensive:³³⁷

Another unjuried exhibit of paintings of the Carmel Art Association opened yesterday. Only the hastiest view of them was possible before the *Pine Cone* went to press, but that was sufficient to show that the question of Jury or No Jury should again be carefully considered by the artists, and determine upon a basis which will include consideration of the viewing public as well as the exhibition and members of the association.

It was proved that pictures have their appeal to the people when during the two weeks of the F. Luis Mora exhibit, 487 visitors viewed the paintings. We prophesy that no such number will attend the present exhibition in six weeks. Works of varying degrees of merit cannot be hung in the same hall without a loss of interest to the viewer. It is impossible to arrange an unjuried show to advantage, and the good painting suffers because of its neighbor. Democracy is a grand thing, but it should be minimized in a public art gallery. For the good of the gallery, of the Art Association’s reputation, and of Carmel’s fair name as the home of Art, there should be a standard of merit for the pictures shown.

What must have compounded the mortification of the CAA members was the simultaneous editorial in the *Monterey Peninsula Daily Herald* which concluded: “as long as the Association gallery is open to all comers, and the exhibitions unjuried, the strongest painters of the Peninsula will not exhibit.”³³⁸ In defense of the CAA policy Edith Grace Ward, an artist of modest abilities, wrote a somewhat cynical rebuttal in the *Pine Cone* to both critics:³³⁹

Can’t a “good painting” hold its own beside a poor one? We would suppose it would be the poor one that would get the fade-away. Cannot the work of the “strongest painters” hold its own when placed beside John Brown’s and Mary Jones faithful efforts? We have seen a mastiff and a poodle side by side, but the mastiff never seemed to shrink in majesty. Our pity goes to Mary Jones and John Brown, compelled to compete with better work.

Or is the reputation of “strongest painters” so insecurely established that they fear John Brown and Mary Jones may “cop” something of their manner and soon outrival them?

Poor music and good on the same program – which has the halo?

Poor actors and clever ones – which gets the applause?

Poor pictures beside good ones! Is this where artistic license gets in the deadly work and upsets the law?

Let's be frank. It is true that unjuried exhibits do not make for as strong a show as juried exhibits if the jurors have good judgments. There is the tale of Sargent, himself, in the height of his fame, having a picture that had been requested, turned down because the jury did not know the picture had come in, and had not read the signatures on the paintings.

But a juried show always makes an exhibition of more uniform types – for after all, each of us considers good what he likes.

Do the “strongest painters” fear competition with their weaker brothers? Or –

Have they not enough pictures painted to be able to spare one for the Association gallery? Or –

Must we fear that they really have not the welfare of the Peninsula Art Association in their hearts?

In other fields, the welfare of all builds, in the long run, the welfare of each one.

Newberry responded to Ward in the same *Pine Cone* issue:³⁴⁰

So E. G. Ward cleverly puts the argument – which is in another column and set forth fully – of the unjuried exhibition. Her questions answer themselves. There is but one answer, of course. Yet, nevertheless, for the audience, the concert has been spoiled by the poor music on the program, the play is ruined by poor actors, and the exhibition is made a misspent hour because of the poor pictures.

And the *Pine Cone* is speaking – was speaking last week – for the audience; or the spectators, rather. The people who are invited to view exhibitions of paintings have rights too. They should not be subjected to the depression that comes from viewing really bad art, even if there hangs beside it something of worth. It is impossible to close one eye, using only the other. A feeling of physical discomfort comes to some people when good canvas has been daubed to make pigments into mud.

It is not a matter of “liking” one picture, and not “liking” another. That happens frequently when the two have equal merit. The disliking which comes from bad art, or from untaught and uninspired painting, gives the viewer a definite sensation of repulsion. He dreads to go again to the place where his nerves have been assailed.

Nor is it a matter of “the welfare of all” that every member of the association should be given equal rights in this gallery of theirs. We know of no exhibitions where the master and students of his beginner's class hang canvases side by side. . . .

Without any announcement in Carmel Pedro Lemos and his family departed San Francisco on May 19th for a long-planned six-month sabbatical in Europe.³⁴¹ The very man who linked his participation in the CAA with the practice of juried exhibitions now retired from the fight. It is not known whether Lemos sent a letter of resignation to the CAA or continued to ignore them.

Although the Association had functioned since August 15th without his physical presence, its members now decided to search for an interim president and refused to respond to Newberry's second editorial or change its policies on juries. By late May the CAA had chosen as president George Seideneck who in August was elected to that post for a full year.³⁴² Jennie Cannon, a non-sense and stalwart figure with a considerable reputation in the art world, now risked losing the good will of the very organization that she was responsible for creating with her blunt open declaration. This was the first time that any professional artist had publicly supported juries in Carmel and she did so in the *Pine Cone* on June 15, 1928 under the bold caption: **JURY OR NO JURY? FOR ARTISTS OR AMATEURS?.**³⁴³

If human beings were capable of learning from other people's experience, the world would be a different place than it is.

Theoretically, “No Jury” seems the best thing, actually it fails for two reasons:

First: every artist has among his canvases certain ones he can not make up his mind about. A “No Jury” exhibit affords him a chance to test the doubtful canvas on the public. He wants to note the reaction. Nine artists out of ten send doubtful canvases to a “No Jury” show.

Second: in every community a good per cent of the population are so-called amateurs in their profession. In a “No Jury” show these all come to the surface, for the lid is off. The amateur canvases on the wall drive away the professional painters every time.

The Carmel Art Association has only to ask itself, shall we spend our money keeping open an art gallery for artists, or for amateurs?

DeNeale Morgan backed Cannon unequivocally and was quoted a week later in the *Pine Cone*.³⁴⁴

As regards the Art Association and the Gallery, she [Morgan] is emphatic in her opinions. She believes that the shows there should be juried, and that once or twice a year there should be an unjuried show. Out of the 60 artists painting more or less good pictures here she says that there are only 27 willing to show their work in the gallery. She feels that if all the good artists would send pictures to the exhibits, there'd be no room for poor pictures, but the good artists will not subject their work to poor company.

On July 2nd the regular monthly CAA members' meeting debated the jury policy, but postponed a vote on the issue until the following week.³⁴⁵ At that time it was decided that all CAA exhibitions would be juried beginning in September; as a display of solidarity every artist was asked by George Seideneck to contribute to “the last jury free show,” the Sixth Exhibition of the CAA, which opened on July 15th.³⁴⁶ The call for reconciliation was well received and the thirty-five contributors made it the most successful show since the Inaugural Exhibition. Seven of the exhibitors appeared for the first time at the CAA: Edwin C. Arnold, Ada Champlin, Alice Comins, Wickliffe Covington, Mary Palmer, Esther Stevens, Fannie Winchell and Burton S. Boundey.³⁴⁷ The most important of the new contributors was undoubtedly Boundey who was born in Wisconsin and educated in both Chicago and New York City. He moved to Monterey in 1926, studied with Armin Hansen, was a prolific exhibitor locally and generously supported the Peninsula art colonies. According to the *Pine Cone*, this Sixth Exhibition “on the whole, is a conservative one. There is no example of the ultra modern, and the hanging committee has used fair judgment in the disposal of the 61 paintings and various etchings.”³⁴⁸ It officially closed on August 15th and drew nearly a thousand visitors.³⁴⁹

The CAA's “annual meeting” on August 13, 1928 elected officers for the coming year and launched plans to enlist new members as well as a fund raising drive. It was agreed that an expanded gallery would provide space for special exhibits and crafts. In addition to George Seideneck as president, the newly elected officers were as follows: Josephine Culbertson as first vice president, Catherine Corrigan as second vice president, Lt. Col. R. H. Stillman as financial secretary, Homer Emens as recording secretary and W. F. Norman as treasurer. On the new board of directors were: Myron Oliver, E. Charlton Fortune, Charles C. Judson, James F. Hopkins and George Koch.³⁵⁰ After so many months of struggle the jury policy was again changed so that two of the six bimonthly exhibitions were now to be “jury free;” the CAA members still “expected that this policy will bring in some of the well known artists on the Peninsula.”³⁵¹ At this time the total CAA membership was listed at one hundred and fifty; the vast majority of these were non-artists.³⁵² After the August 13th meeting something went terribly wrong. The Seventh CAA Exhibition in early September received almost no publicity in the press, probably because this first juried show was boycotted by Modernists and artists suspicious of recent changes.³⁵³ Seideneck was blamed; his response was summarized in the press, but it did not alter the debate.³⁵⁴

Carmel is enjoying and disagreeing about its first juried art exhibit. . . . Juried shows, it may be assumed, are an outgrowth of the wars between conservatives and moderns that have gone on since time began. The moderns of today become the old fogies of tomorrow. Neither has ever won and both survive.

Modernists among artists representing any of the relative arts are as a rule secessionists rather than remain to suffer what is to them suffocation. Whereas the moderns are apt to back the non-juried shows, the more conservative element is more often in favor of juried shows. . . .

The debate in our own locality as to jury or no jury is one that has shaken localities wherever there is creative work being done and shown. . . . A jury free show is safe only when those wishing to exhibit their work are worthy of the name of artist.

Mr. Seideneck realizes that a jury has a responsibility that it must remain open minded, without prejudice, and a well balanced group. . . .

George Seideneck has great aspirations for Carmel's future as an art center. He would like to see some day a gallery of generous proportions and more than one department, that will include a room for moderns, another for the work of more or less conservative artists, a salesroom, a department where materials are sold, and an active encouragement of art among the children

That fall the Eighth Exhibition of the CAA received no publicity, undoubtedly due to an embarrassing low number of contributors. During the four-month run of these last two exhibitions there were only one thousand visitors, equivalent to nine callers a day.³⁵⁵ The issue of juries was to plague the CAA for decades. In December of 1947 the *Pine Cone* announced: "Juried shows, a point of bitter controversy throughout the 20 years of the CAA's existence, will become a reality in January when the first juried show following the adoption of the *new policy* will open."³⁵⁶

Through the summer and fall of 1928 the Carmel art colony was marked by several triumphs and saddened by at least one tragedy. The art of two important "progressive" painters was featured in separate exhibitions. The CAA Gallery opened a solo show on July 1st of thirty canvases by E. Charlton Fortune and included as well a collection of her black and red charcoal portraits. This traveling exhibition received an enthusiastic review in *The Carmelite*.³⁵⁷ On July 21st at the new Johan Hagemeyer Studio-Gallery Henrietta Shore's first one-man exhibit in Carmel was accompanied by a program of modern Norwegian music. Overflow crowds and the art editor of the *Pine Cone* admired this "unusual show," she had to wait two years for her next Carmel exhibition at the Denny-Watrous Gallery.³⁵⁸ Shore spent much of the summer of 1928 in Carmel. Early that September an auto collision in Berkeley injured both Ida Johnson and Josephine Culbertson; the latter's broken right arm never healed properly and eventually had to be amputated.³⁵⁹ The two artists were in the University town for the opening of Jennie Cannon's enlarged studio-gallery which was sumptuously fitted with oriental rugs, European "pewter, brasses, bagdada tiles and sculptures;" her atelier had sufficient space to stage shows of visiting artists.³⁶⁰

The CAA was confronted with its greatest challenge in 1929. When its non-juried Ninth Exhibition opened in early January, only twenty-three artists contributed a total of eighteen etchings and twenty-five paintings; not one of the exhibitors was a new face. The disappointment in these numbers compelled Culbertson to pen a letter to the *Pine Cone* editor entitled: "A Plea for Art."³⁶¹ With a certain degree of envy she congratulated the Laguna Beach Art Association on the opening of its new fire-proof gallery, lamented the rented space of the CAA Gallery and warned that the CAA needed a larger membership to carry it through the calendar year. On the page following Culbertson's letter Perry Newberry supported her call for a permanent Carmel art gallery that will be "a distinct business asset."³⁶² Carmel's other major paper, *The Carmelite*, echoed

these sentiments.³⁶³ The Tenth Exhibition of the CAA opened in March with another inadequate list of contributors that again totaled just twenty-three. The one new exhibitor of any stature was the rapidly rising star, Arthur Hill Gilbert. He had recently moved to Carmel with his extensive record of exhibitions and awards; in March of 1930 he was made an “Associate” (“A.N.A.”) of the National Academy of Design. Gilbert’s soft representational style was enthusiastically praised by critics from New York to Los Angeles and his canvases were highly desired by collectors. The CAA staged in early May at its Gallery a solo show of “mystical paintings” by another local artist, Foster Flint.³⁶⁴ On May 17, 1929, one day prior to the opening of the Association’s Eleventh Exhibition, this announcement appeared in the local press: “From now on the pictures to be hung in exhibits will be passed upon by the four judges who are: Myron Oliver, Arthur Hill Gilbert, Josephine Culbertson and Ida M. Curtis.”³⁶⁵ The actual number of contributors was a disappointing twenty-four and in that group only three modestly successful artists, Mary C. W. Black, Isabel Nicholson and Richard Taggart, were first-time exhibitors.³⁶⁶ Apparently, some in the art community believed that the jurors had been too compassionate in accepting lesser canvases. The Twelfth Exhibition opened on June 29th and had an entirely new jury: William Ritschel, Mrs. William C. Watts (wife of the famous watercolorist), John O’Shea, George Koch and Paul Whitman.³⁶⁷ Either due to a boycott by local artists or to the rigorous culling of inferior work only eighteen artists participated. The two new contributors, who hitherto had abstained from all CAA members’ exhibitions, were Ritschel and E. Charlton Fortune. Unfortunately, their star power could not save the day. Sales were below expectations, although attendance at the close of the exhibit in August was one thousand and seventy-eight, more than the total number of visitors for the entire period between January and June of 1929.³⁶⁸

The rented CAA Gallery was not self-sufficient and was becoming an unbearable burden on a few artists and their supporters. Among the artists two factions offered different solutions to the ever-pending issue of a permanent art gallery. One favored a building officially linked with the city of Carmel and the other a purely CAA-owned complex. The un-credited editorial of May 24, 1929 in the *Pine Cone* suggested that its readers give “careful consideration” to the establishment of a “municipal art gallery” that would be a city institution on donated land to be used primarily by the CAA.³⁶⁹ On June 21st Jennie Cannon entered the fray and penned in the *Pine Cone* her response entitled “Who Made Carmel?”³⁷⁰ After summarizing the history of the Carmel art colony and the national attention it received through Sydney Yard, William Ritschel and William Merritt Chase, she congratulated the members of the CAA somewhat obsequiously for two successful years and called on Carmel’s “generous citizens” to support the diligent art community in its own efforts. Cannon avoided all mention of a municipal art gallery. The “annual meeting” of the CAA on July 8th was loaded with surprises. George Seideneck was removed as president and he received neither congratulations nor even a minor post in the organization. The new officers were chosen: William Ritschel as president, Charles C. Judson as first vice president, Isabel Nicholson as second vice president, Homer Emens as financial secretary and Josephine Culbertson as secretary.³⁷¹ The six members of the board of directors were: Mary C. W. Black, Burton Boundey, Foster Flint, Ada Howe Kent, Arthur Hill Gilbert and George Koch. They reduced the annual dues paid by artists from five to two dollars – in response to numerous complaints – and then dropped this bomb:³⁷²

This coming season, however, will see the association give up its gallery in the Seven Arts building. Rental costs and the salary of a curator have been a heavy burden.

By closing the room at Ocean and Lincoln streets the association hopes to learn whether or not there exists in Carmel a genuine desire for a permanent art gallery.

Just after the CAA vacated its rented gallery Arthur Hill Gilbert occupied that same space for his public atelier. In quick response an un-credited *Pine Cone* editorial sympathetically summarized the plight of the artists and offered important details on the proposal that the CAA made to the Carmel City Council.³⁷³

When at its annual meeting the Carmel Art Association determined to close its art gallery at the end of the present exhibit . . . it was an occasion for surprise and almost dismay in Carmel. . . . Why should this venture of a semi-business nature have failed?

. . . . They held the hope, dispelled by two years of effort, that the sales would materially reduce the burden of overhead. That the artists should carry the deficit, after having made the paintings which were the interest of the gallery, was unfair. . . .

No wonder they finally rebelled. The art gallery was helping sell real estate in Carmel, was bringing here people who bought groceries and all sorts of merchandise, was one of the attractions which increased the value of everyone's holdings, yet the artists were left to foot the bills. No other town seemed so callous. Laguna Beach had built a \$30,000 building for its gallery. Here, with more and better artists working, the suggestion of the donation of a site by the city was met with antagonism. Did not the town care that the painters, etchers and sculptors remained in residence?

We will find out just how Carmel feels about us, these artists said. If the gallery has no value to the town, it had better be shut down. If it has a value, let the town help pay the cost. The Carmel Art Association had made the City Council a proposition, that if the town would allow them permission, they would erect a gallery upon Block 69 without cost to the city, raising money for the buildings themselves. Furthermore, if it was necessary under the laws, there would be no selling of pictures in this gallery, making it merely an exhibition room. That seemed a fair offer, especially as the city's Block 69 could not, under the law, be used for any kind of municipal building.

. . . . No city councilman is going to be allowed to pass up the Art Association request for a site without explanation. The public will demand a vote upon the proposition, and the reasons given for the vote, yes or no. . . .

Some in the art community were annoyed with this proposal because they specifically wanted an exhibition space to sell their work, others were angry at the CAA's intimidating tone which eventually encouraged the City Council to call their bluff and decline the offer. On August 4, 1929 Florence Lehre in her *Oakland Tribune* art review column expressed outrage at the treatment of artists in Carmel and quoted extensively from this *Pine Cone* editorial.³⁷⁴ Cannon, who had seen the galleries of the first and second Berkeley art colonies ruined by city administrators who censored works and introduced a half dozen other "arts" to vie with the paintings for space and availability, came forward and directly challenged the plan for a CAA gallery associated with the city. She again used the Laguna Beach Art Association as a paradigm for Carmel in her letter to the *Pine Cone* entitled **HARD WORK AND PERSEVERANCE WILL WIN AN ART GALLERY**.³⁷⁵

. . . . the artists of Laguna Beach did not receive the gallery as it were on a golden platter handed them by the citizens of Laguna. More than any other class of people, the artists built the new gallery – and they bought the lot on the point, by a slow persistent process, inch by inch as it were, covering a long period and with several auctions sales of their own paintings. It is well also to note that the Laguna Art Association began long after Sydney Yard started one in Carmel and had its gallery [the Arts and Crafts Clubhouse]

When the truth is told about the Laguna art gallery, it will be this: Had there not been an Anna Hills in Laguna there would be today no gallery on the point. I was her guest for several days. Her first thought in the morning and her last at night was of the art

association. She has been a most untiring president. The word “defeat” is unknown to her. She does the work of three people. . . .

Had there been anyone in Carmel when Sydney Yard passed away who would carry on as Anna Hills has done in Laguna, there would be standing somewhere in Carmel a \$50,000 gallery by this time

. . . . We do not want gifts from anyone; we want to work like beavers. Let us make up for lost time. The Laguna Beach artists in running an art association and maintaining a gallery have the market for the work where they live. Carmel artists could have the same.

An editorial under the title **When They Know What They Want**, probably composed by Jennie’s friend Perry Newberry, gave unhesitating support to her call for self reliance and suggested that any community support should be contingent on the regular use of juried exhibitions.³⁷⁶

Jennie Vennerström Cannon, artist, a member of the local Art Association, has a ringing challenge to the artists of Carmel somewhere in this issue of the *Pine Cone*. She is not an advocate of the “sit-down-and-wait” policy of securing an art gallery.

We agree with her quite a lot. If the Carmel Art Association could decide upon some definite proposition for which the artists as well as the laymen could work, there are enough of us to put it across. Until they know definitely what they want – or more fundamentally, know what policy they intend to pursue – it is obvious that we laymen can do nothing to assist them.

There has been a gradual strengthening of the personnel of the Art Association during its two years of life, and the result has been shown in the later exhibitions. It is in such displays that Carmel has interest. Exhibits which include amateur work, and – worse – the daubs of puerility are of no value to the town. It is better that Carmel be empty of any gallery than to show to intelligent visitors some of the canvases that have been hung. If the town is to help in housing the work of the artists, the artists must promise a fair degree of selection by jury.

Josephine Culbertson, speaking on behalf of the faction that favored a city-associated gallery, brusquely challenged Cannon’s letter and the above editorial by pointing out that the CAA’s constitution required the maintenance of “a permanent art gallery” and that some non-juried exhibitions are justified out of fairness to the public. She noted that the rented CAA gallery was an inadequate space and too expensive. Culbertson added:³⁷⁷

I do not agree with Mrs. Cannon, that “we do not want gifts from any one.” The artists certainly cannot pay \$30,000 for a gallery without outside aid. It is a project that the whole town should be interested in, and it should be considered a community affair.

Now could you please tell us how we could have a more definite proposition to work for – and how we could have pursued a different policy? We are ready to receive suggestions, and will be glad to work with a sympathetic public toward our goal – an Art Gallery that Carmel will be proud of.

Culbertson so misjudged the importance of juries that the *San Francisco Chronicle* took up the Carmel debate and reprinted the caustic assessment that appeared in *The Carmelite* :³⁷⁸

“Why don’t you publish critical comment on your own Carmel art exhibits?” People want to know. We have asked a number of excellent artists to write such comments for us. In they go to the art gallery; and ten minutes later out they come.

“Sorry, but I really can’t do it,” says each one in his turn. “You see, a lot of these fellows are my friends . . . and you know . . . if anyone were really to publish the truth”

About this time Viola Worden, the celebrated instructor of creative dance, permanently left Carmel and publicly declared that the town was artistically “dead.” The *Pine Cone* responded with a lively editorial in defense of Carmel, but the community knew there was some truth in Worden’s invective.³⁷⁹ Soon the whole country was exposed to Carmel’s debate when one of the most

popular national art journals, *The Art Digest*, extensively quoted the *Pine Cone* editorials and letters by Cannon and Culbertson under the heading **Carmel Quake**.³⁸⁰ With the exception of a “members’ picnic,” the CAA had become a non-entity by the early fall of 1929.³⁸¹

As the CAA stumbled, events in the art community continued unabated through 1929. When Alberta Spratt returned from New York to her Carmel home in January, she discovered that “two flappers” had discovered her house key, habitually placed by long-time Carmelites under the doormat, and proceeded over many weeks to trash the place and steal some of her jewelry and even her school diplomas.³⁸² One of the more gratifying developments was the lengthy stay of the Modernist Ray Boynton. For many years he had joined Hamilton Wolf and William Gaw on regular visits to the colony, but now, while on sabbatical from the California School of Fine Arts between October of 1928 and June of 1929, he established a Carmel studio where he painted some large commissioned murals “for the building of the Associated Charities of San Francisco.”³⁸³ In addition, he taught informal classes in encaustic painting and counted among his students Alberta Spratt. Boynton and his wife gave several well-attended dinners for visiting celebrities and invited a number of the “progressives” from the local art community, including Stanley Wood, Mr. and Mrs. George Blackman and Edward Weston.³⁸⁴ Exhibitions in Carmel that spring and summer included a show by William Silva at his own Carmelita Art Gallery, “camera studies” by Edward Weston at the Johan Hagemeyer Studio-Gallery and “photographic portraits” by Roger Sturtevant in the foyer of the Golden Bough.³⁸⁵ In June the Harrison collection of etchings, which counted among its many prints a work by Albrecht Dürer and “a priceless first state of Rembrandt,” was placed on display in Carmel’s public library.³⁸⁶ Early that summer Blanding Sloan and his wife, Mildred Taylor, returned to their Carmel home on one of their regular visits and were joined by members of his puppet theatre who resided in the company’s rather shabby van. They were sumptuously entertained first by Lucille Kiester and then by Alberta Spratt. This visit, which was described in detail by Perry Newbery, led to the creation of Carmel’s first international film festival by Sloan’s wife, Mildred, who arranged for the showing of two art house movies: *Hollywood Extra – 6439* and *The Light of Asia*. The latter, an Indian film on the life of Buddha, created “an artistic sensation in the capitals of Europe. Mildred Taylor is endeavoring to make it possible for this film and others of the same caliber to be shown in Carmel.”³⁸⁷ Another event of note during the summer of 1929 was the opening of a tea room and art gallery by the Kleinschmidt sisters who had permanently moved to Carmel from Berkeley. They were renowned for their miniatures painted on porcelain and fine leather work.³⁸⁸ Early that fall amid “rumors” that the CAA would open another gallery and reorganize itself as a “union of art interests,” C. M. Sayers began his seasonal class in woodworking at his Ocean Avenue studio.³⁸⁹ At the Myra B. Shop in October of 1929 the first in a series of small displays featuring Carmel painters was held; among the exhibitors were DeNeale Morgan, Ralph D. Miller, Foster Flint and George Seideneck.³⁹⁰ That November Boynton exhibited his Carmel paintings, including his “spectacular” *Virgin of Point Lobos*, at San Francisco’s Galerie des Beaux Arts.³⁹¹ Despite his absence from the Peninsula the Carmel press continued to report on Boynton’s artistic development, exhibitions and life in Berkeley.³⁹² Jennie Cannon garnered much attention in the colony with her December 1929 *Art Digest* editorial that attacked the East Coast art establishment for its overt discrimination against Pacific Coast painters, specifically the absence of the latter at the 1929 Carnegie International Exhibition.³⁹³ She bluntly contrasted the “well-behaved” standardized art in the East with the highly “creative work” in the West.

Cannon, like many of the Carmel artists, had commitments outside of the Peninsula to exhibit and teach. At her Berkeley studio-gallery she opened her six-week spring session for the “intensive study” of landscape painting and art appreciation; by mid June she had arrived in Carmel to prepare for a rigorous schedule of shows.³⁹⁴ Of her fifteen public exhibitions in 1929, which encompassed events at the Berkeley Art Museum, Laguna Beach Art Association, de Young Museum, Oakland Art Gallery, Casa de Mañana in Berkeley and Galerie des Beaux Arts, by far the most important was her one-man show of forty-four oils at San Francisco’s East-West Gallery.³⁹⁵ Cannon decided to make the event a “retrospective” that combined her earliest Impressionist work with her most recent Post-Impressionist, semi-abstract and Expressionist compositions. The critics, depending on their contemporary or conservative orientations, were either wildly enthusiastic or very disappointed. The show was extraordinarily popular and the unusual step was taken to extend the exhibit. Aline Kistler, art critic for the *San Francisco Chronicle*, was so passionate that she penned two separate lengthy reviews, portions of which are cited below:³⁹⁶

. . . . The greater and best part of Mrs. Cannon’s work is strongly Western in spirit, presenting landscape and marine studies in and about Carmel, Inverness, Montara, La Jolla and Arizona desert scenes Her work is characterized by a richness and fine understanding in the use of color to convey the varied and changing effects of light, shade and atmosphere Her compositions are bold and large in conception, and worked up with a sure sense of their impressionistic and dramatic values.

. . . . the outstanding canvases in the present showing are the figure and interpretative paintings. Some of the most striking of the paintings reflect Mrs. Cannon’s interest in the Indians with whom she was familiar during the time she lived in Arizona.

“Los Penitentes” is an unusual conception of sorrowing people grouped at the foot of a crucifix in the heart of the desert. “Indian Nativity” is another canvas in which Mrs. Cannon has carried her interpretation of the elemental Indian into a spiritual generalization. The warm contrasts of the unusual color in these paintings make one pause and give them more than ordinary consideration.

Mrs. Cannon is not consistent in her painting. She has many ways of expressing herself and seems to have many different things to say. Even in her landscapes the approach and mood are often diverse. At one time she is engrossed with the rich patterning of the interior of a mission – at another she indulged in glaring contrasts of land and water. In one painting she is clearly literal – in another she has recorded abstractions or spiritual interpretations.

The exhibition itself is a tribute to the energies of this painter who has worked in her Berkeley studio for years with a steadily increasing public response. Friends and associates have combined to do her further honor by giving receptions in the East-West gallery during the showing. . . .

The *San Francisco Examiner* followed suit:³⁹⁷

. . . Jennie Vennerström Cannon is imbued with a feeling of decorative values that are associated with primitive cultures. In the Amerindian pageants and ceremonies, for instance, she finds considerable incentive for painting. Brilliant pristine colors glow forth from her canvases. The paintings, of course, must be looked at from some distance, so that the eye can combine the colors that have been applied in splashes.

This is carrying out of the manner of the modernists, although in the sense that the nineteenth century movement in painting is known as modernistic. In some of these paintings, genuinely esthetic stimulation has been produced by the use of broken colors, proper composition, suggesting movement in form and tones of hues.

Only Florence Lehre of *The Oakland Tribune* was decidedly sarcastic in concluding that one of the region’s important artists had “tragically” fallen:³⁹⁸

It was a pleasant exhibition through which a thread of tragedy was woven. Why?

The collection of Cannon paintings showed clearly that Mrs. Cannon is by nature and by the greater part of her practice a sincere impressionist – a capable exponent of the broken-color-poetic-type. The tragic element of which we speak is manifested in the fact that Mrs. Cannon has at times felt called upon to forsake her impressionistic convictions in favor of what must be false gods to her. As long as she is true to herself . . . her work is delightful and, we feel, sincere. When she bows to current fashion by attempting the so-called “modern approach” to expression, her efforts are less satisfying. . . .

For the sake of Mrs. Cannon’s future as an artist, we can but hope that she may revert to her own ideals having tasted of whatever she may have found useful or “mode-ful” from her visits to “the fashion show.”

Her “Arizona Mountains” attests ably to her ability to demonstrate what she can do in an impressionistic way. . . .

Mrs. Cannon’s “El Adobe” is one of the best she has ever executed. Frequently seen in representations in dealers’ shops, about the bay region, it was refreshing to view the original again. . . .

We say again that it lies not in Mrs. Cannon’s inability, but in the fact that here is a person of real talent who, of late, has willfully wandered from the path. We’d like to shout: “Come back.”

From a monetary standpoint the East-West Gallery and Cannon were especially pleased as all but eleven of the canvases were sold. Jennie chose to ignore the conservative critics and pushed her art deeper into the modern aesthetic, relying in part on lithography as an experimental vehicle.³⁹⁹ Within a few years a prominent Parisian periodical would recognize her art as a significant contribution to American Modernism.⁴⁰⁰

In January of 1930 Carmel saw the opening of classes in sculpture and painting at the Forge in the Forest under the direction of William Johnstone, an award-winning former teacher at the Edinburgh College of Art and a current instructor at Oakland’s California School of Arts and Crafts.⁴⁰¹ This hopeful note was countered by Carey McWilliams’ invective in *The Carmelite* where he decried the loss of the real art colony to commercialization and the polluting influx of inferior painters. Naturally, this engendered a heated reply and the whole ugly debate was smeared in the columns of *The Oakland Tribune*.⁴⁰² If Carmel needed further reminding that the local art establishment was in disarray, it came a month later with the Annual of the Santa Cruz Art League which read like a who’s who of Peninsula artists: William Ritschel, James Fitzgerald, William Silva, Arthur H. Gilbert, DeNeale Morgan, George Seideneck, William Watts, Burton Boundey, E. Charlton Fortune, Ferdinand Burgdorff, Armin Hansen and many others.⁴⁰³ When the CAA failed to respond to demands for a comparable show locally, Herbert Heron, the playwright, poet and newly elected mayor of Carmel, reopened in April the long-dormant Carmel Art Gallery, a private venture in the Seven Arts Court Building, and persuaded many leading figures to exhibit.⁴⁰⁴ Among the twenty contributors were E. Charlton Fortune, William Watts, Charlotte and DeNeale Morgan, John O’Shea, Elizabeth Strong, the Seidenecks, Cornelius Botke, Gene Kloss and Blanding Sloan. Two other notable events followed in May with the start of C. M. Sayers’ School of Woodcarving and the creation of the Carmel Academy of Music and Fine Arts.⁴⁰⁵ At the latter DeNeale Morgan was named “Executive Director” of the Department of Painting and both Arthur H. Gilbert and George Seideneck were hired to teach painting. Unfortunately, the Carmel Academy permanently closed its doors eight months later. In June Heron reported brisk sales at his gallery and staged an expanded show adding six new artists: Burton Boundey, Homer Emens, Charles C. Judson, George Koch, Charles B. Hudson and the brilliant etcher, Marylka Modjeska. *The*

Carmelite catalogued this exhibit and in a somewhat backhanded slap at the CAA reported that the “gallery itself, so long needed, is well lighted and most suitable to its purpose; the Herons, at no little expense to themselves, have made a fitting place in which to introduce to the public the work of peninsula and other California artists.”⁴⁰⁶ The whole town was already aware that the Carmel City Council had bluntly rejected “on the grounds of commercialism” the CAA’s request to erect a temporary building for an exhibit at the municipal park.⁴⁰⁷ As if to openly defy the pundits and prophecies of doom for the art colony Ralph H. Johonnot, the long-time Peninsula resident and nationally acclaimed painter, designer and color expert, opened that summer with his wife the first Carmel gallery dedicated exclusively to the display of modern art, furniture, textiles and design.⁴⁰⁸ Johonnot had just completed a series of immensely popular lectures in Carmel and the San Francisco Bay Area and had a substantial following. He offered Carmel its first view of East Coast Modernists. Another positive note that summer was the visit of the eminent Mexican artist, José Clemente Orozco, who consigned a portfolio of his lithographs to the Denny-Watrous Gallery.⁴⁰⁹

Finally, on June 19, 1930 in the first published summary of a CAA meeting in almost a year, it was officially announced in *The Carmelite* that the Association planned to open an exhibition in July at the Denny-Watrous Gallery on Dolores Street, an habitual venue for plays, dance performances and music festivals.⁴¹⁰ In order to attract reluctant exhibitors the members had to swallow a very bitter pill – no doubt demanded by CAA president William Ritschel – namely, the adoption of a juried exhibit:⁴¹¹

A departure is being taken in the selection of paintings to be included in the summer exhibit. Instead of following the usual practice wherein the artists submit work of their own choice, a tentative jury, composed of Mrs. Mary C. Black, C. Chapel Judson and George Seideneck, will visit the studios and select paintings which they consider most appropriate for the exhibit.

The *Pine Cone* summarized the above events and added gratefully that the CAA has returned to “the show business.”⁴¹² That summer’s exhibit, which was the only CAA display in 1930, had its best turnout since July of 1928 with thirty-two contributors, including such prominent names as: Burton Boundey, Jennie Cannon, Josephine Culbertson, August Gay, Arthur H. Gilbert, Charlotte and DeNeale Morgan, William Ritschel, Mary H. Ross, the Seidenecks, Elizabeth Strong and Paul Whitman.⁴¹³ During the CAA exhibit several paintings donated by members were auctioned and earned a total of seventy-five dollars.⁴¹⁴ What was glaringly conspicuous was the absence of so many important Monterey artists, such as Armin Hansen, E. Charlton Fortune, James Fitzgerald and Evelyn McCormick, who just happened to be exhibiting concurrently at the Del Monte Art Gallery with their Carmel counterparts and Ray Boynton.⁴¹⁵ Since two of the three CAA jurors, Judson and Seideneck, had years before voiced opposition to the jury system, potential exhibitors may have seen the present jury as window dressing. Heron’s Carmel Art Gallery continued to function and during the CAA show staged a solo exhibition of the “European & Local Paintings” by Catherine Seideneck.⁴¹⁶ Later that summer a CAA assembly reelected William Ritschel as president and W. H. Normand as treasurer, but selected new officers as follows: Josephine Culbertson as first vice president, Burton Boundey as second vice president, and Nora Nichols as secretary. The only attending members specifically mentioned in the press were Jennie Cannon and Jessie Short-Jackson who both traveled from Berkeley for the meeting.⁴¹⁷ Also that September there was the curious story that made headlines in Bay Area newspapers: **Sick Carmel Learns its Artists Dive in Reservoir: Revelation of City Water Use for Swimming Made to**

Council.⁴¹⁸ The only “artist” to admit publicly to swimming in the town’s drinking water was Paul Whitman. What might have been an amusing prank turned ugly when over two hundred Carmelites, including one hundred school children, were sickened by bacteria in the water. Many residents refused to pay water bills when they had to drink bottled water. Carmel’s major exhibition in the fall of 1930 was the return of Henrietta Shore with a retrospective at the Denny-Watrous Gallery.⁴¹⁹ What also attracted considerable attention in the Carmel press was the CAA meeting on October 23rd at La Ribera Hotel and the strong verbal commitment by many members to establish *soon* a permanent art gallery; Mayor Herbert Heron reportedly encouraged the idea.⁴²⁰ This gathering, which was chaired by Culbertson in the absence of president William Ritschel, paid “special tribute” to two recently deceased members of the art colony, Homer Emens and Theodore Criley. A week later in a studio at the Seven Arts Court Building Heron, George Seideneck and James Gillingham opened the Carmel Crafts Exchange not as “a business undertaking,” but with sales “made on a commission basis and all profits over and above expenses will go to the artists.”⁴²¹ Among the many items offered were screens and lacquered boxes by August Gay, “molded leather” by Catherine Seideneck and furniture by Myron Oliver and George Seideneck. In that same complex the private Carmel Art Gallery opened its November Exhibition of paintings and etchings that included many of Carmel’s best artists as well as “two fine watercolors” by Percy Gray.⁴²² Concurrently, Lucy V. Pierce was holding a one-man show at the Denny-Watrous Gallery.

In January of 1931 the Monterey History and Art Association, Ltd., was officially created and elected several prominent Carmelites to important posts, including Bernard Rowntree as both treasurer and board member as well as Stanley Wood who served on the board and the “art committee.”⁴²³ Also on this committee were William Ritschel, Myron Oliver, E. Charlton Fortune and Armin Hansen. In addition, Burton Boundey was listed as a founding member. At this group’s inaugural meeting Laura Bride Powers functioned as the curator for an exhibition that included photographs by Louis Slevin of Carmel. Soon rumors began to circulate that Monterey’s new Association would offer regular exhibitions of regional painters and many in Carmel continued to question the viability of the CAA which could do no more that winter than offer a “testimonial dinner” for the newly arrived Paul Dougherty and sponsor a lecture on “Modern Art” at the local Woman’s Club.⁴²⁴ In fact, a closely spaced series of events challenged the necessity of even maintaining the CAA whose prime function was to exhibit regional artists. The Gallery of the Artists Guild of America, Inc., opened its doors on Monte Verde Street near Ocean Avenue in the early spring of 1931 with a blockbuster retrospective of Armin Hansen’s work and thereafter displayed primarily Carmel artists.⁴²⁵ The recently redesigned Denny-Watrous Gallery could now run a near continuous series of one-man exhibitions on its walls and continue to use the interior space for performances. Between March and May this venue displayed the works of John O’Shea, John Langley Howard and Aston Knight.⁴²⁶ Over Tilly’s, Carmel’s “first gallery and art shop to be established and operated by noted artists,” opened in June of 1931 under the co-ownership of Paul Whitman, James Fitzgerald, Homer Levinson and Jo Mora.⁴²⁷ This gallery was devoted to the display of works by its four principals as well as other local artists; Armin Hansen eventually replaced Mora as a co-owner.⁴²⁸ In addition, there were well-publicized exhibits at the Carmel studio-galleries of Ruth Waring, William P. Silva, Edda Maxwell Heath and Josephine Culbertson.

Undoubtedly motivated by the sustained pressure of so many displays, the CAA finally made its presence felt with a relatively short members’ exhibition at the Denny-Watrous Gallery

between June 2nd and 16th of 1931.⁴²⁹ The total of twenty-six exhibitors was far below normal, but the outgoing president, William Ritschel, did persuade Paul Dougherty and Armin Hansen to exhibit with the Carmel regulars. Josephine Culbertson could not hide her disappointment and issued this statement: "It is a matter of great regret that we can only have the gallery for two weeks, but until the Art Association can build a gallery of its own, where visitors and residents can always view the work of Peninsula artists, we must take what we can get and be thankful."⁴³⁰ That July the CAA elected its new officers: Arthur H. Gilbert as president, Burton Boundey as first vice president, Ada H. Kent as second vice president, Nora Nichols as secretary and Edda M. Heath as treasurer.⁴³¹ On the board of directors were: William Ritschel, Charles Judson, Paul Dougherty, Josephine Culbertson, George Coblentz, Homer Levinson, Ida M. Curtis and George Seideneck. In addition to yet another membership drive, Gilbert proposed and received unanimous consent for an exhibit that would bring State-wide attention to the Association, namely a joint show with the four local "National Academicians" – William Ritschel, Paul Dougherty, Armin Hansen and Gilbert himself – from August 10th thru 24th at the Denny-Watrous Gallery.⁴³² The habitual sniping at the eccentricities of the art colony and at the ineptitude of the CAA vanished in the overflow crowds and with the *Pine Cone's* "Artistic Triumph" editorial that called this show "a real and solid achievement of the kind which commands attention of all art lovers. . . . a credit to Carmel, and to the organization responsible for it. . . . The Carmel Art Association is entitled to our encouragement and support."⁴³³ Culbertson, eager to build on this goodwill, recommended in an October interview with the *Pine Cone* that the CAA's permanent gallery should be built by the municipality as part of the newly proposed city hall where it "would be a distinct commercial advantage to the town."⁴³⁴ As in the past city officials were decidedly cool to any proposal for direct financial support of the CAA. On November 13, 1931 Carmel's new Sunset School hosted in its foyer gallery a well-attended exhibition of many of the Peninsula's best artists.⁴³⁵ Eleven days later at Grey Gables the CAA opened a one-month show of "Thumb Box" sketches which had a relatively low turnout of twenty-seven contributors. *The Carmelite* lamented the poor public response to all such exhibitions and pointed the finger of blame:⁴³⁶

In the first eight days of the [Thumb Box] exhibit the sales totaled twenty cents – one Christmas card. . . . The [Carmel] Art Association continues to labor under the handicap of an almost exclusively professional membership. Its fullest usefulness in the community will not be attained until the balance shifts; until the preponderance of membership is drawn from the public at large – an end which the Association's membership would welcome enthusiastically. Carmel's supposed "art-center," so far has done next to nothing for its artists.

What that editorial failed to mention was that the Thumb Box show was a non-juried event.

January of 1932 did not begin well. First, there was the peculiar story of how Lincoln Steffens and George Seideneck proposed to "solve the drunk driving" problem in Carmel by redesigning the streets with sharp curves. Seideneck's detailed plans found few converts and became a source of local amusement until this story of "crazy" Carmel was syndicated nationally to dozens of newspapers.⁴³⁷ And then the CAA made the mistake of opening its Sixteenth Exhibition, in large part because the Denny-Watrous Gallery was not reserved and offered a deep discount on the rental. Unfortunately, few artists heeded the call for submissions and at present only fourteen contributors are known in what was a widely ignored show.⁴³⁸ What did attract Peninsula-wide attention that January was the exhibition that immediately preceded the CAA show at Denny-

Watrous, the highly innovative “Portfolio Exhibit” which consisted primarily of “modern” prints and photographs.⁴³⁹ Among the eclectic mix were wood block prints by Paul Landacre and the Bruton sisters, etchings by A. R. Burrell, Armin Hansen and Ralph Fletcher Seymour, lithographs by José Clemente Orozco, Henrietta Shore and Stanley Wood, and photographs by Edward Weston. Despite the critical success and large attendance, sales were anemic. The rest of 1932 saw a dramatic decline in the number of advertised exhibits in Carmel. Although some effects of the Great Depression were apparent in the seaside hamlet as early as 1930, two years later many in the art colony were unable to pay rent or buy food. The sympathetic community instituted a limited “barter system” that allowed artists to exchange their work for basic provisions.⁴⁴⁰ In order to stimulate the local economy the Carmel Business Association created in the spring of 1933 “The Carmel Dollar,” a paper currency designed by Jo Mora and Catherine Seideneck and redeemable only in Carmel.⁴⁴¹ The City of Carmel paid its employees in this script and eventually one thousand of the “Dollars” was placed in circulation, but the plan soon failed for lack of support. Despite the hard economic times the art colony remained ever vigilant against encroaching commercialism and in April of 1932 William Silva, Laura Maxwell and several others threatened the City Council with an injunction to halt construction of tennis courts on the sand dunes north of Ocean Avenue.⁴⁴² In the face of strong opposition the Council rescinded its earlier permit for the project. There was no dearth of eccentrics that spring; a group of “anti-nudist agitators” dynamited Jo Mora’s revealing statue of *Venus* which proudly stood on the terrace of Fred Wermuth’s Carmel home.⁴⁴³ The CAA apparently learned the lessons from the January show and appointed for its “annual” summer exhibition, which opened on June 19, 1932 at the Denny-Watrous Gallery, a decidedly impartial jury: Arthur H. Gilbert, Burton Boundey, William Watts, Ada B. Champlin and Josephine Culbertson.⁴⁴⁴ Only the last two names had previously spoken in favor of non-juried exhibitions. Gilbert had very wisely advertised the composition of this jury and the fact that the four Peninsula members of the National Academy were contributing. Several of Carmel’s prominent Modernists, such as Roberta Balfour and Royden Martin, who in the past had faced discrimination from the CAA’s conservative hierarchy, received a “cordial invitation” from Gilbert.⁴⁴⁵ The result was a record turnout of thirty-seven Peninsula artists, but not the sixty that had been predicted. An editorial in the *Pine Cone* urged the community to view the exhibit and buy the art, but added rather callously: “At a time when the artist is the hardest hit by the general condition of frozen assets, we find the highest standards of art maintained in the show. . . . Which would seem to prove the often-heard theory that . . . a semi-starved condition of the artist is needed for his best work.”⁴⁴⁶ In August the *Pine Cone* ran on the front page the curious story of the Monterey artist, Edith Heron, who was forbidden from painting at the Carmel Mission because so many prior visitors with their easels and chairs wantonly destroyed so many flowers; later her “eviction” was called a misunderstanding, but many artists grew cautious about approaching the church.⁴⁴⁷ Further troubles followed the art community when that same newspaper discontinued without any prior notice its habitual column “Studio Gossip,” a source of information on the activities of artists. That summer Edith Heron was the only Monterey artist to advertise her studio hours in the *Pine Cone*; the vast majority of the Carmel painters declined to do the same.

Far more ominous during the summer of 1932 was the breakdown of that coveted tolerance for diversity which had characterized the colony from its very beginning. In the earliest years of the art colony the literati and artists cooperated to protect their community, but seldom socialized. By

the mid 1920s the younger generation of Carmel artists, who embraced very liberal philosophies, were attracted to and habitually mingled with the new band of radical writers. They joined together in February of 1928 to create *The Carmelite*, a local publication that was offered as an alternative to the stodgy and somewhat conservative *Carmel Pine Cone*. The more cutting-edge artists, such as Alberta Spratt, Jennie Cannon, Roberta Balfour, Ralph Johonnot, Edward Weston, Blanding Sloan and Stanley Wood, contributed art reviews, commentaries and illustrations. In addition to J. A. Coughlin, Sallie Lawrence Hunter and Martin Flavin, other prominent writers on *The Carmelite* staff included Lincoln Steffens and his wife, Ella Winter, both articulate journalists and proselytizing socialists. Among the Steffens' intimate friends were Robinson and Una Jeffers, John O'Shea, Hamilton Wolf, Ray Boynton and Stanley Wood. *The Carmelite* "family" introduced Carmel to some of the most avant-garde European art, including the 1928 show arranged by Galka Scheyer of Paul Klee and the Blue Four, which the old guard "laughed at and wouldn't have thought of buying."⁴⁴⁸ Later they staged exhibits of Dada and Surrealism accompanied by the music of Schönberg. In the summer of 1932 Carmel's young artists and writers were drawn into the mêlée over Ella Winter who was brazenly accused of "spreading communism in the schools" with lectures about her recent trip to the Soviet Union. Her accuser, *Pine Cone* editor Perry Newberry, may have been motivated by Winter's stinging criticisms of his political recommendations and the popularity of *The Carmelite*. Perry also attacked her associates at the liberal John Reed Club, an organization named after the American who participated in the Russian Revolution and penned *Ten Days that Shook the World*.⁴⁴⁹ In the spring of 1932 Winter moved the Club to downtown Carmel, leased the lower floor of Tilly's and opened its "socialist" reading room to the public every afternoon.⁴⁵⁰ That Club was apparently the only chapter in northern California and was characterized by Martin Flavin, Jr., the son of the playwright, as "a perfectly innocent organization, very much like a bridge club or a Shelly club, of literary-minded people with leftist tendencies, who got a kick out of playing with social reform. They . . . certainly never did any harm, as there were only seven members."⁴⁵¹ When several prominent Carmel artists, including William Silva and Austin James, joined Newberry and openly criticized the Club as a bastion of communism, the syndicated *Los Angeles Times* gave them nation-wide publicity.⁴⁵² The controversy eventually subsided, but many of the liberals in the art colony never forgave Newberry and his cronies.

During the meeting of the CAA late that summer, one of the few held in 1932, Boundey was elected president and Gilbert first vice president.⁴⁵³ There was also the announcement that membership had dramatically dropped to only fifty-six: forty-one artists, thirteen associate members and two sustaining members. Trouble in the art community generated two editorials in the *Pine Cone*. The first, entitled "Art and Beef-Steaks," came in October and earnestly suggested that three hundred dollars from Carmel's unemployment fund be given to painters with the greatest need.⁴⁵⁴ In return, the recipients were required to paint at easels outdoors in downtown Carmel to add "atmosphere" and encourage art. This thoughtful proposal failed to garner general support. Two months later in the editorial "On Losing the Artists" the *Pine Cone* felt compelled to challenge the numerous reports in the San Francisco press that many artists and writers had abandoned Carmel.⁴⁵⁵ In a proud display of its artists the CAA opened its Eighteenth Exhibition, the Black and White Show, at the Denny-Watrous Gallery on November 20, 1932.⁴⁵⁶ Considering the time of the year the thirty-six contributors constituted a spectacular turnout which was matched by public enthusiasm. This carefully juried show saw the return of work by long-absent exhibitors August

Gay, Gene McComas and Stanley Wood as well as the arrival of important first-time participants: Henrietta Shore, James Fitzgerald, all three of the Bruton sisters, and especially important, Pedro Lemos, the former CAA president. The appearance of Lemos' work publicly proclaimed that the CAA had finally adopted a jury system equal to comparable institutions in San Francisco.

The first half of 1933 was relatively quiet in the art colony, except for William Silva, Carmel's staunchly conservative painter of national renown, who insisted that the City Council place on the ballot in May a proposal that would maintain a prohibition on the sale and public consumption of alcohol. He bluntly declared: "Those that want liquor can get it in Monterey. Let Carmel alone."⁴⁵⁷ Silva eventually lost. A bright spot was the arrival of artist Howard Jackson who ignored the poor economy and rented the now vacant studio-gallery "Over Tilly's" to teach summer classes in "painting, drawing and water color."⁴⁵⁸ Arthur H. Gilbert taught similar courses that summer.⁴⁵⁹ In early June Jennie Cannon received a short letter from Pedro Lemos with answers to questions on several Bay Area exhibits in the fall and he included this comment:⁴⁶⁰

Your idea to bring up once more the issue of a permanent gallery for the Carmel art association is sensible. Do write to Mr. Newberry. I have a few contacts among real estate people in the town and shall inquire about property.

Her earlier letter to Lemos has yet to surface, but it is clear that she specifically asked her long-time friend about the advisability of writing Perry Newberry, co-editor and publisher of the *Pine Cone*, and have him raise publicly the question of a gallery. She apparently requested Lemos to inquire among his developer-friends in Carmel about the availability of a downtown building for that purpose. Jennie obviously wrote to Newberry for in the editorial section of the June 30th issue of the *Pine Cone* a short notice opened with: **Why Not a Gallery?** This question was followed by the pronouncement that a permanent exhibit of Carmel artists was "of much more value to Carmel than a city hall would be."⁴⁶¹ Unfortunately, it was not possible for Jennie to return to Carmel in the summer due to her cross-country trip and return via Canada.⁴⁶² In fact, she was unable to contribute to the CAA's Nineteenth Exhibition which opened on July 17th at the Denny-Watrous Gallery and was juried by three of the most important artists on the Peninsula: Armin Hansen, E. Charlton Fortune and Stanley Wood.⁴⁶³ In order to attract a large number of exhibitors, this show was the first to invite contributions from CAA members **and** all non-member artists who were seasonal or permanent residents of the Monterey Peninsula. Evidently, there were loud complaints when several of the dues-paying members had all of their submitted work rejected. An editorial in the *Pine Cone* defended the jury and advised the CAA to find more "laymen" to pay dues "to insure the continuance of the high standard of the exhibits."⁴⁶⁴ Regrettably, no list of exhibitors for this summer exhibit has yet surfaced.

Early in the fall of 1933 the Denny-Watrous Gallery staged a solo show of watercolors and oils by resident artist Alvin J. Beller.⁴⁶⁵ Jennie arrived at her Carmel bungalow for the close of this exhibit in October and welcomed, as did most of the art colony, the return of the regular "Studio" column to the *Pine Cone* after a year's absence.⁴⁶⁶ She attended a CAA meeting, voted with the majority to accept an offer of real estate on Dolores Street for a permanent gallery and personally contributed to the "building fund."⁴⁶⁷ The demands of Cannon's one-man exhibition in Berkeley on November 1st, a subsequent show with the San Francisco Society of Women Artists, where she served on the jury, and her commitment to return to Tucson to receive an award in December required her absence from Carmel for several months. The first published description of this

“Permanent Art Gallery” on north Dolores Street appeared in the November 10th edition of the *Pine Cone*: “There are two lots, making 80 by 100 feet, with a studio building having a large gallery and living rooms for the curator or care-taker.”⁴⁶⁸ Later the complex was described as a seven-room building with the main studio measuring twenty four by thirty six feet; both lots were sold together for five thousand five hundred dollars, “less than half of its real value.”⁴⁶⁹ The original studio was built as a large, ornate and carefully planned space for painting and theatrical rehearsals by Ira (“Rem”) Remsen.⁴⁷⁰ After his suicide in November of 1928 the complex remained empty until the following July when it was purchased and refitted by the artist-couple Ray and Dorothy Woodward who were ready to sell in October of 1933.⁴⁷¹ E. Cashion MacLennan described the next assembly of the CAA on November 14, 1933:⁴⁷²

An enthusiastic meeting of the Carmel Art Association was held in Remsen’s studio, attorney [George P.] Ross, now judge Ross, explained to the members present how the purchase could be financed. They decide to go ahead, and Barnet Segal carried on the necessary negotiations.

Edda M. Heath, the CAA’s treasurer, coordinated many of the details of the purchase. Years later she recalled that it was Ross who insisted on incorporation as a non-profit organization to protect CAA members from debt action and to facilitate the issuance of the mortgage for thirty-five hundred dollars.⁴⁷³ In order to prevent the Santa Barbara Loan Association from selling the Remsen-Woodward studio before the CAA was a legal entity, Barnet (“Barney”) Segal purchased the property and passed it on to the Association as a “second mortgage.”⁴⁷⁴ The CAA planned to finance part of the purchase with twelve subscriptions for “associate life membership” sold for one hundred dollars each. In turn, every subscriber would receive a painting valued far in excess of one hundred dollars by drawing lots; the art was donated by the most prominent residents of the Peninsula art community: William Ritschel, William Watts, E. Charlton Fortune, Stanley Wood, Paul Dougherty, John O’Shea, Armin Hansen, Percy Gray, Arthur H. Gilbert, Ferdinand Burgdorff, Paul Whitman and Elizabeth Strong.⁴⁷⁵ The *Carmel Sun* reported that many in the CAA were already planning the renovation and expansion of the Dolores property: “The building will require some remodeling, since the members wish to remove the large window on the north side in order to secure the added wall space and to have a skylight put in to show the pictures to the best advantage.”⁴⁷⁶ At the CAA meeting on December 3, 1933 John O’Shea was elected as president, E. Charlton Fortune as first vice president, Charles C. Judson as second vice president, Josephine Culbertson honorary third vice president, Barnet Segal as treasurer and Nora Grabill and Edda Heath as secretaries.⁴⁷⁷ At this time Nellie Montagu was appointed curator and was encouraged to occupy the apartment in the Gallery with her husband. It was decided that the new Gallery’s Inaugural Exhibition would run from December 10th to January 10th and consist of the paintings already donated for subscribers. In addition, one canvas not larger than sixteen by twenty inches from each CAA member would be hung without jury approval. In order to dispel any misgivings among Monterey artists about the intent of the new Gallery the CAA members issued this formal statement about the definition of “Carmel:”⁴⁷⁸

Carmel means the entire Monterey Peninsula . . . and when art in this region wants a place to present itself to the public, the new studio embraces all the surrounding communities. With this sentiment in mind, the Association looks forward to its biggest year and believes that it will have little difficulty in securing funds to complete payments upon its home when plans are completed for this purpose.

The Inaugural Exhibition was a resounding success with thirty-seven contributors. It was so popular that it upstaged the one-man show at the Denny-Watrous of paintings by the well-known Warren Newcombe. This show had just closed at the Palace of the Legion of Honor and had received stellar reviews.⁴⁷⁹ The art colony was not completely preoccupied with CAA events and in December hosted a grand reception for the renowned Berkeley artist, Laura Adams Armer.⁴⁸⁰

The saga of the Carmel art colony from 1934 to 1955 will continue in Chapters 11 and 14 of Volume 2. In general, the later history of the CAA is one of good management and cooperation. Particular attention will be paid to the incorporation of the CAA and to the ingenious methods devised to enlarge and fund its Gallery, including the famous “picture drawings” and the highly popular Bal Masque at the Del Monte Hotel. Also chronicled are the series of failed attempts to create a municipal Carmel Museum of Art, the success of the Carmel Art Institute under Kit Whitman and Armin Hansen and the resourceful artists that survived the deepening Depression and World War II. Close scrutiny is given to the community’s reliance on federal projects, especially mural commissions funded by SERA and the Public Works of Art Project, as well as the WPA Federal Art Gallery in Carmel. In the 1940s Jennie Cannon published numerous art reviews and articles on the history of the art colony in the *Carmel Pine Cone*. She relished her role as gadfly and on several occasions joined Perry Newberry in raising alarms over the indecent levels of development that threatened the existence of the art community. This is all well-documented in her vast personal correspondence. The constant feud between the old-time Impressionists and the radical Modernists over juried shows and proportional representation at exhibits reached its climax in the late 1940s with some surprising results for the CAA.

Endnotes – Chapter Seven

- ¹ A copy of the “Petition for Incorporation” and a list of the attached signatures were published locally. The total number of permanent Carmel inhabitants was listed at 550 (cf., CPC: August 16, 1916, p.2; November 1, 1916, p.1; Hale, pp.81-85; Clark, p.74; Temple, p.107).
- ² SFC, June 20, 1915, pp.12, 22; cf., MDC, October 21, 1914, p.1; SFC, June 25, 1916, p.21.
- ³ San Francisco’s 1915 Panama-Pacific International Exposition (PPIE) offered a broad spectrum of national and international art, including examples of the Impressionists, Cubists and Fauvists. However, it was not committed to an avant-garde display like the Armory Show in New York. As Nancy Boas has so aptly explained, the Exposition stressed the nostalgic conservatism of the beaux-arts and “was antithetical to the modern aesthetic” (Boas, p.59).
- ⁴ Gray, pp.118-20; Eunice T. Gray, “Chase Summer Art School,” AAN 13, 1914, pp.2-3; Mary DeNeale Morgan, “A Sweet and Human Tribute,” TWP, December 30, 1916, pp.10f.
- ⁵ Roof, pp.246-52; Lauderbach, pp.432-38.
- ⁶ AAA: 11, 1914, p.353; 12, 1915, p.226; John Shapley et al., *The Index of Twentieth Century Artists*, 2.2, 1934, p.270; cf., CPC: March 31, 1915, p.4; May 12, 1915, p.6; Bernier, p.177.
- ⁷ The School’s 1915 brochure is in the History Room of the Harrison Memorial Library in Carmel.
- ⁸ CPC: July 28, 1915, p.1; October 20, 1915, p.1.
- ⁹ CPC, August 18, 1915, pp.1, 4.
- ¹⁰ SFC, September 12, 1915, p.22.
- ¹¹ AMG 7.5, 1916, frontispiece. In the *American Art Annual* of 1916 the Carmel Arts and Crafts Club appeared for the first time and was careful to distinguish its summer classes from Townsley’s School (AAA 13, 1916, pp.68, 280f).
- ¹² CPC, June 7, 1916, p.2.
- ¹³ This 1916 brochure is glued into the *Scrapbook of the Carmel Arts and Crafts Club* at the History Room of the Harrison Memorial Library in Carmel.
- ¹⁴ TWP: July 8, 1916, p.10; December 30, 1916, p.11; CPC, September 20, 1916, p.1.
- ¹⁵ CPC: May 10, 1917, p.1; September 3, 1917, p.2; July 11, 1918, p.4; May 22, 1919, p.1; June 5, 1919, p.1; June 19, 1919, p.3; June 10, 1920, p.1; July 15, 1920, p.1; May 12, 1921, p.4; June 23, 1921, p.2; June 2, 1923, p.2; May 10, 1924, p.1; June 7, 1924, p.1; May 23, 1925, p.1; June 20, 1925, p.1; May 22, 1926, p.9; SFC, June 24, 1917, p.13-R; TWP: June 30, 1917, p.11; May 12, 1917, p.11; AAA: 14, 1917, p.284; 15, 1918, pp.56, 241; 16, 1919, pp.99, 180; 18, 1921, pp.100, 187; 21, 1924, pp.124, 234f; 22, 1925, p.244; 24, 1927, p.278; 27, 1930, p.317; TCR, May 17, 1924, p.9; Bostick, pp.58f. Refer also to the incomplete set of published brochures for the Carmel Summer School of Art deposited in the History Room of the Harrison Memorial Library in Carmel. From 1918 to 1925 Morgan served as the director and for all but one year as the primary instructor in “oil, water color and pastel” with a rotating list of co-teachers which included Armin Hansen, Frederick Gray, Paul Mays, Jo Mora, Cornelius Botke, William Watts as well

- as Robert and Harold Hestwood. In 1924 Ira M. Remsen was added "to direct studies in portrait and figure work," Elizabeth Dickenson taught children's classes, William G. Gaskin lectured on art theory and color, Perry Newberry gave instruction in "illustrating, cartooning, wood block cutting and printing," and both Shirley Williamson and Warren Dayton taught various "craft classes." The total enrollment in 1924 was listed as fifty students. Cornelius Botke directed the School in 1926 and Morgan's art classes that year were taught by Stanley Wood. In 1927 Celia B. Seymour became director and principal instructor of the School with five co-instructors whose expanded programs included weaving. Enrollment at this time was listed as fifty.
- ¹⁶ CPC: February 3, 1915, p.1; May 12, 1915, p.6.
- ¹⁷ CPC: May 12, 1915, pp.6f; July 14, 1915, p.4; July 19, 1915, p.4. The Townsleys were routinely included in the Carmel social news that was reported in the Monterey paper as well (MDC: July 15, 1915, p.2; August 26, 1915, p.2; September 16, 1915, p.3).
- ¹⁸ CPC, April 14, 1915, p.2.
- ¹⁹ Refer to Chapter 5, note 52.
- ²⁰ CPC: March 3, 1915, p.4; May 12, 1915, p.6; June 9, 1915, p.4; June 23 1915, p.3; September 8, 1915, p.4; December 8, 1915, p.1; December 15, 1915, p.1; June 14, 1917, p.3.
- ²¹ CPC, May 12, 1915, p.4.
- ²² CPC, February 2, 1916, p.1.
- ²³ CSM, July 25, 1916, p.6; cf., SFC, June 25, 1916, p.21; CPC, June 28, 1916, p.1; TWP, July 8, 1916, p.11.
- ²⁴ CPC: August 18, 1915, p.4; August 25, 1915, p.1; July 12, 1916, p.1; July 19, 1916, p.1.
- ²⁵ CPC, November 1, 1916, p.1.
- ²⁶ CPC, September 27, 1917, p.1.
- ²⁷ CPC, May 12, 1915, p.6; cf. CPC, November 20, 1919, p.2.
- ²⁸ CPC: May 12, 1915, p.4; June 9, 1915, p.1.
- ²⁹ CPC: June 7, 1916, p.2; June 21, 1916, p.3; July 26, 1916, p.3; December 6, 1916, p.2; March 29, 1917, p.3; May 31, 1917, p.4.
- ³⁰ CPC: Feb. 19, 1920, p.2; July 15, 1920, p.4; June 2, 1921, p.4. Anita Murray advertised her Seaside studio.
- ³¹ CPC, April 26, 1916, p.1.
- ³² CPC: November 24, 1915, p.4; December 1, 1915, p.2.
- ³³ CPC, April 26, 1916, p.4.
- ³⁴ CPC, October 11, 1916, p.4.
- ³⁵ MDC, June 29, 1917, p.3; cf., TWP, June 30, 1917, p.11; CPC, June 28, 1917, p.4.
- ³⁶ Both George Wesley Bellows and Frank Duveneck had international reputations. Jonas Lie was a well-known Oslo-born designer and painter (Falk: pp.272f, 993, 2022f).
- ³⁷ CPC, May 31, 1917, p.4; TOT: July 29, 1917, p.20; August 19, 1917, p.20; August 26, 1917, p.20; September 9, 1917, p.20; September 16, 1917, p.20; September 23, 1917, p.20; September 30, 1917, p.20.
- ³⁸ CPC: June 28, 1917, p.4; November 1, 1917, p.2.
- ³⁹ CPC: March 24, 1915, p.4; April 7, 1915, p.4; June 9, 1915, p.4; April 19, 1916, p.4; October 4, 1922, p.10.
- ⁴⁰ CSM, August 24, 1917, p.8.
- ⁴¹ CPC, September 6, 1916, p.1; TWP, December 30, 1916, p.11.
- ⁴² Lillian Matilde Genth was born in Philadelphia and studied at the local School of Design before working with Whistler in Paris. She spent most of the summer of 1919 in Carmel (MDC, June 11, 1919, p.4; Falk, p.1265).
- ⁴³ Martha Walter was a plein-air Impressionist who had studied with William Merritt Chase in her native Philadelphia and in Paris at both the Académie Julian and the Académie Grande Chaumière. She spent the summers of 1919 and 1920 in Carmel (MDC, August 23, 1922, p.4; Falk, p.3454). Ernest Haskell was born in Woodstock, Connecticut, and studied art at the Académie Julian in Paris. Between 1914 and 1919 he frequently visited Carmel where he executed numerous etchings and watercolors of the Monterey cypresses. He was awarded a medal at the PPIE of 1915 and was widely recognized as an illustrator on the eastern seaboard where he spent most of his life (Falk, p.1487).
- ⁴⁴ Refer to Appendix 6 and the biography on Johonnot in Appendix 7.
- ⁴⁵ Will South et al., *Guy Rose, American Impressionist*, Oakland and Irvine, 1995, pp.66-76; CPC: July 28, 1915, p.4; May 24, 1916, p.4; Appendix 2. Southern California painters who studied with Chase in 1914 and made return visits include: Donna Schuster, Elena Kellogg, Frances Lauderbach, Julia Raymond and Doris Spencer (Appendix 3).
- ⁴⁶ CPC, June 6, 1918, p.2.
- ⁴⁷ CPC, June 7, 1916, p.4; MDC: March 1, 1917, p.2; June 29, 1917, p.3; BDG, October 29, 1921, p.6; refer to the biography on Ritschel in Appendix 7.
- ⁴⁸ MDC: March 17, 1914, p.1; July 19, 1914, p.1.
- ⁴⁹ CPC, October 4, 1916, p.4; MDC, June 3, 1919, p.4. According to one San Francisco newspaper, Fortune was a summer resident of Pacific Grove in 1913 (SFX, July 6, 1913, p.26). She certainly had a Monterey studio in 1916.
- ⁵⁰ CPC, February 6, 1919, p.1.
- ⁵¹ CPC: May 5, 1915, p.1; October 6, 1915, p.4; Cannon, *Correspondence*, Letter to Will, September 11, 1915.
- ⁵² CPC, January 12, 1916, p.1.
- ⁵³ CPC, April 5, 1916, p.4.
- ⁵⁴ CPC: May 3, 1917, p.4; June 21, 1917, p.4.
- ⁵⁵ CPC, June 14, 1917, p.3.
- ⁵⁶ CPC, June 21, 1917, p.4.
- ⁵⁷ CPC, July 19, 1917, p.1.
- ⁵⁸ CPC, September 3, 1917, p.2.

- ⁵⁹ TOT, October 7, 1917, p.20.
- ⁶⁰ CPC, May 16, 1918, p.3.
- ⁶¹ Cf. CPC: October 4, 1916, pp.1ff; March 28, 1918, p.2.
- ⁶² CPC, March 28, 1918, p.2.
- ⁶³ CPC: April 14, 1921, p.1; May 5, 1921, p.1; June 23, 1921, p.1.
- ⁶⁴ TPE, April 11, 1922, p.3.
- ⁶⁵ Gilliam, pp.174-85.
- ⁶⁶ TWP, July 8, 1916, p.10.
- ⁶⁷ Ethel D. Turner was a talented student at C. P. Townsley's Carmel Summer School of Art in 1916. She received the "second prize" at the end-of-term student exhibition (CPC, September 20, 1916, p.1). That year at the Tenth Annual Exhibition of the Arts and Crafts Club she contributed three paintings: *Still Life*, *The Beach* and *Some Pumpkins* (Appendix 2). She was a resident of Carmel by 1915 and apparently gave up painting to achieve some fame as a poetess (CPC: November 17, 1915, p.4; March 11, 1920, p.4).
- ⁶⁸ Pauline Park was another student at C. P. Townsley's Carmel Summer School of Art in 1916. At that year's Tenth Annual Exhibition of the Arts and Crafts Club she displayed four paintings: *Carmel Mission*, *Eucalyptus*, *Carmel Beach* and *Cypress*, *Point Lobos* (Appendix 2). Her whereabouts thereafter are uncertain.
- ⁶⁹ Refer to Appendix 6 and the biography on Watts in Appendix 7.
- ⁷⁰ CPC: January 3, 1918, p.3; May 16, 1918, p.3; Appendix 2.
- ⁷¹ Inez R. Brizio contributed an undisclosed number of paintings to the 1917-18 Winter Exhibition of the Carmel Arts and Crafts Club (Appendix 2). In 1917 she resided at 667 Union Street in San Francisco with her husband, Emile, who worked for *La Voce del Popolo* (Crocker 1917, p.364).
- ⁷² Refer to Appendix 6 and the biography on O'Shea in Appendix 7.
- ⁷³ Appendix 2; refer to biography on Newberry in Appendix 7.
- ⁷⁴ CPC, June 19, 1919, p.3.
- ⁷⁵ MDC, June 3, 1919, p.4.
- ⁷⁶ MDC, June 11, 1919, p.4.
- ⁷⁷ MDC, June 21, 1919, p.3; cf. CPC, June 26, 1919, p.4.
- ⁷⁸ Refer to biographies in Appendix 7. Carew moved from Carmel to Monterey in June of 1919, the same month that the Arts and Crafts Annual opened.
- ⁷⁹ CPC, June 19, 1919, p.3.
- ⁸⁰ AAA: 15, 1918, p.56; 16, 1919, p.180.
- ⁸¹ Edith Russell contributed to the Thirteenth Annual Exhibition of the Carmel Arts and Crafts Club in 1919 (Appendix 2).
- ⁸² Ida Stevens Longyear (1859-1947) was born on March 21st in Michigan. According to the U.S. Census of 1900 [ED 41, Sheet 8A], she continued to reside in Michigan with her widowed mother, a boarder and one servant. She exhibited with the Detroit Society of Women Painters and Sculptors as late as 1922. In 1919 she was a summer resident of Carmel (Appendix 2). By 1927 she had moved her permanent address to La Crescenta, California, where she rented a home (AAA 24, 1927, p.641; U.S. Census of 1930 [ED 19-1042, Sheet 7A]). She died on December 17, 1947 in Los Angeles County (California Death Index; cf., Falk, p.2057; Petteys, p.448; Jacobsen, p.2007).
- ⁸³ Eliza McKnight maintained studios in New York City at 123 West Fifty-seventh Street and at her home in Old Lyme, Connecticut. In 1919 she summered in Carmel. Her "water-colors of picturesque China" were given a solo exhibit in 1937-38 at the Argent Galleries in New York City (NYT, December 19, 1937, p.11-11). She exhibited with the National Association of Women Painters and Sculptors from 1935 to 1938 (Ball, p.434; cf., Jacobsen, p.2074; Falk, p.2138).
- ⁸⁴ Refer to Appendix 6 and the biography on Hansen in Appendix 7.
- ⁸⁵ Refer to Appendix 6 and the biography on Wolf in Appendix 7.
- ⁸⁶ CPC: December 25, 1919, p.1; January 1, 1920, p.2; cf. SFC, January 4, 1920, p.E-3. The catalogue of this exhibition is glued into the *Scrapbook of the Arts and Crafts Club* at the History Room of Carmel's Harrison Memorial Library.
- ⁸⁷ AAA 17, 1920, p.111.
- ⁸⁸ CPC, July 15, 1920, p.1; refer to the biographies in Appendix 7.
- ⁸⁹ Ada Victoria Kentley Beecher (1872-1931?) was born in San Francisco. According to the U.S. Census of 1880, she resided on Mission Street with her parents and younger sister, Josephine Kentley (U.S. Census of 1880 [ED 173, Sheet 1A]). With the exception of her New York-born father, the members of her family were born in California. About 1893 she married Charles Beecher and a year later gave birth to their daughter, Myrtle. By 1910 the Beechers' San Francisco address was 533 Capp Street. In the Census of that year Ada had no listed occupation, but her husband gave his profession as "teamster, woodworker" (U.S. Census of 1910 [ED 124, Sheet 2B]). In the early 1920s she was a summer resident in Carmel and exhibited at the Arts and Crafts Club Annuals of 1920 and 1921 (Appendix 2). At the former she contributed the canvas *Point Lobos* and at the latter a *Sketch* (cf., Hughes, p.87; Jacobsen, p.222).
- ⁹⁰ Refer to Appendix 6 and the biography on Maguire in Appendix 7.
- ⁹¹ CPC, August 26, 1920, p.3.
- ⁹² CPC, September 9, 1920, p.3.
- ⁹³ CPC, May 4, 1934, p.2.
- ⁹⁴ BDG, January 16, 1920, p.11; CPC, August 5, 1920, p.1.
- ⁹⁵ CPC, November 11, 1920, p.1. Through 1922 Cannon either leased a studio-residence in Carmel or was invited to stay with friends during the summers (CPC, August 3, 1922, p.12).
- ⁹⁶ Refer to the biographies in Appendix 7.
- ⁹⁷ Refer to the narrative in Chapter 3, Appendix 6 and the biography on Strong in Appendix 7.
- ⁹⁸ CPC: June 2, 1921, p.4; June 9, 1921, p.2.

- ⁹⁹ CPC, June 30, 1921, p.10.
- ¹⁰⁰ William Ritschel was soon to complete his stone house in the Highlands and move his primary residence there.
- ¹⁰¹ MDC, May 10, 1920, p.3. One example was a satire, which was reportedly published in an Oakland newspaper, comparing the sophists of Carmel with the sophisticates in Pebble Beach (MDC, May 25, 1921, p.4).
- ¹⁰² BDG, July 16, 1921, p.6.
- ¹⁰³ CPC, July 28, 1921, p.1; Appendix 2.
- ¹⁰⁴ CPC, August 18, 1921, p.6.
- ¹⁰⁵ CPC, October 13, 1921, p.3.
- ¹⁰⁶ D. F. Ehrensfieldter, a resident of Pebble Beach, contributed *In the Garden* to the Fifteenth Annual Exhibition of the Carmel Arts and Crafts Club in 1921 (Appendix 2). Biographies of the other new contributors are in Appendix 7.
- ¹⁰⁷ Refer to Appendix 6 and the biography on Bruton in Appendix 7.
- ¹⁰⁸ Refer to the biography on Gay in Appendix 7.
- ¹⁰⁹ Howard Ellis exhibited *Monterey Docks* at the 1921 Fall Exhibition in the Carmel Arts and Crafts Club (Appendix 2; cf. Jacobsen, p.989). That work, which was sold on the first day of the exhibit, was said to possess “sunny iridescence and careful treatment” (CPC, September 29, 1921, p.8). For Widforss refer to the biography in Appendix 7.
- ¹¹⁰ CPC: March 31, 1921, p.6; July 7, 1921, p.6.
- ¹¹¹ CPC, July 28, 1921, pp.1, 5.
- ¹¹² DPA, December 14, 1921, p.4.
- ¹¹³ CPC: January 19, 1922, p.1; May 11, 1922, p.1; July 6, 1922, p.7. Even the *Monterey Daily Cypress* mentioned her presence in Bay Area exhibitions along with “Carmel’s foremost artists” (MDC, June 21, 1922, p.3).
- ¹¹⁴ SFC, January 22, 1922, p.E-5; cf. DPA, January 16, 1922, p.30.
- ¹¹⁵ CPC, August 3, 1922, p.12.
- ¹¹⁶ CPC, June 8, 1922, p.10. In the mid-to-late 1930s, when Jennie was spending considerably more time in Carmel, she registered on the local voter index as a “Democrat,” CVRI, Monterey County: 1936-38; Perry/Polk 1939, p.396.
- ¹¹⁷ CPC, May 25, 1922, p.15.
- ¹¹⁸ CPC: June 8, 1922, p.11; June 22, 1922, pp.6,9; October 21, 1922, p.2.
- ¹¹⁹ CPC, June 8, 1922, p.3.
- ¹²⁰ CPC, April 28, 1923, p.6.
- ¹²¹ CPC, August 4, 1923, p.7.
- ¹²² CPC, December 8, 1923, p.3.
- ¹²³ CPC, September 6, 1924, p.8.
- ¹²⁴ CPC, September 20, 1924, p.1.
- ¹²⁵ CPC, July 13, 1922, p.15.
- ¹²⁶ CPC, June 15, 1922, p.7.
- ¹²⁷ CPC, September 22, 1923, p.3.
- ¹²⁸ CPC, May 27, 1927, p.10.
- ¹²⁹ CPC: April 6, 1922, p.5; June 22, 1922, p.6; refer to Appendix 6 and the Pearson’s biography in Appendix 7.
- ¹³⁰ CPC, June 22, 1922, p.6.
- ¹³¹ CPC, May 25, 1922, p.4.
- ¹³² CPC: June 8, 1922, p.11; June 15, 1922, p.1.
- ¹³³ CPC: December 16, 1922, p.1; December 23, 1922, p.8.
- ¹³⁴ CPC: March 31, 1923, p.1; April 7, 1923, p.2.
- ¹³⁵ CPC, June 2, 1923, p.2.
- ¹³⁶ SFX, March 30, 1922, pp.1,3; cf., LAT, March 31, 1922, p.1-13; NYT, March 31, 1922, p.13; *Waterloo Evening Courier* (Iowa), March 30, 1922, p.1; *San Antonio Evening News*, March 30, 1922, p.8; *Indiana Evening Gazette*, March 30, 1922, p.1; *New Castle News* (Pa.), March 30, 1922, p.,1; *Chronicle Telegram* (Elyria, Ohio), March 30, 1922, p.1.
- ¹³⁷ SFX, March 30, 1922, p.1.
- ¹³⁸ E.g.: *The Lima News* (Ohio), April 9, 1922, p.26; *Fort-Wayne Journal-Gazette* (Indiana), April 9, 1922, p.11; *The Kokomo Daily Tribune* (Indiana), April 10, 1922, pp.1, 5; *The Capital News* (Madison, Wisconsin), April 13, 1922, p.11.
- ¹³⁹ Nixon; CPC: September 28, 1922, p.1; May 19, 1923, p.2.
- ¹⁴⁰ *Catalogue, Exhibition of Paintings by Carmel and Monterey Artists*, Stanford University Art Gallery, April 3-30, 1922; DPT: April 1, 1922, p.8; April 13, 1922, p.2; CPC, April 20, 1922, p.7.
- ¹⁴¹ MDC, June 7, 1922, p.4; AAA 20, 1923, p.213.
- ¹⁴² CPC: June 29, 1922, p.1; August 3, 1922, p.1.
- ¹⁴³ The titles of the exhibited works provided by the *Monterey Daily Cypress* were copied incorrectly from the exhibition catalogue (MDC, July 18, 1922, p.2; cf. Appendix 2). A copy of the latter is in the *Scrapbook of the Arts and Crafts Club* at the History Room of the Harrison Memorial Library. Biographies of the exhibiting artists are in Appendix 7.
- ¹⁴⁴ Refer to Appendix 6.
- ¹⁴⁵ Refer to Appendix 6.
- ¹⁴⁶ MDC: June 22, 1922, p.5; August 23, 1922, p.4; September 4, 1922, p.7; CPC, July 28, 1923, p.1.
- ¹⁴⁷ CPC, August 10, 1922, p.3.
- ¹⁴⁸ CPC, August 17, 1922, p.1.
- ¹⁴⁹ CPC: August 17, 1922, p.1; August 24, 1922, p.1.
- ¹⁵⁰ MDC, September 4, 1922, p.7.
- ¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*; TOI, September 10, 1922, p.S-9.
- ¹⁵² CPC, January 13, 1923, p.11.

- ¹⁵³BDG, August 4, 1923, p.6.
- ¹⁵⁴CPC: July 14, 1923, p.1; August 18, 1923, p.1; August 25, 1923, p.1; September 1, 1923, p.1.
- ¹⁵⁵TOT, August 19, 1923, p.S-7.
- ¹⁵⁶CPC: July 28, 1923, p.1; August 4, 1923, p.8; August 11, 1923, p.2.
- ¹⁵⁷CPC, July 14, 1923, p.1. For biographies of exhibiting artists see Appendix 7.
- ¹⁵⁸CPC, July 28, 1923, p.1.
- ¹⁵⁹CPC, September 15, 1923, p.1.
- ¹⁶⁰AAA 21, 1924, p.124.
- ¹⁶¹TOT, August 19, 1923, p.S-7.
- ¹⁶²SFX, December 15, 1923, p.14.
- ¹⁶³CPC: May 12, 1923, p.3; May 19, 1923, p.10; May 26, 1923, p.1; July 21, 1923, p.1.
- ¹⁶⁴CPC, November 21, 1930, p.10; CSP, June 29, 1951, pp.3, 19; Temple, pp.137-155.
- ¹⁶⁵CPC, April 26, 1924, pp.1, 8; refer to the biography on Sloan in Appendix 7.
- ¹⁶⁶Refer to Appendix 6.
- ¹⁶⁷Ibid.
- ¹⁶⁸CPC, May 3, 1924, p.1.
- ¹⁶⁹CPC, June 7, 1924, p.1; July 12, 1924, p.8; note 15 above.
- ¹⁷⁰CPC, June 28, 1924, p.6.
- ¹⁷¹Ibid., p.1.
- ¹⁷²CPC, October 13, 1921, p.3.
- ¹⁷³CPC, July 12, 1924, p.8.
- ¹⁷⁴CPC, August 23, 1924, p.4.
- ¹⁷⁵J. Charles Reeve was a physician and painter who displayed two works, *Mt. Gabilan* and *A Decorative Landscape*, at the Eighteenth Annual Exhibition of the Carmel Arts and Crafts Club in 1924 (Appendix 2). His 1926 contribution to the California State Fair was entitled *Greenbrae-Morning*; (*Catalogue, Annual Exhibition of Paintings, California State Fair, Sacramento, September 4-11, 1926*). In 1927 and 1928 he exhibited three times at the Carmel Art Association (Appendix 4). He also exhibited at the Berkeley League of Fine Arts and at the Fourth Annual State-wide Exhibition of the Santa Cruz Art League in 1931 (TOT, February 8, 1931, p.S-7). In 1921 his Oakland address was given as 2021 East Twentieth Street (Polk 1921, p.880). His dates of birth and death are presently unknown (cf. Hughes, p.921).
- ¹⁷⁶H. J. Breuer was very active in the San Francisco and Berkeley art colonies (refer to the narrative in Chapter 3, his biography in Appendix 7 and Appendix 6). For biographies on the other exhibitors refer to Appendix 7.
- ¹⁷⁷CPC, September 27, 1924, p.1.
- ¹⁷⁸DPT, September 25, 1924, p.3.
- ¹⁷⁹CPC, October 4, 1924, p.1.
- ¹⁸⁰TWP: October 18, 1924, p.23; October 25, 1924, p.23.
- ¹⁸¹CPC, November 1, 1924, p.1.
- ¹⁸²TOT: August 31, 1924, p.S-3; September 7, 1924, p.S-3.
- ¹⁸³CPC, January 31, 1925, p.1.
- ¹⁸⁴CPC: July 4, 1925, p.1; September 12, 1925, p.1.
- ¹⁸⁵CPC, September 12, 1925, p.1.
- ¹⁸⁶CPC: July 25, 1925, p.12; August 8, 1925, p.10.
- ¹⁸⁷CPC, October 3, 1925, p.1.
- ¹⁸⁸CPC, April 10, 1926, p.1.
- ¹⁸⁹CPC: June 27, 1925, p.6; April 24, 1926, p.10; May 1, 1926, p.7; January 7, 1927, p.11; June 24, 1927, p.10; CCY: December 29, 1926, p.5; April 27, 1927, p.7.
- ¹⁹⁰CPC, May 22, 1926, p.9.
- ¹⁹¹CPC: July 29, 1926, p.11; August 13, 1926, p.11.
- ¹⁹²CPC: September 17, 1926, p.1; April 22, 1927, p.1.
- ¹⁹³CPC: May 13, 1927, p.10; June 24, 1927, p.10.
- ¹⁹⁴CPC: August 27, 1926, p.4; September 17, 1926, p.1; CCY, September 29, 1926, p.1.
- ¹⁹⁵CPC, July 15, 1927, p.6.
- ¹⁹⁶CRM, February 22, 1928, pp.1f; CPC: February 24, 1928, p.1; December 14, 1928, p.7; cf. ARG, October 1927, p.10. At the Arts and Crafts Club in 1927-28 Mrs. Sarah Deming held the post of president, Henry Dickenson served as vice president, George Seideneck was secretary and Fenton Foster continued to function as treasurer; these four also served on the board of directors with other prominent Carmelites, whose number included Ada Howe Kent and Perry Newberry. In 1928 the Club sent no report to the *American Art Annual* and in the following year the listing for that organization was removed (AAA: 24, 1927, p.57; 25, 1928, p.59). The last entry for the Club in the local Directory was 1928 when its official address was given as Casanova Street between Eighth and Ninth Avenues (Perry/Polk 1928, p.414). After the Club sold most of its property, it fell into insolvency, and at the time of its demise in February of 1937 the "long inactive" board of directors gifted to the City of Carmel the Forest Theatre (CPC, February 12, 1937, p.1).
- ¹⁹⁷I base this conclusion on the date supplied by the *American Art Annual*: AAA 1898-1925.
- ¹⁹⁸Appendix 5.
- ¹⁹⁹TAT, November 8, 1924, p.21.
- ²⁰⁰The *Pine Cone* reproduced on page one a photo of Sloan before his "Study in Photo Point" (CPC, Oct. 18, 1924, p.1).
- ²⁰¹Appendix 5.
- ²⁰²SFC, April 1, 1928, p.4-D; Hunt, pp.270f.

- ²⁰³ CPC, September 19, 1925, p.1; for a discussion of Overstreet's editorial refer to page 209 above.
- ²⁰⁴ CPC, May 22, 1926, p.12.
- ²⁰⁵ CPC, September 26, 1925, pp.4f.
- ²⁰⁶ CPC: October 28, 1922, p.8; October 27, 1923, p.1; February 16, 1924, p.2; March 1, 1924, p.8; March 15, 1924, pp.6, 9; March 29, 1924, p.1; May 9, 1925, p.1.
- ²⁰⁷ CPC: May 27, 1927, p.10; June 3, 1927, p.9.
- ²⁰⁸ CPC: June 22, 1922, p.6; April 5, 1924, p.8; April 26, 1924, p.10; August 30, 1924, p.10; November 29, 1924, p.8; December 20, 1924, p.5; February 7, 1925, p.8; January 17, 1925, p.8; June 3, 1927, p.10; MPH, September 17, 1978, p.4. In Heron's bookstore the Seidenecks were commissioned to do an elaborate fireplace mural.
- ²⁰⁹ Gilliam, pp.160f.
- ²¹⁰ CPC: August 29, 1925, p.10; May 4, 1934, p.10; CRM: January 1, 1930, p.1; June 19, 1930, p.3. By 1930 their primary focus was the Carmel Music Society to which Dene was elected president and Hazel recording secretary.
- ²¹¹ CPC: April 3, 1926, p.1; April 24, 1926, p.10; May 22, 1926, p.6; June 25, 1926, p.11; July 2, 1926, p.11; December 24, 1926, p.11; CCY: May 18, 1926, p.7; June 8, 1927, p.4; SFC, May 23, 1926, p.8-F. The name of this venue is often confused with the "Carmel Art Gallery" established by the Carmel Art Association in October of 1927.
- ²¹² CPC: March 30, 1922, p.10; May 22, 1926, p.9; June 11, 1926, p.11.
- ²¹³ CPC: February 20, 1926, p.10; April 3, 1926, p.3; June 18, 1926, p.11; September 24, 1926, p.11; December 24, 1926, p.11; March 18, 1927, p.10; refer to biography on Myron Oliver in Appendix 7.
- ²¹⁴ CPC, December 24, 1926, p.11.
- ²¹⁵ CPC: October 15, 1926, p.11; November 5, 1926, p.5.
- ²¹⁶ CPC, May 9, 1925, p.1; TOT, May 10, 1925, p.S-6; MPH, May 16, 1925, pp.1, 5.
- ²¹⁷ SFC: September 5, 1926, p.8-F; May 1, 1927, p.D-7; CPC, September 10, 1926, p.11; TOT, April 24, 1927, p.5; BDG, April 30, 1927, p.6; Boas, pp.135-41 and notes 33-48.
- ²¹⁸ TAT, May 7, 1927, p.13.
- ²¹⁹ SFC, May 15, 1927, p.D-7; TOT, May 15, 1927, p.8-B; ARG, June 1927, p.1. Salinger mistakenly included William Gaw and Esther Bruton in the show.
- ²²⁰ TAT, May 14, 1927, p.16.
- ²²¹ SFC, April 12, 1925, p.D-3.
- ²²² CPC, May 30, 1925, p.9; AAG, July 1925, p.5; Appendix 5.
- ²²³ CPC: April 4, 1925, p.10; April 25, 1925, p.9.
- ²²⁴ CPC, September 26, 1925, p.7.
- ²²⁵ WTA, February 1926, pp.26-28; for a full discussion of Cannon's involvement in the League see Chapter 9, Volume 2.
- ²²⁶ Appendix 5.
- ²²⁷ WTA, March 1926, pp.9, 32.
- ²²⁸ TAG, March 11, 1926, p.5.
- ²²⁹ TAR: March 3, 1926, p.10; March 10, 1926, p.10; TAG, March 6, 1926, p.8; ADS, March 23, 1926, p.7.
- ²³⁰ TTC: March 20, 1926, p.4; March 28, 1926, p.7; April 5, 1926, p.4; April 6, 1926, p.4.
- ²³¹ TTC: March 24, 1926, p.4; March 25, 1926, p.4.
- ²³² TTC, March 29, 1926, p.4.
- ²³³ PAZ, May 1926, p.16; cf. BDG: April 19, 1926, p.6; May 26, 1926, p.6.
- ²³⁴ SFC, April 1, 1928, p.4-D; *California Outdoors and In*, June, 1928.
- ²³⁵ TOT, April 1, 1926, p.16; refer also to the biography on Armer in Appendix 7 and to the narrative in Chapter 3.
- ²³⁶ CPC: June 25, 1926, p.1; July 2, 1926, p.11.
- ²³⁷ CPC, July 9, 1926, p.11.
- ²³⁸ Appendix 5.
- ²³⁹ CPC, November 5, 1926, p.11.
- ²⁴⁰ Hunt, pp.270f.
- ²⁴¹ E.g., TOT, Sunday, April 25, 1926, p.S-7.
- ²⁴² AAA: 14, 1917, p.445; 16, 1919, p.329; 18, 1921, p.373; 20, 1923, p.466; 22, 1925, p.434; 24, 1927, p.509; 26, 1929, p.537; 28, 1931, p.476; 30, 1933, p.456; McGlaufflin, p. 76; Hunt, pp.270f.
- ²⁴³ TOT, February 9, 1927, p.1.
- ²⁴⁴ TAG, February 19, 1927, p.9; TAR, February 20, 1927, p.2-5; TTC, February 23, 1927, p.4.
- ²⁴⁵ TTC: March 16, 1927, p.4; March 20, 1927, p.7; cf. ADS, March 13, 1927, p.2-2.
- ²⁴⁶ Appendix 5.
- ²⁴⁷ CPC, April 29, 1927, p.10.
- ²⁴⁸ Appendix 5.
- ²⁴⁹ TOT, August 14, 1927, p.S-5.
- ²⁵⁰ BDG, September 24, 1927, p.5.
- ²⁵¹ TOT, December 4, 1927, p.6-S; BDG, December 10, 1927, p.7; SFC, December 11, 1927, p.D-7.
- ²⁵² CPC: January 17, 1925, p.8; February 7, 1925, p.8; July 16, 1926, p.11; July 15, 1927, p.12; February 10, 1928, p.12; LAT, February 14, 1926, p.3-34. In February of 1926 Bischoff exhibited his "Carmel Pictures" in southern California.
- ²⁵³ AAG, July 1925, pp.8f.
- ²⁵⁴ AAG, September 1925, p.3; CPC: September 26, 1925, p.1; June 4, 1926, p.11; May 27, 1927, p.10.
- ²⁵⁵ CPC, March 6, 1925, p.5.
- ²⁵⁶ CPC: April 24, 1926, pp.4, 8; May 1, 1926, p.8; September 24, 1926, p.11.
- ²⁵⁷ CPC: May 1, 1926, p.7; May 18, 1926, p.7.

- ²⁵⁸ CCY, May 11, 1926, pp.3, 11; cf. CPC, May 8, 1926, p.7.
- ²⁵⁹ TOT, June 8, 1926, p.13.
- ²⁶⁰ CPC: January 7, 1927, p.11; March 4, 1927, p.7; July 22, 1927, p.6; July 29, 1927, p.6; November 11, 1927, p.4.
- ²⁶¹ CCY, July 20, 1927, pp, 1, 12.
- ²⁶² McGlynn, pp.16-24; Dick Crispo and Lisa C. Watson, *Carmel Art Association: Its Legends and Legacies, 1927-2007*, Carmel, 2007, pp.25ff.
- ²⁶³ TOT, August 21, 1927, p.5-W.
- ²⁶⁴ CPC, September 19, 1925, p.1.
- ²⁶⁵ CPC, September 26, 1925, p.8. Cannon's assessment has a few clerical errors. At this time the Laguna Beach Art Gallery was eight years old, not ten, and it was not until 1923 that an admission fee was charged. It did not require summer residency to exhibit; anyone who had painted in the Laguna Beach area during the past twenty years and paid the annual "one-dollar dues" for Art Association membership could submit to its juried shows (Dominik, pp.10-12).
- ²⁶⁶ Cannon's opinion was so highly regarded in the Laguna Beach community that one of the local publications asked her to review an exhibition of French painting in San Francisco (*Laguna Beach Life*, March 13, 1925, p.4).
- ²⁶⁷ BDG, March 29, 1924, p.5.
- ²⁶⁸ CPC, October 3, 1925, p.4.
- ²⁶⁹ CPC, April 19, 1917, p.2; CCY, March 9, 1927, p.12.
- ²⁷⁰ CPC, March 11, 1927, p.1.
- ²⁷¹ CPC, March 18, 1927, p.9.
- ²⁷² CPC, May 20, 1927, pp.1f.
- ²⁷³ CPC, April 22, 1927, p.6; CCY: April 27, 1927, p.8; May 4, 1927, p.4.
- ²⁷⁴ Letter to "George," from Jennie Cannon, April 20, 1927; cited with permission from the family archives of Joan Tweit.
- ²⁷⁵ Refer to the biography on Lemos in Appendix 7.
- ²⁷⁶ CPC, March 18, 1927, p.9.
- ²⁷⁷ CPC, June 17, 1927, p.10.
- ²⁷⁸ CPC, August 5, 1927, p.6.
- ²⁷⁹ CPC, August 12, 1927, p.7.
- ²⁸⁰ The most complete list of those present was compiled for *The Carmel Spectator* by the artist E. Cashion MacLennan as part of her 1949 history of the CAA (CSP, March 10, 1949, p.3; cf. McGlynn, p.18).
- ²⁸¹ ARG, October 1927, p.7.
- ²⁸² CPC, September 9, 1927, p.4; AAA 24, 1927, p.57.
- ²⁸³ CSP, March 10, 1949, p.3; cf. Dominik, p.10.
- ²⁸⁴ CPC, August 12, 1927, p.7.
- ²⁸⁵ Ibid.
- ²⁸⁶ CPC, August 19, 1927, p.2; MPH, August 24, 1927, p.3.
- ²⁸⁷ DPT, August 25, 1927, p.3.
- ²⁸⁸ TOT, August 21, 1927, p.5-W.
- ²⁸⁹ TOT, September 11, 1927, p.6-S.
- ²⁹⁰ Wall Moure, p.101.
- ²⁹¹ CPC, August 26, 1927, p.6; MPH, August 27, 1927, p.6.
- ²⁹² CPC, September 30, 1927, p.5.
- ²⁹³ CPC, September 2, 1927, p.6.
- ²⁹⁴ AAA 24, 1927, p.57.
- ²⁹⁵ CPC, September 9, 1927, p.4.
- ²⁹⁶ Ibid.
- ²⁹⁷ CPC, September 16, 1927, p.4; MPH, September 17, 1927, p.6.
- ²⁹⁸ CPC, September 23, 1927, p.4.
- ²⁹⁹ CPC, September 30, 1927, p.5; MPH, September 30, 1927, p.9.
- ³⁰⁰ CPC, October 7, 1927, p.15.
- ³⁰¹ CPC, October 14, 1927, p.5.
- ³⁰² CPC, February 10, 1950, p.13.
- ³⁰³ CPC, October 7, 1927, p.12.
- ³⁰⁴ CPC, October 14, 1927, p.5.
- ³⁰⁵ CPC, October 21, 1927, p.1.
- ³⁰⁶ Appendix 4.
- ³⁰⁷ Refer to Appendix 6 and the biography on Wood in Appendix 7.
- ³⁰⁸ ARG, October 1927, p.7; TOT: October 30, 1927, p.8-M; November 27, 1927, p.S-5.
- ³⁰⁹ Cf. CPC, October 28, 1927, p.4.
- ³¹⁰ Ibid.
- ³¹¹ Ibid.
- ³¹² CPC, November 11, 1927, p.5.
- ³¹³ CPC, November 25, 1927, p.4.
- ³¹⁴ CPC, November 11, 1927, p.5.
- ³¹⁵ CPC, November 25, 1927, p.5.
- ³¹⁶ CPC, December 2, 1927, p.14.
- ³¹⁷ Appendices 4 and 7.

- ³¹⁸ CPC: December 30, 1927, p.4; January 27, 1928, p.4.
- ³¹⁹ CPC, January 27, 1928, p.4.
- ³²⁰ Ibid., p.5.
- ³²¹ Ibid.
- ³²² CRM, February 15, 1928, p.7.
- ³²³ CPC, February 10, 1928, p.4.
- ³²⁴ CPC, February 10, 1950, p.13.
- ³²⁵ CPC: February 17, 1928, p.4; March 14, 1928, p.7; CRM, March 14, 1928, p.7.
- ³²⁶ CRM, March 14, 1928, p.7.
- ³²⁷ May (Mae) S. McNulty (1860-19??) exhibited one painting with the CAA in March of 1928 entitled *Twin Oaks* and her name was misspelled as "E. MacNulty" in the *Pine Cone* (Appendix 4). She was born in Ohio in 1860 and married William J. McNulty in 1885. The couple and their two sons were permanent residents of Fresno, California, in the late 19th century (U.S. Census of 1900 [ED 6, Sheet 16A]). By 1910 she was a widow; during World War I she served as a secretary at the Red Cross (U.S. Census of 1910 [ED 44, Sheet 3A]; U.S. Census of 1920 [ED 31, Sheet 13B]). She probably visited Carmel with her friend, Jessie Short-Jackson (*Fresno Morning Republican*, June 8, 1912, p.9).
- ³²⁸ Refer to Appendix 6 and the biography on Kloss in Appendix 7.
- ³²⁹ Refer to note 196 above; CPC, March 16, 1928, p.2.
- ³³⁰ CPC: March 16, 1928, p.6; March 23, 1928, p.6.
- ³³¹ CPC: March 23, 1928, p.6; May 25, 1928, p.4; July 6, 1928, p.4.
- ³³² Appendix 5.
- ³³³ TOT, March 11, 1928, p.5-S; BDG, April 12, 1928, p.7; cf. Appendix 5.
- ³³⁴ CPC, May 11, 1928, p.4.
- ³³⁵ Cannon, *Correspondence*, Letter to "Mr. Milner Cannon," May 5, 1928.
- ³³⁶ Lawrence (Laurence) Charles Parker (1899-1985) was born in Canada to parents who were Michigan natives. According to the U.S. Census of 1920, he resided as a renter at 352 Taylor Street in San Francisco and worked as a "gilder, picture frames" (U.S. Census of 1920 [ED 197, Sheet 8B]). He exhibited with the California Society of Etchers in 1922 and with the San Francisco Art Association in 1924. He began to contribute to the CAA in 1928 (Appendix 4). He died on March 7, 1985 in Napa County (California Death Index; cf., Hughes, p.850; Jacobsen, p.2453).
- ³³⁷ CPC, May 18, 1928, p.8.
- ³³⁸ As cited in CPC, May 25, 1928, p.4.
- ³³⁹ CPC, May 25, 1928, p.4.
- ³⁴⁰ Ibid., p.8.
- ³⁴¹ DPT: May 19, 1928, p.3; October 4, 1928, p.3.
- ³⁴² CPC: August 17, 1928, p.4; December 14, 1928, p.7.
- ³⁴³ CPC, June 15, 1928, p.4. Unfortunately, typographical errors mar some of Cannon's text.
- ³⁴⁴ CPC, June 22, 1928, p.1.
- ³⁴⁵ CPC, July 6, 1928, p.4.
- ³⁴⁶ CPC, July 27, 1928, p.4.
- ³⁴⁷ Appendices 4 and 7.
- ³⁴⁸ CPC, July 27, 1928, p.4.
- ³⁴⁹ CRM, January 16, 1929, p.5.
- ³⁵⁰ CPC, August 17, 1928, p.4; SFC, September 9, 1928, p.D-7; AAA 25, 1928, p.25.
- ³⁵¹ TOT, August 26, 1928, p.S-5.
- ³⁵² CPC, December 14, 1928, p.7.
- ³⁵³ CPC, August 31, 1928, p.1.
- ³⁵⁴ CPC, September 14, 1928, p.4.
- ³⁵⁵ CRM, January 16, 1929, p.5.
- ³⁵⁶ CPC, December 5, 1947, p.1.
- ³⁵⁷ CRM, July 11, 1928, p.9; refer also to biography on Fortune in Appendix 7.
- ³⁵⁸ CPC: July 27, 1928, p.4; October 3, 1930, p.5.
- ³⁵⁹ CPC, September 14, 1928, p.1.
- ³⁶⁰ BDG, September 13, 1928, p.5; cf., BDG: September 27, 1928, p.9; October 4, 1928, p.8; CPC, Sept. 14, 1928, p.4.
- ³⁶¹ CPC, January 11, 1929, pp.3, 7.
- ³⁶² Ibid., p.8.
- ³⁶³ CRM, January 16, 1929, p.5.
- ³⁶⁴ CPC, May 10, 1929, p.13.
- ³⁶⁵ CPC, May 17, 1929, p.2.
- ³⁶⁶ CPC: May 24, 1929, pp.1, 8; June 14, 1929, pp.1, 13; refer to their biographies in Appendix 7.
- ³⁶⁷ CPC, June 21, 1929, p.9.
- ³⁶⁸ CPC, September 20, 1929, p.3.
- ³⁶⁹ CPC, May 24, 1929, p.9.
- ³⁷⁰ CPC, June 21, 1929, p.6.
- ³⁷¹ AAA 26, 1929, p.59.
- ³⁷² CPC, July 12, 1929, p.6.
- ³⁷³ CPC, July 26, 1929, p.10.
- ³⁷⁴ TOT, August 4, 1929, p.6-S.

- 375 CPC, August 16, 1929, p.7.
- 376 CPC, August 16, 1929, p.12.
- 377 CPC, August 23, 1929, p.3.
- 378 As published in SFC, July 14, 1929, p.D-5.
- 379 CPC, August 23, 1929, p.12.
- 380 TAD, October 1, 1929, p.6.
- 381 CPC, September 20, 1929, p.3.
- 382 TOT, January 21, 1929, p.28.
- 383 CPC: October 19, 1928, p.4; February 15, 1929, p.7; TWP, March 2, 1929, p.13.
- 384 CPC: March 15, 1929, p.18; May 17, 1929, p.14.
- 385 SFC, July 14, 1929, p.D-5.
- 386 CPC, June 14, 1929, p.16.
- 387 CPC: June 28, 1929, p.14; July 5, 1929, p.13.
- 388 Refer to the biography on the Kleinschmidt sisters in Appendix 7.
- 389 CPC: September 20, 1929, p.4; September 27, 1929, p.4.
- 390 CPC, October 4, 1929, p.7.
- 391 TWP, November 30, 1929, p.12.
- 392 CPC, October 3, 1930, p.9.
- 393 Jennie V. Cannon, "West vs. East," TAD, December 1, 1929, p.8.
- 394 BDG: April 18, 1929, p.7; June 14, 1929, p.15.
- 395 Appendix 5.
- 396 SFC: October 27, 1929, p.D-5; November 3, 1929, p.D-5.
- 397 As cited in CPC, November 8, 1929, p.7.
- 398 TOT, November 10, 1929, p.5-B.
- 399 Refer to Volume 2, Chapters 9 and 13 for an assessment of Cannon's later art.
- 400 *La Revue moderne illustrée des arts et la vie*, July 15, 1932, p.17.
- 401 CPC, January 24, 1930, p.2.
- 402 CRM: January 15, 1930, pp.4f; January 29, 1930, pp.16f; TOT, February 9, 1930, p.4-M.
- 403 CPC, February 7, 1930, p.12.
- 404 CPC: April 11, 1930, p.5; April 25, 1930, p.1; May 2, 1930, p.5.
- 405 CPC: May 16, 1930, p.7; November 28, 1930, p.11.
- 406 CRM, June 12, 1930, p.6.
- 407 CPC, June 13, 1930, p.18.
- 408 CPC, August 8, 1930, p.3; CRM, August 14, 1930, p.10; Perry/Polk 1930, pp.438, 531; refer to the biography on Johonnot in Appendix 7.
- 409 CRM, July 31, 1930, p.3.
- 410 CRM, June 19, 1930, p.3.
- 411 Ibid.
- 412 CPC, June 20, 1930, p.9.
- 413 Appendix 4.
- 414 CRM, September 4, 1930, p.3.
- 415 CRM, August 28, 1930, p.2.
- 416 CPC, August 8, 1930, p.6.
- 417 CRM, September 4, 1930, p.6.
- 418 TOT: September 18, 1930, p.1; October 1, 1930, p.3.
- 419 CPC, October 3, 1930, p.5.
- 420 CPC: October 24, 1930, pp.3, 8; October 31, 1930, p.4; CRM, October 30, 1930, p.7.
- 421 CRM: October 30, 1930, p.7; November 6, 1930, p.6; CPC, October 31, 1930, p.4.
- 422 CRM, November 13, 1930, pp.6f; CPC, November 14, 1930, p.14.
- 423 CPC, January 16, 1931, p.7; MPH, January 20, 1931, pp.1, 7.
- 424 CPC, February 13, 1931, p.3.
- 425 MPH, March 9, 1931, p.5.
- 426 CPC: March 20, 1931, p.4; May 1, 1931, p.7; May 22, 1931, p.6.
- 427 CPC, June 12, 1931, p.2. In truth, the Johonnots established the first artist-owned public art gallery in Carmel.
- 428 CPC: August 7, 1931, p.7; October 30, 1931, p.10.
- 429 Appendix 4.
- 430 CRM, June 16, 1931, p.2.
- 431 CRM, July 9, 1931, p.1; CPC, July 10, 1931, p.16.
- 432 CRM, July 10, 1931, p.1. At this time, only Ritschel and Dougherty were National Academicians ("N.A."), while Hansen and Gilbert held the lower rank of Associates of the National Academy of Design ("A.N.A."). Hansen was elected a "N.A." in 1948 and submitted *Men of Dogger Bank* as his diploma piece; Gilbert never received the "N.A."
- 433 CPC: August 14, 1931, p.8; August 21, 1931, p.12.
- 434 CPC, October 30, 1931, p.10.
- 435 CPC, November 13, 1931, p.8.
- 436 CRM, December 10, 1931, p.5.

- ⁴³⁷ E.g.: *The Wisconsin State Journal*, January 31, 1932, p.18; *Ogden Standard-Examiner* (Utah), February 3, 1932, p.7; *Huntingdon Daily News* (Pa.), February 4, 1932, p.4.
- ⁴³⁸ Appendix 4.
- ⁴³⁹ CRM, January 7, 1932, p.6.
- ⁴⁴⁰ BDG, May 24, 1932, p.2.
- ⁴⁴¹ CPC, March 3, 1933, p.9; Hale, p.94.
- ⁴⁴² CPC, April 15, 1932, p.4.
- ⁴⁴³ LAT, June 22, 1932, p.1-8.
- ⁴⁴⁴ Appendix 4.
- ⁴⁴⁵ CPC, June 17, 1932, p.2.
- ⁴⁴⁶ CPC, June 24, 1932, p.12.
- ⁴⁴⁷ CPC: August 5, 1932, pp.1f; August 12, 1932, p.22.
- ⁴⁴⁸ Ella Winter, *And Not to Yield: An Autobiography*, New York, 1963, p.139ff.
- ⁴⁴⁹ CPC: August 26, 1932, p.5; October 21, 1932, p.6.
- ⁴⁵⁰ CRM, April 14, 1932, p.9.
- ⁴⁵¹ As cited by Gilliam, p.115.
- ⁴⁵² LAT, April 22, 1932, p.1-2.
- ⁴⁵³ CRM, September 15, 1932, p.2; CSP, March 24, 1949, p.8.
- ⁴⁵⁴ CPC, October 7, 1932, p.12.
- ⁴⁵⁵ CPC, December 9, 1932, p.13.
- ⁴⁵⁶ Appendix 4.
- ⁴⁵⁷ CPC, April 14, 1933, p.1.
- ⁴⁵⁸ CPC, June 16, 1933, p.4.
- ⁴⁵⁹ CPC, June 30, 1933, p.13.
- ⁴⁶⁰ Cannon, *Correspondence*, Letter from Pedro Lemos to Mrs. J. V. Cannon, June 8, 1933.
- ⁴⁶¹ CPC, June 30, 1933, p.12.
- ⁴⁶² Jennie wrote the letter to Newberry before her departure on June 11th for a nine-week motor and train trip through the Southwest and Rocky Mountains to Minnesota with a return via Canada, Washington and Oregon (Letters from Jennie V. Cannon to cousin Edna Vennerström Dierick dated July ??, 1933, August 13, 1933 and September 11, 1933. I wish to thank Joan Tweit for access to this material). Jennie returned to Berkeley about August 10, 1933 and spent most of September cleaning and painting the “apartments” at 1631 La Vereda. She had converted most of her studio-home into apartments to finance her earlier travels and to bankroll the studio-gallery that she was about to establish in San Francisco. Also refer to narrative in Chapter 9 in Volume 2 and Cannon, *Drama*, pp.36-43.
- ⁴⁶³ CPC: July 7, 1933, p.1; November 10, 1933, p.1.
- ⁴⁶⁴ CPC, July 14, 1933, p.12.
- ⁴⁶⁵ CPC, September 29, 1933, p.5.
- ⁴⁶⁶ CPC, October 27, 1933, p.4.
- ⁴⁶⁷ Apparently, the CAA first rented this space for a few weeks, but the threat of its imminent sale forced the organization to purchase the parcels (CPC, February 10, 1950, p.13).
- ⁴⁶⁸ CPC, November 10, 1933, p.1.
- ⁴⁶⁹ CPC, December 1, 1933, p.1.
- ⁴⁷⁰ CPC, September 30, 1927, p.4.
- ⁴⁷¹ CPC, July 26, 1929, p.3.
- ⁴⁷² CSP, March 24, 1949, p.8.
- ⁴⁷³ CPC, February 10, 1950, p.13.
- ⁴⁷⁴ In the event the Association defaulted, the holder of the first mortgage could make a tidy profit on the resale. Segal had established the Bank of Carmel in 1923 and in 1928 became city treasurer. His extensive financial holdings, which included real estate, insurance and the Carmel Savings and Loan Association, were later consolidated into a charitable trust. He worked on downtown projects with several Carmel developers, including Pedro Lemos. There is no hard evidence, but the possibility remains that Lemos encouraged Segal to help the CAA. Refer to the citations in the biography on Lemos in Appendix 7 and MPH, October 15, 2006, p.14.
- ⁴⁷⁵ In addition, several others donated art that was sold to cover Gallery expenses, including Burton Boundey, Charles Judson and Myron Oliver (CPC: November 17, 1933, pp.1, 8; November 24, 1933, p.1; December 1, 1933, p.1; August 29, 1947, pp.1, 20; February 10, 1950, 13).
- ⁴⁷⁶ CSN, November 16, 1933, p.1. The core of Remsen’s complex eventually became the CAA’s Beardsley Gallery, a room intended to memorialize an “eminent geologist, whose widow contributed generously to the building fund,” and to display watercolors, “especially those of W. C. Watts” (cf., CSP, March 24, 1949, p.8; the biography on Remsen in Appendix 7; and Chapter 11 in Volume 2).
- ⁴⁷⁷ CSN, December 7, 1933, p.1.
- ⁴⁷⁸ CPC, December 8, 1933, p.7.
- ⁴⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, p.6.
- ⁴⁸⁰ CSN, December 28, 1933, p.1.