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## "YOUTHFUL ENTHUSIASM UNDER A HOSPITABLE SKY":

## American Artists in Polling, Germany, 1870s–1880s

Lisa N. Peters

A PICTURESQUE VILLAGE located in the foothills of the Bavarian Alps, Polling was a favored retreat of many American artists studying in Munich in the late nineteenth century. The town is "just full of artists," remarked John White Alexander (1856–1915) in 1878. "A gay, jolly, and easy going set. Music in the evenings and work during the day. The work being by far the best of their pleasures."

In addition to John White Alexander, Frank Duveneck (1848–1919) and William Merritt Chase (1849–1916) spent time in Polling, and many lesser-known American artists frequented the town as well. Indeed, a guest book kept at a local inn from 1853 to 1905 (Fig. 1) contains the names and dates of visits of more than seventy-five American artists who stayed overnight in the scenic village (Fig. 2) situated about thirty miles south of Munich.<sup>2</sup> In 1987, the author examined a copy of the guest book at the Heimatmuseum im Klosterdorf Polling. The owner of the original guest book, Siegfried Loeck, later provided the author with a second copy of the ledger for study purposes.<sup>3</sup> This latter copy is now

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at the Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.

Polling's popularity with American artists in the post-Civil War years was a direct result of Munich's popularity as a place for American artists to study.4 In the early 1870s, the city was especially appealing because Paris, the city to which American artists had been attracted previously, was recovering from the Franco-Prussian War. Munich was developed earlier in the century, under Ludwig I, King of Bavaria, who reigned from 1825 to 1848. Lauded by the American critic Samuel Benjamin as "the most enthusiastic royal patron art has met since Lorenzo de Medici," Ludwig I refurbished the city's monuments, widened its streets, and hired muralists to decorate its public buildings.5 Ludwig had waged "an expensive and learned effort . . . to make his capital rival the cities of the South of Europe, surpass those of the North, and equal the splendors of the old Italian cities, and even those of Athens," remarked a writer for the New York Leader. The legacy of Ludwig I was continued by his son Maximilian II, who reigned from 1848 to 1864, as well as by his grandson Ludwig II, who ruled from 1864 to 1886. A great lover of music, especially that of Richard Wagner, and a connoisseur of art as well, King Ludwig II sustained the city's artistic renaissance into the 1870s.7

Although Munich had fewer museums in which to study the great art of the past than did Paris, nonetheless, as Benjamin remarked, the city had enough treasures "to satisfy the most craving art appetite." Edward Brown, the manager of exhibitions at the National Academy of Design in New

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Fig. 1. Sheet from the Polling guest book signed John Twachtman, Charles Ulrich, Wilder Darling, Walter Shirlaw, John Beatty, Otto Krehbiel, and Ferdinand Ahles during the spring of 1876. The guest book is unlocated. Photograph, the author. This sheet and those illustrated elsewhere in this article are reproduced from a photocopy of the guest book formerly in the possession of the author and now in the collection of the Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.

York, similarly reported that Munich's public galleries were "rich in antique and modern art." Ranking the city above London, Paris, or Brussels in popularity with American artists, Brown also commented on the excellent facilities there for the study of art: "But, it is on returning here to Munich that I find myself again in the great European centre for American artists. Of the two thousand painters of Munich, about forty are Americans. . . . [The city's] academies, so successfully conducted by Professors [Karl von] Piloty, [Wilhelm von] Diez and others, have also attracted some of the best art talent from other parts of the Continent."9 The attraction to Munich among artists was also noted by Benjamin: "the number of artists living, studying, and painting there—over two thousand—exceeds, in proportion to the population, the art guilds of any other city."10

In the realm of the visual arts, the city's government-run Royal Academy, founded in 1808, played the leading role in Munich during much of the nineteenth century." Since 1850, the institution had been growing steadily in stature. By the 1870s, it was renowned for its unique curriculum. Whereas other European art academies stressed the importance of draftsmanship and limited attendance in painting courses to advanced students, the Munich academy placed equal emphasis on painting and drawing and encouraged beginning students to enroll in classes on painting techniques.

The figure dominating the local art world was Wilhelm Leibl (1844–1900).<sup>12</sup> On the advice of Gustave Courbet, whom he had met in Munich in 1869,<sup>13</sup> Leibl traveled to Paris to study the work of the French Realists. Following his Parisian sojourn, Leibl began painting subjects drawn from contemporary life. He also adopted the *alla prima* technique, painting directly on the canvas and foregoing any retouching. He soon acquired a number of followers, who became known as the "Leiblkreis" (Leibl circle).<sup>14</sup> Leibl's approach appears to have infiltrated the Munich academy as well. During the 1870s, student exercises at the school included making portraits of peasants and old men and boys who lived on the streets of Munich.

Few Americans had direct contact with Leibl since he tended to isolate himself in the country-side. Frank Duveneck, however, was one of those who did. Arriving in Munich from Covington, Kentucky, in November of 1869, Duveneck

enrolled in classes at the Royal Academy under Wilhelm von Diez (1889–1907), a proponent of the Dutch masters, particularly Frans Hals and Rembrandt. Leibl was a frequent visitor to Diez's classes while Duveneck was enrolled in them. <sup>15</sup> The Bostonian Jean-Paul Selinger (1850–1909) has the distinction of being the only American artist who is known to have studied directly with Leibl. <sup>16</sup>

Despite its close proximity to Munich, Polling was not one of the favored retreats of the Leibl circle. Indeed, only two of its members appear to have signed the guest book: Johann Sperl (1840–1914), in 1870, and Adolph Stäbli (1842–1901), in 1871.<sup>17</sup> Nonetheless, Polling had been frequented by German artists since at least the 1830s. The well-known genre painter Carl Spitzweg (1808-1885), along with his colleagues Eduard Schleich (1812–1874), a landscape painter, and Johann Friedrich Voltz (1817-1886), a specialist in landscapes with animals, were there in the 1830s and 1840s.18 In the following two decades, the signatures of many other once-prominent German artists can be found in the guest book: the landscapists Wilhelm Boshart (1815–1878), August Geist (1835–1868), and Emil Hellrath (1838-?); the portrait and genre painter Franz Napoleon Heigel (1813–1888); the genre painters Edward Grützner (1846-1925) and Gustav Laeverenz (1851–1906); the still-life artist Ludwig Eibl (1842-1918); and the landscape, genre, and history painter Nikolaus Gysis (1842–1901).<sup>19</sup>

Part of Polling's appeal to artists was its colorful history. Located on a site where relics from the Stone Age and the Roman era had been found, Polling was established as a monastery town by the Bavarian Duke Tassilo III in about 750 A.D. Its original inhabitants were Frankish, Irish, and Scottish Benedictine monks.20 The monastery, the Kloster Polling (Fig. 3), also known as the Holy Cross, is famous for a large cross preserved there.<sup>21</sup> The monastery burned in about 950 and was rebuilt in 1010 by the Bavarian Emperor Henry II. Although parts of the building were again damaged and restored in the centuries that followed, the monastery flourished until 1803 when Napoleon, who had broken ties with the Holy Roman Empire, invaded Germany and secularized its ecclesiastical states. When he invaded Bavaria, Polling's monastery, too, was secularized.22 By the time the victorious French rushed in, according to local legend, the monastery was deserted,



Fig. 2. Frank Duveneck. OLD TOWN BROOK, POLLING, BAVARIA. c. 1878. Oil on canvas, 30 7/8 x 49 1/8". Collection, Cincinnati Art Museum, Gift of Frank Duveneck.

although not a single monk had departed by the town's heavily guarded outer gate.<sup>23</sup> Their means of departure was resolved years later with the discovery of an underground passage to Weilheim, about a mile and a half away. Many of the monastery's treasures, said to have been stashed in the woods by the departing monks, were recovered in later decades.<sup>24</sup>

As the century progressed, Polling became increasingly popular as a stopover point for tourists, especially those traveling from Munich to the Bavarian Alps. The main accommodation was the

town's inn, located just outside the monastery's walls and alongside a brook that runs through the town. Established as a tavern in 1498 and still in existence today, the inn has been owned and managed by the Streicher family since at least the early nineteenth century.<sup>25</sup> It was at this establishment that the guest book was maintained.

There are 218 sheets in the guest book. Each one has approximately ten signatures. According to Hans Joachim Büchler, former director of the Heimatmuseum im Klosterdorf Polling, all



Fig. 3. Postcard view of the Kloster Polling, c. 1937. Collection, the author.

overnight guests in Polling, whether staying at the inn or not, were required to sign the ledger. How consistently this policy was adhered to cannot be established. Indeed, other sources, such as letters and newspaper articles, document visits by American artists to Polling for which there is no corresponding information in the guest book. Until the summer of 1879, guest book entries were accompanied by registration numbers.<sup>26</sup>

The guest book has spaces for the signatures of the visitors, the dates the visits began, names of accompanying family members or servants, cities of origin, cities of residence, professions, length of stays in Polling, and remarks. Few visitors filled in every space; in fact, most provided only the minimum of information: name and place of residence. Many omitted the date of arrival; in such cases, the date the visit began can only be approximated from the dates given in the entries above and below. Since few visitors indicated profession, the actual number of artists who visited the town cannot be determined by the guest book, although they appear to constitute only a small portion.

Understandably, most of the guests who signed the book were from Germany, the majority of them residents of Munich.<sup>27</sup> But citizens of other parts of Europe, such as Austria and Norway, also signed the register.<sup>28</sup> The most impressive signature to be found in the guest book is that for King Ludwig II, who stayed there several times between 1865 and 1869, probably while designing Neuschwanstein, his dramatic palace in

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Fig. 4. Sheet from the Polling guest book bearing a signature for Ludwig II, King of Bavaria, on June 30, 1865.

the mountains near Füssen on the Austrian border. Each time Ludwig's name was entered in the book, it was written in large, calligraphic letters filling an entire page in the register (Fig. 4).<sup>29</sup>

A number of factors help to explain Polling's popularity with American artists in the late nineteenth century. As mentioned earlier, artists had been going there for decades. Another attraction was the town's accessibility. As of about 1870, it was a ninety-minute train trip from Munich to Weilheim, and from there about a mile and a half on foot or by carriage to Polling. In some instances, one could travel to Polling directly by train, even though the town had no station. John White Alexander reported that a train engineer had volunteered to stop the train in Polling, should passengers wish to disembark.<sup>30</sup>

Polling also appealed to artists because of its inexpensive accommodations and studio space. Frank Duveneck reportedly stayed at the inn, in a "cheap little garret in a separate tower, next to the [town's] bowling alley." Artists also rented rooms in villagers' homes. The latter appears to have been the case with Alexander, whose letters home were sent from Haus 38. Attractive places to work were also available for little money. "One great thing about Polling is that we get our studios so good and cheap—Large, light and warm—and only for \$2. a month. Such a studio in New York would cost a fortune," wrote Alexander.

Many of the Americans set up studios in the former monastery. By the 1870s, part of the building had been turned into cattle stables while one wing had been converted into a brewery. The London-born, American-raised artist Michael Angelo Woolf toured the structure with Alexander in 1878 and described its long-abandoned, though still splendid, interior:

I went through the [monastery] yesterday with Alexander and was impressed by the signs of its former magnificence. One room in particular on the third floor was used as a library. It is one of the finest rooms I ever saw; large pillars, ornamented with angels, cherubs and gold in profusion ran the entire length of the room. The ceiling was beautifully frescoed with religious subjects and the doors were magnificent specimens of carving. The floors, however, were all broken up by searchers after secret passage ways and hidden staircases. . . Along the marble paved hall ways, hay wagons, beer barrels, plought

[sic], etc. are to be found in great quantities and in one of the large arched rooms ropes were stretched and the week's wash of a family was hanging. Window sashes are broken, and rain[,] hail, and snow find their way in and although the walls are as strong as the day they were built, there is an air of shabby gentility about the place that is saddening.<sup>35</sup>

In a letter to Norbert Heerman, Duveneck's early biographer, Charles E. Mills (1856–1943) said that he and J. Frank Currier (1843–1909) had adjoining studios in a wing of Polling's former monastery. Katharine Metcalf Roof, William Merritt Chase's biographer, described the studio arrangements there:

at Polling the students worked in a deserted monastery for which they paid a small rent, using the monks' cells for studios and utilizing the picturesquely costumed peasants for models. The lower part of the monastery had been turned into a cattle-stable, and of the material it offered they also availed themselves, painting the cattle and sheep.<sup>37</sup>

While Roof and other scholars reported that the artists were asked to pay a modest fee for their studios in the monastery, Heerman found that this requirement was not strictly enforced. According to his research, newcomers inquiring about working there were told, "Help yourself to a studio, and don't worry about the rent."<sup>38</sup>

Models, too, were both plentiful and inexpensive in Polling. According to Woolf, one could find many children who were "accustomed to sit as models... and old working men and women by the score who [were] also to be had for artistic purposes and reasonable at that." Years later, John White Alexander's widow, Elizabeth, similarly recalled, "the [town's] children all went to school at 5:00 in the morning and got through about 9:00, so they could go out and work in the fields, so they were very glad to pose for a fraction of a pfennig a pose."

Americans artists were also attracted to Polling for the camaraderie they encountered there. In an article on John White Alexander published in *Harper's Magazine* in 1899, Armand Dayot described the colony as having "an atmosphere of youthful enthusiasm under a hospitable sky." Recounting the extravagant farewell party held for Chase there in 1878, Roof also conveyed the spirit of fellowship that existed at this "uproarious

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Fig. 5. Sheet from the Polling guest book signed by Wilder Darling, Walter Shirlaw, and Ferdinand Ahles in June of 1876.



Fig. 6. Frank Currier. WHITE BEECHES. C. 1877. Watercolor on paper, 11 1/2 x 16". Private collection.

occasion"; one participant recalled the event as "pleasantly spent in mirth and song."<sup>42</sup>

American artists were said to have enjoyed friendly relations with the townspeople of Polling as well. According to Heerman, the local residents appreciated their antics and festive gatherings while their dedication to their art was also highly respected.<sup>43</sup> And the artists, in turn, delighted in the townspeople and their customs. The peasants, Heerman

reported, typically "dressed in primitive fashion, but on Sundays and especially on holidays they would emerge with old world splendor. Superb colorful costumes and heavy silver and gold jewelry, scrupulously well kept in the intervals in heavy chests, would appear in profusion."

With the aid of the guest book, a partial chronology of the American presence in Polling can be established. The visits began in the early 1870s,



Fig. 7. Frank Duveneck. POOL AT POLLING, BAVARIA. c. 1880. Oil on canvas, 15 7/16 x 21 9/16". Collection, Cincinnati Art Museum, Bequest of Mr. and Mrs. Walter J. Wichgar.

reached their peak in 1878 and 1879, and then slowly dwindled, with only a few Americans stopping in the town after 1881.

Frank Duveneck, a pre-eminent force among the American art students in Munich, was the first American artist to sign the guest book. When he arrived in Munich in 1869, only a few other American artists had preceded him. David Neal (1838–1915) had been there since 1861 and Toby

Rosenthal (1848–1917) since 1865.<sup>45</sup> Whereas Neal and Rosenthal studied under the history painter Karl von Piloty (1824–1886), Duveneck, as mentioned earlier, affiliated himself with Wilhelm von Diez. The strongly modeled portraits Duveneck created under Diez—among them *Head of an Old Man in a Fur Cap* (1870), *Whistling Boy* (1872), and *Young Man with a Ruff* (1873) (all in the Cincinnati Art Museum)—brought him

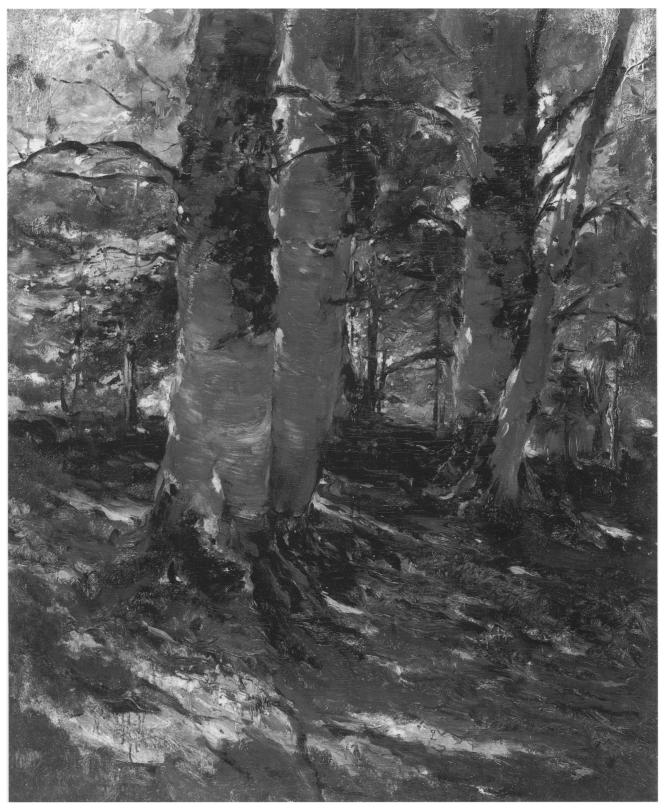


Fig. 8. Frank Duveneck. BEECHWOODS AT POLLING. c. 1876. Oil on canvas, 45 1/2 x 37". Collection, Cincinnati Art Museum, Gift of Frank Duveneck.

considerable acclaim in Munich. In 1873, he was invited to participate in a special exhibition at the Münchner Kunst Verein, Munich's art union.

One of the few American artists studying in Munich in the early 1870s, Duveneck became friends with several of his German classmates. One them, Ernst Karl Georg Zimmermann (1852-1901), painted Duveneck's portrait in the manner of Leibl in about 1872 (private collection).46 It was probably with Zimmermann and several other Munich-based artist friends that Duveneck made his first trip to Polling. His name appears in the guest book on March 30, 1872, immediately below that of Zimmermann. Arriving on the same day and signing directly below Duveneck were the Gustav Laeverenz, artists Gustav (1847–1900), Carl Friedrich Mayr (1823–1884), and Alfons Spring (1843–1908).47 The guest book thus provides the probable identities of some of Duveneck's German companions during his first stay in Munich.

Duveneck did not sign the guest book in 1873. Perhaps he was then too preoccupied with creating a work of art for the Vienna World's Fair, in which he had been promised a place, to leave Munich. By December of that year, his finances depleted and not having completed a painting for the exhibition, Duveneck returned to Covington. His aim was to find work on church decorations in nearby Cincinnati and replenish his travel funds. 49

Between the time of Duveneck's departure and his return to Munich in August of 1875, several other American artists visited Polling. Frederick Dielman (1847–1935) signed the guest book on July 28, 1874. He probably traveled there in the company of the two artists whose signatures follow his: Zimmermann and another German artist, Othmar Rüber. Toby Rosenthal signed the guest book in the fall of 1874. He appears to have gone to Polling with two other artists, the Swiss-born Jacob Gehrig (1846–1922) and the German Heinrich Braun (1852–1892); both signed the guest book directly after he did.

Polling was very popular with American artists in 1875. In late spring or early summer, Richard Lionel Delisser (?–1907) and Harvey Young (1840–1901), both from New York, Thaddeus Welch (1844–1919) from San Francisco, and Walter Shirlaw (1838–1909) from Chicago, all signed

the guest book.<sup>52</sup> According to the guest book, Frederick Dielman paid his second visit to Polling on July 10. Below his name is that of William Merritt Chase.

Then a student and relatively unknown, Chase arrived in Munich in the fall of 1872 and registered at the Royal Academy on November 1, the same day as Dielman.<sup>53</sup> At the Academy, he studied with Karl von Piloty. As had Duveneck, Chase launched his career and established his reputation while a student in Munich. Also similar to Duveneck, he was well liked by the other young American artists there, for both his accomplished artwork and his engaging personality. Chase signed the Polling guest book on this one occasion only, although he is known to have visited Polling at least twice during the summer of 1878.<sup>54</sup>

The increased fondness for Polling in 1875 was not coincidental. In that year, the American Artists' Club was formed in Munich.55 Modeling its programs on those of German art clubs of that era, the club organized informal exhibitions, staged tableaux-vivants after paintings by Dutch and Flemish masters, and arranged lighthearted social events, such as the "pretentious ball" held at Munich's Hotel Detzer in July of 1876 to celebrate the American Centennial.<sup>56</sup> G. Henry Horstman, the American consul in Munich during the 1870s, spent many "pleasant nights" at the club, attending "varied performances," which included "sketches, caricatures, and comic illustrations," and hearing many "jokes and good sayings." "When [the artists] congregate at night," Horstman wrote, "the cloud of smoke hanging through the room seems to wrap them together as with one common cover, and the beer-mugs on the table are the connecting link of a chain that binds them to each other."57 With the artists fraternizing like this in Munich, it is to be expected that they were socializing in Polling as well.

Duveneck's return to Munich in August of 1875 also had an impact on Polling's attraction among American artists. Accompanying him on his return was his student, friend, and fellow Cincinnatian John Twachtman (1853–1902), who was making his first trip abroad.<sup>58</sup> Duveneck quickly assumed leadership among Munich's American art students. Indeed, many of them took classes with Duveneck, gathered around him, and attempted to emulate his



Fig. 9. Frank Duveneck. POLLING LANDSCAPE. 1881. Oil on canvas, 16 x 24". Collection, Indianapolis Museum of Art, Gift of Mrs. Charles P. Mattingly, in memory of Charles Stayton Drake.

work. They also enrolled in the school he established later in Florence.<sup>59</sup>

Duveneck signed the Polling guest book for the second time on September 11, 1875. His travel companions on this occasion may have been the American artist Joseph Strong (1852–1900),<sup>60</sup> the Norwegian artist Johan Nailsfin, and Heinrich Braun; both their signatures appear right below his.

Polling continued to be a favorite getaway for American artists in 1876 as well, especially during

the spring and summer. Walter Shirlaw signed the guest book in late March or the beginning of April. He was probably there at the same time as the artists William Preston Phelps (1848–1923), whose name appears beneath his, and Charles Ulrich (1858–1908), whose name is a few lines below Phelps's. 61

Later that spring, John Twachtman signed the guest book for the first and only time. He may have been there at the same time as Ulrich, a fellow

Fig. 10. Frank Currier. HEAD OF A BOY. c. 1877–1878. Oil on canvas, 24 1/4 x 19 7/8". Collection, Brooklyn Museum of Art, Gift of Mrs. John W. Alexander.



student in the life class of Ludwig Löfftz (1845–1910) at the Academy. Ulrich signed the guest book for the second time, directly under Twachtman; the date of May 7 is inscribed alongside his name. Walter Shirlaw and Wilder Darling (1856–1933) signed the guest book on the nineteenth of the month.<sup>62</sup> In early June, the artists Ferdinand Ahles and Otto Krehbiel of New York, John Beatty (1851–1924) of Pittsburgh, as well as Darling and Shirlaw, were all in Polling. They

embellished the register with playful sketches alongside their names (Figs. 1 and 5).

On July 8, the Boston portraitist Frederick Porter Vinton (1846–1911) signed the guest book, just below that of another Boston artist, F. S. Hayden. The former had gone to Munich at Duveneck's invitation.<sup>63</sup> Two New York artists, Walter Blackman (1847–1928) and Edgar M. Ward (1839–1915), the latter a brother of the sculptor John Quincy Adams Ward (1830–1910), probably joined Vinton

in Polling; their names are inscribed in the guest book several lines below Vinton's. The guest book also indicates the August 31 arrival of the Cincinnati artists Henry Muhrman (1854–1916) and Louis Ritter (1854–1892).<sup>64</sup> On September 4, another artist arrived from Cincinnati, Francis Russell Strobridge (1855–1879), probably in the company of Ulrich.<sup>65</sup> On October 10, the San Francisco artists Henry Alexander (1860–1895) and John W. Shehan signed the guest book. They were apparently the last American artists to sign the book that year.

Not until June of 1877 does the signature of another American artist appear in the guest book. On the eighth of the month, the Philadelphia painter Henry Singlewood Bisbing (1849–1933) inscribed his name in the register. Winter weather may have deterred artists from visiting Polling for part of that period. Other interests may have kept them away as well. In March or April of 1877, Duveneck, Chase, and Twachtman all left Munich for Venice, where they remained for about a year.66 Fewer American artists seem to have signed the guest book during that time. Charles Ulrich's name appears on October 20. His stay may have overlapped with that of Ross Turner (1847–1915), who arrived in November; in the ledger, Turner's signature appears two lines below Ulrich's. The painter Louis Moeller (1855–1929) visited Polling that winter.67

Despite the apparently decreased American presence in Polling in 1877, there was one significant arrival in town that year: that of J. Frank Currier. The artist, his wife, Catherine, and their three children settled in Polling for a stay that would last about two years.68 Probably because he established residency in Polling, Currier did not sign the guest book. He would have been considered an inhabitant of the town, rather than a visitor, and, therefore, it would not have been a requirement. 69 One reason Currier was able to remain in Polling for so long was that, unlike most of the American artists in town, he was not enrolled in classes in Munich. After five years of study (1863–1868) in Boston with George Fuller (1822-1884), two years in Antwerp (1869–1870), and two more at the Royal Academy in Munich (1871–1872), Currier decided to take a break from formal training and work on his own. A writer for the Boston Daily Advertiser, reporting from Munich, described Currier's situation at this time:

Mr. Currier of Boston, one of the strongest painters here, has not been able on account of his family cares to undertake any important work for the past two or three months. Mr. Currier has studied in a somewhat peculiar way also. After spending a term or two at Antwerp in the drawing schools, he came [to Munich], then entered the painting school, became dissatisfied, and has since devoted himself to study from nature and the Old Masters. The spirit and force with which he paints prove that good results have followed from his choice in study. He will pass the summer in the country, and intends making outdoor studies to be used in works he hopes to undertake as winter comes again.<sup>70</sup>

Unfortunately, the landscapes Currier painted in Polling remain largely unidentified. One exception is a watercolor of beech trees inscribed "Polling" (Fig. 6). Most likely resulting from contact with Currier in Polling, Duveneck also sketched and painted the scenery in the Bavarian village and surrounding countryside (Figs. 7, 8, and 9). Duveneck's earliest known efforts in landscape painting date from 1878, when, according to the guest book, he was in Polling during the summer, and Currier was in residence there.<sup>71</sup>

Most of the paintings Currier executed in Polling were portrait heads. Although many such quickly sketched images are known, only a few can be documented as actually having been done in Polling (Fig. 10).<sup>72</sup> In a letter to his stepfather, Colonel E. J. Allen, John White Alexander expressed great admiration for "Currier's heads":

They look as if they were painted with a stick. In some places the paint is loaded up fully a quarter of an inch and so rough that one can hardly tell whether they are upside down or not unless he gets away about six or eight feet. But what heads they are. He is thought by the artists to be the strongest man we have. Think I can promise to bring one of his heads home with me. A person who does not understand this thinks they are horrible but to an artist they are magnificent. He is working away patiently and quietly and will someday take the public by storm.<sup>73</sup>

Alexander is the only other American artist who is known to have lived in Polling. Alexander's letters to his family, written between June of 1878 and August of 1879, chronicle his experiences in the



Fig. 11. John White Alexander. PROFILE OF A GIRL (STUDY OF A MUNICH PEASANT). c. 1879. Oil on canvas, 20 1/8 x 17 1/2". Collection, The Taft Museum, Cincinnati, Bequest of Charles Phelps and Anna Sinton Taft.

town and provide a glimpse of the activities of other American artists working there as well.<sup>74</sup>

After receiving firsthand reports about Polling from fellow Pittsburgh artist Albert Grantley Reinhart (1854–1926), with whom he had traveled to Munich in the winter of 1878, Alexander became intrigued with the idea of going there himself. He was clearly referring to Polling on April 14, 1878,

when he wrote to his stepmother that Reinhart had left with Charles Corwin (1857–1938) "for the country... to a little village near the mountains where there is said to be some of the finest subjects for sketches to be found in this part of the country." A short time later, Alexander relayed the details of Reinhart's visit to his stepbrother William H. Allen. Alexander remarked on the

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Fig. 12. Sheet from the Polling guest book signed by Theodore Wendel, George Hopkins, Joseph DeCamp, Charles H. Freeman, Edward Huntington Dwight, John O. Anderson, Walter McEwen, and Henry Singlewood Bisbing on December 23, 1878.

gleeful atmosphere in Polling, but cautioned that too much amusement might interfere with one's ability to do concerted work:

Am afraid though that their work takes too much in the form of play. There is nothing serious about it—all pleasure. They have a lot of costumes in which they rig up any of their friends who come along. Pose them on the stand, and go to work painting, and in an hour they have a head on the canvas that is a very strong and powerful sketch. But then they stop. They don't seem to think it necessary to carry it any farther, because I suppose then would begin the hard work. And that is the part in which only the best man wins. All learn in a short time to knock off a head, but very few can get beyond a certain point.<sup>76</sup>

According to the guest book, Alexander's initial visit to Polling took place in late April or early May of 1878. His decision to live there appears to have been motivated largely by financial concerns. Armand Dayot described the artist's economic situation at that time:

In Munich, Alexander at once entered the drawingschool in the National Academy of Fine Arts, but after a three months' trial he found living even in the cheap Bavarian Capital, too much of a strain upon his resources. He was strictly limited to what he had managed to put aside during the three years of his apprenticeship as an illustrator, and the duration of his stay abroad depended entirely upon the strict economizing of his slender store. In order to spare his purse as much as possible, he gave up Munich and went to Polling, an Upper Bavarian village, where a number of young American painters had formed a colony. Living and models cost very little in Polling ... and once more breathing to some extent his native air, he set to work with indefatigable ardor at his painting.77

## Years later, it was similarly reported:

In Munich Alexander studied for about three months, in the class of Professor Benzcur [sic] at the Munich Academy of Fine Arts. But the expense of living in the city was comparatively high, and Alexander was not in sympathy with the severe and academic method of the school so he presently decided to go to Polling in Northern Bavaria, where there was at that time a small colony of American artists, among others J. Frank Currier, Walter L. Shirlaw, Joseph De Camp and Ross Rutner [sic; Turner?]. There Alexander first started to paint.<sup>78</sup>

Alexander was living in Polling by the end of June of 1878. On the thirtieth of the month, he

wrote to his stepfather of the pleasure of "the pure mountain air and the bright sunlight. The birds and the green fields." His walks in the countryside were restorative for his health as well as inspirational for his work. In the same letter, he mentioned plans he had to paint with Currier: "If tomorrow is a fine day I will take a day[']s sketching trip with Mr. Currier to some little town between this and the mountains."

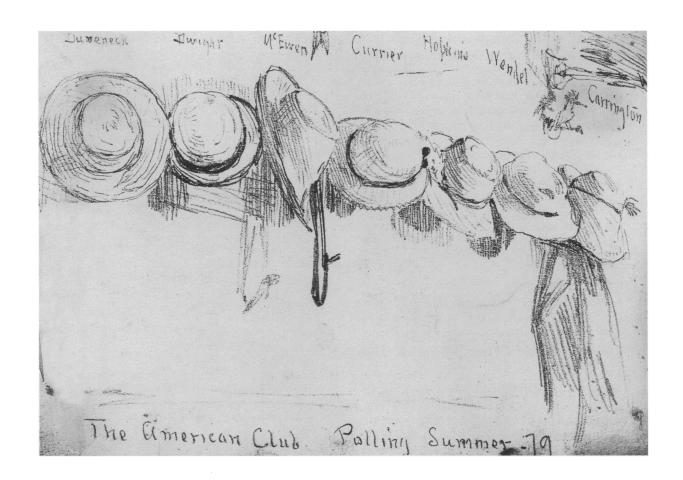
Similar to Currier, Alexander concentrated his artistic efforts in Polling on portraiture. By mid-July, he was producing accomplished portrait drawings and trying to improve his skills as a portrait painter. As he wrote to his stepfather: "Of my drawing I feel pretty safe—Wish you could see a portrait of Currier that I drew in twenty minutes—life size—When I can paint as well as it is drawn—I go home—."80 Alexander reported on his progress again several months later:

Feel now that if I could paint a portrait that would satisfy everyone, myself included, I would be the happiest person in the world. And I will try. As it is now I can get a better likeness than any of the artists here.<sup>81</sup>

To help support himself while living in Polling, Alexander made crayon portraits from photographs for patrons back in Pittsburgh. Although he was very grateful for the income these commissions produced, he despised working from photographs. On November 10, 1878, Alexander wrote to his stepfather:

You don't know how I hate the crayon portraits, and how glad I am to get them off. Will send them this week and really almost wish I would not get any more to do. Yet of course I will be glad to get them for the money is what I want, but the crayons are so miserable—any one can do them. It requires no talent, simply a little patience. . . . I would rather when I get to America paint portraits from life at the same price as the crayons than to do such ordinary common work. . . . I can do so much better and more artistic work when not cramped by a photograph and piece of crayon. It is so different to get hold of some large brushes and have full sweep and freedom, and one feels so much more independent.

Alexander was adamantly opposed to having the crayon portraits exhibited publicly, fearing they would damage his reputation as an artist. In the same letter, he told his stepfather that in about a

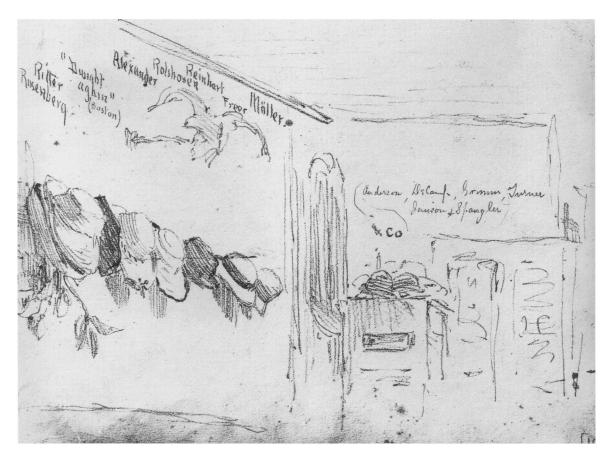


year he would have work to send him that was truly exceptional and therefore worthy of display:

One thing I want to ask of you, and that is not to allow these to be put on exhibition. No matter if it should stop me several orders. It will injure me more than the money is worth even to me, for every person knows that crayons from photos can be had at any photographer's—artists especially know it. Crayons from life are a little different, but how different are heads *painted* from life. And that is what I want to do and what I do do every day. . . . If you will only please wait say one year, I will send you something that any person can't do. And then you may show it just as much as you please. 82

That Alexander's skills as a painter were quite accomplished at this time is evident from a profile he made of a young woman in about 1879 (Fig. 11). Although not documented as having been done in Polling, the strongly lit, delicately rendered oil is possibly similar to the portrait heads Alexander was painting in the Bavarian village.<sup>83</sup>

Having gone as far as he could artistically in Polling, Alexander left the village at the beginning of September of 1879. As he mentioned shortly before departing to Edward E. Phelps, a childhood friend, he had come to Polling for his health and the town had done him "much good," but "it would be lost time for me



Figs. 13 and 14 (above and facing page). John White Alexander. THE AMERICAN CLUB, POLLING, SUMMER 79. Sketchbook pages, graphite on paper, each 6  $1/2 \times 9 3/4$ ". Private collection.

to remain longer here—lost as far as my progress in Art is concerned, so about Sept. 1st, I return to Munich—take a studio and pitch in for the winter."84

While Alexander was living in Polling, the American gathering there was probably at its largest. As he remarked to his stepfather on June 30, 1878: "Nearly all the English and Americans and some of the Germans are coming down this Summer. There are so many students here now that it is called an American colony."

In spite of Alexander's description, few Americans signed the guest book that spring or summer. Nonetheless, the ledger does provide some evidence

of who was there. Inscribing it that year were the artists Henry Alexander and Theodore Wores (1860–1939), both of San Francisco, Charles Niehaus (1855–1935) of Cincinnati, Julius Rolshoven (1858–1930) of Detroit, and Albert Reinhart and Charles Corwin.

In early July, Chase paid a visit. Of Chase's rise to fame in Germany, Alexander wrote: "Am writing this very early in the morning—so that I can have as much of the day as possible to myself—because late yesterday evening a Mr. Chase, one of the finest head and portrait painters in the world—was to come down to this place. He is now on his way from Venice to New York where he is to take charge

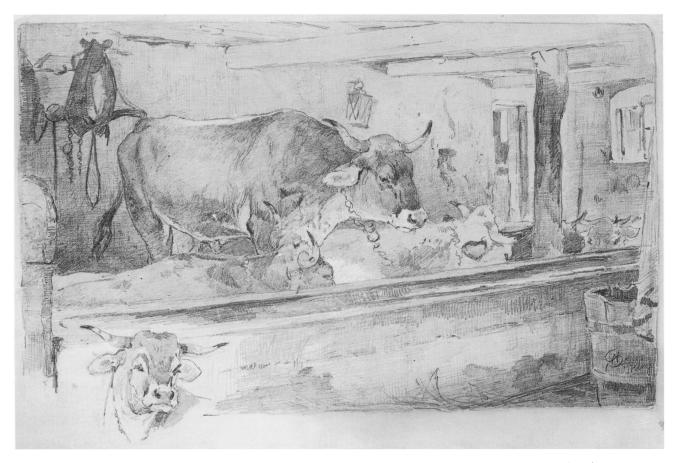


Fig. 15. Walter Shirlaw. Interior of a Bavarian Cattle stable; study for the head of an ox. Graphite on cream-colored paper, 11 7/16 x 17 7/16". Collection, Cooper-Hewitt, National Design Museum, New York, Smithsonian Institution, Gift of Mrs. Walter Shirlaw. Photograph, Art Resource, New York.

of the painting class of the Art Students League, which by the way is coming along splendidly."86

Sometime later in the month, a large group gathered in Polling to honor Chase on the eve of his departure for America. According to Roof, it was Duveneck who decided to hold Chase's surprise farewell party in Polling. When Chase descended from the train at nearby Weilheim, Roof reported, he was lifted by a shrieking mob of friends onto a throne placed on top of a cart led by Bavarian oxen

and decorated with "studio stuffs, draperies, rugs, skins, and brass plates." The raucous party followed the road to Polling. As Roof described the event:

on the back of the cart was a keg of beer from which the guest of honor as well as his entertainers refreshed themselves. To the accompaniment of cattle horns, Tyrolese mountain horns, and copper kitchen-ware beaten with a spoon, a veritable pandemonium, they proceeded on their way. When they entered the little town the men took the oxen from the traces and drew



Fig. 16. Walter Shirlaw. VIEW OF THE BACK OF A DWELLING IN POLLING, BAVARIA. 1876. Graphite on paper, 9 3/8 x 12 3/4". Collection, Cooper-Hewitt, National Design Museum, New York, Smithsonian Institution, Gift of Mrs. Walter Shirlaw. Photograph, Art Resource, New York.

the cart themselves up to the door of the inn. Here Chase was wafted to earth and into the low panelled tap-room where the festivities continued until a late hour. A thoroughly decorous account of this frankly uproarious occasion, written by one of the participators and printed in an American paper at the time, described the night as "pleasantly spent in mirth and song." A piece of parchment covered with seals, coins, and ribbons containing the names of the men who were present at that celebration hung for many years in the Tenth Street studio.<sup>87</sup>

Although it seems likely that Chase's party took place at the inn, the guest book does not provide any evidence of that. As for the record of the party mentioned by Roof, the decorated parchment is, unfortunately, unknown today, and the newspaper report has yet to be located.

In October of 1878, there appear to be no signatures by American artists in the guest book, but a group was known to have been in Polling at that time. On October 6, Alexander mentioned

having gone for a walk with Charles Mills, Albert Reinhart, Louis Ritter, and Ross Turner. They went first to Weilheim and then to the hamlet of Dessin. 88 Later that month, Alexander wrote his stepfather of another gathering of American artists, many of whom were seeking him out for portraits: "All the boys who come down to visit us come to me for a portrait sketch. . . . Mills brought his own canvas and when the boys come down on Christmas, they are all going to bring down canvas for me to paint them." 89

Alexander provides a firsthand account of the splendid holiday celebration that took place when "the boys" visited Polling that Christmas: "About fifteen Americans came down to Polling from Munich on Tuesday last and began their fun with a punch party on Christmas eve-a long sleigh ride and dinner on Christmas and a beer party on Christmas evening."90 Of the Americans who took part in the festivities, eight signed the guest book: John O. Anderson (mid-1850s-?), Henry Singlewood Bisbing, Joseph DeCamp (1858–1923), Edward Huntington Dwight (1856-?), Charles H. Freeman (1859-1918), George Hopkins (1855-1923), Walter McEwen (1860-1943), and Theodore Wendel (1859–1932).91 The party also included the English artist James Y. Carrington (1857-1892).92 The good-humored nature of the holiday gathering is reflected in the guest book. Playing on the artists' practice of following their signatures with the initials of a prestigious academic organization to which they belonged, such as A.N.A. for National Academy of Design Academician or R.A. for the Royal Academy of London, Carrington followed his name with A.S.S., Wendel with P.I.G., Hopkins with S.O.W., and DeCamp with H.O.G. (Fig. 12).

Later that winter and into the following spring, the guest book indicates the presence of only a few American artists in Polling. On March 17, Charles Ulrich signed the register. He may have traveled there with Frank Duveneck, whose signature is directly under his in the book. But another artist, whose name does not appear in the guest book then, was also there. As reported the following year by George McLaughlin (1831–1893), the cultural critic for the *Cincinnati Commercial Tribune* and founder of the Cincinnati Etcher's Club, Francis Russell Strobridge died suddenly in Polling on March 15, at the age of twenty-four. 93 His illness, however, seems to have been prolonged, for on

September 22, 1878, Alexander had written to his stepfather that Strobridge was in Polling on his deathbed with consumption.<sup>94</sup>

In late spring and into the summer, a number of American artists inscribed their names in the guest book, among them the painters Charles Corwin, Edward Dwight, Charles Dyer (1851-1912) of Chicago, Charles Forbes (c. 1856–1926),95 Frederick Freer (1849-1908), also of Chicago, Walter McEwen, Albert Reinhart, Julius Rolshoven, Jean-Paul Selinger, and Clagget D. Spangler (1848–1911) of Baltimore. Other American artists, however, appear to have been in Polling then as well. Alexander, who remained there through August, made sketches of an interior (Figs. 13 and 14) in which he depicted, according to notations on the drawings, the hats of "Duveneck, Dwight, McEwen, Currier, Hopkins, Wendel, Carrington, Ritter, [Henry Mortiker] Rosenberg [1858-1947], 'Dwight again' (Boston), Alexander, Rolshoven, Reinhart, Freer, and Mäller"6 hanging side by side on a wall and those of "Anderson, DeCamp, Grimm, Turner, Jenison, Spangler & Co" stacked up on a cabinet. The inscription on the drawing, "The American Club, Polling, Summer 79," suggests that the American Artists' Club in Munich may have held some of its gettogethers in Polling. Another sketch by Alexander, inscribed "Currier and His Friends, Polling, Bav[aria]" and probably also dating from 1879, attests to the prominent role that Currier played during his stay in the town. (The drawing, now lost, is illustrated in the Appendix following this article.)

In the fall of 1879, the flow of Americans to Polling began to dwindle. In early October, Duveneck and Alexander left Munich for Florence. Duveneck established a school there, at which Alexander taught painting.<sup>97</sup> Other American artists joined them later in the month, including many who might otherwise have visited Polling.98 In April of 1880, Duveneck and his circle went to Venice for the summer; in the fall, they were back in Florence. In September, those who had not gone to Italy gathered in Polling. Again, their inscriptions in the guest book convey the playful spirit of Polling's American visitors. Harper Pennington (1854-1920), for example, followed his place of residence, Maryland, with "Baltimore States Prison." Louis Ritter gave "Florenz?, Dublin—Jerusalem" as his place of origin; Ross Turner was a "Sea-skip painter" from



Fig. 17. Anonymous, after Walter Shirlaw. Study for SHEEP SHEARING IN THE BAVARIAN HIGHLANDS. c. 1876. Engraving after a drawing, now lost, reproduced in T. H. Bartlett, "Walter Shirlaw: First Article," American Art Review, vol. 2 (December, 1880), p. 100. Collection, General Research Division, The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations.

"Sing Sing"; Charles Mills resided on "Blackwells Island" (subsequently Welfare Island; now Roosevelt Island, New York); Max Weyl (1837–1914) came from the Cincinnati "Poor House"; Bdward Liebert (1862–?) was from the Washington, D.C., "county Jail"; and William J. Baer (1860–1941) followed his city of origin, Cincinnati, with "Soup house." 100

Surprisingly little of the work produced by American artists in Polling during the 1870s can be identified today. Because of the relaxed atmosphere in the Bavarian village, it is possible that many of them did not create much art there, preferring instead to socialize and enjoy the countryside. The majority of the American artists were in Polling during their student years, and it is possible they did not save much of their work from that time. It may also be that in Polling they executed mostly sketches, many of which have not survived.

Another factor is the lack of documentation for the work done by American artists in Polling. Few



Fig. 18. Anonymous, after Walter Shirlaw. SHEEP SHEARING IN THE BAVARIAN HIGHLANDS. Wood engraving, 7 3/8 x 9 1/2". Reproduced from "Walter Shirlaw," Art Amateur 8 (July, 1883), p. 31. Collection, General Research Division, The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations.

objects thought to have been executed there survive with their original titles. Of those that do, rarely is a precise location indicated. Notable exceptions are several landscape paintings by Frank Duveneck at the Cincinnati Art Museum (see Figs. 2 and 8) and a group of pencil drawings by Walter Shirlaw in the Cooper-Hewitt in New York (Figs. 15 and 16). Most often, little is known of the circumstances surrounding the creation of an object, and the work cannot be associated with the town by historians today on the basis of subject matter alone.

The pencil drawings by Walter Shirlaw in the Cooper-Hewitt constitute the largest body of work that can be ascribed to an American artist in Polling

in the late nineteenth century. T. H. Bartlett, in an article published in the *American Art Review* in 1880, described several of these drawings (Fig. 17) as studies for Shirlaw's *Sheep Shearing in the Bavarian Highlands*, a large-scale canvas painted in Munich and exhibited to much acclaim at the National Academy of Design in New York in 1877 and at the Exposition Universelle in Paris the following year (Fig. 18). At the latter venue, it was awarded an Honorable Mention. Bartlett described the painting, now lost, <sup>101</sup> as follows:

The scene is laid in a very old monastery in the Highlands of Bavaria. The shearing is performed by

women who form themselves into bands, each having its forewoman. Having made their engagements early in the season, they go from town to town, in their tramp of labor and frolic. Starting from the southern section of Bavaria in early spring, they move forward as the season advances, shearing the sheep of their last year's coats.<sup>102</sup>

Shirlaw's *Sheep Shearing* was admired for its scale and unidealized glimpse of everyday life among Bavarian peasants. The painting also showed the artist's adoption of the Realism of Leibl and Courbet.

Probably the best-known image of Polling by an American artist is Frank Duveneck's *Old Town Brook, Polling, Bavaria* of 1878 (see Fig. 2). The view is toward the inn, which can be glimpsed beneath the trees in the background at the right. The long, low buildings that divide the canvas horizontally belonged to the monastery. <sup>103</sup> At the upper right, just visible over a cluster of trees, are the dome and tower of the back of a church. The building at the extreme right is a grain storage house. Duveneck also painted the environs of Polling, in works such as *Pool at Polling, Bavaria, Beechwoods at Polling,* and *Polling Landscape* (see Figs. 7, 8, and 9).

Although some Americans visited Polling after 1881, their numbers dropped significantly. This is not a surprising turn of events, since Munich had been steadily losing its attraction for American art students. Contributing to its declining popularity was the cool reception of the work of several Munich-trained American artists in the New York press in 1878 and 1879. The critics faulted them for their "tyrannizing sense of paintiness" and for using a "recipe for arranging a tableau of emotion." Currier was singled out for employing a practice that "no competent critic can approve of . . . of 'rubbing down' his picture with the blacking brush, before the paint is dry" and for giving "a slapdash performance," with "gymnastic antics." 107

By 1881, Duveneck had settled in Florence (he is not known to have returned to Munich), Chase was installed as a teacher at the new Art Students League in New York, and droves of other American artists were flocking to Paris. Only Currier remained behind in Germany. In the early 1880s, he settled in Schliessheim, a suburb of Munich. His pursuits there included instructing a group of painters from Indiana, among them John Ottis Adams (1851–1927), William Forsyth (1854–1935), and Theodore Steele (1847–1926), all of whom later were associated with the "Hoosier group." 108

Munich had clearly fallen out of favor with American art students by the 1890s, and they largely forgot Polling. In 1892, Charles de Kay, writing for *Cosmopolitan*, reported on the decline of Munich's popularity, noting that even as facilities for study there grew, instead of attracting more American art students, "there has been a sharp falling off in the American art colony since 1871. . . . Paris, the city humiliated by Bavarian and Prussian [*sic*], no longer royal nor imperial in her government, has drawn to herself the American art student so powerfully, that now Boston, New York and Philadelphia have established annual Paris prize scholarships." <sup>109</sup>

Nonetheless, some American artists did visit Polling after its American heyday. William Verplank Birney (1858–1909), a Cincinnati genre painter, signed the guest book in August of 1883; Max Bohm (1868–1923) of Cleveland visited in June of 1890; and John White Alexander brought his family to his former haunt in June of 1891. In 1894, Alfred Juergens (1866–1929), a landscape painter from Chicago, visited the town and entered his name into the register. The following year Charles Ulrich returned to Polling from Italy, where he had spent the previous two decades. He was apparently the last American artist to sign the guest book.

<sup>1.</sup> John White Alexander, letter to his stepbrother William H. Allen, Munich, April 27, 1878, John White Alexander Papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C., microfilm, roll 1728, frame 76.

<sup>2.</sup> The earliest known reference to the guest book by an American art historian appears in a typescript prepared by Norbert Heerman, Duveneck's early biographer, entitled "Polling, Bavaria—The American Village." In his typescript, Heerman stated: "It is

through the guest books of Polling's only little inn owned for six generations by the Streicher family, that a unique record has been preserved of the names of over one hundred American painters who visited under its hospitable roof during the later seventies." In connection with his research on Duveneck, Heerman corresponded with the American artists Walter McEwen, Charles Mills, and Henry Mortiker Rosenberg, all of whom were in Polling in the late 1870s. The typescript is part of the Heerman Papers, now in the possession of Bruce Weber.

3. Hans Joachim Büchler, director of the Heimatmuseum im Klosterdorf Polling in 1987, put the author in contact with Siegfried Loeck in Munich. Loeck has since died, and recent efforts to locate the original guest book have been unsuccessful.

Following this article is a roster of the names of the American artists who signed the guest book and the dates of their visits. For help in transcribing the signatures in the guest book and researching the biographies of the artists, the author would like to thank Jean Carlsen, Karen Lemmey, Christine Rossi, and Robert Tobin. Laurene Buckley assisted with research in Polling in 1987.

- 4. On American artists in Munich in the nineteenth century, see Aloysius George Weimer, "The Munich Period in American Art," Ph.D. dissertation, University of Michigan, 1940; Michael Quick and Eberhard Ruhmer, Munich and American Realism in the Nineteenth Century, exhibition catalogue, E. B. Crocker Art Gallery (Sacramento, Calif., 1978); and Annette Blaugrund et al., Vice Versa: Deutsche Maler in Amerika, amerikanische Maler in Deutschland, 1813-1913 (Munich, 1996), especially the essays by Barbara Dayer Gallati on William Merritt Chase and William H. Gerdts on J. Frank Currier. I would like to thank Professor Gerdts for providing me with a copy of the English-language version of his essay and for sharing archival material and other sources from his library. The Munich art world during the 1870s is also discussed in Eberhard Ruhmer et al., Die Münchner Schule, 1850–1914, exhibition catalogue, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen (Munich, 1979), and Michael Quick, An American Painter Abroad: Frank Duveneck's European Years, exhibition catalogue, Cincinnati Art Museum (Cincinnati, 1987).
- 5. S[amuel] G. W. Benjamin, *Contemporary Art in Europe* (1877; reprint ed., New York, 1976), p. 116.
- 6. "A German Art City," New York Leader, November 25, 1871, p. 4.
- 7. In the next decade, however, Ludwig II's increasing mental instability and preoccupation with building extravagant castles for personal pleasure made it impossible for him to govern effectively. In 1886, after being declared unfit to rule, Ludwig II committed suicide.
- 8. Benjamin, Contemporary Art, p. 117.
- 9. Edward Brown, "Fine Arts in Europe," *New York Evening Post*, October 27, 1875, p. 1.
- 10. Benjamin, Contemporary Art, p. 117.
- 11. Michael Quick has stated that during the late nineteenth century the Royal Academy "was a public institution, run at public

expense and open to any qualified student who paid a modest fee, for up to seven years, even offering free studio space to advanced students. Foreign students in large numbers were admitted without any apparent prejudice." See Quick, *An American Painter Abroad*, p. 14.

- 12. On Leibl, see Alfred Zimmerman, "Leibl und Diez," *Das Bayerland* 32 (1928), pp. 311–313; Horst Keller, *Wilhelm Leibl: Ein kölner Maler in Bayern* (Cologne, 1980); Eberhard Ruhmer, *Der Leibl-Kreis und die reine Malerei* (Rosenheim, 1984); and Boris Röhrl, *Wilhelm Leibl: Leben und Werk* (Hildesheim and New York, 1994).
- 13. Leibl saw Courbet's works on view at the International Glass Palace Art Exhibition held in Munich that year.
- 14. Formed in 1871, the Leiblkreis included Louis Eysen (1843–1899), Karl Hagemeister (1848–1933), Karl Haider (1846–1912), Albert Lang (1847–1933), Victor Müller (1829–1871), Otto Scholderer (1834–1902), Carl Schuch (1846–1903), Johann Sperl, Hans Thoma (1839–1924), and Wilhelm Trübner (1851–1917).
- 15. Quick and Ruhmer, Munich and American Realism, p. 25.
- 16. See Charles Vogel and Gloria Vogel, "Jean Paul and Emily Selinger," *Historical New Hampshire*, vol. 34 (summer, 1979), pp. 125–142.
- 17. Sperl signed the register in April of 1870 and Stäbli on August 21. 1871.
- 18. Franz Schaehle, "Polling: Ein Sommerparadies des münchner Maler," *Aus unserer Heimat Lech-Jahr-Land*, vol. 19 (1939), pp. 145–151. According to Hans Joachim Büchler, other German artists visiting Polling during those decades were Heinrich Bürkel (1802–1869), Sebastian Habenschaden (1813–1868), Christian Hansen (1804–1880), Christian Morgenstern (1805–1867), August Seidel (1820–1904), and Bernhard Stange (1807–1880).
- 19. A number of these artists later associated with the American artists in Munich. Laeverenz and Duveneck were both students in Diez's classes in the early 1870s. Both Gysis and William Merritt Chase were in Karl von Piloty's classes from 1873 to 1875. Chase painted a portrait of Grützner in about 1875 (private collection); for a reproduction, see Quick and Ruhmer, *Munich and American Realism*, p. 39, no. 6.
- 20. On the history of Polling, see Franz Xaver Bogenrieder, *Die Bau- und Kunstgeschichte des Klosters Polling* (Munich, 1929); Schaehle, "Polling," pp. 145–151; and Max Biller, *Polling im Pfaffenwinkel mit den Ortseilen Etting und Oderding*, brochure (Polling, 1987).
- 21. According to local legend, Tassilo III, while hunting, found a cross, uncovered by a deer he was chasing. The monastery was later built on the site of Tassilo's discovery. The cross Tassilo is said to have discovered no longer exists.

The cross now above the high altar of the church in the monastery complex, placed there in 1628, was probably made in the early eleventh century as a replacement for the cross Tassilo is thought to have found. It was possibly worshiped even earlier.

The wood came from a tree felled between 884 and 1018. Painted decorations were added to the cross in c. 1230–1240. In the eighteenth century, it was embellished with Rococo elements and encased in glass to protect it from those who, believing it was the cross discovered by Tassilo, were taking splinters from it. See Stiftskirche Polling (Lindenberg, 1999).

- 22. On Napoleon I's impact on Germany, see Thomas Nipperdey, *Germany from Napoleon to Bismarck, 1800–1866*, translated by Daniel Nolan (Princeton, N.J., 1986), pp. 1–9.
- 23. Hans Joachim Büchler first reported this story to the author in 1987. Others residing in Polling repeated it. "W. R. H.," in an article entitled "Art" in the *Saint Louis Spectator*, December 8, 1883, p. 256, also relayed the story.
- 24. Some of these are currently displayed in the Heimatmuseum in Polling. The majority is scattered among museums and libraries elsewhere in Germany. Descriptions of Polling's reliquaries and other treasures may be found in Bogenrieder, *Klosters Polling*.
- 25. Although it is not known what the inn was called when the artists were so fond of it, it is now named the Alte Kloster-Gaststätte. Michael Jarnach is the current owner and manager. The last owner with the Streicher family name was Adolph Streicher (1895–1981). Precisely when the inn was established has not been determined. Beer was first served outside the monastery walls in 1498. The Streichers probably acquired the inn sometime after 1803, when the monastery was no longer in use. Brigitte Angelosanti, the current director of the Heimatmuseum im Klosterdorf Polling, in a telephone conversation with the author in April of 2000, kindly provided information regarding the history and ownership of the inn. Fayruz Kirtzman translated the conversation.

In a letter to Norbert Heerman, written from Munich on August 9, 1937, in the Heerman Papers, Duveneck scholar Robert Neuhaus described the inn in Polling as "a fairly large (about 50 ft by 100 ft) half-timber barn-shaped structure. Downstairs consists of kitchen and dining rooms and Gesellschaftszimmer [living room]. Upstairs are living quarters." Neuhaus went on to say that the inn had not changed much since the 1870s.

- 26. Brigitte Angelosanti was unable to provide any information on record keeping for visitors to Polling at this time. Why the registration numbers ceased to be recorded in the guest book has not been determined.
- Other German cities mentioned are Augsburg, Karlsruhe, Ulm, Berlin, and Düsseldorf.
- 28. Among the foreign places of residence inscribed in the register are Vienna, Salzburg, Stuttgart, and The Hague.
- 29. A signature for King Ludwig II appears in the guest book on June 30, 1865; June 27 and September 29, 1867; June 22 and 27, 1868; and May 17 and October 22, 1869. His palace is today a popular tourist attraction.
- 30. John White Alexander, letter to his stepmother, Mrs. E. J. Allen, Polling, October 6, 1878, John White Alexander Papers, roll 1728, frame 175.

- 31. Heerman, "Polling, Bavaria."
- 32. See John White Alexander's letters dating from June 30, 1878, to August 2, 1879, in the John White Alexander Papers, roll 1728. According to Heerman, "Polling, Bavaria," sleeping quarters in peasant houses cost \$1.50 a month.
- 33. John White Alexander, letter to his stepfather, Colonel E. J. Allen, Polling, November 10, 1878, John White Alexander Papers, roll 1728, frame 205.
- 34. Katharine Metcalf Roof, *The Life and Art of William Merritt Chase* (New York, 1917), p. 51. According to Heerman, "Polling, Bavaria," the Streicher family owned the brewery.
- 35. Michael Angelo Woolf, letter to his brother Albert E. Woolf, Polling, June 12, 1878, Heerman Papers.
- 36. Charles E. Mills, letter to Norbert Heerman, dated only March 1, Heerman Papers. Mills, a native of Pittsburgh, was in Munich by 1878.
- 37. Roof, *Chase*, p. 51. Similarly, Nelson C. White, Frank Currier's first biographer, stated: "The old Holy Cross Monastery in Polling, secularized in 1803, was . . . abandoned and the lower parts used as stables for cattle. The artists were prompt to see that the vacant cells could be utilized as studios, and they took possession of the old building for a small rent." Nelson C. White, *The Life and Art of J. Frank Currier* (Cambridge, Mass., 1936), p. 22.
- 38. Heerman, "Polling, Bavaria."
- 39. Michael Angelo Woolf, letter to his brother Albert E. Woolf, Polling, June 12, 1878, Heerman Papers.
- 40. Transcript of an interview by DeWitt McClellan Lockman with Elizabeth Alexander, January 24, 1928, John White Alexander Papers, reel 1727, frame 145.
- 41. Armand Dayot, "John W. Alexander," *Harper's Magazine*, vol. 99 (October, 1899), p. 703.
- 42. Roof, *Chase*, p. 53. White similarly remarked that the American gathering in Polling "was a happy, industrious colony and they were exceedingly stimulating to each other." White, *Currier*, p. 22.
- 43. Heerman, "Polling, Bavaria."
- 44. Ibid.
- 45. Both Neal and Rosenthal traveled there from San Francisco.
- 46. Reproduced in Quick and Ruhmer, Munich and American Realism, p. 91, no. 66.
- 47. Spring was a student of Diez. See Quick, *An American Painter Abroad*, p. 21. Although Victor Lieger of Vienna appears to have been among the party of artists arriving on that day, no information indicating he was an artist has come to light.

- 48. On Duveneck's efforts to produce a work for the exhibition, see Ouick, An American Painter Abroad, pp. 26–27.
- 49. On Duveneck's return to Ohio, see ibid., pp. 27-28.
- 50. Born in Hanover, Germany, Dielman grew up in Baltimore.
- 51. Rüber gave his place of origin as Munich. He signed the book again on May 31, 1876.
- 52. They may have visited Polling together, as their signatures appear consecutively in the guest book. Thaddeus Welch enrolled at the Munich Royal Academy on October 19, 1874.
- 53. See Roof, Chase, pp. 27-28.
- 54. See John White Alexander, letter to his stepbrother William H. Allen, Polling, July 9, 1878, John White Alexander Papers, roll 1728, frames 124–129. See also *ibid.*, p. 53.
- 55. For a description of the club, see "The American Art Club at Munich," *Art Amateur*, vol. 11 (September, 1884), pp. 75–76.
- 56. See G. Henry Horstman, *Consular Reminiscences* (Philadelphia, 1886), pp. 178–179. Horstman signed the Polling guest book on August 31, 1875. His is the only signature in the register on that date.
- 57. Ibid.
- 58. On Duveneck's return to Munich, see Quick, An American Artist Abroad, pp. 35–38.
- 59. See Elizabeth Wylie, *Explorations in Realism, 1870–1880:* Frank Duveneck and His Circle from Bavaria to Venice, exhibition catalogue, Danforth Museum of Art (Framingham, Mass., 1989).
- 60. Born in Bridgeport, Connecticut, Strong was studying with Piloty at the Academy.
- 61. Phelps's travel abroad was paid for by a group of businessmen from Lowell, Massachusetts, where he had been working as a sign painter for some time. Charles Ulrich was from New York City.
- 62. Darling enrolled at the Munich Royal Academy on April 5, 1875. He went to Munich from Cincinnati.
- 63. Duveneck had spent time with Vinton in Paris in April and May of 1876. See Quick, *An American Artist Abroad*, p. 45.
- 64. Also signing the ledger on that day was Charles Bragger, who gave his place of origin as New York. No biographical information about him has been found.
- 65. Ulrich's signature appears directly below Strobridge's in the guest book.
- 66. On this Venetian sojourn, see the author's "Twachtman: A 'Modern' in Venice," in *Insight and Inspiration, II: The Italian*

- Presence in American Art, 1860–1920, edited by Irma Jaffe (New York, 1992), pp. 62–81.
- 67. Turner was from Westport, New York. Moeller came from Weehawken, New Jersey.
- 68. On Currier, see Aloysius George Weimer, "J. Frank Currier," M.A. thesis, New York University, 1935; White, *Currier*; and William H. Gerdts, "Der vergessene Künstler: J. Frank Currier" in Blaugrund et al., *Vice Versa*, pp. 114–126.
- 69. White, *Currier*, p. 22, noted that Currier had a different status in Polling than did his fellow American painters: "Currier seems to have stayed more consistently in Polling than the others, in fact he even spent winters there, perhaps because he had a wife and family to stabilize him."
- 70. "Munich," *Boston Daily Advertiser*, May 16, 1877, p. 2. The article suggests that Currier's residency in Polling began during the summer of 1877.
- 71. See Quick, An American Painter Abroad, pp. 46-47.
- 72. As Elizabeth Alexander recalled, John White Alexander had acquired Currier's *Head of a Boy* (see Fig. 10) in Polling and kept it among his cherished possessions for many years. See William Henry Fox, "Frank Currier's Place," *Brooklyn Museum Quarterly*, vol. 18 (January, 1931), p. 4. Currier also painted a portrait head of the artist Charles Mills (23 x 19 inches; private collection) while in Polling. It is dated on the verso "1878."
- 73. John White Alexander, letter to his stepfather, E. J. Allen, Polling, September 22, 1878, John White Alexander Papers, roll 1728, frame 167.
- 74. Alexander's letters are in the Archives of American Art.
- 75. John White Alexander, letter to his stepmother, Mrs. E. J. Allen, Munich, April 14, 1878, John White Alexander Papers, roll 1728, frame 66. Reinhart signed the Polling guest book for the first time on April 11, 1878.
- 76. John White Alexander, letter to his stepbrother William H. Allen, Munich, April 27, 1878, John White Alexander Papers, roll 1727, frame 76.
- 77. Dayot, "Alexander," p. 703.
- 78. Catalogue of Paintings: John White Alexander Memorial Exhibition, exhibition catalogue, Department of Fine Arts, Carnegie Institute (Pittsburgh, 1916), pp. 15–16. The Hungarian artist Gyula Benczúr (1844–1920) taught at the Munich Royal Academy for many years.
- 79. John White Alexander, letter to his stepfather, Colonel E. J. Allen, Polling, June 30, 1878, John White Alexander Papers, roll 1728, frame 118.
- 80. John White Alexander, letter to his stepfather, Colonel E. J. Allen, Polling, July 14, 1878, John White Alexander Papers, roll 1728, frame 137.

- 81. John White Alexander, letter to his stepfather, Colonel E. J. Allen, Polling, October 27, 1878, John White Alexander Papers, roll 1728, frame 197.
- 82. John White Alexander, letter to his stepfather, Colonel E. J. Allen, Polling, November 10, 1878, John White Alexander Papers, roll 1728, frames 205–206.
- 83. Although more refined in technique and sensibility, Alexander's profile shares resemblances with Frank Duveneck's *Girl in a Black Hood* (1879; Cincinnati Art Museum) and possibly depicts the same model. See Edward J. Sullivan and Ruth Krueger Meyer, eds., *The Taft Museum: Its History and Collections* (New York, 1995), vol. 1, pp. 293–294.
- 84. John White Alexander, letter to Edward E. Phelps, Polling, August 2, 1879, John White Alexander Papers, roll 1728, frame 264.
- 85. John White Alexander, letter to his stepfather, Colonel E. J. Allen, Polling, June 30, 1878, John White Alexander Papers, roll 1728, frame 119.
- 86. John White Alexander, letter to his stepbrother William H. Allen, Polling, July 9, 1878, John White Alexander Papers, roll 1728, frame 124.
- 87. Roof, Chase, p. 53.
- 88. John White Alexander, letter to his stepmother, Mrs. E. J. Allen, Polling, October 6, 1878, John White Alexander Papers, roll 1728, frames 175–177. Also in the party was Alden Fordham of San Francisco. Whether he was an artist is not known.
- 89. John White Alexander, letter to his stepfather, Colonel E. J. Allen, Polling, October 27, 1878, John White Alexander Papers, roll 1728, frame 175.
- 90. John White Alexander, letter to his stepparents, Colonel and Mrs. E. J. Allen, Polling, December 29, 1878, John White Alexander Papers, roll 1728, frame 222.
- 91. Wendel and DeCamp were from Cincinnati; Hopkins grew up in Covington, Kentucky; Dwight was from Boston; and McEwen came from Chicago. Nothing is known of the early years of Freeman and Anderson.
- 92. In the guest book Carrington's signature appears above that of Wendel.
- 93. George McLaughlin, "Cincinnati Artists of the Munich School," *American Art Review*, vol. 2 (December, 1880), p. 50.
- 94. John White Alexander, letter to his stepfather, Colonel E. J. Allen, Polling, September 22, 1878, John White Alexander Papers, roll 1728, frames 163–164.
- 95. Born in Geneva to American parents, Forbes spent most of his career in Paris, where he became friendly with John Singer Sargent (1856–1925). From 1896 to 1903 Forbes lived in New York City.

- 96. *Mäller* may have been a joke for the German word for artist (*Maler*). Heerman identified the interior as the club room in the monastery. See Heerman, "Polling, Bayaria."
- 97. On Duveneck's school in Florence, see Quick, An American Painter Abroad, pp. 48-50.
- 98. The American art students in Munich who joined Duveneck at his school in Florence in 1879–1880 were John O. Anderson, Otto Bacher (1858–1923), Charles Corwin, Joseph DeCamp, Charles Forbes, Charles H. Freeman, Oliver D. Grover (1861–1927), George Hopkins, Charles Mills, Harper Pennington, Albert Reinhart, Louis Ritter, Julius Rolshoven, Henry Mortiker Rosenberg, Theodore Wendel, and Edward R. Smith.
- 99. Born in Muhlen-am-Neckar, Württemberg, Weyl grew up in the Lock Haven area of Pennsylvania and in Washington, D.C.
- 100. Baer received art training in Cincinnati before enrolling in the Royal Academy in Munich in 1880. He studied painting there under Ludwig Löfftz.
- 101. The Saint Louis Art Museum deaccessioned the painting in 1945.
- 102. T. H. Bartlett, "Walter Shirlaw: First Article," *American Art Review*, vol. 2 (December, 1880), pp. 99–100.
- 103. The setting was identified by Robert Neuhaus, who compared the work to its actual site during a visit to Polling in 1937. The bridges over the brook were already absent then. Robert Neuhaus, Munich, letter to Norbert Heerman, August 9, 1937, Heerman Papers.
- 104. William C. Brownell, "The Younger Painters of America," Scribner's Monthly, vol. 20 (July, 1880), p. 334.
- 105. "Fine Arts: The Lessons of a Late Exhibition," *Nation*, vol. 26 (April 11, 1878), p. 251.
- 106. "The Society of American Artists," *Puck*, vol. 55 (March 27, 1878), p. 3.
- 107. F. G. I., "Society of American Artists, IV," New York Mail, March 19, 1878, p. 4.
- 108. For information on the artists who followed Currier to Schliessheim, see Martin Krause, *The Passage: Return of Indiana Painters from Germany*, 1880–1905, exhibition catalogue, Indianapolis Museum of Art (Indianapolis, 1990).
- 109. Charles de Kay, "Munich as an Art Centre," Cosmopolitan, vol. 13 (October, 1892), p. 646.
- 110. According to Fox, "Currier's Place," p. 4, the Alexanders stayed several months, so taken were they with Polling and its residents.

## APPENDIX: American Artists Who Signed the Polling Guest Book

This list includes the names of known American artists who signed the guest book. Life dates, when known, are provided for each artist as are the places that each gave as his or her place of residence. Square brackets indicate information not given by the artist. The dates given are arrival dates. When no arrival date appears in the book, an approximate time of arrival, based on dated entries above and below, is provided in square brackets. Registration numbers are given for ease of reference. Those numbers ceased to be recorded during the summer of 1879.

Ahles, Ferdinand

June 4, 1876, New York (reg. no. 905) June 25, 1876, New York (reg. no. 914)

Alexander, Henry (1860–1895)

October 10, 1876, San Francisco, America (reg. no. 935)

February 8, 1878, San Francisco, U.S.A. (reg. no. 992)

[arrived between April 15 and May 8, 1878], U.S.A. (reg. no. 1002)

Alexander, John White (1856–1915)

[arrived between April 15 and May 8, 1878], Pittsburgh, U.S.A. (reg. no. 1006) [arrived between June 18 and 30, 1891]; visited with his family

Anderson, John O. (mid-1850s-?)
December 23, 1878, America (reg. no. 1049)

Baer, William J. (1860–1941)

"alias Charley Ross," September 10, 1880, Cincinnati, O., U.S.A., "Soup house"

Barnum, Leslie P. September 10, 1875, Munchen (reg. no. 866)

Barstow, S. M. [arrived between September 10, 1880, and January 8, 1881], Brooklyn, N.Y., U.S.A.

Beatty, John (1851–1924)
June 1, 1876, Munich (reg. no. 903)

Beck, H. R. August 27, 1879, Harrisburg, Penna., U.S.

Behne, Gustavus A. (1828–1895)
[arrived between June 18 and July 28, 1877],
Munchen (reg. no. 956)
October 1, 1877, U.S.A. z.z. Munchen (reg. no. 974)

Birney, William Verplank (1858–1909) August 3, 1883, Washington, D.C., U.S.A.

Bisbing, Henry Singlewood (1849–1933)
June 8, 1877, Philada., Penna., U.S.A. (reg. no. 953)
December [23], 1878, aus München (reg. no. 1051)

Blackman, Walter (1847–1928)
[arrived between July 8 and 30, 1876], New York (reg. no. 922)

Bohm, Max (1868–1923) June 10, 1890, Cleveland, Ohio, U.S.A.

Brenneman, George W. (1856–1906)
September 10, 1875, Münich (reg. no. 867)
March 9, 1876, Munich (reg. no. 886)
March 28, 1876, Munich (reg. no. 888)

Bussman, Fred P., Jr. June [24], 1879, Pittsburgh, Penna., U.S.A. (reg. no. 1074)

Chase, William Merritt (1849–1916)
July 10, 1875, St. Louis and Munchen (reg. no. 853)

Clarke, Joseph January 29, 1879, Boston (reg. no. 1052)

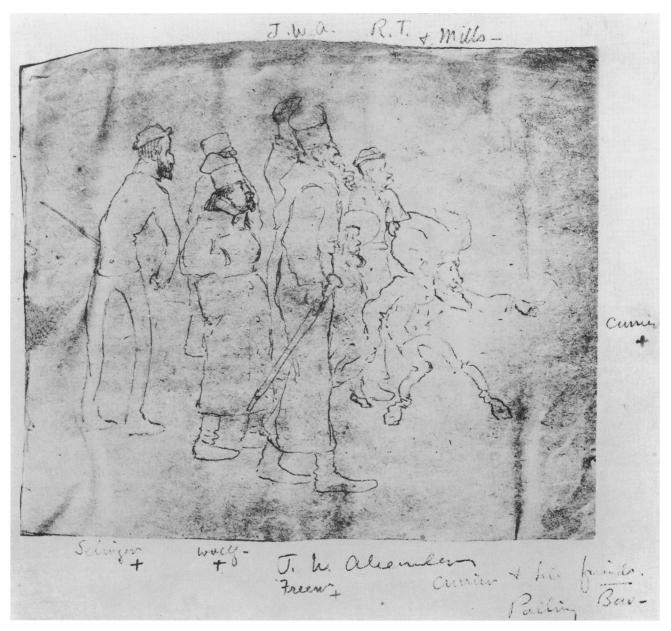
Clusmann, William (1859–1927)
[arrived between May 23 and August 28, 1881],
Chicago, Ill., "borne at Hardnut, Ind., U.S."
March 22, 1882, Chicago

Corwin, Charles (1857–1938) April 11, 1878, Newburgh, N.Y., U.S.A. (reg. no. 999) August 27, 1879, New York

Peters/American Artists in Polling

Fremden Buch Name und Carakter Homerkung Baltimore

Sheet from the Polling guest book signed by Harper Pennington, Louis Ritter, Ross Turner, Charles E. Mills, Max Weyl, Edward Liebert, and William J. Baer on September 10, 1880.



John White Alexander. CURRIER AND HIS FRIENDS AT POLLING. c. 1879. Present location unknown. Reproduced from Nelson C. White, The Life and Art of J. Frank Currier (Cambridge, Mass., 1936), facing p. 22.

Darling, Wilder (1856–1933)

May 19, 1876, Munchen; Sandusky, Ohio, U.S.

America (reg. no. 899)

June 4, 1876, München (reg. no. 906)

DeCamp, Joseph (1858–1923)
December 23, 1878, Cincinnati, Ohio, U.S.A., "H.O.G." (reg. no. 1046)

Delisser, Richard Lionel (?–1907)
[arrived between May 17 and July 3, 1875],
New York, U.S. America (reg. no. 845)

Dielman, Frederick (1847–1935)

July 28, 1874, Münich (reg. no. 813)

July 10, 1875, Baltimore, Md., & München (reg. no. 852)

Duveneck, Frank (1848–1919)
March 30, 1872, Covington, Ky, America (reg. no. 712)
September [11], 1875, München (reg. no. 869)
[arrived between August 3 and September 8, 1878], Covington, Ky. (reg. no. 1025)
[arrived between March 17 and April 13, 1879], Covington, Ky., U.S. (reg. no. 1058)
[arrived between June 8 and 13, 1879, Covington, Kentucky (reg. no. 1068)

December 25, 1878, Boston, Mass., U.S.A. (reg. no. 1048)

June 8, 1879, Boston, U.S.A. (reg. no. 1062)

[arrived between August 1 and 7, 1879], Boston, U.S.A.

[arrived between November 1 and 3, 1879], Boston, U.S.A.

[arrived between December 27 and 31, 1879], Boston, April 17, 1880, Boston, U.S.A.

Dwight, Edward Huntington (1856-?)

Dyer, Charles (1851–1912)
[arrived between July 1 and 21, 1879], Chicago, Illinois; visited with his wife

Forbes, Charles S. (c. 1856–1926) [arrived between July 1 and 21, 1879], New York, U.S.A. (reg. no. 1080)

Freeman, Charles H. (1859–1918)
December 23, 1878, Munich (reg. no. 1047)
[arrived between August 1 and 7, 1879], Philadelphia

Freer, Cora July 16, 1886, Chicago

Freer, Frederick (1849–1908) June 3, 1879, Chicago (reg. no. 1066)

Geilach, George July 25, 1883, Milwaukee, Wis., U.S.A.

Grimm, F. J. [arrived between August 1 and 7, 1879], Philadelphia

Gross, Richard (1848–1912) May 23, 1881, New York City

Hayden, F. S. June 29, 1876, Boston, Mass., U.S.A. (reg. no. 918)

Heppenheimer, Frederick C. [arrived between August 23 and 27, 1879], Jersey City Heights, N.J.

Hetzel, George (1826–1906) June 24, 1879, Pittsburgh (reg. no. 1072)

Hetzel, James
June [24], 1879, Pittsburgh, Penna., U.S.A.
(reg. no. 1073)

Hopkins, George E. (1855–1923)
December 23, 1878, Cincinnati, Ohio, U.S.A., "S.O.W." (reg. no. 1045)
August 1, 1879, Cin., Ohio, U.S.A.

Hottes, M. March 23, 1878, Richmond, Va.

Irwin, Benoni (1840–1896)
July 28, 1877, San Francisco, California, USA (reg. no. 957); visited with his wife and child

Jenison, Emil
[arrived between September 14 and 16, 1879],
Fort Wayne, Indiana

Juergens, Alfred (1866–1929) [arrived between August 21 and 25, 1894], Chicago, U.S.A. and München

Kirkpatrick, Frank Lebrun (1853–1917) [arrived between January 29 and March 17, 1879], New York (reg. no. 1056) Krehbiel, Otto

June 1, 1876, New York City (reg. no. 904) [arrived between June 2 and July 17, 1878], München (reg. no. 1016)

Kurz, Louis

August 15, 1883, Milwaukee, Wisc., U.S.A.

Lehnes, Gilbert

June 18, 1891, Cincinnati, O., United States

Liebert, Edward (1862-?)

September 10, 1880, Washington, D.C., U.S.A., "county Jail"

McEwen, Walter (1860-1943)

December [23], 1878, Chicago, America (reg. no. 1050)

[arrived between June 13 and 24, 1879], Chicago (reg. no. 1070)

Mills, Charles E. (1856–1943)

September 10, 1880, Peoria, U.S.A., "Blackwells Island"

Moeller, Louis (1855-1929)

[arrived between November 21, 1877, and January 2, 1878], New York (reg. no. 985)

Muhrman, Henry (1854–1916)

August 31, 1876, Cincinnati, O., U.S. America (reg. no. 931)

Niehaus, Charles H. (1855–1935)

[arrived between April 15 and May 8, 1878], Cincinnati, Ohio (reg. no. 1005)

Pelt, William

[arrived between September 29, 1881, and January 14, 1882], Chicago, U.S., Hard Nut, Ill.

Pennington, Robert Goodloe Harper (1854–1920) September 10, 1880, Maryland, U.S.A., "Baltimore States Prison"

Phelps, William Preston (1848–1923) [arrived between April 1 and 30, 1876], Munich,

"in a Merry Key" (reg. no. 890)

Quigtly, S. H.

[arrived between June 29 and July 22, 1884], Allegheny City, U.S.A.

Raschen, Henry (c. 1854–1937)

[arrived between April 15 and May 8, 1878], S.F.C. (reg. no. 1003)

Reinhart, Albert Grantley (1854–1926)

April 11, 1878, Pittsburgh, U.S.A. (reg. no. 998) [arrived between August 1 and 7, 1879], Pittsburgh, U.S.A.

Ritter, Louis (1854–1892)

August 31, 1876, Cincinnati, Ohio, U.S. Amerika (reg. no. 930)

September 10, 1880, "Florenz?, Dublin—Jerusalem"

Rolshoven, Julius (1858–1930)

September 24, 1878, Düsseldorf (reg. no. 1033)

August 1, 1879, Detroit, Michigan

Rosenau, Th.

June 23, 1877, Augsburg, U.S.A. (reg. no. 954)

Rosenthal, Toby E. (1848–1917)

[arrived between September 30 and October 14, 1874], München (reg. no. 824)

Schmidt, Frederick

[arrived between April 15 and May 8, 1878], Nord America (reg. no. 1004)

Schumacher, G. H.

September 14, 1879, "studying Caifa, Syria (N. York)"

Selinger, Jean-Paul (1850–1909)

[arrived between August 3 and September 8, 1878], Boston, Mass. (reg. no. 1026) [arrived between July 1 and 21, 1879], Boston,

America

Shehan, John W.

October 10, 1876, San Francisco, California, U.S. America (reg. no. 936)

Shirlaw, Walter (1838–1909)

[arrived between May 17 and July 3, 1875],

München, aus Chicago, America (reg. no. 842) [arrived between July 28 and August 24, 1875],

Arrived between July 28 and August 24, 18/5], München (reg. no. 860)

[arrived between March 28 and April 1, 1876], Munich (reg. no. 889)

May 19, 1876, Chicago, Ill., U.S.A. (reg. no. 900) June 4, 1876 (reg. no. 907) Spangler, Clagget D. (1848–1911)
[arrived between August 1 and 7, 1879], Maryland

Stiefel, Marc

June 13, 1878, München, Boston, U.S. America (reg. no. 1013)

Strobridge, Francis Russell (1855–1879)
September 4, 1876, München (reg. no. 932)
[arrived between August 3 and September 8, 1878],
Cincinnati, America (reg. no. 1027)

Strong, Joseph (1852–1900)
September [11], 1875, Ken., Munchen (reg. no. 870)

Turner, Ross (1847–1915)
[arrived between November 1 and 24, 1877],
Washington, D.C., U.S.A. (reg. no. 981)
March 12, 1880, München, U.S.A.
September 10, 1880, "Sing Sing—Sea-skip painter"

Turner, Walter E.
July 9, 1878, München (reg. no. 1020)
December 31, 1879, Chicago

Twachtman, John Henry (1853–1902) [arrived between April 1 and May 7, 1876], München, America (reg. no. 896)

Ulrich, Charles (1858–1908)
[arrived between April 1 and May 7, 1876], America (reg. no. 894)
May 7, 1876, New York, New York State, America (reg. no. 897)
[arrived between September 4 and October 10, 1876], New York, Munich (reg. no. 933)
October 20, 1877, New York—Munich (reg. no. 979)

March 17, 1879, New York (reg. no. 1057) [arrived between April 14 and 25, 1895]

Vernon, E. M. September 9, 1878, Sligo (reg. no. 1029)

Vinton, Frederick Porter (1846–1911) July 8, 1876, Boston, U.S.A. (reg. no. 919)

Ward, Edgar M. (1839–1915)
[arrived between July 8 and 30, 1876], New York (reg. no. 923)

Weitz, Anna L.
June 11, 1890, Cleveland, Ohio, U.S.A.

Welch, Thaddeus (1844–1919)
[arrived between May 17 and July 3, 1875],
San Francisco, California (reg. no. 844)

Wendel, Theodore (1859–1932)

December 23, 1878, Washington, C.H.O., "P.I.G." (reg. no. 1044)

Weyl, Max (1837–1914)
March 12, 1880, Washington, D.C.
September 10, 1880, Washington, D.C., U.S.A.,
"Poor House"

Wores, Theodore (1860–1939)
September 13, 1878, San Francisco, Cal., z.z.
München (reg. no. 1030)

Young, Harvey (1840–1901)
[arrived between May 17 and July 3, 1875],
New York City, U.S.A. (reg. no. 843)