

Ann B. Reagan

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Eugen Luening,  
German-American Musician  
The Milwaukee Germans and *die heilige  
deutsche Kunst* (Holy German Art) <sup>1</sup>

The history of music in the United States is, to a certain extent, the history of immigration and immigrants. Nowhere is this more evident than in the city of Milwaukee, Wisconsin, where great numbers of German immigrants settled during the nineteenth century, producing a thriving and diverse musical environment, complete with opera companies, choruses, orchestras and bands. As a magnet for choral festivals, operatic premieres and American composers, Milwaukee was known as the *Deutsch-Athen am Michigan See* (The German Athens on Lake Michigan).<sup>2</sup>

To understand the unique history of the city of Milwaukee within the greater context of American musical history, consider the following, dating from 1904, well after the Germans had made their mark:

They [the Germans] have taught us . . . some needed lessons in the art of cheerful and pleasurable living. American life was a comparatively hard, prosaic and sad-colored business before our settlers from the continent helped us dispel the shadow of the too austere Puritan standard . . . the United States . . . has really proven the fruitful seedfield of some of the best and most gracious German characteristics . . .<sup>3</sup>

Not surprisingly these sentiments were shared by the Germans, who had a great sense of “mission,” to bring and foster art in the New World:

Mit den Emigrantenschiffen zog das deutsche Lied auch über's Meer um, wie es in der alten Heimath nicht ausschliesslich musikalischen Zwecken dient, sondern eine höhere Mission erfüllt, so auch in neuem Vaterlande die Erinnerung an das wach zuhalten und dem jungen Nachwuchs mit seinen süßen Melodien auch die Sprache unserer Väter zu vermitteln und sie in der neuen Heimath zu erhalten . . .<sup>4</sup>

[German song, too, crossed the sea on the immigrant ships, and just as in the old country song does not serve a musical purpose alone, but rather fills a higher mission—so also in the new fatherland, German song passes on the memory, and with its sweet melodies even the language of our fathers to the younger generation and gives them life in the new homeland.]

Nationalistic pride in the German language, German literature and German art grew during the latter half of the nineteenth century, primarily because of the unification of Germany, under the leadership of Bismarck, after the Franco-Prussian War (1871).<sup>5</sup> Many German-American writers and composers shared these sentiments with their European colleagues:

Carl Maria von Weber, Reichardt, Silcher, Kreutzer and others composed for the male chorus their songs in four parts and gave to the German people a new treasury of excellent songs inherited from former centuries. These songs, repeated innumerable times, brought consolation and comfort during the many days of affliction, kept alive in the minds of the people the greatness of their Fatherland, reminded the German tribes that they were of the same stock (*Das ganze Deutschland soll es sein!*) and created . . . a Germany of hearts.<sup>6</sup>

Within this atmosphere Milwaukee became the most German of the German-American cities. Why Milwaukee, rather than New York, Boston, or even Chicago? The answer lay in the unique concentration of Germans in Milwaukee, a preponderance that profoundly influenced the cultural heritage of the city for decades to come.

During the early years of the nineteenth century, the city of Milwaukee was a remote fur-trading center, populated mostly by Indians and a few French traders. By 1818, the trade was controlled by the American Fur Company, led by John Jacob Astor. Rapid growth began in the early 1830s, when various treaties with Indian tribes turned the area into an American territory, making possible settlement by “Yankees” from the East.<sup>7</sup>

With the new settlers came trade and industry. Milwaukee’s two major newspapers, the *Milwaukee Sentinel* and the *Milwaukee Journal*, were founded respectively in 1837 and 1841. Hotels, banks, taverns, insurance companies, physicians, lawyers and merchants accommodated the growing population, which by 1845 numbered almost 10,000.<sup>8</sup> Wisconsin was granted statehood in 1848.

Although hundreds and thousands from the east coast continued to move west, by 1850 only 36 percent of the city’s total population consisted of American natives. Of the total population, 38 percent were German-speaking, including Prussians, Austrians and persons from a variety of the smaller German states. The revolutions that had rocked Europe in 1848 contributed to the already settled communities of German-Americans and rapidly increased their numbers.<sup>9</sup>

In Central Europe—in the Germanies—the *annus mirabilis* [marvelous year], 1848, was the most hectic, complex and difficult to interpret in terms of the broad sweep of history . . . Once German liberalism failed, as it did in 1848, the way was open for the new Germany to develop a more authoritarian government and society than did Britain or France, and an unusually vigorous national sense . . .<sup>10</sup>

In the United States, many of the liberal *Acht-und-Vierziger* (Forty-Eighters), who had experienced varying degrees of political persecution in the old country, exerted a tremendous influence on trade unions, labor laws, taxation, welfare, public safety and education. In Milwaukee, a *Schulverein* (known as the “German-English Academy”) held to the goal of preserving the German language within the context of a solid bilingual education. By 1865, the enrollment had reached 450 students. The city’s socialist newspaper (*Der Sozialist*) began publishing in 1875.<sup>11</sup>

One of the founders of the German-English Academy was August Friedrich Luening, whose son Eugen became a leading composer, conductor and teacher in Milwaukee.<sup>12</sup> Indeed, Eugen Luening’s name is connected with many of the important musical organizations and events of the nineteenth century: he led the famous Milwaukee Musical Society (Milwaukee *Musikverein*), conducted meetings of the regional and national *Sängerbünde* (singing societies), studied in Leipzig, visited the eminent Richard Wagner at Bayreuth, and became Director of the School of Music at the University of Wisconsin-Madison.<sup>13</sup>

## Eugen Luening: Early Years and Education

Born in Milwaukee on May 26, 1852, Eugen Luening’s formal education began at the city’s German-English Academy; according to his mother’s wishes, he trained for a career in law and eventually worked for the firm of Butler and Winkler in Milwaukee. As with many German-Americans, music lessons formed an integral, indeed, indispensable part of his education. In 1869, at the age of seventeen, he decided to make music his profession. Luening later somewhat passionately described that moment to his son, composer Otto Luening, “ I discovered Beethoven, and found my thirst for beauty first satisfied. I used to sit at the piano in the evening and imagine I could hear the nightingales sing, as I played, and in a vision I seemed to see those beautiful little quiet [European] villages I had dreamed about so long. ”<sup>14</sup>

His romantic dreams were fulfilled later that year when he went to Germany, specifically to Leipzig, the city of Bach, Goethe, Mendelssohn and Liszt, to audition for composer and piano virtuoso Ignaz Moscheles (1794-1870) at the conservatory there. Many years later Luening recalled that he stopped playing in the middle of that audition because his famous adjudicator seemed to have disappeared. Moscheles, it turned out, was sitting under the grand piano, wondering how long it would take for Luening’s pounding to break the instrument.<sup>15</sup>

Fortunately for the young Milwaukeean, he was admitted despite his questionable technique, and in Leipzig he received a thorough foundation in the fundamentals of music theory and composition. He studied not only with Moscheles, but also with Carl Reinecke and Salomon Judassohn, a student of Franz Liszt. He performed in choral concerts and piano recitals and, during his final year of study, was given the opportunity to perform some of his own compositions in public. Along the way he became acquainted with other young rising talents in the German musical world, men such as Arthur Nikisch and Anton Seidl, future conductors of the Boston and New York symphonies, respectively.<sup>16</sup>

While Luening respected the German methods of music education, he admitted to having some difficulty in adjusting to everyday customs, including the habitual deference to authority. He gained a reputation for being a rather ardent democrat and outspoken on matters of politics. In this way he was thoroughly American, displaying undisguised disdain for aristocracy. In his own words:

In Europe, I . . . found myself aghast. For the first time I observed men taking off their hats to each other. There was no such custom in Milwaukee. We uncovered to women, but to men, No! In Europe one man bows and scrapes before another! Are you serfs? I went about refusing to take off my hat to any man. And, mind you, this was in aristocratic circles. Following the same principle, I would not address people by their titles, arguing that it was not fitting for a democratic citizen of the United States to pay so much respect to snobbishness. In short, conducted myself as a fiery and militant young democrat. . . .<sup>17</sup>

Fortunately for Luening, his European hosts tolerated these strange, American eccentricities. Luening continued his studies for four years, and in 1872 he began a relationship with Richard Wagner, who, understandably, left a lasting impression on the young American musician.

Richard Wagner's place in musical history is certainly difficult to overstate. It is hardly surprising, therefore, that of all his experiences in Europe, Eugen Luening would best remember being present at the ground-breaking ceremonies for Wagner's own theater, the Festspielhaus at Bayreuth.

This gala event, held on the composer's fifty-ninth birthday, included a performance of Beethoven's Ninth Symphony, with Wagner himself conducting. Chorus members had been chosen from music schools throughout Germany, but luck came Luening's way when the student originally selected to represent the Leipzig Conservatory fell ill, and Luening, as alternate, took his place. Ever after he felt especially blessed and proud of having participated at such a momentous occasion.<sup>18</sup>

## Luening's Career in Milwaukee

Returning to Wisconsin in 1873, Eugen Luening began his career as a professional musician in earnest. Among his activities were appearances as a guest conductor with Chicago's Germania Chorus, as a piano soloist with the Milwaukee Musical Society, and in chamber music recitals. Together with his European credentials, these engagements established his musical reputation in Milwaukee and left him in a position to profit from the events of November 1874.<sup>19</sup>

During that month bitter dissension within the Musical Society forced the resignation of then conductor and musical director Wilhelm Mickler; the Society offered the position to Luening. Early in 1875 he accepted and suddenly found himself the leader of the most important musical group in the city.<sup>20</sup> Soon afterwards, Luening married Aurelia Faber of Freiburg, Germany and undertook a busy and exacting schedule, which included conducting the Musical Society's Männerchor at the festivities of the *Nordwest Sängerbund* (Northwestern Singing Society) at Watertown, Wisconsin on June 18-21, 1875. On the heels of these duties Luening took up the preparations for the Society's twenty-fifth anniversary celebration on October 7 and 8. For these concerts he chose technically demanding compositions, scenes from Wagner's *Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg* and *Lohengrin*, movements from Brahms's *Ein deutsches Requiem*, Mendelssohn's *Die erste Walpurgisnacht*, and various shorter vocal and instrumental selections.<sup>21</sup>

Following this period of success came personal tragedy when Luening's wife died in February 1876. He gave up conducting the Society's concerts for the next few months, only resuming his duties in June. By autumn apparently he had regained his energy and fervor, as evidenced by his decision to organize a choral school intended to train future members of the Milwaukee Musical Society, operated under its own auspices.<sup>22</sup>

## Sojourn at Bayreuth

Although the members of the Milwaukee Musical Society expressed great regret, Eugen Luening resigned his post in 1877 to return to Germany and continue his studies. It was during this sojourn that he was drawn into the inner circle of Wagnerians at Wahnfried, where Wagner and his wife Cosima presided over a group of disciples.<sup>23</sup> The select group of students would gather for readings and discussions with the master, and Luening felt privileged to be included at the composer's reading of the text for *Parsifal*, his final work.

At the same time Wagner was occupied with planning designs for an academy at Bayreuth. Though the project never materialized, Otto Luening recalls that his father was aware of the plans and even inquired about admission, to which Wagner reportedly replied, "You see, Cosima, I told you the first one to sign up would be a foreigner!"<sup>24</sup>

Wagner's infamous ego and messianic demeanor elicited only the greatest deference from students and disciples, who addressed him always as "Meister." Luening, too much the democrat to view anyone as "Master," according to his own recollection, was the only one of the votaries who dared approach the composer simply as Herr Wagner. Luening insisted that it did not affect his relationship with Wagner, who still welcomed the young American at Wahnfried.<sup>25</sup>

## Return to Milwaukee

In 1879 Luening returned to Milwaukee and once again resumed the post of musical director and conductor of the Musical Society. Teaching became increasingly important for him, and he re-established the choral school that had lapsed in his absence. His work continued as usual, with the next noteworthy event of his life being his marriage to Emma Jacobs on July 26, 1883.<sup>26</sup>

Emma (1861-1950) was a singer, and the daughter of a very musical family, a circumstance that probably contributed to the success of their marriage. Her father, Colonel William H. Jacobs, one of Milwaukee's most prominent citizens, had performed as a lead tenor with the Musical Society for twenty-eight years, until his death in 1882. Emma and her sisters also performed with the Society, and their father's house had long served as a center of cultivated taste in the city, a place where world-famous visiting artists, like Adelina Patti and Anton Rubinstein, were entertained after concerts.<sup>27</sup> Eugen Luening was indeed fortunate to marry a woman so familiar with both the practical and social aspects of his profession. The couple raised five sons and two daughters and remained together until his death in 1944.<sup>28</sup>

The year following his marriage, Luening once again resigned from the Musical Society, apparently because of nervous fatigue and his inability to meet the strenuous demands placed upon him. He spent the next three years mostly teaching and composing and, in 1887, returned once again to the helm of the Musical Society.

From 1887 Luening held the position continuously for sixteen years and presided over the celebrations of the organization's momentous fortieth and fiftieth anniversaries (in 1890 and 1900, respectively). For the most part his tenure was productive, with accomplishments including the founding of the Luening Conservatory of Music, an expansion of the earlier plans for a choral school associated with the Musical Society.<sup>29</sup>

The Luening Conservatory, located on Jefferson Street between Division (Juneau) and Martin (State) Street, provided instruction in piano, voice, organ, string instruments, flute, clarinet and trumpet, as well as courses in composition, harmony and orchestration. As with the earlier schools, its purpose was to provide new talent for the Society and prevent the loss of "such growing talent to the English societies." One year later, in 1888, the school became independent of the Society, with its own board of directors (many of whom were

associated with the Society) and its own articles of incorporation. Eugen Luening was named “director for life.”<sup>30</sup>

Four years later the Luening Conservatory closed permanently, although concert programs and lists of students suggest that patronage was not the problem.<sup>31</sup> It could be that the demands on Luening’s time were simply too great to sustain such an ambitious undertaking. It is also possible that Luening’s popularity and credibility suffered as the result of an unfortunate, well-publicized incident that brought to the surface some of the conflicts inherent in the juxtaposition of the Old World and the New in turn-of-the-century Wisconsin.

### German, American, or German-American?

In May of 1890, the *Milwaukee Sentinel* reported that Eugen Luening had made some ill-considered remarks at a banquet given by the Milwaukee Musical Society. Reports attributed to Luening the phrase “Yankee superficiality” and quoted him as saying that “the Germans alone were truth-loving and must organize a federation to antagonize Yankee characteristics”<sup>32</sup>

“Yankees” throughout the city were furious. Non-German Milwaukeeans, not surprisingly, disagreed about their alleged superficiality and inferiority. Luening’s remarks were considered especially offensive, coming as they did from a musician. The world of art, after all, was supposed to be international, liberal, inclusive in outlook, and above chauvinist provincialism.<sup>33</sup> The writer for the *Sentinel* complained:

Any one who reads the German-American press will find that it is quite in the habit of referring to the American people in terms of the loftiest contempt, and that when it mentions an act or occurrence as “truly American,” the words are generally used as a sneer. And yet the American people have always welcomed German immigrants to this country; they have been kind and generous in their treatment of them; and in the struggle for German unity in 1870-71 no people on earth were so cordially in sympathy with the German cause as these “false, shallow and shamming Yankees.”<sup>34</sup>

Luening refused to retract his statement, but explained that he had been provoked into making it, having overheard someone else’s disparaging comments about German music. “I don’t care for an opera with beer,” the offender had said in reference to an opera by Christoph Willibald Gluck (1714-1787). An angry Luening had seen in this comment a shallowness he described as anti-German “Yankeeism.”<sup>35</sup>

Despite all his attempts at explanation, the controversy continued to grow. After two weeks, a member of the Musical Society’s board of directors publicly proposed to help heal the wounds between the German-Americans and the English-speaking communities by means of a conciliatory declaration:

... Mr. Leidersdorff [then director of the Milwaukee Musical Society] introduced a resolution to the effect the "the members of the society do not share Mr. Luening's views on their American fellow-citizens, [nor] consider them justified; and that the society further gratefully remembers those old times during which the American members and friends were always found ready and willing to make sacrifices in the interest of music and art whenever the necessity made itself felt."<sup>36</sup>

Luening refused to play along and responded emphatically by saying that if the Society's resolution were adopted, he would be obliged to resign his position as its music director. He insisted his comments had been directed against a certain kind of behavior, not against Americans as a whole. He reminded his critics that he had been born in this country and was fiercely loyal to it. Finally, he made what some of those present considered an adequate apology, and the Society tabled its resolution.<sup>37</sup>

Fortunately, with the passing of time, this incident was forgotten. The last decade of the century witnessed great successes for the Musical Society, and the huge celebrations of its fiftieth anniversary in 1900 were showcases for the talents of Eugen Luening.<sup>38</sup> He announced his resignation in 1902, citing personal reasons as the cause. Apparently, he wished to have more time for composing and teaching, and perhaps he sought a quieter lifestyle as well, away from the rigors of conducting. His was a nervous temperament. He had always tended to work to the point of collapse and suffered periodically from bouts of agoraphobia. His next few years, from 1903 to 1909, were spent in relative anonymity on the family's farm in Wauwatosa, Wisconsin.<sup>39</sup>

In 1909, at the age of 57, Eugen Luening was offered the post of acting director of the School of Music at the University of Wisconsin-Madison. Following a period of semi-retirement and financial difficulties, this opportunity, carrying an annual salary of \$3,500, seemed like a wonderful new beginning. Always dynamic and looking to the future, Luening had many ideas and plans, but they would not be realized.<sup>40</sup>

Luening and University President Charles R. Van Hise quarreled from the start. They clashed on curriculum and on grading standards and in general were unable to get along. The most important disagreement concerned the nature of Luening's tenure. On this crucial point, unfortunately, misunderstanding or miscommunication reigned from the outset. Luening evidently had expected to serve indefinitely as director; the president had other plans.<sup>41</sup>

Van Hise was interested in building a music department that would rival those of Harvard and Yale Universities, and he sought a permanent director with a Ph.D., as well as other academic qualifications. It appears that he never intended Luening's tenure to be ongoing. As a result, at the end of the 1909-10 school year, Luening was replaced as director and reduced to the rank of Associate Professor of Voice Culture and Theory.

Off campus, Luening continued to lead a full and productive musical life,



conducting the Madison Männerchor and playing in chamber music recitals, but he was embittered by the demotion.<sup>42</sup> On campus his oft-expressed contempt for “capitalists and robber barons” translated into active animosity towards the university establishment. He rather openly referred to his colleagues on the faculty as “hypocritical, deceptive, cowardly, rude and probably dishonest.” Small wonder that his request in 1912 for a leave of absence without pay from the university was granted.<sup>43</sup>

## Return to Germany and Final Years

During his unpaid sabbatical Luening intended to establish himself abroad as a private teacher and consequently made the decision to resettle in Munich. By 1913 he had procured enough students to afford “a beautifully furnished garden apartment,” a Bechstein grand piano, and even a butler. Unfortunately, with the onset of World War I, living conditions declined steadily in Germany and supplies of all sorts grew scarce.<sup>44</sup>

In 1917, when the United States entered the war, Luening’s dependent children were sent to Switzerland, while he and his wife remained in Munich. They all returned to Wisconsin in 1919 and settled in Oconomowoc. Luening henceforth conducted only rarely and spent the remainder of his life composing and teaching privately. He stopped working at the age of eighty-nine, having survived two strokes that had impeded both his speech and movement. He was ninety-three when he died in 1944.<sup>45</sup>

## The Composer and Conductor

Because Luening did not keep a personal diary or leave extensive letters, little is known about his feelings in regard to specific composers and kinds of music, or indeed his most private thoughts about other people and events in his life. Anecdotal evidence provides a few glimpses. Otto Luening recalls that his father liked some jazz, but did not think very highly of the music of Mahler and Meyerbeer. While he greatly admired both Wagner and Beethoven, Luening did not care for the music of Debussy and Reger; yet, he tried to keep up-to-date with the momentous changes occurring in composition during his lifetime, and he sensed Schoenberg’s importance well before his development of serialism. Luening was less generous with his praise for some of his contemporaries. For example, he regarded Christoph Bach (founder of Bach’s Orchestra, an important ensemble in Milwaukee in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries) as a “garden musician.”<sup>46</sup> Bach’s concerts, of which Luening disapproved, often included popular works, such as marches by Sousa, along with music by Mozart and Wagner.<sup>47</sup>

Unfortunately, even less is known about Luening the composer. He burned many of his original scores shortly before his death. The Milwaukee Public Library catalogue includes only two of Luening’s *Lieder* in its collection. Otto

Luening possesses the largest collection of his father's works, although they have not been subjected to a full scale analysis.<sup>48</sup> Surviving concert programs in the archives of the Milwaukee Public Library and the Wisconsin Historical Society attest to the fact that Luening was an ambitious and versatile conductor.<sup>49</sup>

A single song, "Kind und Püppchen"/"Dolly's Cradle Song," published locally (Milwaukee: Kaun and Bluemel, 1903) survives in the Library of Congress. "Lovingly dedicated to my dear friend Mm. [Ernestine] Schumann-Heink" (and "sung by her with great success" according to its inscription), this modest effort by itself indicates little of note about Luening's scope as a composer. Both the piano and voice parts of the brief lullaby are tonally, texturally and structurally straightforward: a C-major melody in ternary form accompanied by rolling triplets. It exhibits the restrained genteel expression characteristic of hundreds of similar "light classical" parlor songs from the turn of the century.

Eugen Luening made an important contribution to Milwaukee's musical history. But more fundamentally, his attitudes and opinions help to shed light on the relationship between the "German" and the "Yankee" in this country during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Obviously, a patina of civility often masked ethnic sensitivities of the time, but Luening was outspoken. He was proud of German culture (especially the heritage of Bach, Beethoven and Wagner), as well as the American ideals of democracy and equality. He was convinced of the superiority of German musical tastes and standards, and sought, above all, to transplant and nurture them in America, "that land, which offers a guarantee of assistance to the needy and of freedom to the oppressed. It is the duty of the German musician not alone to criticize the errors which may be committed in his adopted country, but also to tender his unqualified support in word and deed, to built [*sic*] up American art"<sup>50</sup> Luening remained a man with one foot in the Old World and one in the New, an exemplar of that generation of artists who laid the foundation for America's musical greatness in the twentieth century.

## Notes

1. The jubilee program for the Fiftieth Anniversary Concerts of the Milwaukee Musical Society states: *Ja, die heilige deutsche Kunst . . . ist für alle Nationen, für alle Menschen* (Yes! The holy German Art is for all nations, for all mankind).

2. The term *Deutsch-Athen* dates back to the mid-nineteenth century, at least to 1856. See Bayrd Still, *Milwaukee: The History of a City* (Madison: The State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1948), 70.

3. *Milwaukee Sentinel*, 6 March 1904.

4. J. Hanno Dieler, "Zur Geschichte des deutschen Männergesangs und des Nordamerikanischen Sängerbunds," Official Text-Book and Programmes of the 26th Sängerbund of the North-American Sängerbund (New Orleans: Crescent Publishing Company, 1890), 5.

5. German composer Ernst H. Seyffardt even composed a cantata for the occasion of Unification, *Aus Deutschlands grosser Zeit* (Op. 25), which was performed by the Milwaukee Musical Society on 15 November 1895. The final chorus sings praise to the Kaiser (*Heil Deutschlands*

*Kaiser, dir!// Dir, aller Fürsten Zier!// Heil Kaiser dir!// Du bringst des Friedens Glück nun deinem Volk Zürrück. Heil sei dir für und für/ Heil Kaiser, dir! ).*

6. "Synopsis of the History of the German Male Chorus and of the North-American Saengerbund," *Official Book of the Thirtieth Saengerfest of the North-American Saengerbund*, (Buffalo: The Saengerfest Company, 1901), 14.

7. H. Russell Austin, *The Milwaukee Story* (Milwaukee: The Journal Company, 1946), 21-25. "Yankees" was the term of choice for Milwaukee's German-Americans, to describe anyone whose primary language was English.

8. Still, *Milwaukee*, 67-68.

9. Ibid., 52-71, and Ann B. Reagan, "Art Music in Milwaukee in the Late Nineteenth Century: 1850-1900" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Wisconsin-Madison, 1980), 5-6.

10. Crane Brinton, John B. Christopher, and Robert Lee Wolf, *Civilization in the West* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1964), 501-502.

11. Still, *Milwaukee*, 279-320. See also, M.H. Overmoehle, "The Anti-Clerical Activity of the Forty-Eighters in Wisconsin, 1848-1860: A Study in German American Liberalism" (Ph.D. dissertation, St. Louis University, 1941).

12. Reagan, "Art Music in Milwaukee," 11-14.

13. Ibid., 149-172. The growth of *Sängerbünde* in the United States was tied directly to the continuing immigration of Germans, who missed the tradition of *Mannerchöre* in their homeland. Regional and national meetings occurred throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and included clubs from New York, Philadelphia, Buffalo, Cincinnati, St. Louis and various towns in Iowa, Kentucky, and Texas, to name but a few.

14. *Milwaukee Journal*, 10 June 1928.

15. Otto Luening, private interview held at Kenosha, Wisc., 12 April 1979. Eugen Luening's son, well-known composer Otto Luening, celebrated his 95th birthday in 1995 in New York City. June 15, 1995 was declared "Otto Luening Day"; in a proclamation by Mayor Rudolph Giuliani, Luening was praised as "an outstanding American composer, conductor, flutist, educator, author and advocate for music and musicians." See <http://www.bmi.com/MusicWorld/winter96/concert.html>. The Music Division of the New York Public Library has an extensive collection of Otto Luening's works; see also <http://www.nypl.org/research/lpa/mus/mus.majcoll.html> for further information.

16. Otto Luening, *The Odyssey of an American Composer: The Autobiography of Otto Luening* (New York, 1980), 11.

17. Ibid., 92.

18. Otto Luening, private interview.

19. Ibid.; see also *Milwaukee Sentinel*, 23 May and 13 June 1874.

20. For a complete history of the Milwaukee Musical Society (founded in 1850), see Oscar Burckhardt, *Der Musikverein von Milwaukee. 1850-1900. Eine Chronik* (Milwaukee: Milwaukee Musical Society, 1900). An English translation is available at the Milwaukee Public Library and at the Wisconsin Historical Society in Madison.

21. Reagan, "Art Music in Milwaukee," 66-67.

22. Ann B. Reagan, "Eugen Luening and the Milwaukee Musical Society," *Milwaukee History*, 6/3 (Autumn 1983): 66-67; *Milwaukee Sentinel*, 5 February 1876.

23. *Haus Wahnfried*, built with financial support from King Ludwig II of Bavaria after Wagner's "exile" from Munich, today is a museum that houses many of Wagner's possessions, including his library and musical instruments. Both Richard and Cosima are buried on the grounds.

24. Otto Luening, personal interview.

25. Ibid.

26. Reagan, "Eugen Luening," 95; Luening, *Odyssey of an American Composer*, 10-11.

27. Colonel William H. Jacobs served in the 26th Wisconsin Volunteer Regiment during the Civil War, and later founded the Second Ward Savings Bank, which eventually became part of the First Wisconsin National Bank of Milwaukee. He was very active in politics as well.

28. *Milwaukee Journal*, 12 April 1940.

29. Reagan, "Art Music in Milwaukee," 71-74.

30. Burckhardt, *The Milwaukee Musical Society*, 77. The reference to "English-speaking societies" most probably means the "Arion Musical Club," founded in 1876. See "Art Music in Milwaukee," Chapter V, for a history of the Arions and their place in Milwaukee's musical life.

31. Reagan, "Eugen Luening," 96.

32. *Milwaukee Sentinel*, 3 May 1890.
33. *Ibid.*
34. *Milwaukee Sentinel*, 4 May 1890.
35. *Ibid.*
36. *Milwaukee Sentinel*, 13 May 1890.
37. *Milwaukee Sentinel*, 4 May 1890.
38. Extant original programs of the jubilee concerts are in the archives of the State Historical Society in Madison, Wisc.
39. Otto Luening, private interview.
40. Luening, *Odyssey of an American Composer*, 58-62.
41. *Ibid.*, 70-71.
42. *Ibid.* I am also indebted to Professor Emeritus Lester W. J. Seifert of the University of Wisconsin-Madison for this information.
43. Luening, *Odyssey of an American Composer*, 73-75.
44. *Ibid.*, 92
45. Eugen Luening's obituary appeared in the *Milwaukee Journal* on 20 October 1944. According to Otto Luening, the date of his father's birth was given as 20 May 1852; 26 May is the correct date. See Reagan, "Art Music in Milwaukee," 63.
46. Christoph Bach (1835-1927) was a prolific composer and popular conductor, whose concerts were somewhat similar to those given today by "pops" orchestras. Bach and Luening were rivals, and had very different musical philosophies. For a biography of Christoph Bach (who claimed descent from the Bachs of Weimar!), see Reagan, "Art Music in Milwaukee," 26-40.
47. *Ibid.*, 79-81. Luening was an exacting personality, and certainly recognized greatness, as evidenced in his high praise for Theodore Thomas, Hans Richter, and Hans von Bülow.
48. Reagan, "Eugen Luening," 100.
49. One of the fiftieth anniversary concerts of the *Musikverein* (3 May 1900) included Beethoven's *Egmont* Overture, Bruckner's *Te Deum*, arias from Wagner's *Rienzi*, *Der fliegende Holländer* and *Die Meistersinger*, Weber's *Oberon*, Haydn's *Die Schöpfung*, and Handel's *Messiah*. Soloists were the stars of the day: Johanna Gadski, David Bispham, and Ernestine Schumann-Heink.
50. Reagan, "Art Music in Milwaukee," 73. See also Eugen Luening, "The Art of Singing and Music in America: Historical Sketch," *Twenty-fourth Saengerfest of the N.A. Saengerbund* (Milwaukee, 1886), 12-17.