Composing the Musicking Woman:
Gender and Nation in the Works of Johanna Kinkel

by

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation investigates the still overwhelmingly understudied category of women composers and reinserts women's voices—through both music and literature—into discourses on nineteenth-century German cultural and national identity. By exploring the long overlooked musical contributions of nineteenth-century women, my dissertation seeks to expand existing scholarship on German nation-building through music. To this end, I introduce the concept of the *musicking woman*, who features as the central figure of study in my dissertation. Drawing on Christopher Small's concept of *musicking,* which reconceptualizes music as an action or event rather than an object, I understand the musicking woman as an active agent in the process of music through composition and/or performance. She is, therefore, not determined by the reception of her work, but rather by her own intention to contribute to a serious musical culture, often as a career. As such, the musicking woman cannot be disentangled from categories of gender, class, race, and citizenship. As its central case study, my dissertation focuses on the musical and literary works of musicking woman, Johanna Kinkel.

By grounding my study in the musical and literary works of Johanna Kinkel (1810-1858), I examine how she negotiated expectations of femininity and challenged women's role in nineteenth-century bourgeois German society through composition, fictional and non-fictional writing, and music pedagogy. Kinkel's extensive and diverse body of literature and music offers a uniquely well-suited case study to begin bringing

women's contributions to musical culture into scholarly discourses on developing notions of German national identity. Chapter 1 provides historical background as well as a theoretical and methodological framework for the dissertation. Chapter 2 examines Kinkel's critique of the Berlin salon, in her novella, *Musikalische Orthodoxie* (1846/49) and *Memoiren* (1861), arguing that it was not a productive site for women's participation in serious musical culture. In Chapters 3 and 4, I explore the relationship between music and women's political and intellectual agency. First, A *Lied*, an essay, and the novel, *Hans Ibeles in London* (1858/61) provide three different perspectives of Kinkel's experience of the 1848/49 revolutions. Then, Kinkel's pedagogical work comes into conversation with contemporaries Robert Schumann and Carl Czerny to interrogate the role of music education in girls' and women's lives. In Chapter 5, I examine the tensions between nineteenth-century theories of women's emancipation and Kinkel's lived experiences. This chapter presents analyses of Kinkel's unpublished essays from London, Fanny Lewald's *Meine Lebensgeschichte* (1861-62), and Malwida von Meysenbug's *Memoiren einer Idealistin* (1875). In a coda, I revisit two characters from Kinkel's novella and novel.

With stakes in the fields of women and gender studies, literary studies, history, and musicology, my project aims to redefine the cultural reach of nineteenth-century women by examining the aestheticization of Germanness fostered by the close cultural relationship between music and literature. Reading music, literature, and autobiography together, I consider a new methodology for determining and understanding women's stakes in defining their own cultural identity. By bringing feminist discourses from musicology and literary studies into conversation with foundational scholarship on German national identity and musical culture, I reexamine the social and cultural

agency of nineteenth-century German women. I explore how women perceived of and expressed themselves in terms of music, how literature symbolically constructed the musicking woman, how class informed women's musical activity, and how women wrote themselves into national and social narratives through music.

Chapter 1

Introduction

The walls of the Shepherd's Bush Theater in London England could not separate the excitement of musical celebration on the inside from the energy of anti-war protests on the outside. "Just so you know," the lead singer of the world-famous three-woman American country group told the audience, "we're on the good side with y'all. We do not want this war, this violence." The theater erupted in cheers of agreement as the singer added after a beat, "We're ashamed that the president of the United States is from Texas."[1] It was March 10, 2003 and Natalie Maines, lead singer of The (now formerly Dixie) Chicks,[2] was introducing the band's hit single, "Travelin' Soldier." If not overtly anti-war, then at least critical of the effects of its violence, the song—originally written in 1996 by Bruce Robison—resonated with the contemporary moment on the eve of President Bush's invasion of Iraq and the subsequent protests taking place around the world. Almost immediately news of Maines' comments erupted in the US, where the amplified nationalism that had gripped the country in the aftermath of 9/11 had only

[1] *Shut Up and Sing* (documentary, 2005)

[2] The band changed their name shortly before releasing their most recent album in 2020, acknowledging the racism in the moniker of Confederacy that is still used to promote white supremacy today. Although their first four albums were released with the "Dixie" in their name, The Chicks have retroactively changed their name on all previous albums across their own websites and all streaming services. In order to respect this change as well as acknowledge the violence implicit in the language, I have chosen to use only the band's new name even when referring to music released before the name change.

intensified in the two years leading up to the Iraq War. Immediately labeled as unpatriotic and unamerican, country music fans wasted no time banning The Chicks' music on the radio, protesting concerts, and gathering together to burn their CD collections. The backlash was both gendered and violent and played out in political and entertainment arenas. While conservative pundit Bill O'Reilly called The Chicks "callow foolish women who deserve to be slapped around," an anonymous letter to the band threatened to shoot Maines on stage at their Dallas concert.[3] Seemingly overnight, country music's largely politically conservative listener base vilified and abandoned the trio.

Pushing the conservative boundaries of country music was not new to Maines or her bandmates, sisters Emily Strayer and Martie Maguire. In their first three albums—*Wide Open Spaces* (1998), *Fly* (1999), and *Home* (2001)—an understated but deliberate sprinkling of female empowerment throughout the tracks had earned them such labels as "feminist country queens."[4] In the overwhelmingly conservative world of country music that all but called its female artists superfluous during the 2015 #SaladGate scandal,[5] The Chicks' success seems all the more impressive with chart-topping singles about girls looking not for love but for the freedom and space to follow their own dreams ("Wide Open Spaces" and "Ready to Run"), women doing "a little mattress dancing"

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[3] Shut up and Sing (2005).

[4] Becky Nash, "6 Ways the Dixie Chicks Defy Stereotypes of Southern Women," *Bust*, https://bust.com/music/16550-6-ways-the-dixie-chicks-are-still-smashing-the-patriarchy.html.

[5] #SaladGate refers to the comments made by country music radio personality Keith Hill. Comparing country music radio success to a salad, Hill explained that "they're just not the lettuce in our salad. The lettuce is Luke Bryan and Blake Shelton, Keith Urban, artists like that. The tomatoes of our salad are the females." Grady Smith, "#SaladGate: Expert draws ire comparing country music's women to tomatoes," *The Gaurdian*, May 27, 2015, https://www.latimes.com/archives/la-xpm-2000-apr-01-ca-14748-story.html.

after leaving an unfulfilling relationship ("Sin Wagon"), and the strength of female friendship in the face of abusive relationships ("Goodbye Earl"). Considered their breakthrough single in the pop charts, "Goodbye Earl," gave them a taste of controversy in 1999, when over twenty country radio stations banned the song for either its chipper depiction of spousal abuse or encouragement of premeditated murder.[6] The Chicks pushed boundaries for women in the realm of country music and made no apologies for it, and their proto-feminist hits had them dominating country music charts (and even regularly sneaking onto the pop charts) for almost five years at the turn of the millennium.

This calm confidence, light-hearted irreverence, and fervent commitment to their values largely defines the more than 20-year career of the three-woman country-crossover superstars. So rather than rescind or apologize for their comments on the president, The Chicks spent the next three years reaffirming their principles and crafting a musical response in the form of their most personal, most political, and most successful album, *Taking the Long Way* (2006). With writing credits on every track for the first time, Maines, Strayer, and Maguire began using music not just to tell any story that resonated with them, but rather to tell *their* story. Nowhere is this shift more palpable than in the album's first single, "Not Ready to Make Nice." As the title implies, the song was a notice to the world of country music that boycotted, banned, and blacklisted the band in 2003: The Chicks had not forgotten the violent vitriol that followed them for the past three years. The quiet rage that carries the song is echoed in the chorus that declares, "I'm still mad as hell." Together in harmony, all three voices

[6] Randy Lewis, "'Earl' Creates Heat – and Heated Debate," *Los Angeles Times,* April 1, 2000, https://www.latimes.com/archives/la-xpm-2000-apr-01-ca-14748-story.html.

explain, “it’s too late to make it right, I probably wouldn’t if I could,” thus reaffirming that the women would not compromise their beliefs for success with a listener base that did not want them. Interestingly, The Chick’s accompanying documentary—which premiered at the Toronto International Film Festival six months after the album’s release—relies strongly on imagery of country music and motherhood in its glimpse behind the curtain of the band’s path from the 2003 fallout to their new album. As such, by firmly grounding themselves in a country music tradition and providing a more conservative representation of womanhood from the characters of their first albums, the documentary packages the band’s story of defiance in a framework more palatable to conservative audiences.

With the release of their 2020 album *Gaslighter*—their first since *Long Way Round*—The Chicks combine the defiantly feminist themes of their first three albums with the unapologetically personal and political core of their fourth. The sound is undeniably familiar, but the message redefines what it means to be a woman in country music. Over their career, The Chicks join a rich history of female voices who have used music to turn the preconceived notions of a particular social construct on its head through performance and composition. While individual stories vary based on each artist’s own complex identity, cultural context, and historical situation, such women harness the power of music to assert their own social and/or political agency. Almost 200 years before The Chicks challenged country music’s values, before the term feminism existed in a common vocabulary, and in a cultural and historical context far removed from three country music mega-stars singing to a twenty-first century American audience, another woman looked to music to grapple with the intersections of feminine and political identity in nineteenth-century Europe. Born to a modest teacher’s

family in what was then the Kingdom of Prussia, Johanna Kinkel would dedicate her life to understanding and harnessing the opportunities for women's active participation in and contributions to musical culture. Only a single, but nevertheless rich case study, Kinkel offers a unique perspective into the history and legacy of the musicking woman.

In an 1838 letter to a friend, the then 28-year-old Johanna Kinkel described the negative reception of her recently published songbook. The critics, Kinkel reported, claimed they could immediately tell the work was a "Damenkomposition," based on the "soft, sweet style." In response to such claims, Kinkel explained, "Ich schrieb einen ganz fein und zimperlichen Brief und schickte dazu mein wildestes Trinklied für Männerchor, zu welchem ich selbst einen rechten Studententext gemacht habe."[7] Kinkel's response highlights an incongruity between the highly specific male expectations of nineteenth-century bourgeois German femininity and the unbounded realities of female creativity. More broadly, it also points to the irrefutable gendering of creative production in nineteenth-century bourgeois German society, in which women were materially and socially excluded from public participation in the creative processes of literary or musical composition. For writer, composer, pianist, pedagogue, and revolutionary, Johanna Kinkel (1810-1858), music served not only as a site of female emancipation, but also as a platform for political participation in the rise of a German national imaginary. Kinkel's oeuvre comprises compositions for voice and piano, autobiographical and political essays, pedagogical methodologies, and fictional writing.

With the ability to read her experiences across multiple genres and media, Kinkel's work offers a unique multifaceted perspective of both the opportunities and

[7] Letter to Angela Oppenhoff on 14 July 1838. in Eva Rieger, *Frau und Musik*. (Kassel: Furore-Verlag, 1990), 87.

challenges music presented for women to explore their identity in terms of gender and nation. Looking to Kinkel's rich and diverse body of work, this dissertation aims to redefine the cultural reach of nineteenth-century women by examining the aestheticization of Germanness fostered by the close cultural relationship between music and literature. My main intervention in existing scholarship is methodological. By reading music, literature, and autobiography together, I hope to offer a new paradigm for determining and understanding women's stakes in defining their own cultural identity. Theoretically, my analysis is driven by augmenting common conceptions of a public-private sphere dichotomy with a third category: the social. The social helps us rethink understandings of the nineteenth-century woman as a facilitator of society, who was able to negotiate those norms and behaviors which existed neither wholly in the public nor private realm. With stakes in the fields of women and gender studies, literary studies, history, and musicology, my research contributes to the still overwhelmingly understudied category of women musicians and reinserts women's voices—through both music and literature—into discourses on nineteenth-century German cultural and national identity. While concepts of Germanness transformed and intensified throughout the nineteenth century, this dissertation takes the 1848/49 March Revolutions as well as the surrounding decades as its central political context.

Johanna Kinkel

In the introduction of musicologist Eva Rieger's collection of texts by eighteenth- and nineteenth-century women in music, *Frau und Musik*, she writes, "Noch immer spielt die Frau in unserer Musikkultur nur eine bescheidene Nebenrolle. Ihr Anteil an

der Musikproduktion ist im Vergleich zum Mann gering, und ein weibliches musikalisches Genie ist in der Musikgeschichte nicht verzeichnet."[8] In both a musical and literary context, this diagnosis has certainly been the case for composer, pianist, writer, pedagogue, and revolutionary Johanna Kinkel. Although many (perhaps more familiar) nineteenth-century women appear throughout this dissertation, its main figure is a woman whose work remains largely on the periphery of musicological, historical, and literary scholarship despite her immense and diverse oeuvre, active music profession, and critical engagement with timely political issues. While the following biographical information enables a comprehensive understanding of the woman that serves as the foundation of this dissertation, many of the individual chapters will offer a more in-depth look at particular moments in Kinkel's life than could be offered here.

Fig. 1.1: Photograph of Johanna and Gottfried Kinkel (1850, ULB)

[8] Rieger, *Frau und Musik*, 11

Johanna Mockel[9] was born in 1810 in Bonn into the bourgeois family of a secondary school teacher. As the only child to Catholic parents, Johanna's childhood was heavily influenced by her family's expectations for her. So when she showed an early interest in music, her mother and Grandmother promptly enrolled her in sewing school and a cooking apprenticeship to learn more appropriate domestic labors. Her father, however, recognizing his daughter's talent arranged for her to take piano lessons with Franz Anton Ries, best known as the teacher of a young Ludwig van Beethoven. Together with other students of Ries, the young Johanna led a local music society that gained popularity as a "Mittelpunkt des musikalischen Lebens in Bonn."[10] For her music society's Carnival celebration, Johanna completed her first composition—*Die Vogelkantate*—at age 19, which showcased the composer's musical competency as well as humorous impulses that she would later become known for in Berlin. Despite her musical activity (and local successes), the pressure to take on more feminine duties and responsibilities pushed her to eventually marry the book and music seller, Johann Paul Mathieux in 1832. Persuaded to accept his proposal by her parents who feared a financially unstable future for their daughter, the young Johanna found herself in an emotionally and physically abusive marriage after only a few short months. When she

[9] Writing about women in this time period carries a particular problem of naming. Many of the woman written about in this dissertation and more broadly in the nineteenth century are associated with well-known men who shared the same last name, creating a certain amount of confusion when adopting the standard practice of using surnames. More often than not, the solution is to refer to women by their first names and men by their last, which risks implying an imbalance of respect for each individual. The case of Johanna Kinkel adds a considerable complication in this regard. The composer and pianist held and published under three different surnames: her childhood name, Mockel; the name of her first husband, Mathieux; and after her second marriage in 1843, Kinkel. Additionally, because of the drawn-out separation from her estranged first husband, Johanna's use of Mockel and Mathieux overlap during her time in Berlin (1836-1839). For the purposes of this dissertation, I refer largely to Johanna Kinkel by her final married name, differentiating Gottfried Kinkel by his first or full name as necessary. This brief biographical overview represents one exception to my imperfect solution of naming, where—to maintain consistency as her name changes over time—I refer to Kinkel by either her first or full name.

[10] Monica Klaus, *Romantik und Revolution* (Cologne: Böhlau Verlag, 2008), 13.

returned home to her parents to escape the marriage, rumors flew blaming Johanna's "Emanzipationswillen" and passion for music for the marriage's failure.[11] Unable to end the marriage due to Prussian divorce laws of the 1830s and desperate to escape the local gossip, Johanna set off to establish her musical career in Berlin.

From 1836 to 1839, Johanna Mathieux lived in Berlin, deepening her musical studies and building an invaluable network among the city's prominent salons. Armed with a recommendation from Felix Mendelssohn, whom she met in Frankfurt before her departure, Johanna became a regular at the salons of Fanny Hensel, Friedrich Carl von Savigny, and Bettina von Arnim. As described in her memoir, she lived as a guest of Bettina von Arnim's for some time, where she took over the musical instruction of the von Arnim daughters.[12] On top of her growing social/musical engagements and pedagogical responsibilities, Johanna made time for her main interest in Berlin: the opportunity for a more comprehensive music theoretical education. Under the instruction of Karl Böhmer, Johanna enthusiastically studied figured bass and counterpoint, trainings most often reserved for male students that would inform her musical and literary career for the rest of her life. In 1837, Johanna revised and performed her *Vogelkantate* at the von Savigny salon to such great success that the piece was eventually published and remained in Berlin salon memory long after Johanna's departure.[13] Adding to her compositional repertoire, she published several

[11] Ibid, 18.

[12] Johanna Kinkel, "Aus Johanna Kinkel's Memoiren," in *Zeitgeist: Beilage zum Berliner Tageblatt* 39-47 (1886), ed. Gottfried Kinkel [jun.], reprint in *Internationales Jahrbuch der Bettina-von-Arnim-Gesellschaft* 8/9 (1996/97): 239-71.

[13] Anja Bunzel, "Johanna Kinkel's Social Life in Berlin (1836-39): Reflections on Historiographical Sources," *Musical Salon Culture in the Long Nineteenth Century,* eds. Anja Bunzel and Natasha Loges (Woodbridge, UK: The Boydell Press, 2019).

works, including *Sechs Lieder für eine Singstimme* (op. 7). In 1839, finally receiving Mathieux's acceptance of divorce, Johanna returned to Bonn to legally end her marriage after almost a decade's struggle.

In the year between returning to Bonn and finalizing her divorce on May 22, 1840, Johanna took up direction of the Bonn Choral Society and met the liberal revolutionary—at the time, an evangelical theology student—Gottfried Kinkel. The two formed a fast intellectual friendship that eventually led to the formation of the literary society *Der Maikäferbund*, whose resulting publication (*Der Maikäfer: Zeitschrift für Nichtphilister*) offered Johanna her first platform for publishing literature, comprising countless poems, several short stories, and eventually her novella *Musikalische Orthodoxie*. Although there was no official political leaning to the group, it would serve as the foundation of the Kinkels' liberal circle leading up to the 1848 revolutions. On May 22, 1843—three years to the day from the end of her first marriage, per divorce laws—Johanna and Gottfried solidified their intellectual partnership in marriage. Over the course of their marriage, Johanna would give birth to four children.

Together, Johanna and Gottfried Kinkel cultivated shared liberal values, calling for a united, democratic German nation, leading to their involvement in the local liberal publication, *Bonner Zeitung*. Johanna regularly contributed to the paper and edited the Feuilleton section, and eventually took over the position of editor after Gottfried's political imprisonment in 1848. During this time, Johanna's musical endeavors took a decidedly political turn, exemplified best by her "Demokratenlied," which the Bonn Democratic Society immediately heralded as a liberal anthem after its publication in the *Bonner Zeitung*. In 1849, during Gottfried's political imprisonment, Johanna found

herself traveling solo across Prussia for the first time in the decade since her return from Berlin to help arrange for her husband's eventual escape.

Eventually Johanna, Gottfried, and their children were reunited in London, where the family would remain in political exile for the rest of Johanna's life. In London, the family struggled to support themselves as well as help care for the many other exiled families in their network. For her part, Johanna put more effort into her pedagogical work, having her existing song studies translated into English and establishing a reputation as a music instructor. As she found herself isolated from the more creative musical career she had built in Germany, her autobiographical writings began grappling more with the tensions women faced between raising their family and maintaining a career. As a result, her already delicate health took a turn for the worse. She took long periods away from writing and composing, citing in her less and less frequent letters to friends her lack of energy and failing health. Despite this, she managed to find moments of relief in music, composing more Lieder, holding lectures on music theory and contemporary German composers, and writing extensively on the musical culture of London.[14] After nearly eight years in London, Johanna completed work on her only novel, *Hans Ibeles in London*, a semi-autobiographical work about a German musical family in political exile in London. Before the novel could be published, the author suffered intense emotional and physical distress which led to her early death by falling from a window in 1858.

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[14] Essays on Chopin, Beethoven, Mendelssohn, Music Theory in *Kinkel Nachlass* (Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Bonn).

Kinkel's earliest historian was Paul Kaufmann, a close relative of the Kinkels' family friends.[15] His early biographical sketches from the 1930s represent an important bridge in keeping Kinkel's name and work known, but offer little in the way of critical engagement with her political and social interests. Indeed, as musicologist Anja Bunzel has suggested, his personal relationship to the family likely kept his depiction of Kinkel relatively biased.[16] In musicological scholarship, Kinkel fell back into obscurity until Rieger published her collection of essays in the early 1990s. Although the volume includes musical studies written by Kinkel, it would be another decade before musicological scholarship investigated Kinkel as a singular figure with articles by Ann Willison Lemke on Kinkel's political engagement through music.[17] Over the next 15 years, Kinkel's name would appear only passingly either in short biographical sketches, close musical readings, or in relationship to her more well-known contemporaries.[18] More recently, Kinkel's music has even prompted music theoretical interest with music theorist Daniel S. K. Walden's interrogation of Kinkel's harmonic attention to the

[15] Paul Kaufmann, "Johanna Kinkel: Neue Beiträge zu ihrem Lebensbild," in *Preußische Jahrbücher* 221 (1930): 290-304; Paul Kaufmann, " Johanna Kinkel: Neue Beiträge zu ihrem Lebensbild: Schluß," *Preußische Jahrbücher* 222 (1930): 48-67; and Paul Kaufmann, "Noch einmal auf Johanna Kinkel's Spuren," *Preußische Jahrbücher* 229 (1932): 263-268.

[16] Bunzel, "Social Life," 15.

[17] Ann Willison Lemke, "Robert Schumann und Johanna Kinkel. Musikalische Stimmen der Revolution von 1848/49," in Internationales Jahrbuch der Bettina-von-Arnim-Gesellschaft 11/12 (1999/2000): 179-196. Also "Johanna Kinkel (1810-1858). Alles Schaffen ist wohl eine Wechselwirkung von Inspiration und Willen," in *Annäherung IX – an sieben Komponistinnen*, ed. Clara Mayer (Kassel: Furore Verlag, 1998).

[18] Brand, Bettina and Martina Helmig, eds. "...wie die Stimme, die aus ihrer innersten Seele spricht. Johanna Kinkels Vortrag über Beethovens früheste Sonaten inkl. op. 10," in *Maßstab Beethoven? Komponistinnen im Schatten des Geniekults (*München: Edition text+kritik: 2001); Ute Büchter-Römer, "Ein rheinisches Musikfest muss man erlebt haben. Johanna Kinkel, Clara Schumann, Fanny Hensel und die Rheinromantik," in *Romantik, Reisen, Realitäten. Frauenleben am Rhein,* eds. Bettina Bab and Marianne Pitzen (Bonn: 2002); Susanne Mittag, *Johanna Kinkel 1810-1858. Oder die Kunst ohne Stimme zu singen* (Mühlheim am Main: Schröder Verlag), 2008; Linda Siegel, "Johanna Kinkel's 'Chopin als Komponist' and other Musical Writings: Untapped Source Readings in the History of Romantic Music," in *College Music Symposium,* no. 43 (2003): 105-125.

concept of the quartertone.[19] However, the most notable contributors to current scholarship on Kinkel's music come from Anja Bunzel and Daniela Glahn. Glahn's monograph *Johanna Kinkel – Bilder einer Autorschaft* (2017) analyzes Kinkel's compositions, including music-pedagogical compositions, through the lens of authorship, highlighting the composer's interest in fashionability and marketability.[20] Bunzel has shown how Kinkel's political Lieder "helped shaped the cultural identity" of the democratic revolutionary movement of the 1840s and has uncovered valuable archival perspectives that reimagine how we understand Kinkel's personal and professional relationships.[21] In her most comprehensive study, *The Songs of Johanna Kinkel: Genesis, Reception, Context* (2020), Bunzel offers exhaustive analyses of Kinkel's published songs, arguing that Kinkel's music takes on a uniquely autobiographical function and is compositionally set apart from the work of her contemporaries.[22]

By comparison, Kinkel's name remains all but fully absent in the literary realm, despite her numerous poetic, fictional, and autobiographical works. In the 1970s, Ruth-Ellen Boetcher Joeres published a single article addressing Kinkel's only full novel *Hans Ibeles in London*. On the basis of the novel alone, Boetcher Joeres' article laments Kinkel's omission from literary scholarship, praising "its multifaceted delineation of its women characters, its delving into themes of feminism and class consciousness, its

[19] Daniel S. K. Walden, "Emancipate the Quartertone: The Call to Revolution in Nineteenth-Century Music Theory," *History of Humanities* 2.2 (2017), 327-344.

[20] Daniela Glahn, *Johanna Kinkel – Bilder einer Autorschaft* (Munich: Allitera, 2017).

[21] Anja Bunzel, "Johanna Kinkel's Political Art Songs as a Contribution to the Socio-Cultural Identity of the German Democratic Movement during the Late 1840s," in *Focus on German Studies* 22 (2015): 1; Bunzel, "Social Life."

[22] Anja Bunzel, *Johanna Kinkel: Genesis, Reception, Context* (Rochester: The Boydell Press, 2020).

explication of the ultimate significance of a women's life, and its lucid and sympathetic portrayal of the marriage of a bourgeois housewife."[23] Despite Boetcher Joeres's original substantial appeal, Kinkel's novel—like most of her literary work—remains largely unknown to scholars.

In the early 2000s, literary scholar Ruth Whittle picked up Kinkel's autobiographical essays and letters, examining her life in exile and as part of the 1848 rebellions, Europe-wide revolutions, which in Germany were directly tied to demands for national unity. Investigating the political activity of women not through creative productions, but through the self-stylization observed in correspondences, Whittle asserts that women "wanted to contribute to the emergence of a politically enlightened Germany and hence entertained images of herself or her addressee as a woman of a new age."[24] Thus, through Kinkel's correspondences, Whittle begins to highlight women's interest and active participation in the rising German national consciousness.

The most notable contributions to recent scholarly discourse on Johanna Kinkel, however, have been published by archivist Monica Klaus. Almost 80 years after Kaufmann's first biography of Kinkel, Klaus undertook a substantial and invaluable overhaul of Kinkel's archive and biography. From this work, she published the complete letter exchange between Johanna and Gottfried Kinkel, an article on the genesis and editing process of Kinkel's *Vogelkantate* (op. 1), and the comprehensive biographic work

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[23] Ruth-Ellen Boetcher Joeres, "The Triumph of the Woman: Johanna Kinkel's Hans Ibeles in London (1860)," in *Euphorion: Zeitschrift für Literaturgeschichte*, no. 70 (1976): 197.

[24] Ruth Whittle, "'Die Neue Frau' in the Correspondence of Johanna Kinke, Malwida von Meysenbug and Fanny Lewald," in *German Life and Letters* 57.3 (2004): 258.

Romantik und Revolution.[25] It is in this final publication that Klaus asserts, "Johanna Kinkels Forderung nach Bewertung der Arbeit nach Leistung und nicht deren Einteilung in 'männlich' und 'weiblich', war schon revolutionär."[26] Klaus's statement emphasizes three characteristics of Johanna Kinkel, which make her uniquely well-suited for my analysis of women and nation: first, that she was actively participating in cultural production and therefore contributing to a German national consciousness; second, that she engaged with and challenged established gender roles and expectations; and third, that these first two characteristics set Kinkel apart as a radically innovative member of nineteenth-century bourgeois German society.

It is important here to note that Kinkel was not and should not be understood as a model pioneer of women's rights, and it is not my aim to position her as nineteenth-century savior for women in music. Even with her impressive career and active contributions to her political and cultural milieu, she was a deeply complicated and flawed figure. She wrote about women's access to education and career but also considered herself to be uniquely qualified among her peers for such a right, frequently criticizing women who took pleasure in typically feminine activities. She championed a German national ideal that often left her vying for opportunities to fit into its existing structures more than she questioned why those structures had not made room for her to begin with. However, if the bar for women is set at flawless, we would continue adding only to a history of men. Kinkel, in all her imperfections and contradictions, illustrates the complexities of living as a woman in mid-nineteenth century Germany, and that

[25] Monica Klaus, "Johanna Kinkels Vogelkantate – eine Komposition und ihre Geschichte," in *Bonner Geschichtsblätter*. no. 53/54 (2004): 289-300. Klaus, *Romantik und Revolution.*

[26] Klaus, *Romantik und Revolution*, XI.

alone must be worthy of study. The sheer diversity of Kinkel's body of work, together with her deliberate and active engagement in musical, literary, and political life in a nation on the eve of unification thus demand a closer look and further investigation into the composer, pianist, choral director, writer, pedagogue, and revolutionary.

The Varied Sources of Johanna Kinkel

Johanna Kinkel is not alone among her contemporaries as a woman with interests in both literature and music.[27] She stands apart, however, as a woman with active and successful careers as both a musician and a writer. As her first passion, music offered several avenues for Kinkel's professional participation: she composed, directed ensembles, performed, taught both piano and theory lessons, published multiple pedagogical guides, and gave several public lectures on music history and theory. It is hardly surprising then that such a central component of Kinkel's life—music—permeates both her fictional and non-fictional writing as well. Indeed, in writing, Kinkel recognized the opportunity to explore the full complexity of her own identity not only as musician, but as a woman, a revolutionary, a teacher, a wife, and a mother. Throughout her career, she composed Lieder, cantatas, a Singspiel, and pedagogical songs for children; she wrote poetry, short stories, autobiographical and topical essays, a memoir, pedagogical

[27] For Bettina von Arnim, see Jennifer Ronyak, "Accidental Aesthetics in the Salon: Amateurism and the Romantic Fragment in the Lied Sketches of Bettina von Arnim," in *Musical Salon Culture in the Long Nineteenth Century*, eds. Bunzel, Anja and Natasha Loges (Woodbridge, UK: The Boydell Press, 2019); for Louise Otto-Peters, see Amanda Harris, "The spectacle of Woman as Creater: representations of the women composers in the French, German and English feminist press 1880-1930," in *Women's History Review* 23.1 (2014): 18-42.

treatises, a novella and one novel; and she maintained many written correspondences that illustrate a more candid side of the writer.[28]

Bringing a musical analytical lens to her entire archive—composition and essay, fiction and autobiography, letter and novel—is necessary to fully examine Kinkel as a creator. Crossing methodological boundaries to read music, literature, and letters in conversation, enables a much fuller and more complex understanding of Kinkel than any single source could on its own. In some cases, the different sources complement each other, offering multiple vantage points to approach a specific topic. More often, however, these various sources reveal tensions that invite deeper engagement and more nuanced understanding of both Kinkel as well as the personal, professional, political, and social contexts she worked within.

As the most studied facet of her oeuvre, Kinkel's music illustrates a talented, detailed, and often humorous composer, who took great inspiration from her own life. Her first composition, *Die Vogelkantate*, for example, plays on each of these strengths as a comic musical interpretation of a group preparing for a performance. The ensemble, represented by different birds, argue over what to sing and who should direct the group. In the end it is the cuckoo bird who brings back order to the group and leads them in their final performance. The setting must have been a familiar one for Kinkel already at 19 when she first composed the piece and certainly echoed her experiences in the Berlin salons where she revised, performed, and published the song.[29] It also seems hardly accidental that the voice part assigned to the cuckoo is alto, Kinkel's own vocal range.

[28] This is not to say that the letters provide a fully unfiltered perspective into Kinkel's thoughts. Ruth Whittle, for example, examines the self-stylization present in Kinkel's letters (Whittle, "Correspondence").

[29] Kinkel, *Memoiren*, 261-262.

Indeed, an 1830 drawing of the rehearsals for *Die Vogelkantate* depict Kinkel behind the piano with the cuckoo assigned to her (Fig. 1.2).

Fig. 1.2: Drawing of a rehearsal of *Die Vogelkantate*, signed by Hannchen Mockel [Johanna Mockel] (1830, Stadtarchiv und Stadthistorische Bibliothek Bonn, SN 098-190)

As her political interests increased over the 1840s, Kinkel's Lieder not only reflected her liberal values, but also her new role as wife and mother. Both the text and music of these Lieder signal a political call to arms to fight for a unified Germany highlighting the German family as a central motivation. Later in her musical career, Kinkel's focus shifted towards pedagogical music. Although the simple melodies of pedagogical music are rarely studied, Kinkel's songs reveal values central to bourgeois family structures and liberal political ideology. The simple melodies designed for and accessible to children underscore the composer's intentions to teach both music and particular social and political principles.

As busy as she kept herself with music, Kinkel wrote extensively in a variety of genres and formats. Although they differ significantly from the writing of essays and fiction in both form and function, Kinkel's letters take on a valuable historical and literary role. In the case of the former, her letters preserve specific events, conversations, and relationships that were otherwise largely contained within a private setting. To the latter, they capture the author's voice in different contexts and as it changed over time, exhibiting her methods of self-stylization. Almost exclusively autobiographical, her essays—some published, but many more left unpublished in her lifetime—place Kinkel's individual experiences within a larger social and political context. Across every essay, Kinkel draws on music either as a central topic of discussion or as an element incorporated into the essay, emphasizing the way musical life permeated every aspect of her world. Kinkel published most of her fictional prose in *Der Maikäfer* between 1840-1846. Some stories are rife with humor, some highlight local identity and tradition, while others illustrate complex social realities in unexpected ways.[30] Each in its own way, Kinkel's short fiction depicts how she understood and made sense of her world.

As the largest single work in her oeuvre, Kinkel's novel, *Hans Ibeles in London: ein Roman aus dem Flüchtlingsleben*, plays a significant role throughout this dissertation. The semi-autobiographical tale tells the story of a musical family forced into political exile in London where they must navigate the already complex domestic

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[30] For example, "Aus dem Tagebuch eines Komponisten," the comical diary of a young composer battling the noise of his trumpet playing neighbor; "Der Musikant" tells of the reluctant marriage of a young woman to a musician with dialogue completely in Kinkel's home dialect; and "Lebenslauf eines Johannisfünkchen" depicts the life cycle of a firefly who must learn to navigate the complex social relationships of his new home, the garden. in *Erzählungen von Gottfried und Johanna Kinkel*, 3rd ed. (Stuttgart: J.G. Cotta, 1883).

and professional realities of a housewife and professional musician, now in a foreign context. As her last creative endeavor before her death (and published posthumously), *Hans Ibeles* not only illustrates the realities of and tensions within her lived experiences, but also offers space to reflect on her life and career. Additionally, as the only novel among her writings, it offers her a more substantial platform to explore her own literary complexity. That is to say, Kinkel de/reconstructs different identities in the broader range of more fully developed characters and interweaves multiple frameworks and perspectives in the intricate plot. While the novel plays a fundamental role in almost every chapter, there remains much more to uncover and interrogate within its pages than I could fit within the confines of this dissertation.

The Musicking Woman

A discourse saturated by Bach, Beethoven, and Brahms, the historical and cultural impact of German music has largely overlooked the contributions of women, favoring instead representations of women and gender provided by male composers. One need only think of a handful of examples—Wagner alone gives us Isolde, Senta, and Brünnhilde; from Schubert, Gretchen at her spinning wheel; as well as Strauss's titular figures Salome and Elektra— to recognize the important role that female characters played in nineteenth-century German music. As such, the musical canon provides a rich and well-known collection of female characters, who have enabled scholars to discuss women and gender while still adhering to a male-dominated canon. Eva Rieger, for example, released an entire volume focused on female characters and representations of

femininity in Wagner's operas.[31] Both Lawrence Kramer and Ruth A. Solie have published on representations of women and gender in the *Lieder* of Liszt, Mendelssohn, and Schumann.[32] More recently, Marie Sumner Lott's *The Social Worlds of Nineteenth-Century Chamber Music* investigates the role of chamber music culture in social, domestic settings—a space largely dominated by women—featuring women only fleetingly as the consumers of music composed and performed by men.[33] Similarly, Celia Applegate's monograph, *The Necessity of Music*, offers a single chapter to consider women in music history, but only insofar as they were concerned with promoting (or not promoting) the works and ideology of Richard Wagner.[34] Perhaps most telling, however, is the total absence of women and gender—representations of or otherwise—in Carl Dahlhaus's discipline-shifting work *Nineteenth Century Music*.[35] Regarded as a founding scholar of feminist musicology, Susan McClary views the absence of feminist criticism in musicology not as a singular discrepancy, but rather as "symptomatic of the way the discipline as a whole is organized."[36] Her groundbreaking publication, *Feminine*

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[31] Eva Rieger, *Richard Wagner's Women,* trans. Chris Walton (Rochester: Boydell Press, 2011).

[32] Lawrence Kramer, "Liszt, Goethe, and the Discourse of Gender," in *Music as Cultural Practice, 1800-1900* (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1990); also from Kramer, "The Lied as Cultural Practice: Tutelage, Gender and Desire in Mendelssohn's Goethe Songs," in *Classical Music and Postmodern Knowledge* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995); Ruth A. Solie, "Whose Life? The Gendered Self in Schumann's *Frauenliebe* Songs," in *Music and Text: Critical Inquiries*, ed. Steven P. Scher (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1992).

[33] Marie Sumner Lott, *The Social Worlds of Nineteenth-Century Chamber Music: Composers, Consumers, Communities* (Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 2015).

[34] Celia Applegate, *The Necessity of Music: Variations on a German Theme* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2017).

[35] I think it is also worth noting that only one women—Bettina Brentano—received an indexical entry among the myriad of male composers and philosophers listed. Carl Dahlhaus, *Nineteenth Century Music*, trans. Bradford Robinson (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991).

[36] Susan McClary, *Feminine Endings: Music, Gender, and Sexuality*, 2nd Edition (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2002), 20.

Endings: Music, Gender, and Sexuality, focuses largely on representations of women and receptions of femininity in music, turning only briefly in the final section to female composers.

To more fully examine women as creators—and not merely objects or consumers—of music, I introduce the concept of the *musicking woman*. Drawing on Christopher Small's concept of *musicking,* which reconceptualizes music as an action or event rather than an object, I understand the musicking woman as an active agent in the process of music through composition, performance, or both.[37] Transcending time period and geographic location, the musicking woman offers a framework for women creating music on their own terms in their own voices, whether a twenty-first century American country music exploring and affirming their values or a nineteenth-century German composer constructing a political and professional identity. Focusing on the latter, this dissertation calls on the musicking woman to build on scholarly pursuits, which challenge women's absence in musical discourses. Evidence of nineteenth-century female composers, the claim usually goes, is tragically limited or unavailable because it was considered a product of the domestic realm and therefore not taken seriously by its contemporaries, resulting in the general loss of valuable material to time.[38] Musicologist Marcia J. Citron tackles such claims head on when she questions the very practice of canon formation. Citron notes that a canon is not just an arbitrary

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[37] Christopher Small, *Musicking: The Meanings of Performance and Listening* (Hanover: University of New England Press, 1998).

[38] David Gramit admits that his study *Cultivating Music: The Aspirations, Interests, and Limits of German Musical Culture, 1770-1848* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), "underrepresents both domestic music-making and – partially (but only partially) as a result – the role of women in musical life" (22-23). Later in this chapter, I also address Susan McClary's discussion of the double bind women faced as well as Mary Sue Morrow's discussion of the musical other

list of works, but rather a “replication of social relations” which “provides a means of instilling a sense of identity in a culture.”[39] Teasing out the collective and individual dimensions of female experiences, Citron revisits the musical canon considering not only how women were (often institutionally) denied access to participate in much of musical life, but also where evidence can be found for women composing their own space into a masculinized profession.

The musicking woman, however, cannot simply be reduced to her exclusion from dominant narratives of musical culture. Rather she finds herself among more recent scholarship that examines women’s musical contributions as part of a larger discourse. Most often, this work centers on the genre of the *Lied*. As a typical form of the domestic or salon music to which women composers were generally confined, Aisling Kenny and Susan Wallenberg suggest that “the Lied’s ‘minor’ rank allowed women to feel free to compose in the genre, while the revolution perceptible in the Lied as it developed offered them the possibility of exploring new realms of creativity.”[40] Ranging from the familiar names of Fanny Hensel, Clara Schumann, and Alma Mahler to the more obscure Pauline von Decker, Josephine Lang, and Ingeborg von Bronsart, each essay in Kenny and Wallenberg’s edited volume on the Lied engages musicking women as serious participants in musical culture through composition or performance. Rather than focusing on individual women in her study of the “performative paradox” of the Lied, musicologist Jennifer Ronyak challenges notions that women’s cultural participation was only significant insofar as it served men. Ronyak acknowledges the

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[39] Marcia J. Citron, *Gender and the Musical Canon* (New York: Cambridge UP, 1993), 1.

[40] Aisling Kenny and Susan Wollenberg, eds, *Women and the Nineteenth Century Lied* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2015), 2.

social and professional barriers women faced, contending that "women nevertheless presented real challenges to the ideologies and conventions that meant to limit their role in literary and musical culture, as well as to contain interiority and intimate expression."[41] As such, the musicking woman is not defined by her marginalization, but rather by the opportunity she created within music to defy expectations and express the whole of her character.

Perhaps the most notable exception to the limitation of women musicians to the genre of the Lied in the nineteenth-century is Clara Schumann (née Wieck). In many ways, Schumann's illustrious and celebrated career seems to embody the perfect example of the musicking woman in the nineteenth-century. Well before her marriage to composer Robert Schumann, she established her career as a pianist, touring internationally and performing the most popular contemporary repertoire. Adding Schumann's professional experiences to recent scholarship on the relationship between identity and reception in classical-music performance, musicologist Alexander Stefaniak highlights the implications of gender on performing publicly within a canonic tradition.[42] Specifically because Schumann built and maintained her career by performing a familiar canon of male composers, Stefaniak compellingly argues that the pianist exercised "creative and entrepreneurial agency" in the strategic programming of

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[41] Jennifer Ronyak, *Intimacy, Performance, and the Lied in the Early Nineteenth Century* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2018).

[42] Alexander Stefaniak, *Becoming Clara Schumann: Performance Strategies and Aesthetics in the Culture of the Musical Canon* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2021); Karen Leistra-Jones, "Staging Authenticity: Joachim, Brahms, and Politics of *Werktreue* Performance." *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 66, no. 2 (2013): 397-436; and Kira Thurman, *Singing Like the Germans: Black Musicians in the Land of Bach, Beethoven, and Brahms* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2021).

her concerts that elevated her musical reputation and helped legitimize her virtuosity.[43] In other words, Schumann harnessed the influence of public reception to escalate her career from that of "talented for a woman," to a widely respected virtuoso among her peers. Despite the tremendous impact musical reception had on music(ians) of the nineteenth century and despite the valuable critically important insight reception histories enable to better understand cultural and social contexts, the musicking woman does not seek validation through reception, but rather recognizes herself as a legitimate musician in her own right.

Without the concern of public reception, the musicking woman is above all else invested in the production of serious music—that is, music regarded for its purely aesthetic value rather than its functional value (e.g. dances and marches). Hoping to help "redress the lack of scholarship on women as creative agents in their own right" in an edited volume on the musical salon, musicologists Anja Bunzel and Natasha Loges consider nineteenth century salon culture as a "back door to the professional world" for aspirational women.[44] As public events held in private spaces, nineteenth-century salons are often categorized as semi-private. However, this categorization, built on a legacy of gendered differentiation, obscures the cultural contributions of women by distinguishing them from the more serious, professional, *male* category of public life. Feminist sociologist Karen Hansen, however, warns that when private and public are simply mapped on to gender, "a self perpetuating, tautological system is constructed,

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[43] Stefaniak, *Becoming*, 2.

[44] Anja Bunzel and Natasha Loges, eds. *Musical Salon Culture in the Long Nineteenth Century* (Woodbridge, UK: The Boydell Press, 2019), 10.

obscuring the ways in which women may not be private and men may not be public."[45] In this way, Hansen convincingly argues that instead of conceiving of public and private *as* male and female, we must think of what bearing gender has on how public and private are conceived and how strict distinctions of public and private shape and limit our understanding of gender. Therefore, the musicking woman's involvement in a serious musical culture requires a reconceptualization of standard models of a public-private sphere dichotomy.

Nowhere is the erasure of women's cultural, political, and ideological contributions within a strict public-private binary more readily observed or more often critiqued than in Jürgen Habermas's 1962 publication *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere – An Enquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*.[46] By totally and unambiguously disassociating the public and private life into separate spheres, Habermas's injury to women is twofold: one, he relegates women to the private, domestic sphere, ignoring any way in which women participated in society outside of the home; and two, he dismisses and degrades the work and contributions of the private sphere, placing any and all formative cultural influence exclusively in the public sphere.

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[45] Karen V. Hansen, "Feminist Conceptions of Public and Private: A Critical Analysis." *Berkeley Journal of Sociology* 32 (1987), 112.

[46] Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere – An Enquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*, trans. Thomas Burger and Frederick Lawrence (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1989). In terms of critics, Elizabeth Pleck has broadly argued that Habermas' division of spheres ignores any intersection between public and private; Pleck, "Two Worlds in One: Work and Family." *Journal of Social History* 10, no. 2 (1976): 178-195. Looking specifically at the placement of labor exclusively in the public sphere in Habermas's model, Nancy Fraser contends that the "the household, like the paid workplace, is a site of labor, albeit unremunerated and often unrecognized labor"; Fraser, "What's Critical about Critical Theory? The Case of Habermas and Gender," *New German Critique* 35, special issue on Jürgen Habermas (1985), 107. Additionally, Elizabeth Eger *et al* note the erasure of women from public institutions such as the English coffee-house as an illustration of "his assumption that female opinion was inconsequential whereas male opinion was of value to the public sphere"; Elizabeth Eger, Charlotte Grant, Clíona Ó Gallchoir, and Penny Warburton, eds. *Women, Writing and the Public Sphere, 1700-1830* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 8.

Carole Patemen complicates the gendered dichotomy of the public-private sphere model by suggesting that most women of the nineteenth century fully accepted their place in the domestic realm and sought political and social equality with their male contemporaries as “a means to strengthen and protect their special sphere.”[47] That is to say, nineteenth century women were not invested in simply joining a male-dominated concept of “public” life, but rather sought to gain political and social legitimacy for the work they did do in the home.

While the musicking woman certainly does seek (political and social) legitimacy, her work—i.e. musicking—transgresses fixed boundaries of public and private. As a way of more productively engaging with women as active participants of both the public and private sphere in a way that does not reinforce strict gendered binaries, the model must be augmented by a third category: *the social*. Taking Hannah Arendt’s introduction of a public-private-social trichotomy as a point of departure, Hansen examines the social in terms of gender relationships. For Arendt, the social is “that curiously hybrid realm where private interests assume public significance,” in a way that obscures individuals who conform to various rules and behavior deemed acceptable in society.[48] Thus the social is not just a characteristic of private life, but rather its own category within society, a realm with its own norms, processes, and behavior. The social mediates between public and private activities, thereby “serving as the nexus of human interaction.”[49] By examining Arendt’s category of the social through the lens of gender,

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[47] Carole Pateman, *The Disorder of Women: Democracy, Feminism and Political Theory* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1989).

[48] Hannah Arendt, *The Human Condition*, 2nd ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2018), 40.

[49] Hansen, “Feminist Conceptions,” 119.

Hansen claims, we are better able to account for the complexity of women's lives in the nineteenth century by acknowledging their role within the social sphere as "mediating the various forces of society—tying the church to the household, neighbor to neighbor, the individual to the collectivity."[50] As such, the category of the social helps us rethink understandings of the nineteenth-century woman as a facilitator of society not because she existed outside of public life, but rather because she was able to negotiate those norms and behaviors which existed neither wholly in the public nor private realm. As this dissertation shows, nowhere is this function more apparent than in the work of the musicking woman of the nineteenth century.

Women and German National Identity

As the collective cultural consciousness that arose from the Enlightenment thinking of the previous century barreled towards the eventual creation of a unified German nation in 1871, it became more and more difficult to disentangle literary and musical production from growing sentiments of a German national identity. Looking back to Johann Gottfried Herder, scholars across a broad range of fields have recognized the foundational role of constructing an image of a unified German *Volk* as the true bearers of a national identity and culture through both song and story.[51] Indeed, the

[50] Ibid, 123.

[51] See Suzanne Marchand, *German Orientalism in the Age of Empire: Religion, Race, and Scholarship* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2009); Todd Kontje, *German Orientalisms* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2004); Celia Applegate, *Bach in Berlin: Nation and Culture in Mendelssohn's revival of the St. Matthew Passion* (Ithaca: Cornell UP, 2005); Philip Bohlman, *Song Loves the Masses: Herder on Music and Nationalism* (Oakland: University of California Press, 2017); Vanessa Agnew, *Enlightenment Orpheus: the Power of Music in Other Worlds*. (Oxford UP, 2008); and Richard Taruskin, "Nationalism." *Grove Music Online*, January 20, 2001, https://doi-org.proxy.lib.umich.edu/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.50846..

centrality of both literature and music to Herder's conception of an emerging national consciousness was a uniquely German characteristic.[52] This connection, however, is not based on any inherent German qualities of literature or music, but rather it is codified through the *reception* of particular works as distinctively German. The presence of a German national consciousness in discussions of musical meaning, historian Celia Applegate argues, "signifies not the hidden presence of political agendas but a more general upheaval in social life and, connected to it, the perceived importance of music in regard to basic social attributes of community and identity."[53] In this way, Germany's musical interest was not the result of fundamentally political attributes of music, but rather, it contributed to a sense of shared cultural (and therefore national) identity in its reception as German. Similarly, Patricia Herminghouse highlights the role of reception in understanding literature as national. Looking to the evolution, practice, and goals of the German academic field of *Literaturwissenschaft* throughout the nineteenth century, Herminghouse considers the academic course of study to be an "androcentric project of constructing national identity."[54] In this way, Herminghouse importantly points out that a national literature project of the nineteenth century is as much due to the *discussion and study* of literature as it is to the literature itself. As such, the study of German nationalism in music and literature—in particular, in the nineteenth century—is much

[52] Scholars such as Vanessa Agnew, Todd Kontje, Celia Applegate, Patricia Herminghouse, and countless others note the connection to Herder's *Volk* in claiming the unique status of nineteenth-century Germany as a *Kulturstaat* due to the influence of its cultural productions on its national consciousness (as opposed to the cultural productions of other nations which were *inspired by* the national consciousness).

[53] Celia Applegate, *Necessity of Music*, 29.

[54] Patricia Herminghouse, "The Ladies' Auxiliary of German Literature: Nineteenth-Century Women Writers and the Quest for a National Literary History," in *Gender and Germanness: Cultural Productions of Nation*, eds. Patricia Herminghouse and Magda Mueller (Providence: Berghahn Books, 1997), 146.

more a study of the public reception of individual works, performances, and composers/authors.

However, this conceptual framework leaves us unable to fully account for the musical and literary contributions of women and other marginalized voices to national conversations. In McClary's brief discussion of female authorship in music, for example, she notes the double bind these women faced in the masculine reception of their work: "it is repeatedly condemned as pretty yet trivial or—in the event that it does not conform to standards of feminine propriety—as aggressive and unbefitting a woman."[55] Taking this one step further, Mary Sue Morrow claims that critical reviews of women composers tended to "equate the female with the characteristics of the musical Other."[56] Similiarly, in literature women writers and their work could not escape the reception of their work as "domestic literature," a genre Herminghouse suggests that male contemporaries could never take seriously as social or political critique.[57] Thus, approached solely through the lens of reception, nineteenth-century musical and literary culture denied creative space for women within the rising German national consciousness.

Over the past decades, feminist scholarship has begun to paint a much more robust historical picture of women's participation in and contributions to a collective German identity. In doing so, scholars have found the social ideology sparked by the French Revolution to represent a fundamental turning point for German women's political participation. "Die Erklärung der Menschenrechte, die sich auf das Naturrecht

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[55] Susan McClary, *Feminine Endings: Music, Gender, and Sexuality*, 2nd ed (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2002), 19.

[56] Mary Sue Morrow, *German Music Criticism in the Late Eighteenth Century: Aesthetic Issues in Instrumental Music* (New York: Cambridge UP, 1997), 63.

[57] Ibid.

des einzelnen berief und die kreatürliche Gleichheit aller," Renate Möhrmann points out, opened women's eyes to the discrimination of their sex.[58] In addition, rising German national sentiments in the wake of the anti-Napoleonic Wars of Liberation of 1813-1815 motivated women to not only participate in political activism in the service of a united German ideal, but also, in doing so, to prove their patriotism and therefore Germanness. Historian Karen Hagemann has shown the multitude of ways women of all social strata actively participated in "national" efforts: from upholding German manners and traditions in the home, to raising funds to support the wars and nursing sick or wounded soldiers, some women even going so far as to dress as men and take up arms to join the battle.[59] No matter how traditionally feminine, how practical, or how radical women were in their patriotic efforts, the end goal was always the same: cultural and political legitimization.

For this reason, women began turning to writing in larger numbers than ever before as a way of engaging public, political, and national discourses in the 1830s and 1840s. This is not to say that women only started writing about political or national themes in the nineteenth century.[60] However, in the period leading up to the 1848 revolutions, two major political changes occurred, which significantly impacted who was

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[58] Renate Möhrmann, *Die andere Frau: Emanzipationsansätze deutscher Schriftstellerinnen im Vorfeld der Achutund Achtundvierziger-Revolution* (Tübingen: Metzler), 1977.

[59] See Hagemann, "Female Patriots: Women, War and the Nation in the Period of the Prussian-German Anti-Napolieonic Wars." *Gender and History* 16, no. 2 (2004): 397-424; and Karen Hagemann, "'Heroic Virgins' and 'Bellicose Amazons': Armed Women, the Gender Order and the German Public during and after the Anti-Napoleonic Wars." *European History Quarterly* 37, no. 4 (2007): 507-527.

[60] Judith E. Martin studies the literary legacy of French activist and writer German de Staël among German women writers of the first half of the nineteenth century. Among the earliest influences, she sites the works of Karoline Paulus and Friederike Helene Unger, whose published works dealt with topics of gender, authorship, and national character. *Germaine de Staël in Germany: Gender and Literary Authority (1800-1850)* (Madison: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press), 2011.

writing and what they were writing about. First, the beginning of Germany's first women's movement—which sought political and social equality for women through institutions such as marriage and education—led to a greater number of women publishing and an "increased politicization of [their] literature."[61] Second, the upsurge of a liberal political ideology, which was rooted in the rising bourgeoisie and promoted the collective identity of single German *Volk* allowed more women to recognize and challenge their "subordinated position in society."[62] Pointing out that women writers in the 1840s still "needed at least nominally to support the existing value system in order to survive institutionally," feminist literary scholar Ruth Ellen Boetcher Joeres has cogently argued that women utilized numerous literary genres in unique ways in hopes of attaining political legitimization through self-representation.[63] By turning to various forms of published writing, women writing in the mid-nineteenth century worked to understand their social position and represent themselves as political beings in an explicitly public forum.

A growing—but nevertheless incomplete—list of recognized figures has emerged in scholarship on Germany's revolutionary writers of the nineteenth-century.[64] As much as these women's general interest in issues of both gender and class often allied them together and aligned them with Germany's liberal movement, their specific political

[61] Martin, *Germaine de Staël,* 210.

[62] Renate Möhrmann*, Frauenemanzipation im deutschen Vormärz: Texte und Dokumente* (Stuttgart: Philipp Reclam, 1978), 9.

[63] Ruth Ellen Boetcher Joeres, *Respectability and Deviance: Nineteenth-Century Women Writers and the Ambiguity of Representation* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998), 83.

[64] Möhrmann notes that many women, including those we know today, did not always or immediately disclose their name for fear of social retribution. *Frauenemanzipation*, 11.

aims and modes of public participation varied widely.[65] Louise Aston (1814-1871), for example, took on a radically performative self-representation, smoking and drinking in taverns, reportedly often donning men's clothing, whereas Louise Otto-Peters (1819-1895) was known for a modest appearance and manner that did not directly convey her political convictions.[66] Louise Dittmar (1807-1884), Aston, and Otto-Peters each started newspapers specifically for women, publishing essays that challenged women's position in public life, encouraged better education and equal marriage rights for women, and demanded women's political and economic independence.[67] Kathinka Zitz's (1801-1877) poetry rallied for a collective German identity while Bettina von Arnim (1785-1859) and Fanny Lewald (1811-1889) are most well known for their novels, which are read as "overt and public acts of self-representation."[68] Whatever their message or methods, these women, and many others, worked to bring their voices into traditionally "masculine" venues, and thereby actively sought to participate in pertinent and timely discussions on cultural and national identity in individual and unique ways.

The increasing inclusion of women in literary modes of national discourses makes the overwhelming absence of women from the significant body of scholarship on German national identity in music all the more jarring. Even the two most well-known

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[65] Boetcher Joeres highlights that for many of Germany's nineteenth-century women, "gender was often implied or conflated with class," (*Respectibility and Deviance*, 81). Möhrmann divides supports of the women's movement into two camps, determined largely by a more radical or more moderate stance on the role of marriage. (*Frauenemanzipation,* 11). Stanly Zucker, on the other hand, points out the individual interests and goals as the differed among the various women. Stanly Zucker, *Kathinka Zitz-Halein and Female Civic Activism in Mid-Nineteenth-Century Germany* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois Univeristy Press, 1991).

[66] For Aston, see Zucker, *Female Civic Activism*, 52. For Otto, see Boetcher Joeres, *Respectibility and Deviance*, 117.

[67] Dittmar founded *Soziale Reform*, Aston *Freischärler*, and Otto *Frauen-Zeitung*. See Zucker, *Female Civic Activism*, 72.

[68] Boetcher Joeres, *Respectibility and Deviance*, 94.

names in the world of nineteenth-century women composers—Clara Schumann and Fanny Mendelssohn Hensel—remain excluded from discourses of national identity, despite both having close personal and musical connections to male composers regularly associated with Germanness.[69] There is little room for doubt that musical culture of the nineteenth century represents at least one venue where women's professional and political participation remains largely underexplored.

Chapter Outline

Each of Kinkel's sources feature in complementary and intersecting ways throughout this dissertation. The chapters are not organized by genre nor do they isolate conversations of musical works from those of literary, either method would be counter-productive to the central aims of my research. At the heart of every word and note that came from Kinkel's hand is the yearning to understand her identity as a woman, a German, and a musician. Reading music alongside autobiography and correspondences together with fiction builds the most comprehensive framework for studying Johanna Kinkel as a musicking woman. As such, my dissertation is divided into four chapters that examine how the musicking woman inhabited various cultural roles that contributed to her concept of self. In other words, I ask how the musicking woman was simultaneously also the social woman (chapter two), the political woman (chapter

[69] The husband of Clara Schumann, Robert Schumann's later career is the subject of John Daverio's discussion of German national identity in the essay, "Einheit—Freiheit—Vaterland: Imitations of Utopia in Robert Schumann's late choral work," in *Music and German National Identity*, eds. Celia Applegate and Pamela Potter (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002). Fanny Hensel was the sister and close musical confidante of Felix Mendelssohn, whose concert revival of JS Bach's music Celia Applegate has attributed as a fundamental component in establishing the connection between German cultural identity and music in the nineteenth century in *Bach in Berlin*.

three), the learned woman (chapter four), and the working woman (chapter five). Each chapter features a new constellation of musical composition, fictional literature, and autobiographical essay, allowing a unique multimodal approach to reading music and literature in tandem.

Chapter two, the first main body of this dissertation, lays the foundation for my dissertation by interrogating common themes of feminine redemption in the Berlin salon. Kinkel's 1846/49 novella, *Musikalische Orthodoxie* serves as the foundation of my analysis, offering a unique glimpse at the Berlin salon through the lens of fictional literature. More commonly reconstructed through letters, diaries, and other biographical documents alone, I argue that examining literary representations of the salon offers a more comprehensive understanding of how the events functioned not only in bourgeois and aristocratic culture, but also how they functioned in the social lives of women. Combining Kinkel's novella with recollections of her personal experiences in the salons as described in her *Memoiren*, I tease out the author's critique of the salon as a site which restricted women's cultural participation to the home in order to maintain a public patriarchal hegemony. The musicking woman plays a critical role in revealing the ways in which the salon ultimately failed to integrate women into cultural, political, or professional life. Instead, chapter one ends with Kinkel's appraisal of the *Musikverein* as the true site of meaningful musical participation for the musicking woman.

Chapters three and four consider how music provided productive sites of agency for women. In chapter three, this agency is political, looking to three different sources—a song, an essay, and a novel—to understand both how music and political action intersect as well as how Kinkel understood her roll in both. Here, nineteenth-century national liberalism and the 1848/49 revolutions take center stage as the focal point of

Kinkel's work. In chapter four, looking at pedagogical texts and music, the agency explored is intellectual. Comparing Kinkel's pedagogical commitment to girls and mothers with the most prominent contemporary pedagogical music from Carl Czerny and Robert Schumann, I argue that Kinkel's methods and values gave women and girls ownership over their intellectual development and offered a new language of communication that included them in evolving notions of bourgeois German identity.

Finally, chapter five investigates music's role in the emerging fight for women's emancipation. In this chapter, I interrogate the tensions between theories of emancipation and Kinkel's lived experiences as a working wife and mother. Highlighting her personal correspondences, I bring Kinkel into conversations with contemporaries Fanny Lewald and Malwida von Meysenbug to consider how Kinkel's musical career as well as her attempts to balance the domestic duties of motherhood with her professional duties offered her a different perspective and experience of emancipation. In a brief coda, I explore two characters—one from her novella and one from her novel—who reveal the ways in which Kinkel perceived musicking as an exclusively white and German space, and I consider the implications of this dissertation on future research.

Chapter 2

The Social Woman

On a warm summer day, a short distance outside of Berlin, guests gather under a freshly erected tent in the magnificent gardens of Count Selvar. A young woman—newly arrived from her provincial home far west of there—marvels at the fruit trees and flower patches as she makes her way down the promenade to where the company is gathered. As she reaches the tent, the young woman is glad to be able to slip in, unnoticed, among the lively and jocular conversations of the guests. While the Count remains in deep dialogue with two men, the lady of the house—his sister—seamlessly glides from one conversation to the next, ensuring the comfort and pleasure of all those present. Commenting that most of the guests seem too self-serving to notice her, the newcomer thinks to herself, "If I were beautiful and had an imposing manner, someone here would surely have approached me. But no one expects a soul to live behind such a plain face."[70] On a return visit to the Count, the young woman is invited to the piano and immediately transforms in the eyes of the guests through her undeniable talent. Her pale face becomes rosy, and her stooped posture gives way to graceful movement; she is no longer overlooked by anyone in the room.

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[70] Johanna Kinkel, "Musikalische Orthodoxie," in *Erzählungen von Gottfried und Johanna Kinkel*, 3rd ed, (Stuttgart: J.G. Cotta, 1883), 233. All translations are my own, unless otherwise noted.

The young women, Ida, is the central figure of Johanna Kinkel's novella *Musikalische Orthodoxie*. Originally published in serial form between 1844 and 1846 in *Der Maikäfer: Zeitschrift für Nichtphilister*, the novella was later edited to be included in an 1848 volume of stories by Johanna and Gottfriend Kinkel. This account of the nineteenth-century social gatherings that would come to be known as the salon, while certainly not autobiographical, reflects many of the experiences Johanna Kinkel (Mathieux, née Mockel)[71] gathered participating in the Berlin salons.[72] During the young pianist and composer's stay in the Prussian capital between 1836 and 1839, salons had already long-captivated the city as a forum for free and open intellectual exchange across class, religion, politics, and gender. Because of the prominent role women played as both hostess and invited guest, Berlin salons have garnered much praise as particularly important institutions for women's burgeoning cultural participation in nineteenth century. Similarly, salons promoted a specific musical culture in Berlin, where guests were exposed to both an established, beloved repertoire as well as new, innovative compositions in a way that shifted musical tastes and shaped ideals of an expressly German music. As such, the Berlin salon of the mid-nineteenth century represents a unique space for the musicking woman to contend with issues of gender and nation.

[71] This chapter encompasses a time period that included use of all three of Kinkel's last names, her childhood and first married name were used during and immediately following her time in Berlin, while her *Memoiren* was written and published later in life under the name Kinkel. Therefore, for the purposes of this chapter, I will refer to both Johanna Kinkel and Johanna Mathieux as a means of differentiating between the author—Kinkel is, after all, the name she published the story under—and the young musician participating in the Berlin salons—as Mathieux is the name she was known by throughout the social network of Berlin's upper-classes.

[72] Kinkel's records of her time in the salons are recorded mainly in her *Memoiren,* as well as personal letters during this time.

Positioned at the nexus of serious and amateurish musical culture, the salon created an opportunity for musicking women to take their interests beyond the trivial music instruction that had become a staple of bourgeois women's education. Training as vocalists or pianists was common for young middle-class women, due to the accessibility of both instruments within the home. Requiring only a piano and singer and intended to be performed in intimate spaces such as the home, the genre of the *Lied* — a brief, strophic musical setting of a poem or text for solo voice and piano accompaniment—was the most popular among women.[73] Although there are a handful of well-known exceptions,[74] as composer and performer, the musicking women ultimately found little public musical success through salon performances alone.[75] While music was indeed a common part of Berlin salons, most often there were merely intermittent performances between or underneath lively conversation, and only occasionally were entire gatherings dedicated to the performance and discussion of music. By looking almost exclusively to personal writings such as letters and diaries,[76]

[73] Aisling Kenny and Susan Wallenberg, *Women and the Nineteenth Century Lied* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2015), 2.

[74] The most notable exception to the exclusion of women instrumentalists from public life in nineteenth-century Germany is, of course, Clara Schumann (née Wieck). As a performer, Clara Schumann was not only praised for her virtuosic abilities, but also her sensitivity to audiences in the programming of her concerts. Touring across Europe, her concerts highlighted the way in which canon formation was intimately linked to performance ability. Virtuosity, musicologist Alexander Stefaniak points out, "was an ideal that ambitious musicians and writers constructed in order to distinguish select, favored works from supposedly superficial others and at the same time an imagined quality that pervaded the sheet music market and concert stage in a variety of guises, ranging from the venerable to the popular." Alexander Stefaniak, "Clara Schumann's Interiorities and the Cutting Edge of Popular Pianism," in *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 70, no. 3 (2017), 702.

[75] Musicologist David Ferris, for example, describes the relationship as such: "whereas public performance of music is regarded as a sign of professionalism, the private realm is the domain of the amateur and so is inherently marginalized." David Ferris, Ferris, David. "Public Performances and Private Understandings: Clara Wieck's Concerts in Berlin." *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 56, no. 2 (2003), 353.

[76] Petra Wilhelmy notes that the source materials for Berlin Salons are almost exclusively collected from women's letters, diaries, and—occasionally—Memoirs, and range from fleeting passages to extended

salons have since acquired a reputation as platforms for (musicking) women looking to further their artistic expertise and perhaps even establish a career through the extensive network of Berlin's nobility and bourgeoisie present at the events. Although such opportunities proved available to some extent, a musicking woman's career rarely advanced beyond her social participation in the salon.

Reentering the nineteenth-century Berlin salon through the experiences of the musicking woman, my argument in this chapter is two-fold. I first claim that literary representations of salon culture enable a more complete understanding of the ephemeral social events. Unlike letters or diaries, which often recount specific conversations and events, reconstructing the environment of the salon through literature allows a more distant, and therefore distinctively critical assessment of the salon as a social platform. With the help of Johanna Kinkel's writings, I further argue that the musicking woman represented herself in terms of gender and nation in a way that complicated existing notions of public and private, thereby destabilizing long-held claims that these spaces redefined gender relationships between upper- and middle-class men and women.[77] By reintroducing the concept of the social in my readings of literary representations of the salon, I show how the musicking woman, in particular,

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depictions of the events. Petra Wilhelmy, *Der Berliner Salon im 19. Jahrhundert (1780-1914)* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1989), 3.

[77] Of women's participation in salons, Ingeborg Drewitz claims that the salon was the entry point for women who, "not predestined by birth," were able to find a way out of the kitchen and into a new role as the "geistige Partnerin des Mannes." Ingeborg Drewitz, *Berliner Salons: Gesellschaft und Literatur zwischen Aufklärung und Industriezeitalter* (Berlin: Haude & Spener, 1965), 10. Petra Wilhelmy focuses on the importance of the female hostess, or Salonnière, as a necessary component of the salon (*Berliner Salon*). Zooming in on individual women prominent in the Berlin salon, Barbara Hahn, considers how Rahel Varnhagens social participation opened her up outside her family so as to enable "ein geselliges Leben [...] das den Anschluß an tout Berlin bedeutet," what Hahn considers a "new beginning" for the Berlin women. Barbara Hahn, "Die Salons der Rahel Levin Varnhagen," *Berliner Romantik: Orte, Spuren, und Begegnungen*, ed. Hannelore Gärtner and Annete Purfürst (Berlin: Trescher Verlag, 1992), 113.

was uniquely positioned to highlight the way in which salons functioned to reinforce structures of gendered inequality and traditions of silencing women's voices in larger social and cultural contexts. Through close readings of the musicking woman at the salon, I examine how salons ultimately failed to allow women to participate seriously in (musical) culture, to integrate women in non-domestic affairs, to give women an intellectual and professional voice that was fully her own, and to facilitate women's agency. After indicting the salon in these ways, Kinkel proposes the *Musikverein* (music society) as a productive alternative for musicking woman to more seriously engage with cultural and professional life of the developing nineteenth-century German nation.

This chapter takes Johanna Kinkel's novella *Musikalische Orthodoxie* as its point of departure to (re)examine the relationship between nineteenth-century women and the salon through the lens of the musicking woman. Using Hanna Arendt's concept of the social sphere as a better way to understand nineteenth-century women's relationship to the salon, I use literary representations of the salon in Kinkel's novella as a supplement to existing scholarly reconstructions based on personal letters and memoirs in order to cast a new light on established understandings of the social institutions. I then consider the stakes of the salon for the musicking woman by taking a comparative look at Bettina von Arnim, Fanny Mendelssohn Hensel, and Johanna Mathieux: three musicking women who participated contemporaneously in Berlin salons, overlapping with each other socially and professionally. The personal relationships of von Arnim, Hensel, and Mathieux as portrayed in Kinkel's memoirs complement my reading of *Musikalische Orthodoxie*, to illuminate how the unique position of music and musical performance relies on the category of the Social, particularly in terms of women's participation. Within the social sphere, I investigate

how concepts of gender, national identity, and professionalism informed and were informed by women's experiences in the salon. In my conclusion, I consider the *Musikverein* as an alternative to the salon in terms of the musicking woman's participation.

The Salon: Social/ity

Although variations existed across the city and throughout the decades, nineteenth-century Berlin salons—sometimes referred to as *Theegesellschaft*[78]—all shared some defining characteristics. They were, in their most basic form, gatherings of elite and upper-middle class men and women in private homes. Guests came, often by invitation only, to discuss anything from aesthetics to politics and regularly enjoyed or participated in brief theatrical or musical performances by professionals and amateurs alike. The goal of the Berlin salon was to allow attendees to participate in serious, intellectual conversation, while simultaneously maintaining an open and free forum for individuals to engage with the group as a whole. The Salonnière, or hostess, presided over the events by facilitating conversation, organizing performances, and generally working to bring all members of the somewhat disparate crowd together as a single group.

The free and open exchange of ideas across class, religion, and gender was the guiding ideal behind salons across Europe. These principles are rooted in eighteenth

[78] Although the terms "Salon" and "Theegesellschaft" have virtually no difference in meaning in current scholarship on Berlin salon culture, Wilhelmy points out that during the 19th century, the term "salon" almost exclusively referred to Parisian salons, while German practice clung to a more traditional Germanic vocabulary (*Berliner Salon,* 190).

century French enlightenment, but the general practice of salons has been traced by scholars as far back as sixteenth-century Italian courtly traditions and eleventh-century French knightly culture.[79] By the time the Parisian salon model reached Berlin in the 1780s, many scholars agree, the ideals of enlightenment found a well-suited home in the social values of egalitarian individualism and intellectual exchange in Berlin in a way that made the expanding Prussian capital an ideal environment for salons to flourish throughout the nineteenth century.[80] In contrast to other contemporary institutions developing at the time,[81] the salon was unique its commitment to simultaneously fostering both intellectual (*geistig*) development and practices of sociality (*Geselligkeit*).[82] As many historians have shown, the ability of the salon to be both

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[79] For more on the Italian roots, see Duncan McColl Chesney, "The History of the History of the Salon," *Nineteenth-Century French Studies* 36, no. 1-2 (2007), 104; For more on the 11th century history, see Wilhelmy, *Berliner Salon, 8*.

[80] Berlin's "blossoming realm of social interaction," as Jeffrey Hoover describes it in his introduction to his translation of Schleiermacher's essay, where ideal of salons, "where the old boundaries between the classes, professions, sexes, and races were succumbing to the enlightenment ideas of equality and fraternity," see Ruth Richardson, ed. *Friedrich Schleiermacher's Toward a Theory of Sociable Conduct and Essays on its Intellectual-Cultural Context*, trans. Jeffrey Hoover (Lewiston: The Edwin Mellen Press, 1995), 10. Similarly, for Ingeborg Drewitz, "the spirit of the Enlightenment," found a particularly good home in Berlin, where its ideals played a crucial role in developing Berlin from an imperial city to a metropolis (Drewitz, *Berliner Salons,* 8).

[81]Historian Barbara Hahn points out that the rise of the salon in Berlin occurred simultaneously with that of the modern university, an institution dedicated to intellectual cultivation and available only to upper-class men. Barbara Hahn, "Berliner 'Salons' in der Zeit der Restauration," in *Musikveranstaltungen bei den Mendelssohns – ein 'musikalischer Salon'?: die Referate des Symposions am 2. Semptermber 2006 in Leipzig,* ed. Hans-Günter Klein (Leipzig: Mendelssohn-Haus, 2006).

[82] A brief note on the translation of *Geselligkeit* into English. The German concept of *Geselligkeit* is inconsistently and interchangeably translated as both sociality and sociability across scholarship. For the purposes of this chapter, I have chosen to use sociality, which I find places an equal emphasis on the participation of the *individual* and the coming together of a *group*. Additionally, the term sociality allows me to draw closer connections to Hansen's concept of the Social. However, the use of sociability will at times be unavoidable when referring to the work of other scholars and should therefore be considered as synonymous with sociality, as both are ultimately referring to the same German term, *Geselligkeit*.

intellectual and sociable was a trans-European phenomenon seen as a function of women's role within the events.[83]

In a specifically German context, the positioning of women as the facilitator of social and cultural cultivation—while certainly also built on gendered associations of feminity in terms social motherhood[84]—was largely a factor of women's general exclusion from much of what has come to be considered public life within existing social structures. Drawn from experiences of the Berlin salon, this idealization of women's marginality is rooted in Friedrich Schleiermacher's 1799 essay "Towards a Theory of Sociability" ("Versuch einer Theorie des geselligen Betragens").[85] Schleiermacher's essay advocates for free and unforced interactions facilitated by events such as salons, which promote a reciprocal relationship for improvement between the individual and the group, a practice his essay names "free sociality" (*freie Geselligkeit*). Schleiermacher emphasizes the necessary segregation of women from public life in his sociability essay

[83] In a German context, Wilhelmy claims that "a salon crystalizes around a woman. It is a women's 'holding of court,'" highlighting the way in which aristocratic and noble culture became available to a wider audience in the salon by way of the female hostess (*Berliner Salon*, 25). In England, Gary Kelly connects women's participation in salons to the eventual rise of Bluestocking feminism: Gary Kelly, "Bluestocking feminism" *Women, Writing and the Public Sphere, 1700-1830,* eds. Elizabeth Eger, Charlotte Grant, Clíona Ó Gallchoir, and Penny Warburton (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 163. Similarly, Duncan Chesney suggests that the French salon tradition developed from attempts to "reconcile the two French traditions, the aristocratic and the revolutionary," and required women—who were "the heart of everything refined and distinguished about the society of the *ancien régime*"—to "continue to participate in and lead urbane society of the new era." (Chesney, "History of the History," 94 and 104).

[84] Ann Taylor Allen calls on early 19th-century social developments which "specifically rejected any conception of motherhood and child-rearing as purely or chiefly biological functions," insisting instead on the "importance of motherhood as a social task, in the performance of which single women, too, could gain a sense of human worth." Ann Tayler Allen, *Feminism and Motherhood in Germany, 1800-1914* (Rutgers UP: 1991), 35.

[85] Jeffrey Hoover gives a brief overview of Schleiermacher's encounter with the Berlin salon in his introduction to the English translation of Schleiermacher's essay (Richardson, *Schleiermacher*, 10).

when he suggests that sociality must remain free from class or—what he saw as a necessary extension—profession:

> "I cannot keep from remarking at this point—if indeed it is true, that the better sociality among us is cultivated under the eyes and direction of women—whether this is not, as with so much else of excellence, a work of necessity in human affairs? When women follow the maxim criticized here [establishing community through individuals' common relationship to society], they are much more harmful than men, and the societies that they organize in this manner must necessarily be the worst and most base. For if a man speaks of his profession, he still feels free on one side, namely the domestic side. Women, on the other hand feel all their chains in such a conversation since both the domestic and professional sides coincide for them. This drives them away from amongst the men where they can no longer heed that maxim since they have nothing to do with public [*bürgerliche*] life and the relations of the states do not interest them. however, precisely because women have no class in common with men besides being cultured persons, it is they who become the founders of better society."[86]

The purpose of free sociality, Schleiermacher explains, must be to remove the individual from his class or profession. Because women exist outside of the male categories of class and career, they are best able to facilitate such efforts. In addition to merely emphasizing the necessity of women in these social projects, Schleiermacher articulates a perceived separation of professional life—an extension of class, categorized here as an exclusively male space—from home life—the domestic realm of the woman. The salon functions, Schleiermacher suggests, exactly because it offers a space where these two otherwise disparate realms of men's experience overlap.

Applying a feminist lens to Schleiermacher's theories of sociality reveals a space beyond the simple dichotomy of professional and domestic, men and women. Scholars have often categorized the nineteenth century salon as semi-private, to account for the co-existence of public experience and private participation. They were, after all, *public*

[86] Richardson, *Schleiermacher*, 32-33. In a translator's note, Hoover explains his choice to translate the German "*bürgerliche*" as "public," because its particular use in this essay refers to undertakings, including professional, occurring outside the home (FN 2, p. 20).

events (well-attended by guests the host may or may not have known personally) in *private* spaces (the intimate tearooms and parlors of personal residences). This simple solution, however, remains predicated on the assumption of two distinct realms—the public and private sphere—conceived both explicitly and implicitly of in terms of gender.[87] As outlined in the previous chapter, bringing in the category of the social helps us rethink understandings of the woman's role as a facilitator of society not because—as Schleiermacher suggested—she existed outside of public life, but rather because she was able to negotiate those norms and behaviors which existed neither wholly in the public or private realm. Nowhere is this more apparent than in the nineteenth-century Salon.

Representing the Nineteenth-Century Berlin Salon

As I have shown, the German salon tradition has garnered attention from scholars interested in unearthing the social realities of nineteenth-century women. Historical, cultural, and sociological interest in the salon is often traced back to Hannah Arendt's 1958 publication *Rahel Varnhagen: The Life of a Jewess,*[88] whose subtitle is indicative of the central position the role of religion, and especially Judaism, occupied in

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[87] For a detailed history of the use of the terms public and private, Karen Hansen has traced their use from Aristotle to Marx to current feminist scholarship, noting the persistent association of public with traditionally male activity and private with traditionally female activity ("Feminist Conceptions," 108). On the extreme end of gendered associations of public and private, Linda Imray and Audrey Middleton have proposed that public be defined as anything men do and private as anything women do. Linda Linda and Audrey Middleton, "Public and Private: Marking the Boundaries," *The Public and the Private*, ed. Eva Gamarnikow (London: Heinemann, 1983), 12-27.

[88] Hannah Arendt, *Rahel Varnhagen: The Life of a Jewess,* trans. Richard and Clara Winston (London: Published for the institute by the East and West Library, 1958). Although Hannah Arendt completed this biography in the early 1930s, she did not publish it until 1958, first in English translation and a year later in the original German: *Rahel Varnhagen: Lebensgeschichte einer Jüdin aus der Romantik* (Munich: Piper, 1959).

the nineteenth-century Berlin salon and for women, in particular. The significant participation—as guest and Salonnière—of Jewish women remains, for many scholars, directly tied to the understanding of the salon as a site of female emancipation.[89] Beginning with Arendt's work on Varnhagen, scholarship on Judaism and women in the nineteenth-century Berlin salon draws heavily on personal or biographical sources such as letters, diaries, and memoirs.[90] The contemporaneous evolution of letter-writing culture and salon culture over the nineteenth century points to a shift towards dialogic social practices in which the individual and group became interdependent.[91] Similar to the diary or memoir, epistolary practices of the nineteenth century offered "public outlets for private discussions"[92] in a way that—much like the salon itself—complicated strict public/private dichotomies. That is to say, letters, diaries, and memoirs reflected the salon in both form (the public representation of private matters) and function (the

[89] Renate Fuchs, for example, positions Jewish Salonnières such as Rahel Varnhagen as "an active model for emancipated women as well as emancipated and assimilated Jewish women," Renated Fuchs, "'Soll ein Weib wohl Bücher schreiben; oder soll sie's lassen bleiben?': The Immediate Reception of Rahel Varnhagen as a Public Figure," *Neophilologus* (February 2014), 309. Similarly Emily Bilski and Emily Braun have argued that the salon was "a vehicle of female emancipation and assimilation for Jews," Emily Bilski and Emily Braun, *Jewish Women and Their Salons: The Power of Conversation* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005), 3. However, the inconsistency between Jewish participation and underlying antisemitism in the nineteenth-century salon complicates a wholly redemptive narrative of Jewish assimilation. Ulrike Weckel, for example, warns against such optimistic interpretations of salons for Jewish women, "since modern antisemitism, which was becoming increasingly respectable around 1800, was also part of the mental baggage of many non-Jewish visitors to Jewish hostesses," Ulrike Weckel, "A Lost Paradise of Female Culture? Some Critical Questions Regarding the Scholarship on the Late Eighteenth- and Early Ninetheenth-century German Salons," trans. Pamela E. Selwyn, *German History* 18, no. 3 (2000), 315.

[90] Fuchs points out that the rediscovery of the Varnhagen Archive after World War II allowed scholars unprecedented access to the ephemeral interactions of the Berlin Salon in the form of written correspondences and personal diaries (Fuchs, "Immediate Reception," 304). Similarly, Nicole Pohl argues that the epistolary exchanges present a direct continuation of the conversations and events of the salon. Nicole Pohl, "'Perfect Reciprocity': Salon Culture and Epistolary Conversations," *Women's Writing* 13, no. 1 (2006), 140.

[91] Wilhelmy suggests that the salon and the letter represent "parallel mediums" of individual self-realization, because both belong to a particular form of expression within a culture constituted by individuality and personal identity (Wilhelmy, *Berliner Salon*, 1).

[92] Fuchs, "Immediate Reception," 306.

negotiation of private affairs in a public manner). As such, these written sources belong as much to the realm of the social as the salon itself. This formal and functional overlap unequivocally underscores the significance of letters, diaries, and memoirs for understanding the largely untraceable interactions of the salon.

Personal written accounts of the events, however, still fall short of capturing the immediacy of spoken conversation so central to salon culture. Historian Barbara Hahn formulates this difference as a question of medium when she points out that conversation is based on presence (*Anwesenheit*) while writing is based on absence (*Abwesenheit*), and therefore, the written salon requires a translation of medium.[93] Other uncertainties of the reliance on personal written accounts cite the self-stylization and idealization of salons that might obscure the barriers women still faced within these spaces.[94] Unlike the translation of medium that Hahn suggests, literary representations do not provide written records of spoken conversations, but rather enable reconstructions of the environment that illustrate the immediacy of such events and interactions. That is to say, literary texts do not so much *belong* to the social sphere as they do unveil its mechanisms by specifically public means. As such, literary

[93] Hahn writes, "Die Rede setzt Anwesenheit von anderen voraus, das Schreiben dagegen deren Abwesenheit. Der aufgeschriebene Salon ist also Zeichen einer Übersetzung von einem Medium ins andere [...]" ("Rahel Levin Varnhagen," 106).

[94] Ruth Whittle argues of letter-writing, "that "once a[n intellectual] woman had transgressed the boundaries separating the private domain from the public," she needed to maintain a particular image of femininity consistent with social norms in order to avoid becoming marginalized and irrelevant ("Die Neue Frau," 267). Similarly Ulrike Weckel points out that epistolary histories of the salon offer "a construction after the fact, an idealized picture" in order to argue argues that the reality of salons might not live up to the emancipatory, egalitarian spaces they have often been made out to be (Weckel, "Lost Paradise," 313). The work of Deborah Hertz takes fundamental steps towards addressing this by exposing more concrete, demographic information of salons and salon guests that cannot be filtered through after-the-fact idealization. See, for example, Deborah Hertz, "Salonieres and Literary Women in Late Eighteenth Century Berlin," in *New German Critique* 14 (1978): 97-108. While Hertz's contributions to scholarly understandings of the social context women faced in salons have been monumental, they do no answer the question of how to capture and reconstruct women's lived experiences as part of the Berlin salon.

representations of the salon seek to critique the social sphere within an existing model of public and private. In turn, by understanding the salon, not as private or public, but rather as a *social*, we can better tease out the limitations and barriers women faced within these spaces. In her novella, *Musikalische Orthodoxie*, Johanna Kinkel critiques the salon as a productive sight for women to engage with questions of gender or national identity.

Musikalische Orthodoxie follows the musical coming-of-age of Ida, an orphan with exceptional musical talent. Beginning at a moment Ida fears she can longer further her performance abilities confined in her provincial hometown, the novella divides Ida's journey into three stages loosely comprising—to borrow the language of sonata form—an exposition, development, and recapitulation. Ida's move to the city and growing romantic and musical involvement with Count Selvar introduces the novella's main ideas, her musical self-destruction and retreat from public life advances and complicates the themes of the first section, and her return to strength via a complete musical education brings Ida back to find the successful fulfilment of her original goals.

In the exposition, readers are introduced to Ida's desire to move to the city to gain a more complete musical training. Soon thereafter, Ida meets Count Selvar at one of his many salons, and first interacts with him when the two express conflicting musical tastes: the count (and his company) prefer the simple, beautiful melodies of the modern Italian composers to the boring, tedious German compositions, while Ida favors the complex, serious harmonies of the German classics over the artless, empty Italian style. To Selvar, Ida immediately transforms from plain and hunched to beautiful and graceful when she first plays for him (she chooses a piece by Hummel specifically because it toes the line between her need for complexity and his desire for beauty). In the second

section, the development, the introduction of a new female musician, an opera singer, brings out the tension between Ida's and Selvar's musical tastes, which shift from—at first—driving the pair's growing infatuation with each other to—eventually—affecting Ida's total emotional and musical collapse. Her decline, driven by her attempt to musically appease and thereby romantically appeal to Selvar, is observed in Ida's waning musical performances and inability to function in public spaces. The novella reaches a caesura as the nearly-comatose Ida removes herself from the city and disappears completely from both Selvar and public life.

In the recapitulation, or second beginning, a young music teacher finds Ida in her precarious emotional and physical state and promises to help on her original journey of advancing her musical understanding. Together, Ida and the young Herr Sohling take on a more complete musical education by exploring music history, theory, and formal style together. Over the course of their daily conversations, Ida regains strength, until one day the pair realizes that their relationship—built on mutual respect and education—has blossomed into love. In what might be considered a coda, the narration returns to an aged Count Selvar ten years later as he travels through a small town. Hearing of the local music director and his supremely talented wife, he decides to stay the night to attend a concert, for which the wife will be the featured soloist. To Selvar's surprise, he recognizes the women as Ida. Overcome by her musical talents, which now far surpass her previous salon performances, Selvar pays a visit to his former love. The reunion lasts only a moment until Ida and Herr Sohling's children enter, prompting Selvar to take his final leave.

For Kinkel, the salon takes on a new dimension in the story: it is not merely a setting or backdrop for the plot to unfold, but rather contributes to the action of the

story. The salon actively stifles Ida and hinders her full participation, forcing the young pianist to compromise her bodily and emotional needs in order to fulfill social expectations and behavioral norms. Additionally, Kinkel depicts a tension between the salon's commitment to intellectual development and to sociality that manifests emotionally and physically in Ida. By the end of her introduction to the salon, Ida removes herself from the gathering, catching her breath and promising to herself never to return. A closer look at what leads to this silent vow reveals how Kinkel establishes an unforgiving characterization of aristocratic participants, and the role of the Salonnière is exposed not as a central and guiding function, but rather as the exhaustive and isolating labor of women.

Upon arriving at the event with her chaperone, Frau Werl, Ida encounters a scene of undeniable wealth and status available only to the truly elite members of nineteenth-century German society before ever reaching the garden tent where guests gather. The lengthy promenade connecting the garden entrance to the gathering combined with the exotic fruit trees, aviary, and general unwavering natural beauty escort Ida into a group so foreign her chaperone becomes her "protector" (*Beschützerin*). Her discomfort, however, goes unnoticed by the aristocratic guests, who "[waren] so vertieft in scherzende Gespräche, dass sie die unscheinbaren Gestalten der beiden ankommenden gar nicht zu merken schienen."[95] Appearing too plain to garner any attention, the two new guests are hardly afforded the supposed sociality of the salon. Similarly, Kinkel undermines claims of intellectual development by referring to the conversations in trivializing ways such as "jocular banter" (*scherzendes Gespräch*) or babbling

[95] Kinkel, *Musikalische Orthodoxie*, 231.

(*schwatzen*). With a constant “Gefühl des Verlassenseins,” the two newcomers are identified as “die beiden einzigen bürgerlichen Personen am Tische,”[96] highlighting the function of class in the guests’ isolation. Indeed, the upper-class participants— so “egotistical” they remain disinterested in anything or anyone but their private conversations—hardly suggest a sociality in which the individual and group mutually cultivate each other. In this way, Kinkel depicts a salon that is segregated by class and fosters neither intellectual development nor practices of sociality.

The Count, identified only by his absence, does not act as the host of what has been described as *his* event. Instead, the task falls to a woman, his sister—known throughout the novella only as *die Gräfin*—who embodies the role of the Salonnière. Although her skill in such a role is unquestionable as she seamlessly glides from guest to guest, welcoming newcomers and assisting conversation, her duties to the entire salon come at the cost of truly participating in the event. As the only person at the gathering attending to Ida and Frau Werl, the narration describes how, “Die Damen des Hauses hatte zwar Takt genug, sich in jedem freien Moment zu ihnen hinzuwenden und ein Gespräch anzuknüpfen, doch konnte sie nicht füglich die Rücksicht, die sie einem großen Kreise schuldig war, auf zwei Personen allein concentriren.”[97] As such, the Salonnière is not a central figure, around whom the society is able to constitute itself, but rather a woman required to diminish her own presence in order to accommodate the participation of others. Although the crowd is described as a gathering of “Herren und

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[96] Ibid.

[97] Ibid, 231-232.

Damen,"[98] the only three women active in this passage—Ida, Frau Werl, and the Gräfin—never fully participate with the group. This first glimpse of the salon already challenges notions of intellectual and sociable cultivation rooted in enlightenment principles of free and open exchange across class and gender.

After impressing the Count and his company with her musical skills as described in the scene that opened this chapter, Ida becomes a regular musical participant at the salon. However, the more she participates and interacts with the group, the greater the pianist's misgivings from the first encounter intensify. Reflecting on her position within the gathering—she is invited to perform at each meeting—it becomes clear that the salon is inexorably linked to her identity as a musician. Ida reaches a breaking point when Count Selvar insists that she study and perform a collection of Rossini Variations composed by Henri Herz. Ida's desperate and silent monologue of anguish emphasizes the particular challenges class and gender play into an individual's participation in the salon. Told through the lens of music, Ida's uncertainties stem from her ongoing debates of Italian versus German musical traditions in a way that additionally highlights the role of national identity. Eventually the physical and emotional manifestation of Ida's struggle to fit into the salon reveals itself when she proclaims that the request for Italian music is killing her.

Uninterested in the lighter, Italian melodies compared to her focus on the harmonic complexities of German composers, Ida finally exclaims, "Dies Opfer ist nicht

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[98] It is worth noting Kinkel's intentional use of "Herren und Damen" in the 1849 version, which has been changed from the less precise "konversirenden Personen" used in the original story published several years prior in the *Maikäfer*. Gottfried and Johanna Kinkel, eds. *Der Maikäfer: Zeitschrift für Nichtphilister* (1840-1847), reprint, ed. Ulrike Brandt, Astrid Kramer, Norbert Oellers and Hermann Rösch-Sondermann (Bonn: Ludwig Röhrscheid Verlag, 1982), 464.

durchzuführen und kann gar nicht von mir verlangt werden."[99] With this outburst Ida points out the unfair burden placed on her, not simply as a musician, but as a *woman* musician, by being asked to conform her own (musical) identity to Selvar's desires. As she continues, it becomes clear that this musical burden is not only a matter of gender, but also one of class. Ida describes the personal sacrifice of learning the new composition as a matter of time, explaining that if she were "über die volle Tageszeit Herr," she could fulfill Selvar's desires, but with her mounting professional and social obligations, "die wenigen Mußestenden" she is able to find are too precious to spare.[100] Between her constant string of teaching duties, the evenings devoted to the salon, and the hours dedicate to her own music studies, time is a luxury Ida cannot afford. In this way, Ida's struggle with the salon becomes a matter of class: the need to earn a living, establish a social network, and cultivate her own education do not leave space for such frivolities as wasting time purely for the entertainment of others.

The national dimension of her musical anxieties within the salon underscores this monologue as it does almost every interaction she has with Selvar both before and after his request. Although avoiding specific categorizations of "Italian" and "German" in this passage, the sentiment is clearly recognizable. Instead, Ida refers to the Rossini variations as "Monstremusik," compared to her normal "vortreffliche" repertoire.[101] She considers compromising his request by learning Italian opera, which would still equally please Selvar, but require less time to prepare. However, an empassioned plea to herself

[99] Kinkel, *Musikalische Orthodoxie*, 248.

[100] Ibid.

[101] Commenting that if she had more time, Ida explains, "so wendete ich ein paar student an diese Monstremusik, und erholte mich nachher am vortrefflichsten," Ibid.

to maintain her standards of musicality interrupts this idea before it can fully form, "Wie kann Selvar glauben [...] daß solche Karrikaturen wirkliche Liebe und wirklichen Schmerz aussprächen! Nur Lüge und Affectation ist in dieser Musik und was sollen wir von den vornehmen Empfindungen der Salonmenschen besseres halten, wenn sie sagen: das ist unsere Sprache."[102] To Ida, the Italian music—whether instrumental or vocal—represent only a poor facsimile of true musical expression.

Additionally, Ida's monologue denotes a turning point in the novella, where Ida begins to actively distance herself from a specific identity of "salon people." Up until this moment, Ida passively allows herself to be categorized as part of the salon collective. Here, however, she articulates a clear distinction between herself and "Salonmenschen," characterized by their musical naiveté. The reader has already been primed to be skeptical of the dominant musical tastes of the salon, in particular. Before Ida's soliloquy, the narration explains: "Während der größere Theil gediegener Musikstücke einem geübten Spieler wenig technische Schwierigkeiten in den Weg wirft und er sogleich den Genuß ihres geistigen Inhalts gewinnt, der sich beim jedesmaligen Durchspielen steigert, tritt das Gegentheil bei der Salonmusik ein"[103] Trivializing words such as superficial, unrelenting, absurd, and impulsiveness (*oberflächlich, unermüdlich, absurd,* and *Raschheit*) echo Ida's by now familiar distaste for the Italian tradition, this time tying it specifically to attitudes and practices of the salon.

Ida's first encounter with the salon as well as her outburst at Selvar's request for Italian music illustrate the progression of Ida's misgivings of the salon from an immediate impression to a sustained and strengthened position against the musical life

[102] Ibid.

[103] Ibid, 247.

cultivated within them. Through Ida's interactions in the salon, Kinkel highlights the barriers and limitations that exist in the social institutions. Not a member of the aristocracy as the other guests, Ida finds herself unable to participate in the salon to the same degree. Similarly, as a woman, Ida's individual interests and needs are continuously subordinated to those of her male host. Through her musical engagement with the group, Ida is able to gain a clarity that exposes the troubling reality of salons. A closer examination of the salon through the lens of the musicking woman, specifically, opens more space for critiques of the social function of the salon and women's place in them.

Three Musicking Women

Understanding the potential of literary representations, how might these sources complement our readings of more traditional autobiographical material such as letters, diaries, and memoirs? The social world of 1830s Berlin offers a unique perspective where autobiography and literature meet. While certainly vibrant, the Prussian capital was still small enough for the active salons to have significant overlap in participation. This overlap took place not only within the various salons, but also in personal and professional interactions of Berlin's aristocratic and bourgeois circles, who knew and interacted with each other on multiple levels, be they public, private, or social. One such example of the various connections formed is observed in the brief, but formative experience of Johanna Mathieux between 1836 and 1839. During this time, the aspiring pianist reveled in her first taste of freedom, beholden to neither her oppressive parents nor her abusive husband. Over three years in Berlin, Mathieux established personal

relationships, attended and performed at a variety of salons, established a private studio of piano students, and sought legal and professional advice as a single women.[104] Most importantly for the purposes of this analysis are the relationships she formed with other musicking women, in particular, Bettina von Arnim and Fanny Mendelssohn Hensel. Looking more closely at autobiographical and literary representations of the interactions among such dissimilar women illuminates the stakes of the salon for the musicking woman. That is to say, bringing Kinkel's autobiographical accounts of these two relationships into conversation with the literary representations in *Musikalische Orthodoxie* illuminates musical life for women within the context of the social, allowing for more critical understandings of the salon and revealing the need for more productive sites for musicking women to contribute to larger cultural projects of identity in terms of gender and nation.

Seven years before her first marriage would legally be dissolved and she would be able to begin her second marriage to Gottfried Kinkel, the then 26-yeark-old Johanna Mathieux fulfilled her greatest desire by moving to the cosmopolitan Prussian capital, where she was immediately taken in by Bettina von Arnim. Soon thereafter, a letter of recommendation led Mathieux to the home of the respected musician and musical host, Fanny Hensel. In her memoirs, Kinkel recalls her interactions with the two women in strikingly different terms. Von Arnim's lively and unorthodox demeanor was immediately apparent when, upon their first meeting, where she invited Mathieux into her room while she performed her morning toilette. Kinkel describes her impression of

[104] Although she was still legally married to Mathieux, Kinkel travelled to and within Berlin without him and, among her other social engagements, sought legal advice on obtaining a divorce. The songbooks published during this period were published under the name Mathieux, and she was known among her friends and acquaintances as Johanna Mathieux, but would occasionally sign letters home as Mockel.

the dynamic aristocrat with terms such energetic, defiant, and bold: characteristics which were, to the young visitor, if not manly (*männlich*), at least boyish (*jünglingshaft*).[105] In a word, Mathieux recognized an absence of feminine modesty, which she could only characterize as masculine. Alternatively, her initial encounter with Fanny Hensel depicts a much more reserved and deliberate woman. Unlike with von Arnim, who she refers to immediately with a familiar "Bettina" (perhaps also an indication of the life-long friendship that would develop between them), Kinkel maintains a distance in her memoir, referring to Hensel as "die Dame." This distance reveals itself to be a sign of respect and admiration when Kinkel writes, "[Hensel's] Achtung und Theilnahme mußten durch Ausdauer erworben werden, das fühlte ich, und ich fand es sehr der Mühe werth, sie mir zu erwerben."[106] In the fictional reimagining of her salon experiences, Kinkel works to negotiate her own identity between the brazen anti-femininity of von Arnim and the measured earnestness of Hensel.

The following analysis brings two main autobiographical sources—Johanna Kinkel's *Memoiren* (serially published posthumously in 1886) and her "Lecture on Felix Mendelssohn" (a lecture given during her time in London, 1851-1858)—into conversation with *Musikalische Orthodoxie*. The experiences young Johanna Mathieux had as a woman navigating Berlin's social and musical world clearly influenced Johanna Kinkel's literary depictions of the scenes. This is observable in Kinkel's use of the novella to explore musical identity in terms of gender and nation, which can unambiguously be tied to her autobiographical accounts. As such reading Johanna Kinkel's literary representations of the salon together with her autobiographical depictions offers a

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[105] Kinkel, *Memoiren*, 240.

[106] Ibid, 244.

unique, reciprocal perspective. That is to say, because these writings reflect on a time before she wrote *Musikalische Orthodoxie*, it is possible to see the influences of her lived experiences playing out in Ida's story; however, because they were written and published after the novella, any overlap between the fictional and non-fictional writings allows for a much more intentional reading of her autobiographical account. Examining Kinkel's social and musical relationship with both von Arnim and Hensel by drawing relevant connections to the novella exposes critiques of the salon via the musicking woman.

Born in Frankfurt in 1785, Bettina Brentano von Arnim[107] is most well-known today as a writer and advocate for the emerging women's movement. As the Granddaughter of the notable proto-feminist novelist, Sophie La Roche, the sister of Clemens Brentano, and eventually the wife of Achim von Arnim, Bettina von Arnim occupied a comfortable aristocratic status in German society with ties to the nineteenth-century movements of both women's rights and German nation-building. Von Arnim moved to Berlin in 1811 for her marriage and was widowed by 1831. At this point her literary career began in earnest, including no less than five epistolary novels such as the immediately successful, *Goethe's Briefwechsel mit einem Kinde* (1835) and her most celebrated work, *Die Günderode* (1840). Music held a significant status for von Arnim who not only heavily thematized it in her literary works and correspondences but contributed over a dozen song compositions for solo voice and piano.[108] Although she

[107] Although it is common for scholarship to refer to Bettina von Arnim with both her maiden and married name, I have chosen to drop the Brentano here for the sake of consistency with Kinkel's writings, in which she only refers to her friend and role model with the name "von Arnim."

[108] For a more in-depth look at von Arnim's compositions, see Ann Willison, "Bettina Brentano-von Arnim: The Unknown Musician," *Bettina Brentano-von Arnim: Gender and Politics*, eds. Elke P. Frederiksen and Katherine R. Goodman (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1995).

lacked any formal training, it is clear through her own writings as well as Kinkel's accounts that von Arnim took seriously her identity as a musicking woman.

Kinkel's relationship with von Arnim is difficult to determine from *Memoiren* alone. While the author depicts a deep sense of admiration and gratitude to the eccentric aristocrat who took in the eager musician and guided her through Berlin's rigid social world, von Arnim's expectations often felt overbearing and oppressive to the young house guest. For the third time in her life, Kinkel writes, she finds herself under the dominion of an "outlandish nature" (*fremdartige Natur*), only this time it was "eine höher stehende, die offenbar mein Bestes wollte, aber wieder drückte mich die Fessel zu Boden."[109] This well-intentioned oppression vividly recalls Ida's increasingly tense relationship with Frau Werl, who goes from Ida's protector (*Beschützerin*), to a tyrant she must escape from.[110] For Kinkel and for Ida, their severe chaperones function as a reminder of the strict behavioral norms expected of women.[111]

However, where Frau Werl is depicted as uncomfortable and out of place at Selvar's soirees, von Arnim welcomed each social encounter with an animated fervor. This enthusiasm, though, had its limits. Kinkel explains, "Es kränkte mich im Stillen, daß sie mich keiner höheren Unterhaltung für würdig zu halten und nur für Männer ihre Geistesflüge, für mich aber die Mägdegeschichten gut genug zu finden schien."[112] This scene is a familiar one. When Selvar invites the opera singer to his estate, she barely

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[109] Kinkel, *Memoiren*, 254.

[110] Kinkel, *Musikalische Orthodoxie,* 241.

[111] In *Memoiren*, Kinkel describes von Arnim's constant attempt to find a domestic duty for her house guest. In *Musikalische Orthodoxie*, Frau Werl serves as a moral guide of feminity in her efforts to intervene in Ida's relationship with Selvar.

[112] Kinkel, *Memoiren*, 249.

acknowledges Ida before returning her attention to the men: “Sie hatte nur für den männlichen Theil der Gesellschaft Auge und Ohr, und nicht etwa darum, weil sie auf dieser Seite die tiefere Bildung voraussetzte; nein, auch mit dem ungebildetsten Manne sprach sie lieber, als mit der geistreichsten Frau.”[113] With more explicit claims against prevailing practices of sociality, these two remarks suggest that the salon did not foster equal participation for women, but rather encouraged individual women to seek social advancement by participating within and thereby reinforcing existing patriarchal hierarchies.

If Kinkel and von Arnim had a tepid social relationship, their musical relationship was nothing short of antagonistic. Indeed, von Arnim challenged Kinkel’s musical values and aspirations so deeply, that the Berlin noblewoman’s identity as a musicking woman reflects Ida’s deepest musical misgiving within the salon: a lack of theoretical musical training. Kinkel explains that, “in [von Arnim’s] Augen war Theorie der Musik das Verderben jedes Künstlers, und sie lebte in dem seltsamen Irrthum, der *Beethoven habe nichts nach Generalbaß gefragt*.”[114] When von Arnim asks Kinkel—*eine Naturkünstlerin*[115]—to perform her compositions, Kinkel struggles not only with the illegible handwriting and missing pages, but also with the absence of theoretical cohesion. One piece begins with an A minor chord and ends in E-flat major, another has one bar of 5/4 time and the next 3/8, von Arnim regularly confuses keys and plays completely different notes from what is written. When Kinkel attempts to play the

[113] Kinkel, *Musikalische Orthodoxie*, 259-260.

[114] Kinkel, *Memoiren*, 251. (original emphasis)

[115] Ibid, 252. Von Arnim’s distrust of a studied musical ability becomes more apparent in her repeated desire to find a *Naturkünstler*, or artist by nature.

compositions, under strict instruction to perform them without changing what is written, von Arnim bemoans, “Sie sind auch nicht besser als die anderen Musikanten.”[116] In one accusation, von Arnim musically distances herself from Kinkel and demotes the young musician from the more serious *Künstlerin*, to the amateurish *Musikant*.

Whereas von Arnim’s disinterest in a theoretical understanding of music is manifest in her compositional style, it is a problem of musical taste that betrays the theoretical inadequacy of Selvar’s salon. In Ida’s first conversation with the company, she contests their preference of the trivial Italian melodies over the studied harmonies of a German tradition. Having made her case for the vital role of theoretical understanding in music performance and appreciation, Ida is met with laughter: “Die Gräfin lachte und meinte, wozu sie sich denn die Mühe eines anstrengenden Studiums geben soll, wenn die leichte Musik, die sie von selbst begriff, eben so angenehm klänge.”[117] Ida’s appeal for the study of musical complexity is lost on the group, whose main interest is the social pleasure afforded by simpler melodies.

Similar to von Arnim’s contentions, the Gräfin goes on to position the group against Ida by speaking on their behalf. “Das mag für die gelehrten Musiker sein,” the Gräfin explains, “die den sogenannten Contrapunkt verstehen. Für uns genügt eine Melodie, die oben liegt und die vom Baß und den Mittelstimmen nicht weiter behelligt wird.”[118] Although it is unclear if “us” here refers to the present company, salon-goers more generally, or even aristocratic circles, for whom music represents more leisure

[116] Ibid, 253.

[117] Kinkel, *Musikalische Orthodoxie,* 235.

[118] Ibid.

than learned work, the point remains: Ida and her musical tastes do not belong in this world. With a final thought, the Gräfin cements her musical position while simultaneously belittling her guest, “Es ist gewiss Zeichen eines feinern Geschmacks, daß die Italiener so Elegant und einfach komponieren.”[119] In making it a matter of refined taste, the Gräfin trivializes Ida’s musical knowledge. For both von Arnim and the *Gräfin*, the greatest hazard of music is its study.

Kinkel’s concern is the opposite: true art cannot advance without serious study. It is the desire to find true art that underscores a specifically national dimension at work through the well-known framing of the debates in terms of Italian versus German musical style. These two traditions—repeatedly and clearly mapped along national-cultural lines—are coded as *sinnlich* (Italian) or *geistig* (German), with Ida struggling throughout the novella to find the latter within the salon. Ida eventually learns—as does Kinkel in *Memoiren*—that true musical understanding is more complicated than a simple binary of good or bad, complex or superficial, valuable or trivial. This reconceptualization of musical judgement is summed up most clearly in *Memoiren* when—for the only time in either text—an explicit concept of “musical orthodoxy” is presented:

> “Es waren dies Anbeter von Bach und Beethoven, welche damals in Berlin das Häuflein der strengsten Musikalisch-Orthodoxen bildeten. Diesen aber war ich noch nicht orthodox genug, weil ich geniale *lebende* Kompositionen gelten ließ, und sie stellten sich mir noch feindseliger gegenüber als sie selbst einem Rossinisten begegnet sein würden. Die Musikalisch-Orthodoxen machten eine Stille Opposition gegen den Henselschen Kreis, weil dort neben den ältesten Klassikern Felix Mendelssohn eine Stelle hatte. Höchst komisch war es, wie *alte* Werke, die dieselben Fehler hatten, welche die Orthodoxen den modernen oberflächlichen Komponisten vorwarfen, ungeprüft mit durchsclüpften [...]”[120]

[119] Ibid.

[120] Ibid, 270.

In this passage, Kinkel recognizes a category that does not necessarily remodel a German-Italian musical antagonism, but rather complicates it, by extending Germanness beyond the established classics to include the contemporary. Recognizing a specifically current dimension of German music challenges myopic conceptions of cultural and national belonging rooted only in tradition. For the nineteenth-century musicking woman, in particular, this categorical broadening offered a host of new possibilities to be included as serious musicians *and* as German musicians.

Kinkel's apprehensions of the salon's dilettantism were shared by other serious members of the musical community. As William Weber has convincingly shown, musical tastes and genre expanded dramatically in the first half of the nineteenth century due to major social and political restructuring that occurred, including the rising popularity and participation in the salon.[121] The shift of musical taste observed in the salon, in particular, is commonly associated with a musical turn from the professional virtuoso to the amateurish dilettante.[122] Where Kinkel is able to overlook von Arnim's musical inexpertise within the context of their personal relationship, Ida is driven to physical collapse trying to accommodate the dilettantism of the salon. These two dissimilar responses to the trivialization of music highlight the ability of literature to comment where autobiography cannot. Although Mathieux eventually left Berlin after less than three years, it was not because of her disdain for the social environment, but

[121] William Weber, *The Great Transformation of Musical Taste: Concert Programming from Haydn to Brahms* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008).

[122] Andreas Ballstaedt and Tobias Windmaier note that the accessibility of salon music opened a new horizon to bourgeois families to whom it was previously unavailable, they highlight critiques by Franz Brendel and Wilhelm Heinrich Riehl, which disparage such attainability as a watering down of musical culture: Andreas Ballstaedt and Tobias Windmaier, *Salonmusik: zur Geschichte und Funktion einer Bürgerlichen Musikpraxis*. Stuttgart: Steiner Verlag Wiesbaden, 1989), 58-59. Similarly Weber devotes an entire chapter to reactions against what was considered a devaluation of musical aesthetic value in a movement he calls "musical idealism" (Weber, *Transformation,* 86-87).

rather to legally end her first marriage. The novella, on the other hand, grants Ida more agency both in her decision to leave the destructive salon environment and also in her rehabilitation through education.

Kinkel's emphasis on the connection between national identity and musical style and taste in both texts makes the absence of religion novella—and more specifically discussions of Judaism—even more striking. Evidence of the nineteenth-century's prevalent cultural antisemitism appears explicitly but briefly and largely without comment in Kinkel's *Memoiren*. In one instance, Kinkel explains dryly in reference to von Arnim, that it is impossible to have a conversation with someone from Frankfurt for longer than ten minutes without them abhorring the "*Judde*."[123] Describing an instance in which a (Jewish) attendee of von Arnim's salon requested the invitation of another (also Jewish) visitor to the event, Kinkel relates the hostess's reply and guest's response: "'Nein, ich hab' jetzt Juden genug!' Die anwesende Jüdin richtete nun die Frage an Bettinen, ob sie denn die Juden nur als eine Gattung von Geschöpfen ansehe, unter denen keine individuellen Unterschiede stattfänden, wie bei anderen Wesen, so daß man Alle kennte, wenn man einen Juden gesehen."[124] The essentialization and exclusion of Jewish people by the aristocratic Salonnière is less surprising than Kinkel's total lack of reflection on this scene. The very next sentence moves on to a new anecdote in which von Arnim learns that the young Mathieux does not know how to serve tea.

Kinkel herself was baptized and raised Catholic, although religious convictions rarely feature in her autobiographical texts or private correspondences. One must only imagine that her relationship with the Catholic church was strained after her divorce

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[123] Kinkel, *Memoiren,* 247.

[124] Ibid.

from her first husband, and shortly thereafter she converted to the protestant religion of her second husband, Gottfried Kinkel. Johanna Kinkel's uniquely blasé attitude towards religion appears to extend towards Judaism as well, which becomes apparent in a scene Kinkel recalls at Fanny Mendelssohn Hensel famous Sonntagsalon. Kinkel's relationship with Hensel tells a much different story than the previously discussed relationship with von Arnim. Born only five years before Kinkel in 1805, Hensel was the oldest of four children including the renowned composer, and her closest sibling, Felix Mendelssohn. A member of distinguished Jewish families on both sides, Hensel as well as her siblings were baptized into the Christian church as children and adopted the name Bartholdy. Although it is unclear to what degree the Family's conversion had to do with social reputation or career prospects, it is almost certain it had nothing to do with religious conviction.[125] In her lifetime, Fanny Hensel achieved virtuosic proficiency as a pianist and composed over 460 works including *Lieder*, piano sonatas, and other chamber genres. Hensel, however, received little credit for her work during her lifetime with many of her compositions published only after her early death in 1847 or under her brother's name. The weekly musical salon hosted at the Mendelssohn household and

[125] Deborah Hertz notes, "We can definitely rule out spiritual impulse. Abraham's letters to his children defending the family baptisms show no trace of even a perfunctory religious sentiment. Rather, Abraham explained their decisions in vague secular terms; his explanation to Fanny that "we have educated you and your brothers and sisters in the Christian faith because it is the creed of the most civilized people today." There were probably other issues on their minds, including career plans for their sons, the social reputation of the entire family, and a desire to feel more German on the inside. Whatever the complex stew of impulses that motivated their decisions, what was new in the history of conversion was that Abraham made no pretense whatsoever of religious motives." Deborah Hertz, *How Jews Became Germans: The History of Conversion and Assimilation in Berlin*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008), 187.

largely attributed to Fanny Hensel—the *Sonntagsalon*—achieved significant social acclaim among Berlin's nobility as an epicenter of the city's highest musical culture.[126]

It was in the context of the Sonntagsalon that Kinkel again encountered the antisemitism of Berlin's upper and middle classes. Noticing a work by Wilhelm Hensel—Fanny Hensel's husband, a painter—depicting Mariam's song of praise from the book of Exodus, Kinkel describes, "[…] die Hauptperson glich seiner Frau Fanny, Auch in den Jungfrauen, welche tanzend und mit allerlei biblischen Instrumenten musicirend [*sic*] der Mirjam folgten, erkannte ich den orientalischen Typus der Mendelssohnschen Familie, die so reich an geistreichen Frauenköpfen ist."[127] Captivated by the depiction of musicking women, Kinkel's observation of the "oriental type" of the Mendelssohn family—immediately othering them from German identities—appears rather naive and innocuous compared to another woman standing nearby who observes, "Mir jammert der Judenball im Freien."[128] While Kinkel seems almost surprised to notice something different about the Mendelssohns, the second women's comment points to a deeply pervasive culture of antisemitism not only in Berlin, but in the salon of the family in question.

After describing this interaction, Kinkel reflects for a moment on another painting of Hensel's, an altarpiece in one of Berlin's largest churches. It was first at a musical concert that happened in the building, that she observed the Christ figure not as

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[126] Rothenberg and Kimber both relate the success of the *Sonntagsalon* directly to Hensels unsurpassable musical talent. Sara Rothenberg, "'Thus Far, but No Farther': Fanny Mendelssohn-Hensel's Unfinished Journey," in *The Musical Quarterly* 77, no. 4 (1993): 689-708; Marian Wilson Kimber, "The 'Suppression' of Fanny Mendelssohn: Rethinking Feminist Biography," in *Nineteenth-Century Music* 26, no. 2 (2002): 113-129.

[127] Kinkel, *Memoiren*, 264.

[128] Ibid.

a gentle, suffering character, but rather as a "bold revolutionary." [129] In the same moment, she comes to the realization that the Hensel version of Christ she sees is met with great disapproval in Berlin more broadly. Kinkel's remarks in both the interaction and reflection display the shedding of a provincial innocence, as if she is learning about the existence of a Jewish Other and antisemitism in the same breath. Not only does Kinkel make significant observations about the prevalence of antisemitism as a particular condition of Berlin, she does so within the context of music. In Hensel's painting, she is struck first by the women's instruments and at the church, it is only when visits for a concert that she truly sees the altarpiece. Yet in *Musikalische Orthodoxie* music enables no such recognition. Instead, comments on religion—and more specifically, Judaism—are nowhere to be found.

Kinkel herself seems not to have been influenced too deeply by Berlin's culture of antisemitism, evidenced by her personal relationship with and professional veneration of Hensel. The two musicking women maintained a close musical relationship, often rehearsing and performing together, although they never seem to have reached the personal level of familiarity Kinkel experienced with von Arnim. Regardless, Kinkel's admiration of and respect for Hensel's musical talent is indisputable. In her "Lecture on Felix Mendelssohn" given in London, Kinkel devotes a significant portion of the content to Fanny, who she describes as, "the greatest female musician I met with in all my life, and in sublimity of Character as well as in musical genius she was worth to be treated as equal to himself by her brother."[130] Kinkel simultaneously qualifies Hensel's musical

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[129] Ibid.

[130] Johanna Kinkel, "Lecture on Mendelssohn," (ULB S2398).

identity in terms of gender while also disavowing any hierarchical ranking of talent based on gender.

The stark contrast between Kinkel's musical descriptions of von Arnim and Hensel is surpassed only by the contrast between the description of the status of music in the Sonntagsalon and in Selvar's salon. The Sonntagsalon was, according to Kinkel, a site of "das Auserwählteste von Musik, das man damals in Berlin genießen konnte,"[131] a "sanctuary" where famous vocalists, virtuosi, artists and connoisseurs assembled away from "fashionable music" and amateurs.[132] As such, Kinkel begins to create a redemptive path for the salon as a social space that dedicates itself to the study and cultivation of musical practice, not merely for entertainment. However, a close reading of two scenes—one from *Memoiren* and one from *Musikalische Orthodoxie*—complicates the total redemption of the salon based on musical merit alone. Both scenes enable an intimate view of the musicking women as she participates in the salon. The first, the non-fictional scene, reveals how Fanny Hensel is perceived by her peer, Johanna Mathieux; the second, in the novella, depicts an observation of Ida through the eyes of Count Selvar.

Captivated by Hensel as she directs a chorus, Kinkel writes, "Es war ein Aufnehmen des Geistes der Komposition bis zur innersten Faser und das gewaltigste Ausströmen desselben in die Seelen der Sänger und Zuhörer. Ein Sforzando ihres

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[131] Kinkel, *Memoiren*, 263.

[132] In "Lecture on Mendelssohn," Kinkel writes, "Famous vocalists and virtuosi (provided that they abstained from bad fashionable music) also found encouragement there, and a welcome opportunity of making the acquaintance of the Berlin artists and connoisseurs, before they gave a conzert (*sic*) [...] More and more amateurs tried to get admission to this sanctuary, which was the more tempting, the more difficult it was to be invited."

kleinen Fingers fuhr uns wie ein elektrischer Schlag durch die Seele und riß uns ganz anders fort, als das hölzerne Klopfen eines Taktstocks auf ein Notenpult es thun kann."[133] So great is Hensel's musicality that it renders the spirit of the music not only physical, but electric as it tears into its listeners. Additionally, Hensel's musical affect is so strong that she transforms physically. Kinkel recalls, "Wenn man Fanny Hensel ansah, während sie ein Meisterwerk spielte, schien sie größer zu werden. Die Stirn leuchtete, die Züge veredelten sich, und man glaubte die schönsten Formen zu sehen. Nüchtern betrachtet, war nichts regelmäßig schön an ihr als das schwarze Auge und die Stirn; doch der Ausdruck überwog Alles."[134] Despite an otherwise largely uninteresting appearance, music transforms Hensel. Her stature grows to match that of the music, her movements become graceful, the beauty heard in the music becomes visible in her body. In short, Hensel becomes the embodiment of the music.

The scene that unfolds in the novella is quite different when Ida performs at the piano for the first time. Shifting the narrative perspective, the reader observes Ida's transformation through Selvar's eyes: "Selvar betrachtete sie während des Spiels und wunderte sich über die Veränderungen ihrer Züge, die ihm vorher so unbedeutend erschienen waren."[135] Here, Ida undergoes a physical transformation similar to Hensel's during her musical performance. However, unlike Kinkel's description of Hensel, as Selvar watches the previously overlooked woman, her body—not the music—becomes to the focus of his attention. So infatuated with the physicality of Ida's performance, he

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[133] Kinkel, *Memoiren*, 265.

[134] Ibid.

[135] Kinkel, *Musikalische Orthodoxie,* 236.

asks, “Versteht denn Ihr Mund auch so zu singen, wie ihre Finger?”[136] Selvar’s question exposes his understanding that, as the host of the Salon, both Ida and her music exist for his pleasure. Her movement draws his focus, her lips and fingers become the objects of his interest, her body belongs not to the music, but to Selvar’s gaze. In this way, Ida’s performance functions to re-inscribe her feminity back onto her within the context of the salon. Reading these two transformations together displays Kinkel’s criticism of the salon, not as an unproductive site for the *musician*, but as an unproductive site for the musicking *woman*.

Similarly, despite her depiction of Hensel’s musical success, Kinkel repeatedly refers to the professional limitations musicians, and particularly women, faced in the salon. For example, Kinkel specifically points out that although the Mendelssohn salons had “acquired great celebrity in Germany, [...] they were never held publicly.”[137] Here Kinkel reflects Schleiermacher’s conflation of public and career. In this way, no matter how much esteem Hensel’s compositions or salons garnered, they would never result in a musical career for her. The salon, therefore, signified a halting point for the musicking women, who could participate in musical culture within, but never beyond its confines. Pointing out Hensel’s discretion, which kept her from even publishing music under her own name, Kinkel’s concern recalls an infamous letter from Abraham Mendelssohn to his daughter in which he explicitly bars her from seeking a musical career. Instead, *because* she is a woman, music can only serve as an ornament in her life. Mendelssohn

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[136] Ibid.

[137] Kinkel, “Lecture on Mendelssohn.”

reminds his daughter that neither music nor career is considered feminine when he writes, “sie sind weiblich und nur das Weibliche ziert die Frauen.”[138]

Kinkel indicts the salon, specifically, for maintaining comparable gendered barriers for women, whose professional aspirations would only be stalled there. Nowhere is this more obvious than in Frau Werl’s biting accusation of Selvar’s invitation for Ida to reside in their house to build her musical career through his salon in *Musikalische Orthodoxie*. “Aber sehen Sie denn nicht den bloßen Egoismus aus der Zumuthung heraus,” Frau Werl charges against the count when Ida confides the offer to her, “daß Sie das Amt der Hauskünstlerin versehen sollen [...].” The trivial duties of such a position—filling bored silences, amusing and entertaining guests, hastily reproducing common melodies from the theater between dinner courses—are far below the standards and abilities of a serious musician such as Ida. Echoing Mendelssohn’s sentiments, Frau Werl, in no uncertain terms, considers the salon musician to be no more than ornament. In both critiques, the damage to the musicking woman in the salon is twofold: her musical contributions, first, are not taken seriously in a way that might elevate her beyond the status of dilettante, thereby, second, impeding a further musical career beyond the salon. In Hensel, Kinkel witnessed both the highest musical accomplishment by a woman as well as the most insurmountable professional constraints experienced by women in music. For Kinkel, as for Ida, the latter would always and unequivocally be tied to the salon and a serious musical platform for women must be sought elsewhere: namely, in the *Musikverein*.

[138] Letter from Abraham Mendelssohn to his daughter, Fanny, on July 16, 1820.

Conclusion: The Musikverein

Ten years later, the coda of *Musikalische Orthodoxie* begins, Selvar is alone in his estate with no remaining family and no women to maintain his salon.[139] Amidst a long journey, the now elderly Count stops in a small town and attends a musical performance at the concert hall. Selvar expects the audience to socialize and converse with one another during the performance, a practice familiar from his salon. As the concert begins, however, the Count notices that "hier schien das Publikum besser erzogen zu sein," with his neighbors signaling to him to focus on the music.[140] The audience erupts in knowing adoration the moment the soloist—identified to the reader as Ida, unrecognized by the Count's first glance—takes the stage. She opens with a piece by Chopin, every note ringing with an unparalleled musical power. In this moment—by her music, not her appearance—Selvar recognizes her: "An diesem Anschlag, der die Herrscherin über die Saiten verrieth, die dem todten starren Metall ein warmes Leben, einen ewig bewegten Geist einhauchte, erkannte Selvar sie zuerst [...]"[141] The familiar musical transformation occurs once again as the plain, pale pianist transforms into a lively, graceful woman he once knew at the sound of her music. However, unlike his first observation of this phenomenon ten years prior, it is not his gaze that transforms Ida, but rather her musical command that transforms his gaze. Selvar's interest remains on Ida throughout the intermission, observing how naturally she interacts with guests,

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[139] The full passage reads, "So blieb Selvar, der keine nähere Verwandte befaß, die seinen Salon weiblich vertreten hätte, ziemlich vereinsamt in seinem Hause," Kinkel, *Musikalische Orthodoxie*, 288.

[140] Ibid, 289.

[141] Ibid, 291.

specifically noting “auch mit den Frauen schien Ida in Verhältnissen der Achtung und Theilnahme zu stehen.”[142] Later in the program, Ida leads a women’s chorus, who—Selvar learns from his neighbor—she founded and directed herself.

The musical scene that closes the novella illustrates a world far removed from the restrictive and destructive experience of the salon. Kinkel gives readers a brief but rich glimpse of the *Musikverein,* which stands out against the salon of the first half of the novella. The *Musikverein*, or music society, was an ensemble of serious, albeit not professional, musicians who meet regularly to rehearse and present local public concerts. Strikingly, the perspective of the novella’s coda follows not Ida, but rather the experiences of the aged Selvar. This shift continues the narration through the eyes of an outsider, allowing readers to enter the Musikverein as they did the salon with no prior experience or expertise. The audience’s rapt attention immediately signals a shedding of the amateurish interests of Selvar’s gatherings: this is not merely background music or entertainment, but rather an art meant to be listened to and taken seriously. In her calm and studied manner, Ida’s musical authority translates back onto herself as she effortlessly navigates her new social world via music. When she plays, she commands the reverence of each listener. Off the stage, she is lively and talkative, appearing “versöhnt und zufrieden mit der Welt, die sie umgab.”[143] To Selvar as well as to the reader, it is obvious that Ida has found a setting, which enables her to flourish both musically and socially.

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[142] Ibid.

[143] Ibid.

In the Musikverein, Kinkel offers a musical antidote to Ida's experience in the salon. Where she was once ridiculed and condemned for her taste in music, she now guides public taste by exploring new repertoire in her performances. Her musical career is no longer contingent on the whims of the aristocracy, but rather seeks its own captivated audience. Her body does not belong, as it did in the salon, to the gaze of her listener. Instead she commands herself, body and spirit, to the music. In short, within the Musikverein Ida finds agency as both a woman and musician that was unavailable in the salon. This empowerment reflects Kinkel's own experiences with the Musikverein she led in Bonn as outlined in her meticulous notes of the society's history and activity. In her notes, Kinkel describes the nebulous origins of the Musikverein, which grew out of the regular meetings and performances of the female students of Franz Ries.[144] As such, her Musikverein was not only open to musicking women, but was born out of their specific interests. Kinkel invested her time and energy into building a serious musical environment that avoided "the tendency to amuse more than study."[145] The active ensemble met for a minimum of two hours a week (Kinkel regularly hosted additional practice sessions) and gave two to four concerts per year, featuring chamber works for voice as well as extended excerpts from operas. The group remained active for twenty years between 1827 and 1847, when Kinkel dissolved the group who had grown "unreliable" and "apathetic," no longer investing the effort to achieve the musical standards deemed necessary.

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[144] Johanna Kinkel, "Notizen den Gesangverein betreffend" (ULB S2400).

[145] Ibid. Kinkel describes the loss of members during her years in Berlin to society's, "die mehr die Tendenz des Amüsierens als des Lernens hatten."

Although *Musikalische Orthodoxie* functions more to discredit the salon than to advocate for the Musikverein, comparing the portrayal of the Ida's group together with the notes on Kinkel's own society, highlights the musical and social potential for musicking women within the Musikverein. The high standard of musicality in the Musikverein is evident in the novella by the audience's careful attention to the concert, and in Kinkel's notes by the many rehearsals and auditions recounted. Importantly, the Musikverein's commitment to music did not diminish its function as a social platform as well. Selvar notably observes Ida both performing and interacting with those in attendance, appearing much more comfortable and dynamic than she ever did in the salon. In her notes, Kinkel reports that members also engaged each other in social interests, admitting in the later years of the group, "es wird mehr politisirt als gesungen seit einigen Samstagen."[146] For Kinkel as well as for Ida, the Musikverein was not merely a site of participation, but a site of leadership. The two women musical directors would be considered outliers even by today's standards, but their presence at the head of their respective groups indicates an increased potential for women's agency through music. In this way, Kinkel presents the Musikverein as a serious musical community that was both socially and professionally productive for the nineteenth-century musicking woman.

[146] Ibid.

Chapter 3

The Political Woman

"Without any great endowment," Johanna Kinkel writes in her first recollections on the *Gesangverein*—or choral society—she led in Bonn, the musical ensemble "entstand aus sehr kleinen Anfängen, und spann sich in den ersten Jahren dadurch fort, daß immer einzelne Mitglieder sich von Neuem zu musikalischen Uebungen vereinigten, wenn auch kein festes Band das Ganze mehr zusammenhielt."[147] In emphasizing the goals of the collective group alongside the significance of the individual member, Kinkel immediately demonstrates the *Gesangverein's* commitment to two foundational values of a nineteenth-century German liberal ideology: the importance of the individual as part of a collective as well as a cultural community born out of the interest of the people.[148] In the 82 pages of detailed notes that follow, Kinkel not only captures the ensemble's more than 20 year devotion to the highest musical standards, but also the many ways in which collective musical life intersected with contemporary liberal politics. Kinkel's account of the *Gesangverein* illustrates how musical participation in the nineteenth century both contributed to and was shaped by Germany's evolving political environment. This reciprocal relationship is evidenced in three ways: first, it

[147] Johanna Kinkel, "Notizen, den Gesangverein betreffend," (ULB S2400).

[148] James Sheehan, *German Liberalism in the Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 272. Piotr Judson, "Rethinking Liberal Legacy," in *Rethinking Vienna 1990*, ed. Stephen Beller (Providence: Berghahn Books, 2001), 61.

displaced access to participation in musical life from class-exclusive institutions such as the opera house or concert hall and brought music into the local community; second, made up by amateur musicians of the expanding bourgeoisie, the *Gesangverein* functioned as a site of professional, social, and political connection and participation; and third, it provided a space for the inclusion of women in serious cultural production.

EINLADUNG
zu der Sonnabend 5. Dezember
im
obern Rathhausſaale
stattfindenden musikalischen Aufführung
der Oper
Hans Heiling.
Text von Eduard Devrient, Muſik von Heinrich Marſchner.
Anfang halb 6 Uhr, Ende nach 8 Uhr.
Es wird gebeten diese Karte mitzubringen und am Eingange des Saales abzugeben. — Dieselbe gilt auch für die Hauptprobe, welche Freitag den 4. Dezember Nachmittags 3 Uhr in demselben Saale stattfindet.
Johanna Kinkel.
Krüger.

EINLADUNG
zu der Sonnabend 31. Juli
im
kleinen Saal der Leſegeſellſchaft
stattfindenden Aufführung
des Oratoriums
Iſrael in Egypten
von Händel.
Anfang halb 5 Uhr. Ende 8 Uhr.
Generalprobe Freitag 3 Uhr in demſelben Lokal.
Diese Karte wird beim Eintritt in die Probe vorgezeigt, und vor der Aufführung abgegeben.
Johanna Kinkel.

Fig. 3.1: Invitation to performance on Dec. 5 [1846];
Fig. 3.2: Invitation to performance on July 31 [1847] (ULB, s2400)

While the first two aspects reflect existing discourses on the relationship between emerging liberal ideologies and musical life more broadly, scholarship has scarcely engaged with the active role musicking women played within a political context. Kinkel exhibits one example of the many ways musical life provided a political platform for women. Her function as musical director and group organizer enabled her to cultivate a musical community of performers and listeners in Bonn. Indeed, her name at the bottom of concert invitations signals the explicitly public and culturally authoritative role musical life offered nineteenth-century German women (fig 3.1, 3.2). Evidenced by

the concert venues on the invitations—town hall and a hall of the Bonn reading society—the *Gesangverein* offered a medium for Kinkel and other women in the ensemble to leave the domestic spaces of salon performances and enter communal public venues. Internally, liberal values of democratic participation not only shaped the structure of the group—evidenced by the "Gesetze and Verfassung" Kinkel records—but also consumed member's attentions.[149] Shortly before the ensemble dissolved Kinkel writes, "später überwucherten uns die Revolutions-Gespräche alle musikalischen Interessen. Es wird mehr politisirt als gesungen seit einigen Samstagen."[150] In this way, Kinkel's notes on the *Gesangverein* present one example of both the implicit and explicit political dimensions of musical life, as well as the ways women participated in and contributed to developing notions of a collective cultural identity.

The function of collective music-making, which gained social prominence with the rise of the music society in the mid-nineteenth century, highlights music's political and national dimensions within a specifically liberal German ideology. As part of a larger culture of the German *Verein* (association), choral societies such as Kinkel's *Gesangverein* differentiated themselves from church or professional choirs following the creation of the *Liedertafel*, a men's choral society founded in 1809 by composer and conductor Carl Friedrich Zelter. Rooted in notions of patriotism and open to members whose only connection was a shared interest in singing, Zelter's *Liedertafel* was not necessarily conceived of as a political entity, but rather as a function of the German

[149] Musicologist Ryan Minor suggests that core democratic processes were a widespread phenomenon of the broader Verein movement when he writes, "participatory democracy was not merely an external political goal; it was also at the organizational core of many associations themselves." Ryan Minor, *Choral Fantasies: Music, Festivity, and Nationhood in Nineteenth-Century Germany* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 23.

[150] Kinkel, "Notizen."

notion of Bildung—a fundamental concept throughout the nineteenth century referring to the cultivation of the individual, understood as male, by means of cultural education for the purpose of integration into Bourgeois society—insofar as Bildung and national community intersected.[151] That is to say, music societies used music education and participation to reinforce shared concepts of a cultural-national collective identity. Bringing music out of the church, concert hall, or opera house and into the community additionally demonstrates the evolving relationship between music societies and the increasing political-national involvement of the bourgeoisie. As such, collective music-making in the nineteenth century simultaneously constituted and was constituted by the concept of a single German *Volk*.[152] Such musical practices invoked an image of *Volk* that reflected not merely the well-established image of Herder's singing masses, but also a politicized liberal bourgeois notion of a collective German nation.[153]

In choral societies in particular, song enabled this German *Volk* to harness a collective political voice with a specifically masculine character. Although it is not disputed that women's and mixed music societies were active throughout the nineteenth century, German literary and cultural scholar, Florian Gassner, for example, contends that, "in der lautstarken Einheit der *Männerstimmen* drückt sich – unabhänging vom Text – auch ein politischer Wille aus."[154] Similarly, for historian Celia Applegate, the ability for men's voices to capture a collective German identity was intrinsic and

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[151] Applegate, *Necessity of Music*, 93.

[152] Minor suggests that "choral societies sought legitimization in what is surely one of the most overdetermined categories of modern German identity: *das Volk*." (*Choral Fantasies,* 24).

[153] Ibid, 25.

[154] Florian Gassner, "Robert Schumanns religiöser Nationalismus um 1848," in *The German Quarterly* 91, no. 4 (2018), 401. (Emphasis added)

unavoidable: "regardless of political valence of German men's singing groups, all in one way or another served as the cause of nation-building."[155] In his comprehensive study of German choral practices and national identity across the nineteenth century, musicologist Ryan Minor largely avoids gendered qualifiers of "men's" or "women's" societies.[156] Although this method suggests that the political-national dimensions of the choral society reflect a phenomenon of the practice and not the members, it does not allow for productive consideration of how conceptions of nation and identity differed among men's and women's musical involvement.

Bringing nineteenth-century women into conversation with the broader political, social, and national implications embodied in collective music-making, musicologist Karen Ahlquist has begun to tease out the relationship between men's, women's, and mixed choruses in order to understand more fully how women functioned as a part of German nation-building in the nineteenth century. Ahlquist contends that mixed and women's choruses "offered women new social, intellectual, and physical opportunities and a performance outlet that solved the potential problem of unseemly self-display."[157] In other words, through new forms of musical participation, German women were afforded a public outlet that did not disrupt nineteenth-century expectations of femininity. As I have shown, Kinkel's *Gesangverein* offers one example in which women were equally involved not only in leadership and decision-making roles of their

[155] Applegate, *Necessity of Music*, 95. It is also important to note that although Applegate's study does acknowledge women's choral groups—with nothing to be said of mixed groups—she does so in the context of domestic music-making, with no mention of the political agency accorded men's choral societies.

[156] Minor, *Choral Fantasies*.

[157] Karen Ahlquist, "Men and Women of the Chorus: Music, Governance, and Social Models in Nineteenth-century German-speaking Europe," in *Chorus and Community,* ed. Karen Ahlquist (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2006), 268.

ensembles, but also in both the implicit and explicit political and social work enabled by collective music-making. Building off Ahlquist's work, I look to women not merely as participants in musical culture, but as *creators* of musical worlds through both musical and literary composition, in order to consider how women understood and represented themselves within the relationship between music and politics.

In this chapter, I argue that musical life in nineteenth century German-speaking Europe offered a unique platform for women to conceive of, represent, and assert their own political identity. At a moment when Europe's first women's movement was on the rise and national tensions came to head across the German Confederation, the revolutions of 1848/49 represent a time when women—within and beyond music—were challenging collective, national, and gender identity in specifically politicized ways. As part of the revolutionary period, I show how the musicking woman, in particular, was able to actively participate in public and political spaces without undermining established bourgeois gender order. Understanding musical participation to encompass all interaction with music, from composition and performance, to concert-going and fictional representations of musical life, I ask how writer, composer, and revolutionary Johanna Kinkel employed music as a means of creating and expressing her own political and social agency within a rising German national culture. I examine three works by Kinkel—one musical, one autobiographical, and one literary—in order to highlight the specific local-regional liberal nationalism driving her political interests and actions. Read together, Kinkel's essay "Erinnerungsblätter aus dem Jahr 1849," her novel *Hans Ibeles in London*, and her song "Demokratenlied," illuminate the social, cultural, and political stakes of her musical experience from different points of temporal and spatial removal from the revolution. In each of these works, Kinkel considers how she fits into

the broader collective identities of German, woman, and musician, exploring how the three identities intersect and diverge from each other.

Departing from Johanna Kinkel's polemical representation of women's participation in the Berlin salon culture outlined in the previous chapter, this chapter takes the author and composer's support for women's active role in the music society as a springboard for examining the position of women in the relationship between music and politics. While the German choral society offers a rich point of entry to examine the relationship between rising liberal-national politics and musical culture in the nineteenth-century, I highlight the lack of scholarly attention paid to musicking women as serious contributors to a national or cultural German identity through avenues of collective music-making. Situating the nineteenth-century musicking woman within a history of women's evolving political participation in Germany as well as among her revolutionary contemporaries further exposes her absence from musical-national discourses. I situate Johanna Kinkel's musical-political involvement within a specifically bourgeois liberal-nationalist movement unfolding in the southwestern territories of Prussia that built itself on a collective imaginary of the *Volk* to advocate for a single, unified German nation. Turning to three works by Kinkel—a song, an essay, and a novel—I show how Kinkel calls on collective musical culture to represent and assert the political stakes of her identity as a musicking woman. I examine how Kinkel employed themes of collective identity, *Volk* family, and (im)mobility to explore and affirm her own liberal-national politics. Bringing together three different works of three different genres by a single author enables a more comprehensive understanding of how Kinkel employed musical culture towards a liberal project of German unification.

Liberal Nationalism in Johanna Kinkel's Music and Literature

As long as there have been conceptions of a collective German cultural identity, gender has played a foundational role in defining and understanding identity as it relates to nation and national politics. In particular, thinkers, poets, and artists of the Enlightenment—a group constituted, according to today's scholarship, almost exclusively by men—both conceived of nation in terms of gender and gender in terms of nation. That is to say, the German nation was represented through gendered rhetoric and images and men and women were represented as part of the rising German nation in explicitly gender-specific ways.[158] As the notions of a collective German identity moved from an exclusively cultural imaginary in the eighteenth century to include more politicized national notions over the first decades of the nineteenth century, so too did understandings of gender and gender relationships.[159] Politically, the rise of bourgeois German liberalism, historian James Sheehen convincingly argues "was the means

[158] To the former, Johann Gottfried Herder's work on defining a collective cultural German *Volk* leans on gendered terms when, particularly in relationship to the folksong, describing the sound of Germanness. For example, in his literary fragment, "Auszug aus einem Briefwechsel über Oßian und die Lieder alter Völker" (1773), Herder writes of a "manly, strong, solid German sound." Johanna Gottfried Herder, "Auszug aus einem Briefwechsel über Oßian und die Lieder alter Völker" (1773), in *Der Junge Herder*, ed. Wolfdietrich Rasch (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1955) 70 (my translation). See also Karen Hagemann, "Gendered Images of the German Nation: the Romantic painter Friedrich Kersting and the patriotic-national discourse during the Wars of Liberation," *Nations and Nationalism* 12, no. 4 (2006): 653-679. To the latter, see Patricia Hermininghouse and Magda Meuller, "Looking for Germania," Russell A. Berman "How to Think about Germany: Nationality, Gender, and Obsession in Heine's 'Night Thoughts,'" and Isabel Capeloa Gil, "Antigone and Cassandra: Gender and Nationalism in German Literature," in *Gender and Germanness: Cultural Productions of Nation*, eds. Patricia Hemminghouse and Magda Mueller (Providence: Berghahn Books, 1997).

[159] In her 2002 study, Karen Hagemann shows how a more politicized relationship between nation-building and war led to more nationalized and militarized constructions of gender images, gender relations, and eventually nineteenth century bourgeois gender order. Karen Hagemann, *"Männlicher Muth und Teutsche Ehre": Nation, Militär und Geschlecht zur Zeit der Antinapoleonische Kriege Preussens,* (Paderborn: Schöning), 2002.

through which cultural nationalism and traditional patriotism were transformed into a political commitment to national unification."[160] However, the liberal commitment to a nationally unified cultural community did not extend to women, whose "natural modesty required she be protected from such a brutal public ritual as voting."[161] In other words, gender played a fundamental role in one's access to meaningful political participation.

Scholars have analyzed the connection between nineteenth-century German liberalism to individual composers, critics, and performers as well as its manifestation in musical institutions, such as the opera house or choral society, and individual works of music, like operas and *Lieder*. As they connect to national interests or nationalizing efforts, however, these analyses focus largely on men, including women as either audience or object of musical life, and rarely as an active contributor. Beginning to take women's musical involvement more seriously in a political context, musicologist Laurie McManus has examined Louise Otto's musical criticism and interest in Wagnerian aesthetic ideology to demonstrate "how music functioned integrally in bourgeois life, politicized with the power to inspire and to support the cause of women's rights."[162] Although not herself active as a composer or performer, Otto examined how themes of community, class, and *Bildung* converged to make music—opera, in particular—"a receptive site for the advancement of women."[163]

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[160] Sheehan, *German Liberalism,* 274

[161] Judson, "Liberal Legacy," 65.

[162] Laurie McManus, "Feminist Revolutionary Music Criticism and Wagner Reception: The Case of Louise Otto." *19th-Century Music* 37, no. 3 (2014), 162.

[163] Ibid, 170.

Similarly interested in the intersection of politics and musical culture, Johanna Kinkel leaned on her training and career as a composer, pianist, and musical pedagogue not only to engage with and interpret existing works, but also to create music and musical worlds, which showcased the political and nationalizing potential of collective music-making. Together with her second husband, Gottfried Kinkel, Johanna Kinkel became increasingly invested in Germany's liberal movement over the 1840s. Although she was not as directly active in the women's movement—she did not, for example, provide essays to the various women's magazines—Kinkel often explicitly engaged with themes of gender and class in both her musical and literary works and maintained close friendships with Kathinka Zitz, Fanny Lewald, and Bettina von Arnim. In short, the works of Johanna Kinkel illustrate not only the use of a new medium—music—but also a new context—musical participation—for women to grapple with and assert their political identity.

In a posthumously published essay titled "Hausfrau und Künstlerin," Johanna Kinkel recounts her childhood as the only child of a bourgeois family in Bonn. Not interested in the "offiziellen weiblichen Beschäftigungen" her mother and grandmother expect of her, a twelve-year-old Johanna proposed rather, "nun so laßt auch ein Geschäft aus der Musik machen! [...] Ich mag keine Dilettantin sein, ich will Künstlerin werden!"[164] This statement underscores three beliefs that would permeate Kinkel's own musical and literary career. First, women's right to economic freedom by means of a career resonates in her command to make a business out of music. Second, her disapproval of dilettantism highlights a desire for better education. Third, by aspiring to

[164] Kinkel, "Hausfrau und Künstlerin," (StAB SN 098-5/1).

become an artist, she champions musical work as an opportunity for serious cultural participation. Additionally, in using the feminine form of "Dilettantin" and "Künstlerin," Kinkel not only advocates for herself, but for girls and women more broadly. Driven by this desire recognized at such a young age, Johanna Kinkel quickly developed her own musical career as a private instructor and published composer, from which she earned enough money to obtain economic freedom from her estranged and abusive first husband. As observed in this initial professional progression, themes of gender, economic status, and cultural identity prove fundamental throughout Kinkel's musical and literary oeuvre and became increasingly politicized over time.

Indeed, although Kinkel's early works—all musical—are hardly directly politically engaged in the way of her later works, they highlight specific themes that would eventually come to underscore her own politics of local liberal nationalism.[165] Centered on regional identity and local character, Kinkel promoted a brand of nineteenth century liberalism defined by social reform and democratic order of a united German *Volk* understood as the expanding middle classes.[166] Kinkel published around fourteen songbooks and individual songs between 1838 and 1843 containing musical settings to poetry by Geibel, Heine, Chamisso, and Goethe, among others. Not only do these works lean on poets and poems strongly associated with Germany's cultural identity, but they also highlight two specific social interests that eventually outline Kinkel's own political

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[165] I consider Kinkel's early works to be anything she composed before marrying Gottfried Kinkel in 1843, when Kinkel largely set other well-known works of poetry to music, whose intended function was domestic entertainment for others and a source of income for Kinkel. After her marriage, and as liberal sentiments increased leading up to 1848, Kinkel's work becomes more socially and politically engaged, she begins composing music almost exclusively to her own (or Gottfried's) poetry, and her literary career begins in earnest.

[166] Klaus, *Romantik und Revolution*, 158.

investment.[167] First, the importance of regional cultural heritage (she published two separate compositions dedicated solely to images of the Rhine, for example), which established a defined community and shared geo-cultural identity. Second, a commitment to dismantling gender-specific critiques of music (she famously sends her "Trinklied für Männerchor" to the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* after her work was deemed too feminine), built on principles of human rights and equality.

Kinkel's career first expanded beyond music with the literary circle and publication "Maikäfer: Zeitschrift für Nichtphilister," which she co-founded with her soon-to-be second husband, Gottfried Kinkel in 1840. Strikingly, of the over thirty names associated with the "Maikäfer," Johanna Kinkel (contributing still under the name Mockel) is the only woman and one of the most prolific contributors throughout the publication's six-year production.[168] In a poem of the opening issue, Gottfried Kinkel explains that the group's moniker, "Maikäfer," comes from the humming of the creatures like a "Volk von Liedern" captured in its pages.[169] Here, the explicit emphasis on the role of poetic art in reinforcing a cultural community of a collective *Volk* highlights the unambiguously liberal interests of many of the contributors and their works, despite the lack of an openly political aim of the publication. Johanna Kinkel's contributions, more specifically, conveyed themes of local identity through use of regional dialect (Dä Hond on dat Eechhohn"), women's rights in marriage and

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[167] See Lemke, "Alles Schaffen" and "Musikalische Stimmen" as well as Bütcher-Römer, "rheinisches Musikfest."

[168] Gottfried and Johanna Kinkel, eds. *Der Maikäfer: Zeitschrift für Nichtphilister* (1840-1847), reprint, eds. Ulrike Brandt, Astrid Kramer, Norbert Oellers and Hermann Rösch-Sondermann (Bonn: Ludwig Röhrscheid Verlag, 1982).

[169] Kinkel, *Der Maikäfer*.

education ("Lebenslauf eines Johannisfünkchens" and "Musikalische Orthodoxie"), and the social position of the professional musician ("Musikalische Orthodoxie" and "der Musikant").[170] The *Maikäfer* presented Johanna Kinkel with the opportunity to not only take part in more public and traditionally "masculine" cultural venues, but also to begin using literature to explore her identity as woman, musician, and German.

After their marriage, Johanna and Gottfried Kinkel cultivated shared liberal values, calling for a united, democratic German nation, which was exemplified in their involvement in the local liberal publication, *Bonner Zeitung* (later, *Neue Bonner Zeitung*). When Gottfried Kinkel took over as the paper's editor in 1848, he explained to his readers, "Die Fahne dieses Blattes ist die Verwirklichung der Demokratie. Herrschaft ist geknüpft an geistiges Uebergewicht, Volksmacht an Bildung."[171] Despite Gottfried's exclusive use of gender-specific language targeting his audience as male, Johanna Kinkel—who acted as editor of the Feuilleton section and regularly wrote for the paper—considered herself an equal part of a German democracy built on cultural education and intellectual authority.[172] On December 6, 1848, Kinkel joined her musical and political interests together in the immediately well-received song "Demokratenlied," an anthem for the democratic banner carried by both her and her husband. She shared her husband's political ideology so exactly that after his arrest in May 1849, she stepped in as editor of the *Bonner Zeitung* with no formal announcement of the change.[173] In the

[170] Each of these works appeared first over several editions of the *Der Maikäfer* between 1840 and 1846 and were later edited and republished in an 1849 collection of stories by Johanna and Gottfried Kinkel, *Erzählungen von Gottfried und Johanna Kinkel*, 3rd ed. (Stuttgart: J.G. Cotta, 1883).

[171] Gottfried Kinkel, *Bonner Zeitung*, August 6, 1848.

[172] Klaus points out that her contributions to the Feuilleton explicitly politically rooted, *Romantik und Revolution*, 163.

[173] *Bonner Zeitung,* May 20, 1849.

three years edited by the Kinkels, the (*Neue*) *Bonner Zeitung* illustrates historian James Sheehan's claim that "liberals had been instrumental in defining national issues and in making them a central element in German political life."[174] In other words, *Bonner Zeiting* demonstrates how liberal nationalism was born out of defining concepts of a unified nation and rallying support for national unity on the local level.

Liberal nationalism pervaded the Kinkel's lives beyond the *Bonner Zeitung* as well. One of Johanna Kinkel's music students, for example, noted the "political tone" of the household after hearing her children perform France's "La Marseillaise." Indeed, Kinkel's use of music as a public and collective political action often led to the assumption that *she* influenced her husband's politics and not the other way around.[175] By the time of the 1848/49 revolutions, Kinkel's compositions functioned as rallying anthems for public liberal gatherings ("Demokratenlied") and pedagogical tools for democratic German children ("Lied von der Bürgerwache").[176] Similarly, her literary work shifted from thematizing her political interests in women's rights and a united German republic, to explicitly addressing and representing her personal experiences of Germany's eruptive revolutionary environment. In 1851, Kinkel published an expansive essay "Erinnerungsblätter aus dem Jahr 1849," in the *Deutsche Monatsschrift für Politik, Wissenschaft, Kunst, und Leben,* whose 70 pages recount her politicized movement throughout southeast Prussian territory as she attempted to stay her husband's political execution. As such, the essay is exemplary of women's political writing, which encompassed both political values as well as personal experiences. The

[174] Sheehan, *German Liberalism*, 274.

[175] Klaus, *Romantik und Revolution*, 164.

[176] Lemke, "Musikalische Stimmen," 194.

essay renders Johanna Kinkel's specific understanding of liberal nationalism legible and distinct from her husbands' by recounting the journey in her own voice.

After Gottfried Kinkel's escape from prison, the family emigrated to London. Despite their geographic displacement and the failure of the democratic uprisings in their beloved *Vaterland*, Johanna and Gottfried Kinkel continued to cultivate a liberal national hope for a united German nation from abroad. They quickly established a network of German political exiles and volunteered their home and time to help other political emigres who sought help resettling and finding employment.[177] Focusing her career in London on music pedagogy, Kinkel called on literature to return to revolutionary Germany one more time before her death. Published posthumously in 1860, Kinkel's only novel *Hans Ibeles in London: Ein Roman aus dem Flüchtlingsleben* follows the politicized love story of Hans and Dorothea as they fight for a democratic German nation both as part of the 1848/49 revolutions and in their lives as emigres in London. Nowhere else in Kinkel's oeuvre is the intersection of musical culture and Germany's political landscape more overtly or explicitly addressed than in *Hans Ibeles*, whose narrator proclaims, "unter Revolutionen leiden wenige so direkt als Künstlerfamilien."[178] Not only does this novel demonstrate the strength of Kinkel's liberal national convictions, which persisted all the way until her early death in 1858, but it also illuminates the significant and overlapping role musical life and political participation played for Johanna Kinkel.

[177] Klaus, *Romantik und Revolution*, 259.

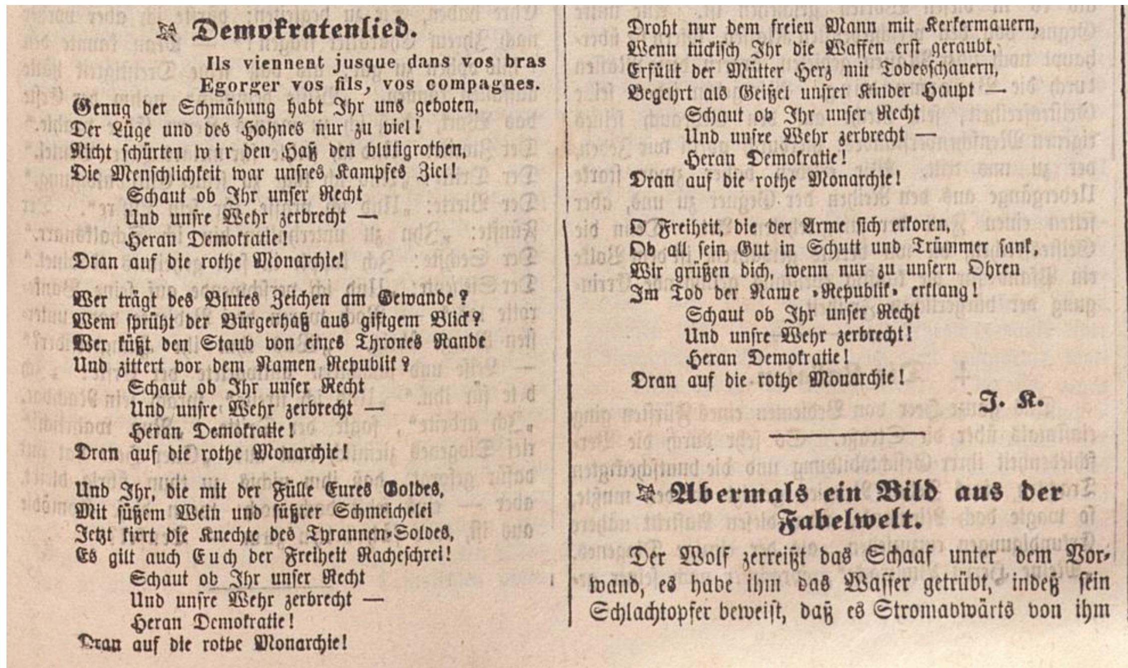
[178] Johanna Kinkel, *Hans Ibeles in London, Ein Familienbild aus dem Flüchtlingsleben*. (Stuttgart: 1860, reprint Frankfurt: Ulrike Helmer Verlag, 1991), 33.

Musicking Woman in Political Music, Memoir, and Literature

Locating Johanna Kinkel's local liberal national values on nineteenth-century Germany's political spectrum not only exposes an actively political element of her musical and literary works, but also helps reveal how she understood herself—as a musician, woman, and German—as a part of this political context. Representing her three most unambiguously politically-motivated works, "Demokratenlied," "Erinnerungsblätter aus dem Jahr 1849," and *Hans Ibeles in London* exhibit Kinkel's commitment to liberal national ideology. Examining these three works together offers a unique perspective into the revolutionary participation and experience of one nineteenth-century musicking woman. That is to say, not only do these texts depict the musicking woman (to varying degrees) as part of an increasingly nationalized liberal environment, but they each employ a different medium—music, memoir, and literary fiction—to engage with this context in varying ways. Similarly, while each piece unfolds (at least partially) against the backdrop of 1848/49 Germany, they were all written from different points of temporal and spatial removal from the revolution: "Demokratenlied" written and composed in the height of the revolution in Bonn, "Erinnerungsblätter" written and published in the immediate aftermath as Kinkel moved across Germany and eventually into exile in London, and *Hans Ibeles* written almost a decade later after several years of life as a political emigre in London. Each of these works integrates themes of collective identity, *Volk* family, and (im)mobility as they relate specifically to the relationship between women, music, and politics. Identifying both the parallels and tensions in how each work presents these themes allows a more comprehensive

understanding of the musicking women's experience as a political woman in nineteenth-century Germany.

Published under the signature "J.K." in the December 6, 1848 issue of *Bonner Zeitung*, Kinkel's "Demokratenlied" offered a democratic battle cry for the liberal newspaper (fig. 3.3).[179]



Demokratenlied.

Ils viennent jusque dans vos bras
Egorger vos fils, vos compagnes.

Genug der Schmähung habt Ihr uns geboten,
Der Lüge und des Hohnes nur zu viel!
Nicht schürten wir den Haß den blutigrothen,
Die Menschlichkeit war unsres Kampfes Ziel!
Schaut ob Ihr unser Recht
Und unsre Wehr zerbrecht —
Heran Demokratie!
Dran auf die rothe Monarchie!

Wer trägt des Blutes Zeichen am Gewande?
Wem sprüht der Bürgerhaß aus giftgem Blick?
Wer küßt den Staub von eines Thrones Rande
Und zittert vor dem Namen Republik?
Schaut ob Ihr unser Recht
Und unsre Wehr zerbrecht —
Heran Demokratie!
Dran auf die rothe Monarchie!

Und Ihr, die mit der Fülle Eures Goldes,
Mit süßem Wein und süßrer Schmeichelei
Jetzt kirrt die Knechte des Tyrannen-Soldes,
Es gilt auch Euch der Freiheit Racheschrei!
Schaut ob Ihr unser Recht
Und unsre Wehr zerbrecht —
Heran Demokratie!
Dran auf die rothe Monarchie!

Droht nur dem freien Mann mit Kerkermauern,
Wenn tückisch Ihr die Waffen erst geraubt,
Erfüllt der Mütter Herz mit Todesschauern,
Begehrt als Geißel unsrer Kinder Haupt —
Schaut ob Ihr unser Recht
Und unsre Wehr zerbrecht —
Heran Demokratie!
Dran auf die rothe Monarchie!

O Freiheit, die der Arme sich erkoren,
Ob all sein Gut in Schutt und Trümmer sank,
Wir grüßen dich, wenn nur zu unsern Ohren
Im Tod der Name »Republik« erklang!
Schaut ob Ihr unser Recht
Und unsre Wehr zerbrecht!
Heran Demokratie!
Dran auf die rothe Monarchie!

J. K.

Abermals ein Bild aus der Fabelwelt.

Der Wolf zerreißt das Schaaf unter dem Vorwand, es habe ihm das Wasser getrübt, indeß sein Schlachtopfer beweist, daß es Stromabwärts von ihm

Fig. 3.3: "Demokratenlied" by J.K. (*Bonner Zeitung*, Dec. 6, 1848)

Printed on the front page with an epigraph from "La Marseillaise," Johanna's liberal anthem resonates with the collective voice of a single German *Volk* fighting against the tyranny of an oppressive monarchal regime. With its graphic cries for revenge, freedom, and democracy, it is no wonder that Gottfried Kinkel reported the "enthusiastic applause" it garnered at a meeting of Bonn's *Demokratischer Verein* that same

[179] Johanna Kinkel, "Demokratenlied," in *Bonner Zeitung*, December 6, 1848. Johanna Kinkel includes the epigraph from *La Marseillaise*, "Ils viennent jusque dans vos bras / Egorger vos Fils, vos compagnes" ("They come right into our arms / to cut the throats of our sons, our comrades").

evening.[180] A subsequent advertisement for the songbook—including piano accompaniment for the text (also composed by Johanna Kinkel) and boasting a comparable liberal sentiment in both text and music—illustrates the broad public admiration and appeal of political music written for a collective voice (fig. 3.4).

In meinem Verlag ist erschienen die Composition des
Demokratenliedes
mit Clavierbegleitung. Wir empfehlen dieses Gesangstück, das eben so volksthümlich wie der bereits bekannte und durch die Bonner Zeitung veröffentlichte Text ist, der Beachtung unserer ganzen Partei. Preis 2 Sgr.
Bonn 15. Dez. **W. Sulzbach.**

Fig. 3.4: Advertisement for "Demokratenlied" songbook with piano accompaniment (*Bonner Zeitung*, Dec. 6, 1848)

Three years later, Kinkel published the autobiographical essay "Erinnerungsblätter aus dem Jahr 1849." In a brief forward to the essay, Kinkel explains that the following memoir began "zu einer Zeit, wo ich den Schluß derselben noch nicht durchlebt hatte," and was intended to document "ein treues Bild meines Thun und Lassens, wie meiner Stimmung," for the imprisoned Gottfried, should his life be spared.[181] Thus, the essay not only provides documentation of Kinkel's experience of an immediate post-revolutionary Prussia as it unfolded, but also allows readers to re-enter this world through her personal perspective. Additionally, the memoir draws on Kinkel's identity as a musicking woman, despite never explicitly thematizing music. Instead, music pervades the text by clearly influencing Kinkel's vocabulary, observations, and

[180] *Bonner Zeitung,* December 7, 1848.

[181] Kinkel, "Erinnerungsblätter aus dem Jahr 1849," in *Deutsche Monatsschrift für Politik, Wissenschaft, Kunst, und Leben* (no. 2, 1851), 39.

interpretation of events. At one point, she includes a song she was moved to compose by the sight of Gottfried's prison tower. For Kinkel, it was impossible to fully disentangle her identity as a musician from her experiences as a revolutionary woman.

Completed weeks before her early death in 1858 and published only first in 1860, Kinkel's only full novel, *Hans Ibeles in London* recounts the semi-autobiographical experience of a German family—whose patriarch is a composer and musical director by profession—exiled to London following their involvement in the 1848/49 liberal uprisings. Kinkel's comprehensive and rich text creates a literary space that captures many aspects of her life as a musicking woman both in Germany and in exile, however, the following analysis focuses on the first quarter of the novel, which is set in revolutionary Germany. Although Kinkel chooses to displace her own musical profession onto the titular character Hans Ibeles—a man—it is the expansive network of female characters who drive the central action and arguments of the novel.[182] In particular, Hans's wife, Dorothea, stands out as the novel's true protagonist, and it is largely from her perspective that the reader gains access into how the musical and political dimensions of nineteenth-century bourgeois German life intersected. Dorothea's consistent participation in intellectual, cultural, and political dialogue not only with Hans, but also with other characters—men and women—brings the bourgeois female experience to the fore of the relationship between musical and political life in nineteenth-century Germany.

Themes of Collective Identity

[182] Boetcher Joeres, "Triumph of the Woman," 189.

As liberal attempts to define a single German *Volk* increased over the nineteenth century, the multiple identities carried by an individual became politicized in new ways.[183] This shift was particularly true for women, who began to understand their cultural and class identity as a function of their gender. As such, insofar as the nineteenth-century German *Volk* was culturally produced and rooted in the rising bourgeoisie, women worked to define a political space for themselves as part of a national narrative. These efforts are especially apparent in Kinkel's song, essay, and novel, where she depicts her identities as a German, a musician, and a woman as inexorably connected and inherently political. In these three works, Kinkel grapples with her political identity in specific and intersecting ways. In portraying herself in a broader collective identity as each German, woman, and musician, Kinkel reveals that as an individual these three identities cannot be disentangled. Representing herself in music, autobiography, and fiction, further enable Kinkel to understand how each category intersects with her political context. In other words, music allows her to embody the political voice of a collective German *Volk*, autobiography enables her to uncover the expansive network of women she is connected to, and fiction generates a literary space to redefine her identities in ways that expose their political relationships. Reading all three together offers a more comprehensive perspective on how Kinkel conceived of her political self and the multiple (collective) identities she held.

[183] Judson argues that social identities were reorganized under a national project by pointing out that "those who insisted on the primacy of family, class, regional, religious, ethnic national, or any comparable form of identity in public sphere, it was believed, could never reach beyond their parochial interests to comprehend the larger common good of society" ("Liberal Legacy," 64).

In both its form and content, Kinkel's song "Demokratenlied" depicts the collective voice of a unified German people. Kinkel highlights her own Germanness through both music and text as part of the united voice of democracy. The basic strophic structure with a repeated refrain combined with the uninterrupted AB rhyme scheme makes the text easily accessible for collective performance. This ease is reflected in the strophic music as well, comprising only two repeated melodies, one for the verses, one for the refrain. Similarly, the piano accompaniment supports the melody with a steady, straightforward harmonic rhythm, which the publisher boasted was equally as "volksthümlich" as the text.[184] As such, the form of the piece—text and music—already suggests ease of communal performance united in a collective song, one that was immediately tied to the image of the *Volk*. This collective voice is reinforced by the vocal line. Although the single melodic line might imply a solo voice, the consistent, simple rhythm and constricted vocal range suggest rather a unison chorus: the collective voice of the masses.

Kinkel echoes the collective identity established in the work's formal structure in the text as well. The narrative voice of the poem is once again not a single speaker, but rather a collective "us." The poem's opening line—"genug der Schmähung habt Ihr uns geboten"[185]—immediately establishes not only a unified "us," but also a "them," reflecting "[liberalism's] original intent to build political community" by defining an essentially similar group of people and "highlighting their differences with external others."[186] Indeed, the collective "we" of Kinkel's text is just as strongly reinforced by the

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[184] *Bonner Zeitung,* December 16, 1848.

[185] Kinkel, "Demokratenlied."

[186] Judson, "Liberal Legacy," 68.

constant image of the tyrannical, plural "you." By the end of the first strophe, the poetic "we" becomes a group of action: "Die Menschlichkeit war *unsres* Kampes Ziel!"[187] In this way, Kinkel writes herself into the democratic fight, enabling her—through song—to take up arms in the fight for democracy. Significantly, in the fourth strophe, the collective is outlined as: "der freie Mann," "die Mütter," and "unsrer Kinder."[188] Here, Kinkel's collective "us" concretely includes women as part of the German collective. As the final lines of the text proclaim: "Wir grüßen dich, wenn nur zu unsern Ohren / Im Tod der Name 'Republik' erklang!" not only is it clear that "we" includes men and women alike, but the action becomes forward-looking, driven by the poetic voice, and rooted in a collective cry (if not a song). By the end of the song, Kinkel affirms both her position within a collective German identity, as well as the role of women and music as part of the democratic pursuit.

While her essay "Erinnerungsblätter aus dem Jahr 1849" does not adopt a collective voice in the way "Demokratenlied" did, it does similarly illustrate her experience as part of a broader collectivity identity: namely, of politically active bourgeois women. She achieves this not only by documenting her political interactions with men, but also by depicting the expansive network of women she functioned within. Indeed, besides men in the military or government, the only other interactions Kinkel recounts in the essay are with other women. Kinkel begins her recollections at her desk, "um eine mir befreundete Engländerin, die sich damals in südlichen Frankreich aufhielt,

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[187] Kinkel, "Demokratenlied." (emphasis added)

[188] Ibid. It should not go unnoted that Kinkel's categorization of women as "mothers," is significant for her view of how women functioned within a specifically national context. I will expand on this notion as it relates to Kinkel's political expression more fully in the following section and again more broadly as specific identity inhabited by nineteenth-century women in Chapter 5.

um eine Gefälligkeit zu bitten. Seit mein Mann bei dem republikanischen Heere in Baden stand, hatte jene Freundin unsere Correspondenz vermittelt."[189] Not only does this opening statement illuminate the international breadth of women's connections, but also a shared commitment to political action. Beginning her essay not by explaining her husband's predicament, but rather by highlighting the ways women worked together towards political ends allows the reader to understand the subsequent recollection as a portrayal of women's collective political work. As such, women become an active part of Kinkel's political world.

The first women Kinkel encounters on her journey are a small group—two women, one with a daughter—on a boat journey up the Rhine. Kinkel observes that they are the only other women on the vessel:

> "Die Damen, welche zwar während der Unruhen geflüchtet waren und jetzt nach wiederhergestellter Ordnung heimkehrten, hatten nichts desto weniger sehr revolutionäre Gesinnungen. Die eine, sehr feingebildet, ärgerte die Offiziere durch den graciösen treffenden Spott, auf den man mit plumpen Waffen so schwer erwiedern kann, besonders wenn er aus den Lippen einer jugendliche anmuthigen Frau kömmt."[190]

The other woman and her daughter, with a similarly "hellen Verstand," also poke fun at the officers. Here, not only the women's political convictions, but also their desire to actively contribute to the democratic cause are clearly appearant. The volatile political landscape forces the women into a brief exile, but does not diminish their revolutionary sentiments as they approach the officers with their charges. Describing the first woman as "feingebildet," or refined, not only identifies her in traditionally feminine terms, but also plays on the masculine quality of "gebildet," implying that her femininity has been

[189] Kinkel, "Erinnerungsblätter," 40.

[190] Ibid, 47.

learned and cultivated in similar ways. It is exactly this feminity, as Kinkel portrays it, that simultaneously allows such a "charming" woman to ridicule the officer while preventing him from any defense. Perhaps more telling about this passage is not what Kinkel describes, but rather how she describes it. Although she gives no indication of having interacted personally with these women before or after this moment, Kinkel recollects the event with such an authority to personal detail—she knows where the women are from, why they are traveling, their relationships to each other—it is as if the story is so intimately familiar to her it might be her own. From the beginning of this long political journey, Kinkel positions herself not as an individual woman traveling solo for a unique purpose, but rather one of a community of liberal women working towards a free and unified Germany.

When political convictions do not align, Kinkel identifies with other women through a shared musical context. At times she does so subtly: when she meets with the wife of the warden of Gottfried's prison, her first description of the room includes the piano as a way to connect to the stranger. [191] At times she does this more explicitly: when she approaches an influential pastor, citing a relationship with his sister, a former music student of hers.[192] In all cases, however, musical culture is consistently called upon to build connections through or with women across her journey. Indeed, in the letter she writes to the princess of Prussia, Kinkel opens the letter by describing how she had been previously employed as a "harmlose junge Künstlerin" to entertain the princess during a

[191] Ibid, 51.

[192] Ibid, 97.

portrait sitting.[193] Because of this small musical deed, Kinkel writes, “wagt es jene Künstlerin jetzt diese um eine Gunst zu bitten.”[194] As such, Kinkel calls on her identity as a musician to establish relationships with women she might otherwise have no connection to.

When the legitimacy of her marriage to Gottfried—whom she married after divorcing her first husband then converting to Gottfried’s protestant faith—is challenged near the end of the journey, Kinkel deviates from her established recollection of events to give an account of how her first marriage ended and her relationship with Gottfried grew in tandem with their shared politics. As it concerns her understanding of herself as part of a collective group of women, it is not so much the details of this account, than the justification she gives for it that garners attention here:

> “Meine erste Heirath ist die Geschichte von Tausenden meiner Schwestern, und das nothwendige Resultat unserer socialen Zustände. Unzählige Frauen gehen an ähnlichen Verhältnissen zu Grunde, indeß von einer ganzen Generation kaum Eine den Muth hat, sich loszureißen und ihr besseres Selbst zu retten.”[195]

Depicting the social reality shared by nineteenth-century women more intimately and widely than anywhere else in the essay—it is not a small group of women, but *thousands* of *sisters*—Kinkel roots women’s connection specifically through a shared social position. Kinkel advocates for the social emancipation of women to rescue their “better selves” from the unjust barriers of marriage laws that function to suppress them. Echoing the liberal values of a collective comprised of individuals, Kinkel identifies the one woman with the courage to break free as a champion of all women’s legal

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193 Johanna Kinkel, Letter to the Princess of Prussia on July 4, 1849 (ULB S2407). Significantly this letter is referenced in her essay, but the contents of the letter are not reprinted there

194 Ibid.

195 Kinkel, “Erinnerungsblätter,” 98.

oppression in marriage. Proclaiming this shared condition of women near the end of her account reinforces a reading of this essay as, at its core, a portrayal of women's political networks surrounding the 1848/49 revolutions within and beyond Germany.

In *Hans Ibeles in London,* Kinkel explores her identity as musician more carefully. Introducing the orchestra directed by the titular Hans Ibeles, the narration explains that the orchestra comprised two-thirds dilettantes who also held careers as tradespeople, "wie das bei unsrer Nation so häufig der Fall ist."[196] Not only does this comment center an image of a yet-to-be recognized nation, but also foregrounds the connection between music, workers, and national unity. As the group gathers to rehearse Beethoven's seventh symphony, Hans's instruction are interspersed with the players' murmurs of revolution. "Once more, the diminuendo in the measure before, dolce, dolce, gentlemen!" Ibeles calls; "the *Volk* will not give in," the clarinetist replies in whispers to his neighbor.[197] This exchange between music and politics continues until the players give themselves over to the "berauschende Wirkung" of Beethoven's music, "die man wohl eine Vorläuferin der Revolution nennen darf."[198] The setting of this conversation against the backdrop of Beethoven gains greater significance when considering the relationship between Beethoven's music and building German national sentiments, which was already widely accepted in the 1840s.[199] This scene, therefore,

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[196] Kinkel, *Hans Ibeles,* 26.

[197] Ibid.

[198] Ibid, 27.

[199] In *The Necessity of Music*, Applegate considers critical receptions of Beethoven in the first half of the nineteenth century by both Ludwig Riehl, who considered Beethoven "the hero of German music" (58), and A.B. Marx who saw Beethoven's works as "central to [his] vision of active public engagement in defence of German music" (147).

not only demonstrates the national valency of music, but also places it within an increasingly politicized reception of music.

As such, this political-musical context elucidates a growing community of musicians who, despite different professions and musical abilities, are able to see themselves as a single musical collective. Moreover, musical participation enables the group to understand themselves in new political terms: "der Ruf nach Piano verhallte unbeachtet, denn die Musikanten fühlten sich nur noch im Fortissimo als freie Bürger."[200] Joined as a musical community, a collective cry for the democratic goals of freedom and citizenship resonate from Hans's orchestra. This moment marks a turning point for Hans, who finds a path to political participation through music. In more fully understanding his social and political position as a musician, Hans begins to comprehend the precarious political situation of those around him; most significantly, his wife Dorothea articulates how liberal concerns of class overlap with the social situation of women. By creating a literary space that allows her to disentangle her identities as a musician and a woman, Kinkel is able to highlight how the two categories are bound to the same liberal national ideology in both unique and overlapping ways.

Representations of the *Volk* Family

Suggesting the term "public motherhood," historian Ann Taylor Allen claims that "women extrapolated from their experience of private motherhood a claim to public participation."[201] Allen cogently argues that, in the nineteenth-century, motherhood

[200] Kinkel, *Hans Ibeles*, 27.

[201] Allen, *Feminism and Motherhood*, 2.

departed from its status as a biological function of child-rearing and became a social project of cultural education. Karen Hagemann expands this concept beyond motherhood to consider the function of the *Volk* family in order to describe the national accountability of all members of society: "The entire nation had to be shaped into a 'valorous *Volk* family' whose every member – young or old, single or married, female or male – had specific patriotic duties to fulfill."[202] In other words, in the same way that public motherhood allowed women to take on greater social and cultural roles, the *Volk* family enabled women to legitimately participate in collective liberal national efforts. Additionally, by placing the women within the context of the family, she inhabited the role of both mother and wife.[203] Across Kinkel's oeuvre, representations of women as mothers and wives is a constant image; however, specifically in the three works examined here, Kinkel represents herself in expressly liberal national terms in both roles in order to examine how these familial positions become politicized in the home as well as how women inhabited them in public ways.

Musically, Kinkel identifies a medium to take on the role of a *Volk* mother, not merely by displaying, but enacting her democratic obligations. In both "Demokratenlied" and the untitled song she includes in "Erinnerungsblätter," Kinkel represents the mother as an integral contributor to the eventual success of the German nation. Autobiography enables Kinkel to illustrate the complexity of women's position as part of the *Volk* family. As both mother and wife, a woman's public role in service of the

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[202] Hagemann, "Female Patriots," 408.

[203] I intentionally leave out the familial role of daughter here as the focus is on the participation of adult women. Additionally, in Hagemann's *Volk* family, sons and daughters are largely—but not always—grouped together as the single category of children.

nation is embodied in her duty to both husband and children. Thus, "Erinnerungsblätter" depicts the intricate balance of woman as mother and wife as the work of both roles extends beyond the private family into the *Volk* family. In the literary space created in *Hans Ibeles,* Kinkel illustrates the particular ways cultural production—more specifically, music—functions to represent the *Volk* family in relationship to the Nation. Whereas the medium of music expresses this relationship directly in song, the novel allows Kinkel to examine exactly how music functions in this relationship from a removed perspective, thereby conveying music's influence as a medium for women's political representation.

Kinkel dedicates an entire strophe of "Demokratenlied," to delineating the members of the narrative "we" specifically in terms of family:

> Droht nur dem freien Mann mit Kerkermauern,
> Wenn tückisch Ihr die Waffen erst geraubt,
> Erfüllt der Mütter Herz mit Todesschauern,
> Begehrt als Geißel unsrer Kinder Haupt –[204]

Here, not only is each family member accounted for—husband, mother, children—but they are called upon in explicitly politicized ways. First the husband, a free man, represents the front lines of the democratic cause, threatened only by the loss of his freedom. Next, the mother is defined by her emotional function: a social project of motherhood carries with it the public duty of care. That is to say, the emotional labor required of mothers in the home is projected on a national level, as women fear for their children and mourn their husbands at the hands of the political adversary. The children, yet to reach social maturity, are held hostage by their undetermined political fate. In this

[204] Kinkel, "Demokratenlied."

context, it becomes the mother's duty—driven by her maternal concern—to protect her children from a political loss of freedom and a national loss of democracy.

Similar familial sentiments take musical form in Kinkel's "Erinnerungsblätter aus dem Jahr 1849." On Kinkel's first unsuccessful attempt to contact the imprisoned Gottfried, she takes a last look at his prison tower in Rastatt from her departing train: "Ich [...] gedachte der süßen Kinder, denen ich den theuren Vater nicht heimbrachte, und ein Lied stieg mir auf, in das ich die Schweren Seufzer meiner Brust aushauchte und sie in Melodieen kleidete."[205] Reflecting on not only her children, but also their father as well as her maternal duties to both, music escapes with her every breath as her only means of expression. The lyric that follows—six strophes of four lines each—echoes "Demokratenlied" in its rallying cry for democracy, use of graphic imagery of battle, and outlining of familial roles within the democratic pursuit. The untitled Rastatt song, however, leans more heavily on this last characteristic by using the first two strophes to structure the fight for democracy as a family's shared struggle:

> Was schaut ihr Kindlein traurig zu mir auf,
> Und fragt, warum der Mutter Thränen rollen?
> Hemmt nicht mit süßem Schmeicheln ihren Lauf,
> Der aus der Seele quillt, der schmerzenvollen.
>
> Der Vater, den wir lieben treu und rein,
> Er weilt gefangen auf dem hohen Thurme,
> Und lauscht durch sein vergittert Fensterlein
> Dem fernen Schlachtendonner und dem Sturme.[206]

In these lines, the private maternal feelings Kinkel expressed to introduce the poem transform into a public maternal call to duty for the greater democratic *Volk* family. The children look to the mother for guidance, highlighting the cultural and political

[205] Kinkel, "Erinnerungsblätter," 61.

[206] Ibid.

education at the center of public motherhood. Thus, Kinkel clearly establishes the duties of the *Volk* mother, the song's speaker, to teach her children not only shared liberal national values but also the obligations required in their pursuit. Her eyes filled with tears, the mother is once again characterized by the emotional labor she provides in her role. Turning to the father, the second strophe instructs the family—mother and children—to love him truly and purely. The final two lines of the second strophe reveal that his prison is not keeping him from his family, but rather from the battle, which rages on without him. The final four strophes describe the goals of the battle, the battle itself, and ends with a call for hope, allowing the *Volk* mother to fulfill her instructional duty to the children, the future of the unified German republic.

Women's duty as part of a *Volk* family, however, is two-fold. Not only must they act as mothers, but also as wives. As Kinkel begins her journey, she inhabits the latter role, remembering her wedding trip with Gottfried only six years prior. In particular, Kinkel recalls a *Volkslied*—Friedrich von Sallet's recently published "Romanze einem deutschen Weibe"—which Gottfried shares with her on the trip. In the poem, a young man called to battle for the *Volk* only first finds the strength to leave in the words of his wife, "jetzt geh!"[207] The newlyweds, Johanna and Gottfried, recite the final line of the poem to each other:

> Und wer dies Lied gesungen,
> hat auch ein junges Weib.
> Wenn ihm der Ruf erklungen,
> Sie wird nicht sagen: "Bleib'!"[208]

[207] Friedrich von Sallet, *Sämmtliche Schriften*, vol. 2 (Breslau: August Schulz, 1845), 352.

[208] Reprinted in Kinkel, "Erinnerungsblätter," 45.

With these words, Johanna and Gottfried begin their marriage with an understanding not only of their duties to each other, but also their duties to a united German republic. Kinkel recalls the commitment made through Sallet's words as March 1848 brings the *Volk's* battle cry to reality. On the evening of May 10, 1849, Kinkel remembers, Gottfried repeats the lyric once more to his wife. Recognizing the "furchtbare Macht" carried through song, the situation transforms for Kinkel: "In seiner ganzen ungeheuren Größe stand das Opfer vor mir, das die Freiheit des Vaterlands von mir forderte, aber auch der Opfermuth erfüllte mich."[209] Here, again, what begins as a private matter between spouses, takes on a wider national significance as both husband and wife must consider their roles as part of a *Volk* family serving a larger public purpose. Additionally, having mothered four children in the six years since first hearing the call of Sallet's poem, Kinkel illustrates the inexorable connection between a wife's duties and those of a mother. Asking how, even if he might leave his wife, Gottfried could leave his children, Kinkel answers with the "Stimme des Muttergefühls:" "darum, weil sein großes Herz alle Kinder liebt wie seine eignen, darum geht er für die Armuth, für die ganze Menschheit in den Tod!"[210] In this way, Kinkel demonstrates that the role of husband and wife exist as simultaneously both categorically exclusive from and perpetually intertwined with the role of mother and father in service of the *Volk* family.

In *Hans Ibeles*, the *Volk* family takes on a musical dimension. Hans and Dorothea receive a democratic flyer one morning renouncing the new opera house funded by raising the taxes of the community and benefiting only the wealthy. Disparaging musicians as "eine Clique der unnützesten Menschen des Erdbodens," the

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[209] Ibid, 47.

[210] Ibid.

proclamation forces Hans and Dorothea to consider the role of music in their family as well as in a broader public context.[211] By exclaiming to Dorothea that the paper seems to be directed against "us," Hans renders the attack on career an attack on family. Hans continues: "das hätte ich mir kaum träumen lassen, daß ich, der im dessauischen Liberalismus *großgezogen* wurde, je zu den Volksfeinden gezählt werden könne."[212] Hans evokes the image of the *Volk* family as he remembers his political upbringing within a liberal tradition. From the flyer, musical life is represented as not only separate from the democratic mission, but actively counter-productive. Sensing Hans's escalating concerns, Dorothea suggests finishing breakfast to allow time to consider the matter further "mit gesammeltem Gemüt," indicating a shared perspective in terms of family. As she serves her carefree children, "brachte [Dorothea] denn doch auch der Gedanke Tränen in die Augen, wie bald sie vielleicht brotlos sein möchten. Unter Revolutionen leiden wenige so direkt als Künstlerfamilien."[213] With maternal duty once again expressed in a physical display of emotion, Dorothea's reaction illustrates the relationship between the private situation of her family and the political position of a public family structure.

Offering the reader access to his thoughts, Hans similarly contemplates the liberal national relationship between music and the *Volk*. Hans recognizes the problem lies not with musical participation as such, but rather with the economic need for the genius of the Volk to come second to the patronage of the aristocracy, "weil ja das *Volk*

[211] Kinkel, *Hans Ibeles,* 32.

[212] Ibid. Emphasis added

[213] Ibid*,* 33.

deine sieben Kinder nicht füttert."[214] This reason, Hans realizes, is at the heart of the problem: "Nicht ein launenhafter, geschmackloser Hof darf der Brotherr des Künstlers sein, sondern die Nation, die immer das Große und Wahre will."[215] With terms such as "füttern" and "Brotherr," Hans uses the image of nourishment—both physically for his children and spiritually provided by the Nation—to highlight the role of the nation in the *Volk* family. In other words, when a musical profession is dependent on aristocratic wealth, an individual is able to literally feed his family, but when the entire musical culture is borne by the Nation in pursuit of greatness and truth, the *Volk* can spiritually feed its entire community. Showing how both Hans and Dorothea work through the liberal condemnation of a musical profession, Kinkel demonstrates how musical life functions as a mode of expression for both the private family and the larger liberal collective, making music a necessary interlocuter between the Nation and its *Volk*.

Women's (Im)mobility Through Music

As national borders were created and shifted throughout the nineteenth century, movement across them became a way of constituting their existence. Highlighting the particular role of musical culture in generating such movement, Celia Applegate has shown that "Germany and other modernizing nations became real to people because many thousands of [musicians] travelled around them, [...] meeting their fellow countrymen and singing together."[216] While movement across borders carried specific

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[214] Ibid, 34.

[215] Ibid.

[216] Applegate, *The Necessity of Music,* 95.

legal and social challenges for women in the nineteenth century, the implications for those who did travel—especially alone—were significant. For women, literary scholar Ruth Whittle points out, "leaving one's own shores was clearly an emancipatory moment [...] Travelling provided one important alternative to education of the conventional kind."[217] Movement more broadly allowed women to assert their political existence beyond the home by taking to the revolutionary streets or crossing politicized borders in public ways. As women sought more outlets for self-expression, their movement became as much imaginary as it was actual. That is to say, women generated creative spaces—literary or musical, for example—in which they could move freely and make otherwise inaccessible places available to them.[218] In her song, memoir, and novel, Kinkel imagines movement in vastly different terms, enabling a critical understanding of women's political relationship to travel.

In each different mode, Kinkel depicts themes of movement and immobility in ways that exhibit women's political agency. In the marching rhythm and battle cries of "Demokratenlied," Kinkel transports listeners and singers into the riots of the Revolutions. This imagined travel generates a new level of collective participation for women who had little access to the ground efforts of democracy and functions to make women's voices an equal part of the call to arms. Autobiographically, Kinkel recounts the politicization of her movement as well as the movement of other women as they traveled within and beyond Germany. Travel provided a context for women to build

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[217] Ruth Whittle, "Moments of Emancipation: The Nineteenth-Century Heroine in German Literature," in *The Challenge of German Culture*, eds. Michael Butler and Robert Evans (New York: Palgrave, 2000), 39.

[218] Boetcher Joeres highlights the prominent image of travel and modes of transportation, usually as a common setting for love stories to unfold, popular in women's literature of this era. She specifically describes the function of the train in the stories of Louise Otto and Louise Büchner as well as Annette von Droste Hülshoff's interest in steam boat travel (*Respectability and Deviance*, 200-212).

political solidarity, enact their individual politics, and find expression for their political values. In her novel, women's political actions become defined by immobility. Instead of merely confining women to the domestic space, Kinkel illustrates Dorothea's static position as a depiction of political consistency. Situated within the home, women are still driven by revolutionary interests. Together, music, autobiography, and literature each thematize (im)mobility in unique ways that allow Kinkel to assert her own liberal national identity.

Written amidst the ongoing uprisings, Kinkel's "Demokratenlied" relies on imagined travel to transport women to the barricades on Germany's revolutionary streets. Conjuring images of the raging revolution, Kinkel ends her first strophe evoking the democratic "Kampf." This image leads directly into the battle cry refrain:

> Schaut ob Ihr unser Recht
> Und unsre Wehr zerbrecht –
> Heran Demokratie!
> Dran auf die rothe Monarchie![219]

Bringing the song into the barricades, Kinkel's anthem embodies the movement of the marching fighters instructing the advancement of democracy against the reign of monarchy. This movement in the words is reflected in the new piano rhythm of the refrain. In the repeated music of the five strophes, the rhythm, although simple, is just inconsistent enough to impede the steady march of the revolution. With each return of the refrain, however, the music switches into a more militaristic 2/4 time (that is two beats per bar), and the accompaniment moves into a regular rhythm accenting each beat as the pounding of the feet on the streets. Together with the call to battle in the text, the music takes the singer and listener into the revolution. In the way that musicologist

[219] Kinkel, "Demokratenlied."

Elizabeth Morgan has cogently argued, “music invited women to imagine and embody the conflicts on the battlefield,” Kinkel transports singers and listeners alike into the revolution, allowing women to enact their liberal national ideology in new ways.[220]

Women’s movement becomes much more literal in autobiographical form. Indeed, “Erinnerungsblätter” is functionally a travel journal as Kinkel travels across borders and moves within different political boundaries. Her difficulties procuring residence permissions requires constant travel by boat, train, and even on foot. It is these moments of travel and transition that Kinkel records of her journey, recounting people encountered, conversations overheard, and thoughts evoked. Often meeting other women in her travels, Kinkel recalls the route from Rastatt to Switzerland, that was particularly filled with women, “die mit Wort oder That den Zorn der Preußen gegen sich aufgereizt hatten,” and now fled political persecution.[221] As previously discussed, boat travel provides the backdrop for the political dispute Kinkel overhears between the two women and the officers. And it is as the train whistle announces her departure from Rastatt that Kinkel is moved to record her liberal national sentiment in song. As such, modes of transportation become sites of political activity for women.

On one train ride from Karlsruhe to Freiburg, Kinkel imagines politicized travel beyond movement within Germany; that is emigration. Observing a family who had emigrated to America, Kinkel thinks to herself:

> “Amerika! Rettungsufer! Ach vor wenig Monaten war es noch Zeit, aus dem Schiffbruche hinüber zu flüchten, und unser blühendes Glück auf den jungen Boden der Freiheit zu verpflanzen. Aber, zu glühend liebten wir das Vaterland, und wie an die Brust einer sterbenden Mutter kehrte die Sehnsucht immer zu

[220] Elizabeth Morgan, “Combat at the Keys: Women and Battle Pieces for the Piano during the American Civil War,” in *Nineteenth-Century Music* 40, no. 1 (2016), 9.

[221] Kinkel, “Erinnerungsblätter,” 72.

> dem tausendfach geliebten Deutschland zurück, und es war uns als müßten wir mit ihm untergehen."[222]

Thoughts of *fleeing* to the *freedom* of America's *rescuing shores* emphasize the political stakes of emigration for German liberals. The mere thought of leaving, however, forces Kinkel to recognize a deeper love of homeland, echoing familiar democratic calls to go down for a unified Germany rather than give up on it completely. Additionally, understanding Kinkel's plural pronouns as referring to both her family as well as a larger collective community of a German *Volk* illustrates the agency possible for women in travel as part of both a private family as well as a political community. By not emigrating, Kinkel expresses democratic solidarity in the pursuit of a unified Germany. The politicization of travel as demonstrated in this passage highlights the ways women enacted their own politics in both acts of movement and non-movement.

With the subtitle "Ein Roman aus dem Flüchtlingsleben," exilic travel is the main driving force behind Kinkel's novel *Hans Ibeles*. Within this context, Kinkel's depiction of revolution within Germany appears profoundly static. As the uprisings unfold in the streets of Germany, the reader is left locked inside the house with Dorothea, while Hans comes and goes in brief intervals to take up arms against the aristocracy. Immobility, however, does not translate to inaction for Dorothea, in whom "rang sich der Trieb zu handeln, zu helfen."[223] In this way, Dorothea is not just an attempt to appeal to a wider audience of bourgeois women, but rather showcasing that the cultural and political motivation of women, in many ways, transcended the domestic spaces they were often

[222] Ibid, 76.

[223] Kinkel, *Hans Ibeles*, 46.

confined to.[224] As the dampened sounds of revolution penetrated her domestic barricade, both Dorothea and the reader remain stationary inside the house. Overcome by fatigue, Dorothea falls into a restless sleep, dreaming of fleeing a burning city with her seven children. As she slowly awakens, she realizes the burning city was not a dream and, in the distance, flames engulf the new opera house. "O weh," Dorothea exclaims "die Partiturensammlung, die mein armer Mann erst vorige Woche dort hinbringen ließ! Siene Seele hängt daran!"[225] Dorothea's first thoughts are with the spiritual and intellectual values of Hans, which are bound to the cultivation of music as symbolized not by the opera house but rather by collection of musical scores housed there. Returning fully from her dreams, Dorothea corrects herself: "dein Mann ist ja fort. Es ist Revolution – Menschen morden sich auf der nächsten Straße! Wie kannst du an etwas so Gleichgültiges denken!"[226] The very cultural work—that is musical participation—that once fostered liberal values of democracy becomes wholly insignificant in the wake of revolution.

Still from within the safety of her home, Dorothea soon learns that the opera house was not set ablaze by the soldiers but rather by the liberals: "ohne Munition konnte der Volkspartei der Besitz dieser improvisierten Festung nichts helfen; geriet Sie aber in die Hände des Militärs, so konnte sie der Stadt bis zur totalen Vernichtung

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[224] Considering the different female characters throughout Kinkel's novel, Clara G. Everdosa suggests that "die Autorin mag eine Hausfrau and Mutter und nicht etwa eine Künstlerin als Heldin dargestellt habe, weil sie sich dessen bewußt war, daß die meisten Frauen ihrer Zeit gerade diese Aufgabe erfüllten." Clara G. Everdosa, "Dorothea oder das Lob der Bürgerlichkeit: die Frauenfrage im Roman *Hans Ibeles in London,*" in *Vom Salon zur Barrikade: Frauen der Heinezeit,* ed. Irina Hundt (Stuttgart: J. B. Metzler, 2002) 331.

[225] Kinkel, *Hans Ibeles,* 47.

[226] Ibid*,* 48.

schaden."[227] In parallel ways, the opera house, which functioned musically as a symbol of aristocratic excess rather than one of cultural or intellectual development, could only serve, politically, as the destruction of liberal values in the hands of the monarchy. But Dorothea remains unconvinced of the necessity of this level of destruction; "was weiß der Straßenkampf von Strategie?" the narration posits.[228] Considering the quick pace of revolution that often discourages careful thought of the practical need to act, Dorothea concludes that "der bloße Glaube an den Heroismus" could drive one to such action.[229] Observing the riots from the house, on the other hand, Dorothea is not removed from the democratic efforts, but rather is able to keep a distance that allows her to maintain a broader perspective not driven by impulsive acts of heroism. This ideological stability is evidenced again when, after the riots have settled, Dorothea quickly comes to terms with the destruction of the opera house, "doch Ibeles und die Partituren vernichten – das schien ja ganz verrückt."[230] On one level, Dorothea displays her personal concern for her husband's well-being, on another, she exhibits a broader cultural concern with the destruction of the musical scores. Focused not on the destruction of the building but rather of cultural value of its contents, Dorothea's static position throughout the uprising demonstrates an intentional and steadfast commitment to the intellectual values of liberal ideology rooted in the cultural development of the *Volk*.

[227] Ibid, 48-49.

[228] Ibid, 49.

[229] Ibid.

[230] Ibid, 50.

Conclusion

In the same way that Johanna Kinkel lived her liberal national values through musical participation in her *Gesangverein*, she illustrated them in her musical and literary work. While the connection between the rising popularity of collective music-making and liberal politics in the nineteenth century is well known, the location of women in this relationship has lacked adequate scholarly attention. By situating writer and composer Johanna Kinkel within the context of collective political action, her use of music—both formally and thematically—joins the broader movement of women becoming increasingly politically and socially engaged through various literary and artistic avenues. Kinkel's use of music as a political medium spans literature, autobiography, and musical composition, offering a unique perspective into not only how she understood her political ideology, but also how she enacted it in her everyday life. As such, music allowed Kinkel to participate in public and political forums as well as examine her political beliefs within multiple artistic spaces while still adhering to an established bourgeois gender order.

The use of three distinct artistic mediums to explore the relationship between her musical practice and her political beliefs offers a more complete understanding of how Kinkel created and expressed her political and social agency as part of a liberal national movement. Looking specifically at her use of music to engage with Germany's 1848/49 revolutions illuminates the social, cultural, and political stakes of her experience as a musicking woman. In the song, "Demokratenlied," the autobiographical essay "Erinnerungsblätter aus dem Jahr 1849," and the novel *Hans Ibeles in London*, Kinkel calls on music to examine her political identity through themes of collective identity,

Volk family, and (im)mobility. By considering her identities as German, woman, and musician, Kinkel conceives of her political identity as a synthesis of multiple collective identities. She turns to the image of the *Volk* family in order to represent the liberal national role of women as both mother *and* wife in service of a united German nation. Finally, Kinkel depicts women's (im)mobility in order to assert her political identity by enabling imagined movement to spaces otherwise unavailable to women, physically moving herself across geographical and political boundaries, and showcasing the active political potential available in immobility. In each work, music was present whether as a medium of representation ("Demokratenlied"), a means of expressing the inexpressible ("Erinnerungsblätter"), or as the setting for her story to unfold (*Hans Ibeles*). By illustrating different and multiple positions women inhabited in the relationship between music and politics, Kinkel's political works offer a significant first step towards understanding the full extent of the musicking woman's role in Germany's political landscape in the nineteenth century.

Chapter 4

The Learned Woman

"Of course we laugh at such stupidity, but it remains true that a piano teacher is a tormented person."[231] As the final section of Johanna Kinkel's 1846 novella *Musical Orthodoxy* opens, a group of German orchestra musicians find themselves discussing the arduous task of teaching private students.[232] The musicians, all bourgeois men, share absurd stories of their students, all wealthy women, who show no hope or no respect for learning music. "I also had a good example of feminine artistic judgement today," another man adds.[233] He recounts a piano lesson with a young English student who had only previously learned to play waltzes. When he brings her a proper piano instruction book filled with etudes, or short pieces intended as musical exercises, the student bemoans the "ugly pieces." Reassured by both the teacher and her mother, the student agrees to practices the ugly pieces before her next lesson. Upon the teacher's return visit the mother chides him, "but this is actually such a ghastly *ugly piece*, you

[231] Kinkel, *Musikalische Orthodoxie*, 267 ("Man lacht wohl über dergleichen Dummheiten, aber es bleibt doch wahr, daß ein Klavierlehrer ein gequälter Mensch ist." All translations in this chapter are mine unless otherwise noted).

[232] A full discussion of Kinkel's novella and its portrayal of public music-making available to women is the subject of Chapter 2 of this dissertation.

[233] Kinkel, *Musikalische Orthodoxie*, 266 ("auch mir ist heute eine gute Probe von weiblichem Kunsturtheil vorgekommen").

should not expect the *poor creature* to practice it."[234] Sitting down at the piano himself, the teacher begins the etude with its euphonic harmonies only to be suddenly interrupted by the shocked exclamations of the women: "the treble key! The treble key!"[235] The women, who descend into a fit of giggles, realize they had played the piece without noticing that the left hand, normally written in the bass clef, had been written here in the treble clef.

A similar fate befalls the titular character of Kinkel's 1860 novel *Hans Ibeles in London*.[236] In the chapter fittingly titled "The Atrocities of Dilettantes," Hans, once a renowned composer and director in his native Germany, must establish a new musical career for himself in London by offering private instruction. Described as *not* a natural pedagogue, Hans receives a hurried request for a music lesson from a woman returning to colonial India later the same day. The woman becomes agitated when Hans explains that he cannot teach her to play a full Beethoven piece in a matter of hours, especially not a piece written for full orchestra. "When I went to India twenty years ago, I had never heard of Sebastian Botsch or Lewis Bithoven, who everyone is making such a fuss about now," the woman explains, displaying her musical ignorance.[237] Indeed, there is nothing about the music itself that appeals to the woman, but rather she wants only the most "fashionable," "most magnificent," "the most beautiful, best and trendy"[238] to take

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[234] Ibid ("dies sei aber wirklich ein so gräuliches *ugly piece*, daß man es der *poor creature* nicht zumuthen dürfe").

[235] Ibid.

[236] Although the novel was not published until later, it was completed weeks before her early death in 1858.

[237] Kinkel, *Hans Ibeles*, 198 ("Als ich vor zwanzig Jahren nach Indien ging, hatte ich nie von Sebastian Botsch noch Lewis Bihthoven gehört, von denen man jetzt so viel Wesen macht.")

[238] Ibid.

with her. To Hans's surprise, after two hours of study, the woman declares herself learned enough to continue her practice alone, "as long as she doesn't keep forgetting the fourth sharp on her long sea journey."[239]

Both anecdotes from the two teachers illuminate many assumptions about the role of musical education in nineteenth century women's lives. The students in both scenarios are upper-class women introduced as inexperienced dilettantes next to their expert male teachers. Previously familiar only with waltzes or the most popular pieces, it is amusement rather than intellectual pursuit that drive's the women's interest in music. The first student cries for a "fine piece," while the second student desires the most fashionable composition to take as a sort of souvenir from London. For these women, piano performance is not a practiced skill to be cultivated but a decorative ornament to be flaunted. The women's English identities further distance them from their German teachers' musical perspective. Emphasized in the dialogue with the use of English words throughout the first passage and the total misrepresentation of Sebastian *Bach* and *Ludwig van Beethoven* in the second, the women appear just as removed from their teachers as they do the music they hope to perform. In the end, the first student realizes she has overlooked the clef, causing every note in her left hand to create a horrible dissonance, while the second student only hopes to remember the key her piece was written in as she continues to "practice." This inattention to basic musical details betrays the women to be exactly the superficial musical dilettantes that tormented nineteenth century piano instructors.

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[239] Ibid, 199 ("wenn sie nur während der langen Seereise das vierte Kreuz nicht wieder vergäße").

Kinkel's fictional portrayal of music lessons echo the same challenges she faced herself as a piano instructor. In her memoir, for example, she recalls her first lesson with the daughters of her friend and Berlin hostess Bettina von Arnim, which "did not end without a small war" after she cut the girls' nails to avoid their clicking on the piano keys, much to their mother's displeasure.[240] This and similar incidents reinforced Kinkel's frustration with a music education rooted in aristocratic expectations of femininity. That is to say, as long as musical practice remained women's obligation to class and gender, true artistic value would be lost. Instead, Kinkel championed women's *choice* to take on the bourgeois cultivation of music as part of their intellectual and cultural development. In 1849, Kinkel translated these values into her *Instructions for Singing,* op 20 (*Anleitung zum Singen*), a pedagogical songbook for young children. The 26 originally composed Lieder (a genre of German art song) not only provide music suited specifically for children's voices, but the text of each song ranged from the childlike playfulness of nature in "Song of the Bumblebee" to the liberal values of a united German nation in "Song of the People's Guard." Three years later, after political exile moved her family of six to London, she published a second pedagogical guide. *Eight Letters to a Friend on Piano Lessons* (*Acht Briefe an eine Freundin über Clavier Unterricht*) contains no music, but rather eight instructional letters guiding mothers to provide the necessary piano tuition for their daughters. Although the letters begin with familiar piano basics such as hand position and technical skill development, they quickly transform into mini treatises on the role of harmonic theory. Kinkel draws on values of

[240] Kinkel, *Memoiren*, 257 ("Die erste Klavierstunde ging nicht ohne einen kleinen Krieg ab").

bourgeois social order and cultural Germanness to find a common language for both mothers and daughters new to such musical instruction.

In this chapter, I argue that Kinkel's pedagogical work moved away from contemporaneous models of girls' and women's musical education that functioned to train aristocratic feminity, instead aiming to reinforce bourgeois values of intellectual development and family structure as well as bolster a sense of national and cultural Germanness. I show how Kinkel's musical instruction engaged a holistic music pedagogical approach to rewrite the prevailing narrative of women as dilettantes. Kinkel's *Instructions on Singing* and *Eight Letters*, I contend, gave women and girls ownership over their intellectual education and offered a new language of communication that included them in developing notions of bourgeois German identity. In her novella *Musical Orthodoxy* and novel *Hans Ibeles in London*, Kinkel creates a literary space for these new values of music education to play out in women's lives. Reading the pedagogical guides together with scenes from these works of fiction allows a unique perspective on Kinkel's pedagogical intentions, methods, and desired outcomes that would not be available in either context alone. Kinkel's interest in a reformed music pedagogy for women highlights the stakes of education for the nineteenth-century musicking woman.

I begin with a brief outline of nineteenth-century music pedagogical debates between mechanistic and holistic approaches, where the former focused on technical proficiency of piano performance by individually training discrete musical elements, and the latter attempted to train players as complete musicians with an emphasis on theoretical and historical contexts. I examine Czerny's mechanistically organized *Letters to a Young Lady on the Art of Playing the Pianoforte* (1837) and Robert Schumann's

holistically inspired aphorisms “Musical Rules for Home and Life” [*Musikalische Haus- und Lebensregeln*] (1850) and piano book, *Album for the Young* [*Album für die Jugend*] (1848) as the most popular pedagogical examples of both paradigms in the nineteenth century. Turning to Kinkel’s first pedagogical publication, *Anleitung zum Singen*, I locate Kinkel within a mechanistic/holistic pedagogical model in order to highlight the possibility for women to take on a more serious role in German cultural identity through music education as both student and teacher. With a careful reading of *Eight Letters* that reveals the conflicting ways Kinkel subverts women’s place in serious musical production while still maintaining dominant bourgeois social values, I offer a reading of Kinkel’s pedagogical methods that interrogates women’s place in the holistic paradigm. In the final sections, I bring back Kinkel’s literary examples of women’s musical cultivation to illustrate Kinkel’s goal of emancipation through education.

Mechanistic vs. Holistic Music Pedagogy

The history of music pedagogy and pedagogical compositions remains a largely underserved subject in musical and cultural research. Musicologist Lia Laor attributes this inattention to two factors: first, the hyper-specialization of musical fields, which isolates music pedagogy as a practice where little attention is paid to its theoretical and cultural history; second, contemporary exclusionist approaches to music research considers pedagogy to be outside the scope of music and therefore musical research.[241] Studying pedagogical music in its own right allows a better understanding of the music-

[241] Lia Laor, “‘In Music Nothing is Worse Than Playing Wrong Notes’: Nineteenth-Century Mechanistic Paradigm of Piano Pedagogy,” in *Journal of Historical Musical Research* (38.1, 2016), 7-8.

cultural context that both shaped and was shaped by educational processes and practices. Of particular interest to the present discussion is the way in which music education contributed to and was informed by existing social values, economic realities, and gender norms. Laor suggests a conceptual framework drawing on two pedagogical paradigms—mechanistic and holistic—to help tease out such cultural factors.[242]

The piano's growing availability and musical versatility (it had a place in the home and the concert hall) facilitated "self-cultivation, self-education, and civic humanism" that were part of the bourgeois practice of *Bildung*.[243] Similarly tied to Enlightenment and Romantic philosophy, respectively, the mechanistic paradigm focused on the mastery of individual parts, while the holistic paradigm emphasized the irreducibility of the whole.[244] Focused solely on the mechanisms for technically proficient piano performance, the mechanistic paradigm adopted a scientific approach to piano, which "aimed to achieve success by carefully analyzing and classifying the various components involved in piano playing and by mastering each one separately, gradually, and systematically."[245] Simultaneously, the rate of girls learning piano far outgrew their male peers since home practice was regarded as domestic, amateurish and—therefore—feminine.[246] The implications of the mechanistic paradigm in an almost

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[242] See Lia Laor, *Paradigm War: Lessons Learned from 19th Century Piano Pedagogy* (Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2016).

[243] Lora Deahl, "Robert Schumann's 'Album for the Young' and the Coming of Age of Nineteenth-Century Piano Pedagogy," in *College Music Symposium* 41 (2001), 26.

[244] Ibid.

[245] Laor, "Mechanistic Paradigm," 9.

[246] James Parakalis, *Piano Roles: Three Hundred Years of Life with the Piano*, (Yale University Press, 2000). See Chapter four, "The Piano Lesson."

exclusively feminine arena become most apparent in Carl Czerny's pedagogical guide, *Letters to a Young Lady*, which reads as machine manual with the aim of controlling both the female body and the piano to perform in perfect synchronicity.[247]

A prolific Austrian composer, pianist, and pedagogue, Carl Czerny (1791-1857) enjoyed much success in his career during his lifetime. A student of Beethoven's and teacher to Liszt, Czerny's compositional oeuvre spans multiple genres from solo piano to chamber and orchestral pieces all characterized by a high level of technicality and virtuosic character. Among these works are no less than 75 published volumes of technical studies for piano, whose titles convey their composer's music pedagogical values. While his "School of Virtuosity" (op. 365) and "The Art of Finger Dexterity" (op. 740) showcase his emphasis on the development of extreme technicality, the hyper-specificity of collections such as "Etudes, in 3rds, for the Left Hand" (op. 735) highlight his use of mechanistic pedagogy. Even more than his pedagogical compositions, Czerny's manual *Letters to a Young Lady on the Art of Playing the Pianoforte*, showcases his mechanistic methods particularly as they relate to the intended audience of young girls from wealthy families.[248]

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[247] Cecilia Björkén-Nyberg takes this argument ever further, relating the automatization of the female body to the total mechanization of the player piano. "From Carl Czerny's Miss Cecilia to the Cecilian: Engineering, Aesthetics, and Gendered Piano Instruction," in *Journal of Historical in Music Education* 40, no.2 (2019), 125-142. Additionally, Grete Wehmeyer connects such pedagogical practices at the time to the contemporaneous industrialization. *Carl Czerny und die Einzelhaft am Klavier oder die Kunst der Fingerfertigkeit und die industrielle Arbeitsideologie*, (Kassel: Bärenreiter-Verlag, 1983).

[248] Although Czerny never explicitly indicates the class or wealth of his imagined student, he makes several suggestions throughout his letters that imply a certain level of education and material possession that would have only been available to those of the bourgeois and aristocratic classes. In addition to using the formal "you" throughout (a practice that implies respect for class or position, especially for an adult speaking to a young girl), Czerny references his student's high level of education in his first letter and in letter 4, he describes her home instrument as "an excellent pianoforte by one of our best makers," *Letters to a Young Lade on the Art of Playing the Pianoforte,* trans. J. A. Hamilton, (New York: Firth, Pond, & Co., 1851), 33.

Letters to a Young Girl contains no pedagogical compositions, but is rather a collection of ten letters to the fictional recipient Miss Cecilia, "a talented and well-educated young girl of about twelve years old, residing at a distance in the country."[249] The letters are meant to accompany any method book (although his own "Pianoforte School," op. 500 is recommended), with a lapse of about eight to ten weeks between each. Czerny creates a highly conversational tone by frequently referencing Miss Cecilia's undocumented replies. However, because the reader never sees Miss Cecilia's letters, Czerny maintains a "patriarchal disciplinary power" of surveillance over the young student.[250] This power is further evidenced by Czerny's interest in his pupil's femininity as a part of her musical training and success. In his first letter he explains, "and you know that *pianoforte playing*, though suitable to everyone, is yet more particularly one of the most charming and honorable accomplishments for young ladies, and, indeed, for the female sex in general. By it, we can command, not only one's self, but for many others, a dignified and appropriate amusement."[251] Here, the practice of piano is not a means to achieve artistic fluency, but rather a mechanism for tempering Miss Cecilia's inherent feminine wiles and enabling her to provide appropriate ladylike amusement. When Czerny later remarks in his fifth letter, "to what purpose do we learn, but to give pleasure," he not only limits Miss Cecilia's musical potential (she will forever

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[249] Ibid, iii.

[250] Björkén-Nyberg, "Miss Cecilia to the Cecilian," 128.

[251] Czerny, *Letters to a Young Lady,* 7-8. A brief note on the translation of this passage: where Hamilton has written "and, indeed, for the female sex in general," appears in the original German only as "für die a Fräulein und Damen," for a which a direct translation of "for the young women and ladies," would be more accurate. I have chosen to keep Hamilton's translation which might illuminate his own biases or how he is reading Czerny more generally.

remain an entertaining dilettante), be he excludes her from nineteenth-century aspirations of intellectual cultivation through education.[252]

Similarly, the mechanistic paradigm does not take place on an intellectual level, but rather a physical one, as Miss Cecilia's body is broken down into its most discrete parts and slightest movements, allowing Czerny a uniquely precise control over his pupil. Even from a distance, Czerny constantly directs how she is to position her entire body in exhaustive detail. Her feet, arms, elbows, chest, head and each individual finger receive specific instruction. "It is not merely that an awkward position is disagreeable and ridiculous," Czerny explains, "but it also impedes, if not prevents the development of a free and elegant style of playing."[253] In this way, Miss Cecilia's body becomes a machine, for which precise assembly is required. Without the required "graceful and appropriate position," the machine becomes unpleasant and nonfunctional. Even the least mechanical element of music—its expressivity—becomes quantifiable in Miss Cecilia's body. Czerny dedicates several paragraphs describing in exact detail the type of disruptive "contortions and grimaces" that the young pianist should avoid while playing before admitting that "some graceful movements are *necessary* while playing; it is only the *excess* that must be avoided."[254] Only a precise and practiced femininity, monitored closely by her instructor, can successfully command Miss Cecilia's body in the art of playing the pianoforte.

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[252] Ibid, 39. Czerny's insistence on the obligation of women to entertain and amuse recalls the argument from chapter two that women's "inclusion" in society by requiring them to ensure people's entertainment ultimately disallowed them from intellectual and cultural contributions.

[253] Ibid, 10.

[254] Ibid, 33-34.

Once Czerny has broken his student down into isolated body parts, Miss Cecilia loses any agency she might have held in her piano playing. Her body, and in particular her fingers, become individual pieces that lock in with the mechanisms of the piano in order to play scales, arpeggios, and trills. Reducing her to ten fingers, Czerny writes, "you must not allow the fingers to indulge their own fancies," teaching his young pupil the necessity of controlling the body.[255] "For the fingers"—which have now come to stand in for the whole girl—"are little disobedient creatures, if they are not kept well reined in; and they are apt to run off like an unbroken colt, as soon as they have gained some degree of fluency."[256] In one statement, Czerny tells his student both that she is nothing more than the function of her individual parts as well as that without strict control, femininity can lead only to discord. By the end of his ten-letter course (over approximately two years), Miss Cecilia is all but reduced to a set of fingers and a metronome under the strict control her teacher's discerning gaze. The mechanistic model of pedagogy enables Czerny to remove the young pianist's agency one finger at a time until he can rebuild her, fully trained as the perfect model of dilettantish femininity.

At the heart of the holistic paradigm of piano pedagogy, on the other hand, is not simply to train a technically proficient player, but rather to make a musician. Born out of the romantics' reaction to the scientific precision of artistic expression, holism sought an approach that did not require reducing music to mindless technicality. Following this standard, early holistic models contended that true musical ability was available only to the genius, a status that could not be trained. Only in the mid nineteenth-century with

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[255] Ibid, 27.

[256] Ibid.

Robert Schumann's piano book, *Album for the Young*, a collection of 43 works written specifically for children, did a holistic paradigm develop that both offered a comprehensive musical pedagogy and was accessible to even the ordinary student.[257] As Laor points out, the primary task of educators in Schumann's revised holistic paradigm, "was to introduce the young beginner-pianist into the reality of music as an art while also caring about technique insofar as it served to conjure up this special artistic reality."[258] Implicit in this claim is the way the pedagogical music of the holistic paradigm reflected and recreated the increasingly political and social function serious music played in nineteenth century German culture more broadly.[259] Together, Schumann's aphorisms "Musikalische Haus- und Lebensregeln" and his *Album für die Jugend* illustrate the active role music pedagogy took in propagating German cultural and national values.

Published first in 1850 as supplementary material in the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*, Robert's Schumann's list of 68 "Musical Rules for Home and Life" was originally intended as a part of his first pedagogical composition for children, *Album for the Young*, which had been published two years prior. In 1851, Schumann released a second edition of *Album* that included the aphorisms in an appendix. *Album* comprises 34 miniature piano pieces composed specifically for children, while "Musical Rules" offers a list of 68 rules to produce a new generation of intellectually grounded and artistically sensitive musicians. Unique to both *Album* and "Musical Rules," Laor contends, was

[257] For a more complete history of the progression from the romantics' genius-driven holism to Schumann's holism, see Liao Laor "Mechanistic Paradigm," 20-24.

[258] Laor, *Paradigm War*, 96.

[259] Celia Applegate, *Necessity of Music*, 9.

Schumann's ability to "address this curriculum to children, speak their language, and empower them to take charge of their own musical journey."[260] With both the music and text, Schumann was able to capture his social and political values and communicate them to children in a way that transformed his "subtle subtexts of nationalism and class" into pedagogical material.[261]

With no preface or further instruction, Schumann's rules begin in a familiar place. "The cultivation [*Bildung*] of the ear [*Gehör*] is the most important," are the opening words of Schumann's text, the rule he chooses to place before all others.[262] Instead of breaking down elements within music, Schumann instructs students to develop the ear before and beyond music. The composer tells young musicians to investigate the familiar sounds of their own social environments: the bells (church), the window panes (home), and the cuckoo (nature).[263] Here, music not only takes on a social function but becomes a product of Schumann's (and his students') social reality. These themes carry over into the piano pieces in *Album*, which employ an expressly non-technical style to depict scenes of church (no. 4, "A Chorale"), home (no. 17 "Song for the Sleeping Dolls") and nature (no. 15 "Song of Spring"). As such, Schumann's cultivation of the ear functioned for the musician in the truest sense of *Bildung*.

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[260] Laor, *Paradigm Wars*, 117.

[261] Lora Deahl, "Robert Schumann's 'Album for the Young' and the Coming of Age of Nineteenth-Century Piano Pedagogy," *College Music Symposium* 41 (2001), 36.

[262] Robert Schumann, *Musikalische Haus- und Lebensregeln verfaßt von Robert Schumann* (Leipzig: J. Schuberth & Co, 1860), 7. ("Die Bildung des Gehörs ist am wichtigsten.") A note on translation here: although *Gehör* more specifically translates as a sense of hearing, my choice to translate it as *ear*, while unavoidably reminiscent of Czerny's division of body parts, is in service of brevity and refers to the common musical meaning of "having a good ear" rather than the physical body part. Kinkel also uses "Gehör" in her *Acht Briefe*, which carries the same issue of translation.

[263] Ibid.

Just as sweets and baked goods alone cannot raise healthy children, Schumann says in rule 19, "so must intellectual sustenance be simple and nourishing."[264] This nourishment, he goes on, is found in the works of the great masters. He names Bach, Mozart, and Beethoven specifically in his rules, while Schubert, Handel, and Weber join the list of masters via tributes in *Album*. The learned musician must distinguish between such true artistic masters and the "dilettantish entertainment," which Schumann identifies as newer Italian melodies.[265] Joining in the most well-known musical debate of the nineteenth century—the ornamented melodies of the Italian tradition versus the complex harmonies of the German tradition, as we recall from Chapter 2—Schumann reinforces national identity in music pedagogy. In addition to a discerning ear, it becomes the moral imperative of the musician to neither play nor listen to "bad compositions," instead Schumann instructs his students to "help suppress them with all their might."[266] By valorizing some composers and diminishing others, Schumann makes music pedagogy a participant in "canon formation," a process which, for nineteenth-century German music was heavily tied to propagating a collective identity of Germanness.[267] The connection between music and national identity extends beyond the works of great composers into the simple musical beginnings of folk music. "Listen diligently to all folksongs," Schumann orders in rule 47, "they are a rich source of the

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[264] Ibid, 13. ("so muß die geistige Kost einfach und kräftig sein.")

[265] Ibid. 27-29.

[266] Ibid. 15. ("Schlechte Compositionen," "mit aller Kraft unterdrücken helfen.")

[267] Celia Applegate and Pamela Potter, "Germans as the 'People of Music': Genealogy of an Identity," in *Music and German National Identity,* eds. Applegate and Potter (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002), 16.

most beautiful melodies and open your eyes to the character of the different nations."[268] Together with *Album's* "Little Folk Song" (no. 9), this claim ties the practice of music directly to the cultivation of national identity through the image of the *Volk*.

As Schumann's pedagogical work shows, the holistic paradigm did not merely enable a reciprocal relationship between culture and music but actually relied on it. That is to say, cultural values specific to nineteenth-century German bourgeois society shaped how music was being taught at the same time that music education was reinforcing these values. Evidenced by those rules discussed here as well as by the many others that encourage community, morality, and education, Schumann's instructions easily extend beyond the musical world, employing music pedagogy to build both good musicians and good members of society.

Published in 1849, the year after *Album* and before "Musical Rules," Johanna Kinkel's *Instructions for Singing,* op. 20, received immediate success in Germany. In similar ways to Schumann's composition, Kinkel's songbook deviated from the mechanistic paradigm and began to embrace a more holistic method that encouraged students to learn through the practice of complete musical pieces rather than isolated exercises. Marketed explicitly towards mother's hoping to take on their children's earliest musical education, Kinkel reveals how the holistic paradigm reinforced bourgeois values of family and nation in ways that bolstered women's identities both as wife/mother and as German. It is not surprising that the theoretical and historical context so prevalent in Schumann is avoided for Kinkel's intended audience—children between three and seven years as the cover states—of whom the composer notes, even

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[268] Schumann, *Musikalische*, 25. ("Höre fleißig auf alle Volkslieder; sie sind eine Fundgrube der schönsten Melodien und öffnen dir den Blick in den Charakter der verschiedenen Nationen.")

"reading music is not to be expected."[269] Indeed, Kinkel's musical pedagogy through song allows children to begin earnest music instruction earlier and more naturally than they might on the piano. After all, Kinkel points out "almost all musically gifted children already begin singing back the melodies they happen to hear before they turn three."[270] Thus, Kinkel's holistic approach manifests in nurturing and directing children's natural musical impulses in the most pedagogically meaningful ways.

Divided by calendar months and organized by intervallic exercises, the 26 newly composed songs of Kinkel's songbook focus on helping children to recognize and recreate the harmonic building blocks of music. Most analogous to Schumann's *Album*, is Kinkel's ability to compose and communicate with children so fluently through music. Musically, Kinkel makes a point to compose melodies within the natural range of children in order to "foster the health of the lungs in the same way a mild exercise does for physical strength."[271] Additionally, the melodies of the song are largely borrowed from well-known solo and orchestral works so that the familiarity might help children learn. In the same way, the content of the songs borrows from familiar sources and settings, such as the home and family, holiday celebrations, and nature. In the book, many of these songs carry the names of actual people and places related to the Kinkel family—even the family doctor makes an appearance in "Song of Doctor Velten"—emphasizing the relationship between society and music. Indeed, Kinkel suggests that

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[269] Johanna Kinkel, *Anleitung zum Singen: Übungen und Liedchen für Kinder von drei bis sieben Jahren,* op. 20 (Mainz: B. Schott, 1849), 1.

[270] Ibid, 1. ("Fast alle musikalisch begabten Kinder pflegen schon vor dem dritten Lebensjahre die Melodieen die sie zufällig hören nachzusingen.")

[271] Ibid. ("es fördert die Gesundheit der Lungen ganz ebenso, wie ein gelindes Turnen die Kraft des Körpers.")

each family substitute the names of people and places, "that the child knows from his own surrounding."[272]

Kinkel's adoption of the holistic paradigm enables her to weave social and political values into her songbook in comparable ways to Schumann's *Album*. Additionally, because songs require both music and text, she is able to make these values plain within each composition. In nine of her songs, Kinkel portrays the roles of the mother, father, siblings, grandparents, godparents, and aunts, teaching children how to interact with each of these figures in their lives. In the opening song, "Song of the Good Father and the Beloved Mother," Kinkel illustrates for her students the difference between the father, who is moral and just, and the mother who is loving and loved. In the song, both parents bring gifts—sweets and dolls—for the children, but "only when they are merry and well-behaved."[273] The next two songs depict the grandfather and grandmother, respectively. The grandfather brings a picture book to the children, who sing, "we want to sit quietly enough to listen to you."[274] The grandmother, on the other hand, visits the children and delivers them sweets, which they eat while thinking of the grandmother. In both these examples, the paternal figures are providers who garner the respect of the children, while the maternal figures nurture the children, who, in turn, love them for it. In four other songs, the children happily visit their godmother and aunts, who bring them treats, play with them, and care for them if they are good.

[272] Ibid. ("die das Kind in seiner nächsten Umgebung kennt.")

[273] Ibid, 3. ("wenn sie nur lustig sind und brav.")

[274] Ibid, 5. ("Wir wollen still genug dir zuhören.")

Bourgeois family values take on a deeply political tone in the tenth song, "Song of the People's Guard." Told from the perspective of the child, this song tells the story of the father heading off to join the liberal uprisings of the 1848/49 revolutions, bayonet in hand. "Protecting the Fatherland through the night," the father fights for freedom and unity while the mother, here a symbol for the consistency of the bourgeois home, "lies in her warm bed."[275] In the second stanza, the child begins to imagine its role in this future Germany:

> Now I still like sitting in laps,
> but that will be different once I'm grown,
> then I'll raise the flag black gold red
> and fight to the death for freedom.
>
> (Jetzt sitz' ich gern noch auf dem Schoos,
> doch das wird anders bin ich einmal gross,
> dann schwing' ich hoch die Fahne schwarz gold roth
> und für den Freiheit geh ich in den tod.)[276]

Illustrating Kinkel's liberal national convictions as laid out in the previous chapter, "Song of the People's Watch" harnesses the medium of music pedagogy to bring this political ideology to the next generation. As the children sing, not only are they asked to recognize the political reality of their parents, but also to take on this battle themselves, a battle important enough to give their lives for. As early as the age of three, children using Kinkel's songbook begin learning more than intervals, they begin learning the fundamental necessity of a united Germany. Significantly, Kinkel gives no indication in the song or title whether the "I" of the song is a son or a daughter, allowing boys and girls alike to join the revolution and become part of a German national community.

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[275] Ibid, 16. ("und schirmt das Vaterland die ganze Nacht," "derweil die Mutter liegt im warmen Bett.")

[276] Ibid.

Kinkel's well-known activity within the liberal movement, as well as the political imprisonment of her husband, permeated *Instructions for Singing* inside and out. A review of it in the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*, begs readers to purchase the songbook if only to help the composer, the widow of the "martyr of freedom," feed her four children as she cares for them on her own.[277]

Kinkel's *Instructions for Singing* brings Schumann's holistic pedagogical approach to even the youngest children via song. By teaching music not in individual, systematic exercises, but as comprehensive and cumulative sections, Kinkel is able to provide 26 original songs to foster children's musical understanding and performance. More importantly, however, each song instills social and national values into students by thematizing and encouraging the bourgeois family structure and German national values. With an eye specifically towards the role of women in music, the holistic model rejects the patriarchal command of femininity that drives the mechanistic paradigm but still maintains an idealized conception of womanhood embodied in the bourgeois wife/mother. Kinkel's songbook transforms music pedagogy into cultural education, instructing boys and girls alike to adopt the same fundamental values of bourgeois familial ideals and liberal German nationalism.

Beyond the Holistic Paradigm

By the time her *Eight Letters* was published in 1852, Kinkel had moved beyond Schumann's holistic paradigm into a new space that harnessed the emancipatory

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[277] "Gesangschulen," review in *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*, no. 27 (September 30, 1849).

possibilities of music education for the girls and women who study it. Namely, Kinkel's interest shifts from teaching piano performance to revealing emancipatory possibilities in music theory. Kinkel begins her text perhaps unexpectedly on the technical aspects of piano playing. However, unlike the disparate and isolating methods of the mechanistic paradigm, Kinkel illustrates how technical proficiency within the holistic paradigm is rooted in theoretical and historical musical understanding. Starting in the fifth letter, Kinkel's text quickly transforms into an examination of music theory's past practices, current norms, and future potentials and the implications this has for music's female learners. The importance of music theory within music education was not an idea new to Kinkel. After a full year of instruction, Czerny introduces intervallic relationships to Miss Cecilia as a means of reinforcing finger positions, and Schumann advocates for a thorough theoretical and historical training but does not provide it. Kinkel differs from these models by inviting students to interrogate music theory alongside her as a historically and culturally contingent system. Rejecting the fashionable role of performance in society, Kinkel campaigns for a more serious intellection engagement with music. She grounds her explanations in the realities of bourgeois women's education, drawing on familiar social structures to make sense of music's theoretical function.

Nearly fifteen years after Czerny's *Letters to a Young Lady* and one year after political exile forced her family to resettle in London, Johanna Kinkel published *Eight Letters to a Friend on Piano Lessons*. Due to Kinkel's growing music pedagogical reputation in London, the guide was simultaneously published in Germany as well as in translation in London in 1852, adding to English interest in German music pedagogical

methods.[278] At first glance, Kinkel's guide seems to follow Czerny's model. It adopts an epistolary form to communicate with a fictitious recipient as a means of piano instruction, and its pages contain no actual musical compositions to accompany the lessons. However, unlike Czerny's guide, Kinkel does not write to the student, but rather to instructors, in particular to "musically trained [*gebildet*] mothers."[279] In fact, aside from occasionally directly addressing the reader, Kinkel's letters hardly qualify as letters at all: they do not start with an address or end with a signature, and they never reference any responses or adopt the conversational style that permeates Czerny's letters. Despite this, Kinkel's use of the informal "you" throughout—as opposed to Czerny's exclusive use of formal pronouns—allows for a much more familiar and less commanding tone of instruction.

What appears explicitly in Kinkel's personal notes for *Eight Letters*—among a list of composers with pedagogical works, she writes "against Czerny"[280]—is implicitly present throughout the published text: a fundamental disagreement with Czerny's pedagogical style. The job of the music instructor, as Kinkel sees it, is to "teach her how to feel and think musically."[281] Rejecting the mechanistic training of individual parts, Kinkel advocates for the education of musicality as a whole. Equally as notable is Kinkel's motivation to help girls learn piano: "so that she can, with your aid, perhaps be

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[278] Jane E. Southcott, "Early 19th century music pedagogy – German and English connections," in *British Journal of Music Education* 24, no. 3 (2007): 313-333. Although an English translation of *Anleitung* exists, the translations in this chapter are my own.

[279] Johanna Kinkel, *Acht Briefe an eine Freundin über Clavier-Unterricht* (Stuttgart: J. G. Cotta, 1852), III ("musikalisch gebildete Mütter").

[280] Johanna Kinkel, "Notizen zum Klavier- und Gesangsunterricht sowie zur Ästhetik der Musik," (ULB S2394 3a). Kinkel writes in the center oft he page, "gegen Czerny."

[281] Kinkel, *Acht Briefe*, 5. ("[...] sie musikalisch denken, empfinden zu lehren.")

of benefit to yet another wider circle."[282] Kinkel's aim here is twofold: first, to equip mothers with the tools necessary to effectively teach their children; second, to enable young girls to find purpose and function in society. Calling on historian Ann Taylor Allen's concept of "public motherhood," in which motherhood became a social project of cultural education, Kinkel sees music and piano playing not as a tool for controlling women and femininity, but rather as a means of liberating women from the confines of domesticity.[283]

Kinkel's disinterest in a mechanistic pedagogical approach, however, does mean a total disavowal of technical precision. In her first four letters, she shows that students and teachers can pay careful attention to fingers, rhythm, and style without isolating them from each other or music as a whole. Any training Kinkel suggests for the fingers rejects technical ability for the sake of technical ability—"it is a widespread misconception to simply measure the dexterity of the fingers by their speed"[284]—and instead sees technical development in service of a comprehensive musical cultivation. Kinkel emphasizes extra training for the smallest finger on the left hand, for example, as a function of harmony: "the little fingers are assigned the fundamental bass note; [this note] should represent the foundation on which the entire harmony is built, but rarely fulfills its duty."[285] In this way, the fingers are not mechanisms that operate a machine, but rather essential tools in creating music.

[282] Ibid. ("damit sie vielleicht außer Dir noch einem weiteren Kreise zu Gute komme.")

[283] Allen, *Feminism and Motherhood.*

[284] Kinkel, *Acht Briefe*, 13. ("Es ist ein vielverbreitetes Mißverständnis, die Geschicklichkeit der Finger bloß nach dem Grad ihrer Schnelligkeit zu messen.")

[285] Ibid, 15. ("Dem kleinen Finger sind die Noten des Grundbasses zugewiesen; es soll das Fundament vertreten, auf dem die ganz Harmonie ruht, aber selten erfüllt er seine Aufgabe.")

Fingers make up only one element that Kinkel considers the foundational tools of musical learning. Before an "immature pupil" [*unreifen Zögling*] can play Beethoven, the first year must be dedicated to the training of the fingers in tandem with both the ear [*Gehör*][286] and sense of internal rhythm [*Taktgefühl*].[287] Unlike the externalized mechanic tempo Czerny advocates through constant use of a metronome, Kinkel encourages internally locating the natural beat and contour of a musical line through two original concepts: the grammatical accent [*grammatischer Accent*] and the oratorical accent [*oratorische Accent*]. Both of these musical elements highlight Kinkel's understanding of music as communication. The grammatical accent refers to the metric emphasis of a bar of music. The pulse of this accent, Kinkel explains, should be "exactly as involuntary as one, in speech, would stress one syllable and drop others."[288] The oratorical accent deals with the articulation of individual notes, a concept "best made intelligible by an analogy to the practice of declamation."[289] Together, the grammatical and oratorical accents enable a rhythmic integrity that is achieved not through the external command of the metronome, as Czerny would have it, but rather through an internalized sense of spoken communication.

The training of the ear is accomplished by cultivating a knowledge and practice of music theory. Theoretical analysis of different compositions allows students to understand the underlying harmonic structure of a piece in a way that will inform their

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[286] Refer to footnote 32 for a note on the translation of "Gehör" into English as "Ear."

[287] Ibid, 13.

[288] Ibid, 20. ("Gerade so unwillkürlich wie Du im Sprechen die eine Silbe betonst und die andere fallen lässest [...]")

[289] Ibid, 30. ("Am ehesten ist er ihm durch eine Analogie mit der Deklamation verständlich zu machen.")

playing beyond the simple charms of the melody. This training is particularly important for women, Kinkel points out, "because they cultivate the ability to follow the melody in their heads and have no perception of the greater importance" of the harmony.[290] More than a comment on their intellectual ability, Kinkel's critique illuminates the musical socialization of women, who were taught only to recognize, cultivate, and perform the simplistic beauty of a song's melody, while the intellectual study of harmonic complexity was men's work. Training the ear through harmonic analysis allowed girls to understand music's internal structures and make their own, more informed artistic judgements. Even in music, Kinkel suggests, "self-awareness is the first step to furthered education [*Weiterbildung*]."[291] In this way, training the technical elements of music—the fingers, the internal rhythm, and the ear—in a non-mechanistic manner empowers students to break free from Czerny's "patriarchal disciplinary power," and use music to recognize and practice their own agency.

"Why exactly music has become such an exclusively societal fashion, I don't understand," Kinkel laments in her fifth letter.[292] As shown in Chapter 2, Kinkel found the unfortunate coupling of music and social events functioned to diminish the quality of both music and conversation, particularly affecting the intellectual opportunities of bourgeois women, whose only entry into social or public life was through such sociable events. Kinkel points out that "ladies' custom only permits them to contribute to large

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[290] Ibid, 15. ("Damen sind besonders diesem Hauptfehler unterworfen, weil sie in Gedanken die Melodie zu verfolgen pflegen und keine Empfindung von der größeren Wichtigkeit des Fundamentalbasses haben.")

[291] Ibid, 36. ("Selbsterkenntniß ist auch in diesem speziellen Falle der erste Schritt zur Weiterbildung.")

[292] Ibid, 37. ("Warum gerade die Musik eine so ausschließliche gesellschaftliche Mode geworden ist, begreife ich nicht.")

groups in song, not speaking," thus stunting women's intellectual cultivation.[293] Yet the author remains sensitive to the extra-musical reasons drawing women to its practice. Personally, Kinkel recognizes the space music offers for public self-expression that bourgeois women did not have access to elsewhere; socially, she acknowledges the "unjust" benefits musical women enjoyed over the non-musical, including higher social visibility and early marriage. However, learning music for the sake of keeping up with trends does a disservice to women who seek a space for personal expression but lack the proper talent and understanding to harness music as such. Instead, unmusical women's expressions "appear only as bitter irony."[294]

Kinkel advocates for a closer pedagogical focus on the quality of musicians created rather than quantity, noting "that it is more important to create real musical people out of students, than to just increase the number of piano virtuosos."[295] Recalling the intention of the holistic paradigm, Kinkel exposes the fundamental goal of her pedagogical pursuits: to provide an intellectual education of music that would foster greater musical understanding in natural musicians and dilettantes alike. Such an education would require special considerations for the female student, whose limitations included, according to Kinkel, less time for a comprehensive musical education and different intellectual strengths from her male contemporaries. To the former, Kinkel recommends her female students to always practice theory at the piano, never just on paper; to the latter, she suggests an exceptionally incremental pace of

[293] Ibid, 41-42. ("weil die Sitte unsern Damen nur gestattet, singend, nicht aber sprechend sich vor größeren Kreisen zu producieren.")

[294] Ibid, 43. ("lassen es wie eine bittere Ironie erscheinen.")

[295] Ibid, 49. ("daß es wichtiger ist, den Schüler zu einem wirklich musikalischen Menschen zu bilden, als die Zahl der Claviervirtuosen zu vermehren [...]")

instruction. In the end, however, it is neither women's time for music lessons nor ability to learn that produces the greatest threat to their education, but rather marriage. As such, women's need for a revised education is due in large part to the limitations created by their social situation. Taking factors such as time devoted to musical training, knowledge of other intellectual fields, and the inevitable educational interruption of marriage, Kinkel adjusts her pedagogical methods specifically to overcome such gendered barriers and enable women to cultivate artistic expression to its fullest extent.

The eighth and final letter opens with an anecdote that simultaneously explains the harmonic structure of most musical compositions and situates continued discussions of music theory within a social context. Telling the familiar tale of sonata form—the dominant musical form in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries that guides a piece's harmonic and thematic structure—Kinkel assigns each tonal area (or key) a role in the bourgeois family structure. The tonic (the key built on the first note of the scale, or I) represents the authoritative father; the dominant (the key built on the fifth note, or V) portrays the dutiful housewife; the subdominant (the key built on the fourth note, or IV) is the son; and the mediant and submediant (the keys built on the third and sixth note, respectively, or iii and vi) are the daughters.[296] After establishing himself as the head of the house, the father (I) goes on a journey. "Frau Dominant" (V), as Kinkel dubs her, "puts on the pants in his absence [...] and plays his part so convincingly, that by the end of the first section, everyone is convinced the dominant is the head of the house."[297] However, as the second section begins, the dominant cannot

[296] It is also worth noting that the daughters are represented by the only minor chords in the tonic key.

[297] Ibid, 65. ("es gefällt der Frau Dominante, in seiner Abwesenheit auch einmal die Hosen anzuziehen, [...] wodurch am Ende des ersten Abschnittes die Täuschung so vollkommen wird, daß jeder meint, jetzt sei die Dominante der Herr im Hause.")

successfully maintain authority; the son (IV) invites his friends the seventh chords (V^7) who fawn over the daughters (iii and vi); the mother has lost control and chaos reigns. The father (I) returns with the beginning of the third and final section, removing any doubt of his legitimacy and command of the house. The benevolent father forgives each family member as they utter one final and feeble apology.

Kinkel's explanation of sonata form's harmonic structure within a bourgeois family structure is significant for three main reasons. First, recalling her insistence that girls' theoretical education must be adapted so as to be legible and familiar, Kinkel reinforces bourgeois values of familial hierarchy in which the father provides the home and order that enables the wife to care for the children. Second, assigning the dominant key to the mother illuminates Kinkel's specific understanding of a woman's role as wife and duties as mother. Musically, the dominant key is the closest related key to the tonic and is fundamental in its cadential role, or rather, the resolution of a harmonic line by movement back to the tonic (V-I). Although her reader might have expected this function to go to the son, the male heir of the household, Kinkel gives it to the mother. In this way, she illustrates both a modified relationship between husband and wife, which begins to conceptualize their roles as equally important, as well as the fundamental necessity of husband and wife together to achieve successful resolution in the home. Finally, Kinkel primes her reader to think of harmonic relationships in terms of real, identifiable social roles. This context enables a more complex reading of the claims and analysis Kinkel offers in the final portion of her letter.

Kinkel devotes the remaining pages of the eighth letter to the promotion and harmonic justification of studying contemporary composers, namely, Mendelssohn and

Chopin. To comprehend the true artistic value of these two "outsider" composers,[298] students and teachers alike must be able to understand their historical and harmonic context. Mendelssohn, though the main figure of other essays and lectures by Kinkel, provides only a short detour in *Eight letters*—by way of his still well-known "Songs Without Words"—highlighting ability of music alone to convey emotional *and* political messages. Calling song nr. II in the second volume (allegro di molto in Bb minor) a "sort of song of triumph" and "song of freedom," Kinkel writes, "good thing pure music without words [*Tonsprache*] is like Sanskrit to the German police, otherwise they would have forbidden such a rhythm."[299] In this statement, Kinkel illustrates music's capacity as a source of communication, even for something so politicized it would have been forbidden. The use of the word *Tonsprache* (literally, tone-language), additionally reinforces music's expressive ability to those who truly know and understand it.

Chopin reveals an even deeper level of expression in music, according to Kinkel. As she turns to one of the most influential composers in her life, Kinkel's discussion of Chopin centers on his harmonic innovation: the redemption of the quarter tone. A harmonic value that escapes notation, the quarter tone falls between semitones, the closest distance western music recognizes in the chromatic scale (e.g. C to C#). Kinkel makes the case for Chopin's quarter tone in an historical argument that outlines the development of dissonance throughout western musical history. Where once the third of a chord "was considered an unbearable dissonance," she explains, it is now the

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[298] Although Kinkel does not note this explicitly, at the time she was writing, both Chopin and Mendelssohn were doubly excluded from a German canonical standard. Chopin because he was a French composer of Polish descent, Mendelssohn because he was Jewish, and both because they were still living.

[299] Ibid, 73. ("Gut, daß für die deutsche Polizei die reine Tonsprache Sanskrit ist, sonst würde sie solch einen Rhythmus verbieten.")

cornerstone of harmony.[300] Just as the introduction of the third was, the introduction of the quarter tone will be a musical "revolution."[301] Suggesting that the true goal of music is to move closer and closer to the infinitely close intervals of "natural sounds,"[302] Kinkel tells her readers, "emancipate the quarter tones, then you will have a new world of sound!"[303]

Echoing the familiar language of nineteenth-century Germany—revolution and emancipation—Kinkel's case for the quarter tone enables readers to reevaluate the world of sound in her opening anecdote. The introduction of the quarter tone would completely disrupt the harmonic bourgeois family—Herr Tonic, Frau Dominant, and their children—and require a wholly new configuration of these relationships. By advocating for the emancipation of a figure that will spark the next harmonic revolution, Kinkel also suggests the total upending of bourgeois social values. As the climax of a pedagogical text for mothers and daughters, these claims not only offer a view of a world that could be, but also empower women to be the ones who lead the revolution.

Emancipation of the Educated (musicking) Woman in *Musical Orthodoxy*

Music pedagogy was not an isolated practice for Kinkel, but also a narrative theme employed in many of her literary works. In the 1846/49 novella *Musical Orthodoxy*, whose representation of music in salon culture was the central focus of

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[300] Ibid, 76. ("denn Terzen galten für unerträgliche Dissonanzen.")

[301] Ibid, 77.

[302] Ibid, 79. ("Naturlauten")

[303] Ibid, 78. ("Emancipirt die Vierteltöne, so habt ihr eine neue Tonwelt.")

Chapter 2, music pedagogy exists on two levels: that of the instructor and of the student. The story of a young, talented pianist, Ida, who moves from a rural town to a big city to further her music education, *Musical Orthodoxy* illustrates both Kinkel's experience of the realities of working as an instructor and her pedagogical values for a holistic music education. After being fooled and taken advantage of by the aristocratic salon's superficial interest in music in the first two sections, Ida begins the third section alone and unable to practice or perform. A fellow musician and friend of Ida's former salon patrons, Herr Sohling, helps Ida return to strength via a complete musical education not as her teacher, but rather as her musical colleague. Together the two musicians help each other achieve their full musical potential and build a relationship on mutual respect and intellectual cultivation. Via Ida's pedagogical journey in *Musical Orthodoxy*, Kinkel creates a literary space that demonstrates the capacity of a holistic musical education to enable the emancipation of musicking women from the performance of femininity and empower them to take on a greater cultural and intellectual role through music.

This final section opens with the group of professional musicians sharing their horror stories as private instructors, such as the anecdote in the opening of this chapter. Suddenly, one member of the group recalls a "laconic" ad for piano instruction that the group had seen and laughed at, an ad that belonged to Ida. "How pretentious is it though," asks another member, "that a completely unknown girl, who was trained by an unknown teacher, from a little nowhere town, comes here to give lessons."[304] Here,

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[304] Kinkel, *Musikalische Orthodoxie*, 268. ("Welche Prätension ist's aber auch, daß ein völlig namenloses Mädchen, von einem namenlosen Lehrer gebildet, aus einem Winkelstädtchen gebürtig, gerade hierher kommt, um Unterricht zu geben.")

talent is not the only requirement for nineteenth-century music instructors. To validate their musical ability, they needed either to be trained by well-known masters or be well-established in social circles whose aristocratic members could provide references. This necessity of status is repeated when Herr Sohling finds the young musician and suggests that her lack of lessons could be due to the state and location of her apartment. "We artists are unfortunately dependent on the favor of the upper classes for our income and must comply with their demands," Herr Sohling informs Ida, reinforcing the importance of class and class relationships in music education.[305] At a time when music-making was moving out of aristocratic control, Kinkel critiques the system that kept music pedagogy bound to the patronage of the wealthy. For students and teachers alike, this dependent relationship meant music functioned as a display of class in the service of aristocratic fashion instead of facilitating the cultivation of art.

As Ida and Herr Sohling embark on a musical education together with another friend, a painter, they rewrite this class-based system and create a new path for music pedagogy that fosters a cultural paradigm of artistic understanding. That is to say, Kinkel's novella provides a model of music instruction that enables students to take part in serious cultural production instead of fashionable aristocratic entertainment. Never positioned as a teacher-student relationship, Ida and Herr Sohling meet daily and discuss all aspects of music, from the works of individual composers to the fundamental constellation of melody, harmony, and rhythm. For the two musicians, the ultimate goal of musical education was to equip the student with the tools to judge music worthy of study and praise. The best lesson a musician can get from the great masters, Herr

[305] Ibid, 272. ("Wir Künstler sind mit unserem Erwerb leider auf die Gunst der Vornehmen angewiesen und müssen uns in deren Anforderung fügen [...]")

Sohling suggests, is to understand how to "rightly and keenly judge them in their shortcomings and their virtues."[306] The tools necessary for this work are not the technical abilities to perform their music, but rather the knowledge of their theoretical and historical contexts.

For women, this early model of the holistic paradigm illustrates the capacity of music pedagogy to facilitate self-expression in terms of national and cultural identity. Once again framed within the familiar debate of the modern Italian style versus the complex German tradition, Ida and Herr Sohling disparage the former, which "represents the lies in art."[307] German music, on the other hand, is like "the conversation of an educated [*gebildete*] society, that allows each voice to come in to their own."[308] Not only is music grounded in terms of nation, but it also facilitates equal participation in intellectual cultivation. Indeed, the novella pushes the holistic paradigm beyond music, suggesting that a comprehensive *artistic* education is necessary to truly understand music. Herr Sohling is such a successful teacher precisely because of his "comprehensive education [*Bildung*] that offers him thousands of analogies."[309] Adopting this method, Ida "steps into the hallowed world of the great poets of the fatherland," and reinforces the relationship between intellectual cultivation and national tradition.[310]

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[306] Ibid, 276. ("sie in ihren Mängeln und ihren Vorzügen richtig und scharf beurtheilen.")

[307] Ibid, 278. ("die Lüge in der Kunst darstellen.")

[308] Ibid, 279. ("der Unterhaltung einer gebildeten Gesellschaft ähnlich, alle Stimmen zu Geltung kommen läßt.")

[309] Ibid, 280. ("weil ihm bei seiner allgemeinen Bildung tausend Analogien zu Gebote stehen.")

[310] Ibid, 281. ("Sie trat in die geheiligte Atmosphäre der großen vaterländischen Dichter ein.")

After a year of a holistic musical education, Ida has developed into a vibrant intellectual contributor as the narration tells the reader "her new opinions just as vividly stimulated and reenergized Sohling during their discussions as his once did hers."[311] In addition to intellectual participation, Ida's musical education enables her own self-expression. This new capacity becomes apparent as the pair spend one final evening together before Sohling must take a job in a new city. Despite their many conversations together, it is only when Ida performs music with him, with her fully developed artistic understanding, that she comes to recognize her feelings for him. As such, a comprehensive education not only facilitated Ida's serious contribution to national and cultural conversations, but also equipped her with a means of truly expressing herself.

Teaching Germanness in *Hans Ibeles in London*

In Kinkel's posthumously published novel, *Hans Ibeles in London*, music pedagogy once again takes a central role. Completed shortly before her untimely death in 1858 and published first in 1862, *Hans Ibeles* tells the story of the well-known German composer and titular character, who, after his involvement in the 1848/49 revolutions is forced to move with his family to London and reestablish their life there. The semi-autobiographical story follows Hans, his wife Dorothea and their seven children as they navigate a new city, culture, and language. Although it is Hans who is the musician by trade and attempts to provide for his family by offering music instruction, it is Dorothea who embodies the methods and possibilities of Kinkel's

[311] Ibid. ("Sohling ward nun eben so lebhaft von ihrem Gedankenaustausch angeregt und erheilt durch ihre Auffassung neue Anschauung, wie sie einst von ihm.")

pedagogical practices. Teaching as a mother and not as a professional, Dorothea represents the countless mothers to whom Kinkel's *Instructions on Singing* and *Eight Letters* were directed. When Hans shows interest in sharing his profession only with his sons, who would rather enter London's flourishing industrial trades, Dorothea must take on the education of her daughters, who long to develop their musical abilities. Once more calling on the image of the bourgeois German family, Kinkel illustrates the ways music pedagogy reinforced women's position within a German national culture while simultaneously enabling them to take on a greater role in the developing cultural and national notions of Germanness over the nineteenth century.

Over the course of the novel, both Hans and Dorothea are involved with their children's musical education, however their motives for this work prove to be quite distinct. It was Hans's greatest desire, the reader learns, for his two oldest sons to "become a second generation of artists, who would make his name eternal in the musical world, like the Scarlattis and Bachs."[312] As a father, Hans's motivation for teaching his children—his sons—is grounded in his yearning to solidify his own name in music's history. Hans's oldest daughters, Milla and Nanna, on the other hand, received music lessons from their father's composition student in Germany and had only partially completed their study before the family resettled in London. In their new home, Hans begins to help his daughters "here and there, but only for a few minutes at a time, as he did not want to reduce the time devoted to his sons, who were destined to become artists."[313] When his sons turned instead to interests in business and engineering, Hans

[312] Kinkel, *Hans Ibeles*, 238. ("eine zweite Generation von Künstlern, die seinen Namen in der musikalischen Welt unsterblich machten; wie einst die Scarlattis und Bachs.")

[313] Ibid, 241. ("Der Vater hatte sich später dann und wann der Töchterchen ein bißchen angenommen, aber nur Minutenzeiger, da er den zu Künstlern bestimmten Knaben die Zeit nicht schmälern wollte.")

could not bring himself, as Dorothea had hoped, to complete Milla and Nanna's education. He had "misjudged his daughters' talent, by not taking into account their disadvantageous happenstance because of which they were neglected in favor of their brothers." This "disadvantageous happenstance" is twofold for the daughters: first, the expectations of their marriage that would never allow them to fulfill Hans's dream of preserving the Ibeles family name within music; second, the gendered assumption they embody the image of women as amateurish dilettantes, causing Hans to overlook the unjust educational disadvantages they faced.

Dorothea, on the other hand, not only wants to encourage her daughters' intellectual interests, but sees it as her maternal duty. Realizing she has more time in her schedule in London than in Germany, she faces the question: "[should I] continue to cook and sew and let strangers educate [*bilden*] my daughters, or raise my children and let strangers cook and sew for me?"[314] Choosing the latter, Dorothea recognizes the importance of the specific role of the mother in daughters' education. Echoing Hans' hopes for his sons, Dorothea takes on the musical education of her daughters, "whose motivation to learn was so great, you felt as if they were *born to be artists*."[315] Nervous about her ability to teach a practice she had neglected since marriage, Dorothea tries to recall what she observed in the boys' music lessons. Despite her intimidation, she charges forward with this mission, secretly teaching the girls what they so desired to learn and, at the same time, allowing Hans a reprieve from his professional duties.

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[314] Ibid, 247. ("Ferner kochen und nähen und von Fremden die Töchter bilden lassen oder erziehen und Fremde für sich kochen und nähen lassen?")

[315] Ibid, 248. Emphasis added. ("deren Trieb zu lernen so groß war, daß man fühlte, sie seien zu Künstlerinnen geboren.")

In addition to helping Milla and Nanna pursue their interest in music, Dorothea realizes the cultural benefits of this work:

> "Every mother enjoys all the beauty in the world and nature threefold when the adolescent mind and the innocent hearts of her children are first touched by it. Their portrayal of the nature of their homeland and customs keeps the children's love for their fatherland [*Vaterlandsliebe*] ever present, and even more powerful than the mother's words, a thousand voices of German poets and composers call from across the sea. With every song, the breath of the eternal Mother Germania keeps her youngest and furthest sprouts warm."[316]

Here Dorothea's work extends beyond her maternal duty and becomes a national and cultural duty to the Ibeles's distant homeland. Undying love for Germany is bound up in the girls' youthful sense of natural beauty. The living words of Germany's artists carry their native traditions across borders. "Every mother" that opens the passage transforms into the familiar image of "Mother Germania," a well-known image of the embodiment of Germany's cultural heritage and national future. The duty of passing on these values becomes as natural as breathing, and the children, now little sprouts, are not merely strewn across the world, but take root in their new lands, growing in the spirit of their home, Germany. As such, a mother's music pedagogy does not just provide a comprehensive musical education, but also carries cultural and national values.

Dorothea, Milla, and Nanna reveal their secret educational endeavor in the final scene of the novel, illustrating the significance of this work for not only the three of them, but the entire Ibeles family. As the girls begin to play one of Hans's own compositions with a "steady beat," "understanding," "purity," and "clarity," Hans immediately recognizes his misjudgment of his daughters. In the blossomed young women, Hans sees his own spirit reflected back at him, and he knows "that his

[316] Ibid, 261.

ambitions and accomplishments were not in vain, and that he lived on in these two artistic spirits, equal to even the best man."[317] Hans's understanding of the scene has contrasting implications for women's relationship to music pedagogy. As their teacher, Dorothea has all but been erased in favor of Hans's compositional contributions. Dorothea's role is not as an individual, but as part of a German national tradition that lives on in the mother's education of her children. As the students, however, Milla and Ninna have achieved full artistic competence. No longer the silly dilettantes Hans expected of them, they have reached a status equal to their male peers. Through music, they are able to break from the limitations of their gendered social expectations and carry on the serious, meaningful work of their father and nation before them. Creating a literary space to realize the full impact of music pedagogy for women, Kinkel illustrates the cultural and national imperative of mothers as instructors, and the opportunity for female students to become serious contributors to developing notions of Germanness.

[317] Ibid, 382. ("daß sein Streben und Schaffen doch nicht vergeblich gewesen, und daß er fortlebe in zwei dem besten Mann ebenbürtigen Künstlernaturen.")

Chapter 5

The Working Woman

When the twelve-year old Johanna Mockel implored her parents for a better piano teacher, the response of both mother and grandmother remained constant, "eine glückliche Hausfrau wird nie die größte Künstlerin beneiden, und wir haben es ja, Gott sei Dank, nicht nöthig, daß unser einziges Kind Musik zu seinem Unterhalte lernen sollte."[318] This statement illuminates many of the challenges the young Johanna faced as a girl being raised in a bourgeois German household. The goal of girl's education, according to the Mockel matriarchs, was to become a "happy housewife," a role that stood at odds with other serious artistic or intellectual endeavors. Simultaneously, their words highlight class-based values that the need to work diminished women's social value and reflected poorly on a family that could not support their own daughter. While the amateurish study of musical performance was a ubiquitous and fashionable part of nineteenth-century girl's education, it was meant to remain no more than a "Nebensache," as Johanna's mother reminds her. Instead, Johanna's education needed to build skills more befitting a young woman destined for marriage and motherhood, and so she was sent to learn how to sew and cook.

[318] Johanna Kinkel, "Hausfrau und Künstlerin."

The “offiziellen weiblichen Beschäftigungen” that Johanna Kinkel describes in her essay, “Hausfrau und Künstlerin,” illustrate both the limitations of girl’s education as well as the wide disparity between the work of a housewife and the work of an artist. Denied the education she desired in favor of training her “häuslichen Sinn,” the young Johanna explains, “ich weinte die bittersten Thränen, wenn ich zu mechanischen Arbeit getrieben wurde.”[319] Evoking the image of mindless automization, the mechanical nature of traditionally feminine duties forms the basis of Kinkel’s main critique of women’s education and work, as illustrated in the previous chapter. The “steif und symmetrisch” housewife training stands in stark contrast to the “regellosen Phantasie” of Johanna’s musical interests. Kinkel’s reflections on her childhood education and pursuit of a serious musical career depict a life-long investment in improving girl’s education—in particular, music education—and upholding high artistic standards within the musical profession. However, as foreshadowed in the essay, a tension would always remain between the feminine duties expected of a housewife and her educational and professional goals. Despite positioning the roles of *Hausfrau* and *Künstlerin* against each other in her essay, by the time she wrote it in 1853, Kinkel was both. She had been married for a decade, managing both household and children as part of her marital and maternal duties, and her musical career had long since been established in composition, performance, and pedagogy. This is not to understand her essay as a manifesto against her own situation, but rather to differentiate between the *Hausfrau* of her essay and childhood, and that of a reformed model of marriage and motherhood built on the equality of husband and wife.

[319] Kinkel, “Hausfrau und Künstlerin.”

In many ways, Kinkel's essay exhibits the emerging values of Germany's first women's movement in the middle of the nineteenth century. Recognizing the shortcomings of an education that commonly ended abruptly before the age fourteen and focused more on creating housewives than independent thinkers, Germany's first women's rights activists concentrated on enabling women's economic independence through improved education, access to career, and liberation from the fate of the *Konvenienzehe*. Regarded as one of the first leaders of the women's movement, Louise Otto-Peters shares Kinkel's concerns with the mechanical nature of women's education and work, but takes her critique one step further, writing "es liegt selten im Plane ihrer Erziehung, sie zu Hausfrauen, sondern vielmehr sie zu Puppen zu erziehen, es wird ihnen nichts um der Sache selbst willen gelehrt, sondern nur, um damit zu glänzen in der Gesellschaft – zu *Puppen* der Männer werden sie gemacht und sollten doch ihre *Gefährtinnen* sein."[320] With the image of the doll or puppet, Otto-Peters differs from Kinkel by situating education, career, and marriage not as individual hurdles to be tackled, but rather as shared symptoms of a common problem: women's total dependence on men. Ending with the term *Gefährtin*, Otto-Peters, like Kinkel, differentiates between the traditional *Hausfrau* and the wife as equal partner and companion. In this way, the goal of social reforms for women did not reject marriage as a practice outright, but rather promoted women's education and career as means to an improved model of marriage in which women, as equal partners, could better fulfill their marital and maternal duties.

[320] Louise Otto-Peters in *Frauenemanzipation im deutschen Vormärz: Texte und Dokumente,* ed. Renate Möhrmann (Stuttgart: Philipp Reclam, 1978), 47.

Both the similarities between Kinkel and Otto-Peters values and the differences between their methods are representative of the earliest years of the women's movement, in which the need for reform was widely recognized, but the approaches to reform varied widely from woman to woman.[321] Looking at Kinkel in conversation with her contemporaries exposes not only the variations among women's concepts of reform, but also the tensions between theorized ideals of emancipation and women's lived experiences. In Kinkel's case, the greatest conflict between theory and experience arises in the relationship between education/career and marriage/motherhood. While Kinkel grappled to reconcile these tensions in her writings—fictional, autobiographical, and personal letters—she also faced her peers' romanticization of her personal and professional life as the model of emancipation. Two women in particular—Fanny Lewald and Malwida von Meysenbug—considered Johanna Kinkel, and her marriage to liberal-democrat Gottfried Kinkel, to represent the idealized marriage and motherhood enabled by education and career. Indeed, Kinkel rejected traditional forms of women's education both in her childhood and for her daughters, built her relationship with Gottfried on shared intellectual interests and values of equality, and maintained a professional musical career throughout her lifetime. However, despite Lewald's and von Meysenbug's fantasies of her, Kinkel rarely portrayed the three issues—education, career, and marriage—as interconnected within the fight for women's emancipation. Instead, in her essays and literature, education stands alone as an explicit issue for women, while career is represented as a question of uniquely musical opportunities and standards, in

[321] Diethe, *Towards Emancipation: German Women Writers of the Nineteenth Century* (New York: Berghahn Books, 1998), 80. Recall also the discussion of the different modes of women's political activism discussed in Chapter 1.

turn facilitating an increasingly conservative and deeply individualized understanding of marriage.

In this chapter, I argue that Johanna Kinkel embodies the unspoken tension between theories of emancipation and women's lived experiences in the earliest years of Germany's first women's movement. I show how women such as Fanny Lewald and Malwida von Meysenbug, who were invested in reforms to education and career, tied women's intellectual development and economic independence directly to improved practices of marriage and motherhood. Kinkel's friendships with Lewald and von Meysenbug demonstrate how these women idealized her as the perfect model of an educated, working woman who excelled in her marital and maternal duties. However, Kinkel's own lived experiences—as illustrated in personal letters and represented in literature—depicts a woman unable to both satisfy her needs as a professional/artist as well as fulfill her duties as wife/mother. I claim that Kinkel's struggles to build a musical career function to eventually detach her from a collective project of advancing women's rights. As opposed to Lewald and von Meysenbug, who represent their professional aspirations as a driving force behind their interests in advancing women's rights, it is exactly Kinkel's professional interests in music, I contend, which present a specific barrier to building a career that existed both outside of and in addition to the educational and social limitations women faced. By looking at Kinkel's, Lewald's, and von Meysenbug's personal correspondences and autobiographical writing, I explore how each woman's lived experiences contributed to her social politics, where their ideologies converged and deviated, and how they understood themselves in relationship to each other. Reading Kinkel in conversation with her contemporaries highlights the specific

ways Kinkel's experiences of marriage and motherhood conflicted with her ideals of education and career.

While the previous two chapters illuminated music's capacity to expand women's participation in different realms of public life, this chapter addresses the limitations of a musical career and the specific ways it shifted Kinkel's own social principles and practices. I begin by situating Kinkel, Lewald, and von Meysenbug within the earliest moments of Germany's first women's movement and discuss how shared political beliefs and actions brought the three women into contact. Here, personal letters will provide insight not only into how each woman represented herself and her values, but also what their expectations were of each other. Turning to their interests in women's rights, I look at autobiographical reflections on education, career, and marriage in Lewald's *Meine Lebensgeschichte* (1861-1862) and von Meysenbug's *Memoiren einer Idealistin* (1875). After establishing the theorized ideal women constructed by Lewald and von Meysenbug, I examine Kinkel's attempts to grapple with the disparities between this ideal and her own lived experiences. To this end, I read Kinkel's personal letters, autobiographical essays and semi-autobiographical novel *Hans Ibeles in London* together, surveying representations of education, career, and marriage/motherhood in each medium.

The Idealization of Johanna Kinkel

Although the earliest developments of Germany's first women's movement throughout the second half of the nineteenth century were not continuous, the movement's origins can be easily traced back to the *Vormärz* period and the 1848

revolutions.[322] Marking 1848 as the beginning of the women's movement signals the political and social overlap with liberal-democratic values that facilitated a rising interest in women's rights. As outlined in Chapter 3, the general interest in issues of both human rights and class often allied women together and aligned them with Germany's liberal movement, despite wide variations in their specific political aims and modes of public participation.[323] The four main goals of this earliest women's movement, as outlined by political scientist Michaela Karl, echo the central values of the liberal movement's emphasis on equality: (1) women's right to gainful employment and free choice of career, (2) equal educational opportunities for both genders, (3) active participation in public life through political and social involvement, and (4) the equal treatment of women and men in the eyes of the law.[324] As such, by restating core democratic values through the lens of women's equality, the aims of the initial women's movement highlighted both its connection to the democratic movement as well as the movement's failure to fully represent women.[325]

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[322] Sociologist Ute Gerhard divides the first wave of the women's movement into three phases between 1848 and 1914: first, a brief two-year burst of women's social and political involvement between 1848 and 1850, where the suppression of democratic movements in the 1850s led to the suppression of women's activism; second, from 1865 through the 1880s, which witnessed the sustained development of women's networks and organizations particularly among the bourgeoisie; and third, the period of 1890 to 1914 as the "heyday of the old women's movement." In "The Women's Movement in Germany in an International Context," *Women's Emancipation Movements in the Nineteenth Century: A European Perspective,* eds. Sylvia Paletschek and Bianka Pietrow-Ennker (Palo Alto: Stanford University Press, 2004), 106.

[323] Boetcher Joeres highlights that for many of Germany's nineteenth-century women, "gender was often implied or conflated with class," (*Respectibility and Deviance*, 81). Möhrmann divides supports of the women's movement into two camps, determined largely by a more radical or more moderate stance on the role of marriage. ("Vorwort," in *Frauenemanzipation im deutschen Vormärz: Texte und Dokumente*, 11). Stanly Zucker, on the other hand, points out the individual interests and goals as the differed among the various women (Zucker, *Female Civic Activism*).

[324] Michaela Karl, *Die Geschichte der Frauenbewegung* (Stuttgart: Philipp Reclam, 2011), 28-30.

[325] Gerhard describes the frequent exclusion of women from political participation within the liberal as both a disappointment as well as an organizing factor for women activists. Ibid, 107.

The letters between Johanna Kinkel, Fanny Lewald, and Malwida von Meysenbug offer one avenue of witnessing the ways women understood and worked to realize these goals. Indeed, the political foundation of the women's movement in the liberal-democratic movement is what brought Lewald and von Meysenbug into contact with Kinkel in the first place. The women's correspondences provide both reflections on their political values and, in particular, women's place in them. Illuminating how they reckoned with their different gendered ideals in conversation with each other offers insight into their personal images of the model emancipated woman. As literary scholar Ruth Whittle has shown, the self-stylization of the different writers as well as the idealized image both Lewald and von Meysenbug projected onto Kinkel reveal much more about how each letter-writer understood the ideal emancipated woman than how much the woman addressed likely embodied it.[326] As such, examining the letters provides a foundation not only for the women's relationship with each other, but also where their values and interests began to diverge in a post-revolutionary environment. While Kinkel's biography has been well established in Chapter 1, a brief biographical sketch of Lewald and von Meysenbug will help situate their letters within the values and goals of the earliest phase of Germany's first women's movement.

Born in 1811 and 1816, respectively, both Lewald and von Meysenbug were born under different family names, the former's change due to her family's conversion from Judiasm in the late 1820s, the latter when her father was granted the title of nobility in 1826. Both from large families—Lewald the eldest of nine and von Meysenbug the second youngest of ten—neither woman married in her early life, choosing instead to

[326] Whittle, "Die Neue Frau."

pursue professional interests. Lewald maintained a prolific and successful career as a writer, with works that explicitly thematized social issues faced by women, in particular marriage and divorce. With more radical liberal and socialist politics, von Meysenbug became an early and active supporter of women's rights, eventually dedicating her life to advancing women's education and never marrying before her death in 1903. Lewald, who maintained a public affair with the married Adolf Stahr for almost a decade, eventually married in 1854, never having children before her death in 1889.

Having learned about the Kinkels and their commitment to liberal national ideals from Gottfried's former student, Theodor Althaus, Malwida von Meysenbug was eager to send her first letter to Kinkel on October 16, 1849. Immediately, von Meysenbug expresses an admiration for both Kinkel and her husband and creates an image of Kinkel as the embodiment of the idealized liberal woman, a "hochherzige[s] Weib," who "[liebt] das Vaterland noch höher als sein eigen Glück [...]"[327] Emphasizing Kinkel's role as wife combined with an unwavering commitment to political ideals, von Meysenbug sees her as, in Whittles words, "the model of an emancipated woman."[328] Her admiration for Kinkel only increasing throughout their correspondence, von Meysenbug eventually praises, "Sie allein sind alles, was die neue Zeit fordert," explaining that Kinkel's mastery of the "Doppelberuf des Weibes von Gattin und Mutter und Weltbürgerin" could prove to the world that "die Emanzipation des Weibes [...] dazu wesentlich beitragen wird, den neuen Völkermorgen zu schaffen [...]"[329] Again,

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[327] Malwida on Meysenbug, Letter to Johanna Kinkel on October 16, 1849 (ULB S2165).

[328] Whittle, "Die neue Frau," 258.

[329] Malwida von Meysenbug, *Briefe and Johanna und Gottfried Kinkel, 1849-1885,* ed. Stefania Rossi (Bonn, 1982), Letter from 11 July 1851, 75.

highlighting Kinkel's role as wife and mother, von Meysenbug's description reinforces her values in these traditionally feminine duties. The emancipation of women—achieved through loyal service to both family and society—represented a fundamental necessity of forward social progress. In this way, von Meysenbug's regard for Kinkel is rooted not in Kinkel as an individual, but in Kinkel as the model of a broader collective of emancipated women.

In contrast, Lewald—who met Kinkel in person before establishing a relationship in letter writing—crafts a much more personal exchange with Kinkel, in which her social and political values play out in how she relates to Kinkel not as part of a larger community, but as a friend. Lewald cultivates this level of familiarity already from the opening lines of the first letter sent to Kinkel, when she writes, "man muß selbst viel erlitten haben, um sich über den Brief eines glücklichen Menschen so freuen zu können, wie ich über den Ihren."[330] Here, Lewald compares the suffering both women have endured as the only way to truly understand the happiness now shared. In this way, Lewald situates herself and Kinkel as individuals, whose connection is built from a unique bond, rather than from a shared belonging to a broader community of women. Lewald leans on this tone of familiarity to highlight their shared experiences as working women, when she writes of their infrequent correspondences, "wir wißen Beide zu gut, wie nöthig wir unsere Zeit brauchen, als daß wir uns zu entschuldigen brauchten, wenn wir einander nicht Briefe schreiben ohne besondere Anlaß."[331] Lewald's reassurance illustrates not only a shared struggle that bonds the two women on a personal level, but also an appreciative sympathy for the high demands placed on women maintaining

[330] Fanny Lewald, Letter to Johanna Kinkel on May 24, 1851 (ULB S2426).

[331] Fanny Lewald, Letter to Johanna Kinkel on April 22 1856 (ULB S2426).

careers alongside, in Kinkel's case, raising a family. The familiarity in tone and language that runs throughout Lewald's letters constructs the image of an intimate friendship built on a shared understanding of each other and each other's experiences as working women that extends beyond letters.

Contrary to the idealized image as mother and professional that von Meysenbug and Lewald construct of Kinkel, her own letters suggest a much different experience balancing her duties as mother, wife, and working musician. In many ways, Kinkel illustrates what feminist scholar Sarah Ahmed calls "doing the homework."[332] That is to say, as opposed to Lewald and von Meysenbug who uphold the theoretical understanding that women's emancipation exists in the cultivation of both education/career and marriage/motherhood, Kinkel brings that work home, trying to navigate it in her day-to-day life. Importantly, as will become clear throughout this chapter, in Kinkel's lived experience of this mode of emancipation, she does not become a model of its success (the image of her Lewald and von Meysenbug so desperately cling to). Instead, by living out what her peers have only theorized, Kinkel reveals the near impossibilities of it.

In her responses, Kinkel depicts a woman overwhelmed with maintaining a household, raising children, and desperately trying to find paying work as a musician to maintain the family's finances. In a letter to Lewald from 1852, Kinkel explains, "der Unterricht der Kinder und meine häuslichen Geschäfte absorbiren fast ganz meine freie Zeit. Außer einem Heft Solfeggien und einer Novelle habe ich nichts geleistet."[333] Here,

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[332] Ahmed, *Living a Feminist Life* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2017), 7.

[333] Johanna Kinkel, Letter to Fanny Lewald on August 13, 1852. Lewald, Fanny, *Zwölf Bilder nach dem Leben: Erinnerungen von Fanny Lewald* (Berlin: Verlag von Otto Janke, 1888), 15.

Kinkel illustrates the additional obligations she faces as a wife and mother on top of her career, unlike the (at the time) unmarried Lewald. Further emphasizing the toll of marital and maternal duties on her professional life, Kinkel famously writes in another letter, "ich bin mit allen meinen Talenten lebendig begraben, nur noch eine Pflichtmaschine."[334] Kinkel situates the duty of motherhood in direct opposition to her own talents and goals. Doing the minimum she can to withstand the weight of others' needs, Kinkel is reduced to no more than a mechanical reproduction of daily duties.

Despite highlighting these differences from her correspondent, Kinkel reciprocates the intimate understanding of personal experience that Lewald maintains, when she writes, "Alle Damen, die nicht arbeiten, nicht schriftstellern, pressen ihre Freunde zur Korrespondenz. Und weil Sie das nicht thun, habe ich allein den Trieb an Sie zu schreiben."[335] Strikingly, this sentiment of female comradery appears only once throughout her letters. Unlike her correspondents, who highlight Kinkel as the model of womanhood, Kinkel herself rarely explicitly connects the experiences and challenges she depicts in her letters to her gender. Although Kinkel's correspondences to von Meysenbug remain unknown, it is clear that by the time she begins writing Lewald in 1851, having already emigrated to London, Kinkel's interests and values have begun to shift away—albeit not completely—from larger political goals to focus on her career and duties at home.

Theorizing the Emancipated Woman

[334] Johanna Kinkel, Letter to Fanny Lewald on November 25, 1851, (Lewald, *Zwölf Bilder*, 12-13). (Emphasis added)

[335] Johanna Kinkel, letter to Fanny Lewald on May 15, 1856 (Lewald, *Zwölf Bilder*, 24).

Near the end of their lives, Lewald and von Meysenbug both published works reflecting on their political and social values through the lens of autobiography. In contrast to their letters, which provided a platform to process events and ideals as they occurred and in conversation with (generally) like-minded correspondents, the temporal distance between event and writing of autobiography enabled writers to situate their life stories within a larger social context. Therefore, as literary scholar Ruth Ellen Boetcher Joeres suggests, "The autobiographically narrated life may well be viewed as exemplary [...] which removes it somewhat from its uniqueness as an account of an individual life."[336] According to Boetcher Joeres, the autobiographer's ability to choose how much and which contexts to bring into their narrative, allows their reader to understand them either as unique individual or as exemplary of a collective. Lewald and von Meysenbug each rely heavily on the social and political contexts from which they wrote to inform the representation of their younger selves as part of a collective movement of women vying for greater social, political and legal freedoms. On a fundamental level, Lewald and von Meysenbug both saw economic independence as the solution to women's oppression. However, their different experiences with education, career, and marriage as represented in their autobiographical works impacted not only how they understood women's oppression, but the path they sought in overcoming it. Reading Lewald's and von Meysenbug's autobiographies in conversation illuminates how they perceived and portrayed core values theorized within the women's movement.

[336] Boetcher Joeres, *Respectibility and Deviance*, 93.

In Fanny Lewald's monumental autobiography, *Meine Lebensgeschichte*, the shortcomings of girls' education impacted women far beyond their childhood and in every different facet of their lives. As the oldest of nine children and sister to several brothers, the differences between girls' and boys' education stood out to Lewald from a young age. Happy and successful in school, Lewald found little pride in the constant refrain that her talents had been wasted on a girl. Not only did this sentiment lead to a "brennenden neid" of her male peers, but also, Lewald explains,

> "ich hatte eine Art von Geringschätzung gegen die Frauen. So töricht das an einem Kind von neun Jahren erscheinen mag, und so unberechtigt es in meinem besondern Falle war, lag doch der Ursprung zu diesen Gedanken nicht in mir selbst. Von jeher hatten Fremde, wenn sie meine fähigkeiten lobten, mit einer Art von Bedauern hinzugefügt: 'Wie schade, daß das kein Junge ist!'"[337]

At nine years old, Lewald received the message loud and clear: women are less capable and less valuable than men. As such, Lewald's admission to an early prejudice against her own gender reveals the ways men and women alike held and perpetuated such biases, even indirectly. Looking back on this period in her life, Lewald laments that if she had been as "tüchtig vorgebildet" as young boys, "hätte mir neben einer wirklichen Beschäftigung eine Menge gründlicher Kenntnisse erwerben können, die mir später in hohem Grade nützlich gewesen sein würden."[338] Here, Lewald succinctly ties together her full thesis on education: the opportunity for girls to receive an education equal to her male peers provides the necessary foundation from which to build a better life.

The same contempt for the double standards held for men and women also motivated Lewald's interest in women's freedom to work. In regard to the professional

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[337] Fanny Lewald in *Frauenemanzipation*, 14.

[338] Ibid, 24.

arena, Lewald notes two levels in particular, on which such discrepancies played out: in the social expectations placed on men versus women as well as in the unequal reception of men's and women's work. Of the former, she charges, "während man es für einen jungen Mann als eine Sache der Ehre ansieht, sich sein Brot zu erwerben, betrachtet man es als eine Art von Schande, die Töchter ein Gleiches zu tun."[339] Lewald's claim here demonstrates the same concern of Kinkel's mother and grandmother in "Hausfrau und Künstlerin," that a woman's need to work implied her family's inability to care for her financially. By replacing the specific action with "ein Gleiches" at the end of the sentence, Lewald further highlights the incongruency between the "Ehre" for men and "Schande" for women in pursuit of the same work.

Should a woman overcome the social hurdles of these expectations, however, she finds herself still subject to the evaluation of her work based first and foremost on her gender. Despite the existence of many valuable pieces of literature from women, Lewald explains, critics assume "für die Unbedeutendheit einer Frau sei das Geleistete gut genug, sei das Nichtgelungene zu entschuldigen."[340] Here, Lewald illustrates the same prejudice against women that she learned in school as a child functioning on a broader social level and impacting women's access to serious work. Incongruously, however, both men and men's approval play a strong role in Lewald's description of her own path to independence through her career as a writer. Her cousin, August, must validate and legitimize her talent as writer before she is able to seek permission from her father to leave home unmarried and pursue a career as a writer. Additionally, when describing a

[339] Ibid, 177.

[340] Ibid, 192.

conversation with women who marvel at the author's freedom, Lewald positions herself and her career against other women by writing, "sie waren mir lächerlich und beklagenswert in ihrer Unfreiheit und in ihrer automatenhaften Beschränktheit."[341] Instead of identifying and condemning the social barriers that women face—barriers Lewald knew all too well—Lewald criticizes the women themselves, thereby elevating herself as a unique case of a woman worthy of equality with men.

In her own autobiographical work, *Memoiren einer Idealisin*, Malwida von Meysenbug similarly grapples with topics of girls' education and women's work. Unlike Lewald, though, who offers concrete examples of her early education to provide evidence of its shortcomings, von Meysenbug focuses on her transition to adulthood, in the moments where she admits, "ich fühlte das Ungenügende meiner Erziehung mit tiefer Pein."[342] In particular, von Meysenbug associates her greatest intellectual growth with the meeting of the ardent liberal nationalist Theodor Althaus, who influenced her more radical social politics. When introduced to the idea of the *Volkserziehung*—or recognizing and nurturing a common *Volk* in a shared national image—von Meysenbug remarks immediately, "die Notwendigkeit, diese Erziehung auch auf die Frauen auszudehnen, wurde mir klar."[343] In this way, the inclusion of women was, on the one hand, an inherent and obvious extension of the national ideal, and, on the other, a generally overlooked component requiring specific action. Indeed, the idea of achieving and maintaining their democratic ideals without explicitly and actively educating and

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[341] Ibid, 196.

[342] Malwida von Meysenbug, *Memoiren einer Idealistin*, 10th ed. vol. 1 (Berlin: Schuster & Loeffler: 1906), 218.

[343] Ibid, 246.

including women from the very beginning was absurd to the author, who asks, “wie könnte ein Volk sich selbst regenerieren und freiwerden, wenn seine eine Hälfte ausgeschlossen wäre [...]?”[344] Consistent with her personal letters, von Meysenbug’s insistence on the necessary and fundamental role of women to achieve her democratic vision for Germany represents the most radical connection of women’s rights to political values of all three women.

In addition to properly educating women, von Meysenbug not only saw the right to career as a necessary landmark on the path to emancipation, but also sought ways to dedicate her own career towards directly advancing future generations of women. In this way, von Meysenbug positions herself as a member of a larger community of women spanning generations, writing “mein Geist ist nicht mein Geist, sein eigentliches Wesen ist der universelle Geist.”[345] Contrary to Lewald, her duty is not to herself and her own career, but rather to nurture and advance the rights of all women and, by extension, the development of the national ideal. Accordingly, von Meysenbug’s career in women’s education is a direct reflection of her values of the collective advancement of society. Declaring her goal to help women achieve emancipation through education and work, von Meysenbug accepted “einer edeln, fruchtbringenden Tätigkeit” at the Hamburger Frauenhochschule in 1850. The school shared the same objectives towards the advancement of women’s rights as von Meysenbug: “die ökonimische Unabhängigkeit der Frau möglich zu machen durch ihre Entwicklung zu einem Wesen, welches zunächst sich selbst Zweck ist und sich frei nach den Bedürfnissen und Fähigkeiten seiner Natur

[344] Ibid, 246.

[345] Ibid, 173.

entwickeln kann."[346] Although she would only be in this position for a short time before political exile forced her emigration to England, the school represented an ideal synthesis of von Meysenbug's liberal national values and aims for women's rights by highlighting the connection between women's education and professional opportunities as well as positioning both as a collective, multi-generational project of economic independence.

In many ways, Malwida von Meysenbug's *Memoiren einer Idealistin* reflects Lewald's conclusions on women's education; namely, that, if brought to the same standards for both young boys and girls, education represented the most significant key to women's social advancement. Indeed, no matter how varied their specific experiences of education, Lewald and von Meysenbug both shared one core belief: improved education was the only means for women to eventually seek their own careers and maintain a new level of independence. Reflecting on her own path to becoming a "selbständigen Ganzen," Lewald laments, "daß man den Frauen auch heute noch jene gründliche, wissenschaftliche Schulbildung, jene Erziehung für ihren Beruf versagt;"[347] and von Meysenbug ties her professional aspirations to this belief: "ökonimische Unabhängigkeit war mein heisser Wunsche; ich bedachte ernstlich, ob ich dann nicht eine schule für das Volk gründen und nach meinen Ansichten organisieren könne."[348] Although Lewald and von Meysenbug clearly viewed their individual careers as well as their path to success from different perspectives, both women relate improved

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[346] Ibid, 298.

[347] Lewald in *Frauenemanzipation,* 18.

[348] Malwida von Meysenbug, *Memoiren einer Idealistin*, 4th ed. vol. 2 (Berlin: Schuster & Loeffler: 1899), 308.

education to goals of a gainful career that, as von Meysenbug points out most directly, could lead to economic independence. The advantages of financial autonomy were manifold in ways that both opened new opportunities for women—for example, allowing women to take active roles in public life in line with the goals of the women's movement—and allowed women to avoid undesired certainties—namely, the *Konvenienzehe*—as a necessity for economic survival.

It would be impossible to fully capture each woman's interests in reforming education and career opportunities for women, however, without looking to a third concept: marriage. Importantly—and although Lewald herself personified an explicit exception—both women understood motherhood to be a direct extension of marriage, and therefore rarely disentangled women's roles as wives and mothers in their discussions. As such, both women suggested that education and career progressed marriage practices in two specific ways for women: first, the economic independence gained from employment enabled women to avoid the fate of a *Konvenienzehe*; second, women's intellectual development and work experiences served to make them better partners and mothers of Germany's future generations. Lewald and von Meysenbug both staunchly agreed on the abolishment of the *Konvenienzehe*, despite neither having experienced it firsthand. Additionally, while both women advocated for the positive effects of education and career on women's role as wives and mothers, their conclusions remained purely theoretical, as neither woman ever had children of their own.

Although Lewald, who first married at age 43, and von Meysenbug, who never married, managed to escape the fate of the *Konvenienzehe*, its threat was a constant presence throughout their youth. In their respective memoirs, both women describe situations in which they refused such proposals. After a definitive rejection, von

Meysenbug reflects on her own immaturity, remarking, "eine solche Natur, in die Form der Ehe gegossen, nimmt die Gestalt an, welche eine andere Individualität ihr gibt, und bleibt demnach ein abhängiges Geschöpf, das durch die Augen eines anderen sieht und nach dem Willen eines andern handelt."[349] Reinforcing her belief in the freedom of individual thought, von Meysenbug recognizes the loss of the self in such situations where women are compelled into marriage before being able to (or given the proper tools to) develop and assert their own sense of self. As such, the *Konvenienzehe* condemns woman to life of total intellectual as well as economic dependency.

When Lewald's parents determine she has reached the age to find a husband, the author describes the feeling of being reduced to "eine elende Ware" being brought to the market for sale.[350] Unconvinced by her father's argument that a woman "in einer nicht ganz glücklichen Ehe noch immer besser daran ist als ein altes Mädchen,"[351] Lewald responds,

> "wenn er die Absicht gehabt hätte, aus mir nichts zu machen als eine der Frauen, die sich für ein gutes Auskommen einem Manne verkaufen, so hätte er mir die Erziehung nicht geben dürfen, die ich von ihm erhalten, so hätte er mich nicht selbständig werden lassen müssen. Mir sei eine Dirne, die sich für Geld verkaufe, wenn sie nichts gelernt habe und ihre Familie arm sei, nicht halb so verächtlich als ein Mädchen, das genug gelernt habe, um sich zu ernähren, und sich für Haus und Hof verkaufe."[352]

Echoing von Meysenbug, Lewald views her objections through the lens of independence. She evokes her own image of the woman as a commodity in her comparison to the prostitute, whose own actions might be excused, in the eyes Lewald, given her

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[349] von Meysenbug, *Memoiren*, v. 1, 89.

[350] Lewald in *Frauenemanzipation*, 151.

[351] Ibid, 154.

[352] Ibid, 155.

disadvantage of no education and no wealth. Women who have received the education and opportunities to achieve self-reliance, on the other hand, have not merely the right, but the *duty* to object such marriage arrangements.

Disavowel of the *Konvenienzehe,* however, does not mean a complete disavowal of marriage for Lewald and von Meysenbug. In fact, both women explicitly connect improved women's rights to an increased standard of marriage and motherhood, advocating for marriage based in equality and partnership, rather than on dependency. Having had her heart broken by the only man she truly loved, von Meysenbug idealizes the equality between husband and wife in terms of reciprocal love. She recalls her earliest romanticized understanding of marriage as "die Vereinigung zweier Seelen in allem, was sie Höchstes und Erhabenstes in sich tragen."[353] Undifferentiated, the two souls share the same ideals and values at the deepest level. Taking a slightly more practical, but not altogether unrelated stance on equality and partnership, Lewald goes even one step further than von Meysenbug, claiming that ultimately it is women's *independence before marriage* that will make her the ideal *partner in marriage*:

> "Die Hauptsache aber ist, daß die Ehe nur dann in ihr wahres Recht eingesetzt, nur dann zu der idealen Schönheit erhoben werden kann, die freierwählte, freigeschlossene Verbindung gleichberechtigter Gatten zu sein, wenn sie aufhört, für die Frauen den einzig möglichen Weg zu materieller Versorgung und zur Begründung ihrer gesellschaftlichen Geltung darzubieten."[354]

Underscoring the necessity of entering the marriage freely and totally, Lewald calls for the equal rights of both partners in the marriage. With the shared plural form "Gatten," instead of differentiating wives with the feminized plural "Gattinnen," Lewald asserts

[353] von Meysenbug, *Memoiren*, v. 1, 81.

[354] Lewald in *Frauenemanzipation,* 181.

that marriage cannot succeed when it is women's only means to independence, economically or socially.

Beyond their status as equal partners in marriage, educated and self-sufficient women are also better prepared for Motherhood, according to Lewald and von Meysenbug, particularly in service of an imagined German nation. Calling motherhood "die höchste Aufgabe des Lebens,"[355] and "die wichtigste Aufgabe für den Staat,"[356] Lewald and von Meysenbug, respectively, center the personal and political dimensions of motherhood within the female experience. Motherhood's highest value to the idealized German nation was to create and raise citizens, a job that required educated, independent thinkers to sustain lasting national progress. Pointing out the inconsistencies between women's limited education and national aspirations for future generations, Lewald proclaims, "man hat kein Recht, große Charaktere und Vaterlandsliebe, hohe Gesinnung und Mannesmut von einem Geschlechte zu verlangen, das zum großen Teil von kindischen Frauen, von unreifen Müttern erzogen worden ist."[357] Here Lewald names both the idealized values of future German national citizens, as well as—in specifying what they should not be—the qualities of competent and effective mothers. Importantly, von Meysenbug assures her readers that women's emancipation is not a call for women to leave "die besonderen Pflichten ihres Geschlechts," explaining, "ich hatte ja im Gegenteil die Frauen würdiger machen wollen, Frauen und Mütter zu sein, durch die Entwicklung ihrer geistigen Fähigkeiten [...]"[358]

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[355] Ibid, 19.

[356] von Meysenbug, *Memoiren*, v. 1, XL.

[357] Lewald in *Frauenemanzipation*, 20.

[358] von Meysenbug, *Memoiren,* v. 1, 378.

Through their full intellectual development, women would no longer simply birth the next generation, but directly shape their beliefs and values.

In many ways, improved models of motherhood represented the goal of educational and career reforms for women according to Lewald and von Meysenbug. For both women, the economic freedom sought through education and career reaped its greatest rewards in the dissolution of the *Konvenienzehe*, the opportunity for equal partnership, and the ability to more directly shape future generations of German citizens via motherhood. However, while both women's lives attested to the need and benefits of improving education and women's access to careers, their interest in the effects such reforms would have on marriage and motherhood remained purely speculative for them. Both women idealized the emancipated woman through her marital and maternal duties, but the constructed image lacked the personal evidence and lived experience that underscored their case for improving education and access to careers. As such, Lewald's and von Meysenbug's emancipated woman never needed to reconcile her intellectual and economic independence with her marital and maternal duties of service to others. Achieved through the successful balance of education, career, and marriage, emancipation remained, to both authors, a theoretical state of womanhood.

Emancipation in Practice

As their correspondences have already shown, Lewald and von Meysenbug looked to their friend Johanna Kinkel as the model of their image of emancipation. As an educated woman who built and maintained a successful career, similar to her two friends, Kinkel stood out in their eyes by also fulfilling the role of wife and mother.

Additionally, Kinkel largely thematized education, career, and marriage in her writings, advocating for similar reforms for women as Lewald and von Meysenbug. Importantly, however, the musician and author differed from her friends' critiques in two fundamental ways. First, she largely restricts her scope to the realm of music. Focusing on women's paradoxical relationship with music—they were expected to be proficient at performance while, at the same time, denied access to meaningful music education or serious musical production—Kinkel positions her critique as not merely a question of economic freedom for women, but also one of artistic freedom.

Second, she writes exclusively through the lens of lived experience without the theoretical speculation that pervaded Lewald's and von Meysenbug's work. In regard to education and career, Kinkel uses personal anecdotes in a similar way to her friends, but unlike them, she avoids using her experiences to springboard into a collective narrative. More significantly, however, Kinkel approaches marriage and motherhood not as a constructed end goal but as a lived reality, illuminating incongruencies and tensions between the independence sought in education/career and the service required of marriage/motherhood in ways that her friends' theories could not. Although Kinkel rarely used the word emancipation (and never in regard to herself), her life and her reflections on her life suggest an irreconcilable dissonance between the reforms fought for and the idealized image of emancipation Lewald and von Meysenbug projected onto her.

In comparing Kinkel's interest in and understanding of the reforms of the first women's movement to her peers, it is important to note the difference in source material available. Without a single, comprehensive autobiographical text, Kinkel's thoughts must be gleaned from a collection of shorter autobiographical essays (both published

and unpublished). Additionally, Kinkel provides one other significant source in the form of her only novel, the semi-autobiographical *Hans Ibeles in London*. The novel, which has been discussed in part in other chapters of this dissertation, is no less effective in illustrating the tensions Kinkel faced between her career and her marital/maternal duties. The titular Hans, a well-established composer and concert director in Germany must learn to adapt his artistic endeavors for economic survival in their new home as political exiles in London, while his wife Dorothea struggles to balance her household duties with the task of raising their seven children. It is not only these musical and domestic challenges, but also the marital, social, and economic realities presented in the novel that directly reflect many of the Kinkel's experiences. In this way, the fictional setting of this semi-autobiographical work offers a unique interlocuter for Kinkel's limited autobiographical account, in which the tensions between her lived reality and an aspirational existence are brought to the foreground, further highlighting the incompatibility of Lewald's and von Meysenbug's theorized emancipation and Kinkel's lived experiences.

Education

As shown at the beginning of this chapter, Kinkel describes her early pursuit of a musical education in the posthumously published essay "Hausfrau und Künstlerin." Immediately in the first paragraph, Kinkel's portrayal of the shortcomings of education stands apart from Lewald and von Meysenbug in its focus on the "mangelhaften

Unterricht im Klavierspielen."[359] Von Meysenbug, for example, considers what a "Wohltat" it would be for society if, instead of wasting time learning piano, girls developed other abilities, "die sie zu einem höchst nützlichen Mitgliede der Gesellschaft gemacht hätte."[360] This is not to say that Lewald and von Meysenbug disparaged Kinkel's career or talents or saw no value in music, but rather that they felt the compulsory inclusion of basic performance in girls' education regardless of talent or interest took away valuable time for other intellectual pursuits. Notably, Kinkel shares their concern. Recalling the educational guide *Acht Briefe an eine Freundin über Clavier-Unterricht* from the previous chapter, Kinkel devotes an entire section to the ways in which mandatory musical practice has impeded women's intellectual and social development. She concludes that section by warning mothers to not waste their time on the "Modesucht" of music lessons, if their daughters do not express "natürliches Talent oder große Vorliebe dafür."[361] In "Hausfrau und Künstlerin," Kinkel clearly delineates between this forced music education and a true study of music. When her mother tells her that her current piano lessons are good enough for a dilettante, the young Kinkel exclaims, "ich mag keine Dilettantin sein, ich will Künstlerin werden!"[362] For Kinkel, girls' education—in particular, music education—must avoid falling into the trap of the fashionable at the expense of meaningful, intellectual development.

In the end, however, Kinkel's essay proves more critical of the values of her matriarchal influences as exemplary of the bourgeois housewife, rather than on the

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[359] Johanna Kinkel, "Hausfrau und Künstlerin."

[360] von Meysenbug, *Memoiren,* v. 2, 61.

[361] Kinkel, *Acht Briefe*, 44.

[362] Kinkel, "Hausfrau und Künstlerin."

failures of girls' education. When a pair of English concert directors happen to hear young Kinkel's talents on the piano, they implore her mother to send her to study and perform in London where they guarantee a student of her ability would earn a significant amount of money in only a few years. Kinkel's mother, however, who believed sending her daughter away for years would be "unverzeihlich unmütterlich," refuses the offer, confounding the Englishmen who, "konnten sich nicht genug über den unpraktischen Sinn einer deutschen Hausfrau verwundern, die die Aussicht auf ein Vermögen ausschlug, blos um eine Künstlernatur in eine Köchin umzuwandeln."[363] At the climax of the essay, it is not the shortcomings of Kinkel's education that hold her back, but rather the maternal principles of her mother, who—much to the bewilderment of the Englishmen—values raising her daughter to a traditional standard of femininity above all else. After this exchange, Kinkel's musical journey skips to the end, telling readers, "es ist trotz tausenden von Hindernissen dahin gekommen daß [Musik] mein legitimer Lebensberuf ward."[364] This abrupt conclusion further emphasizes the focus on the critique of the *deutsche Hausfrau* rather than Kinkel's specific educational barriers. While her critique of the monotony and tedium of "offiziellen weiblichen Beschäftigungen" echoes Lewald's, the shortcomings of Kinkel's education function to set a scene rather than to exemplify a problem.

In *Hans Ibeles in London,* Kinkel similarly connects girls' education to maternal duties, both as the instructional objective as well as the mother's role in determining her daughter's educational trajectory. In addressing the latter, Dorothea—the novel's main protagonist, a steadfast and industrious housewife—presents an alternative to Kinkel's

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[363] Ibid.

[364] Ibid.

own mother as represented in “Hausfrau und Künstlerin.” Where Kinkel’s mother considers it her maternal obligation to raise a decent housewife despite her daughter’s musical talents, Dorothea’s recognizes the role a mother can play in fostering the development of her children’s true talents, regardless of traditional gender roles. When the Ibeles daughters’ musical education is halted, Dorothea considers the trade off in taking on this task herself in addition to her household chores. Unable to balance both, she asks herself what is better, “ferner kochen und nähen und von Fremden die Töchter bilden lassen oder erziehen und Fremde für sich kochen und nähen lassen?”[365] While the previous chapter offers an extended analysis of Dorothea’s role in her daughter’s musical education, important here is the mother’s choice to prioritize intellectual and cultural development over traditional domestic training. Here, Kinkel rewrites the role of the German housewife, not as a woman who perpetuates a gendered educational divide, but rather as one who takes an active role in promoting her children’s true interests and talents.

Beyond Dorothea, Kinkel’s novel introduces another female character dedicated to reforming girls’ education on a broader level. Meta Braun—the German governess to the superficial, dilettantish Madame Blafoska—introduces a perspective on girls’ education even more radical than Dorothea. At the recommendation of Dorothea, Meta writes down her own educational upbringing as well as her experiences in navigating life as a governess in London. The resulting manuscript becomes an entire chapter in the novel, one of two instances where Kinkel shifts the prevailing third person narrative voice to a first person, in this case, the voice of Meta. In her own words, the governess

[365] Kinkel, *Hans Ibeles*, 245.

describes her early education with words that recall the educational critiques of both Lewald and von Meysenbug.[366] Similar to Lewald, for example, Meta compared her educational experiences to those of her four brothers and was constantly met by a similar refrain: “es sei schade um mich, daß ich ein Mädchen sei, denn ich hätte mehr Talent zum Studieren als alle meine Brüder.”[367] Regardless of her talent or interests, Meta has no choice but to suffer the fate of her sex unable to pursue a meaningful intellectual education. When her father insists, “das Weib ist bestimmt, Gattin und Mutter zu werden,” Meta repeats her critique of the existing gendered educational divide, exclaiming, “warum dumme Jungen zum studieren genötigt und talentvolle Mädchen davon abgehalten würden, sah ich keinen haltbaren Grund.”[368] Meta explicitly rejects the traditional gender roles that require boys to cultivate intellectual endeavors and girls to train in domestic chores, regardless of interest or ability. The character of Meta offers a broader analysis of the failures of girls’ education than Kinkel’s autobiographical essays by looking beyond the role of music education. Importantly though, the obvious connection between the character of Meta and the real life figures of Lewald and von Meysenbug function to obscure the novel’s depiction of these beliefs as Kinkel’s own or as a representation of her friends’ principles.

Career

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[366] It is well known that the character of Meta Braun, a radical woman committed to a career in education and educational reform, is based on Malwida von Meysenbug, however it is worth noting there are several moments of overlap with Fanny Lewald as well.

[367] Ibid, 143.

[368] Ibid. Interestingly, this line is repeated in a slightly altered form when referring to her oldest daughter’s education in a letter Kinkel sends to family friend Carl Schurz only days before her death. She writes, “warum aber ein Mädchen von Hannchens Denkkraft zu mechanischen Arbeiten verurtheilt werden sollte, weiß wohl Niemand einen Grund.” Letter to Carl Schurz an Nov. 9, 1858.

Although Kinkel certainly shared Lewald's and von Meysenbug's belief that women had a basic right to take on serious work, she rarely represented her own professional journey—or the musical profession more broadly—in terms of gendered inequalities. Unlike Lewald and von Meysenbug who both came to their careers later in life (Lewald published her first novel at the age of 32, von Meysenbug did not leave her family to join the Hamburger Frauenhochschule until the age of 34),[369] Kinkel premiered her first composition, *Die Vogelkantate,* to much success at age 19. After a brief interruption from a failed marriage, Kinkel continued her musical pursuits in earnest for the rest of her life. Two main autobiographical essays exist that deal extensively, if not exclusively, with her musical career. First, the posthumously published "Memoiren" (1856/1886), which was discussed at length in Chapter 2, details her move to Berlin at the invitation of Felix Mendelssohn with the hopes of improving her musical career through training and building professional networks. Second, the unpublished essay "Musikalisches aus London" (ca. 1853), the full essay from which the excerpt "Hausfrau und Künstlerin" was taken, illustrates the challenges of (re)building a musical career in exile. As I have shown above as well as in previous chapters, Kinkel did not shy away from discussing or representing issues of gender, especially in the world of music, in either her essays or fictional literature. Therefore, the absence of this lens applied to her own career in either essay is particularly striking.

Written originally in 1856, Kinkel's "Memoiren" represents her earliest serious musical endeavors in Berlin between 1836 and 1839 as a journey to becoming a true

[369] The understanding of "late in life," is of course relative to nineteenth-century standards, as the author of this dissertation will also be 34 at the time completing her degree and still feels like she has plenty of time ahead of her.

artist rather than to becoming a professional. Avoiding any mention of a "Beruf," Kinkel measures her musical success in Berlin through the distinction between "Dilettantin" and "Künstlerin." In one scene, Kinkel shares a composition with her music teacher who is so impressed he tells her to publish it. As the composer reflects on her joy of the piece's reception, she makes no mention of professional success, but rather artistic achievement, writing, "ich fühlte nur, daß ich jetzt die Linie überschritten hatte, die den Dilettantismus von der Künstlerwelt scheidet."[370] Significantly, as opposed to the noun forms "Dilettantin" and "Künstlerin" which appear more frequently throughout Kinkel's writing, here she chooses nouns that avoid the gendered suffix *-in*. In this way, Kinkel represents her exceptionalism specifically as an artist, and not as a woman.

Having succeeded as a true artist, Kinkel decides to end her work as a music instructor, noting, "von nun an empfand ich es als eine Sünde gegen die Vernunft, wenn ich mein Talent an Aufgaben verschwendete, deren Lösung mich nicht innerlich befriedigte."[371] Again, Kinkel situates her work not in terms of profession or career, but rather as an artistic commitment. Referring to "Aufgaben" and "Lösungen," Kinkel's previous work is depicted as personal duties rather than professional obligations. Additionally, the standard she sets is not for tasks that lead to professional advancement or success, but rather, tasks that bring inner joy. Throughout "Memoiren," Kinkel portrays her musical endeavors neither in terms of a career nor her identity as a woman, focusing instead on her goals of serious artistic achievement.

Between the end of her time in Berlin in 1839 and the family's move to London in 1851, Kinkel does not thematize her musical career in autobiographical writings,

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[370] Johanna Kinkel, "Memoiren," 267.

[371] Ibid, 267.

focusing instead on political and personal events. In her unpublished essay "Musikalisches aus London," however, music reenters her writings in a markedly different tone than "Memoiren." Now a married woman with four young children starting a new life in political exile, Kinkel abandons the resolution she made in Berlin to not waste time on tasks that do not bring inner joy in favor of the necessity of earning money to help provide for her family. Unfortunately, Kinkel notes, the political unrest across Europe has led to "eine Mengen von talentvollen Leuten" seeking asylum in London and driving up the competition for musicians' work. As a result, she writes, "wir Lehrer [bestimmen] jetzt nicht mehr den Preis unsrer Leistungen wie ehedem, sondern die Schüler stellen uns die Bedingungen."[372] Here, Kinkel emphasizes the loss of artistic autonomy she found in Berlin. Warning her readers that a successful musical career is a hard-earned path in London, Kinkel explains that even the "gebildeten Ausländer" must have exceptional references and several years of personal wealth to rely on to build a career "auf dem üblichen Wege" by giving concerts and lectures. Without the requisite capital and patience, though, musical careers are built on the arduous task of giving private lessons.

Unlike the artistic focus in "Memoiren," Kinkel's description of music in London is almost completely career-driven, with the focus on the economic realities and the artistic sacrifices necessary for professional success. Similar to "Memoiren," though, Kinkel makes no mention of gender as a factor in a musician's success or failure in London. It is the musician, not the man or woman, who must make their way through London's competitive professional musical environment.

[372] Johanna Kinkel, "Musikalisches aus London," (ULB S2391).

Kinkel carries over the absence of a gendered critique of the musical profession in her *Hans Ibeles in London* by removing women from the musical profession almost entirely. Indeed, the experiences Kinkel describes in her autobiographical work enter the novel through the titular character Hans Ibeles. By displacing her own artistic and professional reality onto a male character, Kinkel reinforces her suggestion that the challenges the musician faces have no basis in gender, but rather are a product of the field itself. Throughout the novel, we see Hans follow the same trajectory as Kinkel between *Memoiren* and "Musikalisches aus London;" that is to say, when Hans begins his musical career at the beginning of the novel, he is committed to developing as an artist, a goal which he comes to abandon as the economic realities of life in London force him into the more mundane tasks of music education. In the narration, Kinkel highlights this change for Hans by shifting away from identifying him as "der Künstler" in the beginning, to— after he resolves to take work as a teacher—simply "Ibeles," or otherwise "der Komponist" or "der Dirigent." By emphasizing what should have been his musical career, the latter two terms illustrate a continued rejection of Hans' new professional endeavors despite begrudgingly taking on the duties. Indeed, after a year and a half in London working to avoid this fate, Hans surprises his friends by admitting, "auf die Hoffnung sich als Komponist oder Dirigent durchzusetzen, hatte er resigniert."[373] Much like Kinkel herself, who had built a musical career as a composer and director before turning to music lessons out of economic necessity, Hans accepts the "Rückkehr" of his artistic pursuits into the tedious labors of instruction.

[373] Kinkel, *Hans Ibeles*, 175.

As a teacher, Hans reflects the same educational goals as Kinkel; namely, to avoid teaching dilettantes for the sake of amateurish entertainment, but rather to help nurture true musical talents in a deeper understanding of the art. Disparaging the notion of music education as a fashionable necessity of women's education, Hans notes, "am Ende von fünf Studen hatte er zwanzig schwarze, blonde, braune, und fuchsige junge Damen gesehen, deren Individualitäten wie die Farben eines Tulpenfeldes vor seiner Erinnerung schwankten."[374] The droves of young women seeking music lessons did not stand out as individual talents, but rather blurred together as indistinguishable objects hoping to simply be admired.

In one particularly striking passage, Hans echoes the central critique of Kinkel's pedagogical text *Acht Briefe an eine Freundin*, which, as described in the previous chapter, argues against the prevailing mechanistic pedagogical methods of girls' music education. Explicitly naming Carl Czerny as a perpetrator of such techniques (something Kinkel does in her notes, but avoids in the published text of *Acht Briefe*), Hans remarks that any young woman who has exclusively studied the composer "wird zu einem lebendigen Drehorgel."[375] Despite the hopeful teacher's goal to introduce music theory as a "Gegengift" to Czerny, he finds himself bound to the superficial and dilettantish desires of his students, just as Kinkel explains in her own essay. By portraying her own professional struggles in the male character of Hans, Kinkel implies that the central challenges of a professional musician exist separate from concerns of gender.

Despite these seemingly "genderless" representations of the musical career, Kinkel did grapple with the effects of women's identity and questions of traditional

[374] Ibid, 201.

[375] Ibid, 193.

femininity in regard to women's professional work more broadly. The clearest example comes in an 1858 letter to family friend Carl Schurz, dated only a few days before her untimely death. Offering an update on all of her children, the writer and mother dwells on her eldest daughter's education opportunities compared to her own. Kinkel recalls her own misfortune in suffering a "feminine" education, explaining, "was ich in der Kunst später geleistet habe, verdanke ich nur meinen Ungehorsam, und mußte es mit vielen Schmähungen über Unweiblichkeit und Widerspenstigkeit gegen den Beruf einer bürgerlichen Tochter büßen."[376] This testimony represents one of the few moments in which Kinkel not only relates her musical endeavors to her experience as a woman, but also explicitly acknowledges the impact of gender on career. Later in the letter, Kinkel references a recent pamphlet "Woman and Work" by Barbara Leigh-Smith.[377] In her short but telling remark on the essay, which argues for women's right to join the workforce and maintain gainful employment even throughout marriage and motherhood, Kinkel praises, "ich finde es ein treffliches Buch, *kurz*, und Frauenzustände von der richtigen Seite beurtheilt."[378] Although her own words are brief, her endorsement of Leigh-Smith's essay exposes Kinkel's maintained investment in women's right to work.

The most revealing statement in the letter, however, comes when Kinkel intimates explicitly to Schurz what her essays had only implied in their lack of gendered critique: "ich erkenne von vornherein keine männlichen und weiblichen Arbeiten (im

[376] Johanna Kinkel, Letter to Karl Schurz on 9 November 1858, in *Germanic Review*, January 1930, 184.

[377] Barbara Leigh-Smith, "Women and Work: Women Want Professions/Professions Want Women." *Friends' Intelligencer*. June 18, 1859; June 25, 1859; July 2, 1859.

[378] Kinkel, Letter to Schurz, 187.

gewöhnlichen Sprachgebrauch) an, sondern Arbeit der Intelligenz und mechanische Arbeit."[379] In this statement, Kinkel echoes her arguments against the mechanistic methods of girls' education, thereby connecting such early training to expectations of women's labor. Before Kinkel ever wrote these words to Schurz, Meta Braun speaks them into existence in *Hans Ibeles*. Rejecting any notion of work defined along gender lines, Meta explains, "Es gibt meiner Überzeugung nach keine männlichen und weiblichen Arbeiten, sondern es gibt mechanische Arbeiten und Arbeiten der Intelligenz."[380] Connecting Meta's statement to Kinkel's letter to Schurz illustrates a much deeper connection between the young governess's more radical ideology and the author herself than observable in any of Kinkel's autobiographical essays. Additionally, by sharing these words, Kinkel brings her own values of women's emancipation into conversation with those of her peers—also explicitly referenced through the character of Meta—more directly than anywhere else in her letters, essays, or fictional literature. For Kinkel, women would not achieve the right to work—as Lewald suggested—by elevating women's work to the same level as men's, nor—as von Meysenbug advocated—by recognizing men and women's work as necessary complements, but rather by abolishing notions of inherent masculinity or feminity in work all together. To this end, Kinkel's representation of work varies significantly from her peers by circumventing concerns of the gender of the worker in order to interrogate the quality of the work.

As Meta further explains her search for employment, she continues to offer moments for the author's own voice to come through. In particular, Meta is one of only two characters throughout the novel who address the music profession through the lens

[379] Kinkel, Letter to Schurz, 185.

[380] Kinkel, *Hans Ibeles*, 143.

of gender, exploring the opposing expectations of men and women in musical careers. Herself having been rejected from no less than three governess positions due to her lack of musical proficiency, Meta is surprised to find an advertisement for a piano instructor which offers one guinea per hour for a "Meister," but only five schillings for a "Dame." When she questions such a difference based only on the gender of the instructor, she is told, "daß ein für allemal ein Mann besseren Unterricht gebe als eine Frau."[381] As Meta reflects on this assessment, her disapproval highlights not only the particular disadvantages women face in the professional world, but also the maintained belief in the inherent differences between men and women:

> "Hinsichtlicht der Musik habe ich einen großen Zweifel, ob dies allgemeine Urteil wahr sei. Ich kann nicht glauben, daß eine männliche Intelligenz ersten Ranges sich im neunzehnten Jahrhundert zum Klavierlehrer hergeben möchte. Männer, die sich mit Sängeln und Klimpern begnügen, können unmöglich die Befähigung zu einem großen Lebenszweck in sich fühlen; hingegen einer Frau bleibt außer der Ehe kein höherer Wirkungskreis übrig, als Künstlerin oder Lehrerin zu werden. Ich denke mir also, daß die starken weiblichen Geister mit den schwächeren männlichen auf diesem Gebiete ringen."[382]

Meta bemoans the circumstances that require intellectually strong women to compete with less capable men while upholding notions of natural differences between genders. The most intelligent of men, destined for great intellectual contributions, could never be satisfied with the menial tasks of a music teacher, whereas women are nowhere as effective—outside of marriage, of course—than in the role of artist or teacher. As such, Meta becomes a radical advocate for the paradoxically conservative views upheld by the earliest women's movement in the mid-nineteenth century. Additionally, as I have shown above, the amalgamated figure of Meta enables different voices of the women's

[381] Ibid, 156.

[382] Ibid, 156-157.

movement to come together. In this passage dealing directly with music, it is reasonable to see Kinkel herself shining through, as she grapples with questions of gender in the music profession in ways she avoided in her personal writings.

Although Meta questions the politics of gender in work as a musician, there is only one character in the novel who portrays a woman's experience within the profession. Introduced as the wife of an unnamed German political exile, Madame Gerhard, who was at one point a great singer in Germany, only briefly encounters Hans and Dorothea to describe her departure from the profession. Forced to leave her career after marriage at the bidding of her groom's rich aunt, Madame Gerhard admits that even caring for two children did not hinder the "Fortübung ihres Sängertalents" thanks to her husband's wealth.[383] Although the singer confesses that music lost much of its appeal without a stage or an audience, it is not until the family's exile to London that Madame Gerhard bitterly resigns herself to work as a seamstress, abandoning music completely. When Dorothea asks what has stopped her from resuming her musical career in London, even if only to help earn money for the family, the former singer cites the same barriers Hans encounters: the lengthy and arduous path to an artistic career, a disinterest in lowering herself to the role of music teacher, and the low potential for earning as a musician compared to the cost of pursuing the work.

Notably, Madame Gerhard does not cite her gender once in lamenting what she sees as unsurpassable obstacles to a professional musical career. Dorothea, however, observes a different effect of domestic duties on herself, a self-proclaimed "alte Hausfrau von Profession," compared to the once-professional singer. Dorothea thinks to

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[383] Ibid, 70.

herself, "die Mannigfaltigkeit der häuslichen Geschäfte, die ihr Leben füllten, [hatte] sie immer munter erhalten, während Madame Gerhard, nachdem sie aus ihrer eignen Tätigkeit gerissen war, nur am Nähtisch ihren Tag zubrachte, ins Grübeln verfiel und alle Energie einbüßte."[384] While Dorothea highlights her own joy experienced in fulfilling the varied duties of the housewife, she points to an irreconcilable tension between professional and domestic work for a woman who could no longer pursue the passion of her career. This brief interaction with Madame Gerhard (who has only the one appearance in the novel) functions, on the one hand, to reinforce Kinkel's suggestion that the experiences of a musical profession existed beyond critiques of gender, and, on the other, to illustrate a perceived incompatibility of professional and domestic work.

Marriage/Motherhood

Where Kinkel deviates most plainly from her peers' advocacy for women's rights is in her understanding and representations of marriage and motherhood. While the idealized relationship between education/career and marriage/motherhood remained largely theoretical for Lewald and von Meysenbug, Kinkel offers a practical application of the relationship as she experienced it. Both the *Konvenienzehe* as well as balancing professional aspirations with marital and maternal duties were intimate parts of Kinkel's personal history. Lewald, who married first in her forties and never had children, and von Meysenbug, who never married nor had children, represent the

[384] Ibid, 74.

relationship in theoretical terms, in which better wives and mothers represent the end goal of improved education and career.

Through Kinkel, however, the reciprocal relationship between education/career and marriage/motherhood is exposed. That is to say, where marriage and motherhood represents an end point for Lewald and von Meysenbug, Kinkel's experiences provide practical evidence into the "happily ever after," demonstrating the direct impact marriage and motherhood have on a woman's career and the toll this impact can take on the educated, self-sufficient women Lewald and von Meysenbug envisioned as mothers. As such, Kinkel's representations of marriage and motherhood offer a glimpse into her own lived experiences. Significantly, neither Kinkel's direct experiences with the *Konvenienzehe* nor the professional challenges marriage presented ever entered her autobiographical writings. Instead, in the inconsistent representations of career and marriage in personal letters and her novel, it is clear that Kinkel was not of one mind in understanding their relationship nor her role in it.

The *Konvenienzehe* was not merely a threat as it had been for Lewald and von Meysenbug, but the reality of Kinkel's first marriage at age 22 to the bookseller Johann Paul Mathieux. Although we can only speculate as to why (perhaps the extreme physical and psychological toll six months with Mathieux took on her, perhaps the emotional turmoil of an almost decade-long fight for divorce, or perhaps even the public scrutiny she faced in her later engagement to Gottfried), Kinkel very rarely mentions this first marriage in her autobiographical essays and provides absolutely no extended reflection on it in any writing.

We know the circumstances of the marriage mainly through an essay published by her daughter Adelheid von Asten-Kinkel in 1902. Asten-Kinkel explains that Kinkel's

parents urgently advised their daughter to accept the proposal, which they believed would secure Kinkel, "eine angenehme Existenz."[385] In her own words, Kinkel describes agreeing to the first marriage in a letter, "nicht wie man ein freudiges Liebesbündnis eingeht, sondern wie man zu bestimmter Zeit etwa ein Amt antritt, weil es so hergebracht."[386] Devoid of love or any sense of partnership, Kinkel viewed her first marriage as a service to her parents, whose greatest concern was the financial well-being of their daughter. Within weeks, Mathieux revealed himself to be physically and psychologically abusive to the young Johanna, who moved back to her parents "mehr tot als lebendig" after only six months.[387] It would be another eight years—due mostly to Mathieux's unwillingness to consent—before Kinkel was granted a legal divorce. Kinkel addresses her first marriage only once in any of her autobiographical essays. In the political essay, "Erinnerungsblätter aus dem Jahr 1849,"[388] Kinkel writes, "meine erste Heirath ist die Geschichte von Tausenden meiner Schwestern, und das nothwendige Resultat unserer socialen Zustände."[389] In this single sentence, Kinkel positions herself within a collective of women, her "sisters," who have also fallen victim to the *Konvenienzehe* by virtue of their social situation. Aligned with Lewald and von Meysenbug, Kinkel understands the *Konvenienzehe* to be a direct result of women's poor education and exclusion from serious professional participation.

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[385] Adelheid von Asten-Kinkel, "Johanna Kinkels Glaubensbekenntnis," in *Deutsche Revue* 27, no. 4 (1902), 46.

[386] Johanna Kinkel, Letter on August 29, 1842, in "Glaubensbekenntnis," 56.

[387] Asten-Kinkel, "Glaubensbekenntnis," 46.

[388] An extended analysis of this essay can be found in Chapter 3 of this dissertation.

[389] Kinkel, "Erinnerungsblätter," 98.

Kinkel addresses her disapproval of the *Konvenienzehe* directly in *Hans Ibeles* through the marriage of Hans and Dorothea. The pair, who have built a relationship on mutual love and respect, not only openly disparage the concept of the *Konvenienzehe*, but also model the type of love and relationship Kinkel promoted in its place. When the young couple discusses the possibility of marriage, Dorothea remarks, "es gibt nur eine Mißheirat [...] und das ist die Verheiratung ohne Liebe! Welche Qual war es für mich, wenn die Mutter einen solchen Fall as Vernunftheiratung bezeichnete und als Tugend empfahl!"[390] Reflecting Kinkel's experience of her first marriage coming at the bidding of her own parents, Dorothea points out the futility of a marriage based in anything but love. Sharing her sentiments, Hans offers a play on the term "Vernunftheirat"—a common synonym for *Konvenienzehe*—when he responds, "es gibt auch nur eine Vernunftheirat, und das ist die Ehe aus Liebe. Sind die Heiraten, die man gewöhnlich Vernunftheiraten nennt, nicht die allerunvernüftigsten von der Welt?"[391] There is nothing sensible or rational about marrying for "irgendeine Zufälligkeit" such as social position or money as was expected in the *Konvenienzehe*. Instead, love remained the only reasonable motivation for marriage, and not merely a superficial love, but rather a love built on "die innersten Neigungen und Grundsätze der beiden Menschen."[392] Here, the emphasis is not on the particularities of husband and wife or masculine and feminine roles, but rather on shared values of equality in both partners.

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[390] Kinkel, *Hans Ibeles,* 23.

[391] Ibid.

[392] Ibid.

Despite the tensions that develop in the relationship between Dorothea and Hans to drive the novel to its conclusion, their early ideals and understanding of love stay with them throughout. In one scene, as the couple build new friendships in London, Hans once again highlights values of equality and partnership in marriage when he reminds Dorothea that it is only the wife who can be a husband's best friend, "denn sie allein hat gemeinschaftliche Interessen mit ihm."[393] At the novel's climax, when a sort of intellectual infidelity and the threat of emotional infidelity tests their marriage, Dorothea realizes in the couples' reconciliation, "es war ihr ein viel tieferes Seelenbedürfnis, den Mann, den sie liebte, zu achten, als ihn zu besitzen."[394] As if written as a mantra for the author herself—who often expressed insecurity in her marriage (albeit for good reason, as Gottfried Kinkel's infidelity was well-known in the later years of their marriage)—Dorothea reassures herself that love is about mutual respect, not control. In the next scene, Hans reciprocates with an act of repentance. The novel's final image, which depicts Hans kneeling before Dorothea and crying with his head against her heart, offers Hans' acknowledgement of his failures in their marriage and reflects his wife's recommitment to a relationship built on shared values of love and respect.

The emerging nineteenth century value of love based on equality in marriage, as historian Stephanie Coontz has shown, also meant new duties and obligations, particularly for women, who took over the management of the household and typically

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[393] Ibid, 181.

[394] Ibid, 377.

became mothers.[395] According to Kinkel's letters, the duties of marriage and motherhood drew her further and further from the serious musical work of her early life as the years passed. In an 1856 letter to Lewald, Kinkel depicts a typical morning in her house as both parents and all four children prepare to start their day. Gottfried, "athemlos," rushes out to work, handing his wife letters to send off between commands of "geschwind!" und "schnell, schnell!" One after another, all four children enter a chorus of "Mama, ich brauche" pens and paper, a new copy book, an eraser, a tissue. The cook needs a list of vegetables to buy while the house maid informs Kinkel that her first music students have arrived. Ending the scene, Kinkel exclaims, "Oh, ich bin nicht halb fertig," listing several more tasks that she must complete throughout the rest of the day.[396] In this brief scene, Kinkel illustrates each role that she must inhabit in her daily life: dutiful partner, responsible mother, industrious housewife, and professional music instructor. The tempo of the scene renders the overwhelming stress of Kinkel's day-to-day obligations palpable to the reader. While she does not complain of the mounting list of obligations in her letter, it is clear that Kinkel considers this typical morning unsustainable for one woman to manage day after day.

Comparing her letters between different correspondents, Kinkel creates an inconsistent narrative around her professional and maternal duties. To Lewald, for example, Kinkel depicts the children as "eine Erhöhung des Zaubers" of her love for Gottfried, while "die Schattenseite unseres Lebens ist das Uebermas von Arbeit, das die

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[395] Stephani Coontz, *Marriage, a History: How Love Conquered Marriage* (New York: Penguin Books, 2005), 153; 167.

[396] Kinkel, Letter to Fanny Lewald on May 25, 1856 (Lewald, *Zwölf Bilder*, 28-29).

Nothwendigkeit uns auferlegt."[397] Here, it is the necessity of work that takes away from the joy of family life. However, in a letter to Carl Schurz, Kinkel constructs a different version of this relationship:

> "Seit die Kinder herangewachsen sind, kann ich meine gewohnte Thätigkeit wieder aufnehmen, und ich lerne und studire just da weiter, wo ich Anno 44 stehen blieb, nur mit etwas reifern Ansichten. Seit ich wieder ordentlich lese, und auch hier und da etwas schreibe, lebe ich innerlich auf und finde mich wieder. Man wird wahrhaftig auch mit krank daran, wenn man aus dem geistigen Element in dem man zu schwimmen gewohnt war hinaus aufs Trockene gesetzt ist. Es ist die Gefahr, die an alle Hausfrauen in der Mitte des Lebens herantritt. Man darf sich den Pflichten freilich nicht entziehen, die die Babies uns auferlegen, aber wir sollen *diese* Pflichten nicht so lieb gewinnen, daß sie uns eine Leere zurücklassen, wenn sie endlich aufhören."[398]

Unlike in her letters to Lewald, Kinkel tells Schurz that it was the obligations of motherhood that impeded her work, and not the other way around. The birth of her first child in 1844 represents the moment in which her serious professional endeavors fully halted for fourteen years. Now on the other side, Kinkel recognizes the loss of her true self during this period in which she was removed from her "geistigen Element" to perform her maternal duties. On top of the many physical illnesses Kinkel suffered throughout her marriage, the inability to pursue her intellectual interests causes its own spiritual sickness. Kinkel ends her passage by underscoring the collective experience of housewives, who all face the dangers of losing themselves to their marital and maternal duties. While the responsibilities of childcare cannot simply be overlooked or ignored, the key—Kinkel explains where Lewald and von Meysenbug, for lack of experience, could not—is to retain some sense of self outside of one's new identity as wife and mother.

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[397] Kinkel, Letter to Fanny Lewald on January 16, 1854, (Lewald, *Zwölf Bilder*, 15).

[398] Kinkel, "Letter to Schurz," 185.

In her novel's heroine, Dorothea, Kinkel creates the ideal housewife that she could not see in herself. Indeed, while direct references to Kinkel herself can be located in both Meta Braun—her concern with women's education and access to careers—and Hans—his struggle with maintaining a professional musical career—very few such connections can be made between Dorothea and the author aside from both being married women raising multiple children, hardly a unique characteristic at the time. However, the description of Hans and Dorothea as a couple clearly echoes Kinkel's (as well as many of their acquaintances') description of herself and Gottfried. Hans, just as Gottfried, was a "schöner junger Mensch," married to a woman, "die erstens nicht schön und zweitens, *horrible dictu*, gewiß ein paar Jahre älter als er sei."[399] Kinkel, who was often described as plain or even ugly and was five years older than her husband, undoubtedly draws a parallel between herself and Dorothea within the semi-autobiographical confines of the novel. Beyond this passing reference to her appearance and age, the comparison to Kinkel begins to wane. Unlike Kinkel, Dorothea lacks any formal musical training or talent; she participates in political discussions with her husband, but does not consider herself politically-minded; she never held a career before marriage nor does she balance any professional duties alongside her commitments to household and children. Despite these differences (or perhaps exactly because of them), Dorothea is clearly the novel's hero, praised for her diligent and unwavering dedication as wife and mother and never disparaged for her singular interest in life as a housewife. As such, Dorothea does not give readers insight into how

[399] Kinkel, *Hans Ibeles*, 23.

Kinkel understood herself as wife and mother, but rather into how Kinkel *desired* to see herself.

For Dorothea, the responsibilities of marriage and motherhood not only come naturally but also seem effortless as she navigates the changing circumstances of her family's move to London. Valuing "jeder vernünftige Zweck, der Arbeit und Selbstverleugnung forderte," above idle pleasure, Dorothea is resolute in every decision that withdraws her from the superficialities of society and ties her more and more to her home throughout the novel.[400] According to Dorothea, even intellectual pursuits must be abandoned in the name of marriage and motherhood. Readers learn early on that "Dorothea war eine so gute Mutter geworden," that she no longer read the newspaper, despite once taking great pleasure in the political debate of current events.[401] Later Dorothea reminds Hans, "dir und den Meinen zulieb übernahm ich jede Pflicht und schnitt meine Bildung in der Mitte des Lebens ab."[402] In both statements, Dorothea does not lament the discontinuation of her political or educational interests, but rather illustrates the importance of marital and maternal duties over such pursuits. In one scene, when Hans and Dorothea return from making social calls to find that their daughter, Cillchen, has fallen from a window, the housewife reaffirms her commitment to house and children above all else. "Hausfrau und Weltdame sind zwei unvereinbare Dinge in London," Dorothea tells herself as she realizes every moment away from home only allows chores to build up and her children to stray from their upbringing. Finally

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[400] Ibid, 20.

[401] Ibid, 25.

[402] Ibid, 182.

she resolves, “ich *kann* kein Visitenleben führen, weil ich meine Mutter- und Hausfrauenpflichten erfüllen *muß* und weil ich es *will*.”[403] In this passage, Kinkel, just as much as Dorothea, tries to convince herself that the sacrifices she must make as wife and mother is what she wants, an argument that will only prove persuasive within the fictional context of the novel.

As Dorothea dives into her duties as a housewife, different realities of her situation come to light. Realizing almost immediately that she needs extra help to complete all the household tasks and raise her seven children, Dorothea confronts the cultural expectations of the German housewife, which standout starkly against the standard practices of English housewives. The author addresses her readers directly in the narration writing that, “wir Deutsche” are used to working in the kitchen or otherwise always working on some domestic chore. The ideal German housewife, Kinkel explains, is an “arbeitsame und anspruchslose Frau.”[404] “Wir gehen sogar zu weit in unsrer Vorliebe für die häuslichen Tugenden,” narrator Kinkel continues, “indem wir eine geistige Nebentätigkeit für schädlich und den mäßigsten Grad von Bildung schon für Überbildung halten.”[405] Knowing Kinkel’s own interest in education and aversion to raising women only in a domestic tradition, this passage reads as, at best, a biting critique of German practices couched in a bitterly sarcastic tone. For the novel’s heroine, however, it serves only as an explanation for her continued domestic work alongside the hired housemaid despite the opposite being expected of English housewives. Whether

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[403] Ibid, 86.

[404] Ibid, 243-244.

[405] Ibid, 244.

critical or simply explanatory, the passage reinforces an incompatibility between education and household duties, between domestic values and intellectual pursuits, between marital/maternal obligations and personal achievements.

Dorothea's search for help with domestic chores additionally highlights both an enduring inequality between the working husband and the house-bound wife as well as the invisibility and underappreciation for women's work in the home. Hans, who first respects his wife's decision to dedicate her time to home and children—and who notably has never helped with either—begins to question Dorothea when she discusses hiring a second housemaid. Hans rebuts that "*zwei* Mägde weniger täten als *eine*, weil sie miteinander plauderten, und daß jeder überzählige Dienstbote auch verhältnismäßig die Hausarbeit vermehre."[406] As the discussion continues, Hans contests, "Eigentlich haben wir für zwei Mägde gar keine Arbeit, und ich begreife nicht, wie du dich und sie beschäftigen willst."[407] Having never concerned himself with the domestic duties Dorothea undertakes, Hans refuses to believe his wife's need for more help, instead resorting to gendered accusations about women's work ethic. Assuming he knows better than Dorothea, Hans even goes so far as to create a daily plan for his wife to accomplish all her work. The plan might have been plausible, Dorothea admits, if it left any room to account for even the smallest disruption, a strong likelihood when caring for seven children. Bewildered by her husband's response, Dorothea says to herself,

> "Hat mein Mann den Tag hinter sich, so weiß er wenigstens: soundso viel Schüler hab' ich unterrichtet, so viel Seiten hab' ich geschrieben. Der Maurer sieht Stein auf Stein sich zum Gebäude fügen, die Näherin kann wenigstens die Stiche aufzählen, die eine Naht machen. Aber Hausarbeit wird nie fertig oder fängt doch jeden Tag von vorne wieder an. Der Mann sieht nur, was nicht getan ist, denn das

[406] Ibid, 243.

[407] Ibid, 247.

> Getane fällt nicht in die Augen. Alle Ordnung erscheint wie eine Zauberei von unsichtbaren Händen, aber die Unordnung soll das Werk der Frau sein! Ist es ein Wunder, daß Tätigkeit ohne sichtbares Resultat ein denkendes Wesen herabsetzt und daß, wer Maschinenwerk tut, endlich wie eine Maschine behandelt wird!"[408]

Dorothea's words make visible the housework that is otherwise obscured by the very nature of it being completed. Comparing domestic chores to her husband's work, the mason, and the seamstress, Dorothea does not make a blanket statement about all of women's work, but specifically domestic work that almost exclusively fell to women. She ends by echoing Kinkel's common assertion that the monotony of domestic work turns women into mindless machines. Ultimately, the invisible labor of the housewife, unacknowledged and underappreciated by the husband, serves to fracture any sense of equality between the pair in marriage.

In many ways, Dorothea's experiences reflect the challenges Kinkel faced as she became more and more absorbed into her duties as wife and mother. While Kinkel's personal letters exhibit a quiet resentment for the domestic work that halted her intellectual and professional pursuits, Dorothea defends the housewife's labor as a worthy occupation in its own right. As such, the character of Dorothea offers both a cultural critique and a personal aspiration for the author. That is to say, on the one hand, Dorothea's character enables a serious analysis of both the invisible labor of domestic duties and the burden this work creates on the women who undertake it. On the other, where the obligations of marriage and motherhood left the real-life Kinkel overwhelmed and embittered, unable to maintain her own artistic and intellectual interests, the fictional Dorothea finds joy and fulfillment in her work, illustrating an alternative framework for women to understand their value in domestic labor. As both a

[408] Ibid, 249.

critique and aspiration, though, Dorothea reveals an irreconcilable tension between the undertaking of domestic labor and the intellectual and professional opportunities Kinkel, Lewald, and von Meysenbug advocated for.

CONCLUSION

In the week following Johanna Kinkel's untimely death in November 1858, her widowed husband, Gottfried, received a letter from their family doctor detailing the physician's last visit with the late wife, only days before her death. Citing overwhelming sadness, fatigue, and anxiety, the writer found herself, for one final time, trapped between her artistic desires and her familial obligations. The complaint that led her to call on the doctor was that "she had compelled herself to do something which was beyond her power," James John Garth Wilkinson explains, "that she had been told she could write, and had attempted it, and achieved it; but that it had been beyond her power; and she was suffering from the effort."[409] After years of maintaining the daily life she had once recounted in her letter to Fanny Lewald, balancing domestic, maternal, and professional duties, Kinkel had lost the energy to find pleasure even in writing. The fatigue from her attempts to continue any creative output led to "sleepless nights" and "mental suffering," that in turn affected her ability to care for her family. She could no longer, Wilkinson recounts, "make her home happy enough for her husband and children: that she saw him come in from the fatigues of the day, and was unable to meet him as he deserved."[410] Caught in a vicious cycle between family and work, Kinkel found

[409] James John Garth Wilkinson, Letter to Gottfried Kinkel on November 19, 1858 (ULB S2663).

[410] Ibid.

herself helpless to fulfill either role successfully without bringing about total physical and emotional collapse. Notably, Wilkinson recalls his patient's reflections on her last writing project, a novel that "depicted in it some persons whom she knew." Wilkinson reports that Kinkel confided that this latest project "had not the approval of her conscience, and that it was not worthy of her." Asking her how it was unworthy, "for lack of talent, or because it would not make men better," Kinkel replied, "the latter: it would not have a good tendency; and she hoped it would not be published." [411] The work in question would be published four years after the author's death under the title *Hans Ibeles in London*.

This letter from Kinkel's doctor, recounting her last days reveals not only an uncertainty about the world depicted in her novel, but also the reality of maintaining the perfectly balanced personal and professional life she longed for. Although we cannot be certain what Kinkel meant by "make men better," this confession does indicate that the author felt the work did not reflect her own values of improving society. Perhaps in relying on an aspirational heroine over the flawed and imperfect truth or perhaps disassociating her identities as a musician and as a working woman, Kinkel worried that the novel fell short of addressing the realities and complexities of her own existence. And the reality was that her attempt to live as the idealized "emancipated" woman, the character that her friends Lewald and von Meysenbug projected onto her, led ultimately to her demise. Where her own writings—autobiographical and fictional—leave some room to question how the musician and author understood her role as both an educated, professional woman and as a wife and mother, the constant physical and emotional toll

[411] Ibid.

of balancing these identities becomes apparent in her doctor's final report. Kinkel's lived experience of the relationship between the desired reforms to education and career and the maintenance of marital and maternal duties for women exposes an irreconcilable tension that the theoretical ideals of Lewald and von Meysenbug could not capture.

Coda

In an Instagram caption posted on February 14, 2022, world-famous pop star Britney Spears reflects, “we are so lucky to live in a world where music can give us hope … identity … acceptance … and love.”[412] As a recording artist, who has faced her own very public battle for professional and personal autonomy, Spears’ words hit at the central claim of this dissertation. Whether a teen pop sensation at the turn of the millennium or a studied composer and educator in the mid-nineteenth century, music offers a platform for women to understand and assert their identity, realize and practice their agency, and contribute to broader social and cultural moments. Johanna Kinkel provides a glimpse of this function of music in the lives of nineteenth-century middle-class German women. At a time when the relationship between music and national identity was solidifying, and women were beginning to reckon with their situation in domestic life, the nineteenth-century musicking woman highlighted the particular ways in which political, cultural, and gender identity intersected and transformed through music.

Focusing on the uniquely diverse and prolific oeuvre of a single woman—Kinkel—facilitates a more comprehensive investigation into the musicking woman as a complex and autonomous figure. Bringing her work into conversation with her contemporaries

[412] Britney Spears (@britneyspears), Instagram post on Feb. 14, 2022.

illustrates that Kinkel was *not* an exceptional case, but rather a single member of a community of women with simultaneously overlapping and individual experiences. My primary sources encompass *Lieder* and literature, pedagogical music and autobiographical essays, novels, poems, and personal letters. As such, a large part of this dissertation involved combining and employing a diverse set of methodologies in the service of a single question: (how) did music afford women greater opportunity to understand themselves and their potential to contribute to cultural life? As I considered the different social roles of the musicking woman across each chapter, I began to read fiction as a work of music, Lieder as historical documents, and autobiography as literature. Applying new lenses to familiar sources enabled Kinkel to come to life as a complicated and imperfect character, worthy of study not in spite of these traits, but because of them.

My central concept of the musicking woman provides a valuable framework within and beyond this dissertation. Working against popular—but no less important—analyses of reception histories, the musicking woman is not defined by what others make of her, but rather what she makes of herself. In claiming her own legitimacy as an active participant in musical culture, the musicking woman boldly declares *I belong* — belong in the professional musical world; belong to the time and place she composes herself into; belong to the social, cultural, and political contexts she engages in her music. Yet, with any attempt to define or categorize belonging, the necessary exclusion of an Other follows in its wake. While my chapters discussed at length how Kinkel envisions the musicking woman, it is important to point out that the composer and author maintained an explicit understanding of who the musicking woman *was not*. The most prevalent distinction among Kinkel's writings falls along the lines of the

dilettante versus the serious artist. However, it is worth noting that Kinkel also offers a few depictions of othered women in her writings along the lines of identity, not merely ability.

In the novella, *Musikalische Orthodoxie*, Kinkel personifies the artistic battle between Italian and German musical traditions in the singer, Madame Fioretta. A new guest—and musical infatuation—of Count Selvar, the Italian singer becomes a caricature of a mediocre diva. Referencing the seductive actress Philine, who delighted in spending time among the men in Goethe's *Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre,* Kinkel describes the "kecken, philinenhaften Art" of the new singer.[413] The author mocks Madame Fioretta's penchant to over-gesticulate while singing and the excessive ornamentation she adds to each melody. In a performance of exclusively Italian music, the narration reports, "kein höherer Geist war in dieser Leistung, aber ein sinnlicher Zauber."[414] In this scene, the performer, performance, and performed music overlap as Kinkel clearly articulates that the musicking woman—the serious musician—was unequivocally German.

Kinkel reaffirms the necessity of Germanness in *Hans Ibeles in London* adding a significant additional requirement for the musicking woman: whiteness. In the second half of the novel, the dark-skinned former slave girl, Livia, is introduced to members of Madame Blafoska's salon, including Hans Ibeles. Attending the gatherings against the wishes of his wife, Hans forms a connection with the young woman, who entertains the group by staging dramatic and haunting seances. Unbeknownst to the characters, the reader eventually learns that Livia is not who she says she is, but rather the English woman Mrs. O'Nalley, darkening her skin in disguise after charged with the murder of

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[413] Kinkel, *Musikalische Orthodoxie,* 260.

[414] Ibid, 261.

her husband. At the novel's climax, Dorothea suspects her husband's participation in the salon and attends a gathering. For the same evening, Hans and Livia have prepared a musical performance. Dorothea observes as the truth of her husband's deceit comes to light together on stage with the "dämonisch schöner dunkler Weiberkopf."[415] The salon's regular attendees are overcome with emotion from "das Wilde, Übertriebene" and the "regellose Natur" of Livia's performance.[416] However, "nur *eine* Seele war das Melodrama vorübergeglitten ohne sie zu berühren:" Dorothea's heart hardens with every note.[417] After an encore performance, Dorothea approaches the singer and surrenders a diamond and pearl necklace introduced earlier in the novel as the sign of peace and happiness between Dorothea and Hans. Livia, thinking it is simply the gift of a generous attendee, does not realize that her performance has disrupted a marriage.

In her only musical scene in the novel, Livia's performance defies the key standards Kinkel valued in the musicking woman. Although Livia impresses the members of the salon, Kinkel's criticism of the salon highlights the superficial tastes and lack of discerning musical ear, as I show in chapter two. Using words such as wild, exaggerated, and untamed, the crowd seems more infatuated with the dark-skinned performer as an exotic object than a musical subject. Rather, as the true arbiter of musicality in the novel, Dorothea— who Chapter 4 highlights as a symbol of maternal Germanness through her musical efforts—remains unimpressed and unmoved by the performance. Together, Dorothea's dismissal of Livia's performance and the reaction of the salon's attendees alienates the young performer from social integration through

[415] Kinkel, *Hans Ibeles,* 366.

[416] Ibid, 367.

[417] Ibid.

music. Additionally, Livia's ability to practice agency through music is obscured two-fold through her own deceit. On one level, she is marked as the black seductress who has stolen Dorothea's husband and is therefore dependent on his musical ability to assist her. This assessment is further complicated by the singer's secret identity, a murderess hidden under a face darkened with makeup. In the performance, Livia is reliant on the music to uphold her double deception, and therefore unable to explore her own identity and subjectivity through it.

Several days after the performance, that ended with Hans chasing Dorothea out to their carriage in an attempt to save their marriage, Livia arrives at the Ibeles house in a final attempt to appeal to Hans. However, it is Dorothea who first arrives at the door. Unfortunately, instead of invoking sympathy, Livia's theatrical tears cause only a comical effect to her audience as they wash away the dark makeup and leave trails of white skin. Too young to fully understand the situation unfolding, the youngest Ibeles daughter loudly exclaims, "Siehst du nun, Mutter, daß es doch wahr ist, daß man einem M*hren weißwaschen kann?"[418] Oblivious to the stranger's disguise, the daughter's innocence reveals the racial categorization that rejected the autonomy and agency of non-white people. The child's use of the indefinite pronoun "man" as the sentences subject shows that the action of white-washing is *being done to* her. Significantly, it is the woman's tears that lead to the child's observation, implying that the presence of emotion—evidence of human complexity—is the key to revealing the "whiteness" within. Dorothea, on the other hand, recognizes Livia's deception and meets the embittered woman with sympathy. Finding privacy from the rest of the family, Dorothea offers her

[418] Ibid, 379. The asterisk is used to denote racist language that does not need to be replicated.

guest her confidence and asks if she might bring her some water, "damit Sie die Lüge von Ihrer Stirn waschen, ehe sie über meine Schwelle wieder in die Welt treten."[419] Understanding that a white woman's face exists under the dark makeup, Dorothea equates the blackness with lies. Similar to her daughter's comments, the solution is to wash away the dark color so that she might reenter the world unburdened by her deception/blackness.

By looking more critically at the characters Madame Fioretta and Livia, I hope to show that although she largely defined herself, the musicking woman enabled the exclusion of differing identities as much as she created a space for inclusion. In the case of both characters, no matter how committed they are to their music, or how well they perform, their identities preclude them from participating as musicking women.

In this dissertation, I bring together a variety of sources and methodologies to tell the story of a woman who embraced music as a way to better understand herself, her world, and her place in it. At a time when women were questioning their role in society and Germany was on the cusp of unification, gender and nation were central categories in developing notions of identity. While my research was bound by the life and work of Johanna Kinkel, her case study presents a framework to reevaluate and redefine the cultural reach of musicking women across multiple time periods, geographic locations, and social positions. As a cultural group invested in a musical identity, German-speaking Europe offers a rich collection of un(der)explored musical contributions by women, that might enable a better understanding of the relationship between identity, gender, and nation over time. As I gesture to in Chapter 1, the central questions of this

[419] Ibid, 380.

dissertation—of the relationship between music and identity, national and cultural production, gender and agency—remain relevant into the present day. It is therefore fundamental to understand how these relationships have developed and transformed over time.

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