

Johanna Kinkel's *Trinklied für Männerchor* as a Response to Nineteenth-Century Music Criticism¹

Introduction

When Johanna Kinkel (1810–1858) published her first set of Lieder, *Sechs Lieder* opus 7 in 1838, they were received with great enthusiasm by such renowned music critics as Ludwig Rellstab (*Iris im Gebiete der Tonkunst*), Gottfried Wilhelm Fink (*Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung*) and Oswald Lorenz (*Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*). Despite this, all three reviewers included some remarks of astonishment about Kinkel's gender in their critiques, as they would not have expected such compositions to come from a woman. Johanna Kinkel's aversion to such gender biases is revealed in her memoirs, letters and many of her theoretical and fictional writings. However, the seriousness with which Kinkel approached gender discrimination and injustice can best be understood by examining Kinkel's short but significant correspondence with Robert Schumann (1810–1856). When Schumann asked Kinkel to contribute to the musical supplement of his *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*, Kinkel sent him an affectionate letter along with the wild composition, *Trinklied für Männerchor* (Drinking Song for Male Voices) in G minor, composed exclusively for the purpose of 'immensing [the reviewer] with the soft and tender'.² Here, Kinkel ironically refers to characterisations Oswald Lorenz had previously used to describe Kinkel's Lieder in reviews published by the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*. In his review of Kinkel's drinking song, Robert

¹ This article emerged from papers read at the Maynooth University Music Department Postgraduate Conference and the Annual Conference by the Society for Musicology in Ireland in May and June 2015. I am grateful to the music department and the SMI for giving me the chance to present and receive such inspiring feedback on my papers which has had a great impact on this article. Furthermore, I would like to extend my gratitude to Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Bonn; Sächsische Landes- und Universitätsbibliothek Dresden; Musikabteilung mit Mendelssohn-Archiv der Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin; the Varnhagen-Gesellschaft; Staatliches Institut für Musikforschung, Berlin; Stiftung Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin; and the Society for Musicology in Ireland for providing me with useful sources and information as well as financial support for my research, mostly in Berlin. I would also like to thank the Irish Research Council for financially supporting my research. Finally, I would like to thank Dr Lorraine Byrne Bodley for her ongoing support and inspirational comments and remarks on my research and this article.

² Johanna Kinkel in a letter to Angela Oppenhoff on 14 July 1838, cited in Paul Kaufmann, 'Johanna Kinkel: Neue Beiträge zu ihrem Lebensbild', *Preußische Jahrbücher*, 222 (1930), 48–67 (p. 55).

Schumann explains Kinkel's rather stubborn drinking song as a sign of the times and refers back to Kinkel's earlier Lieder publications and their 'musical and indeed feminine nature'.³

Using Kinkel's letter to Schumann and contemporary reviews of her early Lieder compositions as a starting point, this paper aims to analyse Johanna Kinkel's *Trinklied für Männerchor* by examining the gendered context within which it was composed and reviewed. Firstly, I will contextualise Kinkel's first Lieder opus by exploring its public reception. Secondly, I will compare the compositional and textual features of these early Lieder with Kinkel's drinking song and will argue that Kinkel attempted to avoid using musical features associated with female authorship in her *Trinklied*. Finally, I will place Kinkel's *Trinklied* within the context of the reception of her later Lieder.

Public Reception of *Sechs Lieder Opus 7* and Kinkel's Response

The first reviewer to refer to Kinkel's *Sechs Lieder opus 7* was Ludwig Rellstab in his journal, *Iris im Gebiete der Tonkunst*, who, in January 1838, voiced personal surprise about the peculiarity and beauty of these songs. In his review, Rellstab writes:

We took the liberty to include a few remarks within the announcement of these Lieder in which we declared that we consider them the most peculiar and beautiful songs we have come across recently and we promised an explanation for this judgement in today's volume. These compositions were written by a woman, which usually raises the reviewer's suspicion, an attitude which goes back to the reviewer's long and detailed familiarity with them [the compositions]. It does not matter to the reader how the reviewer came across these compositions. Enough, the reviewer of *Iris* did not listen to these Lieder with positive presumptions, but each Lied he heard moved him so much that he wanted to learn more about these songs.⁴

³ Robert Schumann, Review of Johanna Mathieux, *Trinklied für Männerchor* (1838), *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* 26 (28 September 1838), 106.

⁴ Ludwig Rellstab, review of Johanna Kinkel, *Opus 7* (1838), *Iris im Gebiete der Tonkunst*, 2 (12 January 1838), 5–7 (p. 5). Original citation: 'Wir haben uns erlaubt, der Anzeige dieser Lieder in den Zeitungen einige Worte beizugeben, worin wir erklärten, daß wir dieselben für die eigenthümlichsten und schönsten halten, die uns neuerlichst vorgekommen sind, und die nähere Rechtfertigung dieses Urtheils in diesen Blättern versprochen. Diese Compositionen sind von einer Dame, was im Allgemeinen dem Referenten kein günstiges Vorurtheil zu geben pflegt, eine Gesinnung, welcher er jedoch diesmal grade die frühere und genauere Bekanntschaft mit denselben verdankt. Das wie ist gleichgültig für den Leser. Genug der Red. der *Iris* hörte diese Lieder nicht mit günstigen Präsumtionen, wurde aber durch eins nach dem andern immer mehr dafür eingenommen, so daß er

Rellstab then moves on to a more detailed review in which he stresses the peculiar, yet agreeable and elegant melodies, challenging piano accompaniment and delightful harmony of Kinkel's Lieder. Two months later, Oswald Lorenz, reviewer for Robert Schumann's journal *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*, reviewed the same opus. Like Rellstab, Lorenz praised the peculiarity of these Lieder and made a strong assertion about the composer's gender:

The 6 Lieder by J. Mathieux reveal a very pleasant talent. Only a brief look at the accompaniment, which persistently, almost stubbornly, despises the usual style, reveals that one may expect something elegant. A more detailed analysis confirms this, but some technical contradictions raise doubts and, considering the vivid sense of beauty decorating something irrelevant, the uncertain doubtful fingering, the happy and carefree random focus on something beautiful, numerous losses of way on harmonic meanders, most importantly, however, the orthography pointing to the soft and sentimental, which is also reflected by the choice of words, we believe that we may not be mistaken to assume a Jeanette or Josephine behind the silent J.⁵

In August 1838, Gottfried Wilhelm Fink, who wrote for the *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung*, praised Kinkel's opus 7 and concluded his short review by stressing the composer's gender: 'One should buy [these Lieder] and sing them. The eighth album has just been published, and the author is supposed to be a woman'.⁶

Johanna Kinkel published many of her works under the name 'J. Mathieux', with 'J' suggesting her initialised first name and Mathieux being her married name before she divorced and married the German poet Gottfried Kinkel. The decision to initialise her first name suggests an attempt to neutralise the gender-biased way in which her Lieder were being

der Lust nicht widerstehen konnte sich recht genau damit bekannt zu machen. Die dadurch gewonnene oder vielmehr bestätigte Ansicht über den Werth derselben hat er oben ausgesprochen'.

⁵ Oswald Lorenz, review of Johanna Kinkel, *Opus 7* (1838), *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*, 20 (9 March 1838), 77–78. Original citation: 'Ein höchst erfreuliches Talent verrathen auch die 6 Lieder von J. Mathieux. Schon der flüchtige Anblick der Begleitung, die so beharrlich, eigensinnig fast, die gewöhnlichen Formen verschmäh't, erregt die Erwartung, daß man etwas Vornehmeres vor sich habe. Eine genauere Prüfung gibt die Bestätigung, zugleich macht aber manches Widersprechende in der Technik stutzen, und wenn wir den lebendigen Schönheitssinn, der sich aber oft gerade im Ausputz des Unwesentlichen gefällt, das unsichere, fragende Herumgreifen, das fröhliche, um die Folgen unbekümmerte Festhalten am zufällig gefundenen Schönen, das häufige Verfahren in den Irrgewinden der Harmonie, und vor Allem die Orthographie mit der schon in der Textwahl sich aussprechenden Vorliebe für das Zarte, Gefühlvolle zusammenhalten, so glauben wir nicht zu irren, wenn wir hinter dem schweigsamen J, eine Jeanette oder Josephine vermuthen'.

⁶ Gottfried Wilhelm Fink, review of Johanna Kinkel, *Opus 7* (1838), *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung*, 32 (August 1838), 524–525 (p. 525). Original citation: 'Man kaufe und singe sie. Eben ist das achte Heft erschienen, und der Verfasser soll eine Verfasserin sein'.

received and reviewed. In a letter to Nanny Müller, a friend of Kinkel from Bonn who moved to Berlin in 1830, Kinkel refers to Fink's review and writes after a holiday in Gosen, on the outskirts of Berlin, on 30 August 1838:

Since I'm back, after the Gosen musical famine, I've been composing a lot, mostly Goethe Lieder. I have before me the correction of the Runenstein; another review has been published in the *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung* as well, in which I am constantly maltreated as *the male composer*.⁷

Eva Weissweiler suggests that Johanna Kinkel published her first Lieder opus numbers under a male pseudonym in order to hide her gender. In her edition of Mendelssohn's letters, she states that a set of Lieder sent to Mendelssohn under the name of Julius Stern was, in reality, a compositional sample sent by Kinkel.⁸ Furthermore, in her monograph *Ausgemerzt!: Das Lexikon der Juden in der Musik und seine mörderischen Folgen*, which examines the musical and historical impact of the *Encyclopaedia of Jews in Music*, Weissweiler writes that:

Julius Stern was, indeed, not a Jewish minor master, but the imaginary masculine pseudonym of the Bonn Lieder composer Johanna Kinkel, who, at the beginning of her career, hid herself behind a masculine name in order not to be discriminated against as a female composer.⁹

Even though Kinkel may have purposely chosen to hide her gender by choosing the initial 'J' rather than her full name in many of her publications, Weissweiler's assumption that Kinkel published under the pseudonym 'Julius Stern' is questionable as there are no hints to the use of such a pseudonym in any of Kinkel's compositions, writings or bequeathed legacy. Considering the popularity of the music pedagogue Julius Stern (1820–1883), who founded

⁷ Johanna Kinkel in a letter to Nanny Müller on 30 August 1838, cited in Paul Kaufmann, 'Johanna Kinkel: Neue Beiträge zu ihrem Lebensbild', *Preußische Jahrbücher*, 221 (1930), 290–304 (pp. 303–304). Italics in original. Original citation: 'Seit ich wieder hier bin, nach der Gosener musikalischen Hungersnoth, habe ich viel komponiert, meist Göthesche Lieder. Der Runenstein liegt eben in Korrektur vor mir, auch ist wieder eine Rezension angelangt aus der Allgem. Musikalischen Zeitung, wo ich immer als der *Herr Verfasser* traktiert werde'.

⁸ Fanny & Felix Mendelssohn, '*Die Musik will gar nicht richtig rutschen ohne Dich*': *Briefwechsel 1821–1846*, ed. by Eva Weissweiler (Berlin: Ullstein, 1997), p. 470.

⁹ Eva Weissweiler, *Ausgemerzt!: Das Lexikon der Juden in der Musik und seine mörderischen Folgen* (Cologne: Dittrich-Verlag, 1999), p. 109. Original citation: 'Julius Stern war durchaus kein jüdischer "Kleinmeister", sondern das frei erfundene männliche Pseudonym von der aus Bonn stammenden Liederkomponistin Johanna Kinkel, die sich zu Beginn ihrer Publikationstätigkeit hinter einem Männernamen versteckte, um nicht als "komponierendes Frauenzimmer" diskriminiert zu werden'.

the Stern'sche Konservatorium (Stern Conservatory) in 1850, there can be no doubt whether Julius Stern existed as an individual. Moreover, Julius Stern's biography, written and compiled by Richard Stern as early as 1886, cites parts of the correspondence between Mendelssohn and Stern and includes a letter of response by Felix Mendelssohn, dated 13 September 1839, which could not have been included in Stern's legacy had there not been any kind of personal contact between Mendelssohn and Stern.¹⁰ Considering the long list of Julius Stern's composition, it is reasonable to assume that he must have composed a number of original Lieder and it is not unlikely that he asked Mendelssohn for his opinion on some of these.¹¹ In her explanation of Kinkel's use of a pseudonym, Weissweiler refers to a letter from Felix to Fanny Mendelssohn dated 21 August 1839, in which Felix asks his sister to find out more about Julius Stern of Berlin who had sent him some Lieder.¹²

However, it is questionable whether Kinkel tried to hide her female gender from Mendelssohn as late as August 1839, as she expressed satisfaction with her publisher Trautwein as early as January 1839. In a letter to the publishing company Bote & Bock, dated 2 January 1839, Kinkel thanks them for their enquiry about publishing one of her manuscripts, but informs them that her manuscript has already been sent to Trautwein publishers and she does not intend to switch publishers.¹³ This reaction shows that Kinkel, although publishing many of her Lieder as 'J. Mathieux', had established herself as a Lieder composer as early as January 1839. By that time, she was a well-known musical character in Berlin and knew Felix Mendelssohn personally, as they had met in Frankfurt in 1836 and she

¹⁰ Richard Stern, *Erinnerungsblätter an Julius Stern* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1886), pp. 16ff.

¹¹ Carl Freiherr von Ledebur, *Tonkünstler-Lexicon Berlin's von den ältesten Zeiten bis auf die Gegenwart* (Berlin: Verlag von Ludwig Rauh, 1861), pp. 576–577; Marcus Chr. Lippe, 'Stern, Julius', in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, ed. by Ludwig Finscher, Personenteil 15 (Kassel et al: Bärenreiter, 2006), p. 1438.

¹² Fanny & Felix Mendelssohn, '*Die Musik will gar nicht richtig rutschen ohne Dich*': *Briefwechsel 1821–1846*, ed. by Eva Weissweiler (Berlin: Ullstein, 1997), p. 311.

¹³ Letter from Johanna Kinkel to Bote & Bock from 2 January 1839, archived at Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Musikabteilung, M1992.40. Original citation: 'Ew. Wohlgeboren, vergeben daß ich nicht sogleich geantwortet weil meine Zeit sehr in Anspruch genommen ist. Das Manuskript, nach welchem Sie sich erkundigen, ist schon Herrn Trautwein übergeben, mit dem ich keine Ursache sehe zu brechen, da ich bisher sehr zufrieden mit ihm war. Ergebenst empfiehlt sich Ihnen J. Mathieux?.'

visited him in Leipzig in 1839.¹⁴ Therefore, I would argue against Weissweiler's thesis that Kinkel published under a completely different name, but agree with Weissweiler in so far as Kinkel may have hidden her gender behind the initial 'J' hoping for a more neutral reception and review of her music.¹⁵

Kinkel's efforts to receive neutral judgement did not succeed, however. Despite her initialised first name, her first opus was reviewed through a biased lens. As Kinkel's letter to Nanny Müller shows, she strongly disliked the gendered conclusions made by reviewers in their writings about opus 7. It is worth noting that in her correspondence with Müller, Kinkel did not criticise the way in which Rellstab stressed her female gender in his review, but bemoaned that she was wrongly referred to as 'male composer' in the *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung*. This shows that Kinkel did not want to hide her gender, but may have preferred a review practice which focused on the compositional aesthetics of her Lieder rather than unwarranted conclusions about her gender. That the reviews were fairly subjective and rather unsupportive is reflected in the contradictions between Rellstab's and Lorenz's reviews, which are especially recognisable in relation to Johanna Kinkel's settings of *Vorüberfahrt* op. 7, no. 3 and *Die Zigeuner* op. 7, no. 6. As regards the Lied *Vorüberfahrt*, Rellstab acknowledges Kinkel's authorship of the words and praises the peculiar and beautiful vocal line in a certain passage:

¹⁴ For details about Kinkel's first encounter with Felix Mendelssohn, see Monica Klaus, *Johanna Kinkel: Romantik und Revolution* (Cologne: Böhlau, 2008); Kinkel's memoirs: Johanna Kinkel, 'Aus Johanna Kinkel's Memoiren', ed. by Gottfried Kinkel (jun.), *Internationales Jahrbuch der Bettina von Arnim-Gesellschaft*, 8/9 (1996/ 1997), 239-271 and her correspondence with Mendelssohn, parts of which were published in Adeline Rittershaus, 'Felix Mendelssohn und Johanna Kinkel: Ungedruckte Tagebuchblätter und Briefe', *Neue Freie Presse: Morgenblatt*, 19 April 1900, n.p.

¹⁵ In December 1839, Kinkel voiced doubts about her professional relationship with Trautwein in a letter to her friend Emilie von Henning. She bemoans that Ferdinand Mendheim, who worked for Trautwein, responded to her request to publish some more Lieder saying that her compositions would not be as popular anymore and that they would not publish any of her works until the following year. Kinkel concluded that she would prefer not to publish anything with them anymore as she did not want to harm the publishers. At the same time, she told her friend that she is not sure how to take the publisher's explanation as she suspected that the publishers might have wanted to lower her expectations. Johanna Kinkel in a letter to Emilie von Henning from 8 December 1839, cited after Marie Goslich, 'Briefe von Johanna Kinkel', *Preußische Jahrbücher*, 97 (1899), 185-222 (p. 192).

The third Lied, which features the composer as a talented poet, is a nice one. The *molto ritardando* on the words ‘Rosily-lit you are showing me’ needs to be carried out with great attention, although we think that it only fits to the first two verses. The vocal line there is peculiar and beautiful but it may be better suited for an instrument rather than for the voice. A dissonant broken chord is very hard to sing with no hassle and awkwardness.¹⁶

On the contrary, Oswald Lorenz does not pass any judgement in relation to the poet of this Lied (Johanna Kinkel) and criticises the uncharacteristic melody of this Lied:

We regret very much that we cannot consider the third song, ‘Vorüberfahrt’ by J. Mathieux, as the best of the opus. Although the use of a major key in the second half of the piece is justified and effective, the way in which the F major chord was introduced suggested that the next chord would be B-flat major rather than C major. However, more than anything else, the above evaluation of this Lied is based on a melody, which is not new and characteristic enough.¹⁷

While both reviewers deal with the issue of authorship in different ways and voice contrary evaluations about the melody in Kinkel’s Lied *Vorüberfahrt*, they seemingly agree on the positive impression of the sixth song of this opus, *Die Zigeuner*, by Kinkel’s friend Emanuel Geibel (1815–1884), although they deal with this piece in different ways. Rellstab praises this song extensively:

The last song (*Die Zigeuner* by E. Geibel) has the most characteristic physiognomy of the whole opus. If we were to guess the composer of this Lied, we would be torn between Spohr and Weber, because it features characteristics of both although it is undoubtedly an original work [by the composer]. The vivid accompaniment marks a significant part of the beauty of this Lied, but also the melody is significant in places, especially on the words: ‘Suckled at the Nile’s Holy Waters’.. However, the line ‘With flashing eyes and glowing hair’, harmonically, is too much in a church-like style so that it is hard to sing; here, the

¹⁶ Ludwig Rellstab, review of Johanna Kinkel, *Opus 7* (1838), *Iris im Gebiete der Tonkunst*, 2 (12 January 1838), 5-7 (p. 6). Original citation: ‘Das dritte Lied, wo die Componistin auch als talentvolle Dichterin auftritt, gehört wieder zu den schöneren; das *molto ritardando* auf die Worte: “Ihr zeigt mir rosig beleuchtet” muß sehr eingehalten werden, doch paßt es unsrer Ansicht nach nur auf die zwei ersten Verse. Die Gesangsfigur daselbst ist eigenthümlich und schön, doch für die Singstimme weniger geeignet als für ein Instrument. Ein dissonirender gebrochener Accord singt sich gar zu schwer rein und ohne Mühe’.

¹⁷ Oswald Lorenz, review of Johanna Kinkel, *Opus 7* (1838), *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*, 20 (9 March 1838), 77–78 (p. 78). Original citation: ‘Bei dem folgenden Liede, “Vorüberfahrt” von J. Mathieux, thut es uns doppelt leid, dasselbe nicht für das beste in dem Hefte erklären zu können. Das Ergreifen der Durtonart in der zweiten Hälfte ist an sich gerechtfertigt und wirksam, aber die Art und Weise, wie der vorausgehende F-Dur-Accord herbeigeführt wurde, ließ eher B-Dur als C-Dur erwarten. Mehr als dies alles aber veranlaßt uns zu obiger Erklärung die zu wenig neue und charakteristische Melodie’.

melody loses the characteristics demanded by the words, which it retains throughout the rest of the Lied.¹⁸

Lorenz, however, keeps his evaluation of this Lied much shorter. He too praises the accompaniment, but his initial positive criticism is countered immediately when he bemoans the conclusion of this Lied. Unlike Rellstab, Lorenz does not identify any Spohrian, Weberian or seemingly ‘masculine’ features in this Lied: ‘The gypsy song is peculiarly fresh and characteristically expressive. The wild octaves suit well. Perhaps, we would have preferred a less conventional conclusion to this Lied’.¹⁹

Considering Lorenz’s gender-biased evaluation of Kinkel’s *Sechs Lieder* opus 7 in the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*, Kinkel’s reserved and ironic response to Schumann’s request to contribute a Lied to the musical supplement of the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* is not surprising.²⁰ In response to Schumann’s enquiry on 14 July 1838, Kinkel writes to her Bonn friend Angela Oppenhoff:

A group of young Leipzig composers, who had read Rellstab’s review, pretended that they would have been able to tell from my compositional style that my compositions were written by a woman. Among other things, they stressed humorously (in their review) the fondness for the *soft* and *tender* and sneered at one of the moonlight songs. All of a sudden they changed their minds; one of

¹⁸ Ludwig Rellstab, review of Johanna Kinkel, *Opus 7* (1838), *Iris im Gebiete der Tonkunst*, 2 (12 January 1838), 5–7 (pp. 6–7). Original citation: ‘Das letzte Lied (Die Zigeuner von E. Geibel) hat die charakteristischste Physiognomie in der ganzen Sammlung. Wir würden, hätten wir den Autor errathen müssen, zwischen Spohr und Weber geschwankt haben, denn es hat von beiden etwas, bleibt aber doch ein völlig unbestrittenes Geistesenthum. Die bewegte Begleitung bildet einen wesentlichen Theil der Schönheit dieses Liedes, doch erhebt sich auch die Melodie an einzigen Stellen besonders zur selbstständigen Bedeutsamkeit, zumal auf die Worte: “Gesäugt an des Niles geheiligter Fluth.” Dagegen ist die Combination bei der Stelle: “Mit blitzenden Augen und nächtlichem Haar” fast zu sehr im kirchlich-harmonischen Stil gehalten um recht sangbar zu sein, auch verliert die Melodie hier, was sie sonst so festhält, den charakteristischen Ausdruck den die Worte fordern’.

¹⁹ Oswald Lorenz, review of Johanna Kinkel, *Opus 7* (1838), *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*, 20 (9 March 1838), 77–78 (p. 78). Original citation: ‘Das Zigeunerlied ist eigenthümlich frisch und charakteristisch malend. Die wilden Octaven sind hier an der Stelle. Dem Ganzen hätten wir vielleicht einen weniger herkömmlichen Schluß gewünscht’.

²⁰ Unfortunately, the original letter of enquiry from Robert Schumann to Johanna Kinkel is lost, but Kinkel’s response to Schumann is archived at the Sächsische Landes- und Universitätsbibliothek Dresden (SLUB). I am grateful to the SLUB for their generous provision of Kinkel’s letter to Schumann. In a letter dated 10 June 1838, Robert Schumann asked his friend Henriette Voigt (1808–1839) whether she could find out for him the correct address of ‘Ms Matthieux’ [sic]. Schumann’s correspondence is taken record of in the Briefdatenbank (Database of Letters) maintained by the Schumann-Portal: http://sbd.schumann-portal.de/briefe.html?FORMACTION=searching&per_page=30&recordId=&absender=&absenderOrt=&empfaenger=&empfaengerOrt=&createDate=&endDate=&briefftext=&volltext=mathieux&show=812&page=1 [Accessed 2 March 2016].

them (not the reviewer) is writing extremely flattering letters to me without knowing more than my name and my short songs, and he asks for a composition as a contribution to the musical supplement of his journal. This proved to be a precious chance to immense him in the *soft* and *tender* of my compositions. I wrote an affected letter and included my wildest drinking song for male choir, for which I had written a real students' text. If I could only see the reactions of my unknown correspondents when they try to sing this piece!²¹

The 'affected letter' (Fig. 1), which Kinkel sent to Schumann on 7 July 1838 reads:

Dear Sir!

The beautiful scores you sent have given me much pleasure, but, at the same time, they have taken away almost all my courage to anticipate my own composition published alongside such famous works. As you told me that the next volume will contain multiple compositions by women, and therefore will presumably be predominated by the soft and tender, I chose a different genre this time, because I thought it might please you if some shadow fell on all this moonlight. Please forgive what I dare to send. Sincerely, J. Mathieux.²²

Fig. 1: Johanna Kinkel's letter to Robert Schumann from 7 July 1838²³

[Insert Letter_Kinkel_Schumann.jpg]

It is worth noting that Kinkel signs her letter to Schumann with 'J. Mathieux', although she knew that Schumann was aware of her full name (and her gender) at this point. When

²¹ Johanna Kinkel in a letter to Angela Oppenhoff on 14 July 1838, cited in Paul Kaufmann, 'Johanna Kinkel: Neue Beiträge zu ihrem Lebensbild', *Preußische Jahrbücher*, 222 (1930), 48–67 (p. 55). Italics in original. Original citation: 'Nach dem Erscheinen des ersten [Liederheftes] passierte es, daß eine Confederation junger Liederkomponisten in Leipzig, die Rellstabs Rezension gelesen, sich hinterher die Miene geben wollten, als hätte sie an meinem Styl gleich gemerkt, daß dies eine Damenkomposition sey. Unter anderem hoben sie die Vorliebe für das *Sanfte, Zarte* ein wenig scherzhaft (in ihrer Rezension) heraus, und spöttelten über eins der Mondscheinlieder. Auf einmal sattelten sie um; einer dieses Clubs (nicht der Rezensent) schreibt mit äußerst schmeichelhafte Briefe, ohne mehr als meinen Namen und die Liederchen zu kennen, und bittet mich als Mitarbeiterin bei einer musikalischen Beilage zu seiner Zeitung irgend eine Komposition zu liefern. Dies war für mich eine kostbare Gelegenheit, das *Sanfte, Zarte* dem Rezensenten einzutränken. Ich schrieb einen ganz feinen zimmerlichen Brief, und schickte dazu mein wildestes Trinklied für Männerchor, zu welchem ich selbst einen rechten Studententext gemacht habe. Dürfte ich doch nur die Gesichter meiner unbekanntenen Korrespondenten sehn, wenn sie die Bescheerung durchsingen'.

²² Johanna Kinkel to Robert Schumann on 7 July 1838, SLUB Dresden, Mus. Schu. 184a. Original citation: 'Geehrtester Herr! Die übersandten Inlagen, die viel Schönes enthalten, haben mir große Freude gemacht, aber zugleich fast allen Muth genommen, meine Komposition in so berühmte Gesellschaft zu senden. Da Sie mittheilen, daß das nächste Heft, mehre Beiträge von Damen erhalten, und also vermuthlich das *Sanfte, Zarte*, mehr darinnen vorherrschen wird, so habe ich ein andres Genre diesmal gewählt, weil ich glaubte, es würde Ihnen nicht unlieb sein, wenn ein bißchen Schatten auf diese Mondlichter fiel. Nehmen Sie mit Nachsicht auf, was ich zu senden wage. Hochachtungsvoll, J. Mathieux'.

²³ The original letter is archived at the Sächsische Landes- und Universitätsbibliothek (SLUB) (signature Mus. Schu. 184a). I am grateful to the SLUB for providing me with this letter and for giving me permission to include the original letter as an illustration in this article.

Kinkel promised some ‘shadows falling on all this moonlight’, she alluded clearly to the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*’s review of her first Lieder opus, in which the reviewer emphasises the soft and tender in her nature setting *An den Mond* (To the Moon):

[Compared to the *Lorelei*, a different Lied], *An den Mond* makes a friendlier impression and will be appreciated by many female friends. The tonal diversion to A major, where the E flat (instead of D sharp) enters bravely above all the sharps, and the naïve return to G major allude to the female hand just as much as the tender character of the setting in general.²⁴

Aesthetic features of Johanna Kinkel’s *Trinklied für Männerchor*

In *Trinklied für Männerchor* (Drinking Song for Male Voices, Table 1), which accompanied her letter to Schumann, Kinkel responds aesthetically to the reviewers’ critiques of her seemingly feminine compositional style.

Table 1: Lyrics and translation of Johanna Kinkel’s *Trinklied für Männerchor*

Trinklied		Drinking Song
Lasst uns trinken, lasst uns singen,	<i>a</i>	Let us drink, let us sing,
Und vergessen trägen Harm.	<i>b</i>	And let us forget the heavy grief.
Glutgefüllter Gläser Klingen	<i>a</i>	Glowing glasses
Scheucht hinweg der Sorgen Schwarm.	<i>b</i>	Drive out all the sorrows.
Trinkt ihr Philister, bekehret euch doch,	<i>c</i>	Drink, Philistines, convert yourselves,
Wer liberal ist, der lebe hoch!	<i>c</i>	Long live he who is liberal!
Wein entfesselt Liebesblicke,	<i>e</i>	Wine unleashes the lovers’ glances,
Die sich sonst verbergen scheu;	<i>f</i>	Which, otherwise, hide shyly;
Aug’ in Auge eine Brücke	<i>e</i>	Eyeball to eyeball, the wine builds
Baut er, drauf sie wandeln frei.	<i>f</i>	A bridge, on which they stroll freely.
Darum sei höher der Becher gefüllt,	<i>g</i>	May the glasses be filled up
Dessen Schaume die Liebe entquillt.	<i>g</i>	As love springs out of their heads.

This Lied, written for solo tenor and four-part male choir, consists of two stanzas, as is shown in Table 1: the first stanza begins with a typical Anacreontic drinking theme encouraging the singers to drink, sing and forget all their sorrows. It then turns into a political song as it

²⁴ Oswald Lorenz, review of Johanna Kinkel, *Opus 7* (1838), *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*, 20 (9 March 1838), 77–78. Original citation: “‘An den Mond’ von Goethe hat dagegen ein recht freundliches und gewinnendes Ansehen und wird sich namentlich viele Freundinnen erwerben. An der Ausweichung aber nach A-Dur, bei der das es (statt dis) sich so furchtlos unter die vielen Kreuze hineingewagt hat, und an der naiven Rückkehr nach G-Dur ist, wie an der zarten Haltung des ganzen Liedes vor allem die weibliche Hand zu erkennen’.

celebrates liberal views, which, ironically, points to the narrow-mindedness of Kinkel's reception in the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*. The second stanza introduces a new topos and praises the wine as a means to impart and spread love.

In line with the textual content, Example 1 below shows that this mostly syllabic setting seems rather harsh, a compositional characteristic which points to Kinkel's ambition to demonstrate women's ability to set (and write) words that go beyond the 'soft and tender'. Kinkel does not use a great deal of romanticising adjectives and the words do not seem particularly poetic, which might reflect Kinkel's intention to write 'a real students' text', an aim stated in her letter to Oppenhoff. Furthermore, in the light of Kinkel's suggestion to 'put some shadows on all this moonlight', which she promised Schumann in her letter, this drinking song does not include any Romantic allegories involving nature or mystic landscapes, themes which were evident in many of Kinkel's published *Lieder*. This drastic thematic turn might be a result of Kinkel's (rather negative) impression of nineteenth-century review practice and Schumann's attempts to convince her to contribute a song to his musical supplement. The fast tempo and energetic piano prelude underline the impression that Kinkel deliberately created a *Lied* that featured characteristics contrary to all of her previous *Lieder* publications. Moreover, by combining the themes of politics and love, Kinkel challenged conventions regarding (female) authorship and socio-political participation.²⁵

According to Sebastian Nickel, the genre of drinking songs became an expression of 'mutual political conviction' at the beginning of the nineteenth century.²⁶ Referring to the nineteenth-century German male choir movement, Nickel points to such characteristic socio-

²⁵ Referring to eighteenth-century drinking songs within the context of the Anacreontic *Gesellschaftslied*, Hans Ritte points to the permanent efforts to include women in the social sphere by creating a direct causal connection: 'if wine is able to destroy the love, it is also able to create love'. Hans Ritte, *Das Trinklied in Deutschland und Schweden: Vergleichende Typologie der Motive* (Munich: Fink, 1973), pp. 50ff.

²⁶ Sebastian Nickel, *Männerchorgesang und bürgerliche Bewegung 1815-1848 in Mitteldeutschland* (Cologne: Böhlau, 2013), p. 105.

political and cultural features as national religiosity, political participation, social inclusion, educational thought, and the sense of security and freedom, some of which Kinkel might have felt (or longed for) when she wrote this drinking song in 1838.²⁷ Even though it was not until 1840 that Kinkel, together with her second husband Gottfried Kinkel, founded the political and literary association *Maikäferbund*, she might have experienced the power of socio-political consensus within the social environment with which she was engaged while she resided in Berlin from 1836 to 1839. Thus, the opportunity to express collective political opinion using a drinking song as a vehicle might have appealed to Kinkel, an assumption which is supported by Kinkel's use of the personal pronoun 'us' in the first line: 'Let us drink, let us sing, and let us forget the heavy grief'. Hans-Rüdiger Schwab interprets drinking songs, by means of the 'topos of inner immigration', as an 'exile within the unpleasant times', a concept which is applicable to Kinkel in many ways.²⁸ When she wrote this drinking song in 1838, she was attempting to divorce her first husband, from whom she had escaped in 1836 due to emotional tortures. Considering this, Kinkel's challenging of conventions of (female) authorship and political participation in her drinking song can be interpreted as a personal statement in relation to gender biases, including both the reviews of her own works by public print media and contemporary gender (and marriage) conventions in general. On a different note, Nickel, in his examination of Felix Mendelssohn's works for male choir, asserts that Mendelssohn might have agreed to compose these as he identified with the central aims of the bourgeois movement, especially the abolishment of censorship, even though he avoided political mass events and disagreed with the concept of a political revolution.²⁹ Perhaps Kinkel held similar views to Mendelssohn and spotted an opportunity to make a public statement by submitting a drinking song for publication in one of Germany's most renowned

²⁷ Nickel, *Männerchorgesang und bürgerliche Bewegung 1815-1848 in Mitteldeutschland*, pp. 67ff. & 85.

²⁸ Hans-Rüdiger Schwab cited after Sebastian Nickel, *Männerchorgesang und bürgerliche Bewegung 1815-1848 in Mitteldeutschland* (Cologne: Böhlau, 2013), p. 106.

²⁹ Nickel, *Männerchorgesang und bürgerliche Bewegung 1815-1848 in Mitteldeutschland*, p. 279.

music journals, a journal whose review of her own first Lieder opus was characterised by bias.. Besides the lyrics and the themes, Kinkel’s direct response to the criticism of her early Lieder is reflected in the compositional features of her drinking song (Ex. 1).

Ex. 1: Johanna Kinkel’s *Trinklied für Männerchor*³⁰

[Insert Trinklied_1 and Trinklied_2]

In terms of structure, the uneven phrasal pattern of six and eight bars (rather than eight bars throughout the piece) could be interpreted as a discreet attempt to question compositional conventions and aesthetic expectations. The vocal part is divided into three phrases. Following an expressive piano introduction, the first 14 bars constitute a tenor solo, which consists of an eight-bar phrase (a) and a six-bar phrase (b). The third phrase (c) is a six-bar four-part choir passage with piano accompaniment. Melodically, this part imitates the preceding six bars (Table 2).

Table 2: Formal structure of Johanna Kinkel’s *Trinklied für Männerchor*

Bar	1–12		13–20		21–26		27–32		33
Bar	1–3	4–12	13–16	17–20	21–24	25–26	27–30	31–32	
Number of bars	12		8		6		6		1
Motive	Piano		a	a'	b	b ^{short}	b	b ^{short}	Piano
Phrase			A		B		B		

³⁰ The score has been typeset by the author. The original score was provided by the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz – Musikabteilung mit Mendelssohn-Archiv, signature N.Mus.6431-1). I am grateful to the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin for providing me with this score and for their kind permission to use the score in this article.

Instr.	Piano	Tenor	Tenor	Choir	Piano
		Piano	Piano	Piano	

The melody of this Lied incorporates only two relatively challenging leaps, namely the major and minor sixths (in bars 14, 18, and 19) and the diminished third (in bars 24–25, and 30–31). Due to its repetitive phrasal structure, the melodic line is very straightforward – perhaps a reaction to Lorenz’s criticism of melodic randomness in Kinkel’s earlier Lieder. It may be noteworthy to include a thought on Kinkel’s voice-leading in the choir part. If one disregards a slight carelessness as regards spacing, Kinkel follows the rules of voice leading throughout this passage with one exception. At the words ‘[lebe] hoch, wer [liberal ist]’ (Long live he who is liberal, first verse), Kinkel employs an exposed octave followed by an exposed fifth, perhaps a conscious destruction of conventions in order to stress the ‘liberalism’ advocated in the corresponding line. Harmonically, this Lied features systematic characteristics. Set in G minor – a rather unusual key for a drinking song – the tonic key is established in the first half of the piano introduction. However, in the second half, G minor is replaced by its parallel major key (G major), which brightens up the mood. Despite its harmonic variety, including a diminished seventh chord at the words ‘vergessen’ (forget, first verse) and ‘verbergen’ (hide, second verse) and a brief tonal excursion to the relative major key, B-flat major, the first phrase centres on G minor, followed by a less stable phrase incorporating a descending circle of fifths at the words ‘Wer liberal ist, der lebe hoch!’ (Long live he who is liberal!, first verse) and ‘dessen Schaume die Liebe entquillt’ (as love springs out of [the glasses] heads, second verse). This harmonic descent is followed by an augmented sixth chord, leading back to the tonic key of G minor (bars 25 and 31). In order to avoid any sudden surprises, the appearance of an augmented sixth chord is prepared in the piano introduction where it is repeated three times (bars 9–11). This creates unity and diminishes the possible impression of randomness,

confusion and a ‘loss of way on harmonic meanders’ as was criticised by Oswald Lorenz in his first review. Here, Kinkel shows that she is able to create unity within a diverse passage by using different versions of the augmented sixth chord. In the piano introduction, Kinkel employs an Italian augmented sixth chord, and later uses German augmented sixth chords in the vocal parts. This complex application of augmented sixth chords as pre-dominant chords may be understood as a response to Lorenz’s critique of a naïve return to the tonic key in Kinkel’s Lied *An den Mond*, in which the tonic is reached via a secondary dominant.

Conclusion: Johanna Kinkel’s *Trinklied für Männerchor* as a Response to Nineteenth-Century Music Criticism

In response to criticism of her early Lieder, Kinkel avoided many of the aesthetic features that were identified as typically feminine in previous reviews (for example, soft and tender words, female performers, random melodic ornamentation, and confusing harmony) and employed characteristic piano accompaniment, which features similar characteristics to those found in her gypsy song. Perhaps these similarities can be explained by means of the popularity of Kinkel’s early gypsy song and the praise its pianistic expressiveness received in early reviews. By offering Schumann a drinking song for male choir, Kinkel not only challenged conventions of authorship and political participation but also surprised the publisher’s and the readers’ expectations. Although Schumann praised the words of Kinkel’s drinking song, but did not mention in his review that Kinkel was the author, his public response may not have had the desired effect. Rather than acknowledging Kinkel’s poetic and compositional diversity, Schumann recommended that the reader familiarise herself/himself with Kinkel’s earlier Lieder compositions and re-confirmed that Kinkel’s artistic style revealed a feminine hand. On 28 September 1838 Schumann wrote in the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*:

A drinking song, and what's more a drinking song in G minor. Although the poem, which asks us to abide by our dearest convictions in a friendly manner, does not seem to demand this dark, almost wild key, the concept of this composer might be a sign of our times and might be explained by the traditions introduced in Rahel's [Rahel Varnhagen von Ense] and Bettina's [Bettina von Arnim] writings. He, who wants to learn to love the composer's musical and indeed feminine nature, may have a look at her recently published sets of Lieder, which are worthy of the appreciation that they have found everywhere.³¹

While this review confirms the gender-biased approach of the time, Schumann's placing of the unexpected otherness of Kinkel's drinking song within the socially progressive context of Bettina von Arnim (1785–1859) and Rahel Varnhagen von Ense (1771–1833) lifts Kinkel's composition onto a level of remarkably high social relevance. In reviews of Kinkel's later works, this gender-biased perspective is maintained and intensified by the addition of another social category, namely family background, and in particular, marriage.³² This extra-musical addition confirms the socio-political influence associated with Kinkel, but it also points to another type of bias which may have influenced Kinkel's reception.

In relation to Kinkel's opus 19, the review in the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*, which was published in April 1849, bemoans that it is 'an insignificant collection which offers nothing of musical complexity'.³³ The reviewer then criticises each individual song for its unpleasant melodies and ineffective expressive means. As regards Kinkel's Heine setting *Abschied* (Farewell, op. 19, no. 5), the reviewer remarks that 'in no. 5. "Schöne Wiege meiner Lieder" [Pretty Cradle of My Lieder] we hear quite a pleasant melody, but we do not get

³¹ R. S., review of Johanna Kinkel, *Trinklied für Männerchor* (1838), *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*, 26 (28 September 1838), 106; signed with Robert Schumann's initials 'R. S.'. Original citation: 'Ein Trinklied, und noch mehr eines in g-moll. Scheint mir diese dunklere, fast wild auftretende Tonart auch nicht vom Gedicht geboten, das heiter und schönsinnig zur Werthaltung unserer teuersten Güter auffordert, so mag die Auffassung der Komponistin als ein Zeichen der Zeit angesehen und vielleicht aus jeder weiblichen Dichterschule hergeleitet werden, die wir aus Rahels und Bettinas Schriften kennen. Wer die Komponisten ihre musikalische, durchaus weibliche Natur schätzen lernen will, mag es aus ihren vor kurzem erschienenen Liederheften, die der innigsten Anerkennung würdig, wie sie sie bereits überall gefunden'.

³² This is interesting in so far that Kinkel's music actually changed. While she mostly set such famous poets as Goethe, Heine and Geibel in her early publications, she primarily set her own, her husband's, and close friends' poems in her later opus numbers.

³³ [Anon.], *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*, 27 (2 April 1849), 146. Original citation: 'Eine unbedeutende Gabe, durch die uns nichts geboten wird, was irgend wie auf musikalischen Inhalt Anspruch hätte'.

anything of the pain of farewell in Heine's verse'.³⁴ Despite the title being incorrectly referenced (it is 'Leiden' [sorrows], not 'Lieder') the reviewer seems to ignore both the semantics of the bass line and Kinkel's musical response to Heine's use of Romantic irony in this Lied. Here, the reviewer does not refer to any extra-musical aspects of Kinkel's background, which had become well-known to the public during the summer of 1849 when Kinkel's husband was imprisoned as a revolutionary after fighting in Baden. However, Kinkel's opus 19 includes a number of political settings, an aspect which, considering the reviewer's possible intent to communicate political neutrality, might have led the reviewer not to reflect in a detailed way on any of these political settings and/or to emphasise the negative features in relation to these settings.³⁵

Kinkel's pedagogical singing tutor *Anleitung zum Singen* (Songs for Little Children, op. 20, published in 1849) was positively received by the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*, but the lengthy review starts with a paragraph on Kinkel's social circumstances:

Johanna Kinkel is the wife to this martyr for freedom whose regrettable destiny in the Rastatt prison is still undecided. The widow of the unlucky poet – one may call her that – will now remain the single bread-winner of her family which would be reason enough to recommend this work. But regardless of these sad circumstances, the product of this singing school is to be recommended within the field of musical literature and no one will do wrong who follows his heart and buys it. In order for emotions not to overshadow neutral judgement, we will now look at this work through the most neutral lens.³⁶

³⁴ [Anon.], *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*, 27 (2 April 1849), 146. Original citation: 'In Nr. 5. "Schöne Wiege meiner Lieder" von Heine, hören wir eine recht freundliche Melodie, vom Abschiedsschmerz eines Heine aber will nichts verlauten'.

³⁵ Besides two love songs, this collection contains settings of Heine's *Abschied* and Gottfried Kinkel's poems *Thurm und Fluth* (Tower and Floodwaters), *Durch Cathago's Trümmerhallen* (Over Carthage's Battlefields), and *Beduinen-Romanze* (Beduins' Romance), all of which take on an obvious political tone.

³⁶ [Anon.], *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*, 27 (30 September 1849), 141–142 (p. 141). Original citation: 'Johanna Kinkel ist die Gattin jenes Märtyrers für die Freiheit, dessen so viel bedauertes Geschick in den Gefängnissen von Rastatt noch unentschieden ist. Die Wittve des unglücklichen Dichters, denn so darf man sie nennen, wird nun die alleinige Ernährerin ihrer Familie bleiben, welches schon allein ein hinreichender Grund wäre, dieses Werk zu empfehlen. Doch abgesehen von diesem traurigen Fall, so ist diese Schule an und für sich eine sehr empfehlenswerthe Gabe im Gebiete der musikalischen Literatur, und Niemand wird einen Fehlgriff thun, der seinem Herzen folgend sich dieselbe anschafft. Damit das Gefühl dem Urtheil aber nicht vorgreife, so wollen wir uns das Werk mit den Augen der unparteilichsten Kritik betrachten'.

Even though this mention of Kinkel's personal destiny may have been intended to promote Kinkel's publication – and perhaps it did so – its stated neutrality is questionable. Finally, the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik's* very short and rather negative review of Kinkel's last Lieder publication, opus 21, reads:

The wife of the unlucky poet whose hard destiny moved all Germany has published six settings of her husband's words. We regret not to be able to praise the musical part of these Lieder; they are too dilettantish, their intellectual content is too little so that we will refrain from criticising their compositional shortcomings out of respect for the misery. No. 2. Wiegenlied (Lullaby), No. 3 Jugenderinnerung (Youthful Memory), and No. 4 Provenzalisches Lied (Lied from the Provence) strike us as the best songs of this opus.³⁷

It may be worth noting that two of the three poems named as the 'best songs of this opus' (*Wiegenlied* and *Jugenderinnerung*) originate from Johanna Kinkel and not from her husband as is wrongly indicated in this review, a nuance of authorship which escaped the reviewer even though the author's name is clearly stated at the top of each score.³⁸

Résumé

To conclude, this paper has brought attention to four aspects of nineteenth-century music criticism. Firstly, the strongly gender-biased reviews of Johanna Kinkel's Lieder publications encouraged her to compose a drinking song featuring characteristics contrary to those parameters identified as feminine by reviewers of her previous Lieder. Although Kinkel aimed for the most neutral possible consideration of her Lieder and did not publish her first Lieder opus under her full name, the reviewers stressed in their evaluations Kinkel's (female) gender, of which they must have been aware, given that Kinkel was a well-known character in Berlin when she published her first opus. Rellstab, the first reviewer to refer to Kinkel's first

³⁷ [Anon.], *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*, 14 (4 April 1851), 151–152. Original citation: 'Die Gattin des unglücklichen Dichters, an dessen hartem Loos ganz Deutschland Theil nahm, giebt hier sechs Lieder ihres Mannes in Musik gesetzt. Es thut uns leid, daß wir den musikalischen Theil dieser Lieder nicht unbedingt loben können, die tragen zu sehr den Stempel des Dilettantismus, ihr geistiger Inhalt ist zu gering, als daß eine gewissenhafte Kritik diese Mängel aus Ehrfurcht vor dem Unglück verschweigen dürfte. Als die besten Stücke des Werkes erschienen uns Nr. 2 Wiegenlied, Nr. 3 Jugenderinnerung, und Nr. 4 Provenzalisches Lied'.

³⁸ Johanna Kinkel, *Sechs Lieder für eine tiefe Stimme mit Pianoforte-Begleitung: Op. 21* (Mainz: Schott, 1851).

Lieder publication, mentions in his review his ‘long and detailed familiarity’ with these Lieder and remarks that ‘it does not matter to the reader how he came across these compositions’, which implies that Rellstab, who, like Kinkel, was based in Berlin when Kinkel’s first opus was published and reviewed, may have met Kinkel in person. Because Rellstab revealed in his review Kinkel’s gender, the other two reviewers, both of whom were based in Leipzig, may have taken advantage of Rellstab’s generosity with information and based their own reviews on the assumption that Rellstab was right about Kinkel’s gender. This assumption resulted in the reviewers’ determination to depict and criticise such seemingly feminine features as sentimental poetry and choice of poets, female performance, random melodic ornamentation and incoherent harmonic progressions in Kinkel’s early Lieder. By way of opposition, Kinkel addressed these features in her *Trinklied für Männerchor*, an attempt to show the reviewers that she was able to write and compose music typically associated with the masculine domain.

Secondly, these new features of Kinkel’s drinking song did not stop the reviewers from placing this Lied in a gender-biased context yet again. While Kinkel’s *Trinklied* features characteristics different to her earlier Lieder, Schumann referred back to these earlier Lieder and their ‘feminine nature’. He did not acknowledge Kinkel as a poet although the words received Schumann’s positive evaluation. His response confirms the gender-biased context of the time and shows that regardless of what Kinkel would have sent him as a musical contribution to the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*, it would have been reviewed through a gender-biased lens.

Thirdly, besides gender, other social categories (e.g. family background, and more particularly, marriage) influenced reviewers; such biased opinions were published openly in the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* and may have influenced the journal’s readers. Some of this biased criticism was employed in order to put Kinkel in a positive light, stressing her hard

destiny as a single mother to four children. Nevertheless, this biased criticism took the focus away from Kinkel's music and her compositional style, which should have been the sole concern of music criticism, especially as the reviewer of Kinkel's pedagogically oriented songs emphasised his neutral judgement free from emotional biases. The strong socio-political element in the two last reviews may have caused suspicion and antipathy among some readers, which would have had a negative impact on the marketability of Kinkel's publications.

Fourthly, and finally, it may be interesting to examine some of Kinkel's works that were not publically reviewed. Such an approach would raise a number of questions. Did these pieces remain unacknowledged by the print media because of their seemingly 'masculine' features? For example, Kinkel's non-reviewed Heine setting *Don Ramiro*, a large-scale ballad for alto or baritone and piano accompaniment, features numerous complex compositional responses to Heinrich Heine's use of Romantic irony, an aesthetic characteristic which was normally associated with Robert Schumann's Heine settings. It would be interesting to know whether or not this partial selection process practiced by the nineteenth-century musical print media had a notable impact on the marketability of Kinkel's non-reviewed opus numbers and whether this prevention may have shaped the public image of Johanna Kinkel as a typical female (and feminine) bourgeois composer. These four aspects of nineteenth-century music criticism show that Kinkel's works were by no means reviewed through a neutral lens, an observation which may be valid for many other (male and female) nineteenth-century composers and may inspire future research. **In relation to the last point raised in this paper, I would suggest that an analysis of Kinkel's media reception (especially in regard to the relationship between those of her works which were reviewed and those which were not) would yield important and revealing results.**

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