

Johanna Kinkel's Political Art Songs as a Contribution to the Socio-Cultural Identity of the German Democratic Movement during the Late 1840s

Anja Bunzel
Maynooth University

Introduction

Johanna Kinkel (1810-1858),¹ a German composer, writer, music pedagogue and wife to the German professor, poet and revolutionary Gottfried Kinkel (1815-1882),² produced a remarkable number of art songs, stage works and novels during her short life.³ Besides such typical Romantic themes as love and nature, Kinkel's art songs also include socio-political subjects praising her home, the Rhineland, and encouraging the democratic revolutionary movement of the 1840s to fight for a united Germany.⁴ Many of Kinkel's poems and art songs were created within the context of the *Maikäferbund*, a political and literary association founded by the Kinkels in 1840. The *Maikäfer* association compiled a weekly journal, which, according to Monica Klaus, was also "eine erste politische, aber humorvolle Kritik an den Zuständen im Land und an der Universität" (100).

In this article, I am going to focus on four of Kinkel's political settings, namely two Rhineland songs to poems by Heinrich Heine (1797-1856), *Rheinstrom* and *Köln*, and two of Kinkel's socio-political Lieder, *Demokratenlied* and *Abendlied nach der Schlacht*. Considering that the nineteenth-century art song was one of the most popular bourgeois art forms of the time (Grout, Burkholder & Palisca 605), I am going to apply theories of classical musicology, ethnomusicology and cultural studies. Building on the assumption that Kinkel's art songs were considered popular music within their own socio-cultural context, and bearing in mind Kinkel's public involvement in various strands of music (choral singing, salon performances, publication and sales of *Kunstvolkslieder*), this article will argue that Johanna Kinkel, through her public musical participation, helped shape the cultural identity of her own literary and political-democratic association, the *Maikäferbund*, and perhaps more generally, the democratic revolutionary movement of the 1840s.

Socio-historical contextualisation

According to Andreas Ballstaedt, the *Biedermeier* period, along with its distinct salon culture, brought forward an increasing popularity of short musical forms such as the Lied, which could be performed without huge financial efforts (855): it only needed a singer and a piano, according to Leon Plantinga the "instrument of the century" (9).⁵ Considering the broad and diverse definition of the salon, Johanna Kinkel's *Maikäfer* gatherings during the *Vormärz*, which were held weekly in the Kinkel's house in Bonn, could be considered a *Salongeselligkeit*.⁶ Karin Friedrich sees in the increasing popularity of such salon societies as the *Maikäferbund* during the

period of restoration (1815-1848) an institutional phenomenon, which enabled the informal and inspirational get-together of “critical journalists and writers . . . in the early decades of the nineteenth century” (107).

With regard to terminology, an unmistakable socio-historical contextualisation of Kinkel’s Lieder is by no means as straightforward as it may seem: Robert C. Holub (95-97) points out that neither Friedrich Sengle’s term *Biedermeier* nor Peter Stein’s use of *Vormärz* as a linguistic qualifier for the years 1815-1848 capture fully the diverse and, in parts, contrary types of literature that evolved during this era. Jost Hermand’s more neutral term *Restaurationszeit* (restoration) seems less controversial, but I agree with Holub (112) in so far that the advantage of this term (i.e. universal applicability) may, at the same time, be a crucial terminological weakness. Indeed, the term *Restaurationszeit* reveals very little information about the socio-historical and literary characteristics surrounding the four Lieder examined in this article. Therefore, it may prove useful to further narrow down the era with which this article is concerned. According to Koelb and Downing (2), traditionally, literary historians label the first phase of nineteenth-century literature (1832-1850) *Junges Deutschland/ Vormärz/ Biedermeier*, which seems to merge Friedrich’s, Sengle’s, and Stein’s concepts. Besides this terminological challenge within the field of literary studies, this article points to a further issue, namely the chronological overlapping of literary, cultural, socio-historical, and musical discourses. Within this context, Koelb and Downing’s reference to the period of the *Junges Deutschland, Vormärz, and Biedermeier* (1832-1850) seems to be the most appropriate term as it captures best the diverse cultural landscape of the era covered in this article. Although both of Heinrich Heine’s poems discussed in this paper, *Im Rhein, im heiligen Strome* and *Auf dem Rhein*, were first published in 1822, long before Heine’s involvement in the *Junges Deutschland*,⁷ Kinkel’s settings of these words were not published until 1838. The other two Lieder discussed in this article, *Demokratenlied*, and *Abendlied nach der Schlacht*, were published in 1848, and 1851, respectively.⁸ Therefore, the term *Junges Deutschland, Vormärz, and Biedermeier* captures best the diverse socio-historical environment of Kinkel’s compositions, of which the examined Lieder were as much a part as the poets and composer discussed in this article.

Although the *Biedermeier*, defined as a “resigned quiescence to the philistine world” by Arne Koch (68), was met with suspicion and disfavour by Johanna Kinkel,⁹ Kinkel benefitted in one way or the other from the resultant increase of sheet music publications,¹⁰ open-access policy of salons and growing interest in and popularity of choral associations. Kinkel, whose own compositional style, as we will see in this article, ranges from rather simple to fairly complex, made her debut as a pianist in the musical salons of Bonn and Berlin; her commercial success as a Lieder composer goes back to her social connections with the Berlin salon scene through which she was introduced to the publisher Trautwein. Besides Kinkel’s own salon life as a pianist and Lieder composer in Bonn and Berlin and as a host to the *Maikäfer* gatherings, which could be considered a literary and political salon of the *Vormärz*, she also directed the choral association *Bonner Gesangverein* (1827-1848; with a short interruption during her stay in Berlin from 1836-1839; see further Kinkel’s own *Notizen den Gesangverein betreffend*). Ryan Minor (3) points to the strong influence choral singing had on the “people’s own *Anspruch* – its demands, claims, and entitlement to take part in public discourse”. Minor (3) argues that Hans Georg Nägeli, the first promoter of nineteenth-century choral singing, was by no means

concerned with German state-building when he advocated the public's musical participation early in the nineteenth century. However, "by the 1840s, when the drive for unification laid claim to an imagined German *Volk* and participatory practices that bound it together, choral singing and choral institutions had become one of the markers of an emerging nation" (Minor 3). Therefore, Minor explains that "yet if choral music was not exclusively or reductively national, it was a prominent part of the national imaginary all the same" (4). In this light, Johanna Kinkel, as a Lieder composer, salon pianist, and leader of a choral association, took an active part as a promoter of musical life during the first half of the nineteenth century – and switched constantly and comfortably between the rather unpolitical *Biedermeier* culture of many of the Berlin salons she visited on the one hand, the socially-driven *Bonner Gesangverein* and the politically-driven *Maikäfer* association of the *Vormärz* on the other hand.

Johanna Kinkel's political settings

While Kinkel equally engaged with the *Vormärz* and the *Biedermeier* element of the 1830s and 1840s, her position to the third qualifier of this period, the *Junges Deutschland*, remains obscure, because she does not refer to the political scope of this movement and/ or its "mentor" Heinrich Heine (1797-1856) in her correspondence and/ or memoirs.

The Rhineland settings

George S. Williamson depicts that one typical identifier of nationalism within the field of arts is the Rhineland, which was involved in wars over Prussian hegemony (73). Many of Kinkel's political songs are settings of Heinrich Heine's poems, which, indeed, centre on the Rhineland. Heinrich Heine was considered the "geistiger Vater" of the political-literary movement *Junges Deutschland*, to which Karin Friedrich refers as a "rebellious and highly politicized literary movement" (106).¹¹ Arne Koch (67) asserts that "this literary orientation [*Junges Deutschland*] at times directly impacted the socio-historical reality", because some of its exponents encouraged revolts and revolution. In 1835, the *Junges Deutschland* was banned by the German *Bundestag*, a ban which also affected Heinrich Heine and all of his past and future literary works (Koch 68, Ziegler 115). Although Heinrich Heine took an ambivalent position towards nationalism, he, as a writer, contributed to the national movement to a great extent (Mommsen 122). Based on Heine's writings on patriotism and *Vaterlandsliebe*, Mommsen (122) concludes "dass für Heine die Idee eines vollendeten deutschen Nationalstaats freiheitlichen Zuschnitts, der sich uneingeschränkt aufklärerischen und weltbürgerlichen Idealen öffnete, ein ideales Leitbild darstellte, welches nicht nur seine politische Dichtung, sondern auch sein publizistisches Werk maßgeblich bestimmt hat". However, Mommsen (123) stresses that Heine was in disfavor of the "nationalistische Rhetorik der radikalen Demokraten, die die Prinzipien des Weltbürgertums und der Völkerverständigung in den Hintergrund treten ließ". Because Heine felt as a *Weltbürger* and national-geographic borders meant very little to him (Mommsen 120), he generally fought nationalist tendencies, but he supported the agenda of the liberals (Mommsen 126). Heine favored the principle of the *Nationalstaat*, but he combined his own national identity with the "unbedingte Toleranz gegenüber den anderen Nationen," and in so doing, he was way ahead of his time (Mommsen 127). Therefore, Mommsen (128) resumes that

it is impossible to assign Heine to one particular political (or literary) movement. In a similar way, Stefan Bodo Würffel (150) ascertains that Heine was a political poet (*politischer Dichter*), but not a partisan poet (*Partei nehmender Dichter*). Würffel (146-147) bases his argument on Heine's concept of patriotism: Heine criticised the change of meaning of the word "patriotism" after the Napoleonic Wars and, instead, favors the cosmopolitan world view as taken by his predecessors Goethe, Lessing, Schiller, and Jean Paul. While Heine advocated *Vaterlandsliebe* (Mommsen 120), he criticised patriotism and writes, in 1834 that "die anderen wollen mir wieder mehr Patriotismus aufbürden, als ich ertragen kann" (Würffel 146). Mike Rapport (112-113) ascertains that "most patriots of 1848, in claiming national rights and freedom for their own people, were in the process willing to trample on the liberties of others," which explains why 1848-patriotism did not conform to Heinrich Heine's cosmopolitan approach to *Vaterlandsliebe*. However, Heine's *vaterlandsliebende Poesie* and its numerous settings to folk-like melodies might have been misinterpreted – may it be consciously or not – as it was included in rather patriotic collections, e.g. J. M. Dunst's *Rhein-Sagen und Lieder*.

The music publisher J. M. Dunst opens his collection of romances, ballads, Lieder and folk-like melodies *Rhein-Sagen und Lieder* with a fairly patriotic note to the reader:

Vor allen deutschen Ländern wallt der gebildete Reisende gern zum prächtigen Rhein. Die Natur hat diese lieblichen Ufer in hohem Grade mit jenem poetischen Zauber umgeben, dem sich das für ländliche Schönheit empfängliche Herz so gerne hingibt. Der sanft dahin wallende Strom, die prachtvolle Szenerie seiner Ufer, die in der buntesten Abwechslung dem entzückten Auge vorüber eilen, die verwitterten Burgen, an eine romantische Vergangenheit mahnend: Alles das lässt sich leichter empfinden als beschreiben; daher auch die Rheingegend die größten Dichter und Sänger aller Zeiten begeisterte. Viele dieser Rheinsagen und Liedersammlungen (die neueste und vollständigste von Simrock) sind weit verbreitet und in aller Händen. Die Musik hat indessen wenig getan, diese Poesien zu verschönern, und will die Verlagshandlung den Wünschen so vieler Freunde des Gesanges gerne entgegen kommen, indem sie sich die Aufgabe stellt, eine solche Sammlung zu gestalten. Der Zusage der vorzüglichsten jetzt lebenden Komponisten . . . bereits gewiss, soll hier den Gesangfreunden ein echt nationales Werk angeboten werden, das, unverdrängt durch die Flut der Neuigkeiten, auch in der fernsten Zeit seinen Wert behält. Es möge unsere Sammlung Rheinsagen- und Lieder die Liebe des Rheinländers zum Heimatlande erhöhen, so wie dem frühen Pilger zum Rhein in der Ferne das Andenken der an seinen blühenden Ufern erlebten glücklichen Momente wieder hervorzaubern. (1)

In the first volume of his collection, Dunst published Kinkel's *Der Rheinstrom*, which is a setting of Heine's poem *Auf dem Rhein* (Table 1) and *Köln*, a setting of Heine's poem *Im Rhein, dem heiligen Strome* (Table 2).¹²

Table 1: Lyrics of *Der Rheinstrom*¹³

<i>Der Rheinstrom</i>	
Berg und Burgen schau'n herunter	a
In den spiegelhellen Rhein;	b
Und mein Schiffchen segelt munter	a
Rings umglänzt von Sonnenschein.	b
Ruhig seh' ich zu dem Spiele	c
Goldner Wellen kraus bewegt;	d
Still erwachen die Gefühle	c
Die ich tief im Busen hegt.	d
Freundlich grüßend und verheißend	e
Locket hinab des Stromes Pracht;	f
Doch ich kenn' ihn, oben gleißend	e
Bringt sein Inn'eres Tod und Nacht.	f
Oben Lust, im Busen Tücken,	g
Strom, du bist der Liebsten Bild!	h
Die kann auch so freundlich nicken,	g
Lächelt auch so fromm und mild.	h

Table 2: Lyrics of *Köln*¹⁴

<i>Köln</i>	
Im Rhein, im heiligen Strome,	a
Da spiegelt sich in den Well'n,	b
Mit seinem großen Dome	a
Das große heilige Kölln.	b
Im Dom da steht ein Bildniss,	c
Auf goldenem Leder gemalt;	d
In meines Lebens Wildniss	c
Hat's freundlich hinein gestrahlt.	d
Es schweben Blumen und Englein	e
Um unsre liebe Frau;	f
Die Augen, die Lippen, die Wänglein,	e
Die gleichen der Liebsten genau.	f

Both Lieder praise unique Rhineland appearances and both songs have in common their stylistic use of those Rhineland phenomena as an allegory for the lyrical I's beloved, which, besides the *vaterlandsliebende* layer, opens up a personal level. In *Der Rheinstrom*, the lyrical I compares the river's characteristics (in stanzas one, two, and three) with his beloved's malice (in stanza four), a tone which reflects the typical bold Rhineland humour and which also breaks the patriotic impression evoked in the first three stanzas. The lyrical I in *Köln* associates his beloved with the Cologne Cathedral image of the Virgin Mary (stanza three). This comparison takes away the seriousness with which the pride of the Rhineland, the Cologne Cathedral, was approached in the first two stanzas of this Lied.

In his essay "Imperialism and Anti-Imperialism in Nineteenth-century Popular Song", which discusses the socio-cultural impact of different national and imperialistic songs of nineteenth-century Britain, Derek B. Scott concludes that "as far as the words are concerned, we should note not only the content, but also the choice of subject matter" (261). In this respect, the two Heine poems discussed in this article not only combine two typical Romantic themes, namely an appraisal of the Rhineland and love, but they also accelerate the pride of the Rhineland as a friendly, bright and yet mystic area as is stressed by Dunst in his note. Even though Heinrich Heine might not have aimed for such a patriotic interpretation (and promotion!) of his poems, it seems that Dunst, by accompanying these poems with a patriotic note to the reader, enhanced the patriotic (rather than the personal – perhaps, by way of irony, in fact, anti-patriotic) element of

these poems. In the light of this interpretation, the words seem to fit perfectly into the nineteenth-century cultural context of patriotic love for the Rhineland as was propagated by such poets as Nikolaus Becker (1809-1845) or Robert Prutz (1816-1872). But do Kinkel's compositions follow the requirements of a popular song that, as Dunst promised in his note, "will outlive the flood of novelties and that will be of great value also in the far future"?

In favour of a challenging piano accompaniment and a complex harmonic progression, the vocal line of *Der Rheinstrom* is fairly simple. It spans a minor sixth (a'-f') and there are neither major ornamentations nor difficult intervals. Kinkel's strophic setting combines two poetic stanzas in one musical stanza. Thus, Kinkel does not respond compositionally to the textual shift of perspective in stanza four (which is set to the exact same music as stanza two). The greatest musical challenge in *Kölln* is the harmonic constitution of the Lied, which is evoked by chromaticism in both the piano and the vocal part. Like *Der Rheinstrom*, this Lied is a strophic setting. However, its varied piano accompaniment in the third stanza creates a contrast to the preceding two verses, a pianistic change which corresponds with the change of content in the last stanza. While the accompaniment in the first two stanzas includes sedate chords set as minims and crotchets, the final stanza is set to broken triads (arranged in quavers) and thereby achieves a slight increase in tension, which is supported by a *decrescendo* at the words "Die gleichen der Liebsten [genau]". Although the rather complex harmonic pattern of *Kölln* and the challenging piano accompaniment of *Der Rheinstrom* question both Lieders' qualifications as popular songs, the simple melodic lines and the recognizable rhythms feature an important characteristic of popular music, namely memorability; an aspect, which Dunst seems to address when he hopes for his collection to be valuable also in the far future.

Johanna and Gottfried Kinkel's poems

In her *Demokratenlied*, Johanna Kinkel proves her ability to compose memorable and performable tunes to her own words (Table 3). A plea for democracy and for a republic, the spurring strophic setting clearly prioritises the words over the musical wit as both melody and harmony are fairly simple. Its instant publication by Sulzbach, which was announced in the *Bonner Zeitung* on 19 December 1848 (4) as being "volkstümlich", enabled a rapid distribution of the strong words. According to Monica Klaus (167), this Lied was received with great enthusiasm when Gottfried Kinkel recited the words at a meeting of the *Demokratischen Verein* (Democrats' Association) on 7 December 1848.

Table 3: Lyrics of *Demokratenlied*
Demokratenlied

Genug der Schmähung habt Ihr uns geboten,	a
der Lüge und des Hohnes nur zu viel.	b
Nicht schürten wir den Hass den blutig rothen,	a
die Menschlichkeit war unsres Kampfes Ziel.	b
Wer trägt des Blutes Zeichen am Gewande,	c
wem sprüht der Bürgerhass aus gift'gem Blick.	d
Wer küßt den Staub von eines Thrones Rande,	c
und zittert vor dem Namen Republick.	d
Und Ihr die mit der Fülle Eures Goldes,	e
mit süßem Wein und süßer Schmeichelei	f
jetzt kirrt die Knechte des Tyrannensoldes,	e
es gilt auch Euch der Freiheit Racheschrei.	f
Droht nur dem freien Mann mit Kerkermauern,	g
wenn tückisch Ihr die Waffen erst geraubt;	h
erfüllt der Mütter Herz mit Todesschauern,	g
begehrt als Geißel unsrer Kinder Haupt.	h
O Freiheit die der Arme sich erkoren,	i
ob all sein Gut in Schutt und Trümmer sank.	k
Dich grüssen wir, wenn nur zu unsern Ohren	i
Im Tod der Name Republick erklang.	k
Chorus: Schaut ob Ihr unser Recht	l
Und unsre Wehr zerbrecht.	m
Heran, heran, heran Demokratie,	k
dran auf die rothe Monarchie.	m

Musically, the verses are set in a march-like 4/4 pattern, while the chorus stresses the enthusiastic appeal for the “rothe Monarchie” in a faster 2/4 metre. It is striking how the poem exposes a development from a peaceful mood (“Menschlichkeit war unser Ziel”) to combative enthusiasm (“wenn nur zu unsern Ohren im Tod der Name Republick erklang”). As a means of socio-political inclusion, the poem uses a simple model of two opposed parties: “we” are the good people, the poor people seeking freedom; and “you” are the bad people, oppressing and robbing the good ones. The frequent use of such pronouns as “we” and “us” might suggest a direct connection of the *Demokratenlied* with the Kinkels’ own political ambitions.

Karl Marx, in his satirical character drawing of Gottfried Kinkel in *Die großen Männer des Exils* (253), questioned the revolutionary traits of this “schauspielernden melodramatischen Theologen” [Gottfried Kinkel]. However, the great number of actions Kinkel undertook for and/or with the democratic (and later the republican) movement of the 1840s shows that Marx’s

account of Kinkel might have been biased. In February 1848, Gottfried Kinkel advocated in a lecture on the history of arts “eine Staatsform, in welcher der Wille des Volkes zur Geltung kommt und zum lebensbeherrschenden Gesetze wird” (Klaus 152), followed by Kinkel’s first democratic speech at Bonn City Hall on March 20, 1848. Seven days later, on March 27th, Kinkel took over the Democrats’ leadership of the newly-established *Central-Bürgerversammlung*, which included three political branches (the Rhine Catholics, the Constitutionals, and the Democrats). On May 28th, Kinkel established the *Handwerkerbildungsverein*, followed by the establishment of the *Demokratischen Verein* on May 31. On August 6th, Kinkel became editor of Bonn’s only democratic newspaper, the *Bonner Zeitung*. Until December 1848, Johanna Kinkel had supported the revolution only passively by looking after the household and the four children.¹⁵ However, Monica Klaus points out that Johanna Kinkel’s involvement with politics assumed new dimensions when an armed soldier unexpectedly entered Kinkel’s house during a piano lesson. Numerous intrigues and aspersions against Johanna Kinkel, which caused the loss of all her piano students, motivated her to participate at current political events more actively (Klaus 165-166). On December 6, 1848, Johanna Kinkel published her *Demokratenlied* in the *Bonner Zeitung*. This Lied was published as a singular work by Sulzbach on December 16th. When, on February 24, 1849, Gottfried Kinkel moved to Berlin as a representative of the *Zweite Kammer* of the Prussian Diet, Johanna Kinkel expanded her editorial activity with the *Neue Bonner Zeitung*.¹⁶ Johanna Kinkel took over the sole editorship of this paper on May 20, 1849.¹⁷ In a letter dated February 24, 1849, she assured Gottfried that “[w]enn ich dir nicht folgen konnte, so ist doch mein volles glühendes Herz bei dir, mein Geist erstrebt mit deinem das gleiche Ziel” (Johanna Kinkel & Gottfried Kinkel 1: 426). On March 30, 1849, Kinkel was suspended from the Bonn University; he was unseated as a professor on July 12, 1849. On May 10th, Gottfried Kinkel participated at the *Siegburger Zeughaussturm*; on June 20, he joined the *Companie Besançon* in order to fight on the side of the republican revolutionaries on the battlefield in Baden. On July 2, Kinkel was injured during a battle at Küppenheim, near Rastatt, which Rapport (346) identifies as the “final resistance of the German revolution of 1848-9”, and was arrested in Rastatt. Kinkel was kept in several German prisons until, with his friend Carl Schurz’s friend, he escaped to London on November 6, 1850. Stanley Zucker (251) labels Kinkel “the most prominent political prisoner in Germany” and explains that “support for the Kinkels had become a national cause in Germany”, which is also recognisable by means of several petitions and numerous newspaper articles on (and many of them pro) Kinkel. Gottfried Kinkel’s family was financially supported by Kathinka Zitz-Halein’s *Humania Association* in Mainz, an organization, which, according to Stanley Zucker (238), was “designed to support the uprisings in the spring of 1849 and subsequently to help those imprisoned or in exile after the defeat of the new insurgency”.¹⁸ Not only did Zitz-Halein support the Kinkels financially, but she also acted as an intermediary between Johanna and Gottfried Kinkel while Gottfried was imprisoned. On September 19, 1849, Gottfried Kinkel wrote to Johanna from the Rastatt prison:

Wenn du schnell und vertraulich eine Nachricht mitzutheilen wünschst, so schreibe an das Frauzimmer [Kathinka Zitz], welche jetzt deine Mittheilung beantwortet hat. Erzähle ihr Alles, ohne an mich das Wort zu richten: solch einen an eine dritte Person gerichteten Brief kann ich dann ohne Gefahr und bedenken in meine Hand gelangen lassen. Dieses Frauzimmer werden wir in unsern offiziellen Briefen mit dem Namen

‘Herr Walther’ bezeichnen. (Johanna Kinkel & Gottfried Kinkel 2: 605-606, underline in original).

Gottfried and Johanna Kinkel’s following correspondence reveals that Johanna and Kathinka Zitz-Halein were also quite friendly with each other. In a letter from January 1, 1850, Johanna wrote to Gottfried about the shared destiny of herself and her friend, Kathinka Zitz-Halein:

Unser ähnliches Schicksal führte uns zu Correspondenz, und gegenseitigem Trost-Einsprechen. Ich halte sie aber für unglücklicher als mich: denn obgleich sie edel, wahr, gütig, talentvoll, großmüthig ist – liebt ihr Mann sie nicht, und eine solche Trennung ist noch schwerer zu tragen als unsre, die wir im Gemüthe mindestens vereint sind (Johanna Kinkel & Gottfried Kinkel 2: 771).¹⁹

The ideological union between Johanna and Gottfried Kinkel is also revealed in *Abendlied nach der Schlacht*, opus 21, no. 5, in which Johanna set her husband’s words. In contrast to *Demokratenlied*, which was published promptly as a single work, *Abendlied nach der Schlacht* was published inconspicuously within a collection of six Lieder. The adagio setting takes on a completely different tone than *Demokratenlied*. Pleading for peace, the lyrical I wanders over an abandoned battlefield (Table 4, Ex. 1).

Table 4: Lyrics of *Abendlied nach der Schlacht*

Auf weitem blut’gen Feld,	<i>a</i>
Wo sich die Heere trafen,	<i>b</i>
So manche, manche Braven	<i>b</i>
schlafen.	<i>b</i>
Auf weitem blut’gen Feld.	<i>a</i>
Die Sonne geht zur Ruh’,	<i>c</i>
Des Todes Schatten schleichen	<i>d</i>
So langsam auf den bleichen	<i>d</i>
Leichen.	<i>d</i>
Die Sonne geht zur Ruh’.	<i>c</i>
Schlaft wohl nun, Freund und Feind!	<i>e</i>
So viele heut gefallen,	<i>f</i>
Euch wünsch’ ich Frieden allen,	<i>f</i>
allen.	<i>f</i>
Schlaft wohl nun, Freund und Feind.	<i>e</i>

Gottfried Kinkel’s words are highly poetic; their numerous soft internal assonances portray the stagnating atmosphere after the battle. Johanna Kinkel absorbs this mood through long legato passages and a moving piano postlude (Ex. 1). Especially striking is the four-bar lament passage in bars 13-16, over which Kinkel stretches only one word, namely “schlafen” (first verse),

“Leichen” (second verse), and “allen” (third verse), possibly the most meaning-bearing words of the poem. Furthermore, Kinkel uses an enharmonic re-interpretation in bar 6 (c sharp vs. d flat), which changes the harmonic perception of the Lied from a quite neutral F major to a melancholic Eb major/ G minor mode. The most outstanding stylistic means, however, is the vocal line. In contrast to the simple melodies of Kinkel’s Rhineland settings and *Demokratenlied*, *Abendlied nach der Schlacht* includes a great deal of linear dissonances, mainly minor seconds, but also a tritone in bars 12-13.

Example 1: *Abendlied nach der Schlacht* (Op. 21, No. 5)

Adagio

1. Auf wei - tem blut' - gen Feld, wo sich die Hee - re tra - fen, so
 2. Die Son - ne geht zur Ruh', des To - des Schat - ten schlei - chen so
 3. Schlaf wohl nun, Freund und Feind! So vie - le heut ge - fal - len, euch

man - che, man - che Bra - ven schla - fen
 lang - sam auf den blei - chen Leich - chen
 wünsch' ich Frie - den al - len, al - len

— auf wei - tem blut' - gen Feld.
 — die Son - ne geht zur Ruh'.
 — schlaf wohl nun, Freund und Feind.

movendo

Linear dissonances, however, are not as pleasant to the ear, which might explain why Kinkel did not publish this Lied singularly and why this song appeared to be fairly unknown in the public sphere, which seemed to prefer catchy melodies such as the *Demokratenlied* or Kinkel’s children’s song *Lied von der Bürgerwache*. According to Monica Klaus (164), this children’s song published within Kinkel’s opus 20, *Anleitung zum Singen*, was not only sung by her own children, but became a popular tune of the Bonn middle class. The song tells the story of

a man going out to war from his son's point of view. "Jetzt sitz' ich gern noch auf dem Schoß, doch das wird anders bin ich einmal groß, dann schwing' ich hoch die Fahne schwarzgoldroth und für die Freiheit geh ich in den Tod" (16).

Johanna Kinkel's political art songs as a contribution to the socio-cultural identity of the German democratic movement of the late 1840s?

Despite its little public acknowledgement, *Abendlied nach der Schlacht*, originating from two revolutionaries favouring a democracy, is an important cornerstone in the attempt to answer our initial question: did Johanna Kinkel's political art songs help construct the cultural identity of the *Maikäferbund*, and, more generally, the democratic revolutionary movement of the 1840s? Johanna Kinkel's political songs were all published promptly, either singularly, or as part of Lieder collections, so that they could be distributed easily to a broad audience. Furthermore, Kinkel's songs were sung and appreciated, as is reflected in Kinkel's friend Willibald Beyschlag's memories of the *Maikäfer* gatherings:

Wenn sie ihre Lieder sang, die in Wohlklang verklärten schönsten Lieder von Geibel oder von Kinkel, - nicht mit bedeutender Stimme, aber im durchgebildetsten seelenvollen Vortrag, dann im Dämmerlichte des traulichen Zimmers wurde sie jung und schön. (114-115)

Jon Landau describes the relationship between the performer and the audience of rock/ folk music as "a natural kinship, a sense that the stars weren't being imposed from above but had sprung up from out of our own ranks" (Frith, *Magic* 159). Beyschlag's characterisation of Kinkel's rather weak voice as well as his allusion to the "intimate room" reveals exactly this experience of an audience feeling closely related to the performer. The fact that Johanna Kinkel contributed her own writings to the *Maikäfer* journals without prominence over any other member's works and that she committed herself to joint works with *Maikäfer* acquaintances supports the image of Johanna Kinkel as an artist having sprung up from out of the *Maikäfer* members' ranks. Her widely-acknowledged democratic world view, which was also noted by members of the *Bonner Gesangverein*, might have added to Kinkel's perception of a genuine democrat rather than a (democratic) artist imposed from above. Furthermore, the creation of a *Maikäfer Nationalhymne* in 1841 suggests that music (and an anthem representing unity) must have been a welcome means of identification for this literary and political movement. This *Maikäfer* national anthem was published in the *Maikäfer* journal No. 22 on 1 June 1841 (Brandt-Schwarze 1: 484-485). The words were written by the *Maikäfer* member Alexander Kaufmann. On the other hand, Ivo Supićić allocates the growing distance between the composer and the performance, which he sees as a further indicator of musical mass culture, to the turn of the eighteenth to the nineteenth centuries (159). A concert review of a Leipzig performance on the occasion of the farewell of singer Mary Shaw, according to which the concert repertoire included a Lied of Johanna Kinkels' reveals that Kinkel's Lieder were not only performed within the semi-public context of the *Maikäferbund* and other Bonn (and Berlin) salons, but were also performed by renowned singers at public performances (Dörffel 213). This suggests placing Kinkel's Lieder within the context of nineteenth-century popular song and alludes to the two-fold reception of Kinkel's Lieder within the discourse of nineteenth-century cultural history: on the one hand, some of these Lieder were performed within the semi-public context of the

Maikäferbund, which points to the political element of the *Vormärz*. On the other hand, Kinkel's Lieder were performed within larger concert contexts in the Leipzig Gewandhaus, which points to the rather unpolitical *Biedermeier* context of this era. Considering the different themes and different degrees of difficulty covered by Kinkel, one could conclude that Kinkel composed Lieder for both domains – in this article, however, Kinkel's political Lieder take analytical priority.

In his essay “Why Do Songs Have Words?”, Simon Frith states that “if music gives lyrics their linguistic vitality, lyrics give songs their social use” (101). Referring to twentieth-century popular music, he explains that “in a culture in which few people make music but everyone makes conversation, access to songs is primarily through their words” (101). In this respect, one might draw the conclusion that in the nineteenth century, when, according to Johanna Kinkel's *Acht Briefen* (9), “Mädchen, die kein Gedicht richtig vorlesen können, ... jedoch singen [lernten]”, the Lied may have enabled access to poetry that otherwise would have remained unknown, which is certainly valid for Kinkel's settings of her own and her husband's words (rather than for Heine's words). At a less speculative level, however, the Lied, as opposed to the poem or an instrumental work, addressed two cultural domains at the same time. By choosing to set poems to music, Kinkel reached for an audience consisting of both literary and musical intellectuals; and by choosing different compositional styles (simple and catchy vs. complex and thoughtful), she extended the range of her taste groups.²⁰ Simon Frith defines the experience of cultural identity as a “social process, a form of interaction, and an aesthetic process” (“Music and Identity”, 110). Having said this, the *Maikäferbund* not only offered Johanna Kinkel a platform for the performance of her political Lieder, but it also guaranteed both interaction and aesthetic thinking as Kinkel also set the words of such other *Maikäfer* members as Wilhelm Seibt, Alexander Kaufmann, Sebastian Longard, Wilhelm Müller von Königswinter, and Nikolaus Becker, who was an honorary member of the *Maikäferbund* (Klaus 104).²¹ In fact, Kinkel's creative output shaped the identity of the *Maikäfer* at many levels as she not only set her acquaintances' poems, but she also inspired, wrote, and published prose and drew the title pages of the journal. However, considering the multitude of socio-political, critical, and satirical writings in the *Maikäfer* journals, which originate from more than 20 different authors (rather than Johanna Kinkel alone),²² it would certainly be incorrect to assign the *Maikäfer*'s political touch solely to Johanna Kinkel. But as Kinkel was the co-founder and the editor of the journal, it can be assumed that her gatekeeping would have been an authoritative instance all journal entries would have passed. Therefore, Kinkel's own artistic output as well as her gatekeeping clearly must have shaped the cultural identity of the *Maikäferbund*.

Resumé

Additionally, the general public seemed to perceive Kinkel as an active and influential revolutionary. The earliest mention of Johanna Kinkel in a general German-language dictionary dates back to 1855. In the article on Gottfried Kinkel, *Herders Conversations-Lexikon* speaks of Johanna as Gottfried Kinkel's wife, “die auf seine [Gottfried Kinkels] Geisteshaltung großen Einfluss ausübte” (591). Johanna Kinkel appeared to be perceived as pulling the strings with regard to both the *Maikäferbund* and Gottfried Kinkel's political activities. The political connotations with Johanna Kinkel and her *Maikäferbund* within the nineteenth-century public discourse reveal that she, along with her husband, was recognised as a key figure of the

revolutionary democratic movement. In this light, Kinkel's political Lieder must have contributed a great deal to her reception as a political character and thereby to the collective identity of the nineteenth-century democratic movement.

Derek B. Scott explains the political power of music with its perceived power "to act upon or represent emotions;" "[b]ecause of its emotional impact," Scott points out, "music also possesses political power that can be exerted in the forging of national and social class identities" (*Power* 235). The analyses of four selected Lieder of Kinkels' have shown how her songs might have been able to evoke political thought within their taste group. Having stressed Kinkel's strong political perception by the nineteenth-century public, one might want to add to Scott's statement that the performer's (and in this case also the composer's) reputation might predetermine the emotional impact evoked by a particular song as Kinkel's audience might have attended her Lieder recitals knowing that Kinkel was politically interested and married to the democrat Gottfried Kinkel, especially as many of those recitals took place within the politically-oriented *Maikäferbund*.²³ Finally, I would like to raise attention to the aspect of joint identifiers as it is questionable if Johanna Kinkel would have ever been associated with the nineteenth-century democratic movement had she not got married to Gottfried Kinkel. However, in turn, Gottfried Kinkel's political activities were encouraged by the mental and physical support of his wife, who had distinguished herself as a socio-political outrider already when she got divorced from her first husband. Therefore, both Johanna and Gottfried Kinkel can be seen as contributors to the cultural identity of the nineteenth-century democratic movement. Considering the reciprocal nature of the Kinkels' influence on each other's mind set, I would like to speak of them as joint identifiers of the democratic revolutionary movement rather than of Gottfried as Johanna Kinkel's revolutionary identifier.

- ¹ This article results from two papers read at *Identities: An Interdisciplinary Approach*, Istanbul, October 2014, and *Studying Music – An International Conference in Honour of Simon Frith*, Edinburgh, April 2014. I wish to extend my sincere thanks to the organizers of these conferences for giving me the opportunity to present my research to an international audience whose inspiring feedback was of great help for me. Furthermore, I would like to thank the Irish Research Council for the generous financial support of my research. I am also grateful to the *Society for Musicology in Ireland* and the *Stiftung Preußischer Kulturbesitz*, with whose financial support I was able to conduct research on Kinkel's representation in the German print media in August 2014 and March 2015. Finally, I would like to express my gratitude to my supervisors Dr Lorraine Byrne Bodley and Dr Laura Watson, both of whose comments on this paper and beyond are highly inspirational.
- ² Before his marriage to Johanna Mathieux (née Mockel), Gottfried Kinkel studied theology with the prospect of becoming a Protestant sermonizer. His engagement (and marriage) to Johanna disabled him from this career; Gottfried Kinkel lost his position as an assistant sermonizer in Cologne and his teaching positions for religion at the Thormannsche Institut and the Koblenz school authority. He worked as an associate professor for theology in Bonn, but his financial income was so little that Johanna Kinkel was the main breadwinner. In 1845, Gottfried Kinkel left the theological faculty and was appointed associate professor for Modern history of the arts, literature and culture at the philosophical faculty of Bonn. However, his financial income merely increased and Johanna Kinkel contributed a great deal to the household finances through music lessons and the publication of her compositions. In 1847, the Kinkels' financial situation improved slightly when Gottfried's salary for his position as an assistant professor was doubled to 400 taler. However, Gottfried Kinkel's calculations of the overall family income of 2000 taler (made up of his own income from his assistant professorship, additional lectures, his work for newspapers, and Johanna's income gained from teaching and Lieder publications) reveal that his position as an assistant professor only constituted 25% of the family income. For further details on the Kinkels' financial situation during the 1840s see Monica Klaus (128ff.).
- ³ Kinkel composed more than 80 Lieder, 79 of which were published; a choral work, *Hymnus In Coena Domini*; and two singing schools. Most of her stage works remained unpublished: *Vogelkantate* (Op. 1); *Die Landpartie* (unpublished); *Savigny und Themis oder die Olympier in Berlin* (unpublished); *Verrückte Komödien aus Berlin* (manuscript missing); *Das Malzthier* (unpublished); *Otto der Schütz* (unpublished); *Die Assassinen* (unpublished); *Jubiläum des Großvaters* (unpublished); *The Baker and the Mice* (manuscript missing); *Die Fürstin von Paphos* (manuscript missing). Besides these musical works, Kinkel also published numerous novellas and a two-volume novel, *Hans Ibeles in London*. Kinkel's published Lieder oeuvre includes 35 love songs, 18 Lieder dealing with nature, and 26 political settings.
- ⁴ Examples of Kinkel's socio-political settings are *Römische Nacht* (Op. 15, No. 1), *Rette Vater, dein geliebtes Kind* (Op. 15, No. 5); *Auf wohl auf ihr Candioten* (Op. 18, No. 3); *Stürmisch wandern* (Op. 18, No. 6); *Durch Carthago's Trümmerhallen, Beduinen-Romanze, Thurm und Fluth* (all Op. 19); *Provençalisches Lied* (Op. 21, No. 4); *Abendlied nach der Schlacht* (Op. 21, No. 5); *Der gefangene Freischärler*; *Der letzte Glaubensartikel*; and *Männerlied*.
- ⁵ With regard to the nineteenth-century Lied, Andrew Webber (23) points to an interesting seemingly contradictory feature of the Romantic era: "It [this era] celebrates the simplicity of folk culture and yet converts the *Märchen* and the *Volkslied* into their more artful . . . counterparts – the *Kunstmärchen* and *Kunstvolkslied*", an observation, which is also valid for Johanna Kinkel's numerous folk-like art songs.
- ⁶ The purposes of nineteenth-century salon gatherings were diverse and included literary, musical, political, or simply social motivations. Depending on the focus of each salon, the salon audience could comprise of artistic and/ or political connoisseurs or dilettantes, which is also reflected in the broad salon music repertoire including highly-virtuosic compositions as well as rather simple works. (Ballstaedt 855)
- ⁷ Heine's poem *Im Rhein, im heiligen Strome* was first published on 18 August 1822 in *Rheinisches Unterhaltungsblatt* 33 (18.8.1822) with the title „Der Gruß des Engels“. It was then included in *Tragödien nebst einem lyrischen Intermezzo. Lyrisches Intermezzo* (Berlin: Ferdinand Dümmler, 1823), 78. It was also included

in *Buch der Lieder von H. Heine* (Hamburg: Hoffmann und Campe, 1827), 120. The poem *Auf dem Rhein* was first published within the poem collection *Gedichte von H. Heine* (Berlin: Maurersche Buchhandlung, 1822), 56; like *Im Rhein, im heiligen Strome*, this poem was included in *Buch der Lieder von H. Heine* (Hamburg: Hoffmann und Campe, 1827), 46. For online access to these poems see the Heine-Portal, which is maintained by the Universität Trier: <http://hhp.uni-trier.de/Projekte/HHP/Projekte/HHP/start> [21 April 2015].

- ⁸ Although Kinkel's Lied *Abendlied nach der Schlacht*, which is part of Gottfried Kinkel's Singspiel *Die Assassinen*, was published in 1851, Johanna Kinkel's correspondence with her then husband-to-be, Gottfried Kinkel, and Felix Mendelssohn reveals that Kinkel received the manuscript of *Die Assassinen* as early as 1841, and that she set the words between 1841, and 1843, respectively (Klaus 126-127).
- ⁹ In her *Acht Briefe an eine Freundin über Clavierunterricht*, Kinkel regrets that "[k]aum, daß man eine Gesellschaft besuchen kann, ohne Musik ausstehen zu müssen, und was für entsetzliche Musik!" (9).
- ¹⁰ Derek B. Scott (205), in his essay "Music and Social Class in Victorian London" (210), refers to the drawing-room ballad as the "stimulus behind the first flowering of the commercial popular music industry in Britain and North America"; an observation, which is certainly valid also for Johanna Kinkel. During her time in Berlin (1836-1839), Kinkel made a living from piano lessons and Lieder publications. Later on, even during her marriage with Gottfried Kinkel, her income as a Lieder composer and music pedagogue constituted a considerable part of the household finances.
- ¹¹ According to Sonja Gesse-Harm (1167), Metternich, in a letter to Wittgenstein from 30 November 1835, called Heine the "geistigen Vater" of the so-called *Junges Deutschland*, which included such poets as Karl Gutzkow (1811-1876), Heinrich Laube (1806-1884), Ludolf Wienbarg (1802-1872), Theodor Mundt (1808-1861), Georg Büchner, and Heinrich Heine.
- ¹² Kinkel was published alongside such famous nineteenth-century composers as Carl Loewe (1796-1869), Heinrich Marschner (1795-1861), and Felix Mendelssohn (1809-1847).
- ¹³ The lyrics cited here are the original lyrics as published in Dunst's Lieder collection. They differ from Heine's original poem in the following: line 1 'Berg' instead of 'Berg'; line 8 'hegt' instead of 'hegt'.
- ¹⁴ The lyrics cited here are the original lyrics as published in Dunst's Lieder collection. They differ from Heine's original poem in the following: line 4 'Cöln' instead of 'Kölln'; line 5 'Bildniß' instead of 'Bildniss'; line 7 'Wildniß' instead if 'Wildniss'.
- ¹⁵ Kinkel stepped back in favour of her husband's educational and political travels, although she mentions her longing for more intellectual activities in numerous letters to such friends as Willibald Beyschlag, to whom she confesses that "Mein Gemüt ist voll befriedigt, aber ich schmachte, schmachte nach Geist". (Kinkel cited after Klaus 134).
- ¹⁶ The *Bonner Zeitung* was renamed to *Neue Bonner Zeitung* from 2 January 1849 onwards.
- ¹⁷ According to Paul Kaufmann, this was not Johanna Kinkel's first journalistic experience as she edited the *Endenicher Wochenblatt*, a weekly magazine including short literary works, as early as 1830. She also wrote two *Endenicher Modejournale*, journals containing small pencil drawings and humorous literary works, in July 1835 and in 1839, respectively (5).
- ¹⁸ Zucker (237-238) explains that many such organizations were founded all over Germany and reflect an influential type of women's participation in the 1848/49 revolutions.

- ¹⁹ Besides this, there is another difference between Johanna and Kathinka: while Johanna fought for her divorce from her first husband (which she finally achieved in 1840), Kathinka Zitz-Halein's fought *against* a divorce from her husband, which he had requested, because she wanted to benefit from his support payments and "devote more time to writing" (Zucker 241).
- ²⁰ In the light of Kinkel's thematic diversity and bearing in mind the performance of one of her Lieder in the Leipzig Gewandhaus, it is important to note that Kinkel's love songs and Lieder dealing with nature may have attracted a much wider (perhaps politically neutral audience), which, again, incorporated a cultural logic different from her political settings. Therefore, Kinkel's audience might have exceeded the political audience comprising of revolutionaries.
- ²¹ Becker contributed a poem to the *Maikäfer* journal on 5 January 1841; and, according to a letter from Johanna Kinkel, he visited Johanna on 5 March 1841 "und hat zugleich den Wunsch ausgesprochen, dich [Gottfried Kinkel] bei mir zu finden. Er wünscht deine Bekanntschaft schon länger" (Johanna Kinkel & Gottfried Kinkel, 141).
- ²² Over the course from its foundation in 1840 to its closure in 1847, the *Maikäfer* counts 21 official authors: Johanna and Gottfried Kinkel, Alexander Kaufmann, Andreas Simons, Sebastian Longard, Leo Hasse, Wolfgang Müller, Carl Arnold Schlönbach, Carl Fresenius, Willibald Beyschlag, Karl Simrock, Jacob Burckhardt, Nikolaus Becker, Hermann Behn-Eschenburg, Wilhelm Seibt, Albrecht Schöler, Albrecht Wolters, Ernst Wilhelm Ackermann, Franz Beyschlag, Heinrich Brinckmann, and Wilhelm Junkmann.
- ²³ An interesting approach to consider would be Jay Blumler and Denis McQuail's *Uses and Gratifications* theory, which suggests that the audience selects their media actively following certain sought gratifications. If one applies this approach to Kinkel's Lieder, her audience, namely the *Maikäfer* members and the wider Bonn democratic movement of the 1840s, would have selected deliberately Kinkel's political settings, seeking to satisfy their desire to consume ideological material that was in line with their own mind set as they knew of Kinkel's political standing through the public media.

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