

# The Kapralova Society Journal

A Journal of Women in Music

## Fanny Mendelssohn Hensel: A Life of Music within Domestic Limits

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Fanny Mendelssohn Hensel, the elder sister of Felix Mendelssohn, was deemed by her contemporaries to be as musically gifted as Felix. She was not only a superb pianist, but also an exceptionally fine composer. Fanny's compositional style is very similar to that of her more famous brother. Her more than 400 works include lieder, piano and organ pieces, chamber music, cantatas, dramatic scenes, an oratorio and an orchestral overture. Despite her prolific creative output, however, few of her compositions were published,<sup>1</sup> and, until very recently, historians have limited her importance to the fact that her diaries and letters provide valuable source material for biographical studies of Felix Mendelssohn. This article discusses the life and creative achievements of Fanny Mendelssohn Hensel, and the forces that impeded her progress as a composer: her relationship with her father and brother, her responsibilities as wife and mother, her often debilitating sense of isolation, and her ambivalence about her creative talent.

Born in Hamburg on November 14, 1805, Fanny Mendelssohn was the eldest of four children. Her father, Abraham Mendelssohn (1776-1835), son of Jewish philosopher Moses Mendelssohn, was a cultured and wealthy banker who was passionately interested in music. Her mother, Lea Salomon

Mendelssohn (1777-1842), was a talented pianist and a good singer; she spoke French and English fluently, could read Homer in the original Greek,<sup>2</sup> and was, by all accounts, a charming and witty hostess. In announcing Fanny's birth to his mother-in-law, Abraham wrote: "Lea says that the child has Bach-fugue fingers"<sup>3</sup>--a statement which proved to be prophetic.

Before leaving Hamburg, Abraham and Lea had two more children. Felix, their first son, was born on February 3, 1809, and another daughter, Rebecca, was born on April 11, 1811. The Mendelssohn family moved to Berlin the following year, where Paul, their youngest child, was born on October 30, 1813.<sup>4</sup> All four Mendelssohn children were musical, but Fanny and Felix were extraordinarily gifted. They were both child prodigies.

Hoping to shield their young family from religious discrimination in a less than tolerant society, Abraham and Lea had the children baptized at Berlin's New Church in 1816. While on a trip to Frankfurt six years later, the parents themselves quietly underwent conversion to Protestantism. To ensure that his progeny would not be confused with their Jewish relatives, Abraham changed the

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family name from Mendelssohn to Mendelssohn Bartholdy, but he was never entirely successful at making the new name stick.<sup>5</sup>

Abraham Mendelssohn has been aptly described as "the very model of the German paterfamilias, his home an absolute monarchy."<sup>6</sup> He valued education above all else, and demanded almost unattainable standards of excellence from his children--academically, musically and morally. Like most fathers and husbands of his time, Abraham believed unconditionally that the only vocation for a respectable young woman was that of a housewife. However, he did not see this as a reason to neglect the education of his daughters; in his opinion, women should be taught to combine knowledge with charm.<sup>7</sup> It was especially important to both Abraham and Lea that Fanny's great musical talent be thoroughly developed.<sup>8</sup>

Fanny and Felix received their first piano instruction from their mother, who had studied music with Johann Philipp Kirnberger, a pupil of J. S. Bach.<sup>9</sup> Lea taught them together in several five-minute sessions per day, gradually extending the length of the lessons as her students' ability to concentrate increased. For several years she supervised every moment of their piano practice. When the Mendelssohns lived for a short time in Paris, Fanny and Felix, then eleven and seven respectively, continued their piano lessons with Madame Marie Bigot, an acquaintance of Haydn and Beethoven.<sup>10</sup>

Upon returning to Berlin, Abraham engaged the finest available tutors to guide the education of his children. Thus, Fanny and Felix studied piano with Ludwig Berger, a pupil of Muzio Clementi and John Field. For theory and composition they worked with Carl Friedrich Zelter, a respected friend of Goethe, and director of the Berlin Singakademie.<sup>11</sup> Their rigorous academic education was supervised by philologist Ludwig Heyse, father of the poet Paul Heyse.<sup>12</sup> Schooling was taken very seriously in the Mendelssohn household. The children's lessons began at 5 AM; only on Sundays were they permitted to sleep late, that is, until 6 AM.<sup>13</sup> Fanny was blessed with a phenomenal musical memory. In 1818, when

only thirteen, she played by memory twenty-four preludes from Bach's *Well-Tempered Clavier* as a surprise for her father.<sup>14</sup>

Both for the enrichment of their children's education as well as for their own pleasure, Abraham and Lea Mendelssohn set out to make their home the intellectual centre of Berlin. Their visitor's book read like a "Who's Who" of early nineteenth-century cultural and intellectual leaders: Leopold Ranke, the historian; Jacob Grimm, collector of fairy tales; writer, composer and critic E. T. A. Hoffmann; the poets Ludwig Tieck, Rahel Varnhagen and Heinrich Heine; the philosopher Hegel--and so the list continues. Musician friends of the family included such luminaries as violinist Eduard Rietz, and composers Ferdinand Hiller, Carl Maria von Weber, Ludwig Spohr, Gasparo Spontini and Zelter.<sup>15</sup>

Sometime around 1822, Abraham and Lea began to hold bi-weekly Sunday concerts in their home, the purpose being to provide their children with an appreciative audience for their musical endeavours. All four children participated in these musicales: Fanny and Felix played the piano; Rebecca sang and Paul played the cello. For each recital Lea issued personal invitations to local musicians and other prominent people.<sup>16</sup> Since, for the first few years, space was limited in the Mendelssohn residence, the audiences were small. However, in 1825, Abraham purchased an enormous estate at Leipziger Strasse 3, on the outskirts of Berlin. This property, which in later years became the Upper Chamber of the Prussian Parliament, included the family mansion, a smaller garden-house, and about seven acres of beautifully landscaped parks and gardens.<sup>17</sup> This became the new locale of the Sunday musicales, which, under Fanny's direction in the 1830s and 1840s, were destined to assume a major role in the musical life of Berlin.

Even before the move to Leipziger Strasse 3, invitations to the Sunday musicales were much sought after by visiting musicians. It was at one of these concerts in 1824 that Fanny and Felix met pianist Ignaz Moscheles (1794-1870), the most important touring virtuoso of the time. On first hearing them

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play, Moscheles recorded the following in his diary:

This is a family, the like of which I have never known. . . . Felix Mendelssohn is already a mature artist, and he is still only fifteen! . . . His elder sister Fanny, also immensely talented, played some of Bach's fugues and passacaglias by heart and with admirable precision. I believe she can justifiably be called 'a good musician.'<sup>18</sup>

Zelter, who began to teach Fanny and Felix in 1819, exerted a profound influence on their musical development. Following his method, they worked first from models, later progressing to exercises in counterpoint and figured bass.<sup>19</sup> From Zelter, Fanny received a thorough grounding in harmony, counterpoint, and composition;<sup>20</sup> in short, she was given much the same musical education as her brother. On October 1, 1820, both Fanny and Felix joined the Berlin Singakademie, where they sang alto in the chorus.<sup>21</sup>

Fanny's first known composition was a song, written as a birthday gift for her father on December 11, 1819.<sup>22</sup> Many other songs followed in rapid succession. Although primarily a lieder composer (she wrote nearly 300 songs in the course of her lifetime),<sup>23</sup> Fanny did not, even in her early years, confine her creative efforts entirely to the realm of vocal music. By 1824 she had also written thirty-two fugues,<sup>24</sup> a piano sonata, numerous character pieces for piano, a cadenza to Beethoven's Piano Concerto in C major, piano duets, chorales and choruses for mixed voices and soloists, a piano quartet and an Adagio for violin and piano.

Goethe was an early admirer of Fanny's music. Felix, who had been taken by Zelter to Goethe's home in Weimar in 1821, introduced the poet to one of Fanny's songs--a setting of his "Ach wer bringt die schönen Tage."<sup>25</sup> Goethe liked the song so much that he wrote a poem entitled "An die Entfernte" especially for Fanny. Although the manuscript became one of her most prized possessions, she never attempted to

set it.<sup>26</sup> She did, however, continue to set other poems of Goethe to music; in fact, she set more of his texts than those of any other poet.<sup>27</sup>

Fanny herself met Goethe in the autumn of 1822, when she and her parents accompanied Felix on his second visit to the poet. Recounting the events of this visit, Lea wrote: "[Goethe] was . . . very friendly and condescending to Fanny; she had to play a good deal of Bach to him, and he was extremely pleased with those of his songs which she had composed."<sup>28</sup> Thereafter, Goethe maintained a keen interest in both Felix and Fanny, and was kept informed of their musical progress through Zelter. In one of his letters to Felix, Goethe referred to Fanny as "your equally gifted sister,"<sup>29</sup> high praise indeed from a man who once said that "the very best thing that a woman ever did can only be compared to the second-rate performance of a man."<sup>30</sup>

Because of their common musical pursuits, Fanny and Felix became very close as children, and remained so throughout their entire lives. From the moment they began to compose, each sought and valued the other's criticisms; their letters bear witness to the fact that this practice continued into their adulthood. When they were children, their mother was once heard to say: "They are really vain and proud of one another."<sup>31</sup>

Fanny seems to have enjoyed the role of musical consultant to her younger brother. In 1822, when she was seventeen and Felix thirteen, she wrote: "I have watched the progress of his talent step by step, and may say that I have contributed to his development. I have always been his only musical adviser, and he never writes down a thought before submitting it to my judgement."<sup>32</sup> But she also readily acknowledged her own dependence on Felix, her most astute and reliable critic. In what is probably the first letter she ever wrote to him, Fanny declared: "You're my right hand and my eyesight, and without you, therefore, I can't proceed with my music."<sup>33</sup>

Felix admired his sister's compositions greatly, and used affectionately to call her "the Cantor"<sup>34</sup>--a reference to J. S. Bach, their musical

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idol. Felix's letters abound in tributes to her creative ability. The following brief excerpt from a letter of June 11, 1830, is typical: "I tell you, Fanny, that I have only to think of some of your pieces to become quite tender and sincere. You really know what God was thinking when he invented music."<sup>35</sup>

As previously mentioned, Abraham had definite ideas about the proper role of women in society, and being a published composer did not fit his definition of that role. While he was carefully grooming Felix for a musical career, he made it plain that because of her sex, it would be inappropriate for Fanny to aspire to a similar goal. She was indoctrinated by her father to believe that for a woman, music could be no more than a serious hobby.

It is evident from his letters that Abraham seized every opportunity to remind Fanny of the attitudes and activities that he deemed suitable for women. On July 16, 1820, while on a business trip to Paris, he wrote:

What you write to me about your musical occupations with reference to and in comparison with Felix was rightly thought and expressed. Music will perhaps become his profession, whilst for *you* it can and must only be an ornament, never the root of your being and doing. We may therefore pardon him some ambition and desire to be acknowledged in a pursuit which appears very important to him, because he feels a vocation for it, whilst it does you credit that you have always shown yourself good and sensible in these matters; and your very joy at the praise he earns proves that you might, in his place, have merited equal approval. Remain true to these sentiments and to this line of conduct; they are feminine, and only what is truly feminine is an ornament to your sex.<sup>36</sup>

And on her twenty-third birthday, her father penned these stern words:

You must become more steady and collected, and prepare earnestly and eagerly

for your real calling, the *only* calling of a young woman--I mean that of a housewife. Women have a difficult task; the unremitting attention to every detail, the appreciation of every moment for some benefit or other--all these and more are the weighty duties of a woman.<sup>37</sup>

That Abraham spared no expense in developing his daughter's talent, that he encouraged her musical pursuits, only to forbid her the fulfilment of a professional career, seems unreasonable and cruel. However, in light of the deep-seated prejudice against women composers at the time, his attitude, while no less reprehensible, is hardly surprising.

Even without her father's preachings, it is clear that Fanny was well aware of society's negative view of female creativity, for she wrote the following to her future husband, shortly before their marriage in October, 1829:

*I am composing no more songs, at least not by modern poets I know personally. . . . I now comprehend what I've always heard and what the truth-speaking Jean Paul has also said: Art is not for women, only for girls; on the threshold of my new life I take leave of this plaything.*<sup>38</sup>

Fortunately--for her and for us--she found it impossible to carry out this resolution.

Felix shared his father's belief that Fanny should not publish her music. For a "lady" of her family background and social position, it would not have been considered respectable. He did, however, publish six of her songs under his own name: "Heimweh," "Italien," and the duet "Suleika und Hatem" in his Op. 8 (1827); and "Sehnsucht," "Verlust," and "Die Nonne" in Op. 9 (1830).<sup>39</sup> This gesture appears to have been Felix's way of encouraging Fanny without going against Abraham's wishes. In any case, he was always ready to admit



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to anyone who complimented him on these songs that they had come from the pen of his sister.

The songs were greeted with critical acclaim, one of Fanny's contributions to Op. 8 being singled out by a critic for the *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* as among the finest of her brother's works:

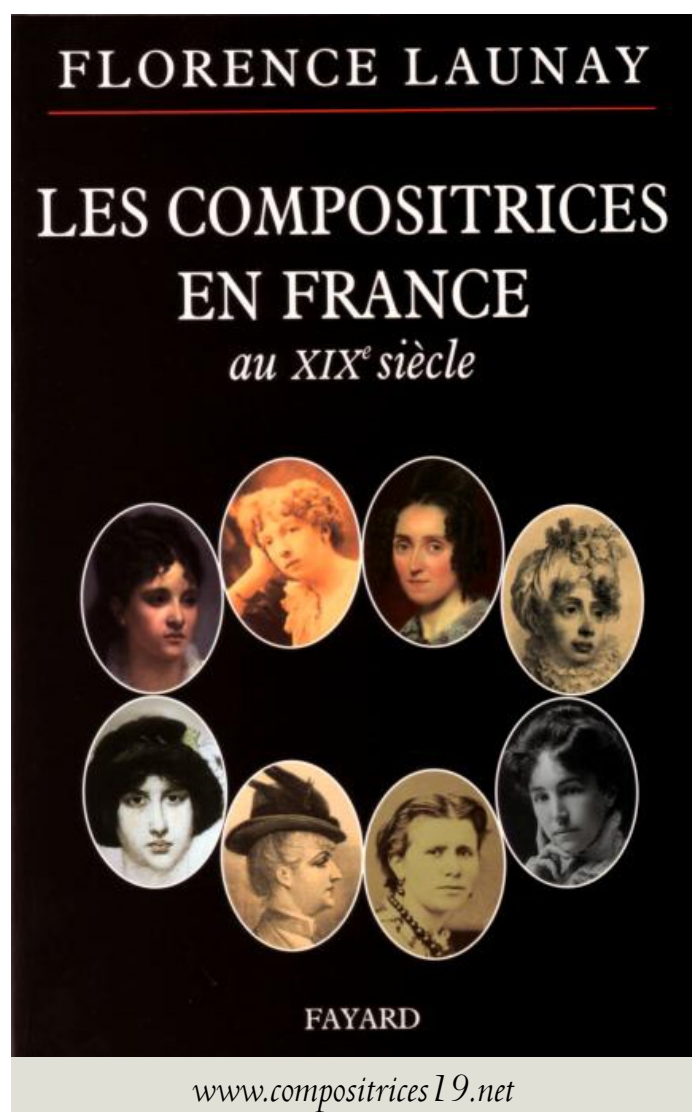
The last Duet ["Suleika und Hatem"] . . . appears to us to be the most beautiful of the collection. Moreover, we know the composer of these songs from his larger compositions as a man, who we believe shows great promise, whose fulfilment is not far off.<sup>40</sup>

The ensuing confusion over the authorship of "Italien," another of Fanny's songs included in Felix's Op. 8, led to two amusing incidents, the details of which are recounted in his letters to his family. The first occurred at Munich in 1830. Felix wrote:

Yesterday, a noble countess graciously praised my songs, and remarked, interrogatively, wasn't the one by Grillparzer [author of the text of "Italien"] altogether delightful. Yes, I said, and she thought I was conceited until I gave a full explanation by telling her that you were the composer.<sup>41</sup>

The second of these incidents took place during Felix's visit to Queen Victoria and Prince Albert at Buckingham Palace in 1842. Knowing that the Queen was an accomplished singer, Felix asked her to perform one of his songs for him. Here is his account of the event:

She very kindly consented; and what did she choose? "Schöner und schöner" ["Italien"]; sang it beautifully in tune, in strict time, and with very nice expression. . . . Then I was obliged to confess that Fanny had written the song (which I found very hard, but pride must have a fall), and to beg her to sing one of



Ce livre est le premier à offrir un panorama de la création musicale féminine en France de la Révolution à la Première Guerre mondiale. Il s'appuie sur quelques travaux pionniers, mais exploite surtout un grand nombre de sources qui n'avaient pas été jusqu'à présent explorées sous cet angle.

Il se penche en détail sur les productions musicales féminines, examine également les conditions d'accession des femmes à un enseignement musical de qualité, malgré les résistances de la société d'alors, et explore ce que pouvait représenter au XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle un statut de compositrice professionnelle.

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my own as well.<sup>42</sup>

On January 1, 1829, Fanny began a diary, which she kept until her death. Her first entry reads: "This year will form an important segment in our family life. Felix, our soul, is going away, the beginning of the second half of my life stands before me."<sup>43</sup> Indeed, 1829 was a milestone year in the history of the Mendelssohn family: on January 22, Fanny became engaged to Wilhelm Hensel, a gifted court painter from Berlin; and on April 10, Felix, with Abraham's blessing, left for England to establish his reputation there as a performer, conductor and composer.

Felix's first trip to England, which lasted six months, was a sort of dress rehearsal for the "great journey" that would occupy him from 1830-32. This grand tour, consisting of a visit to Italy, Switzerland, France, and a second trip to England, was carefully planned by Abraham to launch his son on an international career.<sup>44</sup> Fanny was not given a similar opportunity.

Following a strenuous round of performances and social commitments in London, Felix went to Scotland and Wales for a brief vacation. While in Edinburgh, he met John Thomson, a composer and critic for the *Harmonicon*. When Thomson mentioned his forthcoming trip to Berlin, Felix insisted that he visit the Mendelssohn family.<sup>45</sup> According to Fanny's diary, Thomson visited Berlin in August of 1829.<sup>46</sup>

On learning that Fanny was the real composer of three of Felix's Op. 8 lieder, Thomson wrote a glowing appreciation of her work. His critique, probably the first published acknowledgement of her creative achievements, appeared in the March 1830 issue of the *Harmonicon*. Thomson wrote:

I possess twelve published songs under Mr. Mendelssohn's name, which he wrote when a boy of fifteen. . . . But the whole of the twelve are not by him; three of the best are by his sister, a young lady of great talents and accom-

plishments. I cannot refrain from mentioning Miss Mendelssohn's name in connexion with these songs, more particularly when I see so many ladies without one atom of genius, coming forward to the public with their musical crudities, and, because these are printed, holding up their heads as if they were finished musicians. . . . [Miss Mendelssohn] is no superficial musician; she has studied the science deeply, and writes with the freedom of a master. Her songs are distinguished by tenderness, warmth, and originality: some which I heard were exquisite.<sup>47</sup>

On October 3, 1829, Fanny and Wilhelm Hensel were married in Berlin. Fanny's joy on this important occasion was somewhat diminished by the absence of Felix, who, after returning to London from his holiday in Scotland and Wales, had injured his knee in a carriage accident. Confined to bed for the greater part of two months, he was unable to travel home for the wedding.<sup>48</sup> Fanny's letter to Felix on the day of her wedding attests to the unusual closeness of their relationship:

Your picture is next to me, but as I write your name again and again and almost see you in person before my very eyes, I cry, as you do deep inside, but I cry. Actually, I've always known that I could never experience anything that would remove you from my memory for even one-tenth of a moment. . . . [I] will be able to repeat the same thing to you tomorrow and in every moment of my life. And I don't believe that I am doing Hensel an injustice through it. Your love has provided me with a great inner worth, and I will never stop holding myself in high esteem as long as you love me.<sup>49</sup>

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It has long been known that Fanny composed the organ processional for her wedding,<sup>50</sup> but her letters reveal that she composed her own organ recessional as well. A few months prior to his sister's wedding, Felix had agreed to write an organ work for the occasion.<sup>51</sup> He began to compose it during his holiday in Wales, and continued to work on it after he returned to London, but because of his accident he was unable to finish it in time. This work was intended to be the recessional, for in a letter of September 29, Fanny scolds Felix for not having sent her an organ piece to accompany the bridal party out of the church: "My organ piece is finished . . . . If I only had yours! . . . Your letter just arrived and is nice, but the absence of an organ piece is not nice. For who is supposed to accompany me out of the church? The old Bach or I myself? Where shall I find the time to write one?"<sup>52</sup>

By the eve of her wedding day Fanny had still not found a suitable work. Although their pre-nuptial party was already in progress, Wilhelm suggested that she write her own recessional music. Thus, in the midst of the assembled well-wishers, Fanny began to compose her second and only other known organ piece. Here is her account of the incident, and a brief description of this work:

Father had suggested the Pastorelle for the recessional, but I couldn't find it . . . . Then, around 9 o'clock, Hensel suggested that I compose a piece, and I had the audacity to start to compose in the presence of all the guests. I finished at 12:30 and don't think it's bad. . . . It's in G major; I already knew the [key] because I had already devised one before you promised to send me one. But the style is conservative.<sup>53</sup>

The Hensels made their home in the garden-house at Leipziger Strasse 3. Their only child, Sebastian, was born in the summer of 1830.<sup>54</sup> Fanny could not have wished for a finer husband than Wilhelm, for he was a constant source of en-

couragement to her in her creative endeavours. She spoke often, both in her letters and in her diary, of the happiness her marriage and child had brought her. However, her time and energy for composing were severely limited by housewifely duties. As the eldest daughter of the family, much of the responsibility of caring for her aging parents also fell on her shoulders. Not long after her marriage, she wrote: "My husband has given me the duty of going to the piano every morning immediately after breakfast, because interruption upon interruption occurs later on."<sup>55</sup> And a passage from one of her letters a few years later reads: "I haven't composed anything in a long time. Drained!"<sup>56</sup>

In a letter to Madame Kiené, the mother of Marie Bigot, Felix expressed regret over the fact that Fanny had become less prolific as a composer since her marriage, but added that it was both appropriate and good that she now devoted most of her time to domestic matters. He wrote:

It makes me sad, that since her marriage she can no longer compose as diligently as earlier, for she has composed several things, especially German lieder, which belong to the very best which we possess . . . ; still it is good on the other hand, that she finds much joy in domestic concerns, for a woman who neglects them, be it for oil colors, or for rhyme, or for double counterpoint always calls to mind instinctively . . . the femmes savantes,<sup>57</sup> and I am afraid of that. That is then, thank God, . . . not the case with my sister<sup>58</sup>

To create a musical outlet for herself, something that would not conflict with her role as wife and mother, Fanny reinstated the Sunday musicales around the beginning of 1831.<sup>59</sup> She arranged the programmes, composed much of the repertoire, played the piano, and organized a small choir which she rehearsed on Friday afternoons.<sup>60</sup> Some of her most ambitious works were composed for these occa-

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sions. Among them were the cantatas *Lobgesang* (1831) and *Hiob* (1831), for soloists, chorus and orchestra; an oratorio based on passages from the Bible, for soloists, eight-part choir and orchestra (1831); *Hero und Leander*, a dramatic scene for soprano and orchestra (1832); and a string quartet (1834). But despite the favourable reception accorded these works,<sup>61</sup> Fanny had little confidence in her ability to compose in the larger forms. She wrote:

My lengthy things die in their youth of decrepitude; I lack the ability to sustain ideas properly and give them the needed consistency. Therefore lieder suit me best, in which, if need be, merely a pretty idea without much potential for development can suffice.<sup>62</sup>

Her low sense of self-confidence was further eroded by Felix's criticism of her cantatas. He expressed strong reservations about the orchestration of certain passages, as well as about the choice of texts.<sup>63</sup> He also told her that her creative talent did not lie in the direction of sacred music.<sup>64</sup> In view of his contempt for learned women, Felix may have considered it inappropriate for women to compose large-scale works.

While Fanny's Sunday musicales were conceived as entertainments for gatherings of family and friends, her account of two especially successful programmes given in 1834 shows that they were anything but modest affairs:

Last month (June) I gave a delightful *fête*: [Gluck's] 'Iphegenia in Taurus', sung by Mme. Decker, Mme. Bader, and Mandius: anything so perfect will not soon be heard again. . . . [It was] even more beautiful than 'Orpheus' last year. On the Sunday following I had a full orchestra from the Königsstadt theatre, and had my overture performed, which sounded very well.<sup>65</sup>

In November of 1835, at the conclusion of

one of these programmes, Abraham declared that Fanny had guided the musicales to such a degree of perfection that they could hardly go on.<sup>66</sup> He died unexpectedly only a few days later, peacefully, in his sleep. The musicales were discontinued for the period of mourning, and it would appear from Fanny's letters that they were not resumed for some time.

The next few years were very difficult for Fanny. Felix, to whom she had always looked for encouragement and musical advice, was now well established in a brilliant career as conductor and composer in Leipzig, and was so busy that he seldom had time to visit her. With the exception of her husband, no one in Berlin seemed to show any interest in her music,<sup>67</sup> and she began to lose confidence in her creative ability.

Fanny's letters from this period betray her dependence on Felix's active interest in her work, and her growing sense of isolation. Among the most poignant is a letter to her friend Karl Klingemann, a young German diplomat attached to the Hanoverian legation in London:

Once a year, perhaps, some one will copy a piece of mine, or ask me to play something special--certainly no oftener; and now that Rebecca has left off singing, my songs lie unheeded and unknown. If nobody ever offers an opinion, or takes the slightest interest in one's productions, one loses in time not only all pleasure in them, but all power of judging their value. Felix, who is alone sufficient public for me, is so seldom here that he cannot help me much, and thus I am thrown back entirely on myself. But my own delight in music and Hensel's sympathy keep me awake still, and I cannot help considering it a sign of talent that I do not give it up, though I can get nobody to take an interest in my efforts.<sup>68</sup>

She later wrote to Felix in a similar vein: "I scarcely remember what it feels like to be writing a



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song. Will it ever come back? . . . But what does it signify? I am not a hen to cackle over my own eggs, and not a soul dances to my piping."<sup>69</sup>

In the summer and fall of 1836, after several months of musical inactivity, Fanny composed some piano pieces, and sent them to Felix for his critical appraisal. In that it demonstrates the importance she attached to her brother's approval, Fanny's response to his encouraging remarks about these pieces is of considerable interest. She wrote: "You can . . . imagine how happy I am that you're pleased with my piano pieces, for it leads me to believe that I haven't gone totally downhill in music."<sup>70</sup>

In Wilhelm's opinion, the solution to Fanny's problem was simple: if she could find no audience for her compositions locally, she must publish them for the general public, something he had always wanted her to do.<sup>71</sup> Hoping that Felix might have altered his stand, Fanny first broached the subject to him in a letter of October 28, 1836: "I've frequently been asked, once again, about publishing something; should I do it?"<sup>72</sup> But Felix held fast to his former opinion; like their late father, he did not think it proper for a woman to allow her music to appear in print.

Fanny wrote to him again a month later:

With regard to my publishing I stand like a donkey between two bales of hay. I have to admit honestly that I'm rather neutral about it, and Hensel, on the one hand, is for it, and you on the other, are against it. I would of course comply totally with the wishes of my husband in any other matter, yet on this issue alone it's crucial to have your consent, for without it I might not undertake anything of the kind.<sup>73</sup>

Although Felix stood his ground, Fanny did submit a song entitled "Die Schiffende" to the music publisher Schlesinger. It was accepted, and appeared in a lieder anthology early the next year. Felix was at first annoyed that his sister had acted against his wish, but when the song met with critical approval, he thanked her for not listening to him. He wrote:

"Do you know, Fance, that your song in A major in Schlesinger's album is a grand success here? The new *Musical Gazett* (I mean the editor, who dines at the same hotel with me) is quite enthusiastic about you. They all say it is the best thing in the album."<sup>74</sup> The music journal mentioned in this letter was the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*; its editor, Robert Schumann.<sup>75</sup>

Six weeks later, Felix included Fanny's song in one of his Leipzig concerts, accompanying the singer himself. The following day he wrote: "I must write you about your song yesterday. How beautiful it was! . . . I thank you in the name of the public in Leipzig and elsewhere for publishing it against my wish."<sup>76</sup>

Elated at Fanny's success, Wilhelm and Lea urged her to publish more of her works. In a letter dated June 7, 1837, Lea pleaded with Felix to encourage and assist his sister in such a venture:

Permit me a question and a request. Shouldn't she publish a selection of *lieder* and piano pieces? . . . That *you* haven't requested and encouraged her to do it--this alone holds her back. Wouldn't it therefore be appropriate for you to encourage her and help her find a publisher?<sup>77</sup>

But Felix stubbornly resisted. His reply echoes the views expressed by Abraham in his letter to Fanny on her twenty-third birthday:

From my knowledge of Fanny I should say that she has neither inclination nor vocation for authorship. She is too much all that a woman ought to be for this. She regulates her house, and neither thinks of the public nor of the musical world, nor even of music at all until her first duties are fulfilled. Publishing would only disturb her in these, and I cannot say that I approve of it. . . . If she resolves to publish, either from her own impulse or to please Hensel, I

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am . . . quite ready to assist her so far as I can; but to encourage her in what I do not consider right, is what I cannot do.<sup>78</sup>

Felix's resistance to overcoming his prejudice about women's place must have been devastating to Fanny, all the more so because of her own reluctance to invest him with any blame for standing in her way. With the exception of "Schloss Liebeneck," another lied which appeared in an anthology in 1837, she published no further works until 1846. Instead, she once again made the Sunday musicales her chief focus of attention. These concerts, which had begun a few years earlier as musical entertainments for gatherings of friends and relatives, changed dramatically at this time. According to Sebastian Hensel,

[they] assumed larger and larger proportions, both as regards the performers, the audience, and the character of the music. . . . Many of the visitors were total strangers brought by persons themselves only recently introduced, and the singers could scarcely find standing room, to say nothing of seats, so overcrowded did the rooms become.<sup>79</sup>

The Sunday musicales, which Fanny continued to hold until her death, became very prestigious events, and it was not uncommon for royalty or visiting musical celebrities to be seen in the audience. For example, Franz Liszt and eight princesses attended one of these concerts in 1844.<sup>80</sup> But more importantly, the musicales were also a valuable addition to the cultural life of the city. Berlin had not yet become the important musical centre it is today; its only concert organization was the Singakademie, whose repertoire consisted almost entirely of acknowledged masterpieces from the past. Fanny's recitals at Leipziger Strasse 3 did much to redress this imbalance. Assisted by some of Berlin's finest instrumentalists and singers, and occasionally by visiting foreign artists, such as English soprano Clara

Novello and Belgian violinist Henri Vieuxtemps, she presented regular programmes of works both old and new which were then little known.<sup>81</sup> It is no exaggeration to say that she introduced her audiences to many works now in the standard repertoire.<sup>82</sup>

A high point in Fanny's life was the winter of 1840, which the Hensels spent in Rome. There she made friends with Charles Gounod, a recent winner of the Prix de Rome. Gounod had not previously been exposed to German music, and Fanny introduced him to many works of Bach, Beethoven, her brother, and some of her own as well.<sup>83</sup> In his memoirs, Gounod wrote the following tribute to Fanny: "Madame Hensel [*sic*] was a musician beyond comparison, a remarkable pianist, and a woman of superior mind . . . . She was gifted with rare ability as a composer."<sup>84</sup>

Fanny respected Gounod both as a friend and as a musician, and his interest and encouragement meant a great deal to her. She wrote:

I compose a good deal now, for nothing inspires me like praise, whilst censure discourages and depresses me. Gounod is such an enthusiast in music as I have seldom seen. He likes my little Venetian piece very much, as well as one in B minor that I have composed here; also Felix's duet and Capriccio in A minor, but above all Bach's concerto, which I have had to play for him at least ten times.<sup>85</sup>

In 1846, the friendship of another fine musician, Robert von Keudell, provided Fanny with the same encouragement and support as had her earlier relationship with Gounod. Of von Keudell, she wrote: "[He] keeps my music alive and in constant activity, as Gounod once did. He takes an intense interest in everything that I write, and calls my attention to any shortcomings; being generally in the right too."<sup>86</sup>

Sebastian Hensel speculates that it may have been partially due to von Keudell's persuasion that his mother decided to publish around this time. She had been approached by two rival Berlin publishers with a

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view to bringing out more of her works, and Fanny accepted their offers.<sup>87</sup> In July of 1846, she recorded in her diary:

Bote & Bock have made offers to me the likes of which have perhaps never before been given to a dilettante composer of my sex, whereupon Schlesinger even outdid them. I do not in the least imagine that this will continue, but am pleased at the moment, having decided to embark on this course, to see my best works appear in print.<sup>88</sup>

Reluctantly, she informed Felix of her decision:

I'm afraid of my brothers at age forty, as I was of Father at age fourteen--or, more aptly expressed, desirous of pleasing you and everyone I've loved throughout my life. And when I know in advance that it won't be the case, I thus feel rather uncomfortable. In a word, I'm beginning to publish. . . . I hope I won't disgrace all of you through my publishing, as I'm no *femme libre* . . . I trust *you* will in no way be bothered by it, since, as you can see, I've proceeded completely on my own in order to spare you any possible unpleasant moment, and I hope you won't think badly of me. If it succeeds--that is, if the pieces are well liked and I receive additional offers--I know it will be a great stimulus to me, something I've always needed in order to create. If not, I'll be as indifferent as I've always been and not be upset, and then if I work less or stop completely, nothing will have been lost by that either.<sup>89</sup>

Felix, whose views on professional women composers had not changed, was displeased that his sister had relinquished her amateur status without his consent.<sup>90</sup> A full month passed before he finally extended his congratulations to her. He wrote:

[I] send you my professional blessing on becoming a member of the craft. This I do now in full, Fance, and may you have much happiness in giving pleasure to others; may you taste only the sweets and none of the bitterness of authorship; may the public pelt you with roses, and never with sand; and may the printer's ink never draw black lines on your soul--all of which I devoutly believe will be the case.<sup>91</sup>

On the day she received Felix's letter, Fanny confided the following to her diary: "At last Felix has written, and given me his professional blessing in the kindest manner. I know that he is not quite satisfied in his heart of hearts, but I am glad he has said a kind word to me about it."<sup>92</sup>

With the exception of the previously mentioned six early songs published in Felix's Opp. 8 and 9, Fanny's compositions were brought out under her married name. Her Op. 1 lieder and Op. 2 character pieces for piano were issued in 1846; the *Gartenlieder* (six part songs for a-cappella choir), Op. 3, and three further volumes of character pieces for piano, Opp. 4-6, were issued in 1847. All of these works were reviewed in the musical press. Overall, the response of critics was favourable. The Op. 1 lieder were praised for their clean harmony, the elegance of the accompanying figures, and "the whole outer appearance," but the reviewer found them lacking in "inner emotion"<sup>93</sup> Another critique, an assessment of the Op. 2 piano pieces, mentions that they were written by a woman, "whose outward composition betrays no trace of a female hand, but allows rather the supposition of a masculine, serious study of the art"<sup>94</sup> The most laudatory of these reviews is an unusually long and detailed critique of all four piano collections, which concludes as follows: "We express our sincere thanks to the artist for the publication of these works. They will be welcomed by every-

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one who cherishes beauty within art." <sup>95</sup>

Fanny was greatly encouraged by the success of her publishing venture. Her diary entry of February 1847 reads: "It is enticing to have this manner of success at an age when such pleasures, for women who experience them at all, are usually at an end."<sup>96</sup> Inspired by these pleasures, she began to compose a piece of larger scale--the Trio in D minor for piano, violin and cello. It was first performed at a musical evening in Rebecca's home on April 11, 1847, where it "received a generally warm reception."<sup>97</sup>

One month later, on Friday afternoon, May 14, while conducting a rehearsal by her choir of Felix's *Walpurgisnacht* for the following Sunday musicale, Fanny suffered a stroke. She died at 11 o'clock the same night at the age of forty-one.<sup>98</sup> Still on her desk was her last song, "Bergeslust," which she had completed the previous day. A setting of a poem by Eichendorff, its final line reads, "Thoughts and songs ascend to the kingdom of heaven." This was engraved on her tombstone. <sup>99</sup>

Two men were totally devastated by Fanny's death: her husband and Felix. Wilhelm, who survived his wife by some fifteen years, went completely to pieces when she died. He lost all interest in his painting and soon gave it up. Fanny had managed the house, looked after the property, and supervised the education of their son; Wilhelm found himself incapable of dealing with any of these responsibilities. Rebecca and her husband took over the care of Sebastian, then a young man of sixteen, and Wilhelm wandered aimlessly during his remaining years, dabbling in politics.<sup>100</sup>

Already exhausted from overwork, and showing signs of failing health, Felix suffered a death-blow at the news of his sister's demise. He became seriously depressed, and could not even bring himself to attend the funeral.<sup>101</sup> He wrote about Fanny on May 24: "With her kindness and love she was part of myself every moment of my life. . . . I make myself believe that the tragic news will suddenly prove false; yet I know very well that it is all true. I will never, never be able to get used to it."<sup>102</sup> On November 4, less than six months af-

ter his sister, he also died of a series of strokes.<sup>103</sup> One of his final acts was to arrange with Breitkopf & Härtel, Leipzig's most prestigious music publishing house, to bring out more of Fanny's works.<sup>104</sup>

The fact that Schumann and Gounod held Fanny Hensel in high esteem as a composer speaks volumes about the calibre of her music. From the limited number of her compositions available in print and on recordings, it is readily apparent that she was one of the supreme melodists of her age. Many of her lieder bear comparison to the finest of those of Schubert, Schumann and Brahms. Equally impressive are the *Gartenlieder*, Op. 3, composed in 1846 for her own choir.<sup>105</sup> Schumann was much taken with these part songs. Shortly after their publication, he performed them with his choir in Dresden.<sup>106</sup> Hensel's numerous character pieces for piano are similar in style and quality to Mendelssohn's *Lieder ohne Worte*. An interesting work from the perspective of innovation is *Das Jahr*, a cycle of twelve piano pieces representing the months of the year, composed in 1841. The concept for this work was unique in the history of piano literature, predating Tchaikovsky's *The Seasons* by thirty-four years.

Since all of Hensel's works were created for presentation at her Sunday musicales, it is important to remember that her choice of genres was largely dictated by the performing forces at her disposal. It was also probably determined to some extent by the fact that her brother discouraged her from writing large-scale works. However, on the evidence of such beautifully crafted, extended compositions as the Op. 11 Piano Trio, the E flat major String Quartet, and the G minor Piano Sonata, one is led to speculate that, given the same encouragement and professional opportunities as her brother, she might well have become his rival as a symphonist.

Fanny Mendelssohn Hensel was both a victim and a survivor. In light of her upbringing, it must have taken enormous courage for her to defy convention by making the leap from the private sphere of the salon--her allotted place as a female creator--to the public sphere of the published composer. To borrow the words of a recent critic, "Although no one may have danced to her 'piping' during her lifetime, to ignore her



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now would be a very large loss indeed."<sup>107</sup>

### NOTES

1. For a list of Fanny Hensel's published works, see Françoise Tillard, *Fanny Mendelssohn*, trans. Camille Naish (Portland, Oregon: Amadeus Press, 1996), pp. 384-87. The largest collection of Hensel's autograph scores is housed in the Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Mendelssohn-Archiv, Berlin. Other autographs are held by the Bodleian Library in Oxford, Goethe-Museum and Heinrich Heine-Institut in Düsseldorf, Sammlung Rudolf Nydahl in Stockholm, Musikabteilung of the Deutsche Staatsbibliothek in Berlin, Library of Congress in Washington, D.C., and by private collectors in Germany and England. For catalogues of these manuscripts, see the following: Rudolf Elvers, "Verzeichnis der Musik-Autographen von Fanny Hensel im Mendelssohn-Archiv zu Berlin," *Mendelssohn Studien* 1 (1972):169-74; idem, "Weitere Quellen zu den Werken von Fanny Hensel," *Mendelssohn Studien* 2 (1975):215-20; pp. 300-29.; Victoria Ressaymer Sirota, "The Life and Works of Fanny Mendelssohn Hensel," Mus.A.D. dissertation, Boston University School for the Arts, 1981, pp. 300-29.
2. Herbert Kupferberg, *The Mendelssohns: Three Generations of Genius* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1972), p. 94.
3. Quoted in Sebastian Hensel, *The Mendelssohn Family (1729-1847), from Letters and Journals*, 2nd ed., trans. Carl Klingemann and an American collaborator, 2 vols. (New York: Harper & Bros., 1881), 1:73.
4. Kupferberg, p. 95.
5. Ibid., pp. 99-101.
6. George R. Marek, *Gentle Genius: The Story of Felix Mendelssohn* (New York: Funk & Wagnalls, 1972), p. 88.
7. Ibid., pp. 82-83.
8. Hensel, 1:88.
9. Sirota, p. 3.
10. *Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 1910 ed., s. v. "Mendelssohn, Felix," by Sir George Grove.
11. Founded in 1791 by Carl Friedrich Christian Fasch, the Singakademie was Berlin's leading organization for the study and performance of choral music, and one of the most important art institutions in Germany.
12. Marek, pp. 107-08.
13. Ibid., p. 82.
14. Hensel, 1:88.
15. Marek, pp. 80-81.
16. Kupferberg, pp. 113-14.
17. Hensel, 1:121.
18. Quoted in Emil F. Smidak, *Isaak-Ignaz Moscheles : The Life of the Composer and his Encounters with Beethoven, Liszt, Chopin and Mendelssohn* (Aldershot, England: Scolar Press, 1989), p. 34.
19. Susanna Grossmann-Vendrey, *Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy und die Musik der Vergangenheit* (Regensburg: Bosse Verlag, 1969), p. 15.
20. Some of Fanny's composition exercises and contrapuntal studies dating from the years 1820-21, with corrections in Zelter's hand, are known to exist in a private collection in Germany. Sirota, p. 8.
21. Georg Schünemann, "Die Bachpflege der Berliner Singakademie," *Bach-Jahrbuch* 25 (1928):151.
22. Rudolf Elvers, *Fanny Hensel: Dokumente ihres Lebens* (Berlin: Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, 1972), n. p. [p. 7].
23. Sirota, p. 186.
24. See Zelter to Goethe, 10 December 1824, quoted in Marek, p. 124.
25. Karl Mendelssohn-Bartholdy, *Goethe and Mendelssohn*, 2nd ed., trans. M. E. von Glehn (London: Macmillan, 1874), p. 24 (hereafter cited by its title).
26. Ibid., pp. 24-25.
27. Fanny's Goethe songs are discussed in Marcia J. Citron, "The Lieder of Fanny Mendelssohn Hensel," *Musical Quarterly* 49 (1983): 577-78.
28. Quoted in *Goethe and Mendelssohn*, p. 35.
29. Quoted in *ibid.*, p. 50.
30. Goethe's assessment of woman's creative ability is quoted by Ferdinand Praeger, in response to the reading of Stephen S. Stratton's paper "Woman in Relation to Musical Art," *Proceedings of the Musical Association* (7 May 1883), p. 134.
31. Quoted in Hensel, 1:117.
32. Quoted in *ibid.*
33. Fanny to Felix, 28 October 1821, *The Letters of Fanny Hensel to Felix Mendelssohn*, ed. and trans., with introductory essays and notes by Marcia J. Citron (New York: Pendragon Press, 1987), p.2.
34. Kupferberg, p. 157.
35. *Felix Mendelssohn: Letters*, ed. G. Selden-Goth (New York: Pantheon Books, 1945), p. 76.
36. Quoted in Hensel, 1:82.
37. Quoted in *ibid.*, 1:84.
38. Quoted in Citron, "The Lieder of Fanny Mendelssohn Hensel," p. 571. Jean Paul Richter (1763-1825) was one of Fanny's favourite writers.
39. Hensel, 2:30-31. Although past and present writers have speculated that her share in Felix's publications may have been more extensive, composer/conductor Julius Rietz, an intimate friend of Fanny and Felix, stated emphatically in 1864 that these six songs are the sum total of Fanny's works published under her brother's name. See Julius Rietz, Preface to his "Catalogue of All the Musical Compositions of Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy," in *Letters of Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdy, from 1833 to 1847*, ed. Paul Mendelssohn Bartholdy and Carl Mendelssohn Bartholdy, trans. Lady Wallace (Freeport, N.Y.: Books for Libraries Press, 1970; a reprint of the 1864 ed.), p. 399. See also Hensel, 2:31.
40. Kurze Anzeigen: Zwölf Gesänge mit Begleitung des Pianoforte, komponiert von Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdy," *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* 29 (28 November 1827), col. 813-15, quoted in



## Notes

Sirota, p. 27.

41. Felix to Fanny, 11 June 1830, *Felix Mendelssohn: Letters*, p. 77.

42. Felix to Lea, 19 July 1842, *ibid.*, pp. 307-08. For Queen Victoria's account of this event, see her diary entry of 9 July 1842, quoted in Marek, p. 293.

43. Quoted in Sirota, p. 33.

44. See Felix to Abraham, *Felix Mendelssohn: Letters*, p. 193.

45. Hensel, 1:197.

46. See Fanny's diary entry of 31 August 1829, quoted in *The Letters of Fanny Hensel to Felix Mendelssohn*, p. 82. See also Fanny to Felix, 2 September 1829, *ibid.*, pp. 80-81.

47. John Thomson [J. T.], "Notes of a Musical Tourist," *Harmonicon* 8 (1830): 99; reprint ed. (London: Gregg International, 1971).

48. Hensel, 1:229.

49. Fanny to Felix, 3 October 1829, *The Letters of Fanny Hensel to Felix Mendelssohn*, p. 90.

50. See Hensel, 1:241. The autograph of this work, a Præludium in F major, dated September 28, 1829, and inscribed in German with the words "for the third of October 1829," is housed in the Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

51. See Felix to his family, 11 August 1829, quoted in *The Letters of Fanny Hensel to Felix Mendelssohn*, p. 78. For Fanny's reply, see her letter of 25 August 1829, *ibid.*, p. 77.

52. *Ibid.*, pp. 88-89.

53. *Ibid.*, p. 91. The undated autograph of a Præludium in G major for organ by Fanny is in a private collection. I have been unable to find a contemporary source stating whether this piece was actually performed at the wedding ceremony.

54. Hensel, 1:248.

55. Fanny to Felix, n.d. [c. early November 1829], *The Letters of Fanny Hensel to Felix Mendelssohn*, p. 96.

56. Fanny to Felix, 27 April 1834, *ibid.*, p. 138.

57. A reference to Molière's play *Les Femmes savantes*, in which he pokes fun at "bluestockings."

58. Felix to Madame Kiené, 1 June 1835, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C., quoted in Sirota, p. 85.

59. Based on Felix's letter of 22 February 1831, in which he congratulates Fanny for having revived this family tradition, the musicales were probably reinstated in January of 1831. See *Letters of Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy from Italy and Switzerland*, trans. Lady Wallace (Boston: Ditson, 1861), pp. 10-11.

60. Hensel, 1:251-52.

61. See, for example, Fanny's diary entry of 19 July 1831, as described in Sirota, p. 66.

62. Fanny to Felix, 17 February 1835, *The Letters of Fanny Hensel to Felix Mendelssohn*, p. 174.

63. See Felix to Fanny, 28 December 1831, *Letters of Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy from Italy and Switzerland*, pp. 317-18.

64. See Fanny to Felix, 4 February 1836, *The Letters of Fanny Hensel to Felix Mendelssohn*, p. 201.

65. Quoted in Hensel, 1:252. The overture mentioned in this passage is probably Fanny's unpublished Overture in C major. The undated autograph of this work is in the Mendelssohn Archive.

66. Hensel, 1:335.

67. *Ibid.*, 2:31.

68. Fanny to Klingemann, 15 July 1835, quoted in *ibid.*, 2:31.

69. Quoted in *ibid.*, 2:38.

70. Fanny to Felix, 16 November 1836, *The Letters of Fanny Hensel to Felix Mendelssohn*, p. 217.

71. Hensel, 2:33.

72. *The Letters of Fanny Hensel to Felix Mendelssohn*, p. 214.

73. Fanny to Felix, 22 November 1836, *ibid.*, p. 222.

74. Felix to Fanny, 24 January 1837, quoted in Hensel, 2:31.

75. See Leon B. Plantinga, *Schumann as Critic* (London and New Haven: Yale University Press, 1967; reprint ed., New York: Da Capo, 1976), p. x.

76. Felix to Fanny, 7 March 1837, quoted in Hensel, 2:30.

77. Quoted in Marcia J. Citron, "Felix Mendelssohn's Influence on Fanny Mendelssohn Hensel as Professional Composer," *Current Musicology* 37/38 (1983):15.

78. Felix to Lea, 24 June 1837, *Letters of Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdy, from 1833-1847*, pp. 113-14. The published version of this letter is incorrectly dated 2 June 1837. The date on the New York Public Library autograph is 24 June 1837.

79. Hensel, 2:36.

80. See Fanny to Rebecca, 18 March 1844, quoted in *ibid.*, 2:260.

81. *Ibid.*, 2:36.

82. *Ibid.*, 1:252.

83. Charles Gounod, *Memoirs of an Artist: An Autobiography*, trans. E. Crocker (Chicago and New York: Rand, McNally & Co., 1895), pp. 125-26. See also Hensel, 2:106.

84. Gounod, p.125.

85. Fanny's diary, 23 April 1840, quoted in Hensel, 2:101.

86. Quoted in *ibid.*, 2:325.

87. *Ibid.*

88. Quoted in Rudolf Elvers, Preface to the score, Fanny Hensel, *Ausgewählte Klavierwerke* (Munich: Henle, 1986), p. vii.

89. Fanny to Felix, 9 July 1846, *The Letters of Fanny Hensel to Felix Mendelssohn*, pp. 349-51.

90. Hensel, 2:325.

91. Felix to Fanny, 12 August 1846, quoted in *ibid.*, 2:326.

92. Fanny's diary, 14 August 1846, quoted in *ibid.*

93. "Liederschau: Fanny Hensel, Op.1," *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* 26 (1 February 1847):38, as described in Sirota, p. 124. Also quoted in Tillard, p. 330.

94. "Liederschau: Fanny Hensel, Op.1," *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* 26 (1 February 1847):38, as described in Sirota, p. 124. Also quoted in Tillard, p. 330.

95. "Über die Clavier-Kompositionen von Fanny Hensel," *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* 49 (1847):381-83, as described and quoted in Citron, "Felix Mendelssohn's Influence on Fanny Mendelssohn Hensel as a Professional Composer," pp. 16-17.

96. Quoted in Elvers, Preface to Fanny Hensel, *Ausgewählte Kla-*

*vierwerke*, p. vii.

97. Fanny's diary entry of April 1847, quoted in *ibid.* The piano trio was published posthumously as Op. 11.

98. Kupferberg, p. 225.

99. Sirota, p. 126. "Bergeslust" was later published as op. 10, no. 5.

100. Kupferberg, p. 225.

101. *Ibid.*, p. 226.

102. Felix to General von Webern, 24 May 1847, quoted in Marek, p. 312.

103. Kupferberg, p. 230.

104. See Felix to Paul Mendelssohn, 24 August 1847, *Felix Mendelssohn: A Life in Letters*, ed. Rudolf Elvers, trans. Craig Tomlinson (New York: Fromm International, 1986), p. 282. Four volumes of Fanny's works (Opp. 8-11) were eventually issued by Breitkopf & Härtel in 1850. Her family also supervised the publication of several isolated piano pieces and the op. 7 lieder, issued by Bote & Bock in 1848. Elvers, Preface to Fanny Hensel, *Ausgewählte Klavierwerke*, p. vii.

105. Fanny herself was especially fond of the *Gartenlieder*. She wrote, "I spent some very pleasant time on these pieces and therefore they mean more to me than other of my goodies." Fanny to Felix, 1 February 1847, *The Letters of Fanny Hensel to Felix Mendelssohn*, p. 363.

106. Elke Mascha Blankenburg, CD booklet notes for Fanny Mendelssohn-Hensel, *Gartenlieder*, trans. G. Thalmann, Leonarda Ensemble Köln/Blankenburg (Classic Produktion Osnabrück Digital Stereo 999 012-2, 1988), n.p. [p. 4.].

107. James Parsons, "Emerging from the Shadows: Fanny Mendelssohn and Clara Schumann," *Opus 2* (February 1986): 31.

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