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Prince Albert and Anglo-German Connections in 19th-Century Music

1 Introduction

In this article, I would like to give a brief outline of significant Anglo-German connections in 19th-century music and consider the role of Prince Albert (1819-1861) and his compositions in this context. Throughout the Victorian era, Britain welcomed many German-born musicians who made significant contributions to the development of music. On the other hand, a considerable number of British musicians studied and worked in Germany, furthering connections in both directions. Many of these musicians were closely linked with each other, and most were connected to Prince Albert in some way.

Music is perhaps the most mobile of all cultural commodities, and the 'cultural mobility', to use Stephen Greenblatt's term,[1] between Germany and Britain in 19th-century music was considerable. The false belief that then Britain was essentially a 'land without music' is still widely held today. If we look at the origin of this myth, Oskar Schmitz's notorious book *Das Land ohne Musik – Englische Gesellschaftsprobleme*, first published in 1904 and re-issued several times in the run up to the First World War, it is clear that it was written in the spirit of nasty rivalry between nations.[2] While musical research continued to use national narratives and perpetuate the notion of the geographical fixity of music for much of the 20th century, we are now increasingly learning to understand music as a function of mobility and transcultural processes rather than nationhood.[3] This change of perspective can enable surprising discoveries, as artists with transcultural multiple affiliation (*Transkulturelle Mehrfachzugehörigkeit*) who have not been 'claimed' by a nation in the past become interesting.[4] With this outline I

1 *Cultural Mobility: A Manifesto*, ed. by Stephen Greenblatt (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

2 Oskar A. H. Schmitz (1873–1931), *Das Land ohne Musik – Englische Gesellschaftsprobleme* (Munich: G. Mèuller, 3rd ed. 1914).

3 See for example *Musik und Migration*, ed. by Wolfgang Gratzer and Nils Grosch (Münster: Waxmann, 2018).

4 See *Transkulturelle Mehrfachzugehörigkeit als Kulturhistorisches Phänomen*, ed. by Dagmar Freist, Sabine Kyora and Melanie Unseld (Bielefeld: Transcript, 2019).

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hope to inspire others to take a fresh look at the legacies of Anglo-German musicians in the Victorian age.

Let me explain how I first became interested in this story. I came to London from Germany in 1997 as a postgraduate student of singing and wanted to learn about English song. I was surprised to be actively discouraged by some of my teachers who argued that there were really no noteworthy English song-composers, with the exception of Henry Purcell (1659–1695) and Benjamin Britten (1913–1976). Despite this I found myself attracted to English songs by composers such as William Sterndale Bennett (1816–1875), Michael William Balfe (1808–1870), Arthur Sullivan (1842–1900) or Roger Quilter (1877–1953). To me their songs felt not so different from the 19th-century German lieder I had studied before. The chosen texts were generally of high quality, and I enjoyed exploring familiar sentiments in a new language. My unusual obsession led me to enter (and unexpectedly win) the English Singers and Speakers competition in London in 1998. For my prize-winners concert I researched and performed a programme of 19th and 20th-century songs in German by English composers and English songs by Germans. It was not difficult to find enough repertoire for this project since so many English composers had studied in Germany and set German poetry to music. The programme also included songs in English by Felix Mendelssohn (1809–1847), probably the most highly regarded composer in 19th-century Britain.

Much of my recent research has been focused on 20th-century migrant musicians from Nazi Europe in Britain, exploring their compositions and considerable influence on the classical music scene in Britain after World War II.[5] The more I learned about their experiences, the more I felt that their stories cannot be separated from the history of Anglo-German musical connections in the 19th century. These 20th-century refugees or migrants were able to benefit from an immense appreciation of German music and musicians which had survived even the trauma and understandable anti-German sentiments of the First and Second World Wars.

Musical connections between Germany and Britain, of course, began long before Mendelssohn achieved unprecedented success with his first London appearances in 1829. Commercially, Britain offered rich rewards for outstanding musicians even in the 18th century, when Handel moved to London and made a name for himself as a composer of opera and oratorio, exemplified in the lasting popularity of his *Messiah* (1741). Later, the Philharmonic Society in London commissioned works from Beethoven, including the Ninth Symphony (1817). Carl Maria

5 See the online resource of the *Singing a Song in a Foreign Land* project at the Royal College of Music, www.rcm.ac.uk/singingasong, accessed 15 April 2020.

von Weber's opera *Der Freischütz* was a big success in 1824 and led to the commissioning of *Oberon* for the Royal Opera, Covent Garden in 1826. The organist and composer Samuel Wesley (1766–1837) stirred up enthusiasm for the music of Bach in the first two decades of the 19th century. The music of Louis Spohr (1784–1859), who visited London on several occasions, also enjoyed great popularity. Finally, Felix Mendelssohn built and consolidated his reputation in Britain in no less than ten visits to the country and remained a hugely prominent composer throughout the century, widely admired for his orchestral compositions such as the overture and incidental music for Shakespeare's *Midsummer Night's Dream*, the overture *The Hebrides*, the 'Scottish' Symphony or his *Songs without Words*, and celebrated in numerous large-scale performances of his oratorios *Paulus* and *Elijah*.

2 Albert the Musician

While Mendelssohn's part in the musical relationship between Britain and Germany has been widely researched and publicised,[6] the role of Prince Albert (1819–1861) in this transnational story is much less widely known. Albert's enormous influence in Britain as the highly educated, loving husband of Queen Victoria, reformer of the British Monarchy, driving force of the Great Exhibition of 1851 and founder of what is now known as 'Albertopolis', the home of the arts and sciences in London's South Kensington, is of course very much in the public consciousness. However, his love for and considerable training in music mostly remains a footnote in the history books. In his 2010 essay '*Albert als Komponist in der Bonner Studienzeit*',[7] Thomas Betzwieser observes that music plays only a marginal role in the substantial biographical writing about Albert in the 20th century. He also states that this is in stark contrast to the importance given to music in Theodore Martin's 19th-century biography in five volumes, which was commissioned by Queen Victoria. In order to understand Albert's significance for music, we need to explore the status of music in his life and work.

Music was a vital part of the home schooling of Prince Albert and his older brother Ernst (1818–1893) at Rosenau castle near Coburg, Germany. We know that from 1829 to 1831, when Albert was 10–12 years old, he and Ernst, who later

6 See Colin Eatock, *Mendelssohn and Victorian England* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009).

7 Thomas Betzwieser, "'Ein lang gehegter Wunsch': Prinz Albert als Komponist in der Bonner Studienzeit," in *Die Studien des Prinz Albert an der Universität Bonn*, ed. by Franz Bosbach (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2010), pp. 187–218, here p. 187.

became an opera composer of considerable standing,[8] had 1 1/2 hours of daily music lessons on 6 days a week, plus practice time. Albert was also exposed to a large amount of orchestral music from an early age.[9] Coburg had an excellent orchestra under the Kapellmeister Georg Laurenz Schneider (1766–1855), who set one of the 9-year-old Albert's poems to music in 1828. Schneider's musical style, modelled on the German Singspiel of the time, follows the ideals of what is known as the *Zweite Berliner Liederschule* (2nd Berlin School)[10] best defined by the musical aesthetics of Johann Wolfgang Goethe (1749–1832) and Carl Friedrich Zelter (1758–1832). This was the dominant stylistic influence on the young Albert.

It is worth adding a few words about Goethe's thoughts on music, especially regarding the lieder repertoire which includes so many settings of his poetry. Goethe, whose cultural influence at the time was of course considerable, was still living in Weimar, only some 80 miles from Coburg, when Albert received his musical training there. Since the mid-1770s, Goethe had passionately pursued the development of German Singspiel as a librettist and theatre director in Weimar. In 1776 his libretto *Erwin und Elmire* was set to music by the Duchess Anna Amalia von Sachsen Weimar Eisenach (1739–1807), another example of a competent royal musician and composer. He also collaborated with Johann Friedrich Reichardt (1752–1814) on various Singspiel projects. Later he became a devotee of Mozart's Singspiels, especially *Die Entführung aus dem Serail* and *Die Zauberflöte*, which he directed with great success at the court theatre in Weimar. In addition, Goethe formed a friendship with the other important exponent of the 2nd Berlin School, the composer Carl Friedrich Zelter (1758–1832), whose settings of his poems he loved. Zelter later taught Mendelssohn and introduced the young prodigy to Goethe. Zelter also conducted the *Berliner Singakademie*, the choral society with whom Mendelssohn famously performed his influential revival of the *St Matthew Passion* by Bach in 1829.

Zelter and Goethe exchanged many letters, and their correspondence shows that Goethe favoured simple strophic songs and expected music to lift the poem

8 The premiere of the opera *Santa Chaira* by Herzog Ernst II in Gotha in 1854 was conducted by Franz Liszt, and it was performed more than 60 times at the Paris Opera. Barry Millington, "Ernst II, Duke of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha," *Grove Music Online*, https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.O901449, accessed 1 August 2020.

9 See Kristine Wiedau, *Eine Adlige Kindheit in Coburg, Fürstenerziehung und Kunstunterweisung der Prinzen Ernst und Albert von Sachsen-Coburg und Gotha* (Coburg: Jahrbuch der Coburger Landesstiftung, 2000), quoted in Betzwieser, „Prinz Albert," p. 191.

10 Betzwieser, „Prinz Albert," p. 192.

into a higher realm "like gas streaming into a balloon".[11] He preferred the performer to have considerable freedom in annunciating the text and would have been annoyed, at least initially, by strong characterisation and a 'parallel narrative' in the piano accompaniment which is found, for example, in the songs of Franz Schubert. While Albert is thought to have admired Schubert, his teachers would very likely have steered him towards the ideals established by Goethe and Zelter.

The musical training of Albert and Ernst continued in Brussels in 1837, where they were prepared for entering Bonn University by their uncle Leopold, King of the Belgians. Leopold was an accomplished singer and violinist, and he was master of an impressive ensemble of musicians at court. Under his guidance the brothers had regular lessons in piano, singing and composition from some of the best musicians of the time. At Bonn, the brothers rented two pianos and bought many arrangements of music for four hands, as well as scores of Beethoven songs. Albert and Ernst had *Generalbass* (figured bass) lessons with Heinrich Carl Breidenstein (1796–1876), who was connected to the Zelter circle in Berlin and composed in a similar idiom. Under his tutelage, Albert and his brother both composed a significant number of songs for voice and piano accompaniment.[12] Breidenstein helped the brothers with the private publication of their songs with the publisher Simrock in 1838. They often set each other's poems to music. Other texts were by lesser known poets, but some also by Goethe, Eichendorff und Rückert.

After the wedding of Albert and Victoria in 1840, three commercial publications of Albert's songs appeared in England in different translations and combinations.[13] It is likely that these songs found considerable distribution in English drawing rooms. Albert's reputation as a composer was further helped by the publication of his collected compositions, 40 in total, in 1882.[14] Among these are 28 German lieder, one English song, one cantata, nine chorales, hymns and settings of Latin texts and a melody for violin and piano. Theodore Martin quotes a statement attributed to Albert, saying that he had never intended to write anything worth hearing, but rather had "learnt thorough-bass, the pianoforte, organ

11 See J. W. Goethe, letter to Zelter on 11 May 1820, quoted in *Goethe's Gedanken über Musik* (Frankfurt: Insel, 1985), p. 137.

12 Betzwieser, "Prinz Albert," p. 202.

13 Betzwieser, "Prinz Albert," p. 203.

14 *The Collected Compositions of His Royal Highness, The Prince Consort*, ed. by W. G. Cusins (London: Metzler & Co, 1882).

and singing … simply to enable me to judge and appreciate the work of others."[15] While the publication of Albert's compositions may not have added much to the 'canon' of great compositions, it nevertheless attached his celebrity status to classical music and the practice of performing lieder, thus making the art form better known and more socially acceptable. In addition, unlike many great lieder by Schubert or Mendelssohn, many of Albert's compositions could be performed by amateurs with pleasing results.

It is worth considering what these songs have in common with those written by more well-known composers. The choice of texts and subjects makes it easy to relate them to Schubert's, Reichardt's or Zelter's songs, for example. There are evening songs („Abendruhe"), songs about death (such as „Die Letzen Worte eines Barden", similar to Schubert's „Nachtstück"), songs that aim to bridge the distance between friends or lovers like Beethoven's *An die Ferne Geliebte* („Gruss aus der Ferne", „Gruss an den Bruder", „Dem Fernen"), songs in a folk idiom („An einen Boten"), and philosophical songs about love („Schmerz der Liebe", „Klage der Liebe", „Nichts Schöneres"), many idealising nature and comparing natural phenomena to human emotions in true romantic fashion.

Albert's song compositions also employ the same basic musical tools as his more advanced contemporaries, especially those connected to the second Berlin School. He had a gift for writing pleasing and highly singable melodies, and, due to the fact that he had studied figured bass, his use of harmony is very competent and even original at times. Unlike many lesser-known song composers of the period, Albert almost always succeeded in creating an appropriate emotional atmosphere to support and elevate a poem. Thomas Betzwieser identifies the lack of individualisation of the piano accompaniment and the limited development of musical material in longer compositions as the main weaknesses of Albert's songs. However, seen within these limitations, they are beautifully crafted and touching pieces that can tug at the heartstrings of an audience and bring much enjoyment.[16]

15 Albert, Prince Consort, quoted by Lady Bloomfield, letter to Dowager Marchioness of Ely [2 January 1878], quoted in Theodor Martin, *The Life of H. R. H. the Prince Consort* (London: Smith, Elder, & Company, 1875), vol. IV, p. 16.

16 A beautiful recording of a representative selection of Albert's songs was made for Decca by the Purcell Consort of Voices with the pianist Jennifer Partridge in 1968/69, directed by Grayston Burgess. *Music of Albert* was re-issued on CD in 2011 on Decca Eloquence, Catalogue Number 480 2092. It is also available on *Youtube*: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=DrYq9wXn4_Y accessed 25 April 2020.

Let us look in more detail at a couple of examples which I recorded in June 2019.[17] „Sehnsucht nach dem Tode", with a text by the minor poet Samuel Gottlieb Bürde (1753–1831), speaks of the rest that a tormented heart will find after death, and the subsequent continuation of the soul's search for truth. Albert's setting of the two verses is strophic, with a beautiful and evocative melody. The piano accompaniment follows a simple pattern of double octaves in the bass and simple chords in a gentle quaver movement in the right hand, doubling the melody most of the time. The music feels perfectly balanced and appropriate to the text and reminds me very much of similar strophic songs by Reichardt and Zelter.

In contrast, „Schmerz der Liebe", a setting of a short text by Albert's brother Ernst, employs fast-moving triplets and repeated chords in the right hand to evoke waves that batter a ship in the storm, which is likened in the poem to the raging storm in the heart of a lover. While this is considerably simpler and less substantial than, for example, Schubert's „Rastlose Liebe", which has a similar theme, it nevertheless manages, with simple tools, to make an impression and gives convincing emphasis to the text.

It is clear that in his musical training Albert achieved a good basic understanding of how human feelings can be expressed in music. His compositions reveal his enthusiasm for the art form and his zeal for the humanity and compassion reflected in the themes of the songs. This intimate understanding of music clearly enabled him to appreciate the role of the performing arts in fostering empathy and emotional intelligence, as outlined, for example, in Friedrich Schiller's *Letters on the Aesthetic Education of Man* (1793). Schiller suggests that experiencing a range of emotions reflected in a beautiful form during a performance of a work of art can remind an audience of their own wealth of feelings and capacity for empathy and can therefore contribute to their moral education and wellbeing.[18]

The songs also played a role in the courtship of Albert and Victoria. The Queen, who loved opera and attended over 500 performances in her lifetime, had a well-trained voice and sang Albert's songs during the separation between their engagement and their marriage. "You write that you are longing for me, and do not know how you can bear the separation. Oh! It is the same with me. What cheers me up is music. I send you the song I composed at Windsor; sing it and

17 Performance videos (with pianist Christina Lawrie) are available on *Youtube*: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=72j1VV7k0OA, accessed 15 April 2020.

18 See Friedrich Schiller: *Über die ästhetische Erziehung des Menschen in einer Reihe von Briefen*, ed. by Klaus L. Berghahn (Stuttgart: Reclam, 2000).

think of your Albert."[19] Singing, playing and appreciating music together clearly helped to forge a powerful and lasting spiritual bond between the young lovers. It also strengthened them in their roles as patrons of music and musicians.

In March 1840 Albert was invited to become a director of the Concerts of Ancient Music, an elite subscription series that had been founded in 1776. Between 1840 and 1848 Albert presided over as many as ten concerts at the Hanover Square Rooms. Ancient music meant that no music composed within the last twenty years could be performed. The programmes included music by Palestrina, Henry Purcell, J. S. Bach, Handel, Gluck, Haydn, Mozart and even Beethoven. Albert also designed the programmes for many concerts at Buckingham Palace, some of which involved up to 150 musicians. In addition, Albert became a patron of the Philharmonic Society where he often selected music for the concerts. Victoria and Albert attended thirteen of them between 1843 and 1860. The programmes were dominated by German composers like Mozart, Beethoven, Schubert, Weber, Spohr, Mendelssohn, Meyerbeer, Schumann and Wagner, and some were also conducted by Mendelssohn, who, as is widely known, visited the palace on many occasions to make music with the royal family.[20] Mendelssohn was already hugely popular in Britain by the time of Albert's arrival. He had taken England by storm since his first visit in 1829, helped greatly by his former piano teacher Ignaz Moscheles and by his childhood friend Carl Klingemann.

3 Moscheles, Klingemann and Mendelssohn

The composer and virtuoso pianist Ignaz Moscheles (1794–1870), like Mendelssohn, came from a highly educated and affluent Jewish family. He was passionate about Beethoven from an early age and studied in Prague and Vienna, where he established himself as a leading piano virtuoso. He later worked closely with his idol Beethoven and the composer Meyerbeer, and his wife Charlotte was a cousin of the poet Heinrich Heine. After a series of European concert tours and a period in Berlin where he taught the young Mendelssohn and his sister Fanny, he settled in London, where he lived from 1825 to 1846. In 1840 he was appointed pianist to

19 Albert, Prince Consort, letter to Victoria [28 December 1839, Letters of the Prince Consort, 45], quoted in Michael Budds, *Music at the Court of Queen Victoria* (PhD) (Iowa City, IA: University of Iowa, 1987), p. 140.

20 For programmes of the Ancient Music and Philharmonic Society concerts see Michael Budds, *Music at the Court of Queen Victoria* (PhD) (Iowa City: University of Iowa, 1987), pp. 381–477.

Prince Albert.[21] He was highly successful in Britain as a performer and composer, and he was able to introduce Mendelssohn at the Philharmonic Society. Mendelssohn would conduct and play many of his works there during his ten extended visits, often alongside Moscheles. In 1846 Moscheles accepted Mendelssohn's invitation to become a professor at his newly founded Leipzig conservatoire. He taught several English composers including Arthur Sullivan, who later became most famous through his collaboration with William Gilbert on the Gilbert and Sullivan operettas, still widely performed today. He also taught the pianist Edward Dannreuther (1844–1905), who was born in the US and later settled in London, where he became a professor at the Royal College of Music.

Carl Klingemann (1798–1862) was a German diplomat and childhood friend of Mendelssohn from Berlin. He was secretary of the London Embassy of the Kingdom of Hannover from 1827, and Mendelssohn usually stayed at his house in London. More than 300 letters between them were published, documenting their lasting friendship and many artistic collaborations. Mendelssohn set several of Klingemann's poems to music, and they worked on a couple of Singspiel projects and several projected operas that unfortunately never fully materialised. Together they also developed the plans for the oratorio *Elijah*, which would become one of the most popular musical composition in 19th-century Britain. Klingemann accompanied Mendelssohn on his trip to Scotland and shared his love of the great outdoors.[22] A touching musical document of the friendship of Mendelssohn, Klingemann and Moscheles is the song „Bei der Wiege". The poem by Klingemann was set to music by Mendelssohn for his godson, Felix Moscheles (1833–1917, note the first name!). The poem speaks of the exciting life that will blossom for the young Felix.

„Bei der Wiege" by Carl Klingemann

Schlummre und träume von kommender Zeit,
Die sich dir bald muss entfalten
Träume, mein Kind, von Freud' und Leid,
Träume von lieben Gestalten!
Mögen, auch viele noch kommen und gehen.
Müssen dir neue doch wieder erstehen,
Bleibe nur fein geduldig!

21 Charlotte Moscheles, *The Life of Moscheles*, 2 vols., ed. and trans. A. D. Coleridge (London: Hurst & Blackett, 1873), vol. II, p. 63, quoted in Budds, *Music at the Court*, p. 600.

22 See Colin Eatock, *Mendelssohn and Victorian England* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009).

Schlummre und träume von Frühlingsgewalt
Schau all das Blühen und Werden,
Horch, wie im Hain der Vogelsang schallt,
Liebe im Himmel, auf Erden.
Heut zieht's vorüber und kann dich nicht kümmern,
Doch wird dein Frühling auch blühen und schimmern.
Bleibe nur fein geduldig!

Slumber and dream of coming times
That will soon unfold for you,
Dream, my child, of joy and sorrow,
Dream of loving friends!
Many may come and go,
But there will always be new ones to follow;
Stay patient!

Slumber and dream of the power of spring,
See all the blossoming and growing,
Listen how birdsong resounds in the grove –
Love in heaven, on earth.
Today it passes by and cannot concern you,
But spring will bloom and shine for you too.
Stay patient!

(translation: N. M.)

Mendelssohn wrote the song on the first pages of a journal which Felix kept and gradually filled in over 50 years. We can read this in his autobiography, which also contains wonderful memories of playing games with Mendelssohn in the park and at the Moscheles home in London.[23] Felix Moscheles's life did indeed blossom and bear fruit. He became a famous painter and peace activist in London and was nominated for the Nobel Peace Prize no less than nineteen times, although he never won it.

4 William Sterndale Bennett

Another important figure in this Anglo-German story is William Sterndale Bennett (1816–1875). He had been a boy chorister at Kings College Cambridge, and at the age of 10 moved to the Royal Academy of Music where he studied the violin,

23 Felix Moscheles, *Fragments of an Autobiography* (London: James Nisbet & Co, 1899).

piano and composition. He quickly made a name for himself. In 1833 he performed his first piano concerto at the Midsummer concert of the Royal Academy, where Mendelssohn heard it and asked to be introduced to the young composer. He invited him to visit him in Germany as a friend, and over the following years he received much encouragement from Mendelssohn in correspondence and during a series of visits to Germany. In 1835 he made his debut at the Philharmonic Society where he played his 2nd and 3rd piano concertos, and in May 1836 he travelled to Germany with Carl Klingemann to meet Mendelssohn. On 28 May, Mendelssohn wrote about him to the British composer Thomas Attwood: "I think him the most promising young musician I know, not only in your country but also here".[24] In October the same year he began a longer visit to Leipzig where he also befriended Robert Schumann. He played his 3rd piano concerto and conducted several of his pieces with the *Gewandhaus* Orchestra, praised in Schumann's reviews and Mendelssohn's letters. Sterndale Bennett was one of the very few English composers who were widely published in Germany at this time. For the 1851 Great Exhibition, which was of course organised by Albert as president of the Royal Society, Bennett was appointed a Metropolitan Local Commissioner, Musical Juror and superintendent for the music at the opening Royal ceremony.[25] He was later offered the directorship of the *Gewandhaus* orchestra in Leipzig but decided to stay in Britain where he directed the Philharmonic Society, became Professor of Music at Cambridge and later Principal of the Royal Academy of Music. He was hugely influential in British music as a composer and teacher and was knighted by the Queen in 1871. He also conducted the first performances of Bach's *St Matthew Passion* in Britain in 1854, inspired by Mendelssohn's revival of the work in Berlin in 1829 and attended by Albert.

In 1856 Bennett conducted Schumann's oratorio *Das Paradies und die Peri* at the Philharmonic Society, in the presence of the Queen and the Prince Consort. Clara Schumann was present at the performance and joined in the choir, and the famous Jenny Lind sang the soprano part.[26]

24 Quoted in Nicholas Temperley, *Sir William Sterndale Bennett*, article in Grove Music online: https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.42930, accessed 20 April 2020.

25 Barry Sterndale-Bennett, "A Musical Contribution to the Great Exhibition and Crystal Palace," *The Norwood Review*, vol. 212 (Spring 2016): 12–15.

26 See Budds, *Music at the Court*, p. 476.

5 Jenny Lind, Otto Goldschmidt and Julius Benedict

Jenny Lind (1820–1887) was the ultimate singer-celebrity of the Victorian age. She made her name in her native Sweden and later on the opera stages of Europe, and she caused a stir with her pure high soprano voice and intense presence. It was the composure and restraint she showed in her acting and her public persona that made her so special. She came to London in 1847, scoring a huge success with her debut as Alice in *Robert le Diable* at Her Majesty's Theatre before Queen Victoria and Prince Albert. Victoria attended most of her performances in opera, striking up a close connection with her that would be continued in many visits to the palace. Lind retired from the opera stage only two years after arriving in London, still in her 20s, but continued to perform in concerts. When Mendelssohn wrote his *Elijah*, he had her voice in mind for the soprano part. She later also participated in the continuing Bach revival in England with her German husband, the conductor Otto Goldschmidt (1829–1907).

Goldschmidt, a pianist, conductor and composer, was born in Hamburg and became one of the first students at the Leipzig conservatoire, founded by Mendelssohn in 1843. In 1848 he moved to London and in the subsequent years accompanied Jenny Lind to countless concerts in London, Germany and the United States. They married in 1852 and settled in England in 1858, where Goldschmidt worked closely with Sterndale Bennett and became vice-principal of the Royal Academy of Music. He also founded and conducted the famous Bach Choir, which was joined by Jenny Lind for the first complete performance in Britain of Bach's *B Minor Mass* in 1876.[27] In 1883, Lind became professor of singing at the newly founded Royal College of Music. In 1847, shortly after Mendelssohn's unexpected death, she sang the soprano part in *Elijah* for the first time in a huge charity concert at Exeter Hall in London. The proceeds of the concert were invested to form the Mendelssohn scholarship, which enabled talented British musicians to study at Mendelssohn's Leipzig conservatoire where Moscheles was now teaching. The first recipient of that scholarship was the aforementioned Arthur Sullivan.[28] (Other British musicians who studied in Leipzig include Ethel Smyth (1858–1944)

27 Gaynor G. Jones and Christopher Fifield, *Otto Goldschmidt*, Oxford Music Online, https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.11396, accessed 21 April 2020.

28 See Carole Rosen, *Jenny Lind*, Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/16671, accessed 20 April 2020.

and Charles Villiers Stanford (1852–1924), later also a professor at the Royal College of Music.)

In 1850, Jenny Lind undertook a lucrative concert tour to 93 American cities, a story recently retold in the film *The Greatest Showman*. On this tour she was accompanied by the German pianist, conductor and composer Julius Benedict (1804–1885), another influential German musician in 19th-century Britain. Benedict had a fascinatingly mobile and international career. He was born in Stuttgart as a son of a local banker, and at the age of 15 went to study in Weimar with Hummel who introduced him to Beethoven. His father took him to Dresden to study with Carl Maria von Weber in 1821. Together with Weber he travelled to Vienna in 1823, where he became a conductor at the Kärntnertortheater. From 1825 he worked in Naples for nine years, as conductor at the San Carlo and Fondo Theatres, and also as a teacher and pianist. In Naples he wrote three Italian operas in the style of Rossini. In 1834 he moved to Paris and in 1835 he arrived in London. In 1836 he became the conductor of the Opera Buffa at the Lyceum Theatre, then Musical Director at the Drury Lane Theatre. He wrote many English operas with growing success, encouraged by Victoria and Albert. His most successful work, the Irish Opera *The Lily of Kilarney*, remained popular for many years. In 1850 Benedict published his *Sketch of the Life and Works of the Late Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdy*,[29] and in 1855 he founded the Vocal Association with which he gave concerts at the Crystal Palace for ten years. He also appeared many times at the various royal palaces and was knighted in 1871, together with Sterndale Bennett.[30]

6 Charles Hallé

It is remarkable how many personal and professional links can be found between the many prominent musicians I have mentioned so far, and how many of them are connected to Albert and Victoria. This pattern is continued with the next musician in my selection, Charles Hallé (1819–1895). Born in 1819 like both Victoria and Albert, Hallé was another brilliant moderniser and transcultural pioneer. He was the son of an organist in Westfalia in Germany. Hallé became successful early on as a pianist and moved to Paris in 1837 where he made a name for himself as

29 Julius Benedict, *Sketch of the Life and Works of the Late Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdy* (London: John Murray, 1850).

30 See Nicholas Temperley, "Sir Julius Benedict," *Oxford Music Online*, https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.02657, accessed 20 April 2020.

a virtuoso performer and teacher. He developed a close friendship with Berlioz and also met Moscheles, Chopin and Liszt there. In 1842 he met Mendelssohn in Frankfurt, playing Bach's *Triple Concerto* with him and Ferdinand Hiller. In 1843 Hallé was invited to play for Albert and Victoria on their visit to Louis Philippe in France. Caught up in the 1848 revolution, he decided to move to London where he reconnected with Moscheles and befriended Sterndale Bennett and Benedict. He was convinced by a group of wealthy patrons to move to Manchester later in 1848, where he became established as an influential performer, conductor and teacher. In May 1857 he set up an orchestra to perform at the Manchester Art Treasures Exhibition, a sequel of sorts to the Great Exhibition in 1851, with royal patronage. Hallé had brought together the best orchestral players from far and wide and did not want it to be dispersed again, so he took a substantial financial risk and kept it together to perform regular concerts in Manchester, always offering some affordable seats for the lower classes. His orchestra set new standards for orchestral playing, and it has continued to thrive and develop to this day. Hallé also kept his connection with the royal family and visited them in Windsor and at Osborne House on many occasions, becoming a teacher and musical advisor to some of Victoria and Albert's children. He was knighted by the Queen in 1888 and later helped to set up the Royal Manchester College of Music.[31]

7 George Grove and August Manns

There are just two more important figures I would like to introduce as part of this Anglo-German story, George Grove and August Manns. George Grove (1820–1900) was a civil Engineer of distinction who became secretary of the Royal Society of the Arts during the Great Exhibition in 1851, where he worked closely with its president, Prince Albert. When the Crystal Palace was relocated to Sydenham in South London to be used, amongst other things, as a regular concert venue, Grove was appointed its secretary. He originally engaged a wind band for the palace which the flamboyant German conductor August Manns (1825–1907) developed into a full-size orchestra. Like Hallé in Manchester, Manns kept his orchestra together and achieved a high level of orchestral playing. He also presented a vast amount of repertoire at his concerts, including many works by British composers. The Sunday concert series became a central feature of London's musical life. Grove, later the editor of the famous musical dictionary that bears his name,

31 See Charles Rigby, *Sir Charles Hallé – a Portrait for Today* (Manchester: Dolphin Press, 1952).

wrote programme notes for many of these concerts. The dictionary gave prominent coverage to Beethoven, Mendelssohn and Schubert, both Grove's and Albert's musical heroes. Grove helped establish the Royal College of Music under the patronage of Edward, the Prince of Wales, Albert's eldest son. He became its first director.[32]

8 Conclusion

There are of course many more 19th-century Anglo-German connections I have not been able to mention. The English-born composer Henry Hugo Pearson (1815–1873) achieved prominence in Germany and published many works, including a long series of lieder. The violinist Joseph Joachim (1831–1907), introduced in London by Mendelssohn in 1843, visited Britain on many occasions and enticed several British musicians to study in Germany. Among them was, for example, the theatre composer Norman O'Neill (1875–1934), a member of the 'Frankfurt Group' which also included Roger Quilter, Cyril Scott, Balfour Gardiner and Percy Grainger. There are many more such connections.

Last but not least I would like to mention another part of Albert's legacy that has great importance for music: the magnificent Royal Albert Hall, situated directly opposite the Royal College of Music in South Kensington. It was opened by Queen Victoria in 1871, ten years after Albert's death. One of his compositions was performed at the opening, and today it is home to the greatest classical music festival in the world, the BBC Proms, celebrating classical music as a global treasure while still, once a year, indulging in light-hearted enactments of Victorian pomp on the Last Night.

However, Victorian music had much more to offer than pomp and circumstance. The widespread drawing room culture and the significant and persistent royal patronage by Albert and Victoria meant that leading musicians could make a good living from performing and teaching, while orchestral subscription concerts, opera and operetta continued to blossom. The Anglo-German connections outlined here were of vital importance for the formation of musical tastes during the era. It is interesting perhaps to entertain the thought that Albert's influence on British musical taste and the importance of Mendelssohn's and Moscheles's Leipzig school may be one reason why the Victorians held on to their love of 'traditional' melody and harmony rather longer than others. Many later Victorian

32 See C. L. Graves and Percy M. Young, "Sir George Grove," *Oxford Music Online*, https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.11847, accessed 20 April 2020.

songs and oratorios are perhaps closer to the aesthetic ideals of Goethe and Zelter than those of modernisers like Liszt and Wagner, for example.

Theodore Martin included a sizeable "Memorandum as to the Influence of H. R. H. THE PRINCE CONSORT upon Musical Taste in England" in his 1875 biography, and I agree with his assessment that as a composer, Albert "produced enough to entitle him to a very high rank among amateur composers", and that some of his works "show no small originality as well as constructive skill in the treatment of the accompaniments."[33] His compositions are clear evidence of his understanding of the art form, and his musical taste influenced many individual musicians and institutions. The network of musicians I have tried to describe in this article responded to his efforts to further the appreciation of music, and, like Albert himself, helped to strengthen the musical connections between Germany and Britain.

Musicological research with a focus on migration and mobility has produced useful methodological precedents in the study of Anglo-German connections in 20th-century music,[34] and this has led to a renewed interest in the music of migrant composers. A similar approach could be used to explore this network of 19th-century musicians. Some studies of examples of Anglo-German intercultural transfer through musicians in the Victorian era have been published in recent years,[35] but there is a lot more to discover. There are many important sources available in the collections of the Royal College of Music. They include the sheet music collection of the Ancient Music concerts which Albert presided over, the recently acquired diaries of Julius Benedict, a collection of letters to and from August Manns and research materials about British musicians who studied at the Leipzig conservatoire in the mid-19th century. Most importantly we should explore the large amount of published and unpublished songs, piano music, orchestral music, oratorios and operas composed by this group of elite musicians. Their music deserves to be re-evaluated in performance, and I am sure that at least some of it has the potential to find a place in the concert programmes of tomorrow.

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33 Theodore Martin, *The Life of H. R. H. the Prince Consort* (London: Smith, Elder, & Company, 1875), vol. I, p. 491.

34 See for example *Music and Displacement*, ed. by Eric Levi and Florian Scheding (Lanham, NJ: Scarecrow, 2010); Florian Scheding, *Performing Migration in Twentieth Century Music* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2019).

35 See for example Stefan Manz, „Zuwanderung und die Transformation urbaner Klangwelten. Deutsche Musiker in Edinburgh und Glasgow 1840–1914," in *Moderne Stadtgeschichte*, 1 (2017): 48–64, and Stefan Manz, „Intercultural transfer and artistic innovation: German musicians in Victorian Britain," *German Life and Letters*, 65, no. 2 (2012): 161–180.