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CHAPTER 2

DISMANTLING BORDERS, ASSEMBLING HIERARCHIES: PERCY GRAINGER AND THE IDEA OF DEMOCRACY

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When it came to formulating ideas on art and life, Percy Grainger (1882-1961) was consistently inconsistent. Nevertheless, there were a number of topics that he regularly promoted throughout his career. On this short list, the idea of democracy occupied a unique position. As a young musician who left his birthplace of Australia for London, he was intrigued by the political situation in England, recording in 1906: 'This General Election has been a delight & refreshment to me . . . It seems quite like home' (Dreyfus 1985: 55). A few years later at the outbreak of war, Grainger traveled to America where he would soon become a naturalised citizen while earning the (self-imposed) title of 'ultra-democratic, ultra Colonial Australian' (Gillies and Pear 1994: 37). From society to music, the theme of democracy also found its way into many facets of Grainger's compositional language, about which Malcolm Gillies has observed, 'democratic music was . . . not an endpoint in itself but only a midpoint on the road to an ultimately free music, characterised by freedom in the relations of pitch, rhythm, dynamics and form' (Gillies 2011: 23). Taken together, his ideas on democracy *of* music and democracy *in* music provided him the ability to perpetuate nineteenth-century idealism while developing a style of aesthetic modernism in the twentieth century.

However, Grainger's road to freedom took many perilous detours. At times, it led him to inclusive vistas that preserved autonomy of the individual while creating new expressive possibilities. At other times, it led him down darker pathways, as when he displaced certain cultural influences in favor of those from Nordic and Anglo-Saxon 'races'. Given these contradictory impulses, can we attribute these disparities to the same source? If so, how could democracy serve as a catalyst for such wide-ranging aims? Moreover, beyond shaping his sociological imagination, can we locate the ways in which Grainger's democratic principles became enshrined in his works? Guided by these questions, this chapter will elucidate how Grainger's efforts to dismantle boundaries of identity stimulated the creation of exclusive hierarchies. In doing so, I will trace the nineteenth-century roots of his thinking by surveying Grainger's (mis)reading of Walt Whitman, before illustrating how these ideas generated a musical analogue in his *Marching Song of Democracy*. Subsequently, I will argue that the process of marking and unmarking traits that once provided for a humanistic union of democracy, cosmopolitanism, and nationalism led to a more ominous application of these same forces after his encounter with the ideas of American eugenicists.

Chasing Whitman: Cultivating Universalism amidst an Early Nordic Gaze

Just as democracy maintained a consistent presence in Grainger's discourse, so too did the work of Walt Whitman. He began reading Whitman's poems in 1899 and frequently testified to its inspiring powers. For instance, in the same letter to D. C. Parker cited above, he acknowledged the scope of his literary influences, declaring:

> My favorite book is 'The Saga of Grettir the strong' (in Icelandic). Otherwise my favorite literature is Icelandic Sagas, Faeroe folk poems, Danish folk poems collected by Evald Tang Kristensen, Scotch border ballads, Walt Whitman, Hans Christian Andersen, J. P. Jacobsen's novels (Danish), Mark Twain, Walt Whitman and Kipling. Kipling's verse had more artistic influence on me (between the age of fifteen and twenty five) than the art of any other single man, but Walt Whitman is to me the most ideal artist and artist type I know anything about. I really adore Walt Whitman, artistically and personally, though I am not modern enough in my feelings or instincts to share his beliefs and to hope his hopes. I am, personally, far closer to Grettir than to Walt Whitman, but I envy Walt more than I do Grettir; but would not change all the same … (cited in Gillies 1994: 29)

Whitman garners six mentions in just this short passage—a percentage that is exemplary of the frequency with which his name appears through Grainger's many essays and correspondences (Balough 1997). Thus, decades later in his letter to Herman Sandby on 25 October 1952, he was still praising Whitman as one of his favored 'dream-smitten men' (Gillies 1994: 259).

Grainger's candid admission also illustrates the extent to which Nordic culture occupied a privileged place in his imagination. From the beginning of his career, his overlapping beliefs concerning democracy, individualism, and universalism were accompanied by the promotion of Edvard Grieg as a contemporary Nordic artist who embodied a proper balance of these principles.[1] Grainger began advancing these ideas in earnest a decade after Grieg's death, in his 1916 article for *Etude* magazine, 'Modern and Universal Impulses in Music'. The article opens with an incipit from Whitman's *Song of Myself*, as he takes aim at circulating ideas of novelty, individuality, and modernity. Grainger then turns to Whitman to mediate conflicting imperatives while outlining his definition of progress, stating:

> And the more naturally gifted the man, the greater likelihood that he will say with Walt Whitman: 'I resist anything better than my own diversity.' The whole course of so-called 'musical progress' is along such paths, is not an amelioration from worse to better or a deterioration from better to worse, but simply a continual and restless spirit of change guaranteeing that life itself is behind the process of art … (cited in Gillies and Ross 1999: 78).

He then refers to Grieg at two important sections. First, he discerns that, during the 'stagnant' period surrounding 1900, 'Grieg stands out almost alone as a real iconoclast harmonic "innovator"' (Gillies andand Ross 1999: 79). Second, he invokes Grieg's name near the end of the article as he argues for the continued presence of modality:

> In literature, prose has not ousted poetry, or *vice versa*, and I see no reason why 'beatless' music and our present metrical music should not prosper side by side on equally fraternal terms . . . Who had expressed himself oftener or more trenchantly in diatonic and even triadic mediums that that chromatic giant Wagner? Grieg, the most chromatic Scandinavian of his generation, was also the one to whom the totally non-chromatic folk-scales of Norway provided the most inspiration … (cited in Gillies and Ross 1999: 82)

Consequently, Grainger juxtaposed elements of nineteenth-century idealism with burgeoning strands of twentieth-century modernism in order to achieve his democratic goal of merging dualities between individual and collective, particular and universal identities—objectives he hoped to achieve by combining elements in music both past and present, diatonic and chromatic, and metered and beatless.

However, this article is also illustrative of Grainger's attempts to disguise his own hierarchies. Indeed, almost a decade earlier during the same period of his exchanges with Grieg, he asserted, 'I'm mad about race; I feel almost everything *as* race, it's to me what religion is to *other* fools' (cited in Dreyfus

[1] The two artists met in London in 1906 and the following year at Grieg's home in Norway. For a chronicle of their correspondence, see Dreyfus 1985: 55-166 and Benestad and Halverson 2000: 263-270.

1985: 95; see also Scott 2006). Grieg's death thereby offered Grainger a possibility that his life could not: the opportunity to create a new narrative, which he unveiled in a series of essays he wrote in 1920-21 (Gillies and Ross 1999: 113-142). For instance, in 'The Value of Icelandic to an Anglo-Saxon', he declared: 'I would like to see the study of the Icelandic tongue and literature have a place in every educational curriculum throughout the English-speaking world, and I would like to see such study *take precedence over* the learning of such "dead" languages as Greek and Latin, and over such living languages as German, French, Italian, Spanish, etc.' (cited in Gillies and Ross 1999: 121). Grainger even forecasted the pivotal role of race for future generations, noting, 'I cannot count myself among those who consider strong racial characteristics to be decreasingly valuable and desirable. I can appreciate that the distant goal of humanity will probably prove to be a cosmopolitan one, but it seems to me that the qualities most needed in the path towards that goal will remain, for a long time at least, mainly racial ones' (cited in Gillies and Ross 1999: 122).

Nonetheless, Grainger uses the reminder of the article to try and resolve his preference for a race-based taxonomy with his model of universal humanism. It is in this respect that the forces of individualism, universalism, and democracy again materialise to form a new vision of unity:

> We can never reap the full fruits of democratic systems of government unless the populations in the countries concerned possess a highly developed individualistic sense . . . as well as consciousness of human unity (by which I mean a realization of the cosmic unity and harmoniousness of all human life and endeavor, that religious insight so well expressed in the following lines of Walt Whitman: 'If it is not as much to you as it is to me, it is nothing, or next to nothing') … (cited in Gillies and Ross 1999: 127)

Alongside his appeals to develop a modernist style in music, Grainger looks back to Whitman for a form of democracy that would preserve the rights of the individual. At the same time, he recognises the potential pitfalls when taking this dictum too far:

> Without the presence and development of virile individualistic qualities the race tends to drift into despotism and demagogy, and without a realization of the final unity of all human enterprises the very nature and goal of democracy is misunderstood and its application becomes a mere mockery … (cited in Gillies and Ross 1999: 127-128)

His consistent avenue for avoiding these negative consequences was a mixture of Whitman's universal notions combined with the dissemination of Nordic cultures. Thus, according to Grainger, 'no literatures of modern countries, with the exception of those of Scandinavia, provide us with the example of individualism so necessary for the fulfillment of the democratic ideal' because

> In the Icelandic sagas . . . we read of a race of heroes…a race of *born individualists* . . . their unfailing individualistic force forms such a salutatory contrast to the vacillating spinelessness of so much of modern life that we are apt to exclaim with Walt Whitman, in this connection: 'The man I love is bad, rather than good out of conformity or fear' … (cited in Gillies and Ross 1999: 128)

From literature to music and back again, Grainger's brief series of encounters with Grieg shaped his model of democracy that had initially been ignited by Whitman—one that valued a heterogeneous mixing of cultures. As we have seen, it also set the stage for a conscious manipulation of this ideology. But before I further explore the implications of Grainger's descent into a racialised discourse, I will first illustrate how the combined influences of Grieg and Whitman enabled Grainger to produce a musical analogue for his humanistic ideology. Doing so will permit one to better assess the distance that stood between his different democratic pathways.

Whitman 'meets' Grieg: Grainger's Democratic Textures

For all of the multivalent strands of his written discourse, the connection between Grainger's musical style and his social philosophy was rather straightforward. This symbiosis is exemplified in his *Marching Song of Democracy*—a work, like many of Grainger's compositions, that was written over an extended period of time. He began composing the score for mixed chorus, orchestra and organ in 1901 and did not premiere it until 1917. Central to the inspiration of *Marching Song* is the poetry of Whitman, which he acknowledged by quoting from *Leaves of Grass* in the published program notes alongside his personal reflections:

> When a boy of 16 or 17, I was greatly struck by the truth of his [Whitman's] assertion, not merely as regards America and literature, but as applying no less to Australia and the other younger Democracies, and to all the arts; and I felt a keen longing to play my part in the creation of music that should reflect . . . the undisciplined individualist energy of the athletic out-of-door Anglo-Saxon newer nations.
>
> When in Paris during the Exhibition of 1900 I happened unexpectedly upon the public statue of George Washington when strolling about the streets one day, and

> somehow or other this random occurrence galvanized in me a definite desire to typify the buoyant on-march of optimistic humanitarian democracy in a musical composition . . . (Grainger 1917)

Only a decade and a half later did Grainger offer a more precise description of democracy in music, in his eponymous article of 1931, which retrospectively can provide insight into his aesthetic goals. In it, he uses a three-fold method to map these principles onto his musical syntax. First, he extols democracy's virtues:

> Democracy seems to our mind's eye not merely a comfortable system of ensuring personal independence & safety to each man, but also an adventure in which the oneness & harmonious togetherness of all human souls is lovingly celebrated—for it is obvious that democracies are just as patriotic & humanitarian as they are freedom-loving . . . And, in fact, this ideal, as applied to life, art & thought, has spurred on many a genius, such as Walt Whitman, Tennyson, Martin Luther, Bach, Grieg, Edgar Lee Masters, etc. … (cited in Gillies and Ross 1999: 217)

Then, he establishes a corollary between music and society, stating:

> These individuals [professional musicians] seem to forget that art music is an essentially democratic art, an art that mingles sounds, an art that in its self-forgetful collectivism transcends individualism, an art of fusion and cooperation, an art that feeds on soul-ecstasy but starves on mere cerebral cleverness. In the highest forms of art music, as in democracy, 'the starry whole' (the radiant glory of art itself, of collective humanity itself) counts for at least as much as the 'chance for all to shine'. Technically, this means that the various melodic lines, that make up the harmonic texture, must enjoy, at various moments, equal opportunities to be independent, prominent & volitional; but that the splendor & beauty of the composite whole is the goal that none may lose from mind … (cited in Gillies and Ross 1999: 217-218)

Finally, he projects these beliefs onto a celebration of polyphony, noting, "the value of all existing art music depends on the extent to which it is intrinsically many-voiced or democratic—that is to say, the extent to which the harmonic texture is created out of freely-moving voices' (cited in Gillies and Ross 1999: 218). Further evidence for the residue of nineteenth-century idealism in Grainger's equation can be found by comparing his statements to those by America's 'first music critic', John Sullivan Dwight (1813-1893), who analogously declared:

> Each note in the great world-symphony is a whole, a unit in itself and must assert its individuality, insisting on its own peculiar sound, at the same time that it reverently dedicates itself and helps fulfill beyond itself the harmony of the whole. Apply this to society . . . In living for the whole he [man] lives most effectually to himself; for it takes all humanity to complete him, to set him in his own only place, and so surround him as to illustrate and bring out his peculiar beauty. He is not himself except in true relations with the whole. Yet he must not lose himself in the whole; he must preserve his individuality … (cited in Saloman 1995: 125)[2]

Numerous instances of these 'democratic textures' occur throughout his *Marching Song of Democracy*. For instance, in Ex. 2.1, drawn from bars 47-50, Grainger employs a tonal melody in the soprano line, a set of imitative polyphonic lines between voices, and a descending chromatic line in the bass. In order to balance these 'individualistic' sections, Grainger includes moments of 'communal' homophonic exuberance, exemplified in Ex. 2.2, wherein he symbolizes the collective ethos of the democratic body. Throughout this and many similar passages, Grainger creates a sense of 'unisonality' that connects part and whole by representing (and even enacting) the simultaneity of community—bringing people together and uniting them in time and place.[3] But in contradistinction to many instances across the long nineteenth century in which hymn- and chorale-like textures were secularised to symbolise the sounding body of the nation,[4] Grainger's setting serves, as Michael Steinberg has elsewhere shown, to pull 'the frame of reference out beyond the nation' (2004: 167) in the pursuit of democratic transcendence. The function is confirmed through the incorporation of another universalising feature: the use of nonsense syllables throughout the entire work—a feature the composer employed because he 'did not want to pin the music down . . . to the precise expression of such definite and concrete thoughts as

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[2] Ideas similar to those that Dwight outlined saturate Grainger's discourse. For instance, in his 1929 letter to the composer Maurice Lowe, he again emphasises the subjective nature of progress in art while celebrating the individualism afforded by polyphonic textures (Gillies and Pear 1994: 103).

[3] While the term 'unisonality' is originally attributed to Anderson 1991: 132, many others have expanded its application; see Tsuonis 1995 and Bohlman 2004.

[4] Similar devices have been traced across the nineteenth century. For instance, Esteban Buch (2004) has examined the reception of communal singing in the context of the French Revolution in Beethoven's Ninth Symphony (see especially chapter 2, '*La Marseillaise* and the "Supreme Being"'). Likewise, Michael Steinberg (2004) has offered a critical look at texture as both a homogenising and emancipating device in works from Mozart to Mahler; in chapter 3, 'Canny and Uncanny Histories in Beidermeier Music', Steinberg discusses the significance of the chorale in secular contexts. I also discuss implications of Grainger's textures in Weber 2018: 113-149.

words inevitably convey' (Grainger 1917).[5] However, Grainger does provide a list of more than two-dozen excerpts from Whitman in the Schirmer edition, which is meant to 'serve as a sort of rough index to the emotional background of the work' (Grainger 1917). He begins with an exposition from 'Starting from Paumanok' ('Democracy! Near at hand to you a throat is now inflating itself and joyful singing'), and then guides the reader through multiple passages from Whitman's *Song of Myself*, before concluding: 'Hymns to the universal God from universal man—all joy! . . . War, sorrow, suffering gone— ***nothing but joy left!' This dramatic crescendo is represented in the final cadence, marked *ffff* (Ex. 2.3). All told, Grainger's various uses of texture can be viewed as attempts to create symbolic, rhetorical, and mimetic representations of his democratic principles.

<INSERT EXAMPLES 2.1, 2.2 AND 2.3 NEAR HERE>

Having traced examples of how Grainger mapped his social philosophy onto music during the early twentieth century, a clearer picture emerges regarding the degree to which he integrated Grieg's ideas and practices with his selective reading of Whitman. First, in passages such as Ex. 2.1, we find instances of what Grainger, in 'Modern and Universal Impulses in Music', explained as phrases in which a melody appears 'side by side with an equally marked liking for certain chromatic chord-progressions in the accompaniment' (cited in Gillies and Ross 1999: 82). This procedure he gleaned in large part from his analysis of Grieg's compositions, including his *Ballade*, Op. 24 for piano solo—a work that Grainger continually championed because Grieg's 'unnatural' harmonization 'was able to clothe the melody with in its first presentation' (cited in Gillies and Ross 1999: 300). Second, in addition to his use of chromaticism, Grainger's employment of diatonicism at points of expressive climax is representative of his belief that 'prose has not ousted poetry', which enabled him to carve 'out a space for multiple pitch spaces without displacing the need for modality, diatonicism, or chromaticism' (cited in Gillies and Ross 1999: 82). Third, just as Whitman identified himself as the voice of both nature and democracy in 'Starting from Paumanok', so too does Grainger identify with Grieg in order to celebrate aspects of identity that were both universal and particular (see Warren 1990).[6] And fourth, these features worked together to merge his circular notion of progress with his liberating idea of universalism—a process that bears resemblance to Grieg's self-professed 'wider horizons' in his late works.[7]

[5] See also Gillies 2011) for a discussion of how other techniques, including 'elastic scoring', served Grainger's goal of creating opportunities for democratic participation.
[6] For a contextualisation of Whitman's ideas on democracy as they relate to individualism, see (Kateb 1990).
[7] See Grieg's diary entries of 1906 wherein he praises Grainger's ability to rise above nationalism; Benestad and Halverson 2001: 136-37. He also testifies to his own 'wider horizons' in his letter to Bjørnstjerne Bjørnson on 16 January 1900 (Benestad and Halverson 2000: 137).

The completion of *Marching Song of Democracy* in 1917 was followed by Grainger's naturalization in 1918. Then, in the following year, he came into contact with the writing of eugenicists Madison Grant and Lothrop Stoddard. It was from this point on that the wider ambitions he shared with Grieg and Whitman narrowed, as his description of elective traits in music (culture) was increasingly celebrated against the immutability of his essentialist beliefs (race). As a result, a different type of identification would eventually take place, in which Grainger's Anglo-Saxon heritage became synonymous with the 'Nordic race'. In sum, Grainger's elastic scoring went hand-in-hand with the elasticity of his ideological notions. As evidence of this plasticity, decades later in 1954, Grainger again referred to Grieg's *Ballade* as an important model. This time, however, he did not refer to the work as a symbol of universal brotherhood, but as a reminder of his 'racial ancestors' (Gillies, Pear and Carroll 2006: 168).

I have thus exposed two different trajectories in Grainger's thinking. One side moved toward greater particularity by championing the Nordic race, accordingly distancing his select group from Other(s). The opposing side moved towards a brand of universalism that celebrated a cosmopolitan mixture of cultures, thus bringing him closer to other groups. In the following section, I argue that these disparate courses can be seen as emanating from the same source: his espousal of democracy. And while it may be tempting to attribute such inconsistencies to Grainger's idiosyncratic disposition,[8] I will also argue that these divergent trends remain dormant within the properties of democracy itself. Consequently, unraveling the strands that enabled Grainger to (mis)use these principles for different aims will shed as much light on the nature of democracy as it does on the music and rhetoric that is carried out in its name.

Marking and Unmarking: The Problem of Universalism in Music

The tensions between universalism and individualism that Grainger sought to mediate through his concept of democracy were also the focus of debate for many others living at the turn of the twentieth century. Friedrich Meinecke's *Cosmopolitanism and the National State,* first released in 1907—the very year of Grainger's meeting with Grieg in Norway—was but one prominent work to cast skepticism over the supposed polarity between these forces. As Felix Gilbert noted in his introduction to the volume, Meinecke abandoned 'the traditional procedure of presenting man's ideas in the form of a closed system

[8] Nancy S. Love articulates the dangers of attributing such threats to liberal democracy as mere 'outliers' in *Trendy Fascism: White Power Music and the Future of Democracy* (2016: 26). I return to this study in the following section. As but one example of fellow artists with whom Grainger stood in racial solidarity, see the work of his contemporary John Powell (1882-1963), which is surveyed in Feder 2008.

into which everything . . . which did not fit . . . [was] eliminated' (Meinecke 1970: xi). This point is illustrated Meinecke's opening chapter, wherein he explains:

> There is a universal impulse in the intellectual friction between individual and environment and in the striving of the individual to rise from the sphere of the nation into his own particular sphere, because individual values appear as universal human values to the man who pursues them. But they never are universal, for they always bring with them a clump of native soil from the national sphere, a sphere that no individual can completely leave behind … (Meinecke 1970: 20)

Meinecke's observations attest to the challenges that Grainger faced: after displacing popular modes of attachment (local, national, and/or international), how could the universal be reached? Put another way, if Grainger used works such as *Marching Song of Democracy* to distance himself from hegemonic powers in Europe, what elements could grant agency to a cosmopolitan conception? After all, he did not title the song *Marching Song of America*, as he very well might have. Instead, his approach entailed using Whitman as a primary model for imagining a new way of connecting part to whole without resorting to exclusive forces of nationalism. Yet in doing so, Grainger was guilty of committing the same oversight as the first American 'bard of democracy' by conflating the average with the ideal and collapsing difference into sameness (see Davis 1995). David Simpson has called attention to this problem in Whitman's writing, noting how 'Whitman failed to realize that forms of life, whether human or animal, "have the instinct of turning right away from *some* matter, and of blissfully ignoring the bulk of most matter, and of turning towards only some certain bits of specially selected matter"' (1990: 177).[9] He also argues that Whitman 'does not choose to face the possibility that all are not given the same opportunities to do all things, and are perhaps not even effectively "free" to exercise such opportunities as they do have' (ibid.: 181-182). The result, according to Simpson, is that an 'awkward polarity is subsumed into singleness' (ibid.: 187).

Like Whitman, Grainger often failed to take into account that the relationship between the individual and the *demos* is not always a direct, unidirectional correspondence. Even worse, while he used Whitman as a tool to fight conformity on one level, he argued for a more restrictive level of conformity on another level: that of race.[10] The underlying source of this problem can thus be distilled into one of marking and unmarking. This is the same error that German musicians committed for decades, in which

[9] In this passage, Simpson quotes D. H. Lawrence, *Studies in Classic American Literature* (1977: 172).
[10] This conscious realignment of social power can be likened to the colonialist fantasies described by Georgina Born and David Hesmondhalgh (2000: 18-19).

being German was viewed as synonymous with being ‘universal’. The switch was easy for Grainger, for he needed only to replace ‘German’ with ‘Nordic’. But Grainer’s multifaceted identity went beyond this simple transposition and occupied a position of being simultaneously marked and unmarked. It was marked by what he believed to be a level of distinctiveness possessed by Scandinavian cultures. It was unmarked in its application as a universal paradigm for democratic societies. Thus, if cosmopolitanism was supposed to function as an antidote to the homogenising tendencies of nationalism (as Meinecke contended), then Grainger fulfilled this function by harnessing its pluralising powers to inject Scandinavian, Anglo-Saxon and American identities into the prevailing mainstream discourse. But, at the same time, he consciously avoided a level of critique that Meinecke embraced, thus limiting the scope of his vision to a select cohort. This contradiction leads us to ask, if cosmopolitanism and democracy can work together to attract different cultures, was Grainger not aware that they could also repel others?[11]

Grainger opened the door to this possibility in his 1933 radio broadcast entitled ‘Can Music Become a Universal Language’, which he began by stating, ‘We often hear people talk of music as a universal language. I always wonder what they mean, for I can only see that music, as it is practiced throughout the White Man’s world, is the *least* universal of all the arts’ (cited in Gillies and Ross 1999: 246). As to the purpose behind this appraisal, Grainger concluded:

> I firmly believe that music will someday become a ‘universal language’. But it will not become so as long as our musical vision is limited to the output of four European countries between 1700 and 1900. The first step in the right direction is to view the music of all peoples and periods without prejudice of any kind, and to strive to put the world’s known and available best music *into circulation*. Only then shall we be justified in calling music a ‘universal language’ … (cited in Gillies and Ross 1999: 250)

This speech thus appears to be an assault on traditional hegemonic structures and a petition to develop a cosmopolitan network of alliances. Yet beneath the surface, a much darker set of ambitions was at play. These motivations were confirmed just a month later in a subsequent radio address entitled ‘Characteristics of Nordic Music’ in which he claimed,

[11] Benjamin R. Teitelbaum examines this nexus from a contemporary point of view in *Lions of the North: Sounds of the New Nordic Radical Nationalism* (2017). According to Teitelbaum, the compatibility of cosmopolitanism, nationalism and white supremacy made possible by democratic societies and institutions has led to a ‘New Nationalist double imperative’, which is the result of ‘contrasting attitudes towards difference, striving at once toward integration and dis-integration with society at large’ (2017: 24).

> Our music is like our Nordic civilisations—more scientific, more highly complicated and organized, more restrained, more tender and tolerant than any other known music and civilisation. If we admire these high qualities in our civilisation it seems to me that we should enjoy their manifestation in music, particularly as music is an art well-fitted to voice these subtle qualities … (cited in Gillies and Ross 1999: 264).

The differences from his earlier disposition could not be more pronounced. Polyphony now becomes a trope not of democratic membership, but of 'advanced' thinking. Cultures are not equal, but instead organized into simple and complex factions. Furthermore, while he previously argued that musical cultures should be decentered away from the music of Germany and France, in this instance, he is all too keen on centering musical style around a Nordic identity—one to which he himself identified, by this point in his career. Hence, Grainger's Nordic identity became as omnivorous as Whitman's American identity, as his efforts to minimize difference on one level - universal participation - were overtaken by his efforts to eradicate difference at another – a universal circulation of preferred traits. These disparities might encourage one to conclude that Grainger had little use for democratic principles by the late 1920s. However, in the concluding sections, I argue that he did not dispense with the core of his democratic ideology. On the contrary, he simply manipulated two essential elements that were also common to his humanistic conception, in order to achieve his divisive results.

Love of Race, Hatred of Others: From Democratic Inclusion to Eugenic Exclusion

This racially charged vision of universality demanded a new process for connecting part and whole, and it is in this respect that democracy and cosmopolitanism began to intersect in troubling ways. In their article 'Music and the New Cosmopolitanism: Problems and Possibilities', Sarah Collins and Dana Gooley ask: 'what binds together the multiplicity of supposedly cosmopolitan things? We should be wary of using the term cosmopolitanism as a casual descriptor for the multitude of diverse encounters, affiliations, and alliances we discover' (2016: 141). They further conclude, 'music only becomes specifically cosmopolitan, as distinct from international or transnational or global, when a person perceives it as crossing an established boundary (local, regional, national) or somehow shifting the horizon of world-belonging' (ibid.: 153). As the above analysis of his *Marching Song of Democracy* confirms, Grainger fulfills their definition of a cosmopolitan as one who reacts 'to the appearance of narrow or limited interests' and disapproves of the 'exclusivity of those interests' (Collins and Gooley 2016: 160). But in order to inject his racial beliefs into the discourse, Grainger also needed to confront two issues essential to both cosmopolitan and democratic communities: the need to find a new binding agent free of the use of strictly national qualifiers, and the problem of the 'remainder'.

Regarding the latter, in his analysis of the *Bildungsroman* from Goethe to Mann, Tobias Boas has observed,

> There is always some kind of remainder, some identity claim that resists nationalism's aim for closure in what (following a host of political theorists from Hegel to Ernest Gellner) we can identify as the normative regime of the nation-state. These remainders are the novels' 'cosmopolitan' elements … (Boas 2012: 3)

The issue of the remainder applies equally to the musical domain, and Grainger's 1915 essay 'The Impress of Personality in Unwritten Music' demonstrates his efforts to bring cultural remainders into the musical canon. In it, Grainger explains how his experience of Rarotongan music provided him with new ideas on free polyphony; he praises Natalie Curtis for her efforts to collect North American Indian music; and he offers admiration for 'quarter-tones and inexact unison' in Eastern music as he rails against the 'tyranny of the composer'. Grainger then concludes the article by castigating 'ruthless Western civilization' for its intolerance toward folk cultures across the globe (Gillies and Ross 1999: 43-64). Additionally, during this same period, he praises Cyril Scott and Grieg for their ability not only to express national characteristics, but also their individual innovations that fell outside of national archetypes.

Yet for all of Grainger's sensitivity towards these underrepresented factions in the first two decades of the twentieth century, his encounter with the literature of eugenics encouraged an alternative stance by incorporating race as the binding agent for a different type of cosmopolitan community—one that limited membership based upon biology.[12] Consequently, in a further inversion of nineteenth-century idealism, he advanced a concept that refused to absorb and instead expelled unworthy remainders. Precedence for this process can be found in Zita Nunes's study *Cannibal Democracy: Race and Representation in the Americas* wherein she demonstrates how 'cannibalism is a useful model for democracy' by tracing the intersection of two concepts that emerged during this period as a residue of colonialism: 'cannibalism as a cultural metaphor and racial democracy as a cultural ideal' (2008: 10).[13] Nunes thereby disaggregates the various paradoxes that emerge between the 'concept of racial democracy, which depends on an ideal of inclusion' and 'the metaphor of cannibalism that informs and

[12] For a comparative example of the limiting properties of cosmopolitanism's 'darker' side, see Grimley 2016.
[13] Nunes also discusses the role of eugenics in shaping various attitudes toward the overlapping (and often contradictory) imperatives afforded by cosmopolitan community, hybridisation, and miscegenation. For example, in chapter four, she investigates the tensions that arose between democratic participation and efforts to define ethnically homogenous communities.

structures it', by emphasizing responses to remainders that emerge from *within* communities (ibid.: 9). Placed in this context, Nunes's analysis amplifies the degree to which Grainger employed his democratic principles as a catalyst for universalising otherness, which was measured against what he saw as the unchanging, perennial value of the Nordic race.

Similarly, Nancy Love has explored contemporary threats precipitated by the relationship between liberal democracy and white supremacy. In doing so, she contends that the aesthetic domain, and music in particular, is uniquely equipped to fill existing gaps in social solidarity—a function that Habermas attributed to religion. Love also demonstrates how this level of exclusion is made possible because the autonomy offered to individuals under systems of liberal democracy can safeguards one's ability to extract internal Others (Love 2016: 19). Grainger embraced the function that Love describes, which he admitted when he stated that race was to him 'what religion is to *other* fools' (cited in Dreyfus 1985: 95). Additionally, his kindred relationship to members of an imagined Nordic community that exuded 'personal independence' can be viewed as a representative of the category that Love identifies as pushing the boundaries of exclusion into the realm of hate, and which is ironically made stronger by the creation of new transnational communities.[14]

Evidence of this double process of including and excluding can be found by comparing the reflexive categories that were used to promote a Whitmanesque unisonality with those that legitimised Nordic supremacy: namely hybridity, individualism, and progress. The prevailing model for Grainger was Madison Grant's *The Passing of the Great Race* of 1916, in which he observed, 'In any such mixture, the surviving traits will be determined by competition between the lowest and most primitive elements and the specialized traits of Nordic man' (2017: 81-82). This theory demanded the development of a new matrix between the individual and society, testifying to the irreconcilable tension that arises from bestowing autonomy to the individual while, at the same time, demanding coherence with the collective.[15] Many eugenicists believed that hybridity was responsible for the breakdown of racial groups; Grant, for instance, noted that 'The tendency in a democracy is toward a standardization of type and a diminution of the influence of genius. A majority must of necessity be inferior to a picked minority, and it always resents specializations in which it cannot share' (2017: 5). From this perspective, democratic societies were ill-equipped to reflect Nordic exceptionality due to centuries of hybrid mixing that eroded the purity of individual races. At the same time, Grant retained the conviction that certain individuals have the power to restore the integrity of these same communities. He thereby endorsed Nordic individuality (read as 'distinctiveness') in order to establish what Ewa Luczak has elsewhere termed a 'biological and racial

[14] Love traces the 'natural' partnership of democracy and exclusion as far back as Locke (see 2016: 86-91).
[15] Young 1995 offers important insights into these relationships; see especially pp. 26-27 where he discusses the synthesising and dividing properties of hybridity.

aristocracy' (2015: 154). This meant that a certain level of conformity was necessary, as Lothrop Stoddard called for in his *Scientific Humanism* of 1926:

> If . . . the group should resolve itself into an anarchic mass of individuals, each of them going his independent and unpredictable way, the effect would be the same as though the law of gravitation had suddenly been suspended for our bodies—which would instantly dissolve into chaos . . . Such is the vista of sustained, balanced progress open to a society genuinely inspired by the scientific spirit and employing scientific methods. How to infuse this spirit and these methods into our existing social order; how to direct the idealistic vigor and intellectual energy of our age into truly constructive channels; how to weld the clashing, uncoordinated elements of Old and New into a harmonious vital synthesis, is the supreme problem of modern life, on whose solution the future of our civilization depends … (Stoddard 2017 [1926]: 76-77)

In order to assess the influence of these ideas upon Grainger, we need only compare his above-mentioned statements with those made after his eugenic breakthrough, such as his 1921 article 'Nordic Characteristics in Music' wherein he offered a call to action: 'Let us see that our Nordic characteristics . . . that have now entered *conscious, cultured, studious, complex* stages *are delivered in full to the world at large*, enriching cosmopolitan music in all sorts of unexpected ways . . . placing our races artistically on the map for all time—an honor and benefit to others no less than ourselves, to ourselves no less than to others' (cited in Gillies and Ross 1999: 139). Thus, in just three short years between his *Marching Song of Democracy* and his encounter with the literature of eugenics, Grainger migrated from a subjective view of progress that embraced diversity and derided linear formulations to a more exclusive view of the Nordic race that, in its complexity, became the binding agent for a democratic community capable of expelling its unworthy remainders.

The inconsistency of his position can be best understood when read through the lens of disability and its connection to eugenics, which Michael Rembis outlines in his eponymous article. In it, Rembis rightly notes how an 'ableist logic that was always infused with racialist, gendered, and class-based thinking' fueled the widespread appeal of eugenics (2018: 85-103). Indeed, as the passages above indicate, Grainger's later rhetoric was laced with each of these categories, which only served to highlight the common strategy of various eugenic movements: marking difference, grouping others into discrete categories, evaluating on the basis of exclusive hierarchies, and ultimately containing and controlling defective citizens. This dangerous process of pathologising difference emanates from every corner of Grainger's discourse, and it is his rhetoric above all that serves as the tool to contain and control what he viewed as unworthy cultures and thus unwanted bodies. Rembis argues that the narratives that supported various eugenic projects—protecting the nation from imminent danger while progressing towards a future free of defective humans—were reliant upon stigmatising deviations from an ideal. Such disabling strategies can be likened to Grainger's narrative of freedom, which he similarly attached to narratives of democracy and racism as he sought to erode the boundary between each notion. In sum, Grainger's democracy was inextricably tied to what might be termed an ableist creed of Nordic supremacy that would limit the virtues of freedom only to those races deemed capable of embodying its ideal.[16]

The Plasticity of Grainger's Principles Revisited: Democracy at its Limits or Limiting through Democracy?

While Grainger spent the bulk of his career championing Whitman's ideas on individualism and democracy, he contributed to a level of division that Whitman never did. Grainger did not just ignore difference among members of society; he created it by imposing his race-based notions of belonging. Like many eugenicists, his democratic principles were not confined to any one nation. Instead, his cosmopolitan worldview enabled parameters of belonging to expand or contract, thereby including or excluding remainders. This property reminds us that the principles offering freedoms to some populations can deny them to others, for what is viewed as complementary on one level can be conflicting on others. After all, while eugenics and democracy rely on the individual as the agent of change, they also rely on a level of exclusion and conformity. As I have shown, these polarities were rendered possible because of an inherent instability between 'I' and 'We'—an asymmetry that lies at the heart of many democratic ideologies and which is made visible by a historically contingent imbalance between the variety of democratic experiences. As Nancy Love has argued, 'white ignorance has powerful psychological motivations, though for many whites they are largely unconscious. In this context, merely to call for a more inclusive and participatory democracy is woefully inadequate and potentially dangerous' (2016: 63). In short, if we ignore this darker power of democracy, then we remain vulnerable to its destructive powers.

How, then, should we view the plasticity of Grainger's democratic principles: as proof of democracy's limitations or merely his own attempt at limiting membership? The answer must be a bit of both. In another letter to D.C. Parker on April 26, 1933, Grainger defended his contradictions, declaring:

[16] For further discussion of the connections between democracy, race, and pathology, see (ennaway 2012 and – for a thorough analysis of the circulation of these ideas in Britain – Zon 2017.

> I do not *resent* being that 'inconsistent', for it seems to me a quite forgivable weakness in an artist. But as I am sure I am painfully consistent (being weak in spontaneity rather than in consistency), and owe all my commercial well-being to this fact, I feel I must put my arguments before you. (cited in Gillies and Pear 1994: 115)

In this letter, Grainger surveys a familiar array of themes: the never-ceasing presence of Bach, Kipling, and Whitman in his work; his love of polyphony; praise of British, Scandinavian, and American music; ideas on individualism and the Nordic race; the 'onward-march of democratic humanity'; and even a breakdown of his 'racial & international inspirations' (cited in Gillies and Pear 1994: 125). He also takes Parker to task, stating, 'I know that you are very individualistic as a writer & do not like to be interfered with. There I do not agree with you—as I do not agree with extreme individualism ever' (Gillies and Pear 1994: 126). Here we uncover one of the most consistent messages of his career: the combined praise of Nordic individualism and conformity to the Nordic ideal. In a turn to eugenic rhetoric, Grainger seeks to empower the parts (Nordic minorities) in order to improve the whole (democratic communities). He simultaneously confirms that there always exists an ambivalent relationship between individual agency and collective identity, which can lead to anxieties over the fear of being *in* a community but not *of* it (see Nussbaum 2018).

The plasticity of Grainger's democratic principles exposes a number of shared properties between nationalism and cosmopolitanism. Both are compatible due to their similar powers of exclusivity. Because controlling the past means controlling the future, both rely on a bi-temporal consciousness that looks to the past while searching for a concept of modernism that resides just beyond one's grasp in the future. Both forces also require a degree of malleability as they unite and divide, attach and detach. Accordingly, as the discussion of race moved from skin color to skull shape to blood type, Grainger's discourse, like that of Grant, Stoddard, and the many literary figures who were drawn to these ideas, adapted. These conclusions remind us that eugenic ideas cannot be cast aside as biographical remainders. Indeed, in his efforts to dissolve difference on some levels and sustain it on others, Grainger turned the musical landscape into a new battlefield for preventing the degradation of the Nordic race. Committed to overcoming this defeat, the literature of the nineteenth century and the biological science of the early twentieth century found an opportunistic—if unstable—union in his democratic music.

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