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More Information

1 Place

Few musicians have responded as intensively to place, both real and imagined, as Delius, but locating the place of Delius's music is a difficult task. From the mercantile West Riding of late nineteenth-century Yorkshire and the fringes of the St Johns River in Florida, to the remote uplands of the Hardangervidda in southern Norway, the institutional classrooms of the Leipzig Conservatoire, the daily urban bustle of Montparnasse, and the secluded idyll of the artists' colony at Grez-sur-Loing south of Paris where he spent much of his career, Delius was repeatedly moved and affected by the diverse landscapes and environments he encountered as a creative artist. His work has similarly helped to shape the quality and character of those places in turn. The idea of place, however, is more complex and unstable than this simple pattern of association suggests. 'Place' refers not only to a specific geographical site or set of coordinates, but also to matters of identity, presence, and behaviour. To 'know one's place', for example, implies hierarchical notions of social class and distinction,[1] and to 'call a place home' is to evoke ideas of ownership and belonging. To be 'out of place' can suggest a simple anomaly, or a more existential sense of alienation and exile. Place is powerfully both a physical category and one that is also culturally imagined and produced. Delius's music profoundly exemplifies these tensions.

Place can equally refer to questions of historic and aesthetic status.[2] The place of Delius's work, in this regard, has always seemed contingent – stylistically located at the cutting edge of late Romanticism and early twentieth-century modernism yet apparently beholden to neither historical-aesthetic phase conclusively. In terms of scholarly coverage, his music has invariably occupied a more-or-less peripheral position compared with that of more celebrated contemporaries such as Debussy, Strauss, Sibelius, or Elgar. Attending closely to the precise role of place in Delius's work can help

[1] The *Oxford English Dictionary*, for example, lists familiar definitions of place in terms of region or locality, but also in terms of a 'station occupied by custom, entitlement, or right', and as a position 'in some scale, order, or series'.

[2] See, for example, Michel Foucault, *The Order of Things: An Archaeology of the Human Sciences* (London: Routledge, 1989), especially 'Order', pp. 55–64.

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More Information

to bring him into more mainstream musicological discussion, responding with greater critical sensitivity than in previous historical accounts to his remarkable artistic and aesthetic environments. But place can equally indicate subject position: it determines how we listen to Delius's music and where (and when) we attempt to locate his compositional 'voice'.[3] Delius's music is particularly challenging in these respects. Eric Fenby's involvement as amanuensis in transcribing and assembling Delius's later works from 1928 onwards most obviously foregrounds thorny issues of agency, authenticity, and intention, but the role played by other advocates and interpreters such as Philip Heseltine, Thomas Beecham, or Beatrice Harrison further complicates single-author models of compositional activity in favour of a more actively (re)creative process. Delius's music is similarly characterised by a productively ambiguous sense of place: much of his work creatively blends or blurs the boundaries between proximity and distance, self and other, intense inwardness and outward diffusion. Delius's work is frequently concerned with dynamic shifts of character and sounding subject, 'the psychodynamics of being *in place* and already somewhere else'.[4] Place has a transformative affect, complementing its rich connections with the history and materiality of a specific location.

Engaging critically with Delius's music explicitly problematises all of these definitions of place, but it is the notion of geographical origin that has most consistently shaped responses to and writing on his work. Foremost among such debates has been the question of Delius's national identity, a particularly long-standing trope in his critical reception. For early twentieth-century English writers, the need to certify the quality and status of Delius's musical Englishness was an urgent but challenging exercise. Thomas Beecham, for example, canonised him in the *Evening Standard* as 'the greatest musician England has borne since the death of Purcell',[5] though, as will become evident below, he was later more equivocal about the extent to which Delius's music could necessarily be heard as 'English' purely on the grounds of birthright alone. A week later in the same newspaper, Jelka Delius, the composer's wife, was strategically quoted as suggesting that 'he has always lived apart from the world, but his music is entirely English',[6]

[3] Don Ihde, *Listening and Voice*: *A Phenomenology of Sound*, revised edn (Albany: State University of New York, [1976] 2007), especially chapters 17–19 (pp. 185–226).

[4] Brandon Labelle, *Acoustic Territories: Sound Culture and Everyday Life* (London and New York: Continuum, 2011), 107 (original emphasis).

[5] 'Delius, the Neglected Genius', *The Evening Standard*, 13 January 1927, quoted in Christopher Redwood (ed.), *A Delius Companion* (London: John Calder, [1976] 1980) (hereafter *Companion*), 65–68, at 66.

[6] Ibid., 70. The identity of the *Evening Standard* correspondent is not given.

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More Information

unconsciously coupling the idea of isolationism with the rhetoric of an island nation. Conveniently glossing over the geographical inconvenience of his long-term residency in France, Delius's music could appear essentially, intangibly English in spirit and design, so that *Time* magazine could describe him, in a 1971 review, as 'that supreme musical watercolourist of English post-Romanticism, Frederick Delius'.[7]

Other writers similarly sought to locate Delius's work within imagined literary and artistic geographies that served to ground his work in privileged English notions of place. Edwin Evans, writing in Philip Heseltine's music journal *The Sackbut* in 1929 in the wake of an opulent five-day festival of Delius's music in London staged by Beecham, claimed that 'there is something about Delius's music which suggests that at one time, most probably in adolescence, he was profoundly influenced by English poetry', citing both Keats and the poetry of the Pre-Raphaelites, 'with its lusciousness, not its tendency to pseudo-archaism', as the relevant points of reference.[8] Constant Lambert likewise claimed, in his polemical account of contemporary music, *Music, Ho!*, that 'even in our day, Elgar and Delius have, in their widely different ways, written music that is essentially English in feeling without having to dress it up in rustic clothes or adopt pseudo-archaic modes of speech',[9] implicitly contrasting Delius with the work of a younger generation of composers such as Ralph Vaughan Williams who had been concerned more explicitly with folk music as a national musical resource. For Evans, however, 'this element is even more clearly allied to English landscape painting', extending his analogy into a comparison between the work of Jean-Baptiste-Camille Corot and John Constable, both of whom had responded to ideas of landscape and place in particularly affective ways. 'In French landscape painting – to take the opposite extreme – the norm is objective, and the sentiment is more often than not sophisticated, a product of deep-rooted culture. In the English equivalent it is the norm that is sentimental.'[10] Hence, Evans could conclude, 'the sentiment of Delius's tonal landscapes is of the English kind. He does not place the factors in sentimental relations to each other. To him, as to Constable, they are themselves the sentiment.'[11] Arthur Hutchings,

[7] 'Music: Antebellum Aida' (unsigned review of *Koanga*), *Time*, 97/1 (4 January 1971), 31. The review describes the opera as a 'voodoo Aida of sorts'.
[8] Edwin Evans, 'Delius. A Personal Reaction in the Form of a Letter', *The Sackbut*, November 1929, quoted in *Companion*, 79–85, at 81.
[9] Constant Lambert, *Music, Ho! A Study of Music in Decline* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1934), 124.
[10] Edwin Evans, 'Delius. A Personal Reaction', 81.
[11] Ibid., 81–2.

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Excerpt
More Information

writing at an unusually pointed moment of reflection about the relationship between nationalism and artistic identity in the immediate aftermath of the Second World War, similarly aligned Delius with a clutch of literary geographies: 'By all who knew the Deliuses', he wrote in 1946, '"In a Summer Garden" is associated with the lovely garden at Grez, yet for us it slopes its high midsummer pomps towards a native Avon, Ouse, or Isis, beside which stream, through the nebulae of Delius's "Summer Night on the River", we hear a fish snap at Radcot or recall the "unforgettable, unforgotten river smell" at Itchen Abbas.'[12] In his 1948 monograph, he enfolded Delius within an even more explicitly canonic gathering, alongside Shakespeare, Ben Jonson, and other early modern writers. 'It is not, then, because he evokes a specifically English countryside, that Delius appeals so much to English folk', Hutchings suggested, invoking a populist notion of national community; 'it is because he has a specifically English vein of mysticism. Like Vaughan the Silurist, he has but to communicate what he remembers in tranquillity, to evoke our Thames or Avon as Vaughan did his beloved Usk, though Delius's river was in France.'[13] For Percy Grainger, meanwhile, cultural nationalism was inextricably bound up with grotesque notions of racial descent, genetic origin, and deterministic processes of environmental and climatic acculturation: 'although Delius did not have a drop of English blood in him', Grainger claimed, 'he epitomized for me the English gentleman-of-leisure, his birth and up-growing in Yorkshire having so completely Anglicized him.'[14]

Unsurprisingly, such attempts to elide place, race, landscape, class, and nationhood in Delius's critical reception have drawn sustained critique. As Robert Stradling has argued, laudatory accounts such as those by Evans, Hutchings, and Beecham invariably reflected anxieties about the curation and integrity of an early twentieth-century national musical canon. A lingering sense of insecurity about English music, and Delius's place within such narratives, inevitably inflected both popular and critical coverage at significant moments in the dissemination of his work. Beecham's oration at Delius's reinterment at St Peter's churchyard in Limpsfield Chart on Sunday

[12] Arthur Hutchings, 'The Other Delius', *The Listener*, 36, no. 914 (18 July 1946), 93. Radcot is a weir on the Isis (the name of the River Thames in Oxford and upstream toward Lechlade); 'that unforgettable, unforgotten river smell' is a quotation from Rupert Brooke's 1912 poem 'The Old Vicarage, Grantchester'; Itchen Abbas in Hampshire was the inspiration for Charles Kingsley's 1862–63 novel *The Water-Babies*.

[13] Arthur Hutchings, *Delius* (London: Macmillan, 1948), 181.

[14] 'Biographical Note' in Philip Heseltine [Peter Warlock], *Frederick Delius*, ed. Hubert Foss (London: Bodley Head, [1923] 1952), 170–80, at 170–71.

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Excerpt
More Information

26 May 1935, in which he extolled the composer's music as 'extraordinarily redolent of the soil of this country and characteristic of the finer elements of the national spirit',[15] constituted, for Stradling, an act of repatriation that sought to embed Delius's physical remains and musical legacy in a privileged site of national commemoration. 'For all its modest obscurity', Stradling claims, 'the simple headstone at Limpsfield … is a national shrine, a cultural mausoleum.' As Stradling notes, however, Delius's grave 'is also a site of ideological struggle',[16] one that grassed over deeper underlying issues of class, taste, and social hierarchy. Delius's grave became a symbolically framed *lieu de mémoire* in Pierre Nora's phrase,[17] whose understated monumentalism, as Stradling suggests, was sharply at odds with the composer's own Nietzschean vitalism and his oft-stated disdain for 'English music'.[18] Delius's work more properly resists such easy containment or categorisation, Stradling concludes, even as the composer himself apparently sought to cultivate a greater English following for largely self-interested reasons toward the latter half of his career.

Despite his trenchant analysis of the role that place has played in ideologically motivated claims of ownership and cultural value, Stradling's reading of Delius's biography and his critical reception nevertheless flattens out a more nuanced and often contradictory historical context. Not all English writers associated place with nation in their accounts of Delius's work as straightforwardly as Stradling suggests, and neither were they perennially concerned with the state of the English musical canon. Philip Heseltine (better known under his later pseudonym Peter Warlock), who was a particularly close friend of Delius in the 1910s, is an especially relevant case study. As Heseltine wrote in the introduction to an important early article on Delius's work published in *The Musical Times* in 1915, the composer's position in his contemporary musical world was 'one of curious isolation; he has ever held aloof from the great public, and it is scarcely surprising that he is regarded with a certain bewilderment, as a mysterious,

[15] Quoted in Lyndon Jenkins, *While Spring and Summer Sang: Thomas Beecham and the Music of Frederick Delius* (London: Ashgate, 2005), 170.

[16] Robert Stradling, 'On Shearing the Black Sheep in Spring: The Repatriation of Frederick Delius', in Christopher Norris ed., *Music and the Politics of Culture* (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1989), 69–105, at 75.

[17] Pierre Nora, 'Between Memory and History: *Les Lieux de Mémoire*', *Representations* 26 (Spring, 1989), 7–24.

[18] See, for example, his letter to Granville Bantock dated 17 December 1908, with a withering account of Elgar's First Symphony ('thick and without the slightest Orchestral charm'), in Lionel Carley (ed.), *Delius: A Life in Letters*, vol. 1: 1862–1908 (London: Scolar Press, 1983) (hereafter *Letters 1*), 377.

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Excerpt
More Information

enigmatic, albeit – as many are certainly beginning to realise – a very arresting figure.' The twin strands of Heseltine's essay were the relative critical neglect of Delius's work following his first breakthrough London concert at St James's Hall, Piccadilly in 1899, and the increasingly febrile state of English music criticism in the early years of the First World War.[19] 'The somewhat elusive problem of his nationality has given needless trouble to many', Heseltine claimed, 'and recently the superstition that he is really a German was made use of in a particularly disgraceful manner by intriguing parties, in order to defer a certain public recognition of his genius that has been long overdue.'[20]

Among the hostile parties unnamed by Heseltine were presumably critics such as W. J. Bowden, who had written in the conservative *Musical Standard* how 'rather too much has been made of Delius's so-called English nationality', and that 'although born in Bradford, his parents were not only German, but he received his musical education in Leipzig and has spent most of his life in America, Germany, and France, so that those who are anxious to claim him as a "British composer" ought to remember this.'[21] For Bowden, no less than Hutchings, place and nation were inextricably intertwined, the only difference being that for Bowden nation served as a means of Delius's exclusion. Heseltine, in contrast, advanced a more ecological reading of place, in which national boundaries played little or no role: 'the artist who would interpret the atmosphere, the spirit of any place or people, must necessarily attune himself to such a pitch of sensitiveness to his surroundings that these become an integral part of himself no less than he a part of them.'[22] In his 1927 biography, Heseltine would claim Delius as English principally 'by virtue of his father's naturalization', placing him alongside Jacob Epstein and Joseph Conrad, neither of whom had been born in England, as one of the leading lights in English culture.[23] And in his earlier essay, Heseltine could confidently conclude: 'There is no

[19] For an incisive analysis of Heseltine's relationship with the emergence of professional music criticism in England, see especially Sarah Collins, 'Never Out of Date and Never Modern: Aesthetic Democracy, Radical Music Criticism and *The Sackbut*', *Music & Letters* 95/3 (August 2014), 404–28, especially 418–22.

[20] Philip Heseltine [Peter Warlock], 'Some Notes on Delius and his Music', *The Musical Times* 56/865 (March 1915), 137–42, at 137.

[21] W. J. B., review of Liverpool Orchestral Society concert, *The Musical Standard*, 1 February 1908, 76. The review contrasted the premieres of Delius's *Brigg Fair* and Havergal Brian's *English Suite*, explaining 'there is really no mistake about that Staffordshire product, Havergal Brian, whose "Suite" is really what it pretends to be'.

[22] Heseltine, 'Some Notes on Delius', 139.

[23] Heseltine, *Frederick Delius*, 29.

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Daniel M. Grimley
Excerpt
More Information

composer in Europe to-day of greater significance than Frederick Delius, nor any other whose work seems more likely to outlast that of his contemporaries.'[24] Even Thomas Beecham, contrary to Stradling's analysis, offered a more sophisticated reading of Delius's sense of place in his autobiography *A Mingled Chime*:

> His biographers have styled him an Englishman, born of German parents settled in Yorkshire in the early part of the nineteenth century, and this is correct so far as it goes. But it does not take us nearly far enough in probing the problem of a highly complex personality, and the truth is that Delius was of no decided nationality but a citizen of all Europe, with a marked intellectual bias towards the northern part of it.[25]

Four years later, in his waspish memoir published in the same year as Hutchings's biography, Cecil Gray described Delius as 'more a Continental than an insular figure'.[26] Likewise Hubert Foss, in his editorial gloss for the 1952 reissue of Heseltine's biography, noted that 'there is much of the German "mist-sculptor" therein, but the cultural background would appear to be partly French, partly Nordic, with the hills of Yorkshire and Scandinavia as a landscape behind the mind's window overlooking the Loing',[27] once more blurring place, space, and nation as a means of determining the value and significance of Delius's work. For Ralph Hill, writing in another post-Second World War survey of contemporary music, 'Grez was to Delius what Dorset was to Thomas Hardy, the source of fertilizer of his inspiration', adding as a qualification that 'his music is no more concerned with the English countryside than it is with the French – it is an expression of his own emotions and those alone'.[28] For Hill, as for others who resisted the appropriation (or rejection) of his work for narrowly nationalist ends, 'Delius was a true cosmopolitan.'[29]

Hill's appeal to a more internationalist reading of Delius's sense of place was taken up most energetically by Christopher Palmer in his influential 1976 monograph *Delius: Portrait of a Cosmopolitan*. For Palmer, thinking in particular of some of the more strident passages in Hutchings's book, 'a spirit of jealous possessiveness on the part of English writers on music has

[24] Heseltine, 'Some Notes on Delius', 141.

[25] Thomas Beecham, *A Mingled Chime: Leaves from an Autobiography* (London: Hutchinson & Co., 1944), 72.

[26] Cecil Gray, *Musical Chairs: Or, Between Two Stools* (London: Home & Van Thal, 1948), 19.

[27] Hubert Foss, 'Additions, Annotations and Comments', in Heseltine, *Frederick Delius*, 137.

[28] Ralph Hill, 'Frederick Delius', in A. L. Bacharach (ed.), *The Music of Today* (London: Pelican 1946), 30–43, at 33 and 38.

[29] Ibid., 37.

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More Information

tended over the years to foster an excessively insular approach to Delius's art and a refusal to recognize the richly cosmopolitan elements of which it is compounded.' Instead, Palmer claimed, 'Delius was a curiously stateless man, a wanderer over the face of the earth who never really settled and struck roots anywhere.'[30] The primary motivation for Palmer's defensiveness was a growing sense, especially in the years following Delius's centenary in 1962, that the critical profile of his music had somehow slipped, and that it was increasingly heard as a stylistic and aesthetic anachronism, the last autumnal glow of a fading late Romanticism ill-at-ease in a cooler modernist era. Even Hill, in 1946, had described Delius as 'the last of the great full-blooded romanticists', whose 'finest works are introspective and imbued with a certain sadness and melancholy – nostalgia is probably the more apt term,'[31] whereas earlier Constant Lambert had associated Delius with what he had identified as the conservative and backward-looking flavour of much contemporary music in the 1930s, 'a romantic swansong regretting past days'.[32]

Emphasis on wistfulness and retrospection was at odds with the sense of stylistic orientation and historical place of Delius's earlier critical reception. One of the earliest commentators, and author of the first book-length study of his work (published in 1907), German music critic Max Chop, for example, conceived of Delius as a powerfully progressive musical figure, and wrote of 'the important signpost that points forwards from Richard Wagner; from here there is a bridge across the wide gulf that has encircled Wagnerian epigones and partisans, and which still separates us from the wonderland of a new art'.[33] Charles Kenyon, writing under his pen-name Gerald Cumberland in 1909, similarly described Delius as 'modern in his sensibilities, taking a passionate interest in all new developments of artistic endeavour and in each new phase of thought', promoting the view that Delius was fully in touch with the latest technological and aesthetic

[30] Christopher Palmer, *Delius: Portrait of a Cosmopolitan* (London: Duckworth, 1976), ix.

[31] Ralph Hill, 'Frederick Delius', 43. Hill's comment may also have been intended as a slight to other figures such as Arnold Bax.

[32] Constant Lambert, *Music Ho!*, 188.

[33] 'Den bedeutsamen Fingerzeig zu erkennen, der von Richard Wagner aus nach vorwärts deutet; von hier aus ist die Brücke über die weite Kluft möglich, die das nachwagnerische Epigonen- und Sektierertum verschlang, und die uns vom Wunderlande einer neuen Kunst trennt.' Max Chop: *Frederick Delius: eine biographische Studie* (Musikalisches Wochenblatt [Leipzig, 1907], nos. 35–7), 147; edited and translated by Philip Jones, *The Collected Writings of the German Musicologist Max Chop on the Composer Frederick Delius* (Lewiston, Queenstown, Lampeter: Edward Mellen, 2002), 35. I have slightly amended Jones's translation.

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Excerpt
More Information

developments in Continental European music despite his apparent seclusion in Grez.[34] By 1962, however, the critical climate had chilled significantly, and Deryck Cooke was moved to protest in an anniversary essay (in response to articles by Peter Heyworth and Rollo Myers):

> in the critical reviews of the various Delius centenary offerings, certain censorious words and phrases have occurred again and again – terms like 'self-indulgence', 'luxuriating in emotion', 'wallowing in nostalgia', or – to quote a more original example – 'narcissistic improvisation'. Delius's admirers have to face the fact that in this hundredth year after his birth, the general attitude of English musicians to his art has been one of strong moral condemnation: to declare oneself a confirmed Delian today is hardly less self-defamatory than to admit to being an addict of cocaine or marihuana.[35]

Cooke's fear, in other words, is that the reception of Delius's music had been divided between anxieties about the advance of modernism and modernity, on the one hand, and the imperative of a modernist grand narrative and the triumph of a musical avant-garde, on the other. Delius's work, under these conditions, can claim almost no place whatsoever: a view that has been endorsed as recently as 2012 in a remarkably spiteful anniversary essay by Michael White published under the subheading 'Delius was hardly English at all, and nor is his music'.[36]

Such polarised responses to the place of Delius's music reflect much deeper concerns about ownership and musical meaning, themes that run throughout his critical reception and which reflect underlying tendencies in early twentieth-century English intellectual life. As Sarah Collins has noted, 'contemporary debates about the idea of Europe and contemporary debates about musical modernism have some surprising features in common', indicating the extent to which (as White's review reveals) such tensions continue to engage more recent political discussion: 'both debates involve weighing the relative merits of detachment and engagement – namely, independence and cooperation, on the one hand, and autonomy

[34] Gerald Cumberland [Charles Kenyon], 'Pen Portraits of Musicians – Frederick Delius', *The Musical Opinion* (1909), reprinted in *Companion*, 19–23, at 20.

[35] Deryck Cooke, 'Delius the Unknown', *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association*, 89th Session (1962–63), 17–29, at 17. Peter Heyworth's article appeared in *The Observer* on 4 February, and Rollo Myers's in *The Listener* on 15 February. Cooke may also have been motivated by John Warrack's criticism in his report on the Bradford Delius festival, *Opera*, 13 (May 1962), 342–5.

[36] Michael White, 'The Chromatic Slithering of Delius Leaves Me Cold', *Daily Telegraph*, 7 July 2012, www.telegraph.co.uk/culture/music/classicalmusic/9383360/The-chromatic-slithering-of-Delius-leaves-me-cold.html (accessed 6 July 2016).

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Excerpt
More Information

and commitment, on the other.'[37] Against the backdrop of these swings in critical opinion, Palmer's invocation of the term 'cosmopolitanism' in 1974 was heavily inflected with positive value, suggesting openness, liberation, and a progressive world-view, rather than an insular conservatism. This is consistent with Collins's later analysis, that 'attending to the dialectical interplay between independence and cooperation in the notion of "rooted" cosmopolitanism can offer a model for a renewed conception of autonomy and commitment in musical modernism.'[38]

Application of the term cosmopolitanism in such discussions nevertheless remains ambivalent and potentially double-edged. As Kwame Anthony Appiah has noted, writing of cosmopolitanism in more explicitly post-colonial contexts, 'not all values have a single measure',[39] and, on closer inspection, Palmer's understanding of the term proves frustratingly ambiguous. At one level, his definition, drawn directly from the *Oxford Concise Dictionary* rather than from previous writing on Delius's work, corresponds with familiar nineteenth-century notions of cosmopolitanism as signalling the author's sense of absence or homelessness. Delius's 'essential loneliness', Palmer claims on the final page of his preface, 'is surely reflected in his cosmopolitan isolation. Delius had no home. His whole life was affected by an uprootedness, a yearning insecurity.' Cosmopolitanism here is understood conventionally in terms of exile and migration, the desire for return traced figuratively in the evocatively nostalgic tone of Delius's music. At another level, however, Palmer presents this image of the lone artist as an imaginative opportunity rather than a disadvantage, writing of 'this isolation, this *forced cosmopolitanism*, which bred in him so rich and vital a creative personality'.[40] The more liberating model of creative alienation advanced here performs a further common critical turn: the notion of cosmopolitanism as resistance. For Palmer, such resistance lies in his uncomfortable analogy between African American musical practices, 'voiced particularly in the spirituals and blues', and their perceived sounds of 'sorrow, of parting, insecurity and uprootedness', which, Palmer claims, 'had already begun to preoccupy Delius even at an early stage'.[41] A similar creeping

[37] Sarah Collins, 'The Composer as "Good European": Musical Modernism, *Amor fati* and the Cosmopolitanism of Frederick Delius', *Twentieth-Century Music* 12/1 (March 2015), 97–123, at 97.
[38] Ibid., 98.
[39] Kwame Anthony Appiah *Cosmopolitanism: Ethics in a World of Strangers* (London: Penguin, 2006), 166.
[40] Palmer, *Delius: Portrait of a Cosmopolitan*, xi (emphasis added).
[41] Ibid., 3.

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