“A Music Characteristic of Our Racial Psychology”:  
John Powell and the Challenge of American Music, 1900–1925

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In 1918 the prominent American musician John Powell told a reporter that a composer must “in sincerity give the best that is in him, leaving his place in musical history to be decided by those who come after him.”¹ Given Powell’s current status, he is undoubtedly sorry he said that. Despite the esteem of his colleagues and the honors of his profession, Powell has disappeared into hushed obscurity. His music is rarely performed, and his reputation as a both a composer and as a public intellectual has sunk precipitously in the four decades since his death in 1963. One telling example may suffice to measure his decline. In the first edition of Gilbert Chase’s standard survey America’s Music: From Pilgrims to the Present, published in 1955, Chase devoted two pages to Powell’s work.² In the current edition Powell is not even listed in the index.

Powell’s precipitous decline can partly be explained by his decision to hitch his artistic ambitions to a star that waned rather rapidly with him still aboard. By the 1930s, American Modernism had thoroughly discredited the compositional theories of neo-German Romanticism that Powell ardently defended and that he refused to abandon. Consequently, his repertoire and the issues that animated his work now seem antiquated, with none of the “transcendence” of theme and intent that audiences ascribe to those composers in classical music’s pantheon. He seems a plodding dinosaur from a musty era long past rather than a fresh voice that continues to inspire us.

Yet there is an equally compelling reason for his absence from the

¹ “John Powell Discusses American Composition,” Musical Courier, May 2, 1918, 10.
American musical canon: John Powell was a white supremacist. In his compositions, writings, and interviews, Powell forcefully expressed his fear that “the Anglo-Saxon race” would become “a hopeless minority and its ideals [would] cease to be the guide and basis of the civilization of this country.” With this fear in mind, he spoke widely and frequently in defense of what he called “Anglo-Saxon” values, lashing out at immigrants who would not assimilate and at African Americans who seemed to threaten racial chaos, and he used both his compositions and his stature as a man of trans-Atlantic renown to push for legislation protecting the “Anglo-Saxon” population. Similarly, his compositions took up themes of white supremacy, aiming to prove that African Americans represented a threat so dire that deportation and segregation on a global could be the only practical solution. Given this political and artistic stance, he appears to us today an intellectual oddball at best, and a dangerous lunatic at worst.

The purpose of this essay is not to make the case for resuscitating his artistic significance. It is, rather, to restore the links between American classical music and white supremacy that later historians are pleased to ignore. It is to demonstrate that for a significant number of prominent musicians, music critics, and composers in the early twentieth century, nationalism and race purity were at the forefront of their desire to establish a recognizably “American” compositional style. Inspired by the 1893 premier of Antonin Dvorák’s Symphony From the New World, American composers believed that the nation had reached a level of economic, political, and cultural maturity that begged for a uniquely American musical expression. This desire to craft an American repertoire forced composers, musicians, and critics to confront and articulate just what “America” meant, and just who could qualify as “American.”

This was a debate, of course, not limited to music. Indeed, once set within the larger context of American opinion on issues of race and nationalism, Powell seems far less peculiar, his opinions representative of a broad cross-section of American public opinion. The insistent calls for “100% Americanism,” the vigilantism against immigrant labor activists, Congress’ restric-

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tions on immigration based on theories of racial hierarchy, the growing popularity of eugenics, the rebirth of a nation-wide Ku Klux Klan that soon claimed five million members, and the vicious repression of African Americans in the Jim Crow South, granted benediction by the United States Supreme Court, signaled a broad cultural coalition that sought to intersect race and nation in ways that would privilege white citizens. In short, rather than an oddball out of touch with his profession and with his era, Powell’s opinions were at the vital center of one strand of American thought in the early years of the twentieth century. To resurrect him is not to honor white supremacy. It is, instead, to remind us that classical music — for all the rhetoric about its transcendence, beauty, and timelessness — is in fact deeply rooted in the political and cultural context of its writing. John Powell is an unfortunate reminder that even classical music is not immune to America’s long infatuation with white supremacy.

Born in 1882 into a Richmond, Virginia family of middling means, Powell

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showed signs of his musical gifts at an early age. He began piano study when he was eight, and he made his public debut at the age of twelve. After graduating Phi Beta Kappa from the University of Virginia in 1901, Powell sailed for Europe to complete his training. In Vienna he studied piano under Theodore Leschetizky, one of the most renowned pianists and teachers of the age, and he rose quickly in European musical circles. Laurels from Paris, London, Berlin, and Vienna decorated his brow before his triumphant 1913 debut in the United States. Throughout the 1920s, Powell toured regularly and to great acclaim throughout the United States and Europe, and many considered him one of the bright lights in the emerging constellation of composers aiming to draft music in a specifically American style.\(^5\)

The problem that Powell tried repeatedly to solve in his compositions was one initially posed by the great Czech composer Antonin Dvořák. In 1893 Dvořák premiered his *Symphony From the New World*, in which he aimed to express something of America’s landscape and national character. In his ground-breaking work he relied on folk songs, hoping to demonstrate the possibilities of a uniquely American style of classical music. The idea of writing national compositions had already struck fertile soil in the Old World where composers like Smetana, Bartok, and Grieg attempted to express the uniqueness of their nation’s identity by sowing folk tunes in their works. Like Dvořák, they based their works on folk music because they believed it formed a concentrated, uncorrupted strain of essential racial characteristics that made that nation unique from its neighbors. To use folk tunes, then, was to celebrate and cultivate the national and racial distinctiveness that supposedly explained the existence of separate nations. “All races have their distinctively *national* songs,” Dvořák explained, “which they at once recognize as their own, even if they have never heard them before.”\(^6\) As his comment makes clear, culture, race, the folk, and nationalism were all enmeshed in a

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web of incalculable complexity. Indeed, they were so intertwined that each
term could substitute for any of the others.

Popular music magazines in the United States like *Etude*, *Musical
America*, and *Musical Courier* ensured that such sentiments did not remain
isolated on European soil. In every issue they reported in detail the trends in
more musically cosmopolitan cities like Berlin, Vienna, and Paris. American
musicians also had first-hand experience because without European training
they could never even dream of a successful career. Thus, American musicians
and students like John Powell spent years studying and performing in
Europe, becoming intimately acquainted with its major political and aesthetic
ideologies. In short, American musicians in the waning years of the nine-
teenth century frequently came into contact with the problems of race and
nation that confronted their peers in other areas of political and intellectual
labor. Dvořák’s *Symphony From the New World*, therefore, represented much
more than simply a pleasant series of musical meditations on place. It repre-
sented a major statement in the ideological war raging across North America
and Western Europe, and the issues that Dvořák tapped into were of great
and immediate interest to a wide cross-section of the American public.

Dvořák’s decision to base his symphony on folk songs was not particu-
larly controversial. But his choice of African American material was an ex-
plosive one. He had even publicly endorsed African American music, writing
that “I am convinced that the future music of this country must be founded
on what are called Negro melodies.”7 In so doing, he implied that a proper
definition of “America” did not center on whites, but on African Americans.
Needless to say, the implication delighted some. Black composers savored the
delicious irony that “the cry of the slave in America should stand forth as
America’s sole music.”8 A new generation of black musicians, led by Harry T.
Burleigh, Robert Nathaniel Dett, and the Afro-British composer Samuel

Coleridge-Taylor, began shaping the spirituals into a concert repertoire to rival the great choral works of Handel and Bach. For them and for a whole generation of black intellectuals the transformation of humble vernacular music into art was an allegory of racial advancement and a promise of future achievement. “The evolution of African to American song,” wrote one black scholar, “correctly indicates the corresponding evolution in the African himself.”9 It was a unique moment in which blacks could make a bold claim on American identity.

Nevertheless, a significant number of white musicians, critics, and composers reacted with a mixture of alarm and disgust. Immediately after the New World Symphony’s premier, one critic wrote that he found it “humiliating, as an American, to have the musical ‘borrowings’ from the black man and the red man confused as simon-pure American” music.10 Similar denunciations rained down upon Dvorák’s work from a number of quarters. One detractor dismissed Dvorák’s enthusiasm for black music as “pathetic,” and blasted the composer for failing to “appreciate the limitations of the negro race.”11 Others countered that African Americans had no original music, but had resorted instead to merely embellishing the tunes they had overheard from whites. One critic, for instance, declared that “the negro originated little and assimilated, transformed and transmitted much.”12 The famous bandmaster John Philip Sousa concurred, grousing that “people speak of national music in this country and instance the negro melodies of the South,” but Sousa argued that blacks had merely copied the music of their white masters. Moreover, “the foremost composer of [spirituals] was Stephen Foster, a Pittsburgman, who lived in the North and wrote of the South,” so how was it possible to conceive of black music as “national” music?13 It was merely recycled and regurgitated white music.

Such vicious attacks reveal that there were much larger issues at stake than mere aesthetics. In a letter to the widely-circulated journal *Musical America*, one writer made explicit what most of Dvorák’s critics only hinted at: if national music came from the people, “the Negro and the white must become one race, which thing is absurd.” An article in *Musical Quarterly* made the same point: “We find that the greater part of our folk-tunes really belong to only certain portions of our population with whom we never wish to be joined by ties of blood.” Others feared that America could never create a national music because its citizens could never sufficiently cohere to even form a true nation. The noted music critic and historian John Tasker Howard confessed in 1921 that “some of us are not as yet agreed as to who are Americans.” In short, far from universal acclaim, Dvorák’s New World Symphony met stiff resistance because it placed non-whites at the center of American identity. The controversy, then, was not so much aesthetic as it was political, spilling over into much larger turn-of-the-century debates about who could and who could not claim to be “American.”

John Powell leaped into this fray with both feet. Like his contemporaries, he believed that folksongs were “the very essence of the soul of a nation,” and that they were “the consummate expression and synthesis of all that is most deep-rooted and enduring in a race.” Consequently, like others in his generation, he believed that a uniquely American composition must rest on a folk music foundation. Yet he chafed at composers like Dvorák working in what he derisively called the “Negro School.” Powell hissed that African American slaves had merely adapted the tunes of their white masters, and it was therefore senseless to rely on these barbaric interpretations when the Anglo-Saxon

originals were there for the taking. Thus, Powell insisted that there was only one logical conclusion to the problem of American music. “We Americans . . . are no more black Africans than we are red Indians; and it is absurd to imagine that the negro idiom could ever give adequate expression to the soul of our race.”\(^{18}\) The only way to “voice America” was to rely upon what he called the “Anglo-Saxon Folk Music School.” “If we desire a music characteristic of our racial psychology,” he explained, “it must be based upon Anglo-Saxon folksong.”\(^{19}\) He argued that American composers should look to the Southern Appalachian mountains for artistic and racial salvation. In this, he was hardly alone.

In the preceding decades, the mountainous region of the South had excited ridicule and disgust. Powell’s interest in Appalachia, however, coincided with a flurry of writing and reappraisal that aimed in many different directions, but that frequently hoped to demonstrate the region’s potential to those who feared that African Americans and the huge wave of immigrants were inexorably overwhelming the “native” white population.\(^{20}\) In this context, Appalachia suddenly took on new meaning. Rather than a backward and stalled part of an advancing, industrializing nation, Appalachia came to represent the preservation of a uniquely pure strand of Anglo-Saxon genes and culture. As such, it had the potential to save whites from destruction. In one mountain county, a local educator boasted, he counted a mere “46 Negroes” and “not one single inhabitant who is ‘foreign born’!”\(^{21}\) Other writers and observers eagerly joined in, arguing, as did one, that the mountains conserved the nation’s “most priceless possession — the valorous stock of native-born Anglo-Saxons,” or that, as another wrote in 1901, Appalachia harbored “the purest Anglo-Saxon stock in all the United States.”\(^{22}\)

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18 Powell, “Music and the Nation,” 149.
As a result, Powell was certain that if America was to create a truly national music, Appalachia represented the best place for song prospecting. Thus, the discovery of an outpost of “Anglo-Saxon” culture in Appalachia thrilled Powell. He expressed enormous gratitude to mountain song collectors for confirming “that as an Anglo-Saxon I had a right to exist in the world musically.” Moreover, because the Appalachian tunes unearthed were “more varied, and richer in power and beauty than the folk-music of any other race,” they would provide additional evidence of white superiority over other races.\(^\text{23}\) They would also prove essential in the skirmishes with Dvorák and his followers who saw in African American music the centerpiece of a national compositional style.

Though intrigued by the possibilities they represented, Powell felt compelled to soon put away the Appalachian folk songs to more directly engage the alarming torrent of new compositions based on African American vernacular music.\(^\text{24}\) The result was his most famous composition, the 1918 *Rhapsodie Nègre* (“Negro Rhapsody”) for piano and orchestra. Premiered in New York City by the Russian Symphony Orchestra, and subsequently performed frequently across the United States and Europe, Powell based the structure on African American folk tunes. At first blush, his audience may have assumed that this was yet another in the cornucopia of works celebrating and adapting the creativity of African American musicians. Powell, however, intended the Rhapsody to thoroughly discredit the equation of African American music with national music, and at the same time to strike down the possibility that blacks could be in any way, as he wrote, “taken as typical of the American soul.”\(^\text{25}\)

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23 Powell, “Music and the Nation,” 154-5. See also p. 160.


25 Powell, *Musical Courier*, May 2, 1918, p. 10. As one of Powell’s contemporaries wrote, he “was seeking to interpret the Negro as a race; he was not voicing America.” Howard, *Our American Music*, 422.
Contrary to black and to sympathetic white composers who believed in the possibility of racial advancement and cooperation, Powell’s Rhapsody glowers with what he described as a “pessimistic mood” designed to make clear “the gloomy outlook for the Negro’s racial development in a white country.”

To those who harbored illusions about black progress since emancipation, Powell claimed that the jungle instinct lurked just below the surface of even the most seemingly civilized African American, and that to continue living side by side on the same continent would mean the certain death of white civilization. To hammer home his point sonically, he brought the Rhapsody to a dramatic conclusion. In the final few minutes he introduces the spiritual “I Want to Be Ready” in an uneasy, unstable duet between piano and orchestra. The spiritual wobbles against the orchestra and struggles to maintain its melodic integrity, but is left to battle against an orchestra that warps and mutates the music in disturbing ways. Gradually the orchestra explodes into triumphant unity with the spiritual “Swing Low Sweet Chariot,” taken up in majestic fashion by the piano. Before the spiritual reaches its conclusion, however, the orchestra makes an agitated response, introducing swirling variations as well as drums that nervously and insistently punch through the score. The music rapidly accelerates into a breathless pace as piano and orchestra dash together towards the finish in what Powell described as “the nadir of frantic sensual fanaticism.”

The concluding carnival made clear Powell’s judgment that African Americans were returning to their natural state of sexual depravity and inhuman barbarism. The Rhapsody was not a rosy celebration of black musical creativity. Instead, it struck a dire note, warning whites that they faced a precarious future if they did nothing to solve the crisis of racial amalgamation then threatening the United States. He hoped that widespread recognition of black inferiority, captured in the Rhapsody’s descent into barbaric chaos, would lead both white and black Americans to conclude with him that black resettlement in Africa represented

27 Program Notes, Detroit Symphony Orchestra, 1921/22 season, written by Powell under the pen name of Richard Brockwell. John Powell Papers, Alderman Library, University of Virginia. A performance by the Los Angeles Philharmonic Orchestra can be heard on *Carpenter/Gilbert/Powell/Weiss*, New World Records, 80228.
the only logical solution to the race problem. He expressed a hope of someday writing a sequel to the Rhapsody titled “Liberia” named after the American colony in Africa where he hoped blacks would find a more congenial home.28

Powell’s composition — and, more importantly, its racial ideology — resonated widely, exciting admiration on both sides of the Atlantic. A Boston critic, for instance, wrote in 1923 that “the primitive simplicity, the religious fervor, the naive gaiety and fanatic frenzy of the Negro have been depicted by Mr. Powell with compelling descriptive force” and that following the performance Powell was “repeatedly recalled and applauded.” By one count, the piece received more than fifty international performances in less than a decade after its premier.29

Emboldened by such responses, and deeply alarmed by what seemed to him incontrovertible scientific and social scientific evidence of a nation drifting toward catastrophe, he supplemented his compositions with more direct political action. In 1922 he co-founded the Anglo-Saxon Clubs of America, a kind of genteel Ku Klux Klan for dandified white supremacists. Its members disdained the hooliganism — though not the intent — of thundering night rides, white robes, and torched crosses. Through paternalistic legislation and reasoned debate, its members dedicated themselves to “the preservation and maintenance of Anglo-Saxon ideals and civilization in America” and to resettling blacks in Africa.30 The following year, invited to address students and faculty of Rice University, he expanded a set of lectures he had begun delivering at his recitals. Titled “Music and the Individual,” and “Music and the Nation,” they were Powell’s artistic and political manifesto, condensing his readings and observations in politics and music into a white supremacist ideology that intended to save American for its white citizens. Of the two lectures, “Music and the Nation” was by far the more overtly political. In it, Powell demonstrated how to choreograph the search for an American compositional style with the search for a style of white supremacy that would supposedly restore the nation’s lost unity and identity.

28 “John Powell Discusses American Composition,” 10.
29 Musical America January 27, 1923. For performance figures, see “Powell’s ‘Negro Rhapsody,’” Literary Digest 100 (February 16, 1929): 26.
30 Quoted in Smith, The Eugenic Assault, p. 17.
Powell’s theme in “Music and the Nation” was the alarming lack of national cohesion, echoed in its art, and what measures that would remedy it. At the very outset he declared the central dilemma that faced America: “we are not a nation.” The reason was obvious and manifold. “We are not a people of homogeneous blood, not even approximately so,” he explained, “we do not possess common traditions and customs, speaking a common language, and we do not react mentally or emotionally, in the same way to certain great fundamental facts and challenges of life.” Consequently, America was not a nation “and as we are not a nation, we cannot hope to have a national art in any field.” Powell preached that the most significant impediment to national unity (and thus to national art) was the growing presence of inassimilable immigrants and the deadweight of millions of degenerate African Americans.

He bitterly complained about the “immense influx of the lower elements from the European and other continents” who “remain with us in racial groups, speaking foreign languages, maintaining their own un-American, often anti-American, ideas and ideals” (131). At the very same time, the black population seemed to be rising up in flagrant rebellion against all the lessons of civilization enforced during slavery. Reports of black rapists and white lynch mobs indicated that the taint of black blood threatened to become a hemorrhage, overwhelming white racial authority and purity. “No higher race has ever been able to preserve its culture, to prevent decay and eventual degeneracy when tainted, even slightly, with negro blood,” Powell foamed. With an infected American population, and with “the constant interchange of population between Europe and America, Europe would likewise inevitably become tainted.” For Powell, the conclusion of this trend was scientifically stark: “the degeneration of the whole Caucasian race, [and] the annihilation of white civilization” (135). In short, he breathed in the aroma from America’s famous “melting pot” and proclaimed it a noxious, indigestible brew. It was a vision of America equally depressing and apocalyptic.

In the 1920s, Powell began to seize opportunities to put rhetoric into action. Not confining himself to composition, he traveled widely, supplementing

31 Powell, “Music and the Nation,” 133.
32 Powell, “Music and the Nation,” 129.
his recitals with lectures and essays on race, immigration, eugenics, and American nationalism. In 1924, erudite, well-educated, and with a reputation that spanned the Atlantic, Powell gladly answered when the Virginia legislature asked him to lend his prestige to the cause of white supremacy. Given “his knowledge of ethnological problems and conditions in various parts of the world, and his wide acquaintance among European authorities and statesmen,” the Virginia House of Delegates called on Powell to address them on the benefits of a proposed bill called the “Racial Integrity Law.” The bill’s architects, who included Powell, hoped they could close loopholes in earlier laws banning interracial marriage.\(^{33}\) The idea was to ensure racial purity by registering Virginia citizens by race at the time of their birth, and to use those records to track citizens should they try to intermarry later. “Thousands of men and women who pass for white persons in this State have in their veins negro blood,” an editorial in a Richmond paper warned. “If they are allowed to intermarry with pure Caucasians, and they are doing it now, the way is being paved for a complete breakdown of the races. Negro blood in time will predominate.”\(^{34}\) Powell’s concurring testimony helped convince frightened legislators to pass the bill into law. Two years later Powell again answered the call of civic duty for his state, this time penning thirteen essays on the issue of race and eugenics for readers of the Richmond Times-Dispatch.

In 1918 a sycophantic reporter had gushed to Powell that “if your understanding ranks with your knowledge of American composition, you will do a great deal to help humanity.”\(^{35}\) In less than ten years, Powell must have felt surrounded by incontrovertible evidence of the reporter’s prescience. He remained one of America’s leading concert artists, his compositional future seemed bright and his output anything but modest, and he had moved from the narrow circle of aesthetic conundrums to the larger trans-Atlantic discus-

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34 *Richmond Times-Dispatch* February 18, 1924, 6.

35 “John Powell Discusses American Composition,” 10.
sion about race and nationalism. Moreover, he seemed to be making concrete progress in his own state. Not long after helping secure passage of the Racial Integrity Law, he received a copy of a letter sent by the law’s chief enforcement officer to a Lynchburg woman. It warned her that the child she had given birth to nine months earlier was mixed-race and not white. “It is an awful thing,” the letter scolded: “You will have to do something about this matter and see that this child is not allowed to mix with white children. It cannot go to white schools and can never marry a white person in Virginia.” To Powell’s copy of this letter was appended an exasperated note: “This is a specimen of our daily troubles and shows how we are handling them.”36 Powell filed the letter and kept it among his papers, evidence of fulfilling a wish expressed years before of doing “my bit in helping to solve the race problem.”37

Tempted though we might be to dismiss Powell as yet another twisted Southerner in a long line of apocalyptically-minded racists, we must keep in mind that when the Racial Integrity Law passed in 1924, more than twenty states banned interracial marriage. The Supreme Court did not overturn these statutes until 1967. Taking into account the wider climate, we are reminded that the Racial Integrity Law passed the Virginia legislature in the same year that the US Congress passed the National Origins Act. (Indeed, one of the bill’s main sponsors feared that the National Origins Act did not go far enough, warning that it would “not prevent negro and Negroid immigration from other parts of the Western hemisphere.”38) Thus, Powell saw himself and acted as part of a larger “Anglo-Saxon” community, stretching not just across North America, but traversing the Atlantic as well. Though born and raised in the South and proudly identified with the region all his life, Powell was not isolated from the larger racialist ideologies that animated the culture in which he lived. His days as a music student in Austria during the early decades of the twentieth century had exposed him to Aryan ideologies then current in Western Europe, and in his native country he traveled

37 “John Powell Discusses American Composition,” 10.
38 [W. A. Plecker], “Shall We Be Mulattoes?” Literary Digest 84 (March 7, 1925): 23-4.
extensively and read widely in the emerging literature of Mendelian genetics and its offshoot, eugenics. As a result, his concern for threats to Anglo-Saxon supremacy extended well past the traditional Southern bugaboo about African Americans to encompass immigrants and other perceived dangers of racial amalgamation. For a time, Powell participated in a mainstream of American attitudes, reflecting commonly-held ideas about race, nationality, and culture.39

It is widely believed that high culture’s aesthetic power arises from its disregard for the temporary and the mundane.40 Yet the Virginia State legislature never questioned the propriety of inviting a musician to advise them on issues of public policy. For Powell, and for his generation, politics and context were precisely what drove them to write. The aesthetic issues they wished to solve, and the “American” compositions they wished to write were a direct result of the immediate political and ideological crises of the America in which they lived. Like others for whom questions of American identity and race formed the axis upon which they composed, Powell was committed to bridging the gap between politics and art, literally making his art constitutive of the white supremacist ideal he so fervently advocated. Indeed, what he perceived as the crisis in American identity was, to him, “of far greater importance than any artistic question could ever be.”41 To be conscious of this crisis and respond with mere pianistic playthings was anathema. He considered himself a public intellectual and a man whose art served humanity. In his compositions, lectures, and essays he gave eloquent testimony to fears and ambitions millions of white Americans shared. That his opinions were con-

39 Of course not all of his colleagues agreed with him. Even his good friend and fellow composer Daniel Gregory Mason lamented Powell’s “pet fanaticism” and his tirades on “the horrible dangers of intermarriage between Negroes and whites.” Daniel Gregory Mason, Music in My Time and Other Remembrances (NY: Macmillan Co., 1938), 301.


41 Powell, Draft of Speech “Music and Nation,” John Powell Papers, Alderman Library, University of Virginia.
tested by equally eloquent foes did not diminish the appeal of his logic, or the power of his convictions. Powell cannot be neatly dismissed as a racist and be done with. That is too simple, and it is too simplistic. We must deal seriously and sensitively with the important and persistent racial ideologies that motivated a significant number of white composers, critics, and performers in the early years of the twentieth century. Powell was therefore disingenuous when he quoted the aphorism, “Let me write the songs of a nation and I care not who makes its laws.” He wanted to — and did — write both.

42 Powell, “Music and Nation,” 162