

A critical edition,
with introduction and commentary,
of the libretto texts
of Montagu Slater
and Benjamin Britten's
Peter Grimes

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submitted for the degree of D.Phil.,
Trinity Term 2013.
{freely available edited copy}

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Abstract

A critical edition, with introduction and commentary, of the libretto

texts of Montagu Slater and Benjamin Britten's *Peter Grimes*

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for the degree of D.Phil., Trinity Term 2013.

A definitive text of the libretto of Benjamin Britten's opera *Peter Grimes* is here presented. The process by which it was created is revealed in detail. All the extant versions are collated and significant differences between them displayed. For the first time the scenarios written by Britten and his partner Peter Pears and the first surviving draft versions of scenes by the librettist Montagu Slater are published in full. Additions to the draft and final libretto texts and revisions throughout this process by Slater, Britten, producer Eric Crozier and, in the final scene, poet Ronald Duncan, are clarified and a critique provided. Marked differences in stage directions between the libretto texts and music scores are shown and versions selected or created which offer the best indicative detail for performance practice. The edited text is similarly enriched by the inclusion of performance indicators from various sources added by Britten, Pears and the work's first conductor, Reginald Goodall.

The edition is introduced by three 'Perspectives' sections which consider (1) Britten's relationship with Slater and working practice with librettists; (2) the relationship of the work to its original source, George Crabbe's poem *The Borough*, the difference in the portrait and treatment of the character Peter Grimes and the reasons for the difference; and (3) the particular contribution and features of Slater's writing. Thereafter follow an account of the rationale, principles and practice of the edition and introductions to every scene in which the use of source material, the evolution of the text, the plot development and performance issues of the scene, the presentation of characters and the set are delineated, the latter with reference to photographs of the original set hitherto unpublished.

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A note on word length

Owing to its bibliographical complexity, i.e. the range of documents it necessarily considers and revisions therein, this thesis is approximately 110,000 words in length excluding the edition text, scenarios (Appendix A), edited draft texts (Appendix B), Slater's letter to Britten which includes draft text (Appendix C), and bibliography. I have been granted permission to exceed the standard 100, 000 word limit by the English Faculty's Director of Graduate Studies and a copy of the approval letter has been attached to the GSO. 3 form.

Preface: Perspectives on Britten

Since its first performance on 7 June 1945 the opera *Peter Grimes* has been irrevocably linked with its composer, Benjamin Britten (1913-1976)¹ but this document reveals the process through which the libretto was created: five scenarios² written by Britten and his partner, Peter Pears (1910–1986),³ a libretto drafted by Montagu Slater (1902–1956),⁴ modified by Slater, Britten, the opera’s producer Eric Crozier (1914–1994)⁵ and in Act 3 Scene 2 the poet Ronald Duncan (1914-1982).⁶ Thereby its 19th century source, the poem *The Borough* by George Crabbe (1754-1832),⁷ was transformed into a 20th century opera.

How did this process start? Britten discovered Crabbe through an article by E.M. Forster (1879–1970).⁸ As librettist for *Peter Grimes* he first approached his friend Christopher Isherwood (1904–1986)⁹ at a party¹⁰ with a follow-up letter, no longer extant, and copy of Crabbe’s poem. Isherwood interestingly declines ‘collaborating with you and Peter on the PETER GRIMES libretto’¹¹ which indicates the intention to continue the previous involvement of Britten and Pears in the scenarios.

¹ For biographical overview and critical evaluation see *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, {hereafter *ODNB*}, 2004, vol. 7: 699-711.

² Appendix A.

³ See *ODNB*, vol. 43: 296-8.

⁴ See *ODNB*, vol. 50: 913-4.

⁵ See *ODNB*, vol. 14: 506-7.

⁶ No *ODNB* entry, but see *Letters*, vol. 1: 523-4.

⁷ See *ODNB*, vol. 13: 895-900.

⁸ See *ODNB*, vol. 20: 401-6. For the text Britten read, see *Perspectives on Crabbe* §1.

⁹ See *ODNB*, vol. 29: 431-3.

¹⁰ See Parker 2004: 496.

¹¹ Letter dated 18 February {1942}, in Brett 1983: 35.

On returning from America to England in April 1942 Britten asked Montagu Slater to write the libretto.¹² He was another friend. Their first association was probably the GPO Film Unit's *Coal Face* in 1935.¹³ Certainly in 1935 Britten provided incidental music for Slater's play *Easter 1916*, in 1936 for his play *Stay Down Miner*, in 1938 for two puppet plays, *Seven Ages of Man* and *Old Spain*. There was music for pageants Slater wrote for the Co-operative Movement, such as *Towards Tomorrow* in 1938.¹⁴ In 1936 Britten set Slater's poem *Mother Comfort* and dedicated his *Temporal Variations* to Slater. In 1939 he dedicated his *Ballad of Heroes* to Slater and his wife Enid.

Slater and Britten both had a middle class upbringing, Slater's father being a subpostmaster and master clothier, Britten's a dental surgeon. Slater's father was a strict Wesleyan Methodist and lay preacher; Britten's mother was low church evangelical.¹⁵ Both moved away from such doctrinaire influences, Slater more vehemently in joining the Communist party. Both were pacifists, though Slater made himself available for military service.¹⁶ Both received suitably professional education though, as Kildea pithily remarks, 'RCM was no Oxford'¹⁷ even if Slater only achieved a second class Oxford degree in Politics, Philosophy and Economics. Both had empathy for the lot of the common man, but Slater experienced it, living, after graduating, in the open dormitory of a dock settlement.¹⁸

¹² Crozier 1945: 7.

¹³ *Britten on Film*, 2007, suggests Slater provided the spoken choruses, Britten the incidental music and sound effects, though Slater's close involvement is questioned by Reed in Cooke 1999:65.

¹⁴ See *Perspectives on Slater* §3.1.

¹⁵ See Kildea 2013: 29.

¹⁶ See Mitchell in Brett 1983: 34.

¹⁷ Kildea 2013: 107.

¹⁸ See Rattenbury 1976: 120.

Where Britten and Slater did diverge, it turned out in the writing of *Grimes*, was not in overall philosophy but approach to presentation. Slater is the more literary, focussing on dramatization and characterization, Britten the more practical, focussing on accessibility and clarity of communication. In the booklet on *Grimes* to which both contributed Britten emphasizes the reality of the setting¹⁹ and struggle of fisherfolk to make a livelihood.²⁰ With reference to the latter in his draft version Britten writes ‘It is largely this feeling that I hoped to convey in writing ‘Peter Grimes’.²¹ He also declares a particular interest in the work’s structure, especially the creation of lively recitative.²² Slater’s contribution details the unfolding of the drama and character analysis²³ while his particular interest is the metrical form his verse takes.²⁴ When the vocal score is about to be published Britten writes to Slater that it is ‘word for word the same as the Sadlers Wells performance which I thought we’d agreed upon as being intelligible and singable’,²⁵ thus clarifying two key criteria for acceptance or revision of text.

As evidence of his working relationship with Britten, Slater’s letter to him of 3 December {1944}²⁶ is illuminating and positive. It reveals Slater’s willingness to argue, love of mulling over things, prolixity but also flexibility. He offers alternative wording (9), longer lines (23-4, 32-3), takes into account Britten’s wish for repetition (31-32), reflects humbly on purple passages (75-6). He makes the case for retention of Ellen’s quatrain (2.1.530–33) but is also accommodating about revision

¹⁹ Crozier 1945: 7.

²⁰ *ibid.*: 8.

²¹ BPF 1-9401076: leaf 2 recto.

²² Crozier 1945: 8. In the draft, the text from ‘Good recitative’ was added (ghosted) by Crozier.

²³ Crozier 1945: 15-26.

²⁴ *ibid.*: 19-20.

²⁵ Letter dated 28 August 1945, in *Letters*, vol. 2: 1279 with the correction ‘Sadler’s’ not in the original letter in the BPF Britten-Slater correspondence files.

²⁶ See Appendix C, its first publication in full.

(75-8, 85-8). He shows equal capacity for self criticism (99) and self defence (99-100).

The libretto's first critical appraisal appeared in the form of a report²⁷ of 10 May 1945 by Geoffrey Dearmer (1893-1996),²⁸ Assistant Examiner of plays in the Lord Chamberlain's Office. Having read Source H,²⁹ Dearmer assessed the suitability of the opera to be licensed for public performance. He clearly knew Crabbe's poem but found himself at sea over Slater's libretto: 'wafty' and 'nebulous' were impressions Britten and Crozier would have experienced. About Britten's music Dearmer proved wonderfully prophetic.

Britten himself had critical reservations. 'It's full of howlers' was his later verdict on *Grimes* to Nicholas Maw, who first thought that this reference was to the libretto.³⁰ Clear examples of howlers in the libretto are the Prologue lines 102-106 (see notes ^{48, 49}), though here Britten's revisions created the howlers. What went wrong?

I suggest it was firstly a personality clash. In his novel *Once a jolly swagman* Slater features Cornelius, a writer, perhaps a poet and, I submit, self portrait:

What was curious about him was the way he watched and questioned, attending all the time so quietly you could almost see his brain work. It was like having a brain walking about in the hut. I guess the others were scared by it.

(Slater 1944: 153)

²⁷ Appendix D.

²⁸ See *ODNB*, vol. 15: 651-2.

²⁹ See Appendix G, §1.

³⁰ In 'Benjamin Britten: Tributes and Memories', *Tempo*, 120, March 1977: 3.

Might Britten have been similarly intimidated by someone of more expertise in literature? Consider his words³¹ to Crozier:

It's most unfortunate for me that we've started communicating by letter – nice for you, so handy with a pen, but difficult for inarticulate & <ill->[un]educated me.

I do not think this is Britten being wry but revealing a deep-seated unease and perhaps envy which would partly account for his habit of rejecting, that is not working again with, librettists, in turn Auden, Slater, Duncan and Crozier.

Britten did not want a man of letters, like Slater, protective of his own creativity, hence independently publishing a libretto³² he approved of because 'this is *my* work.'³³ Britten wanted a wordsmith to offer him a text as starting point for his acceptance or revision, as appropriate. So secondly the clash with Slater is one of creativity.

The master copy of the draft libretti³⁴ of his operetta *Paul Bunyan* created between November 1939 and April 1941³⁵ shows Britten's altering a libretto when composing the music was established. From his earliest association with its librettist W.H.Auden (1907–1973)³⁶, Britten was overawed by Auden's intellect. In his diary entry of 17 September 1935³⁷ he writes of working with him and William Coldstream (1908-1987)³⁸ at the GPO Film Unit, 'I always feel very young & stupid

³¹ Letter undated, [late June 1949], in *Letters*, vol. 3: 520, emendation cited from the original in the Eric Crozier collection, in the BPF Britten-Crozier correspondence files.

³² Source N, see Appendix G, §1.

³³ Statement recalled by Crozier, see Brett 1983: 39.

³⁴ 'Libretto B' (BPF 2-9900068).

³⁵ See Banks & Cooke 1999: 54-7.

³⁶ See *ODNB*, vol. 2: 921-8.

³⁷ in *Journeying boy: the diaries of the young Benjamin Britten*, 2009: 278.

³⁸ See *ODNB*, vol. 12: 498-500.

when with these brains – I mostly sit silent when they hold forth about subjects in general.’ But once in the process of composition, things were different. The alterations to the draft are chiefly by Britten. Taking the Prologue as an example, Britten set the opening for one chorus rather than two alternating semi-choruses, changed some allocations from individuals to groups, shortened one line, relocated another, deleted 3 lines, 2 half-lines and one quatrain, extended one line, revised 14 lines, reversed the order of phrasing in one line, repeated 2 lines and virtually repeated another. In sum Britten changed 31 out of 117 lines (26%). In the Prologue of *Grimes* Britten’s changes from the final draft (source C) to the final text are more extensive. There are 2 lines lengthened (1 by Crozier), 2 lines shortened, 17 lines revised (1 by Crozier), 3 lines rewritten (2 by Crozier), 3 lines deleted, 38 lines added (13 by Crozier) and 71 lines repeated, in sum 136 out of 211 lines changed (64%). Britten’s learning process was moulding a librettist to suit his working practice. Through *Paul Bunyan* and *Grimes* Britten learnt to engage compliant librettists.

Perspectives on Crabbe

My purpose here is to consider Slater's *Grimes* as a critical reappraisal of Crabbe's original. I also wish to explore the corollary of this: that critical appraisal of Crabbe may have pertinent application to that of Slater's work.

§1. How Britten began

§1.1 The physical & psychological environment

These lines were how Britten discovered George Crabbe:

When Tides were neap, and, in the sultry day,
Through the tall bounding Mud-banks made their way, ...
There anchoring, *Peter* chose from man to hide,
There hang his Head, and view the lazy Tide
In its hot, slimy Channel slowly glide;
Where the small Eels that left the deeper way
For the warm Shore, within the Shallows play;
Where gaping Muscles, left upon the Mud,
Slope their slow passage to the fallen Flood;

(Borough, XXII, 181–2, 184–91)

In Crozier 1945: 7 Britten tells us he read them in 1941 in an article by E.M. Forster in *The Listener* (reprinted in Brett 1983: 3–7), a transcript of a radio talk on Crabbe. The first impression they make is of languor and lingering cadences, a realistic picture of a dull scene which contains an undercurrent of torpid activity. Forster (Brett 1983: 5) recognizes the paradox in characterizing the writing as quiet, even dreary, yet vivid. It has a tension between movement and stasis, an intrinsically musical one which would attract Britten. Born and brought up in Lowestoft, he would also recognize and appreciate the Suffolk landscape depicted. But this is not just a description of nature: it is seen from Peter's viewpoint. Its gentleness is

deceptive. The following lines, also quoted by Forster, relate it more explicitly to a character study of Peter:

Here dull and hopeless he'll lie down and trace
How sidelong Crabs had scrawl'd their crooked race;
Or listen sadly to the tuneless cry
Of fishing *Gull* or clanging *Golden-eye*;
What time the Sea-birds to the Marsh would come,
And the loud *Bittern*, from the Bull-rush home,
Gave from the Salt-ditch side the bellowing Boom:
He nurst the feelings these dull Scenes produce,
And lov'd to stop beside the opening Sluice;

(*Borough*, XXII, 192–200) ¹

Here is a dramatic evocation of sounds. The activity of crabs and birds is contrasted with the passive witness of Peter, who seems to be in a trance. New (1976: 97) comments on the vividness of the psychological landscape, the way natural activities are rendered unpleasant and the terms 'nurst' and 'lov'd', which should celebrate relationships, are warped by introversion. So Crabbe would accept Forster's 'dreary' as a compliment.

Can anything of this be detected in the opera *Grimes*? Through direct quotation in 1.1² Slater assimilates the picture of inured routine of Crabbe's verse. There are other passages where Slater, in more laconic versification, conveys much the same mood. When Balstrode asks Peter what he is rooted by, he replies:

(*Grimes* 1979: 11, lines 35-8)

¹In *The Listener* text read by Britten, line 192 reads 'he'd'.

²See *Introduction to 1.1* §1.1.1

Peter ends his account of his first apprentice's death:

(*Grimes* 1979: 12, lines 30-33)

As in the case of New's comment above, the naturally comforting activity of returning home is here rendered an unpleasant duty of facing the consequences of a suspicious death. It is also demonstrable here that Slater has mirrored a positive feature of Crabbe noted by Forster, that he is 'easy to read' (Brett 1983: 4). This accessibility, this focus on basic issues, is a good model for a libretto.

Forster's quotations highlight Crabbe's strengths: the ability to convey a natural environment in detail but plainly, and to relate that to human experience and perception. Edgecombe (1983: 138–144) points out how Crabbe's approach differs markedly from the norm of a poet distilling elevating reflections from a particular landscape presented in an ordered progression. Crabbe, rather, gives us a random progression which is that of Peter's mind (Edgecombe 1983: 144–5). Sigworth (1965 110-11) writes that Crabbe's concentration on the inner world of Peter prevents him from being a 'nature poet' but it is this very concentration which is key to his appeal today. The psychological impact of the natural environment is arguably the main interest of Crabbe's work today and in creating the opera *Grimes* it is also important to Britten and Slater as it is of particular pertinence to the presentation of a drama.

§1.2 Character study & the scope for satire

The other quotations in Forster's article introduce the Vicar:

‘I am escap’d’, he said, when none pursued;
When none attack’d him, ‘I am unsubdued.’
‘Oh! pleasing pangs of Love,’ he sang again,
Cold to the joy, and stranger to the pain.
Ev’n in his age would he address the Young,
‘I too have felt these fires, and they are strong’;
But from the time he left his favourite Maid,
To antient Females his devoirs were paid;
And still they miss him after Morning-Prayer;

(Borough, III, 55–63)

These lines come in the context that this Vicar, always fearful of causing any offence, never revealed his interest in the lady in question. She accepted a demonstrative suitor. The lines are cast in the polite veneer which is exactly the Vicar's manner but come with Crabbe's analysis which divines that he is scrupulous because he is passionless. At the same time Crabbe gives a rounded picture: the Vicar is appreciated by those of the same temperament. This capacity for a double-edged approach is an attractive element in Crabbe's work.

Forster's next quotation charts the Vicar's only unruffled reaction, in relation to innovation, but then notes the ultimate lack of impact made by equanimity:

Habit with him was all the test of Truth,
‘It must be right: I've done it from my youth.’
Questions he answer'd in as brief a way,
‘It must be wrong – it was of yesterday.’

Though mild benevolence our priest possess'd,
'Twas but by wishes or by words express'd:
Circles in water, as they wider flow,
The less conspicuous in their progress grow;
And when at last they touch upon the shore,
Distinction ceases, and they're view'd no more.

His Love, like that last Circle, all embrac'd,
But with effect that never could be trac'd.³

(*Borough*, III, 138–49)

Crabbe's moral is clear: deeds are the only proof of the sincerity of words and there should be an open minded approach to innovation. But he presents his critique in a smooth and elegant manner which acknowledges those qualities in the Vicar.

Forster's final quotation shows Crabbe creating an epitaph for the Vicar in the varied reactions of his parishioners:

Now rests our Vicar. They who knew him best,
Proclaim his Life t'have been entirely rest;
Free from all evils which disturb his Mind,
Whom Studies vex and Controversies blind.

The Rich approv'd — of them in awe he stood;
The Poor admir'd — they all believ'd him good:
The Old and Serious of his Habits spoke;
The Frank and Youthful lov'd his pleasant Joke;
Mothers approv'd a safe contented Guest,
And Daughters one who back'd each small request:
In him his Flock found nothing to condemn;
Him Sectaries lik'd, — he never troubled them;
No trifles fail'd his yielding Mind to please,
And all his Passions sunk in early Ease;
Nor one so old has left this World of Sin,
More like the Being that he enter'd in.

(*Borough*, III, 150–65)

The omniscience of this verse, its broad survey of community reaction, is attractive. The sting in the tail, the Vicar as Forster neatly puts it remaining innocent because he has had no experience, is equally well groomed and barbed. Again with his double-edged approach, Crabbe still commemorates the Vicar's affability. Forster's reading of Crabbe emphasizes his more stern side. He states that Crabbe's speciality is 'the analysis and censure of weakness' (Brett 1983: 6). Analysis

³ In *The Listener* text read by Britten line 149 reads 'effect which never'.

certainly, but censure is too strong a term for Crabbe's approach: rather does he imply there are better ways of acting.

How far does this portrait and approach influence Slater in the opera *Grimes*? In 2.1 the Rector is criticized for not providing moral guidance (*Grimes* 1979: 26, lines 30-38) but this criticism comes from Boles who has already shown antagonism to Auntie in 1.1 (*Grimes* 1979: 6, line 11) and Balstrode in 1.2 (*Grimes* 1979: 16, SD following line 25) and, later in 1.2, Peter (*Grimes* 1979: 18, SD following line 29).

Slater's Rector is to some degree a man of action. Late in 2.1 he instigates the posse to visit Peter at home (*Grimes* 1979: 28, line 9). Once there, in 2.2, he is punctilious about health and safety (*Grimes* 1979: 33, line 7) and directs a tidy end to the visit (*Grimes* 1979: 33, line 20). Yet he is also generous in his appreciation of Peter's tidiness (*Grimes* 1979: 33, lines 10-12). Slater's characterization of the Rector, therefore, responds more to the double-edged nature of Crabbe's portrait than to Forster's emphasis on weakness and censure.

Slater's satire is softer, kindlier. He might have read an earlier piece by Forster on Crabbe, his introduction to *The life of George Crabbe by his son*, in which he states that a positive feature of Crabbe is that he 'cared about little things' (Forster 1932a: xi). These may be symbolic of larger issues. Slater takes his cue from Crabbe's reference to the Vicar's prowess at gardening and drawing a moral thereby:

To a small Garden with delight he came,
And gave successive Flowers a Summer's fame;
These he presented with a grace his own
To his fair Friends, and made their beauties known,

Not without moral compliment; how they,
'Like Flowers were sweet, and must like Flowers decay.'
(*Borough*, III, 85–90)

Slater displays the Rector's charm on putting in a civil appearance but leaving the party early (*Grimes* 1979: 37, lines 6-9).

Forster (1932: xv) states that Crabbe is not a satirist comparable in force to Pope, but does he attempt to be? Slater succeeds in adopting Crabbe's gentler, more smiling satire. Later in the same scene in the opera, 3.1, Slater invents his own 'little thing', the apprentice's jersey which Ellen finds on the beach, the poignant significance of which she then dwells on in her 'embroidery aria' (*Grimes* 1979: 38, lines 5-18). And Forster is unfair in dismissing Crabbe's capability as a satirist. His handling, for instance, of the bawd 'Auntie' and her 'nieces'⁴ displays both wry amusement and disapprobation. Crabbe's satire gave Slater an opening to introduce comedy into his libretto. Poetry, especially that written by a priest, ought to instruct, perhaps provoke, but an opera should also entertain and comedy relieve its overall tragic progression. There is no comedy as such in Crabbe but in 1.2 Slater has the nieces coming downstairs in their nightclothes and Balstrode mimicking their fright (*Grimes* 1979: 15, lines 18-19). In 1.1 there is Mrs. Sedley desperate to get her laudanum pills (*Grimes* 1979: 10, line 14). This is an ironic reversal of Crabbe's inveighing against pill-pushers in *Borough*, VII, 75–90.

⁴ See *Introduction to 1.2* §1.1.1

§2. How Britten continued

§2.1 Getting to know Crabbe's Grimes

In 1941 Peter Pears found and bought Crabbe 1851, as a result of which he and Britten started mapping out the opera in scenarios (Appendix A). It is likely that they began by reading Letter XXII, 'The Poor of Borough: Peter Grimes' where Peter is one case study within a series of the poor (XIX-XXII) prefaced by Letter XVIII, 'The Poor and their Dwellings', a stanza from which (263–73) is the source for the set of Peter's hut.⁵ Peter is defined by his poverty. It is a characteristic and a bond he shares with Ellen, though his response to it is very different. Ellen accepts her lot and manages her resources accordingly. Peter has unfulfilled desires and seeks resources to finance these. Crabbe's Peter steals and poaches to drink and gamble. The Peter of Slater's libretto works all hours to try to get together enough money to set up shop, become respectable in the community and marry Ellen.

Britten read Letter XXII, provoked by Forster's summary: 'a savage fisherman who murdered his apprentices and was haunted by their ghosts' (Brett 1983: 4). What questions might have been going through his mind? I suggest three:

1. Why was Peter savage?
2. Why did Peter murder his apprentices?
3. How did Peter murder them?

Having read Letter XXII, and this is a tribute to Crabbe's writing, he might well have had two further questions:

4. Did Peter murder them?
5. What is the key issue?

⁵ See *Introduction to 2.2* §4

I shall consider these questions in turn for Crabbe and in §2.2 chart Slater's response in his libretto. The final question will be considered separately in §3.

1. Why was Peter savage?

The lack of maternal influence (his mother died when he was young) and an innately rebellious nature which balked first at his father's piety and sense of propriety and, after his father's early death, at all instruments of authority.

2. Why did Peter murder his apprentices?

Possibly because they might disclose he 'tortures' them.⁶ But the likelihood for this is weak owing to the community's indifference:

But none enquir'd how *Peter* us'd the Rope,
Or what the Bruise, that made the Stripling stoop;
None could the Ridges on his Back behold,
None sought him shiv'ring in the Winter's Cold;

(*Borough*, XXII, 69–72)

Indeed it could be argued that Peter exploits this standard, *laissez-faire* attitude. This leaves only the possibility that Peter fears a complaint of sexual abuse. Such is most strongly implied with regard to Peter's third apprentice:

Strange that a Frame so weak could bear so long
The grossest Insult and the foulest Wrong;

(*Borough*, XXII, 130–31)

But it may also be the full meaning of 'His Bed uneasy' (i.e. productive of physical discomfort, *OED*, adj.1.a.) as applied to the first apprentice.⁷ Arguably Crabbe is here using common words for which a special meaning may be deduced in context.

⁶ *Borough*, XXII, 93.

⁷ *Borough*, XXII, 92.

3. How did Peter murder his apprentices?

The first apprentice was starved, physically, psychologically and perhaps sexually abused over a long period:

Thus liv'd the Lad in Hunger, Peril, Pain,
His Tears despis'd, his Supplications vain:
Compelled by fear to lie, by need to steal,
His Bed uneasy and unblest his Meal,
For three sad Years the Boy his Tortures bore,
And then his Pains and Trials were no more.

(*Borough*, XXII, 89–94)

The second apprentice was found dead in Peter's boat's well with a blow consistent with having fallen from the mast. The third apprentice, already ill, on an unaccustomed long and stormy sea trip, died when the drinking water ran out.

4. Did Peter murder them?

Taking the legal definition of murder, 'criminal homicide with malice aforethought' (*OED* n.1.a), however suspicious the circumstances of the apprentices' deaths, there is insufficient evidence to charge Peter with murder. However, in the case of the first and third apprentices it would appear possible to charge Peter with manslaughter defined as 'when one person causes the death of another unintentionally by culpable negligence' (*OED* n.2.), 'negligence' being understood in its legal sense as 'failure to carry out a legally imposed duty of care' (*OED* n.1.b.). By accepting a fee when the apprentice was bound to him, Peter's duty of care is legally imposed. In the case of the second apprentice, unless it could be proved that Peter encouraged him to climb the mast and never warned him against the danger of doing so, the apprentice climbing it without permission might not be regarded as lack of reasonable care.

§2.2 Transforming Crabbe's Grimes

The metamorphosis of Crabbe's Grimes by Slater is sufficient to require tweaking of my questions so that viable answers can be made.

1. Is Slater's Peter savage?

He is hot tempered and violent, but only when provoked. Not until 2.1, when a bruise is discovered on the second apprentice's neck, does ill treatment become a concern and Peter's explanation, 'Out of the hurly burly!' (*Grimes* 1979: 24, line 11)

is plausible enough, given that the bruise coincides with a tear in the boy's coat (*Grimes* 1979: 21, line 32). In the next scene, anxious to get a catch, Peter threatens the boy but immediately becomes more conciliatory (*Grimes* 1979: 30, lines 8-9).

At the draft libretto stage Britten added one quotation from Letter XXII, 'Grimes is at his exercise' (in the final text first occurring at *Grimes* 1979: 25, line 4). Rhythmically it first fixes long on Grimes, spotlighting him, six and a half crotchet beats on its first appearance, then three quavers finished off by the march-like briskness of the dotted quaver/semiquaver/crotchet rhythm on 'exercise'.⁸ Melodically it repeats Peter's cry after striking Ellen, 'And God have mercy upon me'⁹ and returns as the ground bass of the Passacaglia¹⁰ as Peter is frogmarching his apprentice to his hut to go fishing.

The idea, then, is given considerable and continuing emphasis, but what does it mean? In Crabbe it is stated 'calmly'.¹¹ In the opera its power and tension lies in

⁸ Grimes 1963 {source P}: 284.

⁹ *ibid.*: 282.

¹⁰ *ibid.*: 349-66.

¹¹ *Borough*, XXII, 78.

its ambiguity. Wilcox (1997:24) argues it means sexual abuse. But Ned and his companions sing of those coming out of church ‘Each one’s at his exercise’ (2.1.225) which suggests it simply means Grimes is doing what he feels is right.

2. Why might Slater’s Peter murder his apprentices?

There is no obvious reason. The only evidence of physical abuse is the bruise on John’s neck which Peter plausibly explains as ‘Out of the hurly-burly!’ (*Grimes* 1979: 24, line 11) The possibility of sexual abuse is never raised.

3. Why did Peter’s apprentices die in Slater?

Only one apprentice has died at the beginning of the opera. The circumstances are virtually as Crabbe’s third apprentice, the least suspicious death of the three, except that here the boy only became ill as a result of the storm at sea. Balstrode voices a reasonable assessment (*Grimes* 1979: 12, lines 18-19). John dies in the opera through falling down the cliff when urged on by Peter as he throws down ropes and nets (*Grimes* 1979: 32, lines 29-30).

4. Did Slater’s Peter murder them?

In the first case, the apprentice who is the subject of the Prologue’s coroner’s court, there is insufficient evidence to charge Peter with murder. It would be possible to charge Peter with manslaughter if it could be proved, as the draft text indicates, that Peter had been negligent in not filling the water keg (0.d92–d93). But in the final text Peter simply states the water supply ran out and Swallow records the death as accidental (0.105). With Slater’s skewing of the financial arrangements regarding

apprenticeship,¹² Peter does not have a legally imposed duty of care, though it could be argued he has a moral one. In the second case, Peter's telling John to close his eyes as he goes down, in effect an unfamiliar cliff whose structure had recently changed owing to landslide, could be construed as murder. But in context Peter has already warned him to take care (*Grimes* 1979: 32, lines 22-3). Peter might argue telling him to close his eyes is to calm the boy's fear at the initial exit from his hut. He might also admit manslaughter under the defence 'when one person causes the death of another ... intentionally but under provocation, while suffering from diminished responsibility' (*OED* n.2.). His argument here would be that the approaching procession's threats of violence (*Grimes* 1979: 32, line 26) caused him to fear for his safety and panic.

¹² See *Introduction to 1.1* §1.1.3

§2.3 Characters & seascapes inspired by *The Borough*

Where passages from *The Borough* are a significant source for a scene, e.g. Auntie and her ‘nieces’ in 1.2, this is discussed in the introduction to it. The Vicar, as has been demonstrated in §1.2 is broadly but not exactly the model for the Rector in the opera. There are three other characters besides Peter whose names are taken from *The Borough*:

§2.3.1 Ellen

Ellen Orford, like Peter, is one of ‘The Poor of Borough’ with a Letter devoted to her (XX). The other ‘Poor’, like Peter, turn bad. The Parish Clerk (XIX) is caught stealing from the collection and loses his job. Abel Keene (XI) takes up late a life of pleasure and is left with guilt as well as destitution. Ellen is an exception not only among the Poor but in *The Borough* as a whole. She suffers more misfortune than anyone. She is early disgraced by giving birth to a daughter through an unfaithful lover. The daughter is born dumb and an idiot. A man does marry her and she has 5 sons. Like her daughter they all die, some more shamefully than others. A schoolmistress, she loses her job when she goes blind. She bears all this with Christian faith, fortitude and humility:

‘And as my Mind looks cheerful to my End,
I love Mankind and call my God my Friend.’

(*Borough*, XX, 336–7)

Ellen's story is moving as an expression in the first person of the agony of rejection, of hopes dashed, of the dejection that comes to a mother when her children die, particularly given the circumstances of some of the deaths. Crabbe's focus is on this experience rather than Ellen's patient response. Though a priest, as a poet he knew that sanctity is boring. In the opera Slater respects but softens her story (*Grimes* 1979: 9, SD after line 11).

Here Slater draws the moral more directly than Crabbe. Slater's Ellen is to be a force of active benevolence. Crabbe's Ellen has the easier task of simply being in relief to the neutral, albeit judging, community. Slater's Ellen is more combative in her 1.1 aria (*Grimes* 1979: 9, lines 35-6; 10, lines 1-10), more emotively maternal in her 3.1 embroidery aria (*Grimes* 1979: 38, lines 5-18). But, like Crabbe's Ellen, she also has the courage to face and accept the consequences of the situation: in 2.1 that she and Peter have failed (*Grimes* 1979: 24, line 35) and in 3.1 that Peter is now beyond help (*Grimes* 1979: 38, line 20) when respectively Peter and Balstrode believe something can be salvaged.

With the two other characters whose names are taken from *The Borough*, Ned and Swallow, the link is looser, yet an influence can be gleaned.

§2.3.2 Ned

Ned is Crabbe's example of a quack intended to provoke derision, for Crabbe's stand against quacks is unequivocal:

But now our Quacks are Gamesters, and they play
With Craft and Skill to ruin and betray;
With monstrous Promise they delude the Mind,
And thrive on all that tortures Human-kind. (*Borough*, VII, 71–4)

Ned is barely literate and lives totally by trickery. He sweetens an acidic potion to make it palatable, then everything is down to the power of suggestion. He sets up as a Doctor and, dressed appropriately, is deemed knowledgeable and trusted even by those who know and scorn his poor origin because they want to believe the potion will make them better. Slater's Ned is only an apothecary and therefore less presumptuous. His only identified 'victim' is Mrs. Sedley, who is unpopular in the community (0.45.3). He is highly literate: the nearest thing to a Shakespearian fool in the opera. He comes out with quips, such as at when the storm is looming (*Grimes* 1979: 11, lines 16-19). He brings a fresh, irreverent perspective and we like him for it even as we observe he runs with the hare and rides with the hounds: one who can obtain an apprentice for Peter yet join the posse to confront him. His surname, Keene, Slater has confusingly taken from another character in *Borough*, Abel Keene in XXI. He is not at all like Ned but a teacher who transfers late in life to a merchant's office and then takes up the idle pleasures he might have been excused for in youth, to his undoing.

§2.3.3 Swallow

Swallow is an attorney, a cunning swindler, summed up by Crabbe as 'An hard bad Man, who prey'd upon the Weak.'¹³ He is sinister. His confidence trickery is at an altogether greater level than Ned the quack's. It encompasses entire estates. Slater's Swallow, on the other hand, is a buffoon with just enough wit to retain his position as mayor and coroner (*Grimes* 1979: 2, SD before line 1). But his true colours are nothing more than attempting to seduce Niece 1 at the beginning of 3.1 (*Grimes*

¹³ *Borough*, VI, 377.

1979: 34, lines 1-35). While we laugh with Ned, we laugh at Swallow, but as with Ned we like him and allow him his place in the community. He fulfils a necessary function, as the words Slater gives him (*Grimes* 1979: 26, lines 5-6), although arguably he too readily complies with the fudge that, instead of having an adult apprentice, Peter can have a boy as long as Ellen helps look after him. The character Crabbe would have in such a post, if not the swindler Swallow, is, in lines worthy of Pope, grimmer. He appears as recalled by a schoolmistress like Ellen but of higher rank, the headmistress of a prep school:

A Burgess comes, and she remembers well
 How hard her task to make his Worship spell;
 Cold, selfish, dull, inanimate, unkind,
 'Twas but by Anger he display'd a Mind:
 Now civil, smiling, complaisant, and gay,
 The World has worn th'unsocial Crust away;
 That sullen Spirit now a softness wears,
 And, save by fits, e'en Dulness disappears:
 But still the Matron can the Man behold,
 Dull, selfish, hard, inanimate and cold.

(*Borough*, XXIV, 49–58)

§2.3.4 Boles

Descriptions of two further characters in *Borough* provided a model for Slater to develop them and provide his own names for them. First, the ranter:

Much he discourses, and of various points,
 All unconnected, void of limbs and joints;
 He rails, persuades, explains, and moves the Will,
 By fierce bold Words, and strong mechanic Skill.

(*Borough*, IV, 272–5)

This is the model for Bob Boles, demonstrably so in that Slater quotes 274–5 (Introduction & Synopsis, 62–3). But 272–3 are also significant because they point

to the haphazard nature of the vehemence. Boles's rants in recitative are recurrent and wide-ranging but brief. They provide a passing diversion but do not command the attention, unlike Ellen's lengthy aria in 1.1 (*Grimes* 1979: 9, lines 35-6; 10, lines 1-10) Crabbe ridicules zealots because of their capacity to harm:

'Tis he who wakes the nameless strong desire,
The melting rapture, and the glowing fire;
'Tis he who pierces deep the tortur'd breast,
And stirs the terrors, never more to rest.

(*Borough*, IV, 24–7)

Slater's Borough community already has the desire to suppress Peter. Its purpose is not religious fervour but vengeance. Nevertheless Boles at times is instigator (*Grimes* 1979: 26, lines 30-38).

§2.3.5 Mrs. Sedley

Second, there's the scandalmonger found in the tea parties of those ancient females who so enjoyed the Vicar's company:

Ye Lilies male! Think (as your Tea you sip,
While the Town Small-talk flows from lip to lip;
Intrigues half-gather'd, Conversation-scrap,
Kitchen-cabals, and Nursery-mishaps,)

(*Borough*, III, 69–72)

Slater quotes 70-72 as the prototype for Mrs. Sedley (Introduction & Synopsis, 28–30) but the original context clarifies that Crabbe derides this activity and all its participants as frivolous. Yet there is nothing frivolous about the gossip in the opera. Britten's added opening statement of the Chorus in the Prologue to *Grimes* refers to the personal damage caused by gossip (*Grimes* 1979: 3, lines 23-4; 4, lines 33-4) Mrs. Sedley is not the only character who engages in it. Boles states that Ellen assisted Peter in child abuse (*Grimes* 1979: 27, line 5). However, Mrs. Sedley exactly

illustrates the Crabbe quotation at *Grimes* 1979: 28, lines 14-15. The clue which she hoards and of which she boasts is flimsy enough: she eavesdrops part of the conversation between Ellen and John earlier in 2.1 about the bruise on his neck. In 3.1 Ned dismisses Mrs. Sedley's display of Crabbe's 'Intrigues half-gather'd' when with nothing more than suspicion (*Grimes* 1979: 36, line 2), she is quick to deduce murder (*Grimes* 1979: 36, line 14). Nevertheless, overhearing in 3.1 the conversation between Ellen and Balstrode that Peter's boat is back enables her to raise the alarm to Swallow and thus instigate the manhunt. The irrational and rational are thereby juxtaposed and the boundaries between them blurred. Like Boles, Mrs. Sedley is a comic character, but this is black comedy. Both are figures of ridicule in the community who at the same time stoke its malaise.

This collection of characters ultimately sourced in Crabbe leaves only Balstrode and Hobson as characters entirely imagined by Slater.

§2.3.6 Seascapes

Again the link is not specific, but it is plausible to believe that Britten reading these passages in Crabbe's General Description might have found inspiration for creating equivalent orchestral portraits. Britten's interludes indicate a sensitivity to Crabbe's seascapes. Interlude 1, Dawn, has the sudden surprise of a *crescendo* to a climax and as quickly a *diminuendo*¹⁴ which match:

Yet sometimes comes a ruffling Cloud to make
The quiet surface of the Ocean shake;
As an awaken'd Giant with a frown,
Might shew his wrath, and then to sleep sink down.

(*Borough*, I, 190–93)

Interlude 5, Moonlight, is essentially a quieter scene than Crabbe's, yet it is flecked by loud passages as if of the sudden illumination¹⁵ Crabbe celebrates:

From parted Clouds the Moon her radiance throws
On the wild Waves and all the Danger shows;
But shews them beaming in her shining vest,
Terrific splendour! Gloom in glory drest!
This for a moment, and then Clouds again,
Hide every beam, and fear and darkness reign.

(*Borough*, I, 261–6)

Interlude 2, Storm, shows Britten depicting in music the animation of Crabbe's verse, its continuity of action and effect, its awesome force and dimensions. Britten contrasts this with a calm centre indicating Peter's ecstasy within the storm¹⁶ but Crabbe has his own contrast (211–13) of a broader perspective:

All where the eye delights, yet dreads to roam,
The breaking Billows cast the flying Foam
Upon the Billows rising — all the Deep
Is restless change; the Waves so swell'd and steep,

¹⁴ Grimes 1963 {source P}: 32-3.

¹⁵ *ibid.*: e.g. 400-01, 403.

¹⁶ *ibid.*: 157-62.

Breaking and sinking, and the sunken swells,
Nor one, one moment, in its station dwells:
But nearer Land you may the Billows trace,
As if contending in their watery chace;
May watch the mightiest till the Shoal they reach,
Then break and hurry to their utmost stretch;
Curl'd as they come, they strike with furious force,
And then re-flowing, take their grating course,
Raking the rounded Flints, which ages past
Roll'd by their rage, and shall to ages last.

(Borough, I, 200–213)

§3. In search of the key issue

§3.1 Crabbe & the key issue

Murder starts as a spectre, a possibility, a suspicion without proof, in the case of Peter's first apprentice. Doubts increase with the second, but again the evidence is consistent with Peter's story. When the third apprentice dies, accusation is openly made:

The pitying Women rais'd a Clamour round,
And weeping said, 'Thou hast thy 'Prentice drown'd.
(Borough, XXII, 153–4)

This outcry is the catalyst to the story's dénouement, but neither the truth nor falsehood of it can be proven. It is, however, significant for it is what the community wishes to believe. Why? Because it recognizes its own guilt in not acting earlier to prevent a chain of deaths. The resultant third inquest brings the Mayor's action, to ban Peter from hiring another boy apprentice and for the community to refuse to offer him any assistance. Murder is the climactic point of focus but I suggest that it is only one of three elements that sustain the poem and give it continuing interest, the others being conscience and isolation. I have just touched on the late surfacing of the community's conscience, that is guilt. Peter's conscience appears much earlier.

Conscience is a haunting shadow over the activity of the poem. Peter is first struck by it after his father's death, even while drunk:

Yes! Then he wept, and to his Mind there came
Much of his Conduct, and he felt the Shame, —
How he had oft the good Old Man revil'd,
And never paid the Duty of a Child:
(Borough, XXII, 12–15)

This conscience, here termed ‘shame’, does not prevent Peter from exploiting, abusing and ending up with two dead apprentices, but with the second apprentice, who falls from the boat’s mast through the deck hatchway, conscience makes a sudden second appearance in the poem:

‘What said the Jury?’ — they were long in doubt,
 But sturdy *Peter* faced the matter out:
 So they dismiss’d him, saying at the time,
 ‘Keep fast your Hatchway when you’ve Boys who climb.’
 This hit the Conscience, and he colour’d more
 Than for the closest questions put before

(*Borough*, XXII, 112–17)

Is this a recurrence of the concept of duty or the sting of the community castigating Peter for a lack of professionalism? There is a paradox here. Peter does not care about his behaviour or the community yet wants to operate within that community and be recognized as able to do so. This paradox is developed much further in Slater’s version. Crabbe’s passage is also odd. ‘Keep fast your Hatchway when you’ve Boys who climb’ is a jaunty retort for a jury with an almost jocular tone to match the bizarre circumstances of the death:

And what his Fate? — One night it chanc’d he fell
 From the Boat’s Mast and perish’d in her Well,
 Where Fish were living kept, and where the Boy
 (So reason’d Men) could not himself destroy: —

(*Borough*, XXII, 104–7)

Does this mean that the jury, remembering the suspicious circumstances of the death of the first apprentice, wonder if the second has been goaded into suicide? Is the ‘Hatchway’ reprimand appropriate? A fall from the mast onto the deck will be at least as injurious as one onto fish. It is there because Crabbe needs at this point a

fresh admonition to prick Peter's conscience. The oddity of Crabbe's judicial proceedings and the resultant image made its mark with Slater who takes up the image for his first apprentice's death and then has the coroner making jocular play with language (*Grimes* 1979: 3, lines 1-4).

Crabbe's third reference to Peter's conscience shows that its second appearance did affect his subsequent action:

And though stern *Peter*, with a cruel Hand,
And knotted Rope, enforc'd the rude Command,
Yet he consider'd what he'd lately felt,
And his vile Blows with selfish Pity dealt (*Borough*, XXII, 134–7)

How stingingly ironic is 'selfish Pity' and it confirms Crabbe's moral purpose.

Crabbe's fourth reference to Peter's conscience is a graphic example of it in operation during his terminal illness:

The Priest attending, found he spoke at times
As one alluding to his Fears and Crimes:
'It was the fall,' he mutter'd, 'I can show
The manner how — I never struck a blow:' —
And then aloud — 'Unhand me, free my Chain;
On Oath, he fell — it struck him to the Brain: - - -
Why ask my Father? — that old Man will swear
Against my Life; besides, he wasn't there: - - -
What, all agreed? — Am I to die to-day? —
My Lord, in mercy, give me time to pray.' (*Borough*, XXII, 268–77)

What gives these lines power is their tension between rational affirmation of innocence and irrational but suspicious guilt. Crabbe sums up Peter's state and remaining monologue:

'Twas part Confession and the rest Defence,
A Madman's Tale, with gleams of waking Sense.
(*Borough*, XXII, 288–9)

Murder is the dramatic pointer to the real issue for Crabbe, which is guilt. It is conscience and isolation which are the prime concerns of Crabbe's concentration on the aftermath for Peter, once banned from having another boy apprentice, which takes up 210 of the poem's 375 lines.¹⁷ Peter tells of his vision of his father and 2 boys who daily haunt him on the river and incite him to drown himself. Although there were 3 dead apprentices there are only 2 boys because in the vision the father holds one in each hand. At this point comes Crabbe's fifth reference to Peter's conscience. This entails revealing additional information previously concealed. The father speaks first:

“Didst thou not draw thy Knife?” said he:—’Twas true,
But I had Pity and my Arm withdrew:
He cried for Mercy, which I kindly gave,
But he has no Compassion in his Grave. (*Borough*, XXII, 334–7)

Peter's violence to his father previously stated was a blow to his head which knocked him down, but apparently with a bare fist.¹⁸ In this case Peter refers again to his 'Pity', echoing the 'selfish Pity' he had used in his blows on his apprentice.¹⁹

In the sixth and final reference Peter's conscience is termed 'guilt', echoing the first reference which is to its synonym 'shame'.²⁰ Again the action is provided by the father and the two boys, the former having just thrown fire and blood in Peter's face, Peter's fantasy now having become sentient hallucination:

‘Still there they stood, and forc’d me to behold
A place of Horrors — they cannot be told —
Where the Flood open’d, there I heard the Shriek
Of tortur’d Guilt — no earthly Tongue can speak:
“All Days alike! For ever!” did they say,
“And unremitted Torments every Day.” —

¹⁷ *Borough*, XXII, 165-375.

¹⁸ *ibid.*, 26-7.

¹⁹ *ibid.*, 137.

²⁰ *ibid.*, 13.

(*Borough*, XXII, 362–7)

It is not the Mayor but his own conscience that passes sentence on Peter who dies as he sees the ghosts coming yet again.

For Crabbe the issue is fundamentally a moral one. Whether Peter murdered some, all, or none of his apprentices, he wronged them, just as he wronged his father. For these and lesser wrongs, such as theft and drunkenness, the Borough society is for the most part inefficient in exacting a penalty but Peter's own conscience or inherent guilt is the effective if severe judge.

I have stated that isolation is also a significant element. Conveying isolation, that is the psychological in relation to the physical environment, would have appealed to Crabbe the poet just as charting a clear moral would have been needful for Crabbe the priest. A key representation of isolation is the opening two quotations in §1.1 of these perspectives on Crabbe and the entire section is necessarily concerned with it. But another point may be made, that having been rejected by the community²¹ Peter in turn chooses to live apart from it.²² Crabbe is sensitive to the paradox of the outcome of this: any further contact with society is distressing, but Peter still feels this normality should be possible for him:

And though he felt forsaken, griev'd at heart,
To think he liv'd from all Mankind apart;
Yet, if a Man approach'd, in terrors he would start.

(*Borough*, XXII, 229–31)

Having been banned in a limited sense, Crabbe's Peter assigns to himself the psychological make-up of the banished. He is in any event outcast from society. But

²¹*Borough*, XXII, 165-6.

²² *ibid.*, 185.

for Crabbe this is no more than a colour, an evocative background that occasionally brings further into relief the main issue of guilt. By contrast, with Slater, being outcast is the main issue in terms of driving Peter's hopeless endeavours and being haunted, arguably by guilt and therefore conscience, an element that requires attention in relation to that issue.

§3.2 Slater & the key issue

There is only one dead apprentice at the beginning of *Grimes* but the community's response to the coroner's verdict of accidental death is severe (*Grimes* 1979: 4, lines 35-6).

The first response of the Borough community links Peter to guilt: they are implying that 'guilty of murder' should have been the verdict. Peter courageously addresses this at *Grimes* 1979: 4, lines 28-31. His request to stand trial is ignored by Swallow. In the duet with Ellen closing the Prologue two other issues emerge. Peter terms the severity of response the community's hate'. This is not a matter of reasonable suspicion but animosity. The community would have reason for this regarding Crabbe's Peter: his disrespectful treatment of his father, drinking, gambling, poaching and stealing from farms. But Slater's Peter is never accused of any of these activities except for a query whether he is drunk after his 1.2 'Great Bear' aria (*Grimes* 1979: 17, lines 32-33; 18, lines 1-13), So what is the reason? 2.1 suggests Britten's quotation of Crabbe, 'Grimes is at his exercise', expectation that Peter is maltreating his apprentice, one that the community, itself feeling guilty, is only now beginning to address. Another possibility is that Peter is simply disliked because he

is an outsider, because he has and voices different thoughts to their different norm, shown in his 'Great Bear' aria which I shall consider shortly.

The second issue to emerge here is equally significant. Peter is haunted: (*Grimes* 1979: 5, lines 16-21). These lines seem to refer to Slater's original and Crabbe's broader context of the death of more than one apprentice and therefore ghosts. 'The dead are witness' suggests a collective body and recalls the three who confront Peter at the end of Crabbe's Letter XXII.²³ The lines appear rambling and exaggerated in Slater's revised context of only one dead apprentice, with 'drowning' a metaphor for death in the vicinity of water. Neither Slater's nor Crabbe's apprentices die by drowning. The evocative line added by Britten in 2.2 about hearing voices that can't be drowned has the same difficulty of explanation. The point, however, is that Peter is haunted by a spirit known to him, or spirits it could be argued magnified by his imagination, and that suggests guilt, which takes us back to that term first used by the community in the Prologue. On the one hand Peter asserts his innocence, on the other, though Slater only implies this rather than explicates it as Crabbe does, he has a guilty conscience. Why? Perhaps for taking the boy on an extended trip. Or simply because of the tragedy of the death as referenced at the end of 1.1 (*Grimes* 1979: 13, lines 34-5), There are still more significant lines in 1.1 where Peter contrasts to Balstrode his perspective with that of the Borough folk (*Grimes* 1979: 12, lines 40-44). His use of the word 'fiery' suggests nightmare or hallucination. It also recalls hallucinations of fire near the end of Crabbe's Letter XXII.²⁴ We the audience are likely to empathize with Peter's visions, as in his

²³ *Borough*, XXII, 308-75.

²⁴ *Borough*, XXII, 348-61.

‘Great Bear’ aria that I refer to next, but will also agree with Balstrode that his dream to make his fortune and then marry Ellen rather than the other way around is unrealistic. So the issue for Slater’s Peter is never living in the present, always either haunted by the past or dreaming of the future. Crabbe’s Peter shares with him the first but not the second characteristic. This also explains why Peter finds it difficult to relate to people and, despite the testimonials in 2.1 from Ellen to his hard work (*Grimes* 1979: 23, lines 35-6) and from Balstrode to his efficiency (*Grimes* 1979: 25, lines 25-6), does not prosper.

Taking these factors together Slater’s Peter may be viewed as a victim: still more directly so in relation to the community. At his entrance in 1.2 the malevolence of the community towards him is confirmed, as they state he is a predatory devil (*Grimes* 1979: 17, lines 26-8), Peter is associated with unnamed devilish activity in relation to his apprentice. Peter, on the other hand, enters with his ‘Great Bear’ aria (*Grimes* 1979: 17, lines 32-3; 18, 1-13). This provides the chief evidence how Peter differs from everyone else in the opera in his capacity for visionary poetic statement. It also marks out the gulf between Peter and the rest. As Anthony Rolfe Johnson (1994) put it in the context of playing Grimes ‘Where you and I are different, folk, is I look up there.’ Another interpreter, Jon Vickers (1984: 835), sees Britten’s Grimes as ‘an aesthete’ as distinct from Crabbe’s ‘*monster*’. Unlike the reasoning of Ellen and Balstrode, this is a text of observation and acceptance, yet also one of Peter’s fiery visions of 1.1. His thoughts are of human grief but he puts this into a cosmic context. He has optimism that change can happen if fate is friendly but by the very use of the term ‘fate’ this comes with the resignation that it might not be. Having

considered the future, he then returns to the past, he can't change it and start afresh. Here is sorrow and regret, but is it also remorse? Terror, horror and sorrow are the elements which haunt him. Peter refers to these in his version of the round in 1.2. And also 'Davy Jones', which suggests the apprentice being snatched by the evil spirits of the deep, devilish activity but not of Peter's making. In 2.1 the community counters this by associating the guilt once more with Peter (*Grimes* 1979: 26, line 23) and connecting him with evil following Boles's accusation (*Grimes* 1979: 26, line 38).

The first direct use of the term 'Murder' comes with the community's hue and cry in 2.1 (*Grimes* 1979: 28, line 6). It may be simply an interjection. But Boles has worked everyone into a frenzy with his unproven allegation of child abuse by Ellen and Peter (*Grimes* 1979: 27, line 5), so that the Rector, after questioning Ellen, also condemns them (*Grimes* 1979: 26, lines 15-16). The cry 'Murder' instigates the men's procession to Peter's hut which in turn brings about John's death.

In 2.2 Peter returns to poetic expression and explicitly his dream world as an antidote to his grim reality (*Grimes* 1979: 31, lines 3-5). The stars are again an inspiration, this time for a vision of perfect domesticity (*Grimes* 1979: 31, lines 12-14). As in 1.1 this dreaming of the future is soon contrasted by haunting from the past with the number of ghosts, as at the end of the Prologue, increased (*Grimes* 1979: 31, lines 15-17), But then reality returns in present hallucination of the single apprentice who died (*Grimes* 1979: 31, lines 21-25). This confirms an element of care on Peter's part: the boy had the last of the water.

At this point Peter hears the procession of townsmen coming up the hill and all the issues he faces, dreaming, haunting and being a victim of the community,

converge. So it may be argued he acts with diminished responsibility when he bolts, urging John on quickly as he steps out down the cliff (*Grimes* 1979: 32, lines 29-30). Even so, Peter might have been directly behind John and saved him from stumbling except that he was distracted by the Rector's knocking on his door. The stage direction is clear: John falls to his death outside the cliff door which can still be onstage while Peter is between his hut's doors. He is therefore not a direct party to John's fall. Brett (in Banks 2000: 64) argues the townsfolk are 'directly implicated' by distracting Peter from shepherding the boy.

The first cry of 'Murder' in 3.1 is that of Mrs. Sedley (*Grimes* 1979: 36, line 23). and it is ridiculed by Ned (lines 33-4). Mrs. Sedley then broods, clarifying why Peter is the community's target and the attraction of her focus (*Grimes* 1979: 37, lines 21-25). Her reference to guilty ghosts in line 23 is a compression for ghosts that are unquiet because others have wronged them. The assumption is made that because, as we have learnt, Peter has a sensitive imagination and vivid memory of the past to which he often returns, he must be guilty. And immediately her eavesdropping Balstrode's confirmation to Ellen that Peter's boat is back renders her the catalyst, on reporting this to Swallow, for community action. They, and disturbingly this includes all characters except Auntie, the Rector, Balstrode and Ellen, have now convicted Peter without trial, he is the murderer who will be made to pay for his crime (*Grimes* 1979: 40, line 25). Why? The preceding Chorus of Borough townsfolk

has stated the truth of the matter: because they feel he despises them, they will destroy him (*Grimes* 1979: 40, lines 21-22).

By the beginning of the final scene there is little to destroy for Peter, as a result of the combination of the second death and the community's hounding, is already tired and crazy (*Grimes* 1979: 41, SD after line 1). His halting, short span statements are as of a man already drowning. His haunting is accurate but in continuing to look forward the prospect is no longer rosy but an additional haunting: the first, second and an anticipated third apprentice (*Grimes* 1979: 41, lines 8-14). That he might start afresh (*Grimes* 1979: 41, lines 22), repeating his words in 1.2 is now no longer a question, as there (*Grimes* 1979: 18, line 13) but ironic affirmation that Balstrode was right in 1.1 (*Grimes* 1979: 13, lines 17-18), that the former tragedy will recur. Peter finally accepts Balstrode's view, that his dreaming without appropriate action is futile. His solution in 3.2 (*Grimes* 1979: 41, line 13) pre-empts that of Balstrode later in the scene (*Grimes* 1979: 42, lines 32-3), at last rendering literal what has been previously a metaphor of death by water. Having abandoned his dreaming, his closing lines are a concatenation of haunting: they recall his need for yet rejection of Ellen in 2.1 (*Grimes* 1979: 24, lines 16-18) and having in 1.1 seen a future with Ellen capable of expunging earlier tragedy (*Grimes* 1979: 13, lines 36-9). In 3.2 with his haunting of being hunted (*Grimes* 1979: 42, lines 14-17) Crabbe's spirits are invoked for the last time:

But gazing on the Spirits, there was I;
They bade me leap to death, but I was loth to die: ...
The three unbodied Forms — and "Come," still "come," they cried.
(*Borough*, XXII, 319–20, 327)

These are now equated with the Borough's embodied agents of destruction, so the

issues of haunting and being an outsider in the community coalesce tragically.

§3.3 Conclusion: a contrast of key issues

Neither for Crabbe nor Slater is murder the key issue. Rather does it create a dramatic context within which they may explore the ramifications of the charge of murder. The key issue for Crabbe is the moral one. His story is a parable: that it is possible for an individual to do wrong and evade his full due of punishment by society and yet receive retribution through his own guilt and being banished from society. Because Crabbe is writing a poem he can focus fully on that individual and need not represent society other than as a somewhat abstract force qualifying his action and viewpoint. No one except Peter is named in Letter XXII.

The key issue for Slater is more complex. He is writing for a drama so society cannot be abstract. It must be represented by individuals and we must learn of their personalities and characteristics for them to become individuals. Yet he is also much concerned with the community as a whole and how it has the power to act differently as a whole than individually. This activity transforms the story and its issues. The chorus of the Borough townfolk becomes a distinct character, in fact the character with the largest part in the drama. It is also the most frightening character as its mood swings shift. Here is the roll call through the opera of its presence: muttering in suspicion (0); establishing inured routine, warning against complicity, mass hysteria (1.1); best behaviour, blatant animosity, conviviality, derision (1.2); worship, questioning and stoking disquiet, holding the moral high ground, bent on actual bodily harm (2.1); jovially bidding goodnight, bent on destruction (3.1);

hunting, re-establishing inured routine (3.2). Effectively the chorus becomes the moral, or rather amoral, force of the work as it becomes a lynch mob, while including the town's justice of the peace and constable. Since a good case can be made that Peter is innocent of the charges made against him, the key issue Slater raises in his high profiling of the chorus is victimization.

However, turning to Peter, the character with the second largest part, his story here is also a parable: that if an individual fully sets himself apart from his community, that community will eventually destroy him. Furthermore, he willingly becomes an agent in that destruction through contributory factors. He has an over developed poetic sensibility, so that being haunted by one tragic event magnifies its significance. This makes him continually live in the past but, together with an unrealistically optimistic attitude as antidote, also dream of a happier future. Consequently he cannot efficiently deal in the present with the community, even its individuals, Ellen and Balstrode, who would support him.

§4. Techniques of presentation

§4.1 Crabbe's technique

Though in *The Borough* he addresses the reader in the first person, Crabbe states that it is not the author who is speaking but ‘an imaginary personage brought forward’.²⁵ He favours an objective narrative but this is something of a veneer as he departs from it to bring psychological insight (see §1.1), satire (§1.2) or to deprecate social ills such as the ‘pauper premium’ (*Introduction to 1.1* §1.1.3). Forster (1932b: 244) writes of Crabbe’s ‘thousands and thousands of rhymed couplets of a narrative tendency’. This is characteristic but not entirely fair. Winborn (2004) praises Crabbe for the economy of expression thus possible but the resultant stylized language is unlikely to allow for the realistic representation of speech in an opera. This can be in turn related to a broader criticism by Forster. He allows that Crabbe can depict character but considers this is limited because he uses ‘formalized diction’ rather than the realism of ‘varieties of speech’ according to class and education (Forster 1932a: xvi). But the discipline of the form that Crabbe the poet chooses, iambic pentameter rhyming couplets, makes formalized diction inevitable.

The use of dialect, as Emily Bronte did in 1847 for Joseph in *Wuthering Heights* provides this sort of realism:

²⁵ *Borough*, Preface, 70.

'T' maister nobbut just buried, and Sabbath nut o'ered, und
t'sahnd uh t'gospel still i 'yer lugs, and yah darr be laiking!

(Brontë 1967: 26)

The reader will struggle to understand this. Brontë 1967 supplies glosses for 'nobbut' (only), 'nut o'ered' (not over), 'lugs' (ears) and 'yah darr be laiking' (you dare be playing) and an appendix on the dialect speech of 13 pages. By contrast, at times Crabbe's formalized diction can result in an effective, pithy directness of utterance, such as that of Grimes during his terminal illness:

The Priest attending, found he spoke at times
As one alluding to his Fears and Crimes:
'It was the fall,' he mutter'd, 'I can show
The manner how — I never struck a blow:' —
And then aloud — 'Unhand me, free my Chain;
On Oath, he fell — it struck him to the Brain: - - -
Why ask my Father? — that old Man will swear
Against my Life; besides, he wasn't there: - - -

What, all agreed? — Am I to die to-day? —
My Lord, in mercy, give me time to pray.'

(*Borough*, XXII, 268–77)

Because of the preponderance of narrative in Crabbe, direct speech makes its mark owing to its novelty. At the same time there is a polite neutrality, a rounded reasoning about these lines in comparison with Peter's delirium as finally fashioned in 3.2 by Duncan and Britten (*Grimes* 1979: 41, lines 8-14). The similarity between the two quotations is striking. Crabbe's Peter's words are not in themselves incriminating but they move to an acceptance of death which denotes a guilty conscience. Duncan and Britten are more ambivalent than Crabbe who loads the dice against Peter with his reference to 'Fears and Crimes'.

§4.2 Slater's technique

As he is writing a drama Slater must rely on direct speech though sometimes this will incorporate narrative. Variation of type of speech is paralleled by that of technique in music. In Britten's music ordinary conversation is conveyed by ordinary recitative (*recitativo secco*), a more reflective statement by *recitativo arioso*, a more extended reflection by an aria. In Slater's verse a mix of styles and metres is used, with some inclusion of rhyme and half rhyme. For Peter's aria in 2.2 envisaging a kindlier home (*Grimes* 1979: 31, lines 3-14), he uses iambic pentameter triplets with some full and some half rhymes. For him a rarely sustained and elaborate use of this metre, it gives this aria a particular expansiveness.

The Prologue, on the other hand, all court business, is written in prose except for its choruses which were added by Britten and are in iambic tetrameters. In his introduction Slater highlights his use of this 'four-beat line with half rhymes for the quick conversational style of the recitatives'. But elsewhere (in Crozier 1945: 19) he points out this is 'not too regular' and thus more conversational. This is his most common line, both for *recitativo secco* and *recitativo arioso* and the danger of stylization is further avoided by a mix of lines as in the dialogue arrangements between Ned and Mrs. Sedley in 1.1 for her to collect her laudanum (*Grimes* 1979: 10, lines 17-28). Lines 17-20 alternate two-beat and four-beat lines. One two-beat and two four-beat lines are then followed by a five-beat line (line 24) which is in turn followed by two single-beat lines. This does generally achieve Slater's aim of

realistic conversation, though ironically wishing to hold to the four-beat line brings about an undue formality in line 19: its ‘Mr.’ would not be there in ordinary speech. In the same scene Slater soon switches to alternating 2-beat and one-and-a-half-beat lines (*Grimes* 1979: 10, lines 31-34). And then what is a base of two-beat lines is precipitated into two-and-a-half-beat ones, appropriately illustrating the panic as the community dreads the approaching storm (*Grimes* 1979: 11, lines 3-8). In Ellen’s aria in 1.1, (*Grimes* 1979: 9, lines 35-6; 10, lines 1-10) Slater again alternates four-beat and two-beat lines; but Peter’s ‘Great Bear’ aria in 1.2 (*Grimes* 1979: 17, lines 32-3; 18, lines 1-13), though still clearly structured, is more irregular, as befits its singling him out as different from all the others.

This variety from Slater is essential to Britten’s ethos:

One of my chief aims is to try and restore to the musical setting of the English language a brilliance, freedom, and vitality that have been curiously rare since the death of Purcell. In the past hundred years, English writing for the voice has been dominated by strict subservience to logical speech-rhythms, despite the fact that accentuation according to sense often contradicts the accentuation demanded by emotional content. Good recitative should transform the natural intonations and rhythms of everyday speech into memorable musical phrases (as with Purcell), but in more stylized music, the composer should not deliberately avoid unnatural stresses if the prosody of the poem and the emotional situation demand them, nor be afraid of a high-handed treatment of words, which may need prolongation far beyond their common speech-length, or a speed of delivery that would be impossible in conversation.

(Britten in Crozier 1945: 8).

One example of Britten’s more stylized music is that, within the same timespan in 2.1 several characters are singing at the same time (*Grimes* 1979: 27, lines 19-38; 28, lines 1-4). While Ellen is singing ‘O hard’, a line not even in the printed libretto but belonging just before *Grimes* 1979: 27, line 38, Balstrode is singing part of line 33 and line 34. While Ellen is singing ‘O hard hearts’, the Rector is singing line 14. While

Ellen is singing ‘O hard hearts pity’, Mrs. Sedley sings lines 22-3. While Ellen is singing ‘hard hearts pity’, Hobson sings line 35. While Ellen is singing ‘hard hearts pity’, Ned sings line 26. While Ellen is singing ‘hearts pity’, Swallow sings line 36. This all takes place within 2 bars of music but is represented by several lines of interrelating text (2.1.395–403 in my edition). Effectively the faster articulation of all the other characters, all below Ellen in pitch, offers examples of the functioning of hard hearts, except for Hobson who is supportive of Ellen’s message and Balstrode who is critical of the others. The pertinence of Ellen’s message is therefore emphasized even if its delivery is highly formal.

In any case, as this edition demonstrates, with his frequent repetition of lines and portions of lines Britten’s music setting, while having Slater’s prosody as its foundation, often breaks away into a more free construction. Slater (in Crozier 1945: 19) is well aware of this, but Britten sometimes extends this practice to emphasize key words and ideas. Shakespeare did this at times to denote break up, but at the same time concentration, of thought and therefore language, the most famous example being Lear’s ‘Never, never, never, never, never!’.²⁶ Britten does this at Peter’s repetition of ‘Who’ four times (*Grimes* 1979: 18, line 13) in his musical setting of the ‘Great Bear’ aria, but also more pervasively to concentrate on certain aspects of characterization and plot, as at the Nieces and Chorus’s affirmation that Peter is a devil, the term occurring seven times in the musical setting (*Grimes* 1979: 17, lines 26-27). Here the plethora of repetition renders more significant the single following explanatory line 28, linking the devilish activity with the apprentice.

²⁶ *King Lear*, 5.3.325.

Forster's criticism (1932a: xvi) that Crabbe's language is not appropriate to the working class may equally be applied at times to Slater. For example, Peter's reference to Mrs. Sedley as an interferer (*Grimes* 1979: 3, line 22). Britten and Slater also exploit the reverse of this in Peter's 'Great Bear' aria (*Grimes* 1979: 17, lines 32-3; 18, lines 1-13), where Peter's surprising revelation of a poetic sensibility is unintelligible to the fisherfolk who witness it. Formalized diction is found in Slater for the same reason as in Crabbe: the use of a particular type of couplet. Sometimes Slater imitates Crabbe's rhymed iambic pentameters, as in 1.1 (*Grimes* 1979: 8, lines 3-6). Even granted that they are singing a community song, this is assuming a rarefied poetic sensibility among the fisherfolk, so abstruse any external audience is likely to struggle to discern meaning. Similar wide-spanning generality can be found when Slater uses his own favoured 'quick conversational style' (Introduction & Synopsis, line 131 in my edition) of variably rhymed iambic tetrameters. The lines by the Nieces and Auntie at the end of 2.1, though quite densely packed, are more readily understood (*Grimes* 1979: 29, lines 1-6). For Slater this is a good trick: here is a significant and memorable moment because such language is not the norm of these characters.

§5. Peter as phenomenon

§5.1 Crabbe's Peter explained

Crabbe uses his Preface to *The Borough* to attempt to account for his themes and characters' representation and their actions. In Letter XXII his concern is to try to explain Peter and what happens to him. To do so is to acknowledge the vividness of a character of whom, once created, he is frightened and wary. Yet he is not 'created', as is clarified in this note in the 1834 edition of his *Poetical Works*:

The original of Peter Grimes was an old fisherman of Aldborough, while Mr. Crabbe was practising there as a surgeon. He had a succession of apprentices from London, and a certain sum with each. As the boys all disappeared under circumstances of strong suspicion, the man was warned that if another followed in like manner, he should certainly be charged with murder.

In FitzGerald's copy of the 1834 edition Crabbe's son noted that the fisherman was called Tom Brown and that his 'terrors etc.' were imaginary. (Crabbe 1988: vol 1, 749). We cannot know to what extent the details of Peter's life, abuse of his apprentices and eventual 'terrors' were taken from real life, Crabbe's observation, community gossip, Tom Brown's own witness to Crabbe, and to what extent these are the products of Crabbe's imagination and taking of opium. But we do know from this that the apprentice system was open to exploitation and that 'terrors' did not necessarily result in death.

I now quote in full Crabbe's wary statement on Peter in his Preface:

The character of *Grimes*, his obduracy and apparent want of feeling, his gloomy kind of misanthropy, the progress of his madness, and the horrors of his imagination, I must leave to the judgment and observation of my readers. The mind here exhibited, is one untouched by pity, unstung by remorse, and uncorrected by shame: yet is this hardihood of temper and spirit broken by want, disease, solitude and disappointment, and he becomes the victim of a distempered and horror-stricken fancy. It is evident, therefore, that no feeble vision, no half-visible ghost, not the momentary glance of an unbodied being, nor the half-audible voice of an invisible one, would be created by the continual workings of distress on a mind so depraved and flinty. The ruffian of *Mr. Scott** has a mind of this nature: he has no shame or remorse: but the corrosion of hopeless want, the wasting of unabating disease, and the gloom of unvaried solitude, will have their effect on every nature; and the harder that nature is, and the longer time required to work upon it, so much the more strong and indelible is the impression. This is all the reason I am able to give, why a man of feeling so dull should yet become insane, and why the visions of his distempered brain should be of so horrible a nature.

*Marmion {Crabbe's annotation}

(*Borough*, Preface, 466–86).

At the outset (466–9) Crabbe stands aside and asks the reader to judge Peter from the evidence given. This ambivalence is interesting, for on the basis of the evidence (see §2.1) Peter cannot categorically be termed a murderer. Obduracy may also be viewed as tenacity. Peter's lack of feeling is only apparent, as shown by Crabbe's charting (see §3.1) of the working of Peter's conscience. In retrospect he 'felt the Shame' (*Borough*, XXII, 13) of his undutiful treatment of his father, his 'Conscience' (116) is hit by his neglect of his second apprentice and who accordingly shows 'pity', albeit 'selfish pity' (137) in mitigating his punishment of his third apprentice. Later we learn that although he had drawn a knife on his father, he also through 'Pity' (335) responded to a plea for mercy. So he is a more complex character than at first suggested. And finally he is a 'victim' (473) and as such evokes our compassion. Yet this is not only, as the context of Crabbe's text

suggests, because of the development in isolation of a hyperactive imagination, but also because a latent guilt is part of that development. In writing of ‘the progress of his madness’ (467–8) Crabbe hints that this can be charted. It is the link between action, guilt, environment and conscience that invites the reader to identify with Grimes and allows Crabbe to create a tragic figure, as Powell (2004:188) puts it, to engage ‘at an unusually deep and complex level’.

The issue Crabbe addresses in this Preface is the paradox of how a man of no feeling can have imagination, and his answer is a combination of ‘hopeless want ... unabating disease ... unvaried solitude’ (479–80). Hopeless want is owing to being an outsider:

And though he felt forsaken, griev’d at heart,
To think he liv’d from all Mankind apart;
Yet, if a Man approach’d, in terrors he would start.

(*Borough*, XXII, 229–31)

Unabating disease is of the mental variety. Unvaried solitude returns to the concept of the outsider: it may be tempered by a variety of location but remains solitude.

Crabbe suggests prototypes of Peter in literature in his epigraphs to Letter XXII. First, Scott’s *Marmion*:

Was a sordid soul,
Such as does murder for a meed;
Who but for fear knows no controul,
Because his conscience, sear’d and foul,
Feels not the import of the deed;

One whose brute feeling ne’er aspires
Beyond his own more brute desires.

(Scott, *Marmion*, II, xxii, 1–7).

In terms of history of activity this could be a description of Peter. But Peter, as recently shown, possesses elements of shame, conscience and pity, so the comparison of a brute without mitigating factors is too limiting.

The second figure Crabbe compares is Shakespeare's King Richard III:

Methought the souls of all that I had murdered
Came to my tent, and every one did threat
(Shakespeare, *Richard III*, 5.3.208–9).

Here Crabbe explicitly links Peter's imagination with murder, though the parallel is not exact because, although Grimes's three apprentices die in suspicious circumstances,²⁷ only two come to haunt him with his father.²⁸ But what causes that imagination? The Shakespeare quotation is Richard's nightmare before battle. In lines 197-9 of the same speech he acknowledges that he is condemned by his conscience.

Crabbe's final comparative epigraph quotes Shakespeare's Macbeth:

The time has been,
That, when the brains were out, the man would die,
And there an end: but now they rise again
With twenty mortal murders on their crowns,
And push us from our stools:
(Shakespeare, *Macbeth*, 3.4.90–94).

Again Crabbe stresses the excesses of Peter's imagination and links it with murder. This Shakespeare quotation is Macbeth's distraught reaction on seeing the ghost of Banquo at his place at table. Peter's spirit visitors also rise²⁹ with the intention of disturbing his equilibrium, by bidding him leap to death.³⁰

²⁷ *Borough*, XXII, 96, 105, 152.

²⁸ *ibid.*, 308-9.

²⁹ *Borough*, XXII, 307.

³⁰ *ibid.*, 320.

Arguably the epigraphs to Letter XXII confuse as much as they enlighten. Peter is a ruffian like Marmion but, unlike him, not devoid of conscience. Peter is not a proven murderer with malice aforethought like Richard III and Macbeth but neither does he have what New (1976: 93) terms Macbeth's 'profound moral imagination'. But Crabbe does make him a comparably tragic figure whose agonies of haunting we experience as he recounts his visions.

At a basic level Peter is of interest as an embodiment of evil. He had been rebellious towards his father from an early age and eventually struck him down. In manhood his liking for drink and cards could only be satisfied through supplementing his earnings as a fisherman by stealing from orchard and farmyard. He is also a sadist:

He wanted some obedient Boy to stand
And bear the blow of his outrageous hand;
And hop'd to find in some propitious hour
A feeling Creature subject to his Power.

(Borough, XXII, 55–8).

Here the moral order is turned on its head: obedience receives the normal due of disobedience and propitiation, a term often associated with sacrifice to a deity, is appropriated for demonic purposes. Yet the evil is comparatively briefly treated and little detailed. It is ambiguous whether there is sexual as well as physical abuse. There is something of mystery about it and at the same time Crabbe queries social responsibility:

But none enquir'd how Peter us'd the Rope,
Or what the Bruise, that made the Stripling stoop;
None could the Ridges on his Back behold,
None sought him shiv'ring in the Winter's Cold;

(Borough, XXII, 69–72).

Then, as now, when communication breaks down, individuals are marginalized by society and the vulnerable are unprotected. In the first instance it is Peter's apprentices who are the victims, but ultimately it is Peter too. Is the poem, then, a social commentary? This is to consider Crabbe as a subtle satirist. Crabbe's power, as Hatch (1976: 112–13) neatly argues, comes from focussing on the human consequences of a critique of society, accepting the apprentice system and, even when finally offering sympathy for Peter's downfall, not understanding its own complicity.

§5.2 Slater's Peter explained

The besetting paradox for Crabbe – how can Peter with no feeling have imagination – is resolved in two ways. Firstly, he says in the Preface Peter's final outcast circumstances fuelled his imagination; secondly, he shows within his poem that Peter developed feeling. Slater turns this challenge on its head. Presenting Peter as a man of imagination, he shows that he must also be a man of feeling. At the end of the Prologue's court proceedings he courageously requests a trial to clear his name (*Grimes* 1979: 4, lines 31-34). but his imagination magnifies the impact of his former apprentice's death (*Grimes* 1979: 5, lines 18-21). In 1.1 in his discourse with Balstrode (*Grimes* 1979: from 11, line 26) he shows himself sensitive to his environment, his isolation when his apprentice died, that he dreams of a better future with Ellen: she is the exorcist for being haunted by the apprentice's death. Throughout the opera Peter is the character we are brought closest to and this makes us more personally interested in his progress.

In 1.2 he enters with the 'Great Bear' aria (*Grimes* 1979: 17, lines 32-3; 18, lines 1-13) that fully reveals his poetic imagination and distance from the community, but he disrupts its round with his own version that again recalls that dead apprentice. In 2.1 he strikes Ellen because she rationalizes their hopes are fanciful, but in 2.2 he is dreaming again, this time of domestic bliss. This dream is in turn shattered by the recollection of the last hours with his former apprentice. In the final scene he deliriously recalls scraps of his former experiences of death, of being hunted, of craving for, and of losing, friendship. Here is a character with whom we can empathize more than the rest because we know more about him. This is more than simply the compassion we feel for Crabbe's Peter's miserable end because the possibility that haunts us, which never does with Crabbe's Peter, is that Slater's Peter may be totally innocent.

Is Slater's drama a social commentary? This element is stronger here than in Crabbe's poem because society is more strongly featured, not only with a group of individual characters but also with a chorus that represents the townsfolk as a whole. They victimize Peter and this hits home to bring his guilt full circle.

§7. Conclusion

Both Crabbe's and Slater's treatments of Peter are fundamentally concerned with guilt but the circumstances, the realities within which that guilt is contemplated, are very different. The title page of Slater's libretto describes *Grimes* as being 'derived from the poem of George Crabbe'. This is something of an understatement. As the perspectives of this section and the introductions to the scenes show Crabbe is a source for much of the content of the opera. But the reference is correctly made to the entire poem *The Borough*, not just Letter XXII, because both poem and opera have some concern for community, how, or indeed if, a sense of community can be achieved when the critical focus is directed in turn at its constituent parts. Is the real community only a mob?

§7.1 *Grimes* as a critical reappraisal of Crabbe

Why should Slater transform Crabbe's Peter? He wished to create a character with whom an audience could empathize. He does this by a shift of focus from the innate antagonism Crabbe's Peter has towards the community to an innate antagonism Slater's community has towards Peter, who then becomes its victim. The question haunting the opera is 'What if Grimes is innocent?' The community is represented both by individuals and *en masse* in the form of the chorus. An extraordinary, dramatic development in Slater's *Grimes* is the mobilization of the crowd. This was initiated by Britten when to Slater's first draft of the Prologue (see crit. app. 0d48{a}-48{b} *etc.*) he added the words of the chorus.

The nature of Peter's tragedy may be defined in various ways. Although he has a developed imaginative sensibility, in his conduct in society he is an innocent. He is driven totally by his wish for respect but fails to realize that to gain respect you must give it. He fails to communicate not only with the community but also, except for brief, tender moments, with those nearest to him, his apprentice and Ellen. We can empathize with such a character. Britten also found a disturbing element with which he and an immediately post war audience could readily identify: the power and influence of a community on an individual deemed an outsider. Britten equated this in an interview with his and Pears's position as conscientious objectors (Schafer 1963: 116–7). There is also an element of heroism about Grimes's refusal to conform that Cunningham (1992) defines as 'moral absolutism'. From Peter's viewpoint he does nothing without just cause. Rolfe Johnson (1994) rationalizes Peter's disciplining his apprentice and striking Ellen as necessary for safety at sea and reaction to betrayal.

Brett (2006: 58–60) points out that Crabbe's Peter exploits a morally enfeebled society which allows the convenience and abuses of an apprentice scheme for disposing of children from workhouses. Slater's Peter, on the other hand, is both a victim of that society and one who reflects its values. This is the process of internalization, the acceptance of society's values and judgement by the victim. When in 2.1 he challenges God to have mercy upon him (*Grimes* 1979: 24, line 37), to the theme the community soon use extensively for 'Grimes is at his exercise' from *Grimes* 1979: 25, line 4, he acknowledges this and begins the process of submission to their judgement. Brett also makes it clear that in revising the libretto Britten removed any factors about Peter's upbringing that might explain his suspected

conduct, such as a domineering father (as portrayed in Crabbe) or being beaten himself (2.2d14–d20). The outcome was the opera became an allegory of oppression (both external and internalized) and Peter a symbol of all members of society who were oppressed just for being different, for being as Pears wrote in 1944 to Britten “an introspective, an artist, a neurotic, his real problem is expression, self-expression” (*Letters*, vol. 2:1189).

Brett (2006: 44) goes further, suggesting as a result “everyone in the audience could recognize a little of themselves in him” and in another article (2006: 209) that Britten had achieved “a brilliant appeal ... to the alienation of every member of the audience”. He continues that the allegorical figure of Peter “could most easily be interpreted as ‘the homosexual’” but that the resultant problem was society’s vicious treatment of difference. In doing so Brett as a homosexual is implanting a little of himself into Peter for recognition. In the same letter from Pears to Britten recently quoted, it is clear that both recognized Peter Grimes as a homosexual. Pears writes “the queerness is unimportant & doesn’t really exist in the music (or at any rate obtrude) so it mustn’t do so in the words.” This may be viewed as a judiciously defensive statement at a time when overt homosexuality was likely to result in a prison sentence, but the implication of Pears’s comment for the libretto is significant. Brett (2006: 59-60) points out those parts of Slater’s libretto which showed emotional ties between Grimes and the apprentice were cut by Britten. The outcome is to deny to Peter a humanity which could well include homosexuality. But might not Britten’s decision have been as much an instinct for what makes for good drama, the broader application of Peter’s tragedy, as a cautious response to its

potential homosexual dimension? Britten's decision has force not least in that it moves against specializing the work as a gay allegory, which Brett moves towards and Taruskin (2005: 246-7) follows.

If Crabbe's poem instills a moral it is related to the individual: that while it is possible to do wrong and escape justice from society, a guilty conscience will ultimately provide retribution. The power of Crabbe the poet is to fashion imaginatively Peter's moral and mental decline. The power of Slater's Grimes has the same basis and he too sees Peter as victim but within a broader and more disturbing focus on society in relation to the individual: that when individuals are marginalized by society and communication breaks down, irrational views are accepted. Or, as Hatch (1976: 106) puts it, 'might is right'. If Slater's Grimes instills a moral it is related to society: human capacity to hate is as great as that to love and we allow mob rule at our peril. Crabbe distinguishes between the community's judgement and its compassion (*Borough*, XXII, 255-60). Slater's community is all judgement and no compassion.

§7.2 Crabbe as a critical reappraisal of *Grimes*

What of distinct value or difference does Crabbe's original contribute?

The chief appeal of the poem lies in the graphic description of Peter's visions:

He, with his Hand, the old Man, scoop'd the Flood,
And there came Flame about him mix'd with Blood;
He bade me stoop and look upon the place,
Then flung the hot-red Liquor in my Face;

(Borough, XXII, 356–9).

Lines like these bring to mind the revelation by Forster (1932a: xvi) that Crabbe was addicted to opium. The opera has nothing so nightmarish, so sensational. Peter's 'Great Bear' aria vision we glimpse is more intellectual, more abstract. We respect it as poetry but it distances us a little from Peter and therefore we can understand his community's response. Crabbe keeps us close to Peter owing to the link between action, guilt, environment and conscience that invites the reader to identify with him and allows Crabbe to create a tragic figure, as Powell (2004:188) puts it, to engage 'at an unusually deep and complex level'. When Forster returned to Crabbe in a lecture (1948 in Brett 1983:13) he quotes more lines to emphasize the tragedy of flatness in an environment we can feel is both repulsive and attractive:

Thus by himself compell'd to live each day,
To wait for certain hours the Tide's delay;
At the same times the same dull views to see,
The bounding Marsh-bank and the blighted Tree;
The Water only, when the Tides were high,
When low, the Mud half-cover'd and half-dry;
The Sun-burnt Tar that blisters on the Planks,
And Bank-side Stakes in their uneven ranks;
Heaps of entangled Weeds that slowly float,
As the Tide rolls by the impeded Boat

(*Borough*, XXII, 171–80).

Forster only quotes 174–80 but by including 171–3 it is clearer that Peter is condemned to being trapped and compulsively follow a routine. For Peter's last thoughts in the opera Slater removes the natural environment with thick fog, leaving only the community hunting him crying his name as a backdrop. Slater's Peter offers us different aspects of tragedy, in particular the disturbing one of the power of a community against an individual, but in doing so some focus is taken away from the concentration on the individual, what it feels like to be Peter, that Crabbe maintains.

Perspectives on Slater

§1. Characteristics

Powell 2013 (230) rather belittles Slater as ‘at best a second-rate literary talent’ who, he suggests, was chosen because he was heterosexual and would therefore not find delineating the relationship between Peter and John problematic. This second remark is somewhat wide of the mark, for as 2.2d12a–d12j show (see Appendix B) Slater could produce homoerotic verse. The first is arguably accurate but not really relevant. I agree with Kildea 2013: 280 that Slater was good for Britten because ‘arguing every toss was what Britten needed’. Even colleague Rattenbury (1976: 112) admits Slater could sometimes be ‘opaque’. Ultimately it was a case of using Slater’s strengths and modifying his weaknesses which is what Britten and Crozier did.

Slater’s significant contribution to *Grimes* was its characters, Auntie, Ned, Mrs. Sedley, Boles, the Rector, who stood in lively fashion alongside the principals Peter, Ellen and Balstrode without detracting from their greater importance. He did this largely through a down-to-earth raciness and comedy, the comedy which came from his experience as novelist and dramatist. For instance, ‘Ma’s ‘merriment’ in Slater’s novel *Once a jolly swagman* (Slater 1944: 7) could be Auntie

always ‘on the boil’, as we say, meaning about to start bubbling
at any minute ... such a tigress of energy, with gentle eyes.

An Auntie who is also paradoxical, who can in 1.2 reprimand Balstrode (*Grimes* 1979: 15, lines 20-24) but also enquire about Peter’s safety (*Grimes* 1979: 15, line 11) and who never sides with the community against Peter. Potentially all about the

problems of the principals and a vindictive community, *Grimes* needed some leavening of comedy such as the Nieces' fright at the storm in 1.2 (*Grimes* 1979: 15, lines 10-15) and in 3.1 Swallow's philandering (*Grimes* 1979: 34, lines 1-18; 35, lines 1-23) and Slater provided it.

§2. Slater & Crabbe

Slater is closest to Crabbe in his sense of the elegiac. In Crabbe it is there in the routine of the opening and close of the opera. In Slater it is developed in a poem like *Elegy* dated 1931, published by Rattenbury 1976 in 10 stanzas (123-5). In Slater's papers at the University of Nottingham Manuscripts & Special Collections (TwT/1/1/19/1-26) it exists in nine versions from as little as 3 (incomplete) to 25 stanzas. Here is the sense of enduring alongside an active natural environment

Our little lives, our chapels and our hymns,	21
mining and fishing – apostolic round –	
a tidal river governed with its whims	
neap tides renew but spring tides leap the bounds.	24

Another characteristic of Slater can also be illustrated here: his willingness to revise his work. Line 24 began as the more passive and literary 'neap glooms and equinoctial joys abound' and Slater came to the most active 'leap' via 'break' and 'broke'.

§3. Grimes: previews & afterviews

§3.1 Women's Chorus (from *Towards Tomorrow*)

Extracts (my selection) (from Tw/T/1/1/103/1-2), the whole published in Rattenbury 1976: 126-7

We are women. Is to weep The last privilege we keep? We are women and we bore All the fighters in your war.	
We are women. Shall we keep Women's custom still, and weep?	11 12
We whose sons and lovers were Charred and maimed, disfigured there; We whose lives of empty waiting Losing hope are soured with hatred –	13 16
Shall we forgive with cheeks aglow Hearing a mournful bugle blow? Shall a leader terrorise Us to see through coward's eyes?	17 20
Our bare hands against this terror, Our clear truth against this error, Against his bowing down to death The burning of our flame of life	45 48
Now proclaim the day to gather All the friends of life together Siege the monster in his lair Suffocate the god of war.	49 52
We are women and proclaim This is the accepted time. Nations, people, men and women Children in the glow of morning.	53 56
Make a ring round the aggressor Dispossess the dispossessor Build the warm alliances Of humanity for peace	57 60

The text was part of a Pageant of Co-operation performed at Wembley Stadium on 2 July 1938 with music by Britten which, like the remainder of Slater's text, does not

survive. But as Slater did keep this text it would have been of assistance to him in formulating the quartet at the end of 2.1 featuring Ellen, Auntie and the two Nieces. (*Grimes* 1979: 29, lines 13-18). The tone is similar and there is also some resemblance in phrasing. The opera text is fittingly more personal but there is the same questioning of the role of women and consideration of their strategy to endure the wait while men act foolishly. In the opera the outcome is elegiacally passive, in the pageant one of resistance (17–20) and then positive, non violent action. Throughout Slater uses the vocabulary of war against itself and in the closing stanzas with an evangelistic zeal and momentum. Such is also found in *Grimes* but there, towards the end of 2.1, characterizing the twisted fervour of the community (*Grimes* 1979: 28, lines 28-35). There is an enjoyment, a relish and a resonance in this verse which makes it memorable.

§3.2 Mad Song (deleted from *Grimes*)

This (Tw/T/1/58/1-2) is as published in Rickword 1958: 84

Home? Would you give a comet room
Beneath your eaves and call it home?
This God who made the world and said
Let there be light and darkness made
And breathed a self-degrading love
Into the dust and called it life
This is your God of love — but I
Climb to his heaven to defy.
Here is an eye that sees the plan
For the enfeeblement of man
And a will strong enough to roll
Creation back for a new man's soul.
O I can breathe the naked dawn
And drink the sea to pull God down
Deny his laws, like fire consume
The shame that breathes in all things human.

O would you give a comet room
Between your breasts and call it home?

This is clearly a deranged variation on the 'Great Bear' aria (*Grimes* 1979: 17, lines 32-3; 18, lines 1-13) intended as part of Peter's soliloquy opening 3.2. In its favour, Slater's SD (*Grimes* 1979: 41, SD after line 1) characterizes Peter as demented and this is a genuine mad song rather than the final text which is simply straggling recollections from the past. Against it, it moves away from a poetic contemplation of the mysteries of the natural environment to an attack on God and Christianity and closes with a sexual reference, by implication to Ellen, in a tone not found from Peter elsewhere.

§3.3 Choruses for recycling?

Rattenbury 1976: 130 publishes, with the heading ‘CHORUS (from a Pageant?)’ Slater’s lines beginning ‘O in this spring-tide you would say the sun’ (*Grimes*, 1.1. d211a-h). In Slater’s papers it appears in two carbon typescript copies (TwT1/1/33/1-2). The second reads as Slater’s revised text of the second stanza, d211e-h, the variants to the text below being for d209 ‘Wind-laden, for its murmuring power will blow’ and for d210 ‘Tonight into a storm that calendars’. The first has Slater’s original text

Turn from the tide, the tide that overflows,	d208
wind-laden, first with gentle swell that blows	
Presently to a storm which calendars	
Will boast and marvel at in coming years.	d211

except for d209, which here appears in yet another version, ‘Wind-laden, with a long, slow roll, that blows’. This is Slater celebrating his art in parody in lines which seamlessly follow an adaptation of Crabbe (d200–d207) but are Slater’s own. So, once Britten had deleted them, he felt they might some day be useful elsewhere.

Also among Slater’s papers (TwT1/1/69) is the ‘Great Bear’ aria from 1.2 (*Grimes* 1979: 17, lines 32-3; 18, lines 1-13) found in its final version, including the repetitions of ‘Who’. This suggests it is possible that the revisions, though only found in Britten’s hand in D and Crozier’s in E, were made by Slater. Alternatively, having written the original, Slater may have felt warranted to re-use the revisions should he wish, having agreed to them and published them in N.

Rationale, Principles & Practice of this Edition

This is a critical edition, with introduction and commentary, of the libretto of Montagu Slater and Benjamin Britten's *Peter Grimes*. There is a need for a critical edition because one has not previously been published although there is a wealth of source material and many variant readings. More significantly, study of the material reveals Britten's own working procedures and input to the text and its development as well as composing the music. While Slater was commissioned to produce the libretto, many of its lines and stage directions were added or modified by Britten and there were also modifications by the opera's producer, Eric Crozier and, in the final scene, by the poet Ronald Duncan. The purpose of this edition is to offer a definitive text which provides the fullest textual information for performance, records, explains and corrects errors and clarifies Slater's, Britten's and Crozier's contributions.

As is frequent editorial practice, for example the Arden Shakespeare (where there are not substantially differing texts) or the Clarendon edition of the Brontës, the definitive text presented is an amalgam of the best readings from the sources available. 'Best readings' is inevitably the subjective judgement of an editor who has carefully surveyed the variants in the context of the whole work and selects those considered most expressive of the creator's intentions. That there are two creators here, Slater and Britten, engaged in a process of refinement over an extended period, makes the analysis more complex but also fascinating.

A comprehensive analysis of the text of *Peter Grimes* entails scrutiny of a variety of documents. For ease of reference these are listed and described in the bibliography (Appendix G §1). These may be broadly classified as pre-first performance, first performance and post first performance documents. The pre-first performance documents are the various typescript, manuscript or dyeline drafts with manuscript alterations (texts A-IK). The first performance documents are the first published editions of libretto text and full and vocal scores (texts JLMP). The post performance documents are the subsequent editions of the libretto, full and vocal scores (texts NQRTUV) plus the sound recording conducted by Britten in 1958 (O) and the video recording conducted by Britten in 1969 (S), as these present and fix at their respective dates the text he approved.

I present a definitive text from the sources available. The many sources include the purely literary and literary and music sources and there was a long gestation period which was itself partly the outcome of the different approach of Slater and Britten. The sources chart the evolution of the work. For Slater this concluded when he published his own edition in 1946 (N). Britten, however, was happy to make alterations to aid performance in 1958 (O), some of which were incorporated into the 'new corrected edition' of the libretto in 1979 (U) as were corrections made in the study score whose latest revision dates from 1973 (T). This evolution reduces the differences between the published libretti and published music scores but they still remained markedly different with regard to stage directions and repetition of text.

From his composition draft (F) Britten seems to have relied, perhaps with assistance, on his own sense of practical stagecraft to detail the action by creating his own stage directions. Slater's directions differ in that they tend to be also concerned with outlining the attitude and mood of the characters involved. Britten's directions are therefore important in clarifying stage movement, Slater's in suggesting characterization. As editor I combine these directions (*e.g.* 3.1 note ²) to present the valuable information of both to create the richest version for consideration in the presentation of a performance.

With regard to repetition of text, Slater is sensitive to, even irritated by, this as he notes in his Preface to his own edition (Slater 1946: 7):

As printed here *Peter Grimes* differs from the libretto as sung, inasmuch as I have omitted some of the repetitions and inversions required by the music — I believe it is a difference between the musical and the literary form that one welcomes, and the other avoids repetition.

Slater highlights the distinction between the poet and the opera composer. The poet, and Slater sees himself as poet rather than librettist, sees the text as dense and concentrated. The opera composer sees the text as material to be redefined within the dramatic context of a musical setting and part of that redefinition is seizing on portions of the text and repeating them, sometimes repeating small portions several times. This is also a notable, it might be said prodigal, feature of Britten's setting of text. Examples may readily be found in other Britten operas. For instance, in Act 1 of *Albert Herring*, 'On the First of May' is sung by Lady Billows, dovetailed and then joined by Florence, culminating in a quintet singing 'on the First of, on the First of, on the First of, First of, First of May' with Superintendant Budd beneath

repeating ‘Er-humph’ four times (vocal score, 1948: 73-79). At the end of Act 1 of *The turn of the screw* Miles sings ‘You see I am bad, I am bad, aren’t I, I am bad, I am bad, aren’t I?’ (vocal score, 1955: 102). As editor I began with the principle that such repetitions should be explicated, even in the presentation of text alone, because that is how the composer chose the text to be received, with selective repetition and therefore reinforcement. As I worked on the music sources it became clear that a more complex process of composition ought also to be explicated: the layering or tiering of text. One character or section of the chorus will enter with the same text or a different one before another has finished delivering their text. There are also periods when more than one text is sung at the same time. I have tried to clarify all this. At least what is clear is the large amount of text repeated and the different ways in which it is presented: individually or joining another text or texts as part of a community free-for-all. It is also arguable that some of Britten’s layering is too ambitious to allow clear presentation of the text. The intended effect is rather to portray a restless, fractious community and to rely on sheer repetition to get the text across. A somewhat negative version of such a critique was expressed by E.J. Dent in 1950 (see *Letters*, vol. 2: 1264-5).

With regard to characterization, the music scores offer further helpful guidelines in performance indicators, specific markings Britten has added at certain points. These are mostly in Italian so I have translated them into English and added them, in effect as an enhancing stage direction. Occasionally I have done the same with indications of dynamic, how loudly or softly the lines are presented, particularly when this shows the variety with which a repetition of text is made.

For copy text I use Text U as it is the final corrected version which makes some attempt to co-ordinate the practice of the libretto text and music score. However, on many occasions other readings are preferred, as noted in the critical apparatus (crit. app.) and/or notes on the text. Purely literary texts are identified by ✍, music scores, which are of course also sources for the words sung, by ♪. Punctuation tends to be loosely applied, reflecting that of the draft texts, but again U is used as copy text except where other readings are preferred, as noted. The growth of the use of exclamation marks is apparent from very little use in Slater's drafts to additions by Crozier in E, regular use in Britten's manuscripts (FG) to extensive use in the later ♪. In this case I have followed Britten's manuscripts. All departures from the copy text are clarified in the crit. app. below the text of every page so that it is always apparent where this edition differs from it. The sole exception to this is repetition of text in the music setting which is shown in the text by ♪ which denotes that this line is of text repeated. If only part of the line is repeated, this is indicated by a broken underline, e.g. '♪ Each one's at his' (2.1.217). In the crit. app. the sources are named where distinctive, or grouped where the distinction is between ✍ and ♪. In layout I have broadly followed U save that I have consistently centred stage directions which is the practice of the earlier printed libretti.

As U is the copy text, readings and SDs {stage directions} in U but not in other sources, e.g. the SD '(shouts)' in the Prologue (0.1) are not specially identified though variants in the wording of the SDs between ✍ and ♪ and SDs in ♪ alone are identified. Where there are extended passages of text revised (e.g. 2.1.1–8) the original versions are spaced out in the crit. app. for ease of comparison with the final

ones. Smaller revisions are featured in the crit. app. and/or notes, the latter being preferred if they are not entirely straightforward and comment is desirable.

In the crit. app. words added to a text are placed within square brackets [], words deleted from a text within angled brackets < >, editorial comments within curled brackets { }. A plus sign + indicates additional texts with the same reading. An asterisk * identifies an editorial addition. A tilde ~ indicates the same word as that previously cited. A caret ^ indicates absence of punctuation. 'IW' signifies an illegible word, usually one which has been deleted in a draft or scenario. {m} denotes a majority reading among a number of and/or ♪ to avoid listing insignificant variants; with the same purpose {sv} denotes small variants, usually in SDs. Some standardization, following majority practice, is undertaken to avoid listing other common variants: Ned is preferred to Keene, Mrs. Sedley to Mrs Nabob and Auntie's pub always appears as "The Boar". The abbreviation SP signifies a Speech Prefix, *i.e.* character identification.

Superscript numerals ^{1 etc.} draw the reader's attention to a note whose subject is identified below the crit. app. The notes themselves are in a separate sequence. Words in the text which might be unfamiliar are glossed. ° indicates a gloss which appears immediately below the text. Unless otherwise stated I have taken the gloss from the online version of the *Oxford English Dictionary*. Sigla indicate alterations to the text which are clarified in the crit. app. and sometimes further by a note. ✓ identifies an addition to the text at this point, if only part of a line this is indicated by a broken underline, × a deletion from the text, ® that this text has been revised, ●

that this text has been rewritten. ◀ indicates that the text has been reallocated to another character, ↻ that the text has been relocated.

Some sigla relate specifically to performance and the structure of the music. ♦ flags a performance indicator in ♪ which has been editorially translated into English (there are also some performance indicators in English). ■ identifies music indicators present in early ⚡ and ◇ performance indicators present in early ♪ but not in printed editions. These are Britten's initial structuring of the scenes and indications of the way certain passages should be delivered, sometimes by Britten and sometimes by Reginald Goodall, the conductor of the early performances.

Often texts are begun by different parts of the chorus while another part is still singing, or a character interrupts another. Such tiered presentation is usually indicated by a rising plain arrow ↑ at the point of entry, or a barred arrow ‡ if that entry dovetails the other voice(s). When, because of the layout of the text, it is not possible to do this a rising bold arrow ↑ is placed at the right of the point of entry underlined in a specific style so that the text joined, underlined in the same way, may readily be identified. A falling bold arrow ↓ is placed to the right of the text joined. When texts are sung simultaneously and it is convenient to indicate where more than one text is joined this is indicated by the use of more than one arrow.

In my notes designation of pitch is based on the Helmholtz system as tabulated and used in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2nd edn., 2001, xix, 806:

c^i denotes middle C, c^{ii} the C an octave above that (*i.e.* medium range soprano C), c^{iii} the C an octave above that (*i.e.* soprano top C); c denotes the C below middle C (*i.e.* medium range bass C), C denotes the C below that (*i.e.* bass bottom C).

I make a distinction in editing between full texts and draft texts. For the full texts I follow the copy text, enhancing it where possible and desirable from other sources clarified in the crit. app. and/or notes. I define draft texts as those which only present, or survive as, part of the opera and are therefore working, rather than complete documents. These are for convenience defined above (Appendix G §1) as texts A and B. In the case of these drafts the text I present is the earliest full version (text A for the Prologue, text B otherwise) with modifications indicated in the crit. app. in order that the earliest version may readily be compared with the final text. In terms of layout (spacing of beginning of lines, punctuation or the lack of it) the text is presented as closely as possible to the original, except that for ease of differentiation stage directions are centred. ÷ ÷ ÷ indicates where lines are missing from a draft text which survives incomplete.

Other, quite separate ‘drafts’ are the scenarios A to E and cast list. As these are texts which were only revised in the course of their preparation, I present the final version but clarify the revision and sometimes restore the original where this makes the text itself clearer.

The abbreviation ‘BPF’ denotes material at the Britten-Pears Foundation.

Introduction to Prolegomena (Slater's Introduction & Synopsis, Characters, Instrumentation & Duration)

There are two sources. Firstly, the passages from George Crabbe's *The Borough* which are quoted in the introduction are cited in the critical apparatus. Secondly, references to Montagu Slater's text of *Peter Grimes* which occur in both introduction and synopsis are discussed in the notes.

For Slater's Introduction & Synopsis (p. 132-5 of this document) there is no draft text extant and may never have been one. The text first appears in source J and thereafter, unchanged, in sources Q and U. I have added as an Appendix (p. 136) the different text Slater used as his Preface to his edition of *Peter Grimes*, source N.

For the Characters (p. 137) the earliest extant version is the 'Cast' on a separate sheet (*GB-Alb 2-9401386*), probably from the time of the Scenarios (1942?) and includes differences in designated voice type from the final text and characters found in the draft texts sources A and B which are deleted from the list: I identify this in the crit. app. as AA. The final version first appears in C but I have enriched this with Britten's annotations with reference to character of voice in D and E.

Instrumentation and Duration (p. 138) only appear in the later ♪. Instrumentation first appears in M termed Orchestration (as also in R). Duration first appears in P: source S was used as the basis of the approximate timings.

The Introduction & Synopsis text is presented as it appears, including the quotations in small font size, except that, for the convenience of adding line numbers, I have not reproduced it in justified form. I have added a title. Authorship

is only given in source U. Lines 1–69 are the Introduction to the opera and refer largely to its derivation in Crabbe. Lines 70–128 present the synopsis, lines 129–39 offer a closing note on the form of the text and the historical setting of the opera.

The text is somewhat curious as it features an uneasy blurring of Crabbe's original and Slater's version. While discussing Crabbe's *Borough* in the Introduction Slater uses names from his *Grimes* without indicating this, nor does he clarify his different treatment of characters. Both discrepancies I outline in my notes.

The text in my added 'Second Introduction' is that portion dealing with *Peter Grimes*, the major part of Slater's *Preface to Peter Grimes and other poems*. This only briefly treats Crabbe (lines a1–a4). Slater then turns, one senses with a little irritation, to the change wrought to his text by Britten incorporating repetition (a5–a10). He considers this more positively in Crozier 1945:19, stating 'here and there the composer will drop half a line or repeat one and temporarily break up the half-rhyme scheme, producing an even more conversational effect.' Even in the present text he is upbeat about the potential for collaboration between poet and composer (a10–a14). Finally Slater produces his fullest statement on verse form and rhyme styles (a15–a23). Some of this is tendentious. For instance, in Peter's aria in 2.2 (*Grimes* 1979: 31, lines 3-14), he uses a five-stress line in a relaxed, dreamy rather than rotund, fashion (a17–a19 notwithstanding). Why does for conversational rhythm a 4-stressed line demand rhyming couplets? (a20). Consider Slater's practice in 1.1 at (*Grimes* 1979: 9, lines 30-31).

Introduction to 0 (Prologue)

§1. Sources & responses

§1.1 Crabbe's *The Borough*

This is Crabbe's text:

One day such Draughts the cruel Fisher made,
 He could not vend them in his Borough-Trade,
 But sail'd for London-Mart: the Boy was ill, 140
 But ever humbled to his Master's will;
 And on the River, where they smoothly sail'd,
 He strove with terror and awhile prevail'd;
 But new to Danger on the angry Sea,
 He clung affrighted to his Master's knee: 145
 The Boat grew leaky and the Wind was strong,
 Rough was the Passage and the Time was long;
 His Liquor fail'd, and *Peter's* Wrath arose, ...:
 No more is known -- the rest we must suppose,
 Or learn of *Peter*; -- '*Peter*,' says he, 'spied 150
 The Stripling's danger and for Harbour tried;
 Meantime the Fish and then th'Apprentice died.'

The pitying Women rais'd a Clamour round,
 And weeping said, 'Thou hast thy 'Prentice drown'd.'

Now the stern Man was summon'd to the Hall, 155
 To tell his Tale before the Burghers all:
 He gave th'Account; profess'd, the Lad he lov'd,
 And kept his brazen Features all unmov'd.
 The Mayor himself with tone severe replied,
 'Henceforth with thee shall never Boy abide; 160
 Hire thee a Freeman, whom thou durst not beat,
 But who, in thy despite, will sleep and eat:
 Free thou art now! --again shouldst thou appear,
 Thou'lt find thy Sentence, like thy Soul, severe.'

(All quotations from Crabbe (1988): *Borough*, XXII, 138–164)

Given that the Prologue was to be, as stated in Scenario D (see §1.2), the Magistrate Scene, this passage provides all the information required by Slater and more besides. It is not self-sufficient: it refers back to Crabbe's earlier accounts of Peter Grimes's cruelty directly (138, 161–2). Then indirectly it points a finger of suspicion (148–9) followed by the accusation of the townswomen (153–4). Crabbe's

use of ‘Liquor’ (148) is double-edged: it originally meant any liquid and therefore in this context water (*OED* n.1), but even in Crabbe’s time it usually meant a drink produced by fermentation or distillation (*OED* n.3a), which is the likeliest cause of Peter’s angry reaction. So again Crabbe is referring back, this time to his accounts of Peter’s drunkenness.

§1.2 The Scenarios (Appendix A)

The Prologue of Scenario C is highly structured:

- No. 1. Ellen & Old Grimes waiting
- No. 2. Enter Peter, drunk, is rude to Grimes, rebuked by Ellen,
Old Grimes asks for silence
- No. 3. Grimes’ last speech & death
- No. 4. Duet (Peter maudlin, Ellen strong & loving)

This text by Pears follows Crabbe in the unregenerate nature of Peter. Gradually through revision Britten and Slater allowed Peter to be viewed ambiguously but Pears’s No. 4 survives. The words of the duet (*Grimes* 1979: 5, from line 1 to the end of the scene) were inserted by Britten in source D and emended slightly by Crozier in source E, establishing the final text. Ellen’s words are optimistic and, in that sense, strong and loving. Peter’s words cannot be termed maudlin and this would not be appropriate for he is not drunk, but they are anguished, despairing yet defiant. They are consistent with his analysis of the situation and heroic offer to stand trial noted below.

In Scenario D Britten’s text pulls no punches about Peter’s guilt: he has ‘done away with’ John (3) but is ‘let off with a warning’ (4). Pears’s text has Peter ‘exultant’ (39) about his acquittal. Slater follows neither of these in his draft or final text. We are left open minded regarding Peter’s guilt and this inquest acquittal is insufficient for him: he would prefer to stand trial to put an end to rumours about his

guilt (*Grimes* 1979: 4, lines 31-34), fermenting in the community even as he states this (*Grimes* 1979: 4, lines 35-8).

§2. Text evolution

§2.1 Draft

Unusually, two drafts of the Prologue survive. The first, source A, I reproduce in Appendix B as the draft. The second, source B, is close to sources C onwards and can therefore be considered with the final text. The draft is markedly different from the final text. It features a number of characters whose evidence in the inquest helps to introduce them but takes the spotlight away from its proper place, Peter Grimes himself. There are four characters who did not survive in the final text: May Sanders, Dick Sanders, James Hart and Swallow Junior, the latter being Swallow the Coroner's son and appearing on Peter's behalf. This provides scope for cross examination (d45–d47, d65–d72) and helpful questioning for Peter (d99–d101) not in the final text. There is also some discussion of Peter's harsh treatment of his apprentice. A range of views is represented (d27–d77) but the topic is removed from source B onwards. This is consistent with Slater and Britten's remodelling of Peter as ambiguously villain and victim. It gives him a clean slate at the start, albeit undermined by some loose ends in the final text (see 0 notes ^{48, 49}).

§2.2 Text

The inquest now begins with Peter's evidence and throughout the spotlight is appropriately on him, the other characters briefly introduced in that context and not allowed to become a distraction. Unlike the draft as written by Slater, the room has become crowded with the wider community when Britten added lines for the chorus.

Their muttering creates a discontented backdrop to the proceedings (*Grimes* 1979: 3, lines 23-4, 28-9; 4, lines 15-16) and to Peter's answer to the Coroner's verdict and offer to stand trial (*Grimes* 1979: 4, lines 35-8), another new feature. Also new is the 'love duet' between Ellen and Peter which closes the Prologue (*Grimes* 1979: 5, lines 1-30), added by Britten in source D and modified by Crozier in source E.

§3. Scene structure & presentation

§3.1 Musical and dramatic structure

The plot development and performance issues of the scene are (my headings):

1. The inquest evidence and the Coroner's verdict (*Grimes* 1979: 2, line 1 to 4, line 14)
2. The community's and Peter's discontent, Peter's offer to stand trial (*Grimes* 1979: 4, lines 15-39)
3. Ellen's offer of help, Peter's reluctance to involve her but grateful acceptance (*Grimes* 1979: 5, lines 1-30).

Coroner Swallow is simply concerned with proper process. This involves some intimidation on his part to uphold his authority and see if he can get a confession of guilt from Peter. When he cannot he has insufficient evidence to pronounce any other verdict than accidental death (*Grimes* 1979: 4, line 13). The community is seething with belief in Peter's guilt. Peter questions the practicality (*Grimes* 1979: 4, lines 18-19) of Swallow's advice (*Grimes* 1979: 4, lines 10-12). Swallow offers further, more practical advice (*Grimes* 1979: 4, line 20) which Peter considers in the longer term after his chief wish to clear his name (*Grimes* 1979: 4, lines 21, 23) which he then valiantly defends against the community's protests (*Grimes* 1979: 4, lines 27-38).

In source C Britten describes the closing section as "a short love duet – tentative at first and then warming". It provides a moving, refracted model of a love

duet between an opera's hero and heroine, possibly recalling 'O soave fanciulla', that between Mimì and Rodolfo at the end of Act 1 of Puccini's *La bohème* which Britten saw the Sadler's Wells Opera company perform in the 1942-3 season. As the opera begins it sets an optimistic agenda of potential redemption. It gives the audience, as well as Ellen and Grimes, expectations which are sadly unfulfilled as *Grimes* 1979: 5, lines 25-30 is the only time they actually sing together in accord in duet.

§3.2 Presentation of characters

In the 3 sections I have identified the characters appearing and number of lines they have {# indicating shared lines} are, in descending order:

1. Swallow (48), Chorus (34), Peter (15), Hobson (6), Ellen (1), Mrs. Sedley (1)
2. Chorus (43), Peter (19), Hobson (5), Swallow (4)
3. Peter (20, 4#{shared}), Ellen (16, 4#)

In total: Chorus (77), Peter (54, 4#), Swallow (52), Ellen (17, 4#), Hobson (11), Mrs. Sedley (1)

Though their text is repetitive and its delivery generally soft and though they are not formally part of the proceedings, this deceptively bystander Greek tragedy style Chorus has more statement in them than Peter, who already battles against them. This is mollified somewhat by Ellen's declaration of support at the end, unfazed by Peter's considerate objections.

§4. The set

The major requirements are a dais with a table at which Swallow the Coroner sits and a witness box from which Peter gives his evidence. Potential witnesses are close by. A large crowd clusters around and the feeling conveyed should be that of Peter

being hemmed in by the community (see photograph of original production, Banks 2000: plate 22A). Eric Crozier comments:

It is advisable to keep the general lighting of the scene as dim as possible, to suggest a low-ceilinged room, with the townsfolk clustering around the walls in half-darkness ... In most theatres the Prologue scene will be set inside the big main set.

(Notes on the Production of Benjamin Britten's 'Peter Grimes', Banks 2000: 9).

A photograph of Kenneth Green's set-model is in Banks 2000: plate 21A. The photograph of the original set (Appendix E, Figure 1) is virtually identical except that the light shines on Swallow and his desk and there is a stool and chair to its right, presumably for the clerk and Hobson. The dock is another key feature, to the left of the large window downstage centre left. In the photograph Peter Pears is seen about to go out through the door on the right, with Joan Cross on the far left, in their far apart positions at the beginning of the duet.

Introduction to 1.1

§1. Sources & responses

§1.1 Crabbe's *The Borough*

§1.1.1 The Borough referenced

In the final text there are three direct references to Crabbe's text and a further direct reference in the draft. The opening Chorus of Fishermen and Women (*Grimes* 1979: 6, lines 1-4) is an adaptation of:

Where hang at open doors, the Net and Cork,
While squalid Sea-Dames mend the meshy work;
Till comes the hour, when fishing through the tide,
The weary Husband throws his Freight aside;

(Borough, I, 19–22)

The adaptation is partly to make the text more immediately understandable when heard sung rather than read. It also provides a more active gloss, appropriate to a chorus engaged in these activities on stage and brings an element of hope after the drudgery. Thus Crabbe's passive 'Where hang' becomes Slater's active 'Oh hang' (1), the toil of 'mend the meshy work' becomes the neutral professionalism of 'at their mending work' (2), the sense of inured endurance of 'Till comes the hour' becomes the optimism of 'Welcome the hour' (3). It would seem that Slater recognizes what Forster (1941 in Brett 1983: 3) termed the 'melancholy' of Crabbe's verse and attempts to mitigate this somewhat at the beginning of the opera.

The Chorus of Fishermen (*Grimes* 1979: 6, lines 5-8) is an adaptation of:

He, cold and wet, and driving with the Tide,
Beats his weak arms against his tarry side,
Then drains the remnant of diluted gin,
To aid the warmth that languishes within;

(Borough, I, 55–58)

Crabbe's original refers to a single dredger and gives a more active picture of labour than the final text, as the man is harnessing, 'driving with' rather than 'driven by', the tide. That hard activity makes his arms 'weak' rather than merely 'tired'. The dredger carries his own drink which he has, perhaps for economy, safety, or both, diluted. He does frequent the pub but not until the evening. Auntie, on the other hand, opens her doors in the morning (*Grimes* 1979: 6, line 10) which she could do before opening hours were restricted by The Intoxicating Liquor (Licensing) Bill of 1872 and, in Slater's original (1.1. note 6), the potency of her gin is questioned. Crabbe's following lines (neither quoted nor adapted) offer more detail on the dredger's beating and the reason for it:

Renewing oft his poor attempts to beat
His tingling fingers into gathering heat.

(*Borough*, I, 59–60)

Crabbe presents an intimate, internal picture of what it is like to be a dredger on the Suffolk coast. Slater offers a more distant salutation from fishermen considering their lot in general.

The Women's Chorus (*Grimes* 1979: 7, lines 1-4) is an almost verbatim quotation of:

Dabbling on shore half-naked Sea-boys crowd,
Swim round a Ship, or swing upon the Shrowd:
Or in a Boat purloin'd, with Paddles play,
And grow familiar with the Watery Way:

(*Borough*, I, 87–90)

Crabbe's text, 'the Shrowd' (I, 88), is retained in the earliest extant source (B) but thereafter changed to 'a shroud', probably to clarify that individual boys are

swinging on individual ropes, as ‘shroud’ can refer to a set of ropes (*OED* n.2.1b) or an individual one (*OED* n.2.1c).

§1.1.2 References to The Borough deleted

In the draft (d20–d23) Slater originally included an adaptation of Crabbe’s description of ships in dock, the immediate context being one of activities in the Borough’s quay:

Near these a Crew amphibious in the Docks,
Rear, for the Sea, those Castles on the Stocks:
See! The long Keel, which soon the Waves must hide,
See! The strong Ribs which form the roomy Side,

(Borough, I, 79–82)

Slater’s version (d20–d21) begins by setting the context more directly. He then quotes the second couplet verbatim. Unlike the previously adapted quotations (§1.1.1), this quatrain is more abstract, not immediately concerned with action, and so Britten’s deletion seems appropriate.

In the draft (d200–d207) Slater also originally included an adaptation of Crabbe’s musings on the difficulty of depicting the sea:

Turn to the Watery World! — but who to thee
(A wonder yet unview’d) shall paint — the Sea?
Various and vast, sublime in all its forms,
When lull’d by Zephyrs, or when rous’d by Storms,

Its colours changing, when from Clouds and Sun
Shades after shades upon the surface run;
Embrown’d and horrid now, and now serene,
In limpid blue, and evanescent green;

(Borough, I, 163–70)

Slater made a few simplifications. Crabbe’s ‘Zephyrs’ (I, 166) become ‘breezes’ (d204). Crabbe’s ‘Shades after shades’ (168) become ‘Shade after shade’ (d205),

rather more poetically smooth and removing some awkward sibilants when singing but also more abstract and less dramatic. Crabbe's 'horrid' (169) Slater revised to 'fearful' (d206). Crabbe's 'evanescent' (170) becomes 'ever-changing' (d207). This latter replacement has more action, momentum and drama, and is more suited to the growing tension of the scene. One can see why this passage might have been originally an inspiration, but also, given how general and abstract it is, how Britten thought it redundant and deleted it (see draft notes ⁷⁹).

§1.1.3 Apprenticeship: The Borough ignored

Crabbe is explicit on the nature of the apprenticeship of orphans:

Peter had heard there were in London then, –
 Still have they being? – Workhouse-clearing Men,
 Who, undisturb'd by Feelings just or kind,
 Would Parish-Boys to needy Tradesmen bind:
 They in their want a trifling Sum would take,
 And toiling Slaves of piteous Orphans make.

Such *Peter* sought, and when a Lad was found,
 The Sum was dealt him and the Slave was bound.

(*Borough*, XXII, 59–66)

Knowing this, Britten and Slater choose to reverse the financial element of this procedure and therefore misrepresent it: Peter pays for an apprentice rather than being paid to engage one. In the Prologue (*Grimes* 1979: 4, line 18) he refers to hiring an apprentice which implies payment for services. The actual system, termed the 'pauper premium', was a convenient way for parishes to offload orphans for a single payment of probably around £5 in the 1830s rather than have ongoing maintenance payments to make (Lane 1996: 84). It was reprehensible in that no checks seem generally to have been made on the nature and adequacy of training provided by the 'master' or the provision made for the welfare of the apprentice. But in principle it

embodied an element which Britten and Slater's hiring did not: that having been paid to take on an apprentice the 'master' had a moral responsibility to instruct and care for him. Peter is absolved from this. Having hired him, John is no more than a chattel (*Grimes* 1979: 23, line 25). Crabbe inveighs against the actual system and its outcome. In Britten and Slater's version the link with slavery, toned down (see 1.1 note ⁵⁴) is put in a rather abstract manner by Boles (*Grimes* 1979: 9, lines 8-10), a ranter who is habitually ignored by the community.

§1.2 Crabbe's *The Parish Register*

This is not quoted directly. Pencil marks were made in Peter Pears's copy of Crabbe's complete poems (Crabbe 1851: *The Poetical Works*) against significant passages. Brett (1983: *Peter Grimes*, 53-56) has outlined these with regard to *The Borough* and their influence on the opera but marks made in *The Parish Register* have not been discussed. The following passage describes a professional attitude to storms:

The *Miller* cannot be the Sailor's foe;
Both live by Heaven's free gale that plays aloud
In the stretch'd canvass and the piping shroud;
The rush of winds, the flapping sails above,
And rattling planks within, are sounds *we* love;
Calms are our dread; when Tempests plough the Deep,
We take a Reef, and to the rocking, sleep.

(*Parish Register*, Part I, 322-8)

Here in Crabbe's poem is excitement at the sound and drama of a storm, acknowledgement of natural forces of great energy and that those familiar with them find them exhilarating. Balstrode shows these characteristics from the first suggestion of a storm (*Grimes* 1979: 7, lines 12-14), and makes the first sighting of the storm-cone and its effect (*Grimes* 1979: 10, lines 31-4). As it fast approaches only

Balstrode and Peter stay outside to face it (*Grimes* 1979: 11, from line 26). But in their final exchange the response of the two professionals - retired merchant captain and fisherman - diverge, Balstrode going indoors, Peter staying outside (*Grimes* 1979: 9, lines 30-31). Balstrode is prudent, Peter stubborn, foolhardy and courageous. Peter has the closer affinity with the storm as its articulation reflects his intrinsic mixture of passions and allows some release to his resultant frustration.

§1.3 The Scenarios

In Britten's Scenario A the everyday work, greetings and banter which are a feature of the opening section in the final text are not developed but what is first striking (5–6) is the anxiety at an imminent storm. A 'character' (6) alerts the community to danger (cf. Balstrode, *Grimes* 1979: 7, lines 12-14). Ellen considers the sea is the root of all ills, in particular the wayward behaviour of Peter after the death of his apprentice (8–10). In her 1.1 aria (*Grimes* 1979: 9, lines 35-6; 10, lines 1-10), there is no such attempt to excuse Peter: rather Ellen focuses on the lack of perfection in all and the need for compassion. Significantly in this Scenario Ellen also states what in the opera remains the subtext: 'Grimes was innocent; misunderstood' (9).

In Scenario B Pears delineates the mood of the opening: calm sea and neutral community (10). But his chief focus is on character. Peter is linked with the untamed and illimitable nature of the sea as distinct from Ellen's peacemaking and discipline (3–4). But Ellen's peacemaking requires assertiveness which means that she, like Peter, stands out in opposition to the community (15), as in her aria in the final text (*Grimes* 1979: 9, lines 35-6; 10, lines 1-10). Pears views the storm as a backcloth to this contrast of character.

In Pears's Scenario C the neutral working opening is shattered by a different scheme of happenings to that finally followed. Here Peter enters and announces his apprentice's death, the chorus reacts but Ellen's defends Peter (11–13). As in Scenario B the storm seems simply a backcloth but Pears now adds a scene in which Peter identifies with the sea, in particular as the storm is in progress (17). This suggests the influence of *The Parish Register* passage (cf. §1.2).

In Scenario D Pears's separate input is concerned largely with Peter's entrance as in Scenario C and the community reaction (35–7). Britten deletes this and focuses simply on the community's everyday work and then the approaching storm (41–2). This focus is also found in Britten's separate input (6–9) except that at the end (9) Peter has a monologue about everything. This is the stimulus for his closing soliloquy (*Grimes* 1979: 13, lines 32-9).

§2. Text evolution

§2.1 Draft

Source B, the earliest extant full text, is presented in the Appendix with reference to what survives from source A (d23.1–d71.1). The draft text differs from the final one in three respects. Firstly, it has four characters who were later removed and their lines deleted or reallocated: May Sa(u)nders, Swallow Junior, Polly Boles and Dick Sa(u)nders. Secondly, it gives specific attention to Peter ignoring Swallow's advice not to get another boy apprentice and then employing a stratagem to ignore Swallow's resulting remonstrance (d173–d190). Thirdly, in a closing soliloquy Peter looks to an idealized future with his new apprentice but is haunted by the fate of two former apprentices.

§2.2 Text

The most distinctive feature of the final text in comparison with the draft is the expansion of the section in which the community in some panic prepares for the storm. What in the draft amounts to 29 lines by the final text in my edition has become 155 lines (1.1.163–318), owing to the repetition and fragmentation of text. The fact that Peter ignores Swallow's advice is conveniently forgotten in favour of an extended discourse with Balstrode (*Grimes* 1979: from 11, line 26), who offers advice which Peter rejects. Peter's shorter closing soliloquy (*Grimes* 1979: 13, lines 32-9) now posits an idealized future with Ellen in which any difficulties in the past have been reduced to hazy generalizations.

§3. Scene structure & presentation

§3.1 Musical and dramatic structure

The plot development and performance issues of the scene are:

1. Daily life in the Borough (*Grimes* 1979: 6, line 1 to 8, line 6).
2. Peter's arrival and varying responses (*Grimes* 1979: 8, line 7 to 10, line 30).
3. The Borough braces itself for the storm (*Grimes* 1979: 10, line 31 to 11, line 25).
4. Balstrode and Peter's discourse and its aftermath (*Grimes* 1979: 11, line 26 to 13, line 39).

The generality of work and community relationships in section 1 gives way to specific work and action in section 2. Even Peter's entrance, not until *Grimes* 1979: 8, line 7, is first only in voice: he has 3 lines. He does not appear physically until *Grimes* 1979: 8, after line 24 and then has no lines. This emphasizes his isolation from the community. He neither takes part in section 2's logistics of providing him with an apprentice nor in the community's preparations for the storm in section 3. He seems impervious to both activities and just gets on with cleaning as if this was a

normal day. He does not articulate, his situation and feelings are not revealed until *Grimes* 1979: 12, line 20 in section 4 and the discussion with Balstrode ends in antagonism and a closing soliloquy in which he views only one chance of happiness, with Ellen.

§3.2 Presentation of characters

In the 4 sections I have identified, the characters appearing and the number of lines they have are, in descending order:

1. Chorus (24), Balstrode (7), Auntie (6), Boles (3), Nieces (2), Mrs. Sedley (2), A Fisherman (2), Another Fisherman (1), Rector (1), Swallow (1)
2. Ned (29), Ellen (24), Chorus (15), Hobson (11), Boles (8), Balstrode (6), Mrs. Sedley (6), Auntie (5), Peter (3)
3. Chorus (85), Balstrode (34), Ned (33), Boles (26), Nieces (24), Auntie (22)
4. Peter (71), Balstrode (42).

In total: Chorus (124), Balstrode (89), Peter (74), Ned (62), Boles (37), Auntie (33), Nieces (26), Ellen (24), Hobson (11), Mrs. Sedley (8), A Fisherman (2), Another Fisherman (1), Rector (1), Swallow (1).

Thus it can be seen that the Chorus is the most significant force in this scene owing to its dominance in the longest section (3) and also the opening section. It is surprising that Balstrode is the second most represented character, largely owing to his strong presence in sections 3 and 4. But this accords with his position as a touchstone in the community. Like Peter he is independent but unlike Peter has an active, advising and steering role in relation to the community. Like Peter his influence is largely felt towards the end of the scene but in Peter's case that influence is almost totally weighted in the final section. This both emphasizes his being apart from the community and allows him finally to hold the stage alone at the end of a scene whose focus thus shifts from the Borough to Peter. Ned's strong showing is also perhaps surprising. It is owing to his role in making the

arrangements to bring Peter an apprentice and to bring Mrs. Sedley pills (section 2), backed by a strong presence in section 3. Ellen, on the other hand, seems under-represented in relation to her significance in the story and in particular Peter's aspirations. Her lines are confined to section 2 though her aria there is its climactic point. This means her contribution has a telling impact while at the same time she is isolated from the norm of community activity just as Peter is. For the rest Boles, Auntie and the Nieces show a consistent presence with their clearly differentiated respective specialities of ranter, pragmatic businesswoman and flirts, Hobson makes a brief stand of obstinacy, Mrs. Sedley one of disapproval tempered by need. Her contribution will be developed, as to a small extent will those of the Rector and Swallow, but not Hobson.

§4. The set

The set is detailed in the opening SD. Crozier explicates:

The setting must unite four chief centres of action. (1) The stretch of sloping shore where boats are hauled up above high-water mark, with its capstans, bollards and drying posts for nets. (2) Auntie's pub, 'The Boar'. (3) The Moot Hall, probably the finest building in the town, with steps leading up to its main doors. (4) The Church porch. If stage space allows, Keene's apothecary's shop should also be included as a fifth centre of action.

(Notes on the Production of Benjamin Britten's 'Peter Grimes', Banks 2000: 10).

For Kenneth Green's original design see Banks 2000: plate 5B, his set-model is plate 21B. There is also a photograph of the original production (plate 22B) with some of the townsfolk and principals gathered in front of The Boar, *i.e.* a detail of the right side of the stage. As Crozier's notes suggest, ideally a wide and deep stage is required, but there was also a practical consideration in the first production: this set also serves for 2.1 and 3.1-2. The 'chief centres of action' are kept in view and therefore broadly in mind even though only one or two at a particular point may be

the chief focus. The Boar and the sloping shore and accessories are the points of focus in 1.1 but the Moot Hall exterior is a reminder of the Prologue which took place in its interior. The stage backdrop coupled with stage lighting provides an opportunity for varying sky effects but the sea itself is not in view. The shoreline of the sea is in fact the orchestra pit, appropriately given the orchestra plays the ‘sea interludes’. Ned’s shop is brought into play (*Grimes* 1979: 7, SD after line 18) but the set-model suggests that no more than the left edge of it may need to be in view. It may also be used for the meeting of Ned and Mrs. Sedley (*Grimes* 1979: 10, lines 14-28) but this is not specified in any SD. Indeed the SD immediately before the meeting suggests it was felt tangential to the action.

The presence and use of boats is a particular problem. A boat needs to be on stage because of the SDs at *Grimes* 1979: 6, after line 14 and 7, after line 4, probably a small one. Such is depicted in Green’s stage design (Banks 2000: plate 5B) between The Boar and Ned’s shop. In his set-model (Banks 2000: plate 21B) only the prow shows. This suggests the boat on stage need not be a complete construction. Then Peter brings a second boat (*Grimes* 1979: 8, after line 24) for which he requires assistance. In the notes¹ I have suggested that the stipulation in *ℵ* that two boats be hauled in (*Grimes* 1979: 6, opening SD and 7, after line 4) before Peter’s is unrealistic in terms of stage space. Even the hauling in is problematic as it will most practically be from either wing, which is strictly along the Borough street rather than from the shoreline. To come from there the boat would have to be hauled from either edge of the audience seating and orchestra pit which is difficult.

Introduction to 1.2

§1. Sources & responses

§1.1 Crabbe's *The Borough*

§1.1.1 The Borough referenced

In 1.2 there are no direct references to Crabbe's text. Nevertheless Crabbe's Letter XI, 'Inns' is clearly the source of the name of the pub, the name by which its proprietor is known and the reason for that name. Here is Crabbe's full text regarding *The Boar* :

Shall I pass by the *Boar*? — There are who cry 165
 'Beware the *Boar*,' and pass determin'd by:
 Those dreadful Tusks, those little peering Eyes
 And churning Chaps are tokens to the Wise.
 There dwells a kind old Aunt, and there you see
 Some kind young Nieces in her company; 170
 Poor Village Nieces, whom the tender Dame
 Invites to Town, and gives their Beauty fame;
 The grateful Sisters feel th'important Aid,
 And the good Aunt is flatter'd and repaid.

What though it may some cool Observers strike, 175
 That such fair Sisters should be so unlike;
 That still another and another comes,
 And at the Matron's Table smiles and blooms;
 That all appear as if they meant to stay
 Time undefin'd, nor name a parting Day; 180
 And yet, though all are valued, all are dear,
 Causeless they go, and seldom more appear.

Yet let Suspicion hide her odious Head,
 And Scandal Vengeance from a Burgess dread:
 A pious Friend who with the antient Dame 185
 At sober Cribbage takes an Evening-Game:
 His Cup beside him, through their Play he quaffs,
 And oft renews, and innocently laughs;
 Or growing serious, to the Text resorts,
 And from the Sunday-Sermon makes reports; 190
 While all with grateful Glee, his Wish attend,
 A grave Protector and a powerful Friend:
 But Slander says, who indistinctly sees,
 Once he was caught with *Silvia* on his Knees; —

A cautious Burgess with a careful Wife 195
 To be so caught! — 'tis false, upon my Life.
(Borough, XI, 165–96)

This is an unsavoury text, made the more so by Crabbe's suave, coy manner. Even the pub sign is sinister (167–8), symbolic of a predator in charge. Here is the Aunt (169) and her Nieces (170), though it is soon clear the relationship between them is a purely business one (171–4). Slater only gradually introduces us to this. The Nieces do not appear, at least by specific reference, in the Prologue. They are identified in 1.1. as the reason for the nickname 'Auntie' (Grimes 1979: 7, SD after line 18). In terms of the actual names, however, they remain anonymous, as does Auntie. Their only individual lines in 1.1 are to bid the Rector and Swallow 'Good morning!' (Grimes 1979: 7, lines 20, 24) but this appearance allows Ned to acknowledge Auntie as a fellow entrepreneur (Grimes 1979: 12, line 22) which echoes Crabbe's 174. But it is not until 1.2 that Slater provides a sympathetic character study of the Nieces, (Grimes 1979: 15, SD after line 9) confirming that they are the pub's chief attraction but ambiguous about their actual relationship. This is Slater's muted version of Crabbe's 175–6. Balstrode opens up this can of worms with his suggestion that they are not genuine relations (Grimes 1979: 15, line 20) which is the provocation for Auntie's immediate *arioso* of rebuke.

On the other hand the situation set out by Slater is different from Crabbe's. To start the designation 'Auntie' is the 'familiar, endearing form' (*OED*) of Aunt which is first recorded in the late 18th century. The term 'aunt' itself is double-edged. The *OED* points out it can mean, in dialect use by the late 19th century, 'a term of familiarity or respect applied to elderly women not necessarily implying relationship' (*OED* 1b). In the cast list in E Auntie's age is given as 50, the same as Mrs. Sedley. But in the 17th century 'aunt' also meant 'a bawd or procuress' (*OED*

3) and Crabbe's Aunt is clearly running a full-scale brothel (177-8), a kind of apprenticeship for females parallel to that of boys to fishermen. Its apprentices also disappear under mysterious circumstances (179–82). Slater's Auntie, on the other hand, only has two 'nieces' and their employment seems reasonably secure. Nevertheless there are strong hints in Slater of the scenario Crabbe depicts later (183–96). Swallow fits the role of 'A grave Protector and a powerful friend' (192) in the way he propositions the First Niece in 3.1 (*Grimes* 1979: 34, line 1 to 35, line 23) but in this section opening the scene the Nieces outwit Swallow and it is apparent from their outlined strategy that they can continue to do so. It is ambiguous, but possible, that Swallow, Ned and, in the revised version of the text, Boles are single men which makes their flirting less culpable than with Crabbe's dignitary.

The Boar was not the natural choice of pub according to Crabbe's classification. 'Houses on the Quays for Sailors' (Crabbe 1988, i, p.462) would be more appropriate, among which is *The Green Man* and its landlord James, as featured in Slater's draft of 1.1. *The Boar* seems to have been the final choice because of its Aunt and Nieces, a practical consideration in opera in that it would allow for the featuring of more female roles in what would otherwise be a male dominated cast. Two more lines from Crabbe influenced the set design of the original production (cf. §4.2 below). They refer to another sailors' pub, *The Anchor* :

In small smok'd Room, all Clamour, Crowd, and Noise;
Where a curv'd Settle half surrounds the Fire,

(*Borough*, XI, 214–15)

§1.2 The Scenarios

In Britten's Scenario A some features of the final text are already present. Firstly, the servants, too frightened to sleep, come down from their quarters into the pub (15–16). The Nieces do this in the final version but this Scenario pre-dates their inclusion in the cast as a result of the transfer from Slater's draft of 1.1 from *The Green Man* and landlord James to *The Boar* and landlady Auntie. Secondly, the landlord (as then) suggests a song to calm anxiety about the storm (18). In the final version the round is primarily to calm the atmosphere after Boles's attempted fight with Peter. Thirdly, Peter interrupts the others' songs with his own (19–20) and then aggressive behaviour starts. In the final version Peter disrupts the round but the others soon reintroduce their version which quells Peter's. A feature of this scenario not in the final version is that it is Peter who is drunk. This is as the Peter portrayed by Crabbe.

Taking a step further than Scenario A, in Pears's Scenario B the landlord starts a song to cheer his customers (21), but Peter's song in this scenario is just one verse among the rest, albeit a bleak one (22). This is how Slater treats Peter's contribution in his draft of the scene (1.2.d.155–d158), but in this scenario Peter continues singing when everyone else has left. The interruption here is the firing of a rocket (23). This emphasizes that Peter is a loner and, as in Scenario A, he is drunk. The boy's arrival, rescued from shipwreck, is treated sentimentally by Ellen but allows Peter opportunism: 'Ellen acclaims boy as her child, Grimes (aside) as his apprentice (prey?)' (25–6). This is the Grimes of Crabbe whereas there is no suggestion in Slater's final text that Peter's interest in the apprentice is for anything other than work.

Within the terseness of Pears's Scenario C the stress is on the alarm of the community, the 'confused servants' (21), finally to become the Nieces (cf. Scenario A), first mentioned. In the final version it is they in 1.2 (*Grimes* 1979: 15, from line 10) who revive the hysteria of 1.1 (*Grimes* 1979: 10, from line 31). As in Scenario B the landlord starts a drinking song (23) and Peter comes in and sings his song (24) though it is unclear whether or not it challenges the community singing. As in Scenario B a rocket is fired, everyone goes out except Peter and when people come back it is with the boy (25). Ellen will look after him (26). There is no mention of any thoughts of Peter so it may be considered a less blackguardly Peter is being developed here, especially as there is no mention of him being drunk, or at least since the Prologue of this scenario.

In Scenario D Britten's separate input simply marks out the pub setting, the backdrop of the storm and arrival of Ellen and the boy (10-11). Pears's uncompleted separate input which Britten deletes only notes the setting (40).

§2. Text evolution

§2.1 Draft

Source B, the earliest extant full text, is presented in the Appendix. The draft text differs from the final one in three respects. Firstly, it has two characters who were later removed and their lines deleted or reallocated: May Sanders and Dick Sanders. Secondly, the round is relatively tamely introduced, simply to counterbalance the effect of Peter's entrance and *arioso* (d122). Thirdly, the nature of the round is different: the opening three lines of its quatrain are the same, then

every character has his/her own distinctive line. Peter's is only one of ten such and in no way disrupts the others.

§2.2 Text

As in 1.1 the most distinctive feature of the final text in comparison with the draft is the expansion of its major choral section, here the round. What in the draft amounts to 39 lines (d123–d162) by the final text has become 218 lines (251–469), owing to the repetition and fragmentation of text. Not entirely felicitous, however, was the reallocation of the part of Dick Sanders to Balstrode who originally entered following Ned at *Grimes* 1979: 17, SD after line 8. It means that at the beginning of this scene he acts in the disparaging way of a blunt fisherman, a way he did not act before and does not again. This is tempered by the addition from source C of his moralizing solo (*Grimes* 1979: 16, from line 25). The effectiveness of Peter's 'Great Bear' aria at his entrance (*Grimes* 1979: 17, lines 32–3, 18, lines 1–13), the centrepiece of the scene, was consolidated by revisions (notes ^{66–7}), Slater's addition of a third stanza (*Grimes* 1979: 18, lines 9–13) and Britten's repetition of 'Who' in his setting of line 13.

The round in the draft was originally rather casually suggested by Auntie (d122) following May Sanders and the Nieces' comments on Peter's aria. In the final version it is more convincingly introduced as the defusing of blows traded between Boles and Peter in an element of the scene first added to the draft version (d122a–d122n). As to the round itself, it took five attempts to create a satisfactory one. The problem was as much structural as textual. This is to say that the guidelines of Scenario A, that Peter interrupts the others with his own song (cf. §1.2) were insufficiently followed. For this interruption to be effective it was not possible to

have several other characters having their own distinct contributions as in Slater's draft round (d123–d162) or his light-hearted second version (d162a–d162i). Slater's third version (my edition 1.2.469a-h) properly focuses on Peter's interrupting and its effect. But Peter's text is only of a generalized malign nature whereas the final version brings Peter's specific concern, the death of his former apprentice that haunts him, to the fore. The fourth version, by Britten (my edition 469i-ad), also has Peter being haunted but its community opening is very odd, chiefly designed to allow Peter to tweak 'Winding Street' to 'Winding sheet'.

§3. Scene structure & presentation

§3.1 Musical and dramatic structure

The plot development and performance issues of the scene are:

1. Balstrode on edge: Auntie's response and moral (*Grimes* 1979: 14, line 1 to 16, line 7)
2. Boles on edge: Balstrode's response and moral (*Grimes* 1979: 16, line 8 to 17, line 9)
3. Peter on edge: The Borough's and Boles's response (*Grimes* 1979: 17, line 10 to 18, line 31)
4. Everyone on edge: The round as a response and its aftermath (*Grimes* 1979: 18, line 32 to 20, line 3).

The scene is a continuous study of people on edge because of the storm. As at the approach of the storm in 1.1 Slater tempers this by introducing comic elements. Firstly there is the reference to Mrs. Sedley as one of Ned's women (*Grimes* 1979: 14, line 5) and the whole situation of Mrs. Sedley being in the pub for the first time. More surprisingly there is the manner of Balstrode who begins this scene crudely dismissive of Auntie's management in general and the nieces in particular. The explanation for this lies in the draft: this portion of Balstrode's part originally belonged to the fisherman Dick Sanders. Nevertheless this gives Auntie the

opportunity to put him down roundly, even if Britten writes in source C that her doing so is ‘half angry, half comic’ and his accompaniment to her song (*Grimes* 1979: 15, from line 21) makes this clear. There is, however, a broader strategy: to show that all characters have some flaw. Balstrode’s manner at the beginning of this scene is his.

Balstrode regains his respectability by preventing drunken Boles from fondling the nieces. Then he assumes the moral high ground with his song about living and letting live and folk keeping their hands to themselves (*Grimes* 1979: 16, from line 25) The irony here is Slater’s humour at its best, for in order to live and let live Boles is forced into a chair. I have above divided the scene into 4 parts. This, the second, is structurally an expansion of the first while the third, Peter’s aria and the Borough’s response, is structurally a variant of this second section.

All four sections have a song and ensemble centrepiece. The first section’s ensemble (*Grimes* 1979: 15, from line 26) is a brief refrain. Niece 2 echoing Niece 1, a miniature anticipation of the later round. The nieces sing plaintively, poking fun at Balstrode. At the same time Mrs. Sedley tartly enunciates her disapproval of the place and its occupants (*Grimes* 1979: 15, from line 27). So this first ensemble is one of comic discord. The second section’s ensemble is also a brief refrain: the Borough’s repeating that of Balstrode’s ‘living and letting live’ song (*Grimes* 1979: 17, lines 1-2). Unlike the first ensemble this is one of concord. The chorus in unison is joined in the second repeat of Balstrode’s second strain by everyone in the pub, even Mrs. Sedley and Boles (*Grimes* 1979: 17, lines 7-8). It is, however, a concord infused with irony, because the *laissez-faire* approach is that taken by the Borough community of Crabbe, not that of Slater and Britten in which Boles’s and Peter’s activities are checked by actual force or the threat of it. The song and its singing

bring unanimity and contentment which is curtailed almost as soon as it arrives as this couplet repeat breaks off at the end of its first line when Ned enters.

The third section is structurally a variant of the second in that a song, the longest in the scene, titled 'aria' by Britten, is followed by a chorus, the second most extended in the scene. But this time the chorus is in opposition to the song and constitutes the most elaborated antagonism so far directly expressed by the Borough against Peter. They do not understand his song, the 'Great Bear' aria (*Grimes* 1979: 17, lines 32-3, 18, lines 1-13) which places the storm in a broader context of universal and, in its final two lines, very much individual, suffering, lines which encapsulate the drama's tragedy. Peter is trying to make a fresh start but he is forever stigmatized because of past events. Britten's title 'Ensemble' for the chorus element (*Grimes* 1979: 17, from line 14, but not so titled there) acknowledges its presentation in turn by specific voice parts, with only the nieces among the named characters also involved.

Section 4 is structurally and musically the climax of the scene, a round for all characters on stage (*Grimes* 1979: 18, from line 33)., in my edition with Britten's musical repetitions acknowledged 217 lines long, 45% of the scene. It begins as a four line solo song delivered by Ned. Auntie joins him for his first repeat, other named characters follow with repeats. The chorus enters later and is joined by different named characters for different repetitions. So, as in section 2, there is a sense of the community in accord which this time Peter disrupts with his entry, (*Grimes* 1979: 19, from line 11). He has his own particular version of the round in which he re-enacts returning home with his former apprentice dead. The nautical slang reference to Davy Jones (*Grimes* 1979: 19, line 14) is to the evil influence of the

spirits of the sea, but also alludes to Davy Jones's locker, the grave of those who perish at sea (*OED*). Peter's disruption is fairly soon overpowered. As with his protest to Swallow in the Prologue (*Grimes* 1979: 4, from line 18) his individual perspective is ignored. 1.2 ends with everyone except Ellen scoffing at Peter's home environment (*Grimes* 1979: 20, line 3) and deriding any claim Ellen or Peter might have to normal domesticity.

§3.2 Presentation of characters

In the 4 sections I have identified, the characters appearing and the number of lines they have are, in descending order:

1. Auntie (29), Niece 1 (21), Niece 2 (17), Balstrode (17), Mrs. Sedley (13), Boles (2)
2. Balstrode (21), Boles (9), Auntie (4), A Fisherman (1)
3. Chorus (52, *i.e.* Chorus Basses 13, Chorus Altos 11, Chorus Tenors 11, Chorus Sopranos 9, Full Chorus 8), Peter (18), Ned (13), Nieces (9), Boles (6), Auntie (4), Balstrode (4), Mrs. Sedley (3)
4. Auntie (62), Ned (59), Balstrode (53), Boles (47), Nieces (47), Mrs. Sedley (43), Chorus 35 (of which Chorus Tenors & Basses 4), Peter (14), Ellen (5), Hobson (2)

In total: Auntie (99), Balstrode (95), Chorus (87), Niece 1 (77), Niece 2 (73), Ned (72), Boles (64), Mrs. Sedley (59), Peter (32), Ellen (5), Hobson (2), A Fisherman (1)

Aptly, Auntie has the strongest representation as the scene is set in her pub. Balstrode is the second largest part as befits his role as moral guardian of the Borough, specifically shown here in section 2, though he is silent for a good while when being scolded by Auntie in section 1. The Borough as a mass is firmly represented by the chorus but only gradually as the scene develops. It also has some representation in ensembles which include named characters. The chorus does not enter until line 133 in my edition but the nieces' quite strong showing is owing to their involvement in section 1. Peter's contribution, his central aria and attempt to

break the round, is significant but not large. As in 1.1 his entrance is delayed for dramatic purpose. He does not enter here until after 156 lines in my edition. Ellen's involvement is minimal but it is her entrance that terminates the round (*Grimes* 1979: 19, SD after line 18).

§4. The set

The set is briefly described in the opening SD (0.1-6). Crozier elaborates

Scene 2 takes place in the small private-room leading off the public bar in a seaport-pub – with low ceiling, heavy rough beams, and smoky walls. Essential elements in the set are a broad log-fireplace with curved settles either side of it and a lamp hanging above; the entrance to the bar itself, where new-comers go to fetch their drinks before settling down in the room; a narrow winding staircase to the upper floor of bedrooms; and the main door giving onto the street, with shuttered windows upstage or down-stage of it. This main door is important throughout the action of the scene, and must be so placed that people coming into the pub are clearly visible even when the room is full of people. It is a strong door with large bolts, and must correspond with the outside view of the building that we saw in the previous scene.

(*Notes on the Production of Benjamin Britten's 'Peter Grimes'*, Banks 2000: 12).

The photograph of the original set (Appendix E, Figure 2) shows a central trestle table flanked on three sides by stools, a settle to the right of that and then a fireplace to its right. Behind the table is an exit to the public bar. Upstage left stairs lead to the servants' quarters, downstage left is the door through which entry is made from outside, the shuttered windows to its left. The statement that there is no bar (*Grimes* 1979: 14, opening SD of Scene 2) means that the bar is not visible, for the set is an antechamber through which all entering the pub must pass before proceeding to the bar. As the set has no exterior view, the main door is a reminder of the force of the elements outside when it is opened 9 times in the course of the scene, from the opening SD, and there is a struggle to close it again. The shutters fly open and a window pane smashes (*Grimes* 1979: 15, SD after line 2). This effect is easier to see if

the shutters are downstage. But is it difficult to achieve safely and is it therefore likely to be ignored? The nieces come down the staircase (*Grimes* 1979: 15, SD after line 9). For Kenneth Green's original design see Banks 2000: plate 5A. There is also a close-up photograph of the original production (plate 23A) in which Peter is surrounded by the nieces and Borough folk. The chorus involvement in the scene from *Grimes* 1979: 17, line 1 may seem odd in an antechamber but Crozier points out that the room fills quickly from the back as a result of the fight between Boles and Balstrode (*Grimes* 1979: 16, SD after line 24). Slater's SD after line 32, however, only notes 'bystanders' already there. As in the Prologue it is a case of the chorus as a lurking presence, not immediately involved in the action but happy to become involved.

Introduction to 2.1

§1. Sources & responses

§1.1 Crabbe's *The Borough*

§1.1.1 The Borough quoted

The one quotation is 'Grimes is at his exercise', the only quotation in the opera from Crabbe's Letter on Peter Grimes. Its immediate context is the Borough folk's reaction to the apprentice's audible suffering:

Some, on hearing Cries,
Said calmly, 'Grimes is at his Exercise.'
(Borough, XXII, 77–78)

They are accustomed and indifferent to this. The opera's Borough folk are also accustomed to this but work themselves into a fury of indignation as a result of which the Rector, himself having been criticized, suggests to the Mayor that Peter be approached.

§1.1.2 The Borough loosely referenced or ignored

Boles's criticism of the Rector for ignoring evils growing at his door like his fancy flowers (*Grimes* 1979: 26, lines 35-7) alludes to Crabbe's account of the Vicar tending his flowers, but these are not noted as exotic. Rather they are used by the Vicar as gifts and for a moral lesson (*Borough*, III, 85–90). Boles is implying the Rector is a fop.

Ellen's allusions to her hard life in the draft are as often sourced in Slater's imagination as in Crabbe's poem. Perhaps being saved from prison (d65) is not

there. Regarding her husband's bankruptcy and resultant death (d128), there is a hint of potential but not actual bankruptcy (*Borough*, XX, 226–9). His suicide is the outcome of his resentment of Ellen's bastard child (245–53). Ellen does not have defiant daughters (d129) but one bastard half-wit (212–17). But she did have a son in prison (d132), a charmer hanged for some undisclosed offence (260–301).

§1.2 The Scenarios

The catalyst of the scene's momentum, Peter insisting on having John for work against Ellen's wishes, features in Scenarios B-E. However, only Scenario B is the source of other points of interest. Here John is silent, but in a more dramatic fashion: he is dumb. Here Peter mocks Ellen, but this is mockery of a slapstick rather than the intellectual kind of the draft. Here Peter threatens violence, but only threatens.

§2. Text evolution

§2.1 Draft

Here John speaks, not much but pointedly. He asks Ellen when she is going to marry Peter and persists in this question when she avoids answering it by poking fun at the Borough characters (d8–d45). Then she has an enigmatic song (d64–d83). John admits his bruise is from Peter but thrice begs Ellen not to tell Peter. Ellen makes obscure references to her own hard life (d125–d132).

Highly articulate yet insensitive, Peter mocks rather than rails at Ellen, confident she will still support him (d156–d169); but Ellen in response foresees Peter's desolation (d175–d187). He kicks the basket she has left and raises his hand

threateningly as he orders John home. May Saunders has a lengthy diatribe against the evils of workhouse apprenticeship (d239–d256), focusing on the worst abuses to a community soon to believe John is one of those ‘Whipped and driven to their deaths’ (d246). When criticized by the community for her association with Peter, Ellen analyses the weaknesses of the Rector and community (d278–d302) when dealing with ‘one different from the rest’ (d285).

§2.2 Text

John is silent. Like Ellen we can only surmise his feelings and Ellen does not ask if his bruise came from Peter, thus leaving the matter ambiguous. Ellen talks only about her experience as a schoolmistress and everything she says is clear. In the draft Peter and Ellen are equally effective in argument; here Ellen is in charge, probing and then acknowledging their failure. Peter can only acknowledge with violence which gives more excuse for the community’s vigorous response. Boles’s criticism of workhouse apprenticeship is brief (*Grimes* 1979: 26, lines 26-7); the community is more engaged in his complaint against the Rector (*Grimes* 1979: 26, lines 30-33). When criticized, Ellen’s response is simply to state her failed purpose and ask that her good intentions be appreciated and goodness of heart acknowledged. In this she has only Auntie and Balstrode as allies. A minority force, they nevertheless criticize the community’s hardness of heart (*Grimes* 1979: 28, line 2). In the women’s quartet which closes the scene in Britten’s music setting Ellen alone is given the line about the bitterness of love (*Grimes* 1979: 29, line 18) which all had in the draft, emphasizing the sorrow of her personal failure with Peter. Without the distractions of Ellen’s past and May Saunders’s lament, the scene has a more cogent, inevitable progression.

§3. Scene structure & presentation

§3.1 Musical and dramatic structure

The plot development and performance issues of the scene are:

1. Ellen and John: optimism tempered by discovering John's bruise (*Grimes* 1979: 20, line 4 to 22, line 30 first part)
2. Ellen and Peter: her realization of failure, his violent response (*Grimes* 1979: 22, line 30 second part to 24, line 37)
3. Community reaction: as expected from Peter but Ellen guilty? (*Grimes* 1979: 25, line 1 to 28, line 9)
4. Community action and reaction: a posse of men, some reflective women (*Grimes* 1979: 28, line 10 to 29, line 20).

This scene constantly juxtaposes the individual and collective response. The church service words, heard intermittently borne on the wind with the porch door open, provide ironic comment on the foreground text. When John's coat is discovered badly torn, we hear from the General Confession 'And we have done those things which/We ought not to have done' (my edition lines 57–8, though not present in *Grimes* 1979). Against Peter's avowal that Ellen should believe in him (*Grimes* 1979: 24, line 4) comes the intoning of the Creed's belief in God (from line 5). At the scene's and opera's pivotal climax point, when Peter strikes Ellen, comes the congregation's 'Amen' and Peter's English version, 'So be it!' (*Grimes* 1979: 24, lines 36-7). There is musical as well as textual linking. Peter now challenges God to have mercy upon him (*Grimes* 1979: 24, line 37), the melody of which is then taken up, first by Ned and Auntie (*Grimes* 1979: 25, line 4), then gradually by the whole community as 'Grimes is at his exercise!' As an obsessive mantra Britten makes sure the message is clearly put across by its initial presentation thrice in a trio, in a display of Purcell-like ensemble virtuosity by Auntie, Boles and Ned. Thereafter the chorus community can kick it around as it wishes, with 11 statements, as a backcloth to a variety of individual viewpoints. These are less successfully conveyed because

there cannot be that individual focus which provided clarity to the earlier sections featuring Ellen and Peter. Ellen's justification for her actions gets submerged in an ensemble of constant interruptions by all the other individual characters in the opera save Peter (*Grimes* 1979: 27, line 9 to 28, line 8). Textually these provide a fascinating variety of perspective from the sympathetic Auntie (*Grimes* 1979: 27, lines 31-2), via the remonstrating Rector (*Grimes* 1979: 27, lines 15-16), only financially concerned Ned (*Grimes* 1979: 27, lines 27-8), to the rational Balstrode (*Grimes* 1979: 27, lines 33-4), or outright accusation of Boles (*Grimes* 1979: 27, lines 25-6). Whether musically these can be heard in the general *mêlée* is another matter, but the repetition emphasizes the variety. Does one viewpoint prevail from this cauldron? Frighteningly yes, Boles's, that Ellen's kindness amounts to no less than murder (*Grimes* 1979: 28, lines 7-8), preceded by 'Ha-ha's added by Britten and not in *Grimes* 1979, as if from the witches' chorus in Purcell's *Dido and Aeneas*. And everyone except Ellen, Auntie and Balstrode joins in the cackling.

§3.2 Presentation of characters

In the 4 sections I have identified the characters appearing and number of lines they have are, in descending order:

1. Ellen (60), Chorus (25), Rector (13, 5#)
2. Chorus (35), Ellen (32), Peter (28)
3. Chorus (79, 14#), Boles (51, 16#), Ned (40, 16#), Auntie (35, 14 #), Mrs. Sedley (25, 4#), Rector (22, 9#), Ellen (21, 4#), Swallow (21, 13 #), Balstrode (20, 4#), Nieces (19, 4#), Hobson (16, 12#), Fellow Lawyer (4, 2#), Fisherwoman (3, 2#)
4. Rector (19, 15#), Swallow (17, 13#), Mrs. Sedley (17, 15#), Nieces (16, 8 #), Ned (16, all#), Boles (15, all#), Chorus (15, all#), Ellen (12, 6#), Auntie (11, 6#), Balstrode (1), Hobson (1, all#).

In total: Chorus (154, 14#), Ellen (113, 4#), Boles (66, 16#), Ned (56, 32#), Rector (54, 29#), Auntie (46, 20#), Mrs. Sedley (42, 19#), Swallow (38, 26#), Nieces (35, 12#), Peter (28), Balstrode (21, 4#), Hobson (17, 13#), Fellow Lawyer (4, 2#), Fisherwoman (3, 2#).

As often the Chorus has the dominant contribution. Although from *Grimes* 1979: 20, line 12 to 24, line 36 it is unseen as the church community, it is still the same singing body. Ellen's primacy among the soloists accords with the scene's focus on her analysis of and coming to terms with the situation. By contrast, while Peter is the dominant subject in terms of comment and action, he appears less and speaks almost less than any other character. As rabble-rouser Boles features highest among the others although the sharing of lines becomes more pronounced as the community pools together malevolently. Balstrode's small contribution seems at odds with his status in the community but with Ellen spotlighted as the voice of reason he is left briefly as a voice of protest (*Grimes* 1979: 25, lines 25-8; 27, lines 33-4). He knows when he is out of touch and must simply observe. He becomes uncertain (my edition SD at 502.3) and takes instruction from Ellen (my edition SD at 511.2)

§4. The set

The set is as for 1.1 (*Introduction to 1.1* §4). A particular issue in this scene is the visibility of the church porch and audibility of the proceedings inside. The photograph of the original set (Appendix E, Figure 3) shows the porch forward left so sounds ought to be heard clearly from that position. Ellen and John are pictured forward right. There is ample space behind them for Mrs. Sedley to cross and observe Ellen discovering the coat tear and neck injury (*Grimes* 1979: 21, SD after line 35). The window to the right of the door of The Boar is a vantage point for Auntie to view Ellen and Peter's quarrel (my edition SD at 170.1) while there is enough depth of stage behind Ellen for Ned and Boles to cross it and observe Ellen and Peter (my edition 175.1).

Introduction to 2.2

§1. Sources & responses

§1.1 Crabbe's *The Borough* (loosely referenced)

The only link is when Peter is haunted by his memory of the dead apprentice in the fatal fishing trip (*Grimes* 1979: 31, lines 21-27). Crabbe does refer to the boy's fear (*Borough*, XXII, 145) and that the water supply was exhausted (148). But Crabbe's later text of Peter's father and dead apprentices haunting him (*e.g.* 338-47) is a matter of fantasy rather than memory. This does not take place in his hut but he feels compelled to visit and view them on the river.

§1.2 The Scenarios

Scenario B states the boy's death was accidental (64) which is how the final stage direction at *Grimes* 1979: 32, after line 30 presents it. There is in no scenario any distraction by parties other than Peter. Scenario E has a drunken, angry Peter driving the boy to the cliff door and the boy bolting in panic (19-20). *Grimes* 1979: 32, line 28 has nothing stronger than Peter encouraging the boy to get moving. Scenarios C (42) and D (18) have Crabbe's Peter more in mind, with the death not accidental.

§2. Text evolution

§2.1 Drafts & experiments

There are three sources for text other than the final one: the draft fragments, additional text by Slater in N and experimental revised texts in M-Goodall and M-Britten. In the draft fragment Peter advises John to avoid having his will and

individuality taken over by Ellen's religious conduct. Angered, Peter's violence to John becomes overt. Britten wants more of this from Slater who obliges (d12a–d12j). It is formulated as a game with patter lines (d9–d12) and an urbane scrutiny of the flesh about to be broken (d12f–d12h), an intellectual appraisal which makes the action more immoral. When it ceases Peter (d13–d22) shows an understanding of John's experience, that it has been Peter's. The inference here is that Peter was beaten by his father, as he states in Scenario B (59). But Peter here goes beyond this in revealing he has at times a 'desire' (d22) to beat John.

Slater's additional text seems to be an intermediate version between the draft fragment and final text. The violence is as tempered as in the latter. Peter is matey with John and shows more empathy for John's mindset than in the draft fragment, not only acknowledging that John is a 'landlubber' (2.2 my edition ^{{note}7} line 5) but also that he himself experiences fear (2.2 my edition ¹⁰ quoted lines, 8). Lacking this display of empathy, the final text (*Grimes* 1979: 30, lines 10-24) offers a less sympathetic picture of Peter who there simply attempts to encourage John with his own excitement before revisiting his early vision of fishing prosperity, cf. 1.1 (*Grimes* 1979: 13, lines 2-12),

The experimental revised texts (2.2 my edition ¹³) appear to be later versions of *Grimes* 1979: 30, lines 1-9. Firstly, the audience is required to pick up that it is the bruise Peter believes John has been telling lies about. He hasn't: Ellen in 2.1 surmises the truth (*Grimes* 1979: 22, lines 9-10). Secondly, Peter believes there is no tale to tell. This may be because he did not cause the bruise or because he refuses to accept that he did. Peter's protest at line 8 in either revision is, however, less openly violent than line 8's final text.

§2.2 Text

The draft fragment is Crabbe's Peter. The text is Britten and Slater's more generally controlled conduct. John gets pushed into the hut (*Grimes* 1979: 30, SD before line 1), boots (SD after line 3) and clothes (SD after line 7 and *Grimes* 1979: 31, SD before line 1), thrown to him, shaken but not necessarily violently (*Grimes* 1979: 30, SD after line 7), coat torn off (*Grimes* 1979: 31, SD before line 1) and shoved which knocks him over, not necessarily intentionally (SD after line 2). That is the sum of physical contact between Peter and John. Crucially there is none immediately preceding John's accident. The closing SD (*Grimes* 1979: 33, SD after line 20), was much developed by Britten to provide in effect a mini-interlude as a lament for John. It also teasingly suggests Balstrode has more knowledge as well as more nous than the Rector and Swallow.

§3. Scene structure & presentation

§3.1 Musical and dramatic structure

The plot development and performance issues of the scene are (my headings):

1. Peter's anger, calmed by make-believe for an idyllic future, destroyed by sighting a ghost (*Grimes* 1979: 30, line 1 to 31, line 27).
2. Peter's challenge to, then preparations to avoid, the community with John caught up in the hasty preparations (*Grimes* 1979: 31, line 28 to 32, first paragraph of SD after line 30).
3. The uneventful outcome and ironic moral of the Borough posse's inspection (*Grimes* 1979: 32, second paragraph of SD after line 30 to 33, SD after line 20).

This scene starts with two mood swings from Peter. Having begun with the anger with which he stormed out of 2.1, this is swept away by an idyllic vision of happiness with John and Ellen. This tranquillity is shattered by another vision: that of the dead apprentice. Reality arrives, however, in hearing the Borough posse

approaching. Peter has two highly contrasted responses to it as well: first to confront, then to escape, the latter doubling with his desire to go fishing. This sequence of waves of tension is too much for John, who panics and falls. But Peter's escape leaves the posse nothing to do, except for Balstrode, an unwilling member of it, to determine the likely action.

§3.2 Presentation of characters

In the 3 sections I have identified the characters appearing and number of lines they have are, in descending order:

1. Peter (57)
2. Peter (32), Boles & Rector, Swallow & Ned, Chorus Tenors & Basses (13, all#)
3. Rector (11), Swallow (9), Ned (2)

In total: Peter (89), Rector (24, 13#), Swallow (22, 13#), Ned (15, 13#), Chorus Tenors & Basses (13, all#).

This, then, is Peter's scene with the Rector and Swallow providing an ineffectual pretence respectively of moral and civil authority. Balstrode, who has no lines, is shown in the closing SD (*Grimes* 1979: 33, SD after line 20) to be more alert.

§4. The set

The set is detailed in the opening SD (0.2-6). Crozier explicates:

Peter Grimes's hut is an upturned boat, built upon a low brick or earth wall, with a door leading into the cliff-path cut in the stern timbers, and a hatch-door leading onto the edge of the cliff, in the middle of the back wall, with several steps leading up to it. ... The lighting of the scene should be very low in key: it is only when one of the doors is opened that a shaft of sunlight gives a clear view of the hut and its contents.

(*Notes on the Production of Benjamin Britten's 'Peter Grimes'*, Banks 2000: 16).

The photograph of the original set (Appendix E, Figure 4) shows a spick and span hut, necessary for efficiency in such a confined space but confirming the Rector's approbation (*Grimes* 1979: 33, lines 11-12). The chief light source and thrust of this working home is outwards, with the central way to the cliff dominating and a simple, functional door on the right from the road.

Introduction to 3.1

§1. Sources & responses

§1.1 The Scenarios

Scenario B focuses on Ellen's feeling of despair and wish to find Peter before the 'evil' villagers who want to hunt him down (69–71). Here stated explicitly is the implicit irony at the heart of the opera: the hunted is innocent, stubborn but principled, the hunters are guilty and unprincipled. Slater adds a character, Balstrode, in Ellen's wish to help Peter and one to offset her despair (*Grimes* 1979: 38, lines 19-28).

Scenario C introduces Ellen's 'Jacket Song' (44). In Scenario D it is John's coat that is found (20), in Scenario E 'a little cap or coat' (24). Slater has a jersey knitted by Ellen and therefore a personal gift and the song is the scene's central 'Embroidery Aria' (*Grimes* 1979: 38, lines 5-18). The mood is clear. In Scenario D Ellen's response is termed a 'lament' (22), in Scenario E she is in mourning (23). In Scenario C there is a 'Chorus of Horror' (45), in Scenario D, 'Fury of villagers' (21), apparently in response to the finding of the clothing and, in Scenario C, Ellen's reaction. In the opera the discovery and Ellen's song are only heard by Balstrode and Mrs. Sedley. The community's bloodlust is engaged simply by Peter's return. The remainder and bulk of this scene are Slater's invention.

§2. Text evolution

There is no extant draft for 3.1. It is possible that the ‘draft’ stage for Act 3 coincided with Slater’s production of the typescript of the complete libretto. On 3 October 1942, Britten wrote to William Mayer ‘the first draft of the libretto is done’ (*Letters* vol. 2: 1100) but Banks 2000:176 conjectures that a revised one would not have been ready until December 1943. We know from Britten’s letter to Pears of 10 January (*Letters* vol. 2: 1181) that he began composition on 8 or 9 January 1944.

§3. Scene structure & presentation

§3.1 Musical and dramatic structure

The plot development and performance issues of the scene are (my headings):

1. Contrasting means of entertainment: flirting, sleuthing, genial conviviality (*Grimes* 1979: 34, line 1 to 37, line 25)
2. Ellen and Balstrode’s response to their findings (*Grimes* 1979: 37, line 26 to 38, line 32)
3. The community mobilized (*Grimes* 1979: 38, line 33 to 40, line 26).

§3.2 Presentation of characters

In the 3 sections I have identified the characters appearing and number of lines they have are, in descending order:

1. Mrs. Sedley (39), Swallow (22), Niece 1 (20, 12#), Niece 2 (20, 12#), Rector (17, 6#), Ned (15), 1st Burgess (12, 10#), other Burgesses (11, 10#)
2. Ellen (26), Balstrode (20)
3. Chorus (119, 64#), Mrs. Sedley (81, 42#), Swallow (53, 37#), Hobson (42, 27#), Ned (42#), Nieces (40#), Boles (36#), Auntie (12)

In total: Mrs. Sedley (120, 42#), Chorus (119, 64#), Swallow (75, 37#), Niece 1 (60, 52#), Niece 2 (60, 52#), Ned (57, 42#), Hobson (42, 27#), Boles (36#), Ellen (26), Balstrode (20), Rector (17, 6#), Auntie (12), 1st Burgess (12, 10#), other Burgesses (11, 10#).

Overall Mrs. Sedley is shown to be the dominant force as the instigator of the mobilization just as in the opening section her obsession with Peter as murderer casts a long and gloomy shadow over the otherwise sportive proceedings. However, as a body of malevolent action in this scene the Lynching Chorus has the greatest impact. Swallow's high profile matches his standing in the community rather than his personal competence. Auntie's surprisingly small contribution is because she takes no part in the Lynching Chorus. Everyone else does, except Ellen, Balstrode and the Rector.

§4. The set

The set is as for 1.1 (*Introduction to 1.1* §4). Movement between the Moot Hall and The Boar (*Grimes* 1979: 34, opening SD) is a significant element in its dynamism.

Introduction to 3.2

§1. Sources & responses

§1.1 Crabbe's *The Borough* referenced or quoted

The soprano solo (*Grimes* 1979: 43, line 1, designated 'CHORUS') and semi-chorus (*Grimes* 1979: 43, lines 2-4, designated 'CHORUS') which begin the final section of this scene are Slater's adaptation of:

There as we pass the jingling Bells betray,
How Business rises with the closing Day:
Now walking silent, by the River's side,
The Ear perceives the rimpling of the Tide;

(Borough, I, 287–90)

Slater changes the time focus because the operatic context is another morning. The tone remains elegiac, like Crabbe's. The adaptation renders more passive and impersonal what was more active and personal in Crabbe's original, but this neutrality is appropriate in the new context of following the death of Peter Grimes. Slater's use of 'ripple' rather than 'rimpling' might be for easier understanding but more likely denotes that his source of Crabbe's text was later than the first and second editions as 'rippling' occurs from the third edition. Slater may well have used Peter Pears's copy of Crabbe 1851 (see Appendix G §2).

Slater's chorus (*Grimes* 1979: 43, lines 10-13) is almost verbatim Crabbe:

Or measur'd cadence of the Lads who tow
Some enter'd Hoy, to fix her in her row;
Or hollow sound, which from the Parish-Bell,
To some departed Spirit bids farewell!

(Borough, I, 291–94)

Slater's change (43, line 12) from Crabbe's 293 to 'that from the passing bell' is less specific but more euphonious. The opera ends (*Grimes* 1979: 44, lines 1-4) with more virtually verbatim Crabbe:

With ceaseless motion comes and goes the Tide,
Flowing, it fills the Channel vast and wide,
Then back to Sea, with strong majestic sweep
It rolls, in ebb yet terrible and deep:

(*Borough*, I, 37-40)

Again Slater's change (44, line 1) of Crabbe's 37 to 'In ceaseless motion' and (44, line 2) of Crabbe's 38 to 'broad and wide' result in a smoother sound, albeit Crabbe's 'vast' is a more awe inspiring adjective that better anticipates the tone of the following couplet. But retained is that combination of sombre routine and absorbed witness that is in the lines, beginning 'When Tides were neap, and, in the sultry day' (*Borough*, XXII, 181) that first attracted Britten (see *Perspectives on Crabbe* §1.1) and like them contains a lurking sinister element.

§1.2 The Scenarios

Scenario B takes place after sunset and has the 'near crazy' Peter (72), feeling 'The Sea calls him' (73), jumping in. This is a voluntary suicide after a visit from the ghosts of his father and former apprentices. Scenario E also has this dénouement, introduces the fog and timing of Peter dying at dawn. In the 'draft' of 3.2 Peter recalls his father's death (d7) and addresses two apprentice ghosts, William Spode (d9-d13) and John (d46-d53). In Scenarios CDE 3.2 is termed Peter's 'Mad scene', for which there is ample precedent in opera, and the intention is logged to end with fisherfolk singing, specified in D as at the beginning of 1.1. Britten used

the same music as at the beginning of 1.1 (*Grimes* 1979: 6, lines 1-8) but different words, though as in 1.1 still derived from Crabbe (see §1.1).

§1.3 Quotations from the libretto

Duncan (1981) states he persuaded Britten to incorporate quotations, verbal and therefore also musical, from earlier in the opera. A delirious man might well relive his recent experiences in this manner. The sources of the quotations are documented in 3.2 notes.

§2. Text evolution

§2.1 Draft

Strictly, as with 3.1, there is no extant draft for 3.2. It is possible that the ‘draft’ stage coincided with Slater’s production of the typescript of the complete libretto. But as Britten, with the help of the poet Ronald Duncan, modified 3.2 between this typescript and the staging of the opera, I am publishing in Appendix B Slater’s typescript version of 3.2 which is the earliest extant, as though it were the draft so it may readily be compared with the final text.

From the revision that took place Britten clearly did not like the references to Peter’s father and the former apprentices. He felt the preparing of Peter’s boat (d54–d77) was too protracted. In particular Balstrode suddenly gets uncharacteristically homely and finally sentimental (d68–d71). Yet Peter’s initial lack of comprehension of Balstrode’s activity (d55, d59, d63) and then his wish to stall things (d73) show poignantly human aspects of him distinct from our sympathy for his suffering which

is the crux of the scene. Ellen and Peter have a conversation (d19–d45) but it only becomes an argument during which Ellen tells lies (d29–d30, d33).

§2.2 Text

The opening is an improvement: no abstruse allusions to the dead but a fitting fixation with water imagery and pithy, halting recollections of earlier events. The addition from source J in the spoken section of ‘No!’ by Ellen (*Grimes* 1979: 42, line 31) means that she does not collude with Balstrode in the directed suicide, as she does in the draft when she states she is fetching Balstrode to help him prepare his boat (d44–d45).

§3. Scene structure & presentation

§3.1 Musical and dramatic structure

The plot development and performance issues of the scene are:

1. Revisiting recent torments and seeking peace, Peter again confronts the community, if only their voices, but is unaware of Ellen beside him (*Grimes* 1979: 41, line 1 to 42, line 29)
2. Balstrode spells out Peter’s suicide to him (*Grimes* 1979: 42, lines 30–34)
3. The community stoically takes in another day, untroubled by news of a sinking boat too far out to view (*Grimes* 1979: 43, line 1 to 44, line 4).

The community is invisible until after Peter’s departure, so their alternation of greater and lesser prominence in sound alone mirrors for us Peter’s experience. Peter openly reveals his love for Ellen (*Grimes* 1979: 42, line 28), not knowing she is beside him. Balstrode helping Peter out with his boat (*Grimes* 1979: 42, SD after line 34) echoes his help in 1.1 (*Grimes* 1979: 8, lines 12–13).

§3.2 Presentation of characters

In the 3 sections I have identified the characters appearing and number of lines they have are, in descending order:

1. Peter (60), Chorus (54), Ellen (6)
2. Balstrode (4), Ellen (1)
3. Chorus (16, 8#), Swallow (9, 6#), Auntie (8, 6#), Boles (7, 6#), Nieces (6#), Mrs. Sedley (6#), Rector (6#), Ned (6#), Hobson (6#)

In total: Chorus (70, 8#), Peter (60), Swallow (9, 6#), Auntie (8, 6#), Boles (7, 6#), Nieces (6#), Mrs. Sedley (6#), Rector (6#), Ned (6#), Hobson (6#), Ellen (7), Balstrode (4).

The scene is Peter's. As ever he is the central focus. But the greater number of lines of the Chorus is a reminder that he is in this tragic position because of their hounding. Balstrode's few lines are the next most significant: he becomes the Borough's efficient executioner. Ellen's presence is more telling than her words: she is the empathizing, suffering onlooker.

§4. The set

The set is as for 1.1 (*Introduction to 1.1* §4). But the unique feature of this scene is a thick fog, so only parts of the set are intermittently visible. What ought to be visible, however, is the capstan to which Peter's boat's rope is tied and the stern of his boat as he launches it.

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Prolegomena

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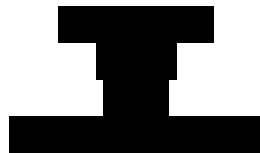
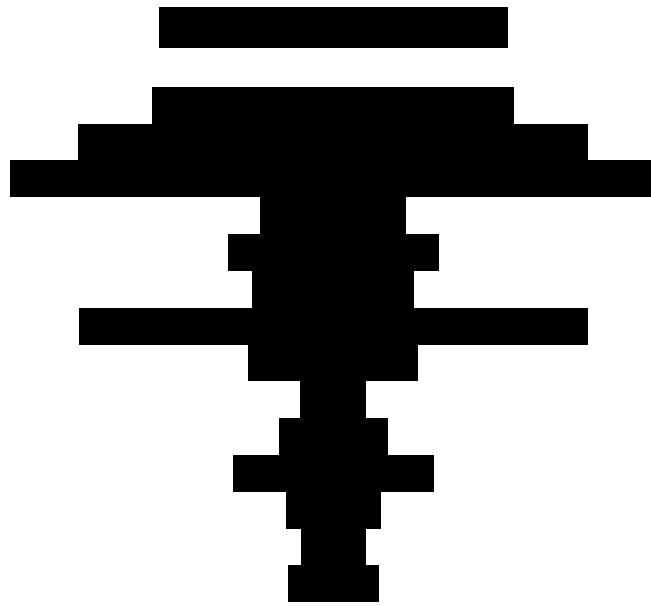
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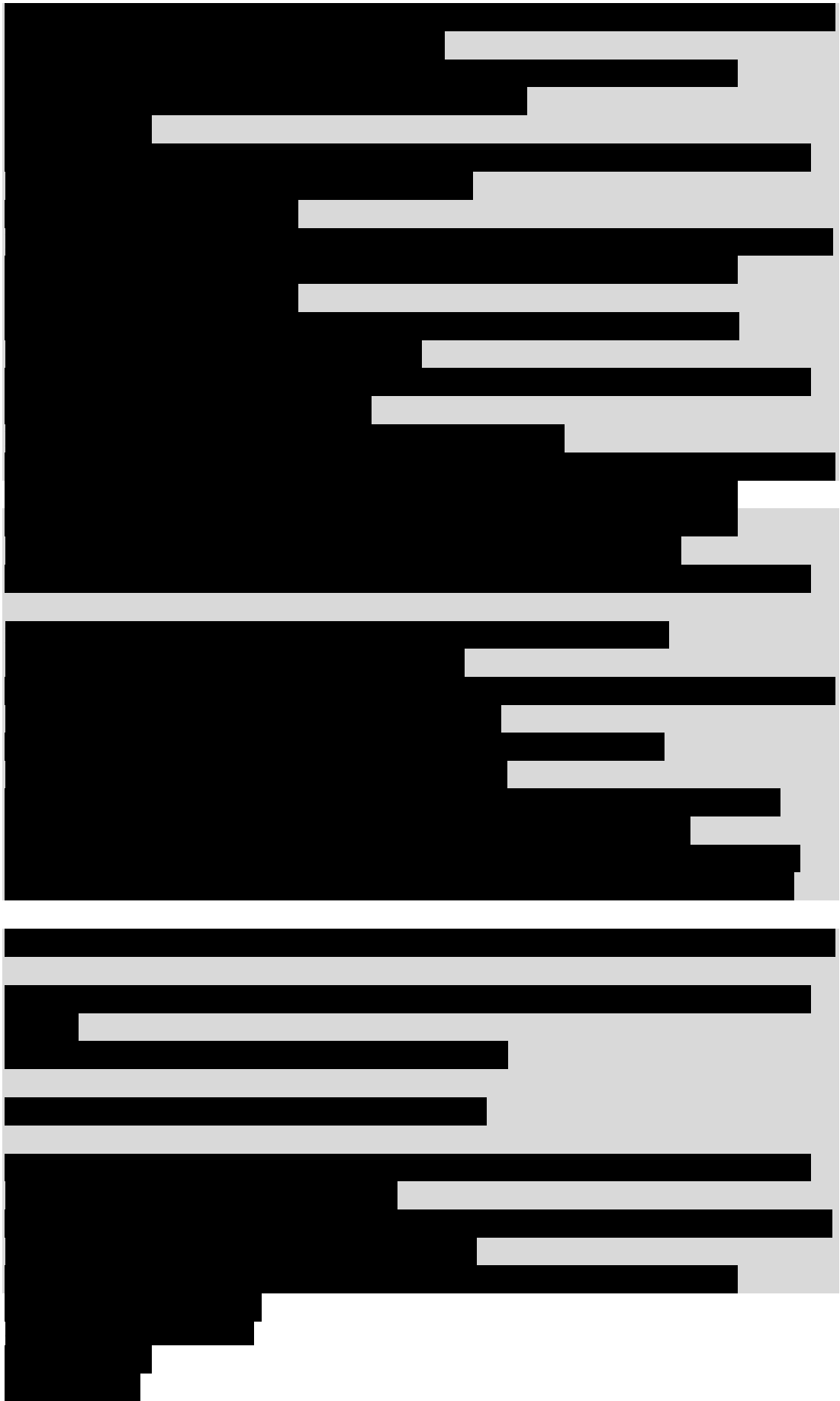
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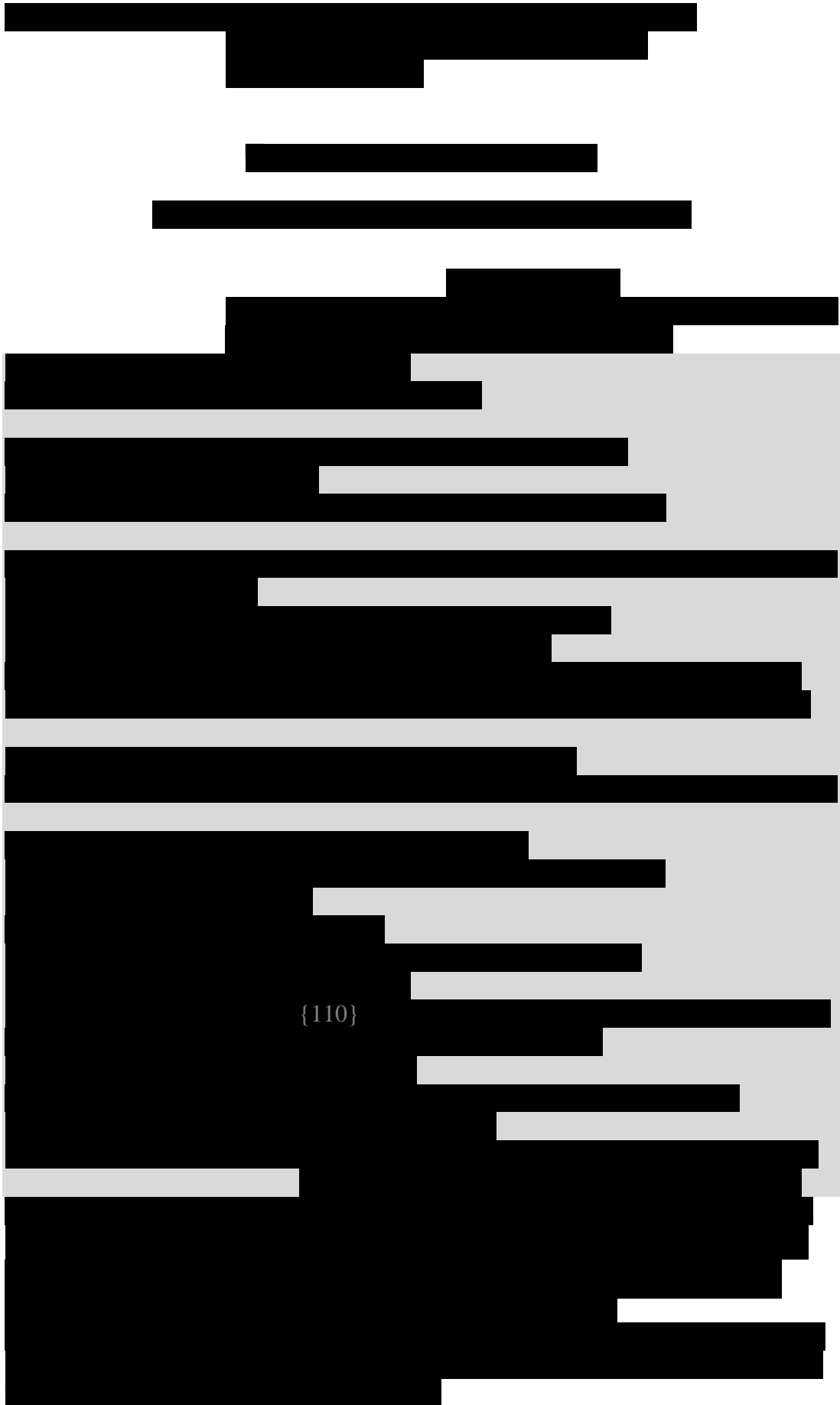
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Appendix A: Scenarios: Introduction

I have individually designated the scenarios (A-E). The order I have given follows that of their presentation in Banks 2000: 174-5. Dating and order of composition are unclear. Scenarios AB remained in America when Britten and Pears sailed back to England on 16 March 1942 and Scenarios CDE were probably composed during the voyage, Scenarios DE being written on the headed paper of the Johnson Line of Sweden. Scenarios CDE may, therefore, have been necessary reconstructions given that Scenarios AB were no longer available to their authors. But equally they present an exchange of and throwing of ideas into a melting pot as a suggested structure for the formulation of a libretto.

Scenario D has on the recto of its leaf a complete scenario by Britten in two versions set out in two columns (1-25, 26-34). On the verso of the leaf is an incomplete scenario by Pears (35-40) which has been deleted and the beginning of a scenario by Britten (41-42) which has not been deleted. However, the use of a dash at the end of 42 suggests even its single entry for 1.1 was not completed.

I have attempted to present the original layout in general terms but have tidied spelling and punctuation and occasionally interpolated text to facilitate reading. All emendations are recorded in the crit. app.

While Crabbe's poem was the initial inspiration and provided the basic story, the scenarios are working documents that chart Britten and Pears's developing

thoughts about how the story should be structured as an opera and also present ideas for the content of scenes. They never seem to have been co-ordinated or worked into a definitive document. This may be a strength, for they gave Slater, and it is reasonable to assume they were shown to Slater, a fair flexibility of operation within generally defined parameters. They are therefore significant as sources, in particular for Slater's drafts. Thereafter Slater's Peter gradually developed distinctly from Crabbe's (see *Perspectives on Crabbe*, especially §3).

They are of interest in what they do and do not contain. They do contain an emphasis on community response and therefore choruses. They do contain a principal female role, that of Ellen, to balance the principal male, Peter. They also have a secondary male role, that of the Landlord, but no secondary female role. Slater supplied the latter in Auntie, when Landlord became Landlady and created a secondary male role in Balstrode. He also created other secondary roles which do not figure in the scenarios but are drawn from Crabbe (see *Perspectives on Crabbe* §2.3): Boles, Swallow (only briefly noted as 'Magistrate' in Scenario D, line 2), Ned, Mrs. Sedley, the Nieces. To these he added Hobson, not in Crabbe.

Scenario A (Britten)

Britten immediately creates a visual setting. Act 1 Scene 1 begins with everyday work soon made more dramatic by the tension of an imminent storm (announced in 1.1 at *Grimes* 1979: 7, line 10 in the final version). But its weakness is that Peter does not appear: he is only discussed. In the final version he calls offstage for help (*Grimes* 1979: 8, line 7) and is then discussed. Peter in this early version is Crabbe's

drunkard yet he is defended by Ellen who asserts his innocence. More powerfully in the final version's Prologue (*Grimes* 1979: 4, lines 27-34) Peter himself asserts this.

In this scenario Britten indicates another seam of dramatization: the conflicting views of the men and women in the community. This resulted in some separate choruses which became less distinct in revision. It was, however, the germ of a distinction which found its full expression finally in the women's quartet ending 2.1 (*Grimes* 1979: 29, lines 1-20). At this stage Britten favours the direct drama of a shipwreck and also exploits the unease associated with the strange and foreign. In the final version the strange and foreign element for the community in 1.1 is Peter and potentially Ellen (*Grimes* 1979: 9, lines 30-33).

In setting and opening Act 1 Scene 2 here is close to the final version, except that Peter is not present at the start but makes a dramatic entry (*Grimes* 1979: 17, SD after line 25) after the turmoil of the storm has increased with successive arrivals. Peter is not drunk in this final version but his version of the song (*Grimes* 1979: 19, lines 11 to 18) causes a temporary disruption before the more arresting arrival of Ellen and the new apprentice, a more human dramatic development and more pertinent to the progression of the plot than this earliest version's momentary featuring of rocket and wreck.

Scenario B (Pears)

While Britten in Scenario A first creates a visual setting, Pears maps out the work conceptually in terms of the conflict of natural forces, the sea and the land and their personification in Peter and Ellen, with the boy the tension point of the conflict. The Landlord is also seen as being at the centre point and in the final text Auntie does

fulfil this position, avowing both her neutrality (*Grimes* 1979: 8, line 15) and empathy (*Grimes* 1979: 29, lines 7-8). More extreme than in the final text, however, is the contrast of Peter aligned with smugglers and Ellen with churchgoers. Unlike Crabbe's *Grimes* there is no suggestion that Britten's Peter is involved in this or comparable criminal activity like poaching. Ellen, on the other hand, decides at the last minute not to go to church (*Grimes* 1979: 20, line 12) and her arioso with the apprentice alternates with the chorus of churchgoers.

Two features stand out in this scenario. The first is Pears's emotive focus on Ellen, beyond even her strong representation in 1.1 of Britten's Scenario A. Her maternal instincts are emphasized (Scenario B, 25, 40-42) and she appeals to the Landlord for help when she perceives the apprentice in danger but, having realized her appeal is to an inappropriate person, does not pursue it but falls back on trust in God. When in Britten's revision the Landlord became landlady the potential influence on Peter that Ellen hoped might result no longer existed, but then neither did Peter's drinking problem. In this scenario Ellen appears as isolated as *Grimes*. To her it is the villagers that are 'evil' (70) whereas to them it is Peter who is 'The Evil' (75): an interesting choice of term, however, as it suggests a force operating within Peter independent of his wishes or a force imagined operating. Nevertheless a Peter who voluntarily commits suicide, as here, is less of a tragic figure than one who in the final version is ordered to commit suicide (*Grimes* 1979: 42, lines 32-3).

The second outstanding feature is Pears's emotive focus on Peter. His failed relationship with his father lies at the root of his actions (Scenario B, 22, 58-9). Pears's scenario, unlike Britten's, which keeps to the narrative, drifts from time to time into libretto, for instance Ellen to the Landlord (50-53) and the extraordinary

outburst of Peter to his apprentice (59-62), which is the attempt to crystallize Peter's feelings and explain his violent behaviour. It is powerful and moving but it also casts some light on the sexual connotations of the relationship between Peter and his apprentice, an area Britten would wish to avoid. That Peter (26) and the Landlord (45-9) might consider the apprentice 'prey' was a concept faithful to Crabbe's Peter but not Britten's as he evolved. In the development in the final text of Peter as a victim, not only were all suggestions of any criminal activity on his part removed, so were all references to his father. What does remain is no longer a 'Ghosts scene' as here (72), directly derived from Crabbe, but shadowy references to the ghosts (*Grimes* 1979: 31, lines 16-27; 41, lines 9-10).

The tendency of Pears to slip into speech finds its logical conclusion in his draft of a libretto for part of Act 1 Scene 1 at the end of this scenario. Did Britten ask him to do this, or was it his own initiative? Whatever the case, it was an exercise not repeated. The conversation (Scenario B, 78-96) is too refined and polite for the characters intended to be depicted and thus lacks realism. It improves with Ellen's feisty defence of Peter, that of a woman to be reckoned with, unafraid to take on the community (97-104), as she does in the final text in offering to help collect Peter's new apprentice (*Grimes* 1979: 9, lines 19, 21-28). This scenario also provides the earliest instance of the chorus as the antagonistic force of the community.

Scenario C (Pears)

Unlike Pears's Scenario B, this is in terse, strict scenario narrative, probably because of its structuring by numbered musical items, a practice also undertaken in the

Grimes texts CD through additions by Britten. This suggests the structure was requested by Britten and it is notable that within it for the first time are placed the entr'actes which were later, more correctly, called interludes as they appear more frequently than between acts. The first (8) is already entitled 'The Sea': in text C Britten called it ' *Everyday*, *grey seascape* ' (1.1 crit. app. INTERLUDE). The second, 'Beginning of Storm' (16) was not finally set but the third, 'Storm increases' (19) is the Storm Interlude between 1.1 and 1.2. This is because only in Scenario C is there an extra scene in Act 1 featuring Peter alone, with a possible appearance of his father's ghost mooted (18). Once it was decided not to include Peter's father, an apostrophe of the sea as a separate entity probably appeared otiose. The underlying concept, however, that Grimes should humbly address a force of nature survives powerfully in his 'Great Bear' aria in 1.2 (*Grimes* 1979: 17, lines 32-3; 18, lines 1-13).

Act 2 follows the pattern of Scenario B, being in three scenes. The first two scenes were later merged, so the fourth entr'acte (Scenario C, 33), while here between the scenes, corresponds to Interlude 3 in the final text beginning Act 2. The fifth entr'acte (40) equates with the passacaglia which is Interlude 4 in the final text, between 2.1 and 2.2. The sixth entr'acte (46) is placed between 3.1 and 3.2 as is Interlude 6 in the final text. It is interesting that 6 entr'actes are planned in this scenario. In the final text there are also 6 interludes, for while there is one less in Act 1 because 'Beginning of Storm' was not set, Britten added one (Interlude 5) at the beginning of Act 3. This is the first scenario to include a Prologue, though its content did not survive: Old Grimes never appeared. The only feature to remain in the final text was a duet by Peter and Ellen (*Grimes* 1979: 5, lines 1-30).

Scenario D (Britten, Pears)

This is the only scenario to feature the Prologue (2-4) in its final form (cf. Scenario C). Its second version, however, delays a court scene to Act 3 (29-32). The inclusion of Prologue is preferable as it gives an official (Coroner) and unofficial (Chorus) frame to the ensuing drama as well conveniently introducing its elements. In Act 2 there are 3 scenes, as in Scenarios BC, but only in this one is it made explicit that 2.1 is in Peter's hut and Ellen is directing the action in wishing to remove the apprentice to safety (church) rather than, as in Scenarios BC and the final text, Peter directing the action in removing him from safety. In 3.1 Britten emphasizes the fury of the community (21) in contrast to Pears's 'Chorus of Horror' in Scenario C (45). Ellen's lament is now in this scene rather than 3.2 (Scenario C 50) which is closest to the final text in which the 'embroidery aria' on finding the boy's jersey is her lament (*Grimes* 1979: 38, lines 5-18). In the second version there is no lament. 3.1 is restricted to an official verdict on Peter.

The attitude to Peter at this stage reflects Crabbe's presentation. Britten assumes that Peter has killed his former apprentice (Scenario D, 3) and murders his replacement (18). Pears notes Peter's satisfaction at being acquitted in the Prologue (39). Britten's focus in the closing scene is on Peter's madness (24, 34) though he also makes explicit only here that the opera is to end with the chorus of 1.1 (25), a 'Chorus working' (6-7).

Scenario E (Pears)

Pears returns to the narrative manner of Scenario B rather than the terse listing of Scenario C. It provides a modified version of Acts 2 and 3. Here Ellen rather tamely lets Peter have the apprentice for work on Sunday without demur and 2.2 is simply concerned with speculation about Peter, not the final 2.1 text's dwelling on his conduct towards the boy and striking Ellen. In 2.3 in this scenario Peter's anger and his intimidating practices are explained. It is also clear that it is the boy who finally panics as a result.

Scenario C's 3.1 and 3.2 are here taken together. Here is the first indication that Peter's final appearance takes place in a fog. In the final text this allows the dramatic device of a nearby hunting community nevertheless unable to reach Peter. As in Scenario B and Crabbe's poem Peter's mad scene includes the hallucination of the ghosts of his father and dead apprentices. But also as in Scenario B, a Peter who in a mad frenzy commits suicide is a less tragic figure than the one in the final text who obeys Balstrode's order to commit suicide.

Again as in Scenario B, Pears has an emotive focus on Ellen. Her lament for Peter is included. The lament that survives in the final text, the 'embroidery aria', is not for Peter but the apprentice. It is unclear but a fascinating area for dramatic development why Ellen might blame herself (35) for Peter's ruin. In the final text in 2.1 (*Grimes* 1979: 23, from line 35) rather does she analyze where they both went wrong, which leads to Peter striking her. This scenario, with Ellen submitting herself to God's will (35), is in the saintly manner of Crabbe's Ellen, as is immediately going back to normal routine (36-8). But that Ellen, of all people, might do this and

in effect expunge the memory of Peter, does not happen in the opera's final text. Balstrode leads her sobbing home to lament in private. 'He was very weak not bad' (36) is a flimsy attempt at analyzing Peter. Crabbe's Peter is both weak and bad. Slater's Peter is stubborn and obtuse but not weak, severe in his treatment of his apprentice but not gratuitously so.

Appendix A: Scenarios: Texts

SCENARIO A

Act I Scene I

1

Aldeburgh

Sea shore, fisherman's hut left. Sea diagonally centre back to right curtain breakwater.

{*sketch*}²

Fishing boat is hauled in by men's chorus. Women comment anxiously. 5
Storm is brewing. Enter – character with story of rising tide & damage
from North. Ellen enters; song, about Grimes. He is drinking & not working,
no apprentice since last one died. Chorus suggests suicide; Ellen denies it
(Probably fell off mast). Asserts Grimes was innocent; misunderstood. Blames
sea as origin of all disaster – women agree. Men disagree. Climax. Enter a man 10
hurriedly – strange foreign boat sighted in difficulties off Southwold. Man jumps
to roof of hut & sights ship.

Scene II

Height of storm: Public House late same night, interior. Grimes sitting sullenly
drinking. Landlord, drinkers, fishermen, wives, children. General confusion. 15
Boarding windows. Fetching lanterns, barrels of beer. Refugees from
washed-away homes. Servants in night gowns, too frightened to sleep, come
down for company. Landlord obtains calm & suggests singing to alleviate fears.
Parson? Drinking songs start. 2 or 3 Characters sing verses. Grimes, somewhat
inebriated, starts his song. Becomes aggressive and X starts objecting. Grimes 20
replies and quarrel starts. When rocket is heard from nearby, everyone, save
Grimes, goes out – & cries of “a wreck” are heard.

1 * Act. I/Sc. I 3 left. Sea ... right * l. sea ... r. 5 Fishing 9 was <IW> innocent
10 Climax. * ~^ 13 * Sc: II. 14 <Pub> Height night, * ~. 16 <Landlord.> Boarding
20 and <IW> X quarrel<s> 21 rocket ... nearby, everyone * rocheat ... nearby. <People>
Everyone 22 Grimes, * ~^

¹ Underlining ² Sketch

SCENARIO B

The Sea	v	The Earth
(The Incalculable – Uncontrolled) cf.	War Violence	(Secure – Unchanging) Peace etc.

Peter Grimes	v	Ellen Orford	
	↙ ↘		5
	The boy		
Smugglers	Landlord	Churchgoers	

Act I

Scene I – The sea (still calmish) & the people (neutral) –
Song about the sea & it's effect on life. 10

Enter Ellen: tell people Grimes needs new apprentice –
Scepticism on part of people – She reassures, only trouble no child.
She has control now. Enter Landlord, asks Ellen where Peter is – must see him.
She upbraids him with heady religiosity. 15
The storm begins.
They pull in the boats.

Scene II The Pub. The storm full on – Night – Confusion – Everyone in and out.
Peter drinking in corner – Other cronies – Maids – Travellers entering, reporting
on state of coast & sea – Enter Landlord, tells Peter there is a ship due tonight 20
full of cargo for them – He must be on lookout. Starts a song to cheer everyone –
Various verses – Peter sings his about his father (?) & his resentment –
Rocket fired at height of song – Exit everyone except Peter, who goes on singing –
& flops drunkenly – Reenter everyone, Ellen leading boy *unconscious* – {25}↓
Effect on Grimes. (Landlord curses loss of cargo) Ellen acclaims boy as her child,
Grimes (aside) as his apprentice (prey?) – Chorus sing extraordinary happening –
rescue of child –

8 <Sailors> [Landlord] 9-10 **Act I/Scene I** * Act I/Scene I 11 [Song ... it's {sic} effect on life.]
13 reassures [, only ... child.] 14 is – [must see him.] 15 religiosity * Religiosity <Enter X
who warns them of approaching storm – They> 21 lookout. <Bids them> 24 [*unconscious*]

Act II

Scene I Ellen with boy – singing to him old stories – (*Boy is dumb – learnt for 1st time*). She pities him for not being able to speak – Wants to take him to church – Enter Peter – asks Ellen why boy is dressed so – E says she is taking him to C. Peter mocks her with her “flopping whiskies”^o says he needs boy for work. She accuses him of being godless & says he will come to bad end not like his good old father – (Accuses him of unkindness to the boy, rescued from the sea, who has found happiness on land) – Peter refuses to let boy go, gets violent – finally threatens Ellen with violence, who is amazed & says I never saw you so save once with another apprentice.³ Grimes curses her & tells her to go. Ellen goes & says she will. 30 35

Scene II Outside the church – The service is going on off ^{oo}. Enter Ellen, breathless. She has run so far, & yet she is late – What will she do? She cannot stop the service – but must help the boy – She feels he is in danger – She loves the boy – she has never had a child of her own, & to her he is everything – God must help her – She prays – Enter Landlord – gaily taking his Sunday walk – Ellen sees him & asks his help to stop Grimes drinking & deteriorating – Landlord is gay & cynical – “In this world fools are preyed on; wise men get along as best they can, & if they occasionally prey, what harm? Fools deserve to be preyed on – You cannot get on with good words – Grimes is alright. 1 drop of drink doesn’t do any harm. A boy always gets better. Leave things as they are – Don’t worry – Take it easy –” 40 45

Ellen: “You are faithless – loose - & you are clever – but ordinary mortals need a saviour, need a help – Discipline must be found – One must choose one’s own – I have chosen God – My trust is in him –” (The People in the church are singing God moves in a mysterious way) “Do you hear?”, she cries. – Landlord says: “I do not believe you, but I will go & see Grimes & what he is up to.” Exeunt together. 50 55

^o {moving clumsily in a one-horse carriage} ^{oo} {offstage}

28-9 Act II/Scene I * Act II/Scene I. 32-3 [says ... work] {added in left margin} 33 She <IW> [accuses] 34-5 boy, [rescued from the sea] sea,* ~_λ 37 once with another* once other

Grimes <admits his> curses 38 will <IW> [Grimes short monologue to himself, goes to door & calls boy out.] {transferred to 63} 39 Scene II * Scene II. 45 “ * 48 boy <IW> 49 ” * 52 ” * 53 “Do you hear?”, she cries. * Do you hear, she cries? 54 “I ... to.” * I ... to. <Go & worship in peace>

³Text interpolated

Scene III Grimes & the boy –

⁴P's monologue to boy – admits his youth hurts him, his innocence galls him, his uselessness maddens him. He had no father to love him, why should he? His father only beat him, why should not he? “Prove yourself some use, not only pretty – work – not only be innocent. – work, do not stare; would you rather I loved you? You are sweet, holy etc. – but you must love me, why do you not love me? Love me damn you.”⁵ 60

Grimes short monologue to himself, goes to door & calls boy out.⁶

Accidental murder⁷ – Knocking – Enter Landlord – Grimes' remorse but terrified, recalls other apprentice, he will be lynched, dashes off.⁸ 65

Ellen & landlord see Grimes dashing off as they find body of boy – Ellen is overwhelmed – Landlord shocked but intelligent about how he could have died.

Act III Scene I Local scene – Women collecting sticks or such, or Chorus of fishers or both. Enter Ellen in despair, looking for Grimes – she has seen landlord & wants to go to Grimes before the village is roused: villagers evil. Gradual effect on chorus, they decide to help in chase. 70

Sun sets Empty stage. Enter Grimes – near crazy – Ghosts scene – Grimes monologue. The Sea calls him. Just as he is about to leap in – Enter Ellen, ahead of crowd – She calls to him. Too late – he runs, & jumps in – Enter crowd, bent on destruction.⁹ That is impossible for The Evil has destroyed itself. Curtain. 75

56 Scene III * Scene III 57-62 {transferred from after 38} 58 no <IW> 60 work, * ~ ^
 61 etc. * ~ ^ 62 ” * 63 {transferred from after 38} 64-5 <Grimes remo> Knocking <Grimes tells him accident> Grimes' remorse * Grime's remorse <Landlord tells Grimes to find Ellen & tell her, but <Grimes> terrified, recalls other apprentice <IW> he will be lynched, [dashes off] 66-7 [Ellen & landlord [see Grimes dashing off as they <IW>] ... died.] 68 Act III Scene I * Act III Scene I 70 roused[:] * {editorial addition} 71 chase <2 IW> 72 [Sun sets] 75 crowd [, bent on destruction] * {editorial addition} for <2 IW>

⁴Text repositioned ⁵Crabbe used to extend Peter's character ⁶Text repositioned

⁷Inappropriate terminology ⁸⁻⁹Text interpolated

Act I Scene I

ELLEN	How d'ye, Mary? Good afternoon, Sarah. Can you help me? Tell me, have you seen Grimes? I have had no sign of him all day.	80
MARY	Grimes has not been here, Ellen. Maybe he's up at the market.	
ELLEN	I was there. They had not seen him – Ah well! never mind – He is looking for a new apprentice – I hope he may find one.	85
CHORUS (1)	And that he'll be luckier than the last.	
CHORUS (2)	Luckier! You say – The boy was fortunate. He chose the easier way.	90
ELLEN	What do you mean?	
CHORUS (1)	Why Ellen that man is not good for you. He is cruel and unkind to his boys. People say the boy was glad to die – Grimes made his life such a misery –	95
ELLEN	It is not true, and I will swear it. I know my Peter is a hasty man, And likes apprentices who know what hard work is. And if they are lazy, why his hand is heavy – But that he is bad at heart I do deny – If he has sinned, his bad companions made him do it. And as for that lad, God rest him, He was no saint, a trial to any master.	100

77 Act I Scene I * Act I Scene I 78 <to y> Sarah 78 me, * ~ ^ <where is> [have you seen]
81 <The man> [Grimes] 97 <IW> it 104 He * he

SCENARIO C**PETER GRIMES**Prologue

- No. 1¹⁰ Ellen & Old Grimes waiting.
 No. 2 Enter Peter, drunk, is rude to Grimes, rebuked by Ellen,
 Old Grimes asks for silence. 5
 No. 3 Grimes' last speech & death.
 No. 4 Duet (Peter maudlin, Ellen strong & loving).
-

- No. 5 Entr'acte. (The Sea).
-

Act I Scene I

- No. 6 Chorus of Fishermen pulling in boats. 10
 No. 7 Appearance of Grimes. His tale of the boy's death.
 No. 8 Reaction of chorus. Ellen defends Grimes strongly & promises
 will not recur.
 No. 9 Entrance of A¹¹ announcing high tide. Immediate resumption of
 work chorus. Exeunt – Grimes, Ellen. 15
 No. 10 Entr'acte – Beginning of Storm.
-

Act I Scene II

- No. 11 Grimes' Apostrophe of Sea. (appearance of Old Grimes ghost?)
 No. 12 Entr'acte – Storm increases.

Act I Scene III

- No. 13 Chorus of confused servants, dwellers, travellers etc. 20
 Storm raging.
 No. 14 Landlord starts drinking song.
 No. 15 Entrance Grimes. He sings.
 No. 16 Rocket. Exeunt all. Grimes alone. Return of all with boy. 25
 No. 17 Ellen explains she will take boy & look after him.
 No. 18 Final chorus & ensemble.
-

8, 16, 19 Entr'acte * Entracte 9 Act I Scene I * ACT I. Scene I. 11 boy's * boys
 15 [work] [Exeunt ... Ellen] Grimes,* ~ ^ 17 Act I Scene II * Act 1 Scene 2
 20 Act I Scene III * Act 1 Scene 3

¹⁰Numbering and punctuation ¹¹ Awaiting designation

Act II Scene I

No. 19	Ellen's Song (to Boy).	
No. 20	Enter Grimes drunk slightly & refuses to let boy go.	30
No. 21	Duet. & Exit of Ellen.	
No. 22	Grimes & the Boy.	

No. 23	Entr'acte.	
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Act II Scene II

No. 24	Villagers going to church.	35
No. 25	Trio of gossipers overheard by Ellen as she enters.	
No. 26	Ellen's aria. Entrance of Pubkeeper.	
No. 27	Pubkeeper's Song.	
No. 28	Duet & Exeunt (Chorus off).	

No. 29	Entr'acte –	40
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Act II Scene III

No. 30	Grimes with the boy. Murder.	
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Act III Scene I

No. 31	Stick-pickers chorus. Enter Ellen.	
No. 32	Ellen's Jacket Song.	
No. 33	Chorus of Horror. Ellen's strength. ¹²	45
No. 34	Entr'acte.	

Act III Scene II

No. 35	Grimes' Mad scene.	
No. 36	Ellen's Entrance, finds Grimes.	
No. 37	Ellen's lament.	50
No. 38	Fishermen's Song. ¹³	

33, 40, 46 Entr'acte. * Entracte. {40 ~ –} 34 Act II Scene II * Act II Scene II 41 Act II Scene III * Act II Scene 3 43 Act III Scene I * Act III Scene 1 [Enter Ellen.] 47 Act III Scene II * Scene II {placed before 46 with no line spacing between 46 and 48} 48 Grimes' * Grimes 51 Fishermen's * Fisherman's

¹² Word interpolated ¹³ Presumed repeat

SCENARIO D

*Version I**Version II*

Prologue Magistrate <court> scene.
P.G. having done away with boy,
<forbid> is let off with a warning.

*Act I. Sc. I.*¹⁴ Seashore. 5

Act I. as Ver. I

Hauling in of boats.

Chorus working.

Storm Rising. P.G. has monologue
about <sea> everything.

Sc. II. Pub scene. 10
Storm, arrival of Ellen & Boy

Act II. Sc. I. P.G.'s Hut.

Act II. as Ver. I

Ellen comes for boy.
P.G. refuses to let him go.

Sc. II. Church scene. 15
Ellen disturbed. Seeks advice
from Villagers (Rumour chorus?).

Sc. III. P.G.'s Hut. Murder.

Act III. {Sc. I.} Beach. 20
Finding of Boy's coat.
Fury of Villagers.
Ellen's Lament.

Act III. Terrific court scene.
P.G. forbidden ever to have 30
boy again.
P.G. is dismissed in disgrace.

{*Sc. II.*} *Night*
P.G.'s mad scene & death.
Chorus as Act I. Sc. I. 25

Epilogue. P.G. on marshes,
goes mad & dies.

1-34 {Britten}

¹⁴ Designation of acts and scenes

< *Act I Scene I* – Seashore. – Men pulling in nets. – Grimes enters without boy –
Explanations, indignations. †35
Grimes must come before magistrates.

<*Act I Scene 2*> [*Prologue*] Before the magistrate. –
Grimes acquitted & exultant. >

< *Act II* The pub scene. The > 40

Act I. {Sc.}1. Seashore. nets. Boat being
hauled in. Storm approaching –

35-40 {Pears} 41-2 {Britten}

SCENARIO E

Act II Scene I

Ellen & the boy. Grimes enters: he must have the boy for fishing – (News of a shoal). Ellen lets him have him – says as he will be out all day she will go over to friends at Snape (?)

Act II Scene II

5

Outside the Church: with the pub opposite.

The church service is just coming to an end, but there's just time for the landlord to emerge in front of his pub & have an aria, before the last hymn starts. The people come out & start talking to one another, Ellen among them.

The three gossips talk about Grimes. Ellen overhears and when they go asks landlord about these rumours, has an aria about her doubts of Grimes, & her determination to win. The landlord comes out &¹⁵ is sceptical, & advises her to leave Grimes to himself: he's not worth the trouble. She curses him slightly & once more determines to go & help G.¹⁶ The landlord shrugs and says he will help if he can and as some men come in to drink he welcomes them. Exit Ellen. 15

Act II Scene III

The hut, empty. Grimes & the boy come back from fishing, Grimes is furious; through the stupidity and carelessness of the boy nets have been lost & fish gone. He blames & his anger grows (as he drinks). He finally drives the boy back to the door over the cliff & in terror the boy opens it & dashes out – onto the rocks. 20

Act III Scene I

By the sea. The women are picking up sticks, & combing the beach after the storm. Ellen is there, mourning; the chorus stops, and she sings her song over the little cap or coat. Enter the landlord who goes up to Ellen and tells her he has done what she asked him to. He has seen Grimes, but Grimes refused to come with him, he was very afraid of the village & in a bad state (I would say, Ellen, he was nearly crazy) – but he wanted to see you & would meet you by the shore here before dawn tomorrow morning. He said – “It was an accident Ellen, I did not kill him.” Ellen is thankful, promises to meet Grimes & exits – the chorus slowly go off and night falls – the fog comes up – at last enter Grimes, worn out, half mad, falls down. Slowly wakes up & has his mad scene – hallucinations – ghosts of the two boys & father – calls for Ellen – completely crazy – and as dawn breaks he staggers up & throws himself off headwater into the sea, as Ellen enters. She dashes up but too late – She weeps over him, has her lament, blaming herself & submitting to God's will, asks God to let his soul rest in peace. He was very weak not bad. As she ceases, the fisher's chorus can be heard slowly coming to work, & when they enter, she joins them to help with the boats. 25 30 35

1 Act II Scene I/Ellen * Act 2 Scene 1 Ellen 2 enters: * ~. 3 shoal. ~_^ 3-4 [says ... Snape(?)]
 (?). * ~_^ 5 * Act 2 Scene 2 7 [service] 10-11 [asks ... rumours] rumours, * ~_^ 12 <comes
 out &.> 13-14 <She ... G.> 14-15 [and ... can] 15 [Exit Ellen.] 16 Act II * Act 2 22
 [she] 25 He * he 29 [is thankful] 35 him, * ~_^ 36 [very]

¹⁵Text deleted ¹⁶Text deleted

Appendix B: Drafts (Prologue)

Prologue

*Interior of the Moot House, arranged as for Coroner's Inquest.
Coroner, Mr Swallow, senior, at table on dais^o, clerk at table below.
In the body of the room Ned Keene, Captain Balstrode, May Sanders, Dick Sanders,
James Hart¹, Mr Horace Adams, the vicar of the parish, Ellen Orford,
Peter Grimes, and, standing with Peter Mr Swallow junior.*

The Inquest is already in progress. Ned Keene is being sworn.

RECITATIVE²

SWALLOW (senior) Say this after me. "I swear by Almighty God" –

NED KEENE "I swear by Almighty God" –

SWALLOW "That the evidence I shall give"

NED KEENE "That the evidence I shall give"

SWALLOW (senr) "Shall be the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth."³ d5

SWALLOW You are an apothecary?

NED KEENE Some say a quack. ®

*(Ned is the kind of quack who takes the stuffing out of abuse by boasting of it –
much as he displays his flowered waistcoat)*

SWALLOW ✓ On the night of the 14th inst^{oo} you were called to Peter Grimes's hut to see the boy William Spode. When you arrived he was dead. d10

Ned nods his affirmative to each statement.

^odais {a raised table} ^{oo} inst {abbreviation of instant: of the current month}

d0.4 <Rev> [Mr] {Slater} <the> vicar {Slater} d0.7 [Sentence theme] RECITATIVE {Britten}
d6 [... & nothing but the truth"] {Britten} d8 Some <people IWs> [say a] {Slater} d9 SD
[(reading from deposition)] {Slater}

¹ Original name ² Music indicator extended ³ Line added

{SWALLOW}✓ You had not attended the boy before though Ellen Orford had asked you to give him some medicine as he was ailing. You did not do so.

Ned shakes his head

SWALLOW ✓ Why? d15

NED Because I don't work for nothing.

SWALLOW Thankyou. Stand down. Call Cap'n Balstrode. x⁴

Balstrode goes into the witness box

SWALLOW (*reads*) ⁵Cap'n Balstrode. You are a retired merchant seaman. [On the evening of the 12th instant you looked through your glass^o and saw the fishing boat "Billy Boy" ®⁶ putting out to d20 sea.][She was heading south.][You saw Peter Grimes and William Strode⁷ on deck.] [You have heard Peter Grimes declare ® that he attempted to sail to London to sell his fish there: that his water-kegs were dry ® and the boy died on the way.] Is this consistent with what you saw? d25

BALSTRODE It is.

SWALLOW Call May Sanders.

May Sanders enters the box

SWALLOW (*reads*) May Sanders, you are the wife of Dick Sanders, a fisherman. You formed the opinion that the boy William Spode was being ill-treated by Peter Grimes. You spoke to Grimes d30 and he answered you roughly.

MAY (*timidly*) Yes.

SWALLOW (*looks up*) What did you do then?

^o glass {spy-glass}

d12 SP & SD [SWALLOW (*reads*)] {Slater} d13 ailing. <IW> d15 SD [(*looks up*)] {Slater} d17 <Thankyou.> Stand d18-d21 {original version} <SWALLOW [(*reads*)] Cap'n Balstrode. You are a retired merchant captain. On the night of the <13th and 14th you were {IW}> the > 11th you saw Peter Grimes boat "Boy Billy" <sailing in a southerly direction> [making south.] > {Slater} d19 {revised version} <night of> [evening] d23 {revised version} <say> [declare] {Slater} d24 {revised version} <he ran out of water> [his water-kegs were dry] {Slater}

⁴Line contracted ⁵ Layout of statement ⁶Name reversed ⁷Misnomer

MAY I spoke to my husband.
 SWALLOW Call Richard Sanders. d35

Sanders goes into the box

SWALLOW Richard Sanders. You have heard what your wife said.
 Have you anything to tell the court.
 DICK Peter Grimes works his boat with an apprentice. Always has.
 SWALLOW (*reads*) You thought it was none of your business to meddle with
 the way another man ran his boat. You had heard d40
 complaints from many other people as well as your wife
 about Peter Grimes's treatment of his apprentices. You are
 aware that one of Peter Grimes's apprentices was killed
 falling from the mast-head.
 SWALLOW (*junior*) May I put a question to the witness You thought it d45
 was the part of a sensible man to ignore the gossip of the
 Borough. You told your wife to hold her tongue.
 DICK I did. ✓⁸
 SWALLOW (*junior*) ✓⁹ Thank you. ✓¹⁰
 SWALLOW (*senior*) Call James Hart ®. ✓¹¹ d50

Hart ® enters box

SWALLOW (*reads*) James Hart ®. You are the landlord of the Green Man ®.¹²
 You remember a quarrel between Grimes and some of your
 customers. You understood the cause of the dispute was
 Grimes's treatment of his apprentices. What did you do?
 JAMES ® Restored the peace. d55
 SWALLOW (*reads*) As a respectable tradesman ®¹³ you consider it your
 duty to keep your nose out of matters that do not concern you.

d35 <Richard Sanders> {repetition of text} d37 court<.> [?] {Slater} d42 You <IW>
 d47 Borough<.> [?] {Slater} tongue<.> [?] {Slater} d48{a}-d48{b} [CHORUS When women
 gossip the result/Is someone doesn't sleep at night] {Britten} d49 SD [(*through hubbub*)
 {Britten} [Stand down.] {Britten} d 50 <James Hart> [Mrs Puttock] {Slater} d50{a} [CLERK
 (repeating)] {Britten} d50.1 <Hart> [Auntie] {Britten} d51 <James Hart.> [Mrs Puttock.]
 {Slater} <landlord of the Green Man> [landlady of The Boar] {Slater} d55 SP <JAMES>
 [AUNTIE] {Slater} d56 <tradesman> [publican] {Slater}

⁸ Chorus added ⁹ SD added ¹⁰ Line extended ¹¹ Line added ¹² Original designation and name
¹³ Designation revised

JAMES ® That is so. Will you write down that it is not by any wish of mine that I appear in this court. ®¹⁴

SWALLOW (senior) Call Peter Grimes d60

SWALLOW (junior) I respectfully beg leave that we shall first hear the two witnesses I have called.

SWALLOW (senior) Who are they?

SWALLOW (junior) Mr Horace Adams ✓¹⁵, ✓¹⁶

Vicar enters box

SWALLOW (junior) ✓ Mr Horace Adams, you are the vicar of this parish. You have more than once been asked by your parishioners to speak to Peter Grimes on this subject, and you have not done so. d65

ADAMS I do not wish any conclusions to be drawn from this. ®¹⁷

SWALLOW (junior) Not even that you chose to ignore gossip? ✓¹⁸ d70

ADAMS I have not enough facts before me to form any® opinion.

SWALLOW (junior) ✓ I submit that we are not here to speak of opinions You did nothing.

ADAMS I did nothing.

SWALLOW (senior)¹⁹ You did not consider any action necessary? d75

ADAMS ✓ I did nothing. ✓²⁰

SWALLOW (junior) Ellen Orford. ✓²¹

d58 <JAMES> [AUNTIE] {Slater} d58-d59 <That is so. <<I will say.>> Will ... court.> [I never meddle. Please write down that it was never my idea to come to give evidence.] {Slater} d61 I <beg> respectfully beg {Slater} d64{a}-d64{c}.1 [CHORUS *hubbub* And if the parson preaches on it/Is it his job to fix the guilt?/CLERK Call Horace Adams./(BEADLE *repeats*)] {Britten} d65 SD [(speaks, quickly, but more deliberately than Swallow sen)] {Britten} d69 <VICAR> [ADAMS] {Slater} [While that is true] I ... be <drawn from this.> [formed.] {Slater} d70 even [the conclusion that as a good shepherd of his flock] <that> you ... gossip? {Slater} d71 an<y> {Slater} d72 SD [(*pleased*)] {Britten} d75 SP (senior) * d76 SD [(*quietly*)] {Britten} d76{a}-d76{d} [WOMEN When a man prays he shuts his eyes/And so can't tell truth from lies. MEN And women when they gossip boast/Not of their fears but of their hopes.] {Britten} d77{a} [CLERK Call Ellen Orford.] {Britten} d77{b} [BEADLE Ellen Orford.] {Britten} d77{b}.1 [*Ellen in box*] {Britten}

¹⁴ Lines revised ¹⁵ Chorus added ¹⁶ Line and SD added ¹⁷ Line revised ¹⁸ Line extended
¹⁹ SP ambiguous ²⁰ Chorus added ²¹ Lines and SD added

SWALLOW (junr) Ellen Orford, you are a widow. You keep a school. As a neighbour of Peter Grimes you have always befriended him. You have had a hard life and you understood his difficulties. You kept a friendly eye on his apprentices. Including this one. When you last saw the boy you thought he was run down and suggested a cordial. Have you anything else to tell the court? d80

ELLEN Peter Grimes was very fond of the boy. x²² d85

SWALLOW (junior)²³ Is it true that he named his boat “Boy Billy” after him?

ELLEN He told me so and the boy was pleased. ®

SWALLOW (junior) Peter Grimes. Will you go into the box. ✓²⁴

SWALLOW (junior) Tell the court the story in your own words.

Peter is silent

SWALLOW (junior) Why did you sail for London? d90

PETER The catch was too big to sell here.

SWALLOW (senior) Did you know the water keg was almost empty when you sailed?

Peter is silent

SWALLOW (senior) Tell us what happened, Grimes.

PETER The fish died – and the boy. d95

SWALLOW (senior) What did you do?

PETER Threw the ® overboard and sailed back ® home.

SWALLOW (junior) You mean threw the fish overboard.

Peter is silent

SWALLOW (junior) The boy was accustomed only to river sailing. He had not taken any long trips at sea and when the weather turned ® rough he was frightened, was he not. d100

PETER (*after a long pause*) He was frightened.

d82 boy you <IW's he was> thought d85 <very> fond ... boy <of his apprentice. He named his> {Slater} d86 SP (junior) * d87 <He> [The boy] told me so <.And the boy was pleased> [and very pleased he was.] {Britten} d88{a} [CLERK Call P. G. {Peter Grimes}]{Britten} d88{b} [BEADLE Call P. G.]{Britten} d97 the[m] overboard and sailed <back.> home. {Slater} d101 <turned> [became] {Slater}

²²Line contracted ²³SP ambiguous ²⁴Lines added

SWALLOW (senior) That will do. ✕ Your witness may stand down. ✓

SWALLOW (senior) ✓ As Coroner of this Borough I find that the death of William Spode was due to natural causes. Don't go away yet, d105
I have something else to say. ✕

✓ Peter Grimes, I will recommend you, for your own good ®
not to employ another apprentice. If you take my
advice you will obtain the assistance of another fisherman –
one who can stand up for himself. We are not making d110
any further investigation into this business: but take
care in future. ✓²⁵

He rises ✓²⁶

CLERK (*cries*) The Court is rising. ✓²⁷

*Everyone stands. Swallow (senior) bobs jerkily in ® the general direction of his
fellow-citizens and goes out by his private door.
The people begin to go out of the court. ✕* ✓²⁸

CURTAIN

d103 <That will do.> Your {Slater} d103.1 SD [*Sentence theme*] {Britten} d104 SD [(*rather deliberate*)] {Britten} d105-d106 <Don't ... say.> {Britten} d107 [(*slightly less deliberate*)] {Britten} <Peter Grimes.> [At the same time] I will recommend {sic} you, [Peter Grimes,] for {Slater} d108 <You> If you {Slater} d112 future. [Take care in future.] {Slater} d112.1{a}-d112.1{d} [CHORUS hubbub When women gossip the result/Is someone doesn't sleep at night/And then the crowner sits upon it/But who can dare to fix the guilt] {Britten} d113{a} [BEADLE Stand up.] {Britten} d113.1 (*senior*) <nods in a> bobs jerkily <to them> in {Slater} d113.3 <The ... court.> {Britten} [*Swallow junior takes Grimes aside.*] {Slater}

²⁵ Line added ²⁶ Chorus added ²⁷ Line added ²⁸ SD contracted and extended

{Draft: Act 1 Scene 1}*Scene One*

Street by the sea: Moot Hall exterior with its outside staircase, next door to which is "The Green Man". Ned Keen's¹ shop is at the street corner. On the other side breakwaters run down to the sea.

It is morning, before high tide, several days later.

Two fishermen are turning the capstan hauling in their boat. Prolonged cries as the boat is hauled ashore. Women come from mending nets to take the fish baskets from other fishermen who now disembark.²

A second boat is next hauled in.

CHORUS OF FISHERMEN AND WOMEN

HALF CHORUS³ Oh, hang at open doors the net and cork,
While squalid sea-dames at their mending work
Welcome the hour when fishing through the tide
The weary husband throws his freight aside.⁴

FISHERMEN O, cold and wet and driven with the tide d5
Beat your tired arms against your tarry side.
Find rest in public bars. Diluted gin
Will aid the warmth that languishes within.⁴

Two or three fishermen cross to "The Green Man" where James stands at the door.

FISHERMAN James

JAMES Morning ● d10

{SD} ×⁵

d0. 2 "The <Green Man> [Boar]" {Britten} d0.7 disembark. [Women bring baskets or tubs, and fishermen throw in fish from nets or fish-wells in boats.] {Britten} d1 HALF CHORUS * [½ chorus] {Britten} d8.1 "The <Green Man> [Boar]" {Britten} <James> [Auntie] {Britten} d9 <James> [Auntie] {Britten} d10 <Morning> [Come in, gentlemen, come in.] {Britten} {after d10} <They go in> {Slater}

¹ Unusual spelling ² SD extended ³ Suggested division of chorus ⁴ After Crabbe

⁵ SD discarded

Fisherman Robert Boles shouts from the boat

BOLES	The gin's poisoned ●	
FISHERMAN	Boles has gone Methody°	
JAMES	A man's religion is his private life. ● ✓® ⁶	
CHORUS	Dabbling on shore half-naked sea-boys crowd Swim round a ship, or swing upon the shroud; Or in a boat purloined with paddles play And grow familiar with the watery way. ⁷	d15

While the second boat is being hauled in, boys are scrambling over the first ✓⁸

The doctor goes down the street and into "The Green Man".

FISHERMEN ✓ ⁹	Morning Mr Crabbe. ®	
BOLES	Doctor likes his drink. ● ¹⁰	
CHORUS	We have our ship-builders and our dry docks Launch the high sea-farer from the stocks. See the long keel which soon the waves must hide See the strong ribs which form the roomy side. ✕ ^{11, 12, 13}	d20
FISHERWOMAN ¹⁴	Storm?	
2ND FISHERW	Storm?	d25

° *Methody* {Methodist (colloquial and regional)}

d11 <The ... poisoned> [Her vats shall flow with poisoned gin!] {Britten} d13 <A ... life.> [Religion/Is shelter from his own chagrin] {Britten} [<A man> [All men] should have/Hobbies to keep <his > [their] mind[s] alive.] {Slater, then Britten} d13.1-2 [*Two Fishermen go in "The Green Man"*] [Boar] {Slater, recast by Britten} [*Auntie follows them in*] {Britten} {after d17.1} {lines and SDs added} [<BOLES> DICK (*chasing*) Shoo, you little barnacles/ Sling your hooks & hoist your sails/ (*chases them off boat*)] {Britten} d17.2 <"The Green Man"> [Boar] {Britten} d18 FISHERMEN [*touches cap*] {Britten} Morning <M>[D]r Crabbe {Britten} d19 Doctor <likes his drink> [drinks to all diseases] {Britten} d20-23 {deleted by Britten} d23.1 {SD absent from B} *Captain Balstrode crosses to breakwater/ where he sits and scans the horizon through his glass.* A d25 SP B 2ND FISHERWOMAN A

⁶ SD added, revised and extended ⁷ After Crabbe ⁸ Lines and SD added ⁹ Line reallocated and revised, SD added ¹⁰ Line rewritten ¹¹ Lines deleted ¹² Source A available ¹³ SD absent ¹⁴ Allocation not clarified

Two fishermen come out of "The Boar". Auntie follows and leans against the doorpost. ®²⁴

NED ◀ I'm coming tonight to see your nieces. ®

AUNTIE "The Boar" is at its patron's service. ●²⁵

Swallow Junior comes down street. ®²⁶

NED That Swallow has a fish to fry. ®²⁷ d45

AUNTIE No fish of mine. ✕²⁸

CHORUS ®²⁹ For us sea-dwellers, this sea-birth can be
Death to our gardens of fertility.
Yet only such contemptuous springtide can
Tickle the virile impotence of man. d50

PETER GRIMES *calls (off)* Hi. ® Give us a hand.

Chorus stops.

PETER Haul the boat. ®

MAY (*shouts back*) Haul it yourself Grimes.³⁰

Peter appears hauling on rope ®³¹

PETER Somebody take a hand. ®³²

Nobody does. ® The fishermen and women turn their backs on him or slouch away awkwardly.

d42.1-2 {see ²⁴} d43 SP B <DICK SANDERS> NED KEENE A your B <one of> your A
d44 <At the Boar we don't put water in our gin> [The Boar is at its patron's service] {Britten} A
d44.1 SD B *Swallow Junior appears* A d45 B <Has> [That] Swallow [has] a fish to fry <?> [.]
{Britten} A d47 SP B CHORUS OF FISHERWOMEN A d49 springtide B spring-tide A
d51 B Hi <there> A {Slater} d52 <Give us a hand.> Haul the boat. A {Slater} d53 SP B MAY
SANDERS A yourself Grimes B yourself./ FISHERMAN Peter Grimes. A d53.1 *Peter appears*
<hauling on rope> B {Britten} *There is a silence. Then Peter appears* A d54 <Nobody give a
hand?> [<Will> Somebody take the rope] {Slater} A <the rope> [a hand] B {Britten}
d54.1 *Nobody does.* B *They do not reply* A

²⁴ An evolving SD ²⁵ Line rewritten ²⁶ SD revised ²⁷ Line revised ²⁸ SD and dialogue later
deleted ²⁹ SP revised ³⁰ Line and allocation revised ³¹ SD revised ³² Line revised

*(QUARTET)*³³

BALSTRODE I'll take a hand, the tide is near the turn. ®³⁴ d55

Makes rope fast to capstan. x³⁵

SWALLOW (*turning capstan*) ◀✓³⁶ If all were prudent nothing would get born.

Grimes goes back to the boat. ®³⁷

MAY SANDERS (*who stands with arms akimbo watching*)
 I notice if this fisherman's to be
 Kept from respectable society
 He'll find his level and he'll take his ease
 With shipless mates and lawyers without fees. ●³⁸ d60

BALSTRODE O haul away. The tide is near the turn.

SWALLOW ◀ Clocks have a moral sense but tides have none.

AUNTIE ® (*at the door of "The Boar"*) ®
 Parsons may moralise and fools decide
 But a good tradeswoman takes neither side
 And if a man drinks quiet and can pay d65
 No decent landlady turns trade away. ®³⁹

MAY O let these captains hear, these scholars learn.
 Their levity brings down the people's scorn.

AUNTIE I have my business. Let these scholars learn
 Hell may be fiery but the pub won't burn. ®⁴⁰ d70

BALSTRODE & }
 } The tide that floods will ebb. The tide, the tide will turn.
 SWALLOW ◀⁴¹ }

d54.3 B [QUARTET Balstrode, Swallow Jnr. May Auntie (B & S slow/ M & A fast)] {Britten} A
 d55 <Give us your rope> [I'll take a hand] {Britten} B d56 <KEENE> [SWALLOW JUNR]
 {Slater} A SWALLOW B {SD} B d56.1 B *He gives a hand with the capstan. Grimes ... boat.*
 <Swallow junior> [May] stands by, not helping. {Slater} A d57-d60 {see ³⁸} d61 O B Oh A
 d62 <KEENE> [SWALLOW JUNR] {Slater} A SWALLOW B d63 <JAMES> [AUNTIE] A
 {SD} B (*at door of Green Man*) A d64 But a good tradeswoman takes B <But a good tradesman
 will take> [Landlady takes] {Slater} A d66 landlady turns trade B <landlord> [publican] turns
 <his> cash d67-d70 {see ⁴⁰} d71 BALSTRODE & <KEENE> [<MAY> SWALLOW] {Slater} A

³³ Music and performance indicator ³⁴ Line revised ³⁵ SD later deleted ³⁶ SP revised and SD added ³⁷ SD revised ³⁸ Lines rewritten and reallocated ³⁹ Lines revised ⁴⁰ Lines heavily revised ⁴¹ SP revised

The boat is hauled up. Grimes appears. ⁴²

SWALLOW Grimes. You won't need help from now.
I've got a boy for you. ®

KEENE You've got a boy? ®⁴³

SWALLOW I called at the workhouse yesterday. d75
All you do now is fetch the boy.
We'll send the carrier with a note.
He'll bring your bargain on his cart.
(shouts) Jim Hobson. We've a job for you.

CARRIER (enters) Cart's full sir. More than I can do. d80

SWALLOW Listen Jim. You'll go to the workhouse
And ask for Mr Swallow's purchase.
Bring him back to Grimes.

CARRIER I've got no room.

SWALLOW Hobson. You'll do what there is to be done. d85

Fishermen and women gather round.

1st FISHERMAN Grimes has got another boy.

2nd FISHERMAN What did the Coroner have to say?

1st FISHERMAN Young Swallow's done the deal for him.

2nd Crowner will draw his fee again. ✕⁴⁴

MAY SANDERS Is this a Christian country when d90
Workhouse children are such slaves
Their souls and bodies go for cash?

GRIMES ◀⁴⁵ Hobson. Will you do your job?

Ellen Orford has come in.

CARRIER I have to go from pub to pub
Picking up parcels. I have to wait. d95

d71.1 A {added by hand to B by Slater} d73 <a boy for you> [you a boy.] {Slater}
d74 <You've got a boy?> [Another boy?] {Slater} d86-9 {deleted by Britten}
d93 <GRIMES> [SWALLOW] {Britten}

⁴² Source A ceases ⁴³ Line revised ⁴⁴ Lines deleted ⁴⁵ SP revised

{CARRIER} My journey back is late at night.
Mister, you find some other road
To bring your boy back

GRIMES ◀⁴⁶ You're afraid?

CARRIER Mister. You find some other road. ✓⁴⁷ d100

ELLEN Carter, I'll mind your passenger.

CARRIER ◀⁴⁸ What? You'll be Grimes's messenger?

ELLEN I shall go with you.

MAY S You, a schoolman
Setting yourself to help condemn
The workhouse soul with Peter Grimes! ⁴⁹ d105

ELLEN Whatever you say I'm not ashamed. ✓⁵⁰✓⁵¹
The carter goes from pub to pub,
Picking up parcels. I shall wait.
The child needs comfort late at night, d110
He needs a welcome on the road
To a strange place. He'll be afraid.

SWALLOW Mrs. Orford is talking sense. ✓⁵²

d99 SP * <GRIMES> [SWALLOW?] {Britten} [CHORUS] {Slater}

d100a-e {Slater}
CHORUS The road is rough to Market Town d100a
Where a strange bargaining is done
Head of cattle, souls of children
Whose sad feet have taken them
The workhouse road to Market Town d100e

d102 SP <CARRIER> [CHORUS] {Britten}

d107a-e {Slater}
CHORUS On the rough road to Market Town d107a
Many a little life has gone,
Parents abandoned, or unknown
Where disasters guided them
The sinful road to Market Town d107e

d107f [Somebody has to do the job.] {Slater} d113a [ELLEN Whatever you say I'm not
ashamed] {Britten}

⁴⁶ SP revised ⁴⁷ Chorus inserted ⁴⁸ SP revised ⁴⁹ Forceful original lines ⁵⁰ Chorus inserted
^{51, 52} Line added

- MAY S⁵³ Ellen, you're leading us a dance,
 Fetching a boy for Peter Grimes. ✓^{54,55}, ✓⁵⁶ d115
- ELLEN Let her among you that is without fault ®
 Cast the first stone
 And let the Pharisees and the Sadducees ®
 Give way to none.
- But anyone who has ever felt his pride ®⁵⁷ d120
 Humbled so deep
 There was no corner he could hide ®⁵⁸
 Even in sleep.
- Will have no trouble to discover how
 A schoolteacher d125
 Widowed and lonely finds delight
 Even in a chore.
- You ask me why I pity: you well know
 Pity has never moved a woman far.
 You ask me why I go: then you can say d130
 Better to give and go than to withhold and stay. x⁵⁹
- (as she moves up the street)*
- Mr Hobson, shall I sit in front? ●
- CARRIER You'll take whichever seat you want. ●⁶⁰
- Dr. Crabbe comes out of "The Boar".*

MAY (*jeers*) Had a good wet sir?

d114 <MAY S> [CHORUS] {Britten}

d115a-e {Slater} ↓

CHORUS	On the road to Market Town	d115a
	See the well-dressed buyers come	
	Proud and pury, broad-cloth-clad	
	Planning bargains to be had	
	In the nightmare Market Town.	d115e

d115f [<MAY I'll go fetch Swallow sen>] {Britten} [MAY I'll fetch the crowner. He'll see Grimes.] {Slater, deleted by Britten} d115g [ELLEN Whatever you say I'm not ashamed] {Britten} d116 <that is> without {Britten} d118 <the> Sadducees {Britten} d120 <anyone who has ever felt> [whosoever feels] {Britten} d122 <was> no corner he <could> [is] no corner he [can] {Britten} d128-31 {deleted by Slater} d132 <shall I sit in front?> [where's your cart?/I'm ready.] {Slater} d133 <You'll take whichever seat you want.> [Up there. I can wait.] {Slater} B

⁵³ SP revised ⁵⁴ Chorus inserted ⁵⁵ Line added, revised and deleted ⁵⁶ Line added
^{57, 58} Line revised ⁵⁹ Lines deleted ⁶⁰ Line rewritten

POLLY BOLES Morning doctor. d135

ROBT BOLES Hell fire will make your dry throat hotter.⁶¹

Dr. Crabbe touches his hat politely and goes up the street passing Grimes who is watching Ellen get on to the carrier's cart. Mrs. (Nabob) Sedley appears. x⁶²

Mrs. S (*whispers*) Mr. Keene.

NED At your service.

Mrs. S (*whispers*) Mr. Keene
Have you my pills? I mustn't be seen d140
By the dear rector.

NED I'm sorry mum - x⁶³

Mrs. S (*whispers*) ✓⁶⁴ My sleeping draught -

NED The laudanum
Is out of stock and being brought d145
By Mr. Carrier Hobson's cart.
He's back tonight.

Mrs. S (*stamps*) x⁶⁵ Good lord, good lord.

NED (*leisurely*) x⁶⁶ Meet us both at this pub, the Boar.
Auntie's we call it. It's quite safe. d150

Mrs. Sedley I've never been in a pub in my life.

NED At half past ten.

Mrs. S (*changing tone as rector appears*)
The dear rector!

NED He's the true quack, I the true doctor. x⁶⁷

d136.2 <walking Ellen> [watching Ellen] {Slater} ... appears. [<Swallow Snr is brought in by May and explained to>] {Britten} d137-d142 {deleted by Britten} d143 [(whispers)] {Slater} d152-4 {deleted by Britten}

⁶¹ Text relocation suggested ⁶² SDs and lines later deleted ⁶³ Lines largely deleted

⁶⁴ Performance indicator added ^{65, 66} Performance indicator later deleted ⁶⁷ Lines deleted

*QUINTET (gay)*⁶⁸

RECTOR Good morning, good morning. d155

NIECES (*at the pub door*) Good morning dear rector. ® ✓⁶⁹

NED Had auntie no nieces we'd never respect her.

RECTOR Good morning, good morning.

AUNTIE⁷⁰ Good morning Mr Adams. ®⁷¹

NED If you have a spare rib you'll find that it's madam's. ↵⁷² d160

Vicar and Mrs. S pass along street. Auntie and nieces go inside. ↵⁷³

BALSTRODE Tide's past the turn. ®

GRIMES Still rising.

BALSTRODE Ay.
A weight of water is thrust heavily
Into the Channel from the North Sea. ✕⁷⁴ d165

*Swallow Senior comes out of the Boar wiping his mouth.
May Saunders and Robert Boles go to him.*

MAY You should be told sir. Peter Grimes
Has a new boy for his cruel games.
Carrier's fetching him with Ellen Orford.

BOLES We warn you in the name of the Lord

SWALLOW What do you warn me of? d170

MAY This Grimes
Has a new boy for his cruel games.

d159.1 [5th gay] {Britten} d156 Good morning <dear rector.>. [Good morning.] {Britten}
d 156a [MRS. SEDLEY The Dear – – Rector – –] {Britten} d159 <morning> [day] {Britten}
d161 <Tide's passed the turn> [Past <time of> high water time.] {Britten} d169 <1> [L]ord
{Slater}

⁶⁸ Music and performance indicator ⁶⁹ Line revised and line added ⁷⁰ Position unspecified
⁷¹ Line revised ⁷² Lines relocated ⁷³ SD relocated ⁷⁴ Lines later deleted

SWALLOW (*calls*) Mr Grimes

SWALLOW JUNIOR (*comes up*) Good morning father.

SWALLOW SENR Are *you* in this? d175

SWALLOW JUNR I act for Peter. x⁷⁵

SWALLOW SENIOR Peter Grimes. It is on record
On the 12th instant, in my court
You did appear as witness called
To view the body of William Strode ⁷⁶ d180
At the inquiry aforesaid
Do you remember what the court said?

GRIMES Are you talking to me?

SWALLOW (*angry*) Yes.

PETER Are you sure? d185

SWALLOW Of course.

PETER I don't know who you are.

SWALLOW Look here sir – ®

PETER I've my work to do.
If you ® don't mind I'll say good day. d190

He leaves both Swallows high and dry. x⁷⁷

BALSTRODE (*leaves his seat on the breakwater to point seaward with his glass*)
An hour ago the tide was due
To turn. The tide is rising now. ®⁷⁸

BOLES ◀ Look out for squalls.

BALSTRODE ◀ Make your boat fast.

MAY ◀ Shutter the windows. d195

DICK SAUNDERS ◀ Bring home the nets

d165.1-d176 {deleted by Britten} d176.1 [*May brings Swallow senior in.*] {Britten}. d177-d190.1
{deleted by Britten} d188 <sir> [Grimes] {Slater} d190 <you> [you] {Slater} d191 <due>
[full.] {Slater} d192 <now> [still] {Britten} <To ... still..> [Take heed. The tide is rising still.]
{Slater} d193-d196 SPs {reallocated to CHORUS by Britten}

⁷⁵ SD and lines deleted ⁷⁶ A repeated misnomer ⁷⁷ Lines deleted ⁷⁸ Lines revised

BALSTRODE ◀	A high tide coming	
POLLY BOLES ◀	Will eat the land	
ROBERT B ◀	A tide no breakwaters withstand.	
CHORUS	Turn to the watery world. But who to thee (A wonder yet unviewed) shall paint the sea? Various and vast, sublime in all its forms, When lulled by breezes or when roused by storms	d200
	Its colours changing, when from clouds and sun Shade after shade upon the surface run, Embrowned and horrid ® now, and now serene In limpid blue and ever-changing green	d205
	Turn from the tide the tide that overflows Wind-laden, first with gentle swell that blows Presently to a storm which calendars Will mark and marvel in the coming years. ✕✓ ⁷⁹	d210

*Chorus goes off gradually till only Peter, Swallows, Boles and Balstrode remain.*⁸⁰

BALSTRODE	Fasten your boats, the spring tide's here: With a gale behind!
SWALLOW J ⁸¹	Is there much to fear?

d197-d199 SPs {reallocated to CHORUS by Britten}

d211a-h {insert} {Slater}

O in this spring-tide you would say the sun
had been drowned also, and that one by one
the waves wash over it, and the waves shout
with the diffused glory as they toss about. d211a

Turn from the tide, the tide that overflows
wind-laden, for its murmuring power will blow
tonight into a storm that calendars d211e

will boast and marvel at in coming years. d211h

d211.1 *remain.* [After chorus have gone Dick & Boles remain, hastily making their own boats tight.
They take part in the final brief storm-number, then hurry off.] {Slater} [Pull boats into street]
{Britten}

⁷⁹ After Crabbe, deleted and lines added ⁸⁰ SD variation ⁸¹ Reallocation suggested

PETER⁸² Only for the goods you're rich in d215
 It won't drown your conscience, it might
 flood your kitchen.

BOLES (*passionately*) ✓⁸³ The high tide swallows up the shores,
 Repent! (*He goes*)

PETER⁸⁴ And keep your wife upstairs. d220

SWALLOW SENIOR (*goes to Peter*)
 You do not hurry like the rest
 To mind your house, make your boat fast.

PETER My house is sleep: my boat is toil.

SWALLOW JUN A man of sense ignores a gale.

SWALLOW SENR Let's gossip while the tide floods in. d225

PETER You should address me through your son. x⁸⁵

SWALLOW S May I speak as a friend?

PETER Not being one.

SWALLOW S Why trouble to defy opinion?
 Consider. Are you being wise? ®⁸⁶ d230

PETER In what?

SWALLOW S In buying a new apprentice. x⁸⁷

PETER I have no choice.⁸⁸

SWALLOW S The will is free.

PETER I have no choice. d235

*Again he walks away*⁸⁹

{before d218} [God has his aims which are not ours] {Slater} d220 upstairs. [(goes)] {Slater}
 d225-d226 {deleted by Britten} d229 Why <trouble to defy> [set yourself against]{Slater}
 d230-d230{a} wise<?>[/Taking this step]{Slater} d231-d232 {deleted by Slater and Britten}

⁸² Reallocation suggested ⁸³ Line added ⁸⁴ Reallocation suggested ⁸⁵ Lines deleted ⁸⁶ Lines revised ⁸⁷ Lines deleted ⁸⁸ A position of principle ⁸⁹ SD precision

BALSTRODE The German Sea
Piles up these waters which will flood
Everything east® of Yarmouth roads.⁹⁰

SWALLOW S My boy, remember what I say.
They go out

BALSTRODE Mind your boat. That's a better way. d240
Balstrode goes×⁹¹

PETER (*alone*)
These mice are frightened, frightened. They
Who sleep at night are numb by day.
We know no land unless we plumb the sea.

Young stranger,⁹² we do well to be
Outside the painted doors that they d245
Bolt on the spring tide and our gaiety.

Our fishing hut is bare. At least
No father rules its empty feast.
Young stranger. Shall we sail till we are lost?

I have a father in the sea d250
Scolding from tides, and it was he
Who made the laws that we shall disobey.

Young stranger, shall we sail beyond
The borough streets, the timid land
And drown in our own sea the daily round? d255

This time there'll be no quarrels, this
Time our wills not cross.
Stranger, we'll find out what the others missed. ®⁹³

Two others sailed the boat with me.
We shared luck. It was all unlucky. d260
Young Stranger, we'll sail far out, but they --- but they.... ®⁹⁴

CURTAIN

d238 <east> [south] {Britten} d239-d240.1 {deleted by Britten} d243 We <cannot> {Slater}
d258 [Shall we find,] Stranger, <we'll find out> what the others missed[?] {Britten} d261 [Young]
Stranger {Britten}

⁹⁰ Line revised ⁹¹ Lines and SDs deleted ⁹² The concept of the stranger ^{93, 94} Line revised

{NIECE 2} It's blown our bedroom windows in.

NIECE 1 Oo we'll be drowned.

DICK ◀ Perhaps in gin.

NIECE 2 I wouldn't mind if it didn't howl.
It gets on my nerves. d40

NIECE 1 We'll all be drowned.

NIECE 2 I wouldn't mind if it didn't howl.
Stop that howling.

DICK You think we
Would stop our storm for such as ee? d45
I always knew how it would be.
Nieces all over palpitations.
Auntie, where d'you get your relations? ®¹¹

AUNTIE Loud man I never did have time
For the sort of creature that spits in his wine. d50
A joke's a joke and fun is fun
And a nice man's thankful for what's done ®¹²

NIECES For his peace of mind. ✓¹³

AUNTIE Loud man, you're glad enough to be
Playing your cards in our company. d55
A joke's a joke and fun is fun
And a nice man's thankful for what's done ®

NIECES For his peace of mind.

MRS NABOB This is no place for me.

AUNTIE Loud man, are you the kind that beats d60
His wife for love on Saturday nights? ®¹⁴
A joke's a joke and fun is fun
And a nice man's thankful for what's done.

d38 <DICK> [BALST.] {Britten} d45 as <ee> [you] {Britten} d46-8 <I always knew how it would be./Nieces all over palpitations./Auntie where d'you get your relations?> [Coming all over palpitations!/Auntie, get some new relations.] {Britten} d52 what's [been] {Britten} d53 {a} [MRS NABOB This is no place for me] {Britten} d57 what's [been] {Britten} d60-61 <Loud ... nights?> [Are you the man that boasts that he/Flogs his love & his nutmeg tree.] {Britten} d63 what's [been] {Britten}

¹¹ Lines not reallocated but revised ¹² Line revised: Auntie's response ¹³ Line added

¹⁴ Lines revised and later deleted

NIECES For his peace of mind

MRS NABOB This is no place for me. d65

✓ Boles rises unsteadily

DICK Serve us the drinks. Give us a round. ®¹⁵

BOLES I'm drunk. Drunk.

DICK ◀ You're a Methody scoundrel.®¹⁶

BOLES (*staggers to one of the nieces*) Is this a niece of yours?

AUNTIE That's so d70

BOLES Who's her father?

AUNTIE Who wants to know?

May Sanders comes in.
There is the usual struggle with the door ®↔¹⁷

MAY ◀ There's been a landslide up the coast ↔¹⁸

BOLES Make way, woman, I want your niece. ✕¹⁹

I want to pay my best respects d75
To the beauty and misery of her sex.

DICK ◀²⁰ Old Methody, you'd better tune
Your piety to another hymn.

BOLES I want her

DICK ◀ Sh-h-h-h. d80

AUNTIE (*cold*) Turn that man out.

d65.1 [*Enter Balstrode and May Sanders. (Usual struggle with the door) / Two fishermen enter. Usual struggle with the door.*] 1st FISHERMAN There's been a landslide up the coast] {Britten} d66 <Serve ... round.> <[Allright. Come on. Drink around.]>{Slater} d68 <DICK> [BALSTRODE] <scoundrel> [waster] {Britten} d73 <MAY> [1ST FISHERMAN] {Slater} d74 <Make ... niece>{Slater} d77 <BOLES> [<DICK>]{Slater, then Britten} d80 <DICK> [BALSTRODE] {Britten}

¹⁵ Line revised and later deleted ¹⁶ Line reallocated and revised ¹⁷ SD revised and relocated
¹⁸ Line reallocated and relocated ¹⁹ Line deleted ²⁰ Line reallocated

DICK ◀ Auntie, he's a local preacher
He's lost the way of carrying liquor.
He means no harm.

BOLES No. I mean love. d85

DICK ◀ Come on boy.

*Boles hits him. Mrs Nabob screams
Dick quietly overpowers Boles and sits him in a chair*

DICK ◀ We live and let live.
And look - we keep our hands to ourselves. ²¹

*Door opens. The struggle is worse than before as Ned Keene gets through
Cap'n Balstrode follows him* ®²²

NED Have you heard there's been a break
Up by Peter Grimes's hut? d90

MRS NABOB Thank God you've come

NED You won't blow away.

MRS NAB That carrier's over half an hour late.

BALSTRODE He'll be later still: the road's under flood.

MRS N I can't stay longer. I refuse. d95

NED You'll have to stay if you want your pills.

MRS N With drunken females and in brawls.

NED They're auntie's nieces, that's what they are,
And better than you for kissing ma.
Mind that door. d100

*The door opens again. Mrs. N. faints.
Peter Grimes has come in. He stands by the door.* ® ²³, ✓²⁴

d82, d86 <DICK> [BALST.]{Britten} d86.2 <Dick> [Balstrode] {Britten} d87 <DICK>
[BALSTRODE] {Britten} d88.2 <Cap'n ... him> {Britten} d100.1 <Auntie> [Mrs N]
{Britten} after d100.2 [CHORUS Talk of the devil and there he is. —/And a devil he is,/And a
devil he is . . .] {Slater}

²¹ Sentiments later elaborated ²² SD revised ²³ SD revised and later extended ²⁴ Lines added
and later relocated

NED (*attending to Mrs Nabob*) Get the brandy, aunty.®²⁵

AUNTIE Who'll pay?

NED Her. I'll charge her for it.

*Peter sits down. The others move away from that side of the table*²⁶
*Peter is without oilskins and soaking. He looks wild*²⁷

NED This widow's strong as any two
Fisherwomen that I know. d105
Everybody's very quiet.

They don't answer him.
Silence is broken by Peter, as if thinking aloud -

PETER Among the constellations
where earth moves
Imagined exhalation
of human grief d110
Breathes a solemnity in the deep night.

Who can decipher
in storm or starlight
The written character
of a friendly fate – d115
As the sky turns, the world for us to change?²⁸✓²⁹

MAY He's mad or drunk.

FIRST NIECE Why's that man here?³⁰

Silence again. Then muttering in undertones

2ND NIECE He's nothing dearie you need fear.³¹

1ST He looks as though he's nearly drowned. d120

2ND I wouldn't mind if he didn't howl.³²

d101 aunt<y> {Slater} d116 {a-d} [And if the horoscope's/bewildering/ Like a school playground-
full/ of noisy children/ Who can turn skies back & begin again?] {Slater}

²⁵ Line revised ²⁶ An unusually prescriptive SD ²⁷ SD later relocated ²⁸ Layout of soliloquy
²⁹ Lines added and later revised ³⁰ Lines later reallocated ³¹ Line later rewritten and allocation
revised ³² Lines, with allocation revised, as part of an extended ensemble section

AUNTIE Can anybody sing a round? x^{33, 34}

Balstrode begins the round. ³⁵

BALSTRODE Here the wind blows every day
Wind and master steal our pay
Our bones ache our friends say nay. d125
Loneliness is one.

DICK ³⁶ Here the wind blows every day
Wind and master steal our pay
Our bones ache our friends say nay:
Two and it is gone. d130

AUNTIE Here the wind blows every day
Wind and master steal our pay
Our bones ache our friends say nay:
Three the rival's come.

d122 <Can ... round?> {Britten}

d122{a-n} {inserted sheet after this line} {Slater}

[Boles staggers up to Grimes

BOLES You've sold your soul Grimes. d122a
DICK ³⁶ Come away.

BOLES Satan's got no grip on me.
DICK ³⁶ Don't provoke him now. He's desperate.
BOLES I'll only read him from the gospel. d122e
I shall hold a light before
The cataract upon his eyes. ³⁷

PETER Get out.
DICK ³⁸ Quiet now.
BOLES His exercise d122j
Is not with men but killing boys.

Grimes strikes him. Dick intervenes. ³⁹

AUNTIE For God's sake help me keep the peace
D'you want me up at the next Assize?
DICK Can't anybody sing a round?⁴⁰ {Slater} d122n

d122k.1 <Grimes strikes him. Dick intervenes> [*Grimes thrusts Boles aside roughly & turns. Boles picks up a bottle & is about to bring it down on Grime's head, when Balstrode knocks it out of his hand & it crashes in fragments on the floor.*] {Britten} d122n <DICK> [BALSTRODE] <Can't anybody> [For peace sake somebody] {Britten}

³³ Line later deleted ³⁴ Interpolated texts ³⁵ A stymied SD ³⁶ Line not reallocated ³⁷ Lines later revised ³⁸ Line not reallocated ³⁹ SD revised ⁴⁰ Line reallocated and revised

NIECES ◀	Here the wind blows every day Wind and master steal our pay Our bones ache our friends say nay: Four, the game's begun. ® ⁴¹	d135
BOLES ◀ ⁴²	Here the wind blows every day Wind and master steal our pay Our bones ache our friends say nay. Five is flesh and bone.	d140
MAY ◀ ⁴³	Here the wind blows every day Wind and master steal our pay Our bones ache our friends say nay: Six o'clock it's born.	d145
NED ◀ ⁴⁴	Here the wind blows every day Wind and master steal our pay Our bones ache our friends say nay: Seven, Creation's done.	d150
FISHERMEN CHORUS ◀ ⁴⁵	Here the wind blows every day Wind and master steal our pay Our bones ache our friends say nay: Eight is bells of doom.	
GRIMES	Here the wind blows every day Wind and master steal our pay Our bones ache our friends say nay: Nine and you are down. ✕ ⁴⁶	d155
FISHERMEN	Here the wind blows every day Wind and master steal our pay Our bones ache our friends say nay: Ten you're carried home. ✕ ^{47,48}	d160

d135 <NIECES> [BOLES] {Britten} d138 the <game's begun.> [oldest game.] {Slater}
d139 <BOLES> [NED] {Britten} d143 <MAY> [MAY & NIECES] {Britten} d147 <NED>
[FISHERMEN CHORUS] {Britten} d151 <FISHERMEN CHORUS> [GRIMES] {Britten}

⁴¹ Lines reallocated and line revised ⁴²⁻⁴⁵ Lines reallocated ^{46, 47} Stanza deleted

⁴⁸ Round version 2 d162{a-i} {Round version 2 on second inserted sheet} {Slater} ↴

[①	The drunken fisherman sleeps sound He drinks the sea & swigs it round	d162a
②	<i>Peter</i> His only storms are in his dreams	
③	— in his dreaming fits He navigates her with his sodden wits	d162e
④	He aggravates her with his snores And leaves her high & dry because	
⑤	If she's his wife then he's too drunk And if she's not they both are sunk.] {Slater}	d162i

{ELLEN} We'll say our prayers to the salt old sea
 And make our dinner, shall we John?
 You're very quiet. But you could have gone ®
 If you'd asked? Would you like to? d30

He doesn't answer

{ELLEN} Well? Yes or No? ®⁵
 JOHN Tell me what I asked just now.

Others are going to church

ELLEN Here they all come. Here's Polly Boles
 Risking a row, for Robert will
 Curse when he finds out where she's been ®⁶ d35
 Look there's Swallow and Mr his father, ®
 The smart one and the grave old lawyer –
 They were a partnership until
 The too smart junior partner fell ®
 Into the money-making trick. d40
 So now he teaches father. Look
 Here's doctor Crabbe, they say he writes
 Verses about us and our lives.
 Casually, the rector strolls
 Mrs Nabob at his heels. d45

All go inside church

JOHN Now they've all gone in at last
 Please tell me Ellen what I asked. ®⁷

In church hymn-singing has begun

Hymn off

{CHORUS} Now that daylight fills the sky
 We lift our hearts to God on high

d29 <very> quiet {Slater} d31 <Well? Yes or> No? {Slater} d33 <all> come
 d34-35 [Dressed up in her Sunday clothes/Spiting Robert's Methody groans] {Slater}
 d36 <Mr> his <father> [senior] {Slater} d39 <The ...fell> [The junior broke away and fell]
 {Slater} d46 <JOHN Now ... last> [ELLEN Now they're all inside at last.] {placed before d45.1}
 d49 [That he in all we do or say/Would keep us free from harm today.]{Britten}

⁵ An improved revision ⁶ An arty revision ⁷ A weaker revision?

{ELLEN}	Have I forgotten Yes. Both you And others to Remember who!	}	or	Your jealousy is the invader that makes love resemble murder ¹¹	d80
	And all who are Remembered not All murdered by My hidden thought				

JOHN Ellen, d'you want me to go away? ¹²

ELLEN There's a tear in your coat. Was that done
Before you came? ¹³ d85

JOHN Yes^{x14}

ELLEN Badly torn.
That was done yesterday.
Come here. Take your hand away
Your neck's bruised d90

(Undoes his short collar)

Why

Do you try to hide?
The weal's ugly. Has it broken the skin?
Well we've begun. d95
Peter leathered^o you!

JOHN Don't tell him!

ELLEN I've
Ointment at home that will soothe.
We'll go soon. d100

JOHN Don't tell him. ^{x15}

In Church

{CHORUS} O Lord open thou our lips
And our mouth shall shew forth thy praise
O God make speed to save us
O Lord make haste to help us. d105

^oleathered {thrashed with a leather thong}

d87 <Yes>?{Britten} d98-101 <I've ... him.>{Britten}

¹¹A problem song and alternative lines ¹²Music indicator ¹³Interpolated text

¹⁴A weaker revision? ¹⁵Lines deleted

{CHORUS} Glory be to the Father & to the Son & to the Holy Ghost
 As it was in the beginning is now & ever shall be
 World without end. Amen
 Praise ye the Lord
 The Lord's name be praised d110

JOHN (Don't tell him Ellen)✓¹⁶

ELLEN Shall we make a bargain John
 On your and my curriculum? ¹⁷
 Sure you're not too young to know
 What the roots of sorrow are. d115
 Death's tremendous wings are less
 Frightening than shapelessness.
 Life still needs its holidays
 (As God is childish and wants praise).
 Peter Grimes has made a bargain d120
 Sunday is your and my demesne°.
 We'll govern like a famous king
 Whose lands bring tourists globe-trotting
 Relaxed, to watch his discipline.
 Perhaps I'm sounding like a school mam d125
 Maxims her aged soul to damn. ®¹⁸
 And yet the gossips know that I
 Have watched a bankrupt husband die
 Suffering daughters' shrill defiance ® d130
 At half-wit mother's usual preference ®
 For sons who soon found that a reason
 For cursing mother's love in prison. ®×¹⁹
 So we'll still make a bargain John
 On your and my curriculum. d135
 Sunday always special dinner,
 Special clothes and special manners
 Set aside for both of us
 Since life needs its holidays
 Like God who's childish and wants praise

°demesne {domain}

d111 [(Don't ... Ellen)]{Britten} d113 <Sure> [O] {Slater} d119 <As God is> [Like God who's]
 {Britten} d120-d132 <Peter ... prison.>{Britten} d123 <lands bring> [Fame brings] {Slater}
 d123-d126 <Whose...damn.> ↴
 Whose fame will wealthy tourists bring d123a
 To watch, relaxed, his discipline.
 Perhaps I'm talking too like school d125a
 All maxims and pedantic rules d126a {Slater}
 d129 <Suffering> [And borne a]{Slater} d130 <half-wit> [silly]{Slater} d131 <that> [this]
 {Slater} d132 mother<'s> [']{Slater} d137 <both of us> [you and me] {Slater}

¹⁶ Line and comment added ¹⁷ Music indicator ¹⁸ Lines revised ¹⁹ Lines deleted

÷ ÷ ÷²⁰

{ELLEN} Hush Peter hush. d140

PETER The schoolmistress –
I'm too plain-spoken – is distressed.

ELLEN Peter, I've held your life up for you
When everything else gave way.

PETER And who d145
Petitions for your charity?
Do I? Do I? Do I? Do I?²¹

ELLEN I have not asked for thanks, nor asked
To *be* asked if it gave you rest. d150
I gave my freedom for this boy
Meaning to help, and I was wrong maybe.
The crazy structure of your life
Finds its own level easily enough
With no wind blowing. The worst
Answer is to let things take their course. ® d155

PETER They take what course I want. For I
Desire – and there are you
Granting. And this of course you'll say
Is the impossible. But shall we try?
You'll find of Peter Grimes that he's d160
Most comfortable in sordidness,
Contented in disharmony
Hilarious in misery.
But then your kitchen mind will say
'This is no recipe' but shall we try? d165
You'll find in sordidness I'm blind
Drunk, and when I'm gay I fight:
Happiest in ruin, I
Challenge your smugness, shall we try? ®²²×²³

ELLEN Peter tell me one thing, where d170
Young stranger got his bruise and weals.

PETER Out of my true affection.

ELLEN So
There is no hope then any more.

d148-d169 <I ... try?>{Britten} d154-d155 The ... is to let [Oh] the ... is <to>[,] let {Slater}
d169 <I> [we]{Slater}

²⁰ Lines lost ²¹ Music indicator ²² Line revised ²³ Lines deleted

{ELLEN} While you are drinking I shall go. d175
 O all these things that you are pleased
 To mock as kitchen recipes
 Are ordinary life and love.
 The simple answer is to remove
 Both. If ruin's what you want d180
 Ruin is also what you get:
 A universe where nothing dare
 Resist your will for nothing's there.
 Peter, this is all you have,
 All your life and all your love, d185
 A world where wills all break and die.
 The worst is, you shall have your way.

PETER Are you trying to quarrel with me? ²⁴

ELLEN I've finished. You shall have your way.

She goes out leaving her basket. Peter kicks it away savagely

PETER (*turns on the boy who cringes*)
 Now we'll see – young stranger, come – d190
 Who holds the whip:

JOHN (*half rises and screams*) No Peter.

PETER (*furious, hand raised*) Home!

JOHN *runs away screaming* Ellen! Ellen!

Peter follows

MRS. SEDLEY ²⁵ I heard loud voices during psalms: d195
 Grimes' was one, & one more calm.

BOLES (*to Polly Boles as she comes out*)²⁶
 While you worshipped idols there
 The Devil had his Sabbath here.

d195-? [I ... ?]{Britten} d197 <Polly Boles> [a fisherwoman]{Britten}

²⁴ Music indicator ²⁵ Lines added ²⁶ SD revised

POLLY®²⁷ What is it?

BOLES What do you suppose d200
Grimes is at his exercise.

*As people come out two by two they circulate the village green singing their couplets
as they reach the centre.*²⁸

SWALLOW JUNIOR®²⁹ Dullards build their self-esteem
Censoring a private vice.³⁰

SWALLOW SENR®³¹ Even so, the law restrains
Too indulgent privacies. d205

DICK SAUNDERS®³² Fishing is a lonely trade
Single men have much to bear.

MAY®³³ If a man's work can't be made
Decent, he should stay ashore.

NIECE 1 Men are queer I always say, d210
Moody creatures, things of chance.

NIECE 2 To convince them they must pay
Is a sobering influence.

Balstrode pauses by Ned as he walks round

BALSTRODE When the borough gossip starts
Somebody must suffer for it. d215

NED Thanks to flinty human hearts
Even quacks can make a profit.

d199 <POLLY> [FISHERWOMAN]{Britten} d201.2 *centre*. [*First come Swallow and fellow
lawyer.*]{Britten} d202 <SWALLOW JUNIOR> [Fellow lawyer (Chorus)]{Britten} {after}
d203 [CHORUS What is it?/What do you suppose./Grimes is at his exercise]{Britten} d204
<SENR>{Britten} d206 <DICK SAUNDERS> [FISHER<WOMAN>[MAN] (Chorus)]{Britten}
d208 <MAY> [FISHERWOMAN (Chorus)]{Britten}

²⁷SP revised ²⁸SD extended ²⁹SP revised ³⁰Chorus added ³¹⁻³³SP revised

Finally Mrs Nabob and vicar

MRS N Souls! Ah what a weight is this
Pastoral authority.

RECTOR What subversive faith is this d220
Which gives souls equality!³⁴

Gossip dissolves in general rumour chorus (same as in prologue)

{CHORUS} When women gossip the result
Is someone doesn't sleep at night
And if the parson preaches on it
He has no right to fix the guilt. d225
Women, when they gossip, boast
Not of their fears but of their hopes
And if the crowner sits upon it
Has he the right to fix the guilt
Has he the right to fix the guilt d230
Has he the right to fix the guilt?³⁵

*During the hubbub May Saunders climbs a little way up
the steps of the Moot Hall. ®³⁶*

MAY®³⁷ (*?? Should this be spoken?*)³⁸ People ... No I *shall* speak People
This thing here concerns you all.

NED Tub-thumping.

MAY Oh, this prentice system d235
Is uncivilised, unchristian.

NED Something of the sort befits
Brats conceived outside the sheets

MAY These are not only foundlings, they
Are children torn away from play, d240
Parents herded in the workhouse,
Broken, ruined families,
Men from women separated,
Driven like cattle to the market
And their children bought like slaves d245
Whipped and driven to their deaths.

D221.1 <(same ... prologue)> [Britten]d231.1 <May Saunders> [Boles]{Britten} d232, d235
<MAY. [BOLES]{Britten} <??Should ...spoken?>{Britten}

³⁴ Lines reallocated ³⁵ Returning and modified lines ³⁶ SD revised ³⁷ SP revised

³⁸ Query deleted

{MAY} Oh, I plead with you today
End this evil at your door.
Here, this whipped and tortured boy
Utters an earth-shaking cry. d250
Wrong, and wrong and wrong is this
Buying of apprentices.
Pain and pain and pain it brings.
Like a millstone, O it hangs
Round our necks. Oh cut the cord d255
End this evil. x³⁹

ROBT BOLES I thank God
Somebody has dared to speak. x
Where's the parson in his black.
Is he here or is he not d260
To guide a sinful straying flock?
Or tend his canterbury bells
And let his people go to hell? ® x⁴⁰

RECTOR Is it my business?

MAY®⁴¹ To ignore d265
Evils growing at your door?

ROBT Growing like your fancy flowers.

RECTOR Calm now. Tell me what it is.

*Ellen comes in. She is met by Auntie who has picked up Ellen's abandoned basket
and its contents.*

AUNTIE Ellen dear, see I have gathered
All your things. Come rest inside. d270

MAY®⁴² (*shouts*) She can tell you, Ellen Orford!

BOLES Speak out in the name of the Lord.

RECTOR (*to ELLEN*) We're talking of the case of Grimes.

MAY®⁴³ She helped him in his cruel games.

d239-d256 <These ... evil> {Britten} d257-d258 <I ... speak.> {Britten} d261-d262 <Or ...hell?> {Britten} d261 <tend> [grow]{Slater} d265 <MAY> [BOLES]{Britten} d267 <ROBT> {Britten} d270, d274 <MAY> [CHORUS]{Britten}

³⁹ Lines deleted ⁴⁰ Lines revised and deleted ⁴¹⁻⁴³ SP revised

RECTOR *(holding his hand up for silence)*
Ellen please. d275

ELLEN What am I to do?

RECTOR Speak the truth.

ELLEN Truth is hard for you?
You're {a} shy person. You're afraid
Of people and their shameful ways. d280
And now you blink and disapprove
Because you dare not trust yourself. x⁴⁴
You're not alone. The whole town too
Flinches and then turns away.
You find one different from the rest, d285
Grimes, you keep him in his place,
And when his will begins to give
Way under this lonely life
You become smug and moralise.

RECTOR What's to be done? d290

ELLEN Nothing

RECTOR What's wrong with Grimes?

ELLEN A thing
Beyond your knowing. ✓⁴⁵

RECTOR That's to be seen. d295

ELLEN You fear our main weaknesses, and when
Self-pity takes us, O you're stern. x⁴⁶
It's all so easy. Now you'll call
The pack of gossips to your heel
And dig the victim from his hole d300
O you'll be masters of the town
Too late. There's nothing to be done.⁴⁷

RECTOR Swallow, shall we go along
And interview Grimes in his home?

SWALLOW (SENIOR)⁴⁸ Popular feeling's rising. d305

RECTOR Let us go

d281-d282 <And ... yourself..>{Britten} {after} d294 [MAY?] [Nothing!?!]{Britten}
d296-d297 <You ... stern.>{Britten}

⁴⁴ Lines deleted ⁴⁵ Line added ⁴⁶ Lines deleted ⁴⁷ Lines queried ⁴⁸ SD unrevised

{RECTOR} Mrs. Sedley might come too. ✓⁴⁹

Mrs Nabob hinnies^o and jumps to it.

MAY[®]⁵⁰ Now we shall find out the worst.

BOLES He speaks last who should have spoken first.⁵¹

RECTOR Mr Swallow come along. ✓⁵² d310

*He leads the way. Mrs Nabob and Swallow senior follow,
then Swallow junior and the rest of the crowd at a slight distance.*⁵³

Auntie, the two Nieces and Ellen remain.

AUNTIE We are women. Why should we
Trouble at their clumsy ways?

NIECES O they always have to be
Pompous when they're in disgrace.

ALL THREE⁵⁴ Do we smile or do we weep d315
Or wait quietly till they sleep?

hinnies^o {neighs like a horse}

{after} d307 [MRS NABOB I've the evidence/I've a clue]{Britten} [RECTOR Balstrode, I'd like you to come./BALSTRODE I warn you, you will waste your time./RECTOR I'd like your presence just the same.]{Slater} d308 <MAY> [CHORUS]{Britten} {after}d310 [MRS. N. Little do the suspects know/I've the evidence, I've the clue.]{Britten} d310a-d310l [Now ... life.]{Slater} ↓

CHORUS & SOLOISTS sing as departing

Now is gossip put on trial d310a
Now the rumours either fail
Or are shouted in the wind
To sweep furious through the land.

Liars are shivering because now d310e
If they've cheated we shall know;
We shall strike & strike in anger
At the sinner or the slander.

Now the whisperer stands out d310i
To be examined by the fact;
Bring the branding iron, the knife.
What's done now is done for life. ✓⁵⁵ d310l

⁴⁹ Lines added ⁵⁰ SP revised ⁵¹ Placing of line awkward ⁵² Lines added ⁵³ SD unrevised

⁵⁴ SP requiring clarification ⁵⁵ Interpolated chorus

AUNTIE	O they always make a noise	
NIECES	Babes without a comforter	d330
ELLEN	On the manly calendar We only mark heroic days.	
QUARTET	Shall we smile or shall we weep Or wait quietly till they sleep?	
ELLEN	Men are children when they strive We are mothers when they weep Schooling our own hearts to keep	d335
ALL® ⁵⁶	The bitter treasure of their love.	
	Shall we smile or shall we weep Or wait quietly till they sleep?	d340

C U R T A I N

⁵⁶ SP revised

{Draft Fragments: Act 2 Scene 2}*Act Two Scene Two*

PETER

All the sins she had to know
To make ® her sons the birthright of
Men to hate: women to love.

Fight her man, or she will be
The inner whisper that you hear
Reproving till your very self
Becomes a hunchback or a dwarf. x¹

d5

*The boy doesn't move. Peter suddenly loses his temper.
He takes a short length of rope and whirls it round*

My God I'll beat it out of you.

*The boy is used to this. He gets behind the rope ®, whimpering:
chased from there he dodges behind a barrel*

No pretence of mine but comes out when he's told;
He climbs up the mast, breaks his neck or back; d10
Jumps to it, 'Ay ay sir' like a good naval jack
Caught by the press gang and flogged in the hold. x²✓³

During the patter° lines he chases the boy round the hut slashing with his rope

patter° {rapidly delivered, usually for comic effect}

d1 SP * d2 <make> [give] {Slater} d8.1 <rope> [coil] {Slater}

d12a-d12j {Lines on insert A ?replacing d8-d12} {Slater} ↓

By God I'll beat it out of you. d12a
Stand up. (*lash*) Straighter. (*lash*) I'll count two
And then you'll jump to it. One . . .
Well? Two.

(The boy doesn't move. Then Peter lashes hard, twice. He runs. Peter follows)

Your soul is mine d12e
Your body is the cat o' nine
Tails' mincemeat, O! a pretty dish
Smooth-skinned & young as she could wish.
Come cat .. ! Up whiplash! Jump my son
Jump (*lash*) jump (*lash*) jump, the dance is on. ✓³ d12j

^{1,2} Lines deleted ³ Lines added

*The boy screams and falls. Peter picks him up and puts the jersey on his back.
He tries to soothe him*⁴

We're seamen, rough, with little talk.
Fists and whipknots do the work.
O you'll cry I beat you till d15
Body loses grip on soul.
That's the sea, man, that's our life.
When blood rises to your eyes
Throbbing, red and blinding, when
The whole world is your broken flesh. . . . d20
Leave clinging. Put your hand down. I
Have no desire to beat you now.

÷ ÷ ÷⁵

Swallow Junior draws the moral

SWALLOW JUNIOR ◀ The whole affair gives borough talk its - well -
I'll say quietus[°]. Here we come pell-mell^{°°}
Expecting to find out we know not what d25
And what we find's a neat and empty hut.
Gentlemen. Take the lesson to your wives: -
Less interference in our private lives.

RECTOR There's no point certainly in staying here.
Will somebody please close the cliff-side door. ®⁶ d30

They close the cliff side door, and go closing the road door behind them.

The stage is empty.

The thunderstorm begins in earnest as ×✓⁷

CURTAIN

[°] quietus {extinction} ^{°°} pell-mell {in a mêlée}

d22.1 <Junior> {Britten} d23 <JUNIOR> {Britten} d30 <Will ... door.> [Will the last comer please to close the door.] {Britten} d30.1 *close* <both door> [*the cliff-side door,*] and ... *the* <other> [*road*] door d30.1-4 {deleted by Britten, replaced by} *Exit. <Cliff-Door left banging.> Balstrode is left behind - closes cliff side door; after looking out.*

⁴ Britten query ⁵ Second fragment with revised allocation ⁶ Line revised ⁷ SD revised and deleted, SD added

{Draft & Slater publication: Act 3 Scene 2}

*Act Three
Scene Two*

¹*Scene as in Scene One.
Some hours later.*

*The dance is over, the borough is asleep. ®²
Peter alone by his boat in the changeful light of a cloud-swept moon.*

As before we can hear shouting, now in the far distance:

Peter Gri - imes - - Peter Gri - imes.³

■ *No. 1 SCENE* ®⁴

PETER (*Demented – hysterical*⁵, *comforting himself*)

Quietly. Here you are. You're home.
This breakwater, with splinters torn
By winds, is where your father took
You by the hand to this same boat d5
Leaving your home for the same sea
Where he died and you're going to die.⁶

Quietly. Here you are. You're home.
You're not to blame that he went down.
It was his weakness that let go. d10
He was too weak. Were you to know?
He was too weak and so the sea
Engulfed him, and you're going to die.

VOICES (*louder*) Peter Grimes⁷

PETER You shouters there – I've made it right. d15
It was my conscience, my fate
Got rid of him. If you who call
Don't understand, old Swallow will. ®⁸

d0.1 [Orchestra fades out leaving only fog-horn (off) and chorus shouting in far distance (orchestra is silent throughout the scene)] CD{Britten} [There is a distant fog horn (the orchestra is silent).] {after d0.4} E {Britten} +N d0.3 [asleep.] CD [out hunting.] E {Britten} +HN d1.1 ■* [*No. 1*] Scene CD{Britten} <Scene> [*SCENE (with Chorus off)*] E{Britten} d2 [*Demented – hysterical*] CD{Britten} d18 <old Swallow> [my father] D{Britten} E{Slater} <will> [would have] E{Britten}

¹ SD variation ² Line revised ³ Cries extended ⁴ Music indicator revised ⁵ SD added

⁶ Lines considered for revision in D ⁷ Cries extended ⁸ Line sometimes revised

*Ellen comes in. Stepping from behind his boat he startles her.*⁹

ELLEN	Peter!	
PETER	Was it you who called? I'm alone now as you foretold. I am alone. The argument Is finished and the money spent. ¹⁰ The drinking's over, wild oats sown. You hear them shouting? I'm alone.	d20 d25
ELLEN	Peter!	
PETER	You hear my name? The sky Hears it. So do the stars, the sea. ¹¹	
ELLEN	The cries you hear are in your mind – Hallucination. ¹²	d30
VOICE (<i>very near and loud</i>)	Peter Grimes.	
PETER	You hear it?	
ELLEN	No.	
PETER	Will you also take Away my touch and smell and taste? You hear them call my name. The sky Hears it, so do the stars, the sea.	d35
ELLEN (<i>seizing his arm</i>)	Peter, Peter ¹³	
PETER (<i>shouting as if in reply to the voices</i>) ¹⁴	Peter Grimes! Peter Grimes. ¹⁵	
VOICE (<i>distantly</i>) ¹⁶	Peter Grimes.	d40
PETER (<i>roaring</i>) ¹⁷	Peter Grimes. ¹⁸	

18.1 <Ellen ... her.> D{Britten} <Stepping ... he> [His appearance] N{Slater}

⁹ SD variation ¹⁰ Lines retained in N, contracted in DE, relocated in E ¹¹ Lines contracted in D, line deleted in EN, line added in E ¹² Lines retained in EN, relocated in D ¹³ Line extended in DE, line not in N ¹⁴ SD modified in N ¹⁵ Repetition extended in N ¹⁶ SD revised in D, absent from N ¹⁷ SD not in N ¹⁸ Repetition extended in N, further extended in D, SD added in D

ELLEN (*soothes and calms him*)

Your spasm's over now. The cool
Sea will rise to calm your soul.¹⁹
Peter. I'm going to fetch Balstrode
He'll help you to prepare your boat.²⁰ d45

*Peter left alone sings in a tone almost like prolonged sobbing.²¹
The voices shouting 'Peter Grimes' can still be heard but more distantly and more
sweetly.*

PETER

Stranger forgive. I did not mean
That your need should give way to mine.
Young stranger come
Young stranger home.

Young stranger if your candle flame d50
Of little life dies in the dawn
Young stranger come
Young stranger home.²²

Balstrode comes in quietly followed by Ellen who stands apart.²³

■ *No. 2 RECITATIVE (spoken – quietly, & quickly)²⁴*

BALSTRODE

I'll help you with the boat now.²⁵

PETER

Why?²⁶ d55

BALSTRODE

You can put quietly out to sea.
Make seawards, out of sight of the town,
Then sink your boat and both go down.²⁷

PETER

You mean?

BALSTRODE

Go down with the boat. It's the best d60
thing you can do.²⁸

53.2 ■* [*Recitative...quickly*] CD {except D} [*RECITATIVE spoken quietly & quickly*] {Britten}
{E has *RECITATIVE (spoken)* at 58.1}

¹⁹ Line modified in N ²⁰ Lines partly deleted in D and considered for revision and reallocation
²¹ Line revised in D ²² Lines modified in N, replaced in DE ²³ SD retained in N, deleted in D
²⁴ Speech indicator added in CD, absent from N ²⁵ Line modified in N ²⁶ Line replaced in N
²⁷ Lines contracted in DE (+F), line not in N ²⁸ Lines deleted in DE, absent from N

*Balstrode is in the boat, testing ropes and sails.
He tests the plug, removes it and beckons Peter.*²⁹

BALSTRODE The plug moves easily. You know what to do.³⁰

*He replaces the plug.*³¹

PETER What – do you want of me?³²

BALSTRODE We'll launch you now. There is no need to go far.
Sail out till you lose sight of the Mote³³ Hall. d65
Then you can't be seen from the shore, and you
know what to do.³⁴

*Balstrode gets out of the boat.*³⁵

BALSTRODE She's a good boat and she's yours. You wouldn't
want to leave her for another man to sail. Sail
her out. Then say goodbye to your boat, and d70
goodbye to the Borough, and say your prayers.
Grips his hand Goodbye Peter.

PETER This is too early.³⁶

BALSTRODE No.³⁷ The searchers will be turning home soon.
Better not to meet them here. Once at sea, and d75
Alone, you'll know what to do. You understand?
Not till the Mote Hall is out of sight.³⁸

*Together they push the boat down the slope of the shore.
Balstrode comes back and waves goodbye.
He takes Ellen who is sobbing quietly,
calms her and leads her carefully down the main street home.*

*The scrunch of keel on shingle has been the cue for the orchestra to return.*³⁹
Now dawn begins.
*Gradually the music of Act I Scene I (beginning) – 'everyday', salty sea - starts.*⁴⁰

77.7 [Gradually ... starts.] CD{except D} [of the beginning of Act ... starts.]{Britten}

²⁹ SD not in DN ³⁰ Line contracted in E, deleted in D, line absent from N ³¹ SD not in DN
³² Line deleted in DE, absent from N ³³ Spelling later revised ³⁴ Lines contracted in N, deleted
in D ³⁵ SD not in DN ³⁶ Lines deleted in DE, briefly represented in N ³⁷ Word deleted in E
³⁸ Lines deleted in D but not E, briefly represented in N ³⁹ SD revised in E (+N) ⁴⁰ Music
indicator added in CD, absent from EN

If I remember right the repetition will then be ‘Our curse shall fall shall fall &c’ which seems all right to me. If you should want to lengthen the second line it can become

Our curse shall fall upon
His work, his evil day 35
He who despises us
We destroy.

I’ve been thinking a good deal about the new phrase to take the place of ‘Now we shall see where roads end’. The best I’ve got so far is ‘One will can beat a thousand’, which is probably singable and fits (I think). 40
{final version in 2.1., *Grimes* 1979: 24, line 37}

Now I’m going to be a nuisance. This quartet. I’ve done a lot of thinking about it and still find a strong internal resistance to the fundamental change (which I must admit I agreed to at Yarner’s^o).

What I’m afraid of is that in building up Balstrode we may be endangering the main structure. The Yarner’s scheme (let’s call it that) must mean in practice, whatever else we think, that at this crucial moment the highlight is on Balstrode, or if you like on Ellen and Balstrode as a pair. Obviously we don’t want the latter. Their conjunction is accidental and shouldn’t be stressed. The other danger is that in high-lighting the fact that Balstrode is persuaded with difficulty to go up to Peter’s hut we seem to be saying that his going to the hut and what he is going to see there is critical: whereas in fact it isn’t. He’s not going to find the clue of clues when he looks out of the cliff-side door. As things are there’s a risk we may be underlining it too much though I don’t think so. If we make a fuss in the earlier scene about Balstrode’s going there and actually bring down the curtain in the crucial scene on the fact that Balstrode – Balstrode the man himself, is going to take a hand in the deputation’s visit to Peter – then we are misleading the audience into supposing that this is a really important point in the story. The audience is going to be correspondingly disappointed when they find out that it has no particular significance. 55

What I’m saying is that we’ve built Balstrode up enough and if we try and build him up further we may put the story out of joint. I believe we’ve moved from the point where we under-emphasised B to the point where we’re in danger of over-emphasising him. Essentially his function in the drama is a very ordinary traditional one. The old stock companies used to have a name for it. They called him Charles’s friend. Read Peter – Ellen’s. In Hamlet he’s Horatio. 60 65

^oYarner’s {a coffee house in Regent Street, London}

His job is that he is the receiver of confidences, the giver of good advice and the bloke who stands by at the climax. You'll find that it's quite normal for him to fade out in the second act (as Horatio does in the 2nd, 3rd and 4th). There's a reason. He's necessary in the first act as the person to whom the hero explains himself. But in the middle act where there's action to do he fades out. We've got beyond the point of explanation and advice – and when there's action to do Charles does it, not his friend. 70

However we finally work it out I'm convinced that the point of the curtain of Act 2 Scene 1 must be as it is now: Ellen's feeling about it all. At Yarner's I I regretted losing Ellen's quatrain but maybe one ought to lose one's purple patches. If it is a purple patch I agree one ought to lose it. But the more I think about it the more I'm convinced that it is simply the clue to Ellen's whole outlook and character and it should at all costs be the curtain line of that scene. 75

Men are children when they strive
We are mothers when they weep
Schooling our own hearts to keep
The bitter treasure of their love 80

{became in 2.1, *Grimes* 1979: 29, lines 15-18}

is Ellen's own summary of her own life and character. The crisis of the quarrel wrings it out of her. The whole point of the opera at that moment is to say this about Ellen, to have her see herself and her life with this sort of clarity. I'm willing to discuss to any extent how we should lead up to this point, though I'm still convinced it should be led up to quite simply with no extraneous action by or about Balstrode or anyone else. The easy and natural way is to have her say it to other women. It isn't accidental that the quartet was of women. The other point I have made all along that there is some significance in the fact that Ellen opens her heart and gets comfort from the disreputable women of the Borough is useful but not all that weighty. Eric was objecting to this at Yarner's on the grounds that I don't develop it later on in the opera. At the moment I don't see why one should. All one is saying is that it's a common observation that when you're really in trouble you find sinners are often more sympathetic than saints. We don't need to go any farther than that. 85 90 95

I have the feeling that Eric objects to the quartet as it stands for some reason that he hasn't stated yet. Maybe he simply dislikes the verse and its feeling. I admit that both are fairly commonplace (up to Ellen's last two lines which I believe are good) but at the moment I feel that's how they ought to be. I'm only too glad to discuss any sort of rewrite provided we can keep the essential feeling. I'll willingly come up and spend a day with you all this week and go into it thoroughly if that'll help. 100

My dear Ben I'm sorry to be so difficult and argumentative but I think
it's worth any amount of trouble to get this right. 105

How was the ballet at Bristol? I hope as good as it ought to be.

I've finished the first draft of the play {? *Century for George*, published 1946},
starting a revise tomorrow and back to the Min^o a week tomorrow. But I can come
up any day this week. Love from Enid {wife} and Carol {daughter}.

{by hand} Yrs ever 110

Montagu

^oMin {Ministry of Information where Slater was Head of Scripts in the Film Division}

Appendix D: Dearmer's report

STAGE PLAY SUBMITTED FOR LICENCE

Title: "PETER GRIMES"
No. of Scenes or Acts: 3 acts
Place of Production: Sadler's Wells
Date of Production: 7th June

LORD CHAMBERLAIN'S OFFICE
ST JAMES'S PALACE, S.W.1

READER'S REPORT

10th May 1945.

An opera on the poem "Peter Grimes" in "The Borough"
by Crabbe.

Peter Grimes was a fisherman who lived a villainous
life, murdered more than one apprentice and died in a madhouse.
The libretto of this Opera seems to follow the plot of the poem,
though here he goes down with his boat and commits suicide.

It is all very wafty and nebulous and I dont {sic} pretend
I can make sense of the plot from the verses, but there is no
offence in them or in the production. Perhaps Benjamin Britten's
music will carry it through.

Recommended for Licence

(sd.) G. Dearmer

{approval countersigned 12 May, counterstamped 13 May, date of licence on script 16 May}

Appendix E: Figures

Figure 1: Prologue original set (© ENO, photographer unknown)



Figure 2: 1.2 original set (© ENO, photographer unknown, stamped 'Behr' and 'return to A.Curthoys')



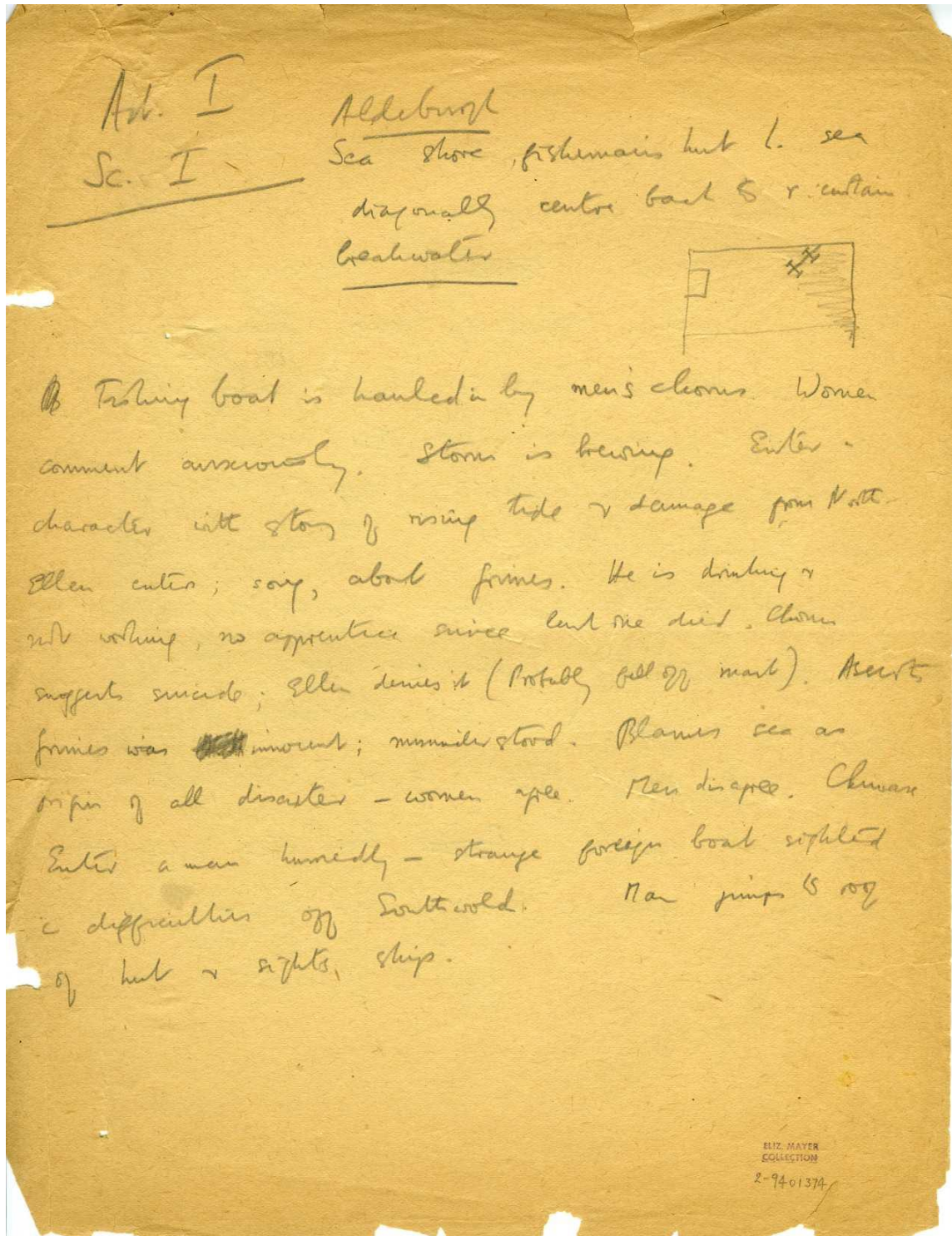
Figure 3: 2.1 original set (© ENO, photographer unknown, annotated '? for Teachers World' {sic})



Figure 4: 2.2 original set (© ENO, photographer unknown, stamped 'Behr')



Figure 5: Scenario A leaf recto (lines 1-12) (© The Trustees of the Britten-Pears Foundation)



{Appendix F: Appendices Notes (Scenarios)}

¹ **Underlining** is here used to separate distinct units within notes, akin to paragraphs in prose. A representation of this is made.

² **Sketch** scanned from the original document (*q.v.* Appendix E fig. 2).

³ **Text interpolated** Pears wrote 'I never saw you so save once other apprentice'. Hastily written, this may be taken to mean 'save once with another apprentice', the text I have chosen, or 'save once with one other apprentice'. At this stage in the work's development the number of apprentices Peter had was not fixed. In Crabbe's original it is three. In this scenario by Pears it seems to be two except the chorus speaks of Peter 'cruel and unkind to his boys' (94) before the inferred second.

⁴ **Text repositioned** 57-62 originally followed 38. Pears bracketed them, marked them 'Scene III' in the left margin, with an arrow forwarding them to a space after 56.

⁵ **Crabbe used to extend Peter's character** Here Pears has used Crabbe's portrait of the efficient tradesman Walter who, though he has no feeling for others and keeps them in fear of him, including his family, craves affection. He demands of one child 'Vow that you love me' (*Borough*, viii, 188) and states 'I require/Love (*ibid.*, 189-90).

⁶ **Text repositioned** 63 was originally added in the left margin where Pears had indicated material to transfer to 'Scene III' ⁴ but is best placed just before the boy's accident.

⁷ **Inappropriate terminology** The strict definition of murder is 'unlawful killing of a human being with malice aforethought' (*OED*) so murder can never be accidental. Peter's monologue to the boy here (57-62) cannot be represented as malice aforethought, nor does he, in the final text of 2.2 (*Grimes* 1979: 32, SD after line 30) have any physical contact with the boy as he falls to his death. 'Fatal accident' would therefore be the correct description. In using the term 'murder' Pears is echoing the perception of the community and the judgement of Forster (Brett 1983: 4) in the essay he and Britten read. Crabbe is careful to leave the matter open.

⁸ **Text interpolated** Pears seems to have deleted material which he wished to retain in hastily compiling this scenario. After 'Grime's remorse' he crossed out 'Landlord tells Grimes to find Ellen & tell her, but Grimes terrified, recalls other apprentice' followed by illegible words crossed out before the text 'he will be lynched'. The restoration of significant portions of this deleted text brings to the fore Peter's state of mind and haunted recollection.

⁹ **Text interpolated** Pears wrote 'Enter crowd. That is impossible for', then crossed out two illegible words before 'The Evil has destroyed itself.' Pears's thoughts seem to have been faster than his writing but the meaning is clear enough, that the crowd desire to destroy the evil. Interestingly Slater later made the same journey, with the chorus avowing a wish to destroy, rather than in his original version, merely despise Peter (*Grimes* 1979: 40, lines 21-2).

¹⁰ **Numbering and punctuation** Pears usually, but not uniformly, has a full point after ‘No’ and the number itself. I have, as in my numbering of sections in the *Grimes* texts, placed a full point only after ‘No’. I have also silently added full points at the end of sentences where Pears sometimes does not.

¹¹ **Awaiting designation** Pears may have intended to write ‘A fisherman’ but ‘A’ is more likely to be a stopgap indicator until a specific character was chosen.

¹² **Word interpolated** ‘strength’ is my interpretation of an illegible word.

¹³ **Presumed repeat** of opening chorus (10), hence my emendation (→51).

¹⁴ **Designation of acts and scenes** In Scenario D I have retained the practice of Britten (1-32, 39-40) and Pears (33-38), to avoid cluttering the crit. app. and to demonstrate their inconsistency. I have in the text flagged editorial additions within ‘{}’ for clarification.

¹⁵ **Text deleted** I have restored this original text because it suggests that the landlord here takes centre stage alongside Ellen and it is a while since he has been seen standing in front of his pub (8).

¹⁶ **Text deleted** I have restored this original text because it is preferable, and in character, to have a feisty response from Ellen to the landlord’s statement (13-14) which both accounts for his shrugging (14) and is an example of her ‘determination’ (12) in practice.

Prologue Draft: Notes

¹ **Original name** →d0.4. As in Scenarios A-C, the pub was originally run by a landlord here named. The change to a landlady, first made by Slater at d50, came with a name, ‘Mrs Puttock’, which was not ideal, ‘puttock’ being an English regional term for bird of prey (*OED*¹) and then a derogatory term (*OED*²) for a greedy person. At d50.1 Britten opted for the homelier, albeit satirical, Auntie (see final text 1.1, *Grimes* 1979: 7, SD after line 18; 1.2, *Grimes* 1979: 15, SD after line 9). Three of the opera’s five female characters are thus unnamed.

² **Music indicator extended** →d0.7, the theme being that termed ‘Court theme’ in the heading following the scene title in my edition (see 0 notes ¹).

³ **Line added** Britten indicates Ned’s repetition of the oath (d5-d6), correcting Slater’s omission.

⁴ **Line contracted** →d17, by Slater, making Swallow’s manner more peremptory.

⁵ **Layout of statement** →d18-d21 is the original, which I cannot display, as I normally would, in the main text as it is incomplete. Slater added to his typescript in ink a series of square brackets around the text which I have represented in bold type (d18-d21, d21-d22, d22-d25). These seem to define pauses during which Balstrode responds non verbally. It would therefore be appropriate to add ‘*Balstrode nods his affirmative to each statement*’ as for Ned at d11.1.

⁶ **Name reversed** by Britten, probably not wanting confusion with the traditional folksong.

⁷ **Misnomer** of ‘Spode’ (d10, d29, d105).

⁸ **Chorus added** →d48{a}-d48{b}. In Slater’s original the townspeople were silent onlookers at the inquest.

⁹ **SD added** →d49, indicating that the townspeople’s contribution to the inquest is to be disruptive.

¹⁰ **Line extended** →d49, emphasizing the formality of court proceedings (cf. ¹²).

¹¹ **Line added** →d50{a}, introduces the process of repeated naming by the Clerk of the Court.

¹² **Original designation and name** →d51. ‘The Green Man’ was changed by Britten to ‘The Boar’. The hotel opposite the Moot Hall in Aldeburgh, ‘The White Lion’, has both colour and animal associations.

¹³ **Designation revised** →d56 by Slater (cf. the revision of the final text in 1.1, (*Grimes* 1979: 8, line 15).

¹⁴ **Lines revised** →d58-d59 in a more blunt manner which suits the change of casting to Auntie.

¹⁵ **Chorus added** →d64{a}-d64{b}, the second such (cf. ⁸).

¹⁶ **Line and SD added** → d64{c}-d64{c}.1, extending the process (cf. ¹⁰) with the SD which requires an additional character, the Beadle, not identified among those present at d0.2-6 and a further line to be added. This extra character and repetition did not remain in the final version.

¹⁷ **Line revised** →d69, in a less blunt manner which suits the cultivated nature of the Vicar.

¹⁸ **Line extended** →d70, in a cultivated manner which matches that of the Vicar and emphasizes Swallow Junior's point.

¹⁹ **SP ambiguous** →d75. For much of the scene 'SWALLOW' indicates SWALLOW (senior) but I add the suffix (junior) as necessary when both are involved in the proceedings. In two cases SWALLOW is ambiguous. This is the first. Here the less aggressive tenor of the questioning, offering Adams mitigation, points to Swallow Senior.

²⁰ **Chorus added** →d76{a}-d76{d}, the third such (cf. ^{8,15}).

²¹ **Lines and SD added** →d77{a}-d77{b}.1 (cf. ^{10,16}). The SD clarifies Ellen's position now occupied on stage.

²² **Line contracted** →d85: to indicate a marked fondness by Peter for the boy would convey unwanted sexual undertones. The other material begun to be expressed was transferred to the following line.

²³ **SP ambiguous** →d86, the second ambiguous reference to 'SWALLOW' (cf. ¹⁹). Here the use of a question to create a favourable impression of his client points to Swallow Junior.

²⁴ **Lines added** →d88{a}-d88{b}, (cf. ^{10,16,21}).

²⁵ **Line added** →d112, a rare instance of Slater repeating a text.

²⁶ **Chorus added** →d112.1{a}-d112.1{d}, (cf. ^{8,15,20}).

²⁷ **Line added** →d113{a}, departing from Britten's usual practice (cf. ²⁴) of adding a line in which the Beadle repeats the Clerk's line.

²⁸ **SD contracted and extended** →d113.3. Britten's deletion is puzzling as the SD simply confirms the proceedings are at an end. Slater's addition confirms the relationship between Peter and his lawyer.

1.1 Draft: Notes

- ¹ **Unusual spelling** of Keene, only found in source B here and d35.1.
- ² **SD extended** →d0.7.
- ³ **Suggested division of chorus** is indicated by Britten, ‘½ chorus in Boar, 2nd ½ chorus ou{t}’. This suggests d1-d4 women’s chorus outside, d5-d8 men’s chorus inside but likely to obscure the words with the latter offstage.
- ⁴ **After Crabbe** see *Introduction to 1.1* §1.1.1.
- ⁵ **SD discarded** →after d.10 Presumably Slater decided extra fishermen were needed on stage for the chorus (d14-d17).
- ⁶ **SD added, revised and extended** →d13.1-2. The original draft is rather casual in clarification of characters and stage action.
- ⁷ **After Crabbe** see *Introduction to 1.1* §1.1.1.
- ⁸ **Lines and SD added** after→d17.1, bringing an individual character link to the chorus overview.
- ⁹ **SP revised and SD added** →d18. Britten’s SD presumes only one speaker. Slater may have intended more than one fisherman to greet Crabbe but by C it was only one.
- ¹⁰ **Line rewritten** →d19, a sarcastic remark more suited to Boles’s combative character than Slater’s rather bland original and closer in tone to Boles’s remark at d136.
- ¹¹ **Lines deleted** see *Introduction to 1.1* §1.1.2.
- ¹² **Source A available** from this point, so reference is made to its variants in crit. app. and these notes.
- ¹³ **SD absent** from B can be supplied from A: →d23.1. This clarifies Balstrode’s appearance and activity though strictly it should begin ‘*Balstrode enters and crosses*’.
- ¹⁴ **Allocation not clarified** but from the chorus because no fisherwomen have entered at d8.1. The same applies to the 2nd Fisherwoman’s following line. The earlier allocation of ‘Fisherman’ (d9, d12) is no clearer but must still be taken from the chorus. It is implied that the Fisherman at d9 is one of those who has just approached the pub (d8.1).
- ¹⁵ **An evolving text** Source A has the text by Slater

BALSTRODE	Still a long way out.
FISHERWOMAN	Storm?
BALSTRODE	Sea-horses.

Britten changed the opening to ‘A long way out. Sea horses’ and deleted the rest but added the instruction ‘+ couplet for Balstrode’. Slater produced a text in B and Britten made further changes: →d26-d29. ‘North cone’ in d28 requires a gloss: ‘*cone* {a mass of water in cone form (*i.e.* circular at its base and pointed at its apex, see *OED* noun 1a and c)}. The final version (from J, *Grimes* 1979: 7, lines 10-14) retains Britten’s revised opening line with an added couplet (13-14). The first line of this couplet, derived from d28, gets the key

point across more directly while the reversed ordering of the final line has greater dramatic impact. d26-d34 were bracketed together in B by Britten to indicate simultaneous presentation but this did not occur in the final text.

¹⁶ **An evolving SD** Source A, has '<Mrs. Sedley comes down the main street> Vicar comes down street' with 'Mrs. Sedley comes down street. Ned Keene comes out of his shop' after the brief dialogue (d34-d35). In B to Slater's revised opening (→d33.1) Britten added 'Mrs. Sedley follows. Nieces come out of the Boar. Ned at his shop door' co-ordinating all stage action at once when he introduced the 'Good morning' sequence ²².

¹⁷ **An evolving line** A has 'It will turn'. Slater revised this to 'Near the turn'. Britten deleted this and replaced it with 'It will turn. It will turn.' In B (d35) Slater is determined to be different but 1.1.58, 63 are derived from his revision in A.

¹⁸ **Unusual spelling** for Keene(')s (cf. ¹).

¹⁹ **Line revised** →d36. Britten's rewrite of Slater's wordy original in A.

²⁰ **Entrance unspecified** It is unclear when May appeared on stage or whereabouts she is there.

²¹ **Line revised** →d37. Slater modified Britten's revision. 'Weekaday' is not listed in *OED*.

²² **The 'Good morning' sequence evolution** In B d34-d38 were deleted by Britten and replaced by what he brackets as 'Sextet insert'

RECTOR	Good morning, good morning.
NIECES	Good morning
MRS. N.	Dear Rector
NED	Had Auntie no nieces, we'd never respect her.
RECTOR	Good morning, good morning
AUNTIE	Good day, Mr. Adams
NED	If you have a spare rib, you'll find that its' {sic} madam's.

Britten made the necessary additions to Slater's revised SD at d33.1 ¹⁶.

²³ **Lines revised and deleted** →d39-d42, d40, d42. Like the first quatrain Britten deleted ¹¹ it is not directly concerned with action and indeed introduces a philosophical element.

²⁴ **An evolving SD** →d42.1-2. The positioning of Auntie seems confused. She is placed in the doorway of “The Boar” (d8.1-2) from which there is no indication that she moves yet she needs to be outside for her line in Britten’s added ‘Good morning’ sequence²². Source A reads ‘*Two fishermen come out of “The Boar”. Auntie comes <down the street> [to door again]*’ {Britten}. The revision in B strictly still requires Auntie to have left the stage at some intervening point. The appearance of two fishermen from “The Boar” parallels their entry to the pub in B (d8.1).

²⁵ **Line rewritten** →d44, to more suave effect in A from Slater’s more blunt original.

²⁶ **SD revised** →d44.1, more precisely by Slater in B.

²⁷ **Line revised** →d45, from question to statement.

²⁸ **SD and dialogue later deleted** The omission of d44.1-d46 from source C is owing to the removal of Swallow Junior from the cast, but this dialogue indicates the potential for the development of intrigue.

²⁹ **SP revised** →d47 in B. Britten set the words for full chorus..

³⁰ **Line and allocation revised** →d53, focusing dislike of Grimes more precisely through an individually developed character, May, in the final text (*Grimes* 1979: 8, line 9) Boles.

³¹ **SD revised** →d53.1. Slater’s original in A allowed for a moment of repose before Peter’s appearance. Britten queried this but in the final text after the equivalent of d51 (*Grimes* 1979: 8, line 7) and d53 (*Grimes* 1979: 8, line 9) there are general pauses in the music score. Britten’s deletion in B obscures necessary stage action.

³² **Line revised** →d54. The revision changes the tone from a humble request to a peremptory summons.

³³ **Music and performance indicator** Though the heading of B only provides the music indicator, the SD added here by Britten in A (→d54.3) incorporates a performance indicator, added after *Grimes* 1979: 8, SD following line 10 in my edition.

³⁴ **Line revised** →d55. This is the reverse of Britten’s change to d54³².

³⁵ **SD later deleted** Queried by Britten in B, ‘(already made fast?)’, but incorporated in my edition (*Grimes* 1979: 8, SD following line 10).

³⁶ **SP revised and SD added** →d56. The line was allocated in A to Keene, then reallocated by Slater to Swallow Junior. In B it is allocated to Swallow, undesirably vague, but clearly in context Swallow Junior. The SD was added in B when the following SD was modified (→d56.1).

³⁷ **SD revised** →d56.1. The first sentence of the SD in A was modified in B to that at d56, the third sentence modified to that at d57. Slater corrected in A his initial mistake in the allocation of d57.

³⁸ **Lines rewritten and reallocated** Slater’s text in A was

If this dumb fisher-fellow, Grimes, should be,
Excluded from polite society
No doubt he’ll share our demi-mondaine ease
With shipless mates and quacks without degrees.

This text was assigned to Swallow Junior, which makes the first line a very cynical reference to his client while the second couplet is a mixture of the arch, arcane and patronizing, ‘shipless mates’ a reference to Balstrode’s retirement and ‘quacks without degrees’ to Keene’s lack of professional expertise. Even in A Slater deleted this, started reallocating the speech to Auntie, beginning ‘If this fisherman’ then deleted this, reallocating to May as at d57-d60 except for the deletion of a first description of ‘lazy’ before ‘fisherman’ in d57. In the final text of 1.1. (*Grimes* 1979: 8, lines 18-19) the gist of the opening couplet alone survives.

³⁹ **Lines revised** by Slater largely as a result of the change of publican from James to Auntie: →d64 and d66. In the final text of 1.1 (*Grimes* 1979: 8, lines 14-15) only the first couplet was retained.

⁴⁰ **Lines heavily revised** The starting point d67-d70 was Slater’s couplet in A, with his modifications of presenters and the lines here indicated

<SWALLOW & JAMES> [MAY & AUNTIE]
<We have our business. Let these teachers learn>
<She’ll> You’ll have to choose your <<custom> trade as you will>
customers you’ll learn
Hell may be fiery but the pub won’t burn.

Britten deleted the lines and replaced them with

AUNTIE O proper men will run through what they earn
 Hell may be fiery but the pub won’t burn

MAY O let these captains here {sic}, these teachers learn
 You have their friendship but the people’s scorn

These were then further modified in B as d67-d70 with the presentation of the couplets reversed. From C May’s lines were modified again and assigned in 1.1 to Auntie (*Grimes* 1979: 8, lines 22-3) and Boles (*Grimes* 1979: 8, lines 20-21).

⁴¹ **SP revised** →d71. The lines are sung individually, as clarified in my edition, but revert to the original allocation.

⁴² **Source A ceases** having been available from d23.1.

⁴³ **Line revised** →d74. The briefer, less repetitive revision still gets across the point that Swallow Junior is ignoring Swallow Senior’s recommendation at the inquest (Prologue d106-d112).

⁴⁴ **Lines deleted** Lines d86-d89 were deleted by Britten who in a marginal note had previously suggested allocating them to the chorus. They point the implications of Swallow Junior’s acquiring an apprentice for Grimes in competition with his father and there is no harm in stating those implications as starkly as the Second Fisherman does in d89. Without these lines the justification for the SD at d85.1 is weakened.

⁴⁵ **SP revised** →d93, fittingly for it is unduly antagonistic for Peter to intervene at this point.

⁴⁶ **SP revised** →d99. As earlier ⁴⁵ Britten's revision maintains the dispute between Swallow and Hobson. It would not be appropriate for Peter to intervene at this point and does not seem in character that the Chorus, Slater's revision, would deliver this text taking Swallow's and Peter's side.

⁴⁷ **Chorus inserted** by Slater in B: →d100a-e. This (Insert A) is the first of three choruses written by Slater on an additional sheet, all of which were deleted by Britten. Alongside this first one Britten queries 'too light?'. Perhaps this relates to its deceptively gentle, whimsical tone because the sentiment echoes the anguished protest of Crabbe regarding apprenticeship (see *Introduction to 1.1* §1.1.3).

⁴⁸ **SP revised** →d102. Given the combative, accusatory tone of the line, it is more appropriately delivered by the Chorus. Hobson's opposition has been purely practical, that of the Chorus is moral.

⁴⁹ **Forceful original lines** →d104-d106, strongly emphasize personal, professional and moral obligations. There is no equivalent in the final text.

⁵⁰ **Chorus inserted** →d107a-e. This (Insert B) is the second of Slater's three added choruses (cf. ⁴⁷). Here the poetic, whimsical reflection is becoming more morbid and arguably indulgent. Pathos turns to righteous indignation with the force of 'sinful' but the question then arises, 'Whose sins?', the answer or answers to which remain obscure.

⁵¹ **Line added** →d107f.

⁵² **Line added** →d113a, a repetition of d107.

⁵³ **SP revised** →d114, allowing Britten to include a Chorus here without accepting any of Slater's three inserted choruses and one with more personally directed invective

⁵⁴ **Chorus inserted** →d115a-e. This (Insert C) is the third of Slater's three added choruses (cf. ^{47,50}). This is a garish poetic fancy which contrasts the affluence of the purchasers with the poverty, implied spiritual as well as temporal, of those purchased. It neatly describes Swallow Junior and even more entrepreneur Ned Keene, his replacement from source C as Peter's agent, but does not relate to the relative poverty of Peter which is the driving force behind his ambition.

⁵⁵ **Line added, revised and deleted** →d115f. Like May, this line does not appear in the final text where Boles might have made the protest.

⁵⁶ **Line added** →d115g, a repetition of d113a which itself repeats d107.

⁵⁷ **Line revised** →d120, to more fitting biblical language from Slater's clumsy, wordy original.

⁵⁸ **Line revised** →d122, making the expression more immediate.

⁵⁹ **Lines deleted** Britten queried d128-31 and Slater deleted them. They make the dignity of Ellen's earlier biblical lines (d120-d124) seem more sanctimonious and grow patronising. They also give Ellen a broader philosophical perspective which anticipates and weakens the novelty and surprise of that of Grimes in his 'Great Bear' aria in 1.2 (*Grimes* 1979: 17, lines 32-2; 18, lines 1-13).

- ⁶⁰ **Line rewritten** →d133, an improvement on the ambiguous tone of the original.
- ⁶¹ **Text relocation suggested** by Britten that Balstrode's tide warning (d161-d165) be placed here, a suggestion he deletes.
- ⁶² **SDs and lines later deleted** (d133.1-d136.2). The entrance of Crabbe, resulting three greetings and following SD are only in this draft. d135 is the first of only two lines delivered by Boles's wife Polly, the second being d198. She and May Sanders are absent from source C onwards. The taunting of Crabbe (d134, d136) is in keeping with the revised version of d19¹⁰.
- ⁶³ **Lines largely deleted** →d137-d142. Slater's original lines which charmingly point Mrs. Sedley's hypocrisy were all deleted when the entrance of the Rector shortly after this point and the 'Good morning' sequence was brought forward ²². This results in an unintentionally clumsy and unexplained entrance for Mrs. Sedley at d143. So in C Mrs. Sedley asking if Ned has her pills and his response (d140, d142) were restored in the final text of 1.1 (*Grimes* 1979: 10, lines 14-15).
- ⁶⁴ **Performance indicator added** →d143, either in consistency with those at d137 and d139 or, more likely, to preserve the indicator once Britten had deleted the earlier lines ⁶³.
- ⁶⁵ **Performance indicator later deleted** →d148. Like the deletion of d137-d142 ⁶³ this makes Mrs. Sedley a more serious, less comic bigot.
- ⁶⁶ **Performance indicator later deleted** →d149. Ned's laid back manner contrasts with Mrs. Sedley's petulance in d148. Once one element of this contrast was removed⁶⁵, there was no need for the other.
- ⁶⁷ **Lines deleted** (d152-d154) when the 'Good morning' sequence was moved forward in the scene ⁷². This resulted in an abrupt ending to the encounter between Keene and Mrs. Sedley (d151), tidied up in the final text of 1.1 from source E (*Grimes* 1979: 10, lines 25-8).
- ⁶⁸ **Music and performance indicator** A marginal note by Britten indicating his initial plans for setting the 'Good morning' sequence. When he composed the music in its earlier position in the scene he set it as *recitative secco*.
- ⁶⁹ **Line revised and line added** →d156-d156a. It would be too ironic of the Nieces to refer to the Rector in the same way as Mrs. Sedley has already at d153 but appropriate that Mrs. Sedley reprises her earlier thoughts at d156a.
- ⁷⁰ **Position unspecified** Presumably at the pub door with the nieces.
- ⁷¹ **Line revised** by Britten in B: →d166, perhaps so that Auntie marks out her presence distinctively, as Mrs. Sedley has, or perhaps just for the sake of variation. The use of the Rector's surname from the outset is retained to prepare for the rhyme in Ned's following line.
- ⁷² **Lines relocated** d155-d160 were inserted after d38. In 1.1 they appear in modified form as 34-41.
- ⁷³ **SD relocated** to d154.2, making clear the 'Good morning's take place while the Rector and Mrs. Sedley are in motion.

⁷⁴ **Lines later deleted** d161-d165 are only found here. Baltrade's lines are quite mundane but the exchange does valuably establish for Peter a rare equality as a fellow professional, anticipating their long discourse at the end of 1.1 (*Grimes* 1979: 11, from line 26).

⁷⁵ **Lines deleted** Beside these lines (d165.1-d176) Britten queries 'Cut?' and Slater deleted them. This was wise in removing two explicit allegations against Peter of 'cruel games' and thus speculation as to what these might be, and when later the earlier lines of May Sanders (d93-d95) were reallocated to Boles, a repetition of Boles's sanctimonious stance. The cut also proved neat when Swallow Junior was removed, though here the rivalry between father and son is at its most comically explicit. It leaves the briefing of Swallow Senior to take place offstage, appropriately in the manner of furtive and malicious gossip.

⁷⁶ **A repeated misnomer** The name Strode also appears in 0.d22..

⁷⁷ **Lines deleted** This glorious encounter (d177-d190.1) between the formal, pompous Swallow and the slyly dumb insolent Peter is only in this draft. But its disappearance is understandable. It shows Peter able to operate a certain cunning to fix on his purpose not to be disturbed from work. It provides a rather unseemly comic angle on a subject which is the core of the work's tragedy. It also allows for more explicit criticism of Swallow who gives up very easily when only alluding to what after all is no more than his professional recommendation (Prologue d107-d108) and advice (d108-d110). When this encounter is removed we are left with a grey area: the Borough, the Coroner included, is compliant with Peter ignoring the advice Swallow gave.

⁷⁸ **Lines revised** →d191-d192, effectively a repetition of d161-d165, which suggests the earlier lines had already been deleted.

⁷⁹ **After Crabbe, deleted and lines added** d200-d211 were deleted by Britten and the replacement lines by Slater (d211a-d211h) inserted on a separate sheet. Regarding the adaptation from Crabbe see *Introduction to 1,1*. §1.1.2. Slater's replacement lines have more action, momentum and drama and are more suited to the growing tension of the scene.

⁸⁰ **SD variation** →d211.1. Slater's variation appears to be a revision of the original SD but that is not deleted. Britten's addition is presumably the action intended for Dick and Boles, in which case 'then hurry off' should have been deleted. Nevertheless the principle is established, that the stage should be cleared so that Grimes is the main focus of the end of the scene which closes with his soliloquy.

⁸¹ **Reallocation suggested** by Britten to Swallow Senior. This makes sense in relation to a preferable reallocation of the following lines to Swallow Junior ⁸². From C and in the final text of 1.1 (*Grimes* 1979: 11, line 16) the line is allocated to the chorus for which its generalized anxiety is better suited.

⁸² **Reallocation suggested** by Slater querying Dick and by Britten querying Swallow Junior or Ned, but Ned does not number among the diminishing group on stage (d211.1). Swallow Junior is the most appropriate choice. The suave banter of the remark suits a lawyer or entrepreneur but not a fisherman. Peter's distinctiveness lies rather in pithy, enigmatic lines like d223. In the final text of 1.1 (*Grimes* 1979: 11, lines 17-19) the lines are allocated to Ned in common with all the other Swallow Junior's lines which are retained.

⁸³ **Line added** → {before d218}. Its inclusion well suits Boles's preaching manner and the performance indicator.

⁸⁴ **Reallocation suggested** The same argument applies as at ⁸². Slater queries Dick and adds '(goes)' thus clearing the stage for a dialogue between Swallow Senior and Peter. As earlier, Britten suggests Swallow Junior but not this time Ned; yet in the final text of 1.1 (*Grimes* 1979: 11, line 23), the line is allocated to Ned.

⁸⁵ **Lines deleted** (d225-d226). While these provide an amusing contrast between Swallow's informality and Peter's formality, the opposite of the conduct to be expected by their standing in the community, they are also an unnecessarily light-hearted distraction, part of the comic slant to this draft that was gradually excised (cf. ⁷⁷).

⁸⁶ **Lines revised** →d229-d230{a}, d229 delineates Peter's stance more strongly; the matter of d230 is made clearer by d230{a} which sets up Peter's question for clarification.

⁸⁷ **Lines deleted** by Slater and Britten in B: →d231-d232. It is odd that, having taken care to clarify the tenor of this conversation ⁸⁶, Slater and Britten now seek to make it ambiguous (cf. ⁷⁷). Without d231-d232 it might simply be about Peter not conforming by caring for his house and boat.

⁸⁸ **A position of principle** is maintained by Peter here. Peter only seeks to be 'Like every other fisherman/I have to hire an apprentice. I must have help—' (0.136, 138-9). In fact Swallow's second suggestion, that he 'get a woman to help you look after him' (0.140) is to a limited extent taken up, e.g. 2.1.43-44, 'we/Make a new start', but this is through Ellen's initiative, as is the offer of collecting the boy (1.1d101-d132).

⁸⁹ **SD precision** Peter does not leave the stage but withdraws from conversation and association with Swallow Senior, which is consistent with his behaviour at d190.1.

⁹⁰ **Line revised** →d238. The change is apposite. Given that Yarmouth is on the east coast, 'The German Sea' (d236) being the North Sea, a flood would only be alarming in a direction other than the east.

⁹¹ **Lines and SDs deleted** →d239-d240.1. This second emphasis on Swallow's advice (cf. ⁷⁷) may be considered superfluous but with it is also lost the contrasting common sense of Balstrode's perspective. The SDs are also deleted, but the exits of Swallow Senior and Balstrode are implied by the SD at d241.

⁹² **The concept of the stranger** is introduced in this soliloquy by Peter, usually linked with 'Young' (d244, d249, d253) and with 'Young' once added by Britten (d261), leaving only one occurrence without 'Young' (d258). 'Young' has connotations of innocence but also energy and freshness, so when matched with 'stranger' for Peter the boy arriving may be seen as a fresh start. Being an orphan, the boy's origins are mysterious and obscure but equally he starts without the community's prejudice against Peter. So here is the apprentice idealized by Peter as a companion, a willing and even enthusiastic sharer of his isolation and dreams. In source C this text is shortened as shown in my edition crit.app. and in source D deleted by Britten, after he had suggested at the head of this source that 'Young Prentice' or 'the Youngster' be preferred to 'Young stranger'. Something of the original poetic quality survives but not the dreaminess, which allows Peter's soliloquy added by Britten to the next scene, the 'Great Bear' soliloquy (*Grimes* 1979: 17, lines 32-3; 18, lines 1-13) to be more of a surprise. Moreover, as the ambiguity of the portrait of Peter developed, these early lines' reference to a domineering father (d247-d248, d250-d252, d256-d257) had to go as did any suggestion that more than one apprentice had previously died (also d256-d257 and d258-d260) or, at this point, Peter's feelings of guilt on that account.

⁹³ **Line revised** →d258. A change of greater realism, from affirmation to question, with hope yet uncertainty.

⁹⁴ **Line revised** →d261. This longer term prospect places the focus equally on the youth of John as well as his being, like Peter, an outsider.

1.2 Draft: Notes

¹ **Bare SD** shows that the main focus of ‘stage business’ from the outset was the battling with the pub door, even before any attempt to describe the setting.

² **Mrs. Sedley’s response** ‘Referring to me?’ (d6) is more patrician and appropriate than the more aggressive final text from C (*Grimes* 1979: 14, line 6). But ‘Rest from the storm’ (d9), given the identification of interest in meeting Ned, is perhaps more deceitful than the final gtext from C’s revision (*Grimes* 1979: 14, line 9).

³ **Auntie’s response** is more barbed and extreme than her characteristic archness. The final text revision {sv} from C (*Grimes* 1979: 14, lines 10-11) with a commercial rather than legal concern, is an improvement.

⁴ **SD revised** This marks the point at which Britten replaced Dick Sanders in this scene by Balstrode.

⁵ **Line reallocated and revised** The replacement of Dick Sanders resulted in several reallocations of his lines as marked ◀ but Britten did not reallocate lines d21, d44, d66, d122b, d122d, d122i, d122n and d127.

⁶ **Lines reallocated and line revised: Balstrode’s response** →d16. Britten appropriately changes Slater’s colloquial response originally to be spoken by fisherman Dick Sanders to one more suited to a merchant sea-captain.

⁷ **Line not reallocated** Probably simply an omission by Britten but possibly he intended this as a line for the accompanying fisherman (d12.1) rather than Balstrode.

⁸ **Line reallocated: a more considerate approach** The original line for Dick shows more concern for Auntie’s restlessness than the protest given to Balstrode in the final text in Britten’s change from source D (*Grimes* 1979: 14, line 23), its italicized emphasis adding insult. Furthermore the original question neatly allows ‘fearful’ the double meaning of frightened as well as annoying. Auntie’s response also seems a more adequate answer to the original question.

⁹ **Bare SD** As at ¹ the focus of the SD is purely on action and direct consequence.

¹⁰ **Bare SD** As earlier ^{1,9} the focus of this draft is on the action with a brief indication of state of mind.

¹¹ **Lines not reallocated but revised** As with ⁷ possibly an omission by Britten, but there is a stronger case here for these original lines being those of a fisherman with the dialect form ‘ee’. ‘I always knew how it would be’ has a playful quality which is carried over to ‘Nieces all over palpitations/Auntie, where d’you get your relations?’ On the other hand Britten’s removal of the dialect form (→d45) and later revised text (→d46-8), more dogmatic and alluding to the commercial basis and expendability of the ‘nieces’ as goods, is more suited to Balstrode.

¹² **Line revised: Auntie’s response** Britten revised this line on all three appearances (d52, d57, d63). Though acknowledging there is still an element of banter, this is blunt and is more suited to Auntie laying down the law to a fisherman than to Balstrode.

¹³ **Line added** →d53a, correcting an omission by Slater as the lines by the Nieces and Mrs Nabob form a refrain to Auntie's three tirades (d49-d52, d54-d57, d60-d63).

¹⁴ **Lines revised and later deleted** →d60-d61. Auntie's remarks grow more sardonic. Slater's original is straightforward brutality, Britten's revision, meaning 'Are you the man that boasts he beats his partner and gets sexual satisfaction from this?' (see *OED* nut n.14.b, nutmeg n.3), is more sexually suggestive and it is likely he soon deemed overmuch so. For the gradual disappearance of these lines see 1.2 note ²⁸.

¹⁵ **Line revised and later deleted** →d66. After two attempts Slater removed this line. By doing so Boles's drunkenness is brought into sharper relief and communal tipsiness reserved for the opening of Act 3.

¹⁶ **Line reallocated and revised** →d68. The original term used by fisherman Dick is more pejorative than Britten's revision for Balstrode, 'waster' being a dialect word (see *OED* n.1), the opposite of earlier revision practice ¹¹.

¹⁷ **SD revised and relocated** Britten's addition (→d65.1), having Balstrode enter with May Sanders, was made before Dick's entry at d12.1 was changed to Balstrode's ⁵. The subsequent revision of this SD is shown at 1.2.104.2-3 of my edition.

¹⁸ **Line reallocated and relocated** in the final text to a Fisherman to before 67 (*Grimes* 1979: 16, line 7), the reallocation when May Sanders was removed from the opera.

¹⁹ **Line deleted** by Slater, stressing the charming side of his drunkenness and removing the aggressive, as the cry 'I want her' is soon heard (d79).

²⁰ **Line reallocated** →d77. Slater corrected his initial error; thereafter Britten made the reallocation.

²¹ **Sentiments later elaborated** From C and in the final text these lines became the refrain to 2 quatrain verses by Balstrode (*Grimes* 1979: 17, lines 1-2, 7-8).

²² **SD revised** →d88.2. This original entrance for Balstrode was deleted by Britten when he brought forward his entrance (d65.1).

²³ **SD revised and later extended** The extension in the final text from C (*Grimes* 1979: 17, SD after line 22) is necessary to explain Peter's lack of protective clothing and hair looking wild contribute to Mrs Nabob fainting. These details do not occur in this text until d103.2.

²⁴ **Lines added and later relocated** →after d100.2. On the draft Britten requests a 'Couplet for Chorus' at this point and Slater then added these lines, though spacing them as three lines. In the final text from C they occur as a couplet (*Grimes* 1979: 17, lines 26-7). From E they are relocated after the brief exchange between Ned and Auntie (d101-d103).

²⁵ **Line revised** →d101. The revision is the only use of 'aunt' but the half rhyme of 'aunty' and 'brandy' was presumably felt inappropriate in these circumstances.

²⁶ **An unusually prescriptive SD** This is the first mention relating to the stage setting in this draft, though an opening description occurs from C onwards. It is clarified by the photograph of Kenneth Green's original set with its central table (see Appendix E, Figure 2). The reference to a table and Peter sitting down is last found in D. What is later dramatised is the contrary motion between Peter and the rest, from L onwards 'As Grimes moves forward, the others shrink back.'

²⁷ **SD later relocated** This SD is better merged with that at d100.1-2 which is where it in effect occurs from C onwards ²³.

²⁸ **Layout of soliloquy** Its special nature is made clear from this earliest source by the indentation of the second lines of the couplets and organization into five-line stanzas.

²⁹ **Lines added and later revised** →116{a-d} Slater added a third stanza to this draft.

³⁰ **Lines later reallocated** In D Britten gave both lines to the Chorus. Then when he set them he repeated them across the chorus voice parts (1.2.193-203, 206-11).

³¹ **Line later rewritten and allocation revised** Rewritten in C, allocation revised in D (1.2.204-5, note ⁷¹).

³² **Lines, with allocation revised, as part of an extended ensemble section** When Britten set the text the section began with the repetition of d117-8 ²⁹ with the rewritten d119 with allocation revised ³¹ in the midst of this. New text was then introduced and repeated (1.2.212-21, 223-29) with d121 surviving, allocated to both Nieces, as 1.2.222 in the midst of the newly introduced text. Thereafter d120 survives dispersed among the chorus voice parts (1.2.230-38).

³³ **Line later deleted** when replaced by d122n³⁴. In this draft the introduction of the round is relatively casual. Alongside the lines from May's 'He's mad or drunk' (d117) Britten added and later deleted '*Quarrel starts. Grimes interrupted by Auntie who <suggest> orders Round to restore order and keep up spirits*'. This is also later deleted by Britten, presumably because he felt more dramatic incident should take place before the round could be suggested as a defusing device. This incident is Boles's approach to Peter and its aftermath → d122{a-n}.

³⁴ **Interpolated texts** d122{a-n} and d162{a-i} were added by Slater on separate leaves.

³⁵ **A stymied SD** This was originally the response to Auntie's request that someone sing a round³² but Britten here is ensnared by the reallocation of Dick's part to Balstrode. Consequently somewhat incongruously in Britten's revision → d122{n} Balstrode requests that a round be sung and then starts one himself. While it is in character that he should take the lead, the community here appears to be uncharacteristically unresponsive. The solution to this problem took time to achieve. C is still vague ('*Somebody starts one*'). Only in ♪ is it first clear that Keene starts the round and this is not specified in ⚡ until NU.

³⁶ **Line not reallocated** This appears to be an omission by Britten, particularly given Britten's SD revision (→d122{k}.1) that Balstrode becomes physically the intermediary between Boles and Peter.

³⁷ **Lines later revised** These original lines are relatively mildly expressed, rather out of keeping with the rest of Boles's drunken behaviour. For the shorter revision cf. 1.2.244-5, note ⁸³.

³⁸ **Line not reallocated** as at ³⁶.

³⁹ **SD revised** Slater's original brief indication of action is expanded in stage business by Britten (→d122{k}.1), stoking up the dramatic tension which the round is intended to defuse.

⁴⁰ **Line reallocated and revised** Slater's relatively casual request for a round ³³ is made more dramatic by Britten's alteration (→d122{n}).

⁴¹ **Lines reallocated and line revised** Britten's reallocation of this stanza to Boles continues his desired link with the Nieces (cf. d74-6) in 'the oldest game', as Slater pertinently revised its closing line, but is arguably better delivered, as originally, by the Nieces themselves.

⁴² **Lines reallocated** This stanza's emphasis on 'flesh and bone' is arguably more appropriate to the fisherman Boles than the quack apothecary Ned to whom Britten reallocates it.

⁴³ **Lines reallocated** There seems no strong reason for Britten adding the nieces to May for this stanza. Possibly he felt having a number of women gave more point to its emphasis on birth, also increasing the number of voices here begins a process of contrast ⁴⁴.

⁴⁴ **Lines reallocated** By having a chorus of fishermen here rather than just Ned Britten continues the process he started in the previous stanza with three women, highlighting and isolating Peter's solo contribution in what in his revision ⁴⁵ became the following and final stanza.

⁴⁵ **Lines reallocated** aptly. This stanza is better suited to Peter than the fishermen as it hints at Peter's doom to close the round as it closes the opera.

⁴⁶ **Stanza deleted** by Britten when he reallocated the previous five stanzas. This original allocation linking Peter with being down was appropriate but the revised scheme, with Peter dwelling on tragedy, more fitting.

⁴⁷ **Stanza deleted** The original scheme closing with a fishermen's chorus emphasizes the opera's conflict between Peter and the community; but Peter is not 'carried home' at the end: he is just ignored.

⁴⁸ **Round version 2** This is the second of the interpolated texts³⁴ (→d162{a-i}). The allocation of participants has not been made except for the second entry which is for Peter. This anticipates the linking of him with the storm (cf. 1.1.422+424) and begins a link with dreams which is to become important (cf. 2.2.31-50). It is unashamedly comic, short but a competitive, rhyming round, with only Peter not producing a rhyming entry, thus different.

⁴⁹ **Britten marginal note** Alongside the SD Britten writes 'Boy's tune', then after, to the end of the scene, an 'Ascending Bass' charted as 6 minims evenly spread over 3 bars. At the end Britten writes '*Climax of storm (& boy's fear & murder)*'.

⁵⁰ **Britten marginal note** Here Britten speculates 'More reactions chorus?' but this was not pursued.

⁵¹ **The early concept of the stranger** see 1.1 draft note ⁹².

⁵² **Line revised** Originally a repeat of d178, Slater's revision of the final word (→d180) introduced the concept of 'home' for significant subsequent revision (1.2.488-9, notes ¹¹⁵⁻⁶).

2.1 Draft: Notes

¹ **Lines lost** Source B was originally a sequence of scenes which was later split by scene. Page 1 of this scene was lost during this action as the first extant sheet is numbered page 2.

² **Line rewritten** →d8. Slater's original version is more to the point and echoes Peter's aspirations (1.1.391-3).

³ **Lines deleted** →d8-d47.1. Many are concerned with trivial details about minor characters but the loss of an articulate John who continues to press his salient question on Ellen (d8, d32, d47) is regrettable. On the other hand Ellen's rather dismissive approach to the Anglican rite (d14-d15, d27) is something of a mismatch with the religious moral high ground of her aria at 1.1.d116-d126.

⁴ **SD added** by Britten, indicating that such music should accompany the text from here to d45. It is particularly suited to Ellen's retort to May, 'You're a pair/Of clattering churchbells' (d17-d18). The 'bell music' is that introduced at the beginning of Interlude III.

⁵ **An improved revision** Slater's opting for the gentler querying of just one word is preferable to the original rather hectoring manner which Ellen, unlike Peter, does not assume with John elsewhere (cf. 1.2.480, 483, 485-6).

⁶ **A combative revision** Slater's original emphasizes Polly Boles's valour. His revision makes how she differs from Bob explicit but also casts her in a more aggressive light.

⁷ **A weaker revision?** Slater's original is neater. When assigned to John d46 suggests Ellen's d33 to d45 are a diversion to avoid answering John's question at d32 and previously d8.

⁸ **Lines deleted and lines added** Slater originally only provided for the closing couplet of the first verse of the hymn to be heard here. Britten extended its representation by transferring this following d49 and adding the full quatrain of the second verse here.

⁹ **A weaker revision?** Slater's original lines, though unclear, suggest more of a context for the rest of the song than simply John's d67.

¹⁰ **An improved revision** 'Loving's end', the experience of loving, better accounts for the contrast between knowing, not forgetting (d71-d72) and ignoring (d74). That 'Loving's aim', the purpose of loving, is to ignore is a more contentious statement.

¹¹ **A problem song and alternative lines** Exactly to what does the song as a whole allude? To the problem Peter had with his first apprentice? Yet d76-d83 suggest the reference is to the deaths of more than one previous apprentice. And to whose jealousy is reference made in d80? To Peter? This could mean that Ellen thinks Peter is jealous because she is showing more care, tenderness and concern for John than she is showing to him. This would certainly partly account for the vehemence of his actions insisting John come to work and, finally, striking Ellen.

¹² **Music indicator** Britten at this point suggests 'Bit of Service?' This is partly intended to relieve the lyrical but obscure song text of d68-d83. Slater, however, places it at d102-d110 after the discovery of John's bruise.

¹³ **Interpolated text** d85-d110 were added by Slater on a separate sheet. I have conjectured their exact position in relation to the surrounding text.

¹⁴ **A weaker revision?** Britten deletes this line to leave John silent at this point (→d87) but queries this deletion. Yet this lie, quickly proven at d97, is also explained by John's fear of being found out to have told tales about Peter revealed in d97.

¹⁵ **Lines deleted** The repetition of d97 at d101 adds nothing to the force of the proof of Peter's guilt while Ellen's palliative is just a distraction from the main issue.

¹⁶ **Line and comment added** Britten's comment, '(References to the beating?)', comes first, followed by the line furtively cast in curves. Doubtless the content of the interpolation was in general terms discussed by Britten and Slater but it is clear here that d111 is the source of d97. I have therefore retained it here for added emphasis in the context of Ellen's following conciliatory lines.

¹⁷ **Music indicator** Britten has a note in the margin that 'Sea music' should accompany this text from here to d139.

¹⁸ **Lines revised** Slater's revision (→d123a-d126a) is preferable in that the expression is more straightforward and d125a-d126a especially ring true. There are whiffs of pedantry such as the use of 'curriculum' (d113) and 'desmesne' (d121) and sprinklings of maxims (d118, d135-6).

¹⁹ **Lines deleted** Britten deleted d120-d132, perhaps partly because of the pedantry and maxims ¹⁸ but probably more because they are rambling and make little sense other than as recollections of a hard life. Minor revisions (→d129, d130, d132) do not make it any more intelligible.

²⁰ **Lines lost** At this point a page is missing from the extant draft text: page 62 of the pencilled numbering of source B. From the final text it can be surmised that this page includes Peter's entry and probably more liturgy from the church service.

²¹ **Music indicator** Britten adds 'Creed' at this point, signifying that the creed should be sung in conjunction with the dialogue between Ellen and Peter.

²² **Line revised** I have used Slater's revision here in the text presented as it is simply a correction of his initial thought. He clearly intended the 'shall we try?' to be a refrain, occurring for the third time here after d159 and d165.

²³ **Lines deleted** Britten deleted d148-d169, perhaps because Ellen's lines were too analytical, though the focus on her and her sacrifice in d148-d151 is pertinent and masked in the final text. d152-d155 are more of a petulant protest. This is the Peter of Crabbe were he to articulate, as Slater allows him here, a brutal self character study. And yet the recurring 'shall we try?' is a harrowing flicker of hope. Britten adds '(Cut to first creed?)', presumably the opening of the creed he had asked for at d147 ²¹.

²⁴ **Music indicator** Britten adds 'More alternation' at this point, signifying he wants the cut and thrust of shorter contributions from Ellen and Peter rather than Ellen's lengthy analysis.

²⁵ **Lines added** This sequence of lines (d195-d221) was added to the text by Britten.

²⁶ **SD revised** by Britten when Polly was removed from the cast.

²⁷ **SP revised** as ²⁶.

hardly be blamed for the apprentice system which is under the aegis of judicial authority. But it may be considered he should apply moral authority in the matter of Peter's ill treatment of John.

⁴¹ **SP revised** by Britten (→d265) as at ³⁶. Consequently the next SP was deleted (→d267) as an original attack by two parishioners became confined to one.

⁴² **SP revised** by Britten (→d270) as at ³⁶. Britten does not reallocate the line to Boles but to the fuller force of the chorus, as if the community's seething disquiet has finally burst forth.

⁴³ **SP revised** by Britten (→d274) as at ⁴².

⁴⁴ **Lines deleted** (→d281-d282). Britten's trimming of Ellen's heavy character analysis is neat, concentrating on the matter in hand.

⁴⁵ **Line added** (→{after}d294). This suggested repeated line well conveys the exasperation of the community but Britten was insufficiently confident about it to transfer it to the chorus as at ^{42, 43}.

⁴⁶ **Lines deleted** (→d296-d297), as at ⁴⁴.

⁴⁷ **Lines queried** Britten now questions the entire passage d290-d302 and it is not found after this draft, though neither are any lines from d278 onwards. In 2.1.348-53 Ellen more properly concentrates on her practical initiatives, but the idea that no action is a feasible response, however irritating to the community ⁴⁵, is a challenging one. It was in effect that of the community in Crabbe's original: it ostracised Peter but left him to himself (*Borough*, XXIII, 165 onwards).

⁴⁸ **SD unrevised** contrary to (→d202)²⁹ and (→d204)³¹. The removal of Swallow Junior from the cast is not noted here.

⁴⁹ **Lines added** (→{after}d307). These, unlike d307, survived slightly revised as 2.1.491-5.

⁵⁰ **SP revised** by Britten (→d308) as at ⁴².

⁵¹ **Placing of line awkward** Slater seems to have been attracted by the rhyme with d308 but d309, another criticism by Boles of the Rector, refers back to d303-d304. The line was deleted in E (see 2.1. note ¹⁹⁰).

⁵² **Lines added** (→{after}d310). Britten is uncertain whether to place the lines here or after d307.

⁵³ **SD unrevised** as at ⁴⁸.

⁵⁴ **SP requiring clarification** *i.e.* the three on stage who have already sung: Auntie and the two Nieces.

⁵⁵ **Interpolated chorus** (→d310a-d310l) added on a separate sheet by Slater, requested at this point by Britten and identified by him as 'Chorus of Inspection'.

⁵⁶ **SP revised** Britten notes that the last two lines of the stanza (*i.e.* d337-d338) are Ellen solo. Slater seems initially to have thought d338 might be sung by all and Britten that d335-d336 might be sung by all. At 2.1.536-9 the quatrain (d335-d338) becomes Ellen's solo.

2.2 Draft Fragments: Notes

¹ **Lines deleted** d4-d7. Only surviving out of context, these lines are obscure but of interest in that they give Peter's perspective on the advice by Ellen. He feels she is chipping away at his identity, to maintain which he must respond aggressively.

² **Lines and SD deleted** →d8-d12. Alongside this quatrain Britten queries 'More?' which explains Slater's revision. d10 refers to the 'accident' of the second apprentice in Crabbe's poem, suggesting this was partly caused by Peter's oppression.

³ **Lines added** →d12a-d12j. My placement of this added text is conjectural, based on its almost identical initial line (d8 becomes d12a). The text is on a leaf headed by Slater with a capital A with a circle around it to identify the insert within a draft. The extant draft does not contain such an identifier which suggests the text was originally placed in another draft.

⁴ **Britten query** The term '*soothe*' is queried, possibly deemed too soft for the following lines glimpse of a humane Peter.

⁵ **Second fragment with revised allocation** This text follows d1-d22 after two further pages of draft now lost. At this point the part Slater created for Swallow Junior passes to Swallow (Senior) even at the draft stage. This is consistent with the Prologue source B as distinct from source A and suggests these fragments of a draft of 2.2 are from source B.

⁶ **Line revised** →d30. The revision, in more officious and archaic language, is more appropriate for the Rector. 2.2.123 steers a mid course between the original and this first revision.

⁷ **SD revised and deleted, SD added** →d30.1, Slater clarifies the cliff-side door, Britten the road door in the SD later deleted and replaced by Britten →30.1-3. 'Exit' (d30.1) should read '*Exeunt*' as both Swallow and the Rector go out. In the replacement text the semicolon after '*door*' seems to be a revision of a full stop which suggests '*after looking out*' is an afterthought.

3.2 Draft & Slater publication: Notes

¹ **SD variation** (→d0.1). Britten's original added SD envisages the orchestra fading out at the end of 3.1 and thereafter remaining silent. But when he set the music he followed the procedure of his revised SD in E: the orchestra only remains silent until 3.2.126.5 (*i.e.* 3.2.d77.5).

² **Line revised** Strictly it is only Hobson's posse that is in the hunt. The original line anticipates the return to the everyday normality of 1.1.

³ **Cries extended** Slater adds a further line in N, 'VOICES 'Grimes!', as also do JQ (see 3.2 note ³).

⁴ **Music indicator revised** →d1.1, an improvement in detail.

⁵ **SD added** →d2 which, combined with the existing SD, stresses the changeability of Peter's madness. Peter in this draft version is more demonstrative, less reflective than in the final version where he enters '*weary and demented*'.

⁶ **Lines considered for revision in D** On the opposite verso page of the D script Britten experiments with an alternative text to the draft's opening stanzas

Quietly. There you are. Nearly Home.
Into harbour. Home. Into Harbour,
It's calm now. Deep water. <Home.>
Waters will drink my sorrows dry.

This marks a transitional point between the original and the final text with input by Duncan. Line 3 above moves towards 'Deep in calm water' (3.2.4) and line 4 is 3.2.5. Even in Britten's experiment these lines in combination are more subtly suggestive of suicide than the original maudlin mantra 'and you're going to die' (d7, d13).

⁷ **Cries extended** where Slater in N repeats 'Peter Grimes', perhaps an acknowledgement of the greater repetition of ♪ (cf. 3.2.16-20).

⁸ **Line sometimes revised** (→d18). Britten's revision to 'would have' stresses Peter's distant recall and fixation on his father, a significant element in Crabbe's poem. But in N Slater preferred his original text.

⁹ **SD deleted or revised** Though retained in E, Britten deleted the SD in D, probably because he did not wish to extend the hysterical reaction to Ellen as well as Peter, but the deletion awkwardly leaves no entrance SD for Ellen. She spends more time with Peter than in the final version. Unlike that he does here interact with her, but it is the disembodied voices and in this draft version also the dead that focus his attention. In N Slater retains the SD but dispenses with the original prescriptive stage business, modifying the second sentence to '*His appearance startles her.*'

¹⁰ **Lines retained in N, contracted in DE, relocated in E** In D Britten replaced 'and the' (d23) with 'all', in E he placed the 'all' after 'money'. In E he also deleted 'I'm alone now as you foretold./I am alone.' (d21-d22) but ended d25 with a comma rather than full point followed by a repositioned 'Now as you foretold.' Still the emphasis is on Peter's wild past, another element in Crabbe's poem not featured before in this adaptation. In 3.2.40 the more colloquial 'The argument's finished' is associated with the events of the opera, 'Friendship lost' (41).

¹¹ **Lines contracted in D, deleted in EN, line added in E** In D Britten reduced d27-d28 to ‘You hear my name?’, removing Peter’s identification with the elements which recalls the heroic, poetic manner of ‘Now the Great Bear and the Pleiades’ (1.2.176-92) but this comes when the lines recur at d36-d37. In E Britten deleted d27-d28 completely, replacing them with a repeat of ‘I’m alone now, as you foretold’ (d21).

¹² **Lines retained in EN, relocated in D** The relocation by Britten in D is to after d38. This is a better place for Ellen’s response, after a voice has clearly been heard (d31) but she denies its existence (d33). The audience then shares Peter’s experience but still might wonder if his imagination enlarges it. Or is Ellen lying as a calming schoolmistress? Slater’s SP and SD move from ‘VOICES (*louder*)’ (d14) to ‘VOICE’ (*very near and loud*)’ (d31), a gradual increase of tension and linking with Peter’s individual focus, on his father and later (d46) his apprentice. But d36 should reflect this by reading ‘You hear him’ rather than ‘them’. Although the SD at d39 refers to the voices collectively it is again one voice, now ‘*distantly*’ that he hears next (d40). In the final version there are only voices and therefore no links with the distant past, only with the Borough’s recent hunt.

¹³ **Line extended in DE, line not in N** In DE Britten adds ‘my dear!’, an unusual and touching demonstration of affection from Ellen, though tempered in that she is about to make explicit his suicide (d42-d45). Slater in N appears to have not wished to recall a relationship between Ellen and Peter as he omits Ellen’s line.

¹⁴ **SD modified in N** Slater’s version, ‘*He shouts back at them*’, accepts that the voices are real (cf. ¹²).

¹⁵ **Repetition extended in N** to ‘Peter Grimes. Peter Grimes, Peter Grimes, Peter Gr-i-i-mes.’ (cf. ⁷).

¹⁶ **SD revised in D, absent from N** Britten’s revision in D to ‘VOICES (*loud*)’, makes Peter’s roaring response (d41) consistent with his shouting (d39) to the earlier close voice (d31). Slater in N has no SD but accepts Britten’s revision to ‘VOICES’.

¹⁷ **SD not in N** This makes for vagueness, or flexibility with regard to interpretation, of the loudness of the voices at this point and is consistent with Slater’s practice at ¹⁶.

¹⁸ **Repetition extended in N, further extended in D, SD added in D** In N Slater adds just one repetition of ‘Peter Grimes’, in D Britten adds two repetitions. In D Britten also adds a confused SD, ‘*Enter E & B*’. But Ellen has already entered at 18.1 and spoken to Peter while in her next speech she says she is ‘going to fetch Balstrode’ (d44). Britten’s intention in this revision seems to have been to have Ellen and Balstrode witness his revised arioso ²² and then directing his suicide. The text is thus at a transitional stage before the final removal of the earlier discourse with Ellen (d19-d38).

¹⁹ **Line modified in N** to ‘Sea will tranquilise your soul’, a smoother suggestion of suicide.

²⁰ **Lines partly deleted in D and considered for revision and reallocation** In D Britten crosses through ‘Your spasm’s over now’ and puts brackets around the rest with a query in the left hand margin, ‘Balstrode?’. Yet the soothing and calming role as indicated in the SD (d42) is appropriate only for Ellen and d44-5 can only be spoken by her. Perhaps Britten’s intended revision was that Balstrode enter at d41.1 and say the lines ‘The cool/Sea will rise to calm your soul’ so that it is always he and not Ellen who directs Peter’s suicide as in D Britten also deletes ‘*left alone*’ in the next SD (d45.1) ²¹ and Balstrode’s original entrance (d53.1). This latter, retained in E, is preferable as Balstrode then only *speaks* in this scene and mostly in a business-like manner.

²¹ **Line revised in D** Britten deleted *'left alone'* so that Ellen and Balstrode witness Peter's following arioso ²².

²² **Lines modified in N, replaced in DE** In N Slater retained these lines but changed 'Stranger' on every appearance to 'Prentice'. This is following Britten's directive in D with regard to all references to 'Stranger'. In DE Britten replaced these lines with a text mirroring early versions of 1.1.425-8, 431-2

The text in D is

What harbour for my Peace
 Away from tidal waves, away from storms
 What harbour can embrace
 Terrors & tragedies.

Her Breast was harbour too
 Where we, where we, where we..

The text in E has as line 4 'This day's fair promises?' by Britten, changed by Crozier to the above text. The text in E has as line 5 'Her Breast is harbour too'.

²³ **SD retained in N, deleted in D** This deletion by Britten matches the suggested deletion of d42-d45 and entrance of Ellen and Balstrode at d41.1 ²⁰.

²⁴ **Speech indicator added in CD, absent from N** The use of speech, the stipulation added by Britten in CD, makes an effective contrast at this point in the manner of epigraph. To be fully effective as such it needs to be briefer than Slater's original and this justifies Britten's deletions and contractions ²⁷⁻³⁷. The absence of the indicator in N reveals that Slater did not approve of it, although he accepted Britten's deletions and contractions.

²⁵ **Line modified in N** Slater's version in N, 'Come on. I'll help you with the boat', is as 3.2.122.

²⁶ **Line replaced in N** Here Slater begins to follow Britten's contractions and deletions and replaces this line with Ellen's 'No' which first appears in J (see 3.2 note ²⁵).

²⁷ **Lines contracted in DE(+F), lines not in N** Britten deletes Slater's ambiguous 'Make seawards' (d57) and the unnecessarily explicit 'and both go down' (d58) whose rhyme with 'town' (d57) gives it an unfortunately jaunty manner. The directive is in any case repeated at d60-d61.

²⁸ **Lines deleted in DE, absent from N** →d59-d61. Again (cf. d55-d58) lines which pitch a confused, uncomprehending Peter against a patronizing Balstrode repeating the same message are deleted, in favour of a terse message of tragic dignity.

²⁹ **SD not in DN** This stage business prolonging of the preparation for Peter's final exit is another taking away of responsibility and dignity from him and is therefore appropriately deleted by Britten together with the associated line (d62) and following SD (d62.1).

³⁰ **Line contracted in E, deleted in D, absent from N** The original second sentence was deleted by Britten in E, being in any case repeated at d66-d67. The whole line was part of the more extensive deletion by Britten in D of d59-d77 accepted with minor modification by Slater in N.

³¹ **SD not in DN** A continuation of the stage business deleted earlier ²⁹.

³² **Line deleted in DE, line not in N** This reaction of helplessness by Peter is deleted by Britten even in E where he kept more of Slater's text than in D. Slater accepts this deletion in N.

³³ **Spelling later revised** Slater's use of the older form 'Mote' was changed in F by Britten to 'Moot', the spelling today.

³⁴ **Lines contracted in N, deleted in D** Slater's response to Britten's extensive deletion in D of d59-d77 is to fashion a fairly neat edit of the salient features of these lines:

Sail her out till you lose sight of the Moot Hall, then
Sink her. You'll know what to do. Good-bye, Peter.

The opening is d65 without the surrounding patronising instruction (d64) or topographical detail (d66), followed by d58, taking the cue from its contraction in E to 'Then sink your boat'²⁷. Slater's personalizing of the boat twice as 'she' in these lines is a terse allusion to the sentiments of the deleted d68-d71. Slater then retains d72 and 'You'll know what to do' (adapted from d66-d67).

³⁵ **SD not in DN** A continuation of the stage business deleted earlier^{29, 31}.

³⁶ **Lines deleted in DE, briefly represented in N** Britten deleted d68-d71, d73 in DE but retained d72 in E. It is a pity to lose Slater's very human response by Peter to Balstrode's giving out his death sentence, 'This is too early' (d73) but otherwise Balstrode's lines (d68-d71) have suddenly become uncharacteristically sentimental and their deletion ensures the spoken recitative is to the point yet sufficiently valedictory. In N Slater fashions his own edit³⁴.

³⁷ **Word deleted in E** because it is a response to the deleted previous line. d74-d77 are otherwise retained in E though entirely deleted in D and edited in N³⁴.

³⁸ **Lines deleted in D but not E, briefly represented in N** For N see³⁴.

³⁹ **SD revised in E (+N)** Britten changes the opening to '*The men pushing the boat out has been the cue*', a direction of a more prosaic, practical nature which does not require a specific sound effect.

⁴⁰ **Music indicator added in CD, absent from EN** Britten's addition recalls his description in CD of Interlude 1, '*Everyday, grey seascape*', just as the music itself is recalled.

⁴¹ **SD revised in N** From J Dr Crabbe '*nods at*' became '*nods to*' which Slater uses in N.

⁴² **SD deleted in DE, absent from N** Britten removed Slater's original SD as he did not want a church bell sounding at this point which might create a confusing recall. He uses a church bell not at the beginning of 1.1 but 2.1 for Sunday morning.

⁴³ **SD revised in N** The original distinguishes Swallow's position in the community by the courtesy prefix of '*Mr.*' as in *z* in his first entrance in the Prologue (→0.5). In H this was misprinted as '*Mrs.*' and this reading followed in JQ. In N Slater omits the prefix.

⁴⁴ **Music indicator and placing of Chorus revised in E, both absent from N** (→d77.23). Britten's revised indicator in E stresses the fragmentary, inconsequential nature of the discourse and dismissal of the tragic events earlier in the scene. At the same time by bracketing text he brings forward the first quatrain of the final chorus (d85-d88) before these

lines (d78-d84) and the second quatrain (d89-d92) before the closing 3 lines of dialogue (d82-d84).

⁴⁵ **Line added in DE, absent from N** Britten's addition was

FISHERMAN Let's have a look thro' the glasses

anticipating Slater's SD at 81.2. It does not occur in \mathcal{L} until Q.

⁴⁶ **Line reallocated in E (+N)** to Auntie. In D he had queried reallocating it to Boles.

⁴⁷ **Line reallocated in E (+N)** to Boles.

⁴⁸ **Line later revised** From F 'spy' was changed to 'see' but the original is found in all \mathcal{L} until U. In D Britten suggested 'we' rather than 'I', but this would have required a change of SD to the effect that the glass was passed around among the fishermen.

⁴⁹ **Line reallocated in E (+N)** to Auntie.

⁵⁰ **Music indicator added in CD, not in N** This addition by Britten flags that the music is the same as at 1.1.1-4. There Crabbe is directly quoted, but these opening lines (d85-d88) are Slater's rewrite of *Borough*, I, 287-90 (see *Introduction to 3.2* §1.1).

⁵¹ **Text revised in DE (+N)** Slater's original 'the Borough's bells' follows Crabbe's line (*Borough*, I, 287) he rewrote, 'There as we pass the jingling Bells betray'. Britten changed this to 'the Borough sounds' in DE (+N), following his deletion of church bells in the earlier SD⁴². The deletion of the apostrophe avoids the extra sibilance.

^{52,53} **Quatrain relocated in E but not N**⁴⁴.

⁵⁴ **SD added in N** Slater here adds '*By now the morning life of the Borough is in full flood.*' This is found in no other \mathcal{L} but is Slater's response to Britten's closing SD in \mathcal{J} , '*The stage is now filled with people singing at their daily work.*'

⁵⁵ **Music indicator added in CD, absent from N** →d96.2.

Appendix G: Bibliography

§1. Primary sources (texts consulted for the edition)

I designate the texts alphabetically in chronological order. The dates are as suggested in Banks 2000. ✍ denotes a literary text, ♪ a music score.

- A ✍ Preliminary draft, Prologue (1942?), 8 folios: typescript with manuscript annotations, revisions and corrections by Britten and Slater [Location and callmark *GB-ALb* 2-9401380] {*GB-ALb* denotes the Britten-Pears Foundation Archive, The Red House, Aldeburgh, Suffolk}
- B ✍ Revised preliminary draft, Prologue only (1942?), 6 folios: typescript with manuscript annotations, revisions and corrections by Britten and Slater [*GB-ALb* 2-9401381]
- C ✍ Top copy of final draft, complete libretto (September 1942?), 69 folios: typescript with manuscript annotations, revisions and corrections by Britten and Slater [*GB-ALb* 2-9401387]
- D ✍ First carbon copy of final draft, complete libretto (September 1942?), 69 folios: typescript with manuscript annotations, revisions and corrections by Britten and Slater [*GB-ALb* 2-9401388]
- E ✍ Second carbon copy of final draft, complete libretto (September 1942?), 69 folios and 7 paste-overs: typescript with manuscript annotations, revisions and corrections by Britten, Slater and Crozier [*GB-ALb* 2-9401389]
- F ♪ Composition draft of complete full score (January 1944-January/February 1945), i-iii, 119, iv-ix folios and 2 paste-overs: manuscript by Britten [*GB-ALb* 2-9401098] {facsimile published in Banks 1996}
- G ♪ Fair copy of complete full score (10 February 1945), 3 volumes, 156, 104, 71 folios: manuscript by Britten with minor assistance from Arthur Oldham [*US-Lc* ML30.3c2.B75case, *GB-ALb* X.15 microfilm consulted] {*US-Lc* denotes Library of Congress, Washington}
- H ✍ Fair copy of complete libretto sent to the Lord Chamberlain's Office for licensing (May 1945): typescript with manuscript annotations, revisions and corrections by Britten {?after 24 February 1945 when Britten states Slater agreed to the revisions of 3.2 he added by hand, see Banks 2000: 44} and Slater (?after 26 October 1944 when Slater assigned the libretto to Boosey & Hawkes, see Banks 2000: 38) [*GB-L LCP* 1945/16]
- I ♪ Pre-publication vocal score, Boosey & Hawkes, 1944-45, x, 380, xi-xii p [*GB-ALb* 2-9500683]

- J ✍ Complete libretto, first edition, Boosey & Hawkes, 1945, vi, 50 p; 19 cm
- K 🎵 Manuscript full score, 1945-6, 3 vols (218, 174, 126 pp): manuscript by copyists, includes annotations, some probably by Reginald Goodall [GB-ALb 2-9501109]
- L 🎵 Full score published only for hire, first printing, Boosey & Hawkes, 1946, 3 vols ([i-vi], 218; [i-ii], 173, [iii]; [i-ii], 135 [iii] p.): Prologue & Acts 1-2 printed from K, Act 3 from a lost manuscript] [GB-ALb 2-9401174] {Full score for hire, second printing, Boosey & Hawkes, 1963, is an enlargement of Text P}
- M 🎵 Vocal score, first edition, Boosey & Hawkes, 1945, viii, 380 p: [GB-ALb 2-9500572, Reginald Goodall's copy with his annotations; GB-ALb 2-9401394, Pears's copy with his annotations; GB-ALb 2-9401392, Britten's file copy with corrections by Rosamund Stroud for Text R]
- N ✍ *Peter Grimes and other poems*, 'Slater's edition', John Lane The Bodley Head, 1946, 108 p {*Grimes* pp. 7-56}; 21 cm
- O (✍) Sound recording conducted by Britten, Decca, 1959 3 LPs {The 1985 reissue on 3CDs includes a printed libretto text}
- P 🎵 Study score, first edition, Boosey & Hawkes, 1963, vi, 508 p [GB-ALb 2-9700001, Britten's file copy with corrections by Rosamund Stroud for Text T]
- Q ✍ Complete libretto, second edition, Boosey & Hawkes, 1964 [copyright 1961], vi, 50 p; 19 cm
- R 🎵 Vocal score, second edition, Boosey & Hawkes, 1967, viii, 380 p [G-ALb 2-02052454]
- S (✍) Video recording conducted by Britten, BBC, 1969; 1 DVD; 27 p; 20cm {with partial libretto text as English subtitles, for which acknowledgement is made to the Boosey & Hawkes edn (unspecified) but there are sung variants from this, e.g. 'the boat' (O.4) and it is likely the subtitles date from the preparation of the DVD version of the film in 2008}
- T 🎵 Study score, corrected edition, Boosey & Hawkes, 1973, viii, 508 p; 27 cm
- U ✍ Complete libretto, third edition, Boosey & Hawkes, 1979, vi, 44 p; 27 cm
- V 🎵 Vocal score, third edition, Boosey & Hawkes, 2003, viii, 380 p; 27 cm

Other primary *sc* are the texts of the scenarios and three other texts:

- Scenario A 1.1-2 (c. 1 July 1941 – c. 16 March 1942), 1 folio: manuscript by Britten [*GB-ALb* 2-9401374]
- Scenario B 1.1-2, 2.1-3, 3.1 scenarios, 1.1 libretto (c. 1 July 1941 – c. 16 March 1942), 4 folios: manuscript by Pears [*GB-ALb* 2-9401375]
- Scenario C Prologue, 1.1-3, 2.1-3, 3.1-2 (March – April 1942). 1 folio: manuscript by Pears [*GB-ALb* 2-9401377]
- Scenario D Version 1: Prologue, 1.1-2, 2.1-3, 3.1-2; Version 2: 1 & 2 as Version 1, 3.1 Court Scene, 3.2 Epilogue; Incomplete attempts: 1.1, 1.2 {= Prologue}, 2 {= 1.2}; 1.1 (March – April 1942). 2 folios: manuscript, Versions by Britten; Incomplete attempts at 1.1-2, 2 by Pears, at 1.1 by Britten {on headed paper of the *JOHNSON LINE* of Sweden} [*GB-ALb* 2-9401378]
- Scenario E 2.1-3, 3.1 (March – April 1942). 1 folio: manuscript by Pears [*GB-ALb* 2-9401379]
- Notes Descriptions in Crabbe's *The Borough* of interest, viz.: Storm (Letter I); Inns (Letter XI); Poor (Letter XVIII) (c. 1 July 1941 – c. 16 March 1942), 1 folio: manuscript by Britten [*GB-ALb* 2-9401376]
- Cast List (1942?), 1 folio: manuscript by Britten with annotations, revisions and corrections [*GB-ALb* 2-9401386]
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§2. Secondary sources cited in commentaries

{The suffix, §4 *etc.*, indicates an annotated entry in that section}

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Banks, Paul. ed. (2000), *The Making of Peter Grimes*. Woodbridge: The Boydell Press. §4

'Benjamin Britten: Tributes and Memories', *Tempo*, 120, March 1977: 3. §4

Brett, Philip. comp. (1983), *Peter Grimes*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. §4

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- Crabbe, George. ed. George Crabbe (1851), *The Life and Poetical Works of the Rev^d George Crabbe*. London: John Murray {Crabbe's son's edition, the text acquired by Peter Pears}.
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- Edgecombe, Rodney Stenning. (1983), *Theme, embodiment and structure in the poetry of George Crabbe*. Salzburg: Institut für Anglistik und Amerikanistik, Universität Salzburg {Cambridge dissertation 1980}. ^{§3}
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- Sigworth, Oliver Frederic (1965). *Nature's sternest painter*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press. §3
- Smith, Eric. (1959). 'Peter Grimes in stereo', *Gramophone*, October 1959, 26. §5

- Sutcliffe, Tom. (1996), *Believing in Opera*. London: Faber and Faber. §4
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- Vickers, Jon. (1984), 'Jon Vickers on Peter Grimes', *Opera* 35 (8, 1984), 835.
- Wilcox, Michael. (1997), *Benjamin Britten's operas*. Bath: Absolute. §4
- Winborn, Colin. (2004), *The literary economy of Jane Austen and George Crabbe*. Aldershot: Ashgate. §3

§3. Literature on Crabbe

The remaining sections of this bibliography I have annotated with reference to the interest of the titles for a study of *Grimes*.

- Bareham, Terence. (1977), *George Crabbe*. London: Vision Press.
p.40 notes that Peter is frightening because not a norm for Crabbe. He is a natural phenomenon, not a weak man but an original sin. The imagery and verse organization is used to evoke a response from the reader with the airlessness and desolation of the marshland and inner landscape of moral distress. Language itself is reversed for immediacy: 'hot-red' rather than 'red-hot'.
- Edgecombe, Rodney Stenning. (1983), *Theme, embodiment and structure in the poetry of George Crabbe*. Salzburg: Institut für Anglistik und Amerikanistik, Universität Salzburg {Cambridge dissertation 1980}.
p.141-9, notes that the landscape with which Crabbe surrounds Peter offers a commentary on the mind rather than the converse typical of chorographic verse; that the vision favours 'imperfection and muddlement'; the choice of images, rhythm and how it is handled convey progressive constriction.
- Edwards, Gavin (1990), *George Crabbe's Poetry on Border Land*. Lampeter: The Edwin Mellen Press
p.145-65, 'The Grimeses', explores, with some reference to psychoanalysis, a concern that the poem does not fully explain the motives or meaning of Peter's conflict. The Britten-Slater transformation is criticized as a liberal-humanist reply to the poem rather than an operatic vision of it. Notes the paradox that Crabbe wants to see Peter as a member of human society as an instance of certain general laws of human feeling and an object lesson to us all. Comments that Crabbe's language, 'Where all presented to the Eye or Ear,/Oppress'd the Soul! With Misery, Grief, and Fear.' (*Borough*, XXII, 203-4), the use of the past tense 'Oppress'd' denotes a compulsive, recurrent activity while the use of 'the' Soul universalizes it, We are with Peter and we *are* Peter.

Forster, Edward Morgan. (1932a), *The life of George Crabbe. By his son.* {with an introduction by Forster}. London: Oxford University Press.

The earliest and least generous of Forster's writings on Crabbe. He disapproves of what he rightly terms Crabbe's speciality, 'the analysis and censure of weakness', but censure is too crude a term for Crabbe's practice. At least with Peter (p.xvi) there is no grey area, a character who goes wrong deliberately, 'who tortures and murders his boy apprentices', Forster jumping to the same conclusion as the Borough folk (2.1.482) in lines Britten added with the same scarcity of evidence.

Forster, Edward Morgan. (1932b), 'George Crabbe', *The Spectator*, 5408, 20 February 1932, 243-5.

The content is largely the same as 1932a but this shorter, freestanding piece is in chattier style and, being less concerned with the nature and writing of biography, concentrates on a critique of the poet.

Haddakin, Lilian. (1955). *The poetry of Crabbe.* London: Chatto & Windus.

(p.161-5) Demonstrates the effectiveness of Crabbe's use of language. The callously humorous understatement, 'Grimes is at his exercise' derives its force from its conscious inadequacy to the occasion. In the closing hallucinations Crabbe is sparing in words with horrific associations, using common words but in abnormal word order, 'dream it was not', 'He, with his hand, the old man, scoop'd the flood' and an emphatic inversion of rhythm, 'Thrice, when I struck them', 'Still did they force me'.

Hatch, Ronald B. (1976), *Crabbe's Arabesque: Social Drama in the Poetry of George Crabbe.* London: McGill, Queen's University Press.

p.34, Crabbe shows how typical details of everyday life, emptied of meaning, have a spectral character which evokes the sense of a disintegrating personality; p.105-8, emphasizes Peter fits into a society that allows his actions, the workhouse clearing men, the community noting his 'exercise' calmly.

Huchon, René (1907, 1968), *George Crabbe and his times 1754-1832: a critical and biographical study.* London: Frank Cass and Company.

p.294-9 on *Grimes*, stresses Peter's degradation is mirrored and intensified by that of his natural surroundings, that Crabbe's focus is on psychology rather than melodrama. Taking a hard moral line on deserved punishment, criticizes the account of Peter's suffering as unreal but a ploy for pathos.

New, Peter (1976), *George Crabbe's poetry.* London: Macmillan.

'The Borough', p.93-100 on *Grimes*, provides the most focussed analysis available of the nature of Crabbe's Peter, the problem of defining his tragic quality yet Crabbe's success in achieving this. Includes a detailed study of Crabbe's manipulation of language to effect his transformation of Peter from victimizer to victim.

Pollard, Arthur. ed. (1972), *Crabbe: the critical heritage.* London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

Has fascinating critiques of *Grimes*, not least because they originate arguments still made, e.g. Francis Jeffrey, 1810 (p.93): 'There is a degree of depravity which counteracts our sympathy with suffering, and a degree of insignificance which extinguishes our interest in guilt.' At least by 1874 (p.448) Leslie Stephen is writing, in more enlightened manner, that Crabbe's 'peculiar power is best displayed in so presenting to us the sorrows of commonplace characters as to make us feel that a shabby coat and a narrow education, and the most unromantic causes, need not cut off our sympathies with a fellow-creature.' Also in 1810 an unsigned review picks up Crabbe's contrast of manner (p.111), 'The greater part of this hideous story is told in the Ordinary of Newgate style; but the conclusion,

where the dying villain pours the wild effusions of his guilt-distracted brain, is drawn with terrific strength.' The point is missed that the power of the conclusion is in relief to the earlier deliberately deadpan reportage. Hazlitt, 1821, is rather faint in his praise (p.306): 'He is a most potent copyist of actual nature, though not otherwise a great poet.'

Powell, Neil. (2004), *George Crabbe an English Life: 1754-1832*. London: Pimlico. 'In search of Peter Grimes', p.188-198, points out the problem of coming to the character via the Britten-Slater 'transmutation' because what distinguishes the original from other Crabbe characters is its greater inward realization, 'directness or intimacy or immediacy'. He argues this is owing to Peter being a portrait of Crabbe's father.

Sigworth, Oliver Frederic (1965). *Nature's sternest painter*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press.

The title alludes to Byron's praise, 'Though nature's sternest painter, yet the best' but Sigworth is careful to distinguish the link in Crabbe between nature and Peter's mind's reception of it. Because he is 'dull and hopeless' the natural surroundings accentuated this. He shows this is a structural device: 'Crabbe places Peter Grimes in the dull solitude of the salt marsh, and there, amid desolation symbolizing his state of mind, Peter is gradually overcome by his consciousness of guilt and sin until nature itself seems to breed the demons which haunt him. The natural surroundings are morally neutral; it is what Peter transfers to them from his own mind which is significant for the story.' There is also a dramatist's sense of transformation within a timespan here.

Whitehead, Frank. (1995), *George Crabbe: a reappraisal*. London: Associated University Presses.

(p.81-87) focusses on the *Grimes* tale as a parable: 'want, disease, solitude and disappointment' {quoting Crabbe's Preface} follow on from and are the inescapable corollary of Grimes' own actions and temperament.' Both sociological and psychological realism is noted, the former in the community's acquiescence in the apprentice system, the latter by the hallucination that Crabbe added to the factual accounts of apprentice abusers. Sees Crabbe's description of Peter's sadism (*Borough*, XXII, 79-85) as grimly compassionate realism using the poetic resources of parallelism and antithesis. The line 'Meanwhile the fish and then th'Apprentice died' (152) shows a bathetic parallelism which signifies the distorted value scale that animates Peter's actions. {Slater's original line, 0.27, 'The fish died — and the boy', preserved this.}

Winborn, Colin. (2004), *The literary economy of Jane Austen and George Crabbe*. Aldershot: Ashgate.

(p.155-60) quotes Crabbe's lines Slater uses at the end (3.2.144-50) in terms of a broader discussion of the sea's power both to attract and repulse, commenting on the dangerously seductive tug of the tide yet sublime allure of its depths. Notes the lines bring aesthetic gratification and make an atmospheric backdrop but are also related to the moral concerns of the text and that 'the ability to stand firm and stem the tide is praised highly by the moralist Crabbe.' Given this, Peter's 'The storm is here, and I shall stay' (1.1.422, 424) becomes an heroic statement. The book's wider preoccupation is with boundaries, pressure and containment. Peter refuses to be contained.

§4. Literature on Britten

{ the first 4 items are general bibliographies }

Banks, Paul & Cooke, Keiron. (1999), *Benjamin Britten: a catalogue of the published works*. Aldeburgh: Britten-Pears Library.

Craggs, Stewart R. (2002), *Benjamin Britten: a bio-bibliography*. London: Greenwood Press.
Includes a discography.

Hodgson, Peter J. (1996), *Benjamin Britten: a guide to research*. London: Garland Publishing.

Wilson, Paul. (n.d.), *A Britten source book: revised bibliography*. Aldeburgh: Britten-Pears Library.
A revision of the original of 1987. Peter Grimes, p.272-8.

Banks, Paul. ed. (2000), *The Making of Peter Grimes*. Woodbridge: The Boydell Press.
An indispensable reference tool, its most significant items being:

Banks, Paul. 'Bibliographic notes and narratives', p.167-228, listing and describing the primary source material.

Crozier, Eric (1946), 'Notes on the production of Peter Grimes', p.7-20, outlines the issues to be faced in staging the opera, with particular reference to set design.

Brett, Philip. 'The growth of the libretto', p.53-78, an overview of significant issues including quotations from drafts and a well considered analysis of the limited place of Duncan's contribution.

Reed, Philip. 'Finding the right notes', p.79-114, looks at Britten's creative process as revealed by discarded drafts of the music which includes a consideration (p.97-9) of slightly variant texts of the Prologue's 'love duet' not found in sources DE.

among the plates are photographs of the composition draft (source F), typescript libretto drafts with additional manuscript notes by Britten and Crozier (sources DE), Britten and Slater (1.1, 2.1 draft texts)

Banks 2000 is a paperback reissue of vol. 1 of a 1996 hardback publication, vol. 2 of which presents a photographic reproduction of the composition draft (source F), necessarily in colour because the SDs are in red pencil and the black pencil manuscript is difficult to read against the faded and water stained paper.

'Benjamin Britten: Tributes and Memories', *Tempo*, 120, March 1977: 3.
Contribution by Nicholas Maw reveals Britten modest and critical about his own ability but giving a younger composer encouraging advice.

Bostridge, Ian. (2011), *A singer's notebook*. London: Faber & Faber.
Amid a range of material on Britten (p.95-101, 188-228) usefully considers the paradox (p. 197) that *Grimes*' atypicality has made it successful because its conventional grand opera structure {and references to earlier composers' musical styles} render it accessible to a traditional opera audience.

Bostridge, Mark. (2013), *Britten's century*. London: Bloomsbury.

Kildea, Paul. 'Britten's biographers', p.3-15, is a useful survey including a critique of Carpenter's over emphasis on innocence destroyed, tempered by a brief but insightful quote from Mitchell: 'at the centre of his music there is an intensely solitary and private spirit, a troubled, even sometimes despairing visionary, a creator preternaturally aware of the destructive appetite ... that feeds on innocence, virtue and grace {but also} the eminently practical, rational man' {taken from Cooke, Mervyn, ed., 1995, *Cradles of the new: writings on music 1951-91*: 488-9. London: Faber & Faber. }

Hammond, Nicholas. 'Peter Grimes: Now gossip is put on trial', p.92-101, neatly distinguishes a difference of attitude to gossip between Ellen, 'But we'll gossip too' (0.182), making it something she and Peter can share and Peter's seeing it as a force which isolates him. Balstrode and Ned share Peter's view of gossip as a destructive force but the quartet including Ellen at 2.1.517 shows gossip can incorporate a shared ideal and the capacity for redemption.

Gardner, Edward talks to Nicholas Kenyon. 'Conducting Britten', p.113-23, considers *Grimes* is distinctive among Britten's works in that it is 'so visceral and so meant' with a 'raw, elemental energy that generates such momentum.'

Brett, Philip. comp. (1983), *Peter Grimes*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

The most important book of criticism on *Grimes*. Particularly significant are:

Forster, E.M. (1941, 1948), p.1-21, 'Two essays on Crabbe'. The first essay, reading which inspired Britten to undertake *Grimes*, is much more generous to Crabbe than Forster 1932. His quotation from *The Borough* shows exactly, as he claims, how subtly Crabbe links a scene and a soul, in this case Peter's. Crabbe is praised because he is unusual and sincere. Now Forster likes his tartness and acid humour. In the second essay, a lecture at the Aldeburgh Festival in 1948, Forster observes the paradox that Crabbe was both repelled by and attracted to Aldeburgh. His skill is as a grim realist without Wordsworth's sense of regeneration. Forster then observes that the Britten-Slater *Grimes* diverges widely from Crabbe's but that their duty in their work is to be original. Had Forster written the libretto, he says, he would have starred the murdered apprentices and kept Crabbe's ending.

Brett, Philip. p.47-87, 'Fiery visions' (and revisions): *Peter Grimes in progress*, a summary, with quotations, of the significance of the scenarios, the influence of reading Crabbe, the various versions of the libretto, Slater's letter to Britten {Appendix C in this document}. Concludes that ultimately Britten made the decisions.

Keller, Hans. (1952), p.105-20, '*Peter Grimes*: the story, the music not excluded', stresses the strength and complexity of the character of Peter, 'His pride, ambition, and urge for independence fight with his need for love; his self-love battles against self-hate.' He accounts for the work's universality in that 'we do identify him, and ourselves with him, unconsciously.'

Wilson, Edmund. (1947), p.159-62, 'An account of *Peter Grimes* from *London in Midsummer*', emphasizes that the community's savagery is that of a people recently at war, 'the blind anguish, the hateful rancors and the will to destruction of these horrible years.'

Garbutt, J.W. (1963), p.163-71, 'Music and motive in *Peter Grimes*', notes the discrepancies in the characterization of Peter, 'clear-sighted enough to see that the Borough gossips listen only to money' but 'at the same time blind enough to desire their respect'. Deeper issues are discerned owing to the transformation from Crabbe's to Slater's Peter. Should he accept death without established guilt?

Brett, Philip. (1977), p.180-89, 'Britten and Grimes', considers 'the drama is an encoded projection of Britten's own experience, the opera a disguised and flawed endeavour to win compassion and sympathy for the homosexual community.' {summary in Seymour 2004:73}

Caron, C.L.Nathalie (1998), *The role of the chorus in Benjamin Britten's opera Peter Grimes*. University of Glasgow: MA dissertation {copy at BPF}

views the chorus as condemned by the decision to make Peter innocent {an interesting reversal of the usual perspective}; considers its malevolent gossip a force antagonistic to, and distinct from, Crabbe's wish to empathize with individuals through meticulous psychological descriptions; its judgemental nature is similarly at odds with Crabbe's objective reporting. In their 'Ha-ha's at the end of 2.1 (477) the chorus becomes the demons they accuse Peter of being (1.2.160). At the beginning of 2.1 the chorus is commentator, in the church service, as it is heard in parallel with Ellen's and later Peter's song. In the final scene the chorus becomes Peter, the forces which torture him from within singing his name. They are able to maintain a physical presence or a sinister off-stage presence, even if not directly in the immediate stage action {so is Peter}. They are not just a stock role but shape the action and music {and may be regarded, therefore, as a character, as a collective body, in their own right.}

Conrad, Peter (1989), *A song of love and death: the meaning of opera*. London: The Hogarth Press.

(p.39-40) notes Britten revises operatic convention by giving Peter a 'furious monologue', 'When I had gone fishing' (1.2.362), rather than traditional drinking song and (p.345) that Slater created a community for Peter to {wish to} belong to whereas Crabbe deliberately left the focus on him.

Cooke, Mervyn. ed. (1999), *The Cambridge Companion to Benjamin Britten*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Allen, Stephen Arthur. p.79-94, ' 'He descended into Hell': Peter Grimes, Ellen Orford and salvation denied ', through close attention to the relationship of the Interludes and motifs used and transformed through the opera, argues for the centrality of Ellen's perspective as 'the opera's fallible spiritual heroine'. Suggests Interludes 1, 3 and 5 represent Ellen while Interludes 2, 4 and 6 represent Peter who has both visionary (Apollonian) and aggressive (Dionysian) characteristics. The opera is a tragedy because the aggressive characteristics overcome the visionary. Like Peter, Ellen stands apart from the community but her aria in 1.1 has a stable emotional essence distinct from the rhythmic instability of Peter's and the community's music. The tonal regions of E, A and D are those of fantasy vision for Peter but reality for Ellen. It is Ellen who is actually confronted by the community (1.1, 2.1), not Peter {except in 1.2}. Her aria in 3.1 is a lament on the theme Of betrayal.

Cross, Joan (1989), {*Autobiography*} {Unpublished typescript, BPF 1-9700292}

Chapter on *Grimes*, p.129-43 records the hostile reception by some of the company but valuably a thorough character study of Ellen by the artist who created the role. Also mentions the vocal qualities of Peter Pears (p.124-5), Owen Brannigan, the first Swallow (p.126), Edith Coates, the first Auntie (p.103) and Valetta Jacobi, the first Mrs. Sedley (p.115).

Crozier, Eric ed. (1948), *The Aldeburgh Festival of Music and the Arts Programme Book*. Ipswich: W.S.Cowell.

'An exhibition of stage models and designs for Peter Grimes', p.32. Demonstrates the international appeal of the work, listing performances from 1945-48 in 13 countries and noting translation into 7 languages.

- Duncan, Ronald. (1981), *Working with Britten*. Welcombe: Rebel Press.
(especially p.37-9), a recollection of revising 3.2 with Britten at his request. Claims he persuaded Britten to recall phrases and music from earlier in the opera, though from Scenario D it had been intended to recall the chorus music of 1.1. Claims he revised other, unstated parts of the libretto.
- Elliott, Graham. (2006), *Benjamin Britten: the spiritual dimension*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
(p.127) Picks up Kennedy's concept {see entry below} of Britten's 'spiritual leitmotif' but points out *Grimes* is not a Christian parable (there is no redemption) but a moral parable with Christian implications{OK} and a strong Christian undertone{an overstatement}. States the established church is the social centre for the community {but only in 2.1 and not for everyone then}. (p.35-6) argues against Brett's focus on the homosexual perspective, that the work should be interpreted in a wider and more inclusive context.
- Herbert, David. (1979), *The operas of Benjamin Britten*. London: Hamish Hamilton.
Provides the complete libretto texts, Britten's (*i.e.* the music score) versions rather than the librettists but, unlike this edition, without Britten's repetitions. Includes valuable insight from one librettist, Myfanwy Piper, 'Writing for Britten', p.8-21 {quotation from p.8}: 'When I showed the first tentative words of dialogue to Britten he said, 'Don't colour them, the music will do that.' This did not mean that they were to be colourless, or flat, but that they were not to be high-flown, over-descriptive, self-indulgent or imprecise.
- Journeying boy: the Diaries of the Young Benjamin Britten 1928-1938*, selected & ed. John Evans. London: Faber and Faber, 2009.
- Kennedy, Michael. (1981), *Britten*. London: J.M.Dent & Sons.
'*Peter Grimes*', p.168-76, is probably the most freshly written introduction to the work. Introduces the concept of a 'spiritual leitmotif', 'how innocence can be tainted and corrupted by the world, how the ability to create depends upon a renewal of innocence.' One can understand Peter as an innocent but no renewal is possible for him, though he dreams of it at 2.2.31-44.
- Kildea, Paul. (2013), *Benjamin Britten: a Life in the Twentieth Century*. London: Allen Lane.
(p.2) points to Pears creating a 'conflation' between Britten and Peter Grimes with a portrait of a character 'at odds with the society in which he finds himself'. Then Keller's comment on Britten's 'heavily repressed sadism' which 'underlies pacifistic attitudes' {*e.g.* the *Grimes* 2.2 draft}. Kildea argues (p.13) that Britten in later works followed Chekhov's dictum of being 'an unbiased witness' of his characters but in *Grimes* 'his control over our emotional response to the characters is absolute.'
- Letters from a Life: the Selected Letters and Diaries of Benjamin Britten 1913-1976, Volume One 1923-1939*, ed. Donald Mitchell & Philip Reed. London: Faber and Faber, 1991.
- Letters from a Life: the Selected Letters and Diaries of Benjamin Britten 1913-1976, Volume Two 1939-1945*, ed. Donald Mitchell & Philip Reed. London: Faber and Faber, 1991.
Includes letters from the period of the evolution, composition and first performance run of *Grimes* and major critical notices (p.1253-65) and a reproduction of the programme of the first performance (p.1266-7).

Letters from a Life: the Selected Letters and Diaries of Benjamin Britten 1913-1976, Volume Three 1946-1952, ed. Donald Mitchell, Philip Reed & Mervyn Cooke. London: Faber and Faber, 2004.

Lucas, John. (1993), *Reggie: the life of Reginald Goodall*. London: Julia MacRae Books. 'Enter Grimes', p.81-98. Notes Goodall's insistence on textual correctness and the need to sing accurately (p.87).

Mark, Christopher (2013), *Britten: an extraordinary life*. London: ABRSM Publishing. 'An enormous commitment', p.69-75. Clarifies Britten's misgivings by 1943 with Slater as librettist yet conviction that his interest in character and situation can be expressed musically. Emphasizes Brett's analysis that Peter internalizes the Borough's opinion of him.

Matthews, David (2003, 2013), *Britten*. London: Haus Publishing. 'What harbour shelters peace?', p.66-78. A lucid analysis of positive dramatic features, though over estimates the contribution of Duncan.

Powell, Neil. (2013), *Benjamin Britten: a Life for Music*. London: Hutchinson. (p.231-2) Criticizes Britten and Slater for their 'misconception' that Crabbe's poem is melodramatic and Peter a villain rather than tragic hero. As a result the repeated 'I'll marry Ellen' (1.1.391-3) appears emotionally insincere. Crabbe's torments for the dying Peter make him a tragic figure where Slater's change of ending makes him merely a suicide {but directed}.

Rupprecht, Philip ed. (2001). *Britten's musical language*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

'*Peter Grimes: the force of operatic utterance*', p.32-74, the tragedy turns on acts of naming which are also signs of social identity, it is pervaded by moments when simple naming can coerce, wound and, finally, destroy. Varieties of naming are explored: speech as action in the Prologue, choric utterance in 1.1, Peter's self-sentencing in 2.1, the chorus and hate speech in 2.1, melancholy and incipient madness in 3.2. The tragic distance traversed is that from 'a hand that you can feel' (0.208-9) of Ellen to an end when he can no longer register her presence (3.2.88, 89.1).

Rupprecht, Philip ed. (2013). *Rethinking Britten*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Ashby, Arved. p.63-85, 'Peter Grimes and the "Tuneful Air"', exemplifies the transformation of ordinary speech, unnatural stress of the prosody of poem and demands of the emotional situation, founded on Purcell's practice whose recitatives dance. Variety is achieved by contrasting the tuneful and declamatory air. 'And do you prefer the storm' (1.1.319) is a recitative in the style of a tuneful air. Peter is distanced from the dance of the chorus, 'He's mad or drunk' (1.2.193) with his ammetrical, pitch fixated 'Now the Great Bear and Pleiades' (1.2.176). In 3.1 the dances animate and typify the characters who sing to them, the amorous Swallow's barn dance, Mrs Sedley's ländler, the Rector's hornpipe and finally Mrs Sedley's attempt at a gallop when seeking Swallow. In 3.2 Peter is at his most ammetrical, with a quiet, complete fluctuation of pulse against the rhythmic chorus cries of his name. Mrs Sedley, by contrast is rhythmically formulaic and arguably over comic thereby. Ashby claims where Slater's text is often inert or non-committal in characterization {which is what Britten monitored}, Britten does this through rhythmic expression {including repetition}.

Harper-Scott, J.P.E. p.86-101, 'Post-war women in Britten', argues Ellen is presented as a cipher in support of Peter rather than existing in her own sake. Mrs. Sedley is disregarded because she doesn't submit to the sexualized role that the Borough requires of women {yet Boles

is equally disregarded}. Ellen's Es towards the end of the Prologue's 'love duet', 'Unclouded the hot sun will spread his rays around', represent a redemptive goal whereas Peter's monotone Es at 'Now the Great Bear and Pleiades' (1.2.176) are an attempt to fake the reality of his character {which, however, makes him manipulative}. Harper-Scott suggests the Nieces see through Peter when they mockingly imitate his Es at 'His song alone would sour the beer' (1.2.204-5) {but perhaps they just mockingly imitate}.

Cooke, Mervyn. p.102-27, 'Be flat or be natural: pitch symbolism in Britten's operas' exemplified in *Grimes*. 'Be flat' means being weighed down by discipline, duty and conformity; 'be natural' means pursuing freedom and dreams, being faithful to one's private desires. So while Swallow's opening questions in the Prologue are in B flat major, the chorus with 'Truth from lies' intones B natural. Other notable B flats in *Grimes* are Ellen's 'Hush' to Peter in 2.1 and the chorus's 3 cries of 'Grimes' at the end of 3.1. In 2.1-2 the chorus posse sings in an aggressive B major while Swallow's drawing the moral at the end of the scene returns to a pompous B flat major {interestingly it might be argued the chorus acting naturally are the more unnatural}.

Seymour, Claire. (2004). *The Operas of Benjamin Britten: Expression and Evasion*. Woodbridge: The Boydell Press.

Examines the difficulty of defining Peter. The opera's conflict is that between the individual and society yet Peter is both repulsed by and attracted to society. Peter is also at war with himself, his violent and rebellious individual will, the basis for it unexplained but perhaps the potential dark side of repressed homosexuality. Part of the difficulty is the amalgam resulting from a number of contributors to the libretto. There are quotes from the drafts and their significance is considered, e.g. that of 2.2 {see my 2.2 note ⁷} displays a Peter of more pragmatic honesty. As the opera evolved analysis turned more intensely on the psychology of Peter {but Crabbe's poem evolves similarly}. Ellen's redemptive status is reduced {like her role generally after 1.1} and therefore her relevance. If Peter is not guilty, why does he so passively accept his death? {echoing Garbutt in Brett 1983}. Includes a detailed comparison of the vocal characteristics of Pears's and Vickers's Peters, the former more aurally soothing, the latter more dramatically satisfying.

Shipton, Eileen. (2003), *Musical, psychological and dramatic conflict in Britten's Peter Grimes*. Cardiff University: BMus dissertation. {copy at BPF}

notes the dramatic and psychological insight, the different perspectives, of the Ellen and Peter 'love duet' at the end of the Prologue, but wrongly suggests, not being in the original draft, it was borne out of Britten's musical ideas rather than the text, because Britten had added that text before he started composing. Rightly emphasizes the work is more concerned with psychological than sociological exploration {in this it matches Crabbe's priorities}. Posits Peter is a modernist critique of the heroic: alienated from society, emotionally unstable, psychologically complex yet ultimately realistic, and {rather more covertly} preoccupied with guilt, perhaps owing to sexual desire for the apprentice {but perhaps just for the death of a boy in his care}.

Smith, Eric. (1959). 'Peter Grimes in stereo', *Gramophone*, October 1959, 26. An account by its producer of the making of source O. Britten's clarity of beat and ability to inspire the performers is noted. The problems of performance are also detailed: those of ensemble and balance with a large orchestra, mobile soloists and chorus, off-stage chorus, off-stage band, bells, shutting doors, foghorn, wind machine, John's scream. The movement of performers as on

stage was planned in detail with Britten. Sound effects were only selectively used where essential to the unfolding drama, but the supernatural quality of the 'Voices' in 3.2 was emphasized. Comments on variations in text from the published version 'mostly made over the years for reasons of sound and suitability for singing'. Also notes the return to the originally named non-singing character, Dr. Crabbe {see Prolegomena, note ³³}.

Sutcliffe, Tom. (1996). *Believing in opera*. London: Faber & Faber.

(p. 407) Implies a mismatch owing to the revision of the libretto. Peter's outsider status is both social and sexual, 'When the Borough hatred burgeons it needs to register something more fundamental than common brutality.' {equally it might be argued that hatred is more terrifying if it cannot be warranted}. Argues the opera could be considered a British form of expressionism, especially owing to the final progression of the opera to Peter's demented state.

Walker, Lucy ed. (2009). *Benjamin Britten: new perspectives on his life and work*. Woodbridge: The Boydell Press.

(p.73-85), Jane Brandon, 'Storms, Laughter & Madness: Verdian 'Numbers' and Generic Allusions in Benjamin Britten's *Peter Grimes*', demonstrates Britten's structuring scenes, noting his numbering and annotations in the early typescript libretti {texts C-E}, but also his innovations in comparison with examples in Verdi, e.g. Britten's storm chorus in 1.1 is a concertato with complex layering of voices, alternating between diegetic song and recitative to accompany action. In 2.1 a concertato, 'Who lets us down must take the rap' (433), culminates in a cruel laughing chorus while 3.1 features a concertato Lynching Chorus (262) with a choral curse.

Whitesell, Lloyd. (2003), 'Britten's dubious trysts', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 56(3), Fall 2003: 637-94

Begins by noting Peter and Ellen only have 2 duets, only the first a 'love duet'. Claims Britten dramatizes a deviant perspective, resulting in a queer aesthetic and that sexuality, though concealed, interacts significantly with the ethical, rhetorical and aesthetic meanings in Britten's operatic discourse. Claims Peter, like Claggart in *Billy Budd*, embodies a confrontation with the dangers of deviant knowledge. But has to point out the sexual elements in Peter's subdual of his servant boys have been, through revision of the libretto, relegated to the realm of innuendo.

Wilcox, Michael. (1997), *Benjamin Britten's operas*. Bath: Absolute.

'Queer fish', p.19-28, offers a polemic that the visionary idealist outsider of Pears's portrayal doesn't wash, nor does death from dehydration after only 3 days if the boat is full of fish. This is all lies to mask that Peter sexually abuses his apprentices, that is 'The charges that no court has made' (0.148) and the 'exercise' to which the community alludes (2.1.193 etc.).

Wintle, Christopher. (2003), 'Keller via Freud', *The Musical Times*, Autumn 2003, 144 (1884): 7-13.

Offers a neat description of Keller's *Three psychoanalytic notes on Peter Grimes* (1946). Peter is the Freudian 'anal' type with characteristics shared by the community whose own repressed sadism makes Peter seem stronger in the Borough's opinion. Peter's 'mother' is only partly Ellen, also the sea, the Earth, Auntie and the Nieces and an 'imago' of Ellen which is why 'Her breast is harbour too' are almost his final words (3.2.111-12). Balstrode is Peter's substitute father, giving the oedipal order to his 'son' to kill himself (3.2.125), but so is the storm and his apprentices. Keller cites the version in

source D of 2.2.47 with the link, 'I hear my father and the one that drowned'. Also includes a reproduction of Keller's letter praising Pears's Peter as 'unsurpassable' because 'an unbroken line of development runs throughout his interpretation.'

§5. Literature on Slater

Mitchell, Donald (1983), 'Montagu Slater (1902-1956): Who was he?', in Brett 1983,^{§4} p.22-46

Gives a homely picture of Slater, based on an interview with his wife Enid, but framed with an emphasis on *Grimes* being an extension of his work in realistic theatre and Britten's consideration *Grimes* was his most realistic opera. Crozier noted the long evening sessions when Slater, he and Britten went over the libretto together with Slater reluctant to make changes so the others did { which explains the differences between source C and DE}.

Rattenbury, Arnold (1976), 'Total attainder and the helots', 'Poems by Montagu Slater', *Renaissance & Modern Studies* (xx, 1976), 102-119, 120-136.

14 poems follow an article aiming to revise judgement about writers of the 30s. Argues the nature of their writing was not so much political as an attempt to subject literature to a rational critique. Literature was moribund because it reflected society and the proper preoccupation of writers should therefore be social change. (p. 111-13) Slater advocated the widest, most catholic attitudes to creative art. 'All the dramas are before their time in the sense that they experiment with song and chorus, audience and stage relationships, and often express the action in verse.' Adds (p.135-6) a bibliography of Slater's writings up to 1940.

Rickword, Edgell. (1958), 'Selected Poems of Montagu Slater', *The New Reasoner* (i no. 4, Spring 1958), 81-85.

Comprises 7 poems, a prose passage and an introduction by John St. John stating that Slater is difficult to assess partly because he wrote many works in many literary forms, partly because he was a paradox, 'both the most intellectual and simple, the most sophisticated and humble of men.'

§6. Discography

{listed in chronological order by date of recording}

- 1948 Peter Pears (Peter), Joan Cross (Ellen), Tom Culbert (Rector), BBC Theatre Chorus, Orchestra of the Royal Opera House Covent Garden/Reginald Goodall. Recorded at EMI Studio 1, Abbey Road, 12, 14, 16-17 July 1948, under Britten's supervision. {London:} EMI, 1993.

Comprises excerpts:

- i. Ellen you're leading ... Lord!' 1.1.125 (words 130-43) – 152
- ii. {after} 'Mind that door! ... again.' 1.2.156.1-185
- iii. Interlude III & 'Glitter of waves ... *weeping*.' 2.1.1-188.2
- iv. 'In dreams I've built myself ... deep.' 2.2.28-57
- v. 'This I found ... no power.' 3.1.135 (words 139-154) -157
- vi. Interlude VI & 'Steady ! ... to day.' 3.2.1-121.

These substantial excerpts, albeit having orchestral accompaniment only without the full solo vocal contributions, offer the closest we can get musically to the original performances. Particularly notable is Pears's electric frenzy in 3.2.

Banks 2000^{§4} details (p. 215-20) the evolution of this recording, Britten's misgivings and refusal to publish it but gradual publication.

- 1958 Peter Pears (Peter), Claire Watson (Ellen), James Pease (Balstrode), Orchestra & Chorus of the Royal Opera House Covent Garden/Benjamin Britten. Recorded at Walthamstow Assembly Hall London December 1958. London: Decca, 1959.

Banks 2000^{§4} details (p. 221-3) the evolution of this recording.

Smith 1959,^{§5} the recording's producer, gives an account of the sessions.

Gardner in Bostridge 2013^{§4}: 119 says of Britten's conducting: 'He stretches the piece: he takes what's there and pushes it in different, extreme directions'

- 1978 Jon Vickers (Peter), Heather Harper (Ellen), Jonathan Summers (Balstrode), Orchestra & Chorus of the Royal Opera House Covent Garden/Sir Colin Davis. Recorded at All Saints Church Tooting April 1978. {Amsterdam:} Philips, 1978.

- 1992 Anthony Rolfe Johnson (Peter), Felicity Lott (Ellen), Thomas Allen (Balstrode), Orchestra & Chorus of the Royal Opera House Covent Garden/Bernard Haitink. Recorded at Watford Town Hall 22-28 June 1992. {London:} EMI, 1993.

- 1995 Philip Langridge (Peter), Janice Watson (Ellen), Alan Opie (Balstrode), London Symphony Chorus, Opera London, City of London Sinfonia/Richard Hickox. Recorded at Blackheath Halls London 2-3, 5-7 July, 31 August 1995. Colchester: Chandos Records, 1996.
- Blyth, Alan {review}, *Gramophone*, May 1996.
- Gardner in Bostridge 2013⁸⁴: 117 admired Langridge's 'focus and intensity of expression'.
- 2000 Anthony Dean Griffey (Peter), Vivian Tierney (Ellen), Steven Page (Balstrode), Glyndebourne Chorus, London Philharmonic Orchestra/Mark Wigglesworth. Recorded live at Glyndebourne, 2000. Glyndebourne: Glyndebourne, 2010.
- Fairman, Richard {review}, *Gramophone*, January 2011.
- 2004 Glenn Winlade (Peter), Janice Watson (Ellen), Anthony Michaels-Moore (Balstrode), London Symphony Orchestra & Chorus/Sir Colin Davis. Recorded live at the Barbican London 10-12 January 2004. London: LSO Live, 2004.
- 2013 Alan Oke (Peter), Giselle Allen (Ellen), David Kempster (Balstrode), Chorus of Opera North with the Chorus of the Guildhall School of Music & Drama, Britten-Pears Orchestra/Steuart Bedford. Recorded live at Snape Maltings 7, 9 June 2013. Perivale: Signum Classics, 2013.
- Greenhalgh, Michael {review}, http://www.musicweb-international.com/classrev/2014/Jan14/Britten_Grimes_SIGCD348.htm

§7. Filmography

{ listed in chronological order by date of recording }

- 1969 Peter Pears (Peter), Heather Harper (Ellen), Bryan Drake (Balstrode), Brian Large (director), Ambrosian Opera Chorus, London Symphony Orchestra/Benjamin Britten. Recorded at Snape Maltings, 24-28 February 1969. London: Decca, 2008.

Conrad 1989^{§4} deemed Pears ‘an ineffectual dreamer: a misfit but no menace’ (p.344-6).

Responsible for the staging, Cross 1989^{§4} incorporated her variation in the original final scene (p.140) that Ellen not be led away by Balstrode but watches Peter’s final voyage.

Banks 2000^{§4} details (p. 223-8) the evolution of this recording and its significance for Britten. Kildea 2013^{§4} includes (plate 51) a photograph of Britten, the orchestra and set filling the Maltings’ space.

Greenhalgh, Michael {review}, http://www.musicweb-international.com/classrev/2008/Sept08/Britten_Grimes_0743261.htm

Kildea 2013^{§4}, p.4, writes of ‘the dreamy lyricism Britten had in mind’ for Peter {this Pears so well exemplifies}.

- 1981 Jon Vickers (Peter), Heather Harper (Ellen), Norman Bailey (Balstrode), Elijah Moshinsky (director), Royal Opera Chorus. Orchestra of the Royal Opera House Covent Garden/Colin Davis. Recorded live at the Royal Opera House, 1981. {New York:} Warner, 1981.

Conrad 1989^{§4} considers Vickers ‘enlarged the work by his audacious revision’, playing Peter as ‘a barnacled prophet’ (p.344-6).

Sutcliffe 1996^{§4}, p. 407-8, writes ‘all the cruelty Crabbe described pulsed through his performance, though the apparent nobility and suffering ... turned the dark side into a kind of dangerous schizophrenia’

Bostridge 2011^{§4}, p.197, notes that Vickers’ appropriation of the role, although not to Britten’s taste, made it ‘a star vehicle for the *Heldentenor*’ and thereby more commercial.

Kildea 2013^{§4}, p.4, considers ‘Vickers brutalized Grimes’s personality, took liberties with text and tempo, and robbed his voice of the dreamy lyricism Britten had in mind for the role.’

- 1994 Philip Langridge (Peter), Janice Cairns (Ellen), Alan Opie (Balstrode), Tim Albery (director), English National Opera Orchestra & Chorus/David Atherton. Recorded live at the London Coliseum 1994. {Halle/Saale:} Arthaus Musik.
- Langridge was the outstanding Peter of the generation following Pears and Vickers. Of small physique, he intimidated through his wildness, seeming to contain an ever present anger which erupts from time to time into frenzy.
- 2007 Christopher Ventris (Peter), Emily Magee (Ellen), Alfred Muff (Balstrode), David Poutney (director), Zurich Opera Chorus & Orchestra/Franz Welser-Möst. Recorded live at Zurich Opera 13, 21, 23 December 2005. {London:} EMI.
- Ventris is a *heldentenor*, a physical presence but also with something of an heroic quality. Set and design are controversial: Auntie has a 1930s style cabaret welcoming bar, members of the community are suspended witnesses at various levels across the stage.
- 2008 Anthony Dean Griffey (Peter), Patricia Racette (Ellen), Anthony Michaels-Moore (Balstrode), John Doyle (producer), Metropolitan Opera Orchestra & Chorus/Donald Runnicles. Recorded live at the Met 15 March 2008. {London:} EMI.
- Simon, John (2008), 'Grimes begrimed', *The Hudson Review*, 61(1), Spring 2008: 155-7, is a withering critique of this production, largely owing to the bizarre nature of the set design. {Griffey is a *heldentenor* of pathos as well as physical domination}.
- 2012 John Graham-Hall (Peter), Susan Gritton (Ellen), Christopher Purves (Balstrode), Richard Jones (director), La Scala Milan Chorus & Orchestra/Robin Ticciati. Recorded live at La Scala Theatre May 2012. London: Opus Arte.
- A baffling set: apparently an industrial estate in an unregenerate Eastern Europe with most of the action taking place from a portakabin from which the apprentice falls perhaps 3 feet to his death. Of medium physique, Graham-Hall portrays Peter as a neurotic who finds daily living a challenge but holds the focus of attention because the structuring of the plot by Britten and Slater ensures this.
- 2013 Alan Oke (Peter), Giselle Allen (Ellen), David Kempster (Balstrode), Chorus of Opera North with the Chorus of the Guildhall School of Music & Drama, Britten-Pears Orchestra/Steuart Bedford. Recorded live at Aldeburgh Beach June 2013. {Halle/Saale:} Arthaus Musik.
- Uses Aldeburgh Beach, Crabbe's authentic context, as the backdrop. This creates a unique atmosphere with the sound of the sea and gulls a natural accompaniment. The problem is that the filming of June evening performances means that 1.2's night pub scene takes place in daylight yet it is dark by the time of 2.1's Sunday morning. Of slender physique, Oke plays Peter as an ordinary guy, introverted, proud, stubborn, sometimes angry, closer to Pears than any other portrayal but more realistic.