A Critical Edition and Exploration of
Percy Grainger's *The Warriors* –
*Music to an Imaginary Ballet*

Volume 1: Thesis Text

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To Whom it May Concern

This is to certify that the thesis presented by me for the degree of Master of Music comprises only my original work except where due acknowledgment is made in the text to all other material used.

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Abstract

Commissioned by Sir Thomas Beecham for the Ballets Russes, during their London season, but ultimately completed and premiered in the United States, *The Warriors – Music to an Imaginary Ballet* is Grainger’s most ambitious and experimental orchestral composition. Written in a traditional full score format, by the time it was published ten years later, *The Warriors* had been altered to conform to Grainger’s unique compressed score layout. The concessions and omissions needed for such a drastic alteration were not true to the composer’s ideas. Along with a comprehensive historical introduction to the work, the notion of the compressed score is placed into the context of Grainger’s own scoring methods, as well as the greater context of avant-garde score layout in the twentieth century. A detailed chronology of *The Warriors* autograph and printed sources provides a working model of how a ms. study of Grainger’s music may be undertaken.

2 vols. xi + 124 pp., 5 illustrations, 45 examples, bibliography, discography, appendices. Full orchestral score and critical commentary, 125 pp. (A3), with additional programme note, composer’s analysis, notes to conductors, list of instrumentation and CD recording of edition’s premiere performance.
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Preface

It was inevitable that I would choose to study Grainger, given that I have been performing Grainger’s music either as a singer, or a horn player since a very early age. As a performer, however, my knowledge of Grainger was severely limited, and like so many others, I believed him to be an arranger of the highest order, but not a composer. Yet, stumbling around in the Oxford Dictionary of Music led me to The Warriors, a work for large orchestra and no less than three pianos. Hearing the Geoffrey Simon recording was enough to convince me that I needed to peruse the score. Indeed, it would be the first of many such scores, for my honours research into Grainger’s Hill-Songs, the culmination of his early experiments in harmony and rhythm, and his most complex compositions before The Warriors, forced me to come to terms with the myriad manuscripts contained in the Grainger Museum.

For an editor, there can be no greater joy than receiving a performance of their new edition. To mark the Centennial of the Melbourne Conservatorium, Geoffrey Simon conducted the University Symphony Orchestra in a performance of my new edition of The Warriors, using some of Grainger’s original ‘tuneful percussion’ instruments, complete with home-made mallets. It proved that two years of work was worthwhile.
Acknowledgments

All letters, manuscript materials, and most of the photographs used in this thesis have come from the Grainger Museum, University of Melbourne, who gave its permission to reproduce them here. Technical assistance with the initial microfilm material was from Micrographics at the University of Melbourne and the Centre for the Study of Higher Education is dutifully acknowledged for its assistance with the reproduction of the photographic materials.

This thesis would not have been possible had it not been for the following individuals, who deserve my thanks: Geoffrey Simon and the members of the University Orchestra, for their performance; Peter Liddelow and his assistant David Collins, for recording the performance and mastering it to CD; Professor Warren Bebbington, for his endless guidance and pearls of wisdom; to Rosemary Florrimell and Ann-Marie Baker, respectively the Curator and Assistant Curator of the Grainger Museum for their invaluable advice, encouragement, relentless searching for the appropriate ms. letters and music and permission to run amok in the archives; Joe Arthur of Micrographics for microfilming and subsequently printing the hundreds of pages of Warriors ms. material; my grandfather, Dmitri Moshnaga, for his German translations of the Willy Strecker and Alexander Lippay correspondence; David Pear and Professor Malcolm Gillies (Queensland), for allowing me to use the fruits of their work with the unpublished essays and correspondence; Professor Hugh Macdonald (USA), for his advice on editing; Dr. Kerry Murphy, for polishing my bibliographical research methods; Barry Ould (UK), for his advice on copyright and publishing; Don Fairweather, for allowing me to reproduce his wonderful photograph of Grainger's steel marimba, and finally my parents, for helping me proofread endless drafts.
Chapter 1: An Introduction

In the 3 years we have been over here [in America] I have completed or clear-sketch a mass of compositions and if I were to die now, it wouldn’t be nearly so tragic as it would have been 3 years ago. Particularly the *Pastorale* ([In a Nutshell] Suite), *Marching Song of Democracy* (to be performed here next October), *The Warriors, Merry Wedding, Tribute to Foster* (sketch for Chorus Solo voices and Orchestra), I regard as significant.1

A week after the premiere of his ballet score, *The Warriors*, Grainger was in one of his rare celebratory moods. Five significant works in three years is for any composer an impressive achievement. Yet, his enthusiasm would later be tainted by a disillusioned public who knew him primarily as a virtuoso concert pianist, and the composer of such ‘light’ music favourites as *Shepherd’s Hey* and the *Irish Tune from County Derry*. Even after twenty-three years, the old stereotypes were still clouding his reputation, for as Grainger would lament to Eugene Goossens in 1940, “I am sick of always appearing only as a composer wedded to folk song.”2 Indeed, after three biographies, a dedicated journal, the work of several appreciation societies and two volumes of letters in print, we could still complain today about this lack of serious recognition. Not that we do not know much about Grainger the man; everything, from his athletic pursuits to his sexual proclivities has been examined in detail by authors, scholars and journalists.

It took some ten years after Grainger’s death in 1961 before the first sober reassessment of his musical achievements found publication. David Josephson, who later compiled the Grainger entry for *The New Grove*, wrote an intriguing four-part essay in Grainger bibliographical research methods for *Current Musicology* in the 1970s, whose express purpose was to provide a “foundation for a thorough and broadly-based study of the life and music of Percy Grainger.”3 In this essay, Josephson highlighted what he saw was the two-fold problem in the state of Grainger research, namely that a great deal of misinformation about the composer had been perpetrated over time (not at all helped by Grainger’s own contradictory statements), and that the vast collection of primary source and manuscript material scattered across the globe had yet to be collated, let alone studied and published. Scholars now have Teresa Balough’s *A Complete Catalogue of the works of Percy Grainger*4 and Kay Dreyfus’ *The Music of Percy Grainger*,5 yet the number of Grainger manuscript studies remains small.

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This is most likely due to the inherent problems with the basic tools of Grainger research, the biographies by Thomas Slattery and John Bird. This aside however, Slattery, who by the early 70s had completed his doctoral thesis on Grainger’s wind music, was seemingly well equipped for the daunting task of writing a biography from scratch; his proposed method of classifying Grainger’s diverse output even became a model on which Kay Dreyfus’ catalogue would later be based. His pioneering book, however, *Percy Grainger – The Inveterate Innovator*, inevitably veers towards musico-historical content rather than indulge in pure analysis; few original conclusions are therefore drawn on the compositional success or failure of any of Grainger’s works. On the other hand, in his biography *Percy Grainger*, John Bird takes a more aggressive approach to Grainger’s music – there is at least an attempt here to place Grainger’s musical output into a greater perspective. He correctly asserts that *The Warriors*, perhaps more than any of Grainger’s other works, has “caused a deep division amongst the composer’s admirers,” admirers who, after the tonally rich diet of *Molly on the Shore* and *My Robin is to the Greenwood Gone*, were unlikely to ever respond to a complex original work that eschews “classical structures such as the sonata.”

Invariably such a comment is going to arouse more specialised interest in the work, and perhaps none is more approachable than that by Wilfrid Mellers. Although he likens *The Warriors* to an “audible comic strip,” Mellers goes beyond the confines of Grainger’s output and makes some valid comparisons with Stravinsky’s *Rite of Spring* and Ives’ *Three Places in New England*. Ives is perhaps the more inspired choice, as he, like Grainger was interested in multiple orchestras and a vast, metrically independent percussion. David Lambourn would agree; his exploratory journal article “Grainger and Ives” is based largely around *The Warriors* and Ives’ Fourth Symphony. Indeed, Lambourn immediately sets a realistic tone for his argument by establishing early that it was impossible that Grainger and Ives ever met or could have directly influenced each other. Even more importantly, he argues that the common catch-cry of Grainger being an Australian equivalent to Ives is not as simple as some presume it to be, for while *The Warriors* approaches the anarchic world inhabited by Grainger’s American counterpart, its implications are never followed through musically.

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7 Bird, 143.
8 Bird, 144.
10 Mellers, 37.
12 Lambourn, 47.
13 Lambourn, 57.
Followed through or not, the importance of these implications becomes the driving force behind critical editions of works such as *The Warriors*. Yet, even with detailed commentary, editions alone do not go far enough in providing the wider picture about Grainger and yet it is absolutely vital for letting the truth be known. As will be seen, *The Warriors* not only demands, but is also worthy of a thorough investigation.

Historically, *The Warriors* presents the researcher with a number of problems, three of which are discussed in detail in the next chapter of this first volume. Firstly, the dedication of *The Warriors* to Delius and Delius’ dedication in *An English Rhapsody* to Grainger, is examined in the context of important events common to both composers, with the suggestion that both works were ‘reciprocally’ dedicated. Secondly, the commissioning of *The Warriors* by Thomas Beecham for the Ballets Russes is discussed in conjunction with newly discovered documents in the Grainger Museum, in which Grainger himself sheds valuable light on the work’s history. Lastly, the idea that *The Warriors* programme-note is a device which conceals the true ‘programme’ behind the work – that it is Grainger’s protest against the First World War – is explored, by looking at Grainger’s early drafts of *The Warriors* programme notes combined with a chronological study of his views on war.

Musically, *The Warriors* is a complex work, and the three years stated that it took to complete, initially appears somewhat ambitious. Not surprisingly, the ten years spent between the work’s premiere and its publication were not spent idly; Grainger in fact continually revised the work though exhaustive testing and workshop-style environments, and in response to performance considerations. Chapter Three therefore tries to place the work under a microscope and intends to afford the reader a complete overview of its compositional history.

Editorially, Grainger’s score presentation is a vexing question; Chapter Four then attempts to establish a context for the compressed score within Grainger’s own output as well as a greater historical context. An explanation of my editorial method is given, and prepares the reader for the large critical commentary that accompanies the edition. As the commentary does not include musical examples because of space and time considerations, several editorial case studies are offered here in their place. Their length and complexity alone should be sufficient to explain the difficulties in editing a Grainger composition.
The fifth and final chapter concludes this volume of the thesis. It outlines a number of areas of research that could yield fruitful results in the years to come. In addition to an extensive bibliography and discography, a number of appendices are included, which incorporate a listing of comparative tables, an annotated bibliography of *The Warriors* source material and a brief manuscript study. For quick reference, a one page overview of the entire history of the composition, from its informal 'commissioning' by Sir Thomas Beecham, to its publication as a compressed score, has been printed on the last page.

Volume Two of this thesis consists of the new edition of *The Warriors*, prepared on a Macintosh Quadra 660av computer with the aid of Finale notation and Aldus Pagemaker desktop publishing software. Appended to this is a thorough critical commentary, perhaps intended more for scholars than conductors – as such, it contains exhaustive details of discrepancies between the various sources and the edition itself; the manuscripts, parts affected and bar(s) involved are all given, in order to facilitate further examination. Cross references to other parts of the work are also included where necessary. To complement both edition and commentary, a recording of the premiere performance of this edition by the University Symphony Orchestra is also included.
Chapter 2: History and Background

Delius' *Brigg Fair: An English Rhapsody* and Grainger's *The Warriors: A Case of Reciprocal Dedication?*

Delius' *Brigg Fair: An English Rhapsody* (1907) and Grainger's *The Warriors* (1916) appear, at least on the surface, to be merely two orchestral works, separated by nearly ten years, the Atlantic Ocean and a World War. Yet, they are inextricably joined—not, as one might expect, by way of subject matter or thematic material but through the composers' mutual respect for one another and their achievements, resulting in what appears to have been an act of reciprocal dedication—thus *The Warriors* dedication to Delius may have occurred from the *Brigg Fair* dedication to Grainger. Neither composer ever sought to clarify his position on this issue, therefore one can only speculate on the real reason behind the apparent reciprocation; at the very least, what can be shown is how behind each dedication is an important event or series of events that was to prove mutually beneficial, if not crucial, in the development of the composer as a creative artist.

With Grainger, the initial event was the first Festival of the League of British Composers, held in Liverpool in 1909. Established jointly by Delius and Elgar, the League's express aim was to promote the works of a younger generation of British composers, although Delius stipulated that his involvement in the League was on the condition that characteristic works of Grainger would appear in the inaugural programme.\(^\text{14}\) That this was done because of Delius' fierce advocacy of his younger colleague's music can be reasonably assumed, but Delius also knew how crucial it was for a composer to receive public exposure and feedback on his works:

> You [Grainger] are the only composer over here [in London] whose music I care for, but you must hear what you write. It is no use just scribbling and scribbling on paper; you must hear how your orchestration actually sounds, otherwise you will never become a practical composer.\(^\text{15}\)

This was sound advice for a composer who had vowed not to publish or perform the main body of his compositions until the age of forty, for fear that their radical nature would stir up animosities that would "undermine [his] earning power as a pianist."\(^\text{16}\) Grainger embraced the practicality of Delius' suggestion, and allowed two choral works,

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\(^{16}\) Percy Grainger, *Legend to Published Compositions, First Editions*, ts., Grainger Museum, 1. Grainger felt this 'earning power' was necessary to provide sufficient care for his invalid parents, both by this stage suffering the debilitating effects of syphilis.
the *Irish Tune from County Derry*\textsuperscript{17} and *Brigg Fair*\textsuperscript{18} to be scheduled for the festival. Much to the composer’s delight, the concert was a resounding success.\textsuperscript{19}

The choice of *Brigg Fair* would undoubtedly have struck a poignant note with Delius, who only two years earlier was sufficiently impressed with Grainger’s choral setting to ask his permission to use the tune “in a more spun-out form,”\textsuperscript{20} which would become the basis of the orchestral work *Brigg Fair*, subtitled ‘An English Rhapsody.’ It was the setting of the tune that yielded possibilities for Delius; the idiom, not the actual folk melody, suggested his compositional approach. Yet, such a technique was not purely derivative, for like Stravinsky, Delius could assimilate various musical idioms and still manage to forge an intensely personal style.\textsuperscript{21} Nevertheless, the *Brigg Fair* experience did herald things to come – for instance, the folk tune used in *On hearing the First Cuckoo in Spring* (1912) was not decided upon until Delius heard Grieg’s harmonisation of it in the *Norwegian Folk Songs*;\textsuperscript{22} similarly, the *Song of the High Hills* (1911) was written in response to the idiom of Grainger’s experimental *Hill-Songs,*\textsuperscript{23} and not, as one would presume, from Delius’ mountaineering trips in Norway.\textsuperscript{24}

The choice of Grainger as dedicatee of *Brigg Fair*, then, seems perfectly logical given his involvement, if somewhat unintentional, in the work’s compositional development. Grainger, on the other hand, was blissfully unaware of Delius’ decision until the work was published in 1910;\textsuperscript{25} understandably, his reaction was one of joyous surprise, and in the New Year expressed this much to his colleague: “I never told you my deep delight at & thankfulness for your dedication of *Brigg Fair* to me. I had no idea you intended doing so & I am overdelighted & proud to see my name above that glorious poetic work.”\textsuperscript{26} And proud he was – this was not just a reply sent out of courtesy, for Grainger had publicly approved of the work right from the very beginning. Indeed, upon hearing of the work’s completion, he sent a hasty note to Delius that ended with

\textsuperscript{17} *Irish Tune from County Derry* (British Folk-Music Settings Nr.5), for unaccompanied mixed chorus. (London: Schott & Co., c.1912).
\textsuperscript{18} *Brigg Fair* (British Folk-Music Settings Nr.7), for tenor solo and unaccompanied mixed chorus. (London: Forsyth Bros., c.1906).
\textsuperscript{19} The following morning, Grainger wrote to Karen Holten “... it is the 1st time I have heard a good performance of *Brigg Fair* which sounds very flowing and warmly billowing, I don’t think one can say that I write impractically for chorus.” Percy Grainger, letter to Karen Holten, 25 September 1909, trans. Philip Grigg, Grainger Museum. Reprinted in Kay Dreyfus, *The Farthest North of Humanness: Letters of Percy Grainger, 1901-1914* (Melbourne: Macmillan, 1985) 321.
\textsuperscript{20} Grainger, “About Delius,” 172.
\textsuperscript{21} Grainger felt that Delius’ “borrowings” from other composers were “perfectly compatible with intense originality.” See Grainger, “The Personality of Frederick Delius,” 128.
\textsuperscript{22} As with *Brigg Fair*, Grieg’s Op. 66 set of *Norwegian Folk Songs* was introduced to Delius by Grainger, who often included it in his piano recitals. See Grainger, “About Delius,” 172.
\textsuperscript{23} Percy Grainger, “Percy Aldridge Grainger’s remarks on *Hill-Song No. 1*,” ts., Grainger Museum, 1.
\textsuperscript{24} In response to Grieg’s death on the 5/9/1907, Grainger wrote to Delius four days later: “He was always talking of you, affectionately & admiringly, & told me lots of jolly anecdotes of your trips together in the High Hills.” Percy Grainger, letter to Frederick Delius, 9 September 1907, Grainger Museum.
\textsuperscript{26} Percy Grainger, letter to Frederick Delius, 26 January 1911, Grainger Museum.
"3 Cheers re your Brigg Fair work. I Longing see it & you." 27 It was also to remain one of his favourite compositions; not surprisingly, he even went so far as to 'dish-up' a version for two pianos, which he later recorded for Duo-Art in 1933. 28

Grainger began work on The Warriors some three years after the publication of Delius' Brigg Fair, but the dedication appears to have been a late decision on his part. Even the drafts for the programme notes, dating initially from 1915, give no indication of a prospective dedicatee. The first written evidence is the autograph score (MG 3/96-1) on which "For Frederick Delius" is written at the top of the first page. Given Grainger's propensity for meticulously dating scores, the absence of a definite starting time or place on this page is all the more conspicuous, 29 although the date could be deduced from the fact that he was still sketching the score in September 1916. This may perhaps explain why Delius was advised of the dedication midway through that very same month 30 and to which he replied some weeks later, "... let me thank you, dear friend for the dedication of your new orchestral work The Warriors— I need not tell you how I am longing to get to know it & all your other new things ...." 31

Like Delius, Grainger saw no need to provide any clues to the reasons for his decision. However, unlike his colleague, he did manage to clarify the matter somewhat in his compressed score of The Warriors (MG 5/73-2), where "For Frederick Delius" becomes "For Frederick Delius, in admiration and affection." The initial date of this score – May 1924 – is important, as just a year earlier, Delius had not only arranged for the publication of two of Grainger's least saleable works in Vienna, 32 but also attended the sound-trials of The Warriors in Frankfurt (see Figure 1 on following page), where Grainger was to make critical revisions to his score. Perhaps, and more importantly, Delius undertook this work when his health could ill-afford the travel, having to be taken "from his house to the rehearsal hall in a wheeled chair and carried up and down [the] stairs ...." 33 That notwithstanding, Delius was evidently moved by the event, writing to Philip Heseltine that "Percy Grainger had 2 orchestral rehearsals of his Warriors, a very strong, vital and rhythmic piece, dedicated to me – very interesting indeed. [Alexander] Lippay conducted – by far Graingers greatest thing." 34

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28 The other pianist was Ralph Leopold. A copy of the piano roll is held in the Grainger Museum (RG J/4-23-119-2:1).
29 The only date on the score is December 22, 1916, which appears on page 68 of MG3/96-1.
30 Percy Grainger, letter to Frederick Delius, 14 September 1916, Grainger Museum.
32 The Marching Song of Democracy (1916) and the revised scoring of Hill-Song No. 1 for room-music ensemble (1923), both published by Universal Edition, Vienna.
33 Grainger, "About Delius," 177.
34 Frederick Delius, letter to Philip Heseltine [Peter Warlock], 26 February 1923. Reprinted in Carley, Delius: Letters 1909-1934, 267. Alexander Lippay was the conductor of the Frankfurt opera at the time.
Figure 1: Percy Grainger and Frederick Delius at Frankfurt-am-Main in 1923, at the time of *The Warriors* 'sound-trials'.
(Source: Grainger Museum)
With such high praise, the duality of the words ‘admiration’ and ‘affection’ becomes all the more apparent. *The Warriors* is, in effect, both a homage to Delius’ generous nature and an offering to their friendship. “Composer never had truer colleague than I had in Frederick Delius,” Grainger once wrote, “and when he died I felt my music had lost its best friend.” He was lost, but certainly not forgotten: for by dedicating works reciprocally, each was able to feel close to and be part of the other, ensuring that their friendship and mutual respect would last beyond any one lifetime.

An Australian at the Russian Ballet?
(Sir) Thomas Beecham and the Origins of *The Warriors*

The *Warriors: Music to an Imaginary Ballet* is a title that demands an explanation. Regrettably, it is an explanation that over the years has been riddled with errors and inconsistencies, for despite the fact that virtually every biographical text on Grainger relates the informal ‘commissioning’ of a ballet score by Sir Thomas Beecham, none quote, or even verify information with primary evidence. This is important as it transpires that the only existing evidence of this ‘commission’ does not arise in any correspondence between Grainger and Beecham, as might be expected, but in two unpublished documents, both originating from Grainger’s pen.

The first of these documents is in Grainger’s Index to the *Big Green Sketch-Book* (SL1 MG3/64-2:2), in which the background, inspiration and ultimate fate of various sketches from London and New York (1911-1916) are explained in considerable detail by the composer. Although the sketches themselves are carefully dated, Grainger does not date the actual index; nevertheless a reference to the index in a letter to Balfour Gardiner in the early 1920s suggests that it was likely to have been written shortly after the most recently ‘remembered’ sketch quoted in the book, that of a “Choral & band work (Niggery)” from 1917 (originally 1913).

The Index entry for the early sketches of *The Warriors* is typically anecdotal, but nonetheless crucial in that it clarifies certain key elements in the history of the composition. Significantly, it infers that despite its elaborate imaginary scenario, the work as it now stands was never intended to be staged as a ballet, but was simply the result of an experiment in composing which Grainger described as “danceable music,” something which would later be drawn upon to provide thematic material for an actual ballet score. Indeed, it appears that Beecham himself instigated the idea of a

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36 Letter, Percy Grainger to Balfour Gardiner, 3 May 1922, Grainger Museum.
37 This procedure of ‘remembering’ sketch material months or even years after they were first thought is common throughout Grainger’s sketchbooks. That he was able to remember the exact or near-exact date of their inspiration so far after the event is, naturally, open to conjecture.
38 Only a few extant sketches from the actual ballet score have survived, dating from 29 January, 1915. See sketch 'EE', *Big Green Sketch-Book*, ms., SL1 MG3/64-2:2, Grainger Museum, 46.
preliminary orchestral work, in order to allay Grainger’s concerns about his lack of experience in choreography:

About 1913 Thomas Beecham asked me to write music for a ballet for the Diaghilev Russian Ballet. The idea attracted me, but I said I had no knowledge of actual dancing (choreographic) needs or technical conditions, & would not like to undertake a ballet before I was soundly experienced in the dancer’s side of the ballet. Beecham said ‘That is not necessary’ ‘Just write dancable [sic] music, like Balakirev’s Thamar or R[imsky] K[orsakov]’s Sheherazade & [I] will set the ballet woven around it allright.’ So I said to myself: ‘I shall try to write a work consisting of dancable [sic] music, just to see whether I am good at that kind of a job, before attempting the actual ballet music. My attempt shall take the form of an orchestral piece to be performed & listened to as orchestral music without a ballet, tho I may eventually use a lot of the material of the orchestral piece for my actual ballet music.’ The Warriors: Music to an imaginary ballet is the result of the orchestral piece idea. But apart from this I jotted down several ideas for use in the actual ballet, but not in the orchestral piece ...39

Thus, from the beginning, the music was intended to come before the scenario and not the other way around, as is so often stated. What is confusing is how Grainger would contradict his own story in the programme notes for a performance of The Warriors given by Henri Verbruggen and the Minneapolis Symphony Orchestra many years later in 1927:

There is that little episode related to us last week by Mr. Grainger while he was visiting here between trains. The composer of The Warriors had been requested by Sir Thomas Beecham to give some thought to the composition of ballet music on a theme which he, Beecham might suggest ... Mr. Grainger promptly took Sir Thomas at his word, but instead of waiting for the ballet’s libretto and fashioning his music around the libretto’s episodes, Mr. Grainger wrote his music first. And the musical world is still waiting for Sir Thomas’ program.40

Indeed, Grainger did write his music first, but for totally different reasons, as mentioned above in the Index to the Big Green Sketch-Book. It may have been convenient to put the blame on Beecham, who failed to ever produce a workable scenario.41 But it was actually Grainger who failed to deliver a ballet score as promised after successfully composing his “orchestral music without a ballet.” Similarly, the few extant sketches for the actual ballet music date from January 191542 – some two years after he had been talking to Beecham and after he had already emigrated to the United States.43

The second of the two documents concerning the Beecham commission is drawn from the loose jottings of the Ere-I-Forget autobiographical sketch. No date is quoted, but in this instance Grainger links The Warriors commission to another meeting with Beecham

39 Percy Grainger, Index to the Big Green Sketch-Book, SL1 MG3/64-2-2, 6-7.
41 Perhaps this is the reason as to the absence of the entire Warriors episode from any of the Beecham correspondence or his autobiography, The Mingled Chime.
42 See footnote 38.
43 It might also explain why Grainger forbade the work to be choreographed during his lifetime, but as this only appears in one secondary source, its authenticity is somewhat dubious. See Robert Simon, Percy Grainger: The Pictorial Biography (New York: Whitston Publishing Company, 1983) 6.
in which he was asked to become his assistant conductor at Covent Garden. "Then Beecham asked me to write dance-tonery for the Russian Ballet which led me to write The Warriors," writes Grainger, and "he also asked me to become one of his steady opera band-bosses."44 Nothing came of this conducting offer, as Grainger's blue-eyed pretensions naturally prevented him from trusting a 'dark-eyed man' like Beecham.45 Nevertheless, the story is to an extent corroborated by a contemporary account provided by Grainger in a letter to Karen Holten on January 6, 1913 in which he explains how Beecham will engage him "(he says) to conduct 1 or 2 Operas in London in the month of May. This must be kept hidden, because Beecham is so unaccountable."46 This unaccountability may perhaps explain the absence of official records on the actual Warriors meeting, but at least January 1913 concurs with the date of "about 1913" given in the Index to the Big Green Sketch-Book.

As with the story behind The Warriors' commissioning by Beecham, the date of the work's inception was later contradicted by its composer. Nearly three years after his letter to Karen Holten, Grainger's first sketch for the programme notes states that the work "was begun in 1912,"47 as do most other early drafts (such as that in the Handy Notebook48) and the printed programme notes from the first two performances.49 Grainger even went so far as to say that "most of the thematic material, which is all original, dates from that year,"50 and yet by the third performance,51 the date had been amended to December 1913, and would remain unchanged for the Schott publication in 1926.

At first glance, December 1913 appears correct, especially when ten pages of sketch material were composed during late December 1913 and early January 1914,52 the significance of which did not elude its composer: "I have worked so colossally since I came home," exclaimed Grainger, "and have written so much, begun a completely new piece The Warriors Ballet Music (without ballet) completely different from all my previous things."53 This, however ignores an earlier sketch from March 191354 which, although unlabelled, was found together with other Grainger sketch material and must

44 Percy Grainger, Ere-I-Forget, ms., Grainger Museum, 41.
45 According to Grainger, he "didnt mistrust his well-meaningness – only his steadiness & manliness." See Grainger, Ere-I-Forget, 41.
47 Percy Grainger, draft for The Warriors programme note, MG 15/4-16:1, ms., Grainger Museum, 1. The draft is not dated, but an extra paragraph appended to the draft places it in the United States c. 1915, three years after the publication of several works in 1912. See page 2 of the draft.
48 Percy Grainger, Handy Notebook, ms., Grainger Museum, Bay 3 Box 23, n.pag.
49 Norfolk (Connecticut), 1917 and Chicago, 1919. These programme notes may be found pasted into the front cover of the autograph full score of The Warriors, MG 3/96-1.
51 Boston, 18 January 1925.
52 Grainger, Big Green Sketch-Book, 31-40.
53 Letter, Percy Grainger to Karen Holten, 2 January 1914, trans. Philip Grigg. Reprinted in Dreyfus, Farthest North, 515. 'Ballet Music (without ballet)' was the provisional sub-title until at least 1915.
54 MG 15/4-16:2, Grainger Museum.
therefore count as the earliest evidence of *The Warriors*’ existence.⁵⁵ In addition, coming only two months after the meeting with Beecham, this sketch also adds further weight to the argument that Grainger did not wait over a year and began composing merely through impatience with his co-creator.

There are several reasons why Grainger may initially have given his work a different starting date. There may have been additional sketch material, now lost or misplaced, from 1912; an earlier date would further distance the ‘warriors’ concept from the beginning of the First World War; or the genesis of *The Warriors* would precede the London premiere of Stravinsky’s *Le Sacre du Printemps* in July 1913, thereby minimising the possibility of post-performance influence. The existence of more early sketch material seems the most unlikely of the three, for although Grainger mentions in his Index to the *Big Green Sketch-Book* that there are additional sketches for the actual ballet music “which ought to be found amongst [his] manuscripts in England”⁵⁶ it is improbable that they would not only date from before his meeting with Beecham but also predate the sketches for the preliminary orchestral work that was to become *The Warriors*. The war is somewhat more plausible a cause, and ties in with Grainger’s notion of what a ‘warrior’ represents, but these issues shall be explored more fully in the next section.

The evidence for Stravinsky and *Le Sacre* is a little more damning. Grainger scholars always relish the fact that he had supposedly not heard Stravinsky’s *Le Sacre* until a performance given by Leonard Bernstein and the New York Philharmonic in January 1958.⁵⁷ Although a source is never quoted, the discovery of Grainger’s 1958 diary offered the answers, for under the entry for January 16, the following statement appears in tiny, mimeographed print: “*Rite of Spring* (1st time I heard it, glorious).” Given that the diary is, for the most part, an appointment book, one must wonder whether this statement was intended to be found at all, let alone taken seriously. Yet, its implications are quite serious, particularly when you find that Grainger, being the compulsive archivist he was, made the fatal error of leaving behind letters and documents that suggest it was anything but the first time he had heard the work. There is, for instance, the time when Grainger recommended the piano duet version of *Le Sacre* to a fellow composer, Maurice Lowe, in order to learn about “many voiced expression [and] irregular rhythms.”⁵⁸ This version, published by Edition Russe de Musique in 1914,⁵⁹ was

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⁵⁵ The existence of this earlier 1913 sketch material is the reason behind changing the starting date quoted on the front of this edition and – to maintain consistency – Grainger’s own programme note.
⁵⁶ Grainger, Index to the *Big Green Sketch-Book*, 7. These ‘English’ manuscripts have yet to surface, at least under that title. The March 1913 sketches however contains no specific ‘ballet’ material.
⁵⁷ Percy Grainger, 1958 diary, ms., Grainger Museum, Bay 4 Box 28, entry for January 16.
difficult to obtain even by 1929 — and although a copy is not in Grainger’s library, such a warm recommendation would not have been conferred on a work sight unseen, let alone unheard. Then there is the fact that Grainger was in London in mid-July 1913 at the time of the premiere, and, more significantly, wrote under the entry for July 18 “Russian ballett [sic.]” as an engagement in his daybook (see Example 1) — the very same evening when the second of four performances in London of Stravinsky’s Le Sacre was to be given by Diaghilev’s company, conducted by Pierre Monteux. Naturally, further evidence, such as a receipt or programme in his collection would confirm completely that Grainger had attended the performance.

Ironically, The Warriors was never to be choreographed by the Ballets Russes, nor, it seems, were they ever informed of Beecham’s plans. Moreover, despite early attempts by Henry Wood to stage a performance of The Warriors by the Queen’s Hall Orchestra in 1916, it would take a further fifty-four years before it would be premiered in the very place where Grainger and Beecham had first discussed the project — in London.

Example 1: Percy Grainger, entry for July 18, 1913 Daybook, Bay 4 Box 28, Grainger Museum, showing his appointment with the Russian Ballet that evening.

Of Naked Metabole and ‘Fight-for-Pay-Men’:
The Influence of War on The Warriors

Is The Warriors Grainger’s personal response to war? Certainly its title suggests armed conflict and its composition date neatly overlaps with that of the First World War. Grainger himself was quite coy on the subject; after all, his equally ambitious work,

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60 Only the early orchestral work Fireworks (1908) and the Circus Polka for piano (1942) are in Grainger’s library. The latter work was a gift from its publisher.
61 Percy Grainger, 1913 Day Book, ms., Grainger Museum, Bay 4 Box 22.
62 The other performances were on the 11, 14 and 23/7/1913.
64 Polyphonia Orchestra conducted by Bryan Fairfax, Lt. Col. C. H. Jaeger and Stewart Kershaw at the Royal Festival Hall. 20 March 1970. This concert was the highlight of the Grainger Festival held there on the 9-20 March that year.
The Power of Rome & the Christian Heart was, in his opinion, "the only specifically conscientious objector music in existence." Even his Marching Song of Democracy, with its overtly pacifist overtones, could be considered a kind of Australian hymn to freedom. This is not to say that The Warriors is devoid of war-like content, for upon reading the printed programme note, one readily concludes that the work is in fact a glorification of the ancient art of war – Grainger's celebration of "the gay fighting man." Indeed, were it not for the existence of earlier drafts of this programme note, the story might have ended there; fortunately, it is merely the beginning.

Despite employing the title The Warriors by January 1914, the first programme note for the work appears to date from 1915, after Grainger had left London for New York. As the war had already been declared some months before he arrived in the United States, Grainger evidently felt the inclination to distance the work from the event. At the very least, this would explain the early composition date: "I need hardly say that "the Warriors" my music to an imaginary ballet has nothing whatsoever to do with this war (1914) or any other war. It was begun in 1912." The date aside, however, stating 'any other war' prevents the audience from making a direct association between the work and a specific event, something demonstrated by the numerous press reviews of 1917 that reflected a somewhat keener interest in the work's novel 'program' rather than its relation to the war. "[the music] changes rapidly from mood to mood," wrote one writer for the New York Tribune, "[is] martial, languorous, wild, pastoral, frenetic, orgiastic ... [and] was conceived for an imaginary ballet." On the other hand, Dr. Annie Patterson writing in Good Thoughts, felt that in The Warriors, "the composer treats a striking topic in a naïve and wholly original manner." Naïve is perhaps not the best word to describe The Warriors, for even Dr. Patterson could not have predicted that Grainger would conveniently omit any reference to war after the second performance in 1919. Publication was certainly not imminent, as Grainger informed Charles Volkert a year later, but even if there was

66 Percy Grainger, "What is behind my music?" in Anecdotes, ms., Grainger Museum, 94.
68 In his programme notes, Grainger wrote that he felt the work to be a "kind of modern and Australian version of the 'Gloria' of a mass."
69 Grainger, "What is behind my music?" 94.
70 Percy Grainger and his mother Rose arrived in New York at the end of September 1914.
71 August 4, 1914.
72 Percy Grainger, The Warriors [initial draft of foreword], MG 15/4-16:1, Grainger Museum, 1.
74 Dr. Annie Patterson, "Great Minds in Music," Good Thoughts (1 September 1917) n. pag.
75 Its brief reappearance in 1927 – one year after publication – in the programme notes for the Minneapolis Symphony performance of The Warriors, may not to have been under Grainger's control as he was neither conductor nor soloist in this instance. Grainger was, however, quoted substantially in the form of an essay regarding the significance of the 'tuneful percussion'.
76 "The Warriors is undoubtedly my best and most perfect orchestral work so far. It is not ready for publication as yet, and may not be ready for a year or more, as I wish to hear it again before it is engraved." See Percy Grainger, letter to Charles Volkert, 23 May 1920, Schott Grainger Archive,
external pressure for such an omission – something not at all suggested by the surviving Grainger-Schott correspondence – it appears it may have been at Grainger’s instigation. The reason was simple – in the absence of war, there was no need to publicly justify the context of his composition.

In Grainger’s case, the need for justification was driven by guilt, especially one of leaving his friends in London during the war. That the reason for his sudden departure was to facilitate a rest cure for his mother Rose was immaterial; to those who remained behind, Grainger’s emigration was tantamount to betrayal, even if his stay was only to be a temporary one. “Just off for a short trip to America,” he wrote to his uncle Frank, “to give mother a change.”77 Within a fortnight, the improvement in Rose’s condition was readily apparent,78 but the spiteful and bitter correspondence Grainger continued to receive forced him to constantly declare his position. By June 1915, having been in New York now for nearly nine months, he was still adamant that “it was absolutely necessary for my mother’s health that we [left] England and come to this country, where everything [was] relatively peaceful and free from the war.”79 Yet, according to later material, his mother’s health may have simply acted as an excuse, and the act of emigration was therefore a purely selfish one that may even have contributed to his mother’s untimely suicide in 1922:

I know that my music will bring more honor to Australia than any soldier-work that I may have done in British armies ... [b]ut I bitterly clear-see that my beloved mother had to die because of the shame my cowardly selfsavement brought upon us. The war claimed one of us after all.80

If Grainger did associate the war with his cowardice and his mother’s death, then it is likely that the reference in The Warriors’ programme note would have evoked painful memories; after all, the war was already over by the time of the second performance – 26 December 191981 – and yet the reference remained in print. Thus its removal could be seen as a means for Grainger to conceal his emotions and feelings.

Although those initial letters concerning Rose’s health contradict these later feelings, they do however express Grainger’s relief at finding peace and tranquillity in his adopted country. Not surprisingly, the importance of peace was conveyed in at least one early sketch for The Warriors programme note, in which Grainger graphically describes his ideal ‘warrior’:

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77 Postcard, Percy Grainger to Frank Aldridge, 1 September 1914, Grainger Museum.
78 Grainger later wrote to Isabel du Cane that “Mother is sleeping so much better; its so jolly. It was a good move.” Percy Grainger, letter to Isabel du Cane, 14 September 1914, Grainger Museum.
81 Frederick Stock and the Chicago Symphony Orchestra. The programme was repeated the following evening.
by ‘warriors’ I do not mean anything however remotely resembling modern conscript soldiers, but rather so called ‘primitive’ breeds of men & women who would rather fight than work & consequently are eminently able to be lazy & self indulgent & enjoy themselves in the only phases I [in?] which I like to think of them, i.e. in the lulls between fighting.\textsuperscript{82}

The significance of the ‘lulls’ would not be mentioned again, but perhaps of more importance is how Grainger is careful to differentiate between primitive and modern forms of fighting; the ‘conscript soldier’ is obviously a veiled reference to the current situation — the First World War. He was careful too in the drafting of the definition of a ‘warrior’, for there were no less than three sketches of it made over the month of January 1916, including the one previously quoted:

By ‘warriors’ I mean men & women who would rather fight than work ...
By ‘warriors’ I mean men & women with a strong leaning towards lazy selfindulgence people who would rather fight for a living than work for a living\textsuperscript{83}

The next draft of the programme note, from the \textit{Handy Notebook}, attempts to integrate this new definition with his stance on the war, but is not particularly effective with its blatant repetition in the first paragraph:

The warriors was begun in 1912 & has nothing to do with any ‘war’ or any ‘soldiers.’ I need hardly say that the ‘Warriors’ has nothing to do with any ‘war’ whatever. It was begun in 1912. /
By warriors I mean lazy[,] pleasureloving [sic] selfindulgent [sic] men & women who would sooner fight for a living than work f[or] a living.\textsuperscript{84}

Indeed, it would only be in the third and final draft where the two ideas would successfully amalgamate:

‘The Warriors’ was begun in 1912, and has nothing to do with any war or any soldiers. /
By ‘warriors’ I mean lazy, pleasure-loving, self-indulgent men and women who would sooner fight for a living than work for a living.\textsuperscript{85}

Its success can be measured by the fact that Grainger only had to augment (rather than eliminate) a sentence to make the paragraph fit for publication, and here it further ties in the idea that the work does not ‘resemble modern conscript soldiers,’ as mentioned in an earlier draft:

‘The Warriors’ was begun in 1912 and has nothing to do with any war or soldiers. By ‘warriors’ (as contrasted with soldiers and modern civilized folk in general) I mean lazy, pleasure-loving, self-indulgent men and women who would sooner fight for a living than work for a living.\textsuperscript{86}

\textsuperscript{82} Grainger, \textit{The Warriors} [initial draft of foreword], 3. This particular sketch is dated "Jan 6. 1916"
\textsuperscript{83} Grainger, \textit{The Warriors} [initial draft of foreword], 3. Curiously, Grainger would later contradict this definition in the press by revealing that he had in mind "that class of people which fights valiantly against working for a living. It deals with lazy, pleasure-seeking, self-indulgent persons of either sex struggling, battling to achieve a worthless goal." See [Chicago] \textit{Musical Leader}, 30 August 1917. As it is not mentioned elsewhere, one can only imagine what Grainger had in mind in this instance.
\textsuperscript{84} Percy Grainger, \textit{Handy Notebook}, Grainger Museum, n.d. Although undated, it does not look like an early date.
\textsuperscript{85} Bay 4 Box 44, Grainger Museum. The box is entitled \textit{Unsorted PG writings; mainly programme notes.}
\textsuperscript{86} Percy Grainger, programme note for first performance of \textit{The Warriors}. The only copy in the Grainger Museum is that pasted into the autograph full score of the work, MG3/96-1.
By simply removing the quotes from the words ‘war’ and ‘soldiers,’ of course, the emphasis focuses on the ‘warrior’ and not on warfare – in stark contrast to the other drafts. The transformation from ‘war’ to ‘warrior’ is therefore complete.

This transformation or evolution is not as contrived as it may first appear. Grainger’s interest in traditional hand-to-hand combat began at a rather early age. It should come as no surprise that this interest coincided with that of painting and the visual arts; Grainger was a talented artist many years before the urge to compose took over, and he spent many an afternoon sketching Greek statues. These statues, with their muscular perfection and resplendent nakedness, all displayed an inherent beauty born of bravery.87 The importance of bravery was not lost on the young impressionable Australian, as this vivid memory suggests:

When I was about 7 ... I saw an etching in The Illustrated London News ... some as-good-as-naked Metabele warriors charging a square of British fight-for-pay-men ((soldiers)), with the British mowing the Metabees down with Maxim guns. I said to my father: “Isn’t it a shame to kill lovely, brave naked men like that?” ... My father laughed and said: ‘You’ll feel differently about these things as you grow older [sic].’

But I knew I never would ... And I never have ...88

Fundamentally, Grainger’s assessment is correct, however one must bear in mind that it was not the act of killing as to the method of killing which so repulsed him; the unfair advantage afforded by the Maxim guns was simply a sign of cowardice. On the other hand, had the “beefy British butchers”89 of the Boer War employed somewhat more traditional forms of combat, the opinion would likely have been different: there was simply nothing to compare with “the quivering of the sticks in their flight thru the air” and the “old hand-to-hand Greek or Viking fighting.”90 Is it no wonder then that the ancient Greek, Viking and Zulu fighters should take pride of place in the procession so carefully described in The Warriors programme note – Grainger’s childhood worship of violence and all things war-like had not waned after his maturity into adulthood. As he himself readily admitted:

Many children are cruel to animals, & many little boys harsh to little girls. But this fierceness wanes as they grow up. But I never grew up, in these respects ... Only in one particular did I change as I grew up – compassionateness was added to my delight in suffering & violence.91

The paradox of such adverse feelings evidently did not bother Grainger; on the other hand, his newly found sense of compassion was not applied universally. Certainly, he felt genuine sympathy towards the young men who gave their lives for their country at an age when they were still deemed too young to vote, yet there is no denying the fact that he thought nothing of inflicting pain and suffering upon himself,

87 In his set of Anecdotes from the early 1950s, Grainger wrote that throughout his life, his art “set out to celebrate the beauty of bravery.” See Grainger, “Why My Wretched Tone-Life,” in Anecdotes, 107.
88 Percy Grainger, My Wretched Tone-Life, ts., Grainger Museum, 1.
90 Grainger, [W37-139], in Aldridge-Grainger-Ström Saga, 6.
91 Grainger, “What is behind my Music?” 94.
in the form of flagellation. This is not meant to imply that flagellation was an act of contrition on Grainger's part, as its attraction for him was purely sexual. Nevertheless, when he managed to discover that in earlier times the act of flagellation was more ritualistic, he immediately relayed the good news to his colleague Cyril Scott. In Ancient Greece, wrote Grainger eagerly, "the daughters of the noble families were stripped naked & whipped publicly before the altar of Venus, to encourage [sic.] their hardihood & make them worthy mothers of a race of warriors."92 Warriors and flagellation appear to be unlikely bedfellows, but several years later, even Grainger had to admit that contrary to his public views on war, The Warriors "be-sung & be-praised fight-keen-th ((bellicosity)), cruel-hood-worship ((sadism)) & wreck-faith ((destruction))."93 If true, one would expect these powerfully charged emotions to be conveyed during performances of the work, yet most who have heard the work would argue otherwise.

One explanation may be that these negative emotions are too well ensconced in the athletic vigour, energy and excitement that tends to accompany a Warriors performance. Grainger's obsession with the athletic – the long hikes across the South Australian desert and the jogging in-between engagements, for example – is too well known to dwell on here, but The Warriors is unquestionably a virtuoso work that makes considerable demands on its performers. This is why, in writing an explanatory preface to prospective conductors, Grainger insisted that the three piano parts were intended "for exceptionally strong, vigorous players," and that "if sufficient strength cannot be procured ... to double or even treble on each piano part."94 By conveying this athletic-like strength in conjunction with the notion of the ideal warrior, however, Grainger further reinforces the view that war was once a form of athletic pursuit, a sport that, like any other, was reliant on tactics and skill. He does not deny that it was a savage sport, only that in modern times it had lost its appeal:

But you may ask why I, who all my life have enjoyed warlike & violent-mooded literature, should be so much against war. One answer to that is that since war has ceased to be hand-to-hand fighting, its appeal to the savage side of our nature doesn't amount to much. It isn't sporting.95

Although The Warriors was begun before the onset of the First World War, it became an artifice through which Grainger could elaborate his philosophies. Encompassing his thoughts on war, violence, sadism and sport, the work was as much a reflection of him as it was of the society in which he lived. Thus, for a born archivist – one who would later assemble a museum of his life's work – Grainger's The Warriors was perhaps the best "self-lay-bare-ment"96 he could have left for future generations.

93 Grainger, My Wretched Tone-Life, 1.
95 Letter, Percy Grainger to the American Vegetarian, 13 October 1943, Grainger Museum.
Chapter 3: The Sources

Chronology of The Warriors: An Introduction

Grainger’s practice of meticulously ‘past-hoarding’ his manuscripts, sketches and other ancillary materials has been a victory for posterity, but ironically, this has also proven to be a minefield to scholars and researchers — despite the ranking of the Grainger Museum in Melbourne as the central location of virtually all Grainger-related primary source material. For any given work, there exists not only sketch material and autograph scores, but also publisher proofs, parts in both Grainger’s and copyists’ hand, handwritten lists of emendations and corrections, and photostat copies; added to this are the bewildering array of versions for solo, duo or multiple pianos, chamber scorings, even choral variants which may have been written ten, twenty or thirty years after the work was completed in its original form.

All factors must be considered in the creation of a new edition, and the full score edition of The Warriors is no different. Being Grainger’s longest and most ambitious work, its sources are as intricate as they are varied, falling into three broad categories: autograph scores and parts, published scores and parts, and secondary versions / arrangements.

The Autograph Full Score (MG3/96-1 and MG5/87-13)

After three years of sketching, scoring and drafting The Warriors, Grainger embarked on what would become the first complete version of the work in 1916. According to an isolated bar in one of the scoring sketches, he may have begun as late as September that year; unfortunately, this is not borne out by the manuscript itself, which only yields the finishing date of December 22, 1916. Even the projected premiere performance, initially scheduled for October 1916 by Henry Wood and the Queen’s Hall Orchestra, is of no assistance as the event had already been announced in the press early January 1915. Whilst the exact starting date on the autograph score may never be known, what does emerge from the correspondence is that the completion of the score was a constant cause for concern by its composer. Having been forced to cancel the London premiere, Grainger wisely postponed the event until January 1917, to be performed by the New York Symphony under Walter Damrosch. Even so, by late November 1916, the end was still not in sight: “In January I am bringing out The Warriors at Damrosch’s,” wrote Grainger to Karen Holten, “and it is this piece which has caused me the most work.

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97 To ‘past-hoard’ is to keep or archive, according to Grainger’s “blue-eyed English.” A ‘past-hoard-house,’ for instance, is equivalent to a museum.
98 This has been largely due to the transfer of substantial secondary collections to the Grainger Museum over the past 15 years, such as that from the Library of Congress.
100 Percy Grainger, The Warriors [Autograph Full Score], MG3/96-1, Grainger Museum, 68.
101 “Grainger’s Works Featured.”
of all...it is still not finished, and must be finished while I am here in California on tour.” He kept his word, but a delay in the copying of parts saw yet another cancellation; it would take a third attempt at staging a performance - at the Norfolk Festival in June 1917 - before success was finally achieved. Curiously, the event would be a private affair, by “invitation only,” rather than one open to the public.

The frantic nature of those final few months in which The Warriors was completed is evident from the autograph itself. Because of such haste, accidentals are corrected frequently, and many notes, otherwise indecipherable, are literally spelt out underneath. The multitude of inks that occupy any given page also suggest that Grainger was orchestrating in a series of layers, working through the score horizontally - maintaining a sense of continuity - and filling in the harmonic details as time permitted. However, this is not to say that more significant cuts and changes do not abound, for clearly this was as much a working score as it was a conducting score. Indeed, as if to emphasise Grainger’s oft quoted remark that it took him ten years to finish a ‘tone-work’, most of these revisions appear to have resulted from the experience of trial rehearsals and actual performances. Evidence of this is most noticable in the Balfour Gardiner copy of 1922 (MG5/87-13) which at first glance, presents us with a cleaner manuscript than MG3/96-1, and in fact contains far fewer alterations than one would expect after such a long period. This suggests that The Warriors ‘sound-trials’ of February 1923 in Frankfurt, with Alexander Lippay and the Frankfurt Opera Orchestra, were quite crucial as they afforded Grainger the luxury of testing new ideas gleaned over the previous six years for the work. Many of the surviving autograph parts, although not corrected in Grainger’s hand, do bear his marking of “corrected F’furt”.

The importance of these Frankfurt alterations varies. There are sections that have simply been cut out; the seventeen bars of the off-stage brass in MG3/96-7:11 being a prime example. In other instances, paste-overs are used where previously the music was crossed out. The most prominent of these is the long bass-oette solo in bars 305-322. According to MG5/87-13, this initially had cues for both first bassoon and English Horn, the bassoon being used for the low B natural which lies beneath the other’s compass (Example 2). Later, the oboe is cued to play in the octave above, and the previous alternative pasted over and thus impossible to read in MG3/96-1. Somewhat ironically, in performances where the bass-oette is omitted - such as in John Hopkin’s pioneering recording - the original cues for the lower instruments would seem preferable and

103 The concert took place on the 7 June 1916 at the Litchfield County Choral Union Festival in Norfolk, Connecticut. The Festival orchestra was conducted by Grainger, with Mary Cameron and Leo Sowerby at the piano.
104 See incomplete set of orchestral parts, MG3/96-2:1 to 28, Grainger Museum.
closer to the Aboriginal nature of the bass-ooboë timbre than the revised cue for solitary oboe. Perhaps this is why Grainger eventually sketched out the solo for all of the woodwind instruments in turn;\(^\text{106}\) without a bass-ooboë it seems, nothing was entirely suitable as a replacement.

**Example 2:** Percy Grainger, original alternative cue for the bass-ooboë solo in *The Warriors* MG5/87-13, bars 305-322 [Accompaniment omitted].

![Musical notation](image)

Other alterations made post-Frankfurt are more significant, such as the addition of the third conductor. Grainger however initially envisaged the work being controlled by just two conductors, as may be inferred from the second conductor’s envelope pasted into the flyleaf of MG3/96-1.\(^\text{107}\) The role of this particular conductor was simply to conduct the off-stage brass; in the other sections requiring multiple forces (bars 292-96 and 297-322), the players themselves would set the tempi and were instructed to ignore the other groups. This option of self-control was not eliminated after the Frankfurt experience, but instead became one of several distinct possibilities, including the use of a third conductor.

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\(^{107}\) Although now lost, this would later become the manuscript upon which the printed 2\(^{nd}\) Conductor’s Score, MG3/96-1-2:40 would be based.
Along with its three conductors, *The Warriors* is perhaps best remembered for its three pianos, yet, as the sketches readily demonstrate, only two pianos were originally intended. Again, the reasons are practical. MG3/96-1 implies that the ‘tuneful percussion’ instruments are not optional; instruments that were optional were so marked, like the bass-oon. Added in 1922, the third piano, unlike the others, was to embody the ‘tuneful percussion’ parts in performance, replacing or reinforcing them as necessary. As this would confine the part mainly to orchestral tuttis, the third piano doubled one or both other pianos when the percussion were not being used, a more satisfying arrangement overall. Thus in the autograph, the third piano for the most part does not have its own set of staves, but is instead notated via pencilled cues in the other parts. Where this leads to confusion, the part is written in full on adjacent free staves in the score. One can only imagine how the copyist dealt with this situation, for regrettably, an autograph part for the third piano has not surfaced.

Changes and additions to the instrumental parts, however were not the only alterations made to MG3/96-1 in 1922/23. At least one explanatory page by Grainger exists in the Balfour Gardiner copy only; the original is missing. This was initially clipped to page 40 of MG3/96-1 with two paper-clips, and constitutes the only description by Grainger of the ideal layout of the various onstage ensembles. To complement this, the following hand-drawn diagram was appended (Example 3):  

**Example 3:** Percy Grainger, diagram of instruments ignoring conductor’s beat in *The Warriors*, MG5/87-13, p. 40 [Typescript explanation omitted].

Grainger’s stated reason for such an arrangement is that it would not only enable the percussion, harps, celesta and piano to follow each other’s beat, but to ensure that the piano – the second one, in this instance – remains at the front of the stage. This implies

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109 The double-bassoon could also be left out in MG3/96-1. Later there would be no such option.
110 The third piano part is first mentioned in Grainger’s long letter to Balfour Gardiner dated 3 May 1922.
111 Writing to Balfour Gardiner in 1922, Grainger stipulated that *The Warriors* and its parts were to be published “(including 3rd piano to replace or support the unusual percussion insts).” See Percy Grainger, letter to Gardiner, 3 May 1922, Grainger Museum.
that the other piano\textsuperscript{112} was not meant to be beside it, as one would naturally assume. The stereophonic placement of the second violins on the opposite side of the stage – reminiscent of the requirements in Tchaikovsky’s Pathetique Symphony – also departs from standard orchestral practice today.\textsuperscript{113} Interestingly, the few photographs taken of contemporary Warriors performances involving the composer\textsuperscript{114} do not completely follow his instructions; the impracticality of having the pianos separated emerges in a performance situation. As can be seen from Figure 2 on the next page, however, the violin placement is as Grainger intended, suggesting it should not go unnoticed in future performances.

The loss of the original diagram from Example 14 may be the reason why it did not appear in the Schott edition of 1926; Grainger evidently forgot about its existence in Balfour Gardiner’s copy – which was as much an insurance policy as anything else, coming as it did shortly after his mother’s suicide in April 1922. Some of the changes, on the other hand, were intrinsically tied to the work’s publication. These mainly involve the expression marks, which Grainger initially wrote in his idiosyncratic “blue-eyed” English. The use of these anglicised terms however are not consistent – there is every chance that the overall tempo indication will be in Italian. Thus at bar 113 of MG3/96-1 we have “SLOW OFF” printed at both the top and bottom of the score, while at bar 139 there is “MOLTO RIT.” Nevertheless, in his preparatory revisions for publication, most of the remaining terms – particularly if they were unusual or highly original – received a simultaneous German translation: “very skittishly & rhythmically [sic]” at bar 101 of MG5/87-13 has, for example, “sehr lustig und rhythmisch” printed beside it.

The inevitable confusion caused by this practice can also have more serious implications, if the translation is, for instance, the name of an actual instrument. Grainger’s optional bass-ophone eventually has the word “heckelphon” written above the label on the first page: they are of a similar pitch, but are not the same and in fact imbue the printed part with radically different timbral qualities. The concession here is therefore obvious, for even by the time The Warriors was published, the heckelphone was still difficult to obtain outside Germany.

With such concessions and revisions, one could easily get the impression that the autograph and the photostat copy of The Warriors are radically different, but this would ignore many of the features that are actually common to both sources. As the autograph full score was to be Grainger’s only copy for nearly seven years

\textsuperscript{112} Bearing in mind that the work was originally scored for two, not three pianos.

\textsuperscript{113} It was common practice at the time to have the stereophonic placement of violins on stage, but the difference here is that Grainger actually specified the layout in his score.

\textsuperscript{114} Only two have survived – from the 1926 performance in Melbourne and the 1930 performance in the Chicago Civic Opera House, which used thirty pianists at nineteen pianos.
Figure 2: Rudolph Ganz directs the Chicago Musical College performance of *The Warriors*, at the Chicago Civic Opera House in 1930, with 30 pianists at 19 pianos. Grainger himself was one of the pianists, and, at his insistence, Australian pianist Vera Bradford played ‘tuneful percussion’. *(Source: Grainger Museum)*
— until the autograph compressed score of 1924 — clarity and ease of reading for the prospective conductor was of the utmost importance. Thus coloured balloons are used for the visual identification of instrumental cues, eliminating the need for tediously labelling the instruments at the side of the score on each page; cue numbers in pink and green watercolour are placed in the centre of the score, and changes of meter are indicated by large numbers in coloured pencil, placed in key staves. Is it any wonder then that these eminently practical notational devices would survive the years of change and find use in the work’s next incarnation as a compressed score — itself an invention designed to assist and expedite the job of the conductor?

The Autograph Parts

With the pressure of completing a major orchestral work in only a matter of months, Grainger inevitably made some mistakes in the finer details of his scoring. Though not dated, two lists of ms. corrections have already been applied in Balfour Gardiner’s copy of the score (ca. 1922), thus it may be assumed that they were not intended for the publisher Schott (in Mainz) but instead for the copyist of the autograph set of parts. The first of these lists, MG3/96-7:3, is in two sections, and concentrates mainly on problems in the string section (see Table 2, Appendix 2, pp. 84-6); to this is added a small paragraph at the end which is devoted to the fifty-three orchestral cues to be placed in each part. As these are exactly as per the printed score, it may be inferred that the ‘missing’ bar between cues 135 and 143 — a blatant error corrected in this edition — existed from at least 1917 if not 1916. The second list, found together with MG3/96-7:3, is labelled “Compare score,” and appears to be a set of further corrections to Grainger’s autograph full score.115 By way of an explanation, the composer has annotated several of these corrections and these appear in Table 3, page 87 of Appendix 2.116

Regrettably, Grainger was not as meticulous with the upkeep of the parts themselves as opposed to their corrections; most have not survived. Of those that remain only a few proved useful, which is why they appear in a separate appendix. Nevertheless, the autograph parts of some of the ‘tuneful percussion’ — the staff bells and steel marimba — were very important as they have no printed equivalent.117 In this edition, their purpose is two-fold: to provide exact details of registers and doubling omitted in the compressed score, and to show precisely how Grainger wanted the parts dispersed amongst the players of any given ‘tuneful percussion’ instrument — a luxury not even afforded by the autograph full score, MG3/96-1.

115 Percy Grainger, emendations to The Warriors, MG3/96-7:2, Grainger Museum, Melbourne.
116 Nevertheless, as many are sketchy or completely non-existent, some contextual commentary has been added to fill in the missing detail.
117 This went unnoticed by Kay Dreyfus in her catalogue of Grainger’s music. See Dreyfus, Music of Percy Grainger, 75, under the selected listing of Warriors parts.
Despite his skill and flair for arranging any given piece for a multitude of different instrumental combinations, when it came to creating piano versions of his orchestral works, Grainger was less than enthusiastic. Encouraged to do so as part of his publication deal with Willy Strecker at Schott (Mainz), Grainger would later confess in his *Ere-I-Forget* how

> it is wrong for a tone-wright to put his puzzle-wifry scores within the reach of know-nothing-y keyed-hammer-string players. In art, everything should be done to honour the clever, the hard-working, the learned types – those that learn to read scores. Nothing should be done for take-it-easy, know-nothing & care-less keyed-hammer-string players.

The notion of the 'dish-up' is therefore derogatory, displaying Grainger's guilt at making an arrangement that was done more for financial than artistic reasons: "I should have kept my pure tone-works out of the dirty keyed-hammer-string business altogether," he would say. Even so, for us to judge this unique body of works purely in the light of such comments is to do it a great disservice, as Grainger's mastery of piano technique is no more evident than here. *The Warriors*, 'dished-up' for three pianists at two pianos (with optional off-stage brass), is remarkably effective in not only emphasising the percussive nature of the score but also rendering its dense rhythmic textures with an unprecedented level of clarity. Indeed, to remain faithful to the original, Grainger expected his pianists to play inside their instruments with marimba mallets, as well as perform independently from one another as the need arose. Similarly, the sostenuto or (third) middle pedal enables quasi-orchestral pedal points and multiple sonorities to be fully exploited – effects otherwise unobtainable on a piano. The off-stage brass parts, on the other hand, being rarely employed in actual performance, are not written into the score but merely cued at their entry in bar 323; presumably the players would perform from the orchestral parts.

Unlike the autograph full score, Grainger dated these manuscripts on every page, as well as providing the exact location where they were sketched. The score was not worked on in linear fashion, nor was the first piano part given serious attention until the part for piano duet was finished. Obviously this part mirrored its equivalent in the orchestral score quite closely, and thus required very little additional work to become serviceable in a two piano arrangement.

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118 Percy Grainger, "Roger Quilter gets Grainger Tone-Works Forth-Printed ([Published]) by Willy Strecker at Schott & C, London, aided and abetted by Rose Grainger" in *Anecdotes*, 45.
119 Grainger, "Roger Quilter gets Grainger Tone-Works Forth-Printed," 46.
120 Grainger, "Roger Quilter . . ." 46.
121 The first pianist sits at one keyboard, with the remaining two playing on another piano, duet-style.
Once complete, Grainger must have submitted these manuscripts to Willy Strecker at Schott, Mainz, with remarkable haste, as only three months later, he was being assured that the music would definitely be ready by the following October. Evidently there were delays, as the first ‘revision sheet’ was not posted to Grainger until much later, in April 1923. It would take a further two months for more minute details, such as the typography of the title page, to be openly discussed, and another three – September 1923 – before a final proof would be ready for Grainger’s perusal. The sudden closure of the German borders around this time created additional delays, as did a temporary shut down of the Schott printing presses, but publication must have soon followed as Grainger’s own copies are marked “1st Edition, Fall 1923.”

As far as this edition is concerned, its primary interest lies in the manuscripts rather than their printed equivalent. Even then, this interest is not so much in the music itself but the expression markings, for these are the only Warriors source material to employ ‘Blue-Eyed’ English throughout. Thus where possible, all terms affecting the entire orchestra (or the specific piano parts) and without existing translation in MG3/96-1 were adapted from these mss.; furthermore, several pedalling indications employed here, but not present in either MG3/96-1 or the compressed score were added to afford the pianists greater insight into Grainger’s own interpretation of the specific parts.

That there was pressure on Grainger to make changes, and eschew ‘Blue-Eyed’ English terms in favour of the traditional Italian may be surmised from the fact that virtually none appear in the published score; the few that remain invariably contain simultaneous translations, albeit in German (see Table 11, pp. 92-103). Nonetheless, it is possible that it was Grainger’s decision to make the translations – he was, after all, able to speak German fluently since his childhood days in Frankfurt, and at least one contemporary letter from Willy Strecker suggests there was some freedom in terms of chosen language, even if it was for an upcoming Grainger piano album and not The Warriors specifically.

The implications of these changes go beyond the obvious. Firstly, there is the inconsistency of translating unusual terms or lengthy explanations into German, or even translating them at all, suggesting problems in the proofing process [cf. bar 301]. Secondly, the loss of linguistic nuance or shades of meaning through improper

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124 Willy Strecker, letter to Percy Grainger, 18 April 1923, trans. Moszniaka, Grainger Museum. The ‘revision sheet’ has not yet come to hand.
127 Willy Strecker, letter to Grainger, 29 September 1923, trans. Moszniaka, Grainger Museum. The printing presses stopped for six weeks.
translation; Grainger sometimes re-phrases expressions [bar 452-3 and 460-1] and is careful to capitalise or underline various terms [bars 396-7, 397-9] where necessary. Re-phrasing — _louder lots_, as opposed to _louder hugely_, for example — further individualises the written expressions. Discreet capitalisation of selected expression marks enables those that affect all three pianists to be distinguished from those that affect individual players; similarly, double-underlining is employed occasionally for added emphasis. All of these distinctive visual aids are noticeably absent from the published edition. This is not to say that there are not problems with the autograph compressed score, as the table in the appendix also shows many expressions in the published edition completely missing from the autograph, but these are exceptions.

As with the Balfour Gardiner photostat of MG3/96-1, many of the tempi in the autograph and published version of the two piano ‘dish-up’ of _The Warriors_ correlate with the autograph full score, thus demonstrating just how long some of the ‘older’ features were retained before being revised for compressed score publication. More disturbingly, problems, such as the incongruous ‘piu meno’ suggestion at bar 298 were not ironed out during the proofing stage and were actually retained right through to final publication. The ‘slightly slower’ indication in the autograph full score tells the true story.

The Published Parts (MG1/99-1-2:1-39, 42-46)

With publication of the ‘dished-up’ version of _The Warriors_ well under way, Grainger embarked on the printing of his newly revised orchestral parts shortly after the success of the Frankfurter sound-trials held in February 1923. By June, they had already been submitted to Schott in Mainz, for at the end of this month Willy Strecker was advising Grainger that samples of the parts could not be sent due to them being ‘processed’ at the time. Proofs of the parts were sent in August, 1923.

The reason for printing the parts before the score was revised and compressed is not entirely known; presumably Grainger wished to have them ready for the next scheduled performance of _The Warriors_ by the People’s Symphony Orchestra of Boston in January 1925. Grainger also did not elucidate as to why the parts of the more unusual ‘tuneful percussion’ instruments — the staff bells, steel marimba and their keyboard equivalents, the bell and bar pianos — were never printed, but kept in manuscript form only. It may be due entirely to economic reasons, such as printing the parts and hiring the players. Certainly in the first two performances, Grainger was forced into paying the ‘tuneful’

129 The third piano part was in existence as early as May 1922. See Percy Grainger, letter to Balfour Gardiner, 3 May 1922, Grainger Museum.
131 Willy Strecker, letter to Percy Grainger, 1 August 1923, trans. Moszniaha, Grainger Museum. The letter was sent to Delius' house in Lejaskog, Norway, but Strecker was intending to send the revisions to Grainger's residence in White Plains, New York.
132 This was the first performance to use a second conductor.
percussionists, and by 1920 was sickened by the generally indifferent attitude taken by
the players:

I want my darling mumsie to know that after these [New York] Philharmonic concerts I shall pay for no more extra players for the 
Warriors, either in Europe or here, at least not in the near future, not till we have saved a good sum first. The paying for the extra men does not help, it only makes the societies more indifferent & I have no wish to do it any more.133

Adding the third piano part in 1922 was one way of circumventing this problem, even if it meant at times discarding the original percussion parts.

Like the third piano, the bell and bar pianos were able to replace the staff bells and steel marimba (see Figures 3 and 4 on next two pages) in performance and in fact were preferable because of the clarity thus gained.134 Being absent from the autograph full score, however, one might assume they were not even considered until the compressed score was sketched in 1924, yet the idea of using these instruments with a keyboard mechanism had crossed Grainger's mind four years earlier:

Some time I shall write to Mayland135 for an estimate on his pianokeyboard [sic] bells & if it is reasonable we can have it made, & if it is too dear we will give the idea up ... As regards the Quinlaw [sic] tour, I do not care if I give up the idea of doing the Warriors there next year, or I can do it with less bells, with or without the Mayland pianokeyboard bells.136

Nothing came of the Mayland “pianokeyboard bells” idea but Grainger did purchase a dulcitone in the early 1920s.137 Although recommended in the compressed score as an instrument that can be “used with effect where the bar-piano is not available,” it too did not receive a printed part.

The ‘missing’ percussion parts notwithstanding, the remaining printed parts are potentially one of the most useful sources for a new edition because of the amount of performing detail they contain – information that would be either too difficult or expensive to integrate into the layout of the actual score, or simply deemed unnecessary for the conductor. At the very least, it would help explain why until now the recordings – and live performances of The Warriors to a large extent reflect Grainger's true intentions; for even if, by virtue of the limitations of the compressed score, the conductor does not have the full picture in front of him or her, the players certainly do. Indeed, Grainger may have deliberately wanted this imbalance, if his rather whimsical view of conducting is to be believed: “The orchestra plays the notes, and all the conductor has to do is to

133 Percy Grainger, letter to Rose Grainger, 8 January 1920. The New York Philharmonic concerts, scheduled for later that month, were later cancelled due to Grainger contracting influenza.
135 R.H. Mayland of New York, percussion manufacturer. They had already custom made Grainger’s Steel Marimba (now in the Grainger Museum) for The Warriors and the Tribute to Foster (1916).
136 Percy Grainger, letter to Rose Grainger, 8 January 1920.
137 Similar to a celesta but using tuning forks instead of metal bars, the dulcitone was made by Thomas Machell & Sons, Glasgow, Scotland. Along with the instrument now residing in the Grainger Museum, Grainger also retained a catalogue from the firm dating from before 1923. It is located in the instrument file, GM/015/67.
Ella Grainger with her husband’s custom made Swiss Staff Bells and Steel Marimba during a concert given by the Western Australian Symphony Orchestra in 1934. After her marriage to Grainger in 1928, Ella regularly played these instruments in *Warriors* performances, as shown by the autograph ‘tuneful percussion’ parts marked “for Ella’s practising.” *(Source: Grainger Museum)*
Figure 4: Constructed by R.H. Mayland of New York especially for the premiere of *The Warriors* in 1917, this unique "large metal marimba" encompasses five octaves and has tuned wooden resonators. Each bar may also be removed and played or bowed individually, as in Grainger's *Tribute to Foster*. (Source: Donald Fairweather)
listen to the orchestra, follow along with it and look inspired.” 138 Combined with Grainger's democratic ideals, having the power of knowledge transferred to the players in this situation is not as surprising as it may first seem.

Complete as they are, it would not be true to say that the printed parts are without their faults. In some of the autograph string parts, for example, there are notational discrepancies between different desks of the same part; 139 given that the printed parts were based on these alone, it can only be expected that those same discrepancies would confront and doubtless confuse the copyist. When this also occurs in woodwind parts playing in unison, however, it might lead one to believe that Grainger was trying to impart individuality to each of the performers through their parts; at least this was Joseph Kreines' view when he tackled the nightmarish articulations that plague the fourth movement of the Lincolnshire Posy. 140 Dr. Frederick Fennell, who recently produced a new full score of the Posy, disagrees. When interviewed by the author on this very matter, he in fact made it quite clear that this situation arose not from Grainger's compositional concerns but from performers altering the parts during the course of rehearsals. Grainger apparently condoned the practice, and thus allowed his practical nature to prevail against his better judgement. Put simply, it was "Grainger the performer overriding Grainger the composer." 141

Regrettably, Grainger the composer did not also act as Grainger the copyist, as there is no reasonable explanation for the instrumental cues in The Warriors parts, which often lack articulations and phrasing, are poorly (or incorrectly) labelled or, perhaps most worryingly, are not transposed for the part in question – and all of these are basic expectations by professional orchestral players. To illustrate, the clarinet cue in bars 379-80 of the English Horn part is only labelled "Clarinet" but is not transposed from 'A' into 'F'; similarly, the viola cue in bar 358 of the first oboe part remains in the alto clef. In both situations, the cue is difficult to sightread and is therefore unsuitable for substituting missing or absent parts. If this were not enough, the cueing problems are not only inconsistent between different parts but even within the same part; the oboe / flute 2 cue at bar 378 of the first and third horn parts, for example, is not transposed into F (being left at concert pitch), and this despite a correctly transposed oboe / clarinet cue some seven bars earlier. Although it is beyond the scope of this edition to correct such cues in the orchestral parts, the required emendations have been included as part of the critical commentary should the parts ever need to be extracted from the full score.

139 See Appendix 3, p. 119.
141 Alessandro Servadei, interview with Dr. Frederick Fennell, 15 January 1995.
With the two piano ‘dish-up’ and the orchestral parts already published, Grainger was in a position to publish a conducting score of *The Warriors*. Having used a full score to conduct from for nearly seven years, however, he decided to transform the work into a compressed full score instead, complete with reduced staves and non-transposing parts. He did not publicly express his reasons for such a change in score layout; certainly the idea had been toyed with as early as 1917, when a brief excerpt from the score (bars 455-9) in compressed format, signed and dated July 8, 1917, appeared in D.C. Parker’s *Percy Aldridge Grainger – A Study* (Example 4).

This excerpt, of course, was sensible given the size of the page Grainger was dealing with in the booklet. But there is no denying that the autograph full score of *The Warriors*, with its myriad of cuts, alterations and additions was too difficult for a copyist to decipher with accuracy. Publication was therefore a daunting prospect, a task that would require exhaustive pre-testing in order to sort out these problems. That Grainger was only too well aware of this can be seen in a preliminary letter to Charles Volkert at Schott, Mainz from 1920:

> Do you think you would care to publish a big orchestral work of mine, such as *The Warriors*, with publishing rights for all countries? *The Warriors* is undoubtedly my best and most perfect orchestral work so far. It is not ready for publication as yet, and may not be ready for a year or more, as I wish to hear it again before it is engraved ...\(^{142}\)

Grainger did hear the work again in Frankfurt some three years later. The experience left him in need of a visual solution to the conductor's problem, and hence he turned towards the compressed score medium to facilitate the publishing of *The Warriors*. Yet the decision for change was not as drastic as it might lead you to believe, for Grainger's large orchestral suite, *In a Nutshell*, had already been successfully published in this format many years earlier.\(^{143}\) That, combined with the fact that there were printed parts and a two-piano reduction to work from, meant that compressing *The Warriors* into a manageable score would have made sense at the time. Nonetheless, the re-working such a large score demanded, as far as Grainger's busy performing schedule was concerned, a long trip abroad. His brief voyage to Australia in mid-1924, ostensibly to visit his family and bury his mother, could therefore not have come at a more opportune time. Most of the work was, not surprisingly, undertaken at sea, both on the S.S. Tahiti and the S.S. Maunganui.\(^{144}\)

On the second leg of the voyage, from Sydney to San Francisco, Grainger was joined by his long-time colleague, Dr. Hamilton Russell.\(^{145}\) Although they tended to spend much of their time in the cabin discussing their sexual practices – Grainger's flagellation and Russell's homosexuality\(^{146}\) – the hours spent on the *Warriors* score were, according to its composer, long and hard:

> I was busy clean-writing the final score of *The Warriors* – getting it ready for publication (by B. Schott's Soehne, Mainz.) I suppose I began work before (or just after) breakfast & wrote all day till about 11.00 at night – as usual. And I think I took no midday meal – in order to have more time for the scoring.\(^{147}\)

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\(^{144}\) See Table 12, pp. 102-104, Appendix 2. Grainger's *Anecdotes* incorrectly states that the latter ship was the S.S. "Niagara." See pp. 31-2. Bird instead cites the ship as being the S.S. Manganui. Cf. John Bird, *Percy Grainger* (London: Elek Books, 1976), p. 188.

\(^{145}\) A copy of the published compressed score was given to Dr. Russell. It is now in the Grainger Museum.

\(^{146}\) *Anecdotes*, 31. This particular part of the text is in Danish.

\(^{147}\) *Anecdotes*, 32.
This is most evident in the editorial markings and guidelines intended for the publisher. Grainger is quite particular about the font sizes of instrumental cues and expression markings; on page 24 for instance, the pauses in the solo string parts are circled with the comment: "Die Fermaten äußerst klein." Similarly, when the orchestra divides and requires more than one conductor, Grainger, unable to visually distinguish between the various sections in his autograph, insists that the published version have these subsidiary orchestras printed with "Kleine stechen, kleine systems, kleine noten" to prevent any confusion.

In addition to their staff size, these multi-orchestral sections also pose a number of problems in terms of physical layout on the page, as the bars of each rarely coincide. To this end, Grainger offers practical suggestions on lining them up together, even if, as he all too readily admits, the "rhythmic correspondence here shown in the score is ... only approximate." This practice invariably led to arrows being drawn between the systems in question, usually to the nearest note (bar 325), bar-line (bar 347) or even part of embedded text (as in bar 303, between the staff bells and double-bassoon part). Some arrows from the autograph full score – not intended for layout purposes but for the cueing of actual parts – were retained in the autograph compressed score and used for publication, most notably for the off-stage brass section which begins here on page 64.

Not everything on this autograph score was intended to be printed; obviously the guide lines and the dates were of no importance for a published (or performing) edition, and are consequently marked "nicht stechen" by the composer. The so-called 'cut away staves' that occupy many a page of the score are simply indicated with a crossing out – if the bar was empty but was not so marked it would be left untouched, regardless of its position on the page. By the same token, text would be printed as written except where underlining was employed, signifying that italics was desired.

Regrettably, no Grainger-Schott correspondence has surfaced from this crucial period of late 1924 / early 1925, however it must be assumed that the date of October 1924 for sending the autograph compressed score to Willy Strecker – as handwritten by Grainger on the envelope accompanying it – is correct. This at least places the event close to the score's completion at sea in September 1924.  

148 Percy Grainger, The Warriors [Compressed Full Score], ms., MG5/73-2, p. 59. At their reprise in bar 337, Grainger is even more insistent on their size: "Die Fermaten möglichst klein stechen!"
149 Grainger, The Warriors [Compressed Full Score], ms., 59 and 64.
150 Grainger, The Warriors [Compressed Full Score], ms., 89.
The Published Compressed Score (MG1/99-1-1)

The exact publishing date of the compressed score of *The Warriors* is not known but it must have been accomplished by May 1926, when Grainger wrote to Karen Holten asking whether she had received a copy of *The Warriors* score. Although longer in terms of the number of pages, the published score is virtually the same as its autograph – most pages contain less bars to preserve the clarity of musical material. With nearly eighteen months elapsing between autograph and published compressed score, there is, as one might expect, some evidence of revision on Grainger’s part – possibly after the 1925 performance – despite the lack of correction sheets or proofs; many bars that were not crossed out in the autograph compressed score, for instance, later appear in ‘cut-away’ fashion regardless (as in bar 70, piano III and bars 136-7, lower strings). This is all the more disturbing when some of these bars were moved because of the re-pagination in the printed score – the cello solo at bar 78 initially started at the beginning of page 16 in the autograph, and certainly not ‘in mid-air’ at the end of another page, as the printed score implies.

The programme notes, as mentioned in an earlier chapter, had been in a constant state of flux since the first draft of January 1916. In what appears to be part of a draft in the compressed score, Grainger finally settles on December 1913 and December 1916 as the starting and finishing dates (respectively). More significantly, Grainger goes on to say how “the bulk of it [was] composed in between these dates,” which not only supports the existence of earlier sketch material – such as MG15/4-16:2 from March 1913 – but also allows for the scoring revisions made in the early 1920s. Even the programme notes underwent a further (but final) metamorphosis only months after the work was published, with an additional paragraph on the ‘tuneful percussion’ included for the benefit of the Melbourne audiences in October 1926.

It goes almost without saying that the sentence regarding the elasticity of the dates failed to appear in the final printing, but at least the printed programme notes have drafts for comparison purposes. No manuscript has yet surfaced of the “To Conductors” page included in the preface to *The Warriors* score. Although the exact date of the document is therefore uncertain, the page must have been written at least after 1921 due to its explanation of the role of the third piano. A more likely prospect however, is 1924 – the year the autograph was completed – as the dulcitone, bar and bell pianos mentioned in the text only feature in the compressed score and not the autograph full score.

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151 Percy Grainger, letter to Karen Holten, 8 May 1926, Grainger Museum. Grainger was on the R.M.M.S. Aorangi, (Pacific Ocean), at the time.
152 People’s Symphony Orchestra of Boston conducted by Grainger and Stuart Mason on 18 January 1925.
154 This ‘new’ paragraph has been reproduced for this edition.
If this was indeed the case, the ‘last minute’ nature of their addition would help explain why there is a lack of printed parts for these ‘tuneful percussion’ instruments.

Musical instruments were not the only significant change to catch Grainger’s attention; the language of musical expression and the boxed explanations were also scrutinised in detail by him. It has already been noted how there is a gradual shift from the hybrid Italian / ‘Blue-Eyed’ English of the autograph full score to the completely anglicised two-piano ‘dish-up’ autograph and, lastly, to the confusing (often simultaneous) use of German, Italian and English terms in the autograph compressed score and printed edition. There is evidence that Grainger had practiced writing in the foreign language terms and text blocks in the autograph full score sometime in the early 1920s, presumably for the Frankfort sound-trials. The transference to the autograph compressed score was therefore direct and hence unproblematic. Once published, however, several changes were implemented, obviously to tidy up some of Grainger’s highly idiosyncratic German (see p. 105, Appendix 2). The most prominent of these were the replacement of ‘ss’ with the more traditional ‘ß.’ Other changes were more grammatically and syntactically significant; witness, for instance on page 82, the subtle shift from “weit genug von den Zuhörenschaft” – “far enough from the audience” – to “weit genug von den Zuhörern” – “far enough from the members of the audience”. The published version in fact literally refers to ‘whoever will be listening,’ generally a more satisfying translation.

That the compressed score of The Warriors was first performed in Boston (1925) or the next performance, in Adelaide (1926) is academic. Certainly the parts had already been published by 1925, suggesting that Boston could easily have reaped the benefits of the new edition, yet Grainger’s greater familiarity with the autograph full score implies that this was used instead of the compressed score, even if a copy had been sent for perusal to Willy Strecker in Germany months earlier. On the other hand, the programme notes from Boston discuss the existence of a printed score, which “contains a program note and an analysis by the composer”; the compressed score was not due for publication for over a year. This may have referred to an elusive publishing proof copy, but with the publishing plates having been destroyed during World War II bombing raids on Mainz, we can be very grateful that any manuscript material from The Warriors survived the test of time.

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155 The German text – pencilled into MG3/96-1 – is not present in Balfour Gardiner’s copy of 1921.
156 The third piano part was used for the first time in Boston.
157 Programme Notes, Percy Grainger, The Warriors, cond. Grainger and Stuart Mason, People’s Symphony Orchestra of Boston, Boston, 18 January 1925, n. pag. No author is credited.
158 According to Barry Ould, there is a large box marked The Warriors in the basement of the Grainger home in White Plains. This may yet contain the ‘missing’ autograph parts.
Chapter 4: The Edition

Towards a New Edition of *The Warriors*:
An Exploration of Grainger’s Notational Practices

It has been said of Grainger that he is one of the few composers whose scores are instantly recognisable — who else but Percy would boldly proclaim ‘A trifle slower’ or ‘Louden lots bit by bit’ at the top of a score, or place mini-essays of interpretative detail or performance practice in large speech balloons above a key section, part or bar? With that in mind, editing Grainger’s *The Warriors — Music to an Imaginary Ballet*, should not prove any more difficult than transferring his notational symbols from printed score to computer screen — but the work’s sheer originality of presentation raises a far greater number of questions than one at first anticipates. For instance, is a compressed score like this a suitable foundation for interpretation by modern conductors, particularly when so much performance detail is omitted from the page? If the work is transformed into a full orchestral score, is the result a complete violation of the composer’s notational concept or is it a more thorough realisation of his musical vision? One may of course speculate why Grainger adopted such a notational solution as the compressed score in the first place, if it later proved impractical to all but the composer himself. The answer is not as simple as one might at first think. Indeed, as will be shown over the next few pages, the compressed score is only one of many solutions that Grainger arrived at during his compositional career and it not only reflected some of the notational trends at the time, but also indirectly influenced future trends.

Grainger was perhaps the only composer to adopt the compact form of presentation that is the compressed score, yet it is clear from his published output that it was the preferred medium through which his music could and should be interpreted by others. It was not adopted lightly but was merely one phase in a bold experiment that might best be described as the ‘reduction principle’ in scoring. This experiment began with the very first work to be labelled “compressed score”, the original scoring of Part 2 of the *Song of Solomon.*\(^{159}\) Dating from 1899, this version of the work only exists in a flexible two to four stave score with all parts cued as necessary (Example 5). By 1901, Grainger had arranged his *Hill-Song* No. 1 into a ‘huddled score,’ a type of piano reduction that is completely faithful to the original scoring but without any compromise to accommodate keyboard technique (Example 6). That it resides directly underneath the full score suggests its purpose was for ease of rehearsal and analysis.\(^{160}\) Many years later, this reduction principle would be taken to its natural conclusion with the ‘blind-eye’ scores of

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160 Isobel du Cane eventually copied this ‘huddled’ part into a separate score, a photocopy of which is now in the Grainger Museum, MG15/12-3. The original ms. is in the Elder Library, University of Adelaide.
the 1940s and 50s, which simply presented the music as a bare rhythmic outline with instruments cued in name only (Example 7). Breathtaking in its simplicity, these scores served Grainger in his twilight years as a conducting memory aid and visually complemented the large paste-ups for 'music roller desk' that performed a similar function for his piano playing. Looking over a period of nearly half a century, one can see how each of Grainger's score layouts served their own individual purpose, according to the needs of the interpreter – the initial full-score, for presenting the information in its entirety; the compressed score, to compact the information into an accessible form; the 'huddled score,' for study and analysis, and the 'blind-eye score,' for the seasoned conductor who only requires visual cues.

**Example 5:** Percy Grainger, early use of compressed score, in *Song of Solomon* Part 2, SL1 MG3/87-1, bars 37-30. [Choral parts omitted].

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**Example 6:** Percy Grainger, 'huddled' score of *Hill-Song* No. 1, MG5/26-1, bars 48-50. [Double-reed parts omitted].
Example 7: Percy Grainger, 'blind-eye' score of *Rufford Park Poachers*, from the *Lincolnshire Posy*, MG15/7-1-4, p. 5.

The compressed score comes in the middle of this development process; being neither too conventional in approach, like a full score, nor radically different, like a 'blind-eye' score, it is not surprising to find that many of its guiding principles, such as the fact it is non-transposing, were to find favour amongst many of Grainger's contemporaries and later composers. Schönberg, for example, found the idea of transposition to be a complete anathema to his twelve-tone method of composing, a method which traditionally eschewed key signatures instead of accidentals. Thus, in his preface to the *Quintet for Wind Instruments*,\(^\text{161}\) he declared that here there would be “no more transposing instruments. Clarinets and Horns, on account of their possessing chromatic scales, must be regarded as instruments in C,” with the only concession being that the wind instruments may “use the pitch which is technically most useful.”\(^\text{162}\) Prokofiev had a similar rationale for this, although it was tied more to the ease of conducting – rather than composing – such non-transposing scores: “the conductor deals with the music as it sounds, i.e. in C, hence all the instruments in the score should be written in C. In that case transposition is shifted from the conductor to the copyist.”\(^\text{163}\)

\(^{162}\) Schoenberg, *Quintett*, 2.
Unlike Schönberg, but more in line with Grainger's working methods, Prokofiev also preferred to work with a piano-reduction-like score that could contract or expand to cope with changing textural demands – with the orchestration details written, rather awkwardly, beside each chord. But, whereas Prokofiev would leave this piano score with a copyist in order to create from it a full score, Grainger used the notion of reduction as the basis for the creation of a publishable score.

The compressed score as it stands represents a highly original and economical use of space – so rather than having each instrument occupy a separate staff (as one would expect in a traditional orchestral score), here each staff can be occupied by several instruments, even if the instruments normally occupy a double-staff, such as the celesta or piano (Example 8). When the scoring becomes intricate or where important contrapuntal lines within the brass, require delineation, Grainger adopts one of two methods – the ‘infamous’ cartoon-style balloons, one of the hallmarks of his scores, may be employed to cue in the various instruments (Example 9), or, where that proves impractical, an additional stave may briefly ‘grow’ out of the surrounding ones, giving the score a ‘cut-away’ appearance (Example 10). Although not applied consistently by Grainger, this ‘cut-away’ scoring was undoubtedly an early pre-cursor to many contemporary scores, such as Stravinsky's late serial works and virtually all of Penderecki's orchestral and choral compositions, such as Anakkasis, for strings and percussion (Example 11).

**Example 8:** Percy Grainger, double-staff instruments compressed into single staves, in *The Warriors*, bars 104-5 [Piano parts only].

![Example 8 Image]

**Example 2:** Percy Grainger, use of cartoon-style balloons, in *The Warriors*, bars 76-7 [Woodwind parts only].

![Example 2 Image]
[String parts only].


This method of scoring is successful up to a point, but a complex work such as
*The Warriors* is not so easily reduced. Grainger certainly knew of the problems:
traditional expression markings, for instance, were totally inadequate to convey the
nuances of his scoring, the pianists having to play the piano strings directly, the keyboard
percussionists distinguishing between not one but three different types of mallet
(soft, medium-soft and hard) and needing up to three conductors to co-ordinate the
various ostinato groups within the orchestra, and an off-stage brass sextet which plays not
only in a different key, but in a different tempo and meter. Grainger thus felt compelled
not only to devote an entire page of his foreword to key conducting problems in the
composition, but also write generously in lengthy text blocks within the score to explain his actions to the performers (Example 12).

**Example 12:** Percy Grainger, text block (excerpt) in *The Warriors*, bar 322

[German translation and instruments following 1st conductor omitted.]

*) The office of a 2nd conductor can be dispensed with if one of the 6 brass players playing behind the platform will undertake to lead this group. The instruments behind the platform and the orchestra on the platform do not have to tally rhythmically in accordance with the score, which provides a merely a rough indication of the intended actual rhythmic correspondence between the 2 groups which will, of course, vary with each performance. However, the 1st conductor should begin bar 323 (in its relation to the music behind the platform) as here shown, and the music behind the platform should end somewhere around bar 356 — not later than bar 360.

The advantages of these notational practices are readily seen. For the conductor to have major entries cued with bold headings or balloons immediately removes the need for lengthy mark-up of the score prior to rehearsal, as does having important conducting issues, such as meter changes and specific ways of dividing beats in additive measures, placed in the centre of the score for easy visual identification. Similarly, the work appears less confronting in its compact form than in a full score of up to forty-five individual staves, and allows the overall texture to be appreciated at a glance. Analysts too, may take heart in the fact that in being only notated at concert pitch but also as a collection of piano-reduced staves, chordal structures in a compressed score such as this may be examined and played with relative ease.

Regrettably, however, many of these notational practices were achieved at the expense of detail. By reducing a given section of the orchestra to two staves, as in the case of the woodwind, many subtleties of dynamics and expression have been ignored — indeed, sections may simply be marked with an overall dynamic indication and hence the appreciation of orchestral texture is condemned to a mere surface exploration. Octave doubling by some instruments, may be dismissed completely with the remark “also up one octave” or “also down two octaves,” and renders the deciphering of orchestration in dense passages and tuttis awkward for the conductor. Text blocks, the main purveyors of additional performing information, are in the score merely paraphrases of that appearing in the parts themselves; thus in bar 297, the second piano part in the compressed score is marked “Strike piano strings with medium soft marimba mallets,” instead of “Strike the strings with leathern tip of Deagan’s combination marimba mallet No 2017,” which appears in the printed part and the autograph full score.

164 This is the maximum number of staves employed for this edition. Grainger uses slightly less in MG3/96-1 as some of the percussion parts are written on one stave instead of two to conserve space.
Are such details of any interest to the conductor, provided that the performers are given the requisite information? Ultimately, one must bear in mind that the work is unique amongst Grainger's output in that the initial autograph score is not a compressed score, but a traditional full score, and it existed in this format for some eight years before it was re-notated for publication in 1924. During this time, the score was used for conducting at least three times, and as such was marked up for that purpose by the composer. Hence meter changes are written in large crayon in each section of the orchestra and instrumental entries are often cued in via large balloons to obviate the need for labelling the entire list of orchestral personnel beside each of the work's sixty-eight pages. As in the later compressed score, cue numbers are written in the centre of the score, although the pink and green watercolour hand painted by Grainger in the autograph full score make for a more visual treat than the more practical black-and-white version later adopted for publication. In contrast, cut-away staves are rarely needed due to the full score layout, but as can be seen in Example 13, the violin solo literally grows out of the other violin staves.

**Example 13:** Percy Grainger, curved staves in *The Warriors*, MG3/96-1, bars 26-8 [Second Piano and Violin parts only].

![Example 13](image)

Most important in the autograph full score of *The Warriors* is the degree of specificity employed, especially in situations where different dynamics are deliberately marked to bring out certain timbres within chords or melodies. Examination of page 63 of the MG3/96-1 (Example 14) yields a counter melody played in unison by the six horns, marked *ff quasi solo*. The first and second trumpets, doubling at the unison, are marked *f, molto esp.* – adding a degree of 'bite' to the sound without overpowering the horns. Similarly, the second wooden marimba part is marked *ff* and *tremolo*, imbuing the horn timbre with a graininess reminiscent of a strummed mandolin part. Thus for just one melody within a much larger texture, there are three different instruments and three different dynamics combining to create a unique mixed timbre.
Example 14: Percy Grainger, simultaneous different dynamic markings, in The Warriors, MG3/96-1, bars 437-9
[Horn, Trumpets 1 and 2 and Wooden Marimba (Player 2) parts only].

This degree of specificity is not always accurately reflected in the published score of The Warriors, for example the placement of \( < \) and \( > \)'s on the page; whereas in earlier scores such as Hill-Song No. 1, Grainger adopted what he considered "Wagner organ registration type scoring,"\(^\text{165}\) in which the waxing and waning of 'tone-strengths' (melodies) could be controlled via unison doubling – that is, adding an extra part to a given melody to achieve a crescendo, or taking one away to achieve a diminuendo, reminiscent of Baroque organ registration – in The Warriors, this has been refined to a point where dovetailed dynamics give the impression of the orchestra 'winding down' – similar to the Romantic organ 'swell pedal'. On page 31 of MG3/96-1 (Example 15, on following page), it is clearly visible how the woodwind diminuendo during the second bar of this phrase, whereas the horns begin this process on the downbeat of the first bar, the heavy brass start half-way through the first bar, the cymbals through both bars and the strings a little way into the first bar. In stark contrast, the compressed score has most of these markings reduced to a \textit{dim.} indication and others are simply omitted altogether.

Dynamics are not the only area of detail revealed in the autograph full score. Harp pedalling, timpani tuning, mallet changes, and string bowings are meticulously indicated in their respective parts, as well as pedalling and fingering in the piano parts – the latter appearing to be a seemingly unimportant detail until you realise that many of Grainger's piano passages are marked to be played with the third finger alone, to promote evenness of tone, or hammered with the fist, to provide an explosive degree of articulation. Perhaps most worryingly, is how most of the eccentric English expression markings that distinguish many a Grainger score, including this autograph, were completely removed for publication, or given a simultaneous German or Italian

translation underneath. These are completely restored in this edition, partly from the autograph full score and partly from the ‘dished-up’ version of The Warriors, whose autograph score employs such terms exclusively. It could then be debated that such a restoration of English terms only benefit English-speaking musicians, but many of Grainger’s more unique terms, such as “clatteringly,” “thumpingly” and “to the fore” do not readily translate into any other language, and even if so done, would still force even professional musicians to go to the dictionary. Bearing that in mind, it seems quite ironic then how The Warriors was not performed in a non-English speaking country during Grainger’s lifetime, and still remains a largely unknown work in Germany, where it initially found publication.

This aside, there are nonetheless still problems with this autograph full score, not with detail but with actual musical material; its ‘work-in-progress’ state for nearly ten years meant that it cannot count as the definitive version of The Warriors. In many ways this is disappointing, as the autograph contains many bold experiments in timbre and instrumental technique that were unceremoniously removed from its printed counterpart, without the change being necessarily reflected in the original through cross-outs, paste-overs or re-inking. Most notable of these are the references to ‘stopping’ in the trumpet and trombone parts which were later omitted and uniformly altered to ‘muted’ in the published score. Stopping, a technique more commonly associated with horn playing, is not at all idiomatic for any of the heavy brass, due to the contortion required of the left hand in the bell of the instrument to achieve the desired effect. Similarly, many players are not trained to mentally transpose down a semitone to offset the rise in pitch caused by the hand completely blocking the airway. Nevertheless, Grainger constantly makes the distinction between the ‘stopped’ sound and the ‘muted’ sound in MG3/96-1, often deploying them simultaneously (Example 16), which suggests that the practice was not in error. Indeed, Grainger was not afraid to make such a demand in print either, for stopped trumpet parts occur in his Marching Song of Democracy.166

Example 16: Percy Grainger, stopped and muted trumpet parts, in The Warriors, MG3/96-1, bars 176-8 [Trumpet parts only].

166 Cf. 1st and 3rd trumpet parts in Grainger, Marching Song of Democracy, bars 29-30. Muted trumpet parts occur elsewhere, as in the 2nd trumpet part, bars 91-3. One of the first works to use such a technique, Stravinsky’s Fireworks, Op. 4 (London: Schott & Co., 1910) also features in Grainger’s private score collection.
Thus, we have in Grainger a composer whose raw musical material only represents one part of any detailed study. Attention to fine detail, layout, design, and indeed, the notation itself play a significant role in forging an intensely original style, both in sound and presentation. That this idiosyncrasy and specificity went largely unnoticed during Grainger’s lifetime and, many would say, continues to be so ignored, even today, is most regrettable. As Grainger himself admitted, rather grudgingly:

I think one has to bow to the facts of the case & admit that my own melodism, my own harmonies, my own form seems to be positively DISLIKED by practically all musicians ... [T]he musical world is not AGAINST ME or my activities or my tastes. They are only against MY MUSIC. I am afraid that this must be accepted!¹⁶⁷

And accept it Grainger did; but the rest of the world, it appears, has yet to accept him.

Editorial Method

Striking a delicate balance between notational individuality and performing practicality is the key to the creation of a new Grainger edition. Nevertheless, given the problematic nature and the idiosyncrasies of each published or ms. source, how does one manage to create a new score without destroying Grainger’s originality of presentation, omitting key detail or misrepresenting his final intentions? In editing The Warriors, a conscious decision was made to preserve as much as possible the layout of the autograph full score, while taking into consideration the many revisions Grainger made after the initial performances and the ‘sound-trials’ at Frankfurt just prior to publication – in other words, the edition represents a conflation of sources, rather than a reflection of any single source. Preserving the layout of the autograph full score has also meant retaining features that one would normally only associate with a reproduced facsimile. Of these, three in particular are worth noting:

- The placement of articulations often goes against accepted practice, with the accents and staccato articulations placed above stems rather than below noteheads.
- Note clusters usually have the note heads on the opposite sides to what is normally expected.
- The placement of rests and beam angles can be highly idiosyncratic. Rests may even appear outside the staff.

Where these unique ‘Graingerisms’ are practical, feasible (in terms of software capability) and do not interfere with the clarity of the music, they have been matched in this edition to the original as closely as possible, in order to avoid notational uniformity, a criticism often levelled at computer desktop-published scores. However, some features of the autograph full score are distinctive yet inappropriate for a printed edition. The most conspicuous of these are the note stems which are written on the right-hand (rather than

left-hand) side of the notehead when notes face downwards. Although technically possible on the computer – albeit extremely time consuming – this is one feature that was ignored purely for aesthetic reasons.

On the other hand, many of the features from the compressed score that represent an improvement over the autograph full score have also been retained. For example, with the untuned percussion parts, the use of single line staves, as opposed to different lines or spaces within two braced staves, as used in the autograph full score, is here preferred. Notable too are those sections of The Warriors where there are several orchestral groups working independently of one another – as in example from page 45 of the new edition (Example 17 on following page). In MG3/96-1, the layout does not change in these situations, and the instruments are left rather confusingly in their usual positions on the page; later this was altered in the autograph compressed score to enable the new group of instruments to be bracketed together and separated from the main orchestra, with guide arrows drawn in to show how the groups rhythmically correlate. Although not intended for printing, it does enable one to mimic Grainger’s layout to perfection. When combined with proper transposing parts, the flow-on benefits to the conductor become readily apparent.

Invariably, there are some aspects of Grainger’s layout in both full score and compressed score which do not offer any immediate benefit to the performer. Often the separate orchestral parts can provide some clues; this is certainly the case with the ‘tuneful percussion’ instruments, which in this edition have had their proper multi-staff notation restored from the unpublished autograph parts. Individual players, as with the brass and horns, are separately cued using ‘I’, ‘II’, and ‘III’ indications, where this is not clear from the musical context. And although not specified by Grainger in either of his scores, these cues have been added without comment, thus it may be safely assumed that all such instances are editorial additions by the author.

These features and additions, along with restored ‘blue-eyed’ English terms, and a score that affords the conductor an unprecedented level of detail, in many ways presents Grainger as a more original and experimental composer than is shown through any of his published scores. While the lack of ‘compression’ may negate his original notational concept, ultimately the proof is in the performance itself – and if the sheer quality of the inaugural performance of this edition by the University Symphony Orchestra in June 1995 is anything to go by, this new full score represents an important step forward in the appreciation of Grainger by scholars and public alike.
As explained earlier in this chapter, no single source for *The Warriors* is completely definitive; hence the fairest (and simplest) way of deciphering Grainger's actual intentions is to accept the notation or explanation offered in at least two different sources. Musical context may of course determine otherwise, and such cases are explained in the critical commentary appended to the edition. Where the discrepancy is not severe and only appears in one source, however, the change is enclosed in round brackets to notify the interpreter. The most common of these are the cautionary accidentals used in individual parts to avoid confusion with surrounding parts playing a semitone higher or lower, for example F♯ against F♮. The part with the F♯, such as a horn part without key signature, would then employ a natural sign in brackets, thus F(♯) appears instead.

Notation appearing in square brackets, on the other hand, are all editorial emendations. They are used quite sparingly, and the reason for their use can often be deduced from the musical context alone; the "Bar-Piano Only" and "Bell-Piano Only" indications require some explanation. If used to replace the staff bells and steel marimba, these piano-like instruments were meant to play those parts all of the time. If the bells and marimba were used instead, they could play everything intended for them, except those passages cued for bell piano and/or bar piano. In this edition, this cueing has been replaced by descriptive labels in the score that are readily visible to the conductor.

Not all changes and/or discrepancies are readily explained in prose alone, without accompanying musical examples or other outside evidence for support. The space (and time) required to provide the necessary five thousand or so musical excerpts is beyond the scope of this thesis, but it is for this very reason that several case studies from the various sections of the orchestra have been prepared to illustrate some of the complexities surrounding aspects of *The Warriors* score. In any case, it is the intention of the critical commentary that it be examined in conjunction with the sources themselves, which provide the necessary musical detail.

Bass Oboe or Heckelphone?

Arguably the most interesting member of Grainger's otherwise standard double woodwind section is the bass oboe. Unlike the low pitched Cor Anglais and Oboe d'amore, which belong to the same family of instruments, the 'bass oboe' is more

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168 Even if one of the surrounding parts is a transposing instrument.
169 This is calculated on the basis that each discrepancy would require two musical examples, one showing the discrepancy, the other displaying the more accepted 'correct' version. With over 2500 errors explained in the accompanying table, having 5000 musical examples is not as unusual as it sounds.
generic, and the term itself may actually apply to one of a number of different instruments of similar size and pitch. Indeed, the terms ‘baritone oboe’ and ‘heckelphone’ may be used with equal aplomb in the literature; suffice to say, there are noticeable differences in terms of timbre, appearance, range and bore. The baritone oboe is usually of French manufacture, resembles a large Cor Anglais – complete with the bulbous ‘Liebesfuss’\textsuperscript{170} – and, like its smaller counterpart only goes down to the written B below middle C (sounding one octave lower). The Heckelphone, on the other hand, is the last of a complete family of Heckelphones, from soprano to contrabass. It is of German origin, and its greatly expanding conical bore is a distinctive feature that has given it the unfair reputation as a ‘honking monster’. Unlike the baritone oboe, though, its range extends downwards to the low B♭. With the proper bell extension, the Heckelphone can optionally extend down a further semitone, yielding A♭.

Grainger became interested in the wild, nasal double-reed sound of the oboe family early in his compositional career. Note the original instrumentation of his \textit{Hill-Song} No. 1 – six oboes, six cor anglais, six bassoons and double bassoon,\textsuperscript{171} the direct result of hearing the shawn-like Italian ‘pifferi’ at the Paris Exhibition in 1900.\textsuperscript{172} The work remained unperformed in this arrangement,\textsuperscript{173} yet Grainger’s interest in the nasal reed tone did not wane. In fact, quite the opposite – it led to an arrangement in 1904-5 with Boosey and Co. in which he was able to borrow a new reed instrument to experiment with each week;\textsuperscript{174} whether or not one of these was a bass oboe is, naturally, open to conjecture. Hearing the instrument in an orchestral context, however, took several more years and may date as late as mid-1911, when Grainger first heard Delius’ orchestral work \textit{A Dance Rhapsody},\textsuperscript{175} which features a ‘bass oboe’ in its woodwind section. Delius, like Grainger, often specified a heckelphone in one draft, and bass oboe in another. This was not due to their lack of technical knowledge; it was through trial and error. At the first performance of Delius’ \textit{Mass of Life} in 1909 for instance, the bass oboe used lacked a ‘crook’ to suit either high or low pitch, and hence sounded terrible. As Beecham later wrote of the experience:

\begin{quote}
I have arranged about the Bass Oboe for Hereford [England]. I find out however that Sinclair has been writing to another man who plays the ‘Heckelphone’. I am told though that this particular instrument is a filthy
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{170} The ‘Liebesfuss’ (literally, ‘love-bell’) is the distinctive pear shaped bell that helps give the instrument with its unique timbre. As with the Cor Anglais and Oboe d’amore, the baritone oboe’s Liebesfuss is mostly noticeable in the lowest register, where the instrument is at its best orchestrally.

\textsuperscript{171} Two piccolos were also used by Grainger to reinforce tutti and climaxes up the octave.

\textsuperscript{172} Grainger, “Remarks about \textit{Hill-Song} No. 1,” 1. He went on to say that at the time he “was in love with the double-reeds ... as the wildest & fiercest of musical tone-types.”

\textsuperscript{173} It remained unperformed during Grainger’s entire lifetime.

\textsuperscript{174} Brass instruments were also borrowed, as part of this arrangement. Grainger initially believed it took in 1908-9 but later wrote to his friend Charles Hughes that “the Boosey reed and brass instruments date back to about 1904-5.” See Percy Grainger, letter to Charles Hughes, 17 August 1936, Grainger Museum.

\textsuperscript{175} Frederick Delius, \textit{A Dance Rhapsody} (Leipzig: F.E.C. Leuckart, c. 1910). A copy of the score is in Grainger’s personal library, MG Cl/DELI-9.
affair and will not do – The man who played the Bass Oboe in the ‘Mass’ has overhauled the instrument and got to the bottom of it.176

Hereford is where A Dance Rhapsody was first performed, successfully, as the heckelphone originally specified became a bass oboe for the 1910 publication. From this, it then seems likely that it was this latter instrument that Grainger heard the following year. He did not comment about the work at the time,177 but when he heard it again in 1914, his opinion was most positive:

... lots of the Dance Rhapsody [felt] closer to me personally than my own work does; it utterly voices what I most inwardly long to hear expressed or express. The D. Rhap. is a regular corker. There is nothing I enjoy more.178

Perhaps it is appropriate that the first sketches for the Lonely Desert Man Meets the Tents of the Happy Tribes date from this year, the main melody of which, would become the bass oboe solo in The Warriors.

Unlike Delius, Grainger specified Bass Oboe first in his Warriors drafts; the option of the heckelphone does not appear in the score until the Frankfurt rehearsals.179 Such an addition would no doubt increase the work’s chance of performance in Germany, where the baritone oboe was not yet prevalent. Nevertheless, the two low A#'s in the score (Example 18) imply that the part can only be played on the heckelphone which has the extended bass compass.

**Example 18:** Percy Grainger, low A#'s in bass oboe part, in *The Warriors*, bars 68-9 [Bass oboe part only].

On the other hand, if one examines the bass oboe part in the revised scoring of Hill-Song No. 1 – which is a direct transposition of the Bb tenor sarrusophone part – a low Bb is written in bar 80, sounding the Ab a major ninth below (Example 19) – one semitone below what even a heckelphone with a low A extension can play. Like Richard Strauss, who did not hesitate to write low concert G’s in the Alpine Symphony,180 it appears Grainger was under the misapprehension that the instrument could descend this far. The A#'s used in The Warriors, however, are well covered by the bassoons and lower strings’ pizzicati, and as the exposed bass oboe solo only descends to the low B, a proper

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177 His 1911 daybook however, makes it clear that he attended. See Percy Grainger, 1911 daybook, ms., Grainger Museum, Bay 4 Box 22, entry for June 16.
178 Percy Grainger, letter to Frederick Delius, 26 April 1914.
179 The pencilled ‘Heckelphon’ specified in MG3/96-1 is not present in Balfour Gardiner’s copy.
180 Strauss writes this note not once but four times. See Richard Strauss, *Eine Alpensinfonie*, Op. 64 (Leipzig: F.E.C. Leuckhart, 1915) bars 13, 28, 89 and 122. Low Ab’s are also prevalent.
bass oboe can be substituted with little loss in overall scoring detail. Given that the instrument is optional in the score, such a substitution would not do the music an injustice in the two bars in question.

Example 19: Percy Grainger, low A♭ in bass oboe part, in *Hill-Song* No. 1, bars 80-2 [Original tenor sarrusophone part transposed for bass oboe].

The Third Trombone

Unlike the composers in the nineteenth century, who wrote exactly which trombones were meant to play each part — sometimes alto, tenor and bass trombones, or simply two tenors and bass — composers in the early part of the twentieth century were somewhat more complacent in the instrumentation of their lower brass. Inevitably, three trombones would be specified, the idea being that the ‘lay’ of the third part would determine which instrument was intended by the composer. Bartók and Stravinsky were no exception; witness these isolated bars in *Le Sacre du Printemps* (Example 20) in which an otherwise purely tenor trombone part suggests a bass trombone is needed instead. This is all the more unusual in a work that has eight horns and two bass tubas which can more than adequately cover such a low register, but of course the timbral contrast is the composer’s intention.

Example 20: Igor Stravinsky, bass trombone register used in part labelled ‘trombone’, in *Le Sacre du Printemps*, bars 1-3 of Cue 57 [Third trombone part only].

The key here, however, is that the third part does not ascend too high for a bass trombonist, nor does it expect technical feats that are impossible to achieve on a simplex instrument — and therein lies the difference between Stravinsky’s scoring and Grainger’s. In both instances, the composers touch upon this low register just once, but Grainger’s part as originally written in MG3/96-1 can only be played on a duplex instrument, that is, a Tenor-Bass trombone in B♭/F (Example 21).

The low D (in bar 468) and C (in bar 469), both doubling the Tuba at the unison, are certainly well within the range of the F bass trombone (Example 22a); the glissando, on the other hand is impossible, as the G — played as the second overtone in sixth position — can only be bent down to F#, in seventh position (Example 22b). The tenor trombone in Bb has quite the opposite problem. The low G is available as the first overtone of 4th position, but the C natural is unobtainable, lying as it does between the fundamental of 1st position and the first overtone of the 7th position (Example 23a). The glissando is entirely feasible and consists of a slide from 4th to 7th position of the first overtone (Example 23b).

Example 22a: 1st overtones of the F Bass Trombone.

Example 22b: Range of downward glissandos possible using the 2nd overtones of the F Bass Trombone.

Example 23a: 1st overtones of the Bb Tenor Trombone.

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181 A loose embouchure may be able to lip this down even further, but the 80 dB dynamic required would be sacrificed and the purity of intonation lost.
Example 23b: Range of downward glissandos possible using the 1st overtones of the Bb Tenor Trombone.

The tenor / bass trombone sidesteps the limitations of its counterparts, as it is built in B♭ but has a F trigger that lowers the standard instrument a fourth (albeit with only six positions available with trigger depressed). Thus the low G is played as part of normal technique, the C is played in sixth position with the F trigger depressed, and the glissando is performed in the usual manner by moving from fourth to seventh position from the initial B♭ overtone (Example 24).

Example 24: Percy Grainger, implied Tenor-Bass trombone part, in The Warriors, MG3/96-1, bars 468-70 [Third trombone part only; slurring omitted; slide positions added by author].

Editorially, these facts would seem to suggest that there is justification for re-labeling the third trombone part in The Warriors for tenor-bass trombone – if not throughout, then at least at the beginning of the composition as an aid to performers and conductors. The autograph full score contains no pencil changes, nor are there any changes reflected in Balfour Gardiner’s later copy. Yet, the alterations Grainger made after the Frankfurt sound-trials fundamentally alter the effect of the three bars. From the original, rather gruff scoring and doubling of the lower brass in MG3/96-1 (Example 25) Grainger opts for a more traditional style of orchestration in MG5/73-2 and its printed compressed score equivalent (Example 26).
Example 25: Percy Grainger, rough low brass scoring, in *The Warriors*, MG3/96-1, bars 468-70 [Trombone 3 and Tuba part only; slurring omitted].

Example 26: Percy Grainger, revised low brass scoring, in *The Warriors*, MG5/73-2, bars 468-70 [Trombone 3 and Tuba part only].

It is not known exactly why Grainger altered the original tenor-bass trombone part to suit a standard tenor. Presumably it was due to performance considerations — or perhaps to cater for a particular performer — but ironically, the tenor-bass trombone was quite popular in Germany\(^\text{182}\) and was regularly used for the second and third parts in German orchestras. In addition, their third trombonist would often employ an instrument with a wide bore as well as the F trigger, and naturally these both favoured the lower register.

For the initial performances of *The Warriors* in the United States (and later performances in Australia, as shown by Figure 5 on the next page), Grainger certainly had access to at least simplex F Bass trombones,\(^\text{183}\) as suggested by the low third trombone parts in contemporaneous works, such the *In a Nutshell Suite*. Indeed, in the fourth movement of the suite — *The Gumsucker's March* — the third trombone in one instance doubles the tuba at the unison, and has accents, like in the earlier *Warriors* example (Example 27). American brass players were not averse to using B♭/F trombone either, their enthusiasm for such technical enhancements extending to the pioneering adoption of the B♭/F/E instrument many years later. Thus Grainger's decision to alter the part appears somewhat incongruous, and, given the universal adoption of the duplex instrument by modern trombonists — as well as the effectiveness of the original passage in the hands of the right player — the part as written in MG3/96-1 was deemed closer to Grainger's sound ideal.

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\(^{183}\) The Melbourne *Warriors* performance in 1926 definitely used a simplex bass trombone; this is quite clear from the photograph taken at the time — there is no additional tubing present.
Figure 5: Bernard Heinze and Percy Grainger direct the University Symphony Orchestra in the first Melbourne performance of *The Warriors* at Assembly Hall, October 1926. Note the use of Tenor Horns in the orchestra; their ms. parts still reside in the Music Library, The University of Melbourne. The guitars, however, were used for a performance of *Father and Daughter*. (Source: Grainger Museum)
Example 27: Percy Grainger, third trombone doubling bass tuba, in *The Gumsucker's March*, bars 168-9 [Third trombone and tuba parts only].

Articulating the Articulations

One of the more fascinating aspects of Grainger’s scoring in *The Warriors* is the use of simultaneous different dynamics, slurring and articulations within the same part or between like timbres to gain rich, new orchestral sounds. Mention has already been made how this was at times due to Grainger ‘correcting’ the parts during rehearsal to suit a particular performer, and the corrections being left in by accident when it came for the work to be published. Yet there are instances which fly in the face of such an assumption and indicate that Grainger was perhaps more daringly original than a casual glance at the score would reveal.

A case in point is the viola section at bars 40, 42 and 44 in the printed part. Here, rather than follow the detached articulation required in the other string parts, Grainger indicates a slur over the last beat with a staccato dot added to the last semiquaver (Example 28):


Whether Grainger expected this subtle difference to be appreciated within the context of a loud orchestral tutti is debatable. Certainly, this would explain why the different articulations are not present in either MG3/96-1 or the published score, yet one cannot argue with a similar problem that exists in bar 432. Here, in both the autograph full score and the parts, Grainger definitely wanted the sound of a slurred viola part and a detached violin part to be heard simultaneously (Example 29). This is despite the fact that the printed parts for Violins 1 and 2 at bars 432-3 have their last beat slurred and articulated as per the viola part.
Example 29: Percy Grainger, simultaneously slurred viola part and detached violin part, in *The Warriors*, MG3/96-1, bars 432-3 [Violin and viola parts only; violin staves reduced from two to one].

If this were not enough, the questionable slurs in bars 40-3 also appear in one of the earlier parts corrected by Grainger at Frankfurt (MG 3/96-2:15), but as this part contains other errors, it is difficult to ascertain exactly what the composer’s wishes were in this situation. Nevertheless, the fact remains that neither the autograph nor the published score employ the different articulations simultaneously at this point, and thus it must be assumed that at bar 40 the copyist was confused and accidentally miscopied the different articulations from the analogous section at bar 432.

This experience is not limited to the string section, either. The English Horn and Bass Oboe have similar timbral qualities in the low register and making an audible distinction between the two is not always easy. Having the parts marked at different dynamic levels when playing in unison is one clever way of delineating the sounds; at bar 76, for example, the English Horn is marked one dynamic higher than its lower counterpart, emphasising its reedier sound in that particular register (Example 30). As if to reinforce that difference, the printed part carries the word ‘Solo’. Although this may have appeared on the basis of a copyist’s assumption, namely that the louder part should be marked in such a way, the ‘solo’ indication is not altogether illogical and so it has been included in the new edition with cautionary brackets.

Example 30: Percy Grainger, different dynamics in unison double-reed parts, in *The Warriors* ed. Alessandro Servadei (English Horn and Bass Oboe parts only), bars 76-7.
Chapter 5: Conclusion

Undeniably *The Warriors* is a complex work, with a history and evolution sufficiently intricate and varied to pose a number of problems to the unwary researcher – one of them being overwhelmed, by the volume of manuscript and ancillary material maintained by its composer. However, it is not until order is imposed on this material that one realises that for all its complexity, there is an underlying sense of pragmatism behind *The Warriors*’ creation, revision and publication, and thus Grainger the performer overrides Grainger the composer. ¹⁸⁴ From its humble origins in ‘danceable music’, *The Warriors* refused to remain static in conception, evolving, changing and adapting to performing needs. After each successive concert, a list of changes would enter the score, but uniquely it was Grainger who could craft an off-stage brass section in a different key, meter and tempo to the rest of the orchestra and yet allow the conductor to leave this music out entirely should they for any reason whatsoever, dislike the effect. Only Grainger could introduce an entirely new percussion section to the orchestra, and have it doubled by the third piano so it could be left out if need be. Even the published score is intended to make the conductor’s task and interpretation more straightforward: in *The Warriors*, therefore, the musicians’ needs are always paramount. Ultimately, it is in this spirit of pragmatism that the new full score edition that accompanies this thesis, has been constructed.

There are, however, limitations imposed on a Masters thesis which preclude a completely exhaustive study, and despite its detail, the thesis and the accompanying edition of *The Warriors* only scratch the surface in terms of research. Four areas require further attention:

- **Analysis.** Although a small sketch-and-score study has been included in the third appendix, this needs to be examined in conjunction with a complete analysis of the work, using the one Grainger provided in the programme notes as its basis; only this will finally prove or disprove the claim that the work is ‘lacking in form’.

- **‘Tone cribbing’.** Grainger’s use of self-quotation is touched upon briefly in this thesis. It is a feature of his composing style hitherto unexplored. A brief survey during the course of this research established thematic links to other works of the period, including the *Marching Song of Democracy, Pastoral* and *Arrival Platform Humlet* (from the *In a Nutshell* Suite), and the *Lonely Desert Man Meets the Tent of the Happy Tribes*. These works in turn link to *Colonial Song*, the *Australian Up-Country Tune*, the *Tribute to Foster*, the *Warriors*’ *Room-Music*, the *Bridal Lullaby* and *The Power of Rome and the Christian Heart* – ten works in all. Understandably, this gives new meaning to the concept of an ‘all embracing artwork’ in the sense that it implies that Grainger’s works each form part of a greater whole.

¹⁸⁴ See footnote 141.
Reception history. Grainger's scrapbook was used as the primary source for most of the press reviews quoted in this thesis. Sadly, it is one of the Grainger Museum's more under-utilised resources. Occupying approximately ten microfilms,\textsuperscript{185} it contains a wealth of material, including annotated articles, reviews, press statements and spans Grainger's entire musical career, from the 1890s to 1961. By using these in conjunction with the extensive archive of concert programmes, \textit{The Warriors} would provide an excellent forum for the study of the reception history of Grainger as composer, performer and, in this instance, as conductor.

\textit{The Warriors 'Room-Music'}. Recently re-constructed for two pianos by Barry Ould, based on Grainger's confusing mass of sketch material, \textit{The Warriors 'Room-Music'} is an intriguing work that deserves a thesis in itself. Grainger's original intention was to take the slow elements of the original \textit{Warriors} music and create a new, chamber version, in much the same way \textit{Hill-Song} No. 2 was derived from No. 1. The relationship, if any, between the two \textit{Warriors} pieces, needs to be established once and for all, and Ould's edition needs to be compared to the two piano rolls of the room-music sketches made by the composer. More controversially, the possibility of \textit{The Warriors} and its room-music 'sequel' forming a gigantic multi-movement work with the \textit{Thanksgiving Song} – as suggested by one recently discovered sketch\textsuperscript{186} – is in need of clarification.

Although not covered by this thesis, the sources required to examine these important issues are covered by the bibliography included at the very end. Intended to be as exhaustive as possible, it includes a comprehensive discography, with \textit{Warriors} recordings as recent as the Deutsche Grammophon compact disc with John Eliot Gardiner conducting the London Philharmonic Orchestra. My own recording – included with this thesis – from the June 1995 performance by Geoffrey Simon and the University Symphony Orchestra is also offered as a record of the first performance of this new edition, the ultimate test of my work. It is hoped that it will inspire further interest in one of Grainger's greatest compositions – the quest for truth, therefore, has only just begun.

\textsuperscript{185} The originals are too fragile and brittle to be used by researchers.

\textsuperscript{186} Percy Grainger, Sketch for 'Tail Piece' of \textit{Thanksgiving Song}, SL.1 MG3/91-1a.
Bibliography (Works Consulted)

Primary Sources

All ms. music, letters, documents and recordings are from the Grainger Museum, The University of Melbourne unless otherwise stated.

Music

_The Warriors – Sketches_

-----. _Big Green Sketch-Book_. MS. SL1 MG 3/64-2:1-2 [incl. Index].
-----. _Handy Notebook_. Notes for the Foreword. MS. n.d.

_The Warriors ‘Room Music’ – Sketches_

Grainger, Percy  Sketches for "Warriors" _Room-music Work, 10-some and 14-some_. MS. MG 96-8:1-5.
-----. Sketches for "Warriors" _12-some_. MS. SL1 MG 3/66.

_The Warriors – Autograph Scores_


_The Warriors – Autograph Parts_

-----. _The Warriors. Lonely Desert Man_ additions to woodwind parts. MS. SL1 MG 7/44-1.
The Warriors – Other Autograph Manuscripts

Grainger, Percy The Warriors. ‘Dished-up’ for 2 pianos, 6 hands. MS. MG 73-3:1, 2.

The Warriors – Published Scores and Instrumental Parts

----- The Warriors. Instrumental Parts. Mainz: B. Schott’s Söhne, 1924.

Related Works – Autograph Manuscripts

Grainger, Percy Hill-Song No. 1. ‘Huddled’ Score. Copied by Isabel du Cane. MS. MG15/12-3.
----- Song of Solomon Part 2. MS. SL1 MG3-87-1.

Related Works – Published Scores


Documents

Grainger, Percy. ‘Advance’ Programme notes for “Waco, Texas [concert].” 2 page typescript. 2 slightly different copies. Bay 4 Box 44. n.d. [presumably 1958]


-----. Daybook. 1911. MS. Bay 4 Box 22.

-----. Daybook. 1913. MS. Bay 4 Box 22.

-----. Diary. 1958. MS. Bay 4 Box 28.

-----. Draft for “(2nd Adelaide Concert, Sept. 18).” MS. Bay 4 Box 44. n.d. [presumably 1926]

-----. Draft for “Hollywood Bowl [concert].” MS. Bay 4 Box 44. n.d. [presumably 1928]

-----. Draft for “(1st Melbourne Concert, Oct. 23).” MS. Bay 4 Box 44. n.d. [presumably 1926]

-----. Draft of Programme Notes for The Warriors. MS. Bay 4 Box 44, n.d.


-----. Legend to “Percy Aldridge Grainger’s published Compositions, 1st editions.” 2 page typescript, 2 November 1938.

-----. “Letter to Klimsch” Notebook. MS. 1901.

-----. “List of Concertos and Grainger Works for Piano & Orchestra for Mr. Leopold Stokowski to select from (for Hollywood Bowl, July 15, ’45)” 1 page typescript. 2 slightly different copies. Bay 4 Box 44. c. 1945.


---. Photos of Rose Grainger and 3 short accounts of her life by herself in her own hand-writing. Frankfurt am-Main: [published privately], 1923.
---. Scrapbook [Newspaper clippings, concert reviews, articles, miscellaneous].
---. Sketches for "The Life of My Mother and Son." 75 page typescript. 1922-30.

Letters


---. Typescript letter to Percy Grainger, 26 August 1916.
---. Typescript letter to Percy Grainger, 19 October 1916.
---. Typescript letter to Percy Grainger 3 April 1917.
---. Letter to Percy Grainger, 6 January 1919.
---. Typescript letter to Percy Grainger, 13 June 1932.
---. Typescript letter to Percy Grainger, 22 September 1937.
---. Typescript letter to Percy Grainger, 27 September 1937.
---. Typescript letter to Percy Grainger, 28 September 1939.
---. Typescript letter to Antonia Morse, 12 April 1941.
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Delius, Frederick. Letter to Percy Grainger, 5 October 1916.
---. Letter to Percy Grainger, 16 December 1922.


---. Letter to Basil Cameron, 21 April 1952.
---. Letter to J.C. Deagan, 30 March 1916.
---. Letter to Frederick Delius, 26 April 1914.
---. Letter to Frederick Delius, 14 September 1916.
---. Letter to Isabel du Cane, 14 September 1914.
---. Letter to Editor of the American Vegetarian, 13 October 1946.
---. Letter to Kitty Eisdell [Parker], 8 July 1958.
---. Letter to Balfour Gardiner, 3 May 1922.
Letter to Rose Grainger, 8 January 1920.
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Typescript letter to Charles Volkert, Willy Strecker and Max Steffens, 17 October 1929.
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**Recordings**


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Fennell, Frederick. Personal Interview. 16 January 1995.


Television Programmes

Radio Programmes


Recordings – The Warriors


Recordings – Related Works


----- In a Nutshell Suite. 'Dished-Up' for Two Pianos. With Penelope Thwaites and John Lavender, pianos. Pearl, SHE CD 9611, 1989.


Appendix 1: Annotated Bibliography of *The Warriors* Sources

Sketchbooks

MG 15/4-16:2 2 pages of music sketches, in pencil. 23.5 x 17.5 cm. No title or imprint. Dated 22 March 1913. Margins appear to be trimmed. Four bars on page 2, upside down, seem unrelated. Sketches were found together with two further pages of ink and pencil sketches (MG 15/4-16:3-4), undated, which appear on different manuscript paper. Presumably these are later scoring sketches.

SL1 MG3/64-2:1-2 *Big Green Sketch-Book*, 46 pages of pencil sketches, 24 x 29.5 cm, bound with dark olive green cover, variously dated between 1911 and 1916. Ms. index (7 pages) interpolated and ts. insert (loose), both presumably by Grainger (n.d.). Sketches for *The Warriors* are on pages 31-46.

MG15/4-16:3 2 pages of ink and pencil scoring sketches, 23 x 29.5 cm, unlabelled and undated. No imprint. Found together with sketch dated March 1913 [MG15/4-16:2], but on different manuscript paper. Consists mainly of 3 and 4 stave entries. Some staves are blank.

MG15/4-16:4 1 page of pencil scoring sketches, 24 x 14.5 cm. Page torn, mostly empty. Two staves of music written upside down (imprint “R.C.1” appears on top of page). Found with MG15/4-16:2 and 3, but is of different provenance yet again. No date.

MG3/96-7:1-19 50 pages of scoring sketches for *The Warriors*, 33 x 26.5 cm. Inserted are three sheets, unlabelled and undated (MG3/96-7:2-3), of corrections to full score manuscript (MG3/96-1), presumably for Schott & Co., Mainz.

MG3/96-7:6, 1, 7, 13

MG3/96-7:10, 9, 4, 5, 14
17 pages of pencil and ink scoring sketches, unlabelled but consecutively numbered in groups of four (1-4, 5-8, 9-12, 13-16) with one extra (17); to this are added four pages of related material numbered 1-4. G. S[chirmer] N[ew] Y[ork] No. 2 12-stave manuscript paper. Undated.

MG3/96-7:8
4 pages of pencil and ink scoring sketches, unlabelled and unpaginated. G.S.N.Y. No. 4 16-stave manuscript paper labelled “Made in Germany”. Undated.

MG3/96-7:12
4 pages of pencil and ink scoring sketches, unlabelled. G.S.N.Y. No. 2 12-stave manuscript paper. Undated.

MG3/96-7:15, 11
7 pages of pencil and ink scoring sketches, unlabelled, but numbered in varied groupings (1-3, 1-4). G.S.N.Y. No. 5 18-stave manuscript paper labelled “Made in Germany”. MG3/96-7:11 bears the following inscription on the first page: “San Francisco Dec 21. 1916”; to this is added “corrected Dec 22. 1916” by Grainger on page two. MG3/96-7:15 is undated.

The Autograph Full Score

MG3/96-1
68 pages, G.S.N.Y. No. 14 36-stave manuscript paper with extra staves written at top and bottom by the composer. Bound with cloth cover, 55 x 36 cm, and has embossed title The Warriors. Inside cover contains envelope, now empty, labelled “2nd conductor’s score”. Programme notes from second and third performances pasted onto front fly-leaves. Programme note entitled “First Performance” is pasted opposite page 1 with ms. corrections; presumably this is a draft. Score is undated except final page which bears the following inscription: “Ended, San Francisco, December 22, 1916”.

A photostat negative exists of this score, MG5/73-1.
The Autograph Parts

MG3/96-2:1 to 28

Set of orchestral parts, incomplete and undated. Not in Grainger's hand but parts labelled by him “corrected F'turr.” Address stamp is “309 West 92nd St., New York.”

1. to 7. Violin I (7 desks)
8. to 14. Violin II (7 desks)
15. to 19. Viola (5 desks)
20. to 23. Cello (4 desks)
24. to 26. Double Bass (3 desks)

The first desk of each part is missing. Kay Dreyfus’ catalogue, *Music by Percy Aldridge Grainger*, cites the No. 4 bass part as also missing but this has since been found by the author in the Orchestral Collection of the Music Library, The University of Melbourne, May 1995. It is not yet accessioned.

27. Kettle-Drum, Side Drum & Cymbals. Address stamp as per string parts.

28. Bass Drum & Cymbals part, not in Grainger’s hand, address stamp absent.

These parts were found with the string parts in Filing Cabinet 2, Grainger Museum.

MG3/96-3:1 to 3

Envelope labelled “Old percussion parts (since altered)”. No date, but address on the front of the parts is “680 Madison Ave / N York City,” written in Grainger’s hand.

1. Steel Marimba. Front page states that it is the “original version for 2 players only” by Grainger. “I, II” have been added underneath “2 players” in right corner. Some ms. corrections, presumably in Grainger’s hand.

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187 Most of Grainger’s gifts to Balfour Gardiner date from this year, including a photostat positive copy of the two piano/six hand version of *The Warriors* (June 1922). See MG5/87-14:1.2.
2. Steel Marimba. Exact copy of above except part is marked “III,” despite the part being for two players, and contains no ms. corrections.

3. Wooden Marimba. Labelled “original part for 1 player only)” by Grainger.

MG3/96-4:1

Envelope labelled “special percussion instruments parts of Warriors.” The parts in question are listed on the front cover, however only the Low Staff Bells part is actually inside. No date except address stamp is “309 West 92nd St., New York,” replacing earlier handwritten address of “680 Madison Ave, New York City.” Cf. MG3/96-6:2 and 2a.

MG3/96-5:1 to 4

Additional percussion parts in Grainger’s hand, undated, but found together with photostat material in Filing Cabinet 1.190 Address stamp for each (except MG3/96-5:4) is “7 Cromwell Place / White Plains, N.Y.,” replacing earlier stamp, which is crossed out.

1. Steel Marimba (Players 1 and 2). Extra sheet loosely inserted between title page and first page, labelled “Steel Marimba 3rd player,” although the third part is separate.

2. Steel Marimba (Player 3)

3. High Staff Bells (Players 1 and 2)

4. Low Staff Bells, in another hand. Address stamp as per MG3/96-4:1, which this part is paired up with in actual performance.

MG3/96-6:1 to 5

Some undated photostat autograph parts, found together with MG3/96-5.191 MG3/96-6:1 and 1a are labelled “THE WARRIORS / Orchestra and 3 Pianos,” whereas MG3/96-6:2 to 4 add “tuneful percussion” to the subtitle:

1, 1a. Low Staff Bells (2 copies). Part 1a is marked “part for ELLA’S practising” by Grainger.

2, 2a. High Staff Bells or “High Swiss Hand-Bells” (2 copies). Part 2a is also marked “part for Ella’s practising” by Grainger.

3. Steel Marimba or Vibraharp\textsuperscript{192} (Players 1 and 2).
4. Steel Marimba or Vibraharp (Player 3).
Another part, found with 1-4., is a photostat of the equivalent printed part (cf. MG1/99-1-2:36) with a ms. frontispiece. Undated but presumably comes from after 1924, when the parts were published:
5. Piano III.


The Autograph and Published
"Dished-Up" Two Piano / Six Hands Version

MG5/87-14:1,2 Ms. parts for two pianos, six hands. 28.5 x 35.5 cm, stitched into grey cover with green spine. Photostat positive. The second page of each is inscribed "This copy with thankful love to Balfour [Gardiner] from Percy. June 5, 1922." The first piano part also contains a photostat copy of the original programme note from MG3/96-1. Work is stated as being derived from the version "for orchestra, 2 pianos and tuneful percussion." In MG5/87-14:1 to this is added "(bells, bars & tubes)."

A photostat negative exists of this ms., MG5/73-3:1,2.

MG1/99-2:1,2 Parts for two pianos, six hands. B. Schott’s Söhne, Mainz: B.S.S.31024 [© 1923, Percy Grainger]. Front is inscribed "1st edition, fall 1923." by the composer. 5 sets of two copies each.

\textsuperscript{192} Vibraharp is simply the American name for the Vibraphone, an instrument often used in modern performances to replace the Steel Marimba. MG3/96-1 offers Boosey & Hawkes’ Resonaphone as the preferred alternative.
The Published Parts


Set of orchestral parts. B. Schott's Söhne, Mainz: B.S.S.31023b [© 1924, Percy Grainger].

1-2. Flutes 1, 2
3. Piccolo
4-5. Oboes 1, 2
6. English Horn
7. Bass-Oboe or Heckelphone (ad. lib.)
8-9. Clarinets 1, 2
10. Bass Clarinet
11-12. Bassoons 1, 2
13. Double-Bassoon
14-19. Horns 1-6
20-23. Trumpets 1-4
24-26. Trombones 1-3
27. Bass Tuba
28. Kettle-Drums [2 players]
29. Percussion [3 players]
30. Glockenspiel
31. Tubular Bells
32. Xylophone
33. Wooden Marimba [2 players]

34-36. Pianos 1-3. Piano 1 has a ts. frontispiece containing the programme and analysis that would appear in the published compressed score. An additional photostat copy of the third piano part exists, MG3/96-6:5.

37. Celeste

38. Harp 1. Some ms. corrections and pedalling, not in Grainger's hand. Two ms. inserts, also in another hand, with simplified notation intended for bars 276-82; now loose, but with evidence of previous mounting on part itself.


42-43. Violins 1, 2
44. Viola
45. Cello
46. Bass

The parts for staff bells, steel marimba, bell and bar pianos appear not to have been printed.

The Autograph Compressed Score

MG5/73-2 Compressed full score,¹⁹³ large format 48.5 x 29.5 cm. Photostat negative. Final page dated “S.S. Maunganui, Pacific Ocean, September 26, 1924.” 89 pages,¹⁹⁴ some silverfish damage. Envelope is marked by Grainger “Original score mailed to [Willy] Strecker, October, 1924.”

The Published Compressed Full Score

MG1/99-1-1 Compressed full score. Title simultaneously translated into the German, „Die Krieger.“ B. Schott’s Söhne, Mainz: B.S.S. 31023 [© 1926, Percy Grainger]. 4 copies.

Additional Published Conductor’s Scores
[Found with Published Parts]

MG1/99-1-2:40 2nd Conductor’s Score. Only intended to cover bar 274 until end of off-stage brass section. Ts. note on front page. Brass parts transposed. B. Schott’s Söhne, Mainz: B.S.S.31023b [© 1924, Percy Grainger].

MG1/99-1-2:41 3rd Conductor’s Score. Only intended to cover bars 274 till 372. General pattern of ‘tuneful percussion’ ostinati indicated, with instrumental cues as necessary. Ts. note on front page, reproduced in part on page 68 of the published compressed score. B. Schott’s Söhne, Mainz: B.S.S.31023b [© 1924, Percy Grainger].

¹⁹³ Not “Full Score,” as in Dreyfus, Music of Percy Grainger, 209.
¹⁹⁴ Kay Dreyfus states that page 1 is missing (Dreyfus, Music of Percy Grainger, 209), however this was later found in 1994 by the author.
Appendix 2: Tables

Sketchbooks

Table 1: Chronology of sketches for *The Warriors*, in the Big Green Sketch-book (SL1 MG3/64-2:1).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Index Label</th>
<th>Length (bars)</th>
<th>Date (if known)</th>
<th>Grainger's Commentary (if any)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>AA</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>24/11/1913</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>CC</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>n.d.</td>
<td>&quot;Tutti feeling&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>CC</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>29/12/1913</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>CC</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>29/12/1913</td>
<td>&quot;The very beginning&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>CC</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>n.d. (29/12?)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>CCC</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>n.d. (29/12?)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>CC</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>n.d. (29/12?)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>CC</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>29/12/1913</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>CC</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>29/12/1913</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>CC</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>29/12/1913</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34</td>
<td>CC</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>n.d.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34</td>
<td>CC</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>n.d.</td>
<td>&quot;Sudden outburst&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35</td>
<td>CC</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>n.d.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35</td>
<td>CC</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>31/12/1913</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35</td>
<td>CC</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>n.d. (31/12?)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35</td>
<td>CC</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>n.d. (31/12?)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36</td>
<td>CC</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>n.d. (31/12?)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36</td>
<td>CC</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>31/12/1913</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36</td>
<td>CC</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>n.d.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37</td>
<td>CC</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1/1/1914</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37</td>
<td>CC</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>3/1/1914</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37</td>
<td>CCC</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3/1/1914</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37</td>
<td>CC</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4/1/1914</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37-8</td>
<td>CC</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>1-4/1/1914</td>
<td>&quot;Final climax of <em>The Warriors</em> (?)&quot; (p. 37)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;Marching-Song bit to end&quot; (p. 38)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38</td>
<td>CC</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>n.d. (4/1?)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39</td>
<td>CC</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>n.d. (4/1?)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39</td>
<td>CC</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>n.d. (4/1?)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39</td>
<td>CC</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>n.d. (4/1?)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>CC</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4/1/1914</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>CC</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6/1/1914</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>CC</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>n.d.</td>
<td>&quot;Sketch for end of <em>The Warriors</em>.&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>CC</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>n.d.</td>
<td>&quot;final chord maybe&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41</td>
<td>CC</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>18/11/1914</td>
<td>&quot;Last year's summer bit&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41</td>
<td>CCC</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>19/11/1914</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41</td>
<td>CC</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>n.d.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41</td>
<td>CC</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>n.d.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41</td>
<td>CC</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>n.d.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41</td>
<td>CC</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>n.d.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42</td>
<td>CC</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>n.d.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bar</td>
<td>Alteration</td>
<td>Bar</td>
<td>Alteration</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----</td>
<td>---------------------</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>---------------------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td><strong>pizz.</strong></td>
<td>126</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>[Only cue number</td>
<td>160</td>
<td><strong>arco</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>listed. It may refer</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>to the divisi that</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>occurs in this bar.]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>141</td>
<td><strong>Presto</strong></td>
<td>266</td>
<td><strong>arco</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>233</td>
<td><strong>A♭</strong></td>
<td>416</td>
<td>()) <strong>out</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td><strong>B♭</strong></td>
<td>322</td>
<td><strong>E♭</strong> [crossed out]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>D</strong></td>
<td>445</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>F ?</strong></td>
<td>387</td>
<td><strong>Tutti</strong> [ink]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>B♭</strong></td>
<td>116</td>
<td><strong>rhythm</strong> [red</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Tutti</strong></td>
<td>403</td>
<td>pencil]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Autograph Parts

Table 2: Percy Grainger, ms. list of emendations to *The Warriors*, MG3/96-7:3
[List of orchestral cues on page 2 omitted; listed in pencil unless otherwise stated]
### Violin 2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bar</th>
<th>Alteration</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>41</td>
<td>B♭</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43</td>
<td>[ink]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>141</td>
<td>Presto senza sord. [ink]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>160</td>
<td>arco</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>180</td>
<td>F#</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[initially A#, crossed out in blue pencil]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>212</td>
<td>B♭</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>215</td>
<td>E</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>223</td>
<td>$\frac{3}{2}$</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bar</th>
<th>Alteration</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>225</td>
<td>$\frac{2}{2}$ (.) [cut?]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>248</td>
<td>E♭</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>252</td>
<td>$\times$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>278</td>
<td>mf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>424</td>
<td>[illegible]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>422</td>
<td>E♭ [blue pencil]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>337</td>
<td>Linger</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Violas

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bar</th>
<th>Alteration</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>43</td>
<td>[ink]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>arco</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>99</td>
<td>G#</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>133-134</td>
<td>con sord. (mutes on) [bold numbers in ink]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>141</td>
<td>Presto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>226</td>
<td>C♭</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>219</td>
<td>$\text{ff}$ [initially bar 209, crossed out in blue pencil]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>317</td>
<td>C♭</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>322</td>
<td>E♭</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>341</td>
<td>C♭</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bar</th>
<th>Alteration</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>245</td>
<td>mutes on</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[345?]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>387</td>
<td>♩</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>395</td>
<td>&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>403</td>
<td>pizz.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>364</td>
<td>♩</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>369</td>
<td>&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>422</td>
<td>G</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>428-435</td>
<td>♩ ♩</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>442</td>
<td>♩</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>467</td>
<td>A</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## Cellos

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bar</th>
<th>Alteration</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>77-78</td>
<td>solo $p$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>78-80</td>
<td>(\text{\textbullet})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100</td>
<td>out</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>115</td>
<td>\textit{lento} [circled, blue pencil]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>117</td>
<td>\textit{senza sord.}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>122</td>
<td>\textit{Linger} *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>138</td>
<td>(\text{\textbullet})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>140</td>
<td>A(\textbf{b})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>180</td>
<td>\textit{\textbullet} [blue pencil]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>219</td>
<td>(\text{\textbullet})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>232</td>
<td>(\text{\textbullet})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>246</td>
<td>All</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>248-9</td>
<td>[illegible]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>269</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## Basses

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bar</th>
<th>Alteration</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>118</td>
<td>mutes on</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>126</td>
<td>E(\textbf{b})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>142</td>
<td>[blue pencil]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>204</td>
<td>(\text{\frac{2}{2}})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>221</td>
<td>\textit{arco}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>270</td>
<td>\textit{arco}</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## Flutes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bar</th>
<th>Alteration</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>299</td>
<td>mutes on soli</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>303</td>
<td>E(\textbf{b})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>333</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>414</td>
<td>B(\textbf{b})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>304</td>
<td>All mutes on [red pencil]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[Last bar?]</td>
<td>\textit{gliss} [cf. cellos]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**last 3 bars**

see score [red pencil, circled in blue pencil] [It is not known what Grainger meant by this last correction. There is no evidence of change or anything problematic in the last three bars of the work.]
Table 3:  
Percy Grainger, additional emendations to *The Warriors*, with contextual commentary, MG3/96-7:2, Grainger Museum.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Instrument</th>
<th>Bar(s)</th>
<th>Problem and / or solution</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bass Oboe</td>
<td>157-8</td>
<td>Not readily apparent, however it may be a possible notational confusion with the English Horn part. At first glance, this part appears to be a semitone higher than that of the bass oboe but in fact sounds an augmented fourth above.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clarinets</td>
<td>105-11</td>
<td>Grainger notes “F# &amp; no b.” All Gb’s visibly erased and corrected in black ink to F#’s.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clarinets</td>
<td>121-122</td>
<td>Grainger writes “in C major (all h).” Previous version illegible. Changed as stated, in blue ink.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Horns</td>
<td>223</td>
<td><em>mf</em> altered to <em>mp</em> in all six horn parts. In blue pencil.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trombone 1</td>
<td>223</td>
<td>Last 3/4 of bar missing. Not corrected. In blue pencil.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trumpet 2</td>
<td>236</td>
<td>Not immediately obvious; presumably this concerns a missing accidental. In blue pencil.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Violas</td>
<td>395</td>
<td>Grainger marks this entry with a ?, and with good reason – no alterations seem to have been made. Possibly he meant to write bar 394 or 396, where there are clef changes in the part which potentially could cause confusion for the copyist. In blue pencil.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4:  
Percy Grainger, major alterations to MG3/96-3:1 and 2 [Steel Marimba], in *The Warriors*, Grainger Museum.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bar(s)</th>
<th>Original part</th>
<th>Later alteration</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>28-30</td>
<td>Lower part in canon at the octave, beginning half a bar later.</td>
<td>Moved back to be in unison with upper parts.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>160-9</td>
<td>Ostinato of upper part doubled at the lower octave.</td>
<td>Now doubles secondary ostinato in staff bells/wooden marimba part beginning in the bar before.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bar(s)</td>
<td>Original part</td>
<td>Later alteration</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------</td>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>-----------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>197 &amp; 199</td>
<td>Semitone chromatic change accented by octave crotchets on last beat.</td>
<td>Changed to double upper part in the octave below, beginning at bar 196.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>263-4</td>
<td>As above.</td>
<td>As above.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>399-401</td>
<td>Part doubles glockenspiel and high staff bell part.</td>
<td>Doubles staff bells part from bar 396 onwards.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>409-16</td>
<td>Lower part in canon at the fifth, beginning one beat later.</td>
<td>Shifted back to double upper part.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>469-70</td>
<td>Glissando covering entire instrument’s range, as per wooden marimba part.</td>
<td>Crossed out in MG3/96-1.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5: Percy Grainger, major alterations to MG3/96-3:3 [Wooden Marimba], in *The Warriors*, Grainger Museum.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bar(s)</th>
<th>Original part</th>
<th>Later alteration</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>170-3</td>
<td>Ostinato rather than solo; also doubled B naturals in first violin part.</td>
<td>Doubles xylophone in the lower octave.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>382-420</td>
<td>Countermelody (first presented in bar 370 by the celesta) played in triplets.</td>
<td>Partially crossed out in MG3/96-1; new part pasted in at bar 409 to double other ‘tuneful percussion’.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>451-66</td>
<td>Improvised seventh chords.</td>
<td>Part moved ahead five bars and also doubled at the octave above.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6: Percy Grainger, major alterations to MG3/96-4:1 [Low Staff Bells master copy], in *The Warriors*, Grainger Museum.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bar(s)</th>
<th>Original part</th>
<th>Later alteration</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>39-43</td>
<td>Doubles glockenspiel and xylophone parts.</td>
<td>Retained in MG3/96-1; transferred to Bell Piano in compressed score.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>106-10</td>
<td>Doubles upper two lines of steel / wooden marimba.</td>
<td>As above.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

195 Bars 468-9 in this part; the usual bar is ‘missing’ between cues 435 and 443 (really 444).
196 Bars 450-465 in this part; cf. note 111.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bar(s)</th>
<th>Original part</th>
<th>Later alteration</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>163-169</td>
<td>Reinforces 'tuneful percussion' ostinato.</td>
<td>As above.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>406-8</td>
<td>Pattern begins on second beat of bar.</td>
<td>Shifted back $\frac{1}{2}$ bar into bar 405; not physically changed, but three bar segment is circled with comment &quot;$\frac{1}{2}$ bar earlier&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 7:** Percy Grainger, major alterations to MG3/96-5:1 [Steel Marimba, 1st and 2nd players, master copy], in *The Warriors*, Grainger Museum.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bar(s)</th>
<th>Original part</th>
<th>Later alteration</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>83-5</td>
<td>Octave lower than that in MG3/96-1.</td>
<td>Transposed up 1 octave in MG3/96-1; broken arpeggiated chords substituted in the compressed score.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>133-5</td>
<td>Octave B naturals.</td>
<td>New part pasted in MG3/96-1 with lower octave omitted; bar 135 missing entirely.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 8:** Percy Grainger, major alterations to MG3/96-5:3 [High Staff Bells, master copy], in *The Warriors*, Grainger Museum.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bar(s)</th>
<th>Original part</th>
<th>Later alteration</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>39-43</td>
<td>Partially doubles the steel marimba at the upper octave.</td>
<td>Retained in MG3/96-1; transferred to Bell Piano in compressed score along with Low Staff Bells part.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>106-10</td>
<td>Doubles upper line of steel / wooden marimba.</td>
<td>As above.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>163-169</td>
<td>Reinforces upper line of 'tuneful percussion' ostinato.</td>
<td>As above.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>262</td>
<td>Doubles the lower line of glockenspiel part.</td>
<td>Retained in MG3/96-1 with additional bar (263), crossed out but not in actual part. Omitted entirely in compressed score.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The Autograph and Published
“Dished-Up” Two Piano / Six Hands Version

**Table 9:** Percy Grainger, dating of first piano part, in *The Warriors*
[two piano/six hands version], MG5/87-14:1, Grainger Museum.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Bars</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Date (1922)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>1-16</td>
<td>Hotel Multnomah, Portland, Oregon</td>
<td>March 31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>17-36</td>
<td>&quot;&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>37-60</td>
<td>In train, San Francisco to Stockton / Stockton Hotel, Stockton, California</td>
<td>April 20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5-8</td>
<td>61-138</td>
<td>Hotel Stockton</td>
<td>&quot;&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9-19</td>
<td>139-430</td>
<td>&quot;&quot;</td>
<td>April 21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>430-44</td>
<td>&quot;&quot;</td>
<td>April 22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>445-70</td>
<td>&quot;&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 10:** Percy Grainger, dating of second piano part, in *The Warriors*
[two piano/six hands version], MG5/87-14:2, Grainger Museum.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Part</th>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Bars</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Date (1922)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Primo</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1-26</td>
<td>[Hotel] Multnomah, Portland [Oregon]</td>
<td>March 31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;&quot;</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>27-55</td>
<td>&quot;&quot;</td>
<td>April 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;&quot;</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>56-85</td>
<td>&quot;&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;&quot;</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>86-111</td>
<td>In train, Portland to Spokane [Washington]</td>
<td>April 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;&quot;</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>355-74</td>
<td>&quot;&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;&quot;</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>375-95</td>
<td>&quot;&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;&quot;</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>396-423</td>
<td>&quot;&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;&quot;</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>424-41</td>
<td>Greenwood’s home, Spokane</td>
<td>April 7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;&quot;</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>112-37</td>
<td>&quot;&quot;</td>
<td>April 8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;&quot;</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>442-67</td>
<td>&quot;&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;&quot;</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>325-54</td>
<td>&quot;&quot;</td>
<td>April 9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;&quot;</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>468-70</td>
<td>&quot;&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;&quot;</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>138-55</td>
<td>&quot;&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;&quot;</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>156-80</td>
<td>&quot;&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;&quot;</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>263-85</td>
<td>&quot;&quot;</td>
<td>April 10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;&quot;</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>286-303</td>
<td>&quot;&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;&quot;</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>304-24</td>
<td>&quot;&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;&quot;</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>181-203</td>
<td>St. Francis Hotel, San Francisco</td>
<td>April 15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;&quot;</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>204-27</td>
<td>&quot;&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bar(s)</td>
<td>Player(s)</td>
<td>Expression / Explanation in Autograph Score</td>
<td>Expression / Explanation in Published Edition</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------------</td>
<td>---------------------------------------------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>1-3</td>
<td>FAST (1st SPEED) / ( \text{j} ) = between 144 and 152</td>
<td>Vivace / (Tempo 1\text{\textsuperscript{ma}}) / ( \text{j} ) = about 144</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>accompanyingly</td>
<td>quasi accompagnamento</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>piercingly</td>
<td>piercingly / hervorstechend</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25-6</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>much to the fore</td>
<td>much to the fore / stark hervorstechend</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>(Turn)</td>
<td>Turn / Wenden</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 11: Percy Grainger, 'Blue-Eyed' English vs. Italian / German expression markings and instructions, in *The Warriors*, MG5-87-14:1,2 and MG\text{\textsuperscript{199}}-2:1,2 [Turn indications omitted where autograph and published versions do not match; numbering of bars after 443 corrected]
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Line</th>
<th>Notes</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>German</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>to the fore</td>
<td>to the fore / hervortretend</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31-2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>sustaining pedal</td>
<td>Sustaining (sostenuto) pedal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>(off)</td>
<td>[unchanged]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36-7</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>louden lots</td>
<td>molto cresc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37-8</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>gliss. on white keys</td>
<td>gliss. on white keys / (weiße Tasten)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>detached</td>
<td>non legato</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>52</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>detached</td>
<td>non legato</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>53</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>detached</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>54</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>skittishly</td>
<td>giocoso</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>56</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>louden slightly</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>59</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>louden</td>
<td>cresc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>59</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>as short as possible</td>
<td>staccatiss.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60</td>
<td>2, 3</td>
<td>louden</td>
<td>cresc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>62</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>very short &amp; sharp</td>
<td>marc. e staccatissimo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>62</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>louden hugely</td>
<td>cresc. possible</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>62-3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>very roughly and harshly</td>
<td>very roughly and harshly / (sehr derb)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>64</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>cresc. possible [to conform to Piano 1]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>louden</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>64</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>louden lots</td>
<td>cresc. possible</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>74</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>feelingly</td>
<td>espress.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>78</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>louden lots</td>
<td>molto cresc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>85</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>[louden] lots</td>
<td>[cresc.] molto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>87</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>feelingly, calmly</td>
<td>espress. tranquillo / (l'istesso tempo)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>89</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>feelingly</td>
<td>espress.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>90-1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>feelingly, calmly</td>
<td>espress. tranquillo (l'istesso tempo)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>90-1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Bass slightly to the fore</td>
<td>Bass slightly to the fore / Bass etwas hervortretend</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>91</td>
<td>1, 2</td>
<td>louden</td>
<td>cresc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>92</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>louden</td>
<td>cresc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>93</td>
<td>1, 2</td>
<td>louden</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>93</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>(R.H. to the fore)</td>
<td>(R.H. to the fore) / (R.H. hervortretend)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(95-)96</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>accompanyingly</td>
<td>quasi accompagnamento</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>96</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>louden</td>
<td>cresc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>98</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>to the fore</td>
<td>to the fore / (hervortretend)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>101</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>lightly</td>
<td>leggiero</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>105-6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>slowly louden lots</td>
<td>poco a poco cresc. possible</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>[1/2 beat earlier]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>106-7</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>louden hugely bit by bit</td>
<td>poco a poco cresc. possible</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>108</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>louden hugely</td>
<td>cresc. possible</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>111</td>
<td>2,3</td>
<td>long</td>
<td>lunga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>111-2</td>
<td>1-3</td>
<td>SLOWER</td>
<td>Sostenuto / (J = about 66)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>113-4</td>
<td>1-3</td>
<td>slow off</td>
<td>molto ritard.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>115</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>SLOW (2nd speed) (more than double as slow as 1st speed; gracefully, waywardly. J = about 50)</td>
<td>Lento (Tempo II[Ω]) (more than double as slow as 1st speed; gracefully, waywardly) / (J = about 50)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>115</td>
<td>2-3</td>
<td>SLOW (2nd speed) (more than double as slow as 1st speed; gracefully, waywardly. = about 50)</td>
<td>Lento (more than double as slow as 1st speed; gracefully, waywardly) / (Tempo II[Ω]) (J = about 50)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>119-21</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Top voice to the fore (louder than 1st pianist)</td>
<td>Top voice to the fore (louder [sic] than 1st pianist) / obere Stimme hervortretend</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>122</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>very feelingly</td>
<td>molto espress.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>122</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>* These tiny pauses denote only the very slightest lingering</td>
<td>* Tiny pauses only</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>126</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>(dont louden in R.H.)</td>
<td>non cresc. in R.H.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>126</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>L.H. much to the fore (much louder than 2nd &amp; 3rd pianists)</td>
<td>L.H. much to the fore (much louder than 2nd &amp; 3rd pianists) / L.H. sehr hervortretend</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>128</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Press down silently</td>
<td>Press down silently / (lautos niederdrücken)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>128</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>(Sustaining pedal)</td>
<td>Sustaining (Sostenuto) pedal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>130</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>feelingly</td>
<td>dolce</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>131-2</td>
<td>1-3</td>
<td>slow off</td>
<td>Ritard.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>132</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>soften</td>
<td>dim.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>132</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2 octs up</td>
<td>2 octs up / (2 Okt. höher)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ID</td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Action</td>
<td>Note</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>131-5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>* In absence of sustaining pedal, wedge down these keys. / ※ Wenn kein Sostenuto Pedal vorhanden, diese Tasten festecken</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>133-7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>strike the piano strings of these notes with mallets wound with wool, such as Deagan’s № 2019</td>
<td>Strike the piano strings of these notes with soft wool-wound mallets, such as Deagan’s № 2019 / Wenn möglich, Klaviersaiten mit weichen Marimba Schlägeln anschlagen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>133</td>
<td>1-3</td>
<td>Less slow again</td>
<td>meno rit.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>134</td>
<td>1-3</td>
<td>slacken lots</td>
<td>molto rit.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>138</td>
<td>1-3</td>
<td>2nd SPEED (SLOW)</td>
<td>Tempo l{lodo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>139</td>
<td>1-3</td>
<td>slacken lots</td>
<td>molto rit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>141</td>
<td>1-3</td>
<td>1st SPEED ($\updownarrow$ = about 152)</td>
<td>Tempo l{lma ($\updownarrow$ = about 144)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>145</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>lightly</td>
<td>leggero</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>145</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>(no pedal)</td>
<td>senza ped.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>152</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>detached</td>
<td>non legato</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>154-5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8$^{ve}$ lower</td>
<td>8$^{va}$ basso</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>156</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>louden slightly</td>
<td>poco cresc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>158-9</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>R.H. louder than L.H.</td>
<td>R.H. louder than L.H. / R.H. stärker als L.H.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>158-9</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>louden slightly</td>
<td>cresc. poco a poco</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>160</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>to the fore / (louder than 1$^{st}$ pianist)</td>
<td>to the fore hervortretend / (louder than 1$^{st}$ pianist)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>160</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>accompanyingly</td>
<td>quasi accompagnamento</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>162</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>louden slightly</td>
<td>poco cresc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>163</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>louden lots</td>
<td>molto cresc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>164</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>louden lots</td>
<td>molto cresc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>164</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>to the fore</td>
<td>to the fore hervortretend</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>165</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>louden lots</td>
<td>molto cresc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>168</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2 octs. up</td>
<td>2 Okt. höher / 2 octs. up</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>169</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2 octs. up</td>
<td>– [but covered by dotted line]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>174</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>detached</td>
<td>non legato</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>180</td>
<td>1-3</td>
<td>(same speed)</td>
<td>L’istesso tempo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>180</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Top voice to the fore</td>
<td>Top voice to the fore / Obere Stimme hervortretend</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>180</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>(Use pedal)</td>
<td>con ped.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>184</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>(don't louden)</td>
<td>non cresc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>184</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>(no pedal)</td>
<td>senza ped.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>184</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>To the fore</td>
<td>to the fore / hervortretend</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>186</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>lightly</td>
<td>leggero</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>186</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>piercingly</td>
<td>piercingly / hervortretend</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>188-9</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>accompanyingly</td>
<td>quasi accompagnamento</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>194</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>louden</td>
<td>cresc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>196</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>feelingly</td>
<td>espress.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>197-8</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2 octs. up</td>
<td>2 octs. up (2 Okt. höher)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>202</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>louden slightly</td>
<td>poco cresc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>203</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>louden by bit</td>
<td>cresc. poco a poco</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>205</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>poco cresc.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>207</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>cresc.</td>
<td>[unchanged]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>208</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>playfully</td>
<td>gioioso</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>210</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>sharp</td>
<td>marc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>211</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>heavy &amp; sharp</td>
<td>marc. e pesante</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>211-12</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>(don't louden)</td>
<td>non cresc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>213</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>suddenly</td>
<td>subito</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>213</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>as sharp as possible</td>
<td>marcatoiss.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>213-4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>(less loud than 2nd &amp; 3rd pianists)</td>
<td>[unchanged]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>215</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>to the fore</td>
<td>to the fore / hervortretend</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>217</td>
<td>1,3</td>
<td>louden</td>
<td>cresc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>227</td>
<td>1,3</td>
<td>feelingly</td>
<td>espress.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>235</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>accompanyingly</td>
<td>quasi accompagnamento</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>235</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>(sustaining pedal)</td>
<td>sustaining (sostenuto) pedal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>236</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>to the fore</td>
<td>to the fore / hervortretend</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>239-40</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>much to the fore</td>
<td>much to the fore / sehr hervortretend</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>241</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>(don't soften)</td>
<td>(non dim.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>242-3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>(a mere whisp of sound)</td>
<td>(a mere whisp of sound) / (kaum hörbar)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>244</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>(to the fore)</td>
<td>to the fore / (hervortretend)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>244</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>(don't louden)</td>
<td>non cresc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>248</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>heavy and sharp</td>
<td>pesante e marc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>250</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>louden</td>
<td>cresc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>251</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>loudly, slightly</td>
<td>poco cresc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>254</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>roughly, to the fore</td>
<td>roughly, to the fore / derb. hervortretend</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>254</td>
<td>2,3</td>
<td>accompanyingly</td>
<td>quasi accompagnamento</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>257</td>
<td>2,3</td>
<td>loudly lots</td>
<td>molto cresc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>258</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>loudly lots</td>
<td>[unchanged]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>264-5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>(much softer than 2nd pianist)</td>
<td>[unchanged]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>266</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>loudly</td>
<td>cresc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>268</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>(not so loud as 3rd pianist)</td>
<td>[unchanged]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>268</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>very piercingly</td>
<td>very piercingly / hervorstehend</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>272-3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>as rough as possible, detached</td>
<td>non legato / as rough as possible (möglichst ranh)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>274</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>loudly</td>
<td>cresc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>274</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>fiercely</td>
<td>feroce</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>277</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>lots of pedal</td>
<td>con molto ped.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>278</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>feelingly</td>
<td>espress</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>282</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>(off)</td>
<td>[unchanged]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>285</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>(Turn)</td>
<td>Turn / Wenden</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>287</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>lots of pedal</td>
<td>con molto ped.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>288-9</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>soften bit by bit</td>
<td>decresc. poco a poco</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>289</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>soften slightly</td>
<td>poco des cresc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>292</td>
<td>1-3</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>Pochissimo meno mosso</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>292</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>feelingly</td>
<td>espress.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>294-5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>soften slightly</td>
<td>poco decresc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>295</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Press down silently</td>
<td>Press down silently / lautlos niederdrücken</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>295-6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>* In absence of sustaining pedal, wedge down these keys. / * Wenn kein Sostenuto Pedal vorhanden, diese Tasten füsstocken.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Keep on at same speed, ignoring speeds of 1st &amp; 3rd pianists</td>
<td>Keep on at same speed, ignoring speeds of 1st &amp; 3rd pianists / <em>Im gleichen Tempo fortfahren, unabhängig von Pianisten 1 und 3</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>297</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Hold hands as high as possible, with knuckles against the lid, leaving as much gangway as possible for the 3rd pianist</td>
<td>[unchanged]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>297</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>long</td>
<td>lunga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>297</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8va lower</td>
<td>8va bassa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>297</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>CADENZA / speed about $J = 84$</td>
<td>Cadenza / Lento (about $J = 84$)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>297</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>SLOW OFF</td>
<td>ritard.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>297-8</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>SLOW. $J = \text{about 60}$ (speed independant of 2nd &amp; 3rd pianists)</td>
<td>Slow ($J = \text{about 50}$) (speed independant [sic] of 2nd &amp; 3rd pianists.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>297-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Strike the piano strings of these notes with the leathern tip of Deagan's &quot;combination marimba mallet&quot;, No 2017.</td>
<td>Strike the piano strings of these notes with the leathern tip of Deagan's &quot;combination marimba mallet,&quot; No 2017, or other medium soft mallet. <em>Wenn möglich, Klaviersonen Marimba-Schlägeln anschlagen.</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* * *
297-1 Keep on playing these 4 notes over & over again, at same speed (ignoring speeds of 2nd & 3rd pianists) Keep on playing these 4 notes over & over again, at same speed (ignoring speeds of 2nd & 3rd pianists) / Die letzten vier Noten, im gleichen Tempo, immerwährend wiederholen (unabhängig vom Tempo des Pianisten II und III.)

297-2 Keep on with the last 4 notes, over and over again, at same speed Keep on with the last 4 notes, over and over again, at same speed / Die letzten 4 Noten im gleichen Tempo immerwährend wiederholen

298 3 SLIGHTLY SLOWER (speed quite independant [sic] of 1st & 2nd pianists) Più meno [sic] (Speed quite independant [sic] of 1st & 2nd pianists) / (Tempo gänzlich unabhängig von Pianisten I und 2)

298 3 very feelingly molto espress.

299 (approx.) 2 soften dim.

299 (-300) 3 SLOW OFF ritard. poco a poco

301 (approx.) 2 soften dim.

301 3 (speed at will) (Tempo ad lib.)

301 3 Keep out of the way of the 2nd pianist all you can [unchanged]
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Instruction</th>
<th>Interpretation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>302</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>SLOW ((\dot{\text{q}}) = about 56)</td>
<td>Lento ((\dot{\text{q}}) = about 56)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>302</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>slow off</td>
<td>ritard.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>303</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>(Turn)</td>
<td>Turn / Wenden</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>303</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>(speed at will)</td>
<td>(Tempo ad lib.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>304</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>(off quick)</td>
<td>[unchanged]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>304-5</td>
<td>2,3</td>
<td>SLIGHTLY FASTER ((\dot{\text{q}}) = about 84)</td>
<td>Poco piú mosso ((\dot{\text{q}}) = about 84)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>305-6</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>very feelingly (take your own speed)</td>
<td>molto espress (take your own speed) / (eigenes Tempo nehmen)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>305-7(8)</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>to the fore (much louder than 1st &amp; 2nd pianists)</td>
<td>to the fore (much louder than 1st &amp; 2nd pianists) / hervorrettend</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>315</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>louden</td>
<td>cresc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>318</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>Poco sostenuto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>319</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>soften</td>
<td>dim.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>319</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>soften</td>
<td>dim.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>311</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>slow off</td>
<td>ritard.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>322</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>long</td>
<td>lunga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>322-357</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Brass behind platform</td>
<td>Brass behind Platform / Blech hinter Podium</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>322</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Very faint &amp; far off</td>
<td>[unchanged]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>323</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>etc. (keeps on till about bar 357)</td>
<td>etc. (Keeps on till about bar 357) / (Blech hinter Podium bis Takt 357)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>323</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>IN TIME, SLOWLY FLOWING ((\dot{\text{q}}) = about 80)</td>
<td>A Tempo (pochissimo meno) ((\dot{\text{q}}) = about 69)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>323</td>
<td>2-3</td>
<td>IN TIME, SLOWLY FLOWING ((\dot{\text{q}}) = about 80)</td>
<td>a tempo (pochiss. meno) [/ for player 2] ((\dot{\text{q}}) = about 69)</td>
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<tr>
<td>323-5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>to the fore (louder than 2nd &amp; 3rd pianists)</td>
<td>(hervorrettend) to the fore (louder than 2nd &amp; 3rd pianists)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>323</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>Al ordinare</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>323-4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>accompanyingly</td>
<td>quasi accompagnamento</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>332</td>
<td>2,3</td>
<td>Linger slightly</td>
<td>Poco sostenuto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>334</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>SLOW OFF / (echo)</td>
<td>ritard. / (echo)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>334</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>ritard. [cf. 335]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>335</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>SLOW OFF</td>
<td>– [cf. 334]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| 337 | 1 | IN TIME, 2nd SPEED /  
(\(\mathbf{J} = \text{about } 50\)) | Lento / (Tempo II\(\text{do}\))  
(\(\mathbf{J} = \text{about } 50\)) |
| 337 | 1 | very feelingly | molto espress. |
| 337 | 2 | IN TIME, 2nd SPEED  
(\(\mathbf{J} = \text{about } 50\)) | Lento (Tempo II\(\text{do}\))  
(\(\mathbf{J} = \text{about } 50\)) |
| 337 | 3 | IN TIME, 2nd SPEED /  
(\(\mathbf{J} = \text{about } 50\)) | Lento (Tempo II\(\text{do}\))  
(\(\mathbf{J} = \text{about } 50\)) |
| 339 | 3 | passionately, to the fore | appass. / to the fore /  
\textit{hervortreten} |
| 340 | 1 | (suddenly soften) /  
(to the fore) | subito (but to the fore) /  
\textit{(doch hervortreten)} |
| 341 | 1 | accompanyingly | quasi accompagnamento |
| 341-3(4) | 3 | R.H. piercingly to the fore  
(much louder than 1\(\text{st}\) pianist) | R.H. piercingly to the fore  
(much louder than 1\(\text{st}\) pianist) /  
\textit{R.H. hervorstechend} |
| 342 | 1 | Poco sostenuto | Linger slightly |
| 344 | 1 | slow off | ritard. |
| 345 | 1 | to the fore | to the fore / \textit{hervortreten} |
| 345 | 3 | accompanyingly | quasi accompagnamento |
| 347 | 1 | accompanyingly | quasi accompagnamento |
| 347 | 2 | feelingly | espress. |
| 351 | 1,2 | slacken bit by bit | poco rit. poco a poco |
| 351-(2) | 3 | SLACKEN BIT BY BIT | poco rit. poco a poco |
| 355 | 1-3 | 1\(\text{st}\) SPEED  
\text{(Begin about } \mathbf{J} = 144\text{)} | Tempo \text{Im}\(\text{ma}\)  
\text{(Begin about } \mathbf{J} = 138\text{)} |
<p>| 358 | 1 | (hardly heard) | hardly heard / \textit{kaum hörbar} |
| 363 | 1 | (don't louden at all) | sempre non cresce. |
| 366 | 2 | playfully | giocoso |
| 370 | 3 | Keep it \textit{pppp} in L.H. | L.H. sempre \textit{pppp} |
| 370 | 2,3 | gently | dolce |
| 375 | 3 | – | senza ped. |
| 378 | 1 | (keep it \textit{pp}) | (sempre \textit{pp}) |
| 378 | 1 | (keep it \textit{pppp}) | (sempre \textit{pppp}) |
| 380 | 3 | – | senza ped. |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>384-5</th>
<th>3</th>
<th><strong>louden slightly</strong></th>
<th><strong>poco cresc.</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>388(-9)</td>
<td>1-3</td>
<td>Very slightly faster ((/ = about 152))</td>
<td>Pochissimo più mosso ((/ = about 144))</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>391-2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>louden</td>
<td>cresc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>396</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>heavy (but not as loud as 3\textsuperscript{rd} pianist)</td>
<td>pesante (but not as loud as 3\textsuperscript{rd} pianist)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>396-7(9)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>accompanyingly (much softer than 3\textsuperscript{rd} pianist)</td>
<td>quasi accompagnamento (much softer than 3\textsuperscript{rd} pianist)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>396-9(400)</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>very heavy &amp; piercing; much louder than 2\textsuperscript{nd} pianist</td>
<td>pesante / piercingly (much louder than 2\textsuperscript{nd} pianist) / <em>hervorstechend</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>400(-1)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>(don’t louden)</td>
<td>non cresc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>406</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>oct. lower</td>
<td>oct. basso</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>408(-9)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>(don’t louden)</td>
<td>non cresc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>410</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>(don’t louden)</td>
<td>non cresc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>411</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>louden</td>
<td>cresc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>415</td>
<td>2,3</td>
<td>suddenly</td>
<td>subito</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>415-6(7)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>very roughly &amp; piercingly</td>
<td>very roughly &amp; piercingly / <em>möglichst rauh hervorstechend</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>416(-7)</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>very roughly &amp; piercingly</td>
<td>very roughly &amp; piercingly / <em>möglichst rauh hervorstechend</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>416-7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>slowly louden hugely</td>
<td>poco a poco cresc. possible</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>419</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>(Turn)</td>
<td>Turn / <em>Wenden</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>420</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>louden lots</td>
<td>molto cresc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>420</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>fiercely</td>
<td>feroce</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>424-5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>to the fore (louder than 3\textsuperscript{rd} pianist)</td>
<td>to the fore (louder than 3\textsuperscript{rd} pianist) / <em>hervorstechend</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>424(-5)</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>(less loud than 2\textsuperscript{nd} pianist)</td>
<td>[unchanged]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>428(-9)</td>
<td>1-3</td>
<td>MUCH SLOWER: VERY STATELY ((/ = about 66))</td>
<td>Lento: molto maestoso ((/ = about 66))</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>430</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>con molto pedale</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>435(-6)</td>
<td>1-3</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>Poco a poco più lento</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>436</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>feelingly</td>
<td>espress.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>437</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>to the fore</td>
<td>to the fore / <em>hervorstechend</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>437</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>very feelingly</td>
<td>molto espress.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>437(-8)</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>louden lots</td>
<td>molto cresc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>438</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>louden lots</td>
<td>molto cresc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>438</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Bass to the fore</td>
<td>Bass to the fore / <em>Bass hervorstechend</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>Page(s)</td>
<td>Bar(s)</td>
<td>Date(s) (1924)</td>
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<tr>
<td>1-15</td>
<td>1-77</td>
<td>Undated</td>
<td>Not given [presumably S.S. Tahiti^\textsuperscript{197}]</td>
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<td>78-82</td>
<td>30 May</td>
<td>S.S. Tahiti</td>
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<td>119-123</td>
<td>June 4-5</td>
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<td>124-7</td>
<td>June 5</td>
<td>&quot;&quot;</td>
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<td>128-132</td>
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<td>133-7</td>
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<td>28</td>
<td>138-143</td>
<td>June 6</td>
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^\textsuperscript{197} The S.S. Tahiti had disembarked on May 21 that year.
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<th>Location</th>
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<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>158-163</td>
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<td>167-170</td>
<td>June 11</td>
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<td>34</td>
<td>171-5</td>
<td>June 12</td>
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<td>176-9</td>
<td>June 13</td>
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<td>36</td>
<td>180-2</td>
<td>Carlyon's Hotel, Melbourne</td>
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<td>37</td>
<td>183-5</td>
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<td>191-6</td>
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<td>197-201</td>
<td>July 8, Uncle Jim's, Richmond Park [Adelaide]</td>
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<td>September 13, S.S. Maunganui</td>
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<td>229-233</td>
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<td>48</td>
<td>234-9</td>
<td>September 14, &quot;&quot;</td>
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<td>287-291</td>
<td>September 17&lt;sup&gt;a&lt;/sup&gt; &quot;(2 Wednesdays morning, crossing East-West)&quot;</td>
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<td>59</td>
<td>292-6</td>
<td>&quot;&quot;</td>
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<tr>
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<td>297-300</td>
<td>September 17&lt;sup&gt;a&lt;/sup&gt;-18</td>
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<tr>
<td>63</td>
<td>313-321</td>
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<td>69</td>
<td>342-6</td>
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<td>September 21</td>
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<tr>
<td>74</td>
<td>371-6</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>75</td>
<td>377-381</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>76</td>
<td>382-7</td>
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<tr>
<td>77</td>
<td>388-95</td>
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<td>78</td>
<td>396-402</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>79</td>
<td>403-9</td>
<td>September 22</td>
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<tr>
<td>80</td>
<td>410-417</td>
<td>September 22-23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>81</td>
<td>418-424</td>
<td>September 23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>82</td>
<td>425-430</td>
<td>September 23-24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>83</td>
<td>431-5</td>
<td>September 24</td>
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<tr>
<td>84</td>
<td>436-441</td>
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<td>85</td>
<td>442-7</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>86</td>
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<tr>
<td>87</td>
<td>454-9</td>
<td>September 25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>88</td>
<td>460-5</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>89</td>
<td>466-470</td>
<td>September 26</td>
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Table 13: Percy Grainger, changes in German instructions between the autograph and published compressed scores of *The Warriors* [selected excerpts only; literal translations provided].

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Original German (ms.)</th>
<th>Revised German (published)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 78 (bottom) | An den Dirigenten ...  
 « To the conductor ... » | Für den Dirigenten ...  
 « For the conductor ... »  
 ["Conductor" in the score] |
| 80 | In Abwesenheit der Bass-Oboe ...  
 « In the absence of the Bass-Oboe ... » | In Abwesenheit der Baß-Oboe ...  
 « In the absence of the Bass-Oboe ... » |
| 82 | (weit genug von den Zuhörernchaft ...  
 « far enough from the audience ... » | (weit genug von den Zuhören ...  
 « far enough from the members of the audience ... » |
| ** | ... Übergewicht der Orchesterklänge auf das podium ...  
 « ... the preponderance of the orchestral tone on the platform ... » | ... Übergewicht des Orchesters auf dem podium ...  
 « ... the preponderance of the orchestras on the platform » |
Appendix 3: The Sketches and Autograph Parts

The Sketchbooks

This is an edition and not a sketch and score study. As such, the sketches themselves only played a minor role in determining editorial policy, used solely when the other sources failed to produce a workable explanation. Nevertheless, they are crucial in allowing one to build up a musical timeline from sketch to finished product, beginning with:

MG15/4-16:2

In composing a work, Grainger's normal practice was to firstly embark on a series of very rough sketches indicating sparse or only general instrumentation. Unlike the date of December 1913 given in his programme note, the earliest surviving sketches of The Warriors appear on March 22, 1913. A mere two pages of thematic material exist from this date, yet all of this would find its way into the finished composition — for example, bars 1 to 6 of the sketch (Example 31 on following page) correspond to bars 81 to 86 in the orchestral score; similarly bars 7 and 8 match the later bars 78 and 79. It was not Grainger's custom to employ key signatures. Instead, he physically wrote in the key itself — in this instance, "Fis dur" — F# major. Eventually for the final version, Grainger transposed the section down a tone to E major.

SL1 MG3/64-2

Nine months elapsed between the preliminary sketches of March 1913 and the above. The latter falls into two distinct groups. The first group, dates from between 24 November 1913 and 6 January 1914 (mostly from 29 December 1913 onwards), comprises ten pages of material that contains nearly all of the fifteen themes and motives\(^\text{198}\) that would ultimately form the thematic backbone of the composition. Not surprisingly, the relatively short amount of time taken to complete such exhaustive sketching was glowingly relayed by Grainger in a letter to Karen Holten, where he extols the virtues of his new piece "The Warriors Ballet Music (without ballet)".\(^\text{199}\) This comment is important, as it is the first reference to the actual title; the sketches from March 1913, though dated, are unlabelled.

From this group of sketches, two are worthy of being singled out for discussion. The first (Example 32) appears on page 31 of the Sketch-Book and is labelled "Tutti feeling" by the composer. This would become the first major tutti of the work —

\(^{198}\) Grainger cites this number in his programme notes for The Warriors.

\(^{199}\) Letter, Percy Grainger to Karen Holten, 2 January 1914. See p. 11 paragraph 3 of this thesis for a more complete quotation.
Example 31: Percy Grainger, excerpt from the initial set of sketches for *The Warriors*, MG15/4-16:2, bars 1-6.

[Unbarred material and high woodwind fragments omitted]
corresponding to bars 36-40 in the full score. Grainger has not yet envisaged the rhythm that would make this section so distinctive – the irregular $2^{1/2}/4$ metre began as the more predictable duple time.

**Example 32:** Percy Grainger, sketch for *The Warriors*, in the *Big Green Sketch-Book*, SL1 MG3/64-2:1, p. 31. [Index labelling, arrows and cross-outs omitted].

The next sketch (Example 33) concerns a thematic quotation from what was then tentatively titled *Marching Song* (eventually the *Marching Song of Democracy*). Although this was eventually discarded, it does however show that Grainger was consciously borrowing or 'tone-cribbing' from himself even at the early sketch stage. Interestingly, it would be the *Marching Song* which would end up employing material from *The Warriors* and not the other way around.

**Example 33:** Percy Grainger, *Marching Song* quotation in sketch for *The Warriors*, in the *Big Green Sketch-Book*, SL1 MG3/64-2:1, p. 38. [Staves above and (empty) below as well as the date omitted; last five bars only].

The second group of sketches begin shortly after Grainger had fled London for New York, and date from the 18 November 1914 to the 29 January 1915. Significantly, they include the only existing material intended for *The Warriors* ballet score that was modelled on the original orchestral work (Example 34).

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200 'Tone-cribbing' is Grainger's 'blue-eyed English' term for musical quotation.
As in the previous group, ‘tone-cribbing’, is prevalent here. In this group the quote in question is from Grainger’s *The Lonely Desert Man Sees the Tents of the Happy Tribes* (Example 35), and those familiar with *The Warriors*, would recognise this as the long bass oboe solo (bars 305-322). At the time, however, Grainger entitled the sketch “Last year’s summer bit,” which he felt was “a sort of *Desert-Music* or *On the Prairies* ... composed in a mood of great sorrow & wistfulness, & expressed the thought ‘Last year’s summer, where is it?’”201 The summer of the previous year was spent in London, so perhaps the sense of isolation and sorrow was a direct result of Grainger’s move to New York, of feeling ostracised, and of being alone in a new land.

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201 Percy Grainger, Index to the *Big Green Sketch-Book*, 2.
Example 35: Percy Grainger, sketch of quote from "Last year's summer bit," in The Warriors, the Big Green Sketch-Book, SL1 MG3/64-2:1, p. 41.

After completing the sketches in New York, Grainger attempted to codify the material by numbering several key bars and then leaving notes in the margin describing how to assemble them in jigsaw-like fashion. This codification would eventually be taken to its limit when, several years later, the very same sketches were categorised by the composer for the purposes of a thematic index, in which each sketch was distinguished by a letter or series of letters. Of the thirty-two in total, only four would have any connection with The Warriors:

- AA is only used once in the Big Green Sketch-Book, and refers to an idea “used in Warriors, but not (as far as [Grainger] can remember, originally planned in connection with Warriors).”
- CC is by far the most widespread label and covers actual sketches used in the work.
- CCC sketches can best be described as Grainger’s ‘off-cuts’ – sketches that were intended for but eventually not utilised in the final composition.
- EE, like AA, is unique. The small group sketches are for the actual Warriors ballet music, which remains unfinished.

The chronology of the sketches in the Big Green Sketch-Book are summarised in Table 1, pp. 83-4 of Appendix 2, and includes Grainger’s date as well as any relevant annotations by the composer.

MG15/4-16:3 and 4

The next stage in The Warriors’ development are several sets of what Grainger called “Scoring Sketches,” although unlike some of the later sets, MG15/4-16:3-4 is not labelled as such. As might be surmised from their title, scoring sketches differ from the sketchbooks in that the material is more continuous, with instrumentation annotated in the margins. The parts are not written individually, but rather in an expanded piano score format.

202 Grainger, Index to the Big Green Sketch-book, 6.
MG15/4-16:3 is the more advanced of the two early scoring sketches, and consists of the bar 12 countermelody of the full score harmonised in fourths, as well as three attempts at what would become bars 101-112 – the end of the first section. The second sketch is perhaps the more interesting in that it demonstrates Grainger’s early preoccupation with keys (Example 36), as if to highlight the modulations and the (admittedly brief) polytonality. Even the key of the resolution of each dominant eleventh chord is labelled almost every time.

**Example 36:** Percy Grainger, scoring sketch of *The Warriors*, MG15/4-16:3. [First page, last system only. Indication of instrumentation taken from system above].

In contrast with MG15/4-16:3, MG15/4-16:4 is simply the theme from bar 11 of the full score, except that in this instance, it is not harmonised in fourths, but presented in canon at the unison (Example 37).

**Example 37:** Percy Grainger, scoring sketch of *The Warriors*, MG15/4-16:4.
This manuscript can be divided into several sections. The first is five pages long and is an
attempt at scoring section six of *The Warriors*, from approximately bar 355 onwards.
These, and the following two pages also contain substantial sketches for *The Gumsuckers’ March*, which may explain why Grainger failed to label the other
sketches as being from *The Warriors*. The top half of each page is not *Warriors* material.

The next six pages are labelled “WARRIORS’ SCORING SKETCHES” possibly as
they continue from where MG15/4-16:3 finished – the beginning of section two of
the composition (bar 111 of the full score). This sketch is more advanced than those
preceding it and occupies the full 12 staves on every page. Indeed, the scoring, all
notated at concert pitch, is reminiscent of Grainger’s later compressed score, with each
part cued in separately with idiosyncratic ‘balloons,’ as in Example 38:

[Blank staves and muted string indication omitted]

Perhaps more significantly, it is quite evident from these sketches that the idea of the
bass oboe had not yet entered Grainger’s mind. At this stage, the solo of bars 119-122 of
the full score (pages 9-10 of the scoring sketches) was written for English Horn.
However, other details are noticed; already the piano pedalling indications and specific
mallets for the glockenspiel and resonaphone are used widely (Example 39).
Not only that, but two, rather than three pianos are specified, a situation that would not
change until the revised version of *The Warriors*, completed in 1924.

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203 This correlates to Grainger’s potted analysis of the composition, printed as part of his programme
note. See the third part of Chapter 2 for further information.

204 A resonaphone was a type of large steel marimba; the name referred to an instrument manufactured
by Boosey & Co. Later, Grainger would refer to it in the score simply as Steel Marimba.

[Piano, glockenspiel and resonophone parts only]

The third section of the scoring sketches comprises some four pages of contrapuntal and canonic exercises — a systematic attempt by Grainger to combine thematic material established in the preceding pages. The most developed of these appears to be a first draft of bar 48 onwards in the full score, where the main theme is presented against syncopated and oscillating seventh chords (Example 40 on following page). Note how Grainger offers two different transpositions of the theme to this accompaniment, in addition to an ostinato in the treble, which would later be discarded and used nearly eighty bars later in the work. Of most interest, however is the last two bars of the sketch; here the end of the main theme is exactly the same as that from Grainger’s Arrival Platform Humlet\(^{205}\) from whence it is completely ‘tone-cribbed’. Evidently the counterpoint did not work as planned, and this ‘tail-end’ would not find its way into the final draft of the score.

Labelled “Warriors score sketch,” the last section of MG15/4-24 is one extended draft of the opening of the work. Unlike the previous section, this is orchestrated in great detail, complete with the unusual piano fingering in bar 10 of the full score (using the third finger to articulate an entire melody), harp glissandi tuning, and untuned percussion parts (with lines handwritten between staves). Oddly enough, the opening bar is a semitone higher than in later versions, but the tutti at bar 27, originally presented in a somewhat four-square rhythm in SL1 MG3/64-2:1, has by this stage adopted the more familiar (but unique) 2\(\frac{3}{4}\) meter.

\(^{205}\) Percy Grainger, Arrival Platform Humlet for viola solo (London: Schott & Co., 1926). The earliest sketches for this work date from 1907, and the orchestral version of 1916 became the opening movement of the In a Nutshell Suite.
Example 40: Percy Grainger, sketch for bars 48 onwards of The Warriors, MG15/4-24
[Xylophone and glockenspiel cues omitted, along with alternative accompaniment in last bar]

The MG3/96-7 group of scoring sketches for The Warriors are the most problematic, especially in their numbering scheme. The MG numbers were presumably assigned to the sketches in the order in which they were found, however this does not always correlate with material contained within the manuscripts. As these sketches are largely undated (with few exceptions), the only recourse was to inspect the music itself, and to match this to both the imprint and Grainger’s own page numbering scheme, where possible. If this were not confusing enough, Grainger compounded the problem by continually revising his sketches, adding or correcting sections in either ink or coloured pencil; hence the following order may not completely reflect the exact order in which the sketches were composed.
This group is a reasonably well developed sketch of Section 6 of the full score (bar 355) until approximately the end of the main tutti of Section 7 (bar 441). Until MG3/96-7:18, each page is divided into five systems, one each for woodwind, brass, percussion, piano/harps and strings. There is no provision (or indeed space) for an extra orchestral group on the page, hence the absence of the ostinato E flats in the 'tuneful percussion' parts at the beginning of MG3/96-7:16. In contrast, MG3/96-7:18 employs a variety of different systems, most commonly a piano-score type format that expands and contracts to cope with the demands of the music.

MG3/96-7:6, 1, 7, 13

These sketches are a first draft attempt of Section 3 of the full score (bar 355 onwards). For the most part, three stave systems are used, with only some instrumentation indicated in MG3/96-7:6 and 7. Some of the detailed contrapuntal parts are omitted – for example, the semiquaver passage work in the opening bars of MG3/96-7:6\textsuperscript{206} and the bitonal arpeggios three pages later\textsuperscript{207}. Other, more minor details are included but with changed instrumentation, as in Example 41. Here the bass clarinet solo of bar 234 in the full score is scored for tuba, with the absence of the octave doubling in the double-bassoon part a bar later. The solo cello part is written for trumpet, in Grainger's words, "crawling about all the time."\textsuperscript{208}

**Example 41:** Grainger, sketch for Section 3 of *The Warriors*, MG3/96-7:6, p. 4.

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\textsuperscript{206} Eventually these would be scored for clarinets 1 and 2 in the full score.

\textsuperscript{207} Cf. bars 234-7 of the full score. The arpeggios are scored for celesta, piano 1 and the two harps.

\textsuperscript{208} This was written in later by the composer. Initially the part was marked simply for "trumpet".
Although initially written as one continuous section, there is ample evidence of Grainger's redrafting through the use of different coloured inks and pencils. MG3/96-7:7, for instance, has later had its three pages further divided into three sections marked AA (pp. 1-2), BB (pp. 2-3) and CC (p. 3 only).\textsuperscript{209} According to the pencilled additions, the top system of page 2 of MG3/96-7:6 joins with AA, with page 7 of MG3/96-7:1 joining with CC "in Bb". BB is not mentioned separately, however as it flows on directly from AA, it can be assumed that AA and BB are treated by Grainger as one block of music.

The date of September 1916 from one sketch from MG3/96-7:7 implies that the composer was still at the sketch stage three months before the autograph full score (MG3/96-1) was completed. However, as the off-stage brass section (cf. MG3/96-7:11) was composed as late as December 1916, it may be that Grainger was writing out completed sections in MG3/96-1 whilst simultaneously sketching others.

MG3/96-7:10, 9, 4, 5, 14

This group of sketches is a fully written out version of the previous group. Here the page is not divided into five but six bracketed systems. The percussion double-stave being omitted in favour of separate systems for each of the two piano parts and also the harps. The instrumentation is now complete, with regular cues for a full complement of brass – including the six horns – as well as the bass oboe, previously missing from earlier sketches.

Unlike those in the rest of the group, MG3/96-7:14 contains a later addition in blue pencil – a complete draft of the theme from *The Lonely Desert Man sees the Tents of the Happy Tribes* (minus instrumentation) – written into the score before the previous sketch has finished.

MG3/96-7:8

These sketches do not appear to relate to the other groups and therefore appear on their own in this list. It comprises of a fully worked-out sketch score of the end of Section 2 going into Section 3 (bars 138-179) however on the last page are two separate sketches – one of the horn countermelody (with trumpet cue) of bars 249-66 of the full score and a brief thematic sketch from *Herman dur Ili*, the first of the *Two Musical Relics of My Mother*.\textsuperscript{210}

\textsuperscript{209} These are not to be confused with similar designations employed in the *Big Green Sketchbook*.\textsuperscript{210} *As Sally Sat a Weeping* being the other musical 'relic'. Although published in 1924 by Schott & Co., London, some of the sketches for *Herman dur Ili* date back as far as 1911. See MG15/2-12:1,2.
The first two pages of this isolated group of sketches appear to continue where the last page of MG15/4-24 concluded – from bar 66 onwards, although one must remember that the earlier sketch, unlike this one, bears no publisher imprint. Instrumentation is quite detailed throughout but is nonetheless difficult to decipher due to the compression onto two (sometimes three) staves.

The third and fourth pages contain material from elsewhere in the composition. Page 3 is the string tutti of Section 5,\(^{211}\) with the dynamic indications added later in red pencil, along with the cue for “4 muted horns” (initially “muted horn”). The bottom of the page also contains a sketch for the ‘tuneful percussion’ passage at bar 370 of the full score. Page 4 continues the string tutti for a further four bars, this time with the other instrumental parts added as necessary. In addition, there are three sketches from Section 1 appended – the glockenspiel/staff bells theme from bars 47-9 of the full score (albeit with repeat marks), the trumpet countermelody of bars 54-8 and a preliminary sketch of the solo piano writing that would later accompany it. However, none have any indication of desired instrumentation.

This, the last sketch chronologically, comprises a fully drafted sketch of the off-stage brass section. Corresponding exactly with the version in MG3/96-1, the sketch is here divided into six sections, labelled consecutively A-F. Section B of the sketch (Example 42 on following page) – seventeen bars of material, including four bars rest – was later discarded in 1923, presumably as it made the brass finish too late into Section 5 of the work, something abhorred by the composer: “Send Messenger to bring back brass behind platform” wrote Grainger in the autograph full score, “whether they are thru with their parts, or not”\(^{212}\).

As with the earlier sketch from September 1916, it is strange that while the idea of an off-stage brass section was envisaged before the work’s completion, the actual music was composed, according to the date on this sketch, merely one day before the autograph full score was finished and corrected on the last day. That this would later be seen as one of the most forward-looking parts of the composition is, in light of the evidence, quite ironic.

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\(^{211}\) There is no indication for strings, however the use of five-stave systems with a central C-clef makes the implication clear.

\(^{212}\) Percy Grainger, The Warrior, MG3/96-1, 53. The remark would not appear in later versions of the score, but has been retained in this edition.
Example 42: Percy Grainger, off-stage brass music (later discarded) in *The Warriors*, MG3/96-7:11, p. 1 [Section B only; all parts written at concert pitch].

Horns

Trumpets

Trombones
Autograph Parts

Incomplete Orchestral Set (MG3/96-2:1-28)

Although undated, the address stamp of "309 West 92nd St., New York" on virtually all of these parts suggests that they were not the original set of parts used at Norfolk, but those prepared for the Chicago Symphony performance of *The Warriors* in 1919; Grainger had only moved to West 92nd Street in September 1918. The "corrected F'furr" inscriptions by Grainger, on the other hand, confirm that the parts were still in use by the time of the Frankfurt sound-trials in February 1923 with conductor Alexander Lippay. They are not completely definitive — further revisions would follow the production of the compressed score — but these parts nonetheless give rare insight into Grainger as composer in rehearsal.

The most obvious change throughout was to Grainger's predilection for English language expression markings. Evidently these were met with derision, as, for example, "all the rest" became "tutti" and "on with mutes," "sordino." In the string parts, however, the other revisions are more practical, and are generally concerned with phrasing, bowing, articulation and divisi. The lack of alteration in the back desk parts suggests that the leaders of each section were informed of the changes first; according to standard practice, the other parts would then be copied from the front desk. This invariably led to complacency amongst the players — hardly surprising, given that Grainger was granted only two rehearsals — because some sections are bowed completely differently, or even not at all (Example 43a-c):

This first set of percussion parts, MG3/96-2:27, contains both timpani and untuned percussion parts; these would be separated after publication. There are few changes; Grainger seems more concerned with translating some of the instrumental cues and expression markings into German, not Italian – thus we have “am Rand” for “on rim” and “Paukenschläger” for the cymbal cues. The second percussion part, MG3/96-2:28 on the other hand, is not in Grainger’s script, and consists of only bass drum and cymbal parts. There appear to be no revisions; hence most differences between this and MG3/96-2:27 are likely to be due to copyist error rather than because the part is of an earlier provenance. Bar 43 is, for example, incorrectly labelled as bar 40, and several tempo changes – at bars 115 and 388 – are missing. Perhaps the strangest alteration is Grainger’s “off quick” expression which in this manuscript becomes “SEC.” (secco?) in bars 170 and 465.

Steel and Wooden Marimba (MG3/96-3:1-3)

Unlike the string parts, the autograph sets of some of the ‘tuneful percussion’ parts – the staff bells and steel marimba – have no printed equivalent. In this edition, their purpose is two-fold: to provide exact details of registers and doubling omitted in the compressed score, and to show precisely how Grainger wanted the parts dispersed amongst the players of any given ‘tuneful percussion’ instrument – a luxury not even afforded by MG3/96-1, the autograph full score.

The parts in MG3/96-3:1 to 3 predate those in MG3/96-4 and MG3/96-5, and so function as the only written record of Grainger’s first draft of the various marimba parts. Indeed, the Madison Ave address on the front of each part implies that these are from the original set of parts prepared for the Norfolk Festival in Connecticut in 1917; Grainger and his mother moved to Madison Ave in May 1915. It is also quite evident

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213 This went unnoticed by Kay Dreyfus in her catalogue of Grainger’s music. See Dreyfus, Music of Percy Grainger, 75, under the selected listing of Warriors parts.
from the instrument list on page one of MG3/96-1, which to this day states "2 players" for the steel marimba part and "1 player" for the wooden marimba, despite the presence of cues for extra players in the parts themselves. These extra players, called for in later revisions, facilitate doubling of the existing part at the fourth, fifth, octave or a combination of the three. The changes are rarely reflected in the parts themselves, although MG3/96-3:1 appears in one instance to have acted as a sketchpad for the third player's part. Here, as shown in Example 44 on the following page, the original part appears in black while the "added" part appears in another colour.

Other alterations for each part may be seen in Tables 4 and 5, pp. 87-88, Appendix 2.

**Example 44**: Percy Grainger, autograph part showing later emendations, in *The Warriors*, MG3/96-3:1, bars 276-80, Grainger Museum [colour substituted for different ink used by Grainger].

Shared problems among all three manuscripts are rare; nonetheless, the bars before cue 443 (444 in this edition) warrant some discussion, if only because they may offer a reason for the 'missing bar' that plagues every source. As can be seen in Examples 17a and b, MG3/96-3:1 to 3 mistakenly present the bar before cue 443 as a single bar of 4/4, rather than a bar of 3/4 followed by a 1/4 bar – hence the number of bars between cues 435 and 443 is for once correct. Interestingly, the string parts in MG3/96-3:1 to 24 do not exhibit the same problem with meter; nor do the additional percussion parts. In these instances, the bars simply do not add up.

Low Staff Bells (MG3/96-4:1)

This Low Staff Bells part is the only remaining part of this set of 'tuneful percussion' parts. The Madison Ave address implies that this is a part used at the premiere, although this was copied by Grainger and does not match the style of the steel and wooden marimba parts in the MG3/96-3 set. Photocopied, with a new frontispiece but otherwise unchanged, MG3/96-4:1 would later become MG3/96-6:2 and 2a. In actual performance, however, it was paired up with MG3/96-5:4, despite that being copied by someone else. The resulting confusion notwithstanding, as the parts are all identical in musical material, one need only examine the major revisions to the part once. As the part was still in use after Grainger's change of address and, according to MG3/96-6:1a and 2a, when Ella became Grainger's wife in 1928, there were surprisingly few changes made. If one examines Table 6 in Appendix 2 (pp. 88-89), it appears most of these changes in fact stem from the compressed score of 1924.

Steel Marimba and Low/High Staff Bells (MG3/96-5:1 to 4)

These parts were prepared for the 1919 performance of *The Warriors*, and, given their address stamp of Cromwell Place, White Plains, was still in use in 1921. Copies of MG3/96-5:1-2 were later made for post-Frankfurt performances, and these exist as MG3/96-6:3-4. The major change for the steel marimba parts is the addition of the third player, absent in the original version, MG3/96-3:1 and 2. These changes are cued into MG3/96-1, and thus the few changes made to this part over time were usually a result of the compressed score revision. Not surprisingly, the third part itself contains no major alterations.

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214 MG3/96-5:4 has a "1" circled on it; MG3/96-4:1 has a "2" circled on it. The part is for two players.
215 These parts are labelled "for Ella's practising."
216 Percy and Rose Grainger moved to 7 Cromwell Plains on May 4, 1921.
217 See Table 7, p. 89, Appendix 2.
When the High Staff Bells part\footnote{218} is compared with the Low Staff Bells part,\footnote{219} many similarities are apparent. This is mainly due to the use of the Bell Piano in the compressed score, to play the more technically demanding sections in these parts.

Steel Marimba, Low/High Staff Bells and Piano III (MG3/96-6:1 to 5)

As previously mentioned, MG3/96-6:1 to 4 are all copies of older manuscripts. What has changed are their frontispieces which aid in determining their date of use. The third piano part was not added to the score until at least 1922. It does not appear in the Balfour Gardiner copy of MG3/96-1 and the autograph score of the two piano ‘dish-up,’ dated June 1922, still refers to the work as being for “orchestra, 2 pianos & tuneful percussion.”\footnote{220} Unfortunately, there is also no manuscript of this third piano part—MG3/96-6:5 being a photocopy of the published part—and presumably this was created from the pencil cues found in MG3/96-1.\footnote{221}

There is ample written and photographic evidence that Ella Grainger often played her husband’s ‘tuneful percussion’ parts (see photo on page 30), but the presence of her name on MG3/96-6:1a and 2a means that these copies of the Staff Bell parts were in use beyond 1930.\footnote{222} As these parts were never published by Schott, such a late date for an autograph part is not out of the question.

Uncatalogued Tenor Horn Parts

Of the two photographs of \textit{Warriors} performances involving the composer are available in the Grainger, one is of the 1926 Melbourne premiere with Bernard Heinze and the University Symphony Orchestra. A puzzling aspect of the latter photograph (see photo on page 58) is the presence of three Tenor Horns in the French Horn section. With the USO’s ad hoc mixture of students and professional players, expecting six horn players to be available was always going to be a difficult prospect, and by using (presumably) military band players on first, second and as a bumper on sixth, appeared to be a good compromise at the time.\footnote{223} Grainger transposed the printed horn parts from F into E flat, but only the first two parts have survived; either the sixth part is still missing or the player transposed at sight. Either way, after the performance, the autograph Tenor Horn parts, along with an entire set of printed orchestral parts were deposited in the Music Library of the (then) Melbourne Conservatorium of Music,\footnote{224} where they remain today.

\footnote{218}{See Table 8, p. 89, Appendix 2.}
\footnote{219}{See Table 6, pp. 88-89, Appendix 2.}
\footnote{220}{Percy Grainger, \textit{The Warriors} ['dished-up' for two pianos / six hands], MG3/96-14:1 and 2, Grainger Museum, Melbourne.}
\footnote{221}{There is, however, no publisher's proof of this part, or at least one has yet to surface.}
\footnote{222}{Ella Grainger (nee Ström) married Percy Grainger on 9 July, 1928 at the Hollywood Bowl. Although \textit{The Warrior} was actually performed during the pre-wedding concert, it is unlikely that she played the bell part on that occasion.}
\footnote{223}{The infiltration of military band players seemed to have also infiltrated the lower brass, which sports not one but two tubas and a euphonium.}
\footnote{224}{Now known as the Faculty of Music, The University of Melbourne.}
## Appendix 4: An Overview of the History of The Warriors, from its "Commission" to its Publication

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Event</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>January 1913</td>
<td>Grainger asked by Beecham to become assistant conductor at Convent Garden. This is the most likely date when The Warriors was informally &quot;commissioned&quot; for the Ballets Russes' next London season.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March 1913</td>
<td>First sketches for The Warriors appear [MG 15/4-16:2]. They are dated, but appear without title.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>December 1913 – January 1914</td>
<td>First sketches to be labelled The Warriors appear in the Big Green Sketch-Book [SLI MG 3/64-2:1], whose index [SLI MG 3/64-2:2] provides background information on the history of the composition. At this stage, Grainger still residing in London.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>November 1914</td>
<td>Continuation of above sketch material. Two months before, Grainger had already moved to New York.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>January 1915 – September 1916</td>
<td>Work undertaken on &quot;scoring&quot; sketches [MG 15/4-16:3, 3/96-7:1-19 &amp; 3/96-9]. Most sections sketched in expanded piano score format, with extensive instrumentation annotated by the composer.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>January 1916</td>
<td>First sketches for programme notes appear [MG 15/4-16:1].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>September (?) – December 1916</td>
<td>Autograph full score completed [MG 3/96-1]. First page is inscribed &quot;For Frederick Delius.&quot; The last page bears the following remark - &quot;Ended: San Francisco Dec. 22, 1916.&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>October 1916</td>
<td>Performance of The Warriors scheduled with the London Queen's Hall Orchestra under Henry Wood's direction but cancelled as the score was not yet complete. The first London performance of the work did not take place for a further fifty-four years.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>January 1917</td>
<td>Performance of The Warriors scheduled with the New York Philharmonic with Walter Damrosch conducting. Cancelled as parts were not ready in time.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 June 1917</td>
<td>Premiere performance of The Warriors (by invitation only), with Grainger conducting the Litchfield County Choral Union Festival Orchestra. Pianists were Mary Cameron and Leo Sowerby.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1918</td>
<td>Extract of The Warriors score in compressed format published on page 9 of D.C. Parker's pioneering study, Percy Aldridge Grainger — A Study (New York: G. Schirmer, 1918). The extract itself is dated July 8, 1917.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26 &amp; 27 December 1919</td>
<td>First public performance of The Warriors, with Frederick Stock conducting the Chicago Symphony Orchestra. Grainger played the piano, but appears to have been the only pianist.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>January 1920</td>
<td>Two performances of The Warriors scheduled again with the New York Philharmonic, but cancelled due to Grainger contracting influenza.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Early (?) 1922</td>
<td>Copy of The Warriors presented to H. Balfour Gardiner, before third piano part written.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March – April 1922</td>
<td>The Warriors &quot;Dished-Up&quot; for 2 Pianos / Six Hands (with optional off-stage brass) [MG 73-3:1, 2].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May 1922</td>
<td>Third piano part finished and added to score [MG 3/96-1].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>February 1923</td>
<td>&quot;Sound Trial&quot; of The Warriors by the Frankfurt Opera Orchestra conducted by Alexander Lippay. Autograph parts corrected.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spring 1923</td>
<td>&quot;Dished-Up&quot; version of The Warriors published by Schott, Mainz.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Early 1924</td>
<td>New orchestral parts (including 2nd/3rd conductors' scores) of The Warriors published by Schott, Mainz.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May – September 1924</td>
<td>Autograph compressed score of The Warriors completed [MG 5/73-2].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18 January 1925</td>
<td>Second public performance of The Warriors, with the People's Symphony Orchestra of Boston conducted by the composer. This appears to have been the first performance from the compressed score, albeit in draft or proof form.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16 July 1925</td>
<td>Premiere performance of &quot;Dished-Up&quot; version of The Warriors, at the Chicago Musical College. Pianists were Percy Grainger, Edward Collins and Moissaye Boguslawski.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Early 1926</td>
<td>Compressed score of The Warriors published by Schott, Mainz.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>