

# POPULAR ADAPTATIONS OF WEILL'S MUSIC FOR STAGE AND SCREEN, 1927–1950

by Charles Hamm

Kurt Weill did not, strictly speaking, compose popular songs. Granted, a handful of individual pieces extracted from his compositions for European musical stages had modest commercial success in live and recorded performance; a somewhat larger number of songs written for the American theater enjoyed short-term success in the commodity forms of sheet music and phonograph records; a still larger number of songs from both arenas have posthumously become standards or “evergreens,” performed throughout the world and recorded for generations unborn at the time they were written. But virtually all of his songs were originally intended for performance in the theater. Of the 118 pieces included in the two-volume *Kurt Weill Songs: A Centennial Anthology*, only four—“Berlin im Licht-Song,” “Complainte de la Seine,” “Je ne t’aime pas,” “The Song of the Free”—were not written for dramatic presentation on stage or in film.<sup>1</sup> Weill obviously needed a dramatic context to create a song; otherwise he simply couldn’t, or wouldn’t, write one. “I need poetry to set my imagination into motion; and my imagination is not a bird, it’s an airplane,” he told his brother Hans already in 1919.<sup>2</sup> A few months later he announced to his sister that his life’s work would probably turn out to be the musical theater, where “music best expresses what cannot be said in mere words.”<sup>3</sup> But it doesn’t follow that all of his songs make musical and dramatic sense only in the context of the stage works for which they were written. Quite the contrary; many songs, including such standards as “September Song,” “Speak Low,” “Surabaya-Johnny,” and above all “Mack the Knife,” have been sung, played, and heard by millions of people with little or no knowledge of the stage works for which they were written.

Weill made it his business to become familiar with the popular musics of his day from the early 1920s until his death in 1950, and virtually all of his works for the musical stage written after 1925 evince to some degree his acquaintance with popular styles and genres. It is, however, not easy to define “popular music”; the term has been used over the years as a label for many different musical styles and genres, and the literature on the subject has ranged from positivist historical narrative and analysis of musical styles to ideologically charged arguments over cultural meaning. In September 1983, for example, at the second biennial meeting of the International Association for the Study of Popular Music (IASPM), an entire week of discussion addressed the question “What is popular music?” without reaching any consensus about a definition.<sup>4</sup>

Such terms as *musique populaire* and *musica popolare* were probably first applied to the orally disseminated music of the “people,” that is, peasant classes and urban poor, but by the late nineteenth century this repertory had come to be known as “folk” or “traditional” music. At about the same time a quite different repertory, created and performed in an urban setting and marketed as a commodity for the bourgeoisie and the upwardly mobile working classes, took over the label of “popular music.” Social and economic changes in the nineteenth century brought a steady increase in the number of households in Europe, North America, and the European colonies with enough

surplus cash to purchase musical instruments and instruction in music. More and more people enjoyed both the leisure time and cultural motivation to engage in recreational music making and dancing. Musical literacy had earlier been limited to professional musicians and the moneyed and educated classes, but the introduction of musical instruction into elementary and secondary education and the proliferation of local and regional amateur bands, choral groups, and musical societies throughout Europe and North America brought a dramatic increase in the number of people competent to read musical notation. The music industry tapped into this new market by publishing pieces designed specifically for amateurs who lacked the technical and interpretive skills to do justice to the classical repertory but nevertheless wanted to play and sing for their own pleasure and that of their family and friends.

This new repertory, in the form of songs with keyboard accompaniment and compositions for keyboard or small instrumental ensembles, targeted the bourgeois household. Marketed at first as individual pieces of sheet music, this growing repertory also appeared in small collections of such pieces published as albums (or folios) and sometimes even in larger and more expensive hard-cover anthologies. Much nineteenth-century popular vocal music consisted of pieces written in a style generally similar in melodic and harmonic content to classical music of the era, but shaped into shorter, simpler formal structures, with fewer technical and expressive demands on the performer. Such “high-class ballads,” or “parlor songs,” as they were often called—works by Franz Abt, Henry Bishop, Virginia Gabriel, Ciro Pinsuti, Franz Kücken, Arthur Sullivan, Karl Eckert, Henry Russell, and hundreds of other songwriters—were published and performed throughout Europe and North America. In addition to being sung and played in the homes of middle-class amateurs, they were sometimes written for or interpolated into works for the popular musical theater. Publishers also addressed simplified arrangements of arias and songs from operas and operettas to the same amateurs who bought these parlor songs.<sup>5</sup> And there were collections of “folk” tunes arranged for voice and keyboard in the tonal and triadic style of early nineteenth-century classical music; typical of these were C. F. Peters’ often reprinted *Volks- und Studentenlieder für Pianoforte*, containing 120 German songs in simple arrangements by Victor Felix; *Chansons Anciennes Harmonisées*, published in Paris by Les Editions Ouvrières; Thomas Moore’s *Irish Melodies*; and the songs of Robert Burns.

Another sub-genre of popular music evolved in cabarets and other intimate venues, where patrons could enjoy food and drink as well as entertainment. Though most often associated with Paris (where the famous *Chat Noir* opened in 1881) and Berlin, cabarets could in fact be found all over Western and Eastern Europe and in major cities of North America.<sup>6</sup> The environment for which such songs were written shaped their style and substance. In the words of Klaus Wachsmann, “Cabaret provided an atmosphere in which innovation could flourish. . . . [It was] a place where painters, poets, composers and performing musicians could not only meet one another but confront the public, the bourgeoisie; and an element of provocative artistic statement was the essence of cabaret during its heyday.”<sup>7</sup> Cabaret songs, sometimes the work of classically trained composers, tended to be more sophisticated and more “modern” in musical style than were the popular songs performed in beer gardens, music halls, vaudeville, and the Victorian parlor.

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Popular keyboard music of the time derived at least in part from classical models. Henri Herz, Louis Moreau Gottschalk, Theodor Kullak, and other classically trained musicians wrote short character pieces, etudes, nocturnes, and sets of variations for amateur performance, as well as keyboard arrangements of excerpts from operas and other classical works. Another subset of the nineteenth-century popular repertory consisted of instrumental music to accompany social dancing, either arranged for small groups of instruments or published as a single melodic line to be played by violin (fiddle), flute, trumpet, bagpipes, or any other available melodic instrument. With such an assortment of genre, style, and medium, popular music of the nineteenth century can be defined less aptly by its musical style than by its function of serving the bourgeoisie's needs for music to be performed in the home, as theatrical entertainment, or for social dancing.

Throughout the nineteenth century and well into the twentieth (and perhaps even the twenty-first), a class-based distinction between classical and popular art held that the former was, by definition, intellectually, morally, and socially superior. "Democrats as we must be in government," wrote Philip H. Goepf in 1897, "there is no doubt that the bursts of popular will throughout the nineteenth century have had a sinister effect on art. The lower instincts with the lower classes have broken away from the higher. Within the right meaning, the true democrat in government not only can, [but] must be the true aristocrat in art."<sup>8</sup> Similar judgments persisted well into the twentieth century, as articulated in 1931 by the composer and critic Daniel Gregory Mason: "A fundamental axiom [holds] that majority taste is always comparatively crude and undeveloped, and that where it is allowed to dominate, art languishes and dies. Art survives and grows only where majority taste undergoes that winnowing and progressive refining whereby minority standards emerge from it."<sup>9</sup> Dwight Macdonald drew a distinction between the *people*, "a group of individuals linked to each other by common interests, work, traditions, values, and sentiments," and the *masses*, "a large quantity of people unable to express themselves as human beings because they are related to one another neither as individuals nor as members of communities." A society of the latter sort "tend[s] to cohere only along the line of the least common denominator; its morality sinks to that of the most brutal and primitive members, its taste to that of the least sensitive and most ignorant." Macdonald also argued that "mass culture is imposed from above. It is fabricated by technicians hired by businessmen; its audiences are passive consumers, their participation limited to the choice between buying and not buying."<sup>10</sup>

In practice, however, distinctions between popular and classical music in the nineteenth century have always been more elusive than such pronouncements might suggest. Certain types of popular music—parlor songs and piano music, and particularly cabaret songs—shared stylistic features with the classical repertory, and conversely many composers of classical music (including, among others, Haydn and Beethoven) made settings of folk songs for voice and piano. Popular songs and piano pieces were often included on recitals and concerts otherwise devoted to classical music, just as "art" songs appeared in vaudeville acts and revues. Snippets of classical compositions were often reworked into popular dance pieces, and many published song anthologies contained parlor songs and operatic arias interspersed with songs from the minstrel show and the music hall.<sup>11</sup>

Popular music has always been "performers' music," characterized by its flexible mode of presentation. Because composers of symphonies, chamber music, oratorios, and art songs attempted to "freeze" their compositions as "texts" by means of increasingly precise musical notation (which specified not only pitch and rhythm but dynamics, tempo, timbre, phrasing, and even articulation), usually only slight variations of tempo, dynamics, and phrasing differentiated one performance "event" of a given piece from others. Christopher Small has neatly summarized this ideology of autonomy and authority:

Each work gets to be thought of as a Platonic entity . . . to which all possible performances are only approximations, ephemeral and contingent to the existence of the work itself, [which] floats through history, untouched by time and change, waiting for listeners to draw out its meaning, by a process which Immanuel Kant called disinterested contemplation. That meaning is perma-

nent, possibly in cases of extreme greatness even eternal . . . [Performers] are merely the medium, the necessarily imperfect medium, through which the work has to pass.<sup>12</sup>

By contrast, popular music usually circulated in arrangements made by musicians other than the composer, hired for that purpose by publishing houses. Once a piece of popular music had entered the public realm (sometimes initially in performance rather than in print), the relationship of performers to the printed score was much more flexible than in the case of classical music. Though it was possible for a piece of popular sheet music to be sung or played precisely as the staff arranger had written it down, it was much more in the nature of the genre for the performer to adjust the tempo, dynamics, melody, harmony, instrumentation, and even structure to bring the piece more within his or her range of technical expertise and expression. An anonymous contributor to the *Albany State Register*, writing in 1852 of Stephen Foster's "Old Folks at Home," testified to the radically different modes of performance to which a popular song might be subjected:

Pianos and guitars groan with it, night and day; sentimental young ladies sing it; sentimental young gentlemen warble it in midnight serenades; . . . boatmen roar it out stentorally at all times; all the bands play it; amateur flute players agonize over it at every spare moment; the street organs grind it out at every hour; the "singing stars" carol it on the theatrical boards, and at concerts; . . . the milk-man mixes it up strangely with the harsh ding-dong accompaniment of his tireless bell; there is not a "live darkey," young or old, but what can whistle, sing, dance, and play it.<sup>13</sup>

By the time a piece of popular music reaches the listener, then, it usually has been doubly mediated, first by an arranger and then by its performers. It could be argued, therefore, that the primary source for a given piece of popular music is not the written score, or "text," but a performance based on this score or a recording of such a performance, that is, an "event." Two important corollaries follow from this. First, there is no *Urtext* for a piece of popular music but rather a succession of "events," each of equal validity though not necessarily of equal quality.<sup>14</sup> Second, in order to retain its identity when subjected to various arrangements and performances, a successful piece of popular music must have a "core" essence, a hard kernel of uniqueness, a "hook," that makes it recognizable as one and the same piece when heard in widely divergent arrangements and performances.

Virtually all nineteenth-century popular musics have certain features in common: they are, in comparison to most classical compositions, brief in duration; they were composed or arranged so as to be performable by amateurs; and they utilize the musical language of the common-practice repertory—that is, they are predominantly triadic and shaped in simple, symmetrical binary, ternary, strophic, or variation forms. Compared to classical music, they struck some people as nothing more than "mere bits and scraps of sentiment and melodrama in story song, asinine sighings over home and mother and lost sweethearts," as the novelist Theodore Dreiser wrote in 1918 of the songs of his own brother, Paul Dresser.<sup>15</sup> But after studying in Europe to be a classical composer, the American George W. Root turned to the writing of "people's songs" and observed that "[although] it is easy to write *correctly* a simple song, to so use the material of which such a song must be made that it will be received and live in the hearts of the people is quite another matter. . . . It was much easier to write when the resources were greater."<sup>16</sup>

The invention and refinement of sound recording around the turn of the twentieth century effected dramatic changes to the musical life of Europe and the Americas. The new commodity forms of the phonograph disc and cylinder made it unnecessary for the consumer to be musically literate or to go to a public venue to hear music. Early versions of the phonograph were clumsy and expensive, but by the first decades of the twentieth century, when less expensive and better models became available, the number of homes with "talking machines" approached and then quickly surpassed the number of households in which one or more members were capable of performing from printed music. By the 1920s the phonograph disc had equaled and then surpassed sheet music as the most important medium for the dissemination of

popular music. By the end of that decade, radio networks and sound films offered popular song yet additional means of mass circulation.

At precisely the same time many of the leading composers of classical music were abandoning some or all elements of the common-practice repertory in favor of ever increasing harmonic, melodic, rhythmic, and structural complexity. Though some classical compositions of this time—arias by Puccini and instrumental pieces by Rachmaninov, Debussy, and Ravel, for instance—were still acceptable to mass audiences in concert or recorded form, most “modern” music was unintelligible to and unperformable by amateurs. One would search the popular repertory of the twentieth century in vain for pieces written by, or arranged from, Richard Strauss, Alban Berg, Arnold Schoenberg, Igor Stravinsky, Béla Bartók, Paul Hindemith, Benjamin Britten, Karlheinz Stockhausen, Elliott Carter, or even Aaron Copland.

But composers of operettas, musical comedies, and nonbook stage entertainments (the music hall, vaudeville, cabaret, and burlesque) continued to write in a familiar musical language. Pieces excerpted from the stage works of Victor Herbert, Paul Lincke, Franz Lehár, Oscar Straus, Leo Fall, George M. Cohan, Emmerich Kálmán, Sigmund Romberg, Irving Berlin, and a host of younger composers made up a large percentage of the popular music of the first decades of the twentieth century. Although the music of each of these composers featured distinctive turns of melody, harmony, and rhythm, one can by the 1920s speak of an international popular style that, in its relative simplicity, differed fundamentally from the music of most “serious” composers of the day.

The situation when Weill began composing in Germany in the second and third decades of the twentieth century can be summarized as follows:

- “Popular music” had become the label for a product disseminated for profit as printed music or sound recordings, performed live as public entertainment, or used to accompany social dancing.
- Popular music continued to use the common-practice musical language of the nineteenth century, though with some modifications, and was thus more accessible to performers and audiences of a wider range of musical training, taste, and listening habits than was the more complex “modern” music of the time.
- Classical music was almost always performed as notated by the composer, whereas two stages of mediation, which were not necessarily under the control of the composer—arrangement and a highly flexible mode of performance—occurred before a piece of popular music reached its audience.
- Most composers, performers, teachers, and critics of classical music still regarded their repertory as being intellectually, artistically, morally, and socially superior to popular music.

## II

By 1927 Weill had begun questioning the elitist position that classical music occupied in Western culture and the implications of this attitude for his own work as a composer, as he wrote in a Berlin newspaper article:

A clear split is becoming apparent between, on the one hand, those musicians who, full of disdain for their audience, continue as it were by shutting out the public sphere to work on the solution to aesthetic problems and, on the other, those who enter into contact with some sort of audience, integrating their work into some sort of larger concern, because they see that above the artistic there is also a common human attitude that springs from some sense of communal belonging and which has to be the determining factor behind the genesis of a work of art.<sup>17</sup>

In 1929 he expanded on that thought in another newspaper article: “[T]oday a process of regrouping that is concerned with the elimination of the ‘socially exclusive’ character of art and that stresses the socially creative power of art is being accomplished in all artistic domains.”<sup>18</sup>

Weill believed that dance music functioned as a “socially inclusive” genre. “Unlike art music,” he had already written in a 1926 essay, “[it] does not reflect the sense of towering personalities who stand above time, but rather it

reflects the instincts of the masses.” He was particularly drawn to jazz, which “so completely expresses the spirit of our times that it has even been able to achieve a temporary influence over a certain part of serious art music. The rhythm of our time is jazz.”<sup>19</sup> Three years later he proclaimed, “In the midst of a time of heightened artistry, jazz appeared as a piece of nature—as the healthiest, most vigorous expression of art whose popular origins allowed it to rise instantly to an international folk music of the broadest consequence. Why should art music barricade itself against such an influence?” Weill asserted that for some composers, including himself, “jazz [had] a significant role in the rhythmic, harmonic, and formal relaxation that we have now attained and, above all, in the constantly increasing simplicity and comprehensibility of our music.”<sup>20</sup>

In Berlin Weill heard the dance bands of Erno Rapée, Julian Fuhs, and Marek Weber in hotels, cafés, and restaurants, as well on the radio. “No large radio station operates without jazz bands of the most modern type,” he observed in 1926; “every evening London offers jazz music from the Hotel Savoy, Rome from the Hotel di Russia.”<sup>21</sup> But little if any of the “jazz” that Weill heard at this time came directly from its country of origin, the United States. He did, however, hear the Paul Whiteman Orchestra in 1928, and he may have encountered an occasional black jazz player in a Berlin bar or restaurant; both Weill and Lenya recalled owning in those years a number of recordings of such American performers as the Revelers and Louis Armstrong.<sup>22</sup> J. Bradford Robinson has noted:

Two misconceptions haunt all discussions of the impact of jazz on the musicians of Weimar Germany. One is that the music they confronted was legitimate jazz; the other, that it was specifically American. Neither was the case. . . . The rare and isolated appearances of legitimate jazz in Weimar culture were overwhelmed by the great mass of commercial syncopated dance music, especially Germany’s home-grown product. . . . [Jazz] to Weimar Germany was an all-embracing cultural label attached to any music from the American side of the Atlantic; or indeed anything new and exciting.<sup>23</sup>

Jazz influences began to appear in Weill’s compositions in the early 1920s. Echoes of the “Algi-Song,” a fox-trot written around 1921, resonate in his children’s pantomime *Zaubernacht* of 1922. The saxophone appears for the first time in his one-act opera *Royal Palace* (1925–26), which features a fox-trot to accompany the dancing of hotel guests and concludes with a lengthy tango finale. We also know that the now lost two-act opera *Na und?*, which occupied Weill for most of 1926, included a “Shimmy trio.”<sup>24</sup> Although Weill made no attempt to write *Schlager* or hit tunes per se in the new jazz style for the popular market, his incorporating aspects of this idiom in his stage works allowed excerpts to be “popularized” to various degrees and with mixed results. For Weill’s evolving theatrical language, popular music served as both a crucial stylistic component of creation and, ironically, a yardstick by which to measure his music’s reception and dissemination outside the theater.

The first of Weill’s compositions to be targeted for popular exploitation in the German marketplace was the “Alabama-Song,” whose English-language text and title have been credited to Bertolt Brecht but were almost certainly authored principally by Brecht’s assistant Elisabeth Hauptmann. Shortly before getting a commission in March 1927 from the Deutsche Kammermusikfest in Baden-Baden to compose a one-act chamber opera, Weill had read Brecht’s *Hauspostille*, which included five poems grouped as the “Mahagonnygesänge”; two of these were written entirely in primitive English and generically titled with the word “Song”—the only poems in the volume to be so labeled. Weill later recalled that “as early as my first meeting with Brecht in Spring 1927 the word ‘Mahagonny’ emerged in a conversation about the possibilities of opera and with it the conception of a ‘Paradise City.’ In order to pursue further this idea, which had seized me immediately, and to test the musical style that I envisioned for it, I first composed the five Mahagonny Gesänge from Brecht’s *Hauspostille* and linked them into a small dramatic form, a ‘Songspiel,’ which was performed in Baden-Baden during the summer of 1927.”<sup>25</sup> The subtitle that Weill coined—*Ein Songspiel*, rather than *Singspiel*—evoked the stylistic, linguistic, and generic clash implicit in the provocative juxtaposition of the English-language *song* and the German *Spiel*.

Although both Brecht and Weill had used the term *Song* prior to their collaboration, Weill suggested in an interview in New York in 1935 that they had jointly coined the label to describe their new genre of theatrical singing and differentiate it from both the *Schlager* and the more elevated genres of Lied and Arie: “Bert Brecht, who did several librettos for me, and I coined a German word, ‘Song’ just that way. The term became very popular and was used extensively throughout Germany. It was quite different from ‘Lied.’ It corresponded, I suppose, to the better type of American popular song. And while it consisted of four or five verses and a refrain, it did not conform to a specific number of measures as your popular songs do here.”<sup>26</sup> But to the ears of the American Marc Blitzstein in 1930, Weill’s Songs differed markedly from their English-language cognates: “[Weill’s] idea of a ‘*sonk*’ is an outlandish mixture of German beer-drinking ditty and American ballad, accompanied *a la marcia* by jazz-band instruments betrayed into a Sousa formula.”<sup>27</sup> Like the mythical “Amerika” imagined from afar in *Mahagonny*, Weill and Brecht appropriated in the Song the German/American double-image characteristic of *Amerikanismus* in general, borrowing from both the *Schlager* and the American popular song but conforming to neither. As they continued to develop their overlapping but sometimes contradictory theories of “epic theater,” Weill and Brecht tended to reserve the generic label Song for vocal music with the most overt “gestic” function. Universal Edition (hereafter UE) advertised in the October 1928 issue of *Musikblätter des Anbruch*, for example, Weill’s “entirely new genre of chansons with social significance.” Weill wrote in 1929 that all Songs in *Aufstieg und Fall der Stadt Mahagonny* are “an expression of the masses, even where they are performed by the individual as spokesman of the masses.”<sup>28</sup> This “social dimension” may indeed account for the “popular” characteristics of the Weill/Brecht Song, particularly its dependence on modern dance idioms or “jazz.” Already in 1927, however, the generic label Song implied for Weill and Brecht a multiple verse-refrain structure treated strophically but with variations in successive stanzas.<sup>29</sup>

The Songspiel *Mahagonny* was performed on 18 July 1927 at the Baden-Baden music festival with a cast of four men and two women (identified only by such “American” first names as Billy, Bobby, Jimmy, and Jessie) and accompanied by a ten-piece dance-band-like orchestra. As Hans W. Heinsheimer, the head of UE’s stage division, recalled, the premiere caused something of a scandal:

[*Mahagonny*] was played against the background of a festival devoted to atonal cello sonatas and settings of Petrarchian sonnets for string trio, voice, and solo oboe. Most of the assembled musicians were shocked beyond belief. The public in the audience, who didn’t know that they weren’t supposed to, clapped and shouted their approval. Some left the hall happily humming the tunes. Nothing like it had ever marred a modern music festival. It was a terrible disappointment. What had happened to Kurt Weill?<sup>30</sup>

Weill and Brecht immediately began (or rather continued) work on the full-length *Aufstieg und Fall der Stadt Mahagonny*. Neither a piano-vocal score nor a full score of the *Songspiel* was published during Weill’s lifetime.<sup>31</sup> On 4 August 1927, however, the composer suggested to his publisher that “the ‘Alabama-Song,’ which you want to bring out as an arrangement for voice, piano, and violin, should be adapted by one of your specialists for those *Schlager* editions and then sent to me so I can check it.”<sup>32</sup> On 23 August UE sent the composer a draft version by one of its staff arrangers, Gustav Blasser; Weill returned it with some changes on 5 September. Although “Alabama-Song (Blues)” was printed in late November 1927 as a piece of sheet music for solo voice and piano—it was the first excerpt from one of Weill’s stage works to be published in this format—its release was delayed until 14 February 1928 to coincide with the promotion of a new series, “Der moderne Tanz in der Kunstmusik,” for which UE had in April 1927 commissioned a special cover design from Carry Hauser (see p. 91). In addition to “Alabama-Song” the first issues included “Leb’ wohl mein Schatz (Blues)” from Krenek’s *Jonny spielt auf*, Erwin Schulhoff’s *5 Etudes de Jazz*, and *Vier Tänze* by Alois Hába; Weill’s piece was the only one to carry the generic label *Song*.<sup>33</sup>

Undoubtedly some of Weill’s music for *Mahagonny* belongs in the realm of *Kunstjazz*, as exemplified by Igor Stravinsky’s *Rag-time* (1918) and *L’histoire du soldat* (1918), Paul Hindemith’s “Foxtrott” from his *In einer Nacht*, op. 15 (1919) and *1922: Suite für Klavier*, op. 26 (1922), Erwin Schulhoff’s *Fünf Pittoresken* (1919) and *Partita* (1922), William Walton’s *Façade* (1922), Darius Milhaud’s *Le boeuf sur le toit* (1919) and *La création du monde* (1923), and numerous other pieces that draw on elements of jazz. The insistent rhythm running through the refrain of “Alabama-Song,” two eighth notes followed by a quarter, is precisely the same “shimmy figure” that Robinson traces in contemporaneous German jazz primers by Mátyás Seiber, Alfred Baresel, and Arthur Lange.<sup>34</sup> Despite its misleading generic “Blues” subtitle, neither the harmonic structure nor the melodic contour of the piece suggests a connection with traditional or commercial American blues. As a matter of fact, in Weimar Germany the term *Blues* was understood to designate a type of popular song with a four-beat accompaniment in moderate tempo, roughly thirty-three measures per minute ( $\text{♩} = 66$ ).<sup>35</sup>

In the *Songspiel* the two female members of the cast, Jessie and Bessie, sing the “Alabama-Song” as a duet in three strophes: first a solo for Jessie with four phrases of the refrain calling forth *Sprechstimme* echoes by Bessie; then a solo for Bessie; and finally a duet with a unison verse but canonic (at the interval of two measures) refrain. Each strophe of the song contains a sharply contrasted verse and refrain:

verse	vamp(2)	x4	y4	x'7	y'8
refrain	vamp(2)	A8	B8	A'8	B'8

Weill notated the vocal line of the verses as *Sprechstimme*, a device used to great effect by Schoenberg in *Pierrot Lunaire* (1912) and Humperdinck in *Königskinder* (1897), but the melody of the refrain is conventionally notated. The asymmetrical phrase structure of the verse (4 + 4 + 7 + 8) contrasts with the symmetrical one (8 + 8 + 8 + 8) of the refrain (although the second phrase of the refrain, “We’ve lost our good old mamma,” might be interpreted as merely a variant of the first phrase, with similar melodic contour and almost identical rhythm). The anchorless vocal line of the verse is compressed into a tritone, comprising little more than chromatically embellished descending minor thirds (C–A, A–F#). The pervasive but nonsystematic dissonance of the accompaniment offers little additional tonal stability, even at cadences. The two measures of the opening vamp contain eleven of the twelve notes of the chromatic scale, lacking only a G# (or A♭), and the “harmony” thereafter features nontriadic clusters of eight to ten notes of the chromatic scale. In contrast, the refrain, despite persistent dissonances in the accompaniment, has a clear tonal center of G major and dominant-tonic cadences concluding the second and fourth phrases. The refrain’s expansive melodic contour creates maximal contrast, its range of a ninth exceeding that of the verses by a major third above and below.

When UE’s Ernst Loewy-Hartmann sent Weill a draft of Blasser’s arrangement of “Alabama-Song,”<sup>36</sup> he pointed out a few problematic spots: “We feel that the first part (up to the refrain) needs to be simplified further, especially in the left hand, as the interval of a second on the first and third beats throughout sounds very bad. We would suggest that these sharp dissonances on the first and third beat in all these measures be omitted. . . . The remaining harmonies will still express the grotesque nature of this passage, and the whole thing will sound much better on the piano. . . . We also wonder how you would like to handle the vocal line in the first part, because the original version has *Sprechgesang*.”<sup>37</sup> Weill suggested that the *Sprechstimme* of the verses be replaced with a conventionally notated vocal line taken from the draft’s violin part (of what was then still to be an arrangement for voice, violin, and piano). Instead of C–D–G and B–C#–F#, Weill opted for open fifths in the left hand. He inquired, “Will you print only one stanza? Would you consider incorporating the trill variation of the second stanza’s refrain, *ad libitum*, into the violin part?”<sup>38</sup> By the time UE sent galley proofs on 6 October, the arrangement included the text for all three strophes, but the idea of a violin part had been dropped.

Facsimile 1:  
“Alabama-Song”

A comparison of Weill's original setting with the sheet music version shows that the new accompaniment, intended for mass consumption by amateurs, was geared to keyboard players with limited technical skills. Accordingly, the "harmony" was simplified; the original 2/4 meter of the verse changed to C; and the rhythm present in literally every measure of the original verse—an eighth note followed by two sixteenths, then two eighths—replaced by rhythmic patterns using only quarter notes. Further, the two measures of the vamp contain only five notes of the chromatic scale rather than the original eleven, and these five are arranged so that they can be heard as an incomplete C-minor eleventh chord (C–E $\flat$ –G–[B]–D–F), or a C-minor triad with added second and fourth.

UE issued the "Alabama-Song" as a piece of sheet music for voice and piano, the customary format for popular songs, but without the usual colorful or eye-catching cover depicting some aspect of the song or of the stage show for which it was written. Instead, UE's all-purpose black and white cover and, conspicuously, the presence of a title page, conformed to the conventions of classical music publishing.<sup>39</sup>

So does the song itself. Although "Alabama-Song" draws textual images and rhythmic elements from popular music, a comparison with contemporary songs written for mass consumption in the 1920s—German *Schlager*, British music hall songs, French *chansons*, American Tin Pan Alley songs—shows that in musical style it does not conform at all. It shares the verse-refrain structure and thirty-two-measure refrain characteristic of American popular songs, but in its harmonic language it has almost nothing in common with such songs, which tend to be solidly tonal throughout, using triads or their extensions for vertical sonorities, with chromaticism limited chiefly to secondary dominant chords and dissonances resolving in conventional common-practice ways.

There are expressive differences as well. Lyrics of both American and German popular songs of the day tended to deal with such personal emotions as love, jealousy, and nostalgia. The pidgin English text of "Alabama-Song," sung by representatives of a corrupt, capitalist society obsessed with whiskey, money, and sex, is anything but escapist fantasy, and it makes little sense without the dramatic context.<sup>40</sup>

In publishing format, musical style, and expressive content, therefore, the "Alabama-Song" qualifies neither as a *Schlager* nor as an American popular song. Even with the harmonic simplifications introduced in the sheet music version, the verse remains harmonically ambiguous. On the one hand, the verse's melody, especially in the first four measures, suggests the key of A minor, and the verse's closing vocal pitches (A–G $\sharp$ –B–D–C) even imply a V<sup>7</sup>–I cadence in that key. The accompaniment of the verse, on the other hand, emphasizes the C–G fifth throughout much of the left hand, and the E $\flat$ –C interval in the right hand at the word "die" contradicts the A-minor implications of the melodic closing gesture. Even the refrain, with its symmetrical, four-phrase, thirty-two-measure melody in G major, exhibits such elements of musical modernism as the pedal points on G and C throughout, out-of-harmony notes in virtually every vertical sonority, pervasive dissonant chromaticism, and harmonies chosen for sheer sound rather than tonal function. For example, the striking diminished-seventh chord C $\sharp$ –E–G–B $\flat$  (with an added D) that appears in mm. 9–10 of the refrain does not resolve to its V<sup>7</sup> goal (D–F $\sharp$ –A–C) directly, but only at mm. 15–16. Weill further attenuates the leading-tone effect of this diminished-seventh chord by passing chromatically through the half-diminished seventh chord A–C–E $\flat$ –G at mm. 13–14. Functionally, to be sure, mm. 9–14 make sense as a prolonged dominant preparation in the key of G, with the diminished-seventh chord on C $\sharp$  understood as VII<sup>7</sup> of V and the half-diminished seventh chord on A understood as II<sup>7</sup> chord altered through modal mixture (*Mischung*). Nevertheless, it would have been more conventional for the more intense diminished-seventh chord to follow the more diatonic pre-dominant one. This way of undercutting leading-tone chromaticism was to prove a hallmark of Weill's song style.

*Mahagonny: Ein Songspiel* was conceived and written as a piece of classical music, precisely notated to ensure that all performances would be essentially

the same and intended for performance in a concert setting before an audience receptive to musical modernism and avant-garde theater. And despite Blasser's attempts to simplify the duet, the sheet music version of "Alabama-Song" retained too many elements of modernism to pass for a popular song. UE sold fewer than 700 copies during Weill's lifetime.

However, a recording of the piece by Marek Weber's orchestra might well qualify as a piece of popular music: disseminated by one of the mass media, this performance smoothed over the eccentricities of Weill's style and drew sufficiently on the instrumentation and rhythm of "jazz" to be heard as a piece of popular dance music.<sup>41</sup> Unlike most pieces of *Kunstjazz* by other composers, Weber's rendition of the "Alabama-Song" could be danced to, and, in fact, it was. The flip side of Weber's record presented Weill's "Tango Angèle," a piece that proved to be even trickier to adapt for a wider audience.<sup>42</sup> Although "Tango Angèle" uses rhythms associated with the popular dance of its title, its irregular phrase lengths, skips to distant tonal centers, and jagged dissonances distance the piece stylistically from popular dance music. Weill had written this instrumental tango for his one-act opera *Der Zar lässt sich fotografieren* (1927, libretto by Georg Kaiser), where it was to be played, at a climactic moment, by an onstage phonograph to accompany a duet between the Zar and a would-be assassin pretending to be the famous French photographer Angèle. "I myself made the arrangement for dance orchestra after a careful study of phonograph recordings," Weill reported to UE on 7 January 1928.<sup>43</sup> Otto Dobrindt's Saxophon-Orchester Dobbri recorded the piece on 11 January, with Weill present and perhaps conducting, and it was released commercially in time for the premiere of the opera in Leipzig on 18 February of that year.<sup>44</sup> In the wake of the opera's immediate success—by August 1928 thirty opera houses had announced plans to mount it—Weill and UE discussed the possibility of publishing the tango in a transcription for piano. "I sent you the partcell of the 'Tango Angèle' and the beginning of the piano arrangement. Perhaps you could check the piano version for pianistic aspects. It would be wonderful if you could use the same charming cover design that was used for 'Alabama-Song,'" Weill wrote on 23 February (less than a week after he had received the "Alabama-Song" as sheet music).<sup>45</sup> Even though two advertisements listed "Tango Angèle" as forthcoming, there is no evidence that the project was ever realized.

Marek Weber's experienced musicians took a slightly more liberal and relaxed approach to Weill's score, so the recording from early April seems more danceable than the one Weill himself supervised.<sup>46</sup> Despite his personal involvement with the first recording, Weill preferred Weber's version over that one, and on 26 May 1928 he advised UE, "The Marek Weber recording of 'Tango Angèle' and 'Alabama-Song' will be released on 1 June. Perhaps you could, on your own accord, tell the theaters to use this recording for *Zar* and create publicity for it."<sup>47</sup> Plans for a salon orchestra arrangement, which UE and Weill had discussed in April, fizzled. But the subject came up again in November, when UE reported that radio stations wanted to broadcast live performances of the "Tango Angèle," to be played from the parts created for the original recording. However, Lindström AG had not returned those musical materials to Vienna, and ultimately nothing came of the radio project.<sup>48</sup> Soon, of course, the sensational success of *Die Dreigroschenoper* would dwarf such previous attempts at popular exploitation of Weill's works.

*Die Dreigroschenoper*, an adaptation by Elisabeth Hauptmann, Brecht, and Weill of John Gay's *The Beggar's Opera* of 1728, premiered on 31 August 1928 in Berlin at the Theater am Schiffbauerdamm. Although Weill's publisher initially referred to it as an "opera-operetta" and a "Volksoper," Weill and Brecht preferred the designation "Ein Stück mit Musik" to distance their piece from opera and its audience.<sup>49</sup> "The opera-going public still represents a closed group seemingly removed from the large theater-going public," Weill wrote in an open letter to UE in 1928. "Opera was established as an artistic genre of the aristocracy, and everything one calls 'operatic tradition' only underlines the class basis of this genre. Today, however, there is no other artistic form in

the entire world whose bearing is so unabashedly engendered by the establishment.”<sup>50</sup>

Though hastily written and nearly withdrawn after a disastrous dress rehearsal, the piece achieved instantaneous and historic success, succinctly summarized by Kim Kowalke:

Within one year *Die Dreigroschenoper* had been performed more than 4200 times. Within a month of its premiere in Berlin, productions were announced for Vienna, Budapest, Munich, Frankfurt, Leipzig, and Hamburg. The caption of Universal’s advertisement, “Der Triumph eines neuen Stils,” applied to fifty cities in Italy, France, Russia, Switzerland, Czechoslovakia, Austria, and Scandinavia, as well as Germany. It was translated into eighteen languages for more than ten thousand performances within five years of its premiere.<sup>51</sup>

Eager to cash in on the overwhelming onstage success, UE commissioned the composer-conductor Norbert Gingold to proofread and emend Weill’s piano-vocal score of *Dreigroschenoper* for publication.<sup>52</sup> “They were in an awful hurry,” Gingold remembered, “and I had only a few days to do it. . . . When I found little mistakes here and there, I would immediately write little notes [to Weill], asking for clarification. He answered my questions quickly, because neither of us wanted mistakes, in spite of the rush.”<sup>53</sup> As Heinsheimer later recalled, this piano-vocal score, published on 24 October, sold “many more copies in the first few months of its existence than all other works by Weill had.”<sup>54</sup> Not only singers, conductors, and rehearsal pianists but even critics, who at that time were expected to be familiar with new pieces before reviewing them, needed scores for their professional involvement with *Dreigroschenoper*. But UE persuaded Weill that the publication of a full orchestral score was unnecessary, as conductors could work from the cued piano-conductor score provided with the rental performance materials.

Already on 21 August, just ten days before the first performance, Weill suggested to UE that “several numbers have the possibility to become popular very quickly,” and the Viennese publisher issued two pieces from *Die Dreigroschenoper* in sheet music form within a month of the premiere. “Tango-Ballade” (see p. 97) appeared as a solo piano arrangement of Macheath’s and Jenny’s “Zuhälterballade,” which UE decided to publish in purely instrumental format because “without the context of the stage and the work as a whole, [the lyrics] might be unnecessarily offensive.”<sup>55</sup> Weill argued without success that the lyrics should be included: “The appeal of the piece lies precisely in the fact that a somewhat risqué text (which, by the way, isn’t as offensive as many operetta texts) is composed in a tender, pleasant way.”<sup>56</sup> The front cover, as with all the *Dreigroschenoper* songs, is again Hauser’s black-and-white stock design—an attempt to create a show-specific cover failed—whereas the back cover catalogues UE’s series “Moderne Klavier-Musik zu zwei Händen.”<sup>57</sup> Macheath’s and Tiger Brown’s “Kanonen-Song” was arranged for a single voice with piano accompaniment. Although neither publication credits the arranger and the surviving manuscripts are not signed, a handwriting comparison reveals him to have been Isko Thaler.<sup>58</sup>

Four more sheet music publications of *Dreigroschenoper* songs followed in short order—“Barbara-Song,” “Ballade vom angenehmen Leben,” “Liebeslied,” and “Seeräuberjenny”—but it was not until June 1929, almost as an afterthought, that the “Moritat” appeared as well. Four of these five numbers were printed virtually unaltered from the plates of the piano-vocal score, with only minor adjustments to headers and footers, that is, titling, pagination, and plate numbering; they thus represent true *Einzelausgaben*, or offprints, of the larger work. Only the “Liebeslied” appeared in a slightly simplified arrangement. But Gustav Blasser also introduced structural changes to this *Tempo di Boston* number.<sup>59</sup> In his uncredited arrangement, Blasser omitted Weill’s melodramatic fourteen-measure introductory scene, which would have seemed odd in a popular song, and replaced it with an eight-measure introduction whose material derived from the song’s end. However, without the words spoken over the melodramatic tremolos in the piano—a sure signal that what follows is to be interpreted as a deadpan parody of an operetta love duet—the isolated lyric makes little sense; on 5 February 1929 the introductory material was—possibly at Weill’s request—reinstated for the second

printing. Lifted straight from the vocal score without simplification, these measures posed considerable challenges for any amateur pianist.

When sales of such separately published *Dreigroschenoper* songs lagged behind those of the complete piano-vocal score, Weill blamed his publisher. Scarcely a week after the publication of “Kanonen-Song,” he complained to UE that “none of the large stores [in Berlin] has displayed [it], nor have theater sales begun. As long as the work remains the subject of daily conversation in Berlin every lost day is a pity.”<sup>60</sup> A few weeks later he wrote even more sharply: “Not one music store has displayed the two numbers [“Kanonen-Song” and “Tango-Ballade”]. In the papers there are inquiries from the public asking why there is no music or any recordings of *Die Dreigroschenoper* . . . I’m raising this issue only because I honestly fear that by under-exploiting these popular numbers I may miss a good opportunity to assure my financial well-being for years to come.”<sup>61</sup> Several years later he was still complaining to UE that “the popular potential of *Die Dreigroschenoper* [wasn’t] exploited at all because the [sheet music] editions were bad and much too hard and have therefore remained totally obscure.”<sup>62</sup>

Weill was correct in pointing out that sales figures for the sheet music versions of the *Dreigroschenoper* songs didn’t reflect the phenomenal success of the show itself. Although there is no record of the actual number of copies sold, UE printed only 2,000 copies each of “Kanonen-Song” and “Tango-Ballade,” and only 1,000 copies each of “Liebeslied,” “Seeräuberjenny,” and “Moritat.”<sup>63</sup> By comparison, a highly successful Tin Pan Alley song in the United States during the 1920s generated sales of a million or more copies. And when the opportunity for real mass exposure did arise, UE hesitated. One of Berlin’s most prominent newspapers, the *Berliner Tageblatt*, which had a daily print run of a quarter million, approached Weill about reprinting a number from *Die Dreigroschenoper* in its weekly supplement, *Jede Woche Musik*. Weill endorsed the idea and quickly contacted UE: “I think it would be very good if you could license one number for this purpose, because such a publication has enormous value for publicity. Obviously, one would have to pick a piece that doesn’t have hit qualities, so music sales would not be affected, e.g., the ‘Grab-schrift’ no. 19 or (this would be very effective) the beginning of the Third Finale. If you agree I would suggest that you notify Mr. Rollé immediately.” Hans Heinsheimer did not agree; his penciled commentary on the margin of Weill’s letter reads: “No! First contact Director Hertzka. I’m against it, because they publish every piece of rubbish.”<sup>64</sup> However, three months later, on 15 December 1928, *Jede Woche Musik* printed a version of “Barbarasong” consisting of the piano part of the first strophe of UE’s edition, with text overlaid but no vocal part (see p. 123); the layout also included photographs of Weill, the Theo Mackeben Band, principals from the show, and several scenes from the Berlin production.

Facsimile 7:  
“Barbarasong” in  
*Berliner Tageblatt*

A highly respected and successful publisher of contemporary music, UE had little or no experience in the publication, promotion, and sale of popular sheet music. Marketing strategies for generating mass sales were not in place, and the firm was certainly at least partly to blame for the poor sales figures of the single-issue *Dreigroschenoper* numbers. Decades later Heinsheimer recalled the distress caused at UE by the unexpected success of *Die Dreigroschenoper*:

Until eight P.M. on that last night of August 1928, the world *première* of *The Three Penny Opera*, we had been the prototype of what Broadway from Berlin to New York calls, if not with contempt so surely with pity, a Standard Publisher. . . . Backstage, minutes after the final curtain, while we were pushed around by hysterical actors, happy musicians, stagehands who couldn’t have cared less, falling props, and well-wishers who only a few hours earlier had been prophets of doom, a man who looked like the personification of His Master’s Voice and turned out to be just that had clawed his way towards Hertzka and had offered him money if he would let him record a show album of *Dreigroschenoper*. He did not *ask* for money to record one of our publications—he *offered* it. . . . [Now we were] a Popular Publisher. . . . It was a delicious disgrace.

We were, of course, completely unprepared for our new station in life. The only song we had ever plugged was Mahler’s *Song of the Earth*. Everything we were now expected to do we had to learn from scratch. . . . We subscribed to trade magazines whose enormous formats and outlandish, incomprehen-

sible language we were unable to master, as we tried to grasp the meaning of an entirely new vocabulary. Screenings, lead sheets, slick showcase demos, packaging concepts, record exploitation, A&R men, show albums, performance campaigns, disk jockey drives, folios, payola, song books, jingles, bridges, theme songs, teen pops, standards, international tuners, blues, country, western, folk, evergreens, charts, global blockbusters.<sup>65</sup>

UE's inadequate response notwithstanding, however, it cannot be denied that Weill's songs, despite their effectiveness on stage, were, in fact, not particularly prone to popularization. The vocal numbers in *Die Dreigroschenoper* were written in what Weill called his "song style," which he described as "a very light, singable style, since the songs must be performed by actors."<sup>66</sup> Examination of two songs from *Dreigroschenoper* may illustrate some characteristics of this so-called song style, which proved resistant to mass-market popularization. The first, "Seeräuberjenny," unfolds in three strophes, each of which exhibits the following structure:

vamp2//A4 A'6+2//B4 B'4//C5

This structure, which is, in fact, even more complex than this diagram suggests, has nothing in common with the conventions of a *Schlager*. For one thing, the piece is actually a strophic variation. Whereas the sections identified as A and B share the same tempo, accompaniment figuration, and harmonic instability, the C section contrasts in all of these respects. Each of the three strophes also has a different instrumental accompaniment (this is, in fact, not reflected in the sheet music version, which uses the same accompaniment for each strophe). Nor does Weill's harmonic language have much in common with that of the typical *Schlager* of the day. Weill's chords may be commonplace enough, extended beyond triads to seventh and ninth chords, but they often don't progress according to the expectations of common-practice functional harmony. For instance, the accompanying chords for the A section don't establish an unambiguous key; the first chord is a C-minor triad (C–E $\flat$ –G), the second a dominant seventh on A with augmented fifth (A–C $\sharp$ –E $\sharp$ –[F]–G), the third a minor seventh chord on E $\flat$  (E $\flat$ –G $\flat$ –B $\flat$ –D $\flat$ ) over an A $\flat$  in the bass, and the fourth a half-diminished seventh chord on F (F–A $\flat$ –C $\flat$ –E $\flat$ ). Theodor W. Adorno was quick to point out the effect of the "surrealistic" use to which Weill put such traditional harmonic materials:

[This] music is allowed to employ triads because it doesn't believe in them; rather, it destroys them through the very manner in which they are used. . . . The harmonic design corresponds here, it barely recognizes the principle of progression anymore, or the tension of a leading tone, or the function of a cadence, but instead lets go of the last trace of communication between the chords.<sup>67</sup>

Though phrase lengths coincide with harmonic rhythm in the B section, the bass moves harmonically out of phase with the triads above it; for example, in m. 1 the D $\flat$  and A $\flat$  in the bass contradict the E $\flat$ -minor triad. And in yet another departure from common-practice harmonic procedures, the final section of the song jumps abruptly to, and ends in, F $\sharp$  minor, a tritone removed from the C-minor triad with which the piece had begun. Rhythmically the "shimmy figure" of the "Alabama-Song" permeates sections A and B. This, combined with the saxophone, trumpet, banjo, and drum called for in Weill's orchestration, gives the piece the unmistakable flavor of Weimar "jazz."

On stage, "Kanonen-Song" (p. 102) is a duet in three strophes for Macheath and Tiger Brown, a rousing celebration/indictment of the brutality and insensitivity of European imperialism in Asia and Africa:

Facsimile 3:  
"Kanonen-Song"

introduction	6 mm. (2+2+2)
vamp	2 mm.
verse	: 8 mm. (4+4)
refrain	20 mm. (4+4+4+4+4) :   [first ending, 8 mm. (2+2+2+2) second ending, 2 mm.]

The last beat of the first and second refrains overlaps with the first beat of the first ending, which repeats the introduction (six measures) and the vamp (two measures) to introduce strophes two and three; the second ending, used for only the third strophe, serves as a brief coda. The song shares its verse-refrain structure with most popular songs, but the refrain consists of five phrases rather than the four usually found in such pieces. The two singers alternate two-measure phrases in the "Charleston Tempo" in the verse and the middle section of the refrain; they sing in unison for the first eight and last four measures of the refrain. As was Weill's custom in multistanza songs, the relatively light orchestration of the first strophe becomes increasingly complex in the second and third, an effect that Weill and Gingold did their best to retain in the piano-vocal score. But Thaler's arrangement of the sheet music version of "Kanonen-Song" adheres to the model of the reworked "Alabama-Song" for voice and piano: the two vocal lines are collapsed into one, and the piano accompaniment remains the same for each of the three verses and three refrains; thus a strophic variation is reduced to a purely strophic song, eliminating both variety and momentum.

The melody moves in clear tonal directions: the introduction begins in A minor and cadences on its dominant, E major; the verse starts in B minor and moves to its minor dominant, F $\sharp$  minor; and the refrain continues in this key before cadencing in the home tonality of A minor. The accompaniment, however, contains quartal harmonies and other combinations of notes that contradict the harmony implied by the melody, as at the beginning of the verse, where the melody is solidly in B minor but the bass line outlines tonic-subdominant progressions in E. The way Weill sets up this B minor/E minor dualism is typical of the way in which he gradually turns nonharmonic tones into something that sounds more structural. In the two-measure vamp that precedes the vocal entrance, the offbeat F $\sharp$ –C $\sharp$  fifths sound like decorative neighbor notes to the accented E–B, especially since Weill has just tonicized E. The F $\sharp$ s and C $\sharp$ s in mm. 1–2 of the vocal melody arise as doubling of these neighbor tones in the vamp, but now, because of the melodic contour, with its high point on D, the F $\sharp$  and C $\sharp$  sound more like a dominant of B minor than a neighboring chord to E minor.

Songs such as "Kanonen-Song" and "Seeräuberjenny" thus could hardly be expected to top the charts. Written at the same time that Weill and Brecht were formulating the concept of "epic theater" (characterized by "new forms and content emphasizing the contemporary and the technological, a new style of acting and directing that de-emphasized emotion, and a new spectator expected to both enjoy and be instructed by what happened on stage"), the music of *Die Dreigroschenoper* demanded a style of presentation that Weill described as "gestic."<sup>68</sup> This manner of "epic singing" was less "personalized" than the singing in traditional modes of opera or operetta, more a matter of "reporting" than "expressing" situations and emotions. Above all, in its direct address to the audience, it was self-conscious of its "performative" function. The lyrics of most of the *Dreigroschenoper* songs were not intended to convey personal emotions but were in effect slogans, instructing the audience in the correct response to the events taking place on stage. "Seeräuberjenny," whose lyrics dispassionately address the plight of the *Lumpenproletariat* in a capitalist society, was assigned to the role of Polly, who was to sing it to entertain the guests in the wedding scene in the stable.<sup>69</sup> (Because the song had no real plot function, Lotte Lenya, who recapped her signature role of Jenny in the film version, could sing it there without any change whatsoever.) Somehow, however, whether sung by Polly or Jenny, at the wedding in the stable or prior to a coupling in the brothel, Weill's music transformed the words into an emphatically personal statement. This can be heard even on the earliest recordings.<sup>70</sup> Bob Dylan recalls his first encounter with this "wild song" at the Theater de Lys: "It's a nasty song, sung by an evil fiend . . . It leaves you breathless. In the small theater when the performance reached its climactic end the entire audience was stunned, sat back and clutched their collective solar plexus."<sup>71</sup>

The seven individual sheet music selections and the piano-vocal score issued by UE were not the only publications of music from *Die Dreigroschenoper*. *Musik für Alle*, a serial publication devoted to making "gute Hausmusik"

available to amateur musicians in the form of piano transcriptions of operas, operettas, and other classical and semiclassical pieces, devoted one issue to *Die Dreigroschenoper*. Issue number 274 (1929) featured eleven numbers from the work, including the overture, most of the principal songs, and excerpts from two of the finales; the issue also contained a brief essay about the work and several photographs of the Berlin production. As was the practice with *Musik für Alle*, the music appeared on just two staves, with texts of vocal numbers placed above the right hand of the piano accompaniment, allowing for performance either by voice and piano or by piano alone. This format enabled the arrangement of “Kanonensong” to fit on a single page (see p. 109). In comparison with UE’s sales figures of *Dreigroschenoper* material, those of the *Dreigroschenoper* issue of *Musik für Alle*, published by the large Ullstein publishing house, proved far more successful: as Hertzka told Weill, Ullstein based its guaranteed minimum royalty payment to UE on a projected sale of 20,000 copies.<sup>72</sup>

Facsimile 4:  
“Kanonensong”  
in *Musik für Alle*

Some pieces from *Dreigroschenoper* were also arranged for concert and recital performance by professional musicians. Weill himself reworked eleven pieces from the show into a concert suite of eight movements for seventeen wind instruments, which he named *Kleine Dreigroschenmusik für Blasorchester*. After its February 1929 premiere, conducted by Otto Klemperer, this “suite”—a term that Weill deliberately avoided for the title—found its way into concert halls very quickly. By 1933 more than one hundred ensembles had performed it, and performances were often broadcast because the arrangement for wind instruments was particularly suitable for early broadcast technology. That same year, 1929, the virtuoso violinist Stefan Frenkel, a champion of Weill’s Concerto for Violin and Wind Orchestra, op. 12, arranged *Sieben Stücke nach der Dreigroschenoper* for violin and piano. These virtuosic showpieces feature difficult passagework, octaves, and double- and triple-stops for the violinist, as may be seen in the first and third strophes of “Kanonensong” from this set (see p. 112). Weill had originally notated the piece without key signature, as he did most songs in the work, but Frenkel added key signatures to several sections of his arrangement to reduce the number of accidentals. Weill preferred Frenkel’s arrangement over the more *volkstümlich* version of “Tango-Ballade” for violin and piano submitted by Rolf Agop, an aspiring conductor who was studying with Hans Pfitzner at the time in Munich. For the reprint of Frenkel’s arrangement in 1932, UE asked him to provide an optional, simplified violin part, “because the original version can be performed only by a very few virtuosos.”<sup>73</sup>

Facsimile 5:  
“Kanonensong”  
arranged for  
violin and piano

Weill’s use of contemporary dance idioms made his songs obvious candidates for dance arrangements. In 1926 UE had initiated a series of arrangements for salon orchestra and small orchestra, titled “Vindobona Collection,” which featured music by composers ranging from Anton Bruckner to Leo Blech that could also serve as accompaniment for silent films. For Weill’s new jazz style, however, the publisher felt the need to establish a new sub-series, the “Vindobona-Collection Jazz-Serie.”<sup>74</sup> With no expert arranger on staff, or even a suitable candidate living in or near Vienna available, UE sent Weill a list of four arrangers in Berlin: Jerzy Fitelberg, Nico Dostal, Hermann Krome, and Hartwig von Platen. Weill had hoped that the musical director of the original production of *Die Dreigroschenoper*, Theo Mackeben, would create the arrangements. As he was unavailable, however, Weill picked the first name on the list, although Fitelberg was the least experienced of the four.<sup>75</sup> In a letter to Weill, UE’s Alfred Kalmus summarized the firm’s expectations in publishing such arrangements for salon orchestra with optional jazz instruments: “The main purpose of such separate editions is that the numbers be sold and played as often as possible. . . . In this so-called excerpt business we must issue editions similar to the popular editions published by such firms as Dreimaskenverlag, Alberti, Bohemeverlag, etc., whereby one must be careful that the arrangements keep up with the ‘latest fashion.’ Unfortunately this is always changing and we therefore ask Mr. Fitelberg to familiarize himself with the latest editions of this genre from the above-named firms.”<sup>76</sup> The letter reveals UE’s lack of experience in publishing and marketing popular music, inexperience that would repeatedly lead to publishing missteps. For printing

Fitelberg’s arrangements of “Tango-Ballade” and “Kanonensong,” for example, UE selected a paper size (9.4" × 12.3") similar to that for the sheet music (9" × 12"); apparently no one at UE was aware that a smaller format (6.9" × 10.6") was by then the internationally accepted standard for dance band publications. On 26 February 1929 Weill wrote to tell UE that “Barnabas von Geczy is creating a dance potpourri from *Die Dreigroschenoper* by grouping several numbers in a ‘slow-fox’ tempo, so the whole affair can be used both as a potpourri and as a dance number. He told me it is very important that all these hit editions are published in the same small format that is customary among café and dance bands.”<sup>77</sup> UE’s production records indicate that they seized the opportunity and commissioned the well-known band leader to arrange a “Blues-Potpourri” and a “Foxtrot-Potpourri,” but Geczy’s arrangements, which he created in collaboration with his second pianist, Herbert Jäger, were never published.<sup>78</sup> When that project faltered, UE approached Hartwig von Platen to step in, and within two months after the publication of his arrangements—which appeared in the smaller paper format—Weill could report that these and other instrumental arrangements of music from *Die Dreigroschenoper* were “performed in the programs of countless restaurants, cinemas, radio broadcasts, etc.”<sup>79</sup>

The burgeoning phonograph industry scrambled to acquire recording rights for the *Dreigroschenoper* songs, which appeared between 1928 and 1932 on more than forty shellac discs on twenty different labels in vocal, instrumental, and dance arrangements.<sup>80</sup> Many recordings featured singers from the first production, including Harald Paulsen, Lotte Lenya, Kurt Geron, and Carola Neher. Recordings by French orchestras and the chanteuses Lys Gauty, Odette Florelle, and Marianne Oswald followed, and soon discs sung in Danish or Czech and even in Japanese appeared. But Weill later noted with regret that, with very few exceptions, the songs “are played in ‘arrangements’ that have nothing to do with my instrumentation.”<sup>81</sup>

The audience for *Dreigroschenoper* and its songs expanded in 1931 with the release of a Tobis-Warner-Produktion film version, directed by Georg Wilhelm Pabst. Although both Weill and Brecht had filed suit against the producers to stop its production, once it was released Weill urged UE to capitalize on the film by “concentrat[ing] on one or at most two numbers and to make real popular numbers of them, like the Berlin popular publishers with their film hits.”<sup>82</sup> But UE, insisting that “experts in the film business don’t put out single numbers from films, but albums of 4–5 numbers,” instead brought out a folio of four songs from *Dreigroschenoper* printed directly from the plates of the piano-vocal score (“Moritat,” “Seeräuberjenny”) and the sheet music editions (“Liebeslied,” “Kanonensong”).<sup>83</sup> Much of Weill’s music did not appear in the film: only twenty-eight and a half minutes of the original score survived the transfer from stage to screen. In addition to the four re-released songs, the film featured “Barbara-Song” and “Lied von der Unzulänglichkeit menschlichen Strebens” as sung numbers.<sup>84</sup> But the film offered no opportunity to capitalize on the “Tango-Ballade,” which had been one of the most popular numbers from the stage work. By then the “Moritat” had been recorded a number of times, so UE commissioned Isko Thaler to arrange that number for jazz and salon orchestra, and published the stock arrangement as “Moritat von Mackie Messer.”

A French-language version of the film, made at the same time as the German but with a different cast under the title *L’opéra de 4 sous*, prompted Editions Max Eschig of Paris to publish six songs from the show in arrangements for voice and piano, with lyrics translated by André Mauprey. These were the first songs by Weill to be issued in a genuinely “popular” context, in a series titled “Les succès de films.” Eschig also published these songs for voice alone—a common format in France—thus making them accessible to anyone with even a minimal competence in singing from musical notation.<sup>85</sup> As may be seen from “Chant des canons,” the version of “Kanonensong” published in this series (see p. 119), the front covers for these songs featured a photograph of two stars from the French film, Albert Préjean and Florelle; the back covers offered incipits of hit songs from other popular films, rather than lists of Weill’s “serious” works such as those found on the back covers of UE’s editions. Initially Eschig had intended to print all

Facsimile 6:  
“Chant des canons”  
for voice only



seven songs that UE had published as *Einzelausgaben*. However, “Chant d’amour” (“Liebeslied”), though listed on the front covers of the six *chant seul* versions, never appeared, possibly because of its limited appeal as a popular song. “Tango-Ballade,” on the other hand, reclaimed its lyrics and original title, “Zuhälterballade,” which now became the subtitle, “Ballade du souteneur.”

Because the sub-publishing contract between UE and Eschig, signed on 24 July 1930, had been in the works since April, the French publishing house probably initially intended to release the sheet music on the occasion of the French stage premiere of *Die Dreigroschenoper* in October 1930 at the Théâtre Montparnasse. But when that production flopped, Eschig stopped the press. When the film was released a year later, in November 1931, and generated strong box office demand, Eschig resumed publication.<sup>86</sup> On 9 December 1931 Weill reported to UE that “friends of mine are just getting back from Paris and confirm once again the spontaneous success of my music in Paris. The whole world wants my music and recordings, and the Mackie Messer song is sung in the streets.”<sup>87</sup> In an attempt to capitalize on the fact that the film gave such prominence to “L’inanité de l’effort humain” (“Lied von der Unzulänglichkeit menschlichen Strebens”)—all four stanzas were sung—Eschig published this number in piano-vocal format in July 1932, some eight months after the release of the French film.

Weill had high hopes that *Die Dreigroschenoper* would make a successful Atlantic crossing. The work was first introduced in the United States in Pabst’s film version which opened at the Warner Theater in Manhattan in May 1931, still in German and with only an inaccurate English synopsis printed in the program. The film found neither critical nor popular acceptance. But the Broadway production of the stage work in April 1933 provided a more promising opportunity. Weill wrote to UE in February 1933: “As to the situation abroad, I firmly intend . . . to go to New York for the *Dreigroschenoper* premiere. If the music is done well and my name properly promoted there, after six months I could have the same position in New York that I have in Paris.”<sup>88</sup> He hoped that UE’s sub-publishing agreement with Max Dreyfus, the head of Harms, Inc., would result in his giving *The 3-Penny Opera* “the same care he devotes to the Gershwin works.”<sup>89</sup> But the production was misconceived, and by April 1933 Weill had fled Germany to Paris and abandoned his plans to attend rehearsals and the premiere. UE reported to Weill in Paris that “*The 3-Penny Opera* had to close after just 10 days. To be sure, this is especially unfortunate and catastrophic news.”<sup>90</sup> Despite the Broadway failure, Harms, even one year after *Die Dreigroschenoper* had folded, was still toying with the idea of trying to turn “Moritat” into a hit. In May 1934 Alfred Kalmus reported to Weill that “the publisher Harms-Dreyfus has approached us for permission to turn ‘Moritat’—equipped with a new English lyric—into a so-called ‘popular song,’ something that, in our terminology, corresponds to a Schlager.”<sup>91</sup> Weill was quick to respond:

Regarding the popular edition of “Moritat,” nothing speaks against it, provided my music isn’t distorted beyond recognition (because that would do me more harm than the whole affair might be of service to me). Since there are many excellent arrangers over there, I’m convinced that we can find someone who could turn “Moritat” into a hit without substantial changes to the character of my music. As a verse, one could use “Der Mensch lebt durch den Kopf,” leading straight into the “Moritat,” just as I did in no. 2 of the Suite [*Kleine Dreigroschenmusik*]. Could you kindly tell me what my share would be in the case of such a popular edition of “Moritat,” especially with regard to the small rights, which I consider most important in such a case.<sup>92</sup>

Although an addendum to the general sub-publishing contract from April 1933 was signed on 10 July 1934, the project was never consummated. The stage work would not be produced professionally again in the United States until 1954, and Weill would not live to see “Mack the Knife” lead the American hit parade.

Meanwhile, in Central Europe selected songs from *Die Dreigroschenoper* were appearing in a number of popular serial publications and collections.<sup>93</sup> UE’s own anthology, *Von Zwölf bis Zwölf funkt Wien*, comprised forty songs, grouped into collections such as might be broadcast in a series of time slots

on a radio program running from noon to midnight. “Ballade vom angenehmen Leben” appeared in the last slot, entitled “10–12 Uhr: Jazzband-Übertragung.” In this anthology Gustav Blasser received credit for his slightly simplified piano arrangement with text overlay. Released in October 1929, the anthology outsold all of UE’s individual sheet music publications of *Dreigroschenoper* songs, and the first print run of 6,000 copies sold out in less than a year, prompting UE to print another 4,000 copies.

The most successful publishers of popular music in Germany and Austria (such as the aforementioned Dreimaskenverlag, Bohème-Verlag, Anton J. Benjamin) favored the anthology format. Anthologies of *Schlager* were mostly issued in series with titles such as *1000 Takte Tanz, Bühne und Tanz*, or *Zum 5 Uhr Tee*, and always featuring eye-catching covers with fashionable art deco designs in full color. Another type of anthology, equally popular and with equivalent print runs, concentrated on popular classical numbers and excerpts from operettas, which were collected in sturdy hardcover editions of 150 pages or more and with conservative cover designs. Anton J. Benjamin’s *Musikalische Edelsteine*, for example, contained piano versions of operas, operettas, salon pieces, songs, dances, and marches. Volume 14 of that series, published in 1931, opens with a potpourri of nine pieces from *Die Dreigroschenoper* in simplified arrangement for piano by Leo Minor (see p. 125). Remarkably, Minor retained all the original keys except for a brief excerpt from the “Zweites Dreigroschenfinale,” which he transposed down a whole step. Because the numbers do not appear in the order in which they occur in the play, and given that the penultimate reprise of “Kanonen-Song” precedes a coda that recalls the overture with which the potpourri begins, the collection is less a condensed version of *Die Dreigroschenoper* than a piano cycle. About two years earlier the publisher Neufeld und Henius had issued the twelfth volume of a series of anthologies titled *Sang und Klang*, which contained both “Kanonen-Song” and “Tango-Ballade”; correspondence between the series editor, Leo Blech, and Hertzka indicates that it enjoyed an astonishingly high print run of 60,000 copies.<sup>94</sup>

Overall then, *Die Dreigroschenoper* achieved considerable popular and commercial success: it attained an unprecedented number of performances on stage; the piano-vocal score sold many thousands of copies; phonograph discs of its music circulated in large numbers in continental Europe; a film adaptation was widely shown in Germany and France; and individual pieces from the show were published, performed, and recorded in a variety of arrangements. Weill was pleased with all of this, writing to UE on 14 October 1929 that “the fact that my *Dreigroschenoper* music has been commercialized doesn’t speak against it, but for it, and we would be falling back into our old mistakes if we were to deny certain music its importance and artistic value simply because it found its way to the masses.”

But Weill also felt that “true popularization . . . could result only from sheet music sales,” and individual songs from the show did not achieve mass distribution in sheet music format, at least not during his lifetime.<sup>95</sup> Despite their use of rhythms and instruments associated with popular dance music, the numbers contained too many traces of musical modernism: the absence of key signatures; the use of nontriadic vertical sonorities and nonfunctional sequences of chords; and newly arranged piano accompaniments that were, as Weill put it, “bad and much too hard.” These features, not to mention Brecht’s idiosyncratic lyrics, prevented successful mass marketing of the *Dreigroschenoper* songs in sheet music form.

After the premiere of *Die Dreigroschenoper* in late August 1928, Weill continued to work with Brecht on the libretto of the full-length *Mahagonny*, but the composer participated in several other projects as well. He was commissioned, as were Max Butting and Heinz Tiessen, two former colleagues in the Novembergruppe, to write a song for “Berlin im Licht,” a festival held 13–16 October 1928 “to show that [though] Berlin had been cloaked in a shroud, both figuratively and literally, [it] was now emerging as a new ‘city of light.’”<sup>96</sup> The four-day event featured illumination of Berlin’s architectural landmarks, his-

Facsimile 8:  
*Die Dreigroschenoper*  
potpourri

toric avenues, stores, and factories. It drew two million residents into the streets, and the spectacle attracted twenty special trainloads of visitors from other German cities. Weill's "Berlin im Licht-Song," which he labeled a "Slow-Fox," was first performed at a promenade concert by a military band (in Weill's setting); later it was sung in a cabaret performance by Paul Graetz. Based on an internal UE review undertaken by Erwin Stein, who considered Butting's and Tiessen's contributions harmonically and melodically too radical for *Gebrauchsjazz*, UE rejected both of their compositions for lack of popular appeal but published a version of Weill's song for voice and piano and also an arrangement for dance band by Otto Lindemann.<sup>97</sup> Advertising "Berlin im Licht-Song" as a continuation of the successful songs begun with *Mahagonny* and *Dreigroschenoper*, UE proudly proclaimed that Weill had created "an entirely new genre of chansons with social significance."<sup>98</sup>

Other projects included incidental music for two plays that opened in Berlin around this time, Leo Lania's *Konjunktur* (April 1928) and Lion Feuchtwanger's *Die Petroleuminseln* (November 1928); both plays attacked the greed of the international oil industry and the attendant negative impact on the environment and local populations.<sup>99</sup> Weill also wrote two works specifically for radio broadcast in 1929: *Das Berliner Requiem*, a setting of antiwar texts by Brecht, and *Der Lindberghflug*, also to a text by Brecht, a distinctly nonheroic ode to the American aviator whose solo flight across the Atlantic was seen by some as the outstanding technological and human achievement of the age.<sup>100</sup> These works reveal Weill's populist politics, which prompted him to use the modern media to reach a larger and less "elite" audience than he had addressed in his earliest compositions. "The radio audience" in particular, he noted, "is composed of all classes of people: It is impossible to apply the assumptions of the concert hall to [it]. For in its conception, concert music was meant for a definite and limited circle of cultured and affluent classes. For the first time radio poses for the serious musician of the present the task of creating works which can be taken up by as large a circle of listeners as possible. . . . [T]he means of musical expression must not cause any difficulty for the untrained listener."<sup>101</sup>

With the exception of the "Berlin im Licht-Song" and *Der Lindberghflug*, none of these occasional works was published;<sup>102</sup> to make some of this music available, however, in 1929 UE brought out a folio, titled *Song-Album*, which contains five pieces drawn from these works, in arrangements for voice and piano, as well as "Ballade von der sexuellen Hörigkeit," a number from *Dreigroschenoper* that had been cut from the original production and not included in the published piano-vocal score out of fear that the text would be considered scandalous. All six pieces in the *Song-Album* are in Weill's song style; they all adhere to simple verse-refrain or strophic form and draw on the rhythms of popular social dances or marches; and several have suggestions of German folk music.

Facsimile 9:  
"Das Lied von den  
braunen Inseln"

The version in this album of the slow-fox "Das Lied von den braunen Inseln" (see p. 139) from *Die Petroleuminseln* is a good example of Weill's use of pure strophic form:

introduction	4 mm.
verse	: 16 mm. (8+8)
refrain	16 mm. (8+8) :
	[first ending, 2 mm.
	second ending, 2 mm.]

Despite its regular phrasing, this song too is harmonically more complex than most popular music at the time, and Weill dispensed with a key signature, even though the refrain clearly suggests D major. Compared to songs from *Die Dreigroschenoper*, however, the piano accompaniment is simple enough to allow performance by amateur pianists. In Feuchtwanger's three-act drama the song had been prominently placed at the opening: as the curtain rises, a gramophone aboard an ocean liner is playing the song; this generates a heated argument among the passengers, which ends in a scuffle and the destruction of the record. At various moments throughout the play, some of the characters sing the song or snatches of it, though in an off-hand remark, the ship's cap-

tain refers to it as "a bad song, not worth a gramophone disc."<sup>103</sup> A noncommercial record of the song had been produced for use in the stage production, but even after its publication in the *Song-Album* "Das Lied von den braunen Inseln" did not generate further interest. This is understandable: Feuchtwanger had tailored the lyric to the play, and the song made little sense when removed from the dramatic context; the lyric itself is strangely heavy-handed and repetitive, and not easily memorized.<sup>104</sup>

Two other songs in the *Song-Album*, "Muschel von Margate" and "Vorstellung des Fliegers Lindbergh," were commercially recorded in 1931 for the Austrian Paloma label by the tenor Otto Pasetti.<sup>105</sup> Paloma released the record as part of a small sub-series entitled "Exzentrische Musik."<sup>106</sup> Given the politically and socially engaged lyrics and the eccentricities of Weill's harmonic language, none of the *Song-Album*'s six numbers could reasonably have aspired to a mass audience. The *Song-Album* sold fewer than 700 copies during Weill's lifetime.

Around the time the *Song-Album* went to press in September 1929 Weill reported to UE that he was working on two workers' choruses with texts by Brecht, an original composition entitled "Die Legende vom toten Soldaten" and a new adaptation of "Zu Potsdam unter den Eichen" from his *Berliner Requiem*, which had been included in the *Song-Album* in an arrangement for voice and piano by Norbert Gingold. UE promised to publish both in its "rote Reihe" (red series). When Weill submitted his manuscripts in mid-December he reported that several workers' choruses were already planning to sing the works, and that the Arbeitersängerbund, an umbrella organization for such choruses, had inquired about the availability of materials. Weill gave directions for publishing "Zu Potsdam unter den Eichen": "[T]he piano part needs to be added just as in the *Song-Album*. In the last stanza only, the section which quotes the Lied 'Üb immer Treu und Redlichkeit' should be notated two octaves higher and a note '(like Glockenspiel)' should appear."<sup>107</sup> The idea of the piano accompaniment was quickly dropped, though, and the song was published on 7 April 1930 in a cappella format (see p. 145). The song as Weill had composed it for *Das Berliner Requiem* called for three male solo voices (tenor, baritone, bass) that pass the vocal line back and forth; Weill composed only sixteen measures of the fifty-measure number in homorhythmic harmony, and here the tenor carries the melody. Weill's a cappella arrangement is more complex: the melody migrates through all voice parts, there are different dynamic levels, and polyphonic passages create intricate harmonic subtleties. In this arrangement the song was probably not suitable for most amateur choruses, and this may well account for the remarkably low sales figures. UE had printed just 200 copies of the score and 300 copies of two part-books, but when the Gestapo raided UE's offices on 9 April 1940, they confiscated 181 copies of the score and 200 copies of each part.<sup>108</sup>

Facsimile 10:  
"Zu Potsdam unter  
den Eichen" for  
chorus

A letter from Erwin Stein to Weill of 17 November 1931 outlines what Stein thought was suitable for workers' choruses at the time:

I am very pleased to hear from Dr. Heinsheimer that you like the idea of a "single-voice chorus." I think this is an extremely important matter since the question of repertoire has become a big problem for the workers' singing organization. Almost everything written for modern workers' chorus can be mastered only by the best choruses. But practically the only things that choruses with average ability can master, musically or technically, are in the old choral society editions. So what we lack and what we need is choral music that is good and yet easy to perform; the texts must not necessarily be tendentious, but at least they should not be foreign to the intellectual and emotional sphere of the worker.

Therefore, the "single voice" idea is intended as a simplification. Experience has taught us that in just about every chorus there are at least a few talented singers (usually among the basses) who can also sing difficult intervals and rhythms. With a good lead singer the others then sing correctly as well. It is rare in workers' choruses to find musical people in the middle voices of the mixed choruses, especially in the tenors. This is the reason, relatively speaking, why rehearsing multipart works presents so many difficulties. . . . As for the accompaniment, the main consideration for choruses is cost. I'd actually prefer not to consider piano at all. The most practical solution might be a small wind ensemble whose parts are kept simple so that they can be

played by the musicians from the bands of the workers' organizations. A small orchestra of plucked instruments might also sound good. But might it be possible to have a unison chorus without any accompaniment or with percussion for a mass event?<sup>109</sup>

Although Weill showed some interest in Stein's idea, projects for the stage—always Weill's principal occupation—kept him from adapting or composing choral works along these lines. He did consider rearranging the entire *Berliner Requiem* as a short cantata for workers' choruses, but this project came to nothing.<sup>110</sup>

The 1929 stage work *Happy End*, with music by Weill, lyrics by Brecht, and a book by Elisabeth Hauptmann under the pseudonym "Dorothy Lane," was an obvious attempt to replicate the success of *Die Dreigroschenoper* and enlisted the same director (Erich Engel), scenic designer (Caspar Neher), musical director (Theo Mackeben), and pit orchestra (the Lewis Ruth Band) from that production, as well as many of the same cast members and the same venue, the Theater am Schiffbauerdamm. The assorted petty criminals and social misfits in *Happy End*, who hang out in Bill's Dance Hall in Chicago, eventually join forces with the Salvation Army, and the show's climax comes when everyone joins in singing "Hosiannah Rockefeller," a paean to the gods of capitalism. The initial reception and subsequent fate of the show were altogether different from those of *Die Dreigroschenoper*, however. On opening night, 2 September 1929, Weill telephoned Lenya (who was not in the cast) during intermission to tell her that the show was a huge hit.<sup>111</sup> But near the end of the play, Brecht's wife, Helene Weigel, apparently stepped out of her stage role as the Lady in Grey (or "Die Fliege") to read from a Communist brochure. A near riot ensued, the next day's reviews were poor, and the show closed after one month. *Happy End* was not staged again during Weill's lifetime.


With little prospect for other productions, UE chose not to publish either a full or a piano-vocal score of *Happy End* but did excerpt three songs as sheet music for voice and piano: "Surabaya-Johnny," released nine days before the premiere, and "Was die Herren Matrosen sagen" and "Bilbao-Song" one month after the show had closed (the latter also in a dance band arrangement).<sup>112</sup> The publication history of these adaptations reflects the compositional process of the show. Because the songs were urgently needed as rehearsal material, Weill had started by notating them first for voice and piano and only then turned to writing out the full orchestral score. Most of the songs were composed in late July and early August, barely a month before the premiere, and Weill could not spare these piano-vocal manuscripts but contracted a copying service in Berlin, which sent manuscript copies to UE in Vienna.<sup>113</sup> For this reason the three UE song publications for voice and piano present not a piano reduction of the full score but actually Weill's own notation. He also specified the transpositions to be applied for publication: "Surabaya-Johnny" was transposed from E to E $\flat$  major, "Bilbao-Song" from E to D $\flat$  major.<sup>114</sup> For the cover UE again chose Carry Hauser's design (staff members referred to it as the "Jazzumschlag") but introduced some variety by printing the background in dark green, with the title in red. Unlike "Alabama-Song" and the songs from *Die Dreigroschenoper*, the covers for the three *Happy End* songs do not mention the dramatic source, presumably because the production was so short-lived—though that would not explain why the show's title was also omitted in the case of "Surabaya-Johnny," printed before the show's premiere.

Weill had completed "Surabaya-Johnny" and "Bilbao-Song" well before he completed most of the other songs in *Happy End*. Brecht had written the lyric for "Surabaya-Johnny" as early as 1926, basing it on Hauptmann's translation of Rudyard Kipling's ballad "Mary, Pity Women," and Franz S. Brunier had set Brecht's lyric some time before March 1927, when Carola Neher privately recorded the work. It is unclear when Weill composed his setting of the Brecht lyric.<sup>115</sup> By mid-May 1929 he had given his autograph to Carola Neher, who passed it on to Ernst Loewy-Hartmann, UE's representative in Berlin at the time. UE had the song transposed on 15 July, sent it to the engraver on 17 July, and mailed a galley proof to Weill on 20 July. Two days later Weill, who was in southern Germany at the time, returned the proofs to Vienna, and

after some, but evidently not all, corrections were entered on 24 July, the song went to the printer on 25 July (see p. 149). When Weill received an advance copy in mid-August he reported a few grave mistakes that had not been corrected:<sup>116</sup>

p. 2: vocal line, 2nd system, last note c flat!

p. 3: piano, 1st system, last chord:

p. 3: vocal line, 5th system: 



It was too late to make corrections to the first print run of 500 copies, but UE corrected the plates for two subsequent printings—the only one of the three *Happy End* songs to be reprinted during Weill's lifetime—in January 1930 and May 1931.<sup>117</sup> On 22 July 1929 Weill answered his publisher's repeated inquiries about "Bilbao-Song." He had promised to send a piano-vocal version before his departure to France in mid-May: "it still isn't clear whether this song will be used in *Happy End*." In the same letter, Weill suggested that "3–4 [songs from the show] can be used as popular numbers."<sup>118</sup> Two weeks later he reported that aside from "Bilbao-Song," which was still in his possession, "a grand tango, 'Was die Herren Matrosen sagen,' has the largest potential for exploitation among all my pieces of this type."<sup>119</sup> Weill did not send the songs until mid-August, and UE did not begin engraving until 7 September. At that point there was no particular urgency because it was already clear that the show was doomed.

The three *Happy End* pieces are structurally and expressively more complex than virtually any of the *Dreigroschenoper* songs. Jürgen Schebera has suggested that they may be the best of the Weill-Brecht songs, given "their mixture of romanticism, coarseness, eroticism, and fantasy. . . . These gems of that song style have not been matched to this day; as typical products of their time, those hectic years of 1928–29, with all their conflicting trends, they probably could not be replicated."<sup>120</sup> All three songs were originally composed as strophic variations; that is, Weill orchestrated each strophe differently, and each song builds in complexity and intensity from the beginning of the first strophe to the end of the last. The sheet music versions, however, provide music for only the first strophe of each song. Weill had originally wanted the texts of the second and third strophes to be printed under the first. But, as he wrote to UE on 1 October about "Bilbao-Song" and "Matrosen-Tango," "it has proved very difficult to place the second stanza under the first since there are such rhythmic differences that one would have to add a great many small notes. It therefore seems to me better to print . . . only one strophe."<sup>121</sup> Accordingly, both songs were published with the lyrics of only their first strophes, and thus, as in the case of "Alabama-Song" and "Kanonen-Song," pieces written in strophic variation form were in popular publication condensed to a single strophe, compromising the narrative progression of their lyrics as well as the subtleties of Weill's changing accompaniment.

Weill chose to be pragmatic about the sheet music because he wanted the songs to enjoy wider exposure, but he knew that these editions did not do his music justice. No document can better express Weill's anxiety in this regard than the copy of "Bilbao-Song" that he sent to Theodor W. Adorno (then known as Theodor Wiesengrund), presumably at the end of 1929. Weill inscribed the title page with a cryptic musical riddle that quotes from the refrains of both "Matrosen-Tango" and "Bilbao-Song." In addition, he customized this copy by pasting in a two-measure introduction and a first ending (see p. 158), thus reinstating some of the song's strophic features and demonstrating how it had been performed in the theater.<sup>122</sup>

Despite their brief stage exposure, the three *Happy End* songs enjoyed considerable success in live and recorded performances. In fact "Surabaya-Johnny" quickly became something of a standard or "evergreen," and it has been sung, played, and recorded by a variety of performers from 1929 to the present.<sup>123</sup> Weill's setting of Brecht's text—a first-person narrative of a woman who was only sixteen when she was lured away by a man and then abandoned when her youth faded—transforms the text into a deeply expressive song.

Facsimile 11:  
"Surabaya-Johnny"

Facsimile 13:  
"Bilbao-Song"

Weill subtitled the song “Blues,” and though there is no trace of that genre’s traditional twelve-measure harmonic structure, the content of the lyrics justify the label. “Surabaya-Johnny” was sung in the show by Carola Neher, and it was first recorded in 1929 by Lotte Lenya, who made it into one of her signature songs, performing it frequently throughout her career.

The three strophes share identical structure:

verse	vamp2	x4 x'4 x"4 x"4
bridge	8 mm.	
refrain	A4 A'4 A"8	

In the verses the narrator tells her story in a matter-of-fact manner; the bridge changes meter to convey an angry outburst against the man; and the refrain laments and reflects (“You have no heart, Johnny, but I love you so”); the refrain, incidentally, begins with the same melodic figure as the one that opens the “Moritat” from *Die Dreigroschenoper*.

A key signature of three flats fits the E $\flat$  major of verse and refrain; the bridge begins with a suggestion of F minor as the local tonic and then moves to the E $\flat$  key of the refrain via a straightforward bass sequence of descending fifths (C–F–B $\flat$ –E $\flat$ –A $\flat$ ). The A $\flat$  then supports the refrain’s off-tonic opening harmony, a diminished II $^{\flat}$  chord. Seventh and ninth chords predominate, often in second or third inversion and with one or more notes chromatically altered. Even though straightforward tonic, subdominant, and dominant triads are almost nowhere to be found (all tonic chords have an added sixth, and where dominant chords occur, in mm. 11 and 15–16 of the verse, both the third and the fifth are flatted), the piece nevertheless sounds tonal because of Weill’s practice of substituting more complex chords for common triads. The first eight measures, for example, seem to progress from tonic to subdominant and then back to tonic again, even though all tonic chords have added sixths (and include an out-of-harmony F in the bass) and the “subdominant” chords are in fact minor seventh chords on the second degree of the scale (F–A $\flat$ –C–E $\flat$ ). The final cadence of the refrain moves from a cadential six-four chord, which places the dominant note (B $\flat$ ) in the bass, to a major tonic triad with an added sixth. Even though the six-four chord does not resolve explicitly to a dominant, the ear accepts it as a dominant–tonic ending, partly because of the weight of the octave-doubled dominant in the bass and partly because the G $\flat$  of the penultimate chord can be heard enharmonically as an F $\sharp$ , combining with the B $\flat$  in the bass to suggest an augmented fifth chord on the dominant. Such elided resolutions of six-four chords at cadences were by no means unusual in art music of the nineteenth century (consider, for instance, Chopin’s Prelude, op. 28 no. 14, mm. 16–17), but they were rather more so in popular songs. The most striking chord in “Surabaya-Johnny,” occurring just before the end of the refrain, is also one of Weill’s most characteristic sonorities, a half-diminished chord (E $\flat$ –G $\flat$ –A $\flat$ –C $\flat$ ) that doesn’t resolve in any of the ways usual for a chord of this class; it could be interpreted as an altered subdominant seventh or as a flattened submediant with added sixth, but in this situation the sonorous effect of the chord effectively trumps any functional reading.

As is true of all standards, “Surabaya-Johnny” retains its effectiveness and special quality regardless of performance style. This is apparent in the wide range of styles on offer in the numerous recordings that have been made over the years. Because of the time limitations imposed by a 78 RPM phonograph disc, Lenya, in her 1929 recording, sang only the first and third strophes.<sup>124</sup> She maintained a brisk, steady, dance-like tempo throughout, except in the bridge, which she delivered in a free, semi-spoken manner. This is a “cool,” Brechtian, performance; Lenya distances herself from the song’s protagonist by delivering the text in a straightforward, almost detached fashion, allowing the words and music to speak for themselves.

An instrumental recording by the Lewis Ruth Band moves along at a steady, moderately fast tempo from beginning to end, with jaunty, staccato articulation by the instruments emphasizing the “jazzy” character of the piece.<sup>125</sup> Weill had written the bridge in 3/4, in contrast to the 4/4 meter of the verse and refrain, but specified in his piano-vocal holograph that salon orchestra

arrangements should score the entire song in 4/4 to enable it to be danced as a fox-trot. In a footnote Weill had even notated how the bridge should be changed.<sup>126</sup> The Lewis Ruth Band performance, which essentially follows Weill’s footnote notation, doubles the value of the first note in every measure of the bridge to keep the piece in 4/4 throughout. It was in performances of this sort that “Surabaya-Johnny” was played in bars, dance halls, and other public venues.<sup>127</sup>

The French music publisher Salabert had obtained the sub-publishing rights for “Surabaya-Johnny” and “Bilbao-Song” and issued both songs in September 1932.<sup>128</sup> The chanteuse Marianne Oswald recorded “Surabaya-Johnny” in January 1933, and around the time that Oswald’s recording became available, the publishing house reissued the song with a cover featuring the artist. Oswald’s performance included a string-dominated salon (as opposed to “jazz”) orchestra, which showed little trace of Weill’s original instrumentation.<sup>129</sup> In Oswald’s version a solo violin plays the melody throughout, and Oswald mostly speaks the text, though now and then she sings a phrase an octave lower than notated. Each verse and each refrain starts with a steady beat, but frequent fluctuations of tempo initiated by the singer prevent a dance-like character from becoming established at any point, and in the bridge the piece loses all sense of metric regularity. As a result the song takes on the character of a French popular chanson, a genre with which Weill would soon become quite familiar. But Weill and Lenya were not fans of “La Oswald.” After listening to Oswald’s recording of “Surabaya-Johnny” in 1938, Lenya suggested to Weill that “the police should ban [it].”<sup>130</sup>

Lenya recorded “Surabaya-Johnny” again in 1943, this time accompanied by piano alone, as one of a set of “Six Songs by Kurt Weill” released by Bost Records.<sup>131</sup> This version is similar in many ways to her recording of 1929. This performance maintains a dance-like character, though the tempo is slightly slower, but Lenya makes more use of expressive ritardandi at phrase endings, and in general this rendition is less “cool” than the earlier one. This recorded version, with the pianist unidentified, shows similarities with an arrangement for voice and piano that Weill prepared, either for Lenya or some other performer (see p. 155). The piano writing of Weill’s arrangement is fuller and more idiomatic, as well as technically more difficult, than that of the published version. Weill also eliminated several traces of musical modernism present in the printed music (in the first eight measures of the verse, for example, he replaces the out-of-key F in the bass with an E $\flat$ ), and he retained 4/4 for the bridge rather than switching to 3/4 and in the refrain insinuated hints of a Latin rhythm into the left hand of the piano part. The connection between Weill’s arrangement and the Bost recording is not clear. Certainly the second strophe of Lenya’s performance incorporates much of what is new in Weill’s arrangement, including a series of parallel fourths and fifths in the right hand at the beginning of the verse; yet other new features are not included in the recorded performance.<sup>132</sup> Weill may, in fact, have made this arrangement for his own use as an accompanist for Lenya; much of it is technically more difficult than the original; it certainly would not have been a suitable arrangement for publication in a popular edition.

Throughout the second half of the twentieth century “Surabaya-Johnny” continued to be performed and recorded by singers in various styles. In 1971, for example, the Italian pop star Milva recorded it in an arrangement by Enrico Riccardi; she sings in a full-throated, almost operatic manner and often lingers on high notes.<sup>133</sup> She takes the verses at a much brisker pace than Weill’s tempo indication of *Sehr ruhig* would suggest, then sings the refrains almost twice as slowly, so that rhythmic continuity between verse and refrain is lost; there is no hint of a dance idiom anywhere. Her interpretation is overtly and aggressively emotional and thus quite at odds with the aesthetic of epic theater. Bette Midler, with the aid of her pianist-arranger Barry Manilow, also performs the piece hyper-expressively.<sup>134</sup> She follows the contour of the melody only in the most generalized fashion, with every phrase lapsing into a semispoken, almost monotone, delivery; she projects pathos and submission, never anger or defiance, to the point of almost weeping in the final bridge. She sings the last strophe more slowly and softly than the first two

Facsimile 12:  
“Surabaya-Johnny”  
arranged by Weill  
for Lenya in 1943

and ends on a minor tonic chord, which is contrary to what Weill had written. Ute Lemper, by contrast, approaches “Surabaya-Johnny” almost as if it were a classical Lied, with the composer’s notated score as an authoritative text.<sup>135</sup> Lemper is accompanied by a band playing from Weill’s original score, so the orchestration changes from strophe to strophe, and one can really hear the countermelodies, inner voices, and other details of the masterful orchestration. Taking the tempo indication *Sehr ruhig* literally, her rendition moves at a much slower tempo than any recordings made in the 1920s and ’30s.

For more than seventy years, then, “Surabaya-Johnny” has been performed as a “cool” song with a dance-like beat, an instrumental dance piece, a cabaret song, a highly-personalized subjective performance, and a “canonic” reading of an “authentic” text. But, like most of Weill’s other pieces in “song style,” it is neither an art song nor a *Schlager* but rather a theater song par excellence. It didn’t immediately find its way into the concert or recital hall, nor was it ever played, sung, or listened to by the “masses.” Instead it found a niche among intellectuals, musicians, and patrons of the theater and cabaret—an audience that, like Weill himself, was uncomfortable with both the socially exclusive world of classical music and the limited stylistic and expressive range of much popular music.

Hans Heinsheimer, the head of UE’s stage division, had little interest in popular music. Though pleased with the commercial success of *Die Dreigroschenoper*, he was not at all sympathetic with the direction that Weill’s music was taking. Upon hearing that after *Happy End* the composer intended to write songs for a “Berlin folk play” by Stefan Großmann, he chided Weill, in a letter of 10 October 1929, for undertaking “another work restricted to morsels, to popular little songs, put together by a few literary people”:

The style established in *Die Dreigroschenoper* and *Happy End*, and which is also continued in *Mahagonny*, whose most significant portions stem from the very period in which this style emerged, . . . cannot be copied indefinitely. If I assess its place in your development correctly, it is, as it were, the breakthrough to a popular, simple musical style that radically liberated you. . . . But in the long run this song style can serve only as a springboard for you to find your way back to more profound and substantial musical creations. . . . You should and must free yourself once and for all from the kind of commercialized artistic activity practiced in Berlin, and now that your latest successes have secured for you not only material but also artistic independence . . . you must once again create works of lasting value that aren’t written just for the moment to accompany plays, but which once again adhere to the grand path which I have always perceived in your works.<sup>136</sup>

Weill, who was then expanding *Mahagonny: Ein Songspiel* into a full-length opera, took this advice to heart, even though he disagreed with some of Heinsheimer’s assertions. He withdrew from Großmann’s play and assured Heinsheimer that his music was in fact undergoing yet another stylistic transformation. “By far the greatest part of *Mahagonny* [the revised and expanded version in progress] is already entirely independent of the song style and reveals this new style, which in seriousness, ‘stature’ and expressive power surpasses everything I have written to date,” he reassured Heinsheimer in a letter of 14 October 1929. “Almost everything that has been added to the Baden-Baden version [of *Mahagonny*] is written in a completely pure, thoroughly responsible style.”<sup>137</sup>

In 1930 Weill described his new opera *Aufstieg und Fall der Stadt Mahagonny* as “the purest form of epic theater . . . which is also the purest form of musical theater. It is a series of twenty-one separate musical forms. Each of these forms is a self-contained scene, and each is introduced by a headline in narrative form. The music here no longer advances the plot; it enters at the point where certain [dramatic] conditions are reached. Therefore, from the beginning the libretto has been planned so that it represents a series of conditions yielding a dramatic form only in its musically determined course.”<sup>138</sup> Elsewhere Weill explained that “epic theater” involved “the renunciation of the illustrative function of music, the elimination of false pathos, the division

of action into closed musical numbers, and the dramatic utilization of absolute musical form.”<sup>139</sup>

*Aufstieg und Fall* has sometimes been misidentified as a *Zeitoper*, a genre that flourished during the time of the Weimar Republic; the most successful work of this sort was Ernst Krenek’s *Jonny spielt auf* (1927), which was set in the present and made use of the “jazz” idiom of the day.<sup>140</sup> Weill took an uncharitable view of the *Zeitstücke* of his contemporaries, in that they merely “moved superficial manifestations of life in our time onto center stage. People took the ‘tempo of the twentieth century,’ combined it with the much praised ‘rhythm of our time’ and for the rest, limited themselves to the representation of sentiments of past generations.”<sup>141</sup> Weill felt that a true *Zeitoper* would be a work “[based] upon great, comprehensive, generally valid themes which no longer deal with private ideas and emotions but with the overall scheme of things.”<sup>142</sup>

As Weill was now writing again for the opera house and its audience, his music reverted to a more appropriate modernist style, leavened occasionally by the rhythms of popular social dances. He abandoned key signatures, though much of the music revolves around clear tonal centers; triads are sometimes present, but they are usually overlaid with added notes and chromatic alterations, and other vertical sonorities derive from quartal harmonies. Weill scored the full-length *Mahagonny* not for a dance band but for a large pit orchestra of strings, woodwinds, brass, and percussion. These stylistic features, combined with the fact that most of the twenty-one numbers take the form of lengthy and complex ensemble pieces, made virtually all of the music of *Aufstieg und Fall* unsuitable for popular dissemination in the form of sheet music and phonograph discs.

Hoping that the work would be a big success as an opera, UE planned to publish a piano-vocal score well in advance of the first performance, as they had done with *Royal Palace* and *Der Zar lässt sich fotografieren*. Weill completed the full score by August 1929, and Norbert Gingold again undertook the piano-vocal reduction, which was finished by the end of the month, though discussions between Weill and UE led to revisions that delayed publication of the reduction until late November and actual distribution until January 1930; but that was still two months in advance of the premiere in Leipzig.<sup>143</sup> As a result of this chronology a number of cuts, revisions, and additions made during rehearsals and early performances do not appear in the published score.<sup>144</sup> The piano-vocal score of *Aufstieg und Fall* comprised the opera’s preproduction “text,” which underwent significant revision as the work was produced on stage as an “event.” A “script” of *Aufstieg und Fall* (a revised or annotated piano-vocal score, for instance), which would have recorded the form in which the “event” actually took place on stage, has not survived intact.<sup>145</sup>

*Aufstieg und Fall* premiered in Leipzig on 9 March 1930 and then opened three days later in both Braunschweig and Kassel simultaneously. The National Socialists mounted a campaign against the work. They targeted Weill because he was a Jew, because his music showed the influence of jazz, because his works enjoyed favor among the artistic and intellectual elite of the Weimar Republic—many of whom opposed the Nazis—and because he was associated with Brecht, who had publicly embraced Marxist ideology. The premiere in Leipzig precipitated Nazi demonstrations by “black-white-red rabble-rousers who had been paid to come as a kind of clique by instigators with plenty of capital.”<sup>146</sup> Weill made some revisions after the first performances that were intended to counter objections to its perceived political stance.<sup>147</sup> But local political pressure forced the cancellation of performances already scheduled for Oldenburg, Essen, and Dortmund; disruptions in Braunschweig caused the withdrawal of the opera there after only two performances; Otto Klemperer and the Krolloper reneged on their commitment to mount the opera in Berlin; and a projected performance at Berlin’s Deutsches Theater failed to materialize as well.<sup>148</sup> Despite the political opposition and subsequent cancellations of production plans, UE nevertheless began to prepare three numbers for sheet music editions (“Auf nach Mahagonny,” “Lied der Jenny” [“Denn wie man sich bettet, so liegt man”], and “Können einem toten Mann nicht helfen”) and commissioned Richard Etlinger to arrange two songs (“Alabama

Song” and “Lied der Jenny”) for jazz and salon orchestra. Weill was asked to indicate, in a copy of the published piano reduction, which numbers and passages might be suitable for a *Salonorchester-Fantasie*, which a “Kapellmeister Bauer” was supposed to create. When UE sent piano-vocal versions of “Auf nach Mahagonny” and “Lied der Jenny” to Weill on 21 March 1930, the firm expressed concern over the technically demanding adaptations and the suitability of “Auf nach Mahagonny” for the popular market. Weill agreed on both counts. He also suggested simplifying the *Vorstrophe* (verse) of “Lied der Jenny” and matching the sheet music version to Etlinger’s band arrangement, which was not yet available.<sup>149</sup>

UE ultimately dropped the plans for sheet music editions and the salon orchestra potpourri but did publish Etlinger’s two “Spezialarrangement[s] für Salonorchester mit Jazzstimmen” in late spring 1930. Etlinger’s arrangement of “Lied der Jenny” (see p. 171) manifests its own distinctive structure and character. Weill’s composition comprises two strophes, each with a verse and refrain. Following a brief introduction and a single verse in G minor, Etlinger’s version unfolds as a chain of four refrains: the first two are in C major, after which a modulatory transition leads to a refrain in E♭ major before another brief modulatory transition takes the piece back to a refrain in C major that ends in a six-measure coda, also in C major. This pattern—introductory material followed by a string of refrains, each scored differently and some of them modulating to other keys—was common to dance band arrangements, both in Europe and the United States.

UE postponed several times its plans to publish a revised piano-vocal score. On 6 August 1930 the composer proposed an abbreviated piano-vocal score, a “heavily cut selection of the most important pieces from the opera. It should be neither a potpourri nor be suggestive of a shortened new version.”<sup>150</sup> Negotiations between Weill and UE reduced the number of pieces to be included first from twelve to nine, and finally to six, five of which were taken unaltered from Gingold’s piano-vocal reductions.<sup>151</sup> The album (or folio) appeared in December 1931, in coordination with the long anticipated Berlin premiere of *Aufstieg und Fall der Stadt Mahagonny* at the Theater am Kurfürstendamm, as *Sechs ausgewählte Stücke aus der Oper Aufstieg und Fall der Stadt Mahagonny*.

Weill hoped that the premiere would present yet another opportunity to popularize some of the numbers from the opera. His letter of 1 December 1931 suggests that UE had left him in the dark:

Are there band arrangements for *Mahagonny* yet? In the event of a big success we would need materials for café and dance bands very quickly. In this case, I would prefer it if we would concentrate all efforts on a single number that will be pushed in a big campaign. The most suitable number (musically and textually) would be “Wie man sich bettet,” which a first-rate arranger could turn into an interesting and easily performable number (only the verse needs to be simplified slightly). Perhaps you can prepare everything so that it could be available on short notice in case of a success, but also so that you don’t suffer unnecessary losses in case of a failure or a ban.<sup>152</sup>

UE responded the following day, sending Weill Etlinger’s two band arrangements, which had been available for some eighteen months by then, and promising to launch a special advertising campaign in Berlin. The decision to reduce the “kleine Klavierauszug” to six numbers allowed UE to sell that album for just 2.50 marks; Heinsheimer, in an express letter of 3 December, called this “a crucial step to facilitate sales,” but he raised the issue of an effective cover design and asked Weill to have Caspar Neher submit a drawing (and reminded the composer that the set designer should lower his fee). Neher was unavailable, so Weill took the “Begbick” drawing, which Neher had given to him, out of its frame and sent it to Vienna. Because the premiere was imminent, the cover could be printed in only two colors.

Thanks to all these efforts, the number variously titled “Lied der Jenny,” “Jennys Lied,” or “Denn wie man sich bettet, so liegt man” managed to enjoy at least modest popular dissemination. The song (see p. 165) is a virtual twin to the original Songspiel’s “Alabama-Song”: both carry a “Blues-Tempo” designation (though tango rhythms undergird the entire re-

frain of the “Lied der Jenny”); irregular phrase lengths in the verse (4 + 5 + 4 + 7) contrast with the symmetry of the ABAB phrases (8 + 8 + 8 + 8) of the refrain; and a dissonant and tonally ambiguous verse precedes a refrain solidly in D major. Technically, “Lied der Jenny” is well within the grasp of amateur performers: the accompaniment lies easily if unimaginatively under the hands of the accompanist, and the vocal line remains within the range of an octave—except for a climactic high note (A5) in the last measures of the verse, which, in performances outside the theater, could be taken down an octave or even spoken, as Lotte Lenya did on her several recordings of the piece.<sup>153</sup>

Weill wrote that “all songs [of *Aufstieg und Fall der Stadt Mahagonny*] are an expression of the masses, even where they are performed by the individual as spokesman of the masses.”<sup>154</sup> This aesthetic position dictates that these songs are most effective when performed on stage as didactic statements directed by the performers to the audience. In rejecting the “illustrative function of music” and “false pathos” in favor of the “completely pure, thoroughly responsible” style of epic theater, and in moving away from the “morsels” and “popular little songs” that Heinsheimer so disdained, Weill was again writing music that proved unsuitable for dissemination outside the theater. *Aufstieg und Fall* is a striking, stunning, and highly original stage work, and had the political climate in Germany been different it might well have become one of the most widely performed operas of its day. But the *Sechs ausgewählte Stücke* did not align sufficiently with popular taste or draw substantially enough on popular styles to achieve mass sales; rather, UE intended to make some of the music of *Mahagonny* available at an affordable price to composers, professional musicians, scholars, and skilled amateurs.

Weill had been trying to straddle two worlds that many, including his publisher, deemed irreconcilable. The popular success of *Die Dreigroschenoper* and the attempt to popularize several songs from *Happy End* and *Aufstieg und Fall* had prompted a number of critics to question Weill’s “seriousness of purpose.” In January 1929 Weill had been nominated for election to the venerable Preußische Akademie der Künste, but the academy, whose most prominent composer member at the time was Schoenberg, instead elected Max Trapp, Julius Weismann, and Ermanno Wolf-Ferrari. Possibly this snub contributed to Weill’s decision to embrace opera once again as potentially the most elevated form of theater. “Our era conceals within itself an abundance of great ideas,” he wrote in 1932, “and if one resolves to free opera from the sphere of the naturalistic theater and to see in it that heightened form of theater best suited to translate great ideas of the time into timeless humanistic form, then a new belief in the future of opera emerges by itself.”<sup>155</sup> Weill conceived *Der Jasager* (1930) as a *Schuloper* (didactic opera), to be performed by and for high school students, thereby expanding the traditional venues and audiences for opera. In the three years before Weill was forced to flee Germany, the work received hundreds of performances. The three-act *Die Bürgschaft* (1932; libretto by Neher and Weill), on the other hand, was a much more traditional opera, which Weill described as a return to “real music making,” intended for performance in state-subsidized German opera houses. Premiered on 10 March 1932 at Berlin’s Städtische Oper, the work was highly praised by some critics and managed eleven performances by the end of the season; however, National Socialist opposition forced cancellation of all but two other productions. Neither *Der Jasager* nor *Die Bürgschaft* contained individual numbers that would have been appropriate for publication as sheet music or in stock arrangements for dance band.

Weill next considered a collaboration with Erik Charell, the famed revue impresario and coauthor of the most successful operetta/protomusical in Weimar Germany, *Im weißen Rössl* (1930; produced as *White Horse Inn* on Broadway in 1936). But after two meetings with Charell, Weill confided in a letter to Heinsheimer on 11 June 1932, “[Charell] is dead set on doing a big theater project with me and expects to get a huge international success out of a collaboration with me. But so far it seems impossible to find a subject matter that reaches the intended audience and at the same time upholds a

Facsimile 15:  
“Lied der Jenny”  
arranged for salon  
orchestra

Facsimile 14:  
“Jennys Lied”

certain standard that I consider indispensable.<sup>156</sup> Heinsheimer tried to dispel Weill's doubts by pointing out that the composer had by now established a track record with a series of works demonstrating a "general attitude and artistic standpoint" that left his integrity beyond reproach.<sup>157</sup> Further meetings with Charell eventually included Georg Kaiser, and it was Kaiser who ultimately collaborated with Weill on a *Zwischengattungs-Stück* (literally, a work between genres, a hybrid).<sup>158</sup> Weill informed UE on 2 August 1932 that his latest piece for the musical theater, *Der Silbersee*, was taking shape "[not as] an opera at all, but as a play with well integrated musical numbers, somewhat in the manner of a *Singspiel*."<sup>159</sup> *Der Silbersee* indeed contains spoken dialogue, melodrama, and sixteen solo, instrumental, and ensemble numbers.

Simultaneous premieres took place on 18 February 1933 in Leipzig, Erfurt, and Magdeburg. "Every performance . . . in Leipzig sold out, and it was the most unequivocal critical success that Weill had ever experienced—even the now legendary *Die Dreigroschenoper* had received mixed reviews. Kaiser's play was perceived as a 'unique creation of rare poetic beauty,' and Weill's music hailed as 'a virtuoso piece of masterful craft tying the action together like a huge painting.'<sup>160</sup> But only three days after the premieres, Nazi officials in Magdeburg began attacking the "degradation of art to the one-sided, un-German propaganda of Bolshevik theories that has taken hold of the Magdeburg Stadttheater" and accusing the show of "preach[ing] the idea of class hate and contain[ing] innumerable open and veiled invitations to violence."<sup>161</sup>

In February 1933, despite the rapidly deteriorating conditions in Germany, UE published Erwin Stein's piano-vocal reduction of *Der Silbersee*, as well as an album containing six individual numbers, *Sechs Stücke aus der Musik zum Schauspiel Der Silbersee*. The front cover of the album featured Max Oppenheimer's drawing of the work's leading character, Severin, tied symbolically to a stake, an image suggested by his aria "Wie Odysseus an den Mast des Schiffes." The first five pieces in the album were printed from the plates of the piano-vocal score; the sixth differs from the score in only a few details.<sup>162</sup> Heinsheimer was initially reluctant to include "Cäsars Tod," perhaps because of its thinly veiled reference to Hitler; he relented only after Weill insisted that it would be "absolutely incredible if [this number] were not included. In all our conversations we were quite clear that this is the most accessible, well-rounded, and effective number."<sup>163</sup> The decision to include the song was postponed until the last possible moment, and as a result the printer, using the plates of the piano-vocal score (as he had done for all other numbers), did not

have time even to remove its rehearsal numbers, extraneous within the album (see p. 177). Weill's fondness for "Cäsars Tod" makes it an appropriate piece from *Der Silbersee* to examine in some detail. The character of Fennimore uses the song—as unlikely banquet entertainment—to tell the story of Caesar's rise to power, corruption, downfall, and death. She pantomimes playing a harp as she sings, and at first this instrument figures prominently in Weill's orchestration, but as the piece develops into a strident march, strings and winds increasingly overpower it. The harmonic language parallels that of "Surabaya-Johnny" in being mostly triadic, with frequent seventh and eleventh chords, as well as further spice from appoggiaturas and added notes. The song begins and ends in G minor, a tonality that, according to Ian Kemp, is associated in *Der Silbersee* with "anxiety and expressed anger"; there are digressions into the equally dark key of F minor.<sup>164</sup> After a four-measure introduction the song unfolds in thirty-four two-measure phrases, each a setting of one line of Kaiser's text and each following the same rhythmic pattern almost exactly. Weill avoids the potential monotony of this scheme by layering more complex structures over this framework. To begin with, he shapes Kaiser's text into three strophes:

- (A) 12 mm. – (B) refrain, 8 mm.
- (A) 12 mm. – (B) refrain, 8 mm.
- (A') 20 mm. – (B) refrain, 8 mm.

The last strophe, A' moves toward new tonal territory and builds to a climax with a gradual ascent in pitch in the vocal line and an inexorable increase in

dynamic level from the "almost whispered" pianissimo of the beginning to a concluding fortissimo. On another level of structure, Weill fashioned a refrain, though none is called for in the poem, by repeating the music accompanying the last line of Kaiser's second, fourth, and seventh stanzas.

	A	A	A'	
intro	ab cdd	ab cdd	defg cdd	[Weill's music]
	1 2	3 4	5 6 7	[Kaiser's text]

In a masterful dramatic touch the strident introduction returns as a counter-melody to the second "d" of each refrain (the motivic parsing of the refrain as "cdd" follows the accompaniment; the vocal melody parses more normatively into two parallel four-measure groups).

Unlike many earlier piano-vocal versions of Weill's stage music, Stein's reduction of *Silbersee* is idiomatic, and playing the notes as they appear on the page would render a satisfactory performance. However, the general musical style of "Cäsars Tod," its tight structure, vocal range (an octave and a sixth), and expressive content, have more in common with an art song or opera aria than with a popular song; an unstaged performance of "Cäsars Tod," makes more sense in a recital hall than in a bar or a restaurant. It's impossible to say how *Der Silbersee* would have fared had it not been forced off the stage after only a few performances, or whether individual pieces from *Der Silbersee* could have achieved any measure of genuine popularity. Ernst Busch recorded two excerpts soon after the premiere with an orchestra conducted by Maurice Abravanel, and Electrola scheduled a recording session with Lenya and an orchestra conducted by Gustav Brecher (who had conducted the premiere in Leipzig), though this session apparently had to be canceled.<sup>165</sup> Several numbers in the work draw on dance rhythms, among them the refrain in "Wir sind zwei Mädchen" (marked "Flotter Walzer," or brisk waltz) and the Lottery Agent's tango ("Was zahlen Sie für einen Rat"), but Weill and UE never got beyond a preliminary discussion of arranging these for dance band.<sup>166</sup> Here, too, no one expected that the *Sechs Stücke* from *Der Silbersee* would enjoy mass sales. The album was intended, rather, to make some of the music from the show available, at an affordable price, to those who, despite the dire political and economic circumstances, might be interested in acquiring what would be Weill's final work in Germany. Alfred Kalmus would inform Weill on 21 September 1933 that "performance of your works in Germany . . . has been made impossible"; soon the Nazi regime would proscribe the music of many "Jewish cultural Bolsheviks" and seize and destroy printed music and records in shops, schools, and even private homes.<sup>167</sup>

### III

On 21 March 1933 Weill fled Germany. He arrived in Paris two days later. Weill's music was best known there from the French version of the *Dreigroschenoper* film, which had been released in November 1931, concert performances of *Mahagonny* and *Der Jasager* the following month, and the publication and recording of some songs in French translation. In Paris, uprooted from his own culture, uncertain of the future, and unable to access any of his bank accounts in Germany (he had been allowed to leave with only 500 marks), Weill scrambled to earn a living. Almost immediately upon his arrival Les Ballets 1933 commissioned him to compose a "sung ballet," what would be the last collaboration of Weill and Brecht. *Die sieben Todsünden*, with choreography by Georges Balanchine, premiered (in German) at the Théâtre des Champs Élysées on 7 June 1933. Although Weill was still contractually bound to UE, neither a score of the ballet nor any excerpts from it were published until after his death. Weill next turned his attentions back to the symphony he had sketched during his last months in Germany; what is now known as Symphony no. 2 was premiered by the Concertgebouw Orchestra of Amsterdam under Bruno Walter on 11 October 1934. Also completed at this time was a "ballad for radio," titled *La grande complainte de Fantômas*, now lost, which was broadcast by Radio Paris on 3 November

1933. Weill also began work on a dramatic oratorio depicting the history and fate of the Jewish people, *Der Weg der Verheißung*, with a text by Franz Werfel.<sup>168</sup>

The French were far more comfortable with popular culture than were Germans and Austrians. Since the middle of the nineteenth century, Paris in particular had been a center of popular entertainment, much of it revolving around the café concert, the music hall, and the cabaret. Café concerts, in particular, allowed a new genre of popular song to flourish, the *chanson réaliste*:

a musico-poetic form rooted in the low-life experience of the bottom rungs of Parisian society. . . . At the beginning of the Third Republic the city could boast a hundred or so café-concerts, where musical entertainment was in constant demand, a demand so handsomely met that it is estimated that well over a million chansons of a popular type have been composed in France since the 1870s, some individual authors credited with having produced five or six songs in a single day, four or five thousand in a career.<sup>169</sup>

After UE terminated his contract in autumn 1933 Weill signed with Editions Heugel of Paris, a publisher with a branch devoted to popular music, Editions Coda. His first compositions of this bearing to be written in France were two chansons with lyrics by Maurice Magre—“Complainte de la Seine” and “Je ne t’aime pas”—which were published in this series, recorded by the popular chanteuse Lys Gauty, and performed publicly by Gauty and other French singers. Weill approached the *chanson réaliste* as he would later approach the American Tin Pan Alley and Broadway song, first as a keen observer of the genre and milieu in which it flourished, then as a composer of such pieces—but on his own terms.

*Marie Galante*, a play adapted by Jacques Deval from his novel of the same name and with incidental music and songs by Weill, opened at the Théâtre de Paris on 22 December 1934. Weill had conceived the songs for performance by actors rather than classically trained singers, and he addressed a French audience that might not necessarily be au courant with the musical language of opera or Central European modernism. The show closed after a disappointing three-week run, and plans for productions in London and New York never materialized. Heugel, however, had prepared for a box-office hit. In time for the premiere, Heugel had printed seven pieces of Weill’s music in sheet music form, five for voice and piano and two for piano alone. All seven were additionally brought out as a small album, using the plates from the sheet music editions. Also in time for the premiere Heugel released two of these numbers in an arrangement for dance band by Paul Saegel (a third followed later). One week before the premiere, on 15 December 1934, the play’s female star, Odette Florelle, recorded four songs for Polydor, and Heugel issued these titles for unaccompanied voice. The 28 December 1934 issue of *Le ménestrel*, a weekly magazine on music and theater published by Heugel since 1839, contained as a supplement “Le grand Lustucru,” the final song in Heugel’s *Marie Galante* album.

Although these songs long remained largely unknown outside France and even now have received scant scholarly attention, they represent a critical stage in Weill’s development.<sup>170</sup> Unlike the songs he wrote with Brecht, whose texts tended toward the polemical and ironic, the *Marie Galante* songs reflect the emotions of the seamen, prostitutes, slaves, and other victims of social injustices who make up the play’s cast of characters.<sup>171</sup> The verses of “Les filles de Bordeaux,” for instance, narrate the grim tale of a prostitute who is abducted, taken to sea, and eventually killed; the refrain advises women in such a situation to drown themselves to avoid being taken to the “four corners of the world” and brutalized by “all the bastards” who await them. Sung in the first scene, the song presages the fate of the play’s central character, Marie: abducted in Bordeaux and taken to Central America, she escapes from her captor and makes her way to Panama, where she becomes a prostitute to make enough money for passage back to France.<sup>172</sup> She is killed on the eve of her departure. In the songs for *Marie Galante* Weill abandoned most vestiges of musical modernism. All have key signatures, formal structures are simple and transparent, and vertical sonorities consist entirely of triads (and their exten-

sions to seventh and ninth chords), which usually resolve according to common-practice harmonic usage. As a result these songs resemble the contemporary French *chanson* more than Weill’s German songs, even those in “song style,” resemble German *Schlager*.

“Le Roi d’Aquitaine” (see p. 185), a lullaby sung by Marie to a dying laborer whom she has befriended, is an “English waltz” in D♭ major in two strophes, each consisting of a verse and a refrain, framed by an instrumental passage functioning as a ritornello:

Facsimile 17:  
“Le Roi d’Aquitaine”

	ritornello	8 + 1
verse 1		x8 y8
refrain 1		A8 A'8
	ritornello	8 + 1
verse 2		x8 y8
refrain 2		A8 A'8
	ritornello	8 + 2

The first eight measures of the verse, moving at a harmonic rhythm of one chord per measure, can easily be analyzed (and heard) as I – V of ii – ii – V – ii – V – I. But, as we have seen in other songs by Weill, there is a contrast in harmonic usage between one section and another, in this case between the ritornello and the strophe. The ritornello’s eight measures consist of the following chords:

1. B♭ – D♭ – F♭ – A♭ (notated enharmonically: A – D♭ [C♯] – E – G)
2. D♭ – F – A♭
3. G♭ – B♭ – D♭ – F♭ (notated enharmonically: F♯ – A – C – E)
4. D♭ – F – A♭
5. B♭ – D♭ – F♭ – A♭
6. D♭ – F – A♭
7. A♭ – C – [E♭] – F♭ – G♭
8. D♭ – F – A♭

Despite the apparent harmonic complexity of some of these chords, the ear tends to hear mm. 1 and 5 as substitute subdominant chords and mm. 3 and 7 as substitute dominants.

The French mezzo-soprano Madeleine Grey made “Le Roi d’Aquitaine” a staple in her repertoire, proudly reporting to Weill in 1937 that “in the three years that I have been singing it, it has become almost as popular in Naples as ‘Sole mio.’”<sup>173</sup> “J’attends un navire” enjoyed even greater popular success. This song was one of the four recorded by Florelle, and though she sang an unabridged version, Polydor managed to fit it on one side of a shellac disc, where it ran for almost three and a half minutes (3'27"). When the well-known French chanteuse Lys Gauty recorded the song on 5 May 1936, also for Polydor, Heugel reissued the voice-only sheet music in an “Édition Spéciale Music-Hall” with a new cover promoting the recording (p. 189).<sup>174</sup> Gauty’s interpretation, which is more expressive than Florelle’s, exceeded the limit for a single side of a disc, thus her version—expanded by a thirty-two-measure instrumental interlude culled in equal parts from verse and refrain—filled both sides of the disc. Both Florelle’s and Gauty’s recording sessions were led by the same conductor, Wal-Berg, who presumably also created the arrangements.<sup>175</sup> “J’attends un navire” had an unusual resurgence in the early 1940s when, according to press reports, even members of the *Résistance* sang it while awaiting the Allied landing.<sup>176</sup>

Facsimile 18:  
“J’attends un navire”

One of the seven numbers from *Marie Galante* published in sheet music format appears to have been a last-minute substitution. The place occupied by “Scène au dancing” (plate no. H. 30,927) was in all likelihood intended for an arrangement for solo piano of an instrumental dance number simply entitled “Tango” and engraved as H. 30,915 (see p. 192). Early printings of the sheet music from *Marie Galante* show “Tango” among the titles listed on the front and back cover: the back cover also provided incipits (compare, for example, the first and last pages of facsimile 18). Despite the printed copyright notice, “Tango” was not registered with the Li-

Facsimile 19:  
“Tango”



brary of Congress, nor was a copy deposited at the Bibliothèque nationale de France. Weill, who created all the arrangements for the sheet music versions himself, must have decided at a very late stage to withhold “Tango” from publication.<sup>177</sup> The number reappeared several months later in an adaptation for voice and piano with a text by Roger Fernay, now entitled “Youkali.” Although the imagery of Fernay’s lyric matches the overall tone of *Marie Galante*, no source indicates that the new song derived from the play. Weill rearranged his instrumental “Tango” only slightly to accommodate the lyric, mainly by rephrasing sections of the melody and keeping the right hand of the piano accompaniment in a lower octave. “Youkali” was published in August 1935 by Éditions Coda, but all known surviving copies, including the one registered in 1935 with the Library of Congress, lack a cover. In June 1946

Facsimile 20:  
“Youkali”

Heugel registered the song again for copyright, this time under the imprint “Heugel & Cie.” and published a *chant seul* and a *chant et piano* version (see p. 194). It was not until 1981, however, after Teresa Stratas recorded the song for *The Unknown Kurt Weill*, that “Youkali” reached a broader audience and found a secure place in the standard vocal repertory.

Although Weill often worked simultaneously on several projects, never was his stylistic and generic range as great as it was in 1934 when he worked alternately on *Marie Galante*, *Der Kuhhandel*, and *Der Weg der Verheißung*. *Marie Galante* had interrupted Weill’s work on the satirical operetta, *Der Kuhhandel*, to a libretto in German by the Hungarian-born Robert Vambery, who had been a dramaturg in Berlin at Ernst Josef Aufricht’s Theater am Schiffbauerdamm.<sup>178</sup> Weill had long admired Offenbach’s operettas, particularly their use of dance idioms in the service of satirical plots with contemporary political resonance. The plot of *Kuhhandel* revolves around an attempt by an American munitions manufacturer to stir up a war between two neighboring Latin American countries and the tragic impact of this scheme on the inhabitants of the shared island. The music consists mostly of lengthy ensemble pieces for solo voices and chorus and requires legitimate voices and a large orchestra. Many numbers recall Offenbach or Donizetti, and the trio “Leise, nur leise, so leise wie Mäuse” in the first act is strongly reminiscent of sections of Rossini’s *La Cenerentola*. David Drew describes the music of *Kuhhandel* as “firmly diatonic, with the major mode predominating and the relative minor as the favored contrasting area. All the numbers in medium and fast tempo are based on popular rhythms: traditional (Offenbachian) waltzes, marches, and cancons are balanced by Latin American rhythms appropriate to the milieu.”<sup>179</sup>

Work on the piece in its German form came to a halt when the opportunity arose for a performance in London, where operetta and musical comedy were much in vogue at the time: Rudolf Friml’s *Rose Marie* and *The Vagabond King*, Noel Coward’s *Bitter-Sweet* and *Conversation Piece*, and Sigmund Romberg’s *The New Moon* had enjoyed recent successful runs there. Reginald Arkell rewrote the book of *Der Kuhhandel* in English, Desmond Carter penned new English lyrics, and the show opened as *A Kingdom for a Cow* on 28 June 1935 at London’s Savoy Theatre for a disappointing run of just three weeks.<sup>180</sup> Although neither the German nor the English incarnations of the operetta contained material particularly conducive to commercial exploitation, Chappell issued two songs in sheet music format, “Two Hearts” and “As Long As I Love”—the only music from the operetta to be published during Weill’s lifetime.<sup>181</sup> Visually the two publications resemble other operetta numbers issued in Britain: the front cover, designed to catch the eye of a potential buyer, bears a cartoon of a ridiculously attired military figure astride a cow riddled by artillery fire; incipits of two songs from another work—in this case Ivor Novello’s operetta *Glamorous Night*—appear on the inside covers; and, as was the British custom, solmization symbols appear above the vocal line.

Facsimile 21:  
“Two Hearts”

In the sheet music version of “Two Hearts” (see p. 200) the two vocal lines of the opening duet of the operetta have been condensed into a single voice. The core of the song, two strophes each consisting of a verse and a refrain, is virtually identical with “Le Roi d’Aquitaine,” though

transposed from D $\flat$  major to the more amateur-friendly key of F major. The ritornello has disappeared, replaced at the beginning by an eight-measure introduction drawn from the first measures of the refrain; a sixteen-measure piano interlude between the two strophes, drawn from melodic material found in the stage version of *Marie Galante* (but not in “Le Roi d’Aquitaine”); and a third refrain carrying the vocal line up to the climax on a high B $\flat$ .

These two songs from *Der Kuhhandel*, and for that matter the show itself, had little or no impact on the British musical scene (though excerpts from the show were broadcast by the BBC in 1935). This is hardly surprising, given that Weill’s music was virtually unknown in England before the brief June 1935 run of *A Kingdom for a Cow* and that he had little familiarity with British musical styles and tastes. Nevertheless, *Kuhhandel/Kingdom* represents an important milestone in Weill’s always evolving development. The music of *Kuhhandel*, like that of *Marie Galante*, moves decisively toward the largely tonal and triadic style that had begun to emerge in his “song style” but was abandoned in his last three works for the German musical stage. Seen retrospectively, *Kuhhandel/Kingdom* points ahead to America, not back to Germany, and this not only because Weill would borrow tunes and entire sections from the work for re-use in *Johnny Johnson*, *Knickerbocker Holiday*, and *Lady in the Dark*.<sup>182</sup>

Also begun but not completed in German was *Der Weg der Verheißung*; adapted into English as *The Eternal Road* when the possibility of a production in New York arose, the work, like *Der Kuhhandel*, never acquired a definitive form. Against the backdrop of the worsening plight of European Jews late in 1933 the Polish-born American Meyer Weisgal had conceived the idea of a grand musical pageant, a “biblical mystery play,” to celebrate the history of the Jewish people. Max Reinhardt, who agreed to direct the pageant, enlisted Franz Werfel to write the text and Kurt Weill the music. Weill recalled:

I began by putting to paper all the Hebraic melodies I had learned from childhood. . . . In several days memory seeking, I had written about two hundred songs, and then I began work at the Bibliothèque Nationale to trace their sources as far as possible. Many, I discovered, had been composed in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. . . . Those I dismissed, retaining only the old music, and with that as my guide, I attempted to create music of the same mood that would communicate naturally and inevitably the stories of the Old Testament.<sup>183</sup>

Weill arrived in the United States on 10 September 1935 to assist with the production of the biblical pageant, but the premiere was delayed for more than a year, in part because the set, designed by Norman Bel Geddes, was so enormous that the theater in which the show was to be performed, the Manhattan Opera House, had to be structurally altered, which necessitated raising additional money. After numerous postponements *The Eternal Road* finally opened to critical and public acclaim on 7 January 1937, running for 153 performances and closing only because the “benefit” production had no profit margin, even when playing to capacity audiences.

Although *The Eternal Road* was billed as “a play by Franz Werfel,” it contains more than two hours of music. The work resembles a scenic oratorio, containing passages of recitative leading to choruses, ensemble numbers, and vocal solos. Because the enormous set swallowed up the orchestral pit, Weill’s score for large orchestra was prerecorded and then played back during performances, with the cast singing mostly to the recording; a few sections were, however, accompanied by a small live orchestra. Like Weill’s other compositions of this period, *The Eternal Road* is mostly triadic and tonal. The combination of a Western harmonic sensibility with traditional Jewish melodies and the persistent use of minor keys results in a sound that at times alludes to the Klezmer tradition, but there is little in the work to suggest either European or American popular music of the day. The one exception is “Song of Ruth” (see p. 207), where Weill insinuated Latin dance rhythms into the orchestration, but this is not reflected in the sheet music.

Facsimile 22:  
“Song of Ruth”

Heugel published neither a full score nor a piano-vocal reduction, but made English-language performance materials available for the original pro-

duction on a rental basis. When he agreed to compose *The Eternal Road* Weill focused any concern with “popularity” on the show as a whole, not on individual numbers. The composer had been in the United States for just two months when he suggested to Heugel that *The Eternal Road* should be promoted with a small album of selected numbers. In light of his experiences with *Aufstieg und Fall der Stadt Mahagonny* and *Der Silbersee*, Weill emphasized that these selections should not be printed as they appear in the piano reduction:

Rather, one needs to simplify the piano part and write a new vocal line for all numbers that appear in the original as choruses or ensembles. This work, i.e., the adaptation of the piano reduction for this publication, needs to be done by a specialist in collaboration with me. First, one has to choose the numbers that have the best chance of becoming popular and then adapt them very intelligently, making them easily playable without changing the character of the music. . . . I believe that such a selection should contain six or seven of the most important numbers, i.e., 20 to 25 pages. Mr. Dreyfus told me that one could do a folio of 20 pages that could be sold for 50 to 75 cents.<sup>184</sup>

Heugel granted Chappell permission to publish a sixteen-page folio containing six brief musical excerpts from the show, arranged for voice and piano. Although David Drew suggests that this album was “intended primarily to be sold to theatregoers,” these few morsels give very little sense of the scope, scale, or intensity of the stage production.<sup>185</sup> There were no other productions of *The Eternal Road* during Weill’s lifetime and no commercial recordings of any of the music.<sup>186</sup>

#### IV

Although Weill initially intended to return to Paris after the premiere of *The Eternal Road*, its successive postponements caused him to remain in the United States indefinitely. He quickly improved his English, observed American life and culture at first hand, and in particular familiarized himself with the American musical theater and American popular song. As J. Bradford Robinson has observed, “Early in his New York exile [Weill] seems to have realized that American popular music differed fundamentally from the purportedly ‘American’ roots of his European scores,” and he “set about relearning large parts of his craft” in a “conscious effort to master the American theater song.”<sup>187</sup> During his first months in the United States he attended a dress rehearsal of *Porgy and Bess*, bought popular sheet music, listened to the radio (“Your Hit Parade,” a weekly broadcast of what were judged to be the top songs of the week, soon became a favorite), studied instruction books on the writing of popular songs, and purchased recordings of “pop songs, boogie-woogie, and swing.”<sup>188</sup> The theatrical director and producer Cheryl Crawford, who befriended Weill and Lenya, recalled that she had a hand in “develop[ing] Kurt’s acquaintance with American jazz since I had . . . a sizeable collection of records.”<sup>189</sup>

Most of the songwriters who dominated American popular music in the 1920s, ’30s, and ’40s, including Irving Berlin, Jerome Kern, George Gershwin, and Cole Porter, and who were at the peak of their careers at this time, wrote songs in firmly established styles and forms. The vast majority of these pieces took the verse-chorus form: the text of the verse usually sketched a simple dramatic situation or vignette and was often set by the composer in a parlando or arioso style; there followed a more lyrical thirty-two-measure chorus in four eight-measure phrases in such patterns as AABA, ABAC, AABC, or ABCA.<sup>190</sup> Major keys predominated, and the harmonic language was unflaggingly triadic, though with liberal use of secondary dominants, nondominant seventh and ninth chords, and added sixths and seconds. Although their brief duration allowed for little tonal contrast or variety, the third of the four eight-measure phrases of the AABA type of refrain, the “bridge” or the “release,” often modulated or simply shifted to another key.<sup>191</sup> The style remained basically the same whether a given song was introduced on the musical stage, in a film, or simply as sheet music. Among songs of this sort

published in 1935, the year of Weill’s arrival in America, were Irving Berlin’s “Cheek to Cheek,” Cole Porter’s “Just One of Those Things,” “Alone” by Arthur Freed and Nacio Herb Brown, “I’m in the Mood for Love” by Dorothy Fields and Jimmy McHugh, “My Romance” by Lorenz Hart and Richard Rodgers, and “Lullaby of Broadway” by Al Dubin and Harry Warren.

The decade of the 1930s is now recognized to have been a period of transition for American popular song, not so much in musical style as in means of dissemination and consumption. Whereas most popular songs of the first three decades of the twentieth century were written for the popular musical stage (variety shows, revues, musical comedies, or operettas) and disseminated through the media of sheet music and phonograph records, by 1935 many of the top hits were written for sound films made in Hollywood. In addition, radio assumed a more determinant role in American popular music, with live broadcasts from ballrooms, restaurants, night clubs, and studios, and with the introduction of such made-for-radio programs as “Your Hit Parade.” Performance styles were changing as well. The much more sensitive electric microphone, used in the recording studio, for radio broadcast, and in live performance, brought an end to the vocal style epitomized by Al Jolson, where the singer had to “belt” his or her voice to be heard throughout a venue. The new microphones allowed a more intimate and nuanced singing style and led to the emergence of the kind of “crooning” pioneered by “Whispering Jack” Smith and Bing Crosby. At the same time the sweet but bouncy sound of the dance bands of Paul Whiteman, Vincent Lopez, and Roger Wolfe Kahn—which had been emulated by most European bands—lost ground to the more vigorous and sonorous swing bands that would dominate American popular music for the next decade. Paul Whiteman released his last two commercially successful recordings, “Smoke Gets in Your Eyes” and “Wagon Wheels,” in 1934, the year before Weill’s arrival in America, and that same year Benny Goodman enjoyed his first hit record with “Moonglow.”

While Weill waited for *The Eternal Road* to go back into production, Crawford introduced him to members of The Group Theatre, an offshoot of the Theatre Guild formed specifically to produce politically informed plays by young American dramatists. Group members counted themselves among the few Americans who knew of Weill’s work at the time; Harold Clurman, the group’s founder, wrote in his memoirs that “there had arrived from abroad the composer whose *Three-Penny Opera* (on records) might have been described as a Group pastime. We befriended Kurt Weill, and Stella Adler insisted that he must do a musical play for us along lines he had made known in Germany.”<sup>192</sup> Early in 1936 Crawford took the lead in developing a Group Theatre project with Weill: “Kurt wanted a very American subject,” she recalled. “The most American playwright I could think of was Paul Green, who also wrote poetry and might be able to do the lyrics.”<sup>193</sup> Crawford took Weill to Green’s home in North Carolina, where the three of them worked together for some weeks on a sketch of a show. It was important to Weill’s ongoing Americanization that he spent this time in close contact and collaboration with Green, whose writing drew on the culture and vernacular speech of rural Americans, and with Crawford, who was from the Midwest; as Weill wrote to Lenya, this period made him “realize for the first time what America is really like and how unimportant New York is for this country.”<sup>194</sup> According to Crawford, the three found that “the material that seemed most promising was on the subject of World War I, in which Paul had served, believing with Woodrow Wilson, whom he admired, that it would be the war to end all wars and make the world safe for democracy.”<sup>195</sup>

The show is something akin to an American version of *The Good Soldier Schweik*.<sup>196</sup> Johnny, an idealistic young Southerner who enlists in the army, leaves behind his family, sweetheart, and community to “fight for democracy” in France. Disillusioned by the “relationship between authority and violence,” he tries to disrupt an Allied offensive and ends up in an insane asylum.<sup>197</sup> By the time he is set free, another war appears imminent, and the play ends as he wanders from town to town to sell wooden toys and sing of peace. After opening on 19 November 1936 at the 44th Street Theatre, *Johnny Johnson* ran for sixty-eight performances; it was revived by the Federal Theatre Project in 1937, when for several weeks it ran in parallel productions in Los Angeles

and Boston, and a further half dozen productions took place before 1939. Despite being the work of an author who had never before written for the musical stage and a composer who had been in America for less than a year, *Johnny Johnson* proved to be an effective and moving stage piece; it garnered many good reviews and came in second to Maxwell Anderson's *High Tor* for the New York Drama Critics' Circle Award. None of the music was recorded by the original cast, as original cast albums of Broadway shows were not yet customary.<sup>198</sup>

Thanks in part to almost verbatim appropriation of material from *Happy End*, *Marie Galante*, and *A Kingdom for a Cow*, *Johnny Johnson* still reflects aspects of Weill's European style.<sup>199</sup> "Wrong-note" dissonances color several instrumental sections, the instrumentation is more dependent on woodwinds and brass than was usual in American musicals, and "Captain Valentine's Tango" and "Mon ami, My Friend" have a decidedly Continental flavor. But Weill also introduced a wide range of American popular styles into the show. "Farewell, Goodbye" (this number was eventually cut from the production) uses swing rhythms and instrumentation; "The Laughing Generals" is a Charleston; "Oh, Heart of Love" has more in common with popular American waltz-ballads than with its European counterparts; and "Asylum Chorus" includes echoes of southern folk hymnody.

When the American branch of Chappell, now working directly with Weill (rather than as Heugel's sub-publisher), issued four selections from *Johnny Johnson* as sheet music arrangements for voice and piano, owner Max Dreyfus participated in the selection process, which usually included an audition by the composer. Hans Heinsheimer described the ritual: "There the great composers and the great writers paraded, not at all great in his presence, ready to accept the verdict of the little man in the linen jacket."<sup>200</sup> John F. Wharton stated, perhaps with a touch of professional jealousy, that "when [Dreyfus] heard a new score, he readily pontificated as to which songs would become popular and which would not. He was wrong just as often as right." George Gershwin confided to a friend, "He is a pretty cold person to play for. And although he is very sincere in what he says, it must be taken with a grain of salt. To Mr. Dreyfus, melody is the one essential thing in music. He is not quite up to liking the new rhythms, although he published many of them."<sup>201</sup> Dreyfus's catalogue included songs by Cole Porter, Richard Rodgers, Arthur Schwartz, Harold Rome, Jerome Kern, George Gershwin, Sammy Fain, and Frederick Loewe, among others, and the mere physical appearance of the *Johnny Johnson* songs places them in the mainstream of American popular music of the day: the four songs share a front cover, designed by Ben Jorj Harris, featuring a sketch of Johnny on a troop ship leaving for France, with the Statue of Liberty in the background; the back cover offers incipits of six songs by Cole Porter from the film "Born to Dance," including "I've Got You under My Skin"; and guitar tablatures and chord symbols, intended for ukulele and banjo players, appear above the vocal line, as was customary in publications of American popular songs.

Although the *Johnny Johnson* songs show that Weill had certainly begun absorbing American conventions, certain aspects set them apart from the rest of Chappell's popular song repertory. The refrain of "Oh, Heart of Love," for example, contains five eight-measure phrases (AA'BAA") rather than the usual four. "Oh the Rio Grande" (see p. 211), sung by a homesick soldier as newly arrived American troops prepare for a night in the trenches of France, was probably inspired by the flood of "cowboy" songs then being written by Tin Pan Alley tunesmiths, but in some structural details Weill's song departed from those conventions.<sup>202</sup> In this song a second verse interrupts the thirty-two-measure refrain:

verse 1	x4 y4
refrain 1	: A8 A'8
verse 2	x4 y4
refrain 2	A8 A'8 :

The subtle dramatic climax of the song occurs when the text of the last phrase of the first refrain—"and one shadow runs beside"—becomes in the second

refrain "and my gal rides at my side."<sup>203</sup> There are other idiosyncrasies in this song that look back to Weill's European song style. The verse in B minor is tonally unstable, closing in E minor, whereas the refrain, though chromatic, is solidly in G major. There are also striking harmonic moments that set this song apart from a typical cowboy song; in the first measure of the verse, for example, a half-diminished seventh chord, F#-A-C-E, with an implied root of D, resolves irregularly to B minor, and the penultimate measure of the second refrain consists of a series of chromatic chords that touch on the dominant only in passing.

According to Weill, "Johnny's Song" functioned as the "theme song" of the show, summing up "the whole philosophy of this play":<sup>204</sup>

And we'll never lose  
Our faith and hope  
And trust in all mankind  
We'll work and strive  
While we're alive  
That better way to find.

This song, heard in the orchestra several times before it brings the show to its conclusion, takes the rondo-like shape of A8 A'8 B8 A8 C8 A'8 D12 A"8+2 (D and the final A", which accompany Johnny's exit, are instrumental).<sup>205</sup> The A sections are all in D major, the B section shifts momentarily to F# minor, the C section modulates away from D major and then back to the home key, and the D section, tonally more unstable, ends on one of Weill's trademark chords, an inverted augmented-sixth chord (G#-Bb-D-F#) that resolves irregularly to the D major of the final A section. No matter how effective "Johnny's Song" was in bringing the show to its conclusion, Weill's publisher decided that the piece would not be commercially viable as sheet music without considerable doctoring. The song was transposed a half step up to Eb major; a new introduction and a two-measure vamp were added to lead into the refrain; section D and the final A were eliminated, which resulted in a simpler structure (A8 A'8 B8 A8 C8 A'8), though the unusual "double release" was retained; optional pitches were added for some of the highest notes of the voice part in order to make the song more singable by amateurs; the entire refrain is repeated.<sup>206</sup> The song's moralizing text was also changed, as its generalized plea for political idealism was perceived to be a problem. Chappell commissioned the journeyman Tin Pan Alley lyricist Edward Heyman to write a new text that had little to do with the show. With new words and a new title—"To Love You and To Lose You"—the piece became a generic love song (see p. 219). It was not until 1945, when Rodgers and Hammerstein wrote "You'll Never Walk Alone" for *Carousel*, that another Broadway song ventured as far into exhortatory territory as did the original "Johnny's Song."

Facsimile 24:  
"To Love You and  
To Lose You"

Weill had often complained that the piano parts of the sheet music versions of his German songs were "bad and much too hard" for amateurs. According to Albert Sirmay, Chappell's principal house editor, American arrangers had developed a style of piano accompaniment for popular songs that was "playable and enjoyable to the great mass [of amateurs] who possess average pianistic technique."<sup>207</sup> It is instructive to compare the piano accompaniment for "To Love You and To Lose You" with, for example, those of "Alabama-Song" or "Kanonen-Song." The German arrangements attempted merely to reduce Weill's orchestral accompaniments to manageable keyboard parts, whereas American practice worked in reverse: to devise an idiomatic piano part based on the skeletal harmonic progressions of the song. George Gershwin once complained that the piano parts of published American popular songs were written for "little girls with little hands, who have not progressed very far in their study of the piano," but without question the simple piano accompaniments found in American sheet music played a key part in the mass appeal of the genre.<sup>208</sup>

Given the many good notices garnered by the *Johnny Johnson* songs, and the fact that sheet music selections were available, Weill thought that one or two numbers from the show might well become popular hits. But he noticed

Facsimile 23:  
"Oh the Rio Grande"

that Chappell was not promoting the songs and wrote to Max Dreyfus on 20 December 1936, about a week after “To Love You and To Lose You” was published as sheet music:

I cannot quite understand the way things are going with my music for *Johnny Johnson*. May be [*sic*], it is the difference between American and European music business which makes the whole thing so difficult to understand for me, and I would be glad if you could explain it to me.

Here is a musical play running in its fifth week, with growing success, after an excellent, partly sensational reception. The music was better received by critics and audience than any music on Broadway in this season. The audience simply loves the show. There are between 8 and 12 curtains every night, and people are humming the music in leaving the theatre (which is, I think, internationally the best test for the success of a music).

And yet it seems not possible to have these songs sung over the radio, played in dance orchestras [*sic*], in nightclubs, on records etc. I admit that we had difficulties in the beginning because we did not have the right material. But now Edward Heyman has written a very good commercial lyric for the most popular tune of the show, and Paul Green has, after a long fight, agreed to have this lyric sung in the show—and yet there is not the least sign of a real activity on the part of Chappell. There are numbers of important dance bands in town who did not get the orchestration of “To love you and to lose you.” Musicians, singers, radio-stations, record firms don’t even know the existence of this song. We (i.e., The Group Theatre and myself) got interested the WNEW sender [radio station], we also got a few band leaders to see the show and they are very enthusiastic [*sic*] about the music. That’s how Leo Reisman and Benny Goodman are going to play the music. But a young band leader, whom I know, called up Chappell on Friday and asked for Johnny Johnson-music. He got the answer: “We are not pushing this show, but we have a couple of other hits, why don’t you play those?”—Frankly, things of this kind never happened to me before.

There is no doubt, that *Johnny Johnson* has a great chance to run through the whole season, if Chappell would finally start to push this one song—before it is too late. There is another danger. We have a very good chance to sell *Johnny Johnson* to the movies, and we are sure, Hollywood would make it into a real musical picture, if at least one of the songs would be really plugged by the publisher. Otherwise they would do it as a straight picture which would mean a considerable loss for Chappell and myself.

I am writing you all this because I know your interest in my work and because I am convinced it is now the moment to do something decisive about this music which has all possibilities of a real popular success.<sup>209</sup>

From Weill’s letter it is unclear whether Chappell prepared a stock band arrangement for sale (no such copy survives, nor do gratis “professional copies”), but it is likely that the Reisman and Goodman bands made their own arrangements.<sup>210</sup> One recording event may possibly have resulted from Weill’s letter: Ray Noble and His Orchestra hired a studio on 5 January 1937 to record “To Love You and To Lose You” with singer Howard Barrie.<sup>211</sup> However, none of the four published *Johnny Johnson* numbers had much success. Weill’s songs were still simply too idiosyncratic in structure and harmony to compete successfully with songs by Porter, Kern, Gershwin, Rodgers, and Berlin. Of course Weill also lacked name recognition. But it also appears that Weill’s new publisher, though clearly more experienced in promoting popular music than his European publishers had been, focused its efforts on composers who promised greater financial returns for the company than they could expect from Weill.

Like many composers of the time, Weill hoped that film would open up new artistic and financial horizons for him. He went to Hollywood for the first time in January 1937, after signing a contract to write a score for “The River Is Blue,” with a screenplay by Lewis Milestone and Clifford Odets. Soon after he arrived the original screenplay was scrapped for a new one by John Howard Lawson, and composer Werner Janssen was contracted to write the music for the new film. Weill found himself in the peculiar position of having to write music that he knew would never be used, if he wanted to collect the “kill fee” of ten thousand dollars. “I’m using this as an exercise to learn technique,” he wrote to Lenya on 8 March 1937. “I could write any old thing and deliver it and take my money. But you know how it is with me, I started to get interested and worked out a genuine and probably very good full score.”<sup>212</sup> The producer salvaged two songs from this unused film score,

“Soldier’s Song” and “The River Is So Blue,” both with lyrics by Ann Ronell, and deposited them for copyright in March 1938, but they were never published during Weill’s lifetime.<sup>213</sup>

Weill’s next Hollywood commission, to compose a score for *You and Me*, a *film noir* directed by Fritz Lang and starring George Raft and Sylvia Sydney, had a more positive outcome. Little of his score and nothing of his formal conception survived in the final dubbing of the film.<sup>214</sup> Nevertheless, the opening credits identify Weill as the film’s composer, and much of the background music consists of material he actually wrote, albeit subsequently arranged, orchestrated, and combined with music by the musical director, Boris Morros, and the four other arrangers and orchestrators, Gordon Jenkins, Phil Bootelje, Max Terr, and Al Siegal. Three episodes in the film bear Weill’s unmistakable musical and dramatic imprint:

- The opening sequence, set in the department store where most of the action takes place, consists of rapid-cut shots of consumer goods on the shelves, jostling shoppers, and a cash register ringing up sales, while an off-camera baritone sings Weill’s song “You Cannot Get Something for Nothing,” which articulates the underlying theme of the show—that one must pay for what one gets.

- An eight-minute sequence developed from Weill’s sketches of a “Knocking Song,” combining diegetic percussive sounds with nondiegetic chanting male voices and percussion instruments.<sup>215</sup> This sequence has no precedent in film music, though it could perhaps be said to share certain traits with the “noise symphony” for the Theatre Guild’s production of *Porgy and Bess*.<sup>216</sup>

- The torch singer Caroline Paige singing Weill’s “The Right Guy for Me” (see p. 227), with lyrics by Sam Coslow, in a smoky waterfront bar visited by Raft and Sydney. As sung in the film, the structure of the song suggests a rondo:

Facsimile 25:  
“The Right Guy  
for Me”

refrain 1	A8 A8 B8 A'8
verse	x4 x'8 y4 x"4 z6 (=C)
refrain 2	A'8 D16 A'8

The sheet music version, depicting the film’s starring couple on the cover, was shortened to a verse-refrain structure much more in keeping with the conventions of American popular song:

verse	x4 x'8 y4 x"4 z6
refrain	::: A8 A8 B8 A'8 :

Nevertheless, the published version retained several idiosyncrasies of the original film version: there are five rather than four sections in the verse, which is harmonically unstable, with a key signature of three flats suggesting either C minor or E $\flat$  major, though neither key is firmly tonicized. By contrast, the refrain is symmetrical, with four eight-measure phrases, and in an unambiguous though chromatic G major, which includes several of Weill’s favorite diminished seventh chords. “The Right Guy for Me” was never recorded commercially, nor was it widely performed, though Lenya introduced it into her nightclub act in New York before it was published in the United States. International distribution of the film led to publications of the song in England, as well as France, where Coslow’s lyric appeared in French translation.

Although Weill continued to hope that he would someday be able to compose a real “musical film” or even a “film opera,” he had no starry-eyed illusions about his chances. He told Lenya that he didn’t want “to become a complete slave to Hollywood” merely because of the money he could make. He sent a vivid characterization of his off-again/on-again relationship with the film industry to his friend Cheryl Crawford: “Don’t worry. Hollywood won’t get me. A whore never loves the man who pays her. She wants to get rid of him as soon as she has rendered her services. That is my relation to Hollywood (I am the whore).”<sup>217</sup> In 1938 Weill got rid of Hollywood—temporarily—and returned home to New York and the Broadway stage.

Weill's second Broadway show was his first collaboration with the playwright Maxwell Anderson, whom he had met in 1936 through the Group Theatre. Anderson would become Weill's "American Brecht," his most frequent, successful, and influential collaborator in his new home.<sup>218</sup> Anderson's successful career had begun in 1924 with the play *What Price Glory*; after winning the Pulitzer Prize for drama in 1933 with *Both Your Houses* he was widely heralded as America's foremost playwright. *Knickerbocker Holiday* was Anderson's first attempt to write for the musical stage, and it was Weill's first unequivocally successful Broadway project. After tryouts in Hartford, Boston, and Washington the show opened on 19 October 1938 and enjoyed a run of 168 performances at the Ethel Barrymore Theatre; it was then taken on the road for nine weeks.<sup>219</sup> Critical reception was enthusiastic. Elliot Norton wrote in the *Boston Post* on 2 October that "Mr. Kurt Weill's songs are not added, not hammered on. They are woven into the pattern of the piece. They serve to point the play, to amplify the action, to characterize the people." Brooks Atkinson reviewed the Broadway opening in the *New York Times* on 20 October: "[Weill] writes dance tunes with modern gusto, romantic duets, comic pieces . . . superior to Broadway song-writing without settling in the academic groove." Anderson himself called Weill's music "the best score in the history of our theatre."<sup>220</sup>

Based loosely on Washington Irving's *Diedrich Knickerbocker's A History of New York from the Beginning of the World to the End of the Dutch Dynasty* (1809), the show deals with conflict between the individual and the state, a recurrent theme in Weill's works for the musical stage. Peter Stuyvesant, sent from Holland to govern New Amsterdam, tries to stifle the independent spirit growing among the Dutch colonists but eventually agrees to govern in a more democratic way. Anderson was quoted in the *New York Times* on 13 November 1938 as having said that "the gravest and most constant danger to a man's life, liberty, and happiness is the government under which he lives." Some interpreted his script about the repressive rule Stuyvesant tried to impose on New Amsterdam as an indictment of the fascist dictatorships in Germany and Italy, but others saw in it a critique of President Franklin Roosevelt's New Deal.

The music from *Knickerbocker Holiday* was published by Crawford Music Corporation, one of several satellite firms controlled by Louis and Max Dreyfus, the owners of Chappell.<sup>221</sup> It is not clear why the music for *Knickerbocker Holiday* appeared under the Crawford Music imprint, whereas *Johnny Johnson* was published under the Chappell imprint. A trade paper voiced skepticism about the publication: "Crawford Music Co. goes a bit more longhair than usual publishing the songs from the Maxwell Anderson-Kurt Weill musical show, *Knickerbocker Holiday*. . . . Numbers, three already printed in sheet-music form, with five more to follow next week, have little commercial value, and Crawford is not even bothering with releasing professional copies. Songs will also probably be air-restricted."<sup>222</sup> The contract between Weill and Max Dreyfus, signed on 12 September 1938, required Crawford to issue the songs in three of the four formats in which music from the show eventually appeared.<sup>223</sup>

- Four songs thought most likely to sell well—"It Never Was Anywhere You," "Will You Remember Me?" "September Song," and "There's Nowhere to Go But Up"—were published in sheet music form in 1938.

- Stock arrangements for dance band of "It Never Was You," "September Song," and "There's Nowhere to Go But Up" were brought out in 1938.

- Thirteen selections from the show, arranged for voice and piano, came out in a two-volume set of "Vocal Gems" in 1938.

- A piano-vocal score of the entire show was published only in 1951.

It is instructive to compare one of the separately published songs that never achieved much popularity with one that did. "Will You Remember Me?" was cut from the show during the first week of the New York run, and it was never recorded commercially; sheet music sales of this number were negligible. The piece is a love duet, a strophic variation sung by Brom, the character who is sentenced to death for his opposition to Stuyvesant's rule, and Tina, his sweetheart:

11 mm. of melodrama (i.e., speech underlaid with music)

refrain 1, in G major A8 A'8 B10 A"8 Tina

refrain 2, in D major A8 A'8 B10 A"10 Brom

refrain 3, in G major A8 A'8 B10 A"10 Tina, Brom, and  
mixed chorus

The vocal range of the first and third refrains, D4–G5, is appropriate for the soprano role of Tina, whereas the second refrain is transposed down a fourth into Brom's baritone range. The two sing together for most of the third refrain, with Tina carrying the melody and soaring up to a G5 at the song's climax, while Brom's harmonizing stays within a comfortable baritone range.

In the sheet music version (see p. 235) the song has been transposed to F major, resulting in a more accessible (though still somewhat extreme) vocal range of C4–F5. The two voices have been condensed into a single vocal line, and the piece has been simplified structurally:

Facsimile 26:  
"Will You  
Remember  
Me?"

piano introduction (4)

refrain 1, in F major A8 A'8 B10 A'8

refrain 2, in F major A8 A'8 B10 A"8+3

Without a verse to establish the dramatic situation, the lyrics of the refrains do not convey an easily grasped scenario, and taken out of dramatic context such lines as "Though they dismember you, I shall remember you" seem puzzling if not ridiculous. Others, such as "When the worms on my corpse have dined/in the dark of the sunken clay," are hardly the material of a hit song. Weill and Anderson probably intended the clash of lyrics and music to be heard as a parody of an old-fashioned operetta love duet—Weill perhaps recalling his concept of "Tango-Ballade"—but the number was not effective once disconnected from the plot.<sup>224</sup>

By contrast, "September Song," sung by Stuyvesant to the girl who had been promised to him in marriage, became Weill's first American song to enjoy true mass popularity. Stuyvesant was nominally the "heavy" of the show, but Walter Huston brought such charm and humor to the role, particularly in this song, that within a week of the New York opening it had become customary for Huston to encore "September Song," singing a new refrain written by Anderson for the purpose.<sup>225</sup> The poetic structure of the initial draft of the lyric would not have allowed a musical setting in popular song form, so, probably following a suggestion from Weill or the show's director, Joshua Logan, Anderson changed the lyrics. When Weill set the revised lyric to music, he borrowed some memorable musical material from Juan's arietta "Since First I Left My Home" from *A Kingdom for a Cow*: the first six measures of the refrain for "September Song" are melodically identical with the beginning of the arietta. Weill changed the rhythm of the accompaniment from the Latin-infused pattern (suitable to the operetta's tropical setting on a fictitious island named Santa Maria) to a fox-trot and transposed the melody down a major third to accommodate Huston's voice. On stage, "September Song" was presented in two verse-refrain strophes, with the refrains (each with its own text) taking the conventional shape of A8 A8 B8 A'8.

refrain 1 in stage version

But it's a long, long while from May to December -  
And the days grow short when you reach September,  
And I have lost one tooth and I walk a little lame,  
And I haven't got time for the waiting game,  
For the days turn to gold as they grow few,  
September, November,  
And these few golden days I'd spend with you.  
These golden days I'd spend with you.

refrain 2 in stage version

And it's a long, long while from May to December  
Will a clover ring last till you reach September?

I'm not quite equipped for the waiting game,  
 But I have a little money and I have a little fame,  
 And the days dwindle down to a precious few,  
 September, November,  
 And these few precious days I'd spend with you,  
 These precious days I'd spend with you.

The text of the single refrain of the sheet music version combines the first four lines of refrain 1 with the last four from refrain 2:

Facsimile 27:  
 "September Song"

refrain in sheet music version 1938 (1st edition) (see p. 241)

But it's a long, long while From May to December,  
 And the days grow short, When you reach September,  
 And I have lost one tooth and I walk a little lame,  
 And I haven't got time for the waiting game,  
 For the days dwindle down to a precious few -  
 September, November,  
 And these few precious days I'd spend with you,  
 These precious days I'd spend with you.

The second sheet music edition, featuring the stars of the 1944 film version on the cover, makes a few subtle adjustments to the song (highlighted here in italic), mainly by replacing a line about physical ailments that come with age with a line that reinforces the autumnal metaphor:

refrain in sheet music version 1944 (2nd edition)<sup>226</sup>

But it's a long, long while From May to December,  
 And the days grow short, When you reach September,  
*And the autumn weather turns the leaves to flame,*  
 And I haven't got time for the waiting game,  
 For the days dwindle down to a precious few -  
 September, November,  
 And these few precious days I'd spend with you,  
 These *golden* days I'd spend with you.

When several singers and jazz musicians recorded "September Song" in 1946, and these recordings enjoyed extensive air time on the radio, Crawford Music issued yet another edition with a few additional subtle but crucial changes:

refrain in sheet music version 1946 (3rd edition)

*Oh*, it's a long, long while From May to December,  
 But the days grow short, When you reach September,  
*When the autumn weather turns the leaves to flame,*  
*One hasn't* got time for the waiting game,  
*Oh*, the days dwindle down to a precious few -  
 September, November!  
 And these few precious days I'll spend with you,  
 These precious days I'll spend with you.

Even when sung without the verse, as it was on many recordings and in live performances, the revised versions of the refrain may be heard as a generic love song, with no links to any particular dramatic situation. The 1946 printing appears to derive from a recording made by Bing Crosby in December 1943, for the printed lyric follows his version of the refrain verbatim.

Musically both verse and refrain remain solidly in C major, with the eight-measure bridge (B) of the refrain leaning toward F minor, though this key is never firmly tonicized. The verse is harmonized almost exclusively with seventh and ninth chords, many of them incomplete and most of them resolving according to the conventions of common-practice harmony. Typical Weillan touches are the irregularly phrased verse contrasting with the thirty-two-measure (4 × 8) refrain and, at the end of the bridge, a prominently placed diminished seventh chord (F#-A-C-Eb). A small but telling detail links "September Song" with two of Weill's most popular German songs: in the first

full measure of the refrain, the vocal part has several repeated notes on scale degree six—here an A against a C minor chord—just as in the "Moritat" and "Surabaya-Johnny."

The reception of "September Song" during Weill's lifetime underwent four distinct phases, neatly documented by the various editions or printings of sheet music. During the run of *Knickerbocker Holiday* on Broadway, the song achieved only a modest measure of popular success. Walter Huston's drawing power as a major star of stage and screen inspired four different recordings. Besides Huston himself, the song was recorded in 1938 by Eddy Duchin and Ray Herbeck, both pairing it with "It Never Was You."<sup>227</sup> A reviewer for *Billboard* commented on the three recordings in typically nonchalant industry fashion: "As a singer, Walter Huston is undoubtedly a much better actor. Maybe he was only paying off a bet to Brunswick for his recitative attempts with 'September Song' and the class-conscious marching song, 'The Scars,' both from his starring *Knickerbocker Holiday* production. Tho the songs lack in popular appeal, 'September Song' and 'It Never Was You' make acceptable dance fare for pseudo-intellec[t]s as played by Eddy Duchin on Brunswick and Ray Herbeck on Vocalion."<sup>228</sup> On 14 March 1939—*Knickerbocker Holiday* had just begun its road tour—Tony Martin chose "September Song" for the B-side of his record featuring Cole Porter's "Begin the Beguine."

In 1944 United Artists released a film version of *Knickerbocker Holiday* that starred Nelson Eddy and Constance Dowling, with Charles Coburn portraying Governor Stuyvesant. Although Coburn sang "September Song" on screen, he did not record the number, presumably because his voice was deemed unsuitable. On 29 December 1943, in preparation for the film's release in March 1944—it opened in New York City on 19 April 1944—Bing Crosby recorded the song for Decca, but his recording was not released until the following May. Weill proudly mentioned Crosby's recording in letters to family members.<sup>229</sup> Anticipating a strong boost from the film, Crawford Music reissued "September Song" with a new cover and also reprinted Jack Mason's 1938 stock band arrangement with an updated cover, but neither the sheet music nor Crosby's record tallied particularly high numbers. The same was true for a recording by Artie Shaw in May 1945, for which Weill had had high hopes, as he wrote to Lenya: "'Billboard' announces this week that Artie Shaw has made a record of 'September-song' which has a chance to become a best seller [*sic*] (His recording of 'Beguine' started that song and sold 2 million copies). They write: 'K.W.'s classical Septembersong, a beauty of a tune which has been a favorite for [a] long time.'"<sup>230</sup>

"September Song" did not become a "standard" until the following year, when at least a dozen different performers recorded it for ten different labels. The surge is somewhat inexplicable, because the film had faded from public memory, and neither Crosby nor Shaw had secured a real presence for the song in public consciousness. Even more surprising, the first recording of the song to enter *Billboard*'s various weekly charts was that of the relatively unknown pianist, vibraphone player, and singer Dardanelle and her trio. The fact that a young woman could present the lyric convincingly proved that Weill's song had become successfully disassociated from its theatrical context. The Dardanelle Trio was not the first small combo to record the song—that distinction goes to the Phil Moore Four—but her version, released on RCA Victor in November 1946, appeared in eleventh place on the chart "Records Most-Played on the Air" on 14 December 1946.<sup>231</sup> A week later Frank Sinatra joined the chart with his version, recorded on 30 July 1946 for Columbia but not released until late November. Beginning in September 1946, *Billboard* listed "September Song" among the "Songs with Greatest Radio Audiences" and continued to list it every week until February 1947.<sup>232</sup> Crawford Music, finally recognizing the song's belated popularity, printed a third piano-vocal edition with a new cover, designed by Ben Jorj Harris, that capitalized on the song's autumn metaphor—a strategy adopted by many designers in countries where the song was subsequently published (e.g., England, Denmark, France).<sup>233</sup> By late November 1946 *Billboard* could list the song in its "Best-Selling Sheet Music" chart, where it stayed for several weeks, peaking on 28 December 1946 in tenth place.<sup>234</sup> On 10 October 1946 Crawford Music also issued a version for men's chorus, arranged by William Stickles.

Weill did not live to see the completion of the fourth stage of reception, but he was aware of its beginnings. The Paramount film *September Affair*, directed by William Dieterle and starring Joan Fontaine and Joseph Cotten, which premiered at the Venice Film Festival on 25 August 1950, used “September Song,” in the words of a *New York Times* critic, “as thematic inspiration and as the sound-track leitmotif.” Much of the filming had taken place in 1949, and in the final production stages Walter Huston was asked to record “September Song” for the third time (he had made his second recording, for Decca, in 1944). Huston complied, but he too did not live to see the film’s premiere, as he died unexpectedly on 5 April 1950, just two days after Weill. Unlike the film version of *Knickerbocker Holiday*, which was released during World War II, *September Affair* enjoyed full international distribution and triggered a new round of recordings by various artists, most notably Stan

Facsimile 30:  
“September  
Song” (1950)

Kenton, and additional sheet music publications.<sup>235</sup> Crawford Music reissued its third edition of the song with a new cover (see p. 261), but contrary to the printed statement—“As Sung by Walter Huston in ‘September Affair’”—the plates were the same as those used for the 1946 printing and do not match what Huston sang, either in the film or on his previous two recordings. By the end of 1951 new sheet music issues had appeared in England, Australia, France, Italy, and Argentina. In England the song had appeared in two previous editions, but it was with the third edition that “September Song” gained genuine popularity and enjoyed mass sales. It entered *Billboard*’s chart for best-selling sheet music in “England’s Top Twenty” on 10 February 1951, peaking seven weeks later in fourth place.<sup>236</sup> The Italian publisher Accordo, having acquired the rights from Chappell S.A., France, also issued a voice-and-piano and a voice-only version: the latter, unlike the French edition, included chord symbols. The only 1951 printing that made no reference to the film was the one published by Hans Sikorski’s Pageno-Verlag, which introduced Weill’s song in print to a German-language public a few months after the film had successfully played in Germany as *Liebesrausch auf Capri*. The new German lyrics, by Werner Cypris, about fear of parting and loneliness had little in common with any of the English versions, and the text is often metrically at odds with the music. It was perhaps not surprising that “Der schönste Liebestraum” failed to inspire a single recording.<sup>237</sup>

Just how popular was “September Song” compared with Weill’s other songs and with songs by other composers?<sup>238</sup> To answer this question, one must distinguish between the two types of popularity that a popular song may enjoy—short-term and long-term. In the 1930s the American music industry measured short-term popularity by the units of sheet music and recordings sold, as well as by the number of times a piece was performed live and on the radio. It was usually impossible to ascertain exact numbers, as music publishers were not in the habit of releasing sales figures, record companies regarded financial statistics as proprietary, and no one kept accurate count of live and radio performances. But the absence of hard evidence did not deter either trade journals such as *Billboard* and *Variety* or radio’s “Your Hit Parade” from ranking the relative popularity of songs every week.

*Billboard* listed “September Song” in its charts on several occasions, but the song was not among the 1,251 songs aired on “Your Hit Parade” between 1935 and 1958. By comparison, another song of the same period, Bing Crosby’s recording of “Only Forever,” written by Johnny Burke and James V. Monaco for the film *Rhythm on the River*, appeared on the *Billboard* charts for twenty weeks in 1940, nine times as the number-one song of the week, and was performed for thirteen consecutive weeks on “Your Hit Parade,” three times as the top song of the week. But “Only Forever” quickly faded from memory, whereas “September Song” became a standard—or an “evergreen” in European terminology. In a national survey of disc jockeys conducted by *Billboard* in 1956, “September Song” was voted the fourteenth most popular song of all time. It also made *Variety*’s list of the “Golden 100 Tin Pan Alley Songs,” and Huston’s recording was selected for inclusion in the NARAS Hall of Fame.

The All Media Guide, an internet site that since 1991 has offered a sophisticated relational database tabulating songs appearing on LPs and CDs in the

second half of the twentieth century, states the obvious: “[O]ne of the most important indicators of a song’s enduring musical greatness [is] the number of artists [who] record it.” The three most frequently recorded songs in the database are Irving Berlin’s “White Christmas” (1,318 recordings), Jerome Kern’s “All the Things You Are” (1,117), and Richard Rodgers’s “My Funny Valentine” (1,034). “September Song” (519) does not come close to rivaling these blockbuster hits, but it keeps company with such standards as Berlin’s “Always” (645) and George Gershwin’s “Love Walked In” (339). “Only Forever” (45) can be found far down on the list, and almost all of its recordings date from the period of its immediate success.<sup>239</sup> An internet site that indexes songs contained in more than 60 of the most widely used fake books reveals that “All the Things You Are” appears in 23, “My Funny Valentine” in 24, “September Song” in 18, “Always” in 6, “Love Walked In” in 11, and “Only Forever” in not a single one—yet further proof that “September Song” has become a genuine standard.<sup>240</sup>

The many hundreds of recordings of “September Song” document a wide range of performance styles, yet more proof that a good popular song can be performed successfully in a variety of ways. The song was recorded by the swing bands of Harry James, Les Brown, Stan Kenton, Woody Herman, and Duke Ellington; by such leading singers of the swing era as Bing Crosby, Frank Sinatra, Ella Fitzgerald, Sarah Vaughan, Jo Stafford, Lena Horne, and Billy Eckstine; by jazz musicians Don Byas, Dave Brubeck, Django Reinhardt, Illinois Jacquet, Sidney Bechet, Red Norvo, Al Hirt, Dizzy Gillespie, and Benny Goodman; by pianists Roger Williams, Art Tatum, Erroll Garner, George Shearing, and Liberace; by country-western singers Willie Nelson and Roy Clark; by such early rock ‘n’ roll performers as Pat Boone, The Platters, The Flamingos, The Ravens, Lindsay Buckingham, and Clarence Brown; and even by James Brown and Lou Reed who subsequently covered the song.

Why did “September Song” enjoy modest short-term but exceptional long-term success, whereas “Will You Remember Me?” ended up a dud and “Only Forever” ran its course so quickly? There is no more difficult a task for a music historian or critic than to try to account for the success of a given piece of music by analyzing or describing it, and I have no illusions that I can pinpoint the precise factors that made “September Song” such a hit. I’ll merely offer several observations:

- Its lyrics sketch a generalized and easily grasped scenario.
- Its structure, verse-refrain (AABA), is familiar to anyone with any acquaintance with popular music.
- Its musical language is tonal and triadic, and the frequent use of seventh and ninth chords is in keeping with the harmonic style of popular songs of the era.
- Its refrain has a “hook”: the first three of the four short phrases making up the A section begin with a similar, though not identical, melodic contour. By the time the refrain has concluded, this motive will have been heard nine times and has thus become familiar to even a first-time listener.
- The song, in its sheet music version, is easy for amateurs to perform. Its vocal range barely exceeds an octave, and the keyboard accompaniment lies comfortably and idiomatically under the hands.

Such factors alone, of course, cannot account for the popularity of “September Song.” After all, thousands of mediocre and even defective songs exhibit most of these traits. The point, rather, is that “September Song” conforms sufficiently to the stylistic norms for songs achieving mass popularity that it became eligible for success.

As a case in point, Jack Mason’s dance band arrangement of “September Song” (see p. 247) follows the conventions of that genre. The repertory of American dance bands of the 1930s and ‘40s consisted chiefly of arrangements of current popular songs. While the top professional bands played versions of popular tunes prepared by their own arrangers, hundreds of professional and amateur bands depended on published stock arrangements. The bulk of these were created by a mere handful of arrangers who worked as independent contractors for the most prominent publishers; Jack Mason claimed the lion’s share of the work.<sup>241</sup> Scored for

Facsimile 28:  
“September  
Song” arranged  
for dance band

the standard dance band instrumentation of the day, stock arrangements were published as sets of parts without a master score, but one of the parts was intended for use by the band leader, usually the pianist, and this part contained cues for the other instruments. Since the personnel of a given band might vary from standard forces, a good stock arrangement had to sound complete and convincing even when performed with one or more of the parts missing, doubled, or played by an instrument other than the one specified. Most stock arrangements omitted the verse of the song and offered only a string of three or four refrains, each scored differently, along with an introduction, transitions between refrains, and possibly a coda written by the arranger. Jack Mason was the chief arranger for Famous Music 1930–33 before he opted to freelance. His arrangement of “September Song” calls for four saxophones (two altos and two tenors), three trumpets, two trombones, three violins, a cello, and a rhythm section of piano, bass, guitar, and drums. In his version the song takes the following shape:

- a 4-mm. introduction establishing the key of C major
- a first full refrain, in C major
- a second refrain also in C major but much more lightly scored; if the band includes a singer, this is the refrain usually sung by the vocalist
- a 5-mm. modulating transition leading to a third full refrain in A $\flat$  major
- a 4-mm. modulating transition leading to a final half refrain in D $\flat$  major

The melody passes from one part to another, giving a number of instruments the chance to play it. The keys of successive refrains impart tonal variety to the arrangement (though not tonal coherence) and allow instruments to play in keys in which they sound best, flat keys being the most natural and brilliant for saxophones, trumpets, and trombones. There are no openings for improvisation, but it would be a simple matter to repeat a refrain, say the lightly scored second refrain, to back an improvised solo.

Crawford Music reissued the band arrangement of “September Song” for the release of the 1944 film, but the publisher declined to take Weill’s suggestion to do so as well for “There’s Nowhere to Go But Up,” one of only three songs from *Knickerbocker Holiday* to have made it into the film. The composer reported from Los Angeles, “United Artists executives seem to think that ‘Nowhere to go but up’ will become a big hit. Nelson Eddy has made quite a success of it in army camps and it is just the kind of song that they like in times of war—a light, peppy tune and a funny lyric.”<sup>242</sup> Max Dreyfus, however, replied that “war time restrictions of paper and printing” made publishing stock arrangements more difficult.<sup>243</sup> Perhaps those wartime restrictions account for the poor quality of the 1944 reprinting of “September Song,” surviving copies of which, unlike copies of the 1938 printing, show heavily foxed paper.

One of the most intriguing popular spinoffs of “September Song” was an arrangement for piano solo by Trude Rittman, which Crawford published in May 1948 (see p. 255). In the United States Rittman, a German refugee who, like Weill, had studied composition with Philipp Jarnach, had started out working as a concert pianist for Lincoln Kirstein, but she soon established herself as one of the most prolific dance arrangers on Broadway.<sup>244</sup> In 1943, when she served as a rehearsal pianist for *One Touch of Venus*, Weill replaced her dummy arrangements for Agnes de Mille’s ballets with his own music. Her arrangement of “September Song” targeted moderately skilled amateur pianists as well as professional entertainers who could not flesh out, at least not *ad hoc*, the skeletal accompaniments provided in sheet music. Rittman transposed “September Song” from C to E $\flat$  major and transformed Weill’s fourteen-measure verse into a conventional sixteen-measure structure. The entire arrangement, particularly the first two measures, seems to suggest that Rittman tried to evoke, tongue-in-cheek, Thekla Badarzewska’s “La prière d’une vierge” (“The Maiden’s Prayer,” originally also in E $\flat$  major), which Weill had lampooned as “die ewige Kunst” in the first act of *Aufstieg und Fall der Stadt Mahagonny*. Rittman’s piano arrangement, published without Anderson’s lyric, roughly corresponds to Isko Thaler’s version of “Tango-Ballade,” but whereas Thaler had underlined the

song’s dance rhythm, Rittman chose to abandon all traces of the fox-trot and to lend her arrangement more than a whiff of nineteenth-century parlor music. Although the heyday of the player piano had passed with the Depression and the advent of affordable radios, for all those amateur musicians who had no pianistic skills but owned a player piano, the company Q.R.S. issued, apparently in the fall of 1946, a piano roll with “September Song” played by Frank Milne.<sup>245</sup>

With *Knickerbocker Holiday* Weill achieved something that had eluded him throughout his European years: not only was the show itself deemed a modest commercial success, but one of its songs achieved genuine mass popularity through the media of sheet music, dance band arrangements, and phonograph recordings. The song’s success can be attributed to the fact that it conformed more closely to the norms of popular music of the day than had any of his earlier pieces, and because the published sheet music and dance band arrangements, as well as the recorded versions, were the work of first-rate professional musicians familiar with the conventions of the day.

The Eastern Railroad Presidents’ Conference commissioned Weill to compose music for *Railroads on Parade*, a pageant written by Edward Hungerford for the New York World’s Fair of 1939. For the event Weill composed an elaborate seventy-minute score for orchestra, mixed chorus, vocal soloists, narrators, a ballet corps of thirty-two, and a theater ensemble of 130 actors.<sup>246</sup> In drawing much of his melodic material for *Railroads on Parade* from American folk and popular music of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the composer once again demonstrated his ability to assimilate American idioms to profound dramatic effect in a stage work. Only one number from *Railroads on Parade* was published, and that in heavily mediated form. “This Train Is Bound for Glory,” sung in the pageant by a black chorus, was fitted with new lyrics by Buddy Bernier and Charles Alan, arranged as a verse-refrain piece, and published by Crawford Music in sheet music form as “Mile after Mile.” Elements of African-American music that Weill incorporated in the original have disappeared from the song, which its arranger and lyricists transformed into a quite unremarkable Tin Pan Alley ballad. Crawford Music also published a stock arrangement for dance band.<sup>247</sup>

Weill’s next completed work for the musical stage, *Lady in the Dark*, enjoyed a much longer run on Broadway than *Knickerbocker Holiday* had. The show, which opened at the Alvin Theatre on 23 January 1941 to immediate popular and critical success, catapulted Weill into the Broadway mainstream: Moss Hart, who had won a Pulitzer Prize for *You Can’t Take It with You* in 1937, wrote the book; Ira Gershwin, who was writing for the stage for the first time since the death of his brother, George, contributed the lyrics; Gertrude Lawrence, one of the most dynamic stage performers of the day, headed the cast, which also included the newcomer Danny Kaye and film stars Victor Mature and MacDonald Carey. After 462 performances at the Alvin, the production went on a lengthy road tour, returned to Broadway for a re-engagement, and tallied a grand total of 777 performances (including sixteen tryout performances), all with Lawrence playing the title role. Hart wrote in the preface to the published piano-vocal score that the “tight little formula of the musical comedy held no interest” for either Weill or himself. Accordingly, the two set out to create “a new musical and lyrical pattern in the American theatre,” one in which “the music carried forward the essential story and was not imposed on the architecture of the play as a rather melodious but useless addendum.”<sup>248</sup> Spoken dialogue and music are present in approximately equal proportions, but the two are segregated; the sections of the show taking place in “real life” are spoken, whereas three dream sequences, prompted by the psychoanalysis that the central character, Liza, is undergoing, are through-composed (i.e., they have continuous music). Weill called these his three “little one-act operas,” but Gershwin was less concerned about such conceptual matters; he told Weill at the outset of their collaboration: “[W]hat we want to do is turn out one hell of a score with at least four or five publishable numbers.”<sup>249</sup>

Facsimile 29:  
“September  
Song” arranged  
for piano solo



Just in time for the opening Chappell did indeed publish four songs from the show in sheet music format, which were soon followed by three other songs, then three stock arrangements by Jack Mason, and finally by a piano-vocal score prepared by Albert Sirmay in close collaboration with Weill. Except for the addition of a guitar tablature above the vocal line and some minor tinkering—piano introductions were added to some of the songs, passages sung on stage by two or more voices were reduced to a single vocal line, and a new verse was added to the sheet music version of “Tschaikowsky (And Other Russians)” —the seven separately published songs are almost identical with Sirmay’s piano-vocal score, thus suggesting that, though his name doesn’t appear, he was also the arranger of the songs.

Letters from Weill to Gershwin in Hollywood report on attempts to translate the stage success of *Lady in the Dark* into mass sales of phonograph records.<sup>250</sup> On 8 March Weill wrote that “all the record shops have big signs in the windows [advertising] ‘The song hits from Lady in the Dark,’” and in a letter of 11 April he listed a number of well-known performers who had recorded one or more songs from the show: Hildegard, cast members Gertrude Lawrence and Danny Kaye, Benny Goodman, Eddy Duchin, Sammy Kaye, Mitchell Ayres, Bob Chester, Mildred Bailey, Leo Reisman, and Cy Walter. Weill had varied reactions to these recordings: Mitchell Ayres was “musically very bad,” Sammy Kaye also “not so good,” but Benny Goodman’s recording was “excellent” and Reisman’s “good.” Although—or perhaps because—Gertrude Lawrence recorded “My Ship” in the original key of F major, Weill found her voice “pretty shaky” and wished that she would “stop singing those high notes!”<sup>251</sup> Hildegard, on the other hand, sang the song transposed down a fourth, and Weill approved of her laid-back approach: “I like very much the way Hildegard sings the songs. She takes them very relaxed and that is good for the music and the lyrics.”<sup>252</sup> The comments show that Weill was acutely aware of the difference between what works on stage and what works for a recording being played in someone’s living room.

Weill was also pleased to tell Ira that “all the small independent [radio] stations are playing ‘My Ship’ and ‘Jenny’ all day long and there is no doubt that both songs would be on the Hit Parade when as and if.” The “when as and if” referred to a serious problem with air play of songs from *Lady in the Dark*. Because of a contract dispute between ASCAP and the major radio networks in 1940 that had ended in a stalemate, no live or recorded version of any piece written by an ASCAP composer or published by an ASCAP firm could be broadcast over any of the American radio networks; only independent stations could broadcast the songs from *Lady in the Dark*. And the attempt to popularize “Jenny,” which had been written as an “eleven o’clock showstopper” for Gertrude Lawrence, fell victim to “decency codes” of the day. Gershwin later recalled Lawrence’s performance on opening night of the Boston tryout: “She hadn’t been singing more than a few lines when I realized an interpretation we’d never seen at rehearsal was materializing. Not only were there new nuances and approaches, but on top of this she ‘bumped’ it and ‘ground’ it, to the complete devastation of the audience.”<sup>253</sup> On 20 February 1941 Weill related to Gershwin that “some small radio stations who wanted to broadcast the record couldn’t do it because of the word ‘Gin’ and the husband who wasn’t hers.”<sup>254</sup> Weill reported further on 28 May that “Chicago and California have banned the song” and that a “modified version” had been prepared in an attempt to subvert these bans.

Sheet music sales looked promising at first. Weill wrote to Gershwin on 11 April that “Max Dreyfus showed me a weekly statement about the sale of sheet music of all Chappell and Crawford songs, some weeks ago. Jenny was at the top of the list, with 350 copies (which is, according to Max, equivalent to about 4000 copies if we would be on the air). Next on the list was ‘My Ship,’ then followed ‘The last time I saw Paris’ and a couple of popular songs, then ‘This is new’ and then a song from ‘Pal Joey.’” But Weill was soon complaining to Gershwin that “the sale of sheet music is still very slow” and that “the songs are played quite a bit, but not enough.” He was still frustrated three years later, when the songs were reissued to coincide with the release of a film based on *Lady in the Dark*. Writing to Gershwin on 27 February 1944 Weill reported that “At Chappell’s I saw the new covers for ‘Jenny’ and ‘My

Ship.’ They are beautiful. But that’s all they did. As far as plugging is concerned, they take the usual ‘wait-and-see’ stand.” The songs received some international exposure, even during wartime, and sheet music editions appeared in England and Australia. There seems to be no plausible explanation, however, for the fact that Chappell/England published “This Is New” instead of “My Ship”; the former song had been cut from the film version, and Paramount had paid a considerable sum to replace it with “Suddenly It’s Spring” by Johnny Burke and Jimmy van Heusen.<sup>255</sup>

Certainly the ban that prevented performance of *Lady in the Dark* songs on the major radio networks had a negative impact on sales of both recordings and sheet music and kept these pieces from enjoying the success that Weill and Gershwin had hoped for. Weill’s publisher may have done a less than exemplary job of promoting them, too. But there were other factors. Each of the three dream sequences of *Lady in the Dark* combines solo voices, passages for chorus, and instrumental sections in an extended, complex, but unified section that in an opera or operetta would be called an ensemble scene.<sup>256</sup> Customarily the treatment of such large-scale “production numbers” in Broadway musicals differs from their operatic counterparts in two ways: they are built around repetitions and expansions of a single song; and they are tailored by arrangers and orchestrators rather than by the composer of the song. Weill was one of the few composers for Broadway musicals who could compose (and orchestrate) an ensemble scene himself. The first dream (“Glamour”), for instance, comprises four extended sections:

- |                         |                                     |
|-------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| 1. “Oh Fabulous One”    | C major – A $\flat$ major – C major |
| 2. “Huxley”             | moves towards E major               |
| 3. “One Life To Live”   | E $\flat$ major                     |
| 4. “Girl of the Moment” | C major                             |

This “little one-act opera,” then, is in the key of C major, with an excursion to the flat sixth in the first part balanced later by a section in the key of the flat mediant. While there is no exact recapitulation of earlier material in the final (fourth) section, certain melodic and rhythmic motives reappear throughout; for instance, a melodic figure associated with Liza is first heard when she makes her entrance in “Oh Fabulous One,” transformed into a fox-trot sequence connecting the third and fourth sections, and then sung by the chorus near the end of the last section.

Apart from an instrumental introduction and several brief interjections and transitions, the fourth section of this first dream—the ten-minute-long “Girl of the Moment”—is constructed as follows:

<u>section</u>	<u>key</u>	<u>performance forces</u>	<u>tempo indication</u>
A	C major	unison male chorus	Allegro giocoso
B	modulatory	male chorus	Moderato assai
A	F major	mixed chorus	Larghetto religioso
B	modulatory	unison chorus	Allegro non troppo
A	C major	unison chorus	Rhumba, molto agitato

The B section, which modulates to F major for the second refrain and then back to C major for the fifth, is a melodic and rhythmic variation of A; the entire sequence is an ensemble scene unfolding from a single melodic idea, developed through a succession of different tempos and keys.

Because there are no numbers for solo voice anywhere in this section, Sirmay arranged section A for voice and piano as one of the separately published songs (see p. 267). There is no verse, only a refrain in the quintessential Tin Pan Alley shape of AABA, though each section is sixteen measures in length rather than the usual eight. The piece is almost entirely diatonic; with the exception of a G $\sharp$  lower neighbor note in the second measure and an augmented fifth in the dominant chord of the final cadence, the only chromatic passages in the entire song occur in the transitional measures leading into and away from the B section, which briefly tonicizes D $\flat$  major. Equally remarkable (for Weill) is the abundance of unadorned tonic, subdominant, and dominant chords, though a countermelody in an

Facsimile 31:  
“Girl of the  
Moment”

inner voice and some overlapping harmonies often create diatonic dissonances. Weill didn't write the piece to be a stand-alone song but rather to state melodic and motivic material from which he would develop the much longer ensemble number. The piece enjoyed no commercial success as a separate song, in part because the text lacks dramatic focus when taken out of context. And the numbers in the Circus Dream written to take advantage of the talents of a specific performer—"The Saga of Jenny," geared toward Gertrude Lawrence's image and delivery, and "Tschaikowsky (And Other Russians)," which depended on Danny Kaye's ability to spit out the names of fifty-seven Russian composers at breakneck speed—were not easily performed as solos by amateurs.

The dramatic climax of *Lady in the Dark* comes near the end when the central character, Liza, is found to have been suppressing the memory of a song she knew as a child. Bits of this tune had appeared in one form or another in each of her dreams, but the complete song "My Ship" is heard in its entirety only when Liza remembers its words, at which point her psychoanalyst pronounces her cured.<sup>257</sup> "My Ship" (see p. 273) is cast in an A8 A8 B8 A'8+6 form, and the melody of the A section is essentially pentatonic, with the fourth and seventh degrees of the scale touched on only in passing.<sup>258</sup> With the exception of the second part of the release, which briefly feints towards the dominant, the song remains firmly in F major. Triads and seventh chords dominate, cadences are conventionally tonal, chromaticism is limited to a few passing notes, and secondary dominants.<sup>259</sup> This simplicity gives the song an almost folklike quality, appropriate for a bedtime song remembered from the heroine's childhood.

"Jenny" enjoyed modest short-term popularity, but "My Ship" was the only song from *Lady in the Dark* to achieve some degree of enduring commercial success. The internet site All Media Guide lists 216 recordings of the song by performers whose names read like a Who's Who of the most distinguished vocalists of the second half of the twentieth century: Lena Horne, Sarah Vaughan, Doris Day, Ella Fitzgerald, Hildegard, Rosemary Clooney, June Christy, Dawn Upshaw, Jessye Norman, Cassandra Wilson, and Tony Bennett, to name only a handful.<sup>260</sup> Especially influential proved to be Miles Davis's 1957 recording of the song, which was included on the album *Miles Ahead* in an arrangement by Gil Evans. The internet index of fake books finds "My Ship" in seventeen of these collections, just one shy of the number containing "September Song."

In the summer of 1942 Weill began discussing with Cheryl Crawford the possibility of a musical comedy based on *The Tinted Venus*, a novel by Thomas Anstey Guthrie published in 1885. The working title was "One Man's Venus," Sam and Bella Spewack were to write the book, and Marlene Dietrich was to take the lead role, but in the end the title evolved into *One Touch of Venus*, S. J. Perelman and Ogden Nash wrote book and lyrics respectively, and Mary Martin starred in the title role. Crawford produced the show, which was staged by Elia Kazan, with Agnes de Mille choreographing the dance sequences.<sup>261</sup> After a tryout in Boston, the show opened at the Imperial Theatre on 7 October 1943. The 567 performances of the original run made it the fourteenth longest-running Broadway musical of the 1940s.<sup>262</sup> A road tour with the original cast followed the Broadway closing but was cut short when Mary Martin fell ill.

Like *Lady in the Dark*, *One Touch of Venus* featured a dynamic leading lady in the starring role, yielded an outstanding song that would become a standard, and eventually suffered the misfortune of being turned into a Hollywood film that bore little resemblance to the original show. Neither of these two stories deals with the theme that drives so many of Weill's stage works, the individual in conflict with the state. *Lady in the Dark* treats psychoanalysis, a still controversial topic at the time, sympathetically, even didactically. Geoffrey Block has suggested that "*Venus* manages to effectively satirize a host of American values . . . [such as] the contrasting moral values of the very, very rich and the common folk."<sup>263</sup>

In *One Touch of Venus* a statue of the goddess magically comes to life and becomes romantically involved with Rodney Hatch, a barber living in the working-class suburb of Ozone Heights. After a brief taste of suburban America, Venus decides that a life in which the highlights are "stealing kisses in the kitchen, holding hands while the dishes dry," "a trip to Gimbel's basement, or a double feature with Don Ameche," "maybe a tenant for the nursery, or a self-adjusting incinerator" is not for her.<sup>264</sup> She returns to Olympus, and soon after Rodney finds a more suitable partner, who just happens to bear a striking resemblance to Venus.

Chappell brought out five selections from *Venus* as individual pieces of sheet music in 1943—three in time for the show's tryout in Boston and two within a week of the successful Broadway premiere. Before leaving for California in early November, Weill had given Chappell a manuscript containing four additional selections, which he and Chappell intended to publish, together with three of the published songs, as a folio of vocal selections. One of the few surviving letters from the correspondence between Weill and Albert Sirmay shows the degree of detail with which the two men worked on such projects. On 10 November 1943 Sirmay alerted the composer that, due to wartime constraints, "engraving and printing is very slow nowadays," and he pointed out that he and Weill had forgotten "to fix the appropriate key for the number 'One Touch of Venus' which is presently in the key of C. Should we print it in this key or higher on account of the low A which occurs several times? I guess that in spite of the low range the only possible key is C. Will you please let me have your opinion."<sup>265</sup> Weill's response of 20 November does not survive, but he must have suggested transposition of the number up a minor third, as the song was engraved in E $\flat$  major. Sirmay continued to send galley proofs to Weill as each number was engraved, a process that took until mid-January. Another eight weeks passed before the folio, entitled "Vocal Gems from 'One Touch of Venus,'" finally appeared.<sup>266</sup> The piano-vocal score prepared for the first production of the show was made available on a rental basis but never published.

Chappell and Weill decided to focus their promotional efforts on "Speak Low." Guy Lombardo and His Royal Canadians had recorded this song for Decca on 15 October.<sup>267</sup> In the second week of November Weill received a report from Eddie Wolpin, a song plugger working for Chappell (by the 1940s, the duties of a song plugger had shifted from piano playing at the publisher's office to promotional activities such as arranging radio plugs, recording deals, etc.): "We are planning a drive campaign which will start Saturday, December 4th[,] and end Saturday, December 12th. During that particular week I will try to make 'Speak Low' the most played song on the air and[,] if successful, [it] should make Lucky Strike[s] hit parade." He also announced a forthcoming live broadcast, a "coast-to-coast hook-up" on 14 November, when Frank Sinatra was to sing the song.<sup>268</sup> Weill complained on 30 November that "so far, it is always 'Oh what a Beautiful Morning' [*sic*] that comes out of my radio," but he promised to wait "patiently for the week of Dec. 4." Weill was suggesting that Chappell had a conflict of interest: because the publisher represented both songs, there was little incentive for Dreyfus and the Chappell song plugger Wolpin to replace the profitable "Oh, What a Beautiful Mornin'" with another song from its catalogue, so long as the former was bringing in large revenue and given that the Weill song would still need to be "built."<sup>269</sup> Eventually the "Speak Low" campaign did succeed, however, as the song entered "Your Hit Parade" for the week ending 18 December 1943 and also resurfaced in the weeks of 15 January and 12 February.<sup>270</sup> By February Lombardo's record had sold more than 200,000 copies.<sup>271</sup>

Not only did "Speak Low" enjoy impressive short-term popularity, it was also a long-term success, second only to "September Song" among Weill's American standards. Initially it was recorded by dozens of singers as disparate in style as Mary Martin and Billie Holiday; and it was in the repertory of many swing bands, including those of Glenn Miller, Jimmie Dorsey, Count Basie, and Les Brown. Over the years it became a standard sung by virtually every famous vocalist of the second half of the twentieth century (including Frank Sinatra, Nat King Cole, Tony Bennett, and Barbra Streisand) and recorded by such jazz musicians as Coleman Hawkins, John Coltrane, and Bill

Facsimile 32:  
"My Ship"  
1944 film cover

Evans. In 2003 the All Media Guide internet site listed 390 different recordings of “Speak Low,” and the song appears in twenty-one of the most popular fake books, more than any of Weill’s other songs.

In the stage version of *One Touch of Venus*, the characters Venus and Rodney sing “Speak Low” as a duet:

refrain 1	A16 A'16 B8 A"16	Venus	C major
refrain 2	A16 A'16 B8	Rodney	A♭ major
	A"16	Rodney and Venus	A♭ major

Practical considerations dictated the change of key for the second refrain: Mary Martin’s comfortable vocal range extended from G3 to B♭4, but Kenny Baker (Rodney), a classically trained tenor, would have found this range too low; hence his refrain was transposed up a minor sixth. When the two sing together briefly at the end of the second refrain, he continued with the melody in his range while she sang in harmony in a comfortable part of her range.<sup>272</sup>

The sheet music version of “Speak Low” contains only a single, repeated, refrain, reduced to one voice with piano accompaniment and transposed to F major, a key that puts the melody in the most comfortable range for amateurs (this key, however, also appeared in one of Weill’s early sketches). The song had barely been published when Chappell slightly altered the plates, providing an ossia F4 for the final D5 in both first and second endings (see p. 279). Chappell had also responded to Weill’s request to change the cover credits; but when he received a copy of the new printing, he was embarrassed to see his name twice as large as Ogden Nash’s. Weill asked Max Dreyfus to rectify what looked to him like a gaffe; a correction was, however, never made (see Gallery, image no. 114, for the cover of the first printing).<sup>273</sup> Wartime restrictions may account for the separate Canadian imprint of “Speak Low,” as normally the sheet music printed in the United States would have been sold in both the United States and Canada. The Canadian edition, published by the Canadian Music Sales Corporation in Toronto, carried the cover of the second printing, but the plates for the music were the same as those for Chappell’s first printing.<sup>274</sup>

Both editions of the sheet music, as well as all subsequent printings, contained an error in punctuation, which turns out to be a mistake of some consequence. The opening line of “Speak Low” in all of Nash’s holograph and typed lyric sheets, Weill’s manuscripts, the stage manager’s script, and the published libretto of *One Touch of Venus* reads “Speak low when you speak love.” Nash had taken the line, possibly at Weill’s suggestion, almost verbatim from *Much Ado about Nothing*, with “when” replacing Shakespeare’s “if.”<sup>275</sup> Neither Sirmay nor Weill, both nonnative speakers, had caught an erroneous comma that was inserted, presumably by an engraver, before the word “love.” The errant comma distorts the meaning of the phrase by turning “love” into a vocative endearment rather than allowing the word to retain its function as a direct object. “Speak low when you speak, love” makes no sense in the context of Nash’s lyric or with the way Weill set the line to music, where no “air” is left in the melodic line with which to set off the comma.

Harmonically, “Speak Low” manifests pervasive use of subdominant, dominant, and tonic chords, almost all of them seventh or ninth chords and many of them chromatically altered or with added notes. The first chord of the refrain is a ninth chord on the second degree of the scale (G–B–D–F–A), which, as elsewhere in Weill’s songs, functions as a substitute subdominant; the first subdominant harmony in root position, beginning in m. 9, includes a flatted third, an added sixth (B♭–D♭–F–G–(A)–C), and a suspended ninth; the dominant chord of the final cadence is a ninth with an augmented fifth (C–E–G♯–B♭–D). The ear accepts these altered harmonies in the tonal context of the song, but the persistent deviations from simple triads give the song a distinctive Weillian flavor.

As in so many of Weill’s songs, a lyrical melody is underpinned by the rhythms of a popular dance, in this case the rhumba. The pentatonic melody of “Speak Low” touches on the fourth and seventh degrees of the scale only in passing and rarely rests on one of the primary notes of the triad with which it is harmonized, falling more often on the second, sixth, seventh or ninth

degree of the chord; the melody thus floats gently over its accompaniment rather than being tied to it. The initial two-measure motive, a sustained note followed by three quarter-note triplets, functions as a hook, an easily grasped figure heard five times in the first A section and fourteen times in the complete refrain. The vocal range of just over an octave is manageable for amateur singers, and the accompaniment lies easily under the hands of a pianist of even modest abilities; thus the song is eminently suitable for amateurs who want to experience it by playing or singing it at home. Though Ogden Nash was best known as a writer of comic verse, the lyrics here introduce and then develop in simple but elegant fashion an easily grasped scenario that is not dependent on the dramatic situation in which it is sung on stage. Even Alec Wilder, who proudly confessed “not to be a Kurt Weill fan,” decided that “Speak Low” was “a very good song.” In fact, it was the only song by Weill to be included in Wilder’s highly influential *American Popular Song: The Great Innovators 1900–1950*.<sup>276</sup>

None of the other separately published songs from *One Touch of Venus* enjoyed anything approaching the popular success of “Speak Low,” for reasons that are deducible from the music itself or the arrangements. The sheet music arrangement of “Westwind,” for instance, mutilates the song, forcing it into the pattern of a verse-refrain Tin Pan Alley ballad (AABA) by eliminating important sections for orchestra and chorus in the second refrain and the final eight-measure extension that in the stage version brings the piece to a sonic and dynamic conclusion. Venus’s opening number in the show, “I’m a Stranger Here Myself,” similarly exhibits features not found in most popular songs, in this case irregular phrase lengths and an extended structure:

A9+1 A9 B8 A9+1 C4+8+1 A9+1 D4+4+4+6+2

Weill wrote the song as a monologue intended for a particular moment in the drama; he filled it with eccentricities to suggest that Venus is out of step with the American culture in which she finds herself. But the sheet music version omits or camouflages virtually all of the most provocative moments of the stage version. The only other number from the show that enjoyed notable attention as a specialty number was “That’s Him”; Dreyfus reported “some calls . . . from lady singers because it is great material for them and the song is being used.” But Weill’s suggestion that the song be transformed into a “rhythm” number went unheeded.<sup>277</sup>

“Speak Low” was one of two pieces from *One Touch of Venus* to be published in stock arrangements for dance band (the other being “Foolish Heart” arranged by Paul Weirick). Jack Mason scored it for four saxophones, five brass (three trumpets, two trombones), three violins, and the usual rhythm section. There is a four-measure introduction, which is little more than a vamp, two refrains in the original key of F major, a modulating transition, and a final brilliant refrain in A♭ major.

When a Danish theater staged *One Touch of Venus* in January 1948 under the title *Adam og Venus* (Adam and Venus), the publisher Wilhelm Hansen brought out four of Chappell’s five separately published songs, declining to print only “That’s Him.”<sup>278</sup> The Danish editions omit the vocal line, thereby cutting the page count in half, and three of the editions place the English lyric between the staves and the Danish translation by Mogens Dam on top. “The Trouble with Women” remained untranslated, as the song’s four stanzas could not be accommodated in the available space. Hansen also reissued the stock arrangements by Jack Mason and Paul Weirick with a new cover.

In 1943, while in Hollywood in connection with projected film versions of *Knickerbocker Holiday* and *Lady in the Dark*, Weill was commissioned to write music for an original musical film titled *Where Do We Go from Here?* With a screenplay by Morrie Ryskind, the film was to be directed by Gregory Ratoff, and the cast to include Joan Leslie, Fred MacMurray, June Haver, and Anthony Quinn. Ira Gershwin had signed on to write the lyrics. After completing ten sections of music by the end of January 1944, Weill had little further input into the film. He wrote to Lenya on 9 August 1944 that the film producer’s secretary “called in the last minute to ask if we wanted to come over for the recording [of the soundtrack], but we were right in the middle of

working [on *The Firebrand of Florence*], so I said no . . . [since] they will do anyhow what they want with the picture score.”<sup>279</sup> When Weill visited the studio a few days later, though, he was pleased with what he heard, as he reported to Lenya:

Yesterday I spent 4 hours at the studio. They were recording “It happened to happen to me” [“It Could Have Happened to Anyone”] (with Joan Leslie who will be lovely in the part) . . . It looks terrific, real big production scenes, done with great taste and gusto, and the music comes out beautifully. If it works out the way it looks now, it will be a very important picture and a great thing for me.<sup>280</sup>

Other music by David Raksin, David Buttolph, and Edgar Fairchild was integrated into the score, as were bits of such traditional and popular songs as “Yankee Doodle,” “You’re in the Army Now,” “Ach du lieber Augustin,” Harry Warren’s “Chattanooga Choo-Choo,” Guy Massey’s “The Prisoner’s Song,” and Ray Noble’s “Good Night Sweetheart.”<sup>281</sup> In the final soundtrack put together by studio orchestrators everything flows together with no demarcation between what was written by Weill and what was written by others. Weill was pleased with the end product, however; he wrote to Lenya on 1 May 1945 that “the picture is excellent and comes over as something very fresh and completely original and utterly different from any musical they’ve made so far.”<sup>282</sup>

Although a total of three songs from the film eventually appeared as sheet music, Chappell focused its campaign on a single song, just as Weill had hoped UE would do for the release of G. W. Pabst’s *Dreigroschenoper* film back in 1931. Weill and Dreyfus had great expectations for “All at Once,” the film’s prominent romantic ballad, and the composer wrote his wife on 8 May 1945 that “from Chappell’s I hear that [it] will be the most played song by the end of the week and will be on the hit parade in a few weeks.”<sup>283</sup> For this number Weill had reworked a song entitled “The Good Earth,” written two years earlier in collaboration with Oscar Hammerstein II. In “All at Once” Weill transposed the former, unpublished, song from E♭ to C major, with Ira Gershwin supplying new lyrics for the refrain and adding a verse.

“The Good Earth” (Oscar Hammerstein II)

The good earth is bearing grain in China,  
And her cherry trees are blooming in Japan.  
The good earth bestows her simple blessings  
With a kind of blind belief in man.

She has seen her fields aflame and bleeding  
Where the torch of war has come to mar her plan.  
But the good patient earth keeps on feeding and forgiving us  
For she can’t help believing in man.

“All at Once” (Ira Gershwin)

All at once my lucky star was glowing  
All at once I knew I’d met my once for all  
For I found when I heard you hallowing  
That my heart somehow was answering your call

Once or twice I thought I’d met that someone  
But I soon found that that someone never would do.  
Felt I never would fall, I’d given up my hoping, when  
All at once, my once for all was you.

Guy Lombardo was again the first to record the number, for Decca on 23 February 1945—three months before the film’s release—followed by Cab Calloway’s recording for Columbia in April. On 1 June Weill complained to Lenya about Chappell’s efforts: “‘All at once’ doesn’t seem to go as well as we hoped. I have a strong suspicion that some dirty game is going on at Chap-

pell’s again.”<sup>284</sup> But Weill’s skepticism was premature. *Billboard* listed the song in the category “Publishers’ Plug Tunes” from early June until early August.<sup>285</sup> For three weeks in June “All at Once” appeared in the chart “Songs with Most Radio Plugs,” as well as in “Top Air Shots (Coast to Coast Consensus),” which appeared in the monthly trade journal *Tune-Dex Digest*.<sup>286</sup> However, the song never made it to “Your Hit Parade.” Chappell’s campaign for “All at Once” also included a stock dance band arrangement by Jack Mason, utilizing the same forces as “Speak Low.”

“All at Once” is one of four Weill songs that exist in two different stock arrangements, which Chappell may have published concurrently in each case and which were apparently part of special promotional campaigns (the other three songs receiving such treatment were “September Song,” “My Ship,” and “Speak Low”). Whereas Jack Mason scored the songs for a dance band consisting of four saxes, three trumpets, two trombones, three violins, and a rhythm section, Bob Noeltner arranged them for a larger ensemble but a smaller sound.<sup>287</sup> Noeltner’s arrangements feature four saxophone parts—but the players play clarinet exclusively (the fourth player bass clarinet)—three trumpets, two trombones, four violins, viola, cello, and rhythm section. Another difference is that Noeltner’s arrangements of the four numbers are always in the original key, a fact expressly stated on each part (which also gives the vocal range). Furthermore, Noeltner scores only a four-measure introduction and two choruses, labeled “Vocal Background” and “Ensemble” respectively. The fact that no cover survives for any of Noeltner’s four arrangements suggests that they were offered not for sale but only for promotional purposes and were intended to utilize vocalists. Though recorded by several other artists, “All at Once” had little impact and was soon forgotten.

The other sheet music editions of songs from *Where Do We Go from Here?* appeared several weeks after the film’s official release and fared even less well. “If Love Remains” is a clumsy reduction of a duet from the film; “Song of the Rhineland” is a surprisingly benign and jolly drinking song for Hessian mercenaries at Valley Forge. Weill’s most ambitious sequence in the film is a nine-minute-long ensemble scene set aboard Columbus’s flagship en route to the New World, involving four solo voices and an ensemble of sailors. Weill wrote to Lenya on 1 May 1945 that “the Columbus opera is really sensational and shows that it would be possible to do a film-opera.” Its length and complexity precluded publication in sheet music form, Chappell did not offer it for stage performances, and Weill did not follow up on the idea of writing a “film-opera.”<sup>288</sup>

The film versions of *Knickerbocker Holiday* and *Lady in the Dark*, both released in spring 1944, disappointed and disillusioned Weill. When United Artists had first inquired about the film rights to *Knickerbocker Holiday* in 1939, Weill had suggested to the studio that the show’s implied anti-Nazi satire be brought into sharper relief. But as was usual in Hollywood the film’s producers did what they pleased with the material they had paid for, and except for including several sections of Weill’s music (among them Charles Coburn singing “September Song”), the film has little resemblance to the musical play.<sup>289</sup> The screen credits sum things up accurately: the soundtrack has “original music” by Werner R. Heymann, Theodore Paxson, and Kurt Weill, with “additional music” by Forman Brown, Franz Steininger, Sammy Cahn, and Jule Styne. *Lady in the Dark*, starring Ginger Rogers and Ray Milland, fared even worse. Film rights had been sold to Paramount for \$285,000, the highest amount yet paid for the rights to a Broadway musical. Yet, apart from the basic story line and one song, “The Saga of Jenny,” which is sung by Rogers, the film of *Lady in the Dark* owes virtually nothing to the stage play or its originators, Weill, Gershwin, and Hart. The film score of *Lady in the Dark* received an Academy Award (Oscar) nomination, but the composer named was Robert Emmett Dolan, not Weill; the featured song in the film, “Suddenly It’s Spring,” was written by Johnny Burke and James Van Heusen, not Ira Gershwin and Weill.<sup>290</sup>

Weill returned to Hollywood again in April 1945 for work on a film version of *One Touch of Venus*. According to David Drew, Weill “managed to negotiate a contract ensuring, for the first time in his American career, that no music other than his own would be included or interpolated.”<sup>291</sup> Weill wrote

to Lenya in early May that “we are working on the score, at last” and added that “we are keeping ‘Speak low,’ ‘That’s him’ and ‘Foolish Heart,’ and I am trying also to get the Barbershopquartett [*sic*] [‘The Trouble with Women’] in [the film].”<sup>292</sup> On 26 May he wrote that “I have now finished 3 [new] songs for Venus (2 good ones) and have one more to write.”<sup>293</sup> But work on the film was delayed when the rights were sold to Universal-International. It was finally released in October 1948, but the film musical that Weill had been hoping for had by then turned into a comedy with incidental music, with Ann Ronell credited for “Musical Score and New Lyrics.”

Although the film is virtually unwatchable today because of the way the original plot has been trivialized and the interpolation of inane sight gags and mugging that are common to so many Hollywood comedies of that era, Weill’s music figures prominently and effectively in several places. The opening credits unfold against a patchwork of the important tunes to follow, creating in effect a potpourri overture (arranged and orchestrated by Ronell), and the unobtrusive background sound track makes effective use of fragments from several of Weill’s songs, particularly “Speak Low.” There are also three extended musical sequences:

- “Speak Low” is sung as a duet in a version quite close to the stage version of the song. Ava Gardner (or rather Eileen Wilson, whose voice was overdubbed) sings a first refrain (AA’BA”), Dick Haymes takes the AA’ of a second refrain, the orchestra plays the bridge, and Gardner (Wilson) and Haymes sing the final A” together. Because both Wilson and Haymes were pop singers, the entire sequence remains in the same key.

- “That’s Him,” sung by Venus in the stage version, is reworked into a lively production number for the three principal women of the cast.

- “Don’t Look Now (But My Heart Is Showing),” an adaptation of the graceful waltz song “Foolish Heart,” which Weill and Ronell had reworked for the film, is developed into an extended production number involving the principals and a large chorus.

To coincide with the film’s release, Chappell published “Speak Low,” “My Week,” and “Don’t Look Now” in sheet music form with a front cover featuring Ava Gardner.<sup>294</sup> “Speak Low” was printed from the 1943 plates; only the front and back covers were new. Chappell also issued three choral versions of the song, arranged by William Stickles; such saturation of the amateur marketplace indicates that “Speak Low” was already well on its way to becoming a standard.<sup>295</sup> In the version for male chorus (see p. 285), a setting suitable for glee clubs, high school choirs, and similar amateur groups, Stickles left the piano accompaniment of the piano-vocal sheet music edition unchanged and arranged the song homorhythmically without any harmonic intricacies. The setting is a perfect example of simple yet effective scoring for amateur groups—unlike Weill’s own 1930 setting of “Zu Potsdam unter den Eichen” for workers’ chorus.

Explaining to Lenya that “it is safer to work in the movies. But how dull, how uninspiring!” Weill had already turned his attention back to Broadway for an operetta based on Edwin Justus Mayer’s 1924 play *The Firebrand*, which had been inspired by the memoirs of the Renaissance sculptor and goldsmith Benvenuto Cellini.<sup>296</sup> Mayer had agreed to adapt his own book, and Ira Gershwin signed on to write the lyrics. In the wake of *Oklahoma!* (a “musical play” that had refashioned many operetta conventions) and a spate of recent Hollywood film versions of operettas from the 1920s, the operetta genre seemed to be having a last, brief resurgence on Broadway at this time.<sup>297</sup> Gershwin, Mayer, and Weill were all in Hollywood when they commenced work on the show in spring 1944. Weill wrote to Lenya on 12 July that “it looks more and more as if ‘Firebrand’ might become what you and I have been waiting for: my first Broadway Opera. Ira, who keeps comparing it with *Rosenkavalier*, is getting really excited every time I tell him that this show could be an entirely new combination of first class writing, music, singing, and acting.”<sup>298</sup> But things didn’t go as Weill had hoped. The producer, Max Gordon, wanted a complete score by November, but both Gershwin and Mayer were involved with other projects, and Weill, in letters to Lenya, constantly complained about the difficulty of getting his collaborators to deliver book and lyrics. “I must say that so far I have done about 95% of the work

on the show,” he wrote to Lenya on 20 July. “Last night again I had a long session with two tired old men.”<sup>299</sup> And on 12 August, “This will be more ‘my’ show than anything I have done so far—even though I don’t get credit for anything but the music.”<sup>300</sup> Weill insisted that Lenya be cast in one of the leading roles, for which she was unsuited, and his first choices for the other roles proved to be unavailable; in the end the show featured performers who were either relatively undistinguished or miscast. Weill and Gershwin wanted Hassard Short to direct, but neither he nor Moss Hart was available, so what was to have been an “intimate operetta” ended up being staged by a master of the big spectacle, John Murray Anderson.<sup>301</sup> After a tryout in Boston as *Much Ado about Love*, the show opened on Broadway on 22 March 1945 at the Alvin Theatre as *The Firebrand of Florence*. Critical reaction was mixed, at best; initial curiosity about a new Weill/Gershwin show quickly waned; *Firebrand* closed after only forty-three performances, the shortest run of any of Weill’s works for the American stage.

Chappell declined to publish a piano-vocal score but brought out four numbers in sheet music format and two numbers arranged for dance band.<sup>302</sup> A considerable amount of mediation by Chappell’s staff musicians was required to convert sections from the show into brief pieces for voice and piano that would be suitable as sheet music. In the original score, for instance, the duet “You’re Far Too Near Me” takes the following shape:

orchestral introduction	C major
recitative, Cellini and Angela	C major – A♭ major
verse (arioso), Cellini and Angela	A♭ major – B♭ major
refrain 1, Angela	B♭ major
A8 B8 A8 A’8 A’8+1	
refrain 2, Cellini	G♭ major
A8 B8 A8 A’8 A’8+1	
refrain 3, orchestra	A♭ major – B♭ major
A8 B8 A8 A’8+2	
refrain 4, Angela and Cellini	B♭ major
A8 B8 A8 A’8 A’8	

The sheet music arrangement (see p. 294) retains the introduction, recitative, and verse more or less intact, though the last seven measures of the verse are transposed down a major second to land in A♭ major, the new key chosen for this version. There is only a single refrain, repeated, with first and second endings; the lyrics of the first two refrains in the stage version are stacked. Even in this abbreviated version, the freshness of invention and sheer musicality is immediately obvious. Melodic and harmonic sequences create a smooth forward flow, the upward leap of a major seventh in the first measure of the refrain gives the tune an effective and attractive hook, and the piano accompaniment is more idiomatic and graceful than in many of Weill’s earlier songs. At the same time we can still observe some of the idiosyncrasies that set his earlier songs apart: the verse is more harmonically complex than the refrain; the refrain is made up of five rather than four eight-measure phrases; virtually every stressed note of the vocal line falls on the seventh or ninth note of the accompanying triad; and the functional harmonic flow of the refrain is occasionally spiced by unexpected and irregularly resolving chords.

None of the four separately published songs from *Firebrand* made it onto the charts, none appeared on commercial recordings at the time, and none became standards.<sup>303</sup> The commercial failure can probably be explained by the hybrid nature both of *Firebrand* and of the songs extracted from it. Weill seemed to take the failure in stride; in a later interview he explained why he kept “coming back to the theater”: “It’s small, for one thing. It’s not an industry. The rest [movies, radio, and television] are industries, and the creative artist has to adapt himself to the requirements of that industry. There’s no use fighting it. There are enormous amounts of money involved and the industries want certain rules followed to protect those investments . . . Since the theater is smaller, the investments are smaller so one is much freer.”<sup>304</sup>

During the war years Weill had paid close attention to political and mil-

Facsimile 34:  
“Speak Low”  
arranged for  
male chorus

Facsimile 35:  
“You’re Far Too  
Near Me”

itary events in Europe, and he had been involved in many initiatives intended to raise awareness of the plight of the Jewish people and to support the Allied forces.<sup>305</sup> He wrote music for *Fun to be Free*, a pageant performed on 5 October 1941 in New York's Madison Square Garden under the sponsorship of Fight for Freedom Inc., an anti-isolationist group. After the United States entered the war, he and Maxwell Anderson were commissioned by the NBC radio network to write *Your Navy*, a half-hour program broadcast on 28 February 1942. During the winter and spring of 1942 he composed a number of songs, some of which were included in *Three Day Pass*, a Soldier Shows production; others were sung in the *Lunch Hour Follies*, a series of patriotic morale-boosting shows mounted by the American Theatre Wing and performed for factory workers during lunch breaks.<sup>306</sup> Weill also wrote the music for *We Will Never Die*, a pageant with a text by Ben Hecht, dedicated to the "Two Million Jewish Dead of Europe," first performed at Madison Square Garden on 9 March 1943, and for *Salute to France* (1944), a propaganda film produced by the Office of War Information.<sup>307</sup> Lotte Lenya sang "Und was bekam des Soldaten Weib?" with lyrics by Brecht, in an anti-Nazi cabaret at Hunter College on 3 April 1943 and later recorded it for broadcast to Germany.

Weill made no attempt to publish or promote the music he contributed to these initiatives and occasions, with just one exception, "The Song of the Free," composed early in 1942 on a text by the Pulitzer Prize winner Archibald MacLeish, who was then serving as Librarian of Congress. Reversing the procedure for popularizing a song from one of his stage works, Weill mounted a campaign to find a suitable platform, if not stage, from which to launch this single, stand-alone number, which, in musical style if not in textual content, resembles some of the "mass songs" published in the two volumes of the *Workers Song Book* in the mid-1930s. March-like in tempo, with dissonant fanfares framing its several sections, the song has a broad, completely diatonic melody that reaches a climax on a triumphant, sustained high note.<sup>308</sup> The song's expressive content—defiant patriotism—may be unusual for Weill, but stylistically the work contains such common "fingerprints" as the double-release structure (ABABCB') and inevitable half-diminished seventh chords, including diminished seventh chords in the second and fourth measures of the B section. Chappell published the song for voice and piano on 14 May, and within the fortnight Weill reported to Lenya: "All afternoon I worked at Chappells on the MacLeish song. I want to do everything to give it a big start. So I went over to the Roxy Theatre and played for the director. He was crazy about the song and said: this is what we've been waiting for. They will do it as a big number, with flags of all the United Nations, in their stage show. That's a good start. Tomorrow we are sending the song to 75 radio singers."<sup>309</sup> A recording of Frank Parker and the Kostelanetz Orchestra from 5 July suggests that CBS did broadcast the song. Chappell also issued an arrangement by William Stickles for four-part mixed chorus.

Despite all this politically engaged activity, the three major pieces Weill wrote for the musical theater during the war years are the least overtly political of his stage works. Many Tin Pan Alley songwriters and Broadway producers believed that during the war popular songs and stage works should provide escapist entertainment. As Richard Rodgers put it, "Somehow, political chaos was less unsettling if you hummed through its storms. And Armageddon couldn't threaten us if we kept whistling 'Bye Bye Blackbird.'"<sup>310</sup> Not all American songwriters agreed. Though only a handful of Tin Pan Alley songs and no Broadway musicals written during the war years dealt explicitly with warfare, many popular songs of the era spoke to the pain of separation and loss experienced by so many people: "I'll Be Seeing You," "I'll Walk Alone," and "It's Been a Long, Long Time" by Sammy Cahn and Jule Styne; "Spring Will Be a Little Late This Year" by Frank Loesser; "Long Time No See, Baby" by Jack Lathrop and Sunny Skylar; and, above all, Irving Berlin's "White Christmas."<sup>311</sup> Perhaps the relative lack of success of *The Firebrand of Florence*, and of the songs extracted from it, may have had something to do with the fact that spring 1945 was hardly a propitious time for a frothy costume piece set in Italy, with which the United States was still at war and where some of the most deadly fighting had taken place.

As the war ended Weill was already at work on several new and ambitious projects, including a pilot radio opera based on the folk song "Down in the Valley" and his long-held plan to adapt Elmer Rice's Pulitzer-Prize-winning *Street Scene* (1929) as a Broadway opera. Weill wrote to his brother Hans that *Street Scene* would be "without doubt the most important piece I have written since *Bürgschaft*, and it might turn out to be the best of all my works."<sup>312</sup> Rice and Weill worked together on the book and invited the Harlem Renaissance poet Langston Hughes to write the lyrics. Directed by Charles Friedman (because Weill's first choice, Rouben Mamoulian, was unavailable) and produced by the Playwrights Producing Company (which had recently elected Weill its only nonplaywright member), the show, billed not as an opera but as a "dramatic musical," opened on 9 January 1947 at the Adelphi Theatre for a run of 148 performances—more than the 124 performances of the first production of Gershwin's *Porgy and Bess*, a work with which it has a great deal in common. Financially *Street Scene* was a "flop," but critically it was a triumph for Weill. Olin Downes, the chief music critic of the *New York Times*, called it "the most important step toward significantly American opera,"<sup>313</sup> and Broadway recognized Weill's achievement with a Special "Tony" Award—the very first for "outstanding score of a musical."

Both acts of *Street Scene* take place in front of an apartment house in a tenement block in New York inhabited by a veritable "salad bowl" (rather than "melting pot") of ethnic families: Italian, Irish, African American, German, Swedish, and Jewish. Many of the immigrant and first-generation songwriters and performers who contributed so much to American popular culture in the first decades of the twentieth century had lived in precisely this type of neighborhood. Because Weill had come to the United States under different circumstances, Hughes took him on a tour of Harlem cabarets and various neighborhoods in Manhattan so that he could absorb the atmosphere and idioms.<sup>314</sup> The melodramatic plot of *Street Scene* climaxes with the murder of a woman by her jealous husband and their daughter's decision to make a new life for herself elsewhere. The tragedies that unfold are personal. Given the post-Holocaust and emerging Cold War climate, Rice and Weill softened much of the anti-Semitic and socialist rhetoric of the original play, but *Street Scene* was still not the material of a typical musical, certainly not a long-running one.

Weill had long "dream[ed] of a special brand of musical theater which would completely integrate drama and music, spoken word, song and movement," and he felt that with *Street Scene* he had achieved "a real blending of drama and music, in which the singing continues naturally where the speaking stops and the spoken word as well as the dramatic action are embedded in overall musical structure."<sup>315</sup> The work is an alternating sequence of recitatives, ensembles, set pieces for one or more solo voices, and spoken dialogue, which is often underscored by instrumental music. In this the work is not unlike Gershwin's *Porgy and Bess* and other "Broadway operas" that came after, but, more important, it also resembles Weill's own *Aufstieg und Fall der Stadt Mahagonny*. Larry Stempel has observed, not uncritically, that *Street Scene*'s dramatic core, which involves only the four chief characters—the Irish Catholic husband, wife, daughter, and the daughter's Jewish boyfriend—is operatic in concept and in its vocal demands and musical style, whereas the music for the secondary characters who are peripheral to the main plot draws more on popular styles.<sup>316</sup>

"I Got a Marble and a Star," sung by Henry Davis, the African-American janitor, uses a slightly modified twelve-measure blues structure, and its vocal line incorporates "blue" notes—minor thirds and sevenths—in the tonal context of a major key. "Wouldn't You Like to Be on Broadway?" suggests some of the clichés of a seductive vaudeville "soft-shoe" from earlier in the century. These two numbers, however, were not among the five that Chappell issued as individual sheet music editions. "What Good Would the Moon Be?" "Lonely House," "We'll Go Away Together," "Moon-faced, Starry-eyed," and "A Boy Like You" appeared within a span of two months in 1947. Discrepancies in appearance suggest that they may have been the work of several different arrangers. In three of them, for instance, the customary chord symbols appear above the vocal line, but in the other two ("Lonely House" and "A

Boy Like You”) they are omitted. Three have newly arranged piano accompaniments, but that of “Lonely House,” though transposed down a minor third, is virtually identical with Weill’s rehearsal score.<sup>317</sup> The accompaniment for the verse of “We’ll Go Away Together” is merely a simplified version of Weill’s, whereas that for the refrain is new. For the second printing, some of the lyrics were slightly altered. For instance, in the refrain of “What Good Would the Moon Be?”

Should it be the primrose path for me,  
Should it be the moon in my hand,  
Or could it some day be  
Someone who’ll love me, . . .

became

No it won’t be a primrose path for me,  
No it won’t be diamonds and gold,  
But maybe it will be  
Someone who’ll love me, . . .

This change required some re-engraving, and the new lyric may well have reflected changes made in rehearsal, because the lyric included in the complete piano-vocal score of *Street Scene*, which was published a year later, matched that of the second edition of the sheet music. A smaller change in “Moon-faced, Starry-eyed,” undoubtedly meant to forestall possible censorship, substituted “You’re apple pie with cheese on the side” for “You’re whisky straight with beer on the side.” This change was not incorporated into the piano-vocal score of the show.

Sung and danced by two youthful minor characters, “Moon-faced, Starry-eyed” appropriates the harmonic and rhythmic style of Big Band swing.<sup>318</sup> Following the orchestral introduction to the opera, Weill introduces the song as an instrumental “contemporary hit” coming from an onstage radio, a device similar to Jazzbo Brown’s onstage piano solo at the opening of *Porgy and Bess*. When performed in its entirety near the end of act 1, “Moon-faced, Starry-eyed” begins with a thirty-two-measure refrain for Dick in B♭ major in the conventional pattern of A8 A8 B8 A’8, followed by thirty-nine measures of underscored spoken dialogue and a second refrain in G major for Mae, after which they dance a “jitterbug” to the accompaniment of seventy-five measures

of music in swing style, with a brief interlude of “Blues dancing.” In the sheet music arrangement (see p. 301) this number was simplified to the following form:

introduction    4  
refrain            ||: A8 A8 B8 A’8 :||

Also published as a stock arrangement by Paul Weirick, “Moon-faced, Starry-eyed” became the most commercially successful number from *Street Scene*. The Teddy Wilson Quartet recorded an instrumental version of the song on 19 November 1946 for Musicraft. Benny Goodman and His Orchestra recorded it with a singer—one of Tin Pan Alley’s foremost lyricists, Johnny Mercer—on 30 January 1947 for Capitol, which released the disc on 10 March.<sup>319</sup> Both recordings appeared on *Billboard*’s “Most-Played Juke Box Records” chart on 3 May 1947 in fourteenth place. Bing Crosby and Freddy Martin sang the number on radio programs, and in later years the song became something of a minor standard in performances by Max Roach, Betty Carter, and others.

Unlike “Moon-faced, Starry-eyed,” “Somehow I Never Could Believe,” which was sung by Anna Maurrant, is fully operatic in concept and style, moving through accompanied recitative and arioso to a full-blown aria and requiring a singer with extended vocal range and the ability to sustain notes near the top of the soprano register. There are no rhythmic or melodic suggestions of popular music in this piece, and Weill’s orchestration shows no trace of the Big Band sound of “Moon-faced, Starry-eyed.” The two numbers

represent opposite poles of the stylistic spectrum in *Street Scene*, with other numbers in the show falling somewhere between.

The two sections of “Lonely House,” for example, are more in the nature of a recitative-aria sequence than of a verse-refrain song: the ostinato figure over a low pedal point, which underlies the entire first section, is a compositional technique more common to classical than popular music; the vocal range of an octave and a fourth is extreme; and the climactic high notes must be sustained in operatic style. The refrain of “Lonely House,” on the other hand, is shaped in the ubiquitous AABA’ pattern of popular song and moves at the pace of a slow swing dance, with the melodic line making repeated expressive use of “blue” notes, particularly the minor third in a major key.<sup>320</sup> Labeled “Arioso” in the piano-vocal score, “Lonely House” is, like the notion of Broadway opera itself, Janus-like. No surprise, then, that it makes but one appearance in the most popular fake books, and the song has been only occasionally performed and recorded by “pop artists.” Operatic tenors, on the other hand, have made the song/aria standard recital fare. The advertising found on the inside and back cover of the sheet music edition of “Lonely House” highlighted two other “crossover” compositions making a bid for the “classical” market, *Warsaw Concerto* and *London Fantasia*, each featured in a major Hollywood film and both immensely popular at the time.

In a letter asking Langston Hughes to agree to a forty percent royalty cut to keep *Street Scene* running on Broadway, Weill confided to him that “Chappell’s have been working for weeks on our songs and have succeeded in getting quite a number of plugs, but it is no use fooling ourselves that the songs we have written are hit-parade material, because they are not. I think they might slowly catch on and live a life of their own.”<sup>321</sup> In closing his letter to Hughes, Weill mentioned a “Columbia album” as forthcoming: with the encouragement of Goddard Lieberson, vice president of Columbia Records, Weill had prepared a shortened version of *Street Scene* that preserved “the variety of musical forms” found in the original score, including “songs, arias, duets, ensembles, orchestral interludes and even dialogue” and making it possible to “follow the action and the emotional up-and-down of this play.”<sup>322</sup> The recording of this shortened version, featuring members of the original cast conducted by the production’s musical director, Maurice Abravanel, and released in May 1947, was probably more commercially successful than any of the separately published numbers from the show. It was the first of Weill’s Broadway shows to be preserved, albeit only in part, on an original Broadway cast album (*Lost in the Stars* would be the only other one).

Although it was not routinely the composer’s job to oversee the production of mediated versions of pieces intended for commercial dissemination, Weill monitored all of Chappell’s activities closely. Three months into the run of *Street Scene* he grew dissatisfied with the way the publisher was handling the popular exploitation of individual songs (what Weill called “song plugging”) and with Chappell’s promotional efforts for the opera as a whole (what he called “exploitation of its standard values”). The angry composer wrote Max Dreyfus a stern letter:

[T]he more I think about the conversation we had the other day, the less I am satisfied with its outcome. It is the same old story. In the end, the song plugger is always right, and the songwriters are wrong. Being a polite man, of course, you blame it again on the lyric writer, just as in the case of “Knickerbocker Holiday,” “One Touch of Venus” and the picture songs I wrote with Ira. But what it really means is: since Charlie Goldberg is a good song plugger, I must be a bad songwriter.

I suppose in your position you have to take that stand at the side of your professional department. But you will also understand that I cannot accept this verdict. I still think I gave you two excellent commercial tunes to work on, and the lyrics are by no means worse than the ones you hear every day and night at the radio. I also remember too well that only 2 months ago everybody up at Chappell’s told me that I had a sure fire hit song. But, having watched this plugging business for the last few years, I know more about it today than I used to. You are right when you say that the different plugging outfits of Chappell’s, Crawford’s, Harms etc. are working quite independently from each other. The trouble is that the “spade work” of song plugging, the setting up of recordings and the contact with the important performers, is done by the same man for all the different outfits. And that’s where “Street Scene” has

Facsimile 36:  
“Moon-faced,  
Starry-eyed”

been gravely neglected. If Larry Spier would have placed the song with a few important singers, Charlie Goldberg would have much less difficulty getting plugs, and you would sell many more copies. But Larry Spier knows very well that he can sell Bing Crosby only one song at a time, and why, in God's name should he sell him my song if he can sell him a song from a show in which he has, for reasons known to you as well as to me, a much stronger interest than in "Street Scene."

But all that, I am afraid, is water down the river, and I must admit that it really doesn't seem too important in the case of a work like "Street Scene." What is really important is the question: what kind of exploitation can Chappell's give to a score like "Street Scene." You remember how worried I was about this question before I decided, after long hesitation, to have this score published by Chappell's. At that time, you insisted that you wanted to be the publisher of "Street Scene," and you promised me that by the time "Street Scene" would open, you would have built up a strong and efficient standard department, under a young, energetic personality with the necessary contacts and experience in this particular field.

This, obviously, has not been done. The result is that today there is nobody at Chappell's who could concentrate on the exploitation of the rich standard values in a score like "Street Scene," who would know how to place it into the hands of concert singers, conductors, managers etc. Believe me, I would never have become mixed up with song-plugging in connection with a work of the musical importance of "Street Scene" if Chappell's would have been in a position to offer me the kind of exploitation which I had expected for a work of this type. So I find myself in a position where neither the popular nor the standard values of my score are being properly exploited, and this worries me, not only for "Street Scene" but also because it is closely connected with my own personal problem: what kind of work to do next.<sup>323</sup>

Weill clearly and, as it turned out, rightly thought of *Street Scene* as an operatic work rather than a musical comedy or musical play. Hailed by the majority of critics as the first "real" American opera, *Street Scene* challenged Chappell's resources just as *Die Dreigroschenoper* had challenged UE's two decades earlier—but inversely so: UE had been unprepared to capitalize on a commercial hit, whereas Chappell was unable to promote a "serious" operatic piece. In keeping with the practice that publishers issued complete piano-vocal scores for successful operatic or operetta-like stage works but not for musical comedies, Chappell published the piano-vocal score of *Street Scene* on 4 February 1948. Edited by William Tarrasch, the score was a reduction of the full score that attempted to suggest as much of Weill's orchestration as possible and included the entire spoken text. Unlike Sirmay's vocal score of *Lady in the Dark*, this score includes instrumental cues, and at times three or even four staves are used to convey the content of the accompaniment. Because the piano reduction would be used to market *Street Scene* for future performances in opera houses, at Weill's suggestion the work was now subtitled "An American Opera" instead of "A Dramatic Musical." Individual titles of the most operatic numbers, including "What Good Would the Moon Be?" and "Lonely House," were suppressed in favor of such generic labels as "Cavatina and Scene" and "Arioso," respectively.

When Weill learned in October 1947 that Max Dreyfus was attempting to place the British stage rights for Gian Carlo Menotti's operas with G. Schirmer, a prominent U.S. publisher of classical music, he viewed this as an admission that the firm was unable to promote works in the world of opera. Still displeased with Chappell's handling of *Street Scene*—the vocal score was yet to be published—Weill expressed his frustration and sense of betrayal to Dreyfus: "I have been faithful to you for twelve years, in spite of many disappointments. But now I am convinced that I cannot continue my present publisher situation without doing serious harm to my work. That's why I have just accepted an offer from Schirmer's to publish a school opera which I have written this summer."<sup>324</sup>

The school opera was *Down in the Valley*, a project that Weill had initially created with the librettist Arnold Sundgaard as a pilot project for a series of folk operas for radio in 1945. When the project failed to attract sufficient commercial sponsorship, Weill shelved the work. But he retrieved it on a suggestion by Hans Heinsheimer, who had been forced to leave UE after the 1938 "Anschluss" and was, by 1947, working for G. Schirmer (in fact, it is likely that he was Weill's source for the information about Chappell's nego-

tiations on Menotti's behalf). Recalling their experiences with *Der Jasager*, Heinsheimer encouraged Weill to create a short opera for performance by high schools and amateur groups, and he succeeded in overcoming some in-house resistance at Schirmer's: "The sales manager laughed and said what do you want an opera for? Opera is foreign stuff, American kids are doing fine with Gilbert and Sullivan, we sold a thousand copies of *H.M.S. Pinafore* last year and we won't sell ten copies of this thing here . . . Later, he sold forty-five thousand vocal scores and eighty-five thousand chorus parts of this thing."<sup>325</sup>

Following its successful premiere at Indiana University on 15 July 1948, *Down in the Valley* was produced 250 times by the time of Weill's death; it celebrated its 3,000th performance in 1953.<sup>326</sup> Schirmer had published the vocal score in April 1948, in time for the premiere, and because of its brevity it was possible to market the work as if it were a piece of sheet music or vocal gems. For the sum of one hundred dollars and a page of a Weill music holograph, Heinsheimer obtained permission to reproduce a painting by the American folk artist Grandma Moses on the cover, which Schirmer printed in full color. Nevertheless, in addition to the complete piano-vocal score, Schirmer published a sheet music edition of Weill's reworking of one of the five folk songs that constituted the kernel of the opera. On 16 February 1949 Heinsheimer reminded Weill, "you wanted to give us a song version of the 'Lonesome Dove' for publication. We have already secured permission from Silver Burdett to go ahead with this."<sup>327</sup> However, the sheet music did not come off the press until late November of that year. Because Weill had not composed but only arranged the song, credit for authorship had to be ambiguously worded on the first page of the edition: "The Lonesome Dove / American Folksong from / 'Down in the Valley' / Arnold Sundgaard | Kurt Weill." But the facing inside cover carried a lengthy copyright notice in large type:

"The Lonesome Dove" originally appeared in "The Singin' Gatherin'," copyright 1939, by Silver Burdett Company, and with the permission of the copyright proprietor and the authors Jean Thomas (The Traipsin' Woman) and Joseph A. Leeder furnished the basis of the version used in the folk opera "Down in the Valley."

Schirmer supplied no chord symbols in the sheet music, but as a comparison with the published vocal score reveals, the piano accompaniment was simplified, note values were doubled for easier reading (resulting in a higher measure count), and the entire piece was transposed down a step from F to E $\flat$  major; the new vocal range is given on the cover: B $\flat$ 3–E $\flat$ 5. Surviving royalty statements show that sales of the sheet music lagged far behind those of the vocal score and the chorus parts: in 1950, for example, "The Lonesome Dove" sold just 713 copies, whereas the vocal score tallied 2,651 and the chorus part 6,425.<sup>328</sup>

In fact, there was little potential or need for "popular exploitation" of excerpts from *Down in the Valley*; the wide "distribution" of Weill's 35-minute opera as a complete entity had no precedent in his career. Within three weeks of the premiere, NBC broadcast nationwide a complete performance from the University of Michigan. *Down in the Valley* was the only theater work of Weill's to be recorded in its entirety during his lifetime, and not once but twice, both with current Broadway stars: on Decca with Alfred Drake, and on RCA Victor with Marion Bell. With its series of flashbacks and foreground/background crossfades, the work also proved attractive for television: NBC's three-camera production—supervised by Weill—was telecast in January 1950, making it the second opera ever to be televised on a national network (the first, *Carmen*, had aired three weeks earlier on CBS). The success of *Down in the Valley* prompted Weill and Sundgaard to consider writing another school opera, and Weill also discussed a similar venture with Alan Jay Lerner.

But the commission to convert *Down in the Valley* from a radio "folk opera" into a "school opera" had, in fact, interrupted Weill's work with Lerner on *Love Life*, which they had begun in July 1947. In concept, dramaturgy, and structure, *Love Life* is the most experimental stage piece of Weill's American years, more so even than *Johnny Johnson* and *Lady in the Dark*. "What made



writing *Love Life* so much fun,” Lerner recalled, “was discarding a lot of old rules and making up our own rules as we went along. We knew what we wanted to say. The problem was finding a way to tell our story.”<sup>329</sup> Lerner recalled such risk-taking as the basis for his collaboration with Weill:

Kurt wanted desperately to succeed in American terms and yet could never be satisfied with the purely commercial idea. Time after time he rejected ideas that he knew could be successful but were not for him. . . . At times Kurt seemed obsessed with the hope of having a Rodgers-and-Hammerstein-type success, and yet he would always reject the type of show that would have given it to him—like *The King and I*, which I suggested and Kurt said, “Leave that to somebody else.” . . . No matter how daring or unconventional an idea was, Kurt was determined to find a way for the public to accept it.<sup>330</sup>

Produced by Weill’s frequent collaborator, Cheryl Crawford, and directed by Elia Kazan (who postponed *Death of a Salesman* to stage the Weill/Lerner work), *Love Life* opened on Broadway on 7 October 1948 at the 46th Street Theatre to mixed reviews, and then ran for 252 performances. Despite this modest success, *Love Life* did not tour after its Broadway closing. A union action known as the second “Petrillo Ban” prevented the recording of an original cast album; and another ASCAP embargo denied the music of *Love Life* national exposure on radio during much of its run. Neither a piano-vocal score nor the libretto was published; and the show was never released for stock and amateur performances. In fact, *Love Life* was not performed professionally again until it was staged, with a revised book, by the American Music Theatre Festival in Philadelphia in 1990.

Subtitled “a vaudeville,” *Love Life* comprises a series of vignettes about Sam and Susan Cooper and their two children. The story of the family, who do not age over the course of 150 years of American history, plays out against the backdrop of changes in American society, and each scene is prefaced by a vaudeville act that comments in a subtle way on the situation to follow (eighteen years later *Cabaret* would adopt this format almost verbatim). The original program carried a note of explanation for the audience:

*Love Life* is presented in two parts, each consisting of a series of acts. The sketches, which start in 1791 and come up to the present day, are presented in the physical style of the various periods. The four main characters, Susan and Sam Cooper, and their children, Johnny and Elizabeth, who present the story, do not change in appearance as time moves on. The vaudeville acts which come between each sketch are presented before a vaudeville drop and are styled and costumed in a set vaudeville pattern.

Weill often invokes the popular music of the historical period in which a particular vignette is set. For instance, he gives the opening number of the first “book scene,” titled “Who Is Samuel Cooper/My Name Is Samuel Cooper,” a sturdy, foursquare, mostly pentatonic melody that suggests the music of William Billings, Francis Hopkinson, and their contemporaries. Elsewhere Weill invokes popular dance rhythms, but they don’t always match the time period of the scene in which they are heard. The second book scene, for instance, set in 1821, ends with a polka (“Green-Up Time”), even though that dance was not then known in the United States, and the vaudeville number prefacing the third vignette, which takes place in the early 1880s, uses fox-trot rhythms though it would be several decades before that dance became popular. But Weill was a composer, not a musicologist, and he did not wish merely to imitate the musical style of earlier times; even those pieces that suggest period musical styles bear his own trademarks. Nevertheless, *Love Life* presents a panorama of American popular music as a commentary on the corruption of the American dream. It is hardly surprising that Stephen Sondheim, the composer of *Follies* and *Assassins*, has said that he found the example of *Love Life* “a useful influence on my own work.”<sup>331</sup>

In an attempt to ease the strained relationship between Weill and Chappell in the aftermath of *Street Scene*, Dreyfus appears to have tried to make amends by offering Weill and Lerner control of his Marlo Music Corporation, whose distribution would continue to be handled by Chappell.<sup>332</sup> A contract signed on 5 January 1948, nine months before the show’s opening, stipulated that five unnamed numbers from *Love Life* would be published and distributed as

sheet music and dance orchestrations. At Weill’s insistence, Dreyfus expressly agreed to plug those songs for at least six weeks prior to the premiere and for sixteen consecutive weeks thereafter. The contract also prohibited Chappell’s professional department from handling any other show or film while promoting the songs from *Love Life*, thereby forestalling possible conflicts of interest on the part of the firm’s song plugger.<sup>333</sup>

In the end not five but eight numbers from the show were published as sheet music, an unusually large number of selections. Taken as a whole, these numbers provide a good overview of the variety of idioms and scope of the music, which runs to almost a thousand pages in Weill’s full orchestral score.<sup>334</sup> For the cover design Ben Jorj Harris—one of the most prolific sheet music illustrators in the 1930s and ’40s—again created a strong link to the stage work by depicting several of the vaudeville acts that comment on the action: tight rope walker, trapeze artists, minstrel quartet in blackface, ventriloquist, and, at center, the central character Susan—sawed in half. As in *Street Scene* the musical numbers range over a wide stylistic gamut. “This Is the Life,” for instance, is nothing less than an extended operatic scena for solo voice, sung by Sam (originally played by the Juilliard-trained baritone Ray Middleton) when he is separated from Susan and staying alone in a hotel room. The piece moves through sections of recitative, arioso, and aria that contrast in key, tempo, and expression according to Sam’s shifting moods. The vocal line of the sheet music version, fourteen pages in length, ranges over an octave and a fourth, and the piano accompaniment, which follows Weill’s autograph rehearsal score exactly, requires a formidable degree of dexterity.<sup>335</sup> An outline of the multi-sectional structure of “This Is the Life” reveals how markedly this number strays from the formal conventions of contemporary popular song:

<u>tempo</u>	<u>time signature</u>	<u>key</u>
Allegro assai	C	E♭ major
		[Sam exults at being “free”]
Andante cantabile	C	E minor
		[He admits to missing his children]
Tempo primo	C	E♭ major
		[Back to “I’m free”]
Allegro giocoso	2/4	D major
		[He orders a meal from room service]
Molto meno mosso	2/4	modulatory
		[“What’s so bizarre about a man alone?”]
Andante cantabile	C	[E minor]
		[He thinks of his wife]
Più mosso	C	modulatory
		[“Go out and have a whirl!”]
Moderato assai	3/4	C major
		[He remembers a nightmare in which his family drowns]
Tempo primo	C	modulatory
		[He cancels his room service order]
[Tempo primo]	C	E♭ major
		[“This is the life! I’m free!”]

At the other end of the stylistic spectrum in *Love Life* is the ballad “Here I’ll Stay,” which Marlo/Chappell singled out for special promotion, including a stock arrangement for dance band by Jack Mason prior to the show’s opening. This number enjoyed a considerable degree of commercial success, curtailed only by circumstances beyond anyone’s control. After the AFM recording strike ended on 14 December 1948, the song was heard on “Your Hit Parade” for three weeks in early 1949, and Jo Stafford’s recording of the piece on Capitol 15319 was briefly charted in *Billboard*. In a 31 March 1949 broadcast of NBC television’s *The Swift Show*, a variety program hosted by Lanny Ross, Weill accompanied the soprano Martha Wright in a duet performance of the song with the show’s host. Two surviving financial statements about sheet music sales confirm that “Here I’ll Stay” was the hit number of

the show.<sup>336</sup> At the close of the third quarter on 30 September 1948—four songs were already available but the show had yet to open—“Here I’ll Stay” had sold 2,084 copies, “Green-Up Time” 1,970, “Economics” 518, and “Susan’s Dream” (which would be cut from the show before opening), 481. The fourth quarter tallied 13,013 copies for “Here I’ll Stay,” 6,011 for “Green-up Time,” 702 for “Economics,” 308 for “Susan’s Dream,” 266 for “Mr. Right,” 208 for “Is It Him or Is It Me?” 127 for “Love Song,” and 51 for “This Is the Life.” (Of course, these statistics are misleading because the last two songs had become available only days before the quarter ended.)

In its stage version, “Here I’ll Stay” is a verse-refrain duet sung in the first scene by Sam and Susan after they’ve settled in Mayville; the song invokes the innocence of the time, 1791, and place. Sam sings in the initial verse:

Susan, this is all I’m searching for:  
A place to live with you forever more;  
A sign that says it’s Samuel Cooper’s store . . .  
My heaven is not higher than that tree.

A first refrain follows, sung by Sam; Susan then sings a second verse and the second refrain; Sam joins her for the second half. The sheet music version (see p. 307) condenses the piece into a single verse and a repeated refrain, transposes it down a step from C to B♭ major, and, because the content of the verses was specific to the show, substitutes a new verse that transforms the piece into a generic love song:

Facsimile 37:  
“Here I’ll Stay”

If I’ve no will to go from home;  
Or have no urge the seas to roam;  
Or turn my back on a distant star . . .  
It’s because my goal is clear.

David Kilroy, who offers an exhaustive analysis and deconstruction of the song, calls this version “a well-crafted, but perfectly straightforward love ballad of the late 1940s.”<sup>337</sup> However, Weill’s distinctive songwriting style is still very much in evidence, including structural contrasts between the verse and the refrain, a five-phrase refrain (A8 A’8 A8 B8 A’8), and pervasive use of seventh and ninth chords in the accompaniment.<sup>338</sup>

Some of the other separately published songs from *Love Life* are also well-crafted ballads of the late 1940s, at least in their arrangements for sheet music publication, but others—including “This Is the Life,” as well as “Susan’s Dream” and “Love Song”—are lengthier and more complex dramatic numbers that could not possibly be forced into the musical or expressive patterns of Tin Pan Alley standards. “Love Song,” the vaudeville number prefacing the fifth scene, takes the form of a rambling soliloquy of a hobo, with a fifty-six-measure refrain (A8 B8 A8 B8 C8 A8 B8) replete with “blue” notes and with lyrics that suggest Woody Guthrie:<sup>339</sup>

New York, Tennessee, Oregon, Maine,  
Wichita, Little Rock, Butte and Spokane,  
I’ve seen ’em all Mister,  
I’ve heard their noisy hum.  
You know ’em all, Mister,  
When you’re a bum. . . .

This “theme song” of *Love Life* ends with a bitter twist on “Johnny’s Song” from *Johnny Johnson*:

[I] sing of how empty hearts forever long,  
But nobody listens to my song.

*Love Life* is a difficult work. Weill and Lerner struggled with it, making cuts, sometimes of entire scenes, adding, rewriting, and discarding material even between the final Boston tryout and the New York opening. The show presented problems for the audience, as well; according to the choreographer

Michael Kidd, they were “confused by it.”<sup>340</sup> The work remains unknown to most theater audiences today, but its audacity and innovation were not lost on the next generation of writers for the musical stage. Foster Hirsch, who chose the title “Before Sondheim” for a chapter dealing with *Love Life*, argues that “this courageous, unjustly neglected work has had a major influence on some of the most innovative musicals of the past fifty years.”<sup>341</sup> In fact, its very obscurity may have encouraged emulation; Lerner himself recycled a lyric from *Love Life* in the film *Gigi*, where “I Remember It Well” acquired a new setting by Frederick Loewe and achieved the popularity that Weill’s original never had. Ironically (considering the show’s legacy), the souvenir program book for *Love Life* quoted Lerner and Weill as saying “in unison”: “We dare not rest on our oars. Today’s invention is tomorrow’s cliché. We must continue to invent and improvise.”<sup>342</sup>

Lerner and Weill did indeed plan to continue their collaboration, both for stage and film, but the composer, who never established a permanent collaborative relationship with any one lyricist or dramatist in America, turned again to his neighbor and good friend Maxwell Anderson. For some months in 1939 Weill and Anderson had worked intensively on a musical, intended to be performed by a predominantly black cast and tentatively titled *Ulysses Africanus*. Based on a popular novella by Harry Stillwell Edwards, *Eneas Africanus* (1919), the musical chronicles the adventures of an ex-slave wandering through the American South during and after the Civil War. After Paul Robeson declined the title role, the show was reconceived for Bill Robinson; work on the project ceased when he became unavailable and the Edwards estate insisted on an exorbitant share of royalties.<sup>343</sup> In 1943 Lenya recorded for Bost Records two songs that had been written for the show, “Lost in the Stars” and “Lover Man.”<sup>344</sup> Both were filed for copyright on 21 April 1944, though neither had been published at the time. Walter Huston recorded “Lost in the Stars” for the flip side of his Decca record of “September Song” in October 1944. Frank Sinatra, too, in July–August 1946, recorded it together with “September Song,” but only “September Song” appeared on disc in November; his version of “Lost in the Stars” was not released until 1949, when the “musical tragedy” with that title was running on Broadway.<sup>345</sup> Presumably in preparation for an anticipated tandem release of Sinatra’s recordings, Crawford Music published a sheet music edition of “Lost in the Stars” on 26 September 1946, using the same cover design for a reissue of “September Song.”

In March 1948, inspired by his reading of the South African novelist Alan Paton’s *Cry, the Beloved Country*, Anderson proposed to Weill that they undertake a show based on that book.<sup>346</sup> The resulting “musical tragedy,” *Lost in the Stars*, which made considerable use of material written or sketched for *Ulysses Africanus*, opened on 30 October 1949 at the Music Box Theatre. Reviews were mostly favorable, and the show ran for 281 performances before touring for an additional fourteen weeks. Directed by Rouben Mamoulian, the show was cast chiefly with classically trained African-American singers, including Todd Duncan (the original Porgy of Gershwin’s *Porgy and Bess*), Inez Matthews, and Warren Coleman.<sup>347</sup> Anderson’s play follows Paton’s novel in general outline: Stephen Kumalo, a black clergyman, travels to Johannesburg to search for his son, Absalom, only to find that he has been sentenced to death for killing a white man during a failed robbery. Ironically, Absalom’s victim was a young lawyer who had been fighting for justice for South Africa’s nonwhite population. Stephen and the victim’s father meet at Absalom’s trial, and the bond that develops between the two grieving fathers, one white and the other black, suggests some hope that the country’s racial wounds might eventually be healed.

*Lost in the Stars* may have been the first Broadway musical to confront a contemporaneous, controversial sociopolitical issue in a forthright, serious manner. Paton’s novel and the Weill/Anderson show based on it were written at a time when the outside world was largely unaware of the dramatically worsening situation of apartheid in South Africa, where the whites-only elections of 26 May 1948 had given the National Party a mandate for even more radical separation of the country’s several racial populations. It would be several decades before the ensuing forced relocation and mandated inferior education of millions of nonwhites, police-state security measures, and other

strategies of “grand apartheid” would be recognized and condemned by the international community. Anderson and Weill also viewed Paton’s novel as a perfect vehicle to comment, indirectly, on the moral depravity of “separate but equal” in the United States at that time.

The term “musical tragedy” also suggests a piece unbound by the stylistic and expressive conventions of the Broadway musical, let alone by those of a “musical comedy.” Anderson explained in a letter to Paton that “to keep the plot and the dialogue in the form you gave them would only be possible if a chorus—a sort of Greek chorus—were used to tie together the scenes and to comment on the action as you comment in the philosophical and descriptive passages.”<sup>348</sup> Accordingly, the chorus plays a dramatic and structural role in *Lost in the Stars* on a scale approaching that in Mussorgsky’s *Boris Godunov* and Weill’s own *Die Bürgschaft*. Present in virtually every scene, from the opening “The Hills of Ixopo” to the show’s finale, the chorus sometimes comments on the unfolding drama, sometimes takes part in the action itself, and sometimes accompanies solo voices. A fluid mosaic of choral sections, set pieces for individual characters, melodrama, pantomime, and spoken dialogue, *Lost in the Stars* is another of Weill’s generic hybrids, as much a staged oratorio as it is a musical or an opera.

In South Africa at mid-century a number of distinctive styles of traditional and contemporary choral music, popular urban song, and jazz had developed, but virtually none of this music was known outside the country. Having obtained recordings of several types of traditional South African music from the ethnomusicologist Hugh Tracey, founder of the International Library of African Music, Weill claimed to have studied Zulu music closely in preparation for composing *Lost in the Stars*. But ultimately he decided to avoid obvious “Africanisms” and to join a long line of composers who have used pentatonic melodies and harmonies to characterize “exotic,” “primitive,” or “unspoiled” non-Western locales and peoples.

The melody of the first extended section of the opening chorus of the show, “The Hills of Ixopo,” depends on the pentatonic scale A–C–D–E–G, with the closing measures transposed to D–F–G–A–C. Virtually the whole of “Thousands of Miles” invokes another five-note scale, A–Bb–C–E–G. Weill’s score also makes occasional use of whole-tone scales for “exotic” flavoring. Ostinatos in such scenes as “The Search” and “Murder in Parkwold”/“Fear” remind us that this device was frequently used by modern composers to suggest the “primitive,” most famously in Stravinsky’s *Le sacre du printemps* and *Les noces* and in Carl Orff’s *Carmina Burana*. Though not utilizing authentic call-and-response patterns found in African or African-American music, Weill also often pits the solo voice of “The Leader” against the rest of the chorus. The shadow of *Porgy and Bess* hovers over *Lost in the Stars*, as it had over *Street Scene*: as in the Gershwin’s work, only black characters sing, and whites are restricted to speech; specific echoes of Gershwin’s music turn up as well, as in the bridge section of “The Little Gray House.”

The score of *Lost in the Stars* comprises three layers: vocal solos (sometimes accompanied by chorus) for the principal characters, several of which had originally been written for *Ulysses Africanus*; choral and ensemble numbers; and songs for secondary characters. As in *Street Scene*, the pieces for secondary characters, such as Linda’s jazzy, erotic tease, “Who’ll Buy?” with its swing orchestration and “red-hot-Mamma” vocal style, and Alexander’s childlike and playful “Big Mole,” lighten the mood temporarily, whereas numbers such as Stephen Kumalo’s “O Tixo, Tixo Help Me!” are fully operatic in both idiom and weight.<sup>349</sup> Nevertheless, Weill’s score is remarkably of a piece. It is one of his most deeply felt and expressive works, far removed from the aesthetic of epic theater. Its forceful stand against the evils of apartheid manifests itself not with slogans and banners but in the personal tragedies of three-dimensional characters, both black and white.

Paton, who came to New York for the show’s final rehearsals and opening, liked Weill’s music but was not so pleased with Anderson’s book and lyrics. He was particularly unhappy with the final scene of the first act, in which Kumalo and the chorus sing “Lost in the Stars” (with lyrics written by Anderson a decade earlier for *Ulysses Africanus*). Paton found this piece too intellectual and agnostic for the character of Kumalo.<sup>350</sup> Ironically, this was the only

number from *Lost in the Stars* to enjoy any kind of commercial success as an independent song; it has been performed and recorded over the years by Abbey Lincoln, Lena Horne, Tom Jones, Sarah Vaughan, Judy Garland, Vic Damone, Frank Sinatra, and Tony Bennett, among many others. Its inclusion in seven standard fake books also attests to its long-standing popularity, even if it falls a bit short of “evergreen” status. As with most of Weill’s songs that became standards, “Lost in the Stars” adopts one of the classic Tin Pan Alley patterns, in this case A8 A8 B8 A8+11, though, as is also typical for Weill, the piece expands into what amounts to a fifth phrase.

“Trouble Man,” a more complicated number, also has a more complicated history.<sup>351</sup> Like “Lost in the Stars,” it was originally written for *Ulysses Africanus*, where it bore the title “Lover Man.” A comparison of a fair copy of that version, dating from 1943, with the sheet music version of “Trouble Man”<sup>352</sup> published in 1949 (see p. 313) reveals how much of the song’s musical and textual essence was retained when it was incorporated into *Lost in the Stars*. But the differences between the two versions, though minor, are instructive. To situate “Trouble Man” in its new dramatic context, Weill and Anderson added a new verse. In early sketches of this and other pieces written for *Ulysses Africanus*, Anderson used “Negro” dialect in his lyrics. Most of the dialect has disappeared in the fair copy of “Lover Man,” except for “Reaching and finding you there where you stan’ / Asking: ain’t you coming home, lover man.” In “Trouble Man” these lines become “Finding the footprints out where you ran, / Asking, aren’t you coming home, trouble man?” Musically “Lover Man” made pervasive use of eighth-note triplets—so much so that, despite a metric signature of C, it sounds as if it is in 12/8.<sup>353</sup> In “Trouble Man” many of these triplets are replaced with binary groupings of eighths and sixteenths.

The publication and promotion of Weill’s music for *Lost in the Stars* evinces some new elements. After performing the music for Max Dreyfus on 7 July 1949 Weill spent the months of August and September working out a contract with the publisher that roughly followed the models Dreyfus had conceded to George Gershwin and, later, to Rodgers and Hammerstein’s Williamson Music. Weill and Anderson set up their own music publishing entity, High Tor Music Corporation, which was initially planned also to include among its principals Alan Jay Lerner and Frederick Loewe. When the papers were notarized on 21 September 1949, however, Weill and Anderson were the sole partners.<sup>354</sup> On 1 October 1949 High Tor Music entered into an agreement with Chappell specifying that five songs were to be published “on or before the New York opening”; an additional clause stipulated that a complete vocal score would be published in case of “a continuous first class run in New York City of at least four months.”<sup>355</sup>

Chappell published six numbers in sheet music format, with accompaniments idiomatically arranged for the piano and with the right hand doubling the vocal line throughout. Several songs were transposed to bring them into a more comfortable vocal range for amateur singers. There are fewer dynamic, phrasing, and articulation markings than in the piano-vocal score; chord symbols and tablature for guitar or ukulele appear above the voice part; and in some cases formal structures have been simplified. Jack Mason also arranged two of these songs, “The Little Gray House” and “Stay Well,” for dance band. These two numbers had been earmarked for plugging, and Bing Crosby recorded them on 16 November 1949 for Decca 24824, but that record did not become a hit. Neither did Frank Sinatra’s version of “Lost in the Stars,” which was finally released commercially on Columbia 38650. When it had become clear that marketing was not yielding the hoped-for results, Weill addressed the situation with Chappell’s senior strategist Larry Spier:

[T]he more I think about your idea to put another number with the outfit which is supposed to work on my score exclusively, the more I’m worried about it. . . . You have told me many times yourself how wrong it is to have one outfit work on other material while they are working on an important score—and now you are planning to do exactly that with “Lost in the Stars” which certainly is big enough a hit to deserve an out-and-out effort on part of the publisher. Of course, it is possible that in this particular case, as you explained it to me, and with the kind of material you have picked, it might work out alright (although it is hard for me to believe, knowing the psychol-

Facsimile 38:  
“Trouble Man”

ogy of song pluggers, that their work on my score would not be affected by the new job you would give them). But if it doesn't work out, if, for instance, "Third Man Theme" is not as easy as you think, or the flexibility of the boys not as great as you expect, then the damage to my score is done and is irreparable.

The fact is, Larry, that the only time in all my years with Chappell's that I got a real full fledged exploitation of a score, was on "Love Life"—and that was because I had it in my contract that no other song could be handled by the organisation that would work on my score. I had hoped that this time I would get this courtesy, at least for a reasonable length of time, without putting it in my contract—but unfortunately it doesn't seem to work that way.<sup>356</sup>

A single surviving statement of sheet music sales for *Lost in the Stars* gives an odd and probably distorted picture. Dated 17 November 1950, it lists the following sales figures for an unspecified time period—possibly the third quarter of 1950—during which a total of 187 copies of songs from *Lost in the Stars* were sold: "Big Mole" (76), "Thousands of Miles" (37), "Stay Well" (35), "Lost in the Stars" (18), "Trouble Man" (14), and "The Little Gray House" (7).

Popular exploitation had long been as much an artistic issue as a financial one for Weill. While *Lost in the Stars* was still playing to capacity audiences in January 1950, Weill wrote to the critic Douglas Watt, who had recently reviewed Decca's original cast album very favorably: "I was surprised to find that somebody at last, after much nonsense that had been written about that score, knows enough about theatre music and popular music to point out the real values of this score[,] its complete integration of music and drama, [and] its attempt to write popular songs without that constant eye on the hit parade" (emphasis added).<sup>357</sup> Watt, who had been a sympathetic reviewer of Weill's music over the years, had expressed no reservations about the inclusion of popular songs in musical theater. In contrast, Olin Downes, the chief music critic for the *New York Times*, who also admired Weill's work, especially *Street Scene* but also *Lost in the Stars*, questioned Weill's use of popular material in that "musical tragedy": "I am still waiting for the day when you get exactly the subject which you can treat without the faintest consideration of public taste or expediency of any sort." Weill's much-quoted response aptly summarizes his broader views on the issue: "Personally, I don't feel that this [the use of popular song forms and idioms] represents a compromise because it seems to me that the American popular song, growing out of the American folk music, is the basis of an American musical theatre."<sup>358</sup>

"The Little Gray House" is just one of many examples in Weill's oeuvre, beginning with "Alabama-Song," of ensembles and extended solo pieces for the musical theater that professional arrangers have simplified and abridged to make them more suitable for popular dissemination as sheet music. In its stage version "The Little Gray House" unfolds as follows:

verse	x5 x'6	chorus a cappella
refrain 1	A8 B8 A8 B'8	Stephen
		B"8 chorus
bridge	C6 D6 C'6	Stephen
refrain 2	A8 B8	Stephen and humming chorus
	A8	Stephen
	B"8	chorus
	B'8+3	Stephen

The sheet music version reduces the piece to:

verse	x5 x'6
refrain	: A8 B8 A8 B'8 B"8 :

With such a procedure, we have come full circle, back almost exactly to where we started, in 1927, with "Alabama-Song": an ensemble number from a politically charged work for the musical stage by Kurt Weill that has been condensed and simplified by a staff arranger into a piece of sheet music for solo voice and keyboard, which was also made into a piece for dance band by a second arranger particularly skilled in that medium.

## V

"It is my opinion that none [of Weill's compositions] can be considered 'popular' music in the sense that they have been or will be widely played; furthermore, I cannot foresee any widespread market for any such musical compositions," Max Dreyfus wrote in 1951 in the affidavit appraising Weill's estate for tax purposes. Because Weill had received no money from either his publishers or Brecht for scattered performances in Europe after the war, Dreyfus claimed that even the "Moritat von Mackie Messer" and *Die Dreigroschenoper* were, from a publishing perspective, without monetary value:

From my personal familiarity with the decedent's compositions published abroad and based on my knowledge of, and familiarity with, foreign music markets and the value of foreign copyrights, I would state that such foreign works have no present value at all as they carry a very limited appeal. The remainder of the compositions, which were published or written for the American market, are basically show tunes designed particularly for specific scores of musical plays. Again, these compositions can be considered as having a limited appeal as all the plays for which they were written have already been produced and closed their runs; there is, in my opinion, very little likelihood that these compositions will ever again bring in anything more than a nominal amount, if that.<sup>359</sup>

Using Kern, Porter, Gershwin, and Rodgers as the standards against which to measure the value of Weill's legacy, Dreyfus concluded that only "September Song" and *Down in the Valley* could be counted on to generate significant future income. He estimated the "fair market value" of the publishing and performance rights for Weill's entire oeuvre to be \$25,000, exclusive of future ASCAP income, which he also projected at that amount. (In 1945, by comparison, Dreyfus had appraised Kern's musical legacy at \$183,500.) Undoubtedly Lenya's attorneys had encouraged Dreyfus to keep the figures as low as could reasonably be expected to be credible with the Internal Revenue Service, but certainly the appraisal also reflected the reality of prospects for future exploitation of Weill's music.

Indeed, during Weill's last decade, 1941–1950, royalties received from Chappell and Crawford for sales of sheet music and performance and recordings of his individual songs amounted to \$39,530, approximately one-sixth of his total income. Over the same period ASCAP paid Weill a total of \$38,323, including approximately \$3,000 in foreign income from 1947 to 1950.<sup>360</sup> There was, of course, considerable fluctuation from year to year; income from Chappell and Crawford peaked in 1947, when Weill collected \$10,262 from the two firms. But in most years the music publishers paid Weill less than \$3,000 in royalties for the popular exploitation of his songs, and he did not live to see his annual ASCAP income exceed \$6,000. Thus, so-called small music publishing rights of single songs (sales of printed music, mechanical royalties for recordings, fees for jukebox play, compensation for radio broadcast and live performances, synchronization rights for film and television) amounted, on average, to less than \$8,000 per year.<sup>361</sup>

Weill had depended for the most part on income generated from so-called grand rights, the production of complete shows on stage and their subsequent purchase for film adaptation. Once Weill's musicals had closed on Broadway, secondary performances by stock and amateur theaters brought him only negligible additional income. Therefore, to support himself, his wife, and their respective families in Palestine and Austria (to whom Weill was sending regular stipends), as well as maintain a standard of living that included a house in Rockland County and an apartment in Manhattan, he needed to have one show running on Broadway every season. Even the short-lived *The Firebrand of Florence* brought him \$5,352 in royalties in 1945. The previous year, when *One Touch of Venus* was a bona fide Broadway hit, Weill earned \$64,445. His total income ranged from a low of \$15,962 in 1946, when he had no show running on Broadway, to a high of \$107,832 in 1944, thus averaging \$46,291 per year during his last decade.<sup>362</sup> The six Broadway productions accounted for nearly half of his total income during that period. His share of the sale of film rights for *Lady in the Dark* and *One Touch of Venus* amounted to an additional \$75,230, and salaries collected for work on various motion pictures

totalled another \$57,500.<sup>363</sup> The royalties deriving from the popular exploitation of single songs may have provided a relatively reliable annual income stream, but its flow was far too weak to meet the Weills' financial needs.

In retrospect, then, despite changing locales, languages, audiences, and publishers several times during his career, Weill's principal concern remained constant: the fate of each stage work as a whole rather than with popular exploitation of the individual pieces contained therein. And that agenda derived as much from practical exigencies as from aesthetic priorities. Although he often criticized his publishers for not doing a better job of marketing his songs, he himself tended to be indifferent to what he, as the composer, needed to be doing to create songs that would appeal to a mass audience. Part of this dilemma reflected his conflicted view of opera. On the one hand, Weill criticized opera as being "an artistic genre of the aristocracy," a "socially exclusive" form of art, "toilsomely preserved" in musical museums. But repeatedly, after achieving popular success with a work for the musical stage, he would return to writing operatic works or hybrid pieces "between genres." Thus, his German works in "song style" were interspersed with *Aufstieg und Fall der Stadt Mahagonny*, *Die Bürgschaft*, and *Der Silbersee*; *Marie Galante*, with its songs in the manner of the French chanson, was followed by an out-and-out operetta, *Der Kuhhandel* / *A Kingdom for a Cow* and an oratorio-like biblical pageant of grand opera proportions. In the United States Weill followed three relatively successful "musicals" with the "Broadway operetta" *The Firebrand of Florence* and the "Broadway opera" *Street Scene*; another work sui generis, *Lost in the Stars*, followed on the heels of the experimental concept musical *Love Life*.

Because Weill's works on both continents continually shifted or collapsed genres and challenged the conventions thereof, they usually posed tremendous problems for production by established performing institutions, whether opera houses, commercial theaters, or "idealistic collectives." For example, half of the eight works Weill composed for "Broadway production" ended up being produced by the Group Theatre or the Playwrights Producing Company—outside the customary mechanism for musicals. Yet almost all his songs that enjoyed some immediate commercial success or eventually became standards were written for his "popular" stage works; the compositional styles he adapted for his "works between genres" and his operatic works produced few individual pieces that achieved mass popularity. Adopting the credo that each musicodramatic work must "create its own style, its own texture, its own relationship between text and music," and continually recruiting new poetic and dramatic collaborators, many of whom were themselves novices in the musical theater, Weill never seemed to establish his own sonic "brand name" in popular music in the manner and to the extent that allowed the Gershwins, Cole Porter, Rodgers and Hart, Rodgers and Hammerstein, Lerner and Loewe to be perceived as distinctive stylistic trademarks over lengthy spans of time.<sup>364</sup>

A chronological overview of Weill's single songs, from "Alabama-Song" to "The Little Gray House," shows that his music traversed considerable stylistic and expressive ground in the three decades in which these songs were written. This is hardly surprising, given the fact that he wrote for the musical stage in four different countries—Germany, France, Britain, and the United States—and that he wrote in so many genres. But certain characteristics of his songs remained constant throughout his entire career, and a Kurt Weill song is recognizable as a Kurt Weill song, at and for whatever stage it was written. The progression of Weill's musical style over these three decades ran counter to the dominant trajectory of music in the first half of the twentieth century, which, in "serious" music most obviously, but to a lesser degree also in "popular" music, grew more complex in harmony, tonality, rhythm, and formal structure. Weill's music, on the other hand, moved from complexity to relative simplicity. His earliest theater songs were notated without key signatures, and though tonal centers are usually discernible, he makes free use of both diatonic and chromatic dissonance. In his pieces in "song style," tonal centers become more overt, dissonance tends to be diatonic rather than chromatic, and though triads appear more frequently, these often merely move from one to another rather than resolving according to common practice. Weill also often uses substitute chords in place of the basic tonic–subdominant–dominant

progressions that form the backbone of tonal harmony. He first reverted to key signatures in his *Marie Galante* songs, though pervasive seventh and ninth chords and substitute chords tend to weaken the tonality implied by the key signature of these pieces. His first operetta, *A Kingdom for a Cow*, is more thoroughly tonal and triadic than anything he had written before. His first American stage work, *Johnny Johnson*, combined elements of his European style with the conventions of American popular song, and most of his subsequent works for the American stage conformed, at least in general style, to the conventions of Tin Pan Alley and Broadway songs, using verse-chorus form and being triadic and tonal, with frequent use of seventh and ninth chords and added seconds and sixths.

Even then, however, idiosyncrasies of harmony, melodic line, structure, and instrumentation that were carried over from his European works set Weill pieces apart from the work of his American contemporaries. Weillian idiosyncrasies include irregular phrase lengths and structures (five rather than four large sections in a refrain, for instance, or three- or five-measure phrases within a section); contrasts of key, phrase structure, or harmonic style between verse and refrain, or between other sections of a song; the use of unexpected chords at such important structural points as the beginning of a refrain, at points of climax, or as part of the final cadential pattern; the use of substitute chords for tonic, subdominant, or dominant chords, and the practice of resolving chords in unexpected ways; and the persistent practice of placing key notes in a melody on nonchord notes, that is, notes not belonging to the underlying harmony. It is difficult to find a Kurt Weill song written at any stage of his career that does not include at least one half-diminished seventh chord, which he resolved in any number of different ways.

But a Kurt Weill song is distinguished by much more than these musical details. Weill made it his business to collaborate with only the most talented and successful dramatists and poets of the day, including Bertolt Brecht and Georg Kaiser in Germany and a succession of Pulitzer Prize winners after he came to the United States: Paul Green, Maxwell Anderson, Moss Hart, Ira Gershwin, and Elmer Rice. With the exception of Gershwin and Lerner, none, including his two most frequent collaborators, Brecht and Anderson, was a professional lyricist in the sense of regularly furnishing texts for popular songs. Weill's songs are more varied in expression and structure than those of his contemporaneous songwriters because, first, their texts usually do not follow the formulaic structures and expressive content of a popular song lyric; second, and without raising the vexed issue of *gestus*, Weill was exceptionally sensitive to the structure and emotional content of whatever lyrics he was setting. Rarely did he begin composition of a theatrical score without a complete libretto at hand, and usually he had collaborated on that libretto. Most of his songs are therefore so securely integrated within their dramatic contexts and so reflective of the characters who sing them that they resist detachment as independent songs outside the theater.

Though Weill paid lip service to Brecht's concept of epic theater, in which the performer is intended to disassociate from the character portrayed on stage, his music often transformed Brecht's lyrics into more personal and expressive songs than was intended by the playwright. Not incidentally, some of his least successful American songs—for example, "All at Once," with lyrics by Ira Gershwin, from the film *Where Do We Go from Here?*—bore texts by professional lyricists. In setting song texts by Bertolt Brecht, Paul Green, Maxwell Anderson, Ogden Nash, and Langston Hughes, on the other hand, lyricists who had little or no experience in producing lyrics for popular songs, Weill was working with texts that were outside the orbit of theater songs of the day in form and expressive content; he responded by writing music which, in being sensitive to the unorthodoxy of the texts, was likewise unorthodox.

Not surprisingly, among Weill's American songs those that achieved the greatest immediate popular success (as measured by radio play and sales of sheet music and phonograph records) were the ones that conformed most closely to the formulaic patterns of the Tin Pan Alley song. Only someone who "knew" Weill exclusively through these popularly exploited versions rather than from having experienced complete performances in the theater, in Weill's own arrangements and orchestrations, would have been tempted

to agree with Adorno's obituary assessment of the Broadway works: "[W]ith a shy and crafty innocence that was disarming, he became a Broadway composer modeled on Cole Porter and made himself believe that concession to the commercial field was no concession, but only a pure test for the 'expert' who could accomplish anything even within standardized boundaries."<sup>365</sup> In fact, however, the apparent conformity of such hits as "September Song" and "Speak Low" cannot account for their popularity but merely for their eligibility for commercial success, for the popular song was a genre in which both performers and audiences, whether or not they were aware of it, had definite musical and lyrical expectations. Though popularity and quality often go hand in hand, this is not always the case with Weill's songs. Many of the songs that failed to garner popular success—"Les filles de Bordeaux" from *Marie Galante*, for instance, "Cäsars Tod" from *Der Silbersee*, or "Oh, Heart of Love" from *Johnny Johnson*—were equal in quality to his hits but fell too far outside the stylistic norms for popular song of the day.

Weill's greatest popular success occurred posthumously, and that song conformed neither musically nor lyrically to any of the patterns and conventions of *Schlager*, chanson, or American popular song. In fact, it is difficult to imagine a more unlikely candidate for megasuccess as a popular song in America than the "Moritat von Mackie Messer," a sixteen-measure strophic setting of seven stanzas, originally a German-language "list song," which describes in escalating grisly detail the crimes of an eighteenth-century criminal named Macheath. Max Dreyfus had apparently sensed the song's hit potential in 1934, and, if Lenya's recollection is accurate, at least one other astute showman recognized early on the popular potential of the song's three-note hook:

One evening, long before "Mack the Knife" became so famous, Kurt and I had been invited to dinner at Billy Rose's in New York. We had not been in the country very long and didn't have much money. At one point in the evening Billy says, "Kurt, you know there is one song which I would like to buy from you, and I'll pay you all the money you want." Kurt, suspicious, stood back and said, "What song is it?" Billy replied, "I want to buy the 'Moritat.'" Kurt remained silent for a few moments and then said, "Billy, I'll sell you the whole *Threepenny Opera* if you want to buy it, but I won't sell you that song."<sup>366</sup>

After Weill's death Lenya refused Rose's offer to option the production rights for Marc Blitzstein's new American adaptation of *Die Dreigroschenoper*, because he insisted that the show would need to be rewritten and rescored. Even-

tually produced off-Broadway in 1954 in Blitzstein's relatively faithful adaptation, *The Threepenny Opera* ran for six-and-a-half years and 2,611 consecutive performances at the Theater de Lys to become the longest-running musical in history at that point.

The show's prologue, the "Ballad of Mack the Knife," would spin off to enjoy the kind of worldwide mass success that had eluded Weill during his lifetime. Between 1956 and 1960 recordings of the song by Louis Armstrong, Dick Hyman, Les Paul and Mary Ford, Bobby Darin, Lawrence Welk, Ella Fitzgerald (who, ironically, recorded it live in concert in West Berlin), and Sarah Vaughan all appeared on the *Billboard* charts at some point. It was also performed and recorded by Bing Crosby, Frank Sinatra, Eartha Kitt, Peggy Lee, and a host of other leading singers and instrumentalists.<sup>367</sup> "Your Hit Parade" featured it for nine weeks. Most remarkably, the version by Bobby Darin made the first of its fifty-nine appearances on the *Billboard* charts in October 1959 and held the number 1 spot for nine of those weeks. To see this in perspective, note that two of Elvis Presley's hits, "Don't Be Cruel" (1956) and "All Shook Up" (1957), held the top position for nine weeks; Presley's "Hound Dog" (1956) and the Beatles' "I Want to Hold Your Hand" (1964) held the number 1 spot for only seven weeks, and only one of the Beatles' songs, "Hey Jude" (1968), managed to remain in first place for nine weeks.<sup>368</sup> Darin's recording of "Mack the Knife" sold more than two million copies in the first two months of its release.<sup>369</sup> A decade after Weill's death one estimate put the total record sales for the song at the ten-million mark.

The recordings of Louis Armstrong and Bobby Darin were subsequently inducted into the Grammy Hall of Fame, and *Rolling Stone* magazine included Bobby Darin's version among its 500 Greatest Songs of All Time. The Recording Industry Association of America and the National Endowment for the Arts selected "Mack the Knife" as one of the "Songs of the Century," and National Public Radio designated it as one of the 100 "most important musical works of the 20th century." The song has made an appearance in the soundtrack of dozens of television programs and major motion pictures, and it has been used as a commercial jingle to sell both beer and burgers. One wonders what Weill would have made of such success in exploiting one of his songs in the popular arena. Lenya had no doubt: "You hear it coming out of bars, juke boxes, taxis, wherever you go. Kurt would have loved that. A taxi driver whistling his tunes would have pleased him more than winning the Pulitzer Prize."<sup>370</sup>

# Notes

1. Miami, Fla.: Warner Bros. Publications, 1999. "Youkali" was originally an instrumental piece, a "tango habanera" written for *Marie Galante* and only later fitted with a French text by Roger Fernay.
2. "Eine Dichtung brauche ich, um meine Phantasie in Schwung zu bringen; meine Phantasie ist kein Vogel, sondern ein Flugzeug." *W-Fam*, 234; letter to Hans Weill, 27 June 1919.
3. "Die Musik [...] kann am besten ungesagtes aussprechen." *W-Fam*, 257; letter to Ruth Weill, 28 January 1920.
4. Papers from this conference, held in Reggio Emilia, were published as *Popular Music Perspectives 2*, ed. David Horn (Göteborg: IASPM, 1985).
5. For an overview of the reworking of excerpts from opera into popular songs, see Charles Hamm, *Yesterdays: Popular Song in America* (New York and London: W. W. Norton, 1979), 62–88.
6. For a historical overview see Lisa Appignanesi, *The Cabaret* (London: Studio Vista, 1975; rev. and exp. ed., New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004).
7. "Cabaret," in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. Stanley Sadie (London: Macmillan, 1980), vol. 3, 570.
8. *Great Works of Music and Their Meaning* (New York: 1897), 16.
9. Daniel Gregory Mason, *Tune In, America: A Study of Our Coming Musical Independence* (New York: A. Knopf, 1931), 72–73.
10. Dwight Macdonald, "A Theory of Mass Culture," in *Mass Culture: The Popular Arts in America*, ed. Bernard Rosenberg and David Manning White (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1957), 69, 60.
11. Typical anthologies of this sort include *The Globe Song Folio* (London and Glasgow: Bayley & Ferguson, 1903), *Heart Songs* (Boston: Chapple Publishing Company, 1909), and *Aus dem Füllhorn der edlen deutschen Musica* (Berlin: Eisoldt & Rohkrämer, n.d. [ca. 1904]).
12. "Why Doesn't the Whole World Love Chamber Music?" *American Music* 19, no. 3 (Fall 2001): 342.
13. Reprinted in *Dwight's Journal of Music* 1, no. 26 (2 October 1852): 202.
14. Will Friedwald's *Stardust Melodies: The Biography of Twelve of America's Most Popular Songs* (New York: Pantheon Books, 2002) is a book-length study of twelve popular songs based entirely on various recorded performances of these pieces, with no reference to the music in its notated form.
15. "My Brother Paul," in *Twelve Men* (New York: Boni & Liveright, 1919), 97.
16. George F. Root, *The Story of a Musical Life: An Autobiography* (Cincinnati: John Church, 1891), 97.
17. "Es vollzieht sich eine deutliche Trennung zwischen jenen Musikern, die weiter, von Verachtung gegen das Publikum erfüllt, gleichsam unter Ausschluß der Öffentlichkeit an der Lösung ästhetischer Probleme arbeiten, und anderen, die den Anschluß an irgendein Publikum aufnehmen, die ihr Schaffen in irgendein größeres Geschehen einordnen, weil sie einsehen, daß über der künstlerischen auch eine allgemein menschliche, irgendeinem Gemeinschaftsgefühl entspringende Gesinnung für die Entstehung eines Kunstwerks bestimmend sein muß." Kurt Weill, "Verschiebungen in der musikalischen Produktion," *Berliner Tageblatt*, 1 October 1927; reprinted in *GS2*, 61; translated by Stephen Hinton in *Source Readings in Music History*, ed. Otto Strunk; rev. edition, ed. Leo Treitler (New York and London: W. W. Norton, 1998), 1393.
18. "Auf allen Kunstgebieten vollzieht sich heute ein Umschichtungsprozeß, der unter Beseitigung des ‚gesellschaftlichen‘ Charakters die gesellschaftsbildenden Kräfte der Kunst betont." Kurt Weill, "Gesellschaftsbildende Oper," *Berliner Börsen-Courier*, 19 February 1929; reprinted in *GS2*, 76; translated in Kim H. Kowalke, *Kurt Weill in Europe* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1979), 489.
19. "Die Tanzmusik gibt ja nicht – wie in der Kunstmusik – die Empfindung überragender Persönlichkeiten wieder, die über der Zeit stehen, sondern sie spiegelt den Instinkt der Masse. [...] [Der Jazz drückt] den Zeitgeist unserer Tage so vollkommen aus, daß er sogar auf einen bestimmten Teil der ernstesten Kunstmusik einen vorübergehenden Einfluß gewinnen konnte. Der Rhythmus unserer Zeit ist der Jazz." Kurt Weill, "Tanzmusik," *Der deutsche Rundfunk* 4, no. 11 (14 March 1926): 732; reprinted in *GS2*, 299; translated in Kowalke, *Kurt Weill in Europe*, 474.
20. "Der Jazz erschien mitten in einer Zeit gesteigerter Artistik als ein Stück Natur, als gesündeste, kraftvollste Kunstäußerung, die durch ihren volkstümlichen Ursprung sofort zu einer internationalen Volksmusik von breiter Auswirkung wurde. Warum sollte sich die Kunstmusik gegen einen solchen Einfluß absperrern? [...] Unverkennbar ist es aber, daß an der rhythmischen, harmonischen und formalen Auflockerung, die wir heute erreicht haben, und vor allem an der ständig wachsenden Einfachheit und Verständlichkeit unserer Musik der Jazz einen wesentlichen Anteil hatte." Kurt Weill, "Notiz zum Jazz," *Anbruch* 11, no. 3 (March 1929): 138; reprinted in *GS2*, 82; translated in Kowalke, *Kurt Weill in Europe*, 497 (translation modified by the volume editors).
21. "London bietet allabendlich die Jazzmusik aus dem Savoy-Hotel, Rom die aus dem Hotel di Russia – kein großer Sender verzichtet auf Jazzbands modernster Gattung." Weill, "Tanzmusik," 732; reprinted in *GS2*, 299–300; translated in Kowalke, *Kurt Weill in Europe*, 474.
22. Weill recalled listening to Armstrong recordings (interview with Thornton Delehanty, "Kurt Weill—a Commuter to Hollywood," *New York Herald Tribune*, 3 June 1945); Lenya also remembered specifically that she and Weill owned a record of Sophie Tucker and attended a performance by Josephine Baker (photocopied typescript in WLRC).
23. "Jazz Reception in Weimar Germany: In Search of a Shimmy Figure," in *Music and Performance during the Weimar Republic*, ed. Bryan Gilliam (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 18.
24. For a comprehensive list of jazz-influenced pieces in Weill's early works, see the chart "Modern Dance Idioms in Weill's Work 1927–34" in Kowalke, *Kurt Weill in Europe*, 120–22.
25. "Schon bei meiner ersten Begegnung mit Brecht im Frühjahr 1927 tauchte in einem Gespräch über Möglichkeiten der Oper das Wort ‚Mahagonny‘ auf und mit ihm die Vorstellung einer ‚Paradiesstadt‘. Um diese Idee, die mich sofort gefangen nahm, weiterzutreiben, und um den musikalischen Stil, der mir dafür vorschwebte, einmal auszuprobieren, komponierte ich zunächst die fünf Mahagonny-Gesänge aus Brechts *Hauspostille* und faßte sie zu einer kleinen dramatischen Form zusammen, einem ‚Songspiel‘, das im Sommer 1927 in Baden-Baden aufgeführt wurde." Kurt Weill, "Anmerkungen zu meiner Oper *Mahagonny*," *Die Musik* 12, no. 6 (March 1930): 440; reprinted in *GS2*, 102; translated in Kowalke, *Kurt Weill in Europe*, 56–57. Brecht apparently derived the word "Mahagonny" from a 1922 *Schlager*, "Komm nach Mahagonne" (words by O. A. Alberts, music by Leopold Krauss-Elka), an "Afrikanischer Shimmy" that circulated in sheet music as well as three recordings. Brecht's stuttering "Zi-zi-zi-zi-vilis" in "Auf nach Mahagonny" bears striking resemblance to Alberts's "Zi-zi-zi-zi-ziehharmonika" construction in "Komm nach Mahagonne." Weill's music for "Auf nach Mahagonny," however, evinces no analogous reference to "Komm nach Mahagonne," though he was surely familiar with the primitive tunes Brecht published as an appendix to *Hauspostille*.
26. R.C.B. [Robert C. Bagar], "Kurt Weill Has Secured Niche of His Own at 35," *New York World Telegram*, 21 December 1935.
27. Marc Blitzstein, letter to Stella Simon, 28 January 1930; quoted in Eric A. Gordon, *Mark the Music: The Life and Work of Marc Blitzstein* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1989), 55.
28. "Alle Gesänge dieser Oper [sind] Ausdruck der Masse, auch dort, wo sie vom einzelnen als dem Sprecher der Masse vorgetragen werden." Kurt Weill, "Vorwort zum Regiebuch der Oper *Aufstieg und Fall der Stadt Mahagonny*," *Anbruch* 12, no. 1 (January 1930): 6; reprinted in *GS2*, 104.
29. See Kowalke, *Kurt Weill in Europe*, 132–43.
30. Hans W. Heinsheimer, *Fanfare for Two Pigeons* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1952), 174–75.
31. A piano-vocal score, edited by David Drew, was published in 1963 as U.E. 12889.
32. "Den ‚Alabama-Song‘, den Sie für Gesang, Klavier u. Geige herausbringen wollen, lassen Sie vielleicht von Ihrem Spezialisten für diese Schlager-Ausgaben bearbeiten u. schicken es mir zur Durchsicht." *W-UE*, 68. The Weill-UE correspondence is now in the Sibley Music Library, University of Rochester. Photocopies of these letters are in the WLRC.
33. Advertisements in *Anbruch* 10, no. 3/4 (March/April 1928): [n.p.], and *Die Musik* 20, no. 8 (May 1928): [iii].
34. Robinson, "Jazz Reception in Weimar Germany," 122ff.
35. *Ibid.*, 125.
36. The draft is located in the WLRC, Ser. 18, Box 8, Folder 24.
37. "Wir selbst sind der Ansicht, dass der erste Teil (bis zum Refrain) noch erleichtert und vereinfacht werden müsste, vor allem in der linken Hand, da die Sekund auf das 1. und 3. Viertel überall sehr schlecht klingt. Wir würden vorschlagen, dass man beim 1. und 3. Viertel aller dieser Takte auf die zu scharfen Dissonanzen verzichtet [...] Der groteske Ton dieses Teiles kommt wohl durch die dann noch verbleibende Harmonie genügend zum Ausdruck und das Ganze wird auf dem Klavier viel besser klingen. [...] Wir bitten auch um Nachricht, wie Sie sich beim 1. Teil (also vor dem Refrain) die Unterlegung der Singstimme vorstellen, da es sich in der Originalausgabe ja um Sprechgesang handelt." *W-UE*, 75–76; Ernst Loewy-Hartmann (UE), letter to Weill, 23 August 1927.
38. "Drucken Sie nur eine Strophe? Wollen Sie ev. in die Geigenstimme ad libitum die Trillervariation aus dem Refrain der II. Strophe einziehen?" *W-UE*, 80; Weill, letter to UE, 5 September 1927.

39. At one point Weill suggested a drawing by Caspar Neher for the cover, but the plan came to nothing. See his letters of 29 September and 10 October 1927 to UE; photocopies in WLRC, Series 41, Box 1.
40. Produced for the bourgeoisie, who were susceptible to the “blatantly commercial nature” of the genre, *Schlager* may be viewed, as Brian Currid does, from a post-Marxist critical perspective as “one of the most powerful [instruments] of a manipulative distraction in the late Weimar period, which encouraged the German population to ignore economic hardships and to lose themselves in escapist fantasy.” As such, they “play[ed] a central role in the establishment of the fascist state.” See Brian Currid, “‘A Song Goes Round the World’: The German *Schlager* as an Organ of Experience,” *Popular Music* 19, no. 2 (April 2000): 157, 147–48. Other recent literature on the *Schlager* includes Dietrich Kayser, *Schlager – Das Lied als Ware: Untersuchungen zu einer Kategorie der Illusionsbildung* (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1975); and Christian Schär, *Der Schlager und seine Tänze im Deutschland der 20er Jahre: Sozialgeschichtliche Aspekte zum Wandel in der Musik- und Tanzkultur während der Weimarer Republik* (Zurich: Chronos, 1991). By contrast, David Drew (liner notes to *Kurt Weill / Berlin Lit-Up* [Largo LC 8343, 1990], 32) argues that a “central truth” about Weill’s music up to the outbreak of World War II was its “concern with the uses, misuses and abuses of power in all its social, political, and economic forms.”
41. Electrola E.G. 853 (mx. 8-40279), recorded on 3 April 1928, released on 1 June 1928.
42. Electrola E.G. 853 (mx. 8-40278).
43. “Ich habe nach sorgfältigen Grammophonstudien das Arrangement für Tanzorchester selbst ausgeführt.” *W-UE*, 103.
44. As Parlophon (Lindström Corp.), Beka B 6313 (mx. 34538).
45. “Die Partiturskizze des Tango Angèle und den Anfang der Klavierbearbeitung habe ich Ihnen geschickt. Vielleicht lassen Sie die Klavierausgabe noch einmal auf den Klaviersatz hin durchsehen. Es wäre sehr schön, wenn Sie die reizende Einbandzeichnung des Alabama-Songs auch hierbei anwenden würden.” *W-UE*, 111.
46. By March 1928 Weber had recorded more than seventy tangos; for a complete discography of his recordings, see Rainer E. Lotz, *Deutsche National-Discographie: Serie 2, Discographie der deutschen Tanzmusik*, vol. 2 (Bonn: Verlag Birgit Lotz, 1994), 337–550.
47. “Die Marek Weber-Platte vom Tango Angèle u. Alabama-Song erscheint am 1. Juni. Vielleicht können Sie auch von sich aus die Bühnen darauf hinweisen, diese Platte für den Zaren zu benutzen u. Propaganda dafür zu machen.” *W-UE*, 125.
48. See letters of 30 November (UE to Weill) and 11 December 1928 (Weill to UE); *W-UE*, 150. The Lindström materials have not been found to this day.
49. “Korrespondenz über Dreigroschenoper,” *Anbruch* 11, no.1 (January 1929): 24; reprinted in *GS2*, 72–75.
50. “Noch immer stellt das Opernpublikum eine abgeschlossene Gruppe von Menschen dar, die scheinbar außerhalb des großen Theaterpublikums stehen. [...] Die Oper ist als aristokratische Kunstgattung begründet worden, und alles, was man Tradition der Oper nennt, ist eine Betonung dieses gesellschaftlichen Grundcharakters dieser Gattung. Es gibt aber heute in der ganzen Welt keine Kunstform von so ausgesprochen gesellschaftlicher Haltung mehr.” *Ibid.* Translation in *Kurt Weill: The Threepenny Opera*, ed. Stephen Hinton, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 124.
51. Kowalke, *Kurt Weill in Europe*, 67. For more on the early history of the piece see Stephen Hinton, “The Première and After,” in *Kurt Weill: The Threepenny Opera*, ed. Hinton, 50–77.
52. Weill had written to UE on 4 [recte: 14] June, asking that the publisher prepare the piano reduction, just as with his other operas (*W-UE*, 128). When UE postponed the decision because Director Hertzka was on vacation (UE to Weill, 20 June 1928; photocopy in WLRC, Series 41, Box 1), Weill created the piano version himself (Weill to UE, 22 July 1928; *W-UE*, 130).
53. “Norbert Gingold Remembers *Die Dreigroschenoper*,” *Kurt Weill Newsletter* 14, no. 1 (Spring 1996): 4.
54. Hans W. Heinsheimer, *Best Regards to Aida: The Defeats and Victories of a Music Man on Two Continents* (New York: A. Knopf, 1968), 122.
55. “[...] wenn [der Text] nicht im Zusammenhang mit der Bühne und mit dem ganzen Stück gebracht wird, unnötig anstössig wirkt.” *W-UE*, 132–33; letter of 7 September 1928.
56. “Der Reiz des Stückes besteht eben darin, dass ein etwas saftiger Text (der übrigens nicht so anstössig ist wie viele Operentexte) in zarter, angenehmer Weise komponiert ist.” *W-UE*, 135; letter of 10 September 1928.
57. UE had commissioned a new cover design specifically for *Dreigroschenoper* songs from an unnamed Viennese artist but found the sketches wanting (letter from Heinsheimer to Weill, 7 September 1928). The subsequent idea of employing drawings by the show’s set and costume designer, Caspar Neher, was abandoned because UE said that it could not afford the designer’s high fee (letter from Kalmus to Weill, 24 September 1928).
58. The manuscripts of the two arrangements are in the Universal Edition-Kurt Weill Archives, Sibley Music Library, Rochester, N.Y.; photocopies in WLRC, Yale Collection, Box 102, Folder 58 (“Tango-Ballade”) and Folder 48 (“Kanonen-Song”). In 1930 Thaler signed his—unpublished—adaptations of “Auf nach Mahagonny” (WLRC, Series 18, Box 27, Folder 135) and “Lied der Jenny” (Box 8, Folder 23). Little is known about Isko Thaler (1902–??), who studied with Franz Schreker in Berlin and later worked mainly as an arranger for various publishers in Vienna, where his last arrangements appeared in 1938. In September 1940 Italy’s fascist government interned him in a camp for Jews, Ferramonti di Tarsia.
59. The Boston was a popular dance of the time, a slow waltz taking its name from the fact that it originated in the United States in the late nineteenth century before spreading to Europe.
60. “Keines der grossen Notengeschäfte hat den *Kanonensong* ausgestellt, auch der Verkauf im Theater hat noch nicht begonnen. Dabei ist es schade um jeden Tag, solange das Stück noch Tagesgespräch in Berlin ist.” *W-UE*, 144; letter of 2 October 1928.
61. “Kein einziges Notengeschäft hat die beiden Nummern ausgestellt. In Zeitungen kommen Anfragen aus dem Publikum, warum es keine Noten und Grammophonplatten von der *Dreigroschenoper* gibt. [...] Wenn ich überhaupt dieses Thema anschneide, so ist es nur, weil ich ernstlich befürchten muss, dass ich mir durch eine zu geringe Ausnützung dieser Schlager die günstigste Gelegenheit entgehen lasse, mich auf Jahre hinaus finanziell sicherzustellen.” *W-UE*, 148–49; letter of 25 October 1928.
62. “Die Schlagermöglichkeiten der *3 Gr.-O.* sind ja überhaupt nicht ausgenützt, da die früheren Ausgaben schlecht u. viel zu schwer waren u. daher ganz unbekannt geblieben sind.” *W-UE*, 290; letter of 14 February 1931.
63. Information supplied by Angelika Glatz (UE) in an e-mail of 12 December 2006.
64. “Ich würde es tatsächlich für sehr gut halten, wenn Sie ein Stück für diesen Zweck freigeben würden, da eine solche Veröffentlichung propagandistisch von grossem Wert ist. Natürlich müsste man ein Stück nehmen, das nicht Schlagercharakter hat, um nicht das Notengeschäft zu beeinflussen, also z.B. die Grabschrift Nr. 19 oder (was sehr wirkungsvoll wäre) den Anfang des III. Finales. Falls Sie einverstanden sind, würde ich Sie bitten, Herrn Rollé gleich zu benachrichtigen.” Heinsheimer’s annotation reads, “Nein! Erst Dir. Hertzka fragen. Bin nicht dafür, da dort jeder Schmarrn veröffentlicht wird.” Weill, letter to UE, 12 September 1928; photocopy in WLRC, Series 41, Box 1. Yet, with UE’s permission, on 26 March 1927 *Jede Woche Musik* (vol. 4, no. 12) had published an excerpt from Weill’s *Royal Palace* (“Streicherorchester-Satz aus der Oper Royal Palace”) that corresponded note for note to the published piano-vocal score (U.E. 8690) prepared by Arthur Willner.
65. Heinsheimer, *Best Regards to Aida*, 122–25 passim.
66. Weill to UE, 4 June 1928.
67. “Darum ist es ihr [der Musik] erlaubt, Dreiklänge zu schreiben, weil sie sich selber die Dreiklänge nicht glaubt, sondern jeden destruiert durch die Art seines Einsatzes. [...] [D]em entspricht auch die Gestalt der Harmonik selber, die das Prinzip der Fortschreitung, der leittonigen Spannung, der Kadenzfunktion kaum mehr kennt, sondern die kleinsten Kommunikationen der Akkorde untereinander [...] weglässt.” Theodor W. Adorno, “Mahagonny,” *Der Scheinwerfer: Blätter der Städtischen Bühnen Essen* 3, no. 14 (April 1930): 15.
68. John Fuegi, *Brecht & Co.: Sex, Politics, and the Making of Modern Drama* (New York: Grove Press, 1994), 156.
69. See Peter W. Ferran, “The *Threepenny* Songs: Cabaret and the Lyrical Gestus,” *Theater* 30, no. 3 (Fall 2000), particularly 12–13.
70. Carola Neher on Orchestrola 2132 (mx. A 8476) in May 1929, Lotte Lenya on Telefunken A 753 (mx. 15906) in December 1930, and Odette Florelle on Polydor 522172 (mx. 4860 1/2 BKP) in 1931.
71. Bob Dylan, *Chronicles* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2004), vol. 1, 274–75. Bette Midler, among many others, recalls a similar reaction to her first hearing of the *Dreigroschenoper* songs.
72. Hertzka, letter to Weill, 18 June 1929; photocopy in WLRC, Series 41, Box 1.
73. “da die Originalausgabe ja nur für ganz wenige virtuose Spieler ausführbar ist.” *W-UE*, 399; Heinsheimer, letter to Weill, 25 June 1932. Weill expressed his opinion of Agop’s arrangement in his letter to Heinsheimer of 23 October 1929; *W-UE*, 197.
74. For the changing trends in instrumental forces of dance bands and salon orchestras, see Heribert Schröder, *Tanz- und Unterhaltungsmusik in Deutschland 1918–1933* (Bonn: Verlag für systematische Musikwissenschaft, 1990).
75. For a detailed analysis of the two arrangements, see Tobias Faßhauer, “Des Songstils Nagelprobe: Anmerkungen zu den Kurt-Weill-Arrangements von Jerzy Fitelberg,” in *Zwischen Komposition und Hermeneutik: Festschrift für Hartmut Fladt*, ed. Ariane Jeßulat, Andreas Ickstadt, and Martin Ullrich (Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann, 2005), 315–34.
76. “Der Hauptzweck solcher Einzelausgaben für Salon- bzw. Jazzorchester ist ja der, dass die Nummern so viel als möglich gespielt und gekauft werden. [...] Wir müssen bei diesem sogenannten Nummerngeschäft wirklich Ausgaben herausbringen, wie sie etwa von den Firmen DREIMASKENVERLAG, ALBERTI, BOHEMEVERLAG, etc. mit ihren Schlagernummern herausgebracht werden, wobei auch darauf zu achten ist, dass die ‚letzte Mode‘ in der Besetzung eingehalten wird. Diese ändert sich leider immer wieder und wir bitten



- daher Herrn Fitelberg, sich an die letzten Neuerscheinungen dieses Genres bei den genannten Verlagsfirmen zu halten." *W-UE*, 138; letter of 13 September 1928.
77. "Barnabas von Ge[c]zy macht ein Tanzpotpourri aus der *Drei-Groschenoper*, und zwar stellt er lauter Stücke im Slow-fox-Tempo zusammen, sodass man das ganze sowohl als Potpourri wie auch als Tanzstück gebrauchen kann. Er sagte mir, es sei sehr wichtig, dass Sie alle diese Schlagerausgaben in dem kleinen Format machen, wie es in Café- und Tanzkapellen üblich ist." *W-UE*, 162.
  78. At least the fox-trot arrangement appears to be preserved acoustically, as Marek Weber used a "Geczy-Jäger" arrangement in April 1929 for his recording of a "Tanz-Potpourri" (Slow-Fox) from *Dreigroschenoper* on Electrola E. G. 1281 (mx. 8-40 478 and 8-40 479); re-released on Capriccio 10 346.
  79. "in zahllosen Programmen von Gaststätten, Kinos, Rundfunksendern usw. zu finden." *W-UE*, 202; letter of 19 November 1929.
  80. Jürgen Schebera, "Old *Dreigroschenoper* Records," liner notes to *Weill: Die Dreigroschenoper: Historische Originalaufnahmen, 1928–1931*. Capriccio Records 10 346 (1990).
  81. "[...] men Resten er spillet med ‚Arrangementer‘, som intet har med min Instrumentation at gore." Weill in an Interview with Ole Winding. "Kurt Weill i Exil," *Berlingske Aften-Avis* ("Aften-Avisen"), 21 June 1934.
  82. Weill to UE, 14 February 1931.
  83. UE to Weill, 17 February 1931.
  84. Weill's letter to UE, 14 January 1932, gives exact information about the music that appeared in the film; photocopy in WLRC, Ser. 41, Box 2.
  85. Unlike American fake books, which also offered melodies of hit songs, these contain no indication of the harmonies that should accompany the tunes.
  86. On 29 December 1931 UE sent Weill author's copies of five (unspecified) numbers from the French film version of *Dreigroschenoper*; photocopy in WLRC, Series 41, Box 2.
  87. "Freunde von mir kommen eben aus Paris zurück und bestätigen mir erneut den spontanen Erfolg meiner Musik in Paris. Alle Welt verlangt Noten und Schallplatten von mir und das Mackie Messer-Lied wird auf der Strasse gesungen." *W-UE*, 354.
  88. "Was das Ausland anbetrifft, so habe ich die feste Absicht [...] zur *Dreigroschenoper*-Premiere nach New York zu fahren. Wenn die Musik dort gut gemacht wird und wenn mein Name dort richtig aufgezo-gen wird, könnte ich nach einem halben Jahr in New York die gleiche Stellung haben wie in Paris." *W-UE*, 452; letter of 6 February 1933.
  89. "mit der gleichen Sorgfalt betreiben soll, wie er es bei den Gershwin-Werken macht." *W-UE*, 460; letter of 14 March 1933. Around 1930 Harms, Inc. was the foremost American publisher for popular music; the firm's catalogue of composers included Jerome Kern, George Gershwin, Vincent Youmans, Rudolf Friml, Richard Rodgers, and Cole Porter, among others.
  90. "Die *Dreigroschenoper* musste schon nach 10 Tagen abgesetzt werden. Das ist wirklich eine jetzt ganz besonders traurige und katastrophale Mitteilung." *W-UE*, 468; letter of 5 May 1933.
  91. "Ferner wünscht der Verleger Harms-Dreyfus die Autorisierung, aus der Moritat mit neuem englischen Text einen sogenannten ‚popular song‘ zu machen, was nach unseren Begriffen einem Schlager entsprechen würde." *W-UE*, 483; letter of 25 May 1934.
  92. "Was die populäre Ausgabe der Moritat betrifft, so ist dagegen nichts einzuwenden, wenn meine Musik nicht bis zur Unkenntlichkeit entstellt wird (denn das würde mir mehr schaden, als mir die ganze Sache einbringen kann). Da es drüben ja hervorragende Arbeiter gibt, bin ich überzeugt, dass man jemand finden kann, der aus der Moritat einen Schlager macht, ohne an dem Charakter meiner Musik wesentliches zu ändern. Man könnte als Vorstrophe Der Mensch lebt durch den Kopf nehmen, das dann direkt in die Moritat überführt, so wie ich es in Nr. 2 der Suite gemacht habe. Ich bitte Sie mir mitzuteilen, wie im Falle einer solchen populären Ausgabe der Moritat meine Beteiligung wäre, besonders für die kleinen Rechte, auf die es mir in einem solchen Fall hauptsächlich ankommt." *W-UE*, 485; letter of 1 June 1934.
  93. The March 1929 issue of the serial publication *Die Musik* contained "Salomonsong," a number that had been cut from the *Dreigroschenoper* production before opening night; *Die Musik* printed a simplified version from the piano-vocal score. In 1932 the same periodical printed another piece that had been cut before the premiere (also left out of the piano-vocal score), because it would have demanded a classically trained singer rather than a singing actress for the part of Lucy: the mock-operatic "Arie der Lucy," which had been intended to open act 3.
  94. Emil Hertzka, letter to Leo Blech, 12 May 1927; Wienbibliothek, Musiksammlung, Archiv Universal Edition, Briefwechsel Leo Blech, Folder 4. The series *Sang und Klang* had initially been edited by Weill's former teacher Engelbert Humperdinck. Weill's two pieces were newly engraved for this publication in the shops of Breitkopf & Härtel.
  95. Weill to UE, 14 February 1931.
  96. Kowalke, *Kurt Weill in Europe*, 70.
  97. Even though UE had rejected Butting's contribution, the *Berliner Tageblatt's* weekly supplement, *Jede Woche Musik* (vol. 5, no. 39 [13 October 1928]), published his "Berlin im Licht Blues" in time for the festival's opening. The issue also included "Berlin im Licht Marschlied," by a genuinely popular composer, Otto Stransky.
  98. "eine ganz neue Stilgattung des sozialen Chansons." *Musikblätter des Anbruch* 10, no. 8 (October 1928), 304. For detailed information about the musical aspects of the Berlin im Licht festival, see Nils Grosch, *Die Musik der Neuen Sachlichkeit* (Stuttgart and Weimar: J. B. Metzler, 1999), 80–99.
  99. David Drew, *Kurt Weill: A Handbook* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1987), 190. Weill's contribution, "Muschel von Margate," a prototype of the modern protest song, starts by recounting the innocent beginnings of the Shell Company with Marcus Samuel and his son, but then quickly moves on to indict the company for having supported the White Army during the Russian Civil War to secure oil supplies coming from the Baku area. For details and photo material about the play—though these sources make no mention of Weill or any accompanimental music—see Erwin Piscator, *Das politische Theater*, newly edited by Felix Gasbarra, with a foreword by Wolfgang Drews (Reinbek: Rowohlt, 1963), 196–205.
  100. Weill wrote this piece in collaboration with Paul Hindemith but subsequently substituted his own music for the sections composed by Hindemith.
  101. "[D]as Publikum des Rundfunks [setzt] sich aus allen Schichten der Bevölkerung zusammen [...]. Es ist demnach unmöglich, die Voraussetzungen des Konzertsals auf eine Rundfunkmusik anzuwenden. Denn die Konzertmusik war jeweils zur Zeit ihrer Entstehung für einen bestimmten und begrenzten Kreis von Hörern der gebildeten und zahlungsfähigen Schichten bestimmt. Der Rundfunk stellt den ernstesten Musiker unserer Zeit zum ersten Male vor die Aufgabe, Werke zu schaffen, die ein möglichst großer Kreis von Hörern aufnehmen kann. [...] die musikalischen Ausdrucksmittel dürfen dem primitiven Hörer keine Schwierigkeiten bereiten." Weill, "Notiz zum Berliner Requiem," *Der deutsche Rundfunk* 7, no. 20 (17 May 1929): 613; reprinted in *GS2*, 410; translated in Kowalke, *Kurt Weill in Europe*, 504.
  102. *Das Berliner Requiem* was not published until 1967, as U.E. 9786, in an edition by David Drew.
  103. Lion Feuchtwanger, *Drei angelsächsische Stücke* (Berlin: Propyläen Verlag, 1927), 7.
  104. Bernd Meyer-Rähnitz (*Kurt-Weill-Discographie: Die Grammophon-Schallplatten, 1928–1961* [Dresden: Bibliophilen-Verlag, 1998], 19) lists a Homocord "Testplatte," which, according to the program guide *Funkstunde*, was broadcast on 15 October 1929 as part of the program "Unbekannte Bühnenmusik auf Schallplatten" (Unknown music for the stage on records). "Das Lied von den braunen Inseln" remained in unrecorded obscurity until 1981, when Teresa Stratas included it in *The Unknown Kurt Weill* (Nonesuch D-79019).
  105. Accompanying him on the piano was Alfred Schlee, then a junior staff member of UE who would become the company's director immediately after World War II. A year later, in 1932, Pasetti played Jim Mahoney in the Vienna production of *Aufstieg und Fall der Stadt Mahagonny* and became Lenya's lover, an affair that led to Weill and Lenya's divorce in 1933.
  106. Information derived from a small sales brochure issued by Paloma; photocopy provided by Robert Masopust of Basel, Switzerland. "Muschel von Margate" appeared on Paloma 3501 (with Hanns Eisler's "Lied vom Trockenbrot"); "Vorstellung des Fliegers Lindbergh" on Paloma 3502 (with Wilhelm Grosz's "Bänkel vom Business").
  107. "die Klavierstimme [muss] genau wie im *Songalbum* unterlegt werden. Nur in der letzten Strophe soll die Stelle, wo das Lied Üb immer Treu und Redlichkeit zitiert ist, 2 Oktaven höher geschrieben werden und dazu die Bemerkung: (wie ein Glockenspiel) gedruckt werden." *W-UE*, 205; letter of 16 December 1929.
  108. The song's strong antimilitarist message and irreverent musical pun (a quote from the hourly glockenspiel of the Garrison Church in Potsdam) must have enraged the Nazis. Even Weimar censors objected to the song; Weill omitted it from the radio broadcast of *Das Berliner Requiem* on 22 May 1929.
  109. "Ich freue mich herzlich von Dr. Heinsheimer zu hören, dass Ihnen die Idee der ‚einstimmigen Chöre‘ gefällt. Mir erscheint diese Sache ungemein wichtig, denn es ist heute für die Arbeitergesangsvereine ein grosses Problem geworden, was sie singen sollen. Fast alles, was es an modernen Arbeiterchören gibt, ist nur für die besten Chöre zu bewältigen. Chöre mit durchschnittlichem Niveau aber finden fast nur in der alten Liedertafel Aufgaben, die sie musikalisch und technisch bewältigen können. Was fehlt und was wir brauchen, ist also gute und trotzdem leicht ausführbare Chormusik; auf Texte, die nicht einmal unbedingt tendenziös sein müssen, die aber der Gedanken- und Gefühlssphäre der Arbeiter wenigstens nicht fremd sind.  
Die ‚Einstimmigkeit‘ ist demnach als Erleichterung gemeint. Die Erfahrung zeigt, dass doch so ziemlich in allen Chören wenigstens einzelne musikalische Sänger sind (meist unter den Bässen) die auch schwierigere Intervalle und Rhythmen treffen. Mit einem guten Stimmführer singen dann auch die anderen richtig. Selten findet man gerade in den Arbeiterchören die musikalischen Leute bei den Mittelstimmen des gemischten Chores, selten insbesondere bei den Tenören. Dies ist der Grund, warum das Studium von mehrstimmigen Sätzen so unverhältnismässig grosse Mühe macht. [...] Was die Begleitung betrifft, spielt die Kostenfrage für die Chöre die Hauptrolle. An Klavier möchte ich eigentlich am wenigsten denken. Ein kleines Blasorchester, dessen Stimmen so leicht gehalten sind, dass sie von Musikern aus den Kapellen der Arbeiter Organisationen gespielt werden können, wäre vielleicht das praktischste. Gut klingen könnte vielleicht auch ein

- kleines Zupforchester. Aber immerhin wäre ja doch vielleicht auch ein einstimmiger Chor ganz ohne Begleitung möglich, oder mit Schlagwerk für Massenveranstaltungen?" *W-UE*, 341–42. Stein himself led a workers' chorus, named Typographia, in Vienna.
110. See letters from Weill to UE, 1 December 1931, and UE to Weill, 3 December 1931; *W-UE*, 349–51.
111. *Happy End: A Melodrama with Songs*, lyrics by Bertolt Brecht, music by Kurt Weill, original German play by Dorothy Lane, translated, adapted, and introduced by Michael Feingold (London and New York: Methuen Drama, 1982, c1972), vii–viii.
112. A piano-vocal score was not published until 1958, as U.E. 11685.
113. See Weill's letter to UE, 4 August 1929; *W-UE*, 177–78. A stamp on the piano-vocal copy of "Bilbao-Song" identifies one such copying office: "Geschrieben in den Held-Werkstätten / Charlottenburg, Kantstr. 10, Steinplatz 4658"; photocopy in WLRC, Series 10/H1, Folder 4.
114. When he orchestrated the songs, Weill chose E♭ major for both. When UE transposed "Bilbao-Song" it informed Weill of several enharmonic substitutions that were made to avoid too many double-flats in a key already difficult for sheet music editions. Letter of 11 September 1929; photocopy in WLRC, Series 41, Box 1.
115. A draft of "Surabaya-Johnny" on a torn leaf of "K.U.V. Beethoven Papier Nr. 38a" also carries a sketch of "Muschel von Margate" that preceded the draft, making spring 1928 the terminus post quem for Weill's setting of "Surabaya-Johnny"; original in WLRC, Series 12, Folder 22.
116. Letter of 19 August 1929; photocopy in WLRC, Series 41, Box 1.
117. UE's *Verlagsbuch*, a production log, does not list the first reprinting in January 1930, but a copy from this print run survives in UE's archive. Although likely to be an exception to the rule, this finding casts some doubt on the reliability of the *Verlagsbuch* (the main source for information about print runs).
118. "noch immer nicht ganz feststeht, ob er in Happy end hereingenommen wird. [...] Es werden im ganzen etwa 7 Songs sein, darunter 3–4 als Schlager zu verwertende." *W-UE*, 174.
119. "ein grosser Tango ‚Was die Herren Matrosen sagen,‘ der, wie mir scheint, von allem, was ich bisher in dieser Art gemacht habe, die grössten Ausnützungsmöglichkeiten hat." *W-UE*, 178; letter to UE, 4 August 1929 (the quotation is from a postscript to the letter that Weill actually sent several days after the indicated date; UE received it on 9 August 1929).
120. Jürgen Schebera, *Kurt Weill: An Illustrated Life*, trans. Caroline Murphy (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1995), 142, 144.
121. "es sich als sehr schwer herausgestellt hat, die zweite Strophe unter die erste zu setzen, da sie in beiden Songs rhythmisch stark abweicht, sodass man sehr viel kleine Hilfsnoten beifügen müsste. Es scheint mir daher günstiger, die Songs [...] nur mit einer Strophe herauszugeben." *W-UE*, 189.
122. This copy is preserved in the Theodor W. Adorno Archiv, Frankfurt am Main, NB Adorno 4730. Weill and Adorno had been in frequent and amicable contact that year, Weill encouraging the struggling composer after the disappointing premiere of his *Lieder*, op. 3, on 19 January 1929 in Berlin, and lobbying for Adorno as successor to Adolf Weißmann at the *B.Z. am Mittag* in April 1929; see Theodor W. Adorno and Alban Berg, *Correspondence 1925–1935*, ed. Henri Lonitz, trans. Wieland Hoban (Cambridge [U.K.] and Malden, Mass.: Polity, 2005), 140, 143. In a letter of 30 August 1929 Weill reported to Adorno about the rehearsals of *Happy End*, suggesting that the two of them could collaborate on an article—presumably for *Anbruch*—discussing the advantages to a composer of rehearsing with jazz musicians rather than classical musicians; original in Adorno Archiv, photocopy in WLRC, Series 40. In early 1930 Adorno favorably reviewed a Frankfurt radio broadcast of Lenya singing songs from *Happy End*; see *Anbruch* 12, no. 3 (March 1930): 124.
123. As early as 1930 Kate Kühl, an original cast member from *Die Dreigroschenoper*, regularly performed a parody of the song ("Surabaya-Johnny II") that Erich Kästner had written. The parody's chief target was Brecht—his continued free borrowings from Kipling and his lack of international experience despite the exotic locale of many of his lyrics.
124. Orchestrata 2311 (mx. A 8717), 1929.
125. Electrola E.G. 1590 (mx. BLR 5725), 1929.
126. A color photocopy of Weill's holograph is in WLRC, Series 10/H1, Folder 18.
127. An almost identical performance was captured on a recording made in 1930 by the Ultraphon-Jazz-Orchester led by "Red" Roberts (i.e., Theo Mackeben), released as Ultraphon A198 (mx. 10309).
128. A contract between UE and Salabert was signed on 2 May 1932. The sheet music copies held by the Bibliothèque nationale de France have no covers. Because it is unlikely that the songs were released without cover, Salabert may have deposited the copies only for copyright purposes and waited for an opportunity to release and market the music.
129. Columbia (Paris) DF 1114 (mx. L 4120 -I), 1933. Oswald, neé Alice Bloch-Colin, the daughter of Polish-Jewish emigrants, was born in 1901 in Sarreguemines, then Saargmünd. She had played one of the Salvation Army girls (Mary) in the original production of *Happy End* in Berlin.
130. "Das müßte die Polizei verbieten." *W-LL(g)*, 261; translated in *W-LL(e)*, 259; letter to Weill, 2 May 1938.
131. Bost BA 8. The recording (mx. 5019B) lists the title as "Soerabaya Johnny."
132. According to Lenya's recollection some years after the fact, the accompanist may have been Weill himself.
133. Re-released on *I successi di Milva*, Dischi Ricordi, CDOR 8034.
134. *Bette Midler*, Atlantic 82770-2, 1973.
135. *Ute Lemper Sings Kurt Weill, Volume 2*, London CD 436 417-2.
136. "eine Arbeit, die sich auf Kleinigkeiten, auf populäre Liedchen beschränkt, die mit einigen Literaten zusammen gemacht werden sollen." "Der Stil, der in der *Dreigroschenoper* und in *Happy End* festgelegt war und der auch in *Mahagonny*, dessen wichtigste Teile ja aus der selben Zeit stammen, in der dieser Stil entstanden ist, beibehalten bleibt, dieser Stil ist, [...] nicht auf die Dauer kopierbar. Er ist, wenn ich ihn in der Entwicklung Ihrer Person richtig beurteile, gleichsam der Durchbruch zu einem populären einfachen Musikstil, der Sie aus dem Bezirk jenes Darstellungsstiles, der etwa in Frauentanz aufscheint, radikal gelöst hat. Auf die Dauer gesehen wird aber dieser Songstil nur die Plattform bilden, auf der Sie nun doch wieder zu tieferen und wesentlicheren musikalischen Schöpfungen zurückfinden. [...] Sie sollen und müssen endlich aus der industriellen Kunstbetätigung, die in Berlin geübt wird, wieder loskommen, sie müssen wieder nachdem Sie durch die Erfolge Ihrer letzten Arbeiten nicht nur materiell, sondern auch künstlerisch sich ganz unabhängig und frei gemacht haben [...] wieder Werke schaffen, die wirklich bestehen können, die nicht für den Augenblick als Begleitmusik für Schauspiele gemacht sind, sondern die die grosse Linie wieder einhalten, die ich immer in all Ihren Stücken gesehen habe." *W-UE*, 192–94.
137. "Schon der weitaus überwiegende Teil von *Mahagonny* ist doch bereits von dem Songstil völlig losgelöst und zeigt schon diesen neuen Stil, der an Ernst, an ‚Grösse‘ und an Ausdruckskraft alles übertrifft, was ich bisher gemacht habe. Fast alles was zu der Baden-Badener Fassung neu hinzugekommen ist, ist in einem vollkommen reinen, durchaus verantwortungsbewussten Stil geschrieben." *W-UE*, 194.
138. "die reinste Form des epischen Theaters [...], die auch die reinste Form des musikalischen Theaters ist. Es ist eine Folge von 21 abgeschlossenen musikalischen Formen. Jede dieser Formen ist eine geschlossene Szene, und jede wird durch eine Überschrift in erzählender Form eingeleitet. Die Musik ist hier also nicht mehr handlungstreibendes Element, sie setzt da ein, wo Zustände erreicht sind. Daher ist das Textbuch von Anfang an so angelegt, daß es eine Aneinanderreihung von Zuständen darstellt, die erst in ihrem musikalisch fixierten, dynamischen Ablauf eine dramatische Form ergeben." Kurt Weill, "Anmerkungen zu meiner Oper *Mahagonny*," *Die Musik* 22, no. 6 (March 1930), 441; reprinted in *GS2*, 102.
139. "der Verzicht auf die illustrative Wirkung der Musik, die Beseitigung des falschen Pathos, die Aufteilung der Handlung in abgeschlossene Nummern und die dramaturgische Auswertung der absoluten musikalischen Form." Kurt Weill, "Das Formproblem der modernen Oper," *Der Scheinwerfer* 5, no. 11 (February 1932): 6; reprinted in *GS2*, 136; translated in Kowalke, *Kurt Weill in Europe*, 542.
140. For an overview of the *Zeitoper*, see Susan C. Cook, *Opera for a New Republic: The Zeitoper of Krenek, Weill, and Hindemith* (Ann Arbor, Mich.: UMI Research Press, 1988). For a recent study of Krenek's opera see Joseph Henry Auner, "'Souless Machines' and Steppenwolves: Renegotiating Masculinity in Krenek's *Jonny spielt auf*," in *Siren Songs: Representations of Gender and Sexuality in Opera*, ed. Mary Ann Smart (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2000), 222–36.
141. "[Zeitstücke] rückte[n] die äusseren Lebensumstände unserer Zeit in den Mittelpunkt. Man nahm das ‚Tempo des 20. Jahrhunderts‘, fügte den vielgerühmten ‚Rhythmus unserer Zeit‘ hinzu und hielt sich im übrigen an die Darstellung von Gefühlen vergangener Generationen." Kurt Weill, "Zeitoper," *Melos* 7, no. 3 (March 1928): 106; reprinted in *GS2*, 64.
142. "große, umfassende, allgemeingültige Stoffe zugrunde zu legen, die nicht mehr private Ideen und Gefühle, sondern größere Zusammenhänge behandeln." *Ibid.*, 107; *GS2*, 65.
143. The score, U.E. 9851, was reissued in 1969 in a revision by David Drew that attempted to incorporate as options the cuts, additions, and changes made for various productions.
144. The same thing happened with George Gershwin's *Porgy and Bess*: the piano-vocal score, published in advance of the premiere, contains none of the changes made before (and after) opening night to tighten the musical and dramatic flow of the show. Many recent performances of the opera have reverted to the "Urtext" even though Gershwin himself made some of these changes and approved the others. See Charles Hamm, "The Theatre Guild Production of *Porgy and Bess*," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 40, no. 3 (Fall 1987): 495–532.
145. See "Foreword to the Kurt Weill Edition."
146. *Sächsische Arbeiter-Zeitung* (Leipzig), 11 March 1930; quoted in Schebera, *Kurt Weill: An Illustrated Life*, 156.
147. Weill reassured UE on 14 March 1930 that *Aufstieg und Fall* "isn't a political work at all since there have been positive reviews from papers of all political persuasions." Certain changes in the work were being made, he continued, to make it "absolutely clear that the

- closing demonstration is not at all communistic, but rather, like Sodom and Gomorrah, Mahagonny perishes because of the crimes of its inhabitants, the wantonness and the general chaos." Though Weill had been attracted to Brecht's writings in part because of their leftist political stance, the two men drifted apart in the years after *Aufstieg und Fall*. As Lenya put it in an interview with Steven Paul, "Kurt didn't want to compose to Karl Marx; he just wanted to make music. That was probably the main reason why they finally parted, because Kurt wasn't so political." Liner notes to *Kurt Weill*, Deutsche Grammophon LP Stereo 2709 064 (1976), 10.
148. It wasn't staged in Berlin until 21 December 1931, at the Theater am Kurfürstendamm.
149. Weill, letter to UE, 14 April 1930; photocopy in WLRC, Series 41, Box 2. Although he received Bauer's potpourri for salon orchestra, Weill's comments have not survived. Manuscripts of the piano-vocal adaptations, made by Isko Thaler, are in WLRC, Series 18, Box 8, Folder 23 ("Lied der Jenny") and Box 27, Folder 135 ("Auf nach Mahagonny").
150. "eine stark gekürzte Auswahl der wichtigsten Stücke aus der Oper [...]. Es darf weder wie ein Potpourri wirken, noch darf es den Eindruck einer gekürzten Neufassung geben." *W-UE*, 262.
151. The exception was "Alabama-Song," which Weill had expanded from the duet version in *Mahagonny: Ein Singspiel* into an ensemble number for Jenny and a small women's chorus in *Aufstieg und Fall*, but which was nevertheless reprinted from the plates of the clumsy arrangement for voice and piano dating from 1927 (see discussion of Facsimile 1).
152. "Existieren eigentlich von *Mahagonny* schon Schlagerausgaben? Im Falle eines grossen Erfolges müsste man doch sehr rasch Material für Café- und Tanzkapellen haben. Ich würde es in diesem Falle am besten finden, wenn man alles auf eine Nummer konzentrieren und die gross aufziehen würde. Dazu eignet sich am besten (textlich und musikalisch) Wie man sich bettet, das von einem erstklassigen Bearbeiter (der lediglich die Vorstrophe etwas vereinfachen müsste) zu einer interessanten und leicht spielbaren Nummer gemacht werden kann. Vielleicht können Sie das schon so weit vorbereiten, dass es im Erfolgsfalle rasch da sein kann, dass Sie aber im Falle eines Durchfalls oder Verbotes keine unnötigen Kosten haben." *W-UE*, 349.
153. Lenya recorded it for the first time on 24 February 1930, with Theo Mackeben and his jazz orchestra, on Ultraphon A 371 (mx. 10711); about six weeks later she recorded it on Homochord 3671 (mx. H-62612) with an unidentified "Ensemble und Orchesterbegleitung."
154. See note 28.
155. "Unsere Zeit verbirgt in sich eine Fülle von großen Ideen . . . und wenn man sich dazu entschließt, die Oper aus dem Bereich des naturalistischen Theaters herauszulösen und gerade in ihr jene gesteigerte Form des Theaters zu erblicken, die am besten geeignet ist, die großen Ideen der Zeit in eine überzeitliche, menschliche Form umzusetzen, so ergibt sich ganz von selbst ein neuer Glaube an die Zukunft der Oper." Kurt Weill, "Gibt es eine Krise der Oper?" *Neues Wiener Journal*, 20 April 1932; reprinted in *GS2*, 138; translated in Kowalke, *Kurt Weill in Europe*, 544.
156. "[Charell] will unbedingt eine grosse Theatersache mit mir machen und verspricht sich einen Welterfolg von der Zusammenarbeit mit mir. Aber vorläufig scheint es fast unmöglich, einen Stoff zu finden, der dem Publikum, für das er arbeitet, zugänglich ist, der aber zugleich die Niveaugrenze einhält, die ich für unerlässlich halte." *W-UE*, 392.
157. "geistige und künstlerische Haltung"; *W-UE*, 394; letter of 15 June 1932.
158. Weill, letter to UE, 29 July 1932; *W-UE*, 406–07.
159. "Es handelt sich keineswegs um eine Oper, sondern um ein Stück mit gut eingebauten Musiknummern, etwa in der Art eines Singspiels." *W-UE*, 407.
160. Kim H. Kowalke, liner notes to *Silverlake, A Winter's Tale* (Nonesuch Records DB-79003, 1980), iv.
161. *Magdeburgische Zeitung*, 21 February 1933; quoted in Schebera, *Kurt Weill: An Illustrated Life*, 203.
162. Three of the numbers are for accompanied solo voice, two are duets, one is for tenor and four male voices; though uncredited, all arrangements were the work of Erwin Stein.
163. "Dass Caesars Tod nicht in dem Album enthalten sein soll, ist für mich einfach unfassbar. In allen unseren Gesprächen waren wir uns doch darüber klar, dass es die eingänglichsste, geschlossenste und wirkungsvollste Nummer ist." *W-UE*, 444; letter of 16 January 1933.
164. Ian Kemp, "Music as Metaphor: Aspects of *Der Silbersee*," in *A New Orpheus: Essays on Kurt Weill*, ed. Kim H. Kowalke (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1986), 136–41 passim. Kemp argues that Weill organized *Der Silbersee* according to "a network of relationships determined by common tonalities, themselves determined by expressive considerations."
165. Ernst Busch had performed the role of Severin in the Magdeburg premiere; his recordings appeared on Gloria G. O. 10713 (mx. Bi 1225 and Bi 1226-1). Weill's letter to UE, 26 February 1933, mentions the recording session with Lenya and Brecher as forthcoming on "Thursday," i.e., 2 March 1933. It is doubtful, however, that the session took place. Electrola's files, copies of which are in possession of the discographer Rainer E. Lotz, do not list the recording, and no pressings survive. This information was provided by Lotz in an e-mail of 16 August 2007.
166. In a letter of 24 November 1932, Weill mentioned that the subject of *Einzelausgaben* and *Schlagerausgaben* would become urgent if the work were to open in Berlin's Deutsches Schauspielhaus. See *W-UE*, 423.
167. "die Aufführung Ihrer Werke in Deutschland [...] unmöglich gemacht wurde"; *W-UE*, 476. For more information on "musical bolshevism" see Eckhard John, *Musikbolschewismus: Die Politisierung der Musik in Deutschland 1918–1938* (Stuttgart and Weimar: J.B. Metzler, 1994). A facsimile of a newspaper article from June 1933 announcing the forthcoming "collection" of books and music publications, part of a "Kampfwoche gegen Schmutz und Schundliteratur," can be found in *WPD(e)*, 137.
168. The piece was staged in New York in 1937 as *The Eternal Road*.
169. Alan M. Gilmor, *Erik Satie* (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1988), 53–54. See also Jean Barreyre, *La chanson française depuis le second empire* (Paris: Flamme et Fumées, 1963).
170. The songs remained sufficiently present in the French consciousness to induce Heugel to reprint the album after the war.
171. In a letter to Lenya of 25 January 1934, Weill emphasized that the subject matter of the show was "serious"; *W-LL(e)*, 112.
172. Marie Galante is an island in the Caribbean, located south of Guadeloupe.
173. "il est devenu, à Naples, depuis trois ans que je leur chante, presque aussi populaire que 'Sole mio.'" WLA, Box 48, Folder 36; letter of 29 June 1937; translated in *WPD(e)*, 182.
174. Polydor 524196 (mx. 2468 3 and 2469 3); re-released on Chansophone 106 and EPM 984982. Prior to making the recording Gauty had sung the song in the Parisian club ABC; cf. Pascal Huynh, *Kurt Weill, ou, La conquête des masses* (Arles: Actes Sud, 2000), 279.
175. Herbert Borchardt, president of Polydor 1929–1941, recalled some of the circumstances of these recordings in an oral history interview on 13 December 1984; WLRC, Series 60. Selections of an edited transcript appeared in *Kurt Weill Newsletter* 23, no. 1 (Spring 2005): 8–12.
176. On 20 October 1943 the *New York Post* published a profile of Weill by Naomi Jolles, "Hitler Hates Weill's Songs." Jolles wrote: "The French apparently have discovered new significance in what was simply an innocent romantic verse in 1934 ['I'm Waiting for My Ship to Come'] and are merrily singing it whenever within German earshot"; a facsimile of the article appears in *WPD(e)*, 225. Another press article paraphrased Weill: "He is elated, however, by the news that an old song of his, one he wrote back in 1934 for a French musical play called 'Marie Galante,' has been adopted by the French underground. It is called 'J'Attends un Navire'—'I Am Waiting for a Ship'—and in the play was sung by a lonely prostitute, marooned in Panama, who longed to get back to Bordeaux (ah, the French drama!). As sung these days in the cafés of Paris, it connotes invasion barges." The Talk of the Town, *New Yorker*, 10 June 1944, 16.
177. Weill's holographs are in Heugel's archive, Paris; photocopies in WLRC, Series 10/M4, Folder 3. The arrangement of "Les filles de Bordeaux" is missing.  
The "Tango" was also intended for publication in *Le ménestrel*. The journal's 14 December issue announced "Tango" as forthcoming in the next issue, but the 21 December issue instead contained Henry Février's "Prière de Blanchefleur" and announced Weill's "Le grand Lustucru" as forthcoming in the 28 December issue.
178. Because the piece was never finished, performed, or published in its German version during Weill's lifetime, it was not possible to gain much sense of it until Weill's score was reconstructed for performances in Düsseldorf (1990), Bautzen (1994), London (2000), and Bregenz (2004). It was recorded in 1992 on Capriccio 60 013-1. The Juilliard School of Music presented the first stage performance in the United States in 2000.
179. Drew, "Reflections on the Lost Years: *Der Kuhhandel* as a Key Work," in *A New Orpheus*, ed. Kowalke, 226–27.
180. David Drew discusses the relationship between the German and the English versions of *Kuhhandel* in "Reflections," 217–67, and also in *Handbook*, 253–60 and 271–74. Drew regrets that Weill had arranged "Le Roi d'Aquitaine" from *Marie Galante* as a duet ("Two Hearts") and "cobbled it on to the end of the opening scene [of *Der Kuhhandel*], to which it manifestly bears no musical relationship" ("Reflections," 227).
181. Schott made rental materials available for performance in 1978.
182. For a summary of these borrowings, see Drew, *Handbook*, 274.
183. *American Hebrew*, 8 January 1937; quoted in Schebera, *Kurt Weill: An Illustrated Life*, 234.
184. "Il serait plutôt nécessaire de simplifier la partie de piano, d'écrire une nouvelle partie de chant pour toutes les pièces qui sont des chœurs ou des ensembles dans la forme originale. Ce travail, c'est à dire l'adaptation de la partition de piano pour la publication devrait être fait par un spécialiste en collaboration avec moi. Il faut d'abord choisir les pièces qui ont les plus grandes chances de devenir populaire et alors il faut les adapter d'une manière très intelligente, les rendre faciles à jouer sans changer le caractère de la musique. . . . Je crois qu'une telle sélection devrait contenir les 6 ou 7 pièces les plus importantes, c'est à dire 20 à 25 pages. M. Dreyfus me disait qu'on peut faire un cahier de 20 pages qu'on pourrait vendre pour 50 à 75 cents." Weill, letter to Heugel, 9 November 1935; photocopy in WLRC, Series 40.
185. Drew, *Handbook*, 266.

186. The work was not revived until 1999, in a coproduction of Theater Chemnitz, Brooklyn Academy of Music, New Israeli Opera of Tel Aviv, and Opera Krakow, which presented the German-language version, titled *Der Weg der Verheißung* (the production was also televised in Germany). About seventy minutes of the music for *The Eternal Road* were recorded in 2001 and released as “highlights” on Naxos 8.559402.
187. “Learning the New Ropes: Kurt Weill and the American Theater Song,” *Kurt Weill Newsletter* 15, no. 2 (Fall 1997): 3.
188. Drew, *Handbook*, 432.
189. Cheryl Crawford, *One Naked Individual: My Fifty Years in the Theatre* (Indianapolis and New York: Bobbs-Merrill, 1977), 95.
190. The term “chorus” rather than “refrain” was commonly used in America at this time.
191. For more on these points, see Alec Wilder, *American Popular Song: The Great Innovators, 1900–1950* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1972), and Charles Hamm, *Yesterdays: Popular Song in America* (New York and London: W. W. Norton, 1979), particularly 360–75.
192. *The Fervent Years: The Story of the Group Theatre and the Thirties* (New York: A. Knopf, 1945), 183.
193. Crawford, *One Naked Individual*, 93–94.
194. “Man [...] lernt eigentlich erst, was Amerika ist u. wie unwichtig New York ist für das Land.” *W-LL(g)*, 197; translated in *W-LL(e)*, 193; letter of 3 May 1936.
195. Crawford, *One Naked Individual*, 94.
196. A novel by the Czech writer Jaroslav Hašek, made into three films. Between 1930 and 1932 Weill had planned to adapt the novel as an opera with Brecht, but delays in the planning stage prompted Hašek’s heirs to withdraw the rights.
197. Drew, “Reflections,” 243.
198. A recording made in 1956 (MGM E3447), highlighted by Lenya in the cast and Burgess Meredith’s compelling performance as Johnny, captured the show’s dramatic impact. Several re-releases have been issued (the latest on Polydor 831384-2 Y-1).
199. These borrowings are detailed in Drew, *Handbook*, 274.
200. Heinsheimer, *Best Regards to Aida*, 92. Max Dreyfus, who came to the United States when he was in his late teens, had been born in Kuppenheim, Germany, not far from the town of Kippenheim, also in Baden, the hometown of Weill’s father.
201. John F. Wharton, *Life among the Playwrights: Being Mostly the Story of the Playwrights Producing Company, Inc.* (New York: Quadrangle, 1974), 192; Gershwin, letter to Julia Van Norman, 5 March 1929, quoted in Howard Pollack, *George Gershwin: His Life and Work* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2006), 90.
202. Among these were Billy Hill’s “The Last Round-Up” (1933) and “Wagon Wheels” (1934), Bob Nolan’s “Tumbling Tumbleweeds” (1934), Johnny Mercer’s “I’m an Old Cowhand” (1936), and the Kenny Brothers’ “There’s a Gold Mine in the Sky” (1937).
203. A change of text in the second chorus of an American popular song is rare.
204. Paul Green, unpublished interview with his assistant Rhoda Wynn; quoted in liner notes of the CD *Music for Johnny Johnson* (Erato 0630-17870-2, 1997), 14.
205. The head motive of the melody is virtually identical to the beginning of “J’attends un navire” from *Marie Galante*. For a more detailed analysis of “Johnny’s Song” see Robinson, “Learning the Ropes,” 4–7.
206. *Ibid.*, 7.
207. *A Treasury of Gilbert & Sullivan* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1941), 9. Born Albert Szirmai in Hungary and trained at the Budapest Academy of Music, Sirmay emigrated to the United States and served as musical director for Chappell from 1926 until his death in 1967.
208. Gershwin’s introductory note to *George Gershwin’s Song Book* (New York: Random House, 1932), ix.
209. WLA, Box 47, Folder 3.
210. Surviving instrumental parts for *Johnny Johnson* seem to support the existence of a stock arrangement. A part for the second trumpet, presumably used in the 1930s, carries handwritten remarks on an empty sheet inserted into the part, “(#41) / ‘To Love You’ / Stock,” indicating that a stock arrangement may have been played as exit music, after “Johnny’s Song” (#40) concluded the show; WLA, Box 9, Folders 166–69.
211. Victor 25504.
212. “Ich nehme es als eine Übungsarbeit, um die Technik zu lernen [...]. Ich könnte natürlich irgend etwas hinschreiben und ihnen abliefern und mein Geld nehmen. Aber du weißt ja, wie das bei mir ist, ich fange dann an mich zu interessieren und arbeite eine richtige und sicher sehr gute Partitur aus.” *W-LL(g)*, 216; translated in *W-LL(e)*, 213.
213. “The River Is So Blue” is included in *Unsung Weill: 22 Songs Cut from Broadway Shows and Hollywood Films*, ed. Elmar Juchem (New York: European American Music Corporation, 2002), 82–85.
214. Drew, *Handbook*, 292.
215. Most film music can be categorized as either diegetic (the source of the music is seen on film and heard by the actors) or nondiegetic (the source of the sound is neither seen on screen nor heard by the cast).
216. For a discussion of this “noise symphony” see Hamm, “The Theatre Guild Production,” 508–09.
217. Letter of 5 March 1937; quoted in Crawford, *One Naked Individual*, 99.
218. For a full account of the professional and personal interaction between the two, see Elmar Juchem, *Kurt Weill und Maxwell Anderson: Neue Wege zu einem amerikanischen Musiktheater, 1938–1950* (Stuttgart and Weimar: J. B. Metzler, 2000).
219. Juchem (*Kurt Weill und Maxwell Anderson*, 67–129) gives a detailed account of the genesis and composition of the show and its performance history and reception.
220. As quoted in *ibid.*, 113.
221. In November 1936, Louis Dreyfus, who was based in London, had bought Crawford Music from its founder, Bobby Crawford. The Dreyfus brothers moved Larry Spier from T. B. Harms, where Max Dreyfus held a significant stake, to Crawford as general manager (see *Variety*, 4 November 1936, 45–46). By January 1938, however, Spier had left Crawford Music Corporation to work as an independent music publisher.
222. “Crawford’s Class Score,” *Billboard*, 22 October 1938, 11. Contrary to the article’s statement, Crawford Music released professional copies as well.
223. A copy of the contract is in WLRC. Weill and Max Dreyfus signed the contract as “Composer” and “Publisher,” respectively; the contract does not specify a publishing house. However, as early as August 1938 it was clear that Crawford would publish the music from *Knickerbocker Holiday*, as specified in an agreement between the Playwrights’ Company and Crawford Music Corporation (signed by Victor Samrock and Max Dreyfus). Section 11 of Weill’s contract with Dreyfus addresses the fact that Weill was not an ASCAP member at the time.
224. Weill cared enough about “Will You Remember Me?” to include it in the piano-vocal score. Although he did not live to see the 1951 publication of that score, he added a choral arrangement to the song when he prepared it for publication in early 1950; see Juchem, *Kurt Weill und Maxwell Anderson*, 122.
225. For a detailed discussion of this song, see *ibid.*, 266–73.
226. These changes were already implemented in the printing of Jack Mason’s stock arrangement in 1938 (see Facsimile 28). Recordings by Eddy Duchin on Brunswick 8287 from December 1938 and Tony Martin on Decca 2375B from March 1939 used this version as well.
227. According to Joel Whitburn, Huston’s 1938 recording on Brunswick 8272 (mx. B 23732-1) entered (unnamed) charts on 28 January 1939 and stayed there for five weeks, peaking in position no. 12; *Joel Whitburn’s Pop Memories, 1890–1954: The History of American Popular Music Compiled from America’s Popular Music Charts* (Menomonee Falls, Wisc.: Record Research, 1986), 221. This claim has not been verified.
228. M. H. Orodener, “Off the Records,” *Billboard*, 11 February 1939, 70.
229. Weill to his sister-in-law Rita Weill on 12 January 1944, and to his parents on 18 January 1944; *W-Fam*, 391, 394.
230. *W-LL(e)*, 461; letter of 21 May 1945. Artie Shaw had recorded Cole Porter’s “Begin the Beguine” in July 1938 for RCA Victor.
231. *Billboard* stated, “Records listed here in numerical order are those played over the greatest number of record shows. List is based on replies from weekly survey among 1,359 disk jockeys thruout the country.”
232. *Billboard* stated, “Tunes listed have the greatest audiences on programs heard on network stations in New York, Chicago and Los Angeles. List is based upon John G. Peatman’s Audience Coverage Index. The index is projected upon radio logs made available to Peatman’s ACI by the Accurate Reporting Service in New York, Radio Checking Service in Chicago, Radio Checking Service in Los Angeles. Listed are the top 30 (more in the case of ties) tunes alphabetically. The music checked is preponderately (over 60 per cent) alive [*sic*].”
233. Crawford Music used the design also for the publication of “Lost in the Stars,” which appeared with a different color scheme on 26 September 1946. Because the design has both falling leaves and stars, Harris probably conceived it for both songs; his color scheme differentiated between orange/brown for fall and a sky-blue background for stars (see *Gallery of Covers*, nos. 74, 149).
234. *Billboard* stated “List is based on reports received each week from all the nation’s sheet music jobbers. Songs are listed according to greatest number of sales.”
235. Kenton recorded the song on 20 March 1951 for Capitol 1480. The recording entered the charts on 28 April 1951, where it stayed for eleven weeks, peaking in seventeenth place. See Joel Whitburn, *Joel Whitburn’s Pop Hits, 1940–1954: Compiled from Billboard’s Pop Singles Charts 1940–1954* (Menomonee Falls, Wisc.: Record Research, 1994), 98.
236. On 3 May 1947 *Billboard* listed “September Song” on the British sheet music charts for two weeks in nineteenth place.

237. In 1956 the East German band Gerd Natschinski und sein Orchester recorded "Der schönste Liebestraum" with vocals by Fred Froberg for the Amiga label (Am 1 50 294). Not unexpectedly, Froberg sings only the refrain, as Cypris's German-language verse does not scan with the music. When Hildegard Knef recorded the song in 1975 in West Germany, Gerhard Bronner completely overhauled Cypris's lyric.
238. Max Dreyfus appraised the composer's estate and predicted that only "September Song" and *Down in the Valley* would generate more than nominal income in the future. See Wharton, *Life among the Playwrights*, 193.
239. <http://allmusic.com> (accessed 8 November 2003).
240. <http://www.seventhstring.com/fbi/aboutfbi.html> (accessed 14 August 2007).
241. The other prominent arrangers at the time were Paul Weirick, Fud Livingston, and Vic Schoen; cf. "Arrangers on Big Doughwagon," *Billboard*, 20 May 1944, 14.
242. Letter to Max Dreyfus, 31 December 1943; WLA, Box 47, Folder 3.
243. Letter to Weill, 26 January 1944; WLA, Box 48, Folder 5.
244. While still in Germany Rittman had won the approval of T. W. Adorno, with whom she had a friendly relationship, although apparently he admonished her for her tonal inclinations. Rittman in an interview with Austin Clarkson, 9 November 1983. See *On the Music of Stefan Wolpe: Essays and Recollections*, ed. Austin Clarkson (Hillsdale, N.Y.: Pendragon Press, 2003).
245. The date is an approximation based on the roll's serial number (QRS 8176). Two songs with a slightly higher or lower serial number were also big hits in late 1946: Hoagy Carmichael's/Jack Brooks's "Ole Buttermilk Sky" (QRS 8173) and Nat Simon's/Charles Tobias's "The Old Lamp-Lighter" (QRS 8177).
246. For more details see Drew, *Handbook*, 300–04. When the Fair was extended for another year's run in 1940, Weill extensively revised his score.
247. A recording of Paul Weirick's arrangement by the Palast Orchester, conducted by HK Gruber, can be found on the CD *Kurt Weill: Life, Love and Laughter: Dance Arrangements, 1927–1950* (2001; RCA Red Seal 09026-63513-2); the recording was released in Continental Europe as *Charming Weill*.
248. Moss Hart, "Foreword to *Lady in the Dark*," vocal score, by Kurt Weill and Ira Gershwin, ed. Albert Sirmay (New York: Chappell, 1941), 5.
249. Ira Gershwin, letter to Weill, 18 March 1940; WLA, Box 48, Folder 33.
250. Photocopies of all letters quoted from the Weill-Ira Gershwin correspondence are in WLRC, Series 40.
251. Weill, letter to Gershwin, 11 April 1941.
252. Weill, letter to Gershwin, 8 March 1941. See also Elmar Juchem, "'Fort vom Durchschnitt!': Weill und die Popinterpretation seiner Zeit," *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* 161, no. 2 (March/April 2000): 28–30.
253. Ira Gershwin, *Lyrics on Several Occasions: A Selection of Stage & Screen Lyrics . . .* (New York: A. Knopf, 1959), 209.
254. The offending lines were "But gin and rum and destiny play funny tricks / And poor Jenny kicked the bucket at seventy-six" and "She got herself all dolled up in her satins and furs, / And she got herself a husband, but he wasn't hers."
255. It would seem, from the high plate number (46291) and a retail price of 3 shillings, that Chappell/England did not publish "My Ship" until after Weill's death. For Paramount's replacement of "This Is New" see Bruce D. McClung, *Lady in the Dark: Biography of a Musical* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 168.
256. For a thorough discussion of this issue, see Bruce D. McClung, *American Dreams: Analyzing Moss Hart, Ira Gershwin, and Kurt Weill's "Lady in the Dark"*, Ph.D. diss., Eastman School of Music, University of Rochester, 1994.
257. Foster Hirsch suggests that Weill had anticipated this scheme in *Johnny Johnson*, in which portions of "Johnny's Song" are heard in the orchestra from time to time but the complete song is reserved for the end of the show, sung by the title character; see Hirsch, *Kurt Weill on Stage: From Berlin to Broadway* (New York: A. Knopf, 2002), 143.
258. The beginning of the A section resembles the beginnings of both "J'attends un navire" and "Johnny's Song."
259. Weill uses even his trademark diminished seventh chord in a conventional way in the third measure of the refrain, where an F#–A–C–Eb chord functions as a leading-tone seventh chord (or dominant minor ninth chord on D with missing root), which resolves uneventfully to a chord on G.
260. Accessed on 8 November 2003.
261. For a lengthy anecdotal account of the show see Crawford, *One Naked Individual*, 116–44.
262. The five longest-running shows of this fabulous decade for the American musical comedy were *Oklahoma!* (2,212 performances), *South Pacific* (1,925), *Annie Get Your Gun* (1,147), *Kiss Me, Kate* (1,070), and *Carousel* (890).
263. Block, *Enchanted Evenings: The Broadway Musical from "Show Boat" to Sondheim* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 155.
264. Lyrics from "Wooden Wedding."
265. Letter in WLA, Box 48, Folder 24.
266. Two other songs from the show, "Way Out West in Jersey" and "Very, Very, Very," were not registered for copyright until 1953. Much later, in 1981, Chappell and Hampshire House Publishing Company brought out another folio, *Vocal Selections / One Touch of Venus*, containing the nine previously published songs plus these two.
267. Decca 18573-A (mx. 71449). Vocals by Billy Leach.
268. Edward A. Wolpin, letter to Weill, 9 November 1943; WLA, Box 48, Folder 24.
269. "Oh, What a Beautiful Mornin'" from Rodgers and Hammerstein's *Oklahoma!* had been published by Williamson Music, a newly established firm registered in the name of Rodgers and Hammerstein whose distribution was exclusively handled by Crawford Music, which was controlled by Max Dreyfus, the owner of Chappell.
270. Bruce C. Elrod, *Your Hit Parade and American Top Ten Hits: a Week-by-Week Guide to the Nation's Favorite Music, 1935–1994*, 4th ed. (Ann Arbor: Popular Culture, Ink., 1994), 97–98.
271. Ogden Nash, letter to Weill, 19 January 1944; WLA, Box 49, Folder 50. In addition to "Your Hit Parade" Lombardo's recording spent nine weeks on the *Billboard* charts, where it peaked in fifth place.
272. The song is reprised twice, once in the jail scene, where Rodney sings it in "his" key of Ab major, and again in the Finaletto, where Rodney sings it again in Ab major.
273. Weill, letter to Max Dreyfus, 31 December 1943: "Before I left New York we had planned a new cover for the 'Venus' music. I haven't heard anything about it since and would like [to hear] what you decided. I hope that the mistake of having my name twice as large as Ogden Nash's has been corrected." WLA, Box 47, Folder 3. The full scope of the cover discussion is unknown, but it is clear that Weill wanted to have his credit changed, as a letter of 20 September 1943 from Sirmay to Weill indicates: "I have already taken up the matter of changing the printing of your name on the title page and it is feasible. Naturally it will take a little time but this correction will be carried out for the new edition." WLA, Box 50, Folder 66. As the acknowledged driving force behind the creation of *One Touch of Venus*, Weill had requested and received top billing among the three authors in all announcements, advertisements, and official documents related to the show, but all three names were supposed to appear in the same font size.
274. The back cover advertises a "Mart Kenney Song Folio," containing eighteen songs, all of which had all been filed for copyright prior to 1943; thus a printing date in winter 1943/44 seems likely. In dealings with American music publishers, the company usually served only as a distributor.
275. The line from Shakespeare's *Much Ado about Nothing* (act II, scene i) is underlined in Weill's copy, which is preserved in WLRC, Series 90.
276. Alec Wilder, *American Popular Song: The Great Innovators, 1900–1950* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1972), 511. Wilder continues: "I don't swoon at the mention of *The Threepenny Opera*, as I'm told I should; I don't weep at the downbeat of 'September Song'; and I find 'Mack the Knife' no more than one more proof of the appeal of the sixth interval of a scale. Part of my irritation in listening to his music stems from my feeling that there was no personal involvement on his part." For further discussion of "Speak Low" from a variety of perspectives see Allen Forte, *The American Popular Ballad of the Golden Era, 1924–1950* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1995), 269–74; and Block, *Enchanted Evenings*, 151–53.
277. Weill used the term "rythm [*sic*] song" in a letter to Eddie Wolpin, 30 November 1943. In his letter of 31 December 1943 to Dreyfus, quoted above, Weill wrote: "'That's Him' got terrific publicity as Mary Martin's greatest song. Everybody seems to be convinced that, with the right treatment, it can become a great standard song of the 'My Bill' type—and that's what you told me too after the opening. I don't know what the proceeding is to build a song into the standard class—but again, I feel we are throwing away a great chance if we don't try."
278. For information about the Danish production see Steffen Gliese and Knud Arne Jürgensen, "Den anden Weill: Kurt Weills amerikanske musicals på danske teatre," in *Musikvidenskabelige kompositioner: Festskrift til Niels Krabbe*, ed. Anne Ørbæk Jensen et al. (Copenhagen: Det Kongelige Bibliotek, 2006), 647–62.
279. *W-LL(e)*, 415.
280. *W-LL(e)*, 432–33.
281. For more details see Drew, *Handbook*, 338–40.
282. *W-LL(e)*, 455.
283. *W-LL(e)*, 457.
284. *W-LL(e)*, 462–63.
285. *Billboard* stated, "Songs listed are those on which publishers are currently working . . . This, of course, means publisher will have his contact men make special concentrated effort to have band leaders, singers, disk companies, disk jockeys, program producers and other users of music use song beginning on the date listed, and extending anywhere from two weeks to three months from that date, depending on circumstances. List is based on

- information supplied direct from publishers themselves. Only tunes of publishers voluntarily supplying information are listed.”
286. *Tune-Dex Digest* 1, no. 8 (July 1945): 7, and no. 9 (August 1945): 7.
  287. Robert H. Noeltner (1908–1994) received his bachelor’s degree in music from Dartmouth in 1930 and began working as an arranger in the 1930s. He worked on Broadway and for Chappell, where he prepared such vocal scores as *Kiss Me, Kate*, *Cabaret*, and *Follies*. According to a telephone conversation with Noeltner’s son on 22 August 2007, Noeltner was drafted into the Navy during World War II but continued to work as an arranger.
  288. *W-LL(e)*, 455. After Weill’s death Chappell did publish an abbreviated version of the piece, titled “The Nina, the Pinta, the Santa Maria.” The complete text of the Weill/Gershwin “Columbus opera” may be found in Robert Kimball, *The Complete Lyrics of Ira Gershwin* (New York: A. Knopf, 1994), 319–21.
  289. For a more detailed discussion of the film version, see Drew, *Handbook*, 308.
  290. Recordings of this song by Glen Gray and Hildgarde made the *Billboard* charts.
  291. Drew, *Handbook*, 348.
  292. *W-LL(e)*, 458.
  293. *W-LL(e)*, 462.
  294. Weill and Ronell wrote “My Week,” with new lyrics set to the melody of “Westwind,” for the film, but it was cut from the final version.
  295. After his college years at the Utica Conservatory and Syracuse University, Stickles (1882–1971) had spent many years in Europe, where he worked as a répétiteur, for a time at Munich’s Hofoper under Felix Mottl. Returning to the United States because of World War I, Stickles worked as a voice teacher, composer, and arranger.
  296. *W-LL(e)*, 451; letter of 18 April 1945.
  297. *Helen Goes to Troy*, a modernization of Offenbach’s *La Belle Hélène*, had begun a successful run at the Alvin Theatre in April 1944; the New York City Center mounted a revival of *The New Moon* by Sigmund Romberg and Oscar Hammerstein II; *The Song of Norway* took up an 860-performance residence at the Imperial Theatre in August 1944; and *Up in Central Park*, Romberg’s latest (and last) operetta debuted in January 1945 for the start of a run of 504 performances. See Joel Galand’s discussion of operetta on Broadway in the 1940s in his introductory essay to Weill, *The Firebrand of Florence: Broadway Operetta in Two Acts*, ed. Joel Galand, Kurt Weill Edition Series I, vol. 18 (New York and Miami: Kurt Weill Foundation for Music and European American Music Corporation, 2002), 15–18. See also Charles Hamm, “The Firebrand of New York: Kurt Weill and his ‘Broadway Operetta,’” *Music & Letters* 85, no. 2 (May 2004): 239–42.
  298. *W-LL(e)*, 388.
  299. *W-LL(e)*, 396.
  300. *W-LL(e)*, 417.
  301. For additional information, see Galand’s introduction to Weill, *The Firebrand of Florence* (KWE I, 18), 15–34.
  302. Published a month before the New York opening, the first printings of the sheet music have front covers identifying the show as *Much Ado about Love*.
  303. Three songs from the show, sung by Dorothy Kirsten and Thomas L. Thomas with an orchestra conducted by Maurice Abravanel, were recorded for RCA Victor but not released; Weill and Gershwin themselves recorded excerpts from *Firebrand* privately, issued in 1975 on the Mark 56 album *Ira Gershwin Loves to Rhyme*.
  304. Weill in an interview with Margaret Arlen on WCBS, 7 January 1950; broadcast script reprinted in *Kurt Weill Newsletter* 10, no. 1 (Spring 1992): 13.
  305. Weill became a citizen of the United States on 27 August 1943.
  306. Two of these songs, “Buddy on the Nightshift” (with a text by Oscar Hammerstein II) and “Schickelgruber” (with lyrics by Howard Dietz), were published in 1982 by European American Music Corporation as part of *The Unknown Kurt Weill*, ed. Lys Symonette.
  307. For a more complete account of these activities see Jürgen Schebera, “Der ‘alien American’ Kurt Weill und seine Aktivitäten für den *War Effort* der USA 1940–1945,” in *A Stranger Here Myself: Kurt Weill Studien*, ed. Kim H. Kowalke and Horst Edler (Hildesheim: Olms, 1993), 267–83.
  308. The Eb at the beginning of the second large section signals a brief shift to the subdominant key for contrast.
  309. *W-LL(e)*, 359. On 9 June 1942 Weill wrote to MacLeish: “As you probably know, our song is a very big success at the Roxy. I went to see it yesterday and I must say it has a very stirring effect on the audience, although the singer is far from first-rate and the production is typical Roxy.” WLA, Box 47, Folder 11.
  310. *100 Best Songs of the '20s and '30s* (New York: Harmony Books, 1973), xiv.
  311. See Jody Rosen, *White Christmas: The Story of an American Song* (New York: Scribner, 2002), particularly Chapter 7, “A War Tonic.”
  312. *W-Fam*, 404; letter of 26 November 1946.
  313. *New York Times*, 26 January 1947.
  314. Langston Hughes, “My Collaborator: Kurt Weill,” published in a German translation by Otto Herbst, “Meine Zusammenarbeit mit Kurt Weill,” in the program for the German premiere of *Street Scene* (*Düsseldorf: Städtische Bühnen* 1955/56, no. 6, 68–71); photocopy of Hughes’s typescript in WLRC, Series 80, Folder 659; a copy of the Düsseldorf program in WLRC, Series 50A.
  315. Weill, liner notes for the original cast recording of *Street Scene* (Columbia Masterworks set M-MM-683); facsimile reprinted in *WPD(e)*, plate 19.
  316. Larry Stempel, “*Street Scene* and the Enigma of Broadway Opera,” in *A New Orpheus*, ed. Kowalke, 321–41.
  317. WLA, Box 31, Folder 436.
  318. Exceptionally for Weill, he didn’t orchestrate this number himself but turned the job over to the veteran band arranger and Broadway orchestrator Ted Royal.
  319. Capitol 376; reissued on “Johnny Mercer: The Capitol Collector’s Series” CDP 7 92125 2. In early 1961 Mercer provided an English lyric for “The Bilbao Song,” published by Harms, Inc.
  320. The influence of Gershwin’s music, particularly of *Porgy and Bess*, is evident throughout *Street Scene*, particularly in “Lonely House.” In early 1942 Weill had assisted Cheryl Crawford with a revival of Gershwin’s opera that had greater commercial success than the original, partly because Gershwin’s recitative was replaced with spoken dialogue. In a letter to Lotte Lenya of 5 February 1942, Weill commented that the new version “is much more of a show now and less of an opera. . . . The songs are still magnificent, but the rest of the score pretty bad.” *W-LL(e)*, 287.
  321. Weill, letter to Langston Hughes, 19 April 1947; photocopy in WLRC, Series 40.
  322. Weill’s liner notes (see note 315). The recording, released in 1947, favored the more operatic parts of the show, while some of the “Broadway” sections were shortened or omitted.
  323. Weill, letter to Max Dreyfus, 3 April 1947; WLA, Box 47, Folder 3.
  324. Weill, letter to Max Dreyfus, 9 October 1947; WLA, Box 47, Folder 3.
  325. Heinsheimer, *Best Regards to Aida*, 143–44.
  326. For additional information on the impact of *Down in the Valley*, see Kim H. Kowalke, “Kurt Weill and the Quest for American Opera,” in *Amerikanismus, Americanism, Weill: Die Suche nach kultureller Identität in der Moderne*, ed. Hermann Danuser and Hermann Gottschewski (Schliengen: Edition Argus, 2003), 283–301.
  327. Heinsheimer, letter to Weill, 28 November 1949; WLRC, Series 40. By this time there was also discussion of a band arrangement for *Down in the Valley*. It is unclear whether this would have been some sort of a potpourri of the stage work or an alternative accompaniment to the opera for the use of high school wind bands. In any event, it did not come to fruition.
  328. WLRC, Arnold Sundgaard Collection, Series 30, Box 10, Folder 2.
  329. *PM*, 14 November 1949.
  330. George Davis, notes taken during an interview with Alan Jay Lerner; WLRC, Series 37, Box 2, Folder 17.
  331. Foster Hirsch, *Harold Prince and the American Musical Theatre* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 18.
  332. Publications by the Marlo Music Corporation indicate that the company was founded in 1931, presumably by the song plugger George Marlo. Marlo was the manager of Crawford Music in 1940, when the newly established song pluggers’ union, Music Publishers Contact Employees (Local 22,102), elected him president. Max Dreyfus controlled Marlo Music by no later than 1938 and may in fact have been involved with the company from its beginnings. In 1943 Marlo Music published the songs from *Oklahoma!* before Dreyfus allowed Rodgers and Hammerstein to set up Williamson Music. Although Dreyfus offered to sell Marlo Music to Weill and Lerner in 1948, an office memo by Norman Zelenko of Paul, Weiss, Rifkind, Wharton & Garrison, dated 24 April 1951, indicates that the deal was never completed: “Had a conversation today with A. M. Wattenberg regarding the Marlo Corporation. . . . At the time Chappell agreed to sell the corporation to Weill and Lerner and all papers were held in escrow by Wattenberg. However, neither Weill nor Lerner were ever interested in completing the purchase. . . . Weill was neither a subscriber, director, officer or stockholder [of Marlo].” WLRC, Series 30, Box 3, Folder 6.
  333. A photocopy of the contract is among the business papers of the Kurt Weill Foundation for Music.
  334. The three additional publications may have been issued in lieu of a complete vocal score that, according to the contract, Chappell was obligated to publish and distribute within one year after the first publication of sheet music. Ironically, the show that underwent more changes and rewriting than any of Weill’s stage works on either continent still awaits publication in 2009, even as a piano-vocal score or a recording as a complete dramatic entity.
  335. Rehearsal score in WLA, Box 23, Folders 352–55.

336. Cheryl Crawford Papers, New York Public Library for the Performing Arts, Box 30, Folder 16.
337. David M. Kilroy, *Kurt Weill on Broadway: The Postwar Years (1945–1950)*, Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1992, 285; for discussion of the song see 284–99.
338. Of the first sixteen measures of the refrain, for instance, fourteen have a seventh or ninth chord on the first beat of the measure.
339. It is unlikely that either Weill or Lerner knew Guthrie's songs, not even "This Land Is Your Land," which was first recorded in 1944. See Mark Allan Jackson, "Is This Song Your Song Anymore? Revisioning Woody Guthrie's 'This Land Is Your Land,'" *American Music* 20, no. 3 (Fall 2002): 249–76.
340. Hirsch, *Kurt Weill on Stage*, 296.
341. *Ibid.*, 299.
342. Wolfe Kaufman, "The Story of Love Life," Souvenir Program.
343. For the most complete and detailed study of this project see Juchem, *Kurt Weill und Maxwell Anderson*, particularly 130–45; for a detailed account of the genesis, composition, and reception of *Lost in the Stars* see 157–222.
344. "Six Songs by Kurt Weill" (Bost Records BA 8, 1943).
345. Sinatra recorded "Lost in the Stars" on 8 August 1946, nine days after "September Song." The latter appeared on Columbia 37161 (mx. HCO 1932) combined with "Among My Souvenirs" (mx. HCO 1930), with music by Edgar Leslie and lyrics by Horatio Nicholls. "Lost in the Stars" (mx. HCO 1946) appeared on Columbia 38650 combined with "The Old Master Painter" (mx. RHCO 3937), with music by Beasley Smith and lyrics by Haven Gillespie.
346. The book had been published in the United States by Charles Scribner's Sons in February of 1948.
347. In addition to *Porgy and Bess*, Mamoulian had directed *Oklahoma!* (1943) and *Carousel* (1945) on Broadway. His equally successful Hollywood career had begun with *Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde* in 1931 and included *Love Me Tonight* (1932), *The Mark of Zorro* (1940), and *Blood and Sand* (1941), among other films.
348. Letter from Anderson to Paton, 15 March 1948, in *Dramatist in America: Letters of Maxwell Anderson, 1912–1958*, ed. Laurence G. Avery (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1977), 221.
349. Most subsequent performances were by opera companies rather than amateur or community groups.
350. On this point see Juchem, *Kurt Weill und Maxwell Anderson*, 201.
351. In both versions, the refrain has a structure that is unusual for a popular song: A4 B4 C4 A8 D8 E4 A4 B'4 C4. Juchem argues convincingly that the structure of the song was dictated by Anderson's lyrics; see *Kurt Weill und Maxwell Anderson*, 289.
352. The title change was crucial because a song with the title "Lover Man," written by Roger Ramirez, Jimmy Sherman, and Jimmy Davis and first popularized by Billie Holiday, had become well known in the meantime.
353. As can be heard in Lotte Lenya's recording of the piece.
354. All dates according to Anderson's diary; Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center, Maxwell Anderson Papers. High Tor is a mountain near New City, in Rockland County, New York, where both Weill and Anderson lived. Anderson had written a highly successful play about the mountain in 1937, which he and Weill had discussed at various times for a musical adaptation.
355. Copy of agreement in business papers of the Kurt Weill Foundation for Music. Weill himself prepared the vocal score, complete with instrumental cues, and Chappell engraved and printed the score in England. Weill read proofs in the hospital, just days before he died; the score was not released until six months after his death, on 6 October 1950.
356. Weill, letter to Larry Spier, 19 December 1949; WLA, Box 47, Folder 14.
357. Weill, letter to Doug Watt, [13 January 1950]; WLA, Box 47, Folder 15.
358. Downes, letter to Weill, 9 December 1949, and Weill, letter to Downes, 14 December 1949; quoted in *WPD(e)*, 268.
359. Dated 20 May 1951, the notarized affidavit was commissioned by the attorneys for Weill's estate, Paul, Weiss, Rifkind, Wharton & Garrison; carbon copy in WLRC, Series 30, Box 3, Folder 5.
360. In fact, Weill had received no income from his European publishers since before the outbreak of World War II and very little after his emigration to the United States. Shortly before his death in April 1950, Weill received a letter from the new director of UE, Alfred Schlee, demanding that Weill pay back the balance of the unrecouped prewar advances paid him by UE, a total of 14,607 Austrian schillings. Weill did not respond, so UE eventually deducted that amount from royalties that were due Weill's estate. See Kim H. Kowalke, "Dancing with the Devil: Publishing Modern Music in the Third Reich," *Modernism/Modernity* 8, no. 1 (January 2001): 13.
361. According to the U.S. Census Bureau, the national average family income in 1948 was less than \$4,000 per year—less than \$30,000 in 2008 dollars.
362. This figure includes approximately \$5,000 that Lenya earned as a performer during the decade.
363. These one-time lump-sum payments resulted in very high tax liabilities during that calendar year, but the sale of the film rights of *Lady in the Dark* allowed Weill and Lenya to purchase Brook House in 1941.
364. Weill, "Score for a Play," *New York Times*, 5 January 1947.
365. "[...] er wurde, mit einer schüchtern verschlagenden Unschuld, die entwaffnete, zum Broadwaykomponisten, mit Cole Porter als Vorbild, und redete sich ein, die Konzessionen an den kommerziellen Betrieb seien keine, sondern lediglich ein Test des ‚Könners‘, der auch in standardisierten Grenzen alles vermöchte." "Kurt Weill – Musiker des epischen Theaters," *Frankfurter Rundschau*, 15 April 1950; reprinted in Theodor W. Adorno, *Gesammelte Schriften*, vol. 18, ed. Rolf Tiedemann (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1984), 544–47; translated in *WPD(e)*, 302.
- Adorno owned copies of the sheet music arrangements of "The Trouble with Women" and "Speak Low," and the latter alone may have been sufficient to bring Cole Porter to mind. Adorno's sheet music from *One Touch of Venus* is preserved in the Theodor W. Adorno Archiv, Frankfurt am Main, NB Adorno 4727 and 4728. No documentary evidence has come to light that suggests Adorno saw a performance of Weill's works in the United States.
366. George Tabori interviews Lotte Lenya. Transcript, date unknown (WLA, Box 73, Folder 5); quoted in *Lenya, the Legend: A Pictorial Autobiography*, ed. David Farneth (Woodstock, N.Y.: Overlook Press, 1998), 150.
367. For detailed information on these recordings, see Friedwald, *Stardust Melodies*, 76–103.
368. These figures are taken from *Joel Whitburn's Record Research: Top Pop Records 1955–1972* (Menomonee Falls, Wisc.: Record Research, 1973) and John R. Williams, *This Was "Your Hit Parade"* (Camden, Maine: Courier-Gazette, Inc., 1973).
369. Hedda Hopper, "Vacation Over, Poitier Is Busy in Films," *Chicago Tribune*, 25 September 1959.
370. Lenya, letter to Mary Daniel, 6 January 1956; photocopy in WLRC, Series 43. Quoted here after the edited text reprinted in *Lenya, the Legend*, ed. Farneth, 150.