

INTRODUCTION

by Tim Carter

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This Edition marks the first publication of the full score and complete text of *Johnny Johnson* (1936), Weill's earliest work specifically composed for his new American audience. The Group Theatre had put Weill in contact with the North Carolina playwright Paul Green (1894–1981) and opened the production at the Forty-Fourth Street Theatre, New York, on 19 November 1936. It ran for just short of two months, closing on 16 January 1937. The Group, however, lost confidence in *Johnny Johnson* during rehearsal, and the version it performed was subject to drastic cuts and last-minute revisions. During the New York run, Green attempted to remedy the defects, preparing a new text for publication that he also submitted to the Federal Theatre Project, which mounted productions in Boston and Los Angeles in May 1937. Weill was in Hollywood at the time, and the latter production further benefited from his advice. The textual and musical sources nonetheless remained confused, as several theater companies complained, even after Weill produced a vocal score in 1940. Six years after Weill's death, Green worked with Stella Adler (formerly of the Group Theatre) on a revival of *Johnny Johnson* (1956); a recording of the music was made that same year. Fifteen years later, Green, Lotte Lenya, and Lys Symonette (Weill's musical assistant on Broadway from 1945 to 1950, and Lenya's accompanist and musical adviser from 1950 to 1981) worked up a revised version that opened briefly in New York in April 1971 and became the one sanctioned for performance. The present Edition, however, returns to the text as Green revised it in December 1936, and more or less as Weill saw *Johnny Johnson* on stage in Los Angeles in May 1937 (even though some small cuts were made there, too). That is the most complete version of the work ever performed.

Johnny Johnson reveals a great deal not just about Weill's attempts to adjust artistically to life in America but also about new theatrical experiments in the mid-1930s, as well as changing political circumstances in a world where war was clearly on the horizon. Much documentation survives for the work in its various incarnations: besides the textual and musical sources themselves, we also have printed programs, press notices, draft scripts and subsequent redactions, rehearsal and production notes, correspondence and memoranda, diary entries, (auto)biographical writings, and transcriptions of interviews and other oral histories. The impact of all these materials on specific issues pertaining to the Edition is detailed in the Critical Report, and the present Introduction draws on them as well.¹

I. Weill, Green, and the Group Theatre

Johnny Johnson appears to owe its inception to Weill's introduction to Harold Clurman, a member of the Group Theatre, during the winter of

1935–36. The composer had arrived in New York City on 10 September 1935 to work on the upcoming production of *The Eternal Road*. The meeting with Clurman prompted the idea of a new musical-theatrical collaboration that would be Weill's first written specifically for the American stage; it would also be the Group's first venture into such terrain. For Weill, this was not the only possibility in the cards. On 31 January 1936 Weill wrote to his publisher, Heugel, in Paris about plans that included a musical with Ben Hecht and Charles MacArthur (the authors of *Jumbo*), adding that "similarly I am having discussions with the Group Theatre, the most modern and newest theater company in New York. They are also very interested in me."² Although a New York production of *Die Dreigroschenoper* in April 1933 had not gone down well, Weill had already gained a reputation in some circles there by way of a production of *Der Jasager* (also April 1933) under the auspices of the Henry Street Settlement Music School, conducted by Lehman Engel and directed by Sanford Meisner (who played Captain Valentine in *Johnny Johnson*), as well as by reports of his work in Germany. Given the Group's own commitment to social drama and its participation in the rise of leftist theater during the Depression years, it was a logical partner for the composer newly arrived on American shores.³

It seems to have been Clurman's codirector, Cheryl Crawford, who suggested a collaboration between Weill and Paul Green (who at that time taught philosophy at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill; he would become a professor of drama there in 1938). Green, a classmate of Thomas Wolfe, had won a Pulitzer Prize in 1927 for his play *In Abraham's Bosom* and had been associated with the Group since its inception in 1931 (its first production was Green's *The House of Connelly*); his play *The Enchanted Maze* was already under consideration for a Group production in 1936–37. He had seen *Die Dreigroschenoper* in Berlin during his Guggenheim Fellowship there in 1928–29, and he had also encountered in Germany the Russian director Alexei Granowski, who inspired him with his ideas on new forms of musical theater.⁴ Although Green may seem an odd choice to collaborate with Weill, he was a poet as well as a playwright and therefore could also write song lyrics, which was a distinct advantage from the Group's point of view. Further, so Clurman later noted, Green "was fascinated with the element of music in the theatre."⁵ In his post-Berlin phase, he made serious attempts to incorporate music in his African American plays, including *Tread the Green Grass* (1928–32) and *Shroud My Body Down* (1935)—both with music by UNC colleague Lamar Stringfield—and *Roll, Sweet Chariot* (1928–34), with music by Dolphe Martin; Green later suggested that *Roll, Sweet Chariot* was the first of his so-called symphonic dramas.⁶ None achieved critical success—only *Roll, Sweet Chariot* played in New York, for one week in early October 1934—and Green's attempts to bring music, dance, and pantomime into the dramatic frame were mostly limited to folk or folklike melodies in simple arrangements. Clearly, however, Green would be receptive at least to the idea of a musical play.⁷

Clurman visited Green in Chapel Hill in early April, and Crawford wrote to Green on the 10th to move the project forward: "Let me know what you think of Schweik. The play on him was culled from three volumes and it might be easier to ascertain the merits of the story from reading that in translation rather than the book. We all think it's a fine idea for an American anti-war comedy in almost revue style and Weill is not only a very talented composer but an exceptionally brilliant theatre man as well.

He believes that the script can be done in four or five weeks of steady collaborative work.⁸ The notion of drawing upon Jaroslav Hašek's novel *The Good Soldier Švejk* (1921–22)—already adapted by Erwin Piscator and others (including Brecht) as a play (1927–28)—appears to have been Weill's; Green was presumably also familiar with Georg Büchner's *Woyzeck* and Carl Zuckmayer's 1931 play *Der Hauptmann von Köpenick*.⁹ The theme was, of course, timely given the Italian invasion and occupation of Ethiopia (annexed on 7 May 1936) and the events leading up to the Spanish Civil War (begun on 17 July). It also played into a broader repertory of novels and plays of the 1930s responding to the ravages of World War I, or war in general, in grotesque terms:¹⁰ for example, Irwin Shaw's play *Bury the Dead*, which played in New York from April to July 1936, is set in "the second year of a war that is to begin tomorrow night," with ghosts of the dead refusing to be buried until governments renounce military action.

Crawford and Weill visited Green in Chapel Hill in early May to map out a scenario for their new play. Weill found him "a curious fellow" and was "not sure whether he's able to handle this project."¹¹ As for Crawford, on her return she thanked Green for his hospitality and offered advice:

I am positive that if you write this play in the spirit you would a movie script and have a good time, and don't worry in the first draft very much about the plot or character motivations, that the final significance that we all want the script to have, can be taken care of in the last draft. . . . Kurt says not to think too much about the music as that can be fitted in and prepared for in later drafts. All we need in the beginning is a good, amusing story.¹²

In his own thank-you letter after his Chapel Hill visit, Weill also made some pointed suggestions for the first act ("The main problem, in my opinion, is to give the first part a real suspense"), identifying the key dramatic moments as Johnny Johnson's decision to enlist in the army—motivated by "the dreams of his girl (romantic heroism) and the propaganda of the government (democracy, liberty)"—and then the "trick" by which he is able to go to Europe. Crawford's codirectors Clurman and Lee Strasberg appear to have had mixed feelings about the project, but they were eventually persuaded later that summer by the Group actors' enthusiastic response to Weill's description of the play and rendition of some of the music.¹³ Still, Crawford apparently remained the prime mover in the project (she later called it "her baby"), and she received special credit for it in the New York program (see Plate 10).¹⁴ Weill also seems to have felt that his professional relationship with Crawford was one of the more positive things to emerge from *Johnny Johnson*. His contract with the Group was prepared on 1 June, and Green's on 29 July.¹⁵

In 1936, as in previous years, the Group spent the summer lodged at the Pine Brook Club in Nichols, Connecticut, where it rehearsed, took classes (dancing, acting, poetic reading, and singing, with fencing optional), and provided weekly entertainment for the inn's guests. Crawford, Weill, Lenya, and Green rented a nearby house (although Green later moved elsewhere) for June–August 1936, during which time Green did much of his work on the play and consulted with Group members to revise and refine the script. Weill apparently wrote most of the music then as well, in some cases drawing on previously composed material.¹⁶ Furthermore, he coached the Group actors by teaching them songs from *Die Dreigroschenoper*; he also presented a lecture titled "What Is Musical Theatre?" on 27 July discussing his prior work in Germany and what he thought were the new possibilities for the United States.¹⁷

Green sent regular progress reports to his wife, Elizabeth Lay Green:

[9 June] I'm going to push through night and day on this thing and try to get a good working draft by the end of the month. If it goes well and the Group decide to open with it, they will need me back sometime in July and August. . . . I am not any too thrilled over the story I've worked out so far, but I hope for the best.

[13 June] Last night I read the first part of *Johnny Johnson* to Cheryl and

Kurt and they liked it very much. I am the least enthusiastic so far. The plan is still to open with it if we possibly can get it in shape by August. I shall stay here till the end of June, hoping to get it pretty nearly scripted and then come home. It may be that I'll have to come back up here, but I hope not. . . . I believe it's going to be easy working with Kurt, and already I have given him a funeral hymn song which he is going to develop for the opening. He liked it very much—again. Some of his melodies from former things are very nice—his wife sings some of them rather well, especially the one about eight sails and fifty cannons ["Seeräuber-Jenny" from *Die Dreigroschenoper*].

[3 July] *Johnny Johnson* is doing fairly well, though I've had to drive myself to the job, feeling lazy most of the time.

[9 July] It is not entirely decided here whether to open the Group season with *Johnny Johnson* or not. It all depends how far along I get in the next week or ten days. I am proceeding at a terribly slow gait. But it's going to be pretty good, I can already see that.

[13 July] *Johnny Johnson* alas creeps on at a snail's pace. I'm still planning to leave here Sunday afternoon.

[30 July] Cheryl has read the play several times and seems to think it is practically ready to go into rehearsal, but how strange to say I am the one who feels least encouraged about it. Or is it strange? Really, yesterday I was so sick of the pile of conglomerate material that I felt as if I would never get anything worthwhile out of it. But I'm tackling it again and will know the worst or best the first of next week. I have told to the group that I want to if possible get away around August fifteenth. Kurt thinks everything will be finished from my point of view by that time. And in fact it may be better for me to be gone since he seems to have such good ideas as to [how] he wants to stage it, though I'm sure if I were present during rehearsals I could make a lot of places better. So unless absolutely necessary to stay here, you may expect to see me around the middle of the month on my way to Hollywood.

[undated, but early August] *Johnny Johnson* is progressing polyp-wise. Slow—slow— But what with cutting and compressing what I've done [it] seems to be very good. Anyway the Group people like it—(I don't always trust their judgment, though mine seems to fit well where their's [*sic*] breaks down), and the present plans are to start rehearsals near the end of the month for opening in October. Kurt has written a lot of beautiful melodies for the lyrics, and he has hopes of a great success. Cheryl says he and I will make more money on this than we'll know what to do with. Uncle Sam will tell us.¹⁸

Elizabeth Lay Green, herself a poet, must have been involved in discussions about *Johnny Johnson* during her husband's periodic returns to Chapel Hill over the summer. At some stage she also provided a version of the lyrics for at least two of the songs: "Oh the Rio Grande" (no. 20) and "Song of the Guns" (no. 22).¹⁹

Harold Clurman remained skeptical about the project. On 18 June he wrote to his cousin and close friend Aaron Copland, "Kurt Weill and Lenja are living at Cheryl's house up there. Weill is working with Paul Green on that play they all concocted together. I hope it turns out alright." On 19 July he told Copland that "the Paul Green–Kurt Weill opus is progressing—a first rehearsal draft is due to be completed August first—but this is a complex affair (technically speaking) and I'm not yet certain that it comes off. Anyway this play seems to me to need a great deal of preparation so it is hardly likely to be our first [of the season]."²⁰ On a reading of the play to the Group on 2 August, as Green noted in his diary, Clurman let loose "a long, hysterical harangue pointing out obvious little values in script, etc." He was somewhat more positive when he wrote to Donald Oenslager (who designed the sets for *Johnny Johnson*) on 20 August asking him to come out to Nichols ("We would like you to read a script and to have time to think about it—so the earlier you come the better it will be for all of us").²¹ However, Clurman may also have had his own agenda: the other play being worked on at the summer retreat was Clifford Odets's *The Silent Partner*, and Clurman was hoping to persuade Copland to write the incidental music—either to scoop Crawford or to gain what could have

been a spectacular coup for the Group, with both Weill and Copland in its 1936–37 season.²²

In an interview almost forty years later (8 February 1974), Green discussed the creative processes involved in *Johnny Johnson*, including the fact that the text and music went hand in hand and that Group actors had significant input, even at the level of shaping individual lines of text.²³ He also noted here and elsewhere that he both admired and felt frustrated with the Group's political leanings, its commitment to Stanislavsky, and its working methods rooted in what seemed to him endless improvisation and relentless critique. His early draft of Act I (Tt1) reveals something of the state of the play by the end of that summer: although the six scenes are close in outline to the final text, there are significant differences in detail, and not all the songs have been fixed (for example, "Aggie's Song" has four stanzas, and "The West-Pointer's Song" has a different text that does not fit the music). The first scene in particular would be greatly changed: it involves the unveiling not of a monument to "peace" but, rather, of a tombstone for "Dan," a hero of the Spanish–American War (1898), who turns out (to rather limp comic effect) to be a horse; Green's even earlier ideas for the scene also suggest a number of other scenarios for it, including one based in Washington, D.C. (as Johnny Johnson and Minny Belle visit the city on a Sunday School outing).²⁴ The tombstone explains Minny Belle's "Epitaph" to Dan—the first version of "Democracy Advancing" (for which the piano-vocal score Vh survives)—presumably the "funeral hymn song" that Green noted to his wife on 13 June (see above). The subsequent revision also left some loose ends that were never resolved. The title of Grandpa Joe's song in Act I, Scene i in the published vocal score (Ve), "The Battle of San Juan Hill," derives from this first version, referring to the battle that took place on 1 July 1898 in Cuba. The removal of Dan required reworking the text, so that instead it extolled Grandpa Joe's exploits "Up Chickamauga Hill" in a Civil War battle (18–20 September 1863)—a change that forced Green into some uncharacteristic historical lapses (Chickamauga is, in fact, a creek, and General Francis C. Barlow, mentioned in the song, did not fight there). Musical material composed but apparently dropped during this period includes the first of a series of three songs for Minny Belle in I.ii (her "ballad of the dauntless soldier" noted in Tt1, 33; this may be the untexted "Minnie Bell's Song" in Vh) and a trio in I.iii (the recruiting office) for Sergeant Jackson, Captain Valentine, and Dr. McBray ("We Need a Man," in Vh, reworking "Lied des Gerichtsvollziehers" from *Der Kuhhandel*; this trio was evidently removed prior to Tt1).²⁵

II. Rehearsals and Premiere

Despite Clurman's reservations, various New York newspapers (e.g., the *Mirror* and *Herald-Tribune*) announced on 4 August that the Group would open its 1936–37 season with *Johnny Johnson*, followed by Clifford Odets's *The Silent Partner* (which Odets never finished).²⁶ The Group continued its weekly performances at Pine Brook through August, usually on Wednesdays, with an additional performance on Monday, 31 August; these consisted of one-act plays, along with Weill songs performed by Lenya. After their final performance on Saturday, 12 September, the Group returned to the city.²⁷ Although the *New York Herald-Tribune* reported on 23 August that neither *Johnny Johnson* nor *The Silent Partner* was ready, rehearsals for *Johnny Johnson* began in the Belmont Theatre either on Monday, 14 September (if we are to believe Green), or on Monday, 28 September (as reported in the *Herald-Tribune* on 24 September), with the intention to open in late October.²⁸

Lehman Engel had already approached Weill in July 1936 about the possibility of acting as musical director for *Johnny Johnson* (Weill wrote on the 27th that he would recommend him to the Group), evidently on the basis of a recommendation from Copland to Clurman, and he was in place by 17 September, when he met with the Executive Board of the American Federation of Musicians, Local 802, to discuss in general terms contractual arrangements for the musicians.²⁹ It remained unclear who would direct

the play, however: shortly after the Group's return to New York City, Clurman relinquished that role to Strasberg on the grounds that he was overburdened with administrative tasks.³⁰ We do not know when Weill sent the copyists piano-vocal materials for rehearsal purposes (leading to Vm1 and Pm1) and his full score (Fh) for extraction of the instrumental parts (Im1); the parts, at least, seem to have come quite late in the process. Meanwhile, Green continued writing and revising his text: he wrote to his wife on Saturday, 17 October, that he planned to have "almost the last touches" completed by the following Wednesday. He later recalled the dismal time he had trying to figure out how to end the play and his ultimate dissatisfaction with its conclusion.³¹

As usual, a regular flow of press releases from the Group's publicist, Emanuel Eisenberg, and from the agents of individual actors kept the newspapers informed of the play's progress (or lack thereof).³² The *New York Daily Worker* noted the casting of the title role (Russell Collins) on 28 September; the *New York Herald-Tribune* listed other cast members on 8 October (Phoebe Brand, William Challee, Morris Carnovsky, Jules Garfield, Elia Kazan, Sanford Meisner, Art Smith, and Albert Van Dekker). On 15 October the *New York Times* added Lee J. Cobb and Joseph Pevney to the list (along with Luther Adler, Robert Lewis, Paula Miller, Eunice Stoddard, and Ruth Nelson), and on the 28th the *New York World-Telegram* reported completion of the casting (Roman Bohnen, Grover Burgess, Herbert Ratner, and numerous others). On 21 October, the *New York Times* and other newspapers mentioned a ten-piece orchestra to be directed by Lehman Engel (though more players are in fact needed). The *Herald-Tribune* reported on 25 October the Group's appointment of Lasar Galpern to instruct the actors in body technique and dramatic gesture. On 27 October and 3 November, the *New York Times* noted the inclusion of twenty musical numbers. The state of the play also gave rise to speculation: the *New York American* reported on 28 October that Clifford Odets had been brought in to knock things into shape, although the rumor was countered in the *New York Times* on the 31st. The financing, too, met with doubt, at least until the *New York Times* could report (on 10 November) that John Hay (Jock) Whitney—a prominent playboy, racehorse owner, and the founder of Pioneer Pictures, who later became a diplomat and philanthropist—was backing the production.³³ The Group also generated interest through a series of lectures and colloquia on modern drama at the New School for Social Research on alternate Saturday mornings, starting on 10 October.³⁴

As the opening approached, the Group's press office started issuing longer press releases and also printed a publicity flyer:

... This is an American folk legend, full of the humors of old vaudeville and the provincial family album, but sharpened with brilliant comments on the madness of contemporary life—ranging from wars that make the world safe for democracy to the affectations of mental healing. Johnny Johnson is an American Don Quixote whose simple wisdom and uninhibited honesty expose the folly of his fellow men.

While this is a play with songs, it is not a musical show. The singing arises naturally from the situations of the imaginative story and the verses of the song flow as simply as the prose of the speech. Paul Green, whose dramatic pictures of American folk life have greatly enriched the literature of our stage, wrote the story; and Kurt Weill, the distinguished European composer, wrote the tuneful, gay and touching music.

The Group Theatre believes *Johnny Johnson* to be the most unusual and entertaining play it has presented thus far.³⁵

The press took up the thread and started to carry longer stories about the play and its collaborators. Thus on Saturday 17 October the *Midweek Pictorial* featured a two-page spread on the Group and its activities over the summer leading up to *Johnny Johnson*: "While the play is studded with songs, it is not a musical show in the traditional sense. The lyrics written by Green, and scored by Weill, flow naturally as an opera aria from the situations in which the characters find themselves. They are written with the directness and casualness of prose speech, and attain a tuneful, gay and mocking quality not usual in the tin-pan alley songs America consumes."

Weill continued the theme in his article “The Alchemy of Music,” published in *Stage* in November (with the subtitle “Music may be the ingredient that will transmute the play into living theatre”).³⁶ In interviews with Weill carried in the *Daily Worker* (10 November, with the headline “A Musician Who Devotes His Talent to Theatre”) and repeated in the *Brooklyn Daily Eagle* (15 November, under the headline “Music in Exile”), the *Newark Ledger* (17 November), and the *New York Post* (5 December), we likewise learn that “*Johnny Johnson* will be the first effort in America of a basic fusion of drama and music in the legitimate theatre” and, moreover, that “Kurt Weill is not here on a visit, as he was in Paris and London; he is here to stay, since he is convinced that the important popular experiments he began in Germany can achieve completion in this country more readily than anywhere in the world.”³⁷

While most of these early accounts were prompted by Group press releases, *Johnny Johnson* appears to have captured some interest, particularly in the left-wing papers. It may also have stood out amid the relative paucity of high-class theatrical offerings in the 1936–37 season, one regarded both at the time and in retrospect as somewhat lackluster. From September until early January, the D’Oyly Carte Opera Company ran a series of Gilbert and Sullivan operettas at the Martin Beck Theatre; *White Horse Inn* opened on 1 October;³⁸ Cole Porter’s *Red, Hot, and Blue*, starring Jimmy Durante, Ethel Merman, and Bob Hope, had its premiere on the 29th (with sets by Donald Oenslager, who also designed *Johnny Johnson* plus seven other new shows between September and December); the short-lived Romberg–Harbach *Forbidden Melody* began on 2 November; and Rodgers and Hart’s *On Your Toes*, which had opened on 11 April 1936, transferred to the Majestic Theatre on 9 November. Not that *Johnny Johnson* was ever mentioned in the same breath as such conventional musical fare—if anything, it was linked to “social” dramas of the season, such as the Federal Theatre Project’s productions of John C. Moffitt and Sinclair Lewis’s *It Can’t Happen Here* (26 October), which was a satire on a fascist dictator ruling America (a thinly veiled portrait of Senator Huey Long); E. P. Conkle’s *200 Were Chosen* (20 November), about the recent fiasco of government-sponsored settlement in the Matanuska Valley, Alaska; and, of course, the left-wing plays by Clifford Odets and others, by which the Group had made its name. Ticket prices give a similar impression: *Red, Hot, and Blue* topped out at \$4.40 for the best evening seat and *White Horse Inn* at \$3.85, whereas the highest price for *Johnny Johnson* was \$2.75—higher than for a normal play (and also for the *Ziegfeld Follies*) but suggesting and, it would seem, encouraging a different kind of audience. It is probably no coincidence that on 16 November, Green addressed a lunchtime audience of some four hundred at the League for Political Education on the subject of his play.³⁹

On 27 October the *New York Times* announced the venue for *Johnny Johnson* as “very likely” the Forty-Fourth Street Theatre, with a projected opening on 17 November; the *Brooklyn Times-Union* confirmed the performance space on 1 November, although other papers continued to hedge until the *New York Times* issued its own confirmation on the 3rd.⁴⁰ The production moved to the Forty-Fourth Street Theatre in early November, with five pre-premiere run-throughs of the play starting on Thursday the 12th (then Friday, Saturday, Monday, and Tuesday)—some in the presence of potential backers and benefit audiences—which were then critiqued by the Group.⁴¹ Notes on the run-throughs by Green and others reveal a work in some disarray, in part because of the difficulties of transferring from a smaller rehearsal space to a very large theater, in part because of the oversize sets, and finally because of the limited singing abilities of the Group actors.⁴² Later reports record that Weill was very nervous during the preparations for *Johnny Johnson*, given that it was his first foray into the American theater, and that he behaved with uncharacteristic brusqueness.⁴³ The main issue that emerges from the rehearsal notes, however, is that the Group (and to a large extent, Green himself) simply could not adjust to the dynamic of a musical play, where songs necessarily halt the action and force a change of gear. Such circumstances ran counter to the Group’s Stanislavskian principles, and director Lee Strasberg seems to have been unable to cope.

The state of the play during the rehearsals in New York City is apparent from *Tt2*, a complete text in three acts with the same scenes as in the final version, although some of the detail still differs. Act I, Scene i, retains the monument to “Dan,” although the horse is now a veteran of the Civil War and Minny Belle no longer sings its “epitaph” but, rather, “Democracy Advancing” (and Grandpa Joe recounts his exploits “Up Chickamauga Hill”); in I.ii, “Aggie’s Song” has a longer text (nine stanzas) involving exchanges between Minny Belle and Grandpa Joe, who argue over Johnny Johnson’s suitability as a prospective husband; and Minny Belle enters toward the end of I.v to take a final farewell of Johnny as he embarks for France (the text of the song “Farewell, Goodbye” is a still later addition to *Tt2*). In Act II, Scene ii space is left, but no words given, for the reprise of “Captain Valentine’s Song” and for “Oh the Rio Grande”; “Johnny’s Dream” and “Song of the Guns” are in a separate scene; the French Nurse has a reprise of “Mon Ami, My Friend” at the end of II.iv; and in place of what became “The Dance of the Generals” is a Gilbert and Sullivan-type chorus (“Hay-hay-hay-hee-hee / Six little happy little boys are we”). Finally, Act III, Scene iii contains a long opening monologue for Johnny, although a penciled note adds, “All of Johnny’s speech here is cut. He has scene with the child and then stands alone on the stage and sings a very beautiful song about his faith in what he believes and in the world.”

The Group made major changes to the music as opening night approached. At a meeting with the Executive Board of the American Federation of Musicians, Local 802, on Thursday 12 November, Crawford reported that “many musical numbers are being cut” and that the Group was “still pruning the numbers in the show.”⁴⁴ Although her report was intended to reinforce the classification of *Johnny Johnson* as a “dramatic show” (and therefore to reduce the requirement for, and cost of, musicians), it seems clear that these musical decisions were being made, rather, for what the Group considered to be artistic reasons. The internal notes on the run-throughs starting that Thursday suggest that it was quickly decided to drop Minny Belle’s “Farewell, Goodbye” from I.v because of its sentimentality (Green later moved the song to I.ii, although Weill never followed suit). Weill had designed the song to include a march (for the soldiers to exit) prior to a brief return to the main melody (for Minny Belle left alone, it seems), then moving to an instrumental version of “Johnny’s Song” to cover the change of scene to I.vi. The cut forced Weill to rethink the soldiers’ exit (he adopted an instrumental version of “Democracy Advancing” instead), as well as his plan to use “Farewell, Goodbye” for the instrumental Interlude between III.i and III.ii (he replaced it with “Oh the Rio Grande”). “Aggie’s Song” in I.ii seems to have been cut early in the run-throughs, as was II.i (with “Song of the Wounded Frenchmen”), which the Group felt would not work in the larger theater. Scenes iv–v in Act I (the drill ground and bayonet run) were combined in a single scene, while retaining, at least for the moment, “The Sergeant’s Chant” and “The West-Pointer’s Song,” although Captain Valentine appears to have lost the continuations of his song in I.iii and I.iv (but not I.v and II.ii, somewhat inconsequentially). “Song of the Goddess” (I.vi) was cut after the Monday run-through because the words could not be heard.⁴⁵ Dropping it created further problems with the musical sequence beginning at the end of I.v (already disrupted, we have seen, by the removal of “Farewell, Goodbye”). The production first adopted the ending of the “Song of the Goddess” (mm. 30–55) as an instrumental conclusion to the act (also curtailing the prior instrumental version of “Johnny’s Song”), but Weill then replaced it entirely with a five-measure cadential flourish that seems to have been hastily composed. This cut also forced the removal of the (wordless) reprise of “Song of the Goddess” in II.ix, so there was no return via New York Harbor at the end of Act II. Rather, the Group decided to incorporate II.viii (the death of Johann) within the “flashes” in II.vii during “In Time of War and Tumults,” for which Weill revised the ending to conclude the act.⁴⁶

All these changes preceded the compilation of *Tt3*, which served as the prompt script for the Group production. Even after that script, however, further cuts and changes were contemplated. The first two scenes of Act I

caused anxiety because they were thought irrelevant to the main action, and because the staging of I.i was not working out. A late proposal to recast them into a single scene—beginning in the Tompkins house (I.ii) and interpolating the declaration of war and Johnny's indecision over enlisting—was not enacted. There was some discussion about removing the character of Aggie Tompkins entirely ("Aggie's Song" had already disappeared, as noted above), but she was retained. "Johnny's Dream" in II.ii appears to have been dropped, and the following "Song of the Guns" was under threat, although it finally justified itself. Green and others made a strenuous case for playing out "The Allied High Command" (II.v) in speech rather than song (and without underscoring), and even performing the laughing-gas episode toward the end of that scene over just a drum roll (as Weill had originally planned, so it was claimed), thereby removing "The Dance of the Generals."⁴⁷ It seems that "The Battle" in II.vi (which does not accompany any battle but instead underscores events prior to the resumption of war) was a candidate for similar treatment. Elsewhere, concerns about the interference of the songs in the dramatic action led to the repeated insistence that they be reduced to one stanza (for "Oh the Rio Grande" and "Mon Ami, My Friend") and delivered in the manner of recitative—more spoken than sung, an approach deemed successful with "Captain Valentine's Song" in I.iii and its surviving repetitions. It is not clear, however, whether any of these changes took place, and indeed, there would probably have been a resistance to them on practical grounds given that the Group was subsequently disallowed by the American Federation of Musicians, Local 802, from dismissing any of the musicians used in the pit once *Johnny Johnson* opened.⁴⁸

During the final run-throughs, members of the Group became increasingly convinced that they had a disaster on their hands. The opening had originally been announced for late October, then Saturday 14 November, and then Tuesday 17 November (as it remained until very late in the day).⁴⁹ Some advocated postponement and even, perhaps, a road tour. In the end, however, the opening was delayed just two days, until the 19th, ostensibly because of mechanical problems with speeding up the nineteen [*sic*] set changes, as the newspapers reported, although some further noted that the cast had difficulty coordinating with the orchestra.⁵⁰ Opening-night telegrams had a slight air of desperation mixed with wishful thinking: according to Weill's to the Group, "whatever may happen tonight your performance of *Johnny Johnson* will live in the history of modern theatre as the rebirth of the great theatre culture."⁵¹ The list of scenes in the program for the opening night (there is no list of musical numbers) omits I.v (already conflated with I.iv in Tt3), I.vi, II.i, and II.ix (II.viii was conflated with II.vii), although it is clear that Johnny still had his speech in I.vi (albeit without "Song of the Goddess"), and that scene was restored in the listing included in the program for the week beginning 30 November.⁵² It is not clear precisely what further changes, if any, were made during the run, although the conflated drill-ground scene may have been cut (as Green remarked much later).⁵³

"Johnny's Song" in III.iii (beginning "When man was first created" in Tt3—the only time Johnny sings in the play) created controversy. Weill was clearly on the lookout for one or more hit songs from *Johnny Johnson* that might generate income by sheet-music sales and other performances live and on the radio. Feeling that Green's text was ill-suited to such a purpose, Weill (or perhaps his publisher, Chappell) approached the stock lyricist Edward Heyman for a new set of words: Heyman (1907–81) had written for Nacio Herb Brown, Rudolf Friml, Morton Gould, Johnny Green, Sigmund Romberg, Vincent Youmans, and others. Weill then argued that Heyman's lyrics ("To Love You and To Lose You") should be used in the play, but Green strongly disagreed and demanded of Crawford his right to approve or reject the words ("We have all had a lot of difficulty in getting the play across to the public even in its present state and I have no wish to add to that difficulty").⁵⁴ In the end, a compromise was reached whereby a hodgepodge text (also published separately in the sheet music) was used in performances of *Johnny Johnson*, starting with Heyman's words but then reverting to Green's after four lines. Green was never

happy with that outcome, although he was also dissatisfied with his original text: he wanted to revise it for the 1956 revival (but never did, it seems) and did so somewhat halfheartedly for the 1971 one.⁵⁵ Indeed, Green's documents concerning *Johnny Johnson* imply that he was unhappy with the entire ending of the play because he thought it lacked punch.

Clurman and Crawford both recall being surprised at how well the first performance went, but said that the press reviews condemned the production to failure.⁵⁶ The opening-night reviews (appearing on 20 November) were certainly mixed, although many noted the audience's final cheers and Paul Green's impassioned (or, some suggested, desperate) curtain speech citing Woodrow Wilson. The mainstream New York critics sat on the fence or tended toward the negative. For Richard Watts, Jr., in the *New York Herald-Tribune*, *Johnny Johnson* was "a disturbing and often hilarious medley of caricature, satire, musical comedy, melodrama, farce, social polemic and parable"; for Gilbert W. Gabriel in the *New York American*, it was "a strange, brave bungle." Brooks Atkinson ended his review in the *New York Times*, "And so people who believe that plays should be written about intelligent themes and who also relish experiments in form have something to be thankful for this morning. The Group Theatre has sponsored the first departure from polite mediocrity of the season. If it is not all buoyant, that merely proves, in this column's opinion[,] that the aim has been high. Most of *Johnny Johnson* rings true because it has been written by a natural man who has a flavorsome speech and a glorious imagination." Burns Mantle in the *New York News* found the play sincere but fumbling and awkward (he also included a stock publicity photo of Dorothy Brackett identified as a cast member, although she was not), while Wilella Waldorf in the *New York Post* thought that it needed more time to settle: "At best it is a brilliant satire on the war-mindedness of nations. At its worst it is amateurish foolery. In its present form the production is best viewed as a series of more or less disconnected scenes. Like a revuegoer [*sic*], you enjoy some of them and are bored stiff by others."

Recurring refrains in the reviews were that *Johnny Johnson* was hit-and-miss, that the serious theme was undermined by the burlesque satire (although the comic moments were relished, with Morris Carnovsky receiving special plaudits as Dr. Mahodan), and that the Group was unable to cope with either the play or the music. Watts found the score "the joy of the evening" and almost as good as Weill's *Die Dreigroschenoper*, while Gabriel noted that "for this sometimes uproarious, now and then weirdly effective, most often confusing and windy and scrabbling parable Mr. Weill has composed music which certainly matches. Simple, slyly parodying, cruelly insinuating music. Music of a curiously corrosive quality, staining and etching and eating deeply into all the nonsense on stage." Most reviewers, however, ignored the score, or dismissed it as irrelevant and intrusive (as did John Anderson in the *New York Evening Journal*). Evidently no music critics from the major newspapers wrote about the play—they typically reviewed only opera and concerts—and their lack of input counted against a work such as *Johnny Johnson*. Nor did any of the reviews pick up on the claims made by Weill in prior articles and interviews of a unique (and, at least potentially, a uniquely American) fusion of music and drama, although Marc Blitzstein came closest in the November–December issue of *Modern Music*. Perhaps this fusion was not a concern for drama critics, or perhaps the nationalism implicit in such a claim, even if Weill had been able to satisfy it, would have seemed inappropriate coming from a German who had so recently arrived in the United States.

Johnny Johnson fared better—perhaps revealingly, given its apparent intended audience—in the non-Manhattan papers. Arthur Pollock wrote a highly favorable review in the *Brooklyn Daily Eagle* in terms he reiterated in the *Christian Science Monitor*: "So you see, here we have something very jolly and sad, hopeful and discouraging, bitter and sweet, derisory and tenderly compassionate. It is a play you cannot help but be fond of." For Michael March of the *Brooklyn Citizen*, the play was "unbelievably hybrid and unorthodox in content and structure, but in parts moving and sometimes hilarious. . . . The music of Kurt Weill[!], German exile, is brilliant, and it is probably responsible for much of the charm that lies inherent in

Johnny Johnson.” The *Brooklyn Times-Union* felt that “back of all the work’s eccentric manners is to be found an earnest, almost spiritual quality that is genuinely impressive,” and the *Union City Center News* (N.J., 1 December) insisted that “the critical tongue wagging and head shaking of New York’s demigod critics has become so automatic and axiomatic that this suburbanite reviewer wants it known here and now that he is not a case for the psychiatrists when he carries his parade banners for the Group Theatre’s *Johnny Johnson*.”

In addition to reviewers from the outer boroughs, the left-wing press took significant interest in the play both before and after its opening, with the *Daily Worker* (20 November), *People’s Press* (21 November), and *Socialist Call* (also the 21st) carrying photographs of Russell Collins as Johnny (with Paula Miller as the French Nurse in the *People’s Press*). The *Daily Worker* printed reviews of *Johnny Johnson* on 21 and 25 November (by Charles E. Dexter) and, more briefly, on 7 December: here the feeling was, again, that the play only intermittently reached its target—despite the “expert musical range-finding of that anti-Nazi exile, Kurt Weill”—and that although Act III saved the day, Green had missed the point that there needed to be an uprising against the captains of industry who sponsor the machinery of war. The unsigned comment on 7 December reiterated the ambivalence: *Johnny Johnson* “is the liberal Paul Green’s sometimes brilliant attack upon the forces which caused the Great War. . . . It is well worth seeing, although you may not like the romanticized conclusions which Mr. Green draws.”

The Jewish papers were also favorable, broadly speaking, as were Jewish groups in general: the performance on Monday 23 November was to be attended by the Women’s Auxiliary of Temple Israel (so the *Nassau Star* reported on 5 November), and on 8 January, the *Union Temple Bulletin* (Brooklyn) noted that that evening Dr. Tedesche (the Rabbi of Union Temple) was to preach a “sermonic review of [the] Broadway Play” entitled “*Johnny Johnson* Speaks Words of Peace.”⁵⁷ Further good reviews appeared in the women’s dailies and weeklies, as well as in the college press. *Women’s Wear Daily* (20 November) thought that the Group acted “splendidly,” that the music helped establish the mood, and that the theme was important. *New York Woman*, which had carried a one-page article on the Group on 25 November, said on 2 December that *Johnny Johnson* was “in spite of anything you have heard to the contrary—a gripping play, the first event of dramatic importance this year.”

In part as a result of these alternative views, it seems, some of the more mainstream critics appear to have been moved to return to the Forty-Fourth Street Theatre and to write reevaluations that toned down their prior criticisms. Brooks Atkinson’s second review in the *New York Times*, on 29 November, took into account the music (“Mr. Weill’s trenchant and brilliantly orchestrated score has a great deal of strength to give to *Johnny Johnson* when Mr. Green’s cartoon composition is weakest”). Whitney Bolton in the *New York Telegraph*, who had felt on 21 November that the play was too derivative of vaudeville, acknowledged on 24 November that it was provocative and continued to stir her thoughts, which was a sign in its favor. *Time* praised the play on 30 November (“the Group’s finest and freshest show since *Waiting for Lefty*”), acknowledging “composer Weill for the weird, haunting little ballads and Europeanized fox trots which immensely help to articulate the play.” The *New York Telegraph* on 4 December picked up on the popular approval: everyone was singing and whistling “When Man Was First Created” (“Johnny’s Song”) “on streets, in subways, in bathtubs and on terraces from one end of this comely island to the other.” The next day’s report in the *Cincinnati Billboard*, that *Johnny Johnson* was “the most pretentiously silly claptrap of the season,” had already been countered by proposals for a Pulitzer Prize or Drama Critics’ Circle Award (suggested in the *Daily News-Record* on 27 November).

Interest continued in the press through December. *The Nation* ran a balanced review by Joseph Wood Krutch on 5 December (noting the “mordant commentary” of music that is “more perfectly realized” than the play and “serves to give a unity that the text itself is not always able to maintain”), and photos of the production appeared in the *New York Midweek Pictorial* on 9 December. Finally, the *Brooklyn Times-Union* featured a long

article about lead actor Russell Collins on Sunday 20 December, in which he admitted that he sang “Johnny’s Song” in a low key—D major, he thought (as it is in *Fh*)—because of his inability to sing high notes; he also commented that the play originally had a great deal more music and “five or six” other scenes: “It was like *Parsifal* or something, until they took a pair of scissors to it.”⁵⁸ *Musical America* carried an interview with Weill on 25 December where he claimed credit for thinking up “Song of the Guns” but also sidestepped the relevance of *Johnny Johnson* to the looming events in Europe; the *Brooklyn Daily Eagle* published a similar interview with Weill on 20 December and provided a history of the Group on the 27th; on 30 December, *New York Woman* nominated the production for a 1937 Drama Critics’ Circle Award; and on 5 January 1937, the *Daily Worker* carried an article by Lee Strasberg about the play.⁵⁹ Two days earlier, the *New York Herald-Tribune* had reported that “*Johnny Johnson* now seems to be an indefinite tenant of the Forty-Fourth and will probably keep the Group busy for some time to come.” Alas, that was not to be.

The *Literary Digest* (2 January 1937) noted the apparent oddity of critics returning to write second reviews of a Broadway production. But the reevaluation of *Johnny Johnson* in late November and early December may also have reflected external circumstances that made it seem more timely. Franklin D. Roosevelt, newly elected to his second term as president of the United States, delivered the opening address at the Inter-American Conference for the Maintenance of Peace in Buenos Aires on 1 December 1936. Although the focus was on Pan-American issues as part of the “Good Neighbor” policy that had lain at the heart of his first term, Roosevelt expanded the scope of the argument both in the opening address itself and in a speech made before the Brazilian Congress in Rio de Janeiro on 27 November (en route to Buenos Aires). These speeches were widely covered in the U.S. press, and the Buenos Aires one was broadcast live on numerous radio stations. Roosevelt noted the progress since the last Pan-American conference in Uruguay in 1933:

While the succeeding period has justified in full measure all that was said and done at Montevideo, it has unfortunately emphasized the seriousness of threats to peace among other Nations. Events elsewhere have served only to strengthen our horror of war and all that war means. The men, women, and children of the Americas know that warfare in this day and age means more than the mere clash of armies: they see the destruction of cities and of farms; they foresee that children and grandchildren, if they survive, will stagger for long years not only under the burden of poverty but also amid the threat of broken society and the destruction of constitutional government.

“I am profoundly convinced that the plain people everywhere in the civilized world today wish to live in peace one with another,” he continued, even though “beyond the ocean we see continents rent asunder by old hatreds and new fanaticisms.” “Can we, the Republics of the New World, help the Old World to avert the catastrophe which impends?” Roosevelt asked rhetorically. “Yes; I am confident that we can,” he replied, urging international collaboration, the dissemination of democracy, and free trade. Roosevelt then hedged his bets: in a comment widely reported in Europe, he argued that “in this determination to live at peace among ourselves we in the Americas make it at the same time clear that we stand shoulder to shoulder in our final determination that others who, driven by war madness or land hunger, might seek to commit acts of aggression against us will find a Hemisphere wholly prepared to consult together for our mutual safety and our mutual good.” Nonetheless, the hugely successful speech was largely interpreted as a plea for world peace, an attack on war in any form, and a defense of American neutrality on the long-established principles of the Monroe Doctrine. *Johnny Johnson* had found its most powerful spokesman.⁶⁰

Negotiations for movie rights to the play took place in December (and again in 1937 and 1938), but they came to naught.⁶¹ At about the same time, Green began to prepare a version of his text for publication, drawing on *Tt3* but also seeking to restore elements of the play that had been cut or distorted in the Group production. He completed this revision on or around 19 December and mailed it to his publisher (French) on the

28th, with a note that “I am anxious to get the book out before the play has a chance to close—if it should have such a chance in the next couple of months.”⁶² By early January he had also sent a copy of this script to the Federal Theatre Project (see below), which was then retyped on stencils and mimeographed (Tt4). This revised version included “Aggie’s Song” and “Farewell, Goodbye” (now in I.ii); it reinstated I.iv and I.v as two separate scenes; it included “Song of the Goddess” at the end of I.vi; and it restored II.i and II.ix. However, it evidently did not include “Johnny’s Song” at the end of III.iii (which instead has Johnny just whistling his tune), whether because Green was still unhappy over the Heyman controversy or because he remained dissatisfied with his text.⁶³ But at some point he must have communicated the words of “Johnny’s Song,” which were added to Tt4 as a separate note.

French sent three copies of galley proofs (Tp0) on 30 January 1937: the text is very close to Tt4 except for the ending, apparently adjusted in Tt4 on the basis of subsequent communication from Green.⁶⁴ However, in correcting the proofs (which he returned on 3 February), Green excised I.iv–v and the text of “Song of the Goddess” (also cutting the second stanza of “Song of the Wounded Frenchmen” and part of “Oh the Rio Grande”) and made other minor changes; thus the first printed edition (Tp1), copies of which reached Green in late March, reflects these excisions and distances itself from Tt4 accordingly.⁶⁵ It is not clear whether this treatment was a matter of preference or simply forced by the need to issue a serviceable version of the play that would run to time. In early 1938, Green printed the removed I.iv–v as a separate one-act (and single-scene) play *Roses for Johnny Johnson* (TpR); this version modifies the text as it appeared in the Tp0 galleys to clarify various points in the action and to some extent in the dialogue.⁶⁶ Thus it sharpens Johnny’s comments on the war: “As Woodrow Wilson says—we have no quarrel with the German people—it’s their leaders are to blame—The Proosian warlords are leading the whole world into shameless slaughter. They’re the guys we’re going after, and make the world safe for democracy.” It also clarifies the meaning of the Camp Doll’s roses, with Johnny gaining them by connivance rather than witlessly—a detail that changes his character significantly.

Green was uncertain how best to credit Weill in Tp1: his revised script submitted for publication may have omitted mention of the composer altogether—chiefly, it seems, because he did not wish to give the impression that Tp1 would contain the music—although in the end the composer did receive mention on the printed title page.⁶⁷ Green also sought Weill’s agreement for the idea of printing just the melodies at the back of the book (as he had also suggested earlier to his wife), and he said that regardless of what Weill decided, he would include a note to the effect that the score and parts were to be published by Chappell (no such note appeared in the end).⁶⁸ Weill himself had already published (via Chappell) four songs from *Johnny Johnson* as sheet music (Ae): “Oh Heart of Love,” “Oh the Rio Grande,” “Mon Ami, My Friend,” and “Johnny’s Song” (to Heyman’s lyrics as “To Love You and To Lose You”).⁶⁹ The composer also gave newspaper interviews and took part in various publicity activities to maintain interest in the production during the early stages of its New York run. One such event, a symposium on “the Broadway success” *Johnny Johnson* sponsored by the Cultural and Recreational Division of the International Ladies Garment Workers’ Union on Saturday, 19 December, featured Weill along with Lee Strasberg, Russell Collins (Johnny), and Julius Hochman (President of the Labor Stage); other cast members performed songs from the play.⁷⁰ The ILGWU was prominent for its own social theater productions, and it and similar labor organizations provided a logical audience for an antiwar play with a lowly hero. Beyond these external activities, Weill seems to have done little or nothing to the play itself during the run; he was fast becoming preoccupied with *The Eternal Road*, which after long delays went into rehearsal on 27 November 1936 and opened on 7 January 1937.⁷¹

Weekly receipts for *Johnny Johnson* during its New York run averaged around \$6,500—which would have been decent for a spoken play but was insufficient to cover the costs of one with music and a large cast—and the finances remained tight even after the original backers agreed to inject an-

other \$20,000 into the production in early December.⁷² Despite a significant upturn in ticket sales over Christmas and New Year, *Johnny Johnson* closed on 16 January after sixty-eight performances—a reasonable number, but not that of a hit.⁷³ On the 17th, the *Brooklyn Daily Eagle* deplored the bad taste of New York audiences that led to the closing of such worthy productions while allowing dross to gain success; the *New York Times* carried an article by Harold Clurman denying rumors of the collapse of the Group; and the *New York Herald-Tribune* noted that Russell Collins was planning to do *Johnny Johnson* in Cleveland. Some of the Group’s supporters seem to have felt that the play might have survived without the music: on 12 November 1936 (the day of the first run-through), Helen Thompson wrote to Cheryl Crawford that “we love Kurt and we recognize the beauty of his score—but *Johnny Johnson* has turned out to be most effective when it is a play. Let’s face it—for the future of the Group.”⁷⁴ Green, on the other hand, was more than just politely eloquent about Weill’s contribution in his letter to the composer of 22 December 1936:

I want you to know that you have my thanks and admiration for your splendid collaboration. It was always a difficult and uncertain job with me, made more so by the fact that my listening ear obscured the vision of my seeing eye, and I’m sure that without your full experience in the musicalized theatre we could not have got anywhere. And of course behind it all was Cheryl. All in all, I think it was a job worth doing, and I hope that we have the chance of doing something of the same sort in the movies together.⁷⁵

By the end of January, Weill had moved to Hollywood to seek opportunities in the film industry. As for the Group, the difficulties during the rehearsals of *Johnny Johnson* and dissatisfaction with the production—compounding the failure of its prior new production, Erwin Piscator and Lena Goldschmidt’s *The Case of Clyde Griffiths* (which closed after only nineteen performances in March 1936)—provoked a severe crisis of morale, with strong questioning of the Group’s ethos and organization.⁷⁶ Despite initial rumors that it would continue to stage a Sunday series of one-act plays (to start on 24 January, according to the *New York Herald-Tribune* on 3 January), the Group disbanded temporarily, telling the press simply that Clifford Odets had failed to deliver on *The Silent Partner* and that there was a paucity of other performable material. Many of its members moved to Hollywood, and although the Group re-formed the following season (without Crawford and Strasberg, who had resigned), it never fully recovered.

Despite its mixed fortunes on the New York stage, *Johnny Johnson* gained second place (to Maxwell Anderson’s *High Tor*) for a New York Drama Critics’ Award for the best American play in 1936–37.⁷⁷ It also received the 1937 Claire M. Senie award from the Drama Study Club on 9 April; some newspapers nominated it for a Pulitzer Prize; and Burns Mantle included a digest of it in *The Best Plays of 1936–37* (New York: Dodd, Mead, and Co., 1938).⁷⁸ Weill claimed it was a “sensational success” in a report sent on 28 July 1937 to Alfred Kalmus of Universal Edition, Vienna, summarizing his first two years in the United States: “As you know, it is very difficult here, especially for someone who speaks his own musical language, but the situation in the theater is still better and healthier than anywhere else, and I believe I can get to the point here where I can continue what I began in Europe.”⁷⁹ While the composer was exaggerating, his claim was not wholly unjustified, given that by mid-1937 *Johnny Johnson* had also gained favor in productions outside New York City. In early January 1937 Frederic McConnell, director of the Cleveland Play House (which had discovered Russell Collins, the first Johnny), asked the Group for permission to do *Johnny Johnson* with Collins in the lead; news reached the *New York Times* (21 February) that it would open in Cleveland in March for a five-week run; and the play opened on the 10th, running for four weeks.⁸⁰ Weill expressed his concerns to Lenya on 20 February: “I got a very nice letter from Cheryl. Please give her my regards, and tell her I think it’s impossible to perform *Johnny Johnson* with piano alone (as they apparently intend to do in Cleveland).”⁸¹ According to the program, the Cleveland production was done with piano and violin in the end. Nine

songs were included (not seven as announced in the *Cleveland Plain Dealer* on 13 March): “Democracy Advancing,” “Oh Heart of Love,” “The West-Pointer’s Song,” “Oh the Rio Grande,” “Song of the Guns,” “Mon Ami, My Friend,” “The Psychiatry Song,” “A Hymn to Peace,” and “Johnny’s Song” (to the original “When man was first created”). The list of scenes on the program shows that I.ii was cut (did Minny Belle then sing “Oh Heart of Love” in I.i?) but the training-camp scene (conflated) was included, as was the New York Harbor scene (I.vi, although no Goddess is listed in the cast). Acts II and III followed the Group production (i.e., omitting II.i and II.ix).⁸² The reviews in the *Cleveland Plain Dealer* on 11 and 12 March noted that “the Playhouse eliminates a good deal of Weill’s music, which subtracts somewhat from the effect of the play.”

III. The Federal Theatre Project

Hallie Flanagan, the energetic director of the Federal Theatre Project, had expressed interest in an FTP production of *Johnny Johnson* as early as mid-October 1936, and sometime in December, Green seems to have written to her to renew the idea.⁸³ He did so at the same time as he was revising his text for publication, a task he completed on or around 19 December (see above). Whether or not as a result of Green’s prompting, Flanagan herself went to see the play and wrote enthusiastically to her husband on 17 December:

I must see *Johnny Johnson* over again with you. Feeling as you do about Paul, you would love his hero. The rather dumb country boy, the tombstone maker who enlists because he is sick of tombstones, and reads Wilson’s speeches and believes in them. He is so like Paul Green that I kept remembering the night in his living room. To me this is the most potent of all the plays against war because it is funny and sad and infuriating and inevitable.⁸⁴

Flanagan wrote to Green on or just after 18 December in terms that prompted Green to write to Weill on 22 December about the possibility of an FTP production, to be held in reserve pending negotiations on the movie rights.⁸⁵ Then on 25 December, Green responded to Flanagan herself:

I’m so glad you like Johnny. There’s no doubt I failed in that ideal dream I had for a completely realized “sensible and loving man”—a combination so hard to find at any time in history it seems—but I do think I succeeded in catching out of the air certain of his habiliments which showed that he had passed that way even if in darkness.

And of course I am tickled that there is any chance of the FT doing the play anywhere and at anytime. Right at the present some movie firm is dickering for a purchase and as soon as it is settled one way or the other I can write you definitely. I think I ought to hear from the Hollywood man in a week or so. In the meantime I have forwarded your letter on to Cheryl Crawford and Kurt Weill for their information.⁸⁶

By this time Green must have sensed that the New York run would not last much longer, although the FTP (as required by its mandate not to compete with commercial operations) properly held off making a firm decision on the play until after its impending closure was made known. As Green noted in his diary, he met with Flanagan in Washington, D.C., on 8 January, and the next day he heard that *Johnny Johnson* was to close in New York. Save the ongoing movie negotiations, the way was now clear.

Formed in 1935 under the aegis of the Works Progress Administration (later Work Projects Administration), the FTP soon outgrew its role of simply providing training and work for the unemployed within the theatrical professions. It blossomed into a purveyor of drama “for the people”—from high-art plays to Gilbert and Sullivan operettas and vaudeville, encompassing marionette performances, children’s projects, circus, and niche markets such as the Yiddish and African American theaters as well.⁸⁷ Performances sponsored by the FTP were low-priced to increase accessibility and often staged in atypical venues; these and other unconventional traits reflected not only the FTP’s need to avoid competing with estab-

lished theater but also its undoubted left-wing tendencies. The so-called *Living Newspapers*—drawing on Soviet models of the 1920s—were a good example of its political orientation. These tendencies attracted the brightest of the young Turks—Arthur Miller, John Houseman, Orson Welles, and others—to the FTP cause but eventually (in the second half of 1938) prompted investigation by the Dies Committee (a predecessor of the House Committee on Un-American Activities), where one congressman famously questioned the FTP’s support for “communist” playwrights such as Christopher Marlowe. In 1936–37, however, the FTP’s evident leanings were still tolerated and even admired for their progressive artistic and social worth. In fact, the FTP’s last-minute cancellation of Marc Blitzstein’s *The Cradle Will Rock* (June 1937), which its creators blamed on political censorship (a claim that has continued to tarnish the reputations of the FTP and of Flanagan), seems genuinely to have been caused by what the FTP argued all along—namely, the WPA’s sudden announcement of significant financial cutbacks.

Large-cast productions served the FTP’s purposes well—given its mandate to create employment—as did those involving music: most FTP units in large cities had access to orchestras (sometimes in collaboration with the FTP’s sister organization, the Federal Music Project) to provide overtures, entr’actes, and scene-change music, as well as for underscoring and, in the overtly political plays, for one or more rousing songs.⁸⁸ The introduction of music also gave the FTP’s work an innovative edge: in mid-1937 FTP Variety/Vaudeville units began producing musical revues more strongly tied together by way of plots focusing on political satire; these included William Sully’s *Machine Age* (Brooklyn, 30 April 1937), with music and lyrics by Bert Reed and Darl MacBoyle (on applying modern industrial techniques to the musical-comedy business, with songs such as “Knocking Down the Bosses”), and the antiwar vehicle *Ready! Aim! Fire!* by Gene Stone and Jack Robinson (music by Clair Leonard), which opened in Los Angeles on 22 October.⁸⁹ Furthermore, Flanagan was also keen on national initiatives, such as the simultaneous opening of *It Can’t Happen Here* in eighteen cities on 27 October 1936, as a means of extending and consolidating the FTP’s reach. Thus on 1 December 1936—the same day as Roosevelt’s speech in Buenos Aires—she issued a set of instructions to the regions:

The first week in February or March we want as many Federal Theatres as possible to open simultaneously, each with a different, new, hitherto unproduced play. . . . In the spring, possibly April, we wish every unit, including marionette, vaudeville and dance, to launch a production against war. These plays need not be new, but may be revivals or well-known present[-]day works. In the case of vaudeville, dance, Children’s or marionette units, the production may, of course, be only a short number. The point is that all the resources of [the] Federal Theatre for a certain period in the spring will be launched in an attack on war.

Flanagan also noted that “no publicity is to be given at present to either of these two plans.”⁹⁰

At the conference of the FTP’s newly convened Play Policy Board on 22–24 January 1937, it was firmly agreed that FTP projects for the next three months would include “the launching between the date of our entry into the World War [6 April 1917], and the day when we commemorate the men who died in the Civil War, May 30, of a series of war plays.” Specifically:

By March 1 we should be able to announce the names of the units throughout the country doing plays on this subject, and a statement of what these plays are. We decided that any such list should include *No More Peace*, *Johnny Johnson*, *Bury the Dead*, *Trojan Women*, *The Peace of Aristophanes*, *Lysistrata*, and *Blocks*.

After a good deal of discussion we barred from the list *Journey’s End* and *What Price Glory*, deciding that both of them were chauvinistic documents glorifying war.

We discussed the possibility of dramatizing an article by Hiram Motherwell for *New Theatre* [sic]. This article is entitled “Stars and Stripes on Broadway,” which appeared in the April 1935 issue of *New Masses*. This ar-

ticle has to do with war plays and war songs, which have always preceded a war. Pierre de Rohan suggested excerpts from these songs and plays done in juxtaposition with the film of actual war published some time ago by Laurence Stallings. Frank Merlin's vaudeville unit or Alfred Kreymborg's group would seem to afford the best productive possibilities.⁹¹

The list of appropriate plays was expanded over the next month, as the Play Reading Department in the FTP's National Play Bureau (later the National Service Bureau, based in New York), which was headed by Converse Tyler, considered some seventy antiwar titles.⁹² As we shall see, two regional FTP offices (Boston and Los Angeles) mounted *Johnny Johnson* in response to this directive.⁹³ On 21 April, Green also approved the idea of adapting *Johnny Johnson* for the FTP marionette theater in Philadelphia, but it is not known whether this version was ever realized.⁹⁴

Green was a staple FTP playwright—his *The House of Connelly* had an FTP production in Los Angeles in February–March 1937—and, as a Southern writer working on socially responsible themes, he had a degree of cultural clout in ways that suited the FTP's philosophy.⁹⁵ He approached the FTP with *Johnny Johnson* at the best possible moment, and although the FTP later deemed Weill's royalty request of \$50 per week too high—it was the amount Green would have received—some agreement must have been reached with the composer.⁹⁶ By early January, Green had sent a copy of *Johnny Johnson* for review by the Play Policy Board, and on the 16th (the day of the New York closing), the National Play Bureau asked Weill to send his “piano score” for photostating; that same day the *New York Telegraph* reported that the FTP would be performing *Johnny Johnson* across its regions. On 25 January, Georgia Fink of the FTP office in Los Angeles wrote to Green acknowledging receipt of a script (whether from Green or from the New York FTP office is unclear) and asking for a second copy for the San Francisco unit. This was the revised text that Green had submitted to French for publication in December (see above). When Green received the galley proofs of the printed text, he also sent a marked-up set (noting most but not all of the deletions and other changes) to Los Angeles; Fink acknowledged receipt of these annotated proofs on 11 February.⁹⁷ By then, however, the Los Angeles FTP office had already created stencils so as to mimeograph copies (Tt4) of Green's original submission—the full version of the play—and had sent (or was on the verge of sending) copies to New York; eventually it was forced to revise these stencils to produce a text (Tt5) that ended up similar to Tp1.⁹⁸ Although Tt4 was used in performance, Tt5 became archived as the FTP's “library” copy, which would subsequently cause confusion. Meanwhile, *Johnny Johnson* was formally approved by the Play Policy Board on 8 February 1937.⁹⁹

The routine process would have been for the office of the National Play Bureau to produce all the materials necessary for any FTP production of the play (i.e., copies of the script and the music). In this case, however, the Los Angeles FTP office produced the new script, while the new set of piano-vocal materials (Vm2/Pm2) and instrumental parts (Im2) was likely produced on the East Coast (the paper is stamped “Federal Theatre Project/New York”), although little evidence of this activity entered the weekly reports from the FTP's Music Department there.¹⁰⁰ On 2 March, Frank Sheil (Green's primary contact in the Samuel French office) wrote saying that the FTP office (in New York City?) had made “a single copy of the orchestration” (probably meaning Im2; there is no evidence of the FTP producing another copy of Fh) and that Brandt and Brandt was now holding it (the original, one assumes—i.e., Im1) in readiness for the Cleveland production (see above).¹⁰¹ Hiram Motherwell, head of the Play Policy Board, also met with Paul Green on a visit to Chapel Hill and reported the tenor of their conversation in a memorandum “to all directors of *Johnny Johnson*” on 4 May 1937: “Mr. Green agrees the mood of the final New York performance was wrong, as I felt. It is not sympathy or defeatism, but, as he says, ‘reason in exile.’ In other words, Johnny is still sane and unlicked at the end of the play, and is not asking for pity. He should not sing the love song at the end of the play, as he did in New York.”¹⁰² Meanwhile, on 14 February the *Charlotte News* (N.C.) reported that FTP units in San Francisco, Los Angeles, and Portland, Oregon, had asked for production rights

for *Johnny Johnson*, and that other FTP units from the East and West coasts were considering it.¹⁰³ Those other units appear to have included Chicago, New York City, and Seattle, but in the end, the proposed production in Chicago by the Negro Theatre—with African Americans playing the American roles, Jamaicans the British, and a white General Pershing—never came to fruition.¹⁰⁴

Johnny Johnson opened at the Majestic Theatre in Boston on 25 May 1937—five days later than planned, owing to a fire in the theater that put the stage switchboard and the lighting equipment out of commission—and ran until 19 June; FTP records variously count up twenty and twenty-three performances.¹⁰⁵ It was directed by Gerald Cornell, with scenery by Paul Cadorette and an orchestra of local Federal Music Project musicians conducted by Charles Frank.¹⁰⁶ This production appears to have used the Group Theatre script and instrumental parts instead of any newly prepared FTP materials; thus it came close to the Group production, although it followed Tp1 in removing the conflated I.iv–v.¹⁰⁷ Advance press releases placed some emphasis on the fact that “the play, combining fantasy and realism, has a musical score by Kurt Weill, German musician now in exile.”¹⁰⁸ Reviews were favorable, noting that it reflected perhaps the best work so far of the Boston FTP unit: according to E. F. Harkins in the *Boston Record* (27 May), “It is satirical, searing, tragic-comedy, just as [Robert Sherwood's] *Idiot's Delight* was, but without any of that sophomoric bawdiness or blasphemy. . . . It is all rare drama, generally very well done. You will be amused, stirred and considerably enlightened.” Box-office receipts were quite good by FTP standards, although the surviving evidence on audience attendance is inconclusive.¹⁰⁹

Much better documented is the Los Angeles production, which opened at the Mayan Theatre on 28 May for a six-week run (closing 4 July), conducted by Gordon McPherson (and later, Foster Cope). It is worth discussing this production in detail, given that it is the basis for the present Edition.¹¹⁰ The Los Angeles Federal Theatre and Music Projects were undergoing something of a renaissance in the 1936–37 season, with the appointment of new personnel and an ambitious program that included a wide range of dramatic offerings, from classic plays to lighter comedies and revues; new music (including a symphony concert conducted in part by Arnold Schoenberg and containing music by him and his pupils); opera (not least an all–African American *Fra Diavolo* in April 1937); and dance.¹¹¹ Extensive details of the preparations for *Johnny Johnson* can be abstracted from the weekly reports submitted by each department of the Los Angeles unit to the district supervisor, Ole Ness, and thence to the FTP state and regional offices. We also have letters to Green from Mary Virginia Farmer, who shared directing duties with Jerome Coray, as well as surviving performance material and a production bulletin prepared by the unit's Research Department to be kept on file both as a matter of record and for the benefit of subsequent performances. As was customary FTP practice, the bulletin contains a synopsis, director's notes, details of the costumes and sets, and photographs from the production, along with a copy of the program and a digest of press reviews and audience reactions.¹¹²

The choice of *Johnny Johnson* was announced to Los Angeles FTP employees in the second week of February; the *Los Angeles Times* reported the project on the 28th. Regular claims in the West Coast newspapers that the play was a “current” Broadway hit and had taken New York “by storm” suggest that the FTP press office was engaging in hyperbole. For the week ending 19 March, the Los Angeles FTP's Music Department reported that “six of the *Johnny Johnson* songs have been copied from the original manuscripts, and others will be done as they are needed,” and by the end of the month, one Mr. Grudzinski was giving singing lessons to the intended cast.¹¹³ On 24 March, Farmer contacted Green:

We are starting now on *Johnny Johnson*, due to open May 14th. There are a number of things we want to consult you about so another letter will go to you in a day or two. Weill is here and we have seen him once briefly. Next week we plan to spend some time going over the entire musical score with him. I think he can be of considerable help to us.

We are planning to use the camp scenes and also the wounded French

soldiers, unless we see good reasons for cutting in rehearsal. More of all this in the next letter.¹¹⁴

Weill does indeed seem to have gone through the performance materials in the Los Angeles FTP office: **Vm2/Pm2** contain annotations in his hand, as well as other comments (perhaps added earlier by Engel in New York; see Plate 6) reflecting experience of the Group premiere.

In early April, the Research Department gathered images of World War I uniforms and related matter, and Frederick Stover started designing the sets. By the second half of the month, the Construction Department was working on the sets and properties, and the Costume Department was trying to locate a cheap source for the uniforms (in the end the American ones came from government surplus, while the others were rented from Universal Studios, although German ones proved difficult to find). Reports on the costumes and properties make reference to, among other things, a daisy wreath (for I.i) and other flowers, a sewing machine and miniature tombstone (I.ii), a chart (I.iii), “American Beauty” roses (for the Camp Doll in I.iv–v), four dummies (I.v), falling pads (for characters jumping over walls, etc.; I.v, II.ii), two different trenches (II.i, II.ii), three cannons (II.ii), a rifle silencer (for the sniper in II.iii), “tent couches” (presumably for the hospital scene, II.iv), a platform for the Allied High Command (II.v), and various desks, tables, and chairs. On 17 April Ole Ness, in his own weekly report, noted that “there has been a great deal of preparation of the production *Johnny Johnson* but opening the show has been postponed two weeks, due to the lack of coordination between the author’s changes in the original script and the music score. Much of the music used must be revised or replaced. The Music Department of the project is doing all in its power to complete the score at the earliest possible date.”

Discrepancies between **Tt4** and **Tp1** led to uncertainty about the format of the play. Although Green had implied that the corrected version of **Tp0**—and therefore **Tt5**—was his preferred version of the play, Farmer clearly decided to adopt **Tt4**, for the most part, instead. Thus she included I.iv and I.v as separate scenes (not conflated as in New York), and also II.i (with “Song of the Wounded Frenchmen”). However, according to the program and the production bulletin, the Los Angeles production eventually omitted the two New York Harbor scenes (I.vi and II.ix), losing “Song of the Goddess”—although Johnny’s speech to the Statue of Liberty may have been placed at the end of I.v—and also adopted the short version of the end of Act II, conflating II.vii–viii as had been done in New York.¹¹⁵

The confusions affected various sections of the Los Angeles FTP office. Lewis Jenckes, in the Construction Department, was unable to produce a budget estimate for the production “because I keep getting stuff every day” (so he wrote on 13 May). Edith McLaughlin in the Costume Department was frustrated because the cast list took so long to be fixed. The Music Department was placed under increasing pressure. Its weekly report on 30 April noted that “copying is going as rapidly as possible on *Johnny Johnson*, but because of the large amount of music needed for the Vaudeville shows on definite dates, the majority of the copyists are working on the latter” (this report also indicated that from that point on, a staff pianist would attend all *Johnny Johnson* rehearsals). As of 14 May, “the orchestrations for *Johnny Johnson* are being checked as rapidly as possible. Due to the condition of the original score and because of the many errors and omissions in it, it is necessary to make a new copy of each part. This needs a great deal of time as every bar must be numbered and compared to the piano part. Some numbers demand a full orchestration and therefore have to be arranged.”¹¹⁶ The next week, “Thursday [20 May] the entire copying and arranging department worked until five o’clock the following morning in order that the *Johnny Johnson* orchestrations would be ready for rehearsals.” This report also noted that “the recordings for *Johnny Johnson* will be made Saturday morning,” presumably the gramophone recording of “Democracy Advancing” in I.iii (the recruiting office) and perhaps III.iii (the marching band).

Farmer reported further to Green on 12 May:

We are opening at the end of this month or the first week in June. We are making a production which we hope will move fast with lots of life and vi-

tality. We are using a great deal of rhythmic and stylized movement against a series of painted drops in which we hope to bring out the satire of each locale and event in some form of scenic comment. The costumes will be slightly exaggerated to go with this approach.

The actors all like working this way—it’s a hard job for some of them. I think we’ll get a good show out of them, and several excellent performances. The Minnie Belle [*sic*; Lenore Kingston] is delightful (except that she can’t sing); the Johnny [G. Brian Morgan] is a fine *young* type for the part, not quite enough experience and *punch* to do the part full justice though his understanding and appreciation of it are good.

Any chance of your getting out to see this performance?¹¹⁷

Green did not go to Los Angeles, although he made some suggestions about the staging based on his New York experience.¹¹⁸ To achieve the “rhythmic and stylized movement” that Farmer mentions, the cast included seven or eight dancers lent by Myra Kinch, head of the Dance Department.¹¹⁹ Of greater concern, however, were the “slightly exaggerated” costumes, which Edith McLaughlin in the Costume Department felt (writing on 13 May) would reflect badly on her staff: “We have followed the sketches very closely, as well as special notes on color as set up in the design department. They are doubtless intended to be quite eccentric, and because of the nature of the design, period and color harmony, are very much that way.” She was also worried about cost overruns: “This has been a tremendous show to set up,” and “there has been an endless number of collar decorations, buttons, belts, etc. To see the show one would never dream that the wardrobe costs on it were so great.”

Despite McLaughlin’s worries, the production came off well. Howard Miller (assistant FTP director in charge of the Western Region) had already written proudly to Hallie Flanagan on 29 April that “*Johnny Johnson* looks wonderful. And if it doesn’t look better than the New York production I’ll eat my grass hat—the one with the feathers on it.”¹²⁰ Even Weill was fairly enthusiastic over the results, as he reported to Lenya on 29 May:

Yesterday was the Los Angeles premiere of *Johnny Johnson*. I went to a few rehearsals and helped them a little bit. It’s the biggest project the WPA has undertaken up to now; of course, it has inferior actors—but a charming, very young Johnny (the play works quite differently with a young Johnny), a big (lousy) orchestra and chorus, and very interesting *sets*. That the second act received the strongest reaction by far demonstrates how greatly the performance differed from the New York one. They included the “French Wounded” chorus and did the “Dance of the Generals” in its entirety, which proved most effective. At the premiere last night everything was still very rough and not quite ready, especially musically, but it was definitely a great success; the people reacted marvelously—they laughed a lot, were dead silent during the “Gun Song” (which got lots of applause, as did all the other songs), and gave a tremendous ovation at the end. The press, too, seems to be good. They’ll play it for six to eight weeks.¹²¹

The *Los Angeles Times*, rarely a friend to the Federal Theatre and Music Projects, noted (6 June) that *Johnny Johnson* was “warmly acclaimed.” Frank Mattauer, in the *Los Angeles News* (29 May), thought that pacifists would like the play but that others might be “a bit puzzled to account for the huzzas that floated west from Manhattan when the opus opened on Broadway last fall”; he did not quite know what to make of the play’s mixture of “pacifist bromides with satirical flips,” although he admired the drill-ground scene (I.iv) and the handling of the wounded French soldiers (II.i). W. E. Oliver in the *Los Angeles Herald Express* (31 May) thought it “a swell show for Memorial Day”: “Songs are interspersed as in a Gilbert and Sullivan show. The music of Kurt Weill effectively backgrounds the action and at times plays a forefront part in building up some tremendous theatrical effects.” Like Weill, Oliver also seems to have felt that Act II was particularly successful. The *Pasadena Star News* on 7 June noted the capacity audiences drawn to this “fascinating production of a stimulating and unusual play,” wherein “the musical score by Kurt Weill sets off Mr. Green’s recitatives with pungency and spirit.”¹²²

Dorothy McBrayer, assistant to Nunnally Johnson at Twentieth Century–Fox and a friend of Green’s, was also thrilled. While on a vacation touring the East Coast and Midwest, she had recently visited the author in

Chapel Hill but returned to Los Angeles in time to see the production. She wrote to Green on 4 June:

The play has been running nearly a week and the box office said they were sold out every night. I saw an unusually highbrow crowd at this performance—movie stars (!), agents, etc. Full house and most appreciative. They stood in their tracks after the curtain fell and were the longest [time] moving out of the theatre. They seemed stunned or something. They knew the play was over but they didn't want to go and just stood and applauded and were deeply moved. The two New York harbor scenes were omitted but the other two scenes which you cut were retained. The orchestra was good and put the music over beautifully. I am so glad you familiarized me with the music before I saw the play because I appreciated it more. It was something like knowing the motives of Wagner before seeing the *Ring* performed. The sad strains of Johnny's song early in the play hinted at the song that was to come and when it did come, it tore at my heart it was so beautiful and lovely. Especially was I moved to hear your words sung instead of the other ones. I find I can't make out your writing on the sheet music so will you please send me a printed copy of the words, also the real title of the song? The Rio Grande song was lovely too and beautifully sung. But Minnie Belle was something of a washout and could only speak her song, and its poignancy was a little lost, but not to me because I had played the tunes several times in Kentucky and knew them well. I am so very happy that I didn't miss this production by staying away too long. I loved it, every bit of it, and I nearly burst with pride to think it was your work. For the first time I understand why you feel as you do about the picture business and prefer the theatre. The American theatre needs you and it won't be long before you are its leading playwright.¹²³

Attendance was good, and in early June the press was told that the run was being extended by “popular demand.”¹²⁴ According to FTP reports, around 22,000 people attended the thirty-three performances (other sources note thirty-four); given that the Mayan Theatre seated 1,492, the show averaged about 45 percent capacity, which was high for the FTP.¹²⁵ A concerted advertising campaign included the customary press hyperbole:

Here is truly a production with a high purpose, in a remarkable dramatic form—something an American audience will recognize as vital. . . . Kurt Weill's music makes Paul Green's vivid play a musical comedy picture of a universe careening toward a crazy destruction. Satirical song numbers help to make the players into caricatures of solid, inflexible people who are swept from the dedication of a Peace Monument into loud acclaim for mass murder. In [the] Federal Theatre[']s production of *Johnny Johnson*, the world war is created from mechanical phrases, sing-song ideas, choral effects and ballet schemes showing our doughboys dancing off to war like children at play. The backdrops to the settings change from logic to madness until they seem to be wild splashes from a child's paintbox.¹²⁶

The Publicity Department had also sent a mailing to one thousand members of the World Peace Group on the West Coast, and it sold out specific performances to the California Church Council, the Anti-Nazi League, and the American Association of Social Workers. In the final report on *Johnny Johnson* produced by the Los Angeles FTP unit's Research Department—which also summarized responses from audience questionnaires—Cyrilla Lindner noted that the audience contained “a liberal sprinkling of Epworth Leaguers” (a Methodist youth organization). Moreover, “there was a notable increase in the number of teachers and students many of whom were first-time attendants obviously attracted by the anti-war theme of the play.” Some criticized the antiwar treatment or felt that the music was too loud and the play too long. One respondent thought that the music was an arrangement of *Die Dreigroschenoper*. As Lindner summarized matters:

The play *Johnny Johnson* produced the expected differences in opinion and reaction. Those inclined towards social plays received the production sympathetically while a large number still cling to their conviction that the theatre is only a vehicle for entertainment. Many felt the “message of the play” but feared it “did not go far enough” as an indictment against war.

Criticisms of minor importance were frequently found, but in general the opinion prevailed that the songs and lyrics should have been omitted.

Johnny Johnson would have been repeated at the Greek Theatre but the forced schedule changes cancelled this booking.¹²⁷

Weill's enthusiasm for the production led him and Max Reinhardt to propose to the Los Angeles FTP an updated version of Hugo von Hofmannsthal's *Das Salzburger Große Welttheater* (1922), to be staged outdoors in the Los Angeles Greek Theatre during the summer of 1937, with some 250–350 performers, including a choir and orchestra each of fifty or so musicians; Weill then approached Green as a possible partner, but the project never came to fruition.¹²⁸ The national FTP office also commissioned a second collaboration between Green and Weill, first titled *Columbia* but eventually *The Common Glory*, about the founding of the U.S. constitution. It was to be a grand historical production along the lines that Green had recently developed in *The Lost Colony*, an outdoor drama first staged at Manteo on Roanoke Island, N.C., in summer 1937 (Weill and Lenya saw it in August) and still an annual fixture today. Hallie Flanagan no doubt saw *The Common Glory* as an opportunity for the FTP to make a grand patriotic statement: it was to open in March 1938 concurrently in ten cities. Weill and Green worked sporadically on it beginning in August 1937—Green eventually produced an unimpressive draft of Act I and an outline for the rest—but the project soon stalled, chiefly, it seems, because of Green's procrastination.¹²⁹ Their relationship cooled as a result, particularly as Weill found a more dependable collaborator in Maxwell Anderson for *Knickerbocker Holiday*.¹³⁰ Meanwhile, *Johnny Johnson* remained on the FTP books as available for performance, and in November 1937 the FTP included it in a list of thirty-six antiwar plays deemed worthy of revival.¹³¹ But there are no other documented FTP productions of the play.¹³²

IV. Later Productions

There were two further stagings of *Johnny Johnson* in 1937, both at universities. The one by the University of California Little Theatre at Wheeler Auditorium, UC Berkeley, on 1–2 October 1937 presumably used the FTP materials from Los Angeles, also with some reference to the original New York format.¹³³ It included I.iv and I.v (as a single scene, as in New York, and not as two, as in Los Angeles) and also the New York Harbor scene (I.vi; although there is no Goddess in the cast list). Act II followed the FTP production, incorporating II.i but removing II.ix (thus, with the short version of the end of Act II). Only two musicians are listed in the program (piano and violin?), and we have no inventory of the musical numbers. *Johnny Johnson* was also staged by the Carolina Playmakers in Memorial Hall at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill (directed by Frederick “Proff” Koch) on 29 and 30 October 1937. Act I, Scenes iv–v, and II.ix were cut, and the text appears largely to have followed **Tp1**; the full orchestration was used, but we have no list of musical numbers.¹³⁴

In early and mid-1937, Soviet producers had expressed interest in a Moscow production, although it was scuppered by Green's refusal to write a more affirmative ending.¹³⁵ However, the play maintained a presence on the amateur, semiprofessional, and university circuits, particularly as the storm clouds of war once again loomed on the horizon: documented performances include the Washington Civic Theatre (at the Wardman Park Theatre, Washington, D.C., from 23 March to 7 April 1938; Green was present for some of the rehearsals), the University of Florida at Gainesville (late 1938, it seems), the University of Iowa (February 1939), and the Dock Street Theatre in Charleston, S.C. (11 December 1939).¹³⁶ Green's royalty statements from French suggest other performances (probably without music) at Stanford University (30 August or 1 September 1938) and in Minneapolis (31 December 1938), Norman, Okla. (23 February 1939), Long Beach, Calif. (23 February 1939), Riverside, Calif. (8 March 1939), Iowa City (20 March 1939), Santa Barbara (15 November 1939), Chicago (February 1940), Schenectady, N.Y. (4 March 1940), Hoboken, N.J. (13 April 1940), Columbia, S.C. (3 June 1940), and Springfield, Ill. (August–September 1940).¹³⁷ Lotte Lenya included “Mon Ami, My Friend” in her cabaret repertory during her brief nightclub engagement in New York in

spring 1938.¹³⁸ In fact, in the late 1930s *Johnny Johnson* was one of Green's more often performed plays; certainly it generated the most royalties for him (although because of his deep debt to French for the advances and loans he had received on a regular basis, he saw little of the money himself).¹³⁹

Some would-be directors were concerned by apparent discrepancies between the published script and their memories of the original production. F. Cowles Strickland (Washington Civic Theatre) asked about "the drilling scene which I saw in New York," while Charles Meredith (Charleston) was a little confused: "If there is much difference between the published play and the working prompt 'script [*sic*] I would appreciate it very much if you could secure a working 'script for us which could be returned as soon as differences [have been] noted. I seem to remember your saying that there was a song at the end sung by Johnny that could not properly be included in the printed copy."¹⁴⁰ The main concern, however, was access to the musical performance materials. Green had already told French in late February 1937 that he wanted a piano score prepared and copies made available for productions.¹⁴¹ He had problems securing the music for the Chapel Hill performance in October 1937; on 17 September Weill cabled him, "Have no score try to get one from Federal Theatre . . .," and then wrote on 13 October (shortly after visiting Green in Chapel Hill to work on *The Common Glory*) that he had sent the orchestra score to be bound but would pass it on as soon as he got it back.¹⁴² The Washington performance was done with just (Hammond?) organ accompaniment; immediately thereafter, Green asked the director for the score for another production. The Charleston production had only organ and piano. Vance Morton, director of the University of Iowa performance, asked Green on 1 December 1938: "I am convinced in my own mind that I want to use the musical background. I find that we can rent the orchestral score from New York, but I can not [*sic*] find the musical settings of the individual songs as written in the script. They are not published. Could you give me any help as to where I might find the music for the songs? We will be willing to rent them, of course."¹⁴³

However, it was the Charleston performance—which was delayed because of the non-arrival of the music—that seems to have prompted significant action. Green sent a telegram to French: "Hope something can be done about photostating piano score for *Johnny Johnson*. Play seems timely now and I am pushing it with amateurs and movie studios. Dock Street theatre wishes immediate production of play and writes me for help in securing music. Am referring their request to Brandt." He also wrote to Frank Sheil on 10 October 1939, who replied on the 18th:

Immediately upon receipt of your letter of October 10th, we got in touch with the Brandt & Brandt office, which has been exclusively handling the music of *Johnny Johnson*. While we quote and collect royalties for the production of the play, by arrangement with Brand[t] & Brandt we refer to them those groups wishing to use the music, and that office ships same direct.

Mr. Koppleman of Brand[t] & Brandt tells us that last Wednesday, at the request of the Dock Street Theatre, he shipped to *you* a piano score of *Johnny Johnson* for use in the Dock Street production. I do hope that it reached you in time for these people to go ahead with the staging of the play.

We impressed upon Mr. Koppleman that it would be advisable to have available sufficient copies of the music to handle any demands for the play, as we have noticed (evidently due to the present European war situation) that there is a new interest being shown in the play by amateur production groups.

Brandt & Brandt told us that there were but two sets of orchestrations available, and these were both in the hands of Mr. Weill. At our request they got after Weill and finally reached him last night, and he said that if Samuel French would be willing to publish the piano score, he would put it in A-1 shape for publication purposes. We advised Brand[t] & Brandt that we were perfectly willing to make such publication and they have promised us that immediately the piano score is returned to them after the Dock Street production, they will turn it over to Mr. Weill, who tells them he can put it in proper shape within a week after it is delivered to him. Just as soon as this is done and we get the corrected copy, we shall get the publication under way.

If Mr. Weill for any reason fails to make and turn over to us for publication a perfect copy of the piano score as mentioned above, then I think that in the long run it will pay you to revise the play so that it can be used without the music.

In the mean time will you kindly impress upon the Dock Street people the importance of getting the score back to Brandt & Brandt immediately after their production, or, if the[y] have abandoned the idea of doing the play, ask them to return it now. It might be a good idea also for either you or them to let us know when the score is on the way back so that we may keep in touch with Brandt & Brandt and try to insure a prompt job on it by Mr. Weill.¹⁴⁴

(The "two sets of orchestrations available" that Weill was said to have are presumably **Im1** and **Im2**.)

Green's recent reprint of **Tp1** in his anthology *Out of the South: The Life of a People in Dramatic Form* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1939) may also have helped renew interest in the play.¹⁴⁵ For his part, Weill had in fact been promising to produce a vocal score since at least December 1937, when he wrote to Green (on the 11th) that "I have almost all the material for the *Johnny Johnson* score and will get the rest in Los Angeles. But it is quite a job to adapt to your book-version of the play."¹⁴⁶ However, he had other projects to work on, and the cooling of his relationship with Green in the wake of *The Common Glory* no doubt dampened his enthusiasm. Weill eventually got down to the task in December 1939, much to Green's expressed relief:

It's good news that you have a chance and the time to get the *Johnny Johnson* score out in published form. I will look forward to seeing it. As to Johnny's final and only song, I suggest that you include it, perhaps with a footnote saying it can be sung by Johnny first before he leaves the scene on his wandering through the world. I haven't got the words to that song, but think I could remember them and write them out for you in case you haven't them. In no case, of course, should the love lyric of Haymans [*sic*] or whoever he was be used.¹⁴⁷

By mid-January 1940, French had cleared the rights with Chappell for the four songs printed as sheet music in 1936, and the printed vocal score (**Ve**) was registered for copyright with the Library of Congress on 28 August 1940.¹⁴⁸ This score presents much of the music, adapted mostly, though not entirely, to **Tp1**; it has some oddities, inconsistencies, and errors, suggesting that it was only casually thought through in production terms (this is discussed in more detail in the account of the sources in the Critical Report). Meanwhile, Green took Sheil's advice and hedged his bets by preparing a nonmusical version of the play ostensibly for amateur groups unable to handle the music; he submitted this version to French on 31 October 1939.¹⁴⁹ Weill, however, took strong exception to at least one production of *Johnny Johnson* without the music (at the Provincetown Playhouse in New York City from 2 to 17 May 1941); he argued that it was as absurd as doing *Tristan und Isolde* as a straight play.¹⁵⁰

Weill remembered *Johnny Johnson* well enough to use some of its music in his score for the propaganda film *Salute to France* (released on 13 October 1944), including the treatment of "La Marseillaise" at the beginning of "The Allied High Command" for the opening and closing credits, as well as some of the music for "The Battle" in an interior scene using war footage.¹⁵¹ After Weill's death (1950), Green was loosely involved in the production of *Johnny Johnson* at the Carnegie Hall Playhouse, 21–28 October 1956, directed by Stella Adler (who had served on the production committee for the Group Theatre premiere); he suggested cuts (including "Oh the Rio Grande" and "Song of the Guns"), commented on performance issues, and proposed rewriting the lyrics to "Johnny's Song," although he apparently never did so.¹⁵² Because of family illness, however, he did not attend the performance. The conductor was Samuel Matlovsky, who had been musical director for the off-Broadway revival of *The Threepenny Opera* (in Marc Blitzstein's adaptation) opening in March 1954. Matlovsky also led the recording of *Johnny Johnson* (made earlier in 1956) with a different cast, including Burgess Meredith (Johnny), Evelyn Lear (Minnie Belle), and Lotte Lenya (French Nurse); the record includes all the music

save “The Sergeant’s Chant,” “The West-Pointer’s Song,” and “The Tea Song.”¹⁵³

Later university performances of *Johnny Johnson* (UCLA, 1967; Harvard, 1970; NYU, date unknown) were again hampered by the lack of available musical materials; Green, frustrated once more, produced another spoken version for amateur consumption in or around 1968.¹⁵⁴ This development presumably encouraged Lys Symonette and Lotte Lenya to create a new, two-act version of *Johnny Johnson*. Their production opened at the Edison Theatre, New York, on 11 April 1971, after a number of previews beginning on 3 April (originally planned for the 1st); however, it closed that same day, apparently because of financial misdealings.¹⁵⁵ Green played a more active role here, revising his text, providing lyrics for the first appearance of the music of “Johnny’s Song” at the end of I.i (originally an instrumental interlude), and attending rehearsals and previews but not the opening night. For the music, Symonette and Lenya took care to review the 1936–37 materials prior to preparing new parts, but they clearly felt the need to adapt the score to theatrical exigencies. In Act I, Scenes iv–v remained deleted, although “The Sergeant’s Chant” was used to cover the scene change from I.ii–iii (i.e., prior to the recruiting-office scene, with Johnny marching incompetently), and “The West-Pointer’s Song” became the instrumental introduction to Act II (the production played in two acts, divided between the original II.iii and II.iv). On the other hand, Lenya and Symonette restored the two New York Harbor scenes, including “Song of the Goddess” and its wordless reprise, and also created a version of Minny Belle’s “Farewell, Goodbye” for inclusion in I.ii, as Green had proposed in his text for **Tp0** (and therefore in **Tp1**). French published for sale a new edition of the play reflecting these changes, and this version was adopted for later performances in the 1970s, including those in Bochum (11 November 1973 to 9 January 1974; conductor David Kamien rewrote the string parts for wind instruments, much to Lenya’s dismay) and the Finnish National Theatre (5 February 1975 through September).¹⁵⁶ In 1974 David Drew produced a *Songspiel* reworking of parts of *Johnny Johnson* (also incorporating some of the music rejected early on); titled *War Play*, it was performed in Berlin on 13 September 1975 as part of the Berliner Festwochen’s Weill tribute celebrating the seventy-fifth anniversary of his birth.¹⁵⁷ However, the 1971 two-act *Johnny Johnson* has been the sole version authorized for performance until publication of the present Edition.

V. A Musical Play?

Green could never decide how best to describe *Johnny Johnson*. For **Tp0** he gave the play a subtitle, “The Biography of a Kindly Man,” but the modifier kept changing: “The Biography of a Common Man” in **Tp1**; “The Biography of a Good-Natured Man” in one copy of the 1968 spoken version (with a whole new subtitle, “A Play Against the Madness of War,” in another); “The Biography of a Friendly Man” in drafts for the 1971 production.¹⁵⁸ No less troublesome was the question of genre. Green was quoted in *Newsweek* (28 November 1936) on the “crazy” idea of a play in which “the first act is a comedy, the second a tragedy, and the third a satire,” and Brooks Atkinson’s review in the *New York Times* (20 November 1936) picked up on something similar: “It is part fantasy, part musical satire, part symbolic poetry in the common interests of peace; and also one is compelled to add, part good and part bad.” Preliminary advertising in the *New York Times* called *Johnny Johnson* “a play with music”—perhaps following Weill’s sometime preference for his European theater works (*Stücke mit Musik*)—but soon shifted (e.g., on 16 November) to “a legend,” the term also used in the opening-night program; other sources would later call it “a fantastic drama” and “a fable.”¹⁵⁹ However, reviewers returned to “a play with music,” which they even reframed as “a musical play”—a term that attributed to both the text and the music greater dramatic aspirations than might normally have been expected from Broadway musical theater.¹⁶⁰ Green also used his collaboration with Weill to nurture his ideas for what he called “symphonic drama,” although he was never quite clear on what this meant, and for him the matter soon went in a different direction.¹⁶¹

There is no question, however, that the playwright and the composer, both in the creative process and in their aesthetic intent, sought some kind of novel marriage of music and drama, even if Green and the Group Theatre grew doubtful of its feasibility as opening night approached.

Green often claimed that the title of *Johnny Johnson* honored the name most frequently encountered among American soldiers in World War I.¹⁶² Among literary sources mentioned in connection with the work, Carl Zuckmayer’s play *Der Hauptmann von Köpenick* (1931) may have provided the notion of a lowly individual (in Zuckmayer’s case, a cobbler, based on a real-life figure) masquerading as a military officer to overcome a faceless bureaucracy; and Jaroslav Hašek’s novel *The Good Soldier Švejk* (1921–22) may have inspired various episodes of army life.¹⁶³ However, Green typically drew more on personal experience. Having served as an officer in World War I he knew firsthand the dangers, as well as the tedium and even absurdity, of battles dictated by faceless generals safe behind the walls of their high-command posts.¹⁶⁴ He also identified with the idea of the “simple” man whose commonsense was at odds with the world (he often cited Charlie Chaplin as a model).¹⁶⁵ Moreover, Green had been a passionate advocate for the proposed League of Nations and professed to read regularly the speeches of Woodrow Wilson. During World War II he also adopted the voice of Johnny Johnson in an article in the *Raleigh News and Observer* (N.C.) to justify the present military action as a battle for democracy.¹⁶⁶

As a play *Johnny Johnson* has its ups and downs. Green often used the stage as a pulpit, with an earnest sententiousness that slows the action. Most would agree that Act II is the most successful; that Act I takes too long to gain momentum; that Green’s undoubted talent for satirical cameos of the absurd (the recruiting office in I.iii, Dr. Mahodan in III.i) suffers from excess; and that the ending, while poignant, seems unsatisfying (though it is hard to envision any other resolution). The dialogue falters when Green gets bogged down in minor if not irrelevant plot details (the Camp Doll’s roses in I.iv–v; the long debate over the League of Nations by the inmates of the house of balm in III.ii) or allows a comic situation to overstay its welcome (the entry test in the army recruiting office in I.iii; the joshing between soldiers in the trenches in II.ii); it is no coincidence that the FTP in Los Angeles attempted to shorten such passages so as to streamline the production. The long passages of uninterrupted speech also suggest that Green never quite decided what the role of music in general, and Weill’s music in particular, might be in the theater; a similar impression emerges from their later, unsuccessful collaboration on *The Common Glory*.

For his part, Weill claimed in early 1937 that he was looking for “a new form of music play [*sic*], plays with poetic implications which rise at times to fantasy, plays in which words and music do not merely consort with with [*sic*] each other but are so closely mated that they are ‘bone of my bone, flesh of my flesh.’”¹⁶⁷ He probably did not find it in *Johnny Johnson*, and in the end he must have been left somewhat nonplussed about both Green—who, after all, was no Brecht or Kaiser—and American musical theater. His lecture on the latter presented to the Group on 27 July 1936 was inevitably full of optimism over the possibilities, both in general and with regard to *Johnny Johnson*. This lecture drew special attention to the appeal of having a statue, on the one hand, and cannons, on the other, contribute to the musical discourse—comments suggesting that the idea, at least, of a “Song of the Goddess” and a “Song of the Guns” was fixed fairly early in the work’s genesis. Indeed, Weill called the latter the “nucleus” of the play in his interview in the *Brooklyn Daily Eagle* published on 20 December 1936.¹⁶⁸ In general musical terms, however, Weill faced the problem of accommodating his style to American tastes, with which he was still gaining familiarity. Probably too much ink has been spilt on the extent to which “Johnny’s Song” might reflect Weill’s early struggles to adapt to the “typical” Tin Pan Alley/Broadway 32-measure song form (*AA’BA*’); in fact, “Oh Heart of Love” comes closer to that model—which was by no means unique to Broadway (or to the 1930s) and was subject to greater variation than is often assumed. Still, the score for *Johnny Johnson* certainly does contain an odd mixture of styles. Some numbers could have—and very occasionally did—come straight from one of Weill’s German *Stücke mit*

Musik (such as the opening sequence, which begins with an instrumental version of “Das Lied vom Branntweinhändler” from *Happy End*),¹⁶⁹ with or without an occasional twist (as in “The Psychiatry Song”). Other evident sources are French cabaret (for example, “Mon Ami, My Friend” or “Captain Valentine’s Song”—the latter with its echoes of the instrumental “Tango Habanera” from *Marie Galante*, for which Roger Fernay provided the text “Youkali” in 1935, and whose musical ending Weill also borrowed for the end of “Song of the Goddess”);¹⁷⁰ Gilbert and Sullivan operetta (“The Tea Song”); and a presumed American fount of waltz-ballads (“Oh Heart of Love”), cowboy songs (“Oh the Rio Grande”), glees (“A Hymn to Peace”), and even Southern hymns (“Asylum Chorus”).¹⁷¹ It is perhaps no coincidence that the numbers with less obvious, or more diverse, musical roots prove more intriguing; they also appear more embedded within the drama rather than simply accessory to it. “Song of the Goddess” and “Song of the Guns” work to great theatrical effect—as Weill predicted in his July 1936 lecture—as does “In Time of War and Tumults,” with its vivid counterpoint to the horrors of war.

“In Time of War and Tumults” forms part of a remarkable progression of more or less continuous music from “The Allied High Command” through to the end of Act II. Weill appears to have been concerned with such larger musical structures from the outset: he sketched and, it seems, composed the first four musical items in Act I (and therefore, in effect, also the fifth) as a single sequence, albeit to a different version of the text, and he and Green planned the end of I.v through I.vi in a single arc (from Minny Belle’s “Farewell, Goodbye” through an instrumental version of “Johnny’s Song” and on to “Song of the Goddess” to finish the act), although they eventually departed from this plan. Similarly, but on a smaller scale, “The West-Pointer’s Song,” one of the best-developed numbers in the play, extends nicely into the following action by virtue of what seems to be a later addition to the original draft as the soldiers do their bayonet exercises before a final chorus. Related to these concerns is Weill’s apparent interest in having music recur at different points in the play. The iterations of “Captain Valentine’s Song” (I.iii, I.iv, I.v, II.ii) with their rambling story line should probably count as an experiment gone wrong, but the wordless reprise of “Oh Heart of Love” in II.ii (during “Johnny’s Dream”) is moving. Further, the carefully judged returns of instrumental versions of the march first introduced in “Democracy Advancing” (I.i)—in I.iii (by way of a recording), I.v (after “Farewell, Goodbye” had been removed), II.i (a reprise apparently dropped at one point, though preserved in this Edition), and III.iii—make their mark, not least as increasingly ironic comments on just what such militaristic music might represent.

Other returns may simply be a response to the need for utilities to cover scene changes and the like: the use of “The Tea Song” for the Interlude between II.iii and II.iv is a case in point. Whereas the instrumental reprise of “Farewell, Goodbye” that originally came at the end of III.i (after Minny Belle has taken her final farewell of Johnny Johnson) may have had relevance, its replacement (when “Farewell, Goodbye” was dropped) by an instrumental repetition of “Oh the Rio Grande” appears to be purely functional. However, in Act I and much of Act II—and in what seem to be the early layers of the compositional process, before more immediate pressures were brought to bear—Weill carefully employed such interludes to act as a transition (e.g., from I.i to I.ii) or to establish a new situation, as with the effective use of army bugle calls (probably suggested by Green), as when the action shifts to the camp drill ground for I.iv (no. 10).¹⁷²

The two most striking cases of such musical returns are, of course, the reappearance of “Song of the Goddess” in II.ix (even if it was cut in the early productions) and the instrumental arrangements of “Johnny’s Song” (no. 39) heard several times—at the end of I.i (no. 5; for which Green provided lyrics in 1971), in I.vi (no. 16), originally in II.v (at the end of no. 28, but ultimately dropped), and in II.ix (no. 33)—prior to its vocal version at the end of the play. A draft of the song for voice and piano accompaniment (the latter with some gaps) survives with a quite different text: this begins with the verse “Please don’t tell a soul / I’ve run away from home / I’m running far away, / I’m going to Paris, / I’m going to Paris today,” fol-

lowed by a refrain with the music used for “Johnny’s Song” (in F major, as the song appears in nos. 16 and 33, but with note values halved; see Plate 7).¹⁷³ The refrain has the rather awkward words “I’m going to Paris, / Where the streets are paved with gold,” continuing to a passage for “Voices” (“Too late, too late / You’ve missed your only chance / At excitement and romance”) prior to returning to the main melody, where the piece breaks off. The incomplete text is rough and ready in the manner of work in progress.

Green said later that Weill had written the melody for “Johnny’s Song” in Europe but wanted to find a place for it in his new American play—several commentators have noticed the similarity of its opening with “J’attends un navire” in *Marie Galante*, which may be what Green meant—and that in contrast to much of the rest of *Johnny Johnson*, here the playwright was forced to fit words to preexisting music.¹⁷⁴ On the face of it, the “Paris” version of the song (and its preceding verse) would seem to have very little to do with the play, although it is hard to see who other than Green could have provided those words. It has been suggested that Weill wrote it instead for a cabaret performance by Lenya in the vein of the short “song drama” *The Fräulein and the Little Son of the Rich*, also composed in summer 1936.¹⁷⁵ However, Green’s early notes for *Johnny Johnson* outline (as a possible II.i) a scene in a “cattle car” (i.e., on a train) where Johnny appears to mingle with French civilians, including a “French girl,” who perhaps could have sung about running away to Paris.¹⁷⁶ The cast list at the beginning of Tt1 (which contains the text only of Act I) reveals a possible vestige of this scene: it names Jacques (a French peasant), Madame (his wife), Madeline (a “French girl”), and Mademoiselle d’Armentières in a position suggesting the beginning of Act II (these characters are no longer present in Tt2).¹⁷⁷ Once this scene was dropped (eliminating the “Paris” song, if indeed it had been included), the decision to use the melody instrumentally in *Johnny Johnson*—and to associate it with the title role—appears to have preceded the decision to give it new words as Johnny’s final song. In Fh the melody enters at the end of Minny Belle’s “Farewell, Goodbye” (in that song’s original position at the close of I.v), whose lyrics appear as a later insertion into Tt2, whereas this script, which handles III.iii somewhat differently, indicates the presence of “Johnny’s Song” only by way of an (even later?) penciled annotation.¹⁷⁸ As we have seen, Green’s text for “Johnny’s Song” became a source of contention after Weill turned to Edward Heyman for new lyrics. But the use of a recurring musical theme for the main character that receives full realization only at the end of the play ties things together quite strongly, and Weill would employ similar strategies in later stage works (including “My Ship” in *Lady in the Dark*).

Although it is relatively easy to attribute the weaknesses of *Johnny Johnson* to Green’s script—as did most of the play’s first reviewers—the somewhat disorienting mixture of styles in Weill’s score probably did not help matters. Harold Clurman, writing in 1949, felt that the music had not received due credit: “*Johnny Johnson* was not a success—although it had its admirers. Only one or two of the critics remarked on the original quality of the score, in which Weill managed to combine elements of a peculiarly sensuous and melancholy nature with typically American musical folklore materials—a strange but affecting mixture, superior, in my opinion, to most of what Weill has subsequently written.”¹⁷⁹ Although Clurman’s comment reflects the reception of Weill in the United States in the 1940s and beyond (with the notion that the later “American Weill” had sold out his European roots so as to achieve commercial success), he captured something of the score in terms of its numerous moments of musical and also theatrical inspiration.¹⁸⁰ The subject matter of *Johnny Johnson* may also not date very well: its rather curious, if earnest, advocacy of a particular anti-war stance fast became problematic even in 1936–37 (Weill tried to wriggle his way out of the obvious difficulties in newspaper interviews), and although the Second World War prompted some renewed interest in the play, it never caught the right tone for the times.¹⁸¹ Lewis Funke, in an article anticipating the 1971 production in the *New York Times* (21 February), probably should not have claimed that *Johnny Johnson* “blended story, music and dance in a way that antedated *Oklahoma!* by some seven years.” Yet the work retains its fascination, and some more recent, well-received

productions—for example, at the Odyssey Theatre, Los Angeles, in June 1986, and at the Theater des Westens, Berlin, in early 1996—suggest that it can hold its own on the stage.

VI. The Edition

A complete account of the textual and musical sources for *Johnny Johnson* and their chronology, as well as their use in the Edition, appears in the preface to the Critical Report. Given the mandate of the *Kurt Weill Edition* to produce the fullest, most internally consistent version of a given work, any edition of *Johnny Johnson* as rendered by the Group Theatre on 19 November 1936 would be unsatisfactory because of the successive cuts and other changes made, more and more haphazardly, over the course of production. Conversely, a creative redistribution of the work and its component parts in the manner of the 1971 version of the score, however effective the result, would lack any historical justification and would exceed the bounds of what Green and Weill together sought to create.

Fortunately, the FTP production that opened in Los Angeles on 28 May 1937 offers an effective solution (the FTP production opening in Boston on the 25th seems to have been more in the vein of the Group Theatre version). The Los Angeles production is thus the performance “event” to which the Edition most closely relates, at least in terms of what appears to have been intended, if not always enacted. It followed a script authorized by Green and incorporating revisions that he undertook immediately after the Group premiere, although not the further changes made as he saw this script into print. As we have seen, Weill offered advice to the directors in Los Angeles and expressed approval of the result, at least in part. Moreover, because this production made almost complete use of the music, it allows its fullest transmission for modern performance. The “privileged source” for the text in the Edition is therefore the first FTP script (**Tt4**, very similar to **Tp0**), and for the music, Weill’s original full score (**Fh**). In the case of the music, however, the Edition also takes into account the 1940 vocal score (**Ve**), which is essential for the vocal lines, even if it is less useful in broader terms, owing to Weill’s forced efforts to match the music to the published text of the play (**Tp1**). **Ve** was also rather carelessly prepared and printed, it seems, and its dynamic markings are often inconsistent and irreconcilable with **Fh** (major discrepancies where useful are noted in the Critical Report) and also within **Ve** itself, such that they have been ignored in the Edition, leaving the vocal lines here without dynamics save where more than one voice is singing. These dynamics will depend, anyway, on the broader musical context and on matters of interpretation. Other musical sources considered here include Weill’s sketches (**Dh**), his fair copies (**Vh**), various piano(-vocal) rehearsal materials (**Vm1**, **Pm1**, **Vm2**, **Pm2**), the songs published as sheet music in 1936 (**Ae**), and the sets of instrumental parts associated with the Group production (**Im1**) and with the Los Angeles FTP one (**Im2**).

Given the challenges of collaboration and the ad hoc revisions inevitably made during rehearsal and performance, these textual and musical sources are understandably complex. Thus the orchestral score for *Johnny Johnson* (**Fh**) typically lacks vocal lines, and a few passages have parts left blank for Weill to complete in a second pass (although in some cases, such as the percussion part in no. 18, mm. 31–65, he never did). As usual, the instrumental parts (**Im1/2**) contain performance annotations of indeterminate date indicating cuts, corrections, revisions, and modifications (e.g., to dynamics). Green’s text as followed in the Edition (**Tt4**) is somewhat more secure, since he prepared it separately, although it, too, contains annotations of a later date marking minor revisions and cuts. But the only significant addition made to **Tt4** in the present Edition is the German text for “In Time of War and Tumults” (no. 31)—this text is also lacking in **Ve**—which has been conflated here from late nineteenth-century sources probably known to Green and Weill.

For the music, the Edition prints, either in its main text or in the appendix, everything present and complete in **Fh** in its current state. With one exception, the Edition does not include music that is incomplete in **Fh**

as it now survives. It therefore omits a “reminiscence” of “Aggie’s Song” at the end of I.ii (related to **Tt2** but cut prior to **Tt3**) and also the link to what was intended to be a foreshortened instrumental statement of “Johnny’s Song” played as Johnny enters immediately after “The Allied High Command” in II.v (this statement is present in **Pm1**, **Vm2/Pm2**, and **Im1/2**, but **Fh** has only the link to it). The exception is the original ending to “Song of the Wounded Frenchmen” in II.i, which features an instrumental statement of “Democracy Advancing” immediately following Johnny’s “Lafayette, we are here!” This ending was removed from **Fh**, having been dropped in favor of the more funeral music that appears in **Pm1** and, later, **Ve** (and that was slightly reworked in **Fh** for “In No-man’s-land” in II.viii). The **Ve** version is transcribed in the Critical Report, but because no instrumentation survives, the Edition reverts to the music that was dropped. **Fh** also does not contain the following:

- the Interlude after I.iv (no. 12);
- the appearance of “Captain Valentine’s Song” in I.v (no. 9d);
- the “bugle” call to assemble the soldiers in I.v (no. 14);
- the revised Interlude after I.v (no. 15);
- the appearance of “Captain Valentine’s Song” in II.ii (no. 9e);
- the Interlude after II.iii (no. 25);
- the Interlude after III.i (no. 35);
- “A Hymn to Peace” (no. 37), which is purely vocal;
- the instrumental return of “Democracy Advancing” in III.iii (no. 38).

However, with the exception of nos. 14 (taken from **Im1**) and 37 (from **Ve**), these numbers all involve music already present elsewhere in **Fh** in some form or other. Thus, every musical note in the Edition has Weill’s authority by way of **Fh** and/or **Ve**, save the following:

- the ending of the “short” (**Ve**) version of “Aggie’s Song” (no. 6), taken from performance annotations in **Pm1** and **Im1/2**;
- the vocal lines for the second and subsequent iterations of “Captain Valentine’s Song” (nos. 9b–e; derived from no. 9a);
- no. 14, taken from **Im1**, a set of instrumental parts presumably sanctioned by the composer;
- and the percussion part in no. 18, mm. 31–65, which completes an apparent *lacuna* in **Fh**.

The Edition allows for the shortened version of the end of Act II adopted by the Group Theatre and, eventually, by the FTP in Los Angeles (with the action of II.viii taking place during “In Time of War and Tumults” in II.viii, and with II.ix removed); this version requires a more fully scored ending to “In Time of War and Tumults” (no. 31). However, the Edition relegates to the Critical Report the abrupt five-measure ending to a foreshortened Act I that Weill provided for the Group Theatre after its successive cutting within I.vi. The Critical Report also includes the melodies for two popular songs that Green cued in his text but that Weill did not use: Grandpa Joe’s “When two are alone in a parlor at eve” in I.ii (Green dictated the music to Lys Symonette in preparation for the 1971 production) and Private Harwood’s “Keep your head down, Allemand” in II.ii (based on a well-known song from World War I).¹⁸²

The Edition gives in an appendix two surviving items that are complete in **Fh** but do not fit the present version of the play, even though they each appear to have been used somehow in performance: the “long” version of “Aggie’s Song” (no. A6), and Minny Belle’s “Farewell, Goodbye” as originally located in I.v (no. A15), also with the option (documented in the Critical Report) to use it in I.ii. The version of “Aggie’s Song” relates to the longer text in **Tt2** (extending Aggie’s stanzas into an exchange between her, Minny Belle, and Grandpa Joe), although even this text does not quite match the music. The Los Angeles FTP production may have considered using this version for the shorter text in **Tt4**, adding stage business in the middle; the evidence is unclear. The music (minus voice) could also serve as a utility if needed. The other song, “Farewell, Goodbye,” was designed (in **Tt2**) to allow Minny Belle to appear in I.v, where it could still work quite well. When revising his text in December 1936, Green moved the

song to I.ii, where it appears in **Tt4** and **Tp1**. Preparations for the Los Angeles FTP production may have attempted to include “Farewell, Good-bye” in I.ii, but there is no indication that it was ever performed there (or anywhere else) until Lys Symonette’s 1971 edition; nor does it quite fit. Weill did not include the song in **Ve**, even though, so Phoebe Brand (the first Minny Belle) reports, he thought it the best in the play.¹⁸³

The preface to the Critical Report and the subsequent notes on individual numbers explain editorial decisions made in the course of handling the musical sources and provide details of all significant variants therein, as well as other factors that have prompted editorial action. In accordance with the policy of the *Kurt Weill Edition*, the notes adopt a less rigorous approach for the spoken text: they make no attempt to offer a full collation of the privileged source (**Tt4**) with its predecessors and successors, although they comment on them and on other issues as needed to aid interpretation.

VII. Some Performance Issues

Staging *Johnny Johnson* is no easy matter, and while approaches that the Group Theatre adopted in 1936 and the Los Angeles FTP in 1937 set no limits on any modern staging, an account of them may help clarify at least some of the issues involved.

As presented in the Edition, *Johnny Johnson* has sixty-nine speaking roles, though a good number are very small. Sixteen characters sing solo: in order, the Mayor, Minny Belle, Grandpa Joe, Aggie Tompkins, Captain Valentine, Sergeant Jackson, the West-Point Lieutenant, the Statue of Liberty, the English Sergeant, Private Harwood, the French Nurse, the Chief of the Allied High Command, the American and German Priests, Dr. Mahodan, and Johnny Johnson. The score also requires a mixed vocal ensemble in I.i and an all-male one in I.v, II.i, II.ii, II.v, and III.ii. The Group Theatre performed the play with a cast of thirty-six (thirty-five after cutting “Song of the Goddess”): the cast list in the original *Playbill* does not include Miss Smith (I.i), Private Jessel (in I.iii; the role was taken by Private O’Day), the Statue of Liberty (I.vi), the Lieutenant (II.vi), and the Guard (III.i); the members of the Allied High Command (II.v) were slightly reduced in number; and only one military policeman appeared in II.viii. The Los Angeles FTP production had a cast of sixty, with an additional forty-six extras; clearly the FTP had no concerns about numbers, since it was in the organization’s best interests to employ as many actors as possible. Therefore the Los Angeles production expanded the membership of the Allied High Command—e.g., by including a Russian colonel and an Italian general—and also doubled up the brothers in the house of balm.

Of the characters with individual songs, the Mayor, Aggie Tompkins, the West-Point Lieutenant, the English Sergeant, the French Nurse, and Dr. Mahodan appear in only one scene. While not perhaps the most sensible use of resources, this arrangement does allow the possibility of doubling up roles. The Group certainly did so: to give the most prominent examples, Luther Adler played the English Sergeant (II.ii), the Belgian Major-General (II.v), and Brother Henry (III.ii); Roman Bohnen, Grandpa Joe (I.i–ii), the American Commander-in-Chief (II.v), and Brother Claude (III.ii); Morris Carnovsky, the Chief of the Allied High Command (II.v) and Dr. Mahodan (III.i); Lee J. Cobb, Dr. McBray (I.iii), the French Major-General (II.v), and Brother George (III.ii); Elia Kazan, Private Kearns (I.iv–v, II.ii) and Dr. Frewd (III.ii); Tony Kraber, the Editor (I.i), Private Harwood (I.iv–v, II.ii), and Brother Theodore (III.ii); Robert Lewis, the Mayor (I.i) and the French Premier (II.iv); and Art Smith, Sergeant Jackson (I.iv–v, II.ii), the Doctor (II.iv), and Brother Thomas (III.ii). Aside from bit parts, the only male actors taking just one role in the Group production were Grover Burgess (Anguish Howington; I.i–iii, III.i–ii), Jules Garfield (Johann Lang; II.iii, II.viii), Sanford Meisner (Captain Valentine; I.iii–v, II.ii–iii), Joseph Pevney (West-Point Lieutenant; I.v), and, of course, Russell Collins (Johnny Johnson). In contrast, the Group and FTP cast separately the principal female roles (seven including the Goddess), no doubt to make more effective use of available personnel in what is a strongly male-dominated play.¹⁸⁴ However, doublings are possible here as

well, except for Minny Belle (she appears in I.i–ii, II.ii, III.i, and III.iii, plus I.v, if one adopts the handling of this scene given in the appendix to the Edition). The 1971 version of *Johnny Johnson* (omitting I.iv–v) was done with eleven male and four female actors, reducing the number of villagers, soldiers, generals, and inmates. But for the complete text, even the most economical casting would require at least twenty actors (three of them female); it is by no means a small production.

The Los Angeles FTP production bulletin for *Johnny Johnson* discusses at some length the problems of staging “fifteen scenes which vary in style and character from Gilbert and Sullivan-esque vaudeville, slapstick, rural sketch, abstract stylization to straight realism—the whole interspersed with songs and musical numbers, some of which are tied into the action of the moment, some standing by themselves.” The full version in eighteen scenes requires sixteen sets if one plays I.vi and II.ix on the same set, and likewise II.vii and II.viii. Donald Oenslager’s designs for the Group production were praised for their eccentric modernism but criticized for overpowering the action. His use of a revolve, however, provided an elegant solution for the rapid scene changes: most sets took up half the revolve (although the ruined churchyard for II.iii seems to have gone deeper), either running parallel to the front of the stage or (in Act III) at an angle to it.¹⁸⁵ The Los Angeles FTP production instead had painted drops, with a combination of full- and half-stage sets, and some scenes (e.g., II.iv) done “in one.”

The vocal lines of *Johnny Johnson* are not particularly ambitious, although “Johnny’s Song” has a wider range, and “Song of the Wounded Frenchmen” and “Song of the Guns” have some tricky harmonic moments. Characters tend to sing solo only once (with the exception of Minny Belle and Captain Valentine). For “Song of the Goddess,” Green later noted that “in the New York production the dark figure of a woman representing the Statue appeared among the sleepers as if a creature in their dreams and sang her song as a threnody over them”; and of “Song of the Guns,” he remarked that “the soldiers themselves sang this cannon song.”¹⁸⁶

The instrumentation requires a fairly compact pit band of at most twelve players: clarinet (also bass clarinet and E_b clarinet), alto/baritone saxophone (also clarinet), two trumpets, tenor trombone, two violins, violoncello, guitar (also banjo), timpani/percussion, Hammond Organ, and piano (this is discussed further in the Critical Report). When Weill began his score he planned for a ten-piece group, with the second trumpeter shifting to second violin as needed, and just one keyboard player on the Hammond Organ. This group later expanded with the addition of a separate second violinist in addition to the second trumpeter, while the final “Johnny’s Song” has two parts for Hammond Organ and piano: if one of those keyboard instruments was played by the musical director (Engel), there would, in the end, have been eleven players in the pit.¹⁸⁷ The scoring comes closest to the instrumentation that Weill had used in the *Mahagonny Songspiel* in 1927—two clarinets one doubling bass clarinet, alto sax, two trumpets, trombone, piano, timpani and percussion, two violins—if slightly mellower in the reed instruments, and richer in the strings, than in other works by Weill from his Berlin period.¹⁸⁸ Although Weill had already developed a predilection for reed-type keyboard instruments (normally the harmonium, but the accordion in *Marie Galante* and parts of *Der Kuhhandel*), he was introduced to the Hammond Organ in the United States, and by George Gershwin, it seems. The “model A” (patented in 1934 and first manufactured in 1935) had two five-octave manuals and a two-octave pedalboard. According to Weill (quoted by reporter Paul Davis in early 1937):

This instrument has an identity all its own. It is so responsive—it functions, you know, with the speed of light—that it gives you superb attack, as sharp as a piano. An organ, yes, but there is nothing oily or unctious [*sic*] about the tone. Yet it can be as subtle and insinuating as you please. Or you can get the most terrific *forzando* [*sic*] from it. There is no limit to the volume. You can multiply it indefinitely by adding more sound cabinets, and by locating your cabinets where you choose, your sound will emanate from any given spot. You can see what an asset such an instrument is to theatrical and picture producers.¹⁸⁹

The multiple registration instructions for the Hammond Organ provided in the score of *Johnny Johnson* suggest that Weill took full advantage of its possibilities; a modern synthesizer would be able to cope with the range of effects.

The Group worried that *Johnny Johnson* would run long: the run-through on 13 November 1936 raised the curtain at 8:40 and lowered it at 11:20 (with two intermissions). Notes on the other run-throughs reveal serious concern about the performance being some thirty minutes over time. By now, Green and others were also becoming increasingly anxious that many of the musical numbers interfered with the dramatic flow, and his rehearsal notes repeatedly advocated cutting songs down to one stanza or even removing them entirely. With some seventy minutes of music and quite extensive spoken dialogue, *Johnny Johnson* certainly is not short.

Productions concerned about length have various options. The Group Theatre's shorter version of the end of Act II (folding Scene viii into Scene vii and removing Scene ix), also adopted in the Los Angeles FTP production, has some dramatic plausibility and is essential if "Song of the Goddess" is cut from I.vi (given that it is reprised in II.ix). The first scene in Act II is disposable (as the Group decided), although it is powerful, and we have seen that Weill admired its presence in Los Angeles. Likewise, although the entire I.vi might be removed, Johnny's speech to the Statue is a steep price to pay. The omission in **Tp1** of I.iv–v (the army training scenes) is drastic—some might prefer to lose I.iii (and the subsequent appearances of "Captain Valentine's Song") instead—but it could in principle (coupled with the removal of I.vi and II.i) allow the action to move straight from the recruiting office to the trenches. At that point, if not before, a two- rather than three-

act division of the play becomes possible, if only as a matter of convenience, with Act I ending before the original II.iii (as happened in the 1956 production) or after it (as in 1971). However, the original layout in three acts certainly has its logic, with time passing between them and with the parallel New York Harbor scenes ending the first two.

Musically there seems scant virtue in removing individual numbers—although the various iterations of "Captain Valentine's Song" can become tiresome—or in shortening them to a single stanza, as Green suggested on several occasions. However, if cutting is needed, and if each scene is to retain at least some musical content, the options are probably (in order of reluctant preference) the returns of "Captain Valentine's Song" after nos. 9a and perhaps 9b in I.iii, the reminiscence of "Mon Ami, My Friend" (no. 27), "A Hymn to Peace" (no. 37), "Oh the Rio Grande" (no. 20; but only because it seems dramatically irrelevant), "Aggie's Song" (no. 6), "Johnny's Dream" (no. 21), and "Up Chickamauga Hill" (no. 4). Any such cut would require corresponding modification to the surrounding dialogue.

The Group Theatre and FTP cut the spoken dialogue to varying degrees, particularly in II.ii (in the trenches) and III.ii (the debate on the League of Nations): the Critical Notes give further details of these and other cases. Act I, Scene iii (in the recruiting office) and II.iv (the hospital) might also benefit from judicious pruning, and elsewhere the text could probably do with fewer words.

While a full performance of *Johnny Johnson* as presented in the Edition is certainly possible, the Edition provides, for the first time, the complete materials from which shorter versions might be made, according to practical need or dramatic desire.

Notes

1. Quotes given here retain spellings and errors found in the original documents while regularizing small stylistic details (such as giving play titles in italic). Square brackets indicate editorial insertions.
 2. WLA, Box 47, Folder 7: "De même j'ai des conversations très intéressantes avec les membres du Group Theatre, le théâtre le plus moderne et le plus jeune de New York. Là aussi il y a un intérêt énorme pour moi"; translated in *WPD(e)*, 163. The *New York Herald-Tribune*, 6 December 1937, reported that *Johnny Johnson* began over a dinner party with Lee Strasberg and Weill, although it was Cheryl Crawford who chose Paul Green. Robert Lewis (who first played the Mayor and French Premier) later said that Crawford had been prompted to consider Weill by Janet Flanner (the Paris correspondent for the *New Yorker*); "Robert (Bobby) Lewis: Oral History Interview with Peggy Meyer Sherry" (29 May 1991), in WLRC, Series 60. The *New York Times*, 21 October 1956, reporting on the revival of *Johnny Johnson* directed by Stella Adler (formerly of the Group Theatre), noted that the idea of the musical came specifically from Adler. Compare also Howard Clurman, *The Fervent Years: The Story of the Group Theatre and the Thirties* (New York: Knopf, 1945), 183: "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." However, rivalries between members of the Group, especially after its demise, make it very difficult to discern truth from invention.
 3. For the context, see Ben Blake, *The Awakening of the American Theatre* (New York: Tomorrow Publishers, 1935). One prominent figure in Blake's portrait of the labor stage is Alfred Saxe, who played the American Priest in *Johnny Johnson*.
 4. See Paul Green, "Symphonic Outdoor Drama: A Search for New Theatre Forms," in *Drama and the Weather: Some Notes and Papers on Life and the Theatre* (New York: Samuel French, 1958), 1–44 (on p. 15, Green reports that he told his wife, on seeing *Die Dreigroschenoper* in Berlin, that "the people were a sorry lot, but there was something about the way the music and the story mixed together that I liked"). For Green and Granowski, see *ibid.*, 16–21; Green, "Music in the Theatre," in *The Hawthorne Tree: Some Papers and Letters on Life and the Theatre* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1943), 81–89 (a slightly different, later version of part of this text was published as "Music in the Theatre" in his *Dramatic Heritage* [New York: Samuel French, 1953], 38–41). Both Harold Clurman (*The Fervent Years*, 183) and Cheryl Crawford (*One Naked Individual: My Fifty Years in the Theatre* [Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1977], 91) also claimed their own, and the Group's, fondness for *Die Dreigroschenoper*, which they said they knew from the recording.
 5. *The Fervent Years*, 184.
 6. These works, and also *Johnny Johnson*, are discussed in Vincent S. Kenny, *Paul Green* (New York: Twayne, 1971), 77–91. For *Roll, Sweet Chariot* and "symphonic drama," see Green, "Symphonic Outdoor Drama," 27. Stringfield was also the founder and chief conductor (1932–38) of the North Carolina Symphony Orchestra; he, too, was a Pulitzer prizewinner, and he was to be involved in Green's *The Lost Colony* (1937).
 7. Compare also Green's diary entry (UNC/PG, vol. 8) for 14 January 1936: "Thinking on Stokowski, Martha Graham, Trudi Schoop, Granowski and meeting planned by Mrs. Isaacs—Something I am after whether stage or screen—preferably for me stage—union of dance, pantomime, song, the word, and acting. *Tread Green Grass, Roll Sweet Chariot, Shroud My Body Down* only suggestions of what I want."
 8. Crawford, letter to Green, 10 April 1936, in NYPL, Ronald Sanders Papers (held in the Manuscripts Collection, Schwarzman Building), Box 21, Folder 5.
 9. Lee Strasberg said (in an interview with Ronald Sanders, April 1978) that the idea of *Švejk* emerged from a conversation with Weill in Strasberg's living room (he does not say who else was there), in NYPL, Ronald Sanders Papers, Box 20, Folder 5. Others, however, attribute the idea to Crawford; see Kay L. Grismer, "Cheryl Crawford Presents . . . : A History of Her Broadway Musical Productions 1936–1949," Ph.D. diss., Wayne State University, 1993, 20. A staging of Piscator's version of Hašek's novel at the Hedgerow Theatre (Media, Penn.) was announced in the *Philadelphia Record* on 4 October 1936 as a U.S. premiere; this article also noted that the Group Theatre was planning Green's "adaptation" as *Johnny Johnson*. Weill had already considered *Švejk* in Berlin and would return to it later in his career; see David Drew, *Kurt Weill: A Handbook* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987), 408; Nils Grosch, "an einer einzelnen humoristischen Figur den phantastischen Irrtum des Krieges aufzuzeigen": Weill, Eisler und die Musik für 'Schweyk,'" in *De Hasek à Brecht: fortune littéraire de la figure de Chvëik*, ed. Marie-Odile Thirouin, Les Cahiers de l'ILCEA 8 (Grenoble: Institut de Langues et des Cultures de l'Europe et de l'Amérique, 2006), 153–66.
- For Zuckmayer, Green claimed in a letter to Cheryl Crawford of 22 April 1975 to have seen in Berlin the (earlier) film *Der Hauptmann von Köpenick* (1926); see *A Southern Life: Letters of Paul Green, 1916–81*, ed. Laurence G. Avery (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1994), 684. Crawford herself mentions drawing on Hašek, Büchner, and Zuckmayer, "and even *Dere Mable* [1918], a popular novel of let-

- ters from a private soldier" (*One Naked Individual*, 94). Kenny (*Paul Green*, 88) detects additional influences from such contemporary antiwar plays as Maxwell Anderson and Laurence Stallings's *What Price Glory* (1924), Hans Chlumberg's *Miracle at Verdun* (staged in New York by the Theatre Guild in March–April 1931), George Sklar and Albert Maltz's *Peace on Earth* (1933), and Irwin Shaw's *Bury the Dead* (which opened in New York on 18 April 1936). Chlumberg's satire includes a conference of World Powers trying to deal with a group of resurrected soldiers crying for peace. Ronald Sanders, *The Days Grow Short: The Life and Music of Kurt Weill* (New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1980), 227, suggests connections with Ernst Toller's *Transfiguration* (i.e., *Die Wandlung*; 1919) and *Hoppla! Wir leben* (1927).
10. For an overview, see Peter Conn, *The American 1930s: A Literary History* (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 9–22. Conn also notes (p. 14) the Congressional Investigation into the origins of World War I led by Senator Gerald Nye that opened in September 1934, which tended to favor the view that the United States had been manipulated into the war by the greed of the munitions industry and the financial sector.
 11. "ein merkwürdiger Knabe . . . nicht ganz sicher, ob er es wirklich kann." *W-LL(g)*, 198; translation emended from *W-LL(e)*, 193–94 (6 May 1936).
 12. Crawford, letter to Green, 11 May 1936, in NYPL, Ronald Sanders Papers, Box 21, Folder 5. For the Chapel Hill visit, see also Weill's letters to Lenya of 3, 6, and 7 May 1936, in *WLL(e)*, 193–94. In her 11 May letter, Crawford also suggested that Green might meet up with her, Weill, and Lenya in Virginia Beach during their vacation the following week. She then wrote to Green from Virginia Beach saying that she was reluctant to drive to Chapel Hill and urging him to produce the promised draft of Act I, or at least something to demonstrate his commitment to Weill, lest Weill decide to spend the summer in Paris; see her undated letter in NYPL, Ronald Sanders Papers, Box 21, Folder 5. This letter also mentions that Weill had found "four or five books in the library of comic stuff" on which he was taking notes, and it refers to a scenario (for all three acts) that appears to have found some favor within the Group.
 13. Weill, letters to Green, 19 May 1936 (Act I suggestions), Tuesday (undated; enthusiastic response), in NYPL, Ronald Sanders Papers, Box 21, Folder 5. There is a third letter in this sequence from Weill to Green (24 June) while the latter was briefly away from the Group summer camp.
 14. Crawford, *One Naked Individual*, 96.
 15. These dates derive from references in later sources; I have not found the original contracts. Signing was delayed by the requirement that all parties be members of the Dramatists' Guild, which Weill was not (see his letter to Harold Freedman [Brandt and Brandt], 11 July 1936, in WLA, Box 47, Folder 4), and by other unspecified issues (see the letters to Green from his publisher in UNC/PG Folder 379). The Kurt Weill Foundation business files also contain a copy of a general memorandum of agreement between Weill and Green to prepare *Johnny Johnson* (unsigned and undated), with both holding equal rights to it.
 16. Green and Weill arrived in Connecticut on Monday, 8 June; see Lenya, letter to Rita Weill, 5 June 1936, in *W-Fam*, 345–46. They preceded the Group, who arrived toward the end of June, after their touring production of Clifford Odets's *Awake and Sing!* had closed in Newark, N.J., on 20 June; see the *New York Evening Post*, 17 June 1936. Crawford recounts that Weill composed at the piano beneath her bedroom (*One Naked Individual*, 94). For his borrowings from earlier works (in particular *Happy End* and *Der Kuhhandel*) for *Johnny Johnson*, see Drew, *Handbook*, 274, and also below. The chronology in Hirsch, *Kurt Weill on Stage*, 144 (which states that Weill completed the score by early July and joined the Group camp in the middle of that month), is incorrect.
 17. The text is in WLA, Box 68, Folder 17; facsimile in *WPD(e)*, 165. Notes on the lecture by Tony Kraber and Luther Adler—both of whom played in *Johnny Johnson*—survive in WLRC, Series 80.
 18. UNC/PG, Folder 381. For another letter from Green to his wife (one from 18 June), see *A Southern Life*, ed. Avery, 258–59.
 19. On 29 July, Elizabeth Green wrote to her husband (UNC/PG, Folder 4080): "Make that Johnny Johnson a great thing, sweet. You can. Think of him as Everyman, as a humorous Job, and stick to the essential fable of man's piteous laughable seeking. Do pray don't dwell on dead horses and burlesque drill to the detriment of your story. You surely have something great there. I can't quite see it clear because you have so great a quantity of material. But I know you can carve something simple and universal out of it" (her "dead horses" refers to an early version of I.i; see below). For "Song of the Guns," see Green's letter to his wife, Friday (undated, but perhaps 11 September 1936), in UNC/PG, Folder 381; here he also refers to the "Generals' Song," but this is probably a mistake for "Cowboy Song" unless Green is referring to the first, texted version of "The Dance of the Generals." For "Oh the Rio Grande," see Green's letter to his wife, dated only "Monday," in UNC/PG, Folder 381 (the actual date was probably 12 October 1936, given that Elizabeth Lay Green replied in a letter of the 17th, in UNC/PG, Folder 4080): "I've just come from the theatre where we rehearsed your cowboy ballad. Everybody is charmed with it, and Kurt says you will make a lot of money from it . . . that Rudy Vallee, Bing Crosby and all the boys will be singing it. I've made a few minor changes in it in order to get a more emphatic singing effect, but they are so small that they don't count. I was so proud to hear them all praise it! And Tony Kraber sings it beautifully." Toward the end of this letter, Green says that he wants to publish the play with the music at the back so that he can give his wife credit for both "Oh the Rio Grande" and "Song of the Guns." Another letter written by Green to his wife, also on a Monday, refers again to her contribution in "Oh the Rio Grande"; see *A Southern Life*, ed. Avery, 259–60 (but this letter most probably dates from the first half of November, and not, as Avery suggests, late August).
 20. LOC, Aaron Copland Collection, Box 250, Folder "Harold Clurman, 1935–39."
 21. NYPL, Donald Oenslager Papers and Designs, Box 54, Folder 38. Clurman also asked Oenslager to lecture to the Group on Japanese theater.
 22. Clurman made the pitch in his letters to Copland of 18 June and 19 July; see also Aaron Copland and Vivian Perlis, *Copland: 1900 through 1942* (New York: St. Martin's/Marek, 1984), 221. The proposal was dropped because Odets never finished the play; Copland's first music for the Group was for Irwin Shaw's *The Quiet City* (1938).
 23. University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, Southern Oral History Program Collection, recorded interview of Paul Green by his secretary Rhoda Wynn. See also Paul Green, "With the Group Theatre: A Remembrance," in *Plough and Furrow: Some Essays and Papers on Life and the Theatre* (New York: Samuel French, 1963), 42–56. In the 1974 interview Green specifically mentions Art Smith (but he probably means Roman Bohnen) suggesting the addition to Grandpa Joe's line "Then you're sunk" (I.ii): "—like the Lusitania." Harold Clurman wrote in the *New York Times*, 17 January 1937, that *Johnny Johnson* "came out of the Group Theatre's suggestion, stimulation and actual assistance"; see *The Collected Works of Harold Clurman: Six Decades of Commentary on Theatre, Dance, Music, Film, Arts and Letters*, ed. Marjorie Loggia and Glenn Young (New York: Applause Books, 1994), 25.
 24. Green's notebook with jottings on early ideas for *Johnny Johnson* is in UNC/PG, Folder 3063.
 25. For a third song perhaps intended for *Johnny Johnson*, see the discussion of "I'm going to Paris," in section V below. Robert Lewis (the original Mayor and French Premier) recalled "We Need a Man" in an interview on 29 May 1991 (WLRC, Series 60), which suggests that it at least went into rehearsal.
 26. Unless cited otherwise, quotations from newspapers on the New York production are taken from the clippings in the Group Theatre scrapbook in NYPL, Billy Rose Theatre Collection, *Z-174, vol. 12 (a few of these clippings are also in UNC/PG, Folders 386, 3060A). Odets was somewhat distracted by his relationship with the film star Luise Rainer, whom he married on 9 January 1937, and by his emerging writing commitments in Hollywood.
 27. *Bridgeport Post*, 30 August 1936 (Lenya), 11 September 1936 (final performance). The latter also noted that *Johnny Johnson* would be ready for rehearsal in another week.
 28. The *New York Post*, 10 September 1936 (a Thursday), noted that Paul Green had returned to the city in preparation for rehearsing *Johnny Johnson*. In a letter dated only Friday (11 September?), Green informed his wife that he would be moving to the Hotel Bristol in the city on Sunday (13 September) to start rehearsals the next day (see the undated letter in UNC/PG, Folder 381): "Really it is good now as I've got it built, and it will be much better before I've finished." According to this letter, rehearsals (still in Connecticut) "began in earnest yesterday"; Green also notes "a good big announcement in the N.Y. Times" (which on 10 September 1936 reported the intended opening in October). Equity salary rules allowed a rehearsal period of five weeks before a cast needed to go on full pay (and therefore a show needed to open); although the Group may have been able to obtain a waiver from these rules, the non-Group actors would have required some accommodation.
 29. Weill, letter to Engel, 27 July 1936, in Irving S. Gilmore Music Library, Yale University, MSS 39 (The Lehman Engel Papers), Box 18, Folder 567. Engel had conducted Weill's *Der Jasager* in a production under the auspices of the Henry Street Settlement Music School in April 1933. For Copland, see Engel, "Kurt Weill and I" (1972?), in WLRC, Series 80; and also the notes on Engel's interview with Ronald Sanders on 2 April 1978 in NYPL, Ronald Sanders Papers, Box 20, Folder 5.
For Engel and Morris Stonzek (the orchestra contractor for Weill's American shows) meeting with the AFM, see Elmer Holmes Bobst Library, New York University, Robert F. Wagner Labor Archives, American Federation of Musicians, Local 802, Minutes of the Executive Board Meetings (1936 = Reel no. 7438/8; call no. 5264), 401: "Members Stanzig [sic] and Engel appeared before the board asking prices for the production of *Johnnie [sic] Johnson* which will be produced by the Group Theatre. They were given the proper information." Cheryl Crawford and other members of the Group Theatre appeared before the Board on 24 September (ibid., 413) to secure the classification of the play as a "dramatic show," allowing "book prices" (rather than higher musical-comedy ones) for musicians. The move to the Forty-Fourth Street Theatre prompted further discussions with AFM about house musicians on 5 November (ibid., 496–97), and the classification was confirmed on 12 November (ibid., 509: "provided the music is cut to a minimum"), although the AFM wished to keep the matter under review.
When Engel later interviewed Stonzek, they recalled one "Strosvoegel" (presumably Ignaz [Ignace] Strasfogel) acting as assistant conductor and pianist for *Johnny Johnson*; see the notes in Irving S. Gilmore Music Library, Yale University, MSS 39 (The Lehman Engel Papers), Box 6, Folder 184. One assumes that Engel also played the keyboard when needed.
 30. Clurman, *The Fervent Years*, 187. In a letter to Elia Kazan of 17 May 1937 (Wesleyan University, Cinema Archives, Elia Kazan Collection), Clurman said he regretted having been dissuaded by Strasberg from having Kazan and Stella Adler direct *Johnny Johnson* (before Clurman himself took it on—or so he suggested in an interview with

- Ronald Sanders on 20 February 1978, in NYPL, Ronald Sanders Papers, Box 20, Folder 5).
31. *A Southern Life*, ed. Avery, 262 (last touches); interview with Rhoda Wynn on 8 February 1974 (ending). For the latter, see also James R. Spence, *Watering the Sahara: Recollections of Paul Green from 1894 to 1937*, ed. Margaret D. Bauer (Raleigh, N.C.: North Carolina Office of Archives and History, 2008), 221.
 32. Of course, such releases, especially from agents, must be evaluated carefully for accuracy: witness the reports that one Susan Steel was to be given an “important assignment” in the play (*Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*, 4 November 1936; she is also noted in the *New York World-Telegram* on 28 October), even though she never appeared in *Johnny Johnson*.
 33. Cheryl Crawford also noted the financing to Donald Oenslager on 10 November (NYPL, Donald Oenslager Papers and Designs, Box 55, Folder 4): “I can’t tell you how swell I think you are to have waited so uncomplainingly for your money. Whitney came through at last, not for quite as much as we had hoped, but for enough to securely open the show and his checking account for us will be opened tomorrow—so that we will be able to give you the rest of your money within the next two days.” Crawford later claimed (*One Naked Individual*, 94–96) that her original budget for *Johnny Johnson* was “about sixty thousand dollars,” \$40,000 of which was provided by Mrs. Motty (Bess) Eitingon and the rest by Whitney, while Clurman “begged, borrowed, and stole” additional money as the dress rehearsals placed greater strains on resources. Clurman (*The Fervent Years*, 188) notes the \$40,000 from Eitingon but only \$12,000 from Whitney.
 34. Green participated in a discussion of “The Problem of the Poetic Play” on 24 October; see the notice in the *New York Herald-Tribune*, 23 October 1936.
 35. From the copy in NYPL, Margaret Barker Papers, Box 19, Folder 21. The flyer notes that *Johnny Johnson* was set to open in late October.
 36. Reprinted in *Kurt Weill Newsletter* 4, no. 2 (Fall 1986): 7–8; a German translation is in *GS2*, 148–54.
 37. Compare also the interview with Weill in the *American Hebrew*, 8 January 1937, pp. 756–57, 760. In addition, the *New York World-Telegram*, 14 November 1936, ran an article on Paul Green: “The Group’s imminent presentation of *Johnny Johnson* has drawn the acutely shy son of North Carolina into our midst again, but his firm intention is to rush back to Chapel Hill as soon after the opening as he can make it.”
 38. *White Horse Inn* was directed and produced by Erik Charell, who was known to Weill in Europe and became associated with him in the United States; for the latter, see Tim Carter, “Oklahoma!” *The Making of an American Musical* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2007), 6.
 39. *New York Times*, 17 November 1936, reports on Green’s address that the play is “based on a theme about a President and his efforts to stop war.”
 40. This chronology is confirmed, broadly speaking, by the minutes of the Executive Board of the American Federation of Musicians, Local 802 (meeting on 5 November), 497, which notes that the Group was considering the Forty-Fourth Street Theatre in the week of 23 October, with negotiations continuing until 2 November, and that a “reading rehearsal” had been planned there for the morning of Thursday 5 November but was postponed due to uncertainties over meeting union requirements in terms of musicians. The Group was certainly in the theatre by Tuesday 10 November or thereabouts.
 41. Grismer, “Cheryl Crawford Presents . . .,” 36, indicates that the first preview (as she calls it) took place on 13 November (a Friday). Detailed notes on the run-throughs survive in UNC/PG, Folder 384b. The *Jamaica Courier* (Queens) reported on 13 November that the previous night’s run-through (the first) had been attended by members of the Richmond Hill National Council of Jewish Juniors; the *New York Times*, 8 November 1936, noted in two separate articles that the Friday run-through was to be for the benefit of the Adirondack Sanatorium at Saranac Lake, N.Y., and the Monday one for the League of Women Shoppers (whose organizing committee included Mrs. Ira Gershwin). The Tuesday run-through (the 17th) was originally to have been the opening night; see below.
 42. The size of the sets generated controversy among the Group. Donald Oenslager’s original technical drawings (M1; in NYPL, Donald Oenslager Papers and Designs, Box 75) were based on a forty-foot wide proscenium (with a viewable stage thirty-four feet wide) containing a central revolve twenty-five feet in diameter, its far edge twenty-seven feet from the front of the stage. The fact that two trees used for I.i were twenty feet high gives a sense of the scale.
 43. So both Lehman Engel and Morris Stonzek claimed in interviews in 1978 with Ronald Sanders; see the notes in NYPL, Ronald Sanders Papers, Box 20, Folders 5 (Engel; 2 April) and 13 (Stonzek; 18 May).
 44. Minutes of the Executive Board of the American Federation of Musicians, Local 802 (meeting on 12 November), 509.
 45. Cheryl Crawford, however, later said that “Song of the Goddess” was sung on opening night (*One Naked Individual*, 96). Marc Blitzstein’s review of *Johnny Johnson* in *Modern Music* 14, no. 1 (November–December 1936): 44–46, which refers to “the song of the Goddess of Liberty,” was written after seeing a preview performance before the official premiere (so Blitzstein says in his opening paragraph).
 46. UNC/PG Folder 384b contains a series of notes on each run-through (unsigned and unattributed, but perhaps by Cheryl Crawford), as well as a report by Green (by hand and then typed up) on a post-premiere performance. UNC/PG Folder 394 contains a report dated 12 November from Helen Thompson (the Group’s audience manager) to Crawford regarding that evening’s run-through.
 47. These revisions were still in discussion after the opening, to judge by Elizabeth Green’s suggestions on rewriting the scene in a letter to her husband of 25 November 1936, in UNC/PG, Folder 4080.
 48. Minutes of the Executive Board of the American Federation of Musicians, Local 802 (meeting on 1 December), 553.
 49. *New York Times*, 10 September 1936 (late October); 15 October (14 November); 27 October (17 November). Clurman (*The Fervent Years*, 188–89) notes the “panic” that ensued from the previews.
 50. *New York Times*, 16 November 1936 (mechanical problems); *New York American*, 17 November (coordinating with orchestra; the article also notes eighteen scene changes). Clurman (*The Fervent Years*, 188) and Crawford (*One Naked Individual*, 96) each refer to nineteen sets, although the longest possible version of *Johnny Johnson*, comprising eighteen scenes, would require only sixteen sets (I.vi and II.ix are on the same set, and presumably II.vii and II.viii are as well).
 51. These telegrams are in the Group Theatre scrapbook in NYPL, Billy Rose Theatre Collection, *Z-174, vol. 12.
 52. Copies of the opening-night program are in UNC/PG, Folders 3060A, 3080B; WLRC, Series 50A/J6 (which also includes programs for the weeks beginning 30 November, 7 December, and 28 December). A partial copy of the program for the week beginning 30 November also survives in LOC/FTP, Box 958. In none does the cast list include a Goddess, although the program in Burns Mantle’s *The Best Plays of 1936–37*, 432–33 (and also the Internet Broadway Database at <www.ibdb.com>) names Jean Burton as “Song.” However, Johnny’s speech in I.vi (and the absence of that scene in the initial program) is noted by James E. Tobin (of New Jersey) in a letter to Green of 22 November (UNC/PG, Folder 394) expressing his appreciation of *Johnny Johnson* and his disbelief at the reviews.
 53. Green’s comment appears in notes on a working session between Lys Symonette and Paul Green, 27–28 May 1970, while preparing the 1971 production, in UNC/PG, Folder 3072. In his diary entry for 27 November 1936, Green said that he was still working on “little touches” in the play.
 54. Green, undated telegram to Crawford, in UNC/PG, Folder 378. See also Weill, letter to Max Dreyfus (Chappell), 20 December 1936, in WLA, Box 47, Folder 3, transcribed in KWE IV/2 (*Popular Adaptations, 1927–1950*, ed. Charles Hamm, Elmar Juchem, and Kim H. Kowalke [New York: Kurt Weill Foundation for Music/European American Music Corporation, 2009]), 58: “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.” However, Weill goes on to complain that Chappell failed to market the song properly. “To Love You and To Lose You” was recorded by singer Howard Barrie with Ray Noble and his orchestra on 5 January 1937 (Victor 25504; see KWE IV/2, 58).
 55. In his interview with Ronald Sanders (5 April 1978), Green called his lyric “doggerel”; see the notes in NYPL, Ronald Sanders Papers, Box 20, Folder 5.
 56. Clurman, *The Fervent Years*, 189–90; Crawford, *One Naked Individual*, 97.
 57. Compare also the lengthy article on Weill in the *American Hebrew*, 8 January 1937 (pp. 756–57, 760), which comments favorably both on *Johnny Johnson* and (at greater length, inevitably) on *The Eternal Road*.
 58. Oddly enough, the *Boston Globe* (26 May 1937) review of the Boston performance of *Johnny Johnson* likewise compared the title character to Parsifal.
 59. Weill also claimed elsewhere that “Song of the Guns” was his idea, and one of his first for the play; see Paul Davis, “Kurt Weill in Hollywood—But Not of It,” in WLA, Box 74, Folder 4, transcribed at <www.kwf.org/kwf/component/content/article/33-writings/350-kurt-weill-in-hollywood>. This is a typescript of an apparently unpublished news story (Davis writes from the J. Walter Thompson advertising agency); internal evidence dates it around the second half of January 1937.
 60. Roosevelt’s speech was printed in full in the *New York Times*, 2 December 1936; the above quotations are taken from the text given in John T. Woolley and Gerhard Peters, *The American Presidency Project* <www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=15238>.
 61. The *New York Times*, 13 November 1936, reported that John J. Wildberg (a theatrical attorney in Hollywood) was trying to sell the film rights to *Johnny Johnson* and the play *Double Dummy* (which opened on 11 November). However, Hunter Lovelace (an agent in Los Angeles), writing to Green on 12 January 1937 (UNC/PG, Folder 416), was somewhat dismissive of the possibilities of selling *Johnny Johnson* to the studios (the script discussed here is unnamed but is most unlikely to be anything other than *Johnny Johnson*). For the possibility (January 1937) of a film version produced by Walter Wanger with Burgess Meredith in the title role, see Grismer, “Cheryl Crawford Presents . . .,” 43. Nothing came of this, nor of the notion that Charlie Chaplin might play Johnny in a movie version; see Weill, letter to Lenya, 13 March 1937, in WLL(e), 216–17; Green, letter to Weill, 14 December 1937, in WLA, Box 48, Folder 36 (“Do you suppose there ever could be the remotest chance of selling him the

- play?—or interesting him in it as material”). For other attempts, see Green’s undated letter to French (UNC/PG, Folder 455) requesting further information about Faustina Orner who, it seems, was interested in pursuing the rights (see also Green, letter to Frank Sheil, 30 September 1938, in UNC/PG, Folder 441, also in *A Southern Life*, ed. Avery, 297–98); Sheil, letter to Green, 17 January 1939, in UNC/PG, Folder 480, concerning Rosalie Stewart; Jack Walsh (French), letter to Green, 3 October 1939, in UNC/PG, Folder 481, noting the sending of two copies of *Johnny Johnson* to Green’s agent in Los Angeles. Frank Sheil was Green’s primary contact in the office of his publisher, Samuel French.
62. Green, letter to French, 28 December 1936, in UNC/PG, Folder 379. See also Green, letter to Jacques Chambrun, 19 December 1936, in UNC/PG, Folder 374: “I have just finished the revised version of my play *Johnny Johnson* which is now running in New York.” In his diary, Green noted the completion of *Johnny Johnson* in an entry for 21–24 December. He also told Weill of the revision on 22 December (WLA, Box 48, Folder 36) and noted that he was incorporating “Over in Europe,” Minny Belle’s “Farewell, Goodbye,” “Song of the Goddess,” and “a slightly improved Johnny song.” This is an odd list, since other material cut from the Group performance (if “Over in Europe” was indeed cut) is not included. Moreover, Green did not provide a “slightly improved” text for “Johnny’s Song” for publication.
 63. Green later claimed (“With the Group Theatre,” 54) that he omitted “Johnny’s Song” from the published text because “the words didn’t seem to fit.”
 64. Letters from French concerning the proofs are in UNC/PG, Folder 406. Tt4 concludes with a note “In the New York production the play ended as follows,” leading to the lyrics for “Johnny’s Song” (Green’s original text rather than the Heyman compromise) and a final stage direction. Given that this was not typeset in Tp0, presumably it was communicated separately to the Federal Theatre Project prior to the creation of Tt4. The copy of Tp0 in UNC/PG has the text of “Johnny’s Song” pasted in (but at an unknown date), and Green later quoted it in this form in a letter to Jonathan Daniels of 2 February 1970 (in *A Southern Life*, ed. Avery, 674–75). He restored the song, to a slightly revised text, in the 1971 edition of *Johnny Johnson*.
 65. Green explained these deletions in his letter to R. E. Duffy (French) of 3 February 1937, returning the proofs (UNC/PG, Folder 375): “You will notice that I have made several changes—radical ones at that, but all for the better, I think.” According to a letter from French to Green of 18 March 1937 (UNC/PG, Folder 407), the printed edition came off the press that morning. Its publication was noted in the *Brooklyn Daily Eagle* on 18 April.
 66. William Kozlenko, editor of *The One-Act Play Magazine* (in which TpR appeared), acknowledged receipt of the text on 15 February 1938, in UNC/PG, Folder 449.
 67. The NARA/FTP copy of Tt4 has an inner title page that omits Weill. The inner title page of the LOC/FTP copy mentions Weill, but this page may have been imported from Tt5.
 68. Green, letter to Weill, 22 December 1936, in WLA, Box 48, Folder 36. See also Green, letter to his wife, Monday (undated), in UNC/PG, Folder 381 (“I’ve decided to print all the songs in the back of the play with music”); Green, letter to Duffy, 3 February 1937, in UNC/PG, Folder 375 (“I have been unable to get permission to print the melodies at the back of the book, so I suggest that Mr. Weill’s name be taken off the title page and put on the back of that page and in parentheses. This will keep the reader from expecting to find the music in the volume”).
 69. Three of these songs have 1936 copyright notices in Ve, but for some reason “Oh Heart of Love” does not. “Oh the Rio Grande” (Chappell C-675-5), “Oh Heart of Love” (Chappell C-677-3), and “Mon Ami, My Friend” (Chappell C-681-4) were all published on 17 November 1936 (the intended opening night); “To Love You and To Lose You” (Chappell C-685-4) was published on 12 December 1936. Facsimiles of “Oh the Rio Grande” and “To Love You and To Lose You” are available in KWE IV/2; for a discussion of these songs, see KWE IV/2, 56–58.
 70. The WLRC programs file has a flyer for the event, which was also widely advertised in the press. Weill spoke on “Music in the Legitimate Drama.” A similar event was held by the ILGWU on Saturday, 9 January 1937 (for which a flyer survives in WLA, Box 56, Folder 42; facsimile in *WPD(e)*, 175), where Weill spoke on “Music in the Theatre” and introduced performances of music from *Johnny Johnson* and *The Eternal Road*. The ILGWU was closely involved with the hugely popular satirical revue *Pins and Needles*, first tried out in June 1936 (earlier than is commonly assumed; *New York Times*, 15 June 1936) and then revived in various editions from November 1937 to June 1940.
 71. The *New York Times* announced the beginning of rehearsals on 24 November 1936.
 72. Accounts of daily receipts survive in reports from French in UNC/PG, Folder 379 (for 1936) and 406 (1937). A weekly summary is found in UNC/PG, Folder 406: for the week ending 21 November, receipts totaled \$3,308.30; 28 November, \$6,961.80; 5 December, \$6,500.10; 12 December, \$6,286.50; 19 December, \$5,056.65; 26 December, \$6,898.50; 2 January, \$10,472.50; 9 January, \$5,648.35; 16 January, \$7,452.60. For the additional investment, see Frank Sheil, letter to Green, 5 December 1936, in UNC/PG, Folder 379. *Variety* (cited in W. David Sievers, “The Group Theatre of New York City, 1931–1941,” MA thesis, Stanford University, 1944, 198) reported a weekly average of \$8,000. Green noted in his diary (20–26 November) that all the performers quickly went on half pay to enable the production to continue, as did Green and Weill in terms of royalties.
 73. The *New York Times* reported the closure on 9 January 1937, saying that it was for financial reasons: business had been good over the holidays but had recently fallen off (both of which are true; see the previous note). Grismer (“Cheryl Crawford Presents . . .,” 41) says that Crawford announced the closing on 12 January.
 74. Copy in UNC/PG, Folder 394. On 28 December 1936, Molly Day Thatcher, playreader for the Group, solicited a new one-act play from Green for performance in April 1937 (see her letter in UNC/PG, Folder 394): “From our point of view, it’s a chance to work both more freely and experimentally, and without all the ponderousness and financial headaches of a big production. And that’s true for the writers too.”
 75. WLA, Box 48, Folder 36.
 76. See the highly critical report sent by the Actors’ Committee (Stella Adler, Roman Bohnen, Morris Carnovsky, and Elia Kazan) to the Directors of the Group Theatre (Cheryl Crawford, Harold Clurman, Lee Strasberg) prepared in December 1936, in NYPL, Luther Adler Papers, Box 4, Folder 1. Although this report pinpoints some of the problems of *Johnny Johnson* (in particular, the sets and costumes, as well as Strasberg’s weak direction and “intolerant bullying” of Lehman Engel), it focuses more on the failure of the three directors to achieve coherent organization, effective rehearsals, proper artistic vision, and a secure financial position to pay adequate salaries. The report ends by recommending a thorough overhaul of the Group or, failing that, its closure.
 77. For earlier promptings to give *Johnny Johnson* the Drama Critics’ Award, see above, and also the *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, 14 March 1937. *High Tor* and *Johnny Johnson* were the two plays left in the running after a cumbersome process of elimination, but *High Tor* eventually garnered fourteen (out of eighteen) votes. Given the controversy, some critics felt obligated to justify their vote in the press on 29 March, including Whitney Bolton (in the *Newark News*) in favor of *High Tor* and John Anderson (*New York Evening Journal*) in favor of *Johnny Johnson*.
 78. For the Pulitzer proposals, see above, and also the *Long Island Press*, 17 April, with a long eulogy by Hal Eaton for *Johnny Johnson*, as well as for Weill’s music (a shorter version appeared in the *Newark Ledger* on the same day). For Mantle, see his letter to Green, 29 May 1937, in UNC/PG, Folder 417: “*Johnny Johnson* was the most interesting of last season’s controversial plays and the only one of the social dramas that appeared to score a definite impression. / With your permission I would like to include excerpts from it in next Fall’s issue of *The Best Plays*. / In view of my lack of enthusiasm over the Group Theatre production this request my surprise you. Mantle, however, is the editor of a Year Book and not its dictator. Anyway, my quarrel was more with the Group than it was with Johnny. I have always been a little resentful of their casting limitations, and predilections.” The text digested by Mantle follows Tp1.
 79. *W-UE*, 491: “Es ist, wie Sie ja wissen, ein sehr schwerer Boden hier, besonders für jemand, der eine eigene musikalische Sprache spricht, aber die Situation des Theaters ist hier immer noch besser und gesunder als irgendwo sonst, und ich glaube, dass ich hier soweit kommen kann, das fortzusetzen, was ich in Europa begonnen hatte”; translated in Kim H. Kowalke, “‘I am an American!’ Whitman, Weill, and Cultural Identity,” in *Walt Whitman and Modern Music: War, Desire, and the Trials of Nationhood*, ed. Lawrence Kramer (New York: Garland, 2000), 109–31 (quotation on 109–10).
 80. Frank Sheil, letter to Green, 7 January 1937, in UNC/PG, Folder 406, reporting that McConnell approached Crawford; *New York Herald-Tribune*, 17 January 1937 (Collins to do *Johnny Johnson* in Cleveland); *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, 16 February (rehearsals began on the 15th).
 81. “Von Cheryl hatte ich einen sehr netten Brief. Bitte grüße sie und sag ihr, ich halte es für unmöglich, daß man *Johnny Johnson* allein mit Klavier aufführt (wie man es scheinbar in Cleveland beabsichtigt).” *W-LL(g)*, 213; translated in *W-LL(e)*, 209–10.
 82. A copy of the Cleveland program is in UNC/PG, Folder 411. Russell Collins wrote to Green on a Wednesday to say that “we had a very good success with *Johnny* in Cleveland”; see the undated letter in UNC/PG, Folder 374.
 83. Green, letter to his wife, 17 October 1936, in *A Southern Life*, ed. Avery, 262: “Hallie Flanagan up from Wash. to breakfast this morning. She wants—after N.Y. showing—to open Johnny in many W.P.A. theatres throughout the country, using W.P.A. orchestras and actors.” Elizabeth Green replied (UNC/PG, Folder 4080): “I wonder what the Army and Navy propagandists will think of *Johnny Johnson* as a government play. It’s an interesting development anyhow.” Green’s contacts with Flanagan were probably aided by Frederick (“Proff”) Koch, head of the Drama Department at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, who acted as an FTP regional adviser. Bernice Baumgarten of Brandt and Brandt (Weill’s theatrical agent) wrote to Green on 4 December 1936 (UNC/PG, Folder 373), saying that she would be glad to receive a script of *Johnny Johnson* and asking whether there were plans for a British production. This letter contains an annotation in Green’s hand, “Write Hallie Flanagan.” He appears to have done so fairly quickly, perhaps also prompted by a request from Pierre de Rohan, editor of the *Federal Theatre Magazine*, on 10 December for a comment on the FTP to go into the January issue; see *A Southern Life*, ed. Avery, 264–65.
 84. NYPL, Hallie Flanagan Papers, Box 9, Folder 4 contains a typed transcript of her letter. Flanagan and her husband had visited Paul Green in Chapel Hill on 24 March 1936 and possibly at other times as well.
 85. Flanagan’s colleague, Hiram Motherwell, wrote her on 18 December: “You asked to be reminded to write Paul Green”; in NARA/FTP, Box 176, Folder “Hallie Flanagan #5.” Green’s letter to Weill is in WLA, Box 48, Folder 36.

86. NYPL, Hallie Flanagan Papers, Box 2, Folder "Paul Green."
87. The literature on the FTP is quite large; the essential introduction is William F. McDonald, *Federal Relief Administration and the Arts: The Origins and Administrative History of the Arts Projects of the Works Progress Administration* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1969).
88. Music in FTP productions needs much closer study. LOC/FTP has 213 containers containing scores and parts for a very large number of plays; for examples, see *The New Deal Stage*, <<http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/fedtp/ftplays.html>>, part of the Library of Congress's "American Memory" project, with materials for *Dr. Faustus*, the African American *Macbeth*, and the *Living Newspaper* production *Power* (23 February 1937). A report of 12 March 1936 (NARA/FTP, Box 80, Folder "FTP—Musical Personnel, 1936–1939") noted that the New York FTP office collaborated with the Federal Music Project to maintain 174 musicians on its lists but that it could do with a great many more: "The need for a large musical organization is urgent and is necessary for the 'commercial' future of the Federal Theatre Project. Having orchestras with productions of the Federal Theatre Project will also result, we believe, in that commercial theatre managers will find it necessary in their productions on Broadway and in other cities to employ musicians for their shows, and thus it will decrease unemployment." By 15 March 1939 the number of musicians had grown to 279. Weekly reports from the Los Angeles FTP branch in the first half of 1937 (in NARA/FTP, Box 104) suggest that it was able to run at least three simultaneous productions that had what it called a "concert orchestra" (14–20 players), plus others with smaller forces. This may help explain why the FTP clearly had an easier time with the musical demands of *Johnny Johnson* than did the Group Theatre.
89. For *Machine Age*, see the clippings in NARA/FTP, Box 129; it transferred to Manhattan after its opening. According to the *Brooklyn Citizen*, 1 May 1937, this was the FTP's "first major musical comedy": "There was in it something of the spirit of the Group Theatre's *Johnny Johnson*, and it might have equaled or excelled that piece if the music were better, the singing and acting more polished, and the general outlines of production and authorship more professional." For attempts at an FTP opera project in Boston, also citing *Johnny Johnson* as a model, see the *Christian Science Monitor*, 1 February 1937. Already on 6 September 1936 the *New York Times* had announced that one of the Federal Music Project's chief fields in the "next" season (1936–37?) would be "chamber opera," including *The Robot* by the New York composer Frederick Hart (professor of music at Sarah Lawrence College in Bronxville, N.Y.) and Weill's *Der Zar lässt sich fotografieren* (1928).
90. NARA/FTP, Box 119, Folder "Entry #29 [It Can't Happen Here]—McCleish #3."
91. NARA/FTP, Box 493, Folder "Meetings #1." Motherwell was head of the Play Policy Board. "*The Peace of Aristophanes*" is evidently a mistranscription of "piece" (Aristophanes wrote the next piece on the list, *Lysistrata*). The approved plays were respectively by Ernst Toller (lyrics by W. H. Auden), Paul Green, Irwin Shaw, Euripides, Aristophanes, and Molly Day Thatcher; the two rejected ones were by R. C. Sherriff and Maxwell Anderson/Laurence Stallings. Various other accounts of the January conference are found in NARA/FTP, Box 18, Folder "Play Policy Board—Conference—1/22/1937." It may also be worth noting another major artistic work of this period dealing with war: Martha Graham's ballet *Chronicle*, to music by Wallingford Riegger, was first performed in New York on 20 December 1936.
92. See the weekly reports from departments of the National Play Bureau in NARA/FTP, Box 192; the vetting process in fact began in the week ending 22 January (which was the first day of the Play Policy Board conference that confirmed the antiwar initiative). In addition, fifteen "peace plays" were read and recommended. Tyler had already sent (18 January) a form letter to a range of peace organizations seeking suggestions for appropriate dramatic materials; a copy survives in NARA/FTP, Box 167, Folder "Peace Plays #1."
93. The FTP directive was noted in the announcement of the impending opening of *Johnny Johnson* in Boston in the *Boston Transcript*, 8 May 1937 ("The selection of the play was left to the Federal Theater authorities in each State"). On 22 April, Jon B. Mack, the state FTP director for Massachusetts, reported to Washington (NARA/FTP, Box 96, Folder "MA, January–September 1937") that "in May, the Federal Theatre will present the Boston premiere of *Johnny Johnson*, a recent Group Theatre presentation. This offering is in keeping with the Nation-wide Federal Theatre proposal to present an anti-war play in cooperation with the World Peaceways Foundation." Mack notes the cast of seventy-eight, not including extras, plus the fact that this was to be the largest production by the Boston project since *It Can't Happen Here*. For World Peaceways (distinct from the World Peace Foundation), see Elton Atwater, "Organizing American Public Opinion for Peace," *Public Opinion Quarterly* 1, no. 2 (April 1937): 112–21.
94. NARA/FTP, Box 493, Folder "Licensors—General—Prior to August 23, 1937." Green also mentions this in a diary entry for 20 April 1937.
95. Although associated with the North Carolina arm of the FTP, Green was not invited to join the National Committee until April 1938. The New York City unit also did Green's *Until Such Glory* and *Hymn to the Rising Sun* at special matinees at the Ritz Theatre on 6, 8, 13, and 15 May 1937.
96. Julius Evans (FTP Production Control Department in New York City), letter to Hallie Flanagan, 10 February 1937, in NARA/FTP, Box 38, Folder "Hiram Motherwell: Play Policy Board": "The request of Mr. Weill's agent, for \$50.00 per week, is entirely out of proportion to anything we have paid heretofore." In fact, a standard royalty of \$50 per week was normal for a playwright, but not, it seems, for the provider of any music for an FTP play (for whom weekly royalties seem to have ranged from \$3 to \$18). Evans clearly was not aware of the amount of music in *Johnny Johnson* or, for that matter, of the equal-royalty agreement between Green and Weill.
97. All this FTP correspondence is in UNC/PG, Folder 405. According to a diary entry for 1–10 February, Green sent copies of this script to other producers as well for possible performance.
98. On 11 February, Motherwell wrote to Green: "Mrs. Georgia Fink, Director of the Regional Service Bureau in Los Angeles, California is mimeographing the play and has advised me that you are sending her a set of proof pages. I am sorry for the duplication of efforts but we had to be sure, in this office, that Mrs. Fink was mimeographing the revised version. / I have asked her to send you several copies of the play when mimeographed." The LOC/FTP copy of Tt4 has annotations to make it conform to the galley proofs (they refer to those proofs on the final page), and Tt5 incorporates almost all of these changes; the NARA/FTP copy of Tt4 has similar, but less comprehensive, annotations. However, we have no firm date for Tt5. On 24 February 1937, Stanley Richards, assistant to the business manager of the National Play Bureau, wrote to Fink: "We are disturbed that the mimeographed copies of *Johnny Johnson* [presumably Tt4] do not carry any limiting statement of copyright control of the play etc., and we are therefore enclosing a flyer which we feel should be attached to each copy of this mimeographed script."
99. This approval date is noted on the index cards for *Johnny Johnson* in LOC/FTP, Box 72-2/73-1. These (and another set in LOC/FTP, Box 75-1) give outline production details, which, however, are not wholly accurate. The playreaders' reports in LOC/FTP, Box 232, mostly come from 1938–39 (and all seem based on Tt5 or Tp1), although some are undated, including one from the California Play Bureau that reads: "This unusual script combines a variety of moods and scenes into a superb fantasy with music, and was successfully produced on Broadway by the Group Theater during the 1936–37 season. The main character of *Johnny Johnson* is a quixotic young man, who has such a sane theory of stopping war, that he is confined to an insane asylum as a lunatic. While the satire is always apparent, the humor is droll and human, and the author's approach has been one of compassion for his characters. Kurt Weill's musical score is strikingly original and provides an extraordinarily effective accompaniment for the songs and dialogue. Almost every type of adult mind is sure to find something appealing in this script. Rich material for the creative talent of any imaginative director."
100. Weekly reports from the separate departments within the National Play Bureau are in NARA/FTP, Box 192. For the Music Department they tend to be fairly generic, along the lines of X pages copied (or "extracted," i.e., parts produced from score) and Y pages proofread and corrected; only rarely are titles mentioned. Although the Music Department proofread and corrected 400 pages of "orchestral score" in the week ending 5 February, it is not clear for what. Julius Evans's letter to Flanagan of 10 February 1937 (NARA/FTP, Box 38, Folder "Hiram Motherwell: Play Policy Board") notes that *Johnny Johnson* materials were being turned over to the National Play Bureau because of plans for production elsewhere in the country, that original materials were being returned to the Group Theatre (which had insisted on having them back), and that "the work we have done to date on the score of *Johnny Johnson* has been merely to make a clean copy from an almost illegible script, but nothing has been done about photostating because that lies in the province of the Play Bureau." Presumably this work relates to Vm2/Pm2. The report on 17 March notes that during the present week, the office had been "checking" forty pages of *Johnny Johnson* "scores." The initials that appear to read "S. T." found with some frequency in Vm2/Pm2 and Im2 may in fact be those of Simeon Jurist, a copyist in the Music Department.
101. Sheil, letter to Green, 2 March 1937, in UNC/PG, Folder 407: "I have been in touch with Brandt & Brandt concerning the music for *Johnny Johnson* and they tell me that while they had been in hopes of the Federal Theatre making a number of sets, they have so far made but a single copy of the orchestration. This is now in the possession of Brandt & Brandt and I believe they are holding it for the production at the Cleveland, Ohio, Playhouse. I believe as you do that at least a piano score ought to be made ready and that several copies of this should be available to handle any calls we get for this play. I shall keep in touch with Brandt & Brandt to see what solution they finally work out in connection with this music."
102. LOC/FTP, Box 232.
103. This article also noted that Green had just given a reading of the play before a large audience in Chapel Hill.
104. The Chicago plans are noted in UNC/PG, Folder 405; see also Weill, letter to Lenya, 24 April 1937, in *W-LL(e)*, 234–35. Discussions began in early March; the idea appears to have been prompted by Art Smith (the original Sergeant Jackson), who was to become the production supervisor of the Chicago FTP unit (see the *Chicago News*, 16 June 1937).
105. Contracts were requested on 6 April and signed on the 9th; see NARA/FTP, Box 493, Folder "Mack, Jonathan B." (Mack was state director for the FTP in Massachusetts). Mack noted the fire and the postponement in a letter to the National Play Board on 20 May.
106. The production was first announced in the *Boston Herald* on 25 April 1937 (to open on 17 May). A copy of the program is in LOC/FTP, Box 1094, and there is one photograph of the production in LOC/FTP, Box 1178.

107. There is a note recording the Boston run in the Tpt 1 part in **Im1**. The cast list given in the review of the opening night in the *Boston Evening Globe*, 26 May 1937, excludes characters in the drill-ground and bayonet-run scenes. Also, there is no reference to the English Sergeant (II.ii), Sister of the ODSDL (II.iv), the asylum brethren (III.ii), or Anguish Howington, Jr. (III.iii), but these may have been accidental omissions. The announcement of the opening in the *Boston Traveler*, 22 May 1937, notes thirteen scenes. The FTP returned the copy of the script used in Boston to French on 13 December 1937, which it would not have done had the script been copied in-house; see NARA/FTP, Box 176, Folder "Samuel French, Inc. (C. T. O'Leary)."
108. NARA/FTP, Box 120, Folder "MA—General" (9 April 1937). Press clippings are in NARA/FTP, Box 129, Folder "Johnny Johnson."
109. NARA/FTP, Box 80, Folder "FTP—Performances, Attendance, Receipts by Productions—States #1" contains a report of the Boston ticket sales: 25–30 May, \$281.43; week beginning 31 May, \$206.37; 7 June, \$163.13; 14 June, \$200.09. These amounts may represent only the FTP's portion of receipts (after the cut allocated to the theater, etc.). The same document (therefore working on the same calculations) notes that *Swanee Minstrels* earned the FTP \$406.70 in the week beginning 19 April 1937 (its opening week?), and \$249.40 in the week beginning 26 April; other FTP plays in Boston tended to earn between \$100 and \$150 per week. The data on audience numbers is ambiguous and hard to reconcile with the box-office takings. A later summary in NARA/FTP, Box 82, Folder "FTP—Bookings—Region 1+2—1936–1939," notes an improbably low 1,718 in the audience over the run (this same document has 15,438 attending the thirty-five performances of *It Can't Happen Here* between October and December 1936). On the other hand, NARA/FTP, Box 96, Folder "MA, January–September 1937" contains a report from Jon B. Mack (the Massachusetts FTP director) of 29 June 1937 giving 13,413, which seems too high. The difficulty is that in addition to very low admission charges, the FTP often allowed free entrance to certain categories of individuals; moreover, it would "sell" performances to special-interest groups, and the income from these sales did not enter into the box-office records. Comparison between the Boston figures and the more reliable Los Angeles figures given below, suggests a total audience of about 4,500 in Boston (i.e., an average of just over 200 per performance).
110. The Mayan Theatre was a standard FTP venue. Immediately prior productions included the revue *Follow the Parade* (12 April to 3 May) and the play *If It Please the Court* (5 May); see the California press clippings in LOC/FTP, Box 962.
111. For an overview, see Catherine Parsons Smith, *Making Music in Los Angeles: Transforming the Popular* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007), 215–37.
112. The weekly reports, which are the source for the details given below unless otherwise noted, are in NARA/FTP, Boxes 104–105 (lacking for 15–28 February). The production bulletin (M2) is in LOC/FTP, Box 1026. Farmer was head of the Teaching Department for the Los Angeles FTP unit and had also directed the recent production of Green's *The House of Connelly*; Coray was the general production supervisor of the unit. There are also two set designs by Frederick Stover (I.i, II.vi) in LOC/FTP, Box 1128, and additional photographs in LOC/FTP, Boxes 1178, 1192. The design for I.i, as well as one of the Los Angeles costumes (for Anguish Howington, from the bulletin), can also be seen at <www.aladin.wrlc.org/gsdll/collect/ftpp/ftpp.shtml>.
113. Presumably, the copying concerned "songs" (which could include instrumental interludes) that had been cut by the Group Theatre and therefore did not make it into the first layers of **Vm2/Pm2** and **Im2** (copied in New York City), although no clear distinctions can currently be made within these materials, which survive in some disarray.
114. UNC/PG, Folder 405. I have not found any "next letter."
115. Copies of the Los Angeles program are in UNC/PG, Folder 414, and LOC/FTP, Box 1095, as well as in the production bulletin. The bulletin notes fifteen scenes, possibly referring to I.i–v (omitting I.vi), II.i–vii (with II.vii–viii conflated), and III.i–iii. The whole of I.vi is crossed through in the NARA/FTP copy of **Tt4** (but not the LOC/FTP one, which excises just "Song of the Goddess"). However, the photographs in the production bulletin, which run in sequence scene by scene, have, following a shot of I.v, a single photograph of G. Brian Morgan as Johnny in army uniform with his rifle, looking pensive and perhaps delivering a speech.
Prior press releases for the Los Angeles production apparently refer to the shorter text, noting three acts and nine scenes (as did the *Los Angeles Times* on 30 May 1937, whereas it noted fourteen scenes on 4 July). Although "nine" scenes seems somewhat implausible, that number is echoed in later FTP sources (see below).
116. Again, it is unclear what this means. None of the music in any of the sources (save no. 14) appears newly "arranged," i.e., not somehow present in Weill's original **Fh**. While the confused terminologies are annoying, they no doubt reflect a tendency for office departments to exaggerate their efforts and to limit description to generic terms.
117. UNC/PG, Folder 405.
118. Green, letter to Georgia S. Fink, 19 May 1937, in UNC/PG, Folder 405; also in *A Southern Life*, ed. Avery, 277–78. Because Johnny had insufficient time to change costume between I.iii (the recruiting office) and I.iv (the drill ground), Farmer had written a new beginning to I.iv, which Green did not approve: "In the New York production the drill scene opened with Sergeant Jackson alone on the stage shouting orders into the wing [*sic*]—such as were in the old script, and which I presume you are using. These orders were directed to someone out of the scene whom the audience surmises to be Johnny. This heightened Johnny's entrance and also gave him more time to make the changes into his uniform. I hope you can work out your production somewhat in this manner. If not, then I suggest that you let Johnny keep on his civilian trousers and have only the army blouse (coat) and hat on. Such a change could be made in 30 seconds and would be perfectly in line with historical accuracy and would as like as not add to Johnny's comic uniqueness." Green did approve of using the original words for "Johnny's Song" (not "To Love You and To Lose You") and concluded: "May I add a note from hard experience: If your actors are not good at singing, please have them do as much of their songs in recitative as possible."
119. The dancers were presumably used in the crowd, soldier, and battle scenes; annotations in **Im2** also refer to a dance in "Up Chickamauga Hill."
120. NARA/FTP, Box 37, Folder "J. Howard Miller #1."
121. "Gestern war in Los Angeles Premiere von *Johnny Johnson*. Ich bin zu ein paar Proben gegangen und habe ihnen ein bißchen geholfen. Es war die größte WPA-Aufführung, die sie bisher gemacht haben, viel frischer und unbekümmerter als die New Yorker Aufführung, natürlich schlechtere Schauspieler, aber ein reizender ganz junger Johnny (das Stück wirkt ganz anders mit einem jungen Johnny), mit großem (schlechtem) Orchester, Chören und sehr interessanten sets. Daß die Aufführung anders war als New York, kannst Du daran sehen, daß der zweite Akt weitaus am stärksten wirkte. Sie haben den ‚french wounded‘-Chor gemacht und den ganzen Tanz der Generäle, der außerordentlich wirkte. Es war gestern abend, bei der Premiere, noch sehr roh und unfertig, besonders musikalisch, aber es war ein ausgesprochener großer Erfolg, die Leute haben glänzend reagiert, viel gelacht, Totenstille bei dem *gun song* (der großen Applaus hatte wie überhaupt alle songs), Riesenapplaus am Schluß. Auch die Presse scheint gut zu sein. Sie werden es 6–8 Wochen spielen." *W-LL(g)*, 245; translated in *W-LL(e)*, 242–43. It is not clear what Weill might have meant by a "big" orchestra—save perhaps additional string players—unless he was just making the point that the full instrumentation was used. For the performance, see also Weill's letter to Hans Weill, 31 May 1937, in *W-Fam*, 350–52. Here he reports intended performances in ten cities in the course of the year, which was clearly wishful thinking.
122. Clippings are in NARA/FTP, Box 129, Folder "Johnny Johnson."
123. UNC/PG, Folder 419.
124. NARA/FTP, Box 119, Folder "CA—Los Angeles."
125. NARA/FTP, Box 82, Folder "FTP—Lists of Plays #3" (21,878 attended). See also the semimonthly reports in NARA/FTP, Box 103, giving a total of 22,419. Attendance was, inevitably, highest in the first half of June. It is worth comparing this with other FTP productions in Los Angeles around this time: *Revue of Reviews*, 28,624 (61 performances); *The Merchant of Venice*, 22,509 (51); *It Can't Happen Here*, 24,657 (53); Paul Green, *The House of Connelly*, 4,797 (21); Lynn Riggs, *Green Grow the Lilacs*, 4,521 (22). The semimonthly report for the period ending 15 July in NARA/FTP, Box 103, notes that *Johnny Johnson* involved 102 performers, 38 technical staff, 2 supervisors, and 5 others; the 50 percent of box-office receipts that went to the FTP (the rest went to the theater) came to \$4,108.55.
126. NARA/FTP, Box 108, Folder "CA Promotion Dept. 1937–38." This press release also notes that the show "played to capacity houses for many months on Broadway and promises to achieve a similar record at the Mayan."
127. NARA/FTP, Box 254. On closing at the Mayan, *Johnny Johnson* was to move to the (outdoor) Greek Theatre in Griffith Park, Los Angeles, for the FTP's summer season (as reported in the *Los Angeles Times*, 4 July 1937, which gave the opening as 7 July). The FTP printed a flyer (LOC/FTP, Box 1094; opening 13 July), but the play was changed at the last minute to *Midsummer Varieties*.
128. Miller, letter to Hallie Flanagan, 29 April 1937, in NARA/FTP, Box 37, Folder "J. Howard Miller #1." Weill cabled Green about the project on 15 April; see UNC/PG, Folder 427. Green noted in his diary for 19 April that he had declined the invitation. He had already been in contact with Max Reinhardt about a possible American version of Hofmannsthal's *Jedermann* (which was done in the Hollywood Bowl the previous year); see his diary entry for 11 January 1937.
129. For *Das Salzburger Große Welttheater* and *The Common Glory*, see Tim Carter, "Celebrating the Nation: Kurt Weill, Paul Green, and the Federal Theatre Project (1937)," *Journal of the Society for American Music* 5, no. 3 (August 2011): 297–334.
130. On 7 January 1942 Green wrote to Weill vaguely anticipating another collaboration (WLA, Box 48, Folder 36), but their professional relationship was at an end. Green claimed much later (in his interview with Ronald Sanders on 5 April 1978) that Weill wanted him to provide the libretto for *Down in the Valley* (1945–48), which was written by Arnold Sundgaard.
131. LOC/FTP, Box 937, Folder "Anti-War Plays: Royalty List." The preface to this list, by Converse Tyler, notes that "no individual point of view or approach to the cause of peace is represented by this list of plays; they have in common only the fact that each registers in its own way a protest against the imbecility and brutality of war. The list is presented with one great hope—that it will stimulate the production of anti-war plays at a time when, more than ever before, the world is sorely in need of the lesson they teach."
132. Some responses to an audience questionnaire distributed to San Francisco theatergoers after an FTP performance of Eugene O'Neill's *Beyond the Horizon* in November–December 1937 rated *Johnny Johnson* as a play worth reviving; see the report in LOC/FTP, Box 112, Folder 2.1.22. Green asked French to send a script and a copy

- of the score to the Chicago office of the FTP in October 1938; see the letters in UNC/PG, Folders 441 (Garrett Leverton, 12 October), 482 (carbon copy of telegram from Green to French). Emmet Lavery (Director of the Play Department in the FTP National Service Bureau) wrote to Ole Ness in the Los Angeles FTP office on 5 July 1938 in response to Ness's request for musicals available through the FTP (NARA/FTP, Box 166, Folder "Music Clearance"): "Have you ever tried *Johnny Johnson* in San Francisco? It might go as well there as it did in Los Angeles." Nothing seems to have come of this, however. The FTP regularly included *Johnny Johnson* in its lists of approved plays, and in addition to the fuller production bulletin, a synopsis and brief production details were available from the Los Angeles office; see <<http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/fedtp/ftad.html>>, Box 967, "Synopsis of Plays—I–P—Region of the West—L.A.," images 31–32. This material notes nine scenes (in three acts) and five sets (a village park, a cottage living room, trenches, a meeting room, and an asylum), which is a minimalist approach. However, the synopsis (which is not divided by acts or scenes) refers to Johnny's "queer" behavior in the training camp, suggesting the presence of I.iv–v.
133. A copy of the Berkeley program is in UNC/PG, Folder 3080A.
134. A copy of the Chapel Hill program is in UNC/PG, Folder 3080A. According to Green's diary entry for 1 October to 1 November, the production was "not too hot." Green had previously done a one-man reading of *Johnny Johnson* at the Women's College of the University of North Carolina, Greensboro, on 27 April (see the appreciative letters in UNC/PG, Folder 400), as he did elsewhere on the university circuit in 1937 and early 1938.
135. See the letters in UNC/PG, Folders 400 (Lev Bulgakov), 403 (Sergei Dinamov), and 409 (Paya Haskell; also in *A Southern Life*, ed. Avery, 279–80 [as Haskell]), as well as Haskell's letter to Green in WLA, Box 48, Folder 36. The idea is also noted in Green's diary on 8 April 1937. Haskell asked Green to rewrite the ending to have Johnny "fight for his cause to the end"; Green noted in his diary (10–26 November 1937) that his unwillingness to do this caused the idea to collapse. See also *A Southern Life*, ed. Avery, 279n. 3 (and *ibid.*, 586, 681).
136. For Washington, D.C., see the letters to Green from the director, F. Cowles Strickland, in UNC/PG, Folder 466 ("We are getting considerable support from large labor groups and government workers and are reaching a larger audience than is usual for us"). The production had been announced in the *Washington Post*, 12 September 1937; it received several favorable reports in the *Post* (e.g., on 22 March 1938). Herman Spivey, Director of English Courses for the Summer at the University of Florida, Gainesville, refers to a "recent performance of *Johnny Johnson* by the Florida Players" in a letter to Green of 9 January 1938 (*recte* 1939). Green had visited there in January 1938 to give a reading of the play; see the letter from Lester Hale, director of dramatics in the Department of Speech, University of Florida, in UNC/PG, Folder 439. For Iowa, see the letters to Green from E. C. Mabie in UNC/PG, Folder 451, and from Vance Morton (the director) in UNC/PG, Folder 453. For Charleston, see the letters to Green from Charles Meredith in UNC/PG, Folder 472. According to the program (included here), this production omitted I.iv and I.v (although Meredith wrote to Green that he was "using the Seargent's [*sic*] Song in a way which I hope will meet with your approval"), but it included II.i. Meredith had originally proposed this production to open in March 1939, but the plan fell through because of a lack of male voices; see his letters of 21 February and 29 June 1939 in UNC/PG, Folder 494.
137. UNC/PG, Folders 481, 523, 524. See also Edith J. R. Isaacs, "Paul Green: A Case in Point," *Theatre Arts* 25, no. 7 (July 1941): 489–98, which includes (495) a photograph of a presumably recent production at the University of Oklahoma that invokes the distorted perspectives of Oenslager's original sets.
138. Weill, letter to Green, 4 April 1938, in UNC/PG, Folder 466: "Lenya will stay here. She is starting an engagement in a nightclub for a few weeks, and shw [*sic*] will sing, among other songs, 'Mon ami my friend.'" According to Ronald Sanders's notes on his interview with Paul Green, 5 April 1978, Lenya badly wanted the part of the French Nurse in *Johnny Johnson*, but Strasberg and other Group members refused. However, other of Green's memories noted here seem less than accurate.
139. Green had already "sold" half of his interest in *Johnny Johnson* to his publisher on 23 September 1936. His position at UNC did not yet accrue a regular salary, and he had just built a very expensive house; his correspondence with French reveals that he was constantly begging for money.
140. UNC/PG, Folder 466 (Strickland, 2 March 1938); Folder 472 (Meredith, 23 September 1939).
141. Frank Sheil agreed on 2 March 1937; see the letter in UNC/PG, Folder 4078, quoted above. Green wrote various subsequent letters on this matter to French; see UNC/PG, Folders 409 (19 November 1937), 440 (5 March, 22 March, 26 May 1938), 441 (10 November 1938).
142. UNC/PG, Folder 427. Fh is currently unbound.
143. UNC/PG, Folder 453.
144. Green's (undated) telegram to French, and Sheil's letter, are in UNC/PG, Folder 482.
145. Cheryl Crawford thanked Green for a copy on 5 April (UNC/PG, Folder 475): "Just received your book today and want to thank you so much for sending it to me. It gives me terrific nostalgia to open a book and see *The House of Connelly* and *Johnny Johnson*. There is a lot of my life in there—same as yours."
146. UNC/PG, Folder 427. Green replied on 14 December (WLA, Box 48, Folder 36): "Good luck with the . . . *Johnny Johnson* score."
147. Green, letter to Weill, 21 December 1939 (acknowledging Weill's letter of the 15th), WLA, Box 48, Folder 36.
148. Sheil, letter to Green, 16 January 1940, in UNC/PG, Folder 523. Ve was registered in the name of Samuel French in 1940 and renewed by Paul Green and Karoline Dettweiler (i.e., Lenya) in 1967. Grismer ("Cheryl Crawford Presents . . .," 42) is wrong to claim that the vocal score (which she says was published in 1941) had to be withdrawn from circulation because of Chappell claiming the copyright.
149. "Chris" (French), letter to Green, 25 October 1939, in UNC/PG, Folder 482: "Mr. Sheil says by all means to go ahead and make the non-musical version of *Johnny Johnson* and to send us a script of same as soon as the job is completed. We know there have been at least several cases where the less advanced amateur groups have had to forego [*sic*] the idea of doing the play because of their inability to handle the musical end. Therefore it would be to your advantage and to ours to have a straight dramatic version made as quickly as possible." There is also a postscript: "It would be our idea to handle the non-musical version in manuscript form and to list it in the catalogue, and to put a notice in the printed copies of the present version advising that such a straight version is available." A remark in a letter from "Chris" (3 November 1939) acknowledging receipt of the new version suggests that it was made by annotating a "Federal Theatre script" (i.e., Tt5?).
150. Weill, letter to Sheil, 22 May 1941, in WLRC, Series 40. Here Weill also complains about the evident rewriting and reordering of scenes in the production. Sheil sought Green's opinion on Weill's complaint (UNC/PG, Folder 596); Green replied on 27 May (WLRC, Series 40) that he thought the composer was overreacting, and he suggested getting a ruling from the Dramatists' Guild on the issue of omitting the music. The Provincetown Playhouse production was directed by Alfred Saxe (the original American Priest); see the announcement in the *Christian Science Monitor*, 21 April 1941. The *New York Times*, 25 April 1941, said it would be a "somewhat modified" version of the play; its review on 3 May was mixed.
151. Drew, *Handbook*, 342–43. Weill appears to have composed the score in spring 1944; it is not clear how this might relate to Weill's request to Lenya for a copy of the vocal score of *Johnny Johnson* on 26 July 1944, in *W-LL(e)*, 401–02. Another later use of *Johnny Johnson* appears in "Foolish Heart" in *One Touch of Venus* (1943), which draws on the introduction to "Oh Heart of Love".
152. UNC/PG, Folder 3077A. See also Green, letter to Abbott Van Nostrand (French), 3 March 1956, in *A Southern Life*, ed. Avery, 560–62.
153. MGM E-3447, released in February 1957. MGM issued several Weill recordings in this decade; instrumental versions of some songs from *Johnny Johnson*, paired with film music by Aaron Copland, had already appeared on MGM E3334 (with Arthur Winograd conducting the MGM Chamber Orchestra). The Heliodor reissue of *Johnny Johnson* (April 1964) sold an average of 6,000 copies per month within two months of its release; see the listing in *Billboard*, 18 June 1966, 44.
Burgess Meredith claimed in his autobiography that in 1936 he "tried out" for a role in *Johnny Johnson* "but was turned down by the Group Theater"; see his *So Far, So Good: A Memoir* (Boston: Little, Brown, and Co., 1994), 59. He maintained a strong interest in the piece, working with Lys Symonette in the early 1980s to create a wholly rewritten version of the play, with new characters, that might square with some form of the music (in its 1971 version). Extensive materials survive in WLRC, but the project seems never to have reached completion.
154. UNC/PG, Folders 3064A, 3064B, 3065A, 3076. This version has two acts, the format later adopted for the 1971 production. Lenya's apparent reluctance to permit performances of *Johnny Johnson* with its music in the 1960s, added to the urgings of Green's publisher, may have prompted Green to prepare the new version; see the letters in UNC/PG, Folder 3077B (and compare *A Southern Life*, ed. Avery, 661).
155. UNC/PG, Folders 3060C, 3061A, 3062, 3068–75, 3077C, 3077D, 3078, 3079A.
156. A copy of the Bochum program is in UNC/PG, Folder 3060A, and documents are in UNC/PG, Folder 3079B; details of the Finland performance are in UNC/PG, Folder 3079C. Other productions are covered in UNC/PG, Folders 3079D (Chapel Hill, March 1976), 3079E (Indiana University Theatre, March 1972; Los Angeles, June–July 1986).
157. Drew, *Handbook*, 280.
158. On the ubiquity of the concept of the "common man" in this period, see Conn, *The American 1930s*, 114.
159. The digest in *The Best Plays of 1936–37* is subtitled "A Fantastic Drama in Three Acts"; for the reprint of T_p1 in Green's 1939 *Out of the South* anthology, the play was called "A Fable of Ancient and Modern Times."
160. The term was not unprecedented, having been associated in the 1920s with operetta as distinguished from less "elevated" musical comedies; see bruce d. mcclung, "*Lady in the Dark*": *Biography of a Musical* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 77, 95. For the connotations, see also Carter, "*Oklahoma!*" 174.
161. See Green, "Symphonic Outdoor Drama," 27, on *Roll, Sweet Chariot* (1934): "'Music drama' didn't seem the right term for the play. For there was more than music. 'Ballad opera' it could not be, nor 'opera.' 'Festival drama' was too loose and 'misnaming,'

'Lyric drama' lacked entirety. Finally, 'symphonic drama' seemed right. Yes, a 'sounding together' in the true meaning of the Greek word. And so I adopted the form and have used it for a number of other like dramas that I have written since." Green later associated the term primarily with his outdoor dramas such as *The Lost Colony*.

162. For example, in his interview with Rhoda Wynn on 8 February 1974, Green recalled how he wrote to the War Department in Washington asking for the most common name in the American Expeditionary Forces: the reply indicated that there were more than five thousand John Johnsons (the second most common name was William Smith). For a slightly different figure (thirty thousand American Johnsons, three thousand named John), see Grismer, "Cheryl Crawford Presents . . .," 23.
163. See, for example, Jaroslav Hašek, *The Good Soldier Švejk*, trans. Cecil Parrott (repr. London: Penguin, 2000), 27 (a veterinary surgeon acting as army doctor), 64–65 (medical ruses to avoid conscription, including injecting paraffin into the arm), 153 (the Church advocating peace, then war), 154 (a busybody lady from the Association of Gentlewomen for the Religious Education of the Troops visiting a hospital and berating the soldiers), 339 (a private responding incompetently to military commands), 554 (barked orders in the manner of "The Sergeant's Chant"). Švejk himself has something of Johnny Johnson about him—a simple Everyman constantly fighting the military machine and surviving on his wits—although he is more of a malingerer.
164. For Green enlisting in World War I "inspired by the idealism of Woodrow Wilson" and seeking to "help make the world safe for democracy," see his "Symphonic Outdoor Drama," p. 3. For other events and memories that may have made their way into *Johnny Johnson*, see Spence, *Watering the Sahara*, ed. Bauer: 25–26 (Green's mother furiously pedaling a sewing machine while arguing with her husband), 36 (the "two snakes" riddle), 66 (attempts to capture a sniper; tea with the British), 72 (a statue of Christ in a destroyed cemetery; half-buried German soldiers), 73 (ignorant generals planning battles without regard for loss of life). It is true that many of these recollections are drawn from much later interviews with Green, such that they may have been filtered by *Johnny Johnson* rather than feeding into it. Nevertheless, one wartime letter from Green to his younger sister, Erma (25 August 1918, in *A Southern Life*, ed. Avery, 9–13), rings true with its references to the horrors of war, inspiring his wish to write a "Song of Hate" in response to Ernst Lissauer's "Hassgesang gegen England." He did so, somewhat paradoxically, in "The West-Pointer's Song" (which in an earlier form in Tt2 has the final refrain: "Then it's hate, hate, hate, a deadly hate / For the beast, beast, beast outside our gate"; an even earlier version in Tt1, which does not fit the music, is stronger still).
165. Green, "Symphonic Outdoor Drama," 7 ("certainly never could I get enough of Charlie Chaplin's work. I saw *The Gold Rush* [1925] fourteen times"); idem, "With the Group Theatre," 55 ("I have learned more about the theatre from him than from anybody else—learned watching his pictures"). Green compared the character of Johnny Johnson directly to Chaplin in a letter to Maxim Tabory of 12 April 1976, in *A Southern Life*, ed. Avery, 689. In his 8 February 1974 interview he compared his poor handling of the end of *Johnny Johnson* with the much better speech concluding Chaplin's *The Great Dictator* (1940).
166. *A Southern Life*, ed. Avery, 19 n. 5 (Wilson and League of Nations), 367 (*Raleigh News and Observer*, 12 April 1942). French had already advertised *Johnny Johnson* within a list of peace plays that might be timely for production; see the 1940 postcard in UNC/PG, Folder 524.
167. Davis, "Kurt Weill in Hollywood—But Not of It."
168. The Statue of Liberty also figures prominently in Green's very early notes for *Johnny Johnson* in UNC/PG, Folder 3063, and the text of "Song of the Goddess" is in Tt1.
169. Stephen Hinton (*Weill's Musical Theater: Stages of Reform* [Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012], 273–74), notes that in addition to the main melody of "Das Lied vom Branntweinhändler," Weill takes the rhythm of its middle section ("An die Gewehre, / Seele in Not"; "Take to arms, soul in distress") for the opening flourish, pointing up a nice contrast in *Johnny Johnson* between the lyrical present and the military future.
170. Weill had previously used that ending in the opening chorus of *Der Kuhhandel* (1935), which in its turn provided material for the opening of "Mon Ami, My Friend." The musical ending of "Youkali" used in "Song of the Goddess" also appears in the music that Weill wrote for the unfinished *One Man from Tennessee* (1937–38; based on H. R. Hays's *The Ballad of Davy Crockett*).
171. In his 8 February 1974 interview with Rhoda Wynn, Green notes how he sang for Weill the hymn "Blest Be the Tie That Binds" (presumably to the tune "Dennis"), providing the seed for "Asylum Chorus" (which, however, is differently conceived).
172. Green probably also provided Weill with the army bugle calls used in I.v (no. 14) and wonderfully distorted in the Interlude between II.ii and II.iii (no. 23). Green's early notes on *Johnny Johnson* (UNC/PG, Folder 3063) make frequent reference to such material, and he may have originally expected more of it in the play.
173. The song is in WLA, Box 12, Folder 209, and therefore is associated with *Johnny Johnson* material, but it is unclear when this placement occurred.
174. Green's comment is in the 8 February 1974 interview with Rhoda Wynn; in his 5 April 1978 interview with Ronald Sanders, Green said that the music for "Johnny's Song" had been written in Berlin. For the music being written first, see also Green, "With the Group Theatre," 54–55.
175. J. Bradford Robinson, "Kurt Weills Aneignung des amerikanischen Theaterliedes: Zur Entstehungsgeschichte von *Johnny's Song*," in *Kurt Weill-Studien*, ed. Nils Grosch, Joachim Lucchesi, and Jürgen Schebera (Stuttgart: M & P, 1996), 133–52. The manuscript of *The Fräulein and the Little Son of the Rich* (WLA, Box 35, Folder 515; to a text by Robert Graham) also contains a brief sketch for "The Dance of the Generals" in *Johnny Johnson*. *The Fräulein* was intended for Lenya's use in Leonard Stillman's Broadway revue *New Faces* (1936), although she was not engaged for the show; see Drew, *Handbook*, 275. However, Lenya did at least one informal cabaret performance for members of the Group in late summer 1936 (see above).
176. UNC/PG, Folder 3063. Green's handwriting here is very hard to decipher.
177. This, in turn, may explain the reference to "My Madelon of Páree" in the first line of "Mon Ami, My Friend."
178. In his interview with Rhoda Wynn on 8 February 1974, however, Green suggested that he and Weill had planned all along to use the melody first instrumentally and then as a song to end the play.
179. Clurman, "Lost in the Stars of Broadway," *Saturday Review of Literature*, 31 December 1949, reprinted in *The Collected Works of Harold Clurman*, ed. Loggia and Young, 224–27 (quotation on 226).
180. Compare also Clurman's remarks on Weill in *All People Are Famous (Instead of an Autobiography)* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich, 1974), 127–30, where he unmistakably prefers Hanns Eisler, apparently feeling that Weill assimilated too readily and therefore lacked depth and commitment. According to Ronald Sanders's notes on his interview with Clurman on 20 February 1978, however, Clurman regretted his 1949 statement, and the view of Weill that it implied, owing to its unreasonable expectations (Sanders reports that Clurman "says he once wrote an article in 1940s about KW having sold out in U.S.A., but no longer feels that way—understands that one couldn't hold on to that particular 'minor interval,' he [Clurman] calls it, that romantic decay").
181. See Weill's comments reported in the *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, 20 December 1936 (in Hirsch, *Kurt Weill on Stage*, 139): "This play deals with the last war, not the next. . . . If we were dealing with the conflict that is to come, an entirely new play would have to be written. The last war didn't really save the world for democracy; the next one will." Green, too, refused a request to have the Sniper Scene (II.iii) performed at a benefit for the Spanish Civil War in December 1937, cabling Art Smith (the original Sergeant Jackson) on 12 December (UNC/PG, Folder 3060A): "Regret cannot allow scene from *Johnny Johnson* to be played in cause of Spanish democracy since assistance to either side now but helps continue the wasteful loss of human life. Think Johnny himself would agree with me in this."
182. See the notes in UNC/PG, Folder 3072. Green possibly made up "When two are alone in a parlor at eve"; no source can be traced. Even though his dictation of the melody for "Keep your head down . . ." is fairly accurate, the Critical Report relies on Worton David's original (as published in 1918), although it retains Green's "Allemand" instead of "Fritzie Boy."
183. "Morris Carnovsky and Phoebe Brand Carnovsky: Oral History Interview with John Mucci" (14 September 1987), in WLRC, Series 60.
184. Compare Clurman, *The Fervent Years*, 192, which briefly discusses the problems faced by the Group in developing strong female roles.
185. Notes made during the Group rehearsals suggest that the curtain still came down between scenes. Harold Clurman later felt (in a 1941 essay on "The Principles of Interpretation") that "in Paul Green's *Johnny Johnson*, for example, the places represented would, in life, be of imposing dimensions, but the play demands small sets for the quality of intimacy which is not only the play's style but even part of its meaning"; see *The Collected Works of Harold Clurman*, ed. Loggia and Young, 44.
186. Green made these notes on his working copy of the 1971 script in UNC/PG, Folder 3073. "Song of the Goddess" had of course been cut by the Group premiere.
187. According to the minutes of the Executive Board of the American Federation of Musicians, Local 802 (meeting on 5 November), 497, Morris Stonzek had originally hired ten musicians for *Johnny Johnson*. There is no evidence to suggest that any increase (e.g., the second violinist) was forced by union requirements. Nor have I seen anything to confirm or deny Claire Reis's claim (*Composers, Conductors, and Critics* [New York: Oxford University Press, 1955], 122) that the union forced the Group to pay five unused instrumentalists because of the presence of the Hammond Organ. Although this might seem logical given that the union minimum of musicians for a musical production was sixteen, *Johnny Johnson* was consistently classified, we have seen, as a "dramatic" work, even if the union kept the matter under review.
188. Compare also the instrumentation of *Marie Galante* (1934): ASax (Fl, Cl), ASax (Cl), TSax (ASax), Tpt 1–2, Tbn, Pno, Acnd, Gtr (Bjo), Perc, Vn I–II, Va, Cb.
189. Quoted in Davis, "Kurt Weill in Hollywood—But Not of It."