

# INTRODUCTION

by bruce d. mcclung

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*Lady in the Dark* (1941) stands as a landmark of the American musical theater: the second longest running book musical between *Show Boat* (1927) and *Oklahoma!* (1943); a star vehicle offering unprecedented challenges for the actress cast in the title role; an innovative “segregated” (i.e., non-integrated) musical dramaturgy that adumbrated features of later “concept musicals”; and the musical commanding the highest price for its film rights up until then. Yet, despite its near-legendary status in theatrical annals, the published materials that have hitherto transmitted the work are incompatible with one another. This volume publishes for the first time in full score the entirety of Kurt Weill's and Ira Gershwin's contributions required for stage performances, interspersed with the first publication of a post-premiere version of Moss Hart's book.

The piano-vocal score published by Chappell after the Broadway opening in 1941 has been insufficient for use in mounting stage productions, lacking as it does the Entr'acte, theatrical utilities, significant dance expansions, and instrumental cues.<sup>1</sup> It is also incompatible with the hitherto available-for-purchase book, published by Random House after the premiere but conveying a pre-rehearsal script whose running time of more than three hours is nearly a half hour longer than the script that emerged from the Broadway production.<sup>2</sup> The many discrepancies between these published sources (due mainly to their documentation of different stages of the work's creation) have frustrated students and scholars of American musical theater and discouraged productions, including, to date, any revival on Broadway or in the West End.

This Edition resolves the inconsistencies between the two previous publications by correctly interweaving the spoken play and musical sequences and presenting versions of both that all three collaborators would recognize as authoritative. Because no single documentary source has transmitted both the book and the score, the editorial method employed herein is, by necessity, a synthetic one. This Edition attempts neither to transmit slavishly the components of Sam H. Harris's original production, which was necessarily tailored to the ingenious set design by Harry Horner and to the actors who first created their roles, nor to restore the work to its pre-rehearsal state, which would negate the process by which the musical play was revised, shaped, and edited in production. Instead, the Edition charts a middle course by paying careful attention to the working methods of Broadway theater in general and of the creators of *Lady in the Dark* in particular. It takes into consideration all the composer's and lyricist's post-production revisions to the music and the lyrics, as well as the modifications and abridgments to Hart's script that emerged from the original production under his directorial supervision. Now, for the first time since its premiere seventy-five years ago, this critical edition of Hart, Gershwin, and Weill's boldly innovative work allows this hybrid-genre “musical play” to be performed and studied in a version based on all available sources.

*Lady in the Dark* dramatizes with almost clinical precision a middle-aged businesswoman, Liza Elliott, who is undergoing psychoanalytic talk therapy. Hart modeled the fictional psychoanalyst in the musical play on his own psychiatrist, Dr. Lawrence S. Kubie, and dramatized the psychoanalytic process explicated in Kubie's *Practical Aspects of Psychoanalysis: A Handbook for Prospective Patients and Their Advisors* (1936).<sup>3</sup> Kubie reciprocated by promoting the therapeutic veracity of *Lady in the Dark* in interviews that he gave to the press and by penning an appreciative preface to the first publication of his patient's play under the pseudonym of the fictitious Dr. Brooks.<sup>4</sup>

Weill and Gershwin's restriction of music within the musical play to the dream sequences and flashbacks, recounted to and interpreted by Dr. Brooks during Liza's treatment, represents a radical reconception of the relationship between drama and music in a book musical. For Weill, these “three little one-act operas” recalled structural features, thematic content, and musical idioms of the one-act operas of his early German career—*Der Protagonist* (1926), *Royal Palace* (1927), and *Der Zar lässt sich fotografieren* (1928).<sup>5</sup> Gershwin's juxtaposition of songs and patter in the dream sequences and his lampooning of operetta conventions resemble certain aspects of the *finalettos* of the three political operettas penned with his brother George: *Strike Up the Band* (1927/1930), *Of Thee I Sing* (1931), and *Let 'Em Eat Cake* (1933).

Dramaturgically *Lady in the Dark* segregates its book from its music to signal a transition from the mundaneness of the titular lady's everyday life to her fantastic dream world. In this manner the narrative unfolds on two distinct planes: the heroine's conscious waking life for Hart's *drame à clef* and the sphere of her unconscious (the term Freudians tended to prefer to “subconscious”: *das Unbewusste* vs. *das Unterbewusste*) for Weill and Gershwin's score.<sup>6</sup> Music not only structures the musical play but also provides the key to its plot: when Liza is finally able to remember a childhood song and the traumatic events tied to it, her psychosis comes to light, and her complicated love life straightens itself out. Weill created an ingenious musical analogue to the drama, in that the childhood song harmonically resolves itself just as the lady escapes the trauma of her past. He composed out this analogue linearly across the dream sequences with various appearances of a leitmotif from the childhood song and also employed it to organize the sequences tonally. The leitmotif thus functions as a cipher for the audience to decode; snippets of what would emerge eventually as the song “My Ship” provide subtle clues to both the origin of the heroine's psychosis and the origination of her “lost song” (in fact, when *Lady in the Dark* was first produced in Germany, it was titled *Das verlorene Lied*). The harmonic/tonal ambiguity of the childhood song serves as a musical riddle that Weill posed both on the micro level within the harmonization of the song itself and on the macro level over the course of the heroine's psychoanalysis.

Music's integral but segregated function in *Lady in the Dark* freed it from the conventional usage in a book musical as either diegetic (where a situation occasions music and a character is cognizant that he or she is singing—so-called “prop” songs) or non-diegetic (often “interior monologues” that express a character's emotional state, requiring the audience to suspend disbelief). In *Lady in the Dark*, music instead occupies a “conceptual” realm representing the heroine's unconscious. With the dream sequences interrupting and commenting on the play's central narrative, *Lady in the Dark* might legitimately claim to be the progenitor of the later concept musical.

## I. Genesis

In an essay for *Lady in the Dark's* souvenir program, Moss Hart made it sound as if the process of dramatizing a person being psychoanalyzed had been accomplished effortlessly: "Why not show someone in the process of being psychoanalyzed and dramatize the dreams? And what could be more natural than that the dreams be conveyed by music and lyrics so that the plane of reality and that of the dreams would be distinct?"<sup>7</sup> But "effortless" it was not. *Lady in the Dark's* protracted genesis and the collaboration of its creators spanned fourteen months, beginning in November 1939 and culminating with a two-week tryout in Boston, which ended on 11 January 1941. This gestation period might be divided into three phases roughly analogous to the process of creating a film, as Charles Hamm first proposed in his groundbreaking article on *Porgy and Bess*: "first conceiving and visualizing the grand design; then creating the materials of the piece, according to this vision; and finally shaping and editing the finished product, after experiencing the work in preliminary form."<sup>8</sup> Of course, Hamm's analogy to the process of creating a film is not without its problems, in that the three stages of making a musical are rarely as chronologically compartmentalized as the pre-production, production, and post-production phases of filmmaking. The phases of conception, creation, and editing of a new musical may overlap, and an earlier phase of collaboration may extend into a later one, with new material being conceived, created, and revised up to its Broadway opening and beyond. That was certainly true for the genesis of *Lady in the Dark*.

The first phase, conceiving what would become *Lady in the Dark*, began in November 1939 with a pair of luncheons between Hart and Weill, and concluded in February 1940 with an announcement of the project in the *New York Times*. Because no documentary sources survive from this phase of the work's genesis, information must be gleaned piecemeal from the collaborators' recollections and such columns as "Gossip of the Rialto" and "News of the Stage" that regularly appeared in the *New York Times*. Although that newspaper's 23 February 1940 article "Moss Hart Play Will Have Songs" serves as a *terminus ante quem* for this first phase, a *terminus post quem* is much more difficult to pinpoint.

*Lady in the Dark* brought to fruition several ideas that had dogged Hart for the better part of his professional career, one of which had been to write a serious drama for actress Katharine Cornell. The playwright had first seen her on Broadway in the revival of George Bernard Shaw's *Candida* by the Actors' Theatre in 1924. After that performance, Hart had waited outside the stage door of the 48th Street Theatre for a glimpse of Cornell:

Finally, when it seemed that I must perish with the cold, the stage-door opened, and, silhouetted against that magic and wonderful background of light that only stage-doors glimpsed down an alley on a Winter's night possess, stood *Candida* herself.

Though she has since denied any recollection of it, I could have sworn Katharine Cornell smiled directly at me, and if she didn't whisper "You must write a play for me some day" as she brushed by, you have only my word against hers.<sup>9</sup>

Some fifteen years later, in October 1939 during the Boston tryout of George Kaufman and Moss Hart's *The Man Who Came to Dinner*, the playwright again waited outside a stage door to see Cornell after her performance in S. N. Behrman's *No Time for Comedy*. At this meeting Hart indeed promised to write a play for her: "I'll catch you in Philadelphia—end of March—and read you the first act."<sup>10</sup>

The second inspiration for *Lady in the Dark* came from Hart's own firsthand experience with psychotherapy, which he had begun in 1936 with Dr. Ernst Simmel in Los Angeles and then continued with Dr. Gregory Zilboorg in New York. Hart's bouts of depression had reached their nadir in 1937 when he contemplated committing suicide, as he confided in a letter to an associate, "I came very close to putting an end to it all, but I threw the stuff away."<sup>11</sup> At times incapacitated by anxiety and depression, Hart

spoke freely about his psychotherapy and the virtues of the talking cure, sometimes even joking that he wore a letter sweater with an "F" for Freud. He and Kaufman incorporated a reference to the Freudian technique of free association in their Pulitzer Prize-winning *You Can't Take It With You* (1936). As the second act reaches its climax with the Sycamore and Kirby families coming together for a disastrous dinner party, "Penny" Sycamore suggests that the two families play a game of free association and instructs everyone to write down "the first thing that comes into mind" after she lists "potatoes, Bathroom, lust, Honeymoon, and sex."<sup>12</sup> Hart and Kaufman returned to free association again the following year when they attempted to base an entire work on that process, a musical comedy intended for Marlene Dietrich. But after drafting the first act and convincing Richard Rodgers and Lorenz Hart to provide the score, the playwright pair had second thoughts. The *New York Times* reported, "It was so completely ga-ga that it was torn into small pieces at the end of two weeks and burned."<sup>13</sup> Hart nevertheless did not abandon the idea as the basis for a musical.

The third impetus for *Lady in the Dark* arose from Hart's desire to free himself from his longtime collaborator. Kaufman and Hart's collaboration had begun in 1930 with *Once in a Lifetime*, and over the next decade they wrote seven more comedies together. Although their hyphenated names rolled off the tongue during the 1930s as easily as "Gilbert and Sullivan," Hart evidently felt a psychological need to prove that his success had not been attributable solely to his collaboration with the famed playwright, who was sixteen years his senior. Over the course of their decade-long collaboration, Kaufman had assumed a paternal role, calling Hart "Mossie," the only diminutive he conferred on any of his acquaintances; for Hart, Kaufman represented the ideal father whom he wished he had had.<sup>14</sup> Although Kaufman and Hart's string of comedies had served as theatrical antidotes to the Great Depression, including *You Can't Take It With You* (1936), *I'd Rather Be Right* (1937), and *The Man Who Came to Dinner* (1939), Hart expressed his increasing lack of interest in plays with plots or "the well-made play." As he put it, "I've become much more interested in characters than in stories."<sup>15</sup>

In 1937 Hart became a patient of Lawrence Kubie, a Freudian psychiatrist who had received his M.D. from Johns Hopkins University in 1921 and underwent specialized psychoanalytic training at the London Institute of Psycho-Analysis from 1928 to 1930. Hart saw Kubie from 1937 until the psychiatrist retired from private practice in 1959.<sup>16</sup> Hart's relationship with Kubie eventually transcended the clinical patient/doctor one to include personal correspondence, dinner engagements, and attendance at lectures and theater performances together. During a session with Kubie in autumn 1939, Hart's idea of writing a play based on free association surfaced: "Over the last few years I've literally sabotaged every serious idea I've had for a play. And so my psychoanalyst made me resolve that the next idea I had, whether it was good or lousy, I'd carry through. This [what would become *Lady in the Dark*] was my next idea, and it was about the toughest one I've ever had to realize."<sup>17</sup>

That same fall Hart received a call from stage director Hassard Short, who wanted him to meet with Weill, who was then considering a script titled "The Funnies," based on John Held Jr.'s cartoon drawings. Short had thought of Hart for the project because he had written the scenarios for Irving Berlin's revue *As Thousands Cheer* (1933), which had included a musical number titled "The Funnies." After Hart had read the script, he and Weill arranged a luncheon at a Childs Restaurant to discuss it. Hart recalled:

One rainy afternoon a year ago Kurt Weill and myself sat at a table in a little midtown restaurant and told each other vehemently why we would not write a musical comedy. Kurt Weill because he would not write the music for the regulation musical comedy book, and myself because I would not write the book for the regulation musical comedy music.

We parted in complete agreement though it was a far cry from the purpose of the meeting. We had arranged to meet to see if we could not do a show together and had thoroughly succeeded in discovering that we

couldn't. That is, we were both completely disinterested in doing a show for the sake of doing a show, in Broadway parlance, and the tight little formula of the musical comedy stage held no interest for either of us.<sup>18</sup>

Hart also confessed that he would not "enjoy working on someone else's idea."<sup>19</sup>

During the next week Hart and Weill must have realized that in articulating what they were *not* interested in doing, they had actually conceptualized the type of work that *would* interest them. Hart and Weill met for lunch again, this time at the Hapsburg House on East 55th Street, for a meeting that lasted well into the evening. Hart remembered what it was that had intrigued them: "a show in which the music carried forward the essential story and was not imposed on the architecture of the play as a rather melodious but useless addenda."<sup>20</sup> Hart revealed to Weill his idea of using free association to tell the story of a woman undergoing psychoanalysis. But instead of a musical comedy for Marlene Dietrich, this would be a musical play for Katharine Cornell. Music, in such a work, would be restricted to the woman's dreams. The use of music to portray the unconscious resonated with Weill, whose composition teacher in Berlin, Ferruccio Busoni, had maintained that music should present "consciously that which is not to be found in real life," that music should interpret the states of mind of the characters on stage.<sup>21</sup>

Hart and Weill kept their project under wraps while they signed on a lyricist for the project. As Ira Gershwin remembered, the call from Hart came on New Year's Day 1940:

Through the lazy round of afternoon tennis games and evening poker parties with a few intimate friends in Beverly Hills came the tinkling of a long-distance phone. Moss Hart on the wire in New York. He was writing a new show about a brilliant editor of a fashion magazine, a woman admired and envied yet unhappy and alone. The action would revolve around her psychoanalysis. Kurt Weill had agreed to do the score. They both wanted him for the lyrics. Would he consider it?<sup>22</sup>

Before hanging up, Gershwin agreed to join the creative team. The *New York Times* ran a headline ten days later: "Hart Writes Play; Has No Co-Author / Serious Drama Being Written by Him Independently for a Fall Premiere / Sam H. Harris to Produce," but the report added, "Mr. Hart is not divulging details."<sup>23</sup> When Hart traveled to Hollywood in mid-February to consult on the film version of *The Man Who Came to Dinner*, he worked out the financial terms of the collaboration with Gershwin. After returning to New York on Friday, 23 February, Hart officially announced the project by contacting the *Times*, which ran a news item the next morning: "Moss Hart Play Will Have Songs." The article asserted that, although the project would be a play with music, it "definitely is not a musical comedy." According to Hart, its subject would be a "romantic story of a woman's failure." The article also mentioned that Weill and Gershwin would be writing the "incidental music."<sup>24</sup> The composer must have bristled at the term "incidental" to describe music's role in the project, because on Sunday, 25 February, Hart spoke to a reporter at the *Times* to clarify the extent of Weill and Gershwin's involvement. Monday's issue included the correction: "Moss Hart, author of 'I Am Listening,' explained yesterday that Kurt Weill's score for his new play could not be classified as 'incidental music.' His contribution and Mr. Weill's are of equal importance to the production."<sup>25</sup> With the collaborators apparently on the same page, and the project and its working title properly announced, the first phase of collaboration, or, more accurately, the agreement of all three creators to collaborate, ended.

In contrast to how close in contact Hart and Weill had been during the first phase, they tended to work independently for large stretches of the second phase, which lasted from March to mid-August 1940. Hart began writing his play early in March, because he had promised to read its first act to Cornell at the end of the month and to collaborate again with Kaufman on a new play starting 1 June. That spring Weill was preoccupied with the revisions to his score for a second, 1940 edition of the spectacu-

lar pageant *Railroads on Parade* in the Transportation Pavilion at the New York World's Fair. Although he and Gershwin tried to collaborate long-distance, they did not succeed in getting much done until Gershwin arrived in New York on 6 May.<sup>26</sup> Hart preferred to sequester himself at his country house to do most of his writing. (In 1937 he had purchased "Fairview Farm," an eighty-seven-acre property near New Hope in Bucks County, Pennsylvania, a few minutes' drive from George Kaufman's Barley Sheaf Farm. Kaufman and Hart had found Bucks County an ideal place to work, without the noise and distractions of the city.) After Gershwin had checked into the Essex House on Central Park South in Manhattan, he and Weill made it their base of operations. With composer and lyricist collaborating in the same Midtown hotel suite but the playwright holed up at his Bucks County retreat, Hart's initial idea of writing a musical play for Katharine Cornell evolved into something quite different from what he had originally envisioned.

Hart's "romantic story of a woman's failure" concerns a businesswoman in her late thirties, Liza Elliott, who is the editor of the fashion magazine *Allure*. The plot derives loosely from Freud's essay *The Theme of the Three Caskets*, which begins with an examination of a scene from Shakespeare's *The Merchant of Venice*.<sup>27</sup> Portia's three suitors must choose between three caskets made of gold, silver, and lead. After the first two suitors have mistakenly chosen gold and silver, Bassanio selects the lead casket containing Portia's portrait and thereby wins her hand. For Freud, the theme of the three suitors is not so much about the choice *per se* but about uncovering the unconscious forces that dictate the choices made by the choosers. He analyzes the three possible suitors as a type of unconscious wish fulfillment with love standing in for the necessity of death (represented by the lead casket). Freud interprets the choice among the three caskets (for him, symbolically representing women) as archetypal of the three relations that a man has with a woman: the woman who bore him (his mother); the woman who is his mate (his wife); and the woman who destroys him and in which he is buried (Mother Earth). In *Lady in the Dark*, Liza's suitors take on the roles of father (Kendall Nesbitt, the older married publisher of *Allure*, with whom she is having an affair), lover (movie star Randy Curtis, who arrives at the fashion magazine for a photo shoot), and future husband (Charley Johnson, *Allure's* advertising manager, who taunts Liza for her management style and masculine business demeanor).

Hart drafted most of "I Am Listening" at Fairview Farm during a period that he described as "pure torture."<sup>28</sup> He structured "I Am Listening" in two acts of four scenes each, alternating between Liza's appointments with the psychoanalyst, Dr. Brooks, and encounters with her staff in her office at *Allure*, with a displacement in the second act (Act II.iii) to a scene at a restaurant called Le Coq d'Or, "a fashionable luncheon place in the East Fifties."<sup>29</sup> Each of the acts took him approximately two-and-a-half months to write, the first from March to mid-May and the second from mid-May until August 1940.<sup>30</sup>

The three scenes in the psychoanalyst's office derive their content and procedure from Kubie's 1936 handbook, *Practical Aspects of Psychoanalysis*. Each begins with the exercise of free association. They successively convey Dr. Brooks's biographical analysis of the patient's "unknown psychic territory" (Act I.i), the transference situation in which the analyst is "merciless in hounding the neurosis out of every false cover" (Act I.iii), and how the transference situation "helps to clear the air not only within the analytic situation but in all of the patient's life relationships as well" (Act II.ii).<sup>31</sup> In contrast to these three dramatic scenes, which were clearly intended for the acting abilities of *tragédienne* Katharine Cornell, the four that Hart wrote for Liza's office at *Allure* rely on formulas that he and Kaufman had honed in their comedies: satirizing figures in high society (*Allure's* staff columnist Alison Du Bois caricatured *Harper's Bazaar* fashion editor Diana Vreeland), parodying close associates (Dr. Brooks mirrored Kubie, whose clinical pronouncement "I Am Listening" served as the musical play's working title), and basing a scenario on their own experiences (Liza Elliott's anxiety and depression, and perhaps also gender ambivalence, resonate with Hart's own issues).

As Hart was putting the finishing touches on Act I, Gershwin and Weill began their intensive collaboration, which lasted from the beginning of May to the middle of August. The lyricist later described the period as one of “twelve-to-sixteen”-hour days during “one of the hottest summers New York had ever known.”<sup>32</sup> Their six-day workweeks spanned Monday through Saturday. Gershwin described a typical workday: “Kurt would arrive from his country home [in Suffern, N.Y.] shortly after noon and we would work until dinnertime. Frequently we were at the piano after dinner until 11:00 or 12:00, when he would leave for the country while I would go on working until 4:00 or 5:00 in the morning on the lyrics for the tunes he had left me. And then I would try to get ideas for the next day’s collaborations.”<sup>33</sup> Weill and Gershwin’s sketches and drafts (**Dh** and **Tty0**) reveal that they began with the pivotal childhood song “My Ship,” which haunts the title character throughout the play. Three different versions of the song in successively higher keys (D♭, E♭, and F) evince how Gershwin, who was accustomed to “fitting words mosaically to music already composed,” and Weill, who preferred to set completed texts to music, attempted to reconcile their very different working methods.<sup>34</sup> They agreed to a compromise: either Weill would jot down eight or sixteen bars of melody (see Plate 12) to inspire a lyric or Gershwin would send Weill a tentative lyric for him to set. Eventually, however, they decided just to work together in the same room whenever possible.<sup>35</sup>

They next tackled the Glamour Dream, which Liza recounts for Dr. Brooks in the musical play’s first scene. Although a scenario for this sequence has not survived, one probably existed, because those for the other three sequences have been preserved. Weill and Gershwin composed four songs for the Glamour Dream (“Oh Fabulous One,” “Huxley,” “One Life to Live,” and “Girl of the Moment”), all of which depict a carefree and glamorous Liza Elliott. The narrative for the sequence portrays her alter ego in four locales: outside her Park Avenue residence, inside her boudoir, en route to a fashionable nightclub with a stop at Columbus Circle, and finally the interior of the Seventh Heaven nightclub.<sup>36</sup> Weill composed a recurring “glamour theme” to provide musical transitions between the locales and for Liza’s entrances. Of the four planned dream sequences, only the Glamour Dream had a title that remained consistent throughout the genesis of the work, although Gershwin did anglicize the spelling by changing “Glamor” to “Glamour.”

After Weill and Gershwin had drafted the Glamour Dream and the first half of the second sequence—including “This Is New,” “The Princess of Pure Delight,” and “Unforgettable” (a ballad about Liza and Randy intended for Russell Paxton, *Allure’s* staff photographer, to sing)—they spent the first of two working-weekends at Hart’s country house. Gershwin recalled the visits: “The food was excellent, the guestrooms cozy; there were a large swimming pool and thousands of trees and any amount of huge and overwhelming, friendly, woolly dogs; there was even that rarity for those days (1940), a TV set.”<sup>37</sup> During the first such weekend, the three collaborators worked for several hours on outlines of the second and third dream sequences. After discussing possible conclusions to the second sequence, Hart retreated to his library. An hour later he returned with two typed outlines.<sup>38</sup> The first, headed “DREAM TWO,” documents how the sequence should end: an interpolated scene on a movie set, next “Unforgettable,” and finally Liza’s nightmare wedding to Kendall.

Weill and Gershwin struggled to find a unifying thread for this second sequence, which included five vignettes combining recollections from Liza’s adolescence (“Mapleton High Choral”) and childhood (“The Princess of Pure Delight”) with current episodes from her personal life, all precipitated by her dinner date with Randy (“Unforgettable” and “This Is New”) and Kendall’s marriage proposal. The lack of a title, theme, or concept for the sequence presented Weill with a problem: How could he connect the vignettes architectonically? Instead of a melodic thread, which he had employed for the Glamour Dream, Weill turned to a dance idiom, the bolero, to provide structural coherence. During the genesis of the sequence, “bolero” even functioned as its working title in Gershwin’s early typescript libretto (**Tty0**).

Of the three completed sequences, the Circus Dream had the most troubled gestation. Gershwin based the *mise-en-scène* on Gilbert and Sullivan’s one-act comic opera *Trial by Jury* (1875), which had been presented on Broadway no fewer than eight times during the 1930s. The sequence in which Liza undergoes a trial for declining to marry Kendall was initially conceived as a minstrel show. The draft scenario for the conclusion, titled “DREAM THREE,” typed up by Hart during the first working weekend at Fairview Farm, reveals that the trial was to climax with Liza’s testimony, “A Woman Has a Right to Change Her Mind,” and Randy’s defense speech, “Astrology Song.” Despite Weill and Gershwin’s progress on the “Minstrel Dream,” Hassard Short, one of the production’s two stage directors, felt the sequence would be more spectacular, as Gershwin recalled, “if the trial took place in a circus rather than a minstrel show.”<sup>39</sup> Short’s advice may have been suggested by Liza’s indecision over a circus or Easter cover for the fashion magazine’s forthcoming issue.

Gershwin responded first by attempting to expunge references to a minstrel show from his typescript. However, he and Weill soon realized that, although the songs could be salvaged, what was needed was a new beginning for the sequence. Gershwin rewrote the Interlocutor’s patter for a circus barker, and he and Weill conceived “The Greatest Show on Earth” to set the scene. After a recess, the trial’s second portion would feature two witnesses: *Allure’s* columnist Alison Du Bois as a snake charmer, and *Allure’s* fashion editor Maggie Grant as a lion tamer. Alison’s claim that Liza could have averted her problems had she consulted with an astrologer prompts Liza’s number “No Matter Under What Star You’re Born,” and the trial concludes with an exhibition of the zodiac signs, while Randy convinces the jury that his client’s fate is in the stars (“Song of the Zodiac”).<sup>40</sup>

The astrology-inspired songs may have spoofed the actress whom Hart was now courting to play Liza Elliott. On 13 June 1940, the *New York Times* was still reporting, “Katharine Cornell departs tomorrow for her summer home in Martha’s Vineyard, and will remain there until August, perusing, as soon as completed, ‘I Am Listening.’” But since April, Hart had been privately negotiating with Gertrude Lawrence to play the lead. Because of her indecision over whether to accept the role, as well as her request not to make a decision until after she could consult with her astrologer, Hart had taken out his frustrations by writing laugh lines about astrology into the play and had specified an “Astrology Song” for defense attorney Randy Curtis in his typescript outline for the Circus Dream’s finale. Although Weill and Gershwin composed not one but two astrologically themed pieces, neither had much to do with the sequence’s original minstrel show, its new circus setting, or the work’s psychoanalytic foundations.

On 13 July the *New York Times* reported that “Gertrude Lawrence said yesterday she had made up her mind to accept the leading role in a play with music temporarily called ‘I Am Listening.’ . . . Up to yesterday no agreement had been signed, but Miss Lawrence said she expected to do so this afternoon.” Hart wrote an apologetic, if not entirely truthful, letter to Cornell at her summer home:

You probably know by this time that we have signed Gertrude Lawrence for the play—this is to explain my silence and the reason why.

To state it quickly: the music went ’round and ’round. I mean by that that the play fairly reeks of music now—if there were great musical stretches before there are veritable “Traviatas” now. There was some doubt in both our minds you know, about there being too much music for you, and as Weill and Gershwin went on with their part of it, it became more and more apparent that we ought to have someone almost musical comedy to handle it.

Hart ended the letter by noting the “grim humour . . . that the way this whole bloody thing started was my dream of writing a play for Katharine Cornell.”<sup>41</sup>

The collaborators spent a second working weekend at Fairview Farm, but the only surviving documentation of this occasion is Hart’s typescript outline for the fourth dream sequence. Weill and Gershwin referred to it in their correspondence as the “Hollywood Dream,” but in Weill’s sketch-

book he titled it “Day Dream.” The fourth sequence had been intended for Act II.iii at the restaurant Le Coq d’Or where Liza is waiting to have lunch with Randy. The afternoon is spoiled by Liza’s chance encounter with Kendall, who happens to be drinking at the bar. Maggie is waiting for Charley, but he arrives inebriated and insults Liza. Kendall pleads with Liza not to leave him, and once Randy arrives, Liza is no longer sure she can face both her ex-lover and insolent advertising manager while lunching with a movie star. Following Kendall’s and Charley’s leads, she orders a drink to calm her nerves. While she and Randy converse, she begins to daydream about what life as his wife might be like.

Liza imagines the staff of Randy’s Southern California ranch preparing for their arrival: filling the swimming pool, air-conditioning the house, installing additional tennis courts, and tending to the gardens (“The Boss Is Bringing Home the Bride”). After Randy and Liza arrive, the movie star presents the ranch to his bride in a ballad (“In Our Little House in the San Fernando Valley”). Then large crowds of Hollywood personalities gather to fête the newlyweds. Liza, unaccustomed to such a party, eavesdrops on their conversations and hears them discussing a film preview held the previous evening, various servant troubles, and home remodeling projects (“Hollywood Party”). Hart’s outline summarizes how the sequence would have concluded:

The guests ask Liza whether she likes Hollywood. For a reply, she goes into number: “I Love Hollywood.” . . . At the end of her song, the guests depart, singing, “It’s been a wonderful party,” as before. Liza goes to Randy’s arms for a reprise of the San Fernando Valley song, but this time with new lyric covering lapse of years. The stage is growing darker as they sing, and blends into the trick of Christmas tree and children at the end.<sup>42</sup>

By the beginning of August, Hart had completed his play. A typing service prepared carbon copies for the production staff, but the only copy known to survive is an exemplar filed for copyright purposes at the Library of Congress (Ttb1). Although Weill and Gershwin were not quite finished with their score (they had yet to compose the end of the Hollywood Dream or to fuse its three completed songs into a continuous sequence), sweltering heat and humidity persuaded the collaborators to take a break. Gershwin boarded a train back to Beverly Hills; Hart and Weill each escaped to New England. The playwright journeyed to Alexander Woollcott’s artistic colony on Neshobe Island in Lake Bomoseen, Vermont; the composer traveled with Maxwell and Mab Anderson to the Owl’s Head Inn in Owl’s Head, Maine. While at Woollcott’s island retreat, Hart wrote a letter to an associate in which he described “I Am Listening”: “It’s a play with music running through it, you know, and Kurt Weill has done what seems to me to be a magnificent job. And Ira’s lyrics are enchanting. It’s a most difficult play to do and quite likely to be a mess unless we have a bit of luck, but I look forward to all the difficulties with a good deal of eagerness.”<sup>43</sup>

Although one might argue that this creative hiatus marked the end of the second phase of collaboration, there was much more to do: orchestrations, of course, and much of the material would be heavily revised and in some cases jettisoned or rewritten during the third phase, which began with a series of production meetings in late August 1940 and culminated with a two-week tryout in Boston that ended on 11 January 1941. During this phase the production budget, casting, and set and costume designs reshaped both the work’s book and its music and lyrics. Although the creative process had been negotiated largely by merging and reconciling the three authorial collaborators’ individual and collective conceptions of the work, the physicality of production now dictated everything from the number of book scenes and musical sequences to the timing of musical numbers to allow for certain costume changes. And of course, the producer had to raise sufficient capital to finance one of the most expensive shows in Broadway history: a total investment of \$127,715, with \$71,000 from Harris and Hart, \$35,000 from Paramount Pictures, and a number of lesser amounts from Jules Brulatour, Max Gordon, Bernard Hart (Moss’s brother and *Lady in the Dark*’s stage manager), Joseph M. Hyman, and George S. Kaufman.<sup>44</sup>

The *New York Times* announced the musical play’s new title on 14 August 1940: “In accordance with the wishes of Gertrude Lawrence, the title of her next show has been changed from ‘I Am Listening’ to ‘Lady in the Dark.’” Thus, the title of the show would now refer to Lawrence’s starring role rather than to Liza’s psychiatrist. After Hart and Weill returned from their New England vacations, production meetings began in earnest. The first occurred at producer Sam Harris’s office at the Music Box Theatre on 27 August, with Harry Horner and various advisers attending. Using a scaled stage model, Horner demonstrated the technical scheme, which featured four turntables that would enable scene changes to occur cinematically without the use of stage curtains. That evening in the producer’s office, Hart read the play to the staff, a tradition that had begun in 1930 with *Once in a Lifetime*, when Harris became the sole producer of Kaufman and Hart’s plays. The following day Hart, Short, and Weill met at Hart’s townhouse to talk about the dream sequences. Weill, who had attended all three meetings, summarized in a letter to Gershwin the production staff’s reactions:

They were crazy about the whole show. Their only objection was that the bar scene [Le Coq d’Or] and the Hollywood dream had nothing to do with the play. Moss suggested to throw both the bar scene and the Hollywood dream out. He first talked only about cutting out the Hollywood dream and I refused flatly. Then, when he said that he would cut out the bar scene, I began to see certain advantages. It is obvious that this change would be very good for the play itself because it would mean that we go from the flash back scene directly into the last scene of the play. The decision which Liza makes in the last scene would be an immediate result of the successful analysis.<sup>45</sup>

Cutting the fourth dream sequence and Act II.iii suggested to Weill the idea of refashioning the flashbacks in Act II.ii as an entirely musicalized sequence with the addition of a new song, “a kind of early Irving Berlin song,” for Liza’s high school graduation dance.

At the meeting at Hart’s townhouse, Short also raised the issue of material appropriate for Lawrence, who had made her Broadway debut in 1924, and two years later, in the Gershwins’ *Oh, Kay!*, became the first British performer to star in an American musical. Short argued that Lawrence would need “a show-stopping song with laugh lines” in the second act. Weill concurred, as he recounted the discussion for Gershwin: “all the material we have written for Gertie is excellent for her, but it is either charming or sentimental and what we haven’t given her yet is a really funny song.” In response to Short’s recommendation, Hart suggested making “One Life to Live” in the first act into an “applause number” with a dance for Liza and her chauffeur, Beekman. Weill agreed with both of them: “One Life to Live” needed to be expanded with a second refrain and what was needed in the second act was a “good, solid, entertaining, humorous song in the Circus dream.” Because he had already begun working on a piano-vocal rehearsal score (Vh), Weill admitted to Gershwin that he was “a little disturbed by all these changes. But I realize that it is better to make these changes now than in Boston.”<sup>46</sup>

Before Hart and Kaufman left New York on 20 September for the tryout of what would be their last play together, the collaborators and production team worked feverishly to cast the remaining principal roles in *Lady in the Dark*. On 14 September, Weill again wrote Gershwin to keep him informed of casting decisions, as well as the outcome of another production meeting about the dream sequences. At that meeting Hart and Short had suggested that Weill and Gershwin turn the Circus Dream’s “Zodiac Song” into a duet with Randy appearing as the defense attorney and singing couplets about each of the zodiac signs, and Liza, as the defendant, providing witty rejoinders, followed by a new song (and perhaps dance) for her alone. Nesbitt’s interruption of that number would then provide an opportunity for Liza’s “show-stopping song” near the end of the dream. Weill concluded his letter with a list of new musical material necessitated by production demands: (1) patter (verse) for “One Life to Live,” (2) changes to the “Zodiac Song,” (3) Liza’s “show-stopping song” for the Circus Dream, and (4) a new song for the high school flashback.<sup>47</sup>

In October Gershwin again boarded a train bound for New York, and he and Weill began another period of collaboration while Hart was preoccupied with the previews for *George Washington Slept Here* at Boston's Plymouth Theatre. Weill and Gershwin quickly drafted the verse to "One Life to Live," and Ira wrote the lyrics to a half-refrain for Beekman, the second portion of which would be a dance for him and Liza. For the high school flashback, Gershwin penned the lyrics to "Bats About You" in the style of a "twenties musical comedy" song and even came up with a fictitious musical comedy from which the number might have originated ("Nay, Nay, Nellie"—a takeoff on the title of Vincent Youmans's 1925 musical, *No, No, Nanette*, and/or its short-lived successor, *Yes, Yes, Yvette* from 1927). In order to further beef up the music in the flashbacks, Weill concocted a reprise of the *Wedding Dream*'s "Mapleton High Choral" to open the high school flashback and a series of musical transitions for the other three flashbacks. Although Weill and Gershwin stopped short of turning the flashbacks into a continuous musical sequence as Weill had initially proposed, "Bats About You," the reprise of "Mapleton High Choral," and the musical transitions all sought to rebalance the proportions of music and spoken dialogue in Act II.

Weill and Gershwin also made some adjustments to the *Wedding Dream*. In his letter of 2 September 1940, Weill had proposed salvaging "The Boss Is Bringing Home the Bride" and "San Fernando Valley" from the *Hollywood Dream* by substituting them for Russell's "Unforgettable": "Since the whole second dream has to do with Liza's wedding it would be very natural if she would see herself playing the part of Randy Curtis' (the Cowboy's) bride in the moving picture. Paxton (Danny Kaye) would not be the camera man, but another cowboy in the picture." Weill and Gershwin quickly jettisoned this idea and decided instead to drop the movie scene and "Unforgettable" altogether because two ballads about Randy and Liza would have been too much. Instead, to provide some levity for a sequence that Weill found a "little slow, dragging and humorless," they wrote a new up-tempo number for Russell, "It's Never Too Late to Mendelssohn," for which Gershwin lifted a few lines from *Oh, Kay!* (1926) and some unused material for *Rosalie* (1928).<sup>48</sup>

The changes to the *Circus Dream* were more complicated and extreme. Gershwin rewrote the Barker's opening patter for a Ringmaster to be played by Russell, who would double as the trial's judge (in the *Minstrel Dream*, Kendall would have been assigned both the Barker and trial judge). Weill and Gershwin decided to omit the trial's recess and to scale back "The Best Years of His Life." As a result, Weill's choral arrangement of the number in the rehearsal score (Vh) had to be scrapped. Both astrological numbers were cut, and Weill and Gershwin cobbled together a patter song for Danny Kaye, the actor cast in early August to play Russell. Because Kaye's specialties in his nightclub act were verbal slapstick, double-talk, and outrageous foreign accents, Gershwin pulled out a poem, "The Music Hour," which he had published in *Life* magazine in 1924 under the pseudonym "Arthur Francis."<sup>49</sup> Ira had compiled the names of forty-seven Russian composers from the back covers of George's piano and orchestral scores. He now expanded the list to fifty (not all of them actually Russian) and titled the lyric "Tchaikowsky." Weill obliged by alluding to the third movement of Tchaikovsky's *Symphony No. 6* in the patter song's introduction. For Liza's "show-stopping song with laugh lines," Weill and Gershwin concocted a strophic number about a fictitious girl named "Jenny" who makes up her mind at various periods of her life, always to disastrous effect.

Because of the *Circus Dream*'s status as the only dream sequence in the second act, Weill and Gershwin felt compelled to compose numbers that would satisfy multifarious production demands. Reflecting the sequence's troubled gestation, Weill had borrowed the waltz from the First Finale of *Der Kuhhandel* (1935) for "The Best Years of His Life." Unlike the glamour theme for the *Glamour Dream* and bolero rhythm for the *Wedding Dream*, Weill was unable to employ any analogous unifying device for the *Circus Dream* beyond a reprise of "The Greatest Show on Earth." Thus, despite the indisputable impact on stage of "Tchaikowsky" and "The Saga

of Jenny," structurally the *Circus Dream* unfolds as a succession of songs with only tenuous connections to the circus setting.

Once Weill and Gershwin had written the additional musical numbers required by casting decisions and production demands, the composer was able to finish his piano-vocal score (Vh). As Weill completed sections of the score, he passed them off to four copyists to create a rehearsal score (Vm). Meanwhile, he began weighing choices for the instrumentation and orchestration, which he, as always and in contrast to customary Broadway practice, accomplished almost entirely by himself. But a decision about the instrumentation and the number of musicians in the orchestra pit could not be finalized until the producer had booked a theater for the Broadway run. Apparently, Harris originally considered opening the musical play at his own Music Box Theatre, with approximately one thousand seats and a house minimum of twelve musicians; this might have motivated Harris to request from Weill a chamber-like orchestration.<sup>50</sup> But by 8 September, with the Kaufman and Hart comedy *The Man Who Came to Dinner* still in its open-ended run at the Music Box and estimated production costs for *Lady in the Dark* soaring, "News of the Rialto" reported that Harris was thinking of booking the Martin Beck Theatre, one of Broadway's intermediate, dual-purpose theaters (sometimes called "swing houses." The column in the *Times* noted its "larger seating capacity (200 more seats)" and the advantage that the show's "complicated scenic pattern" would be "easier to install" there.<sup>51</sup> But Harris reconsidered, and in November he instead booked the Alvin Theatre, another of Broadway's swing houses, with 1,367 seats. Weill targeted his instrumentation at the union minimum of twenty players for these two swing houses. He may have begun his orchestration intending it for the Martin Beck but then completed it after the Alvin had been booked.<sup>52</sup>

*Lady in the Dark*'s reliance on dance-derived musical idioms for its three dream sequences (rumba, bolero, and march, respectively) may have prompted Weill to utilize a "dance instrumentation" for twenty, with a wind section of four players (flute/piccolo and three reed books), a brass section of four (three trumpets and one trombone), a string section of eight (four first violins, two second violins, two cellos—and no violas), and a rhythm section of three (a keyboardist who doubled on piano and Hammond Organ, string bass, and percussion).<sup>53</sup> Because in 1941 the conductor was counted by Local 802 as a member of the orchestra, he would have been Number 20, thereby satisfying the house minimum for the Alvin.<sup>54</sup>

Weill's manuscript full score (Fh) filled more than four hundred pages. Supremely confident as an orchestrator and cognizant that it would not be used for rehearsals of the cast, Weill omitted vocal parts (and lyrics) in his holograph orchestral score, whose primary function would be to serve as the source for the creation of orchestral parts by a team of copyists. Weill entrusted two sections of the score to Ted Royal, who was working in Chappell Music Company's Theatre-Orchestrating Department. Of Chappell's four house orchestrators, Royal was the only one with actual swing-band experience, having done arrangements for Jimmy Dorsey, Paul Whiteman, and Harry James during the late 1930s.<sup>55</sup> Royal orchestrated the 36-bar second refrain of "One Life to Live" as well as "Bats About You" (the latter would be cut early into the tryout).

With the rehearsal period rapidly approaching, Weill became increasingly nervous about the work that still needed to be done. In a letter of 8 November, Weill confided in his erstwhile pupil in Berlin and now trusted friend, the conductor Maurice Abravanel, to whom the composer had tentatively offered the position of music director earlier in the year:

The conductor situation for my show is getting more critical than you think. The Sam Harris office insists that the conductor has to be there from the first day of rehearsals. They are very proud that they are the only producer organisation on Broadway which always has their conductor for full rehearsal time, and they say that in the case of my show it is absolutely necessary because it is a difficult score, it is to a great part chorus work and we have only 3 weeks rehearsals before we go to Boston. They say it would be alright for them if I would do the complete rehearsal job for you, but that is physically impossible because I have to be at the dance rehearsals

to work out the ballets, compose and orchestrate them and watch the rehearsals of the play for the incidental music which has to be written + orchestrated. All I can do is to work with the soloists.

But apart from rehearsals there is a great deal of organisation to be done which I am absolutely unable to do. The material has to be prepared, the rehearsal schedule has to be worked out and the orchestra [*sic*] problems have to be solved. It would be unfair to leave all this to me even if I had the time to do it, for these are just the things that I need a good conductor for. Once the show is set it is not difficult just to conduct it. Preparation is the main job for a good conductor and this is one of the most difficult shows I have ever done and needs the most careful preparation in all departments. . . .

I know very well that it is not your fault that this situation came up because you had accepted Chicago before I could definitely offer my show to you. On the other hand just imagine what a relief and what a help it would be for me if I had my conductor now and would not have to bother about all the things which take so much time and energy which I need so badly. I am working 18 hours a day: writing new material with Ira, orchestrating, holding auditions, conferences etc. I don't know how much longer I can do all this. We haven't found any chorus people yet who satisfy both Hasard Short (for looks) and me (for voices). . . .

So it comes down to this: you have to arrange immediately that you can be here from the beginning of rehearsals and stay with the show and take complete control of the musical part. Otherwise I am afraid Sam Harris will insist on getting somebody else (they offered me a number of people). I am sure you could arrange with the Chicago opera to get a release for the last weeks of the season. . . . We start general rehearsals on Dec. 2, but we have 3 days before Dec. 2, that means chorus rehearsals start Nov. 29.<sup>56</sup>

Abravanel responded favorably to Weill's entreaty, and rehearsals began as planned, with directorial duties divided: Hart oversaw the book scenes, and Short staged the dream sequences. Because of its hybrid structure and unusual casting demands, *Lady in the Dark* rehearsed in three separate spaces each day. At the Alvin Theatre, choreographer Albertina Rasch put her dancers through their paces. Over at the Lyceum, Abravanel and rehearsal pianist David LeWinter taught the music to the chorus, and Short staged the dream sequences. At the Music Box Theatre, Hart blocked and coached the actors in the book scenes. After dinner, principals rehearsed their singing and dancing.<sup>57</sup> Weill shuttled between venues.

Surviving rehearsal materials reflect both the division of directorial duties and separate rehearsal locations. The Rialto Service Bureau produced carbon-copied rehearsal typescripts of the book, "Lady in the Dark by Moss Hart" (Ttb2), and sung texts, "Lyrics for Lady in the Dark" (Tty2). The principals who were in both the spoken scenes and musical sequences received copies of both, as did members of the production staff. The fifteen members of the chorus rehearsed from Ozalid copies of just their parts (Cm(R)), which an anonymous copyist had extracted from the copyists' piano-vocal score (Vm).

Surviving rehearsal scripts reveal that Hart as director significantly shortened book scenes during rehearsals at the Music Box. He compressed some long dialogue passages, especially in the play's opening scene where Hart had attempted to dramatize all the symptoms that Kubie had described in his *Handbook*. Such excisions were necessitated by the length of Weill and Gershwin's first two dream sequences, which had not been composed when Hart had begun writing his play. So extensive were some of the cuts in the first scene that the assistant stage manager Frank Spencer's rehearsal script (Tt3) includes retyped pages without excised passages that are to be found in Lawrence's copy (Ttb2L). Hart also rethought the laugh lines about astrology that he had written while negotiating with Lawrence: they were all dropped (perhaps in deference to her beliefs). Occasionally, Hart also added short greetings and salutations to smooth over characters' stage entrances and exits.

At the Lyceum, Short, Weill, and Abravanel tailored the musical sequences to both production demands and certain actors' singing abilities and limitations. Some parts had to be simplified: Weill's two-part counterpoint for Beekman and Sutton in the *Glamour Dream* for the gloss on Robert Herrick's poem "Upon Julia's Clothes" had to be reduced to unison singing, presumably because of Danny Kaye's limitations. Similarly, when

Victor Mature could not manage the verse to "This Is New," it (and much else originally assigned to him) was omitted. Instead, Randy and Liza repeated a portion of their conversation from Act I.ii with orchestral underscoring. Smaller changes may have responded to an individual actor's sensitivities. In the *Wedding Dream*, a lyric about Liza having a pretty voice disappeared, perhaps because singing "prettily" was not one of Lawrence's strong suits. Similarly, the lyric in the same sequence about Kendall Nesbitt's being forty-eight years old was also cut, perhaps because the former silent screen actor playing the role (Bert Lytell) was then fifty-five and looked even older. Other changes had to be made for staging logistics. To give Lawrence sufficient time to take off a full-length fitted lace coat and gloves to expose Hattie Carnegie's ostrich-plume dress for her entrance into the *Seventh Heaven*, Weill composed eighteen extra bars of "Tempo di Fox-trot," based on the glamour theme, as a safety to cover the change. The *Glamour Dream*'s rumba finale also had to be expanded in order to give Lawrence enough time to change out of that gown and back into her business suit.

At the Alvin, the fourteen-member "Albertina Rasch Dancers" ended up devising much of their choreography themselves, because Rasch had taken ill. In her absence, Nelson Barclift and Dorothy Bird, both of whom had danced with Martha Graham, took control. In the *Glamour Dream*, the dancers were featured in a foxtrot as the chorus sang "Girl of the Moment," but this would eventually be cut from the production. The only other genuine choreography in that dream came in the extended rumba finale. In the *Wedding Dream*, originally "This Is New" included an elaborate dance expansion (with the dancers serving as Liza and Randy's *Doppelgänger* and dressed identically), but eventually this, too, was curtailed. Because the *Circus Dream*'s dance sequence was not mentioned in the rehearsal script, assistant stage manager Spencer wrote "Dance" into his copy after "The Greatest Show on Earth." Weill composed the music for "Dance of the Tumblers" by borrowing material from his unfinished musical "Davy Crockett" (1938).<sup>58</sup> Presumably reflecting its late addition, "Dance of the Tumblers" did not appear in the Boston playbill.

Upon leaving for Boston, the collaborators were under no illusion that the work had reached its final form, as evinced by Gershwin's 23 December letter to lifelong friend and fellow lyricist "Yip" Harburg: "I'm in the midst of packing because early tomorrow morning we're off to Boston, some 125 of us (quite a number of people for a dramatic opus). It looks good but there are still problems to solve. One of the important ones is that some 20 to 25 minutes have to come out."<sup>59</sup> *Lady in the Dark*'s "Wagnerian length" may have resulted from several factors. The work married a full-length play with three musical sequences that each had the duration (and in two cases also the structure) of an operetta finale. The three-week rehearsal period had not provided sufficient time to meld the straight play with the dream sequences. Separate rehearsal locations, leadership, and materials had only exacerbated the problem.

At the Colonial Theatre in Boston, cast and crew packed five dress rehearsals into four days (26–29 December) before opening on 30 December. George Kaufman, who was renowned as a "show doctor" almost as much as a playwright, was on hand to help cut the work down to size.<sup>60</sup> He cautioned that Alison Du Bois had too many lines for a minor character, and he suggested that her second appearance in Act II.iii be excised entirely. Cuts were also made to the dream sequences. As the stagehands practiced making the scene changes between the office and dream settings, the score had to be tailored and timed to the turntables' revolutions. In the instrumental introduction to the *Glamour Dream*, for instance, Abravanel and Weill cut mm. 15–18 and 21–22 (see Plate 6). Other cuts were more drastic, such as Russell's number in the *Wedding Dream*, "It's Never Too Late to Mendelssohn" (Appendix B2a). Although Weill had orchestrated it, and the copyists had included it in the orchestral parts, the directors replaced it before the Boston opening with a version whose vocal part had been revised, abbreviated, and reassigned, but with a dance section added (Appendix B2b). Whether this major change resulted from the intervention of the star, a lackluster performance, or merely a directorial judgment

call is a matter of conjecture. Hart recalled that “Kaye was a very bad rehearser. He’s no good without an audience.”<sup>61</sup> Whatever the reason, he never got to perform “It’s Never Too Late to Mendelssohn” in front of an audience.

During the dress rehearsal period, the production team worried most about the material for the show’s star. From the outset, Lawrence had been unimpressed with “The Saga of Jenny.” The first time she heard it, she objected: “This is not a song for me; this is for Ethel Merman. And it’s not very funny anyway.”<sup>62</sup> Because her heart was not in it, in rehearsals Lawrence had tried to kill the number by walking through it. Chorus member Manfred Hecht remembered, “She had trouble singing it in the first place.”<sup>63</sup> Lawrence’s husband, Richard Aldrich, was on hand for one of the final dress rehearsals and left “considerably dismayed,” because his wife’s role “was eclipsed by the material furnished to a young, and at that time unknown, featured player—Danny Kaye.”<sup>64</sup> Short took matters into his own hands and, on the morning of the Boston opening, tried to persuade Abravanel to convince Weill to cut the number. Abravanel replied, “Look, give it a chance. . . . After the premiere, if it is a flop, it’s a flop. We’re finished.”<sup>65</sup> Undaunted, Short took Weill aside and gave him a message to share with Gershwin: “You boys had better get two new numbers ready in a hurry. You’ll find that ‘Jenny’ and the Russian number won’t make it.”<sup>66</sup>

*Lady in the Dark* debuted to a sold-out house with twenty standees.<sup>67</sup> The Bostonian audience, accustomed to the Lawrence they’d seen in comedic roles, laughed during the serious opening scene in Dr. Brooks’s office, and no song in either the Glamour or Wedding Dream made much of an impact. Abravanel recalled, “By intermission we did not have a success.”<sup>68</sup> But during the Circus Dream, Kaye’s performance of “Tschai-kowsky,” his ability to rattle off the names of fifty composers in a faux-Russian accent, electrified the audience. Hart, who was standing at the back of the theater, reacted to the ovation: “I was saying, ‘Sh . . . sh!’ trying to quiet them knowing that the more they applauded the more likely the song was to be cut. And [Kaye] kept bowing to Gertie as if to indicate she would sing next; and, of course, the more he bowed generously, the more they applauded.”<sup>69</sup> From his position on the podium, Abravanel understood the dilemma that if, on the one hand, he granted Kaye an encore and Lawrence did not receive one, she could insist that he be fired. On the other hand, if he attempted to start “The Saga of Jenny,” the audience would have booed her for stepping on Kaye’s applause.” So, Abravanel drew his hand across his throat, making a “cut” sign to the trumpet players: “I raised my right hand to them, and they nodded, understanding that I would omit the recitative and go to the next [section], which was the introduction to ‘Jenny.’ So I extended my arms—big, big applause from the audience for doing the encore. . . . But in that split second Gertrude leapt . . . and improvised a ‘Jenny’ with bumps and grinds. You didn’t even say the words in 1940 in polite society.”<sup>70</sup> Lawrence’s shocking performance metaphorically took the title character’s destiny into her own hands through the counterexample of “Jenny” and produced a reading of *Lady in the Dark* far beyond the intentions or imaginations of its male creators and directors. The audience reacted with thunderous applause, and the experimental musical play was saved by the unprecedented effect of back-to-back eleven-o’clock numbers, the first by an unknown newcomer and the second by a Broadway headliner who had managed to top Kaye’s show-stopping performance.

Boston reviewers were unanimous in their praise for Lawrence, Kaye, and the novelty of *Lady in the Dark*’s structure.<sup>71</sup> They were also in agreement that, at three-and-a-half hours, it was too long. Other criticisms included a “top-heavy” show with “what purports to be serious drama” (*Christian Science Monitor*); Victor Mature’s duet with Lawrence in “This Is New,” which was “in urgent need of alteration” (*Boston Globe*); and a final scene during which “interest had flagged” (*Boston Herald*). The directors took these criticisms to heart and addressed each the next day. Hart substantially shortened the final scene of the play by omitting Kendall Nesbitt’s appearance and reducing six pages of dialogue to three. In “This Is

New,” Short had chorus member Davis Cunningham sing Mature’s part and shortened the number to three refrains. In order to address the complaint about the top-heaviness of the show, Hart instructed Lawrence not to overdo the dramatic scenes. She recalled: “The hardest part of my work is my first scene. . . . If you are too intense in the beginning, you have nowhere to go in the later emotional scenes.”<sup>72</sup> Agreeing that a full thirty minutes had to be trimmed from the show, the collaborators also cut “Bats About You,” sung by sweethearts Ben and Barbara during the high school flashback (Act II.ii).

*Lady in the Dark* completed its Boston tryout on 11 January 1941 as a box-office success: in the first week, the show had grossed \$26,000 with the 1,643-seat Colonial Theatre “limited only by standee regulations,” and the second week topped the first with a \$27,000 gross and even more standees.<sup>73</sup> With the shaping and editing that took place in Boston after experiencing the work in its penultimate form, the third phase of collaboration concluded. It also all but ended the work’s genesis, which had required nearly fourteen months of Hart’s, Weill’s, and Gershwin’s professional lives. Based on the positive notices and standing-room-only audiences in Boston, at the end of the run the directors and collaborators froze the production for its New York opening, which had been scheduled for 16 January 1941, with just a five-day turnaround after Boston. The creators would continue to tweak it for publications, recasting, and tours, but henceforth the musical play’s idiosyncratic identity would not be substantively altered.

## II. On Broadway and Tour

Despite *Lady in the Dark*’s successful tryout, Harris had no guarantee that it would be a hit in New York. Part of the challenge with marketing *Lady in the Dark* was that its experimental structure as a musical play did not fit any of Broadway’s norms in 1940: musical comedy, operetta, and revue were the expected generic labels. Harris treated the production primarily as a star vehicle, with Gertrude Lawrence’s name and photograph featured prominently on the poster and playbill. For newspaper ad copy, he highlighted her name in a larger point size than the work’s title. Such calculated decisions suggest that the producer was attempting to capitalize on her celebrity as a Broadway star and to downplay both the work’s psychoanalytic subject matter and its experimental form. Harris’s publicists, John Peter Toohey and Ben Kornzweig, had done their best to keep *Lady in the Dark* in the news while the production was in Boston. The day after the opening there, they had issued a press release stating that two songs had halted the proceedings “within five minutes of each other.” Four days later, they announced that *Lady in the Dark* “calls on the services of 115 people,” including “sixty members of Equity in the cast, thirty-five stagehands, and twenty musicians.”<sup>74</sup>

By mid-January an outbreak of influenza put *Lady in the Dark* in the headlines. Lawrence had come down with the flu on 15 January, and because she had no understudy, the opening had to be pushed back a week to Thursday, the 23rd.<sup>75</sup> Harris scheduled three benefit performances to get the cast back in shape: Monday for the Manhattan School of Music, Tuesday for the New Yorkers’ League for Volunteer Relief, and Wednesday for the United Neighborhood Houses of New York. The postponement cost Harris about \$6,000, with chorus members, union musicians, and stage crew paid, but principals agreeing to waive payment because the contracted fifth week of rehearsals had not been used.

Because of *Lady in the Dark*’s unusual beginning, with no overture at the top of the evening to accommodate seating of latecomers, the producer took the unusual step of notifying ticket holders to be in the theater for the 8:30 P.M. curtain and warning that there would be no seating during the dramatic first scene. Because many drama critics would have to leave the opening early in order to make their morning deadlines and with an unexpected plot twist occurring during the closing moments of the play, Harris had gone to the extraordinary expense of flying critics for the *New York Times*, *New York Herald Tribune*, and *Daily Mirror* to Boston to see the tryout.<sup>76</sup> Such expenditures ensured that no latecomers would spoil *Lady*



in the *Dark*'s first scene and that the most influential critics would not fail to experience the drama's *dénouement*.

The drama critics for Manhattan's nine daily newspapers were more rigorous in their critiques of *Lady in the Dark* than their Boston counterparts had been.<sup>77</sup> All the New York critics were bowled over by its production values, Lawrence's star turn, and Kaye's performance of "Tschaikowsky"; however, five of them expressed reservations about Hart's play. The reviewer for the *Herald Tribune* felt that the play's "emotional power is by no means overwhelming and its propaganda for the soul-curing virtues of psycho-analysis is rather on the primitive side." Despite the pruning of the script in Boston, the *Journal-American*'s critic still found it "wearisomely long" and wrote, "The plot is dragged heavily to earth and reality by the clinical details of mental healing and becomes tiresome." The critics from *PM*, the *World-Telegram*, and the *New York Post* provided the most pointed critiques, calling Hart's play "superficial, somewhat clumsily written, and utterly uninspired in plot," "repetitious and dull," and pretentious in "its present sorrowfully unabridged form," respectively. Despite these critics' reservations, they all concurred that the production values made up for the play's weaknesses. As the *Post*'s John Mason Brown put it, "Lady in the Dark' boasts virtues as a production which are as difficult to overestimate, as it is hard to underestimate the seriousness with which it deserves to be taken as a literary drama."

In contrast, the critics roundly praised Weill's and Gershwin's contributions. Brooks Atkinson, the *Times*'s chief drama critic, claimed that *Lady in the Dark* included "the finest score written for the theatre in years," which is "a homogenous piece of work, breaking out into song numbers over a mood of dark evocation." He found the lyrics "brilliant," "uproariously witty when the time is right," and in "impeccable taste for the meditative sequences." Other critics concurred with Atkinson's assessment: "Mr. Weill's score seemed to me to contain some of his best music subtly integrated to emphasize and expand the play's meaning" (John Anderson, *Journal-American*); "Mr. Hart's tale . . . is accompanied by the wittiest, most beguiling score Mr. Weill has yet written" (John Mason Brown, *Post*); and "Always Mr. Gershwin's lyrics have been a delight, and one of the things wrong with the theater of late has been the absence of songs with his words accompanying them. In writing the lyrics for the dream sequences of the new work he was faced with a task that must have been particularly difficult, and he has come through with great success, keeping handsomely to the mood of fantasy and remaining bright and witty" (Richard Watts Jr., *Herald Tribune*).

Reviewers tripped over one another with superlatives in praise of Lawrence's performance as a one-woman *tour de force*. Louis Kronenberger, in his review for *PM*, observed: "As for the acting, probably no one else but Miss Lawrence could fill the title role. She handles its serious side deftly, and in her dream sequences gets youthfully back to the kind of singing and dancing that made her original reputation." In the *Post* Brown extolled, "In spite of the miracle of its staging, *Lady in the Dark* is in the last analysis the most elaborate one-woman show ever to be presented. . . . Make no mistake about it, Miss Lawrence is at her best, and a matchless best it is, in *Lady in the Dark*." Richard Watts went a step further, "*Lady in the Dark* demonstrates with fine conclusiveness that Miss Gertrude Lawrence is the greatest feminine performer in the theater." Brooks Atkinson was the most effusive of all: "As for Gertrude Lawrence, she is a goddess: that's all."

With the production successfully launched, attention turned to promoting it. In fact, two days before the rescheduled opening night, Chappell had already issued sheet music arrangements for piano and voice (Ae) of four of *Lady in the Dark*'s songs that the publisher had initially considered marketable: "Girl of the Moment," "My Ship," "One Life to Live," and "This Is New." These arrangements with chord abbreviations for ukulele and banjo, as well as guitar symbols, were received by the Library of Congress on 21 January. (The first printing of the original four songs listed five numbers on the cover, including "The Princess of Pure Delight." Although Chappell engraved "The Princess of Pure Delight" with a con-

secutive plate number, it did not release that song until three weeks later.) Predictably, the versions of these four songs published in sheet music format differed considerably from what was being performed at the Alvin Theatre. For example, the sheet music version of "My Ship" included a four-measure introduction by Weill, which is preserved in a holograph ink draft of that song, as well as first and second endings, the latter of which was labeled "as done on the stage." Similarly, "Girl of the Moment," "One Life to Live," and "This Is New" have four-measure introductions, and first and second endings.

After the success of the two eleven o'clock numbers in Boston and the favorable New York reviews, Chappell released "Jenny" on 3 February and "Tschaikowsky (And Other Russians)" along with "The Princess of Pure Delight" on 14 February. "Jenny" omitted the section in the verse for chorus ("Who's Jenny? / Never heard of Jenny!," etc.), because Chappell marketed its sheet music predominantly to vocal soloists. In a similar vein, the sheet music for "One Life to Live" did not include the second refrain, which Beekman and Liza had shared before their dance. The sheet music version of "Tschaikowsky" differs most radically from what was being performed on stage. Chappell added a subtitle "(And Other Russians)," possibly to avoid the potential confusion of music stores stocking a piece by one composer whose title was the name of another. In addition, Weill and Gershwin added a nine-measure verse to give the patter song a context outside the theater ("Without the least excuse / Or the slightest provocation, / May I fondly introduce, / For your mental delectation, / The names that always give my brain concussion, / The names of those composers known as Russian").

Despite Chappell's investment in engraving seven songs from *Lady in the Dark*, few could be heard on the air, which seriously compromised sales and hampered promotion of the Broadway production. In defiance of ASCAP's increase in fees for radio performance, radio station owners and executives boycotted ASCAP's catalog and founded a new performing-rights organization, Broadcast Music Incorporated (BMI). The situation had come to a head just before *Lady in the Dark* began its tryout in Boston, when the U.S. Department of Justice announced that it was adding the National Association of Broadcasters, BMI, NBC, and CBS to the defendants in a criminal antitrust action.<sup>78</sup> *Lady in the Dark*'s music, therefore, could be played only on independent radio stations. On 11 April, Weill wrote to Gershwin, "Max Dreyfus [president of Chappell] showed me a weekly statement about the sale of sheet music . . . some weeks ago. Jenny was at the top of the list, with 350 copies (which is, according to Max, equivalent to about 4000 copies if we would be on the air). Next on the list was 'My Ship.' . . . All the small independant [*sic*] stations are playing 'My Ship' and 'Jenny' all day long and there is no doubt that both songs would be on the Hit Parade when as and if."<sup>79</sup> The lifting of the ASCAP ban did not occur until the end of October 1941—too late to make significant impact on sales for a show then well into its second season.

By then the collaborators had turned their attention to publishing their respective contributions to the musical play as "complete" entities. Just as they worked relatively independently while collaborating, Hart neither consulted Weill and Gershwin about the version of the text of *Lady in the Dark* to authorize for publication nor attempted to make the edition of his play compatible with their piano-vocal score. While Hart seized the opportunity to present an unabridged version of his play, Weill and Gershwin accepted some of the cuts that had been made in the original production while rejecting others. These decisions may reflect the varied critical reception that each had received. Hart appears to have rejected critics' complaints about the excessive length of his play; he opted to publish it "complete," unaltered by the lessons learned in rehearsal and performance. Buoyed by critics' favorable assessments of their contributions, Weill and Gershwin edited the work's core musical elements (the three dream sequences and "My Ship") with a view toward a collector's, rather than a performer's, edition of their piano-vocal score, presumably because the publication of seven songs in sheet music format had already addressed the needs of most singers. Although the three collaborators took opposite

approaches in terms of completeness, both publications were clearly intended more for the reading theatergoer than for the thespian, more for documentation of the past than as blueprints for future productions.

Hart's editor and cofounder of Random House, Bennett Cerf, spared little expense in producing a handsome edition of *Lady in the Dark* (Tp1). Cerf had published all of Kaufman and Hart's plays since their first effort, *Once in a Lifetime*, and later issued an omnibus collection of six of their plays.<sup>80</sup> Random House registered *Lady in the Dark: A Musical Play* for copyright "following publication" on 23 April 1941. The volume's striking design featured a blue-and-red dust jacket, with the rave review from *Variety* reprinted on the back cover. The flyleaf included pull quotes from the *New York Times* and *Herald-Tribune* reviews, as well as one from Leonard Lyons's column in the *Post* ("If *Lady in the Dark* doesn't win the Pulitzer Prize, then the members of the prize committee should consult a psychoanalyst"). The two-color design for the dust jacket was extrapolated to the text itself: the so-called King James "Red Letter Edition" printing differentiated Hart's play (in black ink) from Gershwin's lyrics (in red). The volume included a single black-and-white production still and a listing of the original cast, scenes, and musical numbers. Hart dedicated the play "To L. S. K.," and the volume began with an eight-page preface signed by "Dr. Brooks." After much speculation, John Anderson of the *Journal-American* disclosed on 27 May that Hart's psychiatrist, Lawrence S. Kubie, had written it. One month after Random House's release of *Lady in the Dark*, the Trade Book Clinic of the American Institute of Graphic Arts named it one of its titles for June 1941 that "best coordinate imaginative or purposeful design with sound production."<sup>81</sup>

Rather than transmitting the version of *Lady in the Dark* that was still in its first season at the Alvin, Random House essentially published the typescript book and lyrics that had been distributed to the cast prior to rehearsals. The vast majority of changes and excisions that had been made during rehearsals and the tryout were not included. Even the changes that had inarguably strengthened the book (such as cutting Kendall Nesbitt's entrance in Act II.iii) were not incorporated. In contrast, the edition did omit Gershwin's lyrics for "It's Never Too Late to Mendelssohn" (Wedding Dream) and "Bats About You" (Childhood Sequence), which had been cut in production. One of the publisher's copy-editors lightly revised Hart's punctuation and placement of stage directions, but, save for these types of changes, Random House published *Lady in the Dark* as Hart had written it rather than how Hart as a director had cut the play down to a manageable size and fine-tuned it for theatrical production.

In contrast, Weill and Gershwin apparently assessed changes to *Lady in the Dark*'s score in the course of production on a case-by-case basis. They incorporated into the published piano-vocal score some that they must have regarded as improvements: Weill's recomposed beginnings of both the Glamour and the Wedding Dream; the use of solo voices for the middle section of "Oh Fabulous One"; the shortened reprise of that number; and the second refrain of "One Life to Live." In the Wedding Dream, Weill and Gershwin adopted the revised transition from "The Princess of Pure Delight" to "This Woman at the Altar" and the excision of "It's Never Too Late to Mendelssohn"; in the Circus Dream they included the "Dance of the Tumblers."

However, they rejected other changes. They retained the original keys of those numbers that had been transposed for particular actors' vocal ranges ("One Life to Live" and "The Best Years of His Life"), as well as most vocal passages that had been cut to accommodate actors' vocal limitations (e.g., the verse to "This Is New"). They eliminated expansions of numbers for dance breaks ("This Is New") or for costume changes (the extended rhumba finale of "Girl of the Moment").<sup>82</sup> They reinstated all the cuts that had been made to match the timing of the turntables and omitted the small repetitions that had been necessary to cover stage movement. On the other hand, they did not restore two sections in the Glamour Dream that had been cut before or during rehearsals (Appendix A1 and A2, respectively) yet opted to keep mm. 656–680, although these, too, had been cut early in rehearsal. Unfortunately, little can be said about the treat-

ment of the largest cut in that dream (mm. 468–559), as it may have been introduced after Ve had been published (late April) or the first dream engraved (late February).<sup>83</sup>

Conversely, Weill and Gershwin took the opportunity to revise or reconsider some other aspects of the score. Gershwin completed the lyrics for the second stanza of "One Life to Live," which on stage had been a dance break for Liza and Beekman. He also rewrote the second half of the fifth stanza of "The Saga of Jenny" by changing "So she wrote 'em and she published all her loves and her hates / And had libel suits in forty of the forty-eight states" to "The very day her book was published hist'ry relates / There were wives who shot their husbands in some thirty-three states." In both cases, these new lyrics represent post-production revisions that were not (and would not become) part of the original production. Gershwin and Weill must have simply considered them to be "improvements." At Chappell, Weill interacted closely with the piano-vocal score's editor, Albert Sirmay, who had edited dozens of piano-vocal scores (including *Porgy and Bess*) and was serving as George Gershwin's musical executor. Weill revised many of the tempo marks for the piano-vocal score (Ve) and added metronome marks that probably reflected the experience in the theater.

Rather than creating a piano-vocal score that could be used for future productions of *Lady in the Dark*, Sirmay and Weill chose to omit some essentials for performance of the musical play: End of Act I, Entr'acte, End of Play, and Exit Music; instrumental cuing; and the entire Childhood Sequence, save for "My Ship." Because piano-vocal scores were not yet a standard on Broadway (except for successful operettas), Gershwin and Weill had decided to publish a version of *Lady in the Dark* that could be sold as a memento to theatergoers who might enjoy playing and singing through the bulk of the score at home. They planned to issue a deluxe edition in full-leather binding for \$12.50, in keeping with the souvenir function of the publication. The specifics of the publication closely mirrored those that Sirmay and the Gershwin brothers had employed for *Porgy and Bess*: a limited print-run of 300 copies published by Random House, of which only 250 would be offered to the public. The collaborators and the show's star were to sign each one personally. Ira spent hours signing the insert sheets, but stopped when Bennett Cerf's business partner at Random House telegraphed, "GERTRUDE LAWRENCE REFUSES TO SIGN."<sup>84</sup> Years later Gershwin learned that Lawrence had refused because she was unhappy that a recording of *Lady in the Dark*'s songs by chanteuse Hildegard on Decca had been released prior to hers on Victor.

It would seem that the no longer extant holograph piano-vocal score (Vh) served as a printer's copy for Chappell's piano-vocal score (Ve), which went into production shortly after *Lady in the Dark* had opened. Weill wrote Gershwin on 20 February 1941: "The piano score is progressing slowly but steadily. I am just reading proof of the first 20 pages. The whole first dream will be printed at the end of this week and will be sent to you sometime next week."<sup>85</sup> Two weeks later he updated Gershwin: "The piano score is just finished printing and I am reading the proofs of the first dream. . . . Moss will write a preface to the piano score. He asked me if I would rather have a musician write the preface, but I think it is better when he writes it and explains what we have tried to do."<sup>86</sup> A month later, Weill updated Gershwin on the score's progress: "You have done very nicely with the proofs for the piano score and we all appreciate the speed of your work. Sirmay [*sic*] thought it was not necessary to send you back the third proof because we all checked the words with the original manuscript of the lyrics. I've read the final proofs yesterday, and in about 10 days the score will be ready."<sup>87</sup>

Although *Lady in the Dark* was a smash success during its first season, with standees at each of the 162 performances and an average weekly gross of \$31,500, it shut down for a summer hiatus on 15 June 1941.<sup>88</sup> During his negotiations with Lawrence, Harris had consented to closing the production for the summer. The scheduled eleven-week hiatus (and Harris's untimely death on 5 June) created some unexpected consequences for both the production and the work itself. All four leading male actors decided to

leave. Victor Mature (Randy Curtis) announced that he would be returning to Hollywood; Paramount Pictures signed Macdonald Carey (Charley Johnson) to a deal; Danny Kaye (Russell Paxton) jumped ship in late June for a leading role in the new Cole Porter musical, *Let's Face It*; Bert Lytell (Kendall Nesbitt), president of Actor's Equity, withdrew in late July to devote himself to Camp Shows, Inc., an organization devoted to producing professional entertainment at army and navy bases. Because *Lady in the Dark's* summer break was an unpaid one, the production lost some of the Local 802 musicians who had been reading the heavily annotated parts (Im1), the 35-member stage crew who had been running the complicated stage set, and some chorus members and dancers. Most critically, advance sales all but vanished. *Variety* reported that the hiatus had cost the production \$15,000 in actual expenses.

As both codirector and now coproducer with the Sam H. Harris office, Hart was faced with recasting the male leads. By the end of June, Willard Parker had signed to play Randy Curtis. The six-foot-four actor had appeared in Elmer Harris's play *Johnny Belinda* the previous season and certainly looked the part of a Hollywood star. At the end of June, Hart persuaded Walter Coy to play Charley Johnson. The actor's credits with the Group Theatre had included Maxwell Anderson's *Night over Taos*, and Clifford Odets's *Waiting for Lefty*, *Till the Day I Die*, and *Paradise Lost*. (Hart thus perpetuated casting a dramatic actor in the role of Liza's unlikely love interest.) On 4 July the *New York Times* reported that Rex O'Malley would take over Kaye's role as Russell Paxton. O'Malley had previously replaced John Hoysradt in the role of Beverly Carton (a thinly disguised caricature of Noël Coward) in Kaufman and Hart's *The Man Who Came to Dinner*, whose closing had been announced for 12 July. Weill confided to Gershwin on 14 August, "I hope he will be alright," to which Gershwin replied: "Regarding Rex O'Malley [*sic*] I'm inclined to agree with you that his performance may be criticized. Obviously he is too lady-like for the lady-like character and may make the character far too realistic. However my fingers are crossed and I'm hoping for the best as I'm sure are you and Moss."<sup>89</sup> For the role of Kendall Nesbitt, Hart cast Paul McGrath, who had played opposite Lawrence in *Susan and God*, with the expectation that he would provide the necessary chemistry between Liza and Kendall.

The consequences of the summer recess extended to the work itself. Parker had been typecast for his appearance rather than his vocal ability. As Weill briefed Gershwin on 28 May, "He is quite good, but he cannot sing and we have to give 'She gave him her heart . . .' either to Danny [i.e., Kaye, who had not yet resigned] or to the chorus." Lawrence requested that Weill and Gershwin replace "One Life to Live" with a number that would have the same effect as "The Saga of Jenny." Although Weill initially dismissed her request, he eventually saw some merit in it, as he wrote to Gershwin in the same letter: "I wouldn't mind writing a new song for this spot because, since we cut 'Girl of the Moment' [mm. 468–559], the first dream would be awfully thin without a song in this spot."<sup>90</sup> Gershwin balked at the prospect of writing a new song long-distance and replied on 16 June: "Am sure she cannot do any better with any song in the spot because she is on so much in the scene [Act I.i]. Let's forget it for the time being."<sup>91</sup> Lawrence did not forget about it, and as late as 9 September, Weill was still trying to convince Gershwin to collaborate on a new song or at least to recycle "Bats About You" with a new lyric.<sup>92</sup> The lyricist flatly refused, writing on 29 September, "Of all the thankless jobs in show business the worst is to be asked to write a new song for a hit which is in its second season."<sup>93</sup> Lawrence eventually abandoned the demand but held a grudge against Gershwin, even snubbing him a year and a half later when *Lady in the Dark* played in Los Angeles.<sup>94</sup>

With *Lady in the Dark's* orchestra disbanded for the summer, copyist Jack Kantor prepared a duplicate of Weill's full score (Fm) while consulting at least some of the original orchestral parts (Im1). Kantor omitted cut passages, notated *tacet* markings as rests, and transposed "One Life to Live" and "The Best Years of His Life" to the keys in which they had actually been sung. As in Weill's holograph, Kantor's copy omitted the vocal parts. This new full score transmitted how *Lady in the Dark* had been performed

during its successful first season; it thus could be used for rehearsal purposes for the second season.<sup>95</sup>

Weill used the summer break to compose a new entr'acte, although he regularly titled such second-act curtain raisers "Ouvertures." For the entr'actes that had been played during the Boston tryout and first New York season, Weill had taken three pages of his orchestral score (Fh) to specify which numbers should be copied and then provided transitional measures in pencil that would introduce, bridge, or conclude various sections (see Plates 13–15). Copyist John Costa Coll, who had accompanied the production to Boston, wrote out the sets of parts. The earliest version of the entr'acte (159 measures) appears to have been used only for the tryout, whereas the second version (116 measures), whose parts show considerable wear, was used for the first season; it may have been created both to shave a few minutes off the running time and to salvage the foxtrot version of "Girl of the Moment" from the *Glamour Dream*. Despite the presence of a second-act curtain raiser in the production, no entr'acte had been listed in the Boston program (N1) or the first season's weekly playbills (N2). For the third version of an entr'acte (176 measures), which Weill again titled "Overture" but parenthetically added "(before 2nd Act)," he utilized music from five songs with an introduction that juxtaposed the bolero music from the *Wedding Dream* with the leitmotif of "My Ship." On 14 August, Weill wrote Madeleine Milhaud: "'Lady in the Dark' re-opens Sept. 1st. I have written a new overture, just for fun."<sup>96</sup> When Weill introduced the third entr'acte to the production, he cut the section devoted to "One Life to Live" (mm. 48–84), perhaps in deference to Lawrence's displeasure over the number. This third entr'acte was listed in all the second season's playbills after the first two weeks (N3).

Late that spring or summer, Weill also decided to have his holograph full score (Fh) bound. The omission of the new entr'acte from the volume suggests that Weill had his full score bound prior to its composition in early August. Before handing over his score to the bookbinder, Weill appended a handwritten title page, "Kurt Weill / 'Lady in the Dark' / Complete Orchestral Score / (Original Manuscript of the composer)."<sup>97</sup> The bookbinder cut all the bifolia of Weill's score paper into single leaves before binding it between black covers. Weill chose to include the section of "One Life to Live" and "Bats About You" that Ted Royal had orchestrated (without credit), but the bound score does not include the Exit Music as such (a section of that music may have been the work of an arranger; see Critical Report).

In anticipation of the fall reopening and in an attempt to recapture an audience, the Alvin Theatre box office respectively remained open two weeks past the production's 15 June closing and then reopened on 4 August. Nevertheless, advance sales amounted to a very disappointing \$10,473. On 21 August, while Lawrence was still performing in summer stock at the Cape Playhouse, Hart began rehearsing the four new male principals at the Music Box Theatre with Lawrence's stand-in, Ann Lee, while stage manager John Kennedy rehearsed the new stage crew over at the Alvin.<sup>98</sup> The following week, Lawrence returned, and full-cast rehearsals began in earnest. By Thursday, Hart was clashing with O'Malley over how the role of Russell Paxton should be played. Weill described the fallout to Gershwin: "Rex O'Malley was completely wrong. We tried everything to get him right, but he was just impossible. Finally, three days before the opening, we had to tell him that he couldn't do it. He was rather nice about it, but he had a run-of-the-play contract and we had to pay him, as a settlement, 10 weeks' salary."<sup>99</sup> With the re-opening scheduled for Tuesday, 2 September, Hart hastily convinced a member of the chorus, Eric Brotherson, to step into the role. As a dress rehearsal, the cast gave an extra benefit performance for the Stage Relief Fund on Labor Day (Monday, 1 September). Hart invited drama critics to review the production again at its official reopening on Tuesday evening. The early-season reopening was no doubt a calculated decision, because it secured *Lady in the Dark* the distinction of being the first event of the 1941–42 season.

Of the nine metropolitan drama critics who had reviewed *Lady in the Dark's* opening in January, seven were back to critique its reopening.<sup>100</sup>

Most focused their attention on the new male leads. Brooks Atkinson reported: "It would be handsome to say that the new members of the cast equal their predecessors, or even improve upon excellence. But that would not be quite the truth. Not much has gone, but in all honesty something has." John Anderson disagreed, calling Paul McGrath "excellent in the part on which Mr. Lytell wasted his talents." Robert Coleman singled out Eric Brotherson and reported, "First-nighters called him forth for a special bow." The *World-Telegram's* new drama editor, Frank Farrell, found that Willard Parker's "pronounced masculinity detracts slightly from the over-polished presence Mr. Mature had," although Louis Kronenberger came to the opposite conclusion, "Willard Parker . . . should cause no one to sigh for Victor Mature." Richard Lockridge conceded that, with the four new leading men, "All differences are minor."

Those critics who had not been fans of Hart's play were even harsher the second time around with John Mason Brown claiming, "It was much too long when it opened last January, and since then it certainly has not grown shorter." Anderson agreed: "The show seemed even longer on second seeing than it did at first." Kronenberger also lambasted the play: "The serious parts of *Lady in the Dark* still strike me as fudge, and very slow-boiling fudge at that." Both Anderson and Brown, in contrast, deemed Weill's score even better on rehearsing. In an expanded Sunday feature, Atkinson went so far as to proclaim Weill "the best writer of theater music in the country."<sup>101</sup> Whatever their reservations, critics still tripped over one another when it came to lauding Lawrence's portrayal of Liza Elliott. Burns Mantle praised her as still the musical play's "best attraction," and Brown sagely concluded, "In the last analysis she is what matters most."

Having lost momentum during its eleven-week summer break, *Lady in the Dark* began the second season slowly at the box office. By the second week, business had begun to pick up, and Weill was able to report on 9 September that there had been a line at the box office all day, and the evening's gross had been \$4,000 (a sold-out house without standees).<sup>102</sup> By the beginning of October, *Lady in the Dark* had regained its position as the top grossing show on Broadway and was once again playing to standees. There was concern among the collaborators that when Cole Porter's musical *Let's Face It* opened on 29 October it might cut into *Lady in the Dark's* ticket sales. *Let's Face It* featured two interpolated numbers by Sylvia Fine for Danny Kaye, one a patter number rather similar to "Tchaikowsky," titled "Melody in Four F." Two weeks after *Let's Face It* opened, Weill relayed to Gershwin: "*Lady* is doing wonderful business. The success of *Let's Face It* didn't hurt us at all. . . . Everyone seems to think we might be able to stay at the Alvin the better part of the season, if not the entire season."<sup>103</sup> For the remainder of the fall, standing-room-only audiences left patrons waiting in the Alvin's lobby hoping to secure any unclaimed seats.

During this period, Gertrude Lawrence's efforts for British War Relief had kept her and *Lady in the Dark* constantly in the daily news, which undoubtedly helped ticket sales. The Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor on 7 December and subsequent declaration of war gave another unexpected boost in publicity to *Lady in the Dark*, because the Alvin became the first theater to offer defense bonds and stamps in lieu of change at the box office.<sup>104</sup> The tenor of *Lady in the Dark's* playbills changed with the addition of a full page of emergency instructions in case of air-raid warnings. On 23 January 1942, *Lady in the Dark* celebrated its first anniversary on Broadway, although it had yet to earn a full year's worth of performances. To mark the occasion, Lawrence gave away defense bonds to audience members whose names had been selected by lot.<sup>105</sup> The concession stand in the lobby of the Alvin began to sell copies of the book *America Goes to War* in addition to *Lady in the Dark's* souvenir program and sheet music. On 12 March, the cast performed for the official opening of the Stage Door Canteen. Brooks Atkinson reported, "Gertrude Lawrence and the *Lady in the Dark* company christened the canteen with an hour's performance of bits from the show, including the immortal 'Jenny,' which will probably turn out to be the theme song of the United States forces."<sup>106</sup>

By March *Lady in the Dark's* business had begun to fall off as the entire theater district was feeling the effects of the war. With military camps springing up around New York, gasoline rationing, and automobile tires difficult to replace, the theater community tried to adapt to the radically changed circumstances. On 8 March 1942, the Sam Harris office and Moss Hart posted a closing notice, which announced that the show would close on 25 April after a run of 422 performances—six more than a full year's run.<sup>107</sup> There would be a five-week tour (two weeks in Washington, D.C., followed by three in Philadelphia) before Lawrence's contractual obligation ended on 1 June. But on 18 March, the producers canceled the spring tour because of the capital's child labor laws, which would have prevented the children in the cast from appearing. Then, in response to increased sales at the box office, the producers rescinded the closing date.<sup>108</sup> They announced that the musical play would run indefinitely, at least until Lawrence's summer vacation, and postponed any touring until the 1942–43 season. *Lady in the Dark* closed on 30 May 1942 after a second season of 300 performances, for a total run of 462 performances. It had played on Broadway a total of fifty-eight nonconsecutive weeks, of which thirty-two had been at absolute capacity with standees. Lawrence had been the Lady for all of them.<sup>109</sup>

Planning for *Lady in the Dark's* national tour began in earnest once audiences in New York had begun to drop off during the second season. On 9 March 1942, Hart and Lawrence signed a letter of agreement for 1942, which gave her the possibility of taking off an entire week for both Christmas and Holy Week during the third season.<sup>110</sup> Because of *Lady in the Dark's* complicated setup at each stop on the tour, one-nighters and split weeks would be impossible. The producers chose theaters in key cities based primarily on whether they possessed a stage large enough to accommodate Harry Horner's complicated set design with its four turntables. The tour itinerary ended up with eight cities: Philadelphia, Baltimore, Pittsburgh, Cleveland, Detroit, Cincinnati, St. Louis, and Chicago. Transporting a production as large as *Lady in the Dark's* during wartime presented challenges. Baggage/freight cars were scarce, and the show's set, properties, and costumes required no fewer than seven cars.

With the production warehoused, the producing staff spent the summer of 1942 finalizing arrangements for the tour. Because *Lady in the Dark* would tour with only the principal orchestral players, union musicians had to be contracted in each city. This may account for copyists Jack Kantor and Adele Combattente's preparation of a new set of orchestral parts (**Im2**). At some point, to make sure that no pages of orchestral parts were misplaced, each player received a black music folder with the name of the show, creative team, and instrument(s) in gold-stamped letters. *Lady in the Dark* also made some casting changes for the tour. In addition to Lawrence, continuing members included Jeanne Shelby (Miss Bowers), Gedda Petry (Miss Foster), Margaret Dale (Maggie Grant), Eric Brotherson (Russell Paxton), and Willard Parker (Randy Curtis). Ann Lee, who had played Miss Stevens since the Boston tryout, stepped into the role of Alison Du Bois. Richard Hale took over as Dr. Brooks, Hugh Marlowe as Charley Johnson, and John Leslie as Kendall Nesbitt. The directors auditioned new chorus and dance corps members on 10 August, and rehearsals began in September.<sup>111</sup>

During the tour, *Lady in the Dark* played in theaters with a larger seating capacity than the Alvin. Although the production tended to gross larger amounts on tour than it had on Broadway, its profit margin was much slimmer, because of the high cost of transporting a production as large as *Lady in the Dark* with a cast of fifty-two, fifteen stagehands, a musical director, principal orchestral players, and other staff members. In addition, a number of union musicians and stagehands had to be hired and rehearsed in each city. There was only a small margin for profit: the weekly payroll totaled almost \$10,000; Lawrence drew a \$2,000 weekly salary plus 15 percent of the gross exceeding \$10,000; 13.5 percent of the weekly gross had to be divided among Hart, Weill, Gershwin, and Short.<sup>112</sup>

The tour concluded with an open-ended run at Chicago's Civic Opera House. Whereas seating capacity had ranged between 1,400 and 2,500 in the tour's previous seven theaters, the acoustic challenges of the mammoth

3,600-seat auditorium in Chicago proved to be nearly insurmountable for the cast, who found themselves screaming their lungs out to be heard unamplified. The Opera House's stage was so large that Lawrence joked, "We could comfortably have housed a cricket match and a baseball game, as well as *Lady in the Dark*."<sup>113</sup> Despite the challenges that the Opera House presented in terms of its physical size, the number of seats enabled the producers to collect a financial jackpot. During its five-week Chicago run, *Lady in the Dark* grossed \$245,923. The 160-performance tour managed to finish with a profit of \$59,000—\$46,000 of which had been earned in Chicago.<sup>114</sup>

For *Lady in the Dark*'s Broadway reengagement, the Sam Harris office and Hart secured the Broadway Theatre, which had been used as a cinema since the mid-1930s, but in 1942 had reverted back to live attractions. In an effort to recruit an audience to fill the theater's 1,752 seats for a musical play that had already played two seasons, the producers offered *Lady in the Dark* at reduced prices: \$2.75 for all evening performances except Saturdays, when the price rose to \$3.30 (the top price at the Alvin had been \$4.40). Matinee prices dropped from the original \$2.75 to \$2.20. The week between the Chicago closing on Saturday, 20 February and the New York reopening on Saturday, 27 February 1943 allowed the cast a brief respite and the crew time to touch up the sets. Despite *Lady in the Dark*'s "triumphant return" (as it was advertised), the critics were once again divided.<sup>115</sup> They could not agree whether the production was "as good as it ever was" (the *Sun*'s Ward Morehouse) or "not the delight that it once was" (the *Herald Tribune*'s Howard Barnes). Burns Mantle of the *Daily News* grumbled that the first act still needed shortening by twenty minutes, although the *Times*'s Lewis Nichols effused that *Lady in the Dark* would be able to run at popular prices "until the next century or the end of the world, whichever is sooner." As it turned out, the production eked out twelve weeks and eighty-three performances. Although it averaged a weekly gross of \$26,000, it turned little profit. Operating costs and royalties were about all that could be covered by bargain ticket prices.

On 15 March, Edwin Lester, founding general manager of the Los Angeles Civic Light Opera Association, offered to bring *Lady in the Dark* to California. He proposed that the production wind up its New York reengagement on 15 May and then play four weeks in San Francisco and two weeks in Los Angeles. The producers accepted Lester's proposal, and the show opened at San Francisco's Curran Theatre on 24 May to stellar reviews. Soon, offers to extend this second tour began to pour in: to the Pacific Northwest (theaters in Seattle and Portland had both expressed interest) or back to San Francisco after the Los Angeles engagement. Because both weeks in Los Angeles had already sold out, the Light Opera Association offered to extend the engagement to a third week. After considering all the offers, Lawrence consented to playing an additional week in Los Angeles, where *Lady in the Dark* opened on 22 June, again to favorable reviews.<sup>116</sup>

Despite its box-office success on the West Coast, *Lady in the Dark* disbanded in Los Angeles, having played a total of 777 performances: 16 in Boston previews, 462 in its initial Broadway run at the Alvin Theatre, 160 during the eight-city tour, 83 at the return engagement at the Broadway Theatre, and 56 on the West Coast tour. Its gross during its first two seasons had been \$1,833,975.75; the third season reached \$964,068.76. In addition, Paramount Pictures had purchased film rights for a record \$285,000.<sup>117</sup> The production provided Gertrude Lawrence with the greatest star vehicle of her career, one that combined her abilities as a *comédienne* with her music-hall training. She was the Lady for all 777 performances. For fellow actors Danny Kaye and Macdonald Carey, *Lady in the Dark* gave them the proverbial "big break" for their respective careers. The work had also given each of the creators a creative breakthrough: for Hart, *Lady in the Dark* signaled his creative independence from his long-time collaborator, George S. Kaufman; for Gershwin, his successful return to lyric writing and the Broadway stage three years after his brother George's death; and for Weill, his first mainstream commercial success in America, a bona fide Broadway hit.

### III. Revivals and Adaptations during Weill's Lifetime

The critical and financial success of the stage production of *Lady in the Dark* encouraged adaptation for and exploitation by celluloid and radio media during the 1940s. It also enjoyed scattered performances by high school, college, and community theater troupes, as well as professional productions by summer stock theaters. None, however, came close to rivaling the critical and commercial success of the original production. Those that were financially successful, such as the 1944 Paramount Pictures film, were artistically disappointing. Those that captured some of the magic of the original, such as Lawrence's radio broadcasts, were, unfortunately, incomplete.

*Lady in the Dark* perpetuated its cultural currency throughout the 1940s with industry tie-ins. In 1941 Hattie Carnegie advertised and sold in her midtown showroom three of her designs for the title character in the Broadway production. A year later Dorothy Gray released a "Lady in the Dark" perfume line, which was marketed and sold throughout the decade in such upscale department stores as Saks Fifth Avenue and Macy's. During World War II, a C-46 transport and cargo plane based in Guam had "Lady in the Dark" painted in black and red letters on its nose. A P-61 Black Widow that achieved notoriety for scoring the final two kills of the war also had "Lady in the Dark" emblazoned on its nose.

The collaborators actively pursued licensing *Lady in the Dark* for the residual financial benefits it could provide. On 20 February 1941, as just mentioned, they sold the film rights to *Lady in the Dark* for \$285,000—the most that had been paid for a literary or dramatic property since Paramount Pictures shelled out \$300,000 for *Abie's Irish Rose* in 1927.<sup>118</sup> Although Weill and Gershwin had hoped to sell the rights on a cash basis, the sale price was paid in installments because of restrictions regarding the film's release date.<sup>119</sup> After a 3.5 percent negotiator's fee (\$9,975) had been deducted, the contract yielded the traditional 40 percent for the producer (\$110,010 for Harris) and 60 percent for the authors (\$82,507.50 for Hart and \$41,253.75 each for Weill and Gershwin, a 50-25-25 split).

Typical of Hollywood adaptations of Broadway musicals, Paramount commissioned a new screenplay. The husband-and-wife team of Frances Goodrich and Albert Hackett adapted the stage work, but the film's director, Mitchell Leisen, rejected their screenplay. He recalled, "So I went to Moss Hart and got his original prompt copy, and I came back to California and wrote the script to *Lady in the Dark*. . . . The Hacketts got credit but their script was thrown in the wastebasket."<sup>120</sup> Paramount requested a copy of Weill's full score, which the composer provided, as he reported to Gershwin in November 1942: "John Bryant called me and said the coast had requested to ask if I would let them have my original orchestral score [*sic*]. . . . They also asked if there was any additional material in the show which is not contained in the printed [piano-vocal] score. There isn't, as I remember."<sup>121</sup> Although we don't know what he sent, at some point Weill went through his full score (Fh) and revised with a fountain pen certain sections to match the Chappell piano-vocal score (Ve). He excised some passages that were part of the original production but not part of the published score and added or changed some tempo markings in the full score to conform to the Chappell publication. Less than a month later, Paramount commissioned Johnny Burke and Jimmy Van Heusen to compose a replacement song for "This Is New," with Clifford Grey, Victor Schertzinger, and Robert Emmett Dolan also providing music for other sequences in the film. Paramount decided against using Weill's orchestrations and hired Robert Russell Bennett to do new arrangements.

Although budgeted at \$2.3 million, *Lady in the Dark* climbed to \$2.6 million by the end of the three-month shoot, which began on 9 December 1942 and wrapped up on 20 March 1943. The filming was complicated by its use of relatively new color technology. Leisen, who had begun his career as a designer for Cecil B. De Mille, spent lavishly on the costumes, which Raoul Pene du Bois, Edith Head, and Leisen designed. For the circus sequence, Leisen conceived the most expensive costume ever made for a Hollywood film up to that time: a dress of mink, which re-

portedly cost \$30,000. Leisen decided to keep the play component of *Lady in the Dark* mostly intact, with an interpolated scene at a posh nightclub for Liza and Randy's date. Conversely, the dream sequences had to be sacrificed. The Glamour and Wedding Dreams were each cut down to less than five minutes. Only the Circus Dream survived relatively intact. The most serious omission in the film was that Ginger Rogers, who played Liza Elliott, never sang "My Ship." Leisen later claimed that the decision to cut "My Ship" had been executive producer Buddy DeSylva's, not his.<sup>122</sup> It was but one of a string of fatal mistakes in the film adaptation.

Paramount first showed *Lady in the Dark* at the Paramount Hollywood Theater on 9 February 1944. Taking its cue from the advertising campaign for the stage production, Paramount excluded all references to psychoanalysis in the marketing of the film: "The Girl of the Moment . . . with the Loves of the Year . . . in a Picture of a Lifetime." In New York *Lady in the Dark* opened on 22 February at the Paramount Theatre in Times Square. The next day the *New York Times* reported that approximately 23,000 people had paid about \$22,000 to see it for "the biggest opening day in the history of the theatre." The film went on to play for ten weeks at the Paramount Theatre to more than 1,040,750 patrons, which set another record for the eighteen-year-old movie house.<sup>123</sup> Following *Lady in the Dark's* general release on 21 August, its cumulative box office totaled \$4.3 million, the fourth-largest grossing film of 1944. It received Academy Award nominations for color cinematography, art direction (color), and scoring of a musical picture; however, it failed to win any. Although *Lady in the Dark* proved to be Leisen's highest grossing film, it was a harbinger of his decline as a director, capitulating to a tendency to allow the visual to overwhelm the narrative.

On 9 March 1942, the day after the Sam Harris office had posted *Lady in the Dark's* first closing notice, the collaborators and Howard Lindsay, president of the Dramatists Play Service, signed an agreement granting the Play Service the sole right to lease the musical play for amateur production in the English language in the United States, Canada, and Great Britain. The Play Service could retain a commission of 20 percent, with the remaining 80 percent divided equally between Sam H. Harris and Company and the authors, with a 40-30-30 split among Hart, Gershwin, and Weill.<sup>124</sup> The Harris Company retained the right to license professional, or stock, productions. Despite *Lady in the Dark's* formidable casting and scenic requirements and the Herculean demands of the title character, it enjoyed several stagings during the 1940s: amateur productions were mounted at the University of California, Berkeley's Wheeler Auditorium in 1945 and by the University of Utah's Drama Division in 1948, while stock productions hit the boards at Crest Theatre (Long Beach, N.Y.), Chapel Playhouse (Guilford, Conn.), and Sea Cliff Summer Theatre (Long Island, N.Y.) during the summer of 1949.<sup>125</sup>

In the 1940s *Lady in the Dark* was also adapted several times as a radio play. The fall after *Lady in the Dark* had closed, Lawrence hosted a twenty-six-week radio series for Revlon on NBC's Blue Network, "Gertrude Lawrence's Guest House." Accompanied by Lyn Murray's orchestra and Mexican singer Chucho Martinez, Lawrence hosted guests from Broadway and Hollywood in a half-hour variety program, which allowed her to showcase her singing and acting abilities. On the first program on 30 September 1943, Lawrence invited Hart to be a guest, and with Ray Milland (who had played Charley Johnson in the Paramount film), she recreated two scenes from *Lady in the Dark*.<sup>126</sup> Two years later Ginger Rogers and Milland were featured in a one-hour *Lux Radio Theatre* broadcast. Sanford Barnett broke Paramount's screenplay into three acts, and his script omitted all the music *except for* "My Ship," ironically the "lost song" that had gone missing from the Paramount film. With a CBS listening audience of an estimated thirty million, *Lux* broadcast this almost musicless *Lady in the Dark* on 29 January 1945 from Hollywood's Vine Street Theatre.<sup>127</sup>

On 19 October 1947, Lawrence recreated her own portrayal of Liza Elliott for the *Theatre Guild on the Air* program on the ABC Network. The broadcast originated from the stage of the Boston Opera House in front of a live audience, and the supporting cast included Bert Lytell, John Conte,

and Alan Hewitt.<sup>128</sup> In his review for the *New York Times* (26 October), Jack Gould claimed that the broadcast had been "one of the most successful yet offered on the air by the Theatre Guild, particularly because Moss Hart's excessive verbiage was cut down to a palatable quantity." Two days after the broadcast, Lawrence wrote to Weill, "How very sweet of you to wire me. I am so glad that you were pleased with the LADY IN THE DARK Broadcast. Of course I had hoped you would be listening and now I hear that Moss was too, and he got a kick out of it; in fact *everybody* got very sentimental about the whole evening and as you can imagine I was overcome with nostalgia. 'The greatest musical of all time' must have been remarked a thousand times during rehearsals and after the broadcast."<sup>129</sup> The *Theatre Guild on the Air* revived its version of *Lady in the Dark* on 5 March 1950, again with Lawrence in the title role and a supporting cast of Arthur Vinton, James Monks, and Macdonald Carey. The following day, Lawrence reprised her dramatization as part of a fundraising broadcast for the Red Cross originating from the stage of the Belasco Theatre, thereby bringing her total of radio broadcasts of *Lady in the Dark* to four.<sup>130</sup>

Another sign of *Lady in the Dark's* staying power was the influence that the work exerted on Broadway. In 1944 reviewers noted similarities between *Lady in the Dark* and Samson Raphaelson's play *The Perfect Marriage*, which tells the story of a couple married ten years who then decided to get a divorce; but by the end of the evening they realize that they are still in love and stay together. Raphaelson made the wife a successful editor of a women's magazine, a circumstance that critics connected to *Lady in the Dark*; at least one reviewer compared Mariam Hopkins's portrayal to Gertrude Lawrence's.<sup>131</sup> The following year, Elmer Rice's play *Dream Girl* manifested an even greater debt to *Lady in the Dark* with its plot of a young woman who owns an unsuccessful bookstore and whiles away her time daydreaming about different male suitors. In his review for the *New York Times*, Lewis Nichols noted the parallels: "In its basic form, *Dream Girl* is a little like *Lady in the Dark*. There is a scene of reality, and then a scene of the young girl's vision as she imagines herself as a heroine in various circumstances."<sup>132</sup> While *Dream Girl* was still running, Moss Hart's play *Christopher Blake* opened. It followed a twelve-year-old boy who must decide whether he will live with his mother or his father following their divorce. A series of dream sequences depict the boy's unconscious. As Brooks Atkinson noted in his *New York Times* review, "The drama is on two planes—realistic and fantastic, after the manner of *Lady in the Dark*." Harry Horner's set design for *Christopher Blake* recycled the turntables from *Lady in the Dark*, and the drama culminated with a courtroom dream sequence in which Christopher takes the witness stand.<sup>133</sup>

The Paramount film of *Lady in the Dark* exerted an even longer shadow of influence than the stage play had and ushered in a period of therapeutically astute movie psychiatrists with the ability to effect a cathartic cure after the resurrection of a repressed trauma from childhood. Alfred Hitchcock's *Spellbound* (1945) owes much to *Lady in the Dark*, as an imposter and amnesiac played by Gregory Peck both regains his memory and recovers from a childhood trauma suffered while skiing down a mountain slope. Although Salvador Dalí's twenty-minute surrealistic dream sequence lasted less than five in the finished film, Miklós Rózsa's score echoed Robert Russell Bennett's use of the theremin in his orchestration of *Lady in the Dark* for the Paramount film.<sup>134</sup> The following year, *Dark Mirror* (1946) enabled psychiatrist Scott Elliott (Lew Ayres) to ascertain which of the twins (both played by Olivia de Havilland) had committed a murder. Through his use of free association, as well as Rorschach and lie detector tests, Dr. Elliott identifies the guilty twin and then marries the innocent one. Like *Lady in the Dark*, *Dark Mirror* attempted to show how a mental health professional treats his patients clinically and how the mysteries of the unconscious can be decoded. Curtis Bernhardt's *Possessed* (1947) drew on *Lady in the Dark's* use of flashbacks to pinpoint the source of the central character's problems. The film begins with an incoherent and delirious Joan Crawford wandering alone through city streets. Placed under the care of psychiatrists who employ a truth serum, part of a process called "narcosynthesis," Crawford reveals her identity through a series of flash-

backs. In *The Snake Pit* (1948), Virginia Cunningham (Olivia de Havilland again) arrives at a state mental hospital after experiencing a crisis in her marriage resulting in a mental breakdown. Like Liza Elliott in *Lady in the Dark*, Cunningham is unable to accept love from a man because of traumatic events involving her father. Cunningham's psychiatrist (Leo Genn) explains how past events have caused her current psychosis. By decade's end, humorist S. J. Perelman was able to quip, "The vogue of psychological films started by *Lady in the Dark* has resulted in flush times for the profession, and anyone who can tell a frazzled id from a father fixation had better be booted and spurred for an impending summons to the Coast."<sup>135</sup>

In 1947, during Weill's only trip back to Europe, he negotiated for potential productions of *Lady in the Dark* in Paris and London. After visiting his parents and brother Nathan in Palestine, Weill planned to check the French translation in Paris on his way back to the United States. Despite these efforts, an executed contract is all that survives from this endeavor.<sup>136</sup> Similarly, in June 1948, Lawrence met with Hart, Short, and Weill to plan for a first-class revival of *Lady in the Dark* in London, to be produced by Lee Ephraim and Peter Daubeney at the Palace Theatre. Hart endorsed the plan and agreed to oversee casting the production in the United States, Short signed on to stage the dream sequences, and Weill expressed his desire to have an American conductor. Unfortunately, these plans also came to naught.<sup>137</sup> On 22 January 1948, Weill wrote to his parents that *Lady* would be performed at the Theater am Kurfürstendamm in Berlin, to be directed by Erich Engel (who had directed the original production of *Die Dreigroschenoper*), and also in Hamburg and Düsseldorf.<sup>138</sup> Apparently none of these productions came to fruition, and in 1949 the collaborators authorized Maria Teichs to do a German translation under the title *Das verlorene Lied* ("The Lost Song" [Tp4]). Weill sent a photostat of his full score, **Fh(R)**, to the U.S. government agencies in charge of organizing theatrical life in the American-occupied zone of Germany. The *New York Times* reported on 28 July 1949 that military officials had invited Nat Karson to produce and direct twelve shows in the Munich area, the first of which would be *Lady in the Dark*. Although Weill did not live to see the first international production of *Lady in the Dark*, which opened in Kassel in May 1951, he had actively pursued the idea for at least three years prior to his death on 3 April 1950.

#### IV. Editorial Challenges, Principles, and Solutions

The challenges of producing a critical edition of *Lady in the Dark* are idiosyncratic because of the nature of the collaboration and the resulting musical play: the marriage of a full-length spoken play with three musical dream sequences; the composer's and lyricist's conscious decision to overwrite and then shape the work in production; and the sheer number and variety of surviving sources, which, however, are often chronologically non-synchronous and unmediated by a coordinated effort of the authors to reconcile their discrepancies.<sup>139</sup> The surviving materials are, in a word, "messy," demanding careful evaluation and cautious privileging for the Edition's readings of various parameters of the work. The publications that have thus far transmitted *Lady in the Dark* evince the collaborators' differing conceptions of the work and conflicting personal agendas. The script published by Random House in 1941 incorporated very few changes to the pre-rehearsal state of the book and lyrics. It addressed a literate audience and approximated in format the Kaufman and Hart plays published during the 1930s. According to its copyright notice, if royalties were paid and permissions granted, the publication could be used for theatrical production, but given the lavish bichromatic printing, laid-rag paper, and preface by Hart's psychiatrist, the publication aimed at a reading audience rather than a theater-producing one. In contrast, the published piano-vocal score represented a post-production but incomplete version of the score, one that a musically inclined consumer could play and sing through, but that would be inadequate for any full-scale production of the piece. The Chappell publication did not even include a notice regarding permissions re-

quired for theatrical performance, probably because the piano-vocal score quite obviously did not invite such usage. Because the published play and piano-vocal score represent substantially disparate versions of *Lady in the Dark* deriving from different stages of its evolution, they are ultimately incompatible. To cite just one example, the dream dialogue between Liza and a character named Miss Forsythe, as it was presented in the published version of the play, does not appear in the piano-vocal score (see Appendix A2). Such discrepancies have demanded some sort of resolution whenever anyone has attempted to utilize these publications to perform the musical play.

Each collaborator appears to have been cognizant of the issue. Weill was aware that his holograph full score did not match the published piano-vocal score. Although he tried to conform them to some extent and even rewrote some passages in the orchestral score to parallel the piano-vocal score and added explanatory notes pointing out the differences, he never resolved all the issues—possibly because there was no pressing need to do so. Hart had chosen to publish an unabridged version of his play, even though, as director of its spoken scenes in production, he had made substantial, and often salutary, cuts to the script. When director Mitchell Leisen was faced with creating the screenplay for the Paramount film of *Lady in the Dark*, Hart tellingly offered him his annotated copy of the prompt script for the Broadway production rather than the Random House edition of the play. Gershwin lived long enough to archive his and George's papers, eventually donating them to the Library of Congress. In the case of *Lady in the Dark*, he meticulously annotated the lyric sketches and drafts and pointed out inconsistencies, even a typographical error in the published piano-vocal score. Despite Hart's, Weill's, and Gershwin's knowledge of the discrepancies among sources and publications, they never coordinated a publication of the work as a whole or attempted to reassemble compatible performing materials in preparation for a major revival of the musical play.

Licensing the work for stock and amateur productions only compounded the editorial challenges and in some cases even compromised the original sources. Relying on its agreement of 9 March 1942, the Dramatists Play Service continued to license amateur productions and exercised the right to publish its own edition of the script, which it did on 3 August 1950. This led to the unusual situation where the Play Service could license high school, college, and community theater productions, but could supply such groups with only the published piano score, without rental orchestral materials. In 1965 Gershwin and the heirs of Hart's and Weill's estates entered into an agreement with Tams-Witmark Music Library for secondary professional (so-called "stock") rights.<sup>140</sup> In preparation for licensing *Lady in the Dark*, Tams produced another version of the script, based on **Tt4**, but now with almost three hundred "updates" of unknown authorship.<sup>141</sup> Although it is not entirely clear what musical materials the owners made available to Tams, the agency did receive **Fm** and used it to create a new piano-conductor score. House editor Dale Kugel marked up suitable pages of **Im1**, **Im2**, and **Im3** to assemble a new master for a complete set of orchestral parts as rental material. In the process, some original parts were dismembered or even discarded, some markings were erased or covered over with white-out, while other pages were copied out anew on Tams-Witmark score paper. In 1985, after terminating the agreements with both the Play Service and Tams-Witmark, the collaborators' heirs reunited stock and amateur rights and transferred both to the Rodgers and Hammerstein Theatre Library. Tams returned custody of the original orchestral parts to the Kurt Weill Foundation. Fortunately, Kugel had preserved a large number of snippets and pages that had been removed from **Im1** and **Im2** which might otherwise have disappeared. For the Edition, these had to be reassembled and erasures deciphered from indentations on the original paper, whenever either was possible.

In 1986, under a grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities to restore the score of *Lady in the Dark*, conductor John Mauceri and orchestrator/arranger David Loud compiled a new "maximal" piano-vocal score, which incorporated everything recoverable from Weill's full

score (**Fh**), the copyists' rehearsal piano-vocal score (**Vm**), and the composer's sketches and drafts (**Dh**). Some passages that Weill had never orchestrated were integrated as well, with Loud scoring them without attribution. Subsequently, the team prepared a new orchestral score and set of parts to be rented as performance material in tandem with a script deriving from the Random House edition of Hart's play as reprinted in the second volume of Stanley Richards's *Great Musicals of the American Theatre*. Since 1987, then, all productions of *Lady in the Dark* seem to have utilized, at least as the authorized starting point, a version comprising a pre-rehearsal version of the script and a score that included virtually every scrap of music Weill and Gershwin conceived for the show. Circulated without commentary or guidance about appropriate use of such a maximally preservationist compilation, uncut performances of this nobly intentioned compendium might have lasted nearly four hours.

The principles that have guided the present Edition differ significantly from those previous efforts. First and foremost, the Edition attempts to compile for the first time compatible versions of book, lyrics, and music, properly sequenced in a single document, based on all available evidence. Because no single source suffices for such an endeavor, the editors have exercised judgment in ascertaining the compatibility, effectiveness, and documentary support for decisions of priority and inclusion. Second, rather than ignoring how *Lady in the Dark* was shaped and edited through production, and attempting to restore some hypothetical *Urtext*, this Edition takes into account how the authors and creative staff edited and altered the musical play in production, how the work played on Broadway, and how the collaborators subsequently revised the work based on that experience. This again demanded that the editors attempt to differentiate revisions, cuts, and additions that were only expedient, production-specific alterations to the "script" of the original production from those that were author-sanctioned changes to the "text" of the work, transcending any one production. The editors have taken into account all instances where the authors themselves already seem to have considered such issues in post-production publications, instructions, or correspondence.

The Edition does not attempt to dictate a single, definitive text for the work. The original production both shaped and edited the work, and at times viable alternatives emerged from this process. This mutability of a piece of musical theater was taken for granted by all three authors, and that principle has informed editorial decisions so as to preserve surviving "performable" musical material, along with sufficient historical, documentary, and practical commentary to guide users in making their own informed decisions. Thus, the Edition acknowledges that *Lady in the Dark*, like virtually all Broadway musicals, remains an "open text," inviting a production staff to make its own informed dramaturgical and musical decisions that may impact the contents of the show. These options have been preserved in the Edition by transmitting as the Main Text a version of the work both "complete" in terms of its performability and reflective of a critical evaluation of the sources. Viable alternatives are presented as ossia or optional cuts in the Main Text; as discrete, orchestrated numbers or lengthy passages in the Appendix; or as detailed explanations in the Critical Report.

As far as the musical continuity of each dream sequence is concerned, the Edition uses **Ve** as a guide in deciding which material should appear in the Main Text and what should be relegated to the Appendix. As already stated, in preparing the piano-vocal score of *Lady in the Dark* for publication, Weill and Gershwin accepted some of the cuts and changes made in the course of production as improvements or permanent revisions to the work while rejecting others, which they apparently deemed temporary and production-specific. The Edition attempts to preserve this sort of distinction between a production-specific "script" and a more permanent "text" that transmits a version of the work. Thus, for example, the Edition does not include the lyric to the fifth strophe of "The Saga of Jenny" as it was performed on stage in the original production, but rather Gershwin's revision that he included in the later publication of the piano-vocal score. Similarly, Gershwin's completion of the second refrain to "One Life to Live" for publication has also been incorporated into the Main Text, with a foot-

note noting that, in the original production, Liza and Beekman performed a short dance during the second half of that refrain. Changes that were made in production because of the vocal limitations of a particular actor (e.g., the replacement of the verse of "This Is New" with underscored spoken dialogue), which Weill subsequently reversed in the piano-vocal score, have not been incorporated into the Edition. Although the piano-vocal score restored a verse and one refrain of "This Is New" to be sung by Randy Curtis, it did not include the expansion found in **Fh**, which represents Weill's and Gershwin's original conception of the number: Randy's verse and refrain; a repetition of the refrain for Liza with Randy joining in duet for its second half; a repetition for unison chorus as Liza dances with Charley; an instrumental version of the full refrain; and Randy's final sung half-refrain. What prints as 46 measures in the published piano-vocal score expands in the Edition to 161 measures, with three key changes and a varied palette of textures and orchestration. The Edition does, however, provide for an option that Weill himself suggested in a footnote in **Fh** placed at the beginning of the dance break: "If there is no dance-production, cut from here to [m. 285]."

Items in the Appendix have been grouped according to their original running order: items relating to the Glamour Dream appear in section A, items for the Wedding Dream in section B, and items for the Childhood Sequence in section C (there are no items for the Circus Dream). Within each section, items are again grouped according to running order. This sequential ordering within the Appendix thus remains neutral regarding the merits of using any one item as an alternative or supplement to passages included in the Main Text. However, trying to restore to the Main Text all such material cut "for good" and for good reasons (Appendix items A1, A2, A3, B2a, and B2b) would run counter to the authors' decision to shorten *Lady in the Dark* and to improve its pacing. The abridged ending (C2) for "My Ship" is an idiosyncratic case, where Weill may have felt that the musical structure had been compromised (with only four measures of cut music saving any time in production). Hence, he restored the full version in **Ve**, even though—for unknown reasons—the original production used the abridged ending for most, if not all, of the run. All other items in the Appendix, however, remain viable options to accommodate staging needs/preferences. For example, the use of A4 would allow for a cut of the foxtrot version of "Girl of the Moment"; A5 cuts in half the time during which the Marine paints Liza's portrait; A6 provides more time for Liza's costume change at the end of Glamour Dream; B1 allows for a cut of the last half-refrain during the dance production following "This Is New"; and C1 provides musical material for the opening of Flashback 4 in the Childhood Sequence during which the students could dance.

Guided by these principles (which conform to the overall guidelines of the *Kurt Weill Edition*), the Edition has drawn on all available sources: full scores (**Fh** and **Fm**), vocal scores (**Ve**, **Vm**, and **Vh**), orchestral parts (**Im**), choral parts (**Cm**), and production scripts (**Tt**). Additional materials consulted include sheet music (**Ae**); correspondence (**L**); playbills (**N**); recordings by members of the cast (**R**); production stills, scrapbooks, and clippings (**M**); and interviews of original cast members and production personnel by the author of this essay (**Y**). Sometimes the condition of and wear to these sources has helped determine the Edition's text. Because a particular musical number was not listed in the playbills does not necessarily mean it was not performed; neither the first nor second version of the entr'acte was included in the musical numbers listed in the weekly playbills distributed at performances in Boston and at the Alvin Theatre during the first season. Yet wear in the orchestra parts (**Im1**) indicates that each was performed for some performances during that period. Both of these entr'actes were in effect "compiled" rather than composed: the first for preview performances in Boston, the second in time for opening night in New York (23 January 1941). The Edition therefore includes in the Main Text Weill's third version of the entr'acte, which he himself composed afresh for the second season's opening night (1 September 1941).

Some important sources came to light only during the editorial process: the copyist's full score, **Fm**; pages of holograph full score containing cut



material, **Fh-misc** (which surfaced among Danny Kaye's papers in the Library of Congress); a photostat copy of the full score, **Fh(R)**; and a production script in Sam Harris's possession, **Tt4**. These sources allow the Edition to publish significant material for the first time, because the missing music hitherto could not have been compiled from the incomplete first set of parts (**Im1**): the version of "It's Never Too Late to Mendelsohn" as composed for Danny Kaye but cut before the first tryout performance; the version of that song for a different character as performed in Boston (with a much-reduced vocal part but a dance section added); the first version of Liza's entrance to the nightclub in the Glamour Dream; and the Exit Music (where the hitherto known instrumental parts were unreliable and incomplete).

The book presented here has been edited from Sam Harris's production script (**Tt4**) with readings also taken from assistant stage manager Frank Spencer's (**Tt3**) and Gertrude Lawrence's (**Ttb2L**, **Tty2L**, and **Tt-misc**) copies of the book and lyrics. By consulting a combination of different types of sources, the Edition solves for the first time a particularly vexing puzzle about the ending of the show. It has never been clear in the available publications how the vestiges of the planned "Childhood Dream" were intended to be incorporated into the production. The lyrics distributed to cast and crew (**Tty2**) included the heading "CHILDHOOD SEQUENCE" for the page of lyrics devoted to "Bats About You" and "My Ship." Once "Bats About You" had been cut in Boston, the only portion of the "Childhood Dream" to be included in the published piano-vocal score (**Ve**) was the full presentation of "My Ship." The precise placement, length, content, and transitions into and out of the sequence of musical excerpts and the reprise of "Mapleton High Choral" went undocumented in any publication. Based on Sam Harris's script (**Tt4**), annotations in Spencer's script (**Tt3**), the rehearsal piano-vocal score (**Vm**), two orchestral parts (**Im2-Reed1** and **Im2-HmdOrg**) containing a reprise of "Mapleton High Choral" in A $\flat$  major, and a publicity still of the chorus (**M1**) dressed as high school choir members, the Edition has managed to reconstruct this mysterious Childhood Sequence, which includes the following musical components: (1) an excerpt of "My Ship" by three- or four-year-old Liza, (2) the final cadence to "The Princess of Pure Delight" by seven-year-old Liza and her classmates, (3) a snippet of "My Ship" by ten-year-old Liza, (4) a reprise of "Mapleton High Choral" by seventeen-year-old Liza and members of her senior class, (5) a full rendition of "My Ship" by seventeen-year-old Liza, and (6) a few lines of "Mapleton High Choral" by Liza's classmates.<sup>142</sup> Three short transitions lead into the first three flashbacks, whereas the reprise of "Mapleton High Choral" serves as a transition into the fourth.

## V. Performance Issues

Casting *Lady in the Dark* presents challenges quite different from those of the two principal prevailing generic traditions of the book musical in the 1930s, namely, operetta and musical comedy. First and foremost, its bifurcated structure as a straight play interrupted by lengthy musical sequences demands in the title role an actress who seldom leaves the stage and must sustain long dramatic scenes as a sympathetic but troubled middle-aged businesswoman on the verge of a mental breakdown—a multi-talented, charismatic personality who can sing and dance her way through three extended dream sequences, and, after nearly three hours as the sole focus of the evening, still deliver an 11 o'clock number that stops the show cold. The demands of the role are extreme, with few rivals in the repertory of American musical theater. The remaining principal roles are split between actors who must be able to both act and sing to varying degrees and character actors who rarely or never sing. Miss Foster, Randy Curtis, and Russell Paxton require accomplished singing actors of different types, while Dr. Brooks and Kendall Nesbitt are primarily acting roles, with Charley Johnson leaning toward that camp as well. Originally, the ensemble comprised two separate groups: the Albertina Rasch dancers, who would have sung only minimally, if at all, and the singing chorus, many of whom were

conservatory-trained, highly skilled vocalists capable of performing the operetta-like sections of the score. That tradition of a divided ensemble, standard on Broadway for much of the Golden Age, has all but disappeared, so present-day presenters of *Lady in the Dark* may prefer to cast the ensemble with versatile performers who are able to meet both the vocal demands of the chorus and the dancing/movement needs of the production. Even if that is the decision, however, *Lady in the Dark* remains a "big show." Presenting it in a scaled-down production with a relatively small cast would require not only outsized imagination and invention but also technical wizardry.

Some of Weill's vocal writing exceeded the abilities of the principals cast in the original production. Hollywood heartthrob Victor Mature was unable to master the chromaticism of Randy's "This Is New," while Bert Lytell apparently could not negotiate Pierre's opening toast to Liza at the Seventh Heaven. In preparing the printer's copy for the piano-vocal score (**Ve**), Weill opted to reinstate Randy's singing both verse and refrain of "This Is New," but chose to retain Pierre's spoken toast, which the composer evidently preferred to what he had originally composed. "This Is New" calls for the virile baritone timbre and range of the leading men in such American operettas as *The Desert Song*, *The New Moon*, or *Rose Marie*. In its original, expansive format, the number requires idiomatic legitimate-voiced, operetta-derived vocal performances from Liza and the ensemble as well.

The performers who originated roles in *Lady in the Dark* gave distinctly personal interpretations of their musical numbers, some of which have now become part of the work's performance tradition and identity. For example, because Danny Kaye's nightclub routine had often included him playing a manic, dark-haired, fast-talking Russian, he performed "Tschaikowsky" at breakneck speed in hopes of breaking his previous record. Weill originally indicated the tempo for the song as *allegro* in the rehearsal piano-vocal score (**Vm**), which copyist Adele Combattente apparently reproduced from Weill's (no longer extant) holograph piano-vocal score (**Vh**). The first layer of both **Fh** and **Im**, however, intensifies the "affect" of the song by further inflecting the tempo mark as *allegro barbaro*. Chappell's publications of the sheet music (**Ae**) and piano-vocal score (**Ve**) retain this mark, but only in the latter is there a metronome specification, presumably Weill's:  $\text{♩} = 152$ . It is likely that Kaye's performance actually convinced Weill and Gershwin that the number should be performed at a quicker tempo than they had originally imagined.

Kaye's *tour-de-force*, tongue-twisting performance also influenced Lawrence's rendition of "The Saga of Jenny" which immediately follows it in the score. The bumps and grinds, which she first improvised at the first tryout performance in Boston, were her response to Kaye's show-stopping performance, as the star knew that she had to come up with a way to top it. Maurice Abravanel vividly described the moment: "The 'Jenny' we had rehearsed was in good taste for 1940—but she went for the throat. Her life was [at stake]. . . . So she improvised a 'Jenny' with bumps and grinds."<sup>143</sup> Her burlesque markers subsequently became a trademark of that saga's performance tradition. When Lawrence headlined a USO tour of Pacific naval bases in 1944, the tour's directors and naval chaplains banned her from singing "The Saga of Jenny." Demands from servicemen prevailed, but she was told to cut the bumps and grinds. When troops objected to that censorship, the Pentagon issued a new directive: "Miss Lawrence may do the bumps, *provided she does them sideways*."<sup>144</sup> Kitty Carlisle Hart recalled that, when she first played Liza in 1952 in a straw-hat circuit production, "[Moss] prevailed on Gertie, who was then in *The King and I*, to take time out to teach me her routine for 'Jenny.'"<sup>145</sup> By then, the bumps and grinds had become an indispensable "subtext" of the number, even for the author of the musical play!

Weill originally notated the last eight measures of "The Saga of Jenny" for the chorus alone, although he may have expected Lawrence to sing along with the sopranos.<sup>146</sup> In Lawrence's performance preserved on acetate (**R1**), she indeed sang along with the sopranos but improvised offbeat G5s for mm. 750–751 and a C6 for mm. 752–757. Presumably, the

recording transmits what she was singing at the end of “Jenny” each night at the Alvin Theatre as well. Although Weill did not incorporate Lawrence’s improvisational tropes into the sheet music or published piano-vocal score (Ae and Ve), it has subsequently become a fixture in the performance tradition of that number. It can be heard on recordings of *Lady in the Dark* by several generations of Lizas, including Ann Sothorn (1954), Risë Stevens (1963), and Maria Friedman (1998). Adhering to Weill’s decision not to include Lawrence’s improvised part in his published score, this Edition has not incorporated it into the Main Text, but its practice is described in an on-page footnote.

In the months after *Lady in the Dark* opened on Broadway, its songs were interpreted and recorded by a number of artists, ranging from those by original cast members to those by cabaret chanteuses and big band vocalists. Weill kept Gershwin abreast of the releases: “I hear Danny Kaye’s records are wonderful, but it seems he has changed quite a lot; they’ll probably go very big with the jitterbugs. I like very much the way Hildegard [*sic*] sings the songs. She takes them very relaxed and that is good for the lyrics and the music.”<sup>147</sup> A month later Weill commented on Lawrence’s three-disk album: “musically very nice, but her voice sounds pretty shaky. If she would only stop singing those high notes!”<sup>148</sup> In his recording (R2) for Columbia, Kaye had indeed changed the interpretation of his song from what he performed in the theater; on the recording he swung six of the songs hard; perhaps this is what prompted Weill’s prediction of popularity with jitterbugs.

Interpretive challenges in general and the issue of swung eighth notes in particular pervade *Lady in the Dark* and cannot be adequately addressed in the Edition by musical notation alone. Despite Weill’s misgivings about Lawrence’s shaky voice on her recording (R1), it provides the best guide to how “Huxley,” “One Life to Live,” “Girl of the Moment,” “The Princess of Pure Delight,” and “The Saga of Jenny” should be swung, because her performances and those by a male quartet from the chorus come closest to how these numbers were performed in the theater under the composer’s supervision. Weill employed two different notational schemes for passages that he intended to be swung in performance, and occasionally mixed the two, sometimes seemingly indiscriminately. For numbers that should be lightly swung in performance, such as “Girl of the Moment” and “The Princess of Pure Delight,” Weill customarily notated equal eighth notes. In numbers that should be swung more vigorously, such as “Huxley” and “The Saga of Jenny,” he usually wrote dotted rhythms. For a song that combines both, such as “One Life to Live,” he mixed the two notational conventions with dotted rhythms in the verse and equal eighth notes in the refrain. In general, the “affect” of a particular number governs how strongly the eighth notes should be swung. A foxtrot, such as “Girl of the Moment,” should be lightly swung, whereas a boogie-woogie blues number like “The Saga of Jenny” should be swung harder.

Despite the published piano-vocal score’s inclusion of metronome markings, tempo remains a fragile parameter in all the dream sequences, which incorporate distinctive dance idioms, as well as stylistic conventions characteristic of several national strains of operetta. The Glamour Dream, for example, employs the foxtrot and rumba for “Girl of the Moment” while lampooning the opening male chorus of Sigmund Romberg’s *The Student Prince* (1924) for “Oh Fabulous One.” The Wedding Dream uses the bolero rhythm as a unifying device; the verse of “This Is New” (“With you I used to roam / Through the Pleasure Dome of Kubla Khan”) references the exotic locales that were typical of American operettas, including Sigmund Romberg’s *The Desert Song* (1926), and Weill sets the refrain as a foxtrot-ballad invoking that operetta tradition. Finally, the Circus Dream employs the march to suggest the tanbark ring, while “The Trial of Liza Elliott” parodies Gilbert and Sullivan’s *Trial by Jury* (1875). The Ringmaster’s summary of the situation in “The Best Years of His Life,” however, recalls boisterous ensemble waltzes heard in classic Continental operetta finales, including Weill’s own Act I finale for *Der Kuhhandel*. Thus, the orchestra in *Lady in the Dark* must quickly alternate between playing as a dance band might and as a classical operetta orchestra might—with dance idioms,

tempo fluctuation, rhythmic subtleties, and performing style appropriate to each.

Although there were only nineteen players in the pit at the Alvin Theatre in 1941, that number may not be optimal under different circumstances, not the least of which is the now nearly ubiquitous use of amplification for musical theater productions. Whereas doubling one of the seven instrumental parts of either *Die Dreigroschenoper* or *Happy End* would surely wreak havoc on the ingenious and idiosyncratic “sonic image” of these pieces in which Weill took such pride, the size of *Lady’s* orchestra was at least to some extent arbitrary, dictated by economics and the house minimum for the Alvin. There is no evidence that he was attempting the sort of reduced-size experimental ensemble that he would envision in 1949 for *Lost in the Stars*, which required him to petition on aesthetic grounds for special dispensation from the house minimum at the Music Box Theatre. In fact, his decision to use a Hammond Organ in his orchestration suggests the opposite, namely, that he hoped that this proto-synthesizer would bolster the body of sound produced by the orchestra, particularly the string section, in certain passages of the score. (It is extremely rare for the Hammond Organ part to have any unique musical material; it almost always doubles another instrument or group, most frequently the strings.) Present-day conductors may alternatively wish to consider utilizing an electronic keyboard more sophisticated than the Hammond Organ or augmenting the size of the string section, originally just 4-2-2-1. In doing so, however, they should try to preserve the 2:1 ratio of first to second violins. If the string count were increased to 8-4-4-1, for example, the orchestra would comprise twenty-seven players, closer to the norm for post-*Oklahoma!* Broadway pit orchestras for musical plays and precisely the number of players Weill had in mind for *Love Life*.

Of course, with an unamplified cast of performers of widely varying vocal heft and technique, there were issues of balance and intelligibility for the Broadway production that had to be addressed. Weill trusted conductor Maurice Abravanel to fine-tune the orchestrations with this in mind. In the Edition, passages where Abravanel thinned Weill’s (and Royal’s) orchestrations often print in cue-size notation the parts that the conductor marked *tacet*. Should a present-day conductor encounter similar balance problems, they would thereby have access to solutions Abravanel proposed with Weill’s implicit approval. Of course, new productions will encounter different problems, occasioned by the particular circumstances of casting, acoustics, seating capacity, and sound design. The Critical Report also documents how Weill, Abravanel, and Short edited portions of the musical score to accommodate Horner’s set design and scene changes. Modern productions will thus have the benefit of understanding how instrumental sections of *Lady in the Dark’s* score can be similarly expanded or contracted to cover scene changes.

Contemporary productions of *Lady in the Dark* will have to grapple with its dated notions of gender identity and cultural stereotypes. Dr. Brooks’s pronouncements about Liza “withdrawing as a woman” and her lack of “feminine adornments” may seem antiquated if not offensive after multiple waves of feminism. Much of Kubie’s brand of Freudian analysis and his theory of “The Drive to Become Both Sexes,” which undergirds the plot of *Lady in the Dark*, seem downright sexist from a twenty-first-century perspective. Directors of several productions have experimented with casting a woman as Dr. Brooks, which profoundly alters gender dynamics in the play. Reframing Liza’s sessions with a sympathetic female therapist rather than an overbearing male psychoanalyst may make the subtext of *Lady in the Dark* seem more contemporary and palatable. Charley Johnson’s barbs (“having magazines instead of babies,” etc.) undoubtedly require rethinking, as well. Some directors have opted to suppress these lines with the result that Charley can still chafe under an indecisive boss without harassing her. Completely updating *Lady in the Dark* is, of course, virtually impossible, because its plot, dialogue, and lyrics all reflect the cultural setting of its origins. To date, the most successful approach has recognized that *Lady in the Dark* is indeed a period piece, without feeling any obligation to replicate the tone or particulars of the original production.

Despite the success of that production, *Lady in the Dark* to date has resisted both a Broadway revival and West End production.<sup>149</sup> A clue to understanding that anomaly may be suggested by one extraordinary statistic concerning the Boston preview, Broadway run, national tour, and return engagement on Broadway, a grand total of 777 performances over a three-year period. Not once was that original staging of *Lady in the Dark* performed without its star, Gertrude Lawrence. If she was indisposed, the performance was canceled. If she went on vacation, the production went on hiatus. *Lady in the Dark* was indeed the ultimate star vehicle, and Lawrence was its only driver. In the intervening seven decades, there have been a number of producers who were interested in mounting a first-class production, but all of them stumbled, either because of the unavailability of the proposed star or because of the disapproval of the choice by one or more of the authors' estates. (Having herself played the role in summer stock, Kitty Carlisle Hart had particularly strong feelings about casting the title role; in 1994, for example, for the production by Encores! at New

York's City Center, her short list of possible Lizas included just two names: Julie Andrews and Meryl Streep.)

Of course, the title role is but one of *Lady in the Dark's* formidable vocal, acting, and staging demands. Its generic hybridity undermines expectations and its mixing of "high" and "low" elements presents numerous interpretative challenges: juxtapositions of vernacular dance idioms with cultivated operetta conventions, of popular songs of the swing era with *finalettos* to be performed as notated, of song styles and jazz harmonies of the 1940s with national strains of operetta utilizing stylistic conventions and the harmonic language of the Romantic era. Finally, the show's scenic demands require almost cinematic fluidity for the transitions from the realistic settings of Dr. Brooks's and Liza's offices to the otherworldly dream sequences, and back again. Its status as a breakthrough in the history of the American musical theater and harbinger of the concept musical are well accepted. Its ongoing challenges and opportunities for performance continue to fascinate.

## Notes

1. Kurt Weill and Ira Gershwin, *Lady in the Dark*, ed. Albert Sirmay (New York: Chappell Music Company, 1941).
2. Moss Hart, Ira Gershwin, and Kurt Weill, *Lady in the Dark* (New York: Random House, 1941).
3. Lawrence S. Kubie, *Practical Aspects of Psychoanalysis: A Handbook for Prospective Patients and Their Advisors* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1936).
4. "Dr. Brooks" [Lawrence S. Kubie], preface to *Lady in the Dark* by Moss Hart, Ira Gershwin, and Kurt Weill (New York: Random House, 1941), vii–xiv.
5. Kurt Weill, "Two Dreams-Come-True," undated (ca. 1946), unpublished, and unpaginated essay, WLA, Box 68, Fld. 16. It was subsequently used as the basis for the liner notes to the cast recording of *Street Scene*, Columbia Masterworks MM-683.
6. For a discussion of the dramatic structure, see Stephen Hinton, "Lady in the Dark as Musical Talking Cure," *Opera Quarterly* 31, nos. 1–2 (Winter–Spring 2015): 134–44.
7. [Moss Hart?], "The How and Why of 'Lady in the Dark,'" *Lady in the Dark* souvenir program, 4.
8. Charles Hamm, "The Theatre Guild Production of *Porgy and Bess*," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 40, no. 3 (Fall 1987): 525.
9. *New York Times*, 2 March 1941. The entire article is by Hart himself and titled "The Saga of Gertie: The Author of 'Lady in the Dark' Tells How He Found a Star."
10. *Ibid.*
11. Undated (ca. 1937–38) letter to Dore Schary, Wisconsin Historical Society Archives, Dore Schary Papers, Box 99, Fld. 8.
12. Moss Hart and George S. Kaufman, *You Can't Take It With You* (New York: Farrar & Rinehart, 1937), 142–44.
13. *New York Times*, 7 November 1937.
14. Malcolm Goldstein, *George S. Kaufman: His Life, His Theater* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1979), 286.
15. *PM*, 3 February 1941.
16. Hart liked to joke that he had been going to Kubie's office so long that when he first went up Fifth Avenue "the Indians were still shooting arrows from behind the trees"; Kitty Carlisle Hart, *Kitty: An Autobiography* (New York: Doubleday, 1988; repr., New York: St. Martin's Press, 1989), 117. According to New York City telephone directories, Kubie's office prior to 1940 was at 34 E. 75th St.; in 1940 it moved to 7½ E. 81st St.
17. *PM*, 3 February 1941.
18. Moss Hart, foreword to *Lady in the Dark*, by Kurt Weill and Ira Gershwin, ed. Albert Sirmay (New York: Chappell Music Company, 1941), n.p.
19. [Hart?], "The How and Why of *Lady in the Dark*," 3.
20. Hart, foreword to *Lady in the Dark*.
21. Ferruccio Busoni, *The Essence of Music and Other Papers*, trans. Rosamond Ley (London: Rockliff, 1957), 40. Busoni also argued in his *Entwurf einer neuen Ästhetik der Tonkunst* that "the sung word will always remain a convention on the stage and a hindrance to any semblance of truth; to overcome this deadlock with any success a plot would have to be made in which the singers act what is incredible, fictitious, and improbable from the very start." See also Antony Beaumont, *Busoni the Composer* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1985), 90.
22. *New York Times*, 25 May 1941.
23. *New York Times*, 11 January 1940.
24. *New York Times*, 24 February 1940.

25. *New York Times*, 26 February 1940.
26. Gershwin recalled that he boarded the *City of Los Angeles* train on Friday, 3 May 1940, which would have arrived in Chicago on Sunday, 5 May. In Chicago Gershwin would have transferred to the *Twentieth Century Limited*, which arrived in New York's Grand Central Terminal on Monday, 6 May. Ira Gershwin, *Lyrics on Several Occasions: A Selection of Stage and Screen Lyrics Written for Sundry Situations*. . . . (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1959), 315.
27. Sigmund Freud, "The Theme of the Three Caskets," in *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud*, ed. and trans. James Strachey, vol. 12, *The Case of Schreber, Papers on Technique, and Other Works* (London: Hogarth Press and the Institute of Psycho-Analysis, 1958), 291–301.
28. Undated (ca. 5–15 May 1940) letter from Hart to Scharly, Dore Scharly Papers, Box 99, Fld. 8.
29. This scene may allude to Hart and Weill's luncheon at the Hapsburg House; the fictitious restaurant's French name lampooned Au Canari d'Or, an actual French restaurant on E. 61st St. (both restaurants were within walking distance of Hart's townhouse on E. 57th St.).
30. Two drafts of "I Am Listening" (Ttb0) are now bound together as volume 40 of Hart's personal library.
31. Kubie, *Practical Aspects of Psychoanalysis*, 50, 141, 55.
32. Gershwin, *Lyrics on Several Occasions*, 208.
33. Transcription of an oral history interview with Ira Gershwin from the 33 1/2 rpm record *A Living Liner: Recollections of Kurt Weill*, RCA Victor LL-201 (SRLM-8309) originally included with the Morton Gould recording *The Two Worlds of Kurt Weill*, RCA Victor LSC-2863, WLRC, Series 60.
34. Gershwin, *Lyrics on Several Occasions*, ix. For the compositional process of "My Ship," see Bruce D. McClung, "Psicosi per musica: Re-Examining *Lady in the Dark*," in *A Stranger Here Myself: Kurt Weill-Studien*, ed. Kim H. Kowalke and Horst Edler (Hildesheim: Olms, 1993), 235–65.
35. Gershwin later called collaboration by mail "unsatisfactory" (*Lyrics on Several Occasions*, 219).
36. Perhaps Hart was thereby referencing the nightclub La Martinique where he first saw Danny Kaye perform. Kaye began performing there on 1 May 1940, along with the singer Yvette, the dance team Pancho and Dolores, and Val Olman's orchestra (cf. *New York Times*, 28 April 1940). The fictitious nightclub's name, "The Seventh Heaven," may be playing with La Martinique's address (57 W. 57th St.) as well as its basement location. Columbus Circle was only a block-and-a-half west of where Weill and Gershwin were working.
37. Gershwin, *Lyrics on Several Occasions*, 201. A year later Hart gave Weill one of the sheepdog's offspring, which he and Lenya named "Wooly" after Alexander Woollcott (Bill Blowitz, "Biography of Kurt Weill," unpublished biographical sketch dated 20 April 1945, WLA, Box 74, Fld. 4).
38. Moss Hart, "Dream Two" and "Dream Three," GC, Box 13, Fld. 32.
39. Ira Gershwin, annotation dated September 1967 for "Manuscripts of the 3 Dreams," GC, Box 13, Fld. 32.
40. Weill and Gershwin later recycled the lyric, but not the music, of "Song of the Zodiac" for *The Firebrand of Florence* (see KWE I/18).
41. Undated (ca. July 1940) letter; photocopy in WLRC, Series 47.
42. Moss Hart, "Dream Four," in Ira Gershwin, *The Complete Lyrics of Ira Gershwin*, ed. Robert Kimball (New York: Knopf, 1993; repr., New York: Da Capo Press, 1998), 302.
43. Undated (ca. 15–27 August 1940) letter to Scharly, Dore Scharly Papers, Box 99, Fld. 8.
44. *New York Enquirer*, 26 February 1941.
45. Letter of 2 September 1940, GC, Box 66, Fld. 22.
46. Ibid.
47. GC, Box 66, Fld. 22.
48. See commentary in Gershwin, *The Complete Lyrics of Ira Gershwin*, 295.
49. "Arthur Francis" [Ira Gershwin], "The Music Hour," *Life*, 12 June 1924.
50. *New York Times*, 8 September 1940.
51. Steven Suskin, *The Sound of Broadway Music: A Book of Orchestrators and Orchestrations* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 234.
52. The Alvin Theatre had previously housed the Gershwin brothers' *Funny Face* (1927), *Treasure Girl* (1928), *Girl Crazy* (1930), and *Porgy and Bess* (1935), while *Of Thee I Sing* (1931) had played at the Music Box Theatre. Kaufman and Hart's *Once in a Lifetime* (1930), *Merrily We Roll Along* (1934), and *The Man Who Came to Dinner* (1939) all played at the Music Box Theatre, while *I'd Rather Be Right* (1937) (with a score by Richard Rodgers and Lorenz Hart) played at the Alvin Theatre.
53. In light of the multifaceted dance qualities of Weill's score, including foxtrot and boogie-woogie, Morris Stonzek (the orchestra contractor for Weill's American shows) hired Melvin "Red" Salomon—a trumpeter with a jazz background—and also engaged "a more modern pianist" who was "a fine jazz pianist"; see WLRC, Series 60, transcription of a talk given by Stonzek during the Kurt Weill conference held on 2–5 November 1983 at Yale University (where he participated in a session titled "I Remember"). In his comments about the pianist, it is unclear whether Stonzek was referring to David LeWinter—an accomplished jazz pianist and dance orchestra leader—who had been engaged as rehearsal pianist and who may have doubled as the pit keyboard player.
54. The minutes of the 1263rd regular meeting of the Executive Board of Local 802, American Federation of Musicians, 28 August 1941, state that the following proposal was rejected: "Minimum number of men for musical shows in contracted houses to be increased to 20 men, exclusive of conductor" (Elmer Holmes Bobst Library, New York University, Robert F. Wagner Labor Archives). Therefore, the house minimum of twenty for the Alvin could continue to include the conductor. Although it is unclear how the sound effects were handled, the percussion part requires only one player (*pace* Circus Dream, mm. 777–779.1), and there is no sign that the part was divided (only one percussion book survives, with no indication that its player paused to let somebody else play or help out). Even though Weill wrote two keyboard parts, one for Hammond Organ and one for piano (and copyists created books for each part), Abravanel vividly recalled that there was only one keyboard player covering both parts; Maurice Abravanel, interview by the author of this essay (Y1).
55. Chappell's other house orchestrators included Robert Russell Bennett, Hans Spialek, and Don Walker. Weill may have first come in contact with Royal or his work at the 1939 New York World's Fair, because Royal had orchestrated about two-thirds of Billy Rose's *Aquacade*.
56. Photocopy in WLRC, Series 40. Abravanel, who had been a theory student of Weill's in 1922 in Berlin, conducted several of Weill's operas in Germany, France, and England. He arrived in New York (after an engagement in Australia) in 1936 with a three-year contract to conduct at the Metropolitan Opera. Prior to *Lady in the Dark*, Weill had engaged him for *Knickerbocker Holiday* (1938). Abravanel remained Weill's conductor of choice throughout the composer's Broadway career.
57. *Boston American*, 16 December 1940.
58. David Drew, *Kurt Weill: A Handbook* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987), 299. Weill lifted the dance's first twenty-eight measures (i.e., Circus Dream, mm. 116–143) from the beginning of a three-page sketch (headed "Indian Battle" and located in WLA, Box 2, Fld. 20) that does not appear in Weill's rehearsal score for "Davy Crockett." A few other measures of that sketch also wound up in "Dance of the Tumblers."
59. E. Y. Harburg Collection (MSS 83), Irving S. Gilmore Music Library, Yale University, Box 22, Fld. 180.
60. Goldstein, *George S. Kaufman*, 342.
61. Moss Hart, "Thirty-Five Years of Broadway Musicals," interviewed by Brooks Atkinson, broadcast 17 June 1960, on WQXR, New York, Wisconsin Historical Society Archives, Moss Hart and Kitty Carlisle Papers, Series "Moss Hart Biographical Material" (Audio 269A).
62. Ibid.
63. Manfred Hecht, telephone interview by the author (Y5), 16 September 1993.
64. Richard Stoddard Aldrich, *Gertrude Lawrence as Mrs. A: An Intimate Biography of the Great Star* (New York: Greystone Press, 1954; repr., New York: Greenwood Press, 1969), 111.
65. Maurice Abravanel, interview by the author (Y1), 31 January 1991, Rochester, N.Y.
66. Gershwin, *Lyrics on Several Occasions*, 209.
67. *New York Times*, 1 January 1941.
68. Y1, 4 October 1991.
69. Hart, "Thirty-Five Years of Broadway Musicals."
70. Y1, 4 October 1991. Otto Preminger, who attended the Boston opening at Hart's invitation, gave a slightly different account, recalling that Gertrude Lawrence "had rehearsed her number singing it on the swing with full voice. . . . So she waited through all his encores and the noisy applause until the audience was quiet. Then she got off the swing, walked slowly to the footlights, and whispered her song. After the bedlam that had preceded her, it was stunningly effective." Quoted in Sheridan Morley, *Gertrude Lawrence: A Biography* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1981), 150.
71. The reviews appeared on 31 December 1940: Helen Eager, *Boston Traveler*; Elinor Hughes, *Boston Herald*; John K. Hutchens, *Boston Evening Transcript*; Elliot Norton, *Boston Post*; L. A. Sloper, *Christian Science Monitor*; NN, *Boston Globe*.
72. *New York Herald Tribune*, 9 February 1941.
73. *Variety*, 8 and 15 January 1941.
74. *New York Times*, 1 and 5 January 1941. If the latter's (a "Gossip of the Rialto" column) report of "twenty musicians" can be trusted, Abravanel may have been included in the count, or someone thought at the time that there would be two keyboard players.

75. *New York Times*, 17 January 1941.
76. *New York Times*, 8 January 1941; *New York Journal-American*, 9 September 1941.
77. The reviews appeared on 24 January 1941: John Anderson, *New York Journal-American*; Brooks Atkinson, *New York Times*; John Mason Brown, *New York Post*; Robert Coleman, *Daily Mirror*; Louis Kronenberger, *PM*; Richard Lockridge, *New York Sun*; Burns Mantle, *Daily News*; Richard Watts Jr., *New York Herald Tribune*; Sidney B. Whipple, *New York World-Telegram*.
78. Russell Sanjek, *American Popular Music and Its Business: The First Four Hundred Years*, vol. 3, *From 1900 to 1984* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), 182.
79. GC, Box 66, Fld. 23.
80. George S. Kaufman and Moss Hart, *Six Plays by Kaufman and Hart*, introduction by Brooks Atkinson (New York: Random House, 1942).
81. *New York Times*, 10 June 1941.
82. However, they kept the revised “Entrance to Nightclub” (which provided the time required for Lawrence to make a costume change), as that revision also solved two other problems: Kendall, who would have had to sing a toast in the first version, no longer needed to sing in the production, and the Man from Texas, by then a superfluous character, was finally eliminated. See Appendix A3 and Critical Report.
83. Because the section was copied into the “early” **Im2** books (Tbn, Cb) as well as into **Fm**, it appears to have been performed for some weeks on Broadway. Weill’s letter of 28 May 1941 to Gershwin provides a *terminus ante quem* for the cut (“since we cut ‘Girl of the Moment’”); the letter’s context suggests that the change had been effected recently. See Critical Report for more details about **Ve**.
84. Haskel Frankel, “Theatre-goers’ Scrapbook: Everyone—Except the Lady in the Dark,” *Playbill*, April 1972.
85. GC, Box 66, Fld. 23.
86. Letter of 8 March 1941, GC, Box 66, Fld. 23.
87. Letter of 11 April 1941, GC, Box 66, Fld. 23.
88. *Variety*, 4 June 1941.
89. Letter of 23 August 1941, WLA, Box 48, Fld. 33.
90. Letter of 28 May 1941, GC, Box 66, Fld. 23.
91. Letter to Weill, WLA, Box 48, Fld. 33.
92. Weill, letter to Gershwin, 9 September 1941, GC, Box 66, Fld. 23.
93. Letter to Weill, WLA, Box 48, Fld. 33.
94. Gershwin, *Lyrics on Several Occasions*, 220.
95. It is unclear when Kantor created **Fm**. The inclusion of “Girl of the Moment” in *Glamour Dream* (i.e., mm. 468–559)—cut no later than 28 May 1941—suggests that **Fm** was created before that date. Theoretically, Kantor could have created **Fm** as early as mid-January 1941.
96. Photocopy in WLRC, Series 40.
97. After the score had been bound, Weill neatly recopied the heavily revised first page of music. In need of suitable score paper, he simply cut a blank page at the end of the bound score and used it to replace the messy page 1 (see Plate 1).
98. *New York Post*, 27 August 1941. Ann Lee covered for Lawrence but was not an understudy. She recalled: “I broke in all of the new men. I played her part—not in the musical numbers—but in all the dramatic scenes, because I had been ‘her’ in all the understudy rehearsals. It was never a question of my being a true understudy.” Ann Lee, telephone interview by the author (Y7), 31 March 1994.
99. Letter of 9 September 1941, GC, Box 66, Fld. 23.
100. John Anderson, *New York Journal-American*; Brooks Atkinson, *New York Times*; John Mason Brown, *New York Post*; Frank Farrell, *New York World-Telegram*; Louis Kronenberger, *PM*; Richard Lockridge, *New York Sun*; Burns Mantle, *Daily News* (all 3 September 1941). Robert Coleman, *Daily Mirror* (4 September 1941).
101. *New York Times*, 7 September 1941.
102. Letter to Gershwin, GC, Box 66, Fld. 23.
103. Letter of 13 November 1941, GC, Box 66, Fld. 23.
104. *Daily News*, 11 December 1941.
105. *New York Herald Tribune*, 26 January 1942; *New York Post*, 29 January 1942.
106. *New York Times*, 3 March 1942.
107. *New York Times*, 9 March 1942.
108. *New York Times*, 19 March 1942.
109. *New York Times*, 10 May 1942. Although the figure of 462 performances was widely reported in the press, when Burns Mantle published *The Best Plays of 1941–1942*, he mistakenly counted 305 performances for *Lady in the Dark*’s second season, for a total run of 467 performances. This error has subsequently been reprinted in virtually all reference books about the American musical theater. It appears that Mantle forgot about *Lady in the Dark*’s Christmas hiatus, which resulted in four lost performances, and assumed that *Lady in the Dark* had played a full thirty-eight weeks during its second season (for 304 performances). The 305th performance can be attributed to the September benefit performance. Stage Relief Fund benefit performances were typically held on Sunday evenings so that actors from other productions could attend. *Lady in the Dark*’s benefit had been held on Labor Day (Monday) for regular patrons, which made it the first of eight performances that first week, rather than an additional ninth performance.
110. Gertrude Lawrence Papers, Museum of the City of New York.
111. *New York Times*, 7 August 1942.
112. For a detailed account of the tour, see Bruce D. McClung, “*Lady in the Dark*: Biography of a Musical” (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 125–35.
113. *New York Times*, 7 March 1943.
114. *Variety*, 3 March 1943.
115. Howard Barnes, *New York Herald Tribune*; Robert Coleman, *Daily Mirror*; Burns Mantle, *Daily News*; Ward Morehouse, *New York Sun*; Lewis Nichols, *New York Times*; Burton Rascoe, *New York World-Telegram*; Wilella Waldorf, *New York Post* (all 1 March 1943).
116. For details of the California engagement, see McClung, *Biography*, 137–41.
117. *New York Times*, 1 August 1943.
118. *New York Times*, 16 February 1941; the newspaper had reported the film deal for *Abie’s Irish Rose* on 27 February 1927.
119. Paramount initially agreed to withhold release until 1 September 1942, so as not to compete with the Broadway production. The contract also specified that the film could not play in “such cities included in such tour or contemplated tour until after the play has completed its run therein.” Moss Hart, Kurt Weill, and Ira Gershwin, letter of 20 February 1941 to Sidney Fleischer, Esq., GC. Weill’s attorney’s records confirm this amount; WLRC, Series 30, Box 3. Restrictions ended on 1 June 1943.
120. David Chierichetti, *Mitchell Leisen: Hollywood Director* (Los Angeles: Photoventures Press, 1995), 182.
121. Letter of 24 November 1942, GC, Box 66, Fld. 24.
122. Chierichetti, *Mitchell Leisen*, 187.
123. *New York Times*, 24 April and 6 May 1944.
124. Photocopy of Dramatists Play Service contract, Kurt Weill Foundation for Music, Business Papers, “*Lady in the Dark—Contracts*.” Members of the Dramatists Guild established the Dramatists Play Service in 1936.
125. *New York Times*, 2 May 1949 (Utah); 11 June 1949 (Guilford); 12 August 1949 (Long Beach).
126. *New York Times*, 17 October 1943.
127. Connie Billips and Arthur Pierce, *Lux Presents Hollywood: A Show-by-Show History of the Lux Radio Theatre and the Lux Video Theatre, 1934–1957* (Jefferson, N.C.: McFarland, 1995), 7.
128. *New York Times*, 11 October 1947. A recording of that radio performance was released in 1984 as an LP (AEI 1146) and re-released in 1993 as a compact disc (AEI-CD 003). Nowhere did the packaging of these two releases identify the source of the recording, an omission implying that it may have derived from the original production.
129. Letter of 21 October 1947, WLA, Box 48, Fld. 42.
130. *New York Times*, 6 March 1950.
131. Lewis Nichols, *New York Times*, 27 October 1944.
132. *New York Times*, 15 December 1945. Mitchell Leisen directed the 1948 film version of *Dream Girl*, which starred Betty Hutton and Macdonald Carey.
133. *New York Times*, 2 December 1946.
134. Seven years after scoring the film, Bennett arranged an instrumental medley of Weill’s score for large orchestra under the title “Symphonic Nocturne.” The fifteen-minute suite includes most of the numbers from the stage work in the order they appear there. It was first performed in summer 1949 at Lewisohn Stadium in New York and the Hollywood Bowl in Los Angeles.
135. Quoted in John C. Tibbetts, *Composers in the Movies: Studies in Musical Biography* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2005), 50.
136. The undated contract, registering the French version of *Lady in the Dark* (“Une femme dans la nuit”) with the Société des Auteurs, Compositeurs et Editeurs de Musique, is in WLRC, Series 33. Signed by the three authors and the two French translators, Jacques Darioux and Marc Blanquet, it stipulates a 60–40 division of royalties: Hart 30 percent, Weill 15 percent, Gershwin 15 percent, and the two translators 20 percent each. In a letter of 17 May 1947 to Lenya, Weill mentioned a meeting involving

- Blanquet and commented, "I will give them the rights although I am pretty sure that neither they nor anybody else will do anything in Paris"; *W-LL(e)*, 470.
137. *New York Times*, 3 June 1948. Lawrence's contract for *Lady in the Dark* gave her the exclusive right to star in *Lady in the Dark* in London during her lifetime; *New York Times*, 29 August 1943.
138. *W-Fam*, 411.
139. In his earliest surviving letter regarding the project, Gershwin suggested to Weill, "There's so much of an experimental nature to be written by us I feel we'll probably have to overwrite and then cut." Letter of 18 March 1940; WLA, Box 48, Fld. 33.
140. Copies of the proposed Tams-Witmark contract with a letter dated 25 January 1965, from Louis H. Aborn, president of Tams-Witmark Music Library, Inc., to Irving Cohen, Esq., and the signed contract of 25 March 1965, Kurt Weill Foundation for Music, Business Papers, "Lady in the Dark—Correspondence."
141. For a discussion of the updates, see mcclung, *Biography*, 186.
142. For item (6), **Tt3** has a marking in Spencer's hand that reads "she sings [sings later crossed out] last ½ of Ship. Everybody enters and dances." But this was not adopted in **Tt4**, which specifies that students sing a few lines of "Mapleton High Choral" (as adopted in Edition). See Critical Report, notes for "My Ship," m. 31, beat 4.
143. **Y1**, 4 October 1991.
144. Quoted in Richard Stoddard Aldrich, *Gertrude Lawrence as Mrs. A.: An Intimate Biography of the Great Star* (New York: Greystone Press, 1954), 212–13 (emphasis in Aldrich).
145. Carlisle Hart, *Kitty*, 158.
146. **Vm** implies that Liza would have sung along with the sopranos, while **Tty2** and Frank Spencer's script (**Tt3**) have "All."
147. Letter of 8 March 1941, GC, Box 66, Fld. 23. The earliest surviving documentation of the offbeat notes at the end of "Jenny" appear on Hildegard's recording (Decca album 208, "The Saga of Jenny—Part 2," mx. 23206 B), but, there, it is the chorus that sings them. Perhaps her recording was influenced by what Lawrence had already been doing on stage.
148. Letter to Gershwin, 11 April 1941, GC, Box 66, Fld. 23.
149. The most successful modern revival has been the chamber production staged by the National Theatre in 1997 starring Maria Friedman and directed by Francesca Zambello. It won the Evening Standard Award for best musical and was nominated for an Olivier Award for best musical. A cast recording appeared the following year on CD (TER 1244).