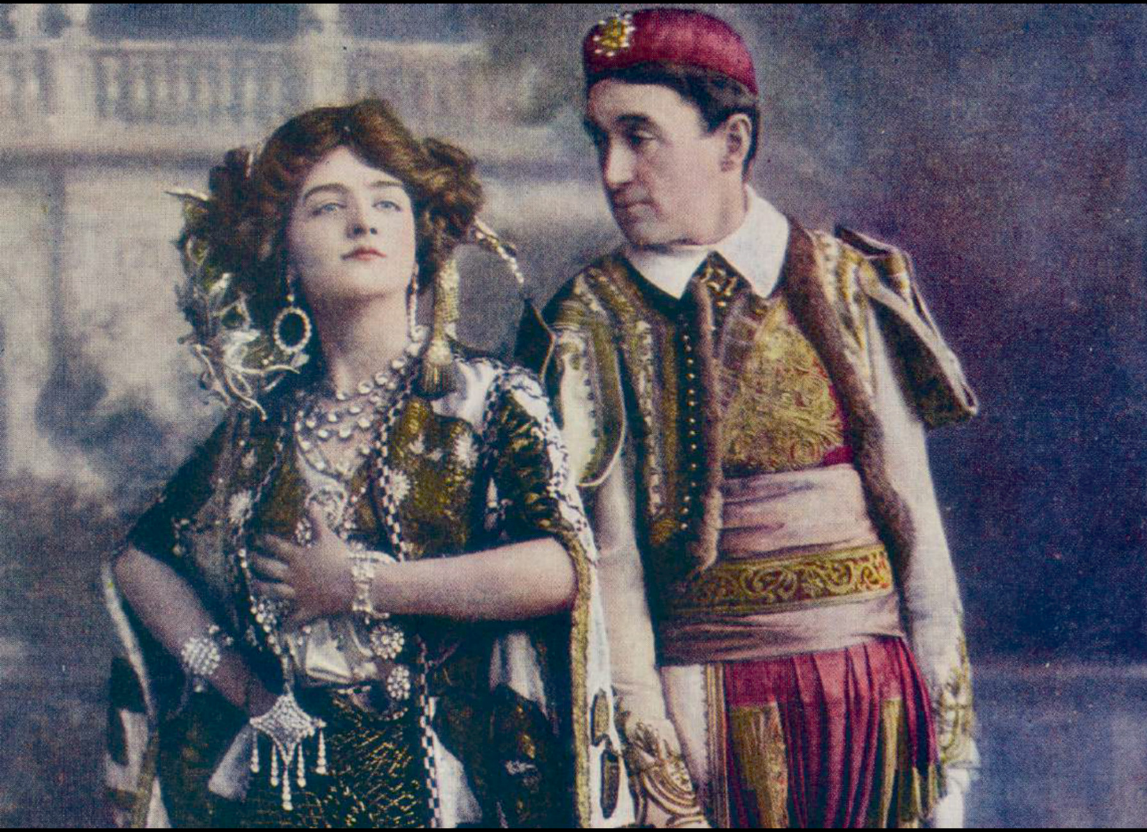
German Operetta on Broadway and in the West End, 1900–1940



Derek B. Scott

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German Operetta on Broadway and in the West End, 1900–1940

Academic attention has focused on America's influence on European stage works, and yet dozens of operettas from Austria and Germany were produced on Broadway and in the West End, and their impact on the musical life of the early twentieth century is undeniable. In this ground-breaking book, Derek B. Scott examines the cultural transfer of operetta from the German stage to Britain and the USA and offers a historical and critical survey of these operettas and their music. In the period 1900–1940, over sixty operettas were produced in the West End, and over seventy on Broadway. A study of these stage works is important for the light they shine on a variety of social topics of the period – from modernity and gender relations to new technology and new media – and these are investigated in the individual chapters. This book is also available as Open Access on Cambridge Core at doi.org/10.1017/9781108614306.

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Introduction

It makes sense to study the reception of operetta in both London and New York because, as Walter James MacQueen-Pope recognized in his retrospective study of Edwardian theatre, 'the closest theatrical interchange' existed between the stages of the UK and USA.[1] The same English version of Franz Lehár's *Die lustige Witwe* was produced in the West End and on Broadway in the same year, 1907, and stimulated the same hearty appetite for operetta from the German stage. The world-wide success of *The Merry Widow* launched what became known as the 'Silver Age' of operetta. Rutland Barrington, a singer renowned for his roles in the Gilbert and Sullivan comic operas, was performing in an operetta by Leo Fall in 1910, and remarked, 'the long-threatened German invasion' of the West End was 'an accomplished fact'.[2] Although the First World War brought a temporary diminution of opportunities for new productions, the 1920s witnessed an enthusiastic renewal of interest. During that decade, operettas from the stages of Berlin theatres (such as the Metropol, the Thalia, and the Theater am Nollendorfplatz) were regularly produced in London's West End and on Broadway. In addition to Lehár, among the various much-admired imports to both cities were operettas by Oscar Straus, Leo Fall, Jean Gilbert (real name, Max Winterfeld), Emmerich Kálmán, Eduard Künneke, and Ralph Benatzky. The enormous demand for silver-age operetta in London and New York is forgotten, and yet, between 1907 and 1938, over sixty operettas from the German stage were produced in the West End, and more than seventy on Broadway. There are also surprises if we look at the top twenty successful operettas in each city by initial numbers of performances (Appendix 2). In London, Gilbert has four operettas in the top twenty, one more than Lehár, and in New York, Kálmán has four compared to Lehár's two. It may also raise eyebrows to learn that before the First World War, not all operettas came from Vienna:

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[1] W. J. MacQueen-Pope, *Carriages at Eleven: The Story of the Edwardian Theatre* (London: Hutchinson, 1947), 132.

[2] Rutland Barrington, *More Rutland Barrington* (London: Grant Richards, 1911), 219. The operetta was *Die geschiedene Frau*, produced in London and New York in 1910 as *The Girl in the Train*.

in the three years before Britain's declaration of war (4 August 1914), six operettas from Berlin were produced in London.

This book investigates operetta productions in the context of audience expectations, aspirations, and anxieties. It explores the social, cultural, and moral values of the period, and asks how operettas engaged with modernity, innovative technology, social change, and cultural difference. Seeking to enhance knowledge of international cultural exchange, I study the business world that surrounded them, and consider the changes made for London and New York productions. Beyond a desire to know what it was in German operetta that appealed to British and American audiences, I look for activities that can advance understanding of cosmopolitanism in music, because operetta, along with ragtime and early jazz, was able to cross national borders with remarkable ease.

Operettas of the silver age have features that set them apart from the golden age of Jacques Offenbach, Arthur Sullivan, and Johann Strauss, Jr. They differ in the way they were disseminated, because of the stronger links between those involved in their creation and the agents and business entrepreneurs who were keen to target metropolitan markets. The means of doing so had been facilitated by improved transport networks, technological developments, such as telephones, and protective legislation in the form of copyright law. International distribution occurred quickly because it was already built into the planning of new theatre productions and was aided by a growing number of international stars. Kurt Gänzl observes that 'silver age' suggests a less important and successful period than its 'golden' predecessor but notes that silver-age operetta proved more successful internationally.[3] The operettas themselves often differed in content from those of the previous century. Undoubtedly, the satirical character diminished, but they often engaged with modernity. There were changes in the music, too: a more extreme mixture of musical styles became the norm. *Die lustige Witwe* includes the csárdás, fast and slow waltzes, march, polka, gallop, polonaise, mazurka, cake-walk, and Serbian kolo, and later operettas extended the variety of styles to include the latest fashionable dances (for example, the fox trot and tango).

This book is divided into two parts, the first relating to issues of operetta production and the second to its reception. Inevitably, it is not a distinction that can be tightly contained, and there are inevitable overlaps – especially in Chapter 6 on intermediality. The book begins with an examination of the music of silver-age operetta, and it is followed by a study of the changes that occurred as these operettas were re-worked for audiences in other countries. These revisions enhance our knowledge of the workings of cultural transfer. Chapter 3 investigates how the production of operetta operated as a transcultural entertainment industry. Its business practices illustrate the beginnings of the kind of distribution and consumption of culture that would, in the second half of the twentieth century, begin to be of major economic significance to a country's gross domestic product. Part 1 ends with a survey of those involved in the staging of operetta: its producers, directors, designers, and performers.

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[3] Kurt Gänzl, 'Exportartikel Operette: Die Wiener und Berliner Operette auf englischsprachigen Bühnen', in Marie-Theres Arnbom, and Kevin Clarke, eds., *Die Welt der Operette. Glamour, Stars & Showbusiness* (Vienna: Brandstätter Verlag, 2011), 65–73, at 72.

I should alert the reader to the importance of the list of operetta productions given in Appendix 1. It is sometimes impossible to guess the former German title from that used in an English version: to give two examples, Franz Lehár's *Das Fürstenkind* and Eduard Künneke's *Der Vetter aus Dingsda* became *Maids of Athens* and *Caroline* respectively when produced on Broadway. Since my focus is on operettas from the German stage, Appendix 1 does not include operettas composed to English librettos, even if the composer continued to be actively involved with the stages of Vienna and Berlin. These can, however, be found in Appendix 3.

Some readers may be disappointed that there is not more consideration given to the Broadway musicals of Kurt Weill, which so often overlap with features of operetta. Weill is often seen as standing apart from the musical theatrical practice of his time, especially in the German context, but this impression is dispelled once a familiarity with operetta of the 1920s has been acquired.[4] *Die Dreigroschenoper* was first performed at the Theater am Schiffbauerdamm (1928), as was *Happy End* (1929) and, after its Leipzig try-out, so was *Aufstieg und Fall der Stadt Mahagonny* (1931). In the first two decades of the twentieth century, that theatre, known then as the Neues Theater, had staged many operettas, including worldwide successes such as Franz Lehár's *Der Graf von Luxemburg* in 1909 and Leo Fall's *Der liebe Augustin* in 1912. Weill actually labelled *Der Kuhhandel* an operetta.[5] It was produced as *A Kingdom for a Cow* at the Savoy Theatre, during his temporary exile in England in 1935. It enjoyed little success, but

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[4] While acknowledging that the success of *Die Dreigroschenoper* cannot be adequately measured using an operetta yardstick, Bernard Grun insists that its stimulating effect should not be denied. *Kulturgeschichte der Operette* (München: Langen Müller Verlag, 1961), 442.

[5] At this time, argues Stephen Hinton, Weill had 'increasingly embraced operetta as a positive model'. *Weill's Musical Theater: Stages of Reform* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012), 224.

Weill reused the melody of one of its numbers, ‘Seit ich in diese Stadt gekommen bin’, for ‘September Song’, the international hit from his Broadway musical *Knickerbocker Holiday* (1938).[6]

Part 2 of the book links the reception of operetta to wider social and technological changes, beginning with a general survey of reception. Next, operetta is considered as a form of entertainment created in the knowledge that it would circulate via differing media platforms and channels (such as records, radio, films, and dance-band arrangements). Film adaptations are important, because not only did cinema become a rival of theatre on Broadway and in the West End, but also many actors and singers moved between stage and film. Next, I discuss how operetta resonated with modernity, the glamorous, the sophisticated, the new, and the experiences of city life. Those experiences lead to an examination of the metropolis as a site of cosmopolitanism and transcultural exchange. Operetta may be called a cosmopolitan genre in that it was an artistic form appealing to people of differing cultural backgrounds, and involving a transnational mix of performers, composers, lyricists, directors, designers, and entrepreneurs. Nothing illustrates arguments about cosmopolitanism better than the international transfer of musical goods. The nineteenth century witnessed the beginnings of a transcultural entertainment industry that eventually became the globalized entertainment industry of today.[7]

Although operetta’s role in offering insight into social history may be accepted, some readers may wonder if anything as positive can be said about its value as an artistic genre. It is easy to jump to the conclusion that it merely offers comforting emotions and sentimental escapism. Yet, because it is often lacking in theatrical illusionistic realism, it is often able to stimulate critical thought. Consider the comments made by Viennese satirist Karl Kraus:

> It is plausible when you hear operetta conspirators sing, but in opera conspirators are serious and their unmotivated singing undermines the seriousness of their project. Operetta nonsense is romantic. The function of music, to relax the constrictions of life and revitalize mental activity, is coupled with an irresponsible

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[6] Weill was not alone in feeling the influence of operetta: contemporary topics and modern dance styles are found in operetta before they appear in *Zeitopern* such as Ernst Krenek’s *Jonny spielt auf* of 1926.

[7] The development of a nineteenth-century music industry features in my books *The Singing Bourgeois: Songs of the Victorian Drawing Room and Parlour* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2nd edn 2001) and *Sounds of the Metropolis: The 19th-Century Popular Music Revolution in London, New York, Paris, and Vienna* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008).

> exhilaration, and we gain a sense of our own real follies in the confusion created. The operetta is an intoxication that gives rise to thought.[8]

Kraus's words bring to mind Walter Benjamin's thoughts on humour and critical awareness: 'There is no better start for thinking than laughter.'[9]

Without deeper knowledge of these stage entertainments and their reception, we lack adequate understanding of the musical-theatrical mainstream in the early twentieth century. Operetta is part of a cultural middle ground that is often neglected in academic work, the focus of which so often falls on the predilections of a cultural elite, or on working-class leisure pursuits. Much of the work undertaken on twentieth-century operetta until recent times has been of a cataloguing and plot-descriptive nature, rather than interpretative or critical.[10] That is now changing, as scholars investigate operetta productions in the context of cultural history and the social issues with which they engage.[11] In saying this, I do not mean to denigrate Richard Traubner's excellent general survey, *Operetta: A Theatrical History* (revised 2003), or Andrew Lamb's *150 Years of Popular Musical Theatre* (2000). I am thinking strictly in terms of the academic limitations of research that works outside the apparatus of footnotes, and often fails to offer adequate detail regarding sources of information. I might add at this point that I have, throughout the book, employed what some may consider an excessive number of footnotes. My concern is to present, whenever possible, information that may be validated and verified. In my own research, I have discovered the necessity of confirming that a source is reliable, or, checking to see if it has been accurately cited and not misinterpreted. I therefore feel obliged to offer readers the opportunity to scrutinize my own interpretation of sources. Yet, while I hope this book will contribute to the scholarly study of operetta, I am also keen to appeal to general readers who enjoy operetta and wish to enhance their enjoyment by delving into the history of the genre. I want to assure such readers that all essential content is located in the main body of the text.

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[8] Karl Kraus, *Sprüche und Widersprüche* [1909, rev. 1923], in Karl Kraus, *Aphorismen*, ed. Christian Wagenknecht (Berlin: Suhrkamp, 1986, 4th edn 1994), 7–177, at 97. Translations are mine, unless otherwise stated.

[9] Walter Benjamin, 'The Author as Producer' ('Der Autor als Produzent', 1934), in Peter Demetz ed., *Reflections: Essays, Aphorisms, Autobiographical Writings* (New York: Schocken Books 1978), 235.

[10] Four of the most important of such works for the English reader are Kurt Gänzl and Andrew Lamb, *Gänzl's Book of the Musical Theatre* (London: The Bodley Head, 1988); Mark Lubbock (with an American section by David Ewen), *The Complete Book of Light Opera* (London: Putnam, 1962); Gerald Bordman and Richard Norton. *American Musical Theatre: A Chronicle* (New York: Oxford University Press, 4th edn 2011), and Richard C. Norton, *A Chronology of American Musical Theater*, 3 vols. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002). A wide-ranging survey of operetta sources can be found in Robert Ignatius Letellier, *Operetta: A Sourcebook*, 2 vols. (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2015). Two useful shorter books are David Ewen, *The Book of European Light Opera* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1962) and John Drinkrow, *The Vintage Operetta Book* (Reading: Osprey, 1972). Four German publications (offering synopses of various operettas omitted in English texts) are Stan Czech, *Das Operettenbuch: Ein Führer durch die Operetten und Singspiele der deutschen Bühnen* (Stuttgart: Muth'sche Verlag, 1950); Anton Würz, ed., *Reclams Operettenführer* (Stuttgart: Reclam, 1951); Otto Schneidereit, *Operette A–Z: Ein Streifzug durch die Welt der Operette und des Musicals* (Berlin: Henschelverlag, 1975); and Heinz Wagner, *Das große Operettenbuch: 120 Komponisten und 430 Werke* (Berlin: Parthas-Verl., 1997).

[11] For necessarily selective examples, see Micaela Baranello, '*Die lustige Witwe* and the Creation of the Silver Age of Viennese Operetta', *Cambridge Opera Journal*, 26/3 (2014), 175–202; Tobias Becker, David Linton, and Len Platt, eds., *Popular Musical Theatre in Germany and Britain, 1890–1939* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014); Bettina Brandl-Risi, Clemens Risi, and Rainer Simon, *Kunst der Oberfläche: Operette zwischen Bravour und Banalität* (Leipzig: Henschel Verlag, 2015); Kevin Clarke, ed., *Glitter and be Gay: Die authentische Operette und ihre schwulen Verehrer* (Hamburg: Männerschwarm Verlag, 2007); Stefan Frey. *Laughter under Tears: Emmerich Kálmán – An Operetta Biography*, trans. Alexander Butziger. Los Angeles: Operetta Foundation, 2014 (originally published as '*Unter Tränen lachen*': *Emmerich Kálmán: Eine Operettenbibliographie*. Berlin: Henschel, 2003), and

In his music criticism of the early 1930s, Theodor Adorno, explained that operetta appealed to people who wanted the relaxation and physical pleasure that 'real art' had forbidden in the early twentieth century.[12] Such desires used to be satisfied in community art, but capitalism, he argued, had worked to eliminate a living folk culture and turn music into a market article. He believed that nineteenth-century composers such as Johann Strauss Jr still had room for manoeuvre, but that vanished with the industrialized production of the next century.[13] There was no longer a 'vulgar music' that a composer could draw on in order to regenerate musical material.[14] Adorno identifies 'historical dregs' of a disheartening

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Michela Niccolai and Clair Rowden, eds., *Musical Theatre in Europe 1830–1945* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2017). In German universities, operetta has been accepted as a research subject, and Albrecht Dümling pinpoints the moment of change to the appearance of the article 'Operette' by Harald Haslmayr and Jörg Jewanski, in Ludwig Finscher, ed., *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, 2, rev. edn, Sachteil 7 (Kassel/Stuttgart, 1997), 706–39. At the same time, however, Dümling remarks on the lack of analytical work on operetta. See 'Wiederentdeckung NS-verfolgter Operettenkomponsiten: Erfahrungen eines Musikwissenschafters', in Wolfgang Schaller, ed., *Operette unterm Hakenkreuz: Zwischen hoffähiger Kunst und 'Entartung'* (Berlin: Metropol Verlag, 2007), 198–208, at 199.

[12] 'Arabesken zur Operette' [1932], *Gesammelte Schriften*, 19, Musikalische Schriften VI (Frankfurt: Suhrkamp, 1984), 516–19, at 516.

[13] 'Zur gesellschaftlichen Lage der Musik' [1932], *Gesammelte Schriften*, 18, Musikalische Schriften V (Frankfurt: Suhrkamp, 1984), 729–77, at 771. An excerpt of this essay, 'On the Social Situation of Music', is in Theodor W. Adorno, *Essays on Music*, ed. Richard Leppert, trans. Susan H. Gillespie (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), 391–436.

[14] 'Zur gesellschaftlichen Lage der Musik', 771.

kind in operetta, made up of that which can no longer be transformed into individual human expression in 'objective types of music'.[15] He regards human expression in operetta as a self-confident but empty spirit that yields nothing of substance, and ignores the arguments Erich Urban made back in 1903 that operetta has its own 'justification, meaning and history' as a genre.[16] Adorno is unable to comprehend popular music as anything other than 'outdated or depraved art music'.[17] There is no recognition of popular musical genres developing their own individual musical styles, techniques, and devices.[18] In fact 'light music' becomes ever worse, and Adorno links its erosion and trivialization specifically to the industrialization of its production.[19]

Unlike 'serious' opera, which preferred historical and mythological subject matter, operetta frequently engaged with social modernity, if not with artistic modernism. It was common for operettas to relate to features of the modern city, such as trains, cars, department stores, cinemas, and to social changes associated with the development of a capitalist economy. A perceived lack of moral tone in operetta was of special concern in cities that were part of a nineteenth-century 'national awakening', such as Athens or Helsinki: indecency and lack of high-mindedness could seem inappropriate to national ambition. In spite of that, however, people in all social strata shared an appetite for operetta, although this genre addressed most consistently the worldview, desires, and aspirations of the urban middle classes.

Defining what an operetta is is problematic because its classification is fluid. For the purposes of this book, I include a broad range of stage works that relate to the European heritage of operetta, but which may sometimes be classified as musical plays, operetta-revue, vaudeville operetta, and musical farce. The term ‘musical comedy’ tended to be associated with a type of British and American stage entertainment that arose in the 1890s. It was often contrasted with operetta in the minds of critics, especially during the years between the success of *The Merry Widow* in 1907 and the appearance in the mid-1920s of the new-style Broadway musicals of George Gershwin and others. Volker Klotz has attempted to distinguish operetta from the stage musical by insisting that, in the former, the spoken dialogue is part of a stage world shaped by music, and that the dramatic highlights are the ensembles in which individual tensions are revealed.[20] That is often true, but, as the Broadway musical developed, a much more obvious distinction became the styles of singing associated with each. While operetta singing remained rooted in operatic technique, the musical began to demand a range of different styles, among which the ‘operatic’ vocal sound was but one option.[21]

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[15] 'Arabesken zur Operette', 516.

[16] Erich Urban, 'Die Wiedergeburt der Operette', *Die Musik*, 3:3 (1903), 176–86, and 3:4 (1903): 269–81; quoted from 3:3, at 180.

[17] 'Zur gesellschaftlichen Lage der Musik', at 771.

[18] I put the case for these developments in *Sounds of the Metropolis*. Adorno's inability to see any distinct developments in popular music leads him to make sweeping and patently inaccurate statements, such as 'die Jazz-Fertigindustrie lebt von der Verarbeitung "klassiche" Musik, die Bildung als Rohstoff ihr liefert' (the jazz industry thrives by processing 'classical' music as a heritage of raw material). 'Zur gesellschaftlichen Lage der Musik', at 773.

[19] 'Zur gesellschaftlichen Lage der Musik', 771. For a survey of critics of operetta who preceded Adorno, see Marion Linhardt, *'Warum es der Operette so schlecht geht': Ideologische Debatten um das musikalische Unterhaltungstheater (1880–1916)* (Vienna: Böhlau, 2001). For later debate, until it became infected by Nazi ideology, see Marion Linhardt, ed., *Stimmen zur Unterhaltung: Operette und Revue in der publizistischen Debatte (1906–1933)* (Vienna: Lehner, 2009).

Another difficulty lies in distinguishing an operetta from an opera. It is my contention that searching for defining structural features is a pointless exercise. What makes an opera an opera is more a question of musical style and, in particular, the presence or absence of musical styles associated with commerce or entertainment.[22] In the eighteenth century, popular styles could be incorporated into opera, as in *Die Zauberflöte*, without creating the same definitional problems that occur following the growth of a music industry. The use or adaptation of later popular styles, as happens in *Die Dreigroschenoper*, became aesthetically problematic. Significantly, this stage work ran very successfully on Broadway as *The Threepenny Opera*, but is not in the regular repertory of any major opera company. The definition of operetta given in Lehár’s *Der Göttergatte*, however, ignores musical style altogether, and describes it simply as ‘an entertainment in which women flash their legs to musical accompaniment’. A late 1920s development, particularly hated by Adorno, was revue operetta, which he accused of playing irresponsibly with people’s aspirations and desires.[23] It was a loose structure in which dialogue increased, and songs were scattered here and there with little that made them essential to the action. To the question, ‘where are we after this song?’ the answer was likely to be, ‘exactly where we were before the song began’. Producer-director Erik Charell was associated with the rise of revue operetta in Berlin, an example being his hugely successful *Im weißen Rössl* (*White Horse Inn*).

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[20] Volker Klotz, *Operette: Porträt und Handbuch einer unerhörten Kunst* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, rev. edn 2004), 19.

[21] Jo Estill classified these styles (‘belt’, ‘opera’, ‘twang’, etc.) and their associated techniques, and they form the basis of the vocal coaching method she developed in the 1980s: *Compulsory Figures of Voice: A User’s Guide to Voice Quality* (Santa Rosa, CA: Estill Voice Training Systems, 1997).

[22] I have elsewhere categorized such music as the ‘Third Type’ in order to distinguish it from classical or folk music. In European countries it is known by such labels as *Unterhaltungsmusik, variétés, musica leggiera*, and λαϊκή μουσική. See ‘Musical Theatres’, in Helen Greenwald, ed., *The Oxford Handbook to Opera* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014), 53–72.

[23] ‘Zur gesellschaftlichen Lage der Musik’, 772.

Some words are necessary concerning the problem of categorizing the stage works that are the focus of this book. ‘Operettas from the twentieth-century German stage’ is a useful phrase for outlining its general remit, even if a small number of operettas that reached Broadway and the West End were heard first on the Hungarian stage, and secondly on the German stage. Another common description refers to this period of operetta production as the *silberne Ära* or *silberne Zeitalter* (silver age). This designation may seem to be the simplest and most appropriate, because it appears to avoid the national identification problems of this cosmopolitan genre. However, for some, the silver age is associated with Vienna, and not Berlin.[24] I am examining the work of composers born in Germany (Lincke, Gilbert), as well as Bohemian and Moravian composers (Nedbal, Benatzky, Korngold) and composers whose country of birth has changed: for example, Paul Abraham [Pál Ábrahám], born in Apatin, once in Hungary (and before that under Habsburg control) but now in Serbia, and Walter Kollo, born in Neidenburg, once East Prussia but now Nidzica in Poland. Franz Lehár, whose birthplace now lies in Slovakia (in Komárno), illustrates the difficulties for those keen on establishing ethnic identity. Kálmán sometimes referred to Lehár as ‘the Slovak’, yet his father was Austrian (there was originally no accent on the ‘a’ of the family name[25]), and his mother was Hungarian (albeit of German descent). Lehár grew up speaking Hungarian and German, studied in Prague, and obtained his first job with his father’s band in Vienna.

When many of the composers named above were born it was into territory controlled by the Dual Monarchy, but that territory shrank considerably after the First World War. Following the Treaty of Saint Germain, 1919, the Austro-Hungarian Empire lost Bohemia, Moravia, the Trentino, South Tyrol, Galicia, Bukovina, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Dalmatia, and Slovenia. Some operettas were composed to Hungarian libretti and later translated into German, although it was often the German version that was the basis of an English-language adaptation. After extensive deliberation, I have chosen the simple but not unproblematic term 'German operetta' to describe the research object of this book. The main thing for the reader to understand is that I am using this term to refer to stage works performed in the German language before they were given in English versions on Broadway and in the West End. In other words, I am using 'German' in the sense that people speak of Mozart's German operas, rather than his Austrian operas.

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[24] Some critics apply the label to Vienna only, and sometimes it refers to the first two decades of the twentieth century only, as in Franz Hadamowsky and Heinz Otte. *Die Wiener Operette: Ihre Theater- und Wirkungsgeschichte* (Vienna: Bellaria, 1947), 297–346.

[25] It was added to match the German pronunciation of ‘a’; without an accent, an ‘a’ in Hungarian is more like ‘o’ in the word ‘hot’.

I have decided to spell names in the form in which the person became widely known, thus, the reader will find mention of the Shubert brothers (not Shubart), and Paul Abraham (not Pál Ábrahám). Nevertheless, I find it difficult to be fully consistent. For example, I use Emmerich (not Imre) as Kálmán's given name, but I leave the diacritical markings on Kálmán, although his gravestone in Vienna's Zentralfriedhof does not. My excuse is that there was an inconsistency in presenting his name, and a choice had to be made (and Kálmán was not a name he was born with, but one he chose himself). When I name an operetta, if the title appears in German, then I am referring to the German language version. An English title refers to the English version, and, if there are differing American and British versions, then I specify Broadway or the West End. This book concentrates on English language performances in those cities, but there were occasional performances in German. Operettas could transfer easily from the German stage to the Irving Place Theatre, New York's most significant German-language theatre (built in 1888, with a seating capacity of over 1500), the Yorkville Theatre (Upper East Side), or the Wintergarden zum schwarzen Alder. The musical director of the Yorkville Theatre, Rudolf Bach, gave operetta performances in German in the mid-1920s, including Stolz's *Mädi*, Jarno's *Die Försterchristl*, Fall's *Madame Pompadour*, and Kálmán's *Die Bajadere*.[26] German productions also took place in London, for example, at the Coliseum in 1912 and the Aldwych in 1933. There were also a few performances of operetta in other languages. Edmund Eysler's *Pufferl* was given in Italian translation, at the Majestic, New York, in 1911, and Oscar Straus's *Mariette* in its original French version at His Majesty's, London, in 1929.[27] Performances were also given in Yiddish in New York (Irving Place became a Yiddish theatre in the later 1920s) and in London

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[26] John Koegel, *Music in German Immigrant Theater: New York City, 1840–1940* (Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 2009), 369.

[27] There is some limited reference to performances in languages other than English provided in Appendix 1.

(Pavilion Theatre).[28] The Schulman-Goldberg Public Theatre, located at 4th Street and 2nd Avenue, had a seating capacity of 1743, and opened on 27 January 1927 with *Parisian Love*, a Yiddish version of Kálmán's *Bajadere*.[29]

In ascertaining numbers of performances, I have drawn on a variety of sources, from websites to books and newspapers. The annual volumes of Burns Mantle's *Best Plays* are a valuable source of information for New York, but they began to appear only in 1920, and a single summary volume, added in 1933, suffices for 1909–19. J. P. Wearing's *London Stage* volumes are rich in data, but, valuable as they are, they do not include variety theatres; therefore, for example, the one-act operettas produced at the London Hippodrome are not included. Several cautions need to be given regarding the reliability of interpreting long runs as an indication of an operetta's popularity. For a start, they ignore tours, which might lead to a different perception about an operetta's reception. Lehár's *Frasquita* may have flopped in London, but it arrived there after a successful four-month tour of other UK cities. José Collins, the singer playing the title role, described its failure as the most bitter disappointment of her life, and blamed it on the location of the Prince's Theatre, which she complained was at the 'wrong end of Shaftesbury Avenue' and in 'a dim, uninviting neighbourhood'.[30] Another matter to bear in mind, when construing the length of a run as an indication of popularity, is that some theatres had two performances a day, and others had matinee performances on certain days. The size of the auditorium needs to be considered, too: Drury Lane, for instance, could accommodate an audience twice the size as was possible in most West End theatres. Finally, performance statistics do not indicate whether or not there was a capacity audience for most of the run, nor do they tell us whether a production needed to close because audiences were dwindling, or because another production was waiting to be staged. When Straus's *The Last Waltz* closed at the Gaiety Theatre, it was still playing to a full house, but the next production had been prepared.[31]

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[28] In 1906, the Pavilion Theatre in London's East End was the home of Fenman's Jewish Operatic and Dramatic Company. Jim Davis, 'The East End', in Michael R. Booth and Joel H. Kaplan, eds., *The Edwardian Theatre: Essays on Performance and the Stage* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 201–19, at 208.

[29] 'East Side Opens a New Play House', *New York Times*, 28 Jan. 1927, 15.

[30] José Collins, *The Maid of the Mountains: Her Story* (London: Hutchinson, 1932), 246, 248.

[31] Ibid., 209. The next production was *Catherine*, which used the music of Tchaikovsky.

I should alert the reader to what is missing in a reception history like this. First, by concentrating on two cities, wider reception in the UK and USA is neglected. Second, by focusing on Broadway and the West End, the wealth of amateur performance is ignored.[32] Third, it means some operettas of the period, now regarded as important, are marginalized, because they were not produced in London or New York. Two Lehár examples are *Der Zarewitsch* and *Giuditta*. At this point, I must confess that my determination to research silver-age operetta was fired not by *Die lustige Witwe* (although I like it immensely) but by Kálmán's *Die Herzogin von Chicago*, a work not given a Broadway or West End production. Some operettas missed out on a London production because of the First World War. The Broadway audience saw Lehár's *Alone at Last* (*Endlich Allein*) in 1915, but the West End audience did not. The London audience was deprived, later, of the opportunity of seeing continental European operettas of the war years because the attention of entrepreneurs tended to focus on the current operettas being applauded in Berlin. Kálmán's *Die Csárdásfürstin* (1915), along with *Das Dreimäderlhaus* (1916), Heinrich Berté's operetta using arrangements of Schubert's music, are rare examples of wartime operettas from the German stage that were given productions in the 1920s in the West End, as *The Gipsy Princess* (1921) and *Lilac Time* (1922), respectively.

Some may argue that it is more important to study originals rather than devote time to adaptations. An original is often prized as the authentic version, and, because of that, considered the best. Leaving aside how original the original is – it is often a version of something else – it must be recognized that an adaptation can differ in ways that make comparison inappropriate or awkward. Consider the New York version of *The Dollar Princess*: more than half of the final act contains new music, including a choral number by the production's musical director W. T. Francis, a new song by Leo Fall, another by his brother Richard, and three songs by a composer of great importance to the later American musical stage, Jerome Kern. Arguments for authentic versions of operettas prove even more vexed than those for high-status operas (such as Verdi's *Don Carlos/ Don Carlo*). I do recommend performing the English versions, and not just as historical curiosities. They offer accessibility to Anglophone audiences, as well as a new perspective for those familiar with the German stage versions. It needs to be borne in mind that some operettas were adapted from Hungarian originals, and that different versions exist for revivals of operettas on the German stage: the Berlin *lustige Witwe* of 1928, for instance, differs from the Vienna version of 1905. Composers were often actively involved in creating additional music: Lehár composed two extra numbers for the London *Merry Widow*, and a new hit song, 'Ich hol' dir vom Himmel das Blau', for the later Berlin version.

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[32] In the UK, the National Operatic and Dramatic Association, founded in 1899, played an important role in facilitating the performance of operetta in the period studied. See John Lowerson, *Amateur Operatics: A Social and Cultural History* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005), 143–71.

The twentieth century's renewed enthusiasm for operetta began with *The Merry Widow* but had run its course by the end of the 1930s. The last new import on Broadway was Straus's *Three Waltzes* (1937), and, in the West End, Kálmán's *Maritza* (1938). The outbreak of the Second World War in 1939 made importing stage works next to impossible, but a once-thriving operetta culture was disintegrating in Germany from 1934 on, even if it still managed to continue in the absence of many of its leading figures and under watchful Nazi eyes.[33] In London, even revivals of once-loved works were proving difficult. *Lilac Time* opened at the old Shaftesbury Theatre on 20 August 1940 but was withdrawn after 23 performances because of bombing. This theatre was destroyed by bombs on 17 April 1941 (the present Shaftesbury is the renamed Prince's Theatre).[34] Remarkably, *The Merry* Widow was revived for a successful run of over three hundred performances at His Majesty's Theatre in 1943, and an ENSA production returned to London from overseas to open at the Coliseum in September 1944. Unfortunately, that month witnessed the beginning of V-2 rocket attacks (ending in March 1945). Less powerful V-1 rockets had been fired at London in the three previous months.

An interest in operetta continued on the European continent after the Second World War but was diminished in extent. The large Viennese publishing house Weinberger was in difficulties through loss of royalty income and operetta's decline in popularity, but publisher Otto Blau, who had fled to London in September 1938, helped the firm to make a new start there. Weinberger soon took over the administration of Viktor Alberti's Octava Music (originally a Berlin publishing house, which had relocated to Australia) and Lehár's Glocken Verlag.[35]

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[33] For an account of the Metropol-Theater's productions during this period, see Matthias Kauffmann, 'Operetta and Propaganda in the Third Reich: Cultural Politics and the Metropol-Theater', in Len Platt, Tobias Becker, and David Linton, *Popular Musical Theatre in London and Berlin*, 258–73.

[34] Raymond Mander and Joe Mitchenson, *Lost Theatres of London* (London: New English Library, rev. edn 1976; orig. pub. Hart-Davis, 1961), 213.

[35] Sophie Fetthauer, 'Musikverlage im Dritten Reich und im Exil: Der Wiener Bühnen- und Musikalienverlag Josef Weinberger', in Wolfgang Schaller, ed., *Operette unterm Hakenkreuz: Zwischen hoffähiger Kunst und 'Entartung'* (Berlin: Metropol Verlag, 2007), 104–14, at 113.

The production of new German operettas did not cease, although interest from Broadway and the West End had evaporated. Oscar Straus's *Die Musik kommt* was produced in Zürich in 1948, and his final operetta, *Božena*, with book and lyrics by renowned librettists Julius Brammer and Alfred Grünwald, was seen in Munich in 1952. Hans Carste composed his *Lump mit Herz* in 1945–48, while in Soviet captivity. *Die stumme Serenade*, begun at a similar period by Erich Korngold, saw the light of day in 1951. Gerhard Winkler wrote four post-war operettas, including *Die ideale Geliebte* (1957). Swiss composer Paul Burkhardt composed ten post-war operettas, including *Das Feuerwerk* (1950), with which Erik Charell and Robert Gilbert were involved and which included the worldwide hit 'O mein Papa'. There was even a late 'Lehár' operetta: his music was drawn on by Miklos Rakaï and Paul Bonneau for *Rose de Noël* (performed at the Châtelet, Paris, in 1958, with French book and lyrics by Raymond Vincy). The re-use of Lehár's music was part and parcel of a time in which revivals were much more common than new work, a state of affairs confirmed by the radio recordings released on the Cantus Classics label, as well as the Hamburger Archiv für Gesangskunst, which contains a hundred or more complete recordings of operettas broadcast on German and Austrian radio in the 1950s and 1960s.[36]

In the UK, Richard Tauber enjoyed a run of 86 performances of his operetta *Old Chelsea* at the Prince's Theatre in 1943. He took the leading role and sang the hit song 'My Heart and I'. Ivor Novello sang in his own operettas, too, his last being *King's Rhapsody* in 1949. Chappell continued advertising *Lilac Time*, *A Little Dutch Girl*, *Waltzes from Vienna*, and *Wild Violets* as 'available to operatic societies' in the early 1950s.[37] New English adaptations of continental European operettas would also be published in the second half of the twentieth century (the work, for example, of Ronald Hanmer and Phil Park, or Douglas, Maschwitz, and Grun). J. J. Shubert revived *The Merry Widow* at the Majestic in 1943, with Marta Eggerth and Jan Kiepura, and hoped to tempt Lehár to travel to the USA. Lehár did not go, but it was still one of the most successful revivals in Broadway history.[38] Leonard Bernstein composed his operetta *Candide* in 1956 (final version 1989). Nevertheless, when I produced my own operetta

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[36] http://linemusic.de/cantus.html and www.vocal-classics.com/.

[37] See advert on the back of Chappell's republication in 1952 of *The Dubarry*.

[38] Stefan Frey, '"dann kann ich leicht vergessen, das teure Vaterland . . . " Lehár unterm Hakenkreuz', in Schaller, *Operette unterm Hakenkreuz*, 91–103, at 103.

Wilberforce in 1983 (book and lyrics by Steve Davis), the genre label was regarded as an eccentric choice. Operetta seemed a historical form of no contemporary relevance. Yet, if one considers how easily *Phantom of the Opera* or *Les Misérables* might have slotted into the category of operetta as it was understood in the first half of the twentieth century, it might be argued that it is the term that has become old fashioned, rather than the form.

PART I

The Production of Operetta

1 The Music of Operetta

It was, above all, the romantic melodies and rich harmonic textures of operetta that attracted British and American audiences. B. W. Findon, editor of *The Play Pictorial*, claimed that the chief factor in the success of *The Merry Widow* was its music. He wrote enthusiastically, 'I have assisted at no first night since the production of "The Gondoliers" in which the music has been so consistently melodious and ear haunting', and went on to explain that the desire to hear the music again was the main reason for repeat visits to the theatre; it is 'the factor which always makes for long runs'.[1] A reviewer of the Broadway production followed a similar train of thought, commending the scenery, but insisting 'it is on its music that "The Merry Widow" depends for its chief success'.[2]

Characteristics of Musical Style in Operetta

The music of operetta occupied a number of positions between popular musical theatre and opera. Lehár's most operatic scores were *Zigeunerliebe* (*Gipsy Love* in London, *Gypsy Love* in New York) and *Giuditta*. Findon remarked on the operatic qualities of *Gipsy Love*, noting that it demanded skilled singers, such as Robert Michaelis and Sári Petráss.[3] Kálmán's most operatic score was *Die Bajadere* (*The Yankee Princess* on Broadway), and Gilbert's most operatic score was *Die Frau im Hermelin* (*The Lady of the Rose* in London, *The Lady in Ermine* in New York). Findon commented on the ambitious character of the latter, its being almost through-composed, with little dialogue until the third act.[4] There were composers who moved in the opposite direction, introducing an operetta-like character into their operas, as did Puccini in *La Rondine* and Richard Strauss in *Der Rosenkavalier*. Ironically, when Hugo von Hofmannsthal heard Lehár's

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[1] B. W. Findon, 'A Charming Comic Opera', *The Play Pictorial*, 10:61 (Sep. 1907), 82–84, at 82.

[2] 'The Merry Widow', *The New York Times*, 22 Oct. 1907, 9.

[3] B. W. Findon, 'Gipsy Love', *The Play Pictorial*, 20:121 (Sep. 1912), 66–68, at 66.

[4] B. W. Findon, 'The Lady of the Rose', *The Play Pictorial*, 40:241 (Sep. 1922), 70.

Libellentanz, he said how beautiful it would have been if Lehár had composed the music to his *Rosenkavalier* libretto.[5]

Dance rhythms formed an important part of the style of every operetta composer but did not prevent the cultivation of individual stylistic characteristics. Leo Fall's distinctiveness is explained by Richard Traubner:

> A song which sums up the Fall spirit might be 'Das ist das Glück nach der Mode' from *Die Rose von Stambul*. Kálmán could not have written it, nor Lehár. It is too gay, too conversational, perhaps too flippant. Its refrain does not attempt to soar in a Puccini-esque way but the whole is, preeminently, a brilliantly soaring *sung* waltz.[6]

That said, Fall produced for the same market as other operetta composers and had life experiences in common with them. His father was a military bandmaster, as was Lehár's (and Sullivan's), and, like Lehár and Kálmán, he was not Austrian. His nationality at the time of his birth was Moravian, which would be Czech today. In his teens, he had studied at Vienna Conservatory, but then, like Oscar Straus, he worked in Berlin in the 1890s. He was the least fortunate among the most admired of silver-age composers in having his career cut short by cancer, resulting in his death in 1925, aged 52. Like many of the most successful operetta composers, Fall was Jewish. Thus, it seems no coincidence that composers involved in the American invasion of London's West End in the mid-1920s were mostly of European Jewish stock (the fathers of Jerome Kern and Richard Rodgers were German Jewish immigrants, and George Gershwin's father was a Russian Jewish immigrant).

In Adorno's opinion, Straus and Fall possessed some artistic merit because they retained links to Viennese classicism:

> Oscar Straus learned his craft from the Viennese tradition, and strove to compose a richer operetta music, but was faced with two choices, either to align himself with industrialization, or, in cultivating arts and crafts, lack the social impact of Johann Strauss. Leo Fall was the last to retire with some decency from the affair.[7]

However, it needs to be borne in mind that Straus was also influenced by cabaret music. He lived for several years in Berlin, where he built a reputation at the Überbrettl cabaret in Alexanderplatz, and he had also toured with cabaret singer Božena Bradzky. Heinrich Reinhardt, the composer of *Der Opernball*, distanced Straus from the Viennese tradition by claiming that the sounds of the Überbrettl gave a certain elegant capriciousness to his music that was not at all Viennese.[8] It is heard in *Die lustigen Nibelungen* (1904), with a libretto by Rideamus (Fritz Oliven), in which satire is directed at earnest Wagnerians more than at Wagner. Yet Reinhardt's comment goes too far in the case of *Ein Walzertraum*, the Viennese qualities of which can be distinctly heard in the waltz duet for two tenors, 'Leise, ganz leise'. Straus was receptive to a variety of music, and one of the biggest impressions made on him occurred on 1 September 1886, when, aged 16, he went to the Carltheater to see *The Mikado* by Gilbert and Sullivan. It opened his eyes and ears to new possibilities and remained one of his favourite stage works.[9] He had intended to study composition with Léo Delibes in Paris in January 1891, but Delibes died just before his arrival. So, instead, he endured three years of Prussian musical discipline from Max Bruch in Berlin, who castigated him for his 'wretched inclination towards frivolity'.[10]

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[5] Anton Mayer, *Franz Lehár – Die lustiger Witwe: Der Ernst der leichten Muse* (Vienna: Edition Steinbauer, 2003), 78. Mayer cites Alma Mahler's memoirs, but without further detail.

[6] Richard Traubner, *Operetta: A Theatrical History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1983), 296.

[7] 'Zur gesellschaftlichen Lage der Musik' [2nd part] *Zeitschrift für Sozialforschung*, 1:3 (1932); 356–78, at 374, and *Gesammelte Schriften*, 18, Musikalische Schriften V (Frankfurt: Suhrkamp, 1984), 729–77, at 772. Adorno makes the error of spelling the name Straus as Strauß, but Straus, with one 's' at the end, was actually his family name, and not a chosen name.

Lehár, too, wins Adorno's respect for being acquainted with the demands of 'art music', and possessing a sense of aesthetic responsibility that prevented his operettas from becoming mere market articles, even if they bore 'the musical sign of industrialized production', which was 'the complete elimination of all contrasts within melodies, and their replacement with sequences'.[11] He cites the waltz in *Die lustige Witwe* as an example. A melodic sequence entails the repetition of a musical motive or phrase at a higher or lower pitch – often modified in some way – and may simultaneously include sequential harmony. Ascending sequences, such as found in 'Mein Held' in *Der tapfere Soldat* (*The Chocolate Soldier* in New York and London) are more common than descending sequences. 'Leise, ganz leise' in *Ein Walzertraum* has a descending modified sequence in the first eight bars. Yet sequences are by no means omnipresent in

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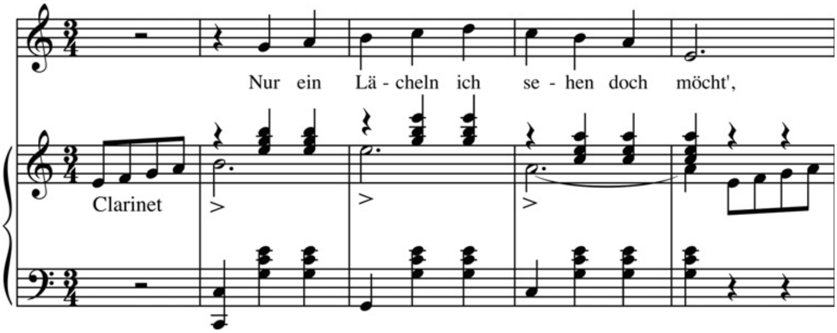
[8] Reinhardt is quoted in Otto Keller, *Die Operette in ihrer geschichtlichen Entwicklung* (Leizig: Stein Verlga, 1926), 293. Ralph Benatzky was another composer who brought cabaret experience to his operettas, see Fritz Hennenberg, *Ralph Benatzky: Operette auf dem Weg zum Musical. Lebensbericht und Werkverzeichnis* (Vienna: Steinbauer, 2009), 36. Lehár wrote two short cabaret operettas: *Mitislaw der Moderne*, 1907, and *Rosenstock und Edelweiss*, 1912.

[9] Bernard Grun, *Prince of Vienna: The Life, the Times and the Melodies of Oscar Straus* (London: W. H. Allen, 1955), 25.

[10] Quoted in ibid., 35.

[11] 'Zur gesellschaftlichen Lage der Musik', 374 (*Gesammelte Schriften*, 18, 772).

Example 1.1 ‘Walzer, wer hat dich wohl erdacht’.



operetta: for instance, Achmed’s song ‘O Rose von Stambul’ in Fall’s *Die Rose von Stambul* is not in the slightest sequential.

In composing songs for operetta, consideration might be given to the technique of a particular singer. Lehár often composed with Richard Tauber’s voice in mind, knowing the range of timbre he possessed across the vocal registers, and how gently he could sing high notes. Stefan Frey remarks that Lehár’s later lyrical operettas were tailored to the Tauber style.[12]

By the turn of the twentieth century, the free-floating sixths, sevenths, and ninths that had worked their way into the Viennese popular style were a regular feature, and could be used confidently without even a hint of resolution.[13] ‘Walzer, wer hat dich wohl erdacht’ in Act 3 of *Das Fürstenkind* shows how, by 1909, free floating sixths and sevenths could be used flexibly as colourings of tonic harmony (Example 1.1).

These dissonances add stimulating tension to the music. Note how the melodic phrase at ‘Walzer ganz allein’, which ends on a major 7th, lends an erotic frisson to ‘Ein Walzer muß es sein’ in *Die Rose von Stambul* (Example 1.2). Volker Klotz describes this duet as ‘utterly Viennese dance eroticism’.[14]

The harmonies used in operetta could sometimes be adventurous. ‘Tiefe Nacht’ from Eduard Künneke’s *Zauberin Lola* (1937), for example, has harmonies and modulations reminiscent of Richard Strauss. Writing of

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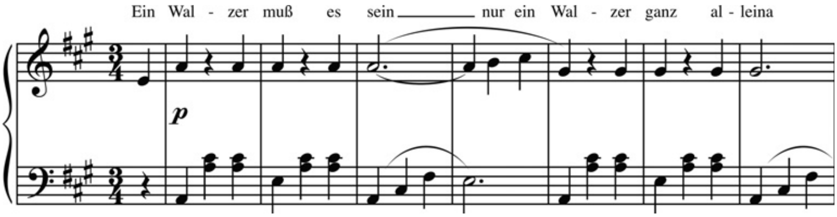
[12] Stefan Frey, *Franz Lehár oder das schlechte Gewissen der leichten Musik* (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1995), 176.

[13] See Derek B. Scott, *Sounds of the Metropolis: The 19th-Century Popular Music Revolution in London, New York, Paris, and Vienna* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), 46–47, 127–28.

[14] Klotz, *Operette*, 311.

Example 1.2 ‘Ein Walzer muß es sein’.



Künneke’s *Der Tenor der Herzogin* (1930), Adorno declared: ‘It cannot be denied that Künneke is musically superior to the operetta average; by competent and careful instrumentation, a (relatively) selective awareness of harmonic or melodic shape; also, some knowledge of more advanced jazz achievements’.[15] Künneke had spent 1924–25 in New York, and, by the time he came to compose *Traumland* (1941), his music was influenced extensively by American styles, including the new swing style.

Künneke aside, Adorno comments sarcastically on operetta harmony: ‘Genuine modern operetta melodies must be harmonized with impressionistic ninth-chords and whole tones’.[16] Extended harmonies are not difficult to find, but they sometimes go further than may be expected: for example, a supertonic eleventh harmony appears six bars before the close of ‘Fredys Lied’ in Act 1 of *Die Dollarprinzessin* (see the first bar of Example 1.3). In earlier times, this would have been harmonized with a second-inversion tonic triad.

Gilbert extends the tonic chord with major sevenths and ninths in the song ‘Silhouettes’ in Act 1 of *The Lady of the Rose* (1922) (see bars two and four of Example 1.4).

Abraham employed bold extended harmonies in *Ball im Savoy* (1932), as the end of the Prelude illustrates (Example 1.5).

Operetta is not celebrated for its imaginative use of polyphony, but contrapuntal interplay does exist. For example, the uniting of two themes, a favourite device in the Savoy operas, is found in the duet ‘Komm mit nach Madrid’ in *Lady Hamilton* (*Song of the Sea* in London) alongside other examples of Künneke’s contrapuntal skill in that operetta. His technical

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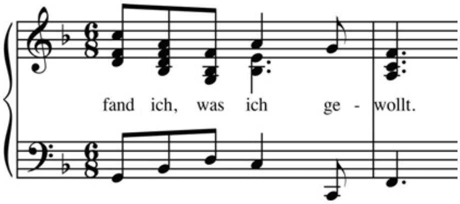
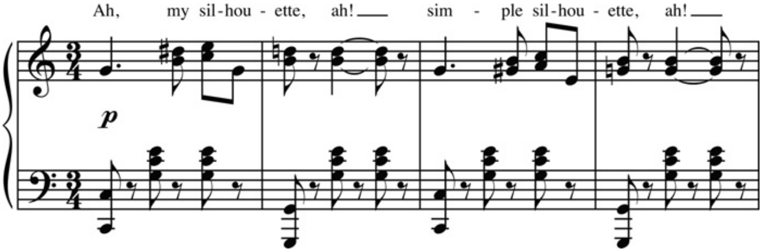
[15] *Die Musik*, 23:2 (Nov. 1930), 125, reprinted in Theodor W. Adorno, *Gesammelte Schriften*, 19, *Musikalische Schriften VI* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1984), 190–92, at 191. A catalogue of Künneke’s compositions is in Viola Karl, *Eduard Künneke (1885–1953): Komponistenportrait und Werkverzeichnis* (Berlin: Ries & Erler, 1995).

[16] ‘Arabesken zur Operette’ [1932], *Gesammelte Schriften*, 19, Musikalische Schriften VI (Frankfurt: Suhrkamp, 1984), 516–19, at 519.

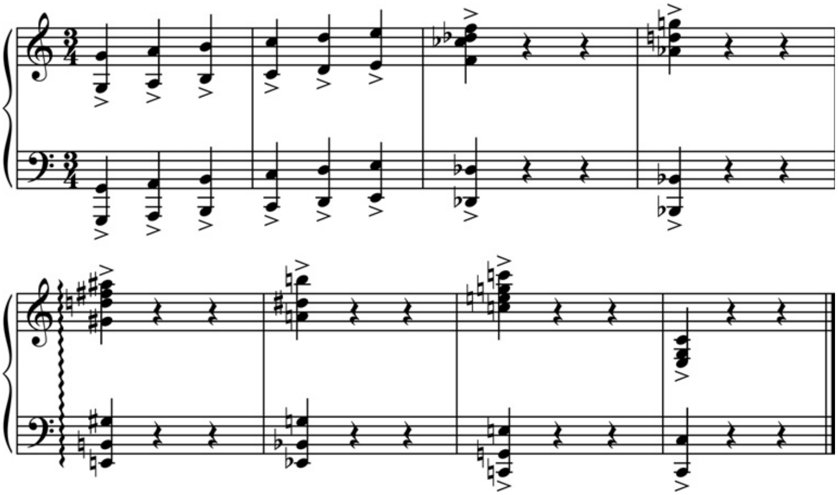
Example 1.3 Close of 'Fredys Lied'.


fand ich, was ich ge - wollt.

Example 1.4 'Silhouettes'.


Ah, my sil-hou - ette, ah!
sim - ple sil-hou - ette, ah!
p

Example 1.5 End of Prelude, *Ball im Savoy.*



ability in counterpoint was already evident in *Der Vetter aus Dingsda* (*Caroline* in New York, *The Cousin from Nowhere* in London) which replaced choruses with subtle ensemble work, such as the 'Roderich' and 'Batavia' septets in Act 2. He had studied composition in Berlin with Max Bruch, who despised operetta and took pleasure in setting contrapuntal exercises. Künneke, like Abraham, was at first drawn to *ernste Musik*, and his first stage work, *Robins Ende* (1909), was designated a comic opera rather than an operetta. Kálmán, too, shows an understanding of polyphony in the finales of *Das Hollandweibchen* (1920), given in London as *A Little Dutch Girl*, although his interest in counterpoint declined in later works. The counterpoint in the duet 'Niemand liebt dich so wie ich' in *Paganini* shows that Lehár also possessed skill in this area, even if he did not always reveal it in his ensembles. It is far from the sweetly harmonizing thirds and sixths of the typical romantic love duet. The Act 2 duet between Pipsi and Dagobert in *Eva* contains a canon at one bar's distance. The learned device of canon is not what one would expect to find in operetta, but there is also canon (at two bars' distance) in the Act 2 finale of Offenbach's *Fantasio*, between the Prince and Marinoni ('Princesse si charmante').

Silver-age operetta differs in its musical representation of love and romance from the music of the Savoy operas. A comparison of the Fairy Queen's song 'Oh Foolish Fay' in *Iolanthe* (1882) with Nadine's 'Komm', Komm'! Held meiner Träume' ('My Hero') in *Der tapfere Soldat* (1908) demonstrates the changes in representational technique. Both characters sing of the man they desire, and the need to control their longing. Both songs contrast a lyrical refrain with a narrative verse containing shorter note values. But that is where the similarity ends. Sullivan employs a throbbing accompaniment in his refrain and composes a melody with sighing appoggiaturas over passing chromatic harmonies. It is marked to be performed softly throughout, even at its climactic point, and there is a decline in tension as it attains closure (Example 1.6).

In contrast, Oscar Straus conveys longing with an ever-rising exhortation to 'come, come', coupled to a crescendo that it is interrupted unexpectedly by a soft augmented chord at 'calm my longing, calm my desire', creating a peculiarly sensual effect. The augmented chord moves, in apparent resolution, to the tonic harmony, but the vocal melody wanders around a dissonant major seventh, sustaining a yearning tension (Example 1.7). The more pronounced sensuality of Straus's music is then emphasized by another crescendo, which reaches a passionate climax in the final bars.

Richard Rodgers told Alan Jay Lerner that he thought 'My Hero' was 'the most perfectly constructed song in modern musical literature'.[17]

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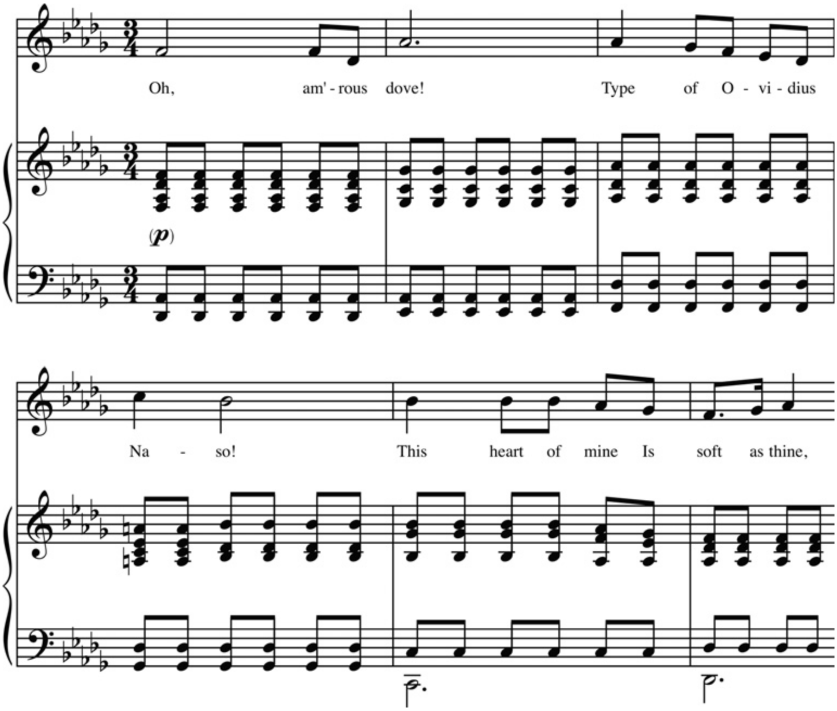
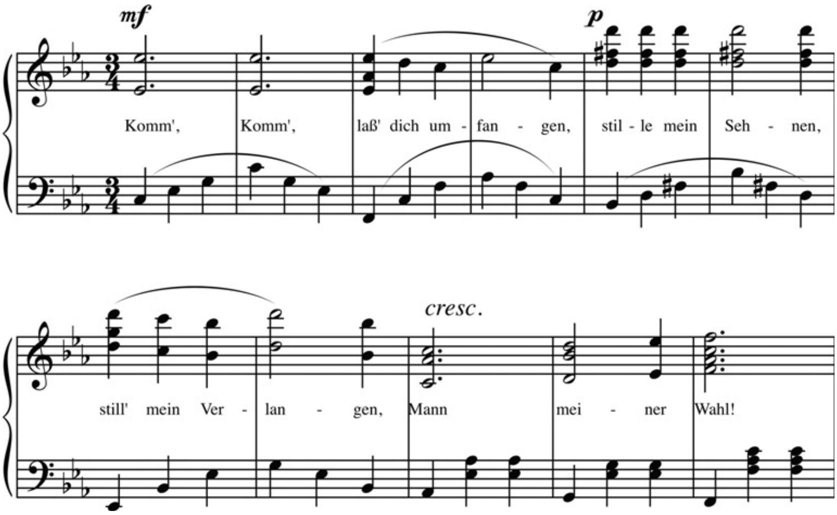
[17] Alan Jay Lerner, *The Musical Theatre: A Celebration* (New York: Da Capo, 1986), 43.

Example 1.6 Fairy Queen's song from *Iolanthe*.


Oh, am' - rous dove! Type of O - vi - dius
Na - so! This heart of mine Is soft as thine,
(p)

Example 1.7 'Komm', Komm'!'


mf
p
cresc.
Komm', Komm', laß' dich um - fan - gen, stil - le mein Seh - nen,
still' mein Ver - lan - gen, Mann mei - ner Wahl!

The Importance of Dance

Dance was a vital ingredient in operetta, and performers were generally expected to be able to both dance and sing. The importance of dance to operetta is apparent in titles, such as *Ein Walzertraum*, *Die Csárdásfürstin*, and *Die blaue Mazur*.[18] In the first decade of the twentieth century, waltzes were the favourite numbers, and this led to a new waltz craze in the UK and USA. Ironically, it was often the continental European take on the English waltz, or what was known in the USA as the Boston waltz (*valse Boston*), that had the greatest impact. The slower tempo waltz (early examples of which were James Molloy's 'Love's Old Sweet Song' of 1884 and Charles Harris's 'After the Ball' of 1891) is closer to the famous 'Merry Widow Waltz' ('Lippen schweigen') than is the faster Viennese waltz. Indeed, the Viennese waltz was beginning to be regarded as less modern than the English waltz, which, by 1912, had become the urban preference, while the former remained the predilection of the rural Hunt Ball.[19]

Twentieth-century operettas were more diverse in musical style than those of the preceding century, and happy to embrace dance rhythms from a variety of sources. The cakewalk was the first distinctly American dance to be imitated in Europe and was included in a number of operettas in the first decade of the twentieth century. Modern dances for couples differed from the old sequence dances, which had preset patterns or figures for groups of dancers. In the half-dozen years before the outbreak of the First World War, the most popular dances were the waltz, the two-step and the lancers (a sequence dance). The two-step gave way to the one-step around 1911. In the years that followed, first the tango, then the fox trot, Charleston, and pasodoble became indispensable parts of the modern dance repertoire and made their way into operettas. The polka remained popular in the UK and USA and continued to be heard in operetta. The csárdás is a special case: it had developed in the nineteenth century into a couple's dance, although it was danced in and out of hold, especially in the fast section. It continued to appear frequently in operetta but was too associated with Hungarian folk dancing to gain a place in British and American ballrooms.

Lehár kept abreast of the fashionable dances and was the first to include a cakewalk (*Die lustige Witwe*, 1905), a tango (*Die ideale Gattin*, 1913), and a

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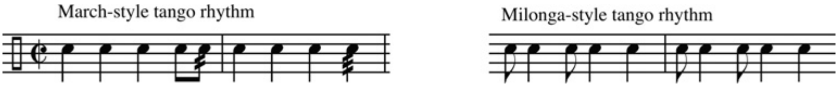
[18] Volker Klotz discusses the importance of dance in *Operette: Porträt und Handbuch einer unerhörten Kunst* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, rev. edn 2004; orig. pub. München: Piper, 1991), 168–96.

[19] Victor Silvester, *Modern Ballroom Dancing* (London: Barrie and Jenkins, rev. edn 1974; orig. pub. 1927), 21–22.

Example 1.8 Tango rhythms.



fox trot (*Wo die Leche singt*, 1918). The tango had found its way from Buenos Aires, via Paris, to other cities in Europe and the USA. It may have carried vague associations of the gauchos and headstrong women of the Argentine pampas, but it was actually a modern metropolitan product. There were two main styles of tango rhythm: the march-style and the more modern milonga-style (Example 1.8).

Most tangos have the syncopated milonga rhythm, but the older style was also liked, and both can be found in operettas of the 1930s: for example, 'Es muß was wunderbares sein' in Benatzky's *Im weißen Rössl* (1930) is milonga-style, but 'Sie kommen zum Tee' in the same composer's *Bezauberndes Fräulein* (1933) is march-style. Sometimes a feeling grew that certain dances were overdone in operetta. Hence, the waltz became the subject of parody in Fall's *The Eternal Waltz* (1911), as did the csárdás in Kálmán's *Der Teufelsreiter* (1932). There are signs that the waltz song was losing its fascination in the 1920s. A critic remarked that José Collins sang 'the inevitable waltz song' in Straus's *The Last Waltz* 'with consummate ease'. The word 'inevitable' may be a sign of increasing fatigue with the waltz, or an indication of its predictability in operetta. Many composers were already looking to America for musical inspiration – Künneke being one of the first. Ironically, a decade earlier, a New York critic had praised Straus's *The Chocolate Soldier* for its variety of music containing 'everything, fortunately, but rag-time'.[20]

The Impact of Jazz

American music began to increase its presence in London during the First World War, making up for the lack of Austro-German entertainment in those years. When war concluded, jazz of a more pronounced character began to be heard (starting with the visit of the Original Dixieland Jazz Band in 1919). American influence on German operetta had its source in the music-making of African Americans in the period just before the jazz craze of the 1920s. An influential figure was Will Marion Cook, whose significant contributions to musical theatre included *Clorindy, or the Origin of the Cakewalk* (1898) and *In Dahomey* (1902), and who founded the New York Syncopated Orchestra in 1918. Another was James Reece Europe, who, in 1913, became the personal musical director of dancers Irene and Vernon Castle. The Castles were the initiators of the fox trot – before the advent of this dance, ragtime was danced to the two-step. Reece Europe performed with his military band in Europe during the whole of the final year of the First World War. Both Tim Brymn and Will Vodery also conducted military bands in Europe during wartime.

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[20] 'This Time the Joke Is on Bernard Shaw', *New York Times*, 14 Sep. 1909, 9.

In the next decade, white bandleader Paul Whiteman, whose band played in Berlin with great success in 1926, proved a major influence, especially by demonstrating that a syncopated style could work with Tin Pan Alley songs and was not restricted to ragtime and blues. Cornet player Bix Beiderbecke, the son of German immigrants to the USA, performed with Whiteman's band for a time and was a pioneer in developing a jazz ballad style.

It needs to be borne in mind that the term 'jazz' was, for most people in Europe, a general label for modern popular music. The merest association with popular musical theatre or modern dancing could be enough for something to be labelled 'jazz'. The waltz from Shostakovich's second *Jazz Suite* (1938), for instance, bears far more resemblance to 'Weißt du es noch?' from *Die Csárdásfürstin* (1915) than anything that would now be categorized as jazz. Künneke, in *Der Vetter aus Dingsda* (1921), was one of the first to incorporate styles more closely related to jazz, but Bruno Granichstaedten went further in *Der Orlow* (1925) by including a jazz band (with saxophones, banjo, and drum kit) playing a shimmy in the third act (Example 1.9).

The excuse for the jazz band was that, in Ernst Marischka's libretto, a Russian grand duke is living in exile in New York.[21] *Der Orlow* enjoyed, perhaps surprisingly, a huge success in Vienna, stimulating demand for American music on the operetta stage there and in Berlin.[22] It was adapted by P. G. Wodehouse and given as *Hearts and Diamonds* at the Strand Theatre, London, in 1926.

In post-war London and New York, the waltz had become old fashioned. MacQueen-Pope described Lehár's *The Three Graces*, at the Empire Theatre in 1924, as belonging to 'the London of Waltz Time, not the

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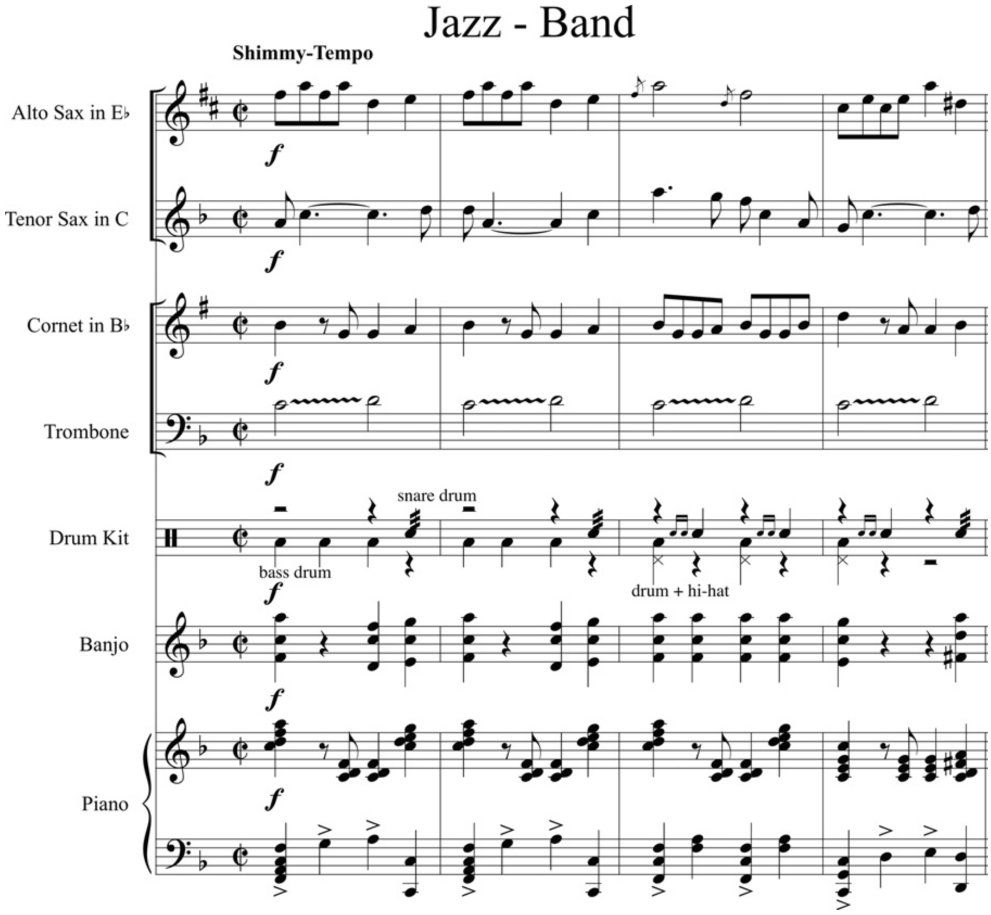
[21] Ernst Marischka should not to be confused with his brother, the singer, theatre manager, and publisher, Hubert Marischka.

[22] See Ulrike Petersen, 'Operetta after the Habsburg Empire', PhD diss. University of California, Berkeley, 2013, 36–47.

Example 1.9 Shimmy in *Der Orlow*.


Jazz - Band
Shimmy-Tempo
Alto Sax in E♭
Tenor Sax in C
Cornet in B♭
Trombone
Drum Kit
snare drum
bass drum
drum + hi-hat
Banjo
Piano
f

London of Ragtime and Jazz'.[23] It did include a fox trot but came across in sum as old fashioned, despite reaping praise for being 'brimful of delightful melody'.[24] The modern was now represented by Irving Berlin, Nat Ayer, and Jerome Kern. The next year, Lehár changed tack. *Clo-Clo*, at the Shaftesbury, was set in the present, and also contained music by Max Darewski – the first time Lehár had permitted interpolations by another composer. A critic complained, 'Franz Lehár's melodious Muse has sold herself to that body-shaking St Vitus of discordant orchestral screech

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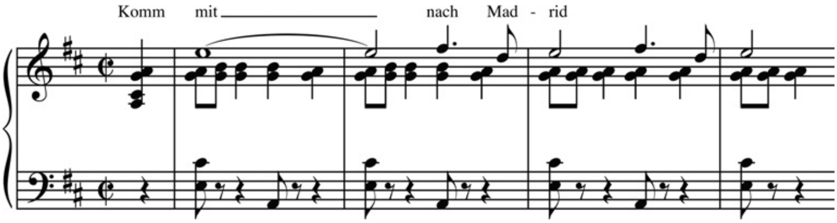
[23] W. MacQueen-Pope and D. L. Murray, *Fortune's Favourite: The Life and Times of Franz Lehár* (London: Hutchinson, 1953), 175.

[24] B. W. Findon, 'The Three Graces', *The Play Pictorial*, 44:266 (Oct. 1924), 102.

Example. 1.10 'Komm mit nach Madrid'.



sounds known as "Jazz"'.[25] But Lehár did not continue along the jazz pathway, and such sounds are absent from *Das Veilchen von Montmartre* (1930). Some dances went out of fashion quickly, but others did not: the one-step, popular just before the war, is still found in 'Heute Abend komm' ich zu dir', in Lehár's *Der Zarewitsch* of 1927. In particular, despite the popularity of syncopated dance music, the waltz continued to retain its appeal, and it was to the strains of Oscar Straus's *Three Waltzes*, at the Majestic in 1937, that operetta bid farewell to its years of popularity on Broadway.

Knowledge of certain dance rhythms could be imprecise, and J. Bradford Robinson has argued that the German shimmy differed rhythmically, if not metrically, from the American version, which began to be popular around 1920 and was banned as immoral in many dance halls. The shimmy was related to the fox trot in musical style, but not in movement. Couples danced close together in a small space, shaking their shoulders and hips. Instead of the typical American ragtime pattern (quaver, crotchet, quaver, two crotchets), the characteristic rhythm for the shimmy in Berlin consisted of two quavers followed by three crotchets. Robinson cites the shimmy in Ernst Krenek's *Jonny spielt auf* and Karol Rathaus's *Der letzte Pierrot* as the earliest German sources of the rhythm.[26] However, these works premiered in 1927, and the rhythm is already being used in Künneke's *Lady Hamilton* of 1926, in the duet 'Komm mit nach Madrid' (Example 1.10).

The shimmy in *Der Orlow* had a related rhythm in the saxophone, beginning with four rather than two quavers, as does 'Fräulein, bitte, woll'n Sie Shimmy tanzen', a duet in Act 3 of Kálmán's *Die Bajadere*, premiered in Vienna in 1921 (Example 1.11).

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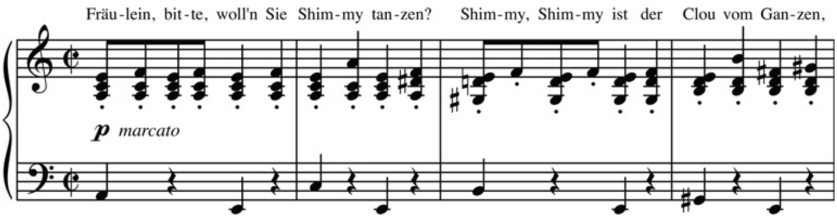
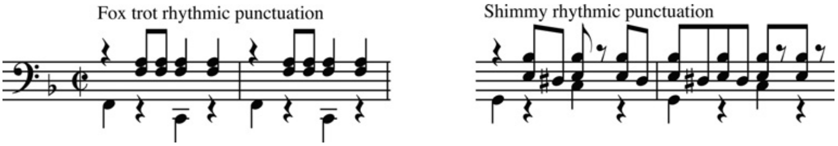
[25] 'Yorick', *The Theatre World and Illustrated Stage Review*, 6 (Jul. 1925), 70–71, at 71.

[26] J. Bradford Robinson, 'Jazz Reception in Weimar Germany: In Search of a Shimmy Figure', in Bryan Gilliam, ed., *Music and Performance During the Weimar Republic* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 107–34, at 108–10.

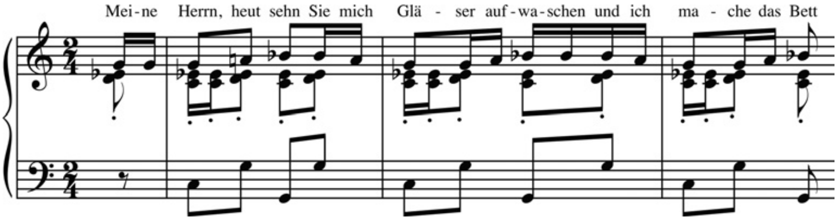
Example 1.11 ‘Fräulein, bitte, woll’n Sie Shimmy tanzen’.


Fräu-lein, bit-te, woll'n Sie Shim-my tan-zen? Shim-my, Shim-my ist der Clou vom Gan-zen,
p marcato

Example 1.12 Fox trot and shimmy rhythmic punctuations from Act 2 of Stolz, *Das Tanz ins Glück*. The shimmy is transposed for ease of comparison.


Fox trot rhythmic punctuation
Shimmy rhythmic punctuation

Example 1.13 ‘Seeräuber Jenny’.


Mei-ne Herrn, heut sehn Sie mich Glä - ser auf-wa-schen und ich ma - che das Bett

The earliest example of a shimmy in operetta is found in the second act of Stolz’s *Das Tanz ins Glück* (1920), a work produced in London as *Whirled into Happiness* in 1922, and given in New York as *Sky High* in 1925. It could easily be mistaken for a fox trot, but the significant difference is that the fox trot’s musical phrases were generally punctuated rhythmically by repeated chords, whereas Stolz’s shimmy has undulations (Example 1.12).

The rhythm stuck around, and one of the most familiar examples occurs in the verse accompaniment of ‘Seeräuber Jenny’ (‘Pirate Jenny’) in *Die Dreigroschenoper* (Example 1.13).

It is possible that the shimmy rhythm found in ‘Komm mit nach Madrid’ and ‘Seeräuber Jenny’ had a source in Gershwin’s *Rhapsody in Blue*, which contains many examples of this rhythm. Paul Whiteman recorded it in June 1924,[27] and recordings of Paul Whiteman’s dance orchestra became available under a matrix-exchange programme in 1926. Sheet music from the USA had also become more readily available. Robinson suggests the song 'Papa Loves Mama, Mama Loves Papa' (by Cliff Friend and Abel Baer) as a possible source of the shimmy figure, because it was a hit in the Weimar Republic in 1924, as 'Vater liebt Mutter, Mutter liebt Vater', and spawned imitations.[28] However, neither *Rhapsody in Blue* nor 'Vater liebt Mutter' help to explain the early date of Kálmán's shimmy. The explanation may simply be that undulating or repeating notes were intended as a counterpart to shaking of the body when dancing the shimmy. The rhythm certainly had long-lasting appeal: as late as 1930, we find a shimmy, 'Ich lade Sie ein, Fräulein' in Bentazky's *Meine Schwester und ich* (*Meet My Sister* on Broadway, *My Sister and I* in the West End).

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[27] Victor 55225, matrix no. C-30173/2 (10 Jun. 1924).

The instrumentation of the modern dance band was an influence on Weill's *Die Dreigroschenoper* of 1928. The Berlin theatre orchestra sound had been dominated by strings, but some new operettas highlighted wind instruments and included piano, banjo, and drum kit. Several revues by African-American troupes were given in Berlin, 1924–26, and nurtured a familiarity with syncopated styles.[29] The Berlin theatre critic Alfred Kerr saw nothing particularly original in Kurt Weill's stage music, claiming that Weill enticed the audience with older, existing, reliable melodies behind a mask of jazz.[30] Yet Adorno was struck deeply by Weill's achievement. After hearing *Die Dreigroschenoper* for the first time, he wrote that it seemed to him 'the most important event of the musical theatre since Berg's *Wozzeck*'.[31]

> This is not the place to speak of the merits of the text, but rather of the grey, smoky songs that remain walled up behind a few tones, of the ballads, smoking greyly and bawled out, echoing the amorphous, urgent, rebellious call of the proletariat. At first, this music seems distant from me, in that it draws consequences from nothing that registers as current musical material. Instead, it seeks to work through the

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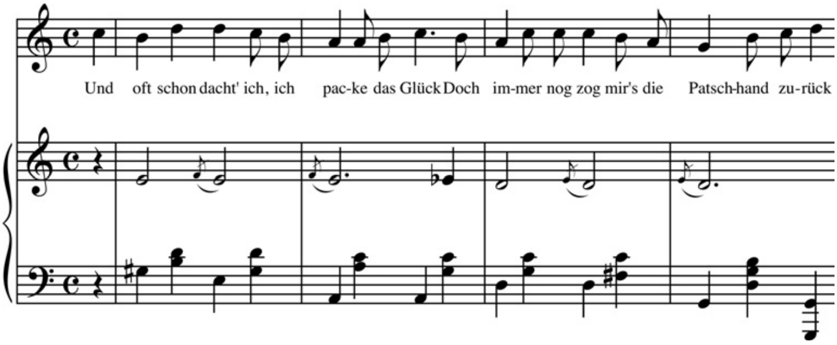
[28] Bradford Robinson, 'Jazz Reception in Weimar Germany', 122.

[29] Jens Gerrit Papenburg, 'Synkopierte Moderne: Populäre "afroamerikanische" Musikformen in Revue und Operette, Berlin/Wien 1900–1925', in Bettina Brandl-Risi, Clemens Risi, and Rainer Simon, *Kunst der Oberfläche: Operette zwischen Bravour und Banalität* (Leipzig: Henschel Verlag, 2015), 70–87, at 72. For a timeline of jazz reception in Germany, see Horst H. Lange, *Jazz in Deutschland: die deutsche Jazz-Chronik 1900–1960* (Berlin: Colloquium, 1966). A brief account of American jazz musicians visiting Germany is given in Frank Tirro, 'Jazz Leaves Home: The Dissemination of "Hot" Music to Central Europe', in Michael J. Budds, ed., *Jazz and the Germans* (Hillsdale, NY: Pendragon Press, 2002), 61–82, at 75–82.

[30] Review of *Happy End*, 3 Sep. 1929. Alfred Kerr, *Mit Schleuder und Harfe: Theaterkritiken aus drei Jahrzehnten*, ed. Hugo Fetting (Berlin: Henschelverlag, 1981), 462–65, at 464.

[31] *Die Musik*, 21:3 (Dec. 1928), 220–22, at 229, reprinted in Theodor W. Adorno, *Gesammelte Schriften*, 19, 136–39, at 138.

Example 1.14 ‘Ich bin nur ein armer Wandergesell’.


Und oft schon dacht' ich, ich pac-ke das Glück Doch im-mer nog zog mir's die Patsch-hand zu-rück

transformation of old shrunken material. Yet, with Weill, such an effect is so strikingly and originally accomplished that, faced with this fact, we are struck dumb.[32]

Nevertheless, as *The 3-Penny Opera*, it lasted for only twelve performances at the Empire Theatre, New York, in 1933.

A Mixture of Styles

There was delight in mixing musical styles, and it is common to find Austro-German, Hungarian, and American styles in the same piece. This mixture is rarely suggestive of any cultural clash: Künneke’s *Der Vetter aus Dingsda* (1921), set in the Netherlands, covered a gamut of styles, from the *valse boston* (‘Strahlender Mond’) to the ragtime two-step (‘Überleg’ Dir’s’ and ‘Mann, o Mann’), the tango (‘Weißt du noch?’) and the fox trot (‘Batavia’). Also present was the Schubertian lyricism that had proved so appealing in Berté’s *Das Dreimäderlhaus*, which Künneke had spent many evenings conducting at the Friedrich Wilhelmstädtisches Theater in 1916. The biggest hit of *Der Vetter* was ‘Ich bin nur ein armer Wandergesell’ (in London ‘I’m Only a Strolling Vagabond’, in New York ‘I’m Only a Pilgrim’). The middle section of this song could easily be exchanged with bars 9–12 of ‘Das Wandern ist der Müllers Lust’ from Schubert’s *Die Schöne Müllerin*, such is the stylistic affinity (Examples 1.14 and 1.15).

Kálmán’s *Die Herzogin von Chicago* (1928) is unusual in containing a stylistic conflict that creates a reaction among its dramatis personae,

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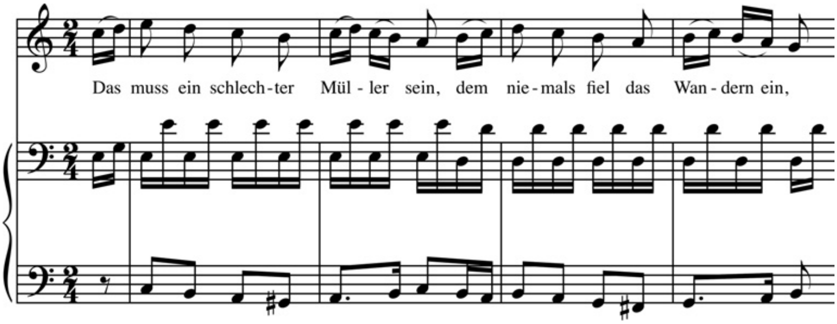
[32] Ibid.

Example 1.15 ‘Das Wandern ist des Müllers Lust’.


Das muss ein schlech-ter Mül-ler sein, dem nie-mals fiel das Wan-dern ein,

because it pits the csárdás and waltz against the Charleston and fox trot, and, in so doing, symbolizes a broader cultural struggle between national tradition and cosmopolitan fashion.[33] *Die Herzogin* illustrates a change in the representation of America on the German stage. Kálmán had benefitted from advice on American style given to him by Herbert Stothart when composing *Golden Dawn* for Broadway in the previous year.[34] There had been little in the way of an American idiom in Fall’s *Die Dollarprinzessin* (1907), setting aside the interpolated numbers Jerome Kern composed for the Broadway version. The quartet describing dollar princesses, for example, had a waltz refrain. In contrast, the Duchess of Chicago’s song, ‘Wie sich’s schickt’, distinctly evokes America – even if it is a fox trot without syncopation – as a consequence of the occasional use of blue notes, especially in the accompaniment. She sings about travelling through Europe, cheque book in hand, buying anything she fancies, because she is from Chicago, where only the dollar rules. The musical conflict between csárdás and Charleston in this operetta did not have the same resonance in the USA as in Europe, and that may have been the cause of its lack of success. Alternatively, it may have been owing to its containing sharper satire than *Die Dollarprinzessin*. The Shubert brothers decided not to stage it on Broadway, after a disappointing reception at try-out performances in 1929.

Brecht and Weill went a step further in *Aufstieg und Fall der Stadt Mahagonny* (Rise and Fall of the City of Mahagonny) of 1930, by ensuring that satire permeated the music as well the words. An illustration is the

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[33] Kevin Clarke examines the musical-stylistic battle in this operetta and its social meanings, in ‘*Im Himmel spielt auch schon die Jazzband*’: *Emmerich Kálmán und die transatlantische Operette 1928–1932* (Neumünster: Bockel Verlag, 2007), 140–59.

[34] ‘Kalman Operetta for Hammerstein’, *New York Times*, 7 Jan. 1927, 14.

'Alabama Song', with its sour dissonances and self-consciously emotional lyricism, which capture the *Gestus* that Brecht believed necessary to ensure an audience would remain critically alert, rather than succumb to theatrical illusionism. There was no American staging of this work until an off-Broadway production in 1970. Paul Abraham's operettas often relied heavily on American musical styles, but did so for fashionable appeal, rather than satirical purpose. The song 'My Golden Baby' from *Die Blume von Hawaii* (1931), for example, resembles a popular dance-band number (and, indeed, became one), even though Alfred Grünwald and Fritz Löhner-Beda's libretto for this operetta touched on political issues relating to the American occupation of Hawaii in the late nineteenth century. Satire disappeared from Kálmán's work, and his last operetta *Arizona Lady* (libretto by Alfred Grünwald and Gustav Beer, music completed by his son Charles in 1954) contains a song, 'Arizona' that could easily be regarded as a tribute to the Rodgers and Hammerstein song 'Oklahoma!' from the 1943 musical of that name. It undoubtedly has musical features in common when the chorus sings in praise of Arizona.

Orchestration and Orchestrators

Reviewing a performance of *Das Land des Lächelns* by Frankfurt Opera in 1930, Theodor Adorno commented:

> It embraces the pathos of Puccini's *Turandot*, which already belongs to operetta, and even its enthusiasm with rhapsodic-melodic arches comes from Italy. The admired orchestration proves on closer listening to be rather poor.[35]

Adorno was seizing an opportunity to take a shot at Lehár's orchestral imagination, knowing that his skills in this domain had been praised as exceptional in the 1920s, when he was often called the Puccini of operetta.[36] Lehár, who was actually on friendly terms with Puccini, demonstrates consistent orchestral skill in his operettas – for example, in the striking writing for wind instruments in *Eva* (1911), or the delicate effects achieved in the duet 'Fern wie aus vergangen Tagen' from *Wo die Lerche singt* (1918). Each of his operettas has its own characteristic orchestral sound, and his expertise as a violinist informs the scores of *Zigeunerliebe* (1910) and *Paganini* (1925). His orchestration frequently plays a role in the drama. As an example, Stefan Frey cites the trilling clarinet that ironically questions Valencienne's assertion in Act 1, No. 2 of *Die lustige Witwe* that she is a respectable wife.[37] Lehár's imaginative scoring is heard in his tone painting during the first number of *Zigeunerliebe*, which Frey describes as a dialogue with the forces of nature.[38] Contemporary critics praised the tunefulness of Austrian and German operettas, but they also, especially when listening to Lehár, appreciated the skill with which they were scored. Reviews in *The Times* speak of the 'grace and vivacity' of the orchestration of *The Count of Luxembourg*, and the care taken with that of *Gipsy Love*.[39] A critic in the *New York Times*, in contrast, expresses unhappiness at Leo Fall's orchestration in *The Girl in the Train*, accusing the composer of being too influenced by Wagner. He likens the opening to that of the second act of *Die Walküre*, and complains of an excess of percussion and trombones, even if, sometimes, 'dear old Vienna calls him away from Bayreuth, and he bursts into a spontaneous waltz rhythm'.[40]

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[35] *Die Musik*, 22:5 (Feb. 1930), 369, reprinted in Adorno, *Gesammelte Schriften*, 19, 169–72, at 170. For a detailed analytical study of the music of this operetta, see Edward Michael Gold, 'On the Significance of Franz Lehár's Operettas: A Musical-Analytical Study', PhD diss. New York University, 1993 (Ann Arbor: UMI, 1993), 575–728.

[36] 'In der Orchestergewandung ist Lehár wirklich Meister, man nennt ihn nicht umsonst den Puccini der Operette'. Otto Keller, *Die Operette in ihrer geschichtlichen Entwicklung* (Leizig: Stein Verlga, 1926), 301.

Most operetta composers in Vienna and Berlin were happy to have the help of orchestrators. Orchestrators were also on hand for New York productions. Vienna-born Hans Spialek was prominent among them and was credited with the orchestration of the Broadway *White Horse Inn*. He was also responsible for the orchestration of Kálmán's *Marinka*, produced at the Winter Garden in 1945. Unlike opera, operettas were likely to be given updated orchestration when revived.

Oscar Straus was a fine orchestrator: an early example of his ability to characterize in orchestral sound is heard in the piquant scoring of the duet 'Piccolo! Piccolo! Tsin, tsin, tsin' in *Ein Walzertraum*. Nevertheless, he began to look for help with orchestration in the 1920s, and when his *Three*

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[37] Stefan Frey, '*Was sagt ihr zu diesem Erfolg*': *Franz Lehár und die Unterhaltungsmusik des 20. Jahrhunderts* (Frankfurt am Main: Insel, 1999), 105. That Lehár always did his own orchestration is confirmed by conductor Max Schönherr in his Foreword to *Franz Lehár: Thematische Index* (London: Glocken Verlag, 1985), iii.

[38] He discusses this scene in '*Was sagt ihr zu diesem Erfolg*', 171–72. A critic reviewing the first London performance of this operetta hears more than usual care taken in orchestration, and describes the music as often luscious. 'Gipsy Love', *The Times*, 3 Jun. 1912.

[39] 'The King and Queen at Daly's Theatre', *The Times*, 22 May 1911, 10, and 'Daly's Theatre', *The Times*, 3 Jun. 1912, 6. A *Daily Telegraph* review also mentioned the 'constant tokens of skill and fancy revealed by the composer in his rich and characteristic scoring'. Quoted in D. Forbes-Winslow, *Daly's: The Biography of a Theatre* (London: W. H. Allen, 1944), 105–6, at 106.

[40] '"Girl in the Train" Is Rather Daring', *New York Times*, 4 Oct. 1910, 11.

Waltzes was produced at the Majestic in 1937, Conrad Salinger, Hilding Anderson, Don Walker, and others were responsible for its re-orchestration.[41] Lehár found collaboration with orchestrators unthinkable, even if that meant his turning up with complete parts only at the dress rehearsal.[42] He argued that he could develop and perfect his imagination and shape his own musical ideas more effectively than anyone else.[43] All the same, he was unable, once rights had been purchased, to prevent re-orchestration. Sometimes this meant changes were made for a reduced orchestra, and sometimes it went further, as in *Frederika* (1937), the Broadway version of *Friederike*, which was re-orchestrated by Hilding Anderson and William Challis. Kálmán did his own orchestration, with the exception of *Golden Dawn* and *Marinka*, and Weill, too, took full control of orchestrating his work, whether in Berlin or New York. Künneke, another operetta composer skilled in orchestral technique, believed a composer needed to understand in the smallest detail the individuality and technical possibilities of every instrument of the orchestra. For him, orchestral colour was as important to a composer as pigment to a painter.

> The score is as much a part of composition as is the colour scheme in the creation of a painting. Nobody would call someone the creator of an image, who merely determined the rough outlines; and it is no different with music. Whoever wants to call a work his own intellectual product must also write the score.[44]

According to a report in the *Berliner Tageblatt*, Paul Abraham orchestrated his works himself.[45] Yet he did not always seem averse to collaboration. Egon Kemény, for example, was given the job of arranging a score in which Abraham specified instrumental groups but not the exact notes each instrument was to play.[46] This resembled contemporary Broadway practice.

The size of operetta orchestras had grown over the years. The first version of Offenbach's *Orphée aux enfers* (1858) had two flutes (both doubling piccolo), two clarinets, one bassoon, two horns, two cornets, two trombones, timpani, untuned percussion, and strings. It required, in all, around twenty-four players. *Die Fledermaus* (1874) had, in addition, two oboes, a second bassoon, two further horns, trumpets instead of cornets, an extra trombone, tuned and untuned percussion, and a harp. The string section would have contained more players, too. Therefore, some forty players were needed. *Die lustige Witwe* (1905) required a similar orchestra to *Die Fledermaus* but also called for a small on-stage band. In tandem with the growth in orchestra size, there was increasing diversity in instrumentation. Romberg included a saxophone in *Blossom Time* (1921). Künneke added a banjo to the score of *Der Vetter aus Dingsda* (1921), and a saxophone to that of *Lady Hamilton* (1926). Lehár asked for a saxophone in *Der Zarewitsch* (1927), as well as three balalaikas.

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[41] Steven Suskin, *The Sound of Broadway Music* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 559.

[42] Frey, '*Was sagt ihr zu diesem Erfolg*', 113.

[43] 'so entwickelt und vervollkommnet er seine Phantasie und bringt seine ursprüngliche Idee viel wirksamer zur Geltung, als ein andere zu tun vermag'. Lehár, *Bekenntnis* (Zürich, 1947), 3, quoted in Frey, '*Was sagt ihr zu diesem Erfolg*', 114.

[44] Quoted in Otto Schneidereit, *Eduard Künneke: Der Komponist aus Dingsda* (Berlin: Henschelverlag, 1978), 219.

[45] The report is quoted by Klaus Waller, *Paul Abraham: Der tragische König der Operette* (Norderstedt: BoD, 2014), 65. He cites his source as Maurus Pacher, *Der Kronprinz der Operette: Paul Abraham* (Berlin: Wiener Bohème Verl., 1982), but no precise reference is given.

[46] Waller, *Paul Abraham*, 72–74.

Im weißen Rössl (1930), given as *White Horse Inn* in London and New York, went well beyond any instrumental resources demanded hitherto. The original score (lost for many years) called for a pit orchestra of two flutes (doubling piccolos), oboe (doubling English horn), two clarinets, three alto saxophones, tenor saxophone, bassoon, three horns, three trumpets, three trombones, tuba, timpani, two percussion players and a kit drummer, harp, banjo, guitar, celeste, and strings. In addition, several stage bands were needed: a zither trio (violin, zither, guitar), a jazz band (alternative line-ups are given, but one example comprises trumpet, saxophone, trombone, banjo, and drum kit), a steam boat band (piccolo, E♭ clarinet, B♭ clarinet, trumpet, tenor horn, trombone, and reduced drum kit), and a fire brigade band (E♭ clarinet, B♭ clarinet, two trumpets, two tenor horns, tuba, and reduced drum kit).[47]

Although a full orchestral score is now available to the conductor of *Im weißen Rössl*, it was far more common before 1940 to find musical directors using piano-conductor scores.[48] These would be piano vocal scores with additional handwritten indications of instrumentation and instrumental solos. Figure 1.1 shows part of the conductor's score of *Blossom Time*, with handwritten notation and indications of instruments. It is a copy, reproduced with a spirit duplicator, a machine that removed the necessity to hand-copy scores when several companies were putting on performances

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[47] These are the specifications in the original orchestral score of 1930, republished by Felix Bloch Erben, Berlin, in 2010. Felix Bloch, the publisher of *Im weißen Rössl*, misplaced the original score after publishing a re-orchestrated version in 1954. Fortunately, a copy of the original was found in Zürich.

[48] A published full score and parts for an operetta, such as Doblinger produced for Lehár's *Eva* in 1911 was unusual.

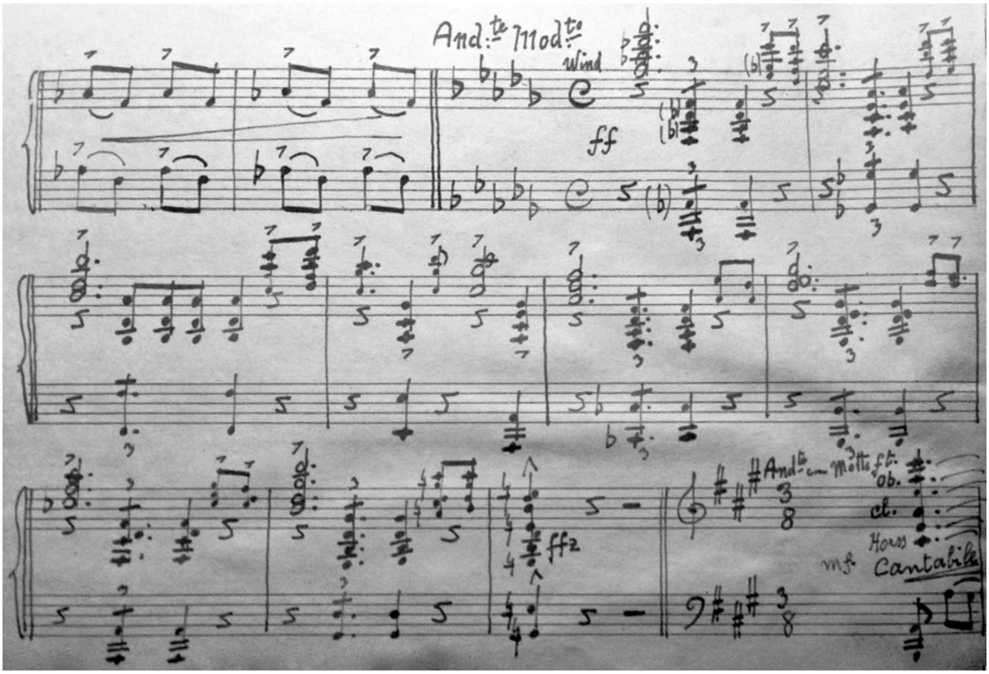

Figure 1.1 Excerpt from the Overture to *Blossom Time* in a copy of the piano-conductor score.

simultaneously. The Shubert Archive possesses five identical hardbound copies, which must date from 1923 at the earliest, because that is the year Wilhelm Ritzerfeld invented the spirit duplicator, with its distinctive lilac ink.

Music and Drama

Music may be an appendage to drama or may play a more active role. Musical variety is not present for its own sake in *Der Vetter aus Dingsda*; it is there to enrich specific dramatic scenes. Otto Schneidereit remarks that Künneke chose a rhythm for each musical number that helped to characterize the corresponding action.[49] *Der Vetter* has numbers, but they are part of a dramatic whole. Schneiderheit believes that Künneke was not usually so careful, because his focus was often on the music more than the drama. Nobody praised him, he says, for being a skilled and trained music dramatist.[50] Yet the way the waltz duet 'Nicht Wahr, hier ist's wie im

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[49] Schneidereit, *Eduard Künneke*, 87.

[50] Ibid., 136.

Zauberreich' is interrupted in the finale of Act 1, and the melodrama that follows, is clear evidence of musical-dramatic skill on Künneke's part.

Lehár, too, was interested in dramatic wholes, and his employment of recurring melodic motives was a means of achieving large-scale coherence. In *Eva*, the title character's song 'War' es auch nichts als ein Augenbick' provides a melodic motive the recurs at significant points of the drama. Lehár was to give ever-increasing cohesion to his operettas via the use of motives. Frey discusses his use of the 'O Mädchen, mein Mädchen' motive in *Friederike*.[51] This song is more than a detachable Schlager; it is a source of important unifying material that adds to the drama and to the psychological representation of character. *Giuditta* is the most thematically organized of his operettas, its motives and melodic reminiscences contributing powerfully to the dramatic action. In its final scene, the harmony and orchestration make the reprise of the muted trumpet's motive from 'Meer von Liebe' a strangely otherworldly reminiscence, a wistful evocation of the fairy-tale of which Octavio speaks. Lehár was not alone in conceiving methods for lending musical coherence to larger structures: Kálmán, for instance, makes use of leitmotifs in *Die Bajadere*.

Lehár's through-composed second act finale of *Der Graf von Luxemburg*, in which motives and short reprises play a role, was an attempt to create a seamless flow of drama and musical numbers. This was lost in the London and New York productions, as a consequence of its revision from three acts to two. Lehár was not the only composer to find that efforts to embed a dramatic scene in music was overturned. Changes made to a scene can negate the intentions of the composer, even if the musical structure is unaltered. In the London version of *Die Dollarprinzessin*, Adrian Ross's lyrics, unlike those of George Grossmith for the Broadway version, make no reference to typists in the opening chorus. As a consequence, although music of that chorus is unchanged, its semiotic import – its representation of clicking typewriters – is lost (Example 1.16).

Structural changes were often made because there were different expectations of operatic productions when they transferred to Broadway or the West End. Oscar Straus pointed out some of the differences between London and Vienna productions to a journalist: 'Your choruses are much bigger, and … you have many more songs than we are content with.'[52]

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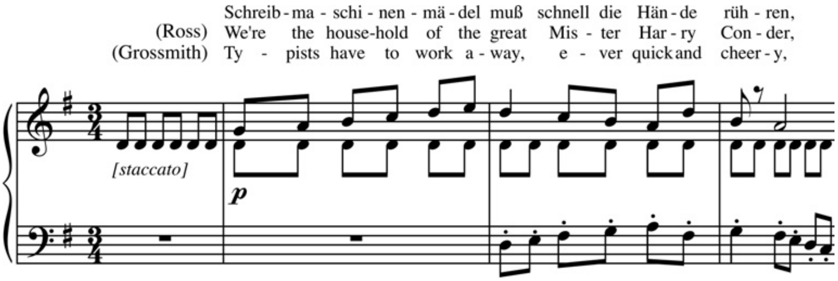
[51] Frey, '*Was sagt ihr zu diesem Erfolg*', 275–78.

[52] Anonymous journalist quoted in Traubner, *Operetta*, 279.

Example 1.16 Typewriter chorus.


Schreib-ma - schi - nen - mä - del muß schnell die Hän - de rüh - ren,
(Ross) We're the house-hold of the great Mis - ter Har - ry Con - der,
(Grossmith) Ty - pists have to work a - way, e - ver quick and cheer - y,
[staccato]
p

Operetta was structured in acts, or sometimes just scenes (the usual format of revue), with musical numbers – songs, duets, ensembles, and so forth. Berlin operetta, as represented by Walter Kollo and Jean Gilbert, privileged songs over ensembles, and avoided complex finales. Frey points to the second-act finale as 'normally the showpiece of every Viennese operetta'.[53] The finale of an act (typically the first or second) was normally the only place through-composition would be found. An exception is the second act of Lehár's *Endlich Allein* (1914), which concludes with a protracted love duet that occupies over twenty pages of vocal score and includes ten changes of key signature. Lehár was already working towards an extended love duet with 'Wenn zwei sich lieben' in *Der Rastelbinder* (1902), which lasts over seven minutes in performance.

Another way in which cohesion could be brought to the whole, was by giving an operetta a particular character. That happened in the nineteenth century with the Gilbert and Sullivan comic operas (no one could mistake the music of *The Gondoliers* for that of *The Mikado*). Fall's *Der fidele Bauer* of 1907 has a different sound character to *Die Dollarprinzessin* later the same year, and each of Künneke's operettas has a different overall character. Andrew Lamb has argued, with reference to *The Count of Luxembourg*, that Lehár's genius 'lay not just in his ability to provide supremely popular melodies, nor in his rich command of orchestral colour', but, more particularly, 'in his ability to capture in musical terms the atmosphere of the romantic situations and the various passions of the characters'.[54] Characters in operetta are constructed not just by the words, but by the music as well.[55] In *Die lustige Witwe*, Danilo and Hanna (Sonia) are musically distinct from Camille and Valencienne (Natalie). Romantic lovers are also characterized differently from one operetta to another: Danilo and Hanna are distinct from Goethe and Friederike, who, in turn, are distinct from Sou Chong and Lisa in *Das Land des Lächelns*.

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[53] Stefan Frey, *Laughter under Tears: Emmerich Kálmán – An Operetta Biography*, trans. Alexander Butziger (Culver City, CA: Operetta Foundation, 2014). Originally published as '*Unter Tränen lachen*': *Emmerich Kálmán – Eine Operettenbiographie* (Berlin: Henschel Verlag, 2003), 47.

[54] Andrew Lamb, 'Lehár's *Count of Luxembourg*', *Musical Times*, 124:1679 (Jan. 1983), 23 and 25, at 23.

While Lehár was seeking greater overall cohesion through musical characterization and motivic connections, others, such as Kollo, were interested in the loose structures of vaudeville and revue. Writer-producer Erik Charell takes credit for creating revue operetta. His biggest triumph was *Im weißen Rössl*, in which Ralph Benatzky's music was supplemented by that of Robert Stolz, Bruno Granichstaedten, Robert Gilbert, and an unacknowledged Eduard Künneke, who composed scene music, arranged choruses, and even gave a hand with the orchestration.[56] Revue operetta tended to be multi-authored from the start – necessitated by the tight production schedule – and is therefore to be distinguished from the practice of interpolating numbers.

Lehár had long been aware that music on its own could function as psychological drama. It is the music that reveals the secret emotions of Danilo and Hanna while their lips remain silent. Heike Quissek comments that it is in their waltz duet, 'Lippen schweigen', that the latent psychologization of these figures reaches its climax.[57] The few words it contains is significant, because it is not the lyrics but music that characterizes them: lips may be silent but their emotions unfold to the steps of the waltz.[58]

The musical continuity of the Act 1 finale of Künneke's *Der Vetter aus Dingsda* is an example of how music can function as part of dramatic and psychological characterization. There is recitative and arioso in this operetta, not just songs and ensembles. It also possesses an unusual intimacy because it is cast on small scale. Another composer alert to characterization and the role of music in drama was Kálmán. Frey says of *Gräfin Mariza*, 'every number characterizes the one who sings it', and 'every number develops from the situation'.[59] This takes precedence over what was conventional: for example, the tenor's duet is with the soubrette, rather than the diva. A common way of characterizing a person is to use an obbligato instrument: for example, a rhapsodic solo violin accompanying a Gipsy's singing.

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[55] The same holds true of Broadway musicals: Scott McMillan observes that character in a musical 'is an effect of song character as well as book character'. *The Musical as Drama* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006), 61.

[56] Schneidereit, *Eduard Künneke*, 134; Kevin Clarke and Helmut Peter, *The White Horse Inn: On the Trail of a World Success*, trans. Interlingua, Austria (St Wofgang: Rössl Hotel Verlag, 2009), 96.

[57] 'Die latente Psychologisierung der Figuren erfährt im Duett "Lippen schweigen" ihren Höhepunkt'. Heike Quissek, *Das deutschsprachige Operettenlibretto: Figuren, Stoffe, Dramaturgie* (Stuttgart: Verlag J. B. Metzler, 2012), 266.

[58] 'Bei jedem Walzerschritt tanzt auch die Seele mit'. *Die lustige Witwe*, Act 3.

While some operettas began to reduce spoken dialogue, others continued to include large quantities. Act 3 of Edmund Eysler's *Die goldene Meisterin* (1927) contains around six minutes of music and over twenty minutes of dialogue. It is an example of an older 'musical play' type of operetta surviving on the German stage into the 1920s. The spoken word offers a simpler means of advancing the action than does music, which so often creates a pause in the drama. In what has become known as an 'integrated musical', musical numbers are designed to be a necessary part of the drama, meaning that a song cannot be omitted without damaging the drama or narrative. Integration was clearly a growing concern for some operetta composers (consider Lehár's *Friederike*). The use of reprise (in German, *Reminiszenz*) can be an integrating device and an equivalent of analepsis ('flashback'), or it can simply be a case of 'here's another chance to hear an attractive tune'. The employment of motivic connections, already discussed, was another technique contributing to large-scale integration.

In addition to conceiving an operetta as a whole, decisions about structure needed to be taken on a small scale. Here, the fashionable structures of popular song bore an influence, as can be seen in the adaptation of the bullfinch duet ('Wer uns getraut') from Johann Strauss's *Der Zigeunerbaron* (1885) for the MGM film *The Great Waltz* (1938). Dimitri Tiomkin was responsible for the musical arrangement, and it was given fresh lyrics, 'One Day When We Were Young', by Oscar Hammerstein II. It was already fashionable in tempo because, unusually for its original date of composition, it was the slower type of waltz. The original, however, had been in verse and refrain form, the typical popular song structure of the later nineteenth century, but the later version was converted to AABA form, the typical structure of Tin Pan Alley songs. To achieve that, the original verse music was scrapped and the 16-bar refrain became the basis of the whole song. It was stated and repeated, then, after a new melodic passage added for the 'B' section, repeated again.

The perception that operetta creation had developed into a type of industrial production, encouraged ideas about preformed musical units assembled on conveyor belts. Adorno asserted, ‘the law that rules operetta lies in the objective force of banal, ready-made shapes’.[60] On the occasion of a revival of *Die lustige Witwe* by Frankfurt Opera in 1934, he claimed that Lehár’s work illustrated the turning point of the genre, before it slipped into unremitting decline:

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[59] *Laughter under Tears*, 146 ('*Unter Tränen lachen*', 156).

> *Die lustige Witwe* stands at the border: one of the last operettas that still has something to do with art, and one of the first to thoughtlessly renounce it. It doesn’t yet survive on sequences, but from melodic and rhythmic profiles – an interpolated jazz piece from today seemed paltry in this context. It has a certain individual attitude and is even tasteful in its lightly suggested Southern Slavish tone. It has a dramatic moment when Danilo dashes off to the strains of the Maxim song: this song, a singular monument to Frou-Frou’s world of love, preserved the faithful features of its epoch more than any current hit. Furthermore, Glawari’s romance [‘Vilja’], as sentimental as it is, allows you to listen, and there is absolutely no mistaking that it is not yet put together on a conveyor belt, but, rather, made by a human being.[61]

In Adorno’s mind, Lehár and Kálmán had failed to realize their early promise through having succumbed to the demands of industrial methods of production. Writing of *Die Herzogin von Chicago*, he asserted: ‘One knows that the earlier Kálmán, in his commercial art manner, created much that was pretty and imaginative. Today there is nothing left of this; a composing template (*Komposnierschablone*) prevails that turns plagiarism and his own past into a system.’[62] Adorno invariably sees commercial music production as the replication of successful formats, and yet it is patently evident that commercial music undergoes changes in its structure and parameters (harmony, rhythm, timbre, and so forth) over any given period of time. The operettas of the 1920s and 1930s are not the same as those of the first two decades of the twentieth century, despite certain genre-related continuities.

Operettas on Historic Subjects

There were three main types of operetta content: the modern, the exotic, and the historic. The latter subdivided into those that had newly composed music (such as *Madame Pompadour* and *Lady Hamilton*) and those that contained reworked music by earlier composers (such as *Das Dreimäderlhaus* and *Casanova*). Some operettas with historic themes adopted elements of period style, as do Lehár's *Friederike* (1928) and Kálmán's *Kaiserin Josephine* (1936), both of which included gavottes.

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[60] ‘alles Recht der Operette liegt in der objektiven Gewalt vorgezeichneter Formcharaktere, die sie in Banalen bewahrt’. *Die Musik*, 23:2 (Nov. 1930), 125, reprinted in Theodor W. Adorno, *Gesammelte Schriften*, 19, Musikalische Schriften 6 (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1984), 190–92, at 191.

[61] January 1934 in *Die Musik*, 26:4, reprinted in Adorno, *Gesammelte Schriften*, 19, 248–50, at 249.

[62] *Die Musik*, 25:8 (May 1933), 622, reprinted in Adorno, *Gesammelte Schriften*, 19, 242–43, at 242.

Among operettas on historic topics containing reworkings of older music, one of the best received was *Walzer aus Wien* (1930). It loosely followed the career of Johann Strauss Jr and had music by him and his father, adapted by Erich Korngold and Julius Bittner. Some music is readily recognizable: for example, the song 'With All My Heart' is based on the waltz *Künstlerleben*, and the refrain of 'Morning' draws predictably on *Morgenblätter*. In other numbers, Korngold was drawn to elaborating musical motives and phrases from unfamiliar operettas by Strauss, building them into longer spans. In London, as *Waltzes from Vienna* in 1931, the music was further reworked by G. H. Clutsam and Herbert Griffiths. On Broadway, as *The Great Waltz* (1934), Frank Tours and Robert Russell Bennet took a hand in its arrangement.

Oscar Straus's operetta *Die drei Wälzer* (1935), which told the tale of three generations of one family and their romances, also contained arrangements of the music of Strauss Sr and Strauss Jr, to which was added music by Straus himself for the modern day third act. Its premiere was in Zürich, but it went on to huge acclaim when it was produced in Paris, starring Yvonne Printemps, at the time of the World Exhibition of 1937. It then opened on Broadway but was not seen in London until March 1945 (its run of 189 performances coinciding with the final months of the Second World War). The three waltzes of the title appear one in each act: 'Wien ist ein Liebeslied' (Act 1), 'Ich liebe das Leben' (Act 2), and 'Man sagt sich beim Abschied Adieu' (Act 3).

Perhaps the most beloved of operettas on historic themes that also used historic music was *Das Dreimäderlhaus* (1916), for which Heinrich Berté adapted compositions by Schubert. Adorno wrote of this work: 'It is no coincidence that just when the last chances of producing light music have shrunk, operetta glorifies the "creative" artist by stealing his tunes.'[63] To be fair, Berté had originally composed most of the music himself but had come under increasing pressure from Wilhelm Karczag to replace it with arrangements of Schubert before a production at the Raimund-Theater would be agreed.[64] In 1921, one critic thought that the time for jazz had passed, and greeted the production of *Blossom Time*, Sigmund Romberg's American version of this operetta, with the words: 'After jazz, what? They tried a new answer on Broadway last evening when "Blossom Time" was produced at the Ambassador.'[65] A comparative study of *Das Dreimäderlhaus* and its British and American adaptations features in Chapter 2.

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[63] 'Zur gesellschaftlichen Lage der Musik', 375 (*Gesammelte Schriften*, 18, 773).

[64] Gustav Holm, *Im ¾ Takt durch die Welt: Ein Lenensbild des Komponisten Robert Stolz* (Vienna: Ibis-Verlag, 1948), 227–28.

The spectacular revue operetta *Casanova* (1928) contained music of Strauss Jr, arranged by Ralph Benatzky, and was thus odd in using historic music but not that of the period in which its title character lived. It was first produced by Erik Charell at the Großes Schauspielhaus, Berlin, and brought to the London Coliseum by Stoll in 1932. Another unusual case was *Die Dubarry* (1931), Paul Knepler and Ignaz Michael Welleminsky's revision of Carl Millöcker's *Gräfin Dubarry* of 1879. Knepler was historical operetta's most skilful librettist; he had worked with Béla Jenbach on *Paganini* for Lehár (1925) and went on to collaborate with Arnim Robinson on *Die drei Wälzer* for Oscar Straus (1935). Millöcker's operetta contained no historical music related to the period of the Comtesse du Barry, but his own music had acquired a historic character related to its date of composition. Therefore, in this case, the music was updated and elaborated by Theo Mackeben. Its English version, *The Dubarry* (1932), by Desmond Carter and Rowland Leigh, was a huge hit with the West End audience but ran less successfully on Broadway.

Die Fledermaus was twice 'brought up to date' for a modern audience on Broadway, as *The Merry Countess* and *A Wonderful Night*, in 1912 and 1929, respectively. Sometimes, the process of updating could change the fortunes of a previously unsuccessful operetta: *Indigo und die vierzig Räuber*, Strauss Jr's first operetta, had not enjoyed much attention since its premiere in 1871, but its reworking by Ernst Reiterer as *Tausendundeine Nacht* in 1906 won full audience approbation.

Operettas on Exotic Subjects

While operettas with modern themes were increasingly characterized by syncopated rhythms in the 1920s, those with exotic themes were spiced up with augmented intervals, modal harmony, and ostinato rhythms. Hungary was often represented an exotic domain, with Gipsy music emphasized. It may be argued that some composers were Hungarian, but the question is of style and representation rather than the composer's ethnicity. Thus, it is necessary to ask: 'How Hungarian is Kálmán's Hungarian style?' Would Béla Bartók have considered it Hungarian? Consider 'Höre ich Zigeunergeigen' from *Gräfin Mariza* (1924). It uses the Dorian mode, but that mode was often selected to represent the mysteriously exotic, after Rimsky-Korsakov's effective use of it for that purpose in his *Scheherazade* (1888). Choosing another example, how convincing is the Gipsy song 'Ich bin ein Zigeunerkind' in Lehár's *Zigeunerliebe*? Neither Kálmán nor Lehár were Gipsies, but, equally, neither had been immersed in Viennese culture before becoming purveyors of 'authentic' Viennese style. It may be that Gipsy culture suggested ethnic community, whereas Vienna suggested cosmopolitanism.

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[65] 'Franz Schubert in a Play', *New York Times*, 30 Sep. 1921, 21.

Lehár used different dance rhythms to characterize a modern Western Europe (Paris) and an Ottoman Eastern Europe (Pontevedro) in *Die lustige Witwe*.[66] The cultural clash is less East and West, however, than that of the traditional rural and the modern city. The Viennese audience, with its mixed ethnicity, no doubt identified with urban modernity, while retaining a certain degree of nostalgia for rural tradition, but this was an operetta that broke with the typical emphasis on Vienna, and its wine, women, and song. Stan Czech, in his Lehár biography, sees in it the birth of a new type of operetta, one that heralded a revolution in dramatic content, musical style, and orchestral technique.[67]

Operetta often employed signifiers of 'national style' as colour. Frey describes the Orientalism in both the music and libretto of Fall's *The Rose of Stamboul* as merely decorative.[68] Fall had not previously tried his hand at Oriental colouring of his music, and applies it inconsistently here. It is heard immediately in the drone bass and Lydian modal melody of the prelude. It emerges from time to time elsewhere but is not particularly noticeable in Achmed Bey's big solo 'O Rose von Stambul, nur Du allein'. Achmed's 'Ihr stillen süßen Frauen' has more of the Spanish seguidilla than the Orient about it, and exoticism disappears entirely for 'Ein Walzer muß es sein'. One might imagine some 'Oriental' eroticism would reappear for the Act 3 'Schnucki' duet ('lovey-dovey' on Broadway), but Fall can handle seductive comedy without it.

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[66] This stylistic duality is discussed in Anton Mayer, *Franz Lehár – Die lustiger Witwe: Der Ernst der leichten Muse* (Vienna: Edition Steinbauer, 2003), 73, and in greater detail in Micaela Baranello, '*Die lustige Witwe* and the Creation of the Silver Age of Viennese Operetta', *Cambridge Opera Journal*, 26:2 (Jul. 2014), 175–202, at 189–99.

[67] Stan Czech, *Schön ist die Welt: Franz Lehárs Leben und Werk* (Berlin: Argon Verlag, 1957), 121–22.

[68] Stefan Frey (with the collaboration of Christine Stemprok and Wofgang Dosch), *Leo Fall: Spöttischer Rebell der Operette* (Vienna: Edition Steinbauer, 2010), 158.

Lehár provides a 'Russian' score for *Der Zarewitsch* and 'Chinese' score for *Das Land des Lächelns*, but this merely emphasizes the constructed character of national identification. Representation of the foreign in operetta can also have an ironic tone, as Volker Klotz has flagged up in discussing the Batavia septet in *Der Vetter aus Dingsda*.[69] Despite the exotic chords and slithering bass notes, the narration, here, is a fiction, and, what is more, references to a gnu, wildebeest, and kangaroo in the lyrics seem designed to make this obvious (Batavia was a former name of Jakarta in Indonesia). Then, there is the 'jazz' style that may connote place, but without necessarily connoting a nation or even a time period. The on-stage jazz band, the White Horse Inn Syncopaters, raises interesting questions. How does this work, when the piece is notionally set in the period before the death of the Emperor Franz Joseph? Is the use of jazz dance styles in *White Horse Inn* no stranger than the anachronistic dance styles in Strauss's *Der lustige Krieg* (1881, but set in 1730), or Millöcker's *Der Bettelstudent* (1882, but set in 1704)?

The operetta that comes closest to offering an ironic critique of musical Orientalism is Kálmán's *Die Bajadere*. The representation of ethnic identity is problematized in this piece because a young prince from Lahore has fallen in love not with a Hindu dancer, as he believes, but with a French singer who is merely playing the role of a bayadere on the Parisian stage.[70] Kálmán's music is more Hungarian in character than Indian (just as it is more Hungarian than African in *Golden Dawn*). Even its shimmy has something suggestive of Hungary or, perhaps, Klezmer about it. When an ironic mood is not evoked, the general tendency of operetta exoticism is to offer little more than spectacular scenes and extraordinary sounds. Since this cannot be maintained for long periods, the exoticism is usually applied inconsistently; it is a dressing-up that comes on and off during the course of the musical drama. 'Dein ist mein ganzes Herz', the best-known song of Lehar's *Das Land des Lächelns* is not in the least exotic; yet, elsewhere, the singer, Sou Chong, is given exotic signifiers. The melismas on 'ah' in his 'Von Apfelblüten einen Kranz' are indebted to Orientalist representation – one has only to think of the song about the *jeune Indou* (the 'Bell Song') in Léo Delibes's *Lakmé* (1883).

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[69] See Klotz, *Operette*, 85–88.

[70] For a discussion of the ironic exoticism of *Die Bajadere*, see Klotz, *Operette*, 95–99.

Operetta of the twentieth century does not fail to recognize the complexities of ethnic identities: a hit song from Paul Abraham's *Viktoria und ihr Husar*, 'Meine Mama war aus Yokohama – aus Paris war der Papa', prompts the question, do you necessarily need to choose to identify with either East or West if you are half Japanese and half French? A French listener to French music may have an advantage over a Japanese listener in possessing greater familiarity with musical signs of 'Frenchness', but signs recognized by a cultural insider are no less arbitrary. There is not 'something in the blood' that allows people to represent their own ethnic group but not a different ethnic group. It is not a person's genetic make-up, but, rather, cultural knowledge that enables such representation to work convincingly and win acceptance from those who are personally immersed in the culture represented.

Abraham had composed music for several operettas before achieving worldwide fame with *Viktoria und ihr Husar*, which included a variety of dance rhythms from around the world: fox trot ('Mausi'), English waltz ('Pardon, Madame'), csárdás ('Nur ein Mädel') as well as a pasodoble and tango. After its triumphant premiere as *Viktória* in Budapest, it reappeared in a German version as part of Leipzig's 'week of operetta' in the summer of 1930 and went on to great success at the Metropol in Berlin and then in London. Abraham had studied at the Franz Liszt Music Academy and, initially, was committed to 'serious' music. However, when he discovered the money to be made by serving the lighter muse, he changed direction.[71] His first big hit was 'Bin kein Hauptmann' (I'm not a captain), a song written for the film *Melodie des Herzens* (1929), but he was already composing for the theatre. He eventually composed 16 operettas and contributed music to over 20 films.[72] Abraham was the subject of a newspaper article in 1931 headed 'Berlin's Stage Looks Toward America'. It was a reference both to the composer's interest in American music and to his having chosen an American theme for his operetta *Die Blume von Hawaii* (Leipzig, 1931).[73] The jazz element had increased in this work compared to *Viktoria*, and when it was given a production in Budapest, Abraham took five American jazz musicians from Berlin with him.[74] His operetta of the

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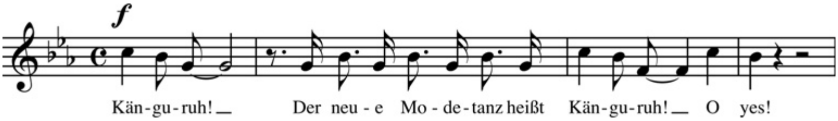
[71] Waller, *Paul Abraham*, 29–31 and 45–46. For a comprehensive survey of Abraham's life and work, see Karin Meesmann, *Paul Abraham: Ein Gershwin des Ostens* (Berlin: Hentrich & Hentrich, 2016).

[72] Daniel Hirschel, 'Paul Abraham', in Wolfgang Schaller, ed., *Operette unterm Hakenkreuz: Zwischen hoffähiger Kunst und 'Entartung'* (Berlin: Metropol Verlag, 2007), 40–60, at 40.

[73] C. Hooper Trask, 'More about the Drama and Its Manifestations: Berlin's Stage Looks Toward America', *New York Times*, 4 Oct. 1931, 110.

[74] Waller, *Paul Abraham*, 78.

Example 1.17 'Känguruh'.



following year, *Ball im Savoy* (given as *Ball at the Savoy* at Drury Lane in 1933), contained a remarkable mixture of American and Latin dance styles.

The sound world of Abraham's operettas is distinct from the older Viennese operas, and his enthusiasm for incorporating styles from different countries marks his cosmopolitan disposition. He was not averse to including novel, sometimes parodic, syncopated dance routines in his work, examples being 'Känguruh' (Example 1.17) in *Ball im Savoy* and 'Black-Walk' in *Roxy und ihr Wunderteam* (1937).

Abraham's eclecticism was seen by some in a negative light: an American reviewer of the premiere of *Ball im Savoy* at the Großes Schauspielhaus, Berlin, announced that Abraham was 'at the moment the most popular operetta composer of Central Europe', although it was difficult to identify a characteristic Abraham song: 'He flits from style to style without leaving a mark.'[75] Abraham was not the first to be criticized on stylistic grounds: Kálmán's *Tatárjárás* (which became *Ein Herbstmanöver*) was criticized for lack of stylistic unity: 'From every single number sounds a different dialect.'[76]

Sometimes the rural areas of a country can form an exotic contrast to the city, as occurs when the city dwellers meet the Wolfgangsee locals in *White Horse Inn*. 'Im Salzkammergut' is a Ländler, and also a humorous slap dance (*Watschentanz*). It demonstrates that country folk have their own ways of enjoying themselves. Dialect is used in this song, for instance 'kann i net' instead of 'kann ich nicht', and the words 'da kann man gut lustig sein' (as Giesecke the Berliner sings them) are sung by Josepha and the locals as either 'da kamer gut lustig sein' or 'da kama gut' (no doubt because of the humorous rhyming with 'Salzkammergut').[77]

America was perceived by some European critics as a kind of 'vulgar' Other, rather than ethnic Other. In *Paganini*, one London critic was beginning to detect that Lehár was writing 'music in two kinds', part Viennese and part American. He declared that Tauber's song 'Girls Were

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[75] C. Hooper Trask, 'Berlin Bursts into Song', *New York Times*, 19 Feb. 1933, X3.

[76] Review in *Pesti Napló*, 23 Feb. 1908, quoted by Frey, *Laughter under Tears*, 47.

[77] These alternative phrases appear in the original score, now published by Felix Bloch Erben, *Im weißen Rössl*, Partitur (Originalfassung), No. 12 'Schnadahüpfl-Duett' (n.p.).

Made to Love and Kiss' would give less pleasure than some other numbers to the conservative members of the audience: 'there is a moan in it from across the Atlantic that will not compensate them for the rhythm of Vienna'. Then, allowing us to recognize that the 'conservative' are those in the expensive stalls (those possessing both money and good taste), the critic continued, 'but the circles and gallery at the Lyceum could not have too much of it and Herr Tauber was tumultuously invited to "plug" it again and again'.[78] Note the term 'plug', which was associated with the brash commercial marketing of New York's Tin Pan Alley.

Musical Emulation and Cross-Fertilization

I conclude with a few words on the mutual influence that can be perceived on the stages of Berlin, London, New York, and Vienna. European composers were seeking opportunities in New York at the end of the nineteenth century and beginning of the twentieth. Gustave Kerker, who was one of the first to make a success with operetta in New York, was German, but had lived in America since childhood. His *The Belle of New York* had a disappointing run at the Casino in 1897, but created a major impact on London theatre the following year. Victor Herbert was Irish born, but, before moving to the USA in 1886, he had acquired extensive experience of music in continental Europe and played cello in the Strauss Orchestra during 1880–81. Rudolf Friml was Czech and was in his twenties when he moved to the USA in 1906. Sigmund Romberg (born Siegmund Rosenberg) was of Austro-Hungarian Jewish heritage and also in his twenties when he moved to the USA in 1909.

Some composers of German operetta purposely adopted American elements, but at other times the influence from Broadway crept into the music in a less conscious way.[79] It seems likely that Azuri's Dance, 'Soft as a Pigeon Lights upon the Sand', from Act 1 of Romberg's *The Desert Song*, was lurking somewhere in Lehár's mind when he wrote the final scene of *Giuditta*. However, it appears equally likely that

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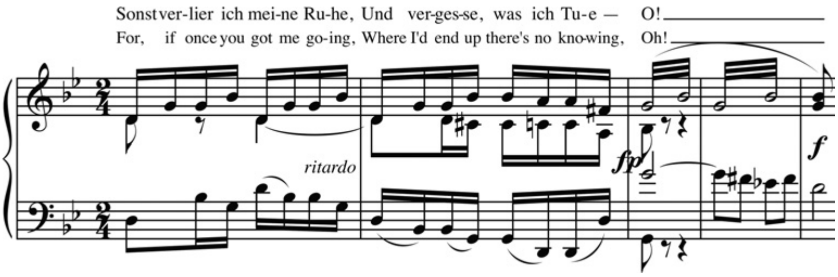
[78] 'Lyceum Theatre. "Paganini"', *Times*, 21 May 1937, 12.

[79] Harold R. Mortimer discusses some influences of silver-age operetta on the later Broadway musical, and includes a comparative case study of *The Merry Widow* and *My Fair Lady* (108–98), in 'The Silver Operetta and the Golden Musical: The Influence of the Viennese Operetta of the Silver Age (1905–1935) on the Broadway Musical of the Golden Age (1943–1964)', DMA diss. University of Washington, 1999 (Ann Arbor: UMI Microform 9936448, 1999).

Example 1.18 'Josef, ach Josef' *Madame Pompadour* (German lyrics by Rudolf Schanzer and Ernst Welisch, English lyrics by Harry Graham).

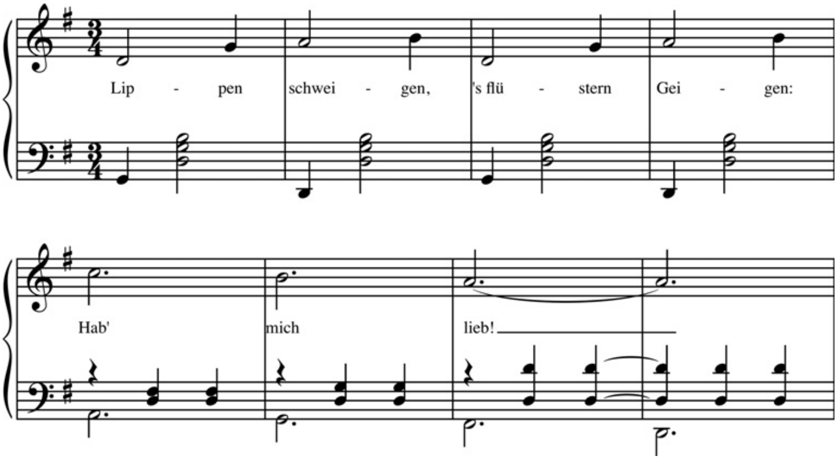

Sonst ver-lier ich mei-ne Ru-he, Und ver-ges-se, was ich Tu-e — O!
For, if once you got me go-ing, Where I'd end up there's no kno-wing, Oh!
ritardo
fp
f

'Mädel fein, Mädel klein' from *Der Graf von Luxemburg* was in Romberg's mind when he composed 'Just We Two' for *The Student Prince*. Librettists were not immune to unconscious reminiscence, either: the duet for Gonda and the President in *Die geschiedene Frau*, contains the lines 'Then she goes to the left / And he goes to the right', which are echoed in Angèle and René's duet in *Der Graf von Luxemburg*. A memory of popular tunes can lurk in the unconscious of a composer and be recollected unintentionally. The tune of 'Ich bin dein Untertan' in Fall's *Madame Pompadour* (1922) sounds remarkably similar in places to that of 'Ein Glaserl Wein' from Kálmán's *Das Hollandweibchen* (1920). 'Warum bin ich verliebt in dich' in Abraham's *Ball im Savoy* resembles 'Das Leben wirklich spaßig ist' in Georg Jarno's *Die Försterchristl*. These similarities are no doubt the result of unconscious processes, and stand apart from deliberate quotation, such as that of the 'fate motive' from Bizet's *Carmen* in the duet 'Josef, ach Josef, was bist du so keusch?' sung by Madame Pompadour and Calicot. The quotation is consciously employed, with a degree of humour, to characterize Pompadour as a *femme fatale* (see the final bars of Example 1.18).

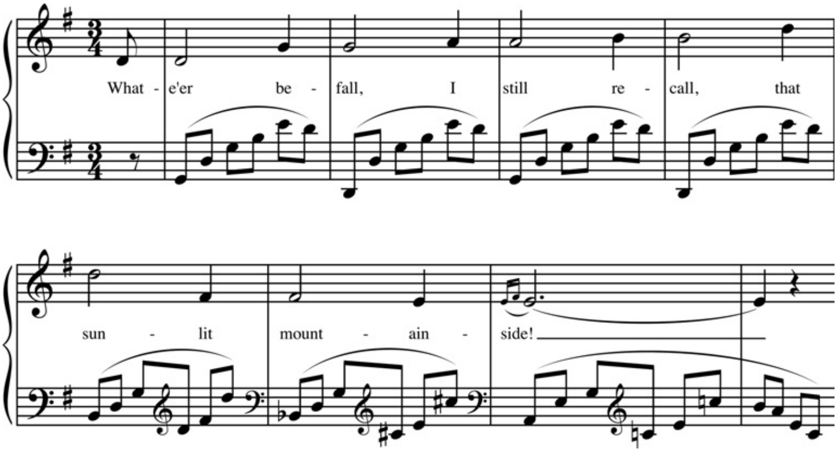
Composers of British musical comedy were not averse to taking note of the techniques of German operetta composers, and, although they sometimes failed to equal the sensual harmony, the melodic style was easier to imitate. 'Love Will Find a Way', the waltz hit in Fraser-Simson's *Maid of the Mountains* (1917), bases itself on the *Merry Widow* waltz by doubling each of the first few notes of Lehár's melody (Examples 1.19 and 1.20). Note that it is Lehár's characteristic tempo of valse moderato.

In the late 1920s and 1930s, it was Noël Coward and Ivor Novello who rose to the operetta challenge in London. When Coward composed his first

Example 1.19 ‘Lippen schweigen’.


Lip - pen schwei - gen, 's flü - stern Gei - gen:
Hab' mich lieb!

Example 1.20 ‘Love Will Find a Way’.


What - e'er be - fall, I still re - call, that
sun - lit mount - ain - side!

operetta, *Bitter Sweet* (1929), he wanted Evelyn Laye, known for her roles in continental European operetta, to play the lead role of Sari (she did so on Broadway, but Peggy Wood was Sari in London). In *Operette* (1938), he composed specifically for the Berlin operetta star Fritzi Massary, who played Liesl Haren.

2 Cultural Transfer: Translation and Transcreation

This chapter investigates the various ways in which operettas were changed as they transferred from one social-cultural context to another. The term 'adaptation' generally refers to remediation – a reworking from one medium to another – but the cultural transfer of operettas more commonly involved the creation of new versions of works already designed for the stage (the adaptation of stage operettas as films is discussed in Chapter 3). This is not to deny that differences could be considerable, but, most of the time, changes were made to accommodate differing cultural experiences and expectations, which is why the term 'transcreation' is useful. It was never a case of merely translating the German book and lyrics; it was necessary to capture the cultural meanings and emotional nuances that resist direct translation, enabling them to be recognized in a new context.

Developed as a concept in advertising in the 1970s, transcreation has become associated with the creative transformation of images and modification of storylines in computer and video games as part of a strategy to reach different cultural markets.[1] In the cultural transfer of operetta, transcreation encompassed scene and costume design as well as interpolated numbers, character modifications, and structural changes. None of this is aptly described as translation, yet to use the word 'transformation' would be to go too far. The different versions of stage works often remain fundamentally the same.

Linda Hutcheon has stressed that cultural and social meaning cannot be conveyed effectively by merely translating words.[2] This, too, can be linked to the idea of transcreation. In some cases, what is at stake is translation in the sense in which Nicolas Bourriaud has called for creative artists to translate the meaning of a cultural artifact for an 'outsider'. For Bourriaud, translation is at the heart of an important ethical and aesthetic struggle, that of 'rejecting any source code that would seek to assign a single origin to works and texts'.[3] Arguments advanced in poststructuralism and deconstruction have made it difficult to claim authority for an 'original': the original, itself, exists in an intertextual web. Fidelity discourse has been abandoned by adaptation theorists, although comparison of similarities and differences remains of interest.[4]

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[1] Rebecca Ray and Nataly Kelly, *Reaching New Markets Through Transcreation* (Lowell, MA: Common Sense Advisory, 2010). (Common Sense Advisory is a US market research company.)

[2] Linda Hutcheon, *A Theory of Adaptation* (New York: Routledge, 2nd edn 2013, first pub. 2006), 149.

The ease with which cross-cultural translation could be achieved illustrates the commonalities of twentieth-century metropolitan experience, and the practices of translation and transcreation are significant for operetta's character as a cosmopolitan genre. Popular forms of entertainment often carry more conspicuous traces of the cultural context in which they were created than do high-status art forms. Artistic respect for opera ensured that it was seldom reworked to fit a changed cultural environment to the same extent as operetta. Opera had often been subject to adaptations in its earlier days, but that diminished after the polarization of ideas of art and entertainment from the middle of the nineteenth century on, when adaptation came to be seen as demeaning. Even in the most provocative Regietheater, alterations to an opera's libretto are rare, and revisions to its music even rarer. Moreover, operas are almost always given in the original language. Operettas, on the other hand, are subjected to changes in language, structure, and scene, and often have added music. Reginald Arkell, who, with A. P. Herbert, was responsible for the book and lyrics of the West End production of *Paganini* in 1937, was taken aback when its composer, Lehár, and its lead singer, Richard Tauber, opposed them strongly. Theatre publicist MacQueen-Pope shared Arkell's consternation:

> in those days, when the rights of a continental success were secured for London, little attention was paid to any clauses in the contract calling for purity of performance and strict adherence to the story, and requiring that no numbers should be interpolated.[5]

The creation of new versions offered opportunities for originality. Such a task did not have to be tied to ideas of fidelity and respect for the former text; it could be a reimagining or a reinterpretation.

It is not uncommon to find that the libretto of an operetta is already an adaptation of a novel, poem, or stage play. *The Merry Widow*, for example, was an English version of *Die lustige Witwe*, which was already a musical adaptation of Henri Meilhac's play *L'Attaché d'ambassade*, performed at the Théâtre du Vaudeville, Paris, in 1861.[6] When Ben Travers, now best known as the author of the Aldwych farce *Rookery Nook* (1926), authored the book and lyrics of *The Three Graces* for the Empire Theatre in 1924, he reworked Lehár's *Der Libellentanz* (1923), which was already a reworking by Alfred Maria Willner of Carlo Lombardi's new libretto to Lehár's *Der Sternglucker* (1916), given in Milan as *La danza delle libellule* (1922). Other works that were much revised, if not to similar extent, were Lehár's *Endlich Allein* (becoming *Schön ist die Welt*) and *Der gelbe Jacke* (becoming *Das Land des Lächelns*), Kálmán's *Der gute Kamerad* (becoming *Gold gab ich für Eisen*), and Fall's *Der Rebell* (becoming *Der liebe Augustin*). It is better, perhaps, to speak of prior versions than original versions, to relinquish searching for an original, and accept that different versions exist, each of which may contain something of unique artistic value. When Eduard Künneke visited his birthplace, Emmerich am Rhein, in later life, he signed the town guest book and appended a musical quotation, the beginning of 'Ich bin nur ein armer Wandergesell' from *Der Vetter aus Dingsda*. However, Künneke also added the title and song lyrics from its London production (*The Cousin from Nowhere*, 'I'm Only a Strolling Vagabond').[7] It would appear he identified with both versions.

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[3] Nicolas Bourriaud, *The Radicant*, trans. James Gussen and Lili Porten (New York: Lukas and Sternberg, 2009; orig. pub. as *Radicant: Pour une esthétique de la globalization*, Paris: Denoël, 2009), 131.

[4] Jorgen Bruhn, Anne Gjelsvik and Eirik Frisvold Hanssen, eds., *Adaptation Studies* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2013), 5–6.

[5] W. MacQueen-Pope and D. L. Murray, *Fortune's Favourite: The Life and Times of Franz Lehár* (London: Hutchinson, 1953), 205.

The remapping of a scene onto a locally known place that would conjure up similar associations to those that were culturally familiar to the former audience was part of transcreation. It was an important means of reproducing similar pleasure and understanding. The fact that such substitutions were easily made points to a certain equivalence in the experience of urban environments. In *The Girl on the Film*, James T. Tanner's West End version of *Filmzauber*, Adrian Ross's lyrics have Freddy and Max singing about walking down Bond Street, rather than Unter den Linden. The transcreation of *Filmzauber* also had to deal with differing sociocultural nuances. The German version featured the character Euphemia Breitsprecher, whom Tobias Becker argues would have been immediately recognized in Berlin as a caricature of the social reformer who believed films posed moral danger and should be restricted to serving educational purposes.[8] Tanner exchanges her for a film enthusiast and former actor, Euphemia Knox. It is an indication that the new medium of film met with less moral concern in London than it did in Berlin. If anxiety was felt in the UK, it was about the prospect of American films destabilizing the British social hierarchy with their democratic values.[9] The notion of the sinful metropolis was stressed in Berlin through the character Käsebier. His counterpart in London, Clutterbuck, is more concerned about foreign threats, especially invasion. Given that the date of Tanner's version was 1913, the London audience would have linked such threats to Germany. Ostensibly, it concerns Napoleon, so the audience may have felt reassured that, since the once-feared invasion of England by Napoleon failed to materialize, a German invasion was equally unlikely. Both versions included the projection of a film in the final act. The Gaiety was obliged to obtain a cinema licence in order to do so.[10]

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[6] Henri Meilhac, *L'Attaché d'ambassade*. Comédie en trois actes, en prose (Paris: Michel Lévy Frères, 1861).

[7] Page from guestbook reproduced in Otto Schneidereit, *Eduard Künneke: Der Komponist aus Dingsda* (Berlin: Henschelverlag, 1978), 213.

[8] Tobias Becker, 'The Arcadians and Filmzauber – Adaptation and the Popular Musical Theatre Text', in Len Platt, Tobias Becker, and David Linton, eds., *Popular Musical Theatre in Germany and Britain, 1890–1939* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 81–101, at 94.

The Broadway version of *The Girl on the Film* was almost identical to the West End version but became the subject of a historic plagiarism case in 1914, when an American court declared that another theatrical production, *All Aboard*, breached its copyright by depicting a French invasion in a similar manner. That offers a neat illustration of the distinction between legitimate reworking, following the formal acquisition of rights, and plagiarizing for an unrelated production.

There was one location, a country of mountains, brigands, and tyrants, that had many names but remained essentially the same. First introduced as Ruritania in Anthony Hope's novel *The Prisoner of Zenda* (1894), it was a fictitious version of the Balkans that became better known by Western European and American audiences than the Balkans themselves. Ruritanian locations featured in many operettas from German, British, and American stages. The homeland of the merry widow was Pontevedro in the Balkans (a thinly disguised Montenegro, which had defaulted on a large debt to Austria at the end of the nineteenth century). It became Marsova in the English version of the operetta, Farsovia in the burlesque at Weber's music hall, Monteblanco in the MGM silent film of 1925, and Marshova in MGM's later film of 1934. Such place names served to conjure up romantic adventures in the wilder parts of Europe: Hugo Hirsch's *Toni* has a plot involving the loss of a precious jewel from Mettopolachia, and the leading characters of Jean Gilbert's *Katja, the Dancer* are ex-aristocrats of Koruja.

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[9] Ross McKibbin, *Classes and Cultures: England 1918–1951* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 455.

[10] Becker, 'The Arcadians and Filmzauber', 97.

Sometimes a new version departed radically from its German stage version, but the fact that such adaptations usually affected only the scenes and dialogue indicates the lack of any sense of perplexity about musical style. The existing music may have been sometimes chopped about and re-orchestrated, but melody, harmony, and rhythm were seldom altered, although additional numbers were often interpolated. Basil Hood may have claimed that he made almost a new play out of *The Count of Luxembourg*,[11] but the music was still that of Lehár. Musical style in an operetta often appears to be independent of the setting. The mixture of styles in Künneke's *Der Vetter aus Dingsda*, which included transcultural modern styles such as the valse boston, tango, and fox trot, hardly seems designed to indicate a location in the Netherlands. Indeed, the New York version shifted continents for an American Civil War setting.

Few would argue that a musically unsatisfying opera or operetta has survived in the repertoire owing to a first-rate libretto. Yet it is not uncommon to hear of stage works surviving because of the quality of the music alone. A typical comment is found in a review of *Caroline*, the Broadway version of *Der Vetter aus Dingsda*: 'Last night's audience … seemed not much disturbed by the poorness of the book, and it is safe to assume that future audiences will also refuse to be bothered by it.'[12] Nevertheless, it had a short run, and most Anglophone revivals of this work have been of its London incarnation as *The Cousin from Nowhere*. It should also be emphasized that the German libretto was skilfully constructed (after Max Kempner-Hochstädt's comedy) by Herman Haller, with lyrics by Rideamus (Fritz Oliven).[13]

On those uncommon occasions when a libretto was given fresh music, we may assume that the libretto was thought better than the existing music. Rida Johnson Young based her libretto for *Maytime* (1917) on the libretto of *Wie einst im Mai* (1913) by Rudolf Bernauer, Rudolf Schanzer, and Willy Bredschneider. It was a biographical storyline contrasting past and present, like Coward's *Bitter Sweet* a decade later. It previously had music by Walter Kollo, which was replaced with music by Sigmund Romberg. A similar thing happened with *Madame Sherry*, which had music by Hugo Felix in London and Karl Hoschna on Broadway. Other examples are Robert B. Smith's adaptation of Felix Dörmann's *Follow Me* (music by Romberg, but originally by Leo Ascher) and Harry B. Smith's adaptation of Leopold Kremm and Carl Lindau's *The Strollers* (music by Ludwig Englander, but originally by Carl Ziehrer). One of the most successful musical comedies at the Gaiety Theatre in London was based on James Tanner's adaptation of the libretto by Julius Freund and Wilhelm Mannstaedt for Julius Einödshofer's *Ein tolle Nacht* (Berlin, 1895). It was retitled *The Circus Girl* and ran during 1896–98 with music by Ivan Caryll and Lionel Monckton. There is no doubt that the right libretto can help an operetta succeed. David Ewen blames the failure in 1871 of Johann Strauss's *Indigo und die vierzig Räuber* on Maximilian Steiner 'whose text had been so confused that it was impossible to follow the story line'.[14] With a new libretto by Leo Stein and Carl Lindau, and with music arranged by Ernst Reiterer, it re-emerged in 1906 as *Tausendundeine Nacht* and achieved prolonged success.

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[11] Quoted in D. Forbes-Winslow, *Daly's: The Biography of a Theatre* (London: W. H. Allen, 1944), 108.

[12] '"Caroline" Is Tuneful', *New York Times*, 1 Feb. 1923, 13.

[13] See Volker Klotz, *Operette: Porträt und Handbuch einer unerhörten Kunst* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, rev.edn 2004), 135–43.

Sometimes it was necessary to 'tone down' an operetta for British and American audiences. Fall's *Die geschiedene Frau* (1908) became *The Girl in the Train* (1910) to avoid a title that made uncomfortable mention of divorce (in liberal Paris the title was unhesitatingly given as *La Divorcée*). The *Times* reviewer imagines that there was 'some difficulty in reducing the flavour of [the] original to the standard of respectability required in the Strand'.[15] The *New York Times* reviewer informs the reader: 'Reports from Germany tell us that "Die Geschiedene Frau" – literally "The Divorced Wife" – was very, very naughty indeed in its original version.' The writer then adds: 'The courtroom scene, even in English, is a bit daring.'[16] That may be due to the input of its American adapter Harry B. Smith. The British were more prone to be embarrassed than Americans, an example being the twinge of unease in the *Times* review of Fall's *Madame Pompadour*, as it informs the reader coyly that the eponymous character was 'a distinctly naughty young lady'.[17]

Transcreation included structural changes to cater to local theatrical taste, for instance, a preference for two acts rather than three. Adrian Ross reduced *Die geschiedene Frau* from three acts to two for *The Girl in the Train*, but Harry B. Smith retained the three-act structure for Broadway. Another reason for structural change was the desire to create parts for popular performers. Connie Ediss was introduced into the West End cast to play a comic role, which differed from the confidential maid in the German version. This had knock-on effects. Rutland Barrington, who played the President of the Divorce Court, recalls, 'with the inclusion in the cast of Miss Connie Ediss it became imperative to provide her with a song, *sua generis*, and an additional author was at once called in to furnish it, with the happy result of a great success for Miss Ediss in a ditty entitled "When I was in the Chorus at the Gaiety"'.[18] It was an unlikely previous career for a maid-servant of a Dutch family in Amsterdam. Barrington says it was much liked by the audience but damaged the drama: 'A sympathetic little scene between the mistress and maid was eliminated entirely, to the disadvantage of the plot, and those of us who had to deal with the story were distinctly conscious of an effort being required to reunite the broken thread.'[19] Barrington confessed that he, himself, was probably engaged because he was well-known for performing in Gilbert and Sullivan, and this operetta bore some resemblance to *Trial by Jury*.[20] He, too, was to have an interpolated number, 'Memories', the lyrics of which he had written to a tune Fall composed just before leaving London.[21]

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[14] David Ewen, *The Book of European Light Opera* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1962), 227.

[15] 'Vaudeville Theatre', *The Times*, 6 Jun. 1910, 12.

[16] '"Girl in the Train" Is Rather Daring', *New York Times*, 4 Oct. 1910, 11.

[17] 'Madame Pompadour', *The Times*, 21 Dec. 1923, 8.

There were certain conventions that audiences expected, such as a subplot with a comic pairing of buffo and soubrette characters who contrasted with the leading couple. Yet that was replaced with a romantic subplot in *The Merry Widow* and was done away with altogether in *The Last Waltz*.[22] Straus's *The Last Waltz* also omits the comedian, although this was quickly 'corrected' in the Broadway version, by the inclusion of comedians on roller skates. It was also given jazzy musical interpolations. When Robert Evett and Reginald Arkell saw it at the Century Theatre, that proved a decisive factor in persuading them to make a different version for London.[23]

Try-outs were helpful to the honing of adaptations before operettas transferred to Broadway or the West End. The Manchester try-out of *The Last Waltz* revealed dramatic weakness in the third act. It was resolved before the try-out ended and in time for the London premiere.[24] *The Dollar Princess* was revised for Daly's after a try-out at the Prince's Theatre, Manchester, in December 1908, in which Alice was Conder's daughter, as in the German version. In London, Alice became Conder's sister, and extra musical numbers by Richard and Leo Fall were added. The script in the Lord Chamberlain's Plays (LCP) collection at the British Library is the one used in Manchester. Although the LCP scripts do not show later revisions, they are a unique resource for studying English versions of the operettas, because most published librettos were actually of lyrics only, omitting dialogue and action. In addition, there are some copies held in the archive of Weinberger in London. There is no sure location for finding the English versions used on Broadway that differ from those performed in London (see Appendix 6, Research Resources).

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[18] Rutland Barrington, *More Rutland Barrington* (London: Grant Richards, 1911), 198–99.

[19] Ibid., 213. [20] Ibid., 221. [21] Ibid., 222–23.

[22] For a study of operetta characters, locations, plots, and dramatic structure, see Heike Quissek, *Das deutschsprachige Operettenlibretto: Figuren, Stoffe, Dramaturgie* (Stuttgart: Verlag J. B. Metzler, 2012).

[23] José Collins, *The Maid of the Mountains: Her Story* (London: Hutchinson, 1932), 199.

[24] Ibid., 200.

From Veuve Madeleine to Witwe Hanna to Widow Sonia

In Meilhac's comedy *L'Attaché d'ambassade*, the embassy's attaché is Count Prax, who becomes Danilo, its secretary, in *Die lustige Witwe*. The widow is Madeleine Palmer, and it is she, with the new name Hanna, that becomes the focus of the operetta, rather than Danilo – hence, the change of title. The homeland threatened with financial ruin is Birkenfeld, the name of a small Principality that was, at the time of the play's first performance in 1861, part of the widely dispersed Grand Duchy of Oldenburg. The plot revolves around the difficulty faced by the wealthy Madeleine in finding another husband. Prax tells her that the banker's fortune she has inherited creates a constant suspicion in her mind, and whenever a man tells her he loves her, it whispers in her ear, 'it's not you he loves, but the banker's fortune'.[25] Madeleine and Prax did not love one another in the past, as in the operetta. In the play, Prax accompanies Madeleine at the piano while she sings a Spanish song, rather than a homeland song. They perform no waltz with silent lips, because dancing would cause the drama to lose pace. Musical adaptations of spoken plays require reductions to the text in order to compensate for the time taken by music.

The first act is in the home of the Birkenfeld ambassador, the second in Madeleine Palmer's home, and the third in the home of the Baron and Baroness Scarpa. All are located in Paris. There is no scene in Maxim's restaurant, which did not exist when the play was written. Instead, the widow holds a fête in order to gauge Danilo's reactions. When Victor Léon and Leo Stein revised the play they first renamed Birkenfield as Montenegro, and Montenegrin costumes were still used when they changed it to Pontevedro.[26] This created a political stir: Montenegrin students demonstrated outside the Parliament building in Vienna.[27] Montenegrins protested in Istanbul, and Serbians and Croatians rioted in Trieste.[28] Relations were tense between Austria and Serbia; they became even more so in 1909, and this would bring tragic consequences a few years later, following the opportunistic assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand in Sarajevo.

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[25] 'ce n'est pas toi qu'il aime, c'est la fortune du banquier'. Meilhac, *L'Attaché d'ambassade*, Act 1, sc. xvii.

In *The Merry Widow*, the dignified Ambassador, Baron Zeta, became the comic figure Baron Popoff played by George Graves, who was at one with Basil Hood's remodelling of the character, commenting: 'Of course in Vienna they do not allow their comics so much rope, and he had to take the British mentality into account.'[29] The name change from Zeta to Popoff was made for humorous effect – sounding both Slavic and like the English slang phrase 'pop off' (disappear quickly). Hood created another comic role, Nisch, for W. H. Berry. Lehár composed the music to an interpolated number for him, 'Quite Parisien'. It contradicts the sentiments of another song, 'A Balkan State', which features in the LCP copy.[30] In this, Nisch, far from loving Paris, declares:

Oh, I'm pining for the Balkan
Where we drink as freely as we all can;
  For the wine out here
  Is extremely dear,
And they charge you sixpence for a small can!

Alas, this inventive rhyming was lost to the public when the number was cut.

George Edwardes commissioned Edward Morton to adapt *Die lustige Witwe*, but decided Morton had made a confused job of it. So he persuaded Hood to produce rapidly another English version (the lyrics were the responsibility of Adrian Ross). It was only on the opening night that

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[26] See Micaela Baranello, '*Die lustige Witwe* and the Creation of the Silver Age of Viennese Operetta', *Cambridge Opera Journal*, 26:3 (2014), 175–202, at 187.

[27] Anton Mayer, *Franz Lehár – Die lustiger Witwe: Der Ernst der leichten Muse* (Vienna: Edition Steinbauer, 2003), 68. Mayer discusses the connection between Pontevedro and Montenegro on pages 69–70.

[28] Stan Czech, *Schön ist die Welt: Franz Lehárs Leben und Werk* (Berlin: Argon Verlag, 1957), 28.

[29] George Graves, *Gaieties and Gravities: The Autobiography of a Comedian* (London: Hutchinson, 1931), 94.

[30] LCP, 1907/14.

Morton realized his libretto had been replaced. Edwardes was obliged to pay royalties to both authors in order to deter a law suit. The basic plot remained the same, with various name changes: for example, Hanna became Sonia, and Pontevedro became Marsova. The LCP copy shows that Act 3 was written in a hurry: dialogue is occasionally altered, or added, in pencil, and there is a note to say that some comments from Danilo need to be moved to later in the scene. It was Graves, not Hood, who decided to bolster the role of Popoff with additional comic material, a practice for which he was well known. Indeed, some half-dozen years before his appearance in *The Merry Widow*, he had been obliged to sign a contract prohibiting him from introducing 'gags' into his performance.[31]

In Graves's opinion, Hood had provided insufficient material for the comic role of Popoff and something had to be done about it. He began to make jokes about having a pet hen called Hetty, and they soon developed into humorous anecdotes about his hen's strange habit of laying bent eggs, and how, after eating brass filings, she laid a door knob. This fictional character gained fame of her own. Graves confessed that his 'nightly bulletins became so lengthy that the stage-manager used to blow a whistle at half-time'.[32] He was aware that some adapters and authors disliked interpolated gags, but he insisted that the majority of them realized that 'the successful musical show is more than merely a book, lyrics, music, and acting'.[33] He was conscious of making his own contribution to the art world of musical-theatrical entertainment: 'It is a composite job of work in which the co-operation of the whole team and a liberal spirit of give-and-take all round under the leadership of a single competent director give the best results.'[34]

The differences between this operetta's productions in London and Vienna were several. The West End widow was younger, and the male lead was a comedian rather than a romantic tenor. Moreover, as the *Times* critic observed: 'Miss Elsie is not *lustige*; she could not be. Gentle, appealing, charming, a little strange and remote, she is everything delightful – except "merry".'[35] That was the only marked contrast with the New York production at the New Amsterdam Theatre, which otherwise followed the version at Daly's. On Broadway, Ethel Jackson was not the 'demure widow' of Lily Elsie, wrote the critic for the *New York Times*; she understood 'the verve and joy of the part, as well as its seductiveness'.[36]

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[31] Graves, *Gaieties and Gravities*, 37. [32] Ibid., 91–92. [33] Ibid., 105. [34] Ibid.

[35] 'Daly's Theatre', *The Times*, 10 Jun. 1907, 4.

[36] '"The Merry Widow" Proves Captivating', *New York Times*, 22 Oct. 1907, 9.

Lyric Writing

Those writing lyrics for English-language versions of German operetta were generally keen to offer appropriate translations, except when a number's purpose and character had been altered (as in the opening chorus of the London version of *The Dollar Princess*). A skilful lyricist would often try to retain the tone of the German text while translating loosely into idiomatic English. An example is Reginald Arkell's translation of the song 'Der letzte Walzer' from Straus's operetta of that title, for which Julius Brammer and Alfred Grünwald provided the book and lyrics. First, I am quoting it alongside a literal translation.

Das ist der letzte Walzer,	This is the last waltz,
Der lockend dir erklingt,	That allures you with its sound,
Der letzte süße Walzer,	The last, sweet waltz,
Den dir das Leben singt.	That sings to you of life.
Du lieber, letzte Walzer,	You dear, last waltz,
O locke nicht so sehr,	Oh, do not entice me so much,
O mach' mir – letzte Walzer –	Oh, make for me – last waltz –
Den Abschied nicht zu schwer!	The farewell not too hard!

Here, for comparison, are Arkell's lyrics.

If this should be the last waltz,
If dawn must break too soon,
Just hold me to your heart dear,
And love shall call the tune.
Our dreams of joy are ended,
And tears are all in vain;
Then let us dance together
That last sweet waltz again.

Note that it has poetic metre and does not seem as if it was designed for existing music.

Particular problems sometimes arise for the lyricist. Puns, for example, are almost impossible to translate.[37] Alfred Willner and Fritz Grünbaum's original lyrics for the refrain of the quartet in *Die Dollarprinzessin* describe dollar princesses as 'die kühnsten Schönen der Welt!' Adrian Ross, in the

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[37] On the difficulties of translating word-play, see Ronnie Apter and Mark Herman. *Translating for Singing: The Theory, Art and Craft of Translating Lyrics* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2016), 51–56.

London version, translates this as 'The proudest beauties on earth!' Although 'die kühnsten Schönen' does mean 'boldest beauties' it can also suggest 'enterprising beauties', and, at the same time, is a pun on 'die schönen Künste', meaning the fine arts. Ross must have been aware of these nuances, having developed his German language skills while a lecturer at King's College, Cambridge, in order to enrich his lectures on Frederick the Great.[38] It should be added, that no attempt was made to deal with these nuances, either, in George Grossmith's version for Broadway (which, at times, seems to lean heavily on Ross's work).

Although there were difficulties in finding apt translations for German puns, there was no problem in adding word-play in English, as Ross shows in his lyrics to Franzi and Lothar's duet 'Piccolo! Picolo!' in *A Waltz Dream*:

LOTHAR: A Violin who'd lost her beau, She met a princely Piccolo!
FRANZI: His tone was so extremely high, She gave a *pizzicato* sigh!
LOTHAR: Said he, 'My darling, share my throne, If I desert you I'll be blown!'
FRANZI: The Violin said, 'No such thing! I'd only be your second string!'

It is designed to add humour, and goes much further than anything in the German lyrics by Felix Dörmann and Leopold Jacobson:

LOTHAR: Lehn' deine Wang' an meine Wang'
FRANZI: bei Flöten und bei Geigenklang!
LOTHAR: Ich blas' die Lieb' prestissimo!
FRANZI: Ich geige sie adagio!
LOTHAR: Wem niemals ein Duett gelang, der bleibt ein Narr sein Leben lang.

Another problem could occur when dealing with a composer like Lehár, whose practice it was to set pre-written lyrics to music. This might prompt him to find a musical device that would add significance to a word. For example, in the duet 'Wer hat die Liebe uns ins Herz gesenkt' in Act 2 of *Das Land des Lächelns*, Lehár, working from Fritz Löhner's lyrics, gives unexpected harmonic colour to the word 'Harmonie' when Lisa and Sou-Chong sing about there being a paradise-sent harmony between them. In Harry Graham's English version for Drury Lane, Lehár's chord remains unexpected, but the reason for its presence is inexplicable in terms of the new lyrics (Example 2.1). Graham was an important British lyricist, who began writing lyrics for musical comedies during the First World War and enjoyed his biggest

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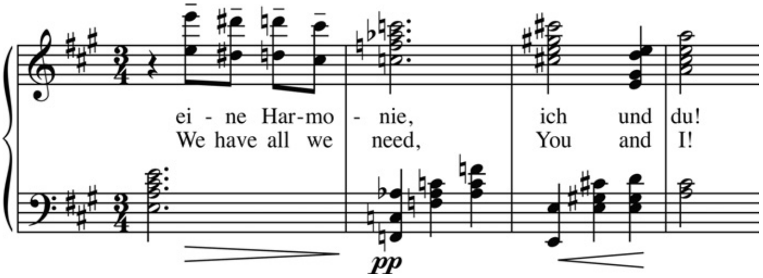
[38] Forbes-Winslow, *Daly's*, 192. At Cambridge, he went by his birth name Arthur Ropes.

Example 2.1 'Wer hat die Liebe uns ins Herz gesenkt', *Das Land des Lächelns*.


ei - ne Har-mo - nie, ich und du!
We have all we need, You and I!
pp

success with *The Maid of the Mountains*. He was clearly at a loss in this instance, even though he was fluent in French and German, and created English versions of *Madame Pompadour*, *The Lady of the Rose*, *Katja, the Dancer*, *The Land of Smiles*, *Casanova*, *White Horse Inn*, and *Viktoria and Her Hussar*.

Harry B. Smith was among the leading adapters of operetta from the German stage for Broadway. He had the advantage of having collaborated many times with Reginald De Koven and Victor Herbert.[39] Smith, whose brother Robert often partnered him as a lyric writer, was admired by Charles Frohman, who engaged him for Broadway productions of *The Siren* (Fall), *The Doll Girl* (Fall), and *The Girl from Montmartre* (Berény). Smith set out some ground rules for lyric writing. The musical play should be constructed 'so the lyrics can carry the action'.[40] The lyricist has to supply words that not only have sense and rhyme, but 'must fit the notes perfectly, be correctly accented and have the right vowel sounds for certain tones'.[41]

Besides the Smith brothers, prominent Broadway librettists and lyricists were: Harold Atteridge, who created the American version of *The Last Waltz* and worked on over twenty shows for the Shuberts; the actor and producer Dorothy Donnelly, who often collaborated with Sigmund Romberg; and Stanislaus Stange, who spent his early life in Liverpool before emigrating to the USA in 1881, and whose English version of *Der tapfere Soldat* as *The Chocolate Soldier* was performed in both New York and London. It departed considerably from Bernard Shaw's *Arms and the Man*, which was its source, and B. W. Findon, editor of *The Play Pictorial*, remarked that 'only in the first act is the musical version at all like the play'.[42]

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[39] See John Franceschina, *Harry B. Smith: Dean of American Librettists, A Biography* (New York: Routledge, 2007).

[40] Harry B. Smith, *First Nights and First Editions* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1931), 301.

[41] Ibid., 302. [42] B. W. Findon, *The Play Pictorial*, 16:98 (Oct. 1910), 98.

'The lyrics of your song being written … the next consideration is the melody', Charles Harris instructed his readers in 1906.[43] But musical theatre began to depart from such advice, especially in the 1920s. The tune now came first, and lyrics were tailored to fit its melodic phrases. Lyricists P. G. Wodehouse, Lorenz Hart, and Ira Gershwin were influential exponents of such practice on Broadway. Kálmán's normal method was to compose the music and have words set to it, in line with Broadway practice. Musical numbers in his manuscripts sometimes have no words.[44] Lehár, Straus, and Fall preferred to compose melodies to an existing text. Lehár explained that the book and lyrics suggested to him the overall musical character of an operetta.[45]

'Manhattan' (1925) was a pioneering song in which Lorenz Hart demonstrated how sophisticated lyrics – with internal rhymes, such as 'And tell me what street compares to Mott street in July' – could fit and enhance the musical phrases of Richard Rodgers's melody. Internal rhyming, in itself, was not new: in Robert B. Smith's lyrics to the song 'Lilac Domino' (from the 1914 operetta of that name), the phrase 'flutter by' appears in the middle of a line and rhymes with 'butterfly' at the end of the previous line.

All eyes seem to follow you
As you flutter to and fro,
And then like a butterfly,
Quickly flutter by, and go.

When putting words to an existing melody, an internal rhyme is generally prompted by the repetition of a short musical phrase. Writing lyrics to fit a composer's tune often made it impossible to make lines scan. Instead, a lyricist would find a means of matching the musical phrasing and the accented notes.[46] Skilful lyricists would also consider which vowels might best suit held notes, avoid lots of consonants in rapid passages or legato melodies, place diphthongs carefully, and take into account the pitch at which a word is to be sung.

'Improving' on Earlier Productions

Basil Hood explained the problems he faced in making an operetta from the German stage meet the expectations of a West End audience:

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[43] Harris, *How to Write a Popular Song*, 18.
[44] Frey, *Laughter under Tears*, 101 ('*Unter Tränen lache*', 109).
[45] See Frey, '*Was sagt ihr zu diesem Erfolg*', 152–54.
[46] Philip Furia analyzes many examples of this practice in *The Poets of Tin Pan Alley: A History of America's Great Lyricists* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990).

> I may say that the difficulties … come chiefly as a natural consequence of the difference in taste or point of view of Continental and English audiences; that, from the English point of view, the Viennese libretto generally lacks comic characters and situations, the construction and dialogue seem to us a little rough or crude, and the third act … is to our taste as a rule so trivial in subject and treatment that it is necessary to construct and write an entirely new act, or to cut it away altogether, as we have done in 'Luxembourg'.[47]

He was of the belief that a national culture shaped aesthetic sensibility. He was, therefore, guided by what he imagined to be English taste when revising continental European operetta. Whether there was really a difference in taste, rather than audience expectations is a moot point, and nobody can regard taste as an unproblematic concept after Pierre Bourdieu's elaborations on this topic.[48] It is not known how Hood reacted when Glen MacDonough subjected his version of *The Count of Luxembourg* to further revisions to suit an American audience.

Hood was keen to point out that the activity on which he was engaged differed from translation: 'a translation would not suit or satisfy the taste of our English audiences … because [they] desire different methods of construction and treatment'.[49] West End audiences preferred one interval, rather than a second interval followed by a short third act. Hood was particularly worried by Act 3, which in its 1909 version (Lehár later revised it) was barely twenty minutes long, including dialogue. He claimed that, in his version, fewer than thirty lines of dialogue were translated from the German. His task, as he saw it, lay in taking a stage story told in one manner and re-telling it in another, preserving essential situations, but arriving at them and developing them in a different way. In doing so, proper regard needed to be paid to the existing music, but consideration had also to be given to any additional numbers that the new structure might demand. One big structural change occurred at the end of Act 2, when Angèle and René discover each other's true identity.

> This particular episode was in the original treated musically, with a full stage, being the subject of the Finale of Act II; and in doing away with the third act it became necessary, of course, to sacrifice this Finale and to approach and develop the dramatic moments of the recognitions by different methods, in spoken dialogue.[50]

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[47] Basil Hood, 'The Count of Luxembourg', *The Play Pictorial*, 18:108 (1911), 50–51, at 51.

[48] The key text is *La Distinction. Critique sociale du jugement* (Paris: Editions de Minuit, 1979), trans. Richard Nice as *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste* (London: Routledge, 1989).

[49] Hood, 'The Count of Luxembourg', 50.

[50] Ibid.

Hood insists that he regarded both Willner and Lehár as collaborators in his adaptation and visited them several times in Austria for friendly consultations. Willner was not new to revising this libretto, because it was already a reworking by himself and Robert Bodanzky of an earlier libretto he had written with Bernhard Buchbinder for Johann Strauss's *Die Göttin der Vernunft* (1897).[51]

Hood introduced new minor characters and made Brissard a much more significant character, tailored to suit comedian W. H. Berry. He confessed that, in consequence, 'new situations and scenes have arisen which do not exist in the original'.[52] There were plenty of interpolated numbers, too (Table 2.1). Lehár was not entirely happy about the changes made to his operettas in London, and complained to an American reporter that no producer would think of changing a piece by Gilbert and Sullivan.[53] However, he was not averse to revising his own work. The 1937 publication by Lehár's self-owned Glocken Verlag had twenty-two numbers compared to eighteen in the 1909 version published by Karczag and Wallner.[54] Notable additions were the trio 'Ach, she'n Sie doch' in Act 2 and the song 'Alles mit Ruhe genießen' in Act 3. There were also some structural alterations: the Count makes his entrance, with a new song, as part of the first number instead of entering during the fourth number. Act 3 ended with a short closing song in 1909, whereas in the later edition there is a 'finaletto'. Lehár would have some justification, however, for thinking that his carefully crafted second act finale had been ruined in Hood's version. Stefan Frey likens the dramatic weaving in and out of melodic themes (in the context of the characters' hidden identities) to 'a kind of diminished Wagnerian leitmotiv opera'.[55] Where Lehár gave the drama to the music, Hood gave it to the spoken word.

George Edwardes believed in 'improving' continental European productions and informed the *Manchester Evening Chronicle* that he had succeeded in doing so.

> In presenting a play, the English can out-rival the Continent. Take *The Merry Widow* as it was before a Viennese audience; the play could not be recognized in

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[51] Bernard Grun, *Kulturgeschichte der Operette* (München: Langen Müller Verlag, 1961), 415; and Andrew Lamb, *150 Years of Popular Musical Theatre* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2000), 78.

[52] Hood, 'The Count of Luxembourg', 50.

[53] According to Richard Traubner, *Operetta: A Theatrical History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1983), 251.

[54] The 1909 publication is available in Special Collections, Brotherton Library, University of Leeds.

[55] Stefan Frey, 'How a Sweet Viennese Girl Became a Fair International Lady: Transfer, Performance, Modernity – Acts in the Making of a Cosmopolitan Culture', in Platt, Becker, and Linton, *Popular Musical Theatre in London and Berlin*, 102–17, at 104.

Table 2.1 Interpolations and alterations in *The Count of Luxembourg* at Daly's Theatre.

Number	Title	Comments
No. 2	'Bohemia'	Song for Brissard and chorus, which takes the place of a duet for Juliette and Brissard ('Ein Stübchen so klein'), which becomes No. 20, 'Boys' in London.
No. 5	'A Carnival for Life'	Duet for Juliette and Brissard.
No. 8	'Cousins of the Czar'	Duet for Angèle and Grand Duke.
No. 10	Finale of Act 1	The valse moderato ('Bist Du's lachendes Glück') is transposed down a tone (from G to F). Closing march and song reprises No. 5 before ending with reprise of the No. 4 (the Count's entrance song).
No. 11	Valse-Intermezzo	Act 2, opening scene and dance.
No. 12	Entrance Chorus and Solo	Angèle's opening song of Act 2 transposed down a tone. The 'Versuchung lockt' section is omitted.
No. 12a	Fanfare	
No. 12b	Stage Music (waltz)	
No. 13	'Pretty Butterfly'	Song for the Grand Duke.
No. 15	'In Society'	Duet for Juliette and Brissard.
No. 16	'Love Breaks Every Bond'	Duet for Angèle and René, No. 10 in the 1909 version, here transposed down a semitone. Slight changes occur at the end of the waltz duet, then the music is transposed down a tone, rather than semitone, for the duple-time 'Now I've No Ears' ('Ich denk' wir lassen die Astronomie' in Vienna). It continues down a tone for the final reprise of the valse moderato 'Say Not Love Is a Dream!' ('Bist Du's lachendes Glück').
No. 17	'Kukuska!'	Russian Dance.
No. 19	'Are You Going to Dance'	No. 11 in Vienna, but instead of a duet for Juliette and Brissard ('Schau'n Sie freundlichst mich an') it is now a duet for Angèle and René. This, in London, was the 'staircase waltz'.
No. 20	'Boys'	Concerted number for Juliette, Mimi, Grand Duke, Brissard and girls, words by Adrian Ross. (It was No. 2, a duet, in Vienna.)
No. 21	Finale of Act 2	Reprise of 'Say Not Love Is a Dream' and the staircase waltz.

England, the presentation in this country was so much superior. … The sense of beauty and prettiness is developed on the English stage in a far larger degree than in Continental theatres.[56]

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[56] Interview with the *Manchester Evening Chronicle*, Dec. 1908, quoted in Ursula Bloom, *Curtain Call for the Guv'nor: A Biography of George Edwardes* (London: Hutchinson, 1954), 217, and in Forbes-Winslow, *Daly's*, 88.

Of *The Dollar Princess*, he boasted that he 'bought it' and 'altered it'.[57] Basil Hood wrote the book, and Adrian Ross the lyrics. The changes agreed with the predilections of the British audience, because the operetta achieved 428 consecutive London performances compared to 117 over a period of six years in Vienna.

In the German version by A. M. Willner and Fritz Grünbaum (after a comedy by Gatti-Trotha), John Couder, a millionaire living in New York, has made his money from coal. Wealthy coal industrialists being familiar in the UK, something more distinctly American was needed. In the Manchester try-out, Phineas Conder was an oil tycoon and the father of Alice, the 'dollar princess'.[58] In the West End, his name was changed to Harry Q. Conder, and, because the part was given to Joe Coyne (who lacked the technique to sing the romantic role of Freddy), Alice became his sister (played by Lily Elsie). Conder takes pleasure in hiring European aristocrats as servants, and Alice has fallen in love with her aristocratic English secretary, Freddy, but he is too proud to marry her for money (echoes of Danilo, there). Conder is attracted to a visitor who claims to be a Russian princess but is, in fact, a 'lion queen' in variety performance. A new character, Bulger, was added in London to show off the talents of comedian W. H. Berry. Act 3 was set in Freddy's bungalow in California, instead of a country house in Canada, and slight changes were made to the storyline. Alice does not pretend to have lost all her money, and there is no suggestion that Freddy has become a wealthy man. When they meet again, he tells her that he is leaving for home. She tells him she cares no more for gold without love in her heart, and they make up.

The Broadway version had a rewritten book by George Grossmith, Jr, in which Alice returns to being the daughter of a coal millionaire, now named John W. Cowder. The opening number retains the chorus of typists (as in the German version), whose tapping is imitated in the music. In the West End this musical representation was ignored (see Chapter 1). The setting of Act 3 is the Franco-British Exhibition in London, a change of scene that indicates the differing directions in which British and American audiences looked for stimulating distant locations. The Broadway version had two extra songs by Jerome Kern in Act 3. In the Vienna version, this final act was set in Aliceville, Canada, once important for maple syrup, but deserted today.[59] It was probably chosen to suggest that Freddy still has Alice in his thoughts, but those working on the English versions saw no appeal in Aliceville.

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[57] Quoted in Traubner, *Operetta*, 287.

[58] The version in the Lord Chamberlain's Plays collection is that of Manchester.

[59] Aliceville was a settlement beside the Burrard Inlet to the east of Vancouver that no longer exists.

A scene in Act 3 of the West End production illustrates the kind of topical humour incorporated into English versions.[60] Dick wants to stop his cousin Conder marrying Olga from the Volga, because he is aware of her real profession, and 'it isn't right for a lady who tames lions to marry into *our* family'. Conder's confidential clerk, Bulger, tells Dick that knowing this will not prevent the marriage, because Conder is 'very fond of lions, he drinks their tea'. The original Lyons Tea Room at 213 Piccadilly had been a high-status affair, but gradually Lyons had been expanding to cater for those of lower social standing. In 1909, the year of the operetta's London performance, Joseph Lyons began opening a chain of modest tea shops in the West End called Lyons Corner Houses.[61] Thus, the joke would be picked up by everyone in the audience. Bulger and Dick decide that it would be a good idea to tell Conder that Olga is a dangerous Bolshevik whose special mission is 'to blow up all multi-millionaires in America'. Ironically, it was not long before the Lyons Corner Houses became meeting places for political agitators.[62]

The scene for Dick and Bulger also incorporates gags that are added neither for satirical reasons, nor for the purpose of advancing the action. One of the jokes has remained current for many years, although it is difficult to say how fresh it was in 1909.

BULGER: My mother once went to the West Indies.
DICK: Jamaica?
BULGER: No, she went of her own accord.

It should be borne in mind that this was from the pen of Basil Hood, and that *ad lib* gags were frequently added by comic performers.

A West End production praised for humour was *Katja, the Dancer* (given with few changes on Broadway as *Katja*). A London critic declared it 'full of comedy, really amusing and mostly original stuff'.[63] Although nothing seems to date as rapidly as comedy, I quote some examples to demonstrate its various types of comic dialogue:

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[60] The libretto for the Daly's production of 1909 is available on the GOLNY website: http://golny.leeds.ac.uk/archive/.

[61] Lyons first opened a tea house in 1894, they began to open tea shops of lesser status, and that continued with the development of the Corner Shops. Brigid Keane and Olive Portnoy, 'English Tearoom', in Harlan Walker, ed., Proceedings of the *Oxford Symposium on Food and Cookery 1991: Public Eating* (London: Prospect Books, 1992), 157–65, at 160.

[62] Denys Forrest, *Tea for the British: The Social and Economic History of a Famous Trade* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1973), 185.

[63] 'Katja, the Dancer', *The Theatre World and Illustrated Stage Review*, 6 (Jul. 1925), 30–31, at 31.

A DUMB REPLY:
What comes first on the programme?
No. 1
A SARCASTIC REPLY:
We must go to some open country, where men are men.
And will you be there, dear?
A BIZARRE REPLY:
You look very happy.
Happy? I have to get up in the middle of the night to laugh!

It was not a succession of gags, however, and Findon commended its dramatic narrative: 'I am trying to think if any piece had been produced at the Gaiety with a story so complete in itself, so logically developed as "Katja, the Dancer".'[64]

Interpolated Numbers

Until around 1840, it was common for British and American audiences to hear interpolated numbers in operas. In earlier times, it was usually a singer who decided to include them: for instance, Maria Garcia (later, Madame Malibran) chose to sing 'Home, Sweet Home!' (lyrics by John Howard Payne, music by Henry Bishop, 1823) as an encore in Act 2 of Rossini's *Il barbiere di Siviglia* in New York, in 1825.[65] The practice was discontinued in opera, but freshly composed production songs were regularly interpolated in operetta, usually because of the desire to cater for the skills of particular singers (comedians, in particular). In 1906, Charles Harris offers advice on this type of composition in his instruction manual *How To Write a Popular Song*, pointing out that it often has to fit in with scenic effects or stage business.[66]

Sometimes the score's original composer contributed new numbers. Lehár was willing to add new songs, such as 'Cosmopolitan' and 'Love and Wine', for *Gipsy Love* in London. More usually, another composer located in the city of production was engaged for this task: Jerome Kern supplied two extra numbers for the Broadway *Dollar Princess*. Sigmund Romberg and Al Goodman provided additional numbers for Kálmán's *Countess Maritza*, and Romberg composed additional songs to Gilbert's *The Lady in Ermine*, which, as *The Lady of the Rose* in London, had already been given an extra song by Leslie Stuart. New York critic Alexander Woollcott, remarks wryly of the 1922 production of Fall's *The Rose of Stamboul* that upon the original score 'there seems to have fallen one Sigmund Romberg, a local composer, and now the piece is adorned at intervals with songs that Vienna has yet to hear'.[67] In Austria and Germany, it was not uncommon for revived operettas to be given new numbers, for instance, 'Ich hol' dir vom Himmel das Blau' was added for Fritzi Massary in the 1928 Charell production of *Die lustige Witwe*.

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[64] B. W. Findon, *The Play Pictorial*, 46:277 (Sep. 1925), 50.

[65] Lawrence Levine, *Highbrow/Lowbrow: The Emergence of Cultural Hierarchy in America* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1988), 90.

[66] Charles Kassell Harris, *How to Write a Popular Song* (Chicago: published by the author, 1906), 44.

Another reason for interpolation was to introduce a fashionable musical style that the main composer lacked the skill to provide, which is why Kern was in demand on Broadway. When Robert Stolz's *Mädi* (1923) was produced in London as *The Blue Train* in 1927, it included 'Hop Like the Blackbirds Do', one of several interpolated numbers by composer, lyricist, and actor Ivy St Helier (real name, Ivy Janet Aitchison). This song demonstrates a familiarity with syncopated rhythms not shown by Stolz at this time. His previous London production *Whirled into Happiness* (1922) contained a song 'New Moon' marked 'Tempo di fox-trot' but lacking syncopation.

It was not always clear what extra contributions had been written and by whom. An unwary critic of the Daly's revival of *A Waltz Dream* in 1911 confessed that he did not find the music as alluring as in 1908, but added, 'the most individual and attractive things of all are in the third act, where we come to Princess Helena's last song and its delightful introduction'. This particular song, 'I Chose a Man to Wed', was actually one of the interpolated numbers supplied by Scottish composer Hamish MacCunn (who conducted the performance) as part of a rewritten Act 3.[68]

An American reviewer of Fall's *Lieber Augustin* in 1913 is more cautious. He praises the 'succession of very delightful melodies', but adds:

> It is getting to be a habit to praise Mr Leo Fall's music, and in some respects a bad habit, since a counter-claimant for a 'song-hit' is reasonably sure to bob up before many hours pass. Wherefore the announcement that Mr Leo Fall's music in this piece is entirely charming and appealing must be taken to include any others who may have assisted.[69]

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[67] Alexander Woollcott, 'The Play', *New York Times*, 8 Mar. 1922, 18.

[68] 'Daly's Theatre. "A Waltz Dream"', *The Times*, 9 Jan. 1911, 10. These songs appear in the Metzler edition of *c*. 1920 and its Cramer-Chappell reprint of *c*. 1934.

[69] '"Lieber Augustin" Delights at Casino', *New York Times*, 7 Sep. 1913, 13

Another critic suspects, on hearing the New York adaptation of *The Last Waltz*, that some of the numbers are not by Oscar Straus: 'There are several interpolated numbers, unidentified except by internal evidence. You suspect "Charming Ladies" and "A Baby in Love" of having been baptized in the East River rather than the blue Danube.'[70] Both of these songs were, in fact, interpolated numbers by Alfred Goodman.

Substantial Changes

Sometimes, it was felt necessary to rework a libretto in a radical manner. In Chapter 6, the wholesale changes made for the MGM film of *The Chocolate Soldier* are discussed, but even Stanislaus Stange's Broadway version had been, just like Rudolf Bernauer and Leopold Jacobson's *Der tapfere Soldat*, a liberal reworking of George Bernard Shaw's *Arms and the Man* (1894). George Edwardes admitted that he had turned down an opportunity to acquire the rights because he was worried that Bernard Shaw would become litigious and bring an injunction against him.[71] A reviewer in the *New York Times* remarked that the operetta was 'more Shavings than Shavian' and continued:

> Mr Shaw cabled last night that if the audience was pleased with the entertainment they should congratulate themselves, and it is not unlikely that his advice was followed by the greatest number of those present. For there is enough broad fooling to the action to make it appealing to people who do not care for Shaw, and enough bright and spirited music to make it worthwhile to those who do, but who now find they must take a good deal of his play for granted.[72]

Kálmán found that substantial changes in English versions of his operettas reduced his income from royalties. In the London production of *Autumn Manoeuvres* (1912), only three of his numbers survived, as five other composers were involved (including musical comedy composers Monckton and Talbot). Henry Hamilton's book and lyrics clearly departed considerably from Robert Bodanzky's *Ein Herbstmanöver* for Vienna (1909) – and that production was, itself, an adaptation of the Hungarian *Tatárjárás*, given at the Vigszínház Theatre, Budapest (1908), which had a book by Károly von Bakyonyi and lyrics by Andor Gabor. Kálmán lost further royalties after the outbreak of war. Rida Johnson Young had reworked *Gold gab ich für Eisen* as *Her Soldier Boy* for Broadway in December 1916, cleverly overcoming its implausible incident of a mother who fails to realize an imposter is impersonating her son, by having her go blind. It was well received and still running when the USA entered the First World War in April 1917. As *Soldier Boy!*, it also ran in the West End in 1918, its origins unnoticed by the censors, who may have been distracted by the interpolated soldier's song 'Pack up Your Troubles in Your Old Kit Bag' (George and Felix Powell), which was already present in the Broadway production.[73]

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[70] Alexander Woollcott, 'The Play', *New York Times*, 11 May 1921, 26.

[71] Forbes-Winslow, *Daly's*, 135–36.

[72] 'This Time the Joke Is on Bernard Shaw', *New York Times*, 14 Sep. 1909, 9.

P. G. Wodehouse and Guy Bolton, who had made a successful Broadway version of Kálmán's *Die Faschingsfee* as *Miss Springtime* in 1916, were surprised at the flop of their adaptation of Kálmán's *Die Csárdásfürstin* as *The Riviera Girl* the next year. The USA was now at war, so they changed the Hungarian and Austrian scenes to Monte Carlo.[74] *The Riviera Girl* had a lot going for it: as with *Miss Springtime*, it was a lavish Klaw and Erlanger production, with scenery designed by the skilful Joseph Urban, and was given at the New Amsterdam Theatre. Wodehouse and Bolton did not criticize the score, which they admired, and shouldered the blame for its failure themselves, deciding that they had been 'too ingenious' in devising a plot to replace the existing libretto, which they held in low regard.[75]

The Cousin from Nowhere had stuck closely to the Berlin version of Künneke's operetta when given in the West End. It had a book by Fred Thompson, and lyrics by Adrian Ross, Robert C. Tharp, and Douglas Furber. It retained the location of the Netherlands, and the stranger who arrives on the scene has supposedly spent several years in Batavia, on the island of Java, which was the most important trading city of the Dutch East Indies (since 1945, the city has been known as Jakarta, capital of the Republic of Indonesia). However, the Broadway version shifted attention onto the leading female role and transplanted the action into Virginia during the American Civil War. It was now titled *Caroline* and was summed up by its librettist Harry

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[73] William A. Everett studies the adaptations of *The Blue Paradise*, *Her Soldier Boy*, and *Maytime*, 'From Central Europe to Broadway: Adaptations of Continental Operettas for the American Stage, 1915–1917', in Vjera Katalinić, Stanislav Tuksar, and Harry White, eds., *Musical Theatre as High Culture? The Cultural Discourse on Opera and Operetta in the 19th Century*, conference proceedings (Zagreb: Croatian Musicological Society, 2011), 143–50.

[74] Zoltán Imre provides a comparative study of the Austrian, Hungarian, Russian, American and British productions in 'Operetta Beyond Borders: The Different Versions of *Die Csárdásfürstin* in Europe and the United States (1915–1921)', *Studies in Musical Theatre*, 7/2 (2013): 175–205.

[75] P. G. Wodehouse and Guy Bolton, *Bring on the Girls* (London: Herbert Jenkins, 1954), 73–74.

B. Smith as the story of a Southern Cinderella in love with a Yankee officer.[76]

The 'In Batavia' quintet became 'Argentine'.[77]

Argentine! Argentine!
Where the nightingales by moonlight
Sing a tune light
In that June night.
Argentine! Argentine!
'Tis a land of lover's fancies,
Ardent dances,
Wild romances.

It is a fox trot, not a tango, but that makes sense since the stranger (Bob) is the only one who claims to have experienced the Argentine. The tango rhythm of 'Weißt du noch?' now has particular relevance in the duet 'Sweethearts', because of Bob's supposed sojourn in Argentina.

VIOLET: Can it be you're the boy I used to know in the days departed?
BOB: Can't you see I am still the same, the years passing by have changed me so?

There are also two interpolated numbers: 'Some Day' (a slow waltz), with words by Adrian Ross and Smith, and music by Benatzky; and 'Way Down South' (a fox trot, but not labelled as such), with words by Smith, and music by Alfred Goodman.

The changes were substantial in *Caroline*, as they were, also, in the rewriting of *Zigeunerliebe* as *Gipsy Love* for the West End. Edwardes commissioned Hood to rework the piece and persuaded Lehár to write new numbers. Edwardes commented in an interview:

> The piece will be an entirely new one. The dream business is all gone. Originally, the first and third acts were reality. The second was dreamland. Captain Basil Hood has written me an entirely new book. The first act is laid in the garden of a Roumanian noble's palace. The second takes us to a wine-shop. The third is the Summer Hall of Roumanian Grandee, the work of Joseph Harker.[78]

In Willner and Bodanzky's version, the whole of the action of Act 2 turns out to be Zorika's dream of Gipsy life. In discussing *Zigeunerliebe*, Heike Quissek categorizes the anticipation of events through a dream as a special form of fairy-tale vision.[79] In Act 3, Zorika wakes up, and no longer wishes to rebel against bourgeois social convention. The Gipsies represent freedom from the regulations of bureaucratic society, their rules are in the heart, as Jozsi says. Gipsy love, however, turns out to be a fantasy in which faithfulness plays no part. In the end, Zorika rejects freedom from rules for her reliable suitor Jonel.

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[76] Smith, *First Nights*, 285.

[77] *Caroline*, selected numbers published by Harms in 1923 can be found in the Eduard-Künneke Archiv 329, Ausgabe für Gesang und Klavier, Robert Koch Platz 10, 10115 Berlin.

[78] Quoted in Forbes-Winslow, *Daly's*, 104.

In Hood's version, as Findon explains to readers of *The Play Pictorial*, the adventures of Zorika, now named Ilona, no longer take place in a dream: 'the dream has materialized and Ilona actually goes through the episodes which end in her return to her father's house a chastened and penitent girl, ready to appreciate the calm happiness of a peaceful existence and the love of an honest and courteous gentleman'.[80] Hood gave his reason for rejecting the 'dream' act:

> I did not like the root idea of Ilona's elopement with the gipsy being a dream. English audiences do not care for dream plays. They resent the discovery in the last scene that they have been spoofed.[81]

In addition, Hood created new male and female comic roles, for, as Findon remarks, however much the appreciation of 'good-class music' had increased, the public still could not accept an operetta that was not 'well punctuated with the humorous sallies of the light-hearted comedian'.[82] Gertie Millar was cast as Lady Babby, and W. H. Berry as Dragotin. Hood was proud of his achievement and believed Lehár recognized how much he had improved upon the Vienna version, claiming that the composer was 'so struck with my version of *Gipsy Love* that he asked me if I would be agreeable to it being translated into French and German for presentation on the Continent, in preference to the original version'.[83] However, when Lehár put together the final revisions of his operettas for Glocken Verlag, he decided against Hood's version.

Occasionally, an operetta's subject matter could be politically delicate. In *Song of the Sea* (1928), Arthur Wimperis and Lauri Wylie reworked the libretto by Richard Bars and Leopold Jacobson to Künneke's *Lady Hamilton* (1926). In the German version, Amy Lyons flirts with a Spanish naval officer Alfredo Bartos, but leaves for London with Lord

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[79] Quissek, *Das deutschsprachige Operettenlibretto*, 39. Albert Gier calls this type of vision the 'prophetic dream', in his *Poetik und Dramaturgie der komischen Operette* (Bamberg: University of Bamberg Press, 2014), 89.

[80] B. W. Findon, 'Gipsy Love', *The Play Pictorial*, 20:121 (Sep. 1912), 66–68, at 68.

[81] Quoted in Forbes-Winslow, *Daly's*, 108.

[82] Findon, 'Gipsy Love', 66.

[83] Quoted in Forbes-Winslow, *Daly's*, 107.

William Hamilton. Later, Alfredo ends up as a prisoner of war, but Amy becomes Lord Nelson's mistress and obtains his release (although she remains with Nelson). To succeed in the West End, it needed to be sensitive to the British political context in which the naval hero Lord Nelson was held in high esteem. Thus, in the English version, the heroine is Nancy, courted by Richard Manners, a lieutenant of the Royal Navy. She is persuaded to go to London with Sir William Candysshe to be surrounded in luxury, but without promise of marriage. Later, installed at the British Embassy in Naples, an altercation occurs between her former and present lovers. Richard is imprisoned, but Nancy craftily obtains his release, and the implied ending is a marriage between herself and Richard.

Schubert's Variegated Blossoms

A person who translates lyrics is, to a certain extent, in a similar position to those who write lyrics to existing music, except that, in the former case, the music already has lyrics in another language. However, in *Das Dreimäderlhaus* it may be that Heinrich Berté is, at times, trying to fit already existing music to already existing lyrics. That is because Berté had originally composed the music himself; however, when doubts began to arise about the suitability of his music, he was asked to use Schubert's music instead. He was angry at first, especially when this caused his publisher to demand the repayment of an advance, but a deal was done that recompensed him for his work as arranger.[84] The Broadway and West End versions, *Blossom Time* and *Lilac Time*, both present different reworkings of *Dreimäderlhaus* and must have involved significant collaboration between Sigmund Romberg and Dorothy Donnelly in the first case, and George Clutsam and Adrian Ross in the second.

The Nazi *Lexikon der Juden in der Musik* (1940) finds it necessary to explain why the party appears to be banning Schubert's music by proscribing this stage work.[85] It points out that Berté [born Bettelheim] was Jewish and so were his librettists, Alfred Willner and Heinz Reichert. To demonstrate objectivity, a court order is quoted, stating: 'the music of Franz Schubert has been presented throughout in such a way that it could no longer be called Schubert'.[86] Yet there is less manipulation of Schubert's music in Berté's operetta than in its successors, *Blossom Time* and *Lilac Time*. Recognition of a change to a Schubert composition can be mistaken. In Act 2, Hannerl und Schober's duet uses the melody of the second movement of Piano Sonata in A Minor, D537 (1817) at 'Mädel sei nicht dumm'. Schubert revised this melody for the Rondo of his better-known A Major Sonata, D959 (1828), but Berté used the earlier version.

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[84] Bernard Grun, *Prince of Vienna: The Life, the Times and the Melodies of Oscar Straus* (London: W. H. Allen, 1955), 97–98.

[85] In 1961, Bernard Grun wrote that, after *Die lustige Witwe* and *The Mikado*, it was 'the most performed operetta in the world'. *Kulturgeschichte der Operette*, 401.

Blossom Time was one of the Shuberts' most successful shows,[87] and extensive holdings for it are in the Shubert Archive. Romberg goes further than Berté in cutting, pasting, and changing. He replaces some of the numbers with his own compositions (for example, 'There Is in Old Vienna Town' in Act 1, 'Let Me Awake' in Act 2, and 'Keep It Dark' in Act 3), and he adds a saxophone to the score. He replaces other numbers with more familiar compositions of Schubert: for example, 'Die Forelle' (The Trout) and 'Ständchen' (the Serenade from *Schwanengesang*) in the Act 1 ensemble 'Good Morning'; 'Heidenrösslein' in 'Love's a Riddle' (Act 2); and 'Ave Maria' in 'Peace to Your Lonely Heart' (Act 3). 'Speak, Daisy, Yes or No!', in Act 2, is an example of Romberg's cutting and pasting: he bases the opening notes on bars 3–5 of the first subject of the second movement of the Unfinished Symphony and the second phrase on bar 15.

Two examples illustrate how Romberg occasionally reworked material substantially. The quintet 'My Springtime Thou Art' in Act 1 makes use of Waltz D365, No. 2, which featured in a similar quintet in *Das Dreimäderlhaus*. Berté remained close to Schubert's piano piece, but Romberg changes metre, first giving it a rhythmic syncopated character and then converting it into a polka (Examples 2.2 and 2.3).

Most striking, perhaps, is the way Romberg managed to create a hit song, 'You Are My Song of Love', out of the second subject of the first movement of Schubert's Unfinished Symphony. This tune features in *Das Dreimäderlhaus* and *Lilac Time*, too, but it is not long enough in itself to fill the requirements of a song. Romberg's solution is to insert a 'middle eight' taken from the seventh of Schubert's German Dances, D783. None of this troubled a *New York Times* critic in 1921, who had paid tribute to *Blossom Time*, claiming it had 'done service to his [Schubert's] memory for musicians today'.[88]

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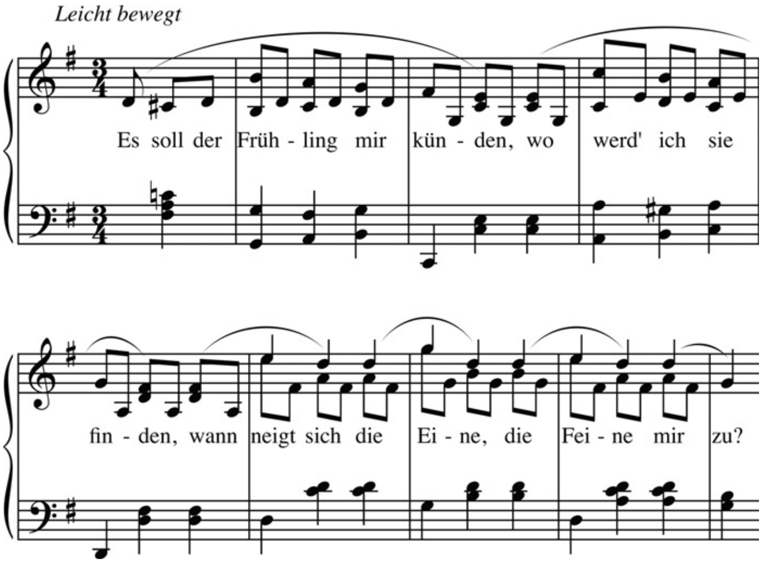
[86] Theo Stengel and Herbert Gerigk, eds., *Lexikon der Juden in der Musik* (Berlin: Bernhard Hahnefeld Verlag, 1940), 32.

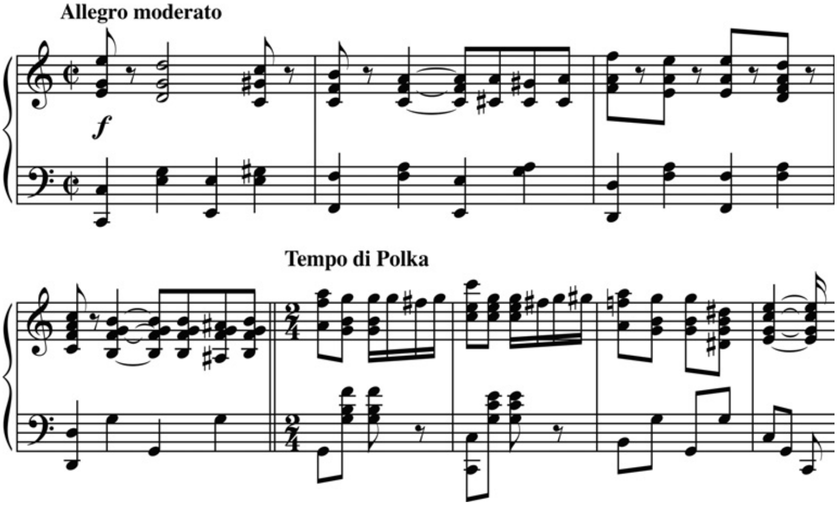
[87] See Jim Stacy, '1921–1925', *The Passing Show: Newsletter of the Shubert Archive*, 3:2 (1979), 5–6.

[88] 'Blossom Time', *The New York Times*, 30 Sep. 1921, 21.

Example 2.2 'Es soll der Frühling mir künden', *Das Dreimäderlhaus*, Act 1.


Leicht bewegt
Es soll der Früh - ling mir kün - den, wo werd' ich sie fin - den, wann neigt sich die Ei - ne, die Fei - ne mir zu?

Example 2.3 'My Springtime of Love Thou Art', *Blossom Time*, Act 1.


Allegro moderato
f
Tempo di Polka

Clutsam had enjoyed a modest success in 1916–17 with *Young England*, an opera co-composed with Hubert Bath to a libretto by Basil Hood, but this paled into insignificance compared to the success of *Lilac Time*. Clutsam published a short biography of Schubert in the same year as the production of *Lilac Time* and he began with the statement: 'There is no more pathetic and touching career recorded in musical history that that of

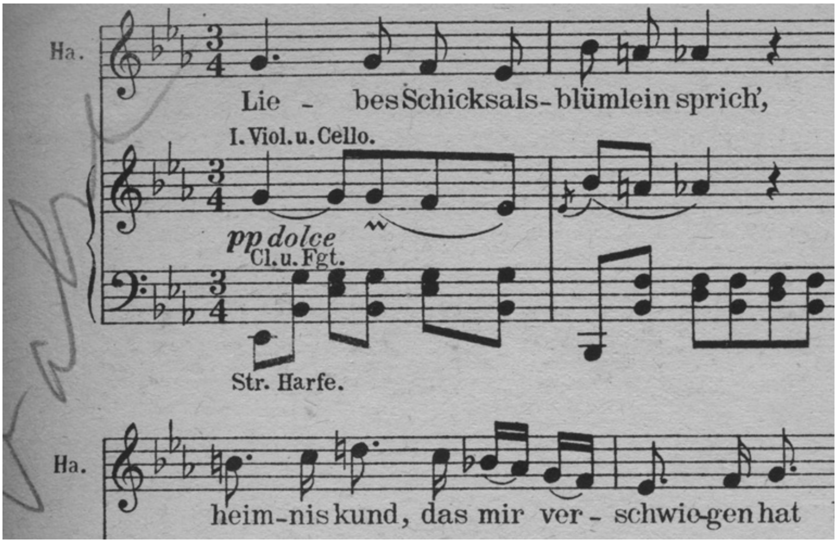

Ha.
Lie - bes Schicksals - blümlein sprich',
I. Viol. u. Cello.
pp dolce
Cl. u. Fgt.
Str. Harfe.
Ha.
heim - nis kund, das mir ver - schwie-gen hat

Figure 2.1 Clutsam's copy of the vocal score of *Das Dreimäderlhaus*.

Franz Peter Schubert, and there are few composers whose works contain slighter trace of their personal history.'[89] Like Romberg, Clutsam replaces some of the rarer Shubert melodies with those more familiar, including several chosen by Romberg, such as 'Die Forelle' in 'The Golden Song' (Act 1), 'Ständchen' (Act 2), and 'Heidenrösslein' in 'My Sweetest Song of All' (Act 3). He also includes a variant of bars 47 onwards of Impromptu No. 4, D899 in the new quartet he adds to Act 1 ('Four Jolly Brothers'). He adds a Prelude to Act 2 making use of 'Die Post' from *Schwanengesang*, and the first subject of the first movement of the Unfinished Symphony. Later, he uses the third of the Six Moments Musicaux, D780, for a dance of bridesmaids and children. Like Romberg, he is tempted to change metre. The sextet 'When Skies Are Blue' is a 2/4 version of the 3/4 'Wer's Mädel freit' in *Das Dreimäderlhaus*. His most substantial change is the elongated waltz-time reworking of the second subject of the first movement of Piano Sonata in E♭ Major, D568 for the refrain of 'The Flower'. Berté had used the melody for 'Liebes Schicksalsblümlein spricht', No. 9 of *Das Dreimäderlhaus*, and in Clutsam's own copy of the vocal score of that work he has written 'valse' at this point (Figure 2.1 and Example 2.4).[90]

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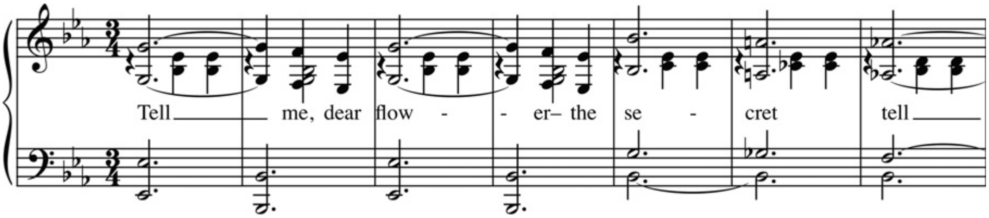
[89] George H. Clutsam, *Schubert* (London: Murdoch, 1922), 5.

[90] This score, with Clutsam's pencilled annotations, is in Special Collections, the Brotherton Library, University of Leeds.

Example 2.4 'Tell Me, Dear Flower'. Clutsam's waltz-time arrangement in *Lilac Time*.



A Diminishing of Revision in the 1920s and 1930s?

In the 1920s and 1930s, revisions for stage productions were rarely as substantial as in the earlier years. Tobias Becker cites the West End productions of *Das Land des Lächelns* and *Im weißen Rössl* as evidence that a more literal form of translation took over in the 1920s.[91] In the 1930s, there developed a concept of operetta production as a homogeneous whole made not only of music and text but of stage sets, costume, and choreography, all of which should be retained in some way. This idea persuaded impresarios to purchase not just the production rights, as they had done in the past, but everything connected to the original production, including performers, directors, and designers. Oswald Stoll was one of the first to do so, when he presented *White Horse Inn* and *Casanova* at the London Coliseum, replicating the spectacular productions seen at Berlin's Großes Schauspielhaus. This was a foretaste of the 'lock, stock and barrel' transfers of late twentieth-century musicals, such as *Cats*, *Phantom of the Opera*, and *Les Misérables*. *White Horse Inn* became one of the most successful operettas globally, with initial runs of over 650 performances in London, and over 700 in Vienna and in Paris. Like some other operettas, it derives humour from the culture clash between city and countryside. The unusual thing in this case being that the cosmopolitan space – the hotel – is situated in the country rather than the city.

In the Berlin version, Leopold, the head waiter, loves Josepha, owner of the inn in St Wolfgang, but she prefers Dr Siedler, a Berlin solicitor. Siedler, however, has his eye on Ottilie, daughter of Berlin businessman Wilhelm Giesecke. Sigismund, the son of Giesecke's business rival, has been told to ask Ottilie to marry him, but he flirts with another woman, Klärchen, and Ottilie goes off with Dr Siedler. It takes none other than the Emperor Franz Josef to sort things out, enabling Josepha and Leopold get together in the end. Having featured historical characters in his two previous revue operettas, Erik Charell asked his co-librettist Hans Müller-Einigen to include a part for the Emperor, whose summer residence had been in Bad Ischl, not far from St Wolfgang. Müller-Einigen had worked in Hollywood in the 1920s and shared Charell's desire to create a spectacular modern operetta. The modernity was evident in the fashionable costumes (contrasting with the folk costumes of the locals), the jazz band on stage, and the latest theatre technology, which was used to create thrilling effects (see Chapter 7). Giesecke no longer manufactures gas mantles as in the play by Oscar Blumenthal and Gustav Kadelburg of 1897; he has a thriving male underwear factory (his garments button up in the front unlike those of his business rival). Grumpy but likeable, Giesecke is a Berliner who contrasts with the openly friendly country folk. The role of Franz Josef was not originally intended to be interpreted in a serious manner, although this began to happen later. Irony and camp were always guiding lights for Charell.

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[91] Becker, 'The Arcadians and Filmzauber', 98.

In Harry Graham's West End version, Giesecke became John Ebenezer Grinkle, his daughter Ottilie became Ottoline, Dr Otto Siedler became Valentine Sutton, a solicitor, and Sigismund Sülzheimer became Sigismund Smith. Graham's text was not used in New York because it was considered to represent an old-fashioned operetta style,[92] so David Freeman took charge of the book, and new lyrics were provided by experienced Broadway revue writer Irving Caesar: thus, for instance, 'It Would Be Wonderful' became 'I Cannot Live without Your Love', and 'Your Eyes' became 'Blue Eyes', and, in the song praising the White Horse Inn, Wolfgangsee became 'silver lake'. Names were changed again: Josepha became Katarina (played by Kitty Carlisle), Giesecke became McGonigle, Ottilie became Natalie, Siedler became Donald Sutton an American lawyer, and Sigismund was now a non-singing role, Sylvester S. Somerset from Massachusetts. To give the score an up-to-date Broadway sound, it was re-orchestrated by Hans Spialek, who had worked with Richard Rodgers and Cole Porter.

New music was added, or an earlier song was replaced with another. After the arrival of the tourists in Act 1, a song by Jára Benes was added to allow Katarina to introduce herself. Surprisingly, Stolz's 'Good-Bye', which Charell had interpolated in Act 2 of the West End production, and was one of the show's hits, was exchanged for 'Goodbye, Au Revoir, Auf Wiederseh'n', with lyrics by Irving Caesar to a tune from Eric Coates's *Knightsbridge March*. Another of Stolz's songs, 'You Too' was replaced by 'I Would Like to Have You Love Me' (lyrics by Irving Caesar and Sammy Lerner, music by Gerald Marks), and, in Act 3, Stolz's 'My Song of Love' was cut and replaced with 'The Waltz of Love' by Richard Fall. It would appear that the cutting of Stolz's music must have been related to a rights issue. Having composed more than one number for *Im weißen Rössl*, Stolz had gone to court to try to enforce his demand to have his name on the score. He was not successful, except in the UK, where 'Good-Bye' had proven so popular.

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[92] For a comparative study of the Broadway and West End versions, see Richard Norton, '"So this is Broadway": Die Abenteuerliche Reise des *Rössl* durch die englischsprachige Welt', in Ulrich Tadday, ed., '*Im weißen Rössl*: Zwischen Kunst und Kommerz', *Musik-Konzepte*, 133:134 (Munich: edition text + kritik, 2006), 151–69.

There is satire of rustic life as well as of city folk in *Im weißen Rössl*. The countryside offers charming cows and jolly slap dancing; the city offers vanity (Sigismund) and grumpiness (Giesecke). The cow song is a parody of nature-loving sentimentality.

Ab und zu sagst du 'Muh', hältst den Kopf mal her, mal hin.
Eine Kuh, so wie du, bleibt die Schönheitskönigin!
(Now and then you say 'moo', holding your head here and there.
A cow like you is a beauty queen.)

The irony of the cow song appears to have worked in both London and New York, perhaps because of cosmopolitan attitudes to bucolic simplicity.

The Emperor's appearance as *deus ex machina* is in keeping with the caricaturing found in this operetta. Norbert Abels describes him as being dragged out of the imperial crypt to set things right.[93] Josepha tells him her problems, and he replies in his imperial wisdom: 'Es ist einmal im Leben so, jedem geht es ebenso, was möcht' so gern, ist so fern' (It's like this in every lifetime and the same for everyone: what you really want is out of reach). Yet his words have taken on a serious tone over the years. Tobias Becker goes to the heart of the matter, when he says they are both truth and parody: 'the mixture is what makes them appealing'.[94] At a performance at Schloss Haindorf in Langenlois in July 2016, I was surprised to hear many members of the audience simultaneously whispering along with the Emperor as he delivered his words. However, evidence that they were treated seriously in the Broadway production of 1936 is provided by an RCA Radio broadcast that year.[95]

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[93] Norbert Abels, 'Operettenfinale und Weltverspottung: Das *Weiße Rössl*, Robert Gilbert und das Ende einer Kunstform', in Wolfgang Schaller, ed., *Operette unterm Hakenkreuz: Zwischen hoffähiger Kunst und 'Entartung'* (Berlin: Metropol Verlag, 2007), 209–29, at 223.

[94] 'Es ist einmal im Leben so', in Kevin Clarke, ed., *Glitter and be Gay: Die authentische Operette und ihre schwulen Verehrer* (Hamburg: Männerschwarm Verlag, 2007), 293–94, at 293–94.

New Operetta Versions of the 1950s and Later

Updating the words and music of operettas introduces the social concerns and sounds of a later period. In one sense, there is a positive quality to updating if the purpose is to demonstrate continuing relevance. However, an audience may also want to enjoy moments when the cultural past itself seems relevant. The link between the time in which these operettas were 'modern' and the later age in which we consume them is often the basis of a rewarding experience. When, for example, we hear an operetta of the first decade of the twentieth century decked out in a 1950s musical arrangement, it is usually a recognition of the later decade that dominates. Furthermore, there is often a feeling of mismatch between the workings of an early musical style and a later arrangement. Perhaps that explains why there is no generally accepted concept of *Dirigent-Theater* to set alongside *Regie-Theater*. All updated arrangements lock the music into another time frame that, itself, swiftly becomes historic. The main point I wish to make is that we do not just enjoy an operetta because of its relevance to us *today*, we also take pleasure from its being a social and cultural document that enhances our understanding of the time in which it was written.

The fact remains that operettas have generally been updated when revived. This happened during the 1926–27 season at the Großes Schauspielhaus, when Charell produced revivals of *Die lustige Witwe* and *Madame Pompadour*. Nevertheless, there was no musical updating of the disproportionate type found in some recordings of operettas made in the 1970s, such as *Die Csárdásfürstin* (BMG Entertainment, 1972), *Im weißen Rössl* (BMG Entertainment, 1974), or the pop version of *Die Dollarprinzessin* (Phonogram, 1975). Those examples all demonstrate that updating the music creates different problems to updating the book or lyrics.

The arranging and reworking of earlier music found in operettas such as *Casanova* and *Die Dubarry* is very different to the desire after the Second World War to update revivals of operettas like *Die Dollarprinzessin* and *Die*

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[95] '1936 RCA Radio Magic Key Broadcast', 25 Oct., *Selections from White Horse Inn*, Sepia 1141 (2009), CD recording, tracks 3–8.

Csárdásfürstin largely by the simply expedient of increasing the brassy sound and adding a drum kit. Part of what is misguided is that they are thereby clothed in a style that has its roots in the American music that was, in the early decades of the century, heard as contrasting with European traditions. The updating by composers like Benatzky and Korngold was done with care for, and cultural knowledge of, the musical tradition within which they were working. Korngold's reworking of Strauss Jr's music in *Walzer aus Wien*, for example, was in line with the development of that same style of music in the years since Strauss's death.

New English versions were being published with some regularity from the late 1950s on, designed to appeal to amateur operatic and dramatic societies. Two different English versions of *The Merry Widow* were published by Glocken Verlag in 1958: one was by Phil Park with musical arrangements by Ronald Hanmer (who transposed much of the music down a tone) and the other by Christopher Hassall based on the edition published by Doblinger in Vienna. Both versions included new lyrics, alterations to dramatic action, and musical re-arrangement. This was the norm for such publications, many of which are revisions by Park and Hanmer: for example, *The Gipsy Princess* (Chappell, 1957), *Waltzes from Vienna* (Chappell, 1966), *The Dollar Princess* (Weinberger, 1968), *Lilac Time* (Weinberger, 1971), and *Gipsy Love* (Weinberger, 1980). Other new versions were produced with the aid of Agnes Bernelle, Adam Carstairs, Nigel Douglas, Bernard Dunn, Michael Flanders, Edmund Tracey, Eric Maschwitz, and Bernard Grun. In the 1990s, Richard Bonynge's recording of *The Land of Smiles* (1996) used a version by Jerry Hadley, and *Paganini* (1997) used an English version by David Kram and Dennis Olsen.[96] A new production of *The Merry Widow* opened at the Metropolitan Opera in December 2014, with a translation by Jeremy Sams that clearly aimed to be punchy and contemporary: 'Who can tell what the hell women are?' sang the men in the familiar 'Weib, Weib, Weib' ensemble.[97] In spite of its Broadway-style internal rhyme, it probably needs updating again.

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[96] *The Land of Smiles* (Telarc CD-80419, 1996); *Paganini* (Telarc CD-80435, 1997).

[97] www.nyc-arts.org/showclips/120751/the-merry-widow-i-nyc-arts-profile

3 | The Business of Operetta

German operetta of the early twentieth century was part of a transcultural entertainment industry involving cross-border financial and production networks, international rights management, and migrating musicians and performers.[1] In its production and reception, operetta relates closely to themes that have emerged in recent years concerning the meaning and character of cultural cosmopolitanism, a topic discussed in Chapter 8 of this book. The industrialization of theatrical entertainment was stimulated by an economic boom, and it became clear that a successful operetta could play night after night at one theatre for a year or more, a situation unimaginable for opera.[2] An industrial ethos also shaped aesthetic response. A 'great' stage work was regarded by producers, if not always by theatre critics, as one that ensured a surplus on the theatre's profit and loss sheet. This industrial aesthetic informs a well-known comment attributed to Igor Stravinsky after George Gershwin asked him for composition lessons. Undoubtedly, the words would have been spoken in jest, but Stravinsky is said to have replied that it was he who needed to take lessons from Gershwin, since Gershwin made more money from composition.[3]

Collaboration networks, in which groups of people worked as a team, were the norm in operetta production. Those who had previously delivered successful products came back together to do so again. The association of operetta production with industrial production was widely recognized.[4]

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[1] See Carolin Stahrenberg and Nils Grosch, 'The Transculturality of Stage, Song and Other Media: Intermediality in Popular Musical Theatre', in Len Platt, Tobias Becker, and David Linton, eds., *Popular Musical Theatre in Germany and Britain, 1890–1939* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 187–200, at 187.

[2] David J. Baker, 'The Merry Mogul: Franz Lehár Modernized Operetta with *The Merry Widow*', *Opera News*, 65:6 (Dec. 2000), 48–51, at 50.

[3] One version of this anecdote appears in Bernard Grun, *Prince of Vienna: The Life, the Times and the Melodies of Oscar Straus* (London: W. H. Allen, 1955), 137–38.

[4] Stefan Frey reproduces an American cartoon of 1916 depicting the Viennese 'operetta factory' in *'Was sagt ihr zu diesem Erfolg': Franz Lehár und die Unterhaltungsmusik des 20. Jahrhunderts* (Frankfurt am Main: Insel, 1999), 120.

The partnership of a book writer – responsible for the storyline and dialogue – and a lyric writer was often referred to as a 'firm' in Vienna. Examples were Stein and Jenbach, Schanzer and Welisch and, perhaps, the most successful of all, Brammer and Grünwald. Leo Fall's satirical one-act operetta *The Eternal Waltz*, composed to an English libretto by Austen Hurgon, satirizes the industrial production of operetta with a plot based on the operations of a waltz factory. What is more, the industry was profitable: Fall signed a contract for this short work that netted him alone £2,500.[5] That would be equivalent to approximately £235,300 or $305,000 in 2017.[6] According to Ernst Klein, writing in the *Berliner Lokal-Anseiger*, Fall went on to earn nearly 4000 marks from its production by the end of April 1912 (£89,630 or $116,000 in 2017).[7] That income was from the West End production alone, because it was not given on Broadway until 24 March the following year, as the opening show of a new Times Square variety theatre, the Palace. Fall's one-act operetta was one of several commissioned by Edward Moss for his flagship variety theatre the London Hippodrome (the headquarters of his chain of theatres).[8]

In the early 1910s and again in the 1920s, Berlin, London, and New York were competing for dominance of the musical theatre market, but these cities were also collaborating on the transfer of cultural goods. Cultural traffic went from continental Europe to Britain and the USA, and vice versa. This exchange was happening well before the emergence of the jazzy Broadway musicals of the later 1920s. For example, Gilbert and Sullivan's *The Mikado* was produced in Vienna in 1888 (as *Der Mikado*), and Sidney Jones's *The Geisha* was given in Berlin in 1897 (as *Die Geisha*). The latter proved a major success on the German stage, and was second only to *Die Fledermaus* in numbers of performances during the first two decades of the twentieth century.[9] Berlin had become a thriving metropolis for stage entertainment in the early twentieth century. It had experienced a theatre-building boom in the previous century that bore similarity with what had happened in London.[10] In the 1890s, theatres around Friedrichstrasse were just as eager to put on musical comedies from London, as were West End theatres in the 1910s to mount productions of successful musical stage works from Berlin, such as the operettas of Jean Gilbert). Before the First World War, asserts Marion Linhardt, 'a dense network of business connections between theatres, music publishers, composers and librettists had evolved in Central Europe, with Berlin and Vienna as centres'.[11] The full extent of the negative effect of that war on this business is unlikely to come to light, as journalist Henry Hibbert recognized in 1916.

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[5] See Stefan Frey (with the collaboration of Christine Stemprok and Wolfgang Dosch), *Leo Fall: Spötischer Rebell der Operette* (Vienna: Steinbauer, 2010), 101–2.

[6] These figures are based on percentage rises in CPI (USA) and RPI (UK) to compare changes in the cost of commodities (ignoring relative average income). *Measuring Worth* website www.measuringworth.com/. Using the Bank of England inflation rate calculator, £2,500 in 1912 would have a value of £271,465 in 2017. www.bankofengland.co.uk/education/Pages/resources/inflationtools/calculator/default.aspx.

[7] 'Aus der Wiener Operettenwerkstatt', *Berliner Lokal-Anseiger*, 29 Apr. 1912, quoted in Stefan Frey, *Laughter under Tears: Emmerich Kálmán – An Operetta Biography*, trans. Alexander Butziger (Culver City, CA: Operetta Foundation, 2014), 84, n. 202; orig. pub. as '*Unter Tränen lachen': Emmerich Kálmán – Eine Operettenbiographie* (Berlin: Henschel Verlag, 2003), 308, n. 23. Calculation from *Measuring Worth*, including its international currency pages: www.measuringworth.com/datasets/exchangeglobal/.

[8] Because it was a 'Palace of Varieties' at this time, no details of its productions can be found in J. P. Wearing's *The London Stage 1910–1919: A Calendar of Production, Performers, and Personnel* (Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow Press, 1982, 2nd edn 2013).

> One of the things we shall never know is the loss to English speculators of capital invested in undelivered or now unpracticable Viennese and German music at the time of the war outbreak. For the traffic had swelled to millions.[12]

After the war, the Treaty of Versailles demanded that Germany pay massive reparations, which led to hyperinflation in Germany, and the introduction of the Reichsmark in 1923.[13] These were not the conditions to encourage the import of goods, but, conversely, they made exports highly desirable. Berlin was where theatre managers and producers from around Europe and North America travelled to view the latest stage successes and buy rights. The Shuberts regularly visited Europe looking for successful pieces and announcing their intentions to produce them.[14]

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[9] Otto Keller, *Die Operette in ihrer Geschichtlichen Entwicklung: Musik, Libretto, Darstellung* (Leipzig: Stein Verlag, 1926), 420.

[10] Tobias Becker, *Inszenierte Moderne: Populäres Theater in Berlin und London, 1880–1930* (Munich: Oldenburg Wissenschaftsverlag, 2014), 109–30 and 201–02. Becker compares the theatre quarters in both cities on pages 132–39. He also discusses the entertainment district around Friedrichstraße and Kurfürstendamm in 'Das Vergnügungsviertel: Heterotopischer Raum in den Metropolen der Jahrhundertwende', in Tobias Becker, Anna Littmann, and Johanna Niedbalski, eds., *Die Tausend Freuden der Metropole: Vergnügungskultur um 1900* (Bielsfeld: transcript Verlag, 2011), 137–67, at 142–43 and 163–67.

[11] Marion Linhardt, 'Local Contexts and Genre Construction in Early Continental Musical Theatre', in Platt, Becker, and Linton, *Popular Musical Theatre in London and Berlin*, 44–61, at 45.

[12] Henry G. Hibbert, *Fifty Years of a Londoner's Life* (London: Grant Richards, 1916), 205–06.

[13] For a general account of post-war inflation in Berlin, see Anton Gill, *A Dance Between the Flames: Berlin Between the Wars* (London: John Murray, 1993), 72–76.

[14] 'The plays and players obtained by J. J. Shubert on his recent trip to Europe were announced yesterday. Mr Shubert visited London, Paris, Berlin and Vienna.' 'J. J. Shubert Gets Lehar's Operettas', *New York Times*, 06 Aug. 1923, 14. See also David Barbour, 'The Shuberts in Europe', *The Passing Show: Newsletter of the Shubert Archive*, 8:2 (1984).

An operetta hit in the modern city of Berlin was generally thought a more reliable indicator of its potential to succeed elsewhere, than was a warm reception in Vienna. Not until the mid-1920s did Broadway have a theatrical product to rival that of Friedrichstrasse. Before the advent of sound film, the music industry concentrated its attention on two cultural goods that had indisputable international appeal: operetta from the German stage and dance-band music from the USA.

Internationalization was evident in the presence of overseas offices of major Berlin companies associated with the theatre. One such was that of Hugo Baruch, who ran a business in Berlin supplying costumes, stage décor, and props to the major theatres, and had offices in Vienna, London, and New York.[15] Baruch was the main supplier of scenery and costume for Oscar Straus's *The Chocolate Soldier* in London, 1910, and of Jean Gilbert's *The Queen of the Movies* on Broadway, 1914. Publisher Felix Bloch Erben dealt with English rights to many operettas from an office in London. Berlin's Metropol-Theater (now the Komische Oper) registered on London's Stock Exchange in 1912.[16] Those involved in the business of music aimed at a global market; this had been true of music publishers since the nineteenth century, and it was now the same for record companies. Meanwhile, as entrepreneurs were building an international business – dealing with foreign agents, managing performing rights, and hiring artists – operetta was stimulating peripheral businesses locally. As theatre-going boomed, there was a financial impact on printers, cabbies, florists, and restaurants. Among the popular West End restaurants, for example, were Romano's, Gatti's, Rules, and Kettner's (the latter being a favourite with those involved in productions).[17] For anyone interested in making an evening of German culture, the Gambrinus restaurant in Regent Street served German 'dishes of the day' and lager.[18]

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[15] Len Platt and Tobias Becker, 'Berlin/London: London/Berlin – Cultural Transfer, Musical Theatre and the "Cosmopolitan", 1890–1914', *Nineteenth Century Theatre and Film*, 40:1 (2013), 1–14, at 5; Tracy C. Davis, *The Economics of the British Stage 1800–1914* (Cambridge University Press, 2000), 321.

[16] Platt, Becker, and Linton, *Popular Musical Theatre in London and Berlin*, 32.

[17] George Graves, *Gaieties and Gravities: The Autobiography of a Comedian* (London: Hutchinson, 1931), 165–66, 182.

[18] Lt.-Colonel Newnham Davis, 'Dinner Before the Play', *The Play Pictorial*, 14:85 (Sep. 1909): iii–v.

The Purchase of Rights

Rewards for composers varied, especially at the start of their careers. Lehár sold the publishing rights to *Der Rastelbinder* for the equivalent of £80, but claimed the publisher made a hundred times that amount from sales.[19] Even at the height of his success with *The Merry Widow*, he experienced some financial problems. One involved his original publishing contract, and the other with the fact that the USA was not a signatory to the Berne Convention on copyright. However, a degree of amicable resolution proved possible, as the *Daily Mail* made clear in its tribute to this operetta, just after the second anniversary of its first performance in Vienna.

> The Viennese music publisher Bernhardt Herzmansky has made over £70,000 profit out of the publication of the musical score. He got the concession for very little from the composer, who never expected to see the public buying his music . . . however, . . . he generously gave him a new contract with higher royalties. . . . Franz Lehár has been paid in fees for performances of his opera upwards of £60,000. The librettists have netted nearly £40,000. . . . In New York the gross receipts at the New Amsterdam Theatre are each week in excess of £4000, and one can only guess how much the sale of the music amounts to. For the composer it was unfortunate that there was no copyright in his music in the United States, but Mr Henry W. Savage, the manager who is running the opera there, is paying full fees on the theatre performances. . . . In London, fifty thousand copies of the vocal score have been sold by the publishers, and they have supplemented the popularity of 'The Merry Widow' by selling two hundred thousand copies of the famous waltz which is danced in the second act.[20]

In 1924, Eduard Künneke was engaged by the International Copyright Bureau, located in the Haymarket, London, to compose four operettas for the Anglo-American market. He visited New York, where he was to work for the Shubert brothers. He adapted and arranged music of Offenbach, and added some of his own, for *The Love Song* at the Century Theatre, 1925; he composed *Lover's Lane* to a libretto by Arthur Wimperis und Harry M. Vernon for production in London; and he then set to work on *Mayflowers* for the Forrest Theatre, New York (1925) and *Riki-Tiki* for London's Gaiety Theatre (1926). In January 1927, however, Künneke signed a highly disadvantageous contract with Ernest Mayer, the manager of the International Copyright Bureau. He did so in return for £100, which he needed at a time of financial difficulty. There had been massive inflation in post-war Germany, and in 1924 the Reichsmark had replaced the Papiermark – one Reichsmark being worth 1000,000,000,000 of the latter. Künneke already had an agreement in place with his regular librettists Haller and Rideamus to split royalties 70/30 in their favour. Now he signed an agreement with Mayer that, with respect to six operettas, allocated to the Bureau half of his 30 per cent performance royalties, as well as a share of his publication royalties, until a figure of £200 was reached. By this means, the firm, during 1928–39, was to make around £1,300 for their initial outlay of £100.[21]

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[19] Quoted in D. Forbes-Winslow, *Daly's: The Biography of a Theatre* (London: W. H. Allen, 1944), 162–63.

[20] 'The Merry Widow', *Daily Mail*, 3 Jan. 1908.

The buying of rights was one of the most important activities of the entrepreneur. George Edwardes had secured the American rights as well as the British rights to *Die lustige Witwe*, and was therefore able to sell the American rights to Henry W. Savage. The operetta still made a fortune for Savage, and exceeded 5000 performances when the production went on tour.[22] Nevertheless, the lesson was learned, and Savage was quick to seize the opportunity to purchase the exclusive right to produce Kálmán's operettas in any English-speaking country.[23]

Fred C. Whitney jumped in early – even before the Vienna premiere – to buy the rights of Straus's *Der tapfere Soldat* for production as *The Chocolate Soldier* on Broadway. Rudolf Bernauer and Leopold Jacobson had based their libretto on George Bernard Shaw's *Arms and the Man* (1894), but Whitney had cared less about annoying Shaw than did Edwardes. He was, nevertheless, disappointed by its Viennese reception, and decided to have a try-out in Philadelphia. Finding that it was a hit there, he arranged for 250,000 copies of an enthusiastic *New York Times* review to be published and distributed in New York. He then made arrangements with Philp Michael Faraday, manager of the Lyric Theatre, London, for the Broadway version to be performed there, produced by its librettist, Stanislaw Stange. Beneath the title on the programme, the audience read the following: 'With apologies to Mr BERNARD SHAW for an unauthorized parody on one of his Comedies.'

Faraday profited from *The Chocolate Soldier* and Gilbert's *The Girl in the Taxi* at the Lyric Theatre, but lost money on other pieces. He was declared bankrupt in 1914 but was able to discharge his debts over the next six months. He also had touring companies bringing out-of-town profits. Herbert Carter, the general manager for tours of Faraday's principal companies, organized six tours of *The Chocolate Soldier*, as well as tours of *The Girl in the Taxi* and Edmund Eysler's *The Girl Who Didn't* (*Der lachende Ehemann*). Inquiries about booking touring companies could be made at the appropriate London theatre, or correspondence could be directed to the Manager's Club, 5 Wardour Street. Tours were usually undertaken by the London company after the production closed in that city, but, before that happened, some theatres sent out touring companies to the provinces and abroad. The same was true of New York, where the Shuberts lost no time sending out successful productions on tour. It did not always work out as expected: between May and September, Straus's *The Last Waltz* made a total net profit of $34,717.65 at the Century Theatre but lost heavily on performances by the touring company.[24]

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[21] See Otto Schneidereit, *Eduard Künneke: Der Komponist aus Dingsda* (Berlin: Henschelverlag, 1978), 123–26.

[22] Stefan Frey, '*Was sagt ihr zu diesem Erfolg*', 87.

[23] A memorandum of agreement of 1909, cited by Stefan Frey in *Laughter under Tears*, 60 ('*Unter Tränen lachen*', 68).

Joseph Sacks, a theatrical entrepreneur of Polish or Russian Jewish descent (he was unsure himself), bought the UK rights to *The Lilac Domino* (*Der Lila Domino*) and produced it at the Empire, Leicester Square, in 1918. On Broadway, *The Lilac Domino* had enjoyed good press notices, but low box-office returns. When he bought the rights from the Smith brothers, he rejected as too risky their offer to sell their entire interests for a small sum.[25] This proved fortunate for the brothers, but galling for Sacks, because the operetta ran for 747 performances in London. Sacks was responsible for the first production of a new Lehár operetta after the First World War, *The Three Graces* (*Der Libellentanz*), again at the Empire (1924).

Copyright and Performing Right

Operetta, as a transnational genre, required international copyright protection for business to flourish, and this protection had been lacking or proven inadequate in the nineteenth century. Symptomatic of that were the problems Gilbert and Sullivan suffered with piracy in the USA; it was probably an ironic coincidence that their first attempt to establish an incontestable American copyright was with *The Pirates of Penzance*. The Berne Convention for the Protection of Literary and Artistic Works (1886, and later revisions) played an important role in stimulating the European entertainment business. The USA, although not a signatory to that agreement, offered a measure of copyright protection to selected nations in the Chace Act of 1891, and signed acceptance of the Buenos Aires Convention, a copyright treaty of 1910. The UK's Copyright Act of 1911, the first important legislation since 1842, had been made necessary by the desire to implement the terms of the Berne Convention. International copyright agreements built up the confidence of transnational financial institutions.[26] Performances of operetta in England, France, and the USA brought the biggest royalties.[27]

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[24] *The Last Waltz*, 'Show Series – Box 42', Shubert Archive, Lyceum Theatre, W45 Street, New York.

[25] Harry B. Smith, *First Nights and First Editions* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1931), 275.

Provision was made for a performing right (in addition to copyright) in the UK's 1842 Act, but it was seldom enforced by publishers. In France, performing rights were collected from 1851 on, including those from performances of French works in the UK. The English Performing Right Society (PRS) was not founded until 1914 but, from then on, argued that all public venues where music was performed should hold licences for music and fees should be collected. It was, in the end, the sudden drop in royalties from record sales, seemingly caused by radio broadcasts, that clinched the argument. No provision for broadcasting had been made in the 1911 Act. The PRS came to an arrangement with the BBC and the Postmaster General whereby owners of wireless sets (that is, radios) paid for a licence, and the PRS received a fee from the BBC based on the number of licences issued. Music publisher Frederick Day became the PRS's Director in 1926. Royalties collected were normally distributed in three equal parts to author, composer, and publisher. In the USA, in 1924, there was a proposal before Congress for a change in copyright law that would mean authors and composers would receive no payment for their productions when they were broadcast by radio. Harry B. Smith, the distinguished operetta librettist, was part of a delegation sent to Washington to protest by ASCAP (the American Society of Composers, Authors, and Publishers, founded in 1914).[28] Some singers were slow to understand the profits record royalties could bring. Richard Tauber's wife Diana claimed that he earned royalties on only 66 of the 700-odd records he made, and that he sold the rights of his massive international hit 'You Are My Heart's Delight' to Odeon Records for an outright sum of £80.[29]

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[26] It should be noted, however, that the UK ignored large parts of the Berne Convention until the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act of 1988, and that the USA did not ratify the treaty until March 1989. Gilbert and Sullivan's copyright difficulties in the USA are examined in detail by Derek Miller in *Copyright and the Value of Performance, 1770–1911* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), 101–20.

[27] Ernst Klein, 'Aus der Wiener Operettenwerkstatt', *Berlin Lokal-Anzeiger*, 29 Apr. 1912, cited in Stefan Frey, 'How a Sweet Viennese Girl Became a Fair International Lady: Transfer, Performance, Modernity – Acts in the Making of a Cosmopolitan Culture', in Platt, Becker, and Linton, eds., *Popular Musical Theatre in London and Berlin*, 102–17, at 113.

[28] Smith, *First Nights and First Editions*, 289–90.

Theatres in London and New York

The most important theatres for musical comedy and operetta in London were the new Gaiety (1903), Daly's (1893), the Theatre Royal, Drury Lane (the present building dates back to 1812), the Lyric (1888), and the Shaftesbury (1888). Daly's Theatre, situated at the junction of Cranbourne Street and Leicester Square, was the most celebrated of West End operetta theatres, especially under the management of George Edwardes. It was the first theatre in London built for an American, Augustin Daly, although Edwardes was involved from the start, because he owned the lease to the land on which it was erected, having originally hoped to build his own theatre. Cranbourne Street was at the time a dilapidated neighbourhood. The building of this theatre is an early example of using the arts to regenerate a rundown urban area, something more associated with the 1990s than the 1890s. It was designed by architects Spencer Chadwick and C. J. Phipps with an Italian renaissance exterior and a plentiful assortment of cupids inside. The old Gaiety was a joint-stock company in the 1890s, with Alfred de Rothschild holding the majority of shares, but it was replaced by a new theatre of the same name in 1903, designed by Ernest Runz, and built at a cost of £88,000.[30] It was situated at the corner of Aldwych and the Strand and survived until 1938, when London County Council's demand for £20,000 worth of alterations was considered uneconomic.[31]

Theatres that promoted operetta in New York were of more recent build, although the Casino had been built specifically for operetta in 1882 and opened with Strauss Jr's *Queen's Lace Handkerchief*. Other important theatres for operetta were the Knickerbocker (1893, called the Abbey until 1896), the New Amsterdam (1903), the Century (1909), the Globe (1910, now the Lunt-Fontanne), and the Shubert (1913). The New Amsterdam in West 42nd Street was the flagship of the Abraham Erlanger theatrical empire.[32]

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[29] Charles Castle, with Diana Napier Tauber, *This Was Richard Tauber* (London: W. H. Allen, 1971), 107.

[30] Forbes-Winslow, *Daly's*, 128.

[31] Ibid., 128.

[32] Gerald Bordman, *American Operetta: From H.M.S. Pinafore to Sweeney Todd* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1981), 76.

Its façade was *beaux arts* (French neo-classical), but its interior was *art nouveau*. It was New York's first building to embrace that new cosmopolitan style. With a seating capacity of 1702, the New Amsterdam was Broadway's largest theatre at the time of its opening. In October 1907, *The Merry Widow* was given there, and at the end of December it was reported that the production was 'likely to make an unparalleled profit of one million dollars by the end of the Broadway season'.[33]

There was an entertainment boom in the first decade of the twentieth century in New York, and the entrepreneurial Shubert brothers began building lavish theatres. They leased their first, the Herald Square, in 1900. Sam Shubert had worked his way into theatre management from humble beginnings as a ticket taker and, being rewarded with some success, his older and younger brothers took interest. The Shuberts soon acquired other theatres, among them the Casino and the Lyric (both in 1903). They cooperated initially with the Theatrical Syndicate headed by Erlanger but began to feel it was too controlling. Erlanger was someone who liked to have his own way; P. G. Wodehouse and Guy Bolton refer to him as 'the Czar of New York theatre', but his anxiety about competition from 'the up-and-coming Shuberts' increased in the 1910s.[34] Sam had died in a train crash in 1905, leaving his brother Lee to take charge of finances, and Jacob (always known as J. J.) to deal with productions. Cars and taxi-cabs were replacing the horses and carriages of Times Square, and it was a Horse Exchange property that Sam and J. J. chose to convert into their Winter Garden Theatre, which architect William Albert Swasey modelled on the Wintergarten in Berlin. It opened in 1911 and held an audience of over 1500. It was a home to spectacle and revue, from 1912 hosting the long-running series of summer revues called *The Passing Show*. Yet Eysler's *Vera Violetta* was produced in the first year of opening, and Kálmán's *The Circus Princess* (*Die Zirkusprinzessin*) was given there in 1927.

Theatre productions of various kinds rose to nearly 200 in the 1921–22 New York season. One reason was the number of new theatres opening, so that there were now 55 Broadway theatres. Nonetheless, some plays failed quickly.[35] Broadway was booming almost out of control in 1925–26, with around 260 productions, of which 42 were musical plays. At the height of their success in 1927, the Shuberts owned 104 theatres, and booked performances into more than 1000 theatres throughout the USA.[36] Sam and

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[33] '"The Merry Widow" Making a Million', *New York Times*, 22 Dec. 1907, 8.

[34] P. G. Wodehouse and Guy Bolton, *Bring on the Girls: The Improbable Story of Our Life in Musical Comedy, with Pictures to Prove It* (London: Herbert Jenkins, 1954), 21.

[35] Burns Mantle, ed., *The Best Plays of 1921–1922* (Boston: Small, Maynard, 1922), 1.

[36] Chach, *The Shuberts Present*, 7.

Lee had opened a London theatre, the Waldorf, in 1905, which became the Strand Theatre in 1909. It was bought by F. C. Whitney in 1911, who sold it two years later to Louis B. Mayer (before the latter turned his attention to film). Today it is the Novello Theatre.

The brothers' flagship theatre, the Shubert, was built in 1913. Its *sgraffito* exterior, designed by Henry B. Herts, and the plasterwork and series of panels in the interior, painted by J. Mortimer Lichtenhauer, gave considerable distinction to this edifice. One of the theatre's triumphs was Kálmán's *Countess Maritza*, starring Yvonne d'Arle and Walter Woolf, which opened there in September 1926, in a version by Harry B. Smith. Additional numbers were provided by Sigmund Romberg and Al Goodman. The architect Herbert J. Krapp, who had trained under Herts's supervision, became a key designer for the Shubert theatre enterprise from 1916 on. It was to him the Shuberts turned when, in 1917, they built the Broadhurst and the Plymouth theatres, which strengthened their presence in the 44th and 45th Street area. Krapp was to be involved in the construction of many more, including the Ambassador, which opened in February 1921, and was home to the hugely successful *Blossom Time* in September that year, and the Imperial, which opened in December 1923. Despite all the brothers' business acumen, however, the Shubert Theatre Corporation went into receivership in October 1931, in the aftermath of the Wall Street Crash. A meeting of creditors was arranged in December 1931 to discuss the problem of raising money to continue business, after discovering that the Corporation had been losing over $21,000 weekly since the receivership.[37] Surprisingly, in April 1933, when a sale of their theatres took place, the Shubert brothers were able to buy many of them back.[38] In 1937, the Imperial was the location for *Frederika* (*Friederike*), the final production of a new Lehár operetta by the Shuberts until after the Second World War, when *Yours Is My Heart* (*Das Land des Lächelns*) was given its belated first Broadway outing in 1946 at the Shubert Theatre.

Theatre Finances: A Short Case Study of Daly's

A sense of the complexity of theatre finances can be gleaned from the income and expenditure of Daly's in London. In the years before the First World War, Edwardes would spend an average of £1500 a week on the salaries of those performing on stage, and £1600 for some 200 other staff.[39] These included clerks, scene shifters, lighting technicians, prompters, dressers, a wardrobe mistress, a wig maker (Willie Clarkson), a commissionaire (Mr Robinson held this position for 35 years), cleaners (both for the theatre and for costumes), programme sellers, and, importantly, a rat catcher. There were additional expenses relating to rent and taxes, and there was greater expenditure on scenery and costumes in London than in Vienna. The Daly's orchestra was reputed to be 'one of the most expensive in Europe',[40] even if Lehár was disappointed to find 28 players for *The Merry Widow*, when he had asked for 34 (the Daly's orchestra later grew to 40 strong).[41] If the rise in value of the pound between 1909 and 2017 is assessed alongside the rise in the RPI in the UK and the CPI in the USA, then the weekly spending on staff alone would be equivalent in 2017 to £148,600 ($193,000) for performers, and £158,500 ($205,000) for other staff.[42] A particular problem in financing operetta productions is that they are subject to the 'law of Baumol' because they stand apart from the normal rules of labour productivity: it is not easy for a manager to engage fewer performers than the operetta requires, and performers are not in a position to become more efficient and productive as the weeks pass.[43]

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[37] 'Important Shubert Meeting over Receivership or Bankruptcy', *Variety*, 104:12 (1 Dec. 1931), 45.

[38] Chach, *The Shuberts Present*, 19.

The costs of production presented no difficulty if the theatre enjoyed a runaway success. *The Merry Widow*, for example, played for two years at Daly's, and was seen by approximately 1,167,000 people, which brought in box office receipts in excess of £1 million (£99 m and $128 m in 2017).[44] On 31 January 1909, a dinner was held at the Hotel Cecil to celebrate its achievement. Forbes-Winslow had no doubt that, eventually, the gross receipts 'ran into many millions sterling'.[45] However, profits such as these were the exception. Edwardes regarded box office returns of £2000 a week as 'moderately good business', although an income at this level meant that production expenses could not be covered for weeks.[46] He summed up his opinion of the theatre business as follows:

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[39] Forbes-Winslow, *Daly's*, 34.

[40] Ibid., 46.

[41] W. MacQueen-Pope and D. L. Murray, *Fortune's Favourite: The Life and Times of Franz Lehár* (London: Hutchinson, 1953), 97.

[42] *Measuring Worth* website www.measuringworth.com. The 1910 exchange rate of $4.86 to £1 is used for the conversion from British pounds to US dollars. Using the Bank of England inflation rate calculator between 1910 and 2016, the figures are even higher: £169,737 (performers) and £181, 053 (other staff). www.bankofengland.co.uk/education/Pages/resources/inflationtools/calculator/default.aspx.

[43] William Baumol and William Bowen, *Performing Arts, the Economic Dilemma: A Study of Problems Common to Theater, Opera, Music, and Dance* (New York: The Twentieth Century Fund, 1966).

[44] Forbes-Winslow, *Daly's*, 78.

[45] Ibid., 45.

> London is not a source of profit to the producer of musical plays, because the salaries and rents are so enormous. That is my experience. It pays, of course, to produce in London, because the advertisement given to the piece by people who have seen it gives an enormous help to the companies I send to the provinces, America, Africa and Australia.[47]

It might be added that Edwardes sent companies to both North and South America, and to India, too.[48] For a long time, *The Merry Widow* was bringing in £2000 a week in the provinces,[49] where touring companies avoided the huge expenses of the capital.

This brief account of finances is enough to reveal the complexity of the dealings in which Edwardes was involved, although he did not have to cope entirely on his own. Fred King was his assistant manager, and, for many years, his main business assistant at Daly's was Emilie Reid, who, after he died, was hired by Alfred Butt for Drury Lane. The estate debt after Edwardes's death in October 1915 was £80,000, but the profits generated by the success of *The Maid of the Mountains* during its three-year run (1917–20) paid that off comfortably.[50]

Edwardes's successors at Daly's were James White, who became chairman of directors, and Robert Evett, who took over as managing director. Evett went to Berlin looking for something to produce and was recommended to see Straus's *Der letzte Walzer*. He recognized the attraction of the music but realized 'certain revisions would have to be made in order to bring it into line with British requirements'.[51] It is significant that he chooses the word 'requirements' and not 'taste', thus implying practicalities rather than aesthetic sensibilities. He discovered that this operetta had been bought by an American syndicate for film adaptation (silent film at this time).[52] He contacted them and secured the rights to produce it in London in December 1922. Next on his itinerary was Vienna, but, the evening before his departure, Jean Gilbert arrived at his hotel and played him selections from his new operetta *Die Frau im Hermelin*, which became *The Lady of the Rose* in London, ten months before the production of *The Last Waltz*. When Evett reached Vienna, he went to see *Das Dreimäderlhaus*, but he considered that 'the interest was too local' to warrant his purchasing it for the London stage.[53] He acknowledged later that, as *Lilac Time*, it was a great success, but he put that down to William Boosey's having asked George Clutsam to re-arrange the music.

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[46] Ibid., 46. [47] Ibid., 135.

[48] Ursula Bloom, *Curtain Call for the Guv'nor: A Biography of George Edwardes* (London: Hutchinson, 1954), 153.

[49] Forbes-Winslow, *Daly's*, 135.

[50] José Collins, *The Maid of the Mountains: Her Story* (London: Hutchinson, 1932), 131.

[51] Robert Evett, 'Myself and "The Last Waltz"', in Percy Pitt, ed., *Music Masterpieces*, vol. 3 (London, Fleetway House, *c*. 1925), 133 (single page).

[52] A letter in the Shubert Archive reveals that this was United Plays Inc., Empire Theatre Building, 1428 Broadway, who had purchased the rights from Blumenthal and Rachman, Berlin. Letter from United Plays, 15 Aug. 1927, in 'Show Series – Box 42', Shubert Archive, Lyceum Theatre, W45th Street, New York.

In 1922, to Evett's shock, White bought Daly's at a price rumoured to be over £200,000.[54] Unfortunately, the annual costs of this theatre in the 1920s were running at a similar figure.[55] White came from a poor background in Rochdale but his business acumen had made him wealthy. He was no stage director, even if he sometimes sat in the stalls at rehearsals and passed comments. José Collins remarks that there was as much knowledge of the theatre in Evett's little toe 'as there was in the whole of Jimmy White's anatomy'.[56] Evett soon left Daly's and began producing at the Gaiety. White decided to revive *The Merry Widow* in 1923 and was delighted to see it achieve a run of 238 performances. That success encouraged comedian George Graves to promote another revival at the Lyceum a year later.[57] At first, the hot summer threatened the success of the Lyceum revival, which opened at the end of May, but the good weather did not continue. Sunshine must be considered a negative factor for summer productions indoors (it badly affected theatre attendance in the West End in 1925), although, conversely, it is vital to the success of open-air stage performances. Like Edwardes, White was a gambler, but one who took one too many risks. On 29 June 1927, he committed suicide, leaving a note confessing, 'I have been guilty of the folly of gambling, and the price has to be paid'.[58]

Although sympathetic to his fate, Graves was scornful about White. The actor-manager was in decline in the 1920s and, although London's leading theatre impresarios, such as Alfred Butt, had been involved with theatres for many years, there were others attracted to theatre simply as a commercial business opportunity.[59] Graves clearly thought White was only interested in personal profit, and declared that White was 'about as competent to run a theatre in succession to George Edwardes' as he himself would be deputizing for Albert Einstein in a BBC talk 'on the velocity of light-waves'.[60] On the other hand, according to Graves, Solly Joel the diamond millionaire who bought Drury Lane Theatre showed an interest that 'was never purely financial'.[61] Another person who entered the theatre business primarily as a financial backer of productions – but was generally liked – was William Gaunt.[62] He owned several West End theatres in the 1920s, including the Gaiety.

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[53] Evett, 'Myself and "The Last Waltz"', 133.

[54] Forbes-Winslow, *Daly's*, 139. Ernest Short speaks of Evett's having been double-crossed by White, *Sixty Years of Theatre* (London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1951), 151.

[55] Forbes-Winslow, *Daly's*, 34.

[56] Collins, *The Maid of the Mountains*, 186. Oscar Asche endorses this opinion in his autobiography, saying White knew 'absolutely nothing' about the theatre; *Oscar Asche* (London: Hurst and Blackett, 1929), 203.

[57] Graves, *Gaieties and Gravities*, 98–99.

[58] Forbes-Winslow, *Daly's*, 175.

The next manager of Daly's was Harry Welchman, who had performed many leading roles in operettas. Two months after taking up his post in early 1929, he resumed his role as Colonel Belovar in a revival of *The Lady of the Rose*, advertised as the work of Harry Welchman Productions Ltd. He was disappointed to find that he was unable to make the theatre profitable and concluded that, with a seating capacity of around 1225, it was too small to compete with the larger cinemas and their cheaper seats.[63] There had been a boom in cinema building during the 1920s: the number of cinemas controlled by circuit groups (such as Associated British Cinemas and Gaumont) was 862 in 1927, 1382 in 1932, and 2252 in 1938.[64] George Grossmith commented on the competition theatre faced in 1929:

> In these days when musical entertainment is provided not only by theatres, music-halls and cinemas, but also by hotels, restaurants, cafés, riverside resorts, to say nothing of the gramophone and the wireless, five or six months may be looked upon as a healthy run.[65]

Worse was to come because, unlike theatres, cinemas began opening on Sundays in the 1930s. The cast of a West End production would normally have given a matinee performance as well as an evening performance on Saturday, so a day of recuperation was needed.

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[59] Michael Sanderson, *From Irving to Olivier: A Social History of the Acting Profession in England, 1880–1983* (London: Athlone, 1984), 182.

[60] Graves, *Gaieties and Gravities*, 55. [61] Ibid., 209.

[62] Collins, *The Maid of the Mountains*, 240–41. [63] Forbes-Winslow, *Daly's*, 184.

[64] Linda Wood, *British Films 1927–1939* (London: British Film Institute, 1986), 119.

[65] Quoted in Forbes-Winslow, *Daly's*, 159. This would suggest 150 performances or over constituted a commercial success. Grossmith had begun to take an interest in the business side of his profession much earlier than this: he had been the person who bought the rights to *Ein Walzertraum* at George Edwardes's request; see George Grossmith, '*G. G.*' (London: Hutchinson, 1933), 96.

Theatres in the Great Depression

South African millionaire Isidore W. Schlesinger bought Daly's for a sum in excess of £230,000 in June 1929, but financial misery was around the corner. The London Stock Exchange crashed on 20 September, and on 29 October came the Wall Street Crash. This was the twentieth century's worst international financial crisis, and the following Great Depression affected cities in the USA, Western Europe, and further afield until 1934. The flow of international capital was reduced, and a deflationary spiral began, leading to a decline in industrial production and a rapid rise in unemployment. As the world economy took a downward turn, exports and investment in new projects became difficult and consumers were worried about spending money.

In Vienna and Berlin, the situation was worse than in the war years, when *Die Csárdásfürstin*, *Die Rose von Stambul*, and *Das Dreimäderlhaus* all played to full houses.[66] In the early 1930s, when audience numbers could not be relied on, Berlin's biggest theatrical entrepreneurs, the Rotter brothers, devised various marketing tricks to lure people into theatres, such as leaving half-price vouchers in cigarette shops, hairdressers, and bars.[67] The Charell revues at the city's largest theatre, the Großes Schauspielhaus, helped to stem the decline of theatre attendance at the turn of the decade. Theatres in Vienna were seeing profits fall in the late 1920s, and with harsh consequences: in 1929, the Carltheater, second place only to the Theater an der Wien for operetta productions, was the first to close its doors. Two years later, the Johann-Strauß-Theater became the Scala Cinema, although it was occasionally used for theatrical performances. The Theater an der Wien was not doing well, either, and faced bankruptcy in 1935 (under Hubert Marischka's management). It became, for most of the time, a cinema in 1936, but closed down completely in 1938 just before the Anschluss. In 1939, operetta was found only at the Raimund-Theater and, occasionally, the Volksoper.

Adding to the problems brought on by the Depression in the USA, was the Eighteenth Amendment, passed in January 1920, which made it illegal to sell alcoholic drinks or produce them for sale. Drinking them was not itself illegal, and the production of wine and cider (not beer) for consumption in the home was permitted. Bootlegging became common by 1925. In that year, Graves was invited to New York by the Shuberts, who wanted him to take the comedy role in *The Student Prince*. Having last been there in 1907, he noticed how much the city had changed following Prohibition. Racketeers and gangsters appeared to be undermining municipal, state, and federal politics, and the welcoming hospitality he was given was 'mixed up with furtive mumblings about bootleggers and speakeasies'.[68] In 1930, when Oscar Straus was in Hollywood, he was one of many hiding bootleg liquor in an office cupboard.[69] Prohibition persisted until December 1933.

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[66] Martin Baumeister, *Kriegstheater: Großstadt, Front und Massenkultur 1914–1918* (Essen: Klartext, 2005), 146.

[67] Klaus Waller, *Paul Abraham: Der tragische König der Operette* (Norderstedt: BoD, 2014), 80.

Burns Mantle described the 1928–29 season as one of the worst within living memory, and managers and producers (now lacking the presence of the astute Henry Savage, who had died during the previous season) were unsure what direction to take.[70] The chief cause was the threat of competition from film 'talkies' but there were also concerns about theatre immorality and anxiety about patrons and speculators. Fear of the talkies subsided somewhat in the next season, when it was discovered that successful plays could be resold to Hollywood 'at extravagant figures'.[71] Nevertheless. theatre profits were not what they once were, and there was a drop in productions. The Shuberts mounted revivals of operettas by Victor Herbert, who had died in 1924. This was the season before the economic Depression; in that next season, takings fell steeply and two theatres known for operetta, the Casino and the Knickerbocker, were both demolished in 1930. Financial misery continued in 1931–32, which Mantle judged 'commercially, the worst year the theatre has suffered in its recent history'.[72] The dust that followed in the wake of the Wall Street Crash was settling, however, and the rivalry between Erlanger and the Shuberts was attenuated by the newly organized American Theatre Society and the mutual protection offered by the combined booking office.

Erlanger, who had controlled over 700 theatres at the height of his power, was suffering badly and saw the necessity of ending his rivalry with the Shuberts by agreeing to combine subscription audiences and work amicably together in the American Theatre Society. Unfortunately, he died in 1930 before witnessing much progress, but an important subsequent change was an end to conflict and unfair competition when sending plays on tour, which sometimes left audiences facing the clash of a successful

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[68] Graves, *Gaieties and Gravities*, 119.

[69] Grun, *Prince of Vienna*, 145.

[70] Burns Mantle, ed., *The Best Plays of 1928–1929* (New York: Dodd, Mead, 1929), 3. Mantle's yearbooks run from 16 June one year to 15 June the next, but the new season is generally seen as opening in August.

[71] Burns Mantle, ed., *The Best Plays of 1929–1930* (New York: Dodd, Mead, 1930), v.

[72] Burns Mantle, ed., *The Best Plays of 1931–1932* (New York: Dodd, Mead, 1932), v.

New York revue and a well-received musical comedy on the same evening.[73] Broadway business began to rally in 1932–33, although Mantle claimed it was surviving on 'half rations', because only half the theatres were open, and revivals represented nearly a third of the total number of productions.[74]

On West 44th Street, Erlanger's Theatre had been lost in the Depression and was now the St James Theatre. Mantle sums up the effects of the Depression on Broadway:

> Its leading producers had lost all their money. Its more dependable angels were in a state of bankruptcy. Its better playwrights and its better actors had deserted to the motion pictures. Its theatre properties were, for the most part, in the hands of mortgage bankers who could not, for the life of them, think of anything to do with them.[75]

The gloom had not abated when the new season began in August 1933, but, remarkably, in October, the theatre began to recover. Mantle offers three reasons: first, there was curiosity on the part of a younger public brought up on the movies and eager for a change; second, actors that had deserted the theatre for Hollywood were returning to the stage; and, third, audience enthusiasm was stimulated by the quality of some of the early-season plays.[76] Mantle concedes that the repeal of laws prohibiting alcohol consumption may have had an effect on theatre attendance but adds that New York 'was never exactly athirst in the driest days of prohibition'.[77] What is more, the introduction of bars into the theatres was consistently refused by 'liquor boards'. During 1934–35, the Depression was abating, and large numbers of motion picture talent scouts flocked to the Broadway theatres. Some film producers sponsored productions.[78] The biggest single operetta success of the season was *The Great Waltz* (*Walzer aus Wien*), the first theatrical enterprise of the Rockefellers at the large Center Theatre. Alan Jay Lerner was clearly premature in dating the end of operetta to 'the last days of the twenties'.[79]

At the end of the 1935–36 season, which featured no premieres of operettas from the German stage, Hollywood producers took umbrage at the provisions in a new contract made between play producers and the new

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[73] Ibid., 3–4.

[74] Burns Mantle, ed., *The Best Plays of 1932–1933* (New York: Dodd, Mead, 1933), 3.

[75] Burns Mantle, ed., *The Best Plays of 1933–1934* (New York: Dodd, Mead, 1934), 3.

[76] Ibid., 3–4. [77] Ibid., 5.

[78] Burns Mantle, ed., *The Best Plays of 1934–1935* (New York: Dodd, Mead, 1935), vi.

[79] Alan Jay Lerner, *The Musical Theatre: A Celebration* (New York: Da Capo, 1986), 19.

Dramatists' Guild-League of New York Theatre. It divided the money paid for rights to a play into 60 per cent for the author and 40 per cent for the producer, and, even if a film producer had financed the play, the film rights were still to be offered on the open market.[80] This was the first season in which the WPA (Works Progress Administration) sponsored the Federal Theatre Project, allocating government funding to unemployed artists, writers, and directors, in recognition of the impact of the economic crisis. The vision was the establishment of a national theatre, but that was never realized. In the next Broadway season, there was an inevitable reduction in interest from Hollywood because of the new contractual conditions. However, Warner Brothers were obliged under the terms of an old contract, to help finance, together with the Rockefellers, the extravagant production of Ralph Benatzky's *White Horse Inn* at the Center Theatre in October 1936.[81] Any worries must have soon dissipated when the box office recorded a second-night gross of $7,240.[82]

In London, Daly's financial difficulties became evident in 1932, when, in a desperate attempt to balance the books, it put on a non-stop variety season and, at the end of the year, a pantomime. The curtain came down for last time at Daly's on 25 September 1937, and on that sad occasion there was no celebration, just a simple tribute paid by the manager Cecil Paget. The last operetta to be performed there had been Offenbach's *The Grand Duchess of Gerolstein* (from the end of April to the middle of June). The last production of all was of Emmet Lavery's play *The First Legion*. The theatre was bought by Warner Brothers for some £250,000,[83] and demolished in order to build a cinema.[84]

Selecting a Suitable Operetta for Production

In 1904, the impresario Oswald Stoll employed renowned theatre architect Frank Matcham to build the London Coliseum Theatre of Varieties. It was an opulent free baroque design with lavish interiors and a huge auditorium. Stoll owned a chain of variety theatres but always wanted this one to be special. It was renovated and renamed simply the Coliseum Theatre in 1931, and Stoll sought a spectacular show for the reopening. With a seating capacity of nearly 2500, it was London's second largest theatre (Drury Lane had just over 2500 at this time), so he looked at what was on offer at Berlin's Großes Schauspielhaus, which held an audience of over 3000. The size of these theatres meant that they were able to ward off competition from large cinemas, provided they offered something exciting. Erik Charell's production of *Im weißen Rössl*, with music by Benatzky, Stolz, and others, had been a runaway success, and so, despite the gloomy economic climate, Stoll decided to bring it to London and to hire Charell to direct it personally.[85] Under the title *White Horse Inn*, it was the most elaborate production ever seen on the West End stage and cost Stoll around £50,000.[86] Nevertheless, once the first reviews appeared, there were bookings for £60,000 worth of seats.[87] *The Play Pictorial* describes the stage spectacle:

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[80] Burns Mantle, ed., *The Best Plays of 1935–1936* (New York: Dodd, Mead, 1936), 4.

[81] Burns Mantle, ed., *The Best Plays of 1936–1937* (New York: Dodd, Mead, 1937), 3, 7.

[82] 'News of the Stage', *New York Times*, 5 Oct. 1936, 24.

[83] Forbes-Winslow, *Daly's*, 202.

[84] That cinema was itself demolished, and now the nine-screen Vue West End occupies the site on Cranbourne Street, just off Leicester Square, where Daly's once stood.

> A handsome, comfortable looking Inn on one side of the stage, and facing it a substantial looking chalet, from whence issue yodelers, foresters, cowherds, Alpine guides, dairymaids; and at the back gorgeous mountain views, mountain lakes, mountain places of refreshment. Tyrolese dancers, shepherds and shepherdesses, all gay in colours, some pinky in their nethermost 'altogether'. A revolving stage that revolves all this wonderful scenery before us like a solid presentation of the Transformation scenes of our youthful pantomimes.[88]

Stoll wanted the production at the Coliseum to resemble closely that at the Großes Schauspielhaus, even to the extent of having scenery overlap into the auditorium.

> The foyers of the theatre have been made to resemble the corridors of an inn, and on each side of the proscenium, in the shape of boxes, part of 'The White Horse' is built up to the ceiling, and on the opposite side is a Tyrolean house.[89]

Although the spectacle of *White Horse Inn* was admired, one critic described the music offhandedly as having 'a jolly ring, moving generally to the hearty thumping of beer mugs on tables'.[90]

The programme for the production advertises the availability of Edison Bell records of the most popular items, at one shilling and sixpence each,

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[85] For a collection of essays on this operetta, its innovative qualities, and its careful balancing of the dictates of art and business, see Ulrich, Tadday, ed., *Im weißen Rössl: Zwischen Kunst und Kommerz. Musik-Konzepte*, 133/134 (Munich: edition text + kritik, 2006).

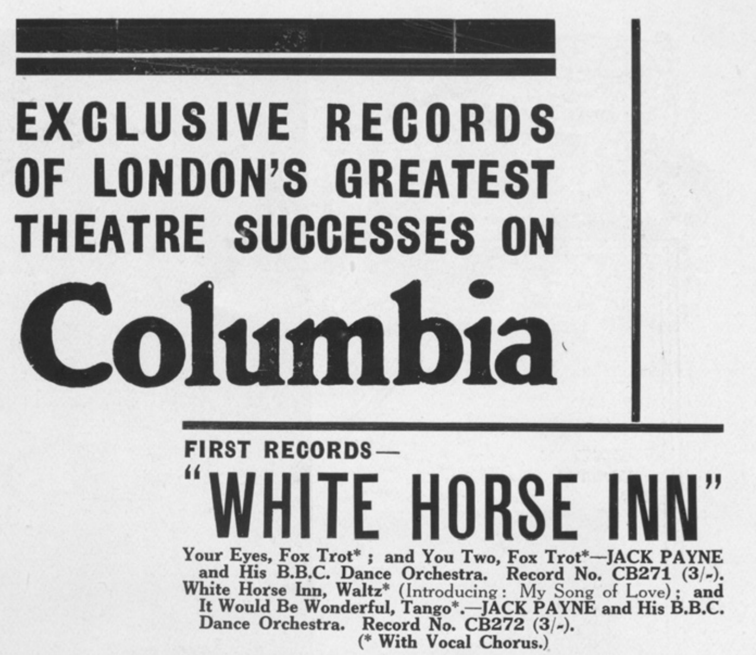
[86] B. W. Findon, '"White Horse Inn" at the Coliseum', *The Play Pictorial*, 58:350 (May 1931), ii. Findon cites a public speech by Stoll. A higher figure of £60,000 is given, but without a source, in Raymond Mander and Joe Mitchenson, *Theatres of London* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1979; orig. pub. London: Rupert Hart-Davis, 1961), 45.

[87] Short, *Sixty Years of Theatre*, 224.

[88] B. W. Findon, 'London Coliseum: "White Horse Inn"', *The Play Pictorial*, 58:350 (May 1931), 66.

[89] Findon, '"White Horse Inn" at the Coliseum', ii.

[90] *The Times*, 'The Coliseum', 9 Apr. 1931, 10.



EXCLUSIVE RECORDS OF LONDON'S GREATEST THEATRE SUCCESSES ON

Columbia

FIRST RECORDS—

"WHITE HORSE INN"

Your Eyes, Fox Trot* ; and You Two, Fox Trot*—JACK PAYNE and His B.B.C. Dance Orchestra. Record No. CB271 (3/-).
White Horse Inn, Waltz* (Introducing: My Song of Love); and It Would Be Wonderful, Tango*.—JACK PAYNE and His B.B.C. Dance Orchestra. Record No. CB272 (3/-).
(* With Vocal Chorus.)

Figure 3.1 Advertisement for records of music from *White Horse Inn* in *The Play Pictorial*, May 1931.

and *The Play Pictorial* issue devoted to *White Horse Inn* contains an advertisement for Columbia records featuring Jack Payne and His BBC Dance Orchestra (Figure 3.1).

Operetta was not just a theatrical medium, it was intermedial, and records were an important and profitable media platform. The subject of operetta and intermediality is taken up in Chapter 6. Technology, which played an important role in this production, especially in stage lighting, is discussed in Chapter 7.

Theatre Tickets

By adding new theatres to his business, Stoll was operating in a manner known as horizontal integration. Ticket agent Keith Prowse adopted a similar strategy, by opening new branches.[91] Keith Prowse also moved

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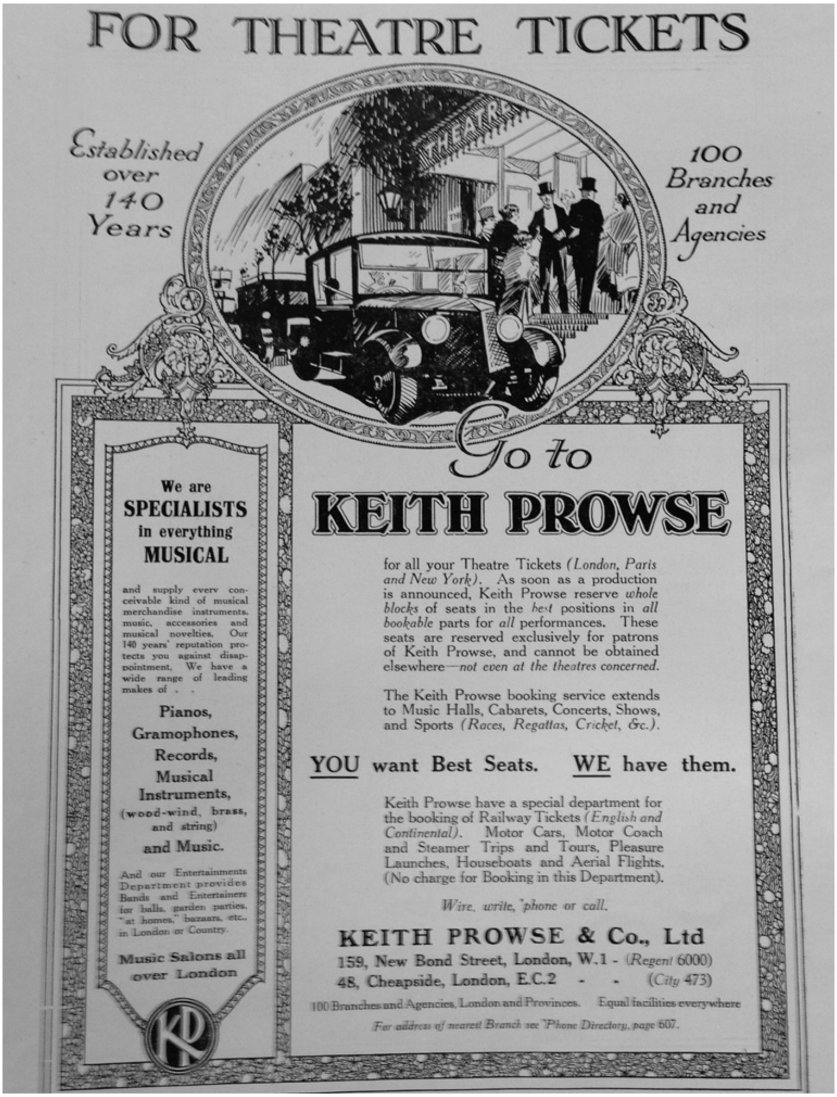
[91] The business was originally called 'Keith, Prowse', denoting two family names. Perhaps familiarity with 'Keith' as a given name caused confusion, and the firm was persuaded to drop the separating comma.



FOR THEATRE TICKETS

Established over 140 Years

100 Branches and Agencies

Go to

KEITH PROWSE

for all your Theatre Tickets (*London, Paris and New York*). As soon as a production is announced, Keith Prowse reserve *whole blocks* of seats in the *best* positions in *all bookable* parts for *all* performances. These seats are reserved exclusively for patrons of Keith Prowse, and cannot be obtained elsewhere—*not even at the theatres concerned.*

The Keith Prowse booking service extends to Music Halls, Cabarets, Concerts, Shows, and Sports (*Races, Regattas, Cricket, &c.*).

YOU want Best Seats. WE have them.

Keith Prowse have a special department for the booking of Railway Tickets (*English and Continental*). Motor Cars, Motor Coach and Steamer Trips and Tours, Pleasure Launches, Houseboats and Aerial Flights. (No charge for Booking in this Department).

Wire, write, 'phone or call.

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100 Branches and Agencies, London and Provinces. Equal facilities everywhere

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in everything
MUSICAL

and supply every conceivable kind of musical merchandise instruments, music, accessories and musical novelties. Our 140 years' reputation protects you against disappointment. We have a wide range of leading makes of . .

Pianos,
Gramophones,
Records,
Musical
Instruments,
(wood-wind, brass, and string)
and Music.

And our Entertainments Department provides Bands and Entertainers for balls, garden parties, "at homes," bazaars, etc., in London or Country.

Music Salons all over London

KP

Figure 3.2 Advertisement from the programme to the Coliseum production of *White Horse Inn*, 1931.

into related businesses (vertical integration). The firm had traded in sheet music and musical instruments in the previous century, but in the 1920s they were selling records and gramophones, and supplying bands and concert parties for various social functions.[92] When, the advertisement shown in Figure 3.2 appeared, the Keith Prowse ticket agency had become the largest in London, with dozens of branches, some of them located in hotels (such as the Grosvenor, Claridge's, and the Savoy). Their strapline was: 'YOU want Best Seats. WE have them'.

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[92] Advertisement in *The Play Pictorial*, 40:241 (Sep. 1922), 67.

The cost of tickets is not given in Figure 3.2, but a year later for *Casanova*, Charell's next production at the Coliseum, prices were six shillings to fifteen shillings for reserved seats (approximately £20/$28, and £49/$64 in 2017) and two shillings and sixpence for unreserved (approximately £8/$13 in 2017).[93] Matinee performances had slightly cheaper reserved seats (four shillings to twelve shillings and sixpence).[94] In February 2017, ticket prices in the stalls and dress circle at the London Coliseum for *The Pirates of Penzance* ranged from £20 to £105 ($25 to $132 at that month's exchange rate), plus a booking charge per ticket of £1.50. It is evident that, in relative terms, seats at the Coliseum for an operetta performance were more expensive in 2017 than in 1932.

Ticket speculators were not the problem in the West End that they were on Broadway. Arthur Hammerstein blamed the premature closure of Kálmán's *Golden Dawn* in 1928 on speculators and ticket touts, and accused some agencies of deliberately diverting patrons from this production as a reprisal for his activity against various brokers.[95] The 1930–31 season witnessed a sustained attack on their practices when the League of New York Theatres was created. This body aimed to control sales via accredited brokers, who were not permitted to charge more than 75 cents above the ticket price for their service. The non-accredited brokers claimed their trade was perfectly legitimate and fought back with an injunction against the League. The battle ended when the Postal Telegraph Company offered to sell tickets at no more than a 50-cents mark-up at all its branches (which numbered around 160). The League immediately accepted.[96]

Music Publishers

Businesses involved with theatre were never single-mindedly focused on the stage. The Savoy was famed not only as a theatre but also as a hotel and restaurant. Music publishers knew the value of investing in theatres, since these were places in which their wares were promoted, and they were keen to be involved in the purchasing of rights. In London, Chappell, a major publisher of operetta with branches in New York, Toronto, and Melbourne, held shares in both the Gaiety and the Adelphi, and later shared a half-lease of the Lyric and a part-lease of the Savoy.[97] Chappell published the music of the two biggest West End operetta successes, *The Merry Widow* and *Lilac Time*, and it was Chappell's managing director, William Boosey, who bought the rights to the latter (*Das Dreimäderlhaus*) in Vienna and produced at the Lyric in partnership with Alfred Butt. He was unaware that another English-language version was already being performed on Broadway as *Blossom Time*.[98] In New York, the Shuberts were involved with two companies publishing sheet music.[99]

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[93] These values are based on what a shilling was worth in 1932 compared to 2014 (based on the UK's Retail Price Index) on the Measuring Worth site. The exchange rate to convert to dollars is £1 = $3.51 given for 1932 on the same site. www.measuringworth.com. Using the Bank of England inflation rate calculator, one shilling in 1932 would have a value of £3.20 in 2016.

[94] *Theatre World*, 18:90 (Jul. 1932), advertisement on verso of front cover.

[95] 'Blames Ticket Men for Play's Failure', *New York Times*, 8 May 1928, 25.

[96] Burns Mantle, ed., *The Best Plays of 1930–1931* (New York: Dodd, Mead, 1931), 3–4.

The world of publishing was cosmopolitan, and an intermingling of personnel among the various houses was common. The brothers Max and Louis Dreyfus revived New York's ailing firm of T. B. Harms in the early twentieth century and struck a partnership deal with London's Francis, Day, and Hunter in 1908. Harms parted with Francis, Day, and Hunter in 1920 because Chappell did a deal with Louis and Max that allowed them to take over Chappell in New York, in return for Chappell's taking over the Harms agency in London. Francis, Day, and Hunter then did a deal with Leo Feist in New York. Louis Dreyfus later became Managing Director of Chappell in London, while his brother Max took charge of Chappell in New York, which had Walter Eastman as Managing Director. Eastman then moved to London to take up the same position at Ascherberg, Hopwood & Crew.[100] The first manager of Chappell in New York (in 1891) had been George Maxwell, who went on to work for Ricordi in the USA. Chappell in New York had sufficient autonomy to pay $40,000 for the English rights to Lehár's *Eva* in 1911.[101]

Copyright law facilitated arrangements between publishers, so that, for example, *Die Dollarprinzessin* was available in Vienna from Karczag, in Berlin from Harmonie, and in English versions from Ascherberg, Hopwood & Crew in London, and Harms in New York. The tightening of copyright law and the tougher penalties for infringement had dealt a blow to piracy. Publishers no longer felt the need to introduce heavily discounted editions to combat piracy, although that policy had tended to affect single songs, rather than vocal scores. In fact, the price of vocal scores remained stable for many years: from 1910–30 the typical cost would be 6 shillings (or 8 shillings, cloth bound) in the UK and $2 (or $2.50, cloth bound) in the USA. Individual songs were usually two shillings in the UK and sixty cents in the USA. Covers were generally pictorial, being designed to catch the eye of the customer (Figure 3.3). There were lots of arrangements of operetta for other media platforms, recital rooms, dance halls, park bandstands, and so forth (see Chapter 6).

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[97] William Boosey, *Fifty Years of Music* (London: Ernest Benn, 1931), 130–32.

[98] Ibid., 171.

[99] Maryann Chach *et al. The Shuberts Present: 100 Years of American Theatre History* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 2001), 229.

[100] John Abbott, *The Story of Francis, Day & Hunter* (London: Francis, Day and Hunter, 1952), 46–47.

[101] Stefan Frey, 'Going Global: The International Spread of Viennese Silver-Age Operetta', in Anastasia Belina and Derek B. Scott, eds., *The Cambridge Companion to Operetta* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019).

Theatre and Fashion

An easily forgotten attraction of operetta is costume, which fed into fashion and consumerism on the High Street. Leading fashion designers were involved with operetta, from Lucile and *The Merry Widow* in 1907, to Norman Hartnell and Paul Abraham's *Viktoria and Her Hussar* in 1931. One of the most admired costume designers of the early twentieth century was Attilio Comelli. Alongside his work as house designer of the Royal Opera House from the late 1880s to the early 1920s, he was responsible for a number of costumes for operettas at Daly's Theatre.[102]

Lucile acknowledged that the hat she created for Lily Elsie to wear in the London production of *The Merry Widow* 'brought in a fashion which carried the name of "Lucile" … all over Europe and the States' (Figure 3.4).[103] The 'Merry Widow' hat kept increasing in width and, by Spring 1908, there were versions available with spans of three feet or more.[104] Lucile was a prominent fashion designer, whose formal name in London society was Lady Duff Gordon. She claimed to have invented the fashion show with the 'mannequin parades' held at her London shop.[105]

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[102] Examples of the costumes he designed for *Gipsy Love, Sybil*, *The Lady of the Rose, Madame Pompadour*, and *Cleopatra* can be seen in the Emile Littler Archive, in the Theatre and Performance Collection, Level 3, of the Victoria & Albert Museum.

[103] Lucy Duff-Gordon, *Discretions and Indiscretions* (London: Jarrolds, 1932), 103.

[104] 'Merry Widow Hats Outdone', *New York Times*, 13 Jun. 1908, c. 1, cited in Marlis Schweitzer, *When Broadway Was the Runway: Theater, Fashion, and American Culture* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009), 1.

[105] Erica D. Rappaport, *Shopping for Pleasure: Women in the Making of London's West End* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2000), 188; see also Joel Kaplan and Sheila Stowell. *Theatre and Fashion: Oscar Wilde to the Suffragettes* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 115–21.

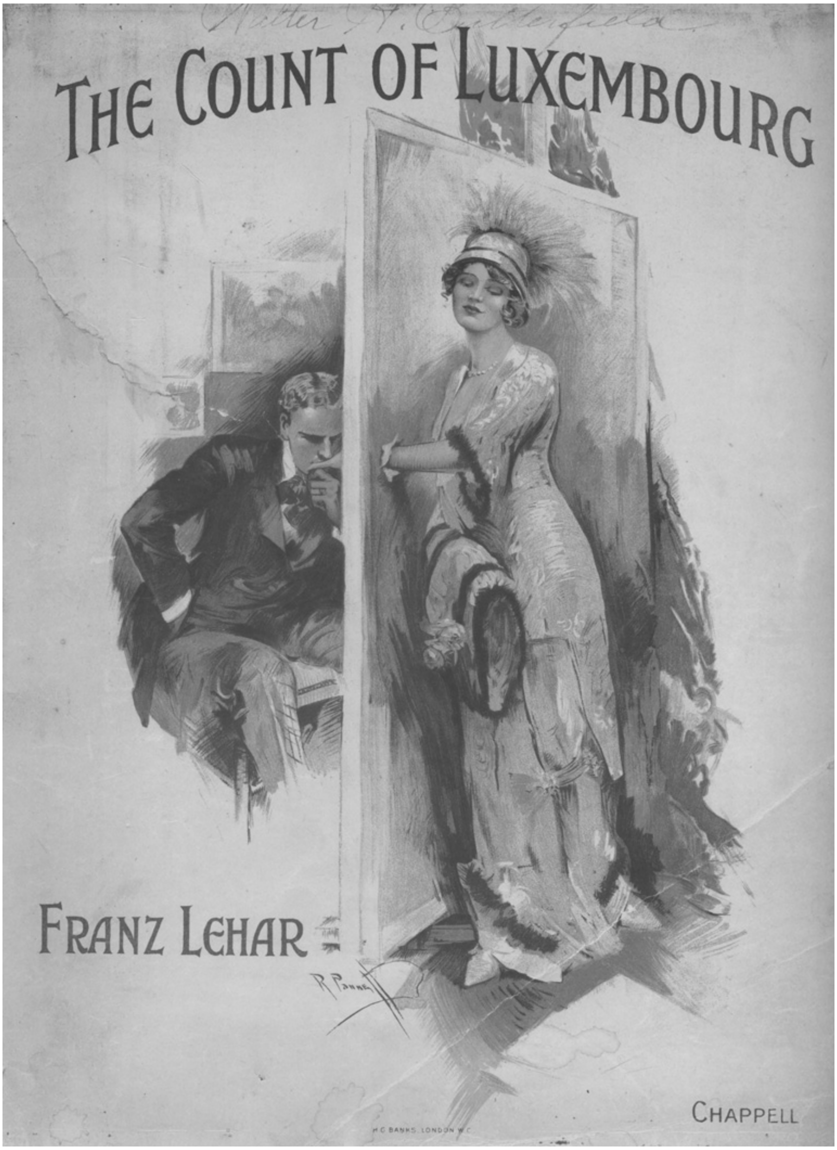
THE COUNT OF LUXEMBOURG
FRANZ LEHAR
CHAPPELL
H.C. BANKS LONDON W.C.

Figure 3.3 Front cover of the vocal score of *The Count of Luxembourg*, published in 1911 by Chappell's New York branch, 41 East 34th Street, at a price of $2.

Her career was nearly cut short when she booked a trip on the Titanic in April 1912, but she was fortunate to be one of the survivors, and was back

The Victoria and Albert Museum has a Lucile archive; see Valerie D. Mendes and Amy de la Haye, *Lucile Ltd: London, Paris, New York and Chicago: 1890s-1930s* (London: V&A Publishing, 2009).

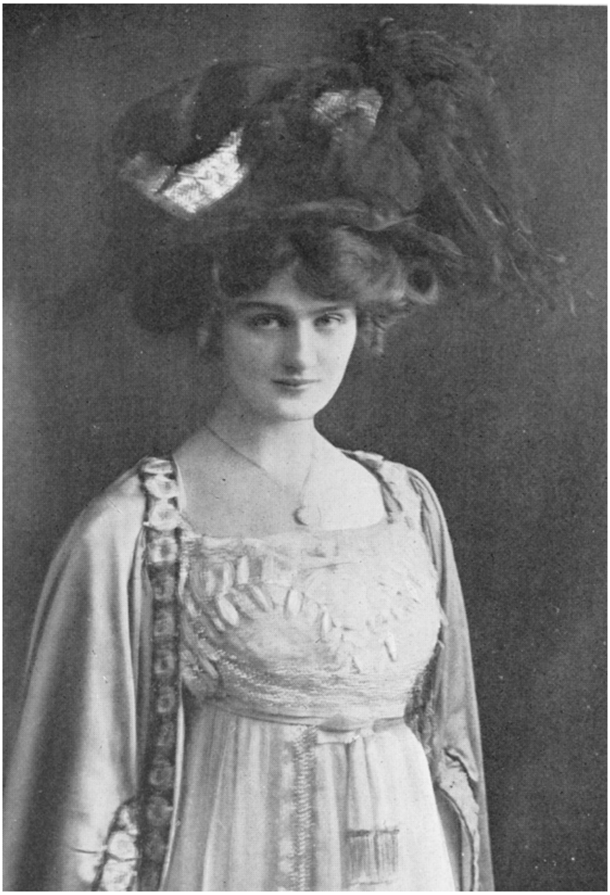

Figure 3.4 Lily Elsie as Sonia, wearing the 'Merry Widow' hat, from *The Play Pictorial*, vol. 10, no. 61 (Sep. 1907).

in October designing Shirley Kellogg's dresses for Kálmán's *The Blue House* at the London Hippodrome.[106]

The stage acted as a shop window for costume design. *The Times* commented that Lily Elsie, as the merry widow, made 'an unusually beautiful picture in Parisian and Marsovian dresses',[107] and, regarding *The Count of Luxembourg* at Daly's, informed readers that the 'accessories in dresses and wearers of dresses were as sumptuous as ever'.[108] In an age of conspicuous consumption, the spectacle of glamorous costume was an enticement to the purchase of similar garments that would function as a display of status.[109] The *Play Pictorial* was sure to carry photographs of the costumes worn. It gave a detailed description of the Lily Elsie's gown as the bride, hidden from the Count of Luxembourg's view by a screen (see Figure 3.5):

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[106] Regrettably, the score of this one-act operetta has been lost.
[107] 'Daly's Theatre', *The Times*, 10 Jun. 1907, 4.
[108] 'The King and Queen at Daly's Theatre', 10.

> Most elaborately embroidered in silver and white, the lower part was a cascade of silver bugle fringes and little crescents of pink and blue flowers peeping in and out around the hem of the skirt. There seemed to be two or three transparent skirts, the overdress, just giving a tantalizing glimpse where it opened at the side.[110]

The cost of such gowns is rarely mentioned but high prices were involved. José Collins documented that the white gown she wore in the second act of *Sybil* (1921) was designed by Reville and cost £1000 (the equivalent commodity value of around £42,000 or $54,000 in 2017). It was covered in feathers, each set with an emerald.[111]

Fashion was not of interest only to women. Men began taking notice when, in musical comedies of the 1890s, smart suits replaced the formerly eccentric clothes given to male characters. George Grossmith Jr, who performed in musical comedy and operetta before becoming a producer, acquired a reputation as 'an acknowledged fashion leader'.[112] Sometimes a cynical eyebrow was raised at costumes: of the lavish production of *A Waltz Dream*, the *Times* reviewer declared, 'At no Court in the world, least of all that of a German prince, do they wear so many spangles'.[113]

Costume continued to be an attraction in the 1930s, when Theodor Adorno remarked that the fashionable dresses he saw around him in Frankfurt appeared to have been stolen from operettas.[114] In London, the

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[109] The classic text on consumption as a display of status is Thorstein Veblen, *The Theory of the Leisure Class* (New York: Macmillan, 1899). It is in this work that he coined the term 'conspicuous consumption'.

[110] Rita Detmold, 'Frocks and Frills', *The Play Pictorial*, 18:108 (1911), 70–71, at 70.

[111] Collins, *The Maid of the Mountains*, 183. Equivalent commodity price value from Measuring Worth http://measuringworth.com/calculators/ppoweruk. Reville and Rossiter, a London couture house, was court dressmaker to Queen Mary. William Reville was the designer.

[112] James Jupp, *The Gaiety Stage Door: 30 Years of Reminiscences of the Theatre* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1923), 173. W. J. MacQueen-Pope also confirms that Grossmith's stage costumes led to his becoming 'a leader of men's fashions'. *Gaiety: Theatre of Enchantment* (London: W. H. Allen, 1949), 375.

[113] 'Hicks Theatre', 8.

[114] 'Arabesken zur Operette' [1932], *Gesammelte Schriften*, 19, Musikalische Schriften VI (Frankfurt: Suhrkamp, 1984), 516–19, at 519. For an account of theatre and fashion in Berlin, see Stefanie Watzka, 'Comme il faut: Theater und Mode um die Jahrhundertwende', in Becker, Littmann, and Niedbalski, *Die Tausend Freuden der Metropole*, 259–81, at 276–81.

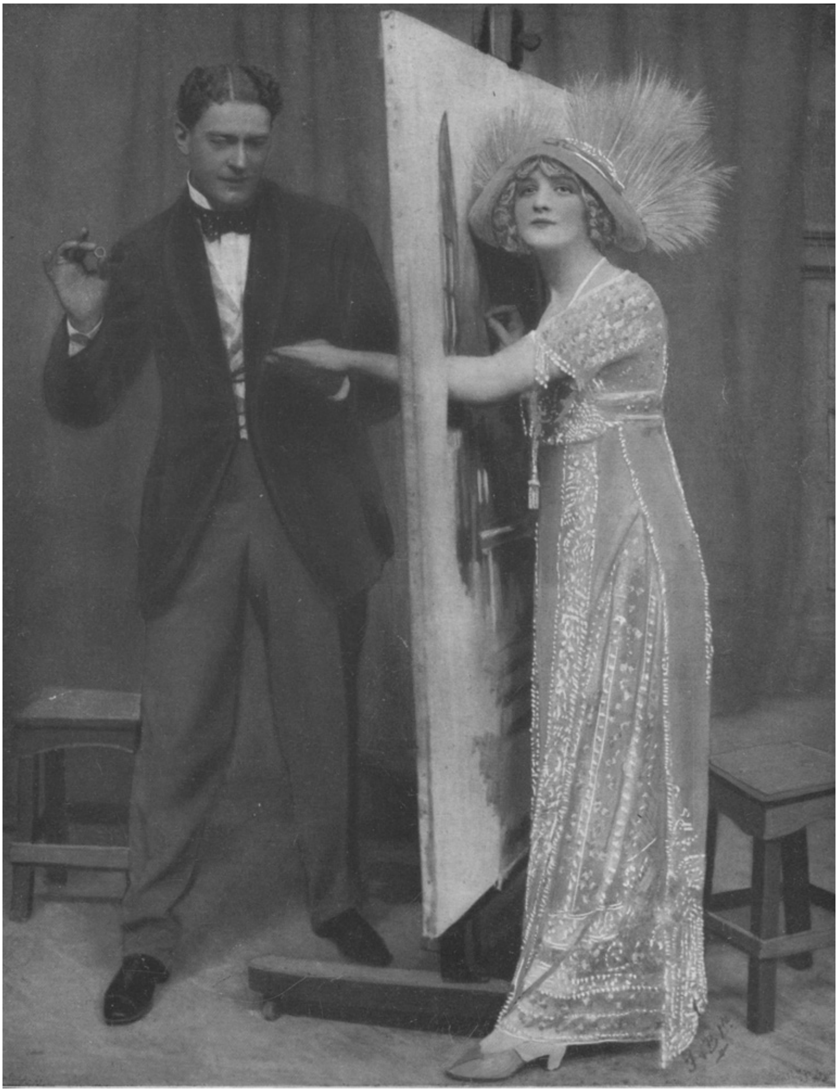

Figure 3.5 Bertram Wallace as the Count and Lily Elsie dressed as the screened bride in a scene from Lehár's *The Count of Luxembourg*, from the front cover of *The Play Pictorial*, vol. 18, no. 108 (Aug. 1911).

dresses designed by Professor Ernst Stein for *White Horse Inn* at the Coliseum created a sensation.[115] A eulogy appeared on *The Times* 'London Fashions' page:

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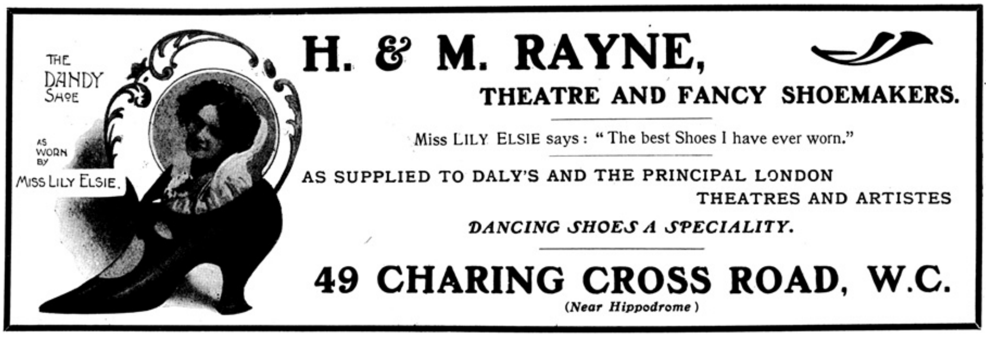
[115] Examples forming part of the Ernst Stein Archive, can be seen in the Prints and Drawings Study Room, Level D, of the V & A Museum.



THE DANDY SHOE

AS WORN BY MISS LILY ELSIE.

H. & M. RAYNE,

THEATRE AND FANCY SHOEMAKERS.

Miss LILY ELSIE says: "The best Shoes I have ever worn."

AS SUPPLIED TO DALY'S AND THE PRINCIPAL LONDON THEATRES AND ARTISTES

DANCING SHOES A SPECIALITY.

49 CHARING CROSS ROAD, W.C.

(Near Hippodrome)

Figure 3.6 Advertisement for Rayne shoes, *The Play Pictorial*, vol. 10, no. 61 (Sep. 1907).

> The greatest dress spectacle of all is *White Horse Inn*, in which the unending change of scene provides a wonderful grouping of colours . . . In this production constant use is made of greens, reds, yellows, and blues, and also of brown, a colour not much in favour with producers but which is introduced with excellent effect in the skirts of the women and the suits of the men.[116]

It was not only the frocks and suits that caught the eye but also hats and shoes. Gamba advertised that their shop on Shaftesbury Avenue sold the sandal shoes supplied for the production of *White Horse Inn.*[117] H. & M. Rayne of Charing Cross Road had boasted back in 1907 that they supplied shoes to the principal theatres of London. They also knew the value of an endorsement from a star (Figure 3.6). Women operetta stars were often called upon, for an appropriate fee, to appear in advertisements endorsing a variety of commodities related to the body, from corsets to cosmetics.

In New York, the Shuberts ran an in-house design company for their stage costumes, and made frequent use of a dozen designers, among whom Cora MacGeachy and Homer B. Conant were most prominent.[118] This side of the Shuberts' interests was picked up by the reviewer of Fall's *The Rose of Stamboul* in 1922:

> This is the newest of those large-scale entertainments – part operetta, part burlesque show and part fashion parade – which the Shuberts have fallen into the habit of staging at the Century.[119]

Costume was not only a matter for the stage. The foyers and auditoriums of West End and Broadway theatres were spaces where members of an audience could flaunt their fashionable dress and social standing. As Thorstein Veblen remarked in his *Theory of the Leisure Class*, money spent on clothes has an advantage over other methods of expenditure for display, in that 'our apparel is always in evidence and affords an indication of our pecuniary standing to all observers at the first glance'.[120]

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[116] 'London Fashions: Dress on Stage', *The Times*, 24 Apr. 1931, 17.

[117] *The Sunday Referee*, 5 Apr. 1931, 4, col. 5.

[118] Chach, *The Shuberts Present*, 156.

[119] 'The Rose of Stamboul', *New York Times*, 3 Mar. 1922, 18.

Merchandizing

Operetta could be used to promote sales of various goods by coordinating its production with media advertising and other sales strategies that fall under the general classification of merchandizing. Stars provided many opportunities for this practice, for example, as images on picture postcards, cigarette cards, and sheet music title-page lithography. The manufacture and marketing of operetta is linked in Adorno's mind with modern consumerism, and he likened the success of *Die lustige Witwe* to that of the new department stores.[121] In the UK, as in the USA, the success of this operetta led to merchandizing on a huge scale, including 'Merry Widow' hats (of broad width), chocolates, beef steaks, a 'Merry Widow' sauce, and even a corset.[122] A cartoon in *The Evening American* satirizes the craze for products carrying the 'Merry Widow' brand (Figure 3.7). The impact of the 'Merry Widow' brand was seen to extend beyond the world of merchandizing, when Sonia, the title character's name in the English version, became popular for baby girls.[123]

Stage Photography and Theatre Periodicals

Foulsham and Banfield, the most admired firm of stage photographers in London, made at least £600 out of press pictures of *The Merry Widow*.[124] They also launched the craze for picture postcards of star performers. In the early twentieth century, the market for postcards bearing a photograph of a celebrity grew enormously. Phyllis Dare claims to have signed between 75,000 to 100,000 picture postcards during 1904–7, years in which she was

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[120] 'Dress as an Expression of the Pecuniary Culture', Chapter 7, ¶1, *The Theory of the Leisure Class* [1899], www.gutenberg.org/files/833/833-h/833-h.htm#link2HCH0007.

[121] Adorno, 'Zur gesellschaftlichen Lage der Musik' [1932] *Gesammelte Schriften*, 18, Musikalische Schriften V. Frankfurt: Suhrkamp, 1984. 729–77, at 771.

[122] See Richard Traubner, *Operetta: A Theatrical History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1983), 247, and Forbes-Winslow, *Daly's*, 78. Advertisements for corsets of various kinds are frequently found in *The Play Pictorial*.

[123] MacQueen-Pope, *Fortune's Favourite*, 123.

[124] Ibid., 124.

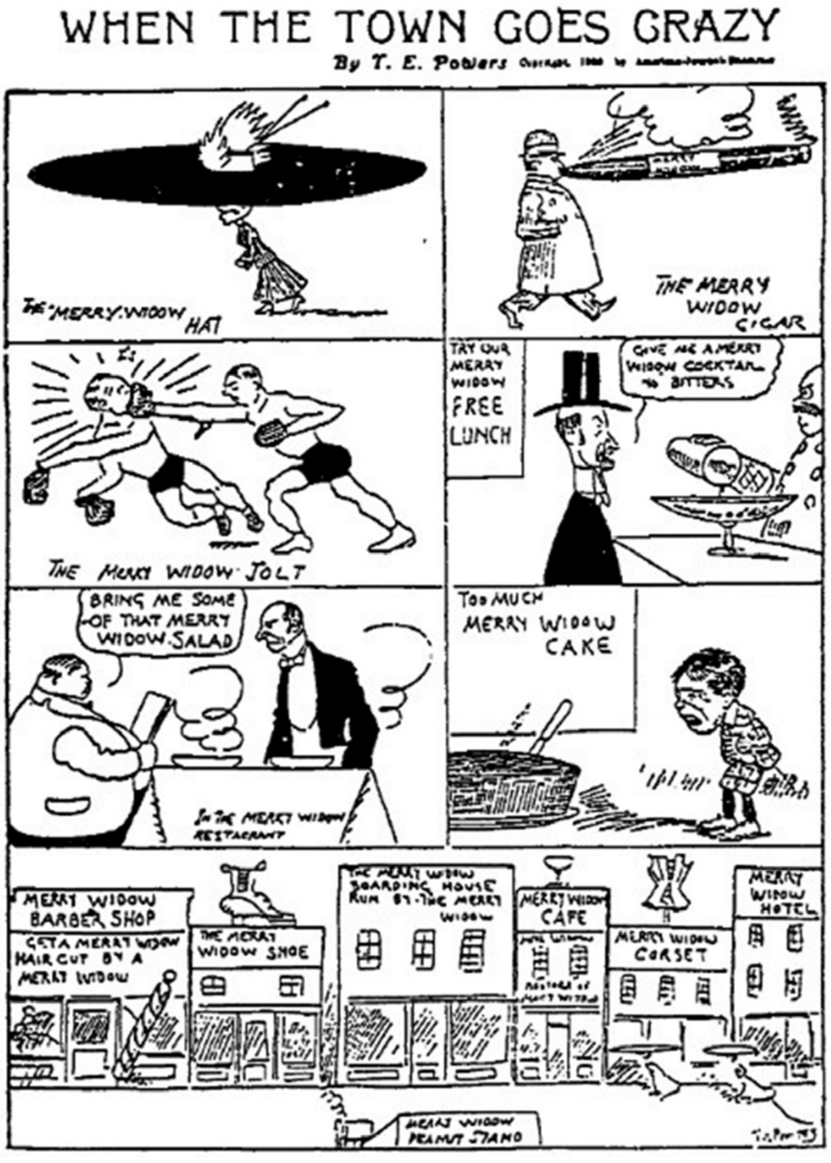
WHEN THE TOWN GOES GRAZY
By T. E. Powers
THE MERRY WIDOW HAT
THE MERRY WIDOW CIGAR
THE MERRY WIDOW JOLT
TRY OUR MERRY WIDOW FREE LUNCH
GIVE ME A MERRY WIDOW COCKTAIL NO BITTERS
BRING ME SOME OF THAT MERRY WIDOW SALAD
IN THE MERRY WIDOW RESTAURANT
TOO MUCH MERRY WIDOW CAKE
MERRY WIDOW BARBER SHOP
GET A MERRY WIDOW HAIR CUT BY A MERRY WIDOW
THE MERRY WIDOW SHOE
THE MERRY WIDOW BOARDING HOUSE RUN BY THE MERRY WIDOW
MERRY WIDOW CAFE
MERRY WIDOW CORSET
MERRY WIDOW HOTEL
MERRY WIDOW PEANUT STAND
T. E. Powers

Figure 3.7 *The Merry Widow*, cartoon by T. E. Powers, 1908, published in *The Evening American*, 1909.

still in her teens (Figure 3.8).[125] In New York, two of the most frequent firms involved in stage photography during this period were the White studio,

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[125] Phyllis Dare, *From School to Stage* (London: Collier, 1907), 56. Written with the assistance of Bernard Parsons.

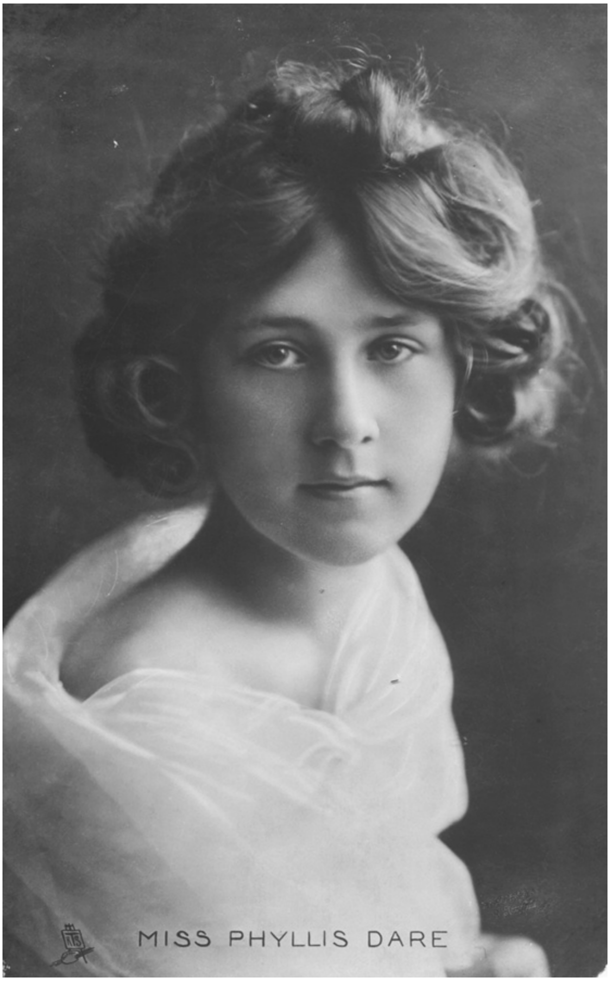

Figure 3.8 Picture postcard of Phyllis Dare, who took the role of Gonda van der Loo in Leo Fall's *The Girl in the Train*, Vaudeville Theatre, 1910. One of the 'Celebrities of the Stage' series by Raphael Tuck & Sons.

which developed the flash pan and flare for this kind of work, and the Vandamm organization.[126] Wide-range shots were generally taken at dress rehearsal.[127]

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[126] See Stanley Appelbaum, ed., *The New York Stage: Famous Productions in Photographs* (New York: Dover Publications, 1976), v–vi.

[127] Arthur Edwin Krows, *Play Production in America* (New York: Henry Holt, 1916), 311; cited in Appelbaum, *The New York Stage*, iii.

Photographs were also a prominent feature of the theatre periodicals, such as *The Play Pictorial* and *Theatre World* in London, and *Theatre Magazine* and *Dramatic Mirror* in New York. Theatre magazines sold in large numbers, especially if there was a production gaining special attention. For the issue of *Play Pictorial* concentrating on *The Count of Luxembourg*, 50,000 copies were ordered from the printer, as well as 1000 additional copies of the coloured cover illustration.[128] There was also a market for books about the lives of theatre stars. Phyllis Dare wrote her autobiographical *From School to Stage* (with the assistance of Bernard Parsons) at the remarkably young age of 17. The term ‘stars’ was being used regularly in the first decade of the century to describe well-known and admired performers. At this time, it was often enclosed in quotation marks, indicating its colloquial usage.[129]

Agencies, Associations, and Entrepreneurs

A variety of agents was involved in the promotion of operetta. There were advertising agents, such as the Theatrical and General Advertising Company, which, by the 1930s, became the sole agent for advertising in the programmes of the major West End theatres (with the exception of the Savoy). There were publishers acting as agents for other publishers: Ascherberg, Hopwood & Crew, for example, relied on the agency of Chappell for the sale and distribution of their publications in Australia and New Zealand. Most importantly, there were entrepreneurial agents involved in the selling of rights. After marrying the widow of Felix Bloch, publisher and manager of a Berlin theatrical agency, Adolf Sliwinski [Śliwiński] built an international reputation by handling the rights to *Die lustige Witwe* and many other operettas. William Boosey, who, as previously mentioned, was Chappell’s managing director, pressed George Edwardes to secure the English rights to *The Merry Widow* from Sliwinski, after having persuaded Edwardes to go with him to Vienna to hear this operetta.[130] The English version was then published by Chappell. The Bloch agency, which also had Leo Fall and Oscar Straus on its list, dominated the German operetta market, and dealt with English rights through its London office. There was a little competition from others, such as Karczag in Vienna. Lehár joined the latter after falling out with Felix Bloch, but when Karczag went into liquidation in 1935, he founded his own press, Glocken Verlag. It was an act of vertical integration that allowed him to take control of both the production and distribution of his music. Glocken Verlag later became affiliated to Josef Weinberger's publishing house.

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[128] *The Play Pictorial*, 18:108 (Aug. 1911), i.

[129] See, for example, Dare, *From School to Stage*, 138.

[130] Boosey, *Fifty Years of Music*, 167. After Sliwinski’s death in 1916, the agency was run by Ernst Bloch until 1923, and then by his widow and his daughter.

In Berlin, Fritz and Alfred Rotter were among the most important contacts for foreign entrepreneurs after the death of Sliwinski in 1916.[131] The Rotter brothers, who ran the Metropol Theater, were always good at spotting a potential success. After the enthusiastic reception of Abraham's *Viktoria und ihr Husar* at the July 1930 operetta festival in Leipzig, they lost no time in producing it at the Metropol. Unfortunately, they became a casualty of the Great Depression, and their theatre empire ended in bankruptcy. An arrest warrant was issued against them on 22 January 1933.[132] The Rotters took off for Liechtenstein, but soon found, being Jewish, they had not escaped Nazi persecution.[133] Alfred Rotter and his wife died in a car crash in highly suspicious circumstances while being pursued in the mountains of Liechtenstein in April 1933.

The Theatrical Syndicate was formed in New York in 1896 by Abraham Erlanger, Marc Klaw, Charles Frohman, and Al Hayman to centralize the booking system, but then began to control theatres by dictating terms. In 1909 the Theatre Managers' Association was founded at Erlanger's New Amsterdam Theatre.[134] Unsurprisingly, Erlanger was chosen President. Some important figures, such as Henry W. Savage, President of the National Association of Producing Managers, began to rebel against Erlanger's dominance, and irritation grew on the part of Sam Shubert (a committee member of the Theatre Managers' Association).[135] In 1919, Klaw sold his theatre interests to the Shuberts, after splitting with Erlanger, and this forced the latter to join the Shubert controlled United Booking Office.[136]

Charles Frohman's theatrical entrepreneurship was not limited to the USA; he was a theatre manager in London, having leased the Duke of

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[131] For further information on Sliwinski, see Becker, *Inszenierte Moderne*, 356–57, and for a summary of the theatrical enterprises of the Rotter brothers, 313–14.

[132] Peter Kamber, 'Zum Zusammenbruch des Theater-Konzerns der Rotter und zum weiteren Schiksal Fritz Rotters: Neue Forschungsergebnisse', *Jahrbuch des historischen Vereins für das Fürstentum Liechtenstein*, vol. 106 (2007), 75–100, at 85, n. 40.

[133] Marline Otte, *Jewish Identities in German Popular Entertainment, 1890–1933* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 254.

[134] 'Theatre Managers' Association', *The Stage Year Book* (1909), 86–87.

[135] Smith, *First Nights and First Editions*, 219–21.

[136] Chach, *The Shuberts Present*, 17.

York's Theatre in 1897. A few years later, he was involved with the building of the Aldwych and Hicks's Theatres, both for Seymour Hicks. The latter said of him that nobody ever produced plays 'with so little thought of the financial side of their success'.[137] When visiting London, Charles Frohman travelled on the Lusitania, a luxury ocean liner, with wireless telegraph and electric lighting, launched by Cunard in 1906 as part of an effort to challenge the German dominance of transatlantic travel. It had a speed of 29 miles per hour (25 knots) – four miles an hour faster than the SS Kaiser Wilhelm der Grosse. It made a total of 202 transatlantic crossings before being sunk by a torpedo from a German submarine on 7 May 1915, killing 1198 passengers and crew. Frohman was among those who died.

In the early 1930s, impresario Stanley H. Scott specialized in the import of German stage entertainments into the West End. It was Scott who first brought Tauber to the UK, although he was relatively inexperienced in theatrical production at that time. Tauber was to appear in the West End premiere of *The Land of Smiles*, and this helped Scott win the consent of George Grossmith, general manager of Drury Lane, to produce the operetta there in May 1931. The theatre had not been faring too well since producing the Broadway successes *Rose-Marie* and *The Desert Song*. It was a time of economic depression, and the previous manager, Alfred Butt,[138] had left earlier in 1931. Unfortunately, the production of *The Land of Smiles* was blighted by Tauber's recurring throat problems. Scott had more success with Maschewitz and Mackeben's revision of Millöcker's *Gräfin Dubarry*, which he brought to His Majesty's Theatre as *The Dubarry* the following year. Yet, once again, its star performer, Anny Ahlers, was the cause of its closing before time. Performers form a significant part of the subject matter of Chapter 4, and both Tauber's throat trouble and the death of Ahlers are discussed there. In addition, the activities of stage directors and stage designers receive attention. A little overlap with the present chapter is inevitable, however, given that some entrepreneurs and managers also took part in directing.[139]

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[137] Seymour Hicks, *Twenty-Four Years of an Actor's Life* (London: Alston Rivers, 1910), 220.

[138] Alfred Butt became manager of the Palace Theatre in 1904, and built up a theatrical empire from 1914 on, becoming managing director of the Adelphi, the Empire, the Gaiety, and Drury Lane.

[139] For a discussion of the different connotations of the terms 'manager', 'impresario', and 'entrepreneur' in the theatre world, see Tracy M. Davis, 'Edwardian Management and the Structure of Industrialism', in Michael R. Booth and Joel H. Kaplan, eds., *The Edwardian Theatre: Essays on Performance and the Stage* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 111–29, at 116.

4 Producers, Directors, Designers, and Performers

Producers deal with organizational and financial aspects of a performance. However, an eminent producer who is no longer living may continue to be named in advertisements (*The Lady of the Rose* was billed as 'The George Edwardes Production' at Daly's in 1922, seven years after Edwardes's death). Some producers are more than presenters of a show; they are involved as artistic directors or as actor managers. Occasionally, a producer may be involved in another capacity: Hassard Short, who presented *Waltzes from Vienna* at the Alhambra, London, in 1931, given on Broadway as *The Great Waltz* in 1934, also took control of the stage lighting for both productions. Sometimes, a stage director is called a producer, adding to the confusion. At other times, a programme might name a stage director as the stage manager, a job description that usually indicates someone who coordinates the work of the stage crew. In simple terms, it may be said that stage directors take rehearsals with the company, while producers take lunch with agents and sponsors. Chapter 3 explored the activities of producers as entrepreneurs, negotiators, managers, and presenters. However, because the label 'producer' is imprecise, some names will return in the present chapter, which is concerned with the staging and performance of operetta. A certain degree of overlap is unavoidable, since decisions about staging by directors and designers carry financial implications.

Producer Directors

George Edwardes combined the skills of artistic director and impresario. Although he appointed Pat Malone (always billed as J. A. E. Malone) stage director at Daly's and, from 1909, asked Edward Royce to direct at times (especially the No. 1 Touring Company), Edwardes remained involved in all aspects of production, and everything took place under his supervision.[1]

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[1] James Jupp, *The Gaiety Stage Door: 30 Years of Reminiscences of the Theatre* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1923), 201.

He was born (without the second 'e' in his family name) in Clee, near Grimsby, the son of a customs officer, and first became interested in theatre while looking after a touring company organized by a cousin.[2] His first London job was as acting manager for D'Oyly Carte at the Opera Comique in 1875. In the 1890s he was credited with the invention of musical comedy, which mixed styles from both operetta and music hall and had romantic, often contemporary, plots.[3] He experimented first at the Prince of Wales Theatre, before trying out this new type of show at the Gaiety. He enjoyed a breakthrough success there during 1894–96 with Ivan Caryll's musical comedy *The Shop Girl*.[4] By the time the new Gaiety opened in 1903, Edwardes's reputation as an entrepreneur and producer was without equal.

In 1894, he took over management of Daly's Theatre, and turned it into a major West End attraction. Long runs were a sign of his accomplishment: between 1898 and 1913 there were only eleven productions at Daly's. Yet, though Edwardes was regarded as having a keen aptitude for spotting a hit show, he was not infallible. Far from foreseeing the success of *The Merry Widow*, he 'had little faith in its drawing power', and, indeed, presented it only as 'a stopgap'.[5] A hitch in negotiations had prevented him from producing Fall's *The Dollar Princess* instead. An indication that Edwardes thought it risky was that he anticipated no more than a six-week run, and asked inventive scene designer Joseph Harker to adapt a set for Act 2 that had been used in the previous Daly's production, Hugo Felix's *The Merveilleuses*.[6] Expecting a short run, Edwardes had commissioned a piece from Leslie Stuart (*Havana*) to follow, and had to stage it at the Gaiety instead.[7] Edwardes knew Lehár's operetta had faced a mixed reception in Vienna (part enthusiastic, part critical), but it seemed as if a change in public taste was in the air. He had responded to a previous change in public taste in the 1890s by developing musical comedy. In the first decade of the twentieth century, he was again correct in sensing the winds of change. The success of *The Merry Widow* in London was hailed by MacQueen-Pope as inaugurating 'a new era in musical plays'.[8]

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[2] Ursula Bloom, *Curtain Call for the Guv'nor: A Biography of George Edwardes* (London: Hutchinson, 1954), 27, 38–43.

[3] John Hollingshead, *'Good Old Gaiety': An Historiette and Remembrance* (London: The Gaiety Theatre Company, 1903), 72.

[4] Book and lyrics by H. J. W. Dam, with additional music by Lionel Monckton, and additional lyrics by Adrian Ross.

[5] George Graves, *Gaieties and Gravities: The Autobiography of a Comedian* (London: Hutchinson, 1931), 88; and W. MacQueen-Pope and D. L. Murray, *Fortune's Favourite: The Life and Times of Franz Lehár* (London: Hutchinson, 1953), 61.

[6] W. H. Berry, *Forty Years in the Limelight* (London: Hutchinson, 1939), 142.

[7] Ibid., 146; Alan Hyman, *Sullivan and His Satellites: A Survey of English Operettas 1860–1914* (London Chappell and Elm Tree Books, 1978), 176. Edwardes still suffered doubts about *The Merry Widow* at the final rehearsal; see W. H. Berry, *Forty Years in the Limelight* (London: Hutchinson, 1939), 111.

Edwardes took risks with his productions, as he did in his gambling at the racetrack. André Messager's *Véronique* had been very successful in the West End in 1904, and it encouraged him to invest more money in the production of foreign operetta by bringing the same composer's *The Little Michus* (*Les P'tites Michu*) to Daly's the following year. He began travelling to continental Europe regularly, on the lookout for something new and exciting. He took interest in the stage works of Jean Gilbert produced in Berlin during 1910–11, while that composer was in residence at the Adolph-Ernst-Theater.[9] In 1914, Edwardes had the misfortune of being in Germany when war broke out and found himself interned for a month. It damaged his already ailing health and he died on 4 October 1915, a few days before his sixtieth birthday. Although this occurred during the First World War, Lehár managed to send a wreath to his funeral. Edwardes was remarkable for being strong willed and astute in his judgement, but his attitude was not that of the autocrat. He would, in the end, stand by his own individual opinion, but 'was eager to elicit criticism from all and sundry', including general theatre staff.[10] He was widely admired for his skills in both managing and producing.

> Speed was the mark of his genius. . . . In one short day he would listen to the music and lyrics of a new number and suggest changes; improve the colour scheme of a famous designer's sketches for costumes; suggest telling details in a scenic artist's model for a big new scene; hear part of a new play; interview personally dozens of artists for present or future engagements; and, finally, discuss with his staff important work that would take months to complete and cost thousands of pounds.[11]

Robert Courtneidge, a contemporary of Edwardes, was another producer director in London, and he exercised additional skill as an actor manager. He was born in Glasgow, but his father's death a month later made it necessary to move with his mother and sister to Edinburgh, where his mother had found employment in a factory. She earned three shillings and sixpence a week, and the family were so poor they slept on straw.[12] Courtneidge's first job, at 13, was as messenger boy for a stationer's, and it was there that he met Frank Laubach, who was from a German family of musicians. Courtneidge was soon borrowing books from a circulating library kept by Frank's sisters.[13] Frank was engaged to play in the orchestra of the newly rebuilt Theatre Royal, and this was how Courtneidge became familiar with the pleasures of theatrical entertainment.[14] Courtneidge was determined to become an actor. He moved to Manchester and got a job as 'super' (caretaker) at the Prince's Theatre.[15] He then began to act in minor roles at various theatres, public halls, and even public houses. He continued as an actor for twenty years. At the close of the nineteenth century and into the twentieth, Courtneidge gained experience of production and management at Manchester's Prince's Theatre. It was there he made the acquaintance of George Edwardes, who attended its annual pantomimes. Edwardes offered him the opportunity of producing Ivan Caryll's comic opera *The Duchess of Dantzic* at the Lyric, London, in 1903. Courtneidge then leased the Shaftesbury and spent £12,000 reconstructing the auditorium.[16] He went on to produce and direct Fall's *Princess Caprice* (*Der liebe Augustin*) and Gilbert's *Cinema Star* there.

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[8] MacQueen-Pope and Murray, *Fortune's Favourite*, 115.

[9] Marion Linhardt, 'Local Contexts and Genre Construction in Early Continental Musical Theatre', in Len Platt, Tobias Becker, and David Linton, eds., *Popular Musical Theatre in Germany and Britain, 1890–1939* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 44–61, at 53.

[10] Graves, *Gaieties and Gravities*, 111.

[11] D. Forbes-Winslow, *Daly's: The Biography of a Theatre* (London: W. H. Allen, 1944), 50–51.

Stage Directors

A stage director may appear in the programme as 'stage manager' or 'stage producer', sometimes as 'producer', and sometimes following the phrase 'staged by'. To add to the complication, a producer might share in some of the direction. J. J. Shubert, for example, was credited with supervising *The Lady in Ermine* (1922), while Charles Sinclair directed, and with being supervisor of *Katja* (1926), which Jesse C. Huffman directed. Jacob Shubert, always known as J. J., enjoyed stage directing and was sometimes named as sole director, as he was for Kálmán's *Her Soldier Boy* (1916), Straus's *Naughty Riquette* (1926), Kálmán's *Countess Maritza* (1926) and Kollo's *Three Little Girls* (1930). He also shared credits as a co-director, as he did with J. Harry Benrimo for *The Girl from Brazil* (Winterberg's *Die schöne Schwedin*) in 1915, J. C. Huffman for *My Lady's Glove* (Straus's *Die schöne Unbekannte*) in 1917, and, after the war, with Fred G. Latham for

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[12] Robert Courtneidge, *'I Was an Actor Once'* (London: Hutchinson, 1930), 15. Three shillings and sixpence would be the equivalent of around £20 in 2015.

[13] Ibid., 23. [14] Ibid., 25. [15] Ibid., 28. [16] Courtneidge, *'I Was an Actor Once'*, 207.

Künneke's operettas *Caroline* (*Der Vetter aus Dingsda*) in 1923, and *The Love Song* in 1925. Huffman and Benrimo were both experienced operetta directors. Huffman directed the Broadway premiere of Fall's *Lieber Augustin* at the Casino in 1913, and he and Benrimo shared the direction of Oskar Nedbal's *The Peasant Girl* (*Polenblut*) at 44th Street Theatre in 1916 before Benrimo went on to conduct Lehár's *Alone at Last* that same year at the Shubert Theatre.

There were others who directed operetta frequently, but whose reputations have faded. One such is George Marion, who directed Broadway productions of *The Merry Widow*, *The Gay Hussars* (Kálmán's *Ein Herbstmanöver*), *The Love Cure* (Eysler's *Künstlerblut*), *The Spring Maid* (Reinhardt's *Die Sprudelfee*), *Gypsy Love*, *Modest Suzanne*, *The Rose Maid* (Granichstaedten's *Bub oder Mädel?*), *The Woman Haters* (Eysler's *Die Frauenfresser*), *The Purple Road* (Reinhardt's *Napoleon und die Frauen*), *Sári* (Kálmán's *Der Zigeunerprimás*), and *Maids of Athens* (Lehár's *Das Fürstenkind*). Marion's prestige dwindled, perhaps, as a consequence of his bestowing on his son the same given name as himself. When George Marion, Jr achieved fame as a Hollywood screenwriter, he eclipsed his father's achievements.

Some prominent directors of operetta in London have already been mentioned, such as J. A. E. Malone. Philip Michael Faraday, like J. J. Shubert, mixed producing and directing. He directed *The Girl in the Taxi*, *Nightbirds*, *Love and Laughter*, *The Laughing Husband*, and *Mam'selle Tralala* at the Lyric, 1912–14. After the war, Fred J. Blackman and Felix Edwardes directed several well-received operettas. At the Theatre Royal, Drury Lane, William Abingdon directed *The Land of Smiles* and *Wild Violets* in 1932, and *Ball at the Savoy* the year after. The producer of the latter was none other than Oscar Hammerstein II, who had also written the book and lyrics of the English version. It is another indication of links between the West End and Broadway, even if this particular operetta was not given in New York.

Musical Directors

The careers of directors working in both London and New York exemplify the cultural exchange taking place. Stanislav Stange directed both the Broadway and West End productions of *The Chocolate Soldier* (for which he had written the English book and lyrics), and J. Harry Benrimo conducted *Soldier Boy!* in London. Musical directors, too, would sometimes appear in both cities. Frank Tours, who worked for six years at Daly's, the Gaiety, and the Prince of Wales Theatre, moved to New York in 1912 to conduct at the New Amsterdam and the Casino; he then returned to the UK in 1920, but went back in 1934 to conduct *The Great Waltz* at the Center Theatre. Harold Vicars, who conducted half a dozen operettas on Broadway, was musical director for *The Dollar Princess* at Daly's in London, where Merlin Morgan was the regular conductor for many years.

Those responsible for the musical direction and conducting of English versions of continental European operetta in London and New York were often involved in more than coaching singers and conducting. They were expected to make arrangements of the music when necessary and were often asked to compose songs for interpolation into the operetta, perhaps to showcase the talent of a certain member of the cast. In addition, a publisher might ask a musical director to make medley of tunes from the operetta that could be sold as sheet music. Not least of the demands on a conductor were those made by record companies, who were keen to release discs of successful shows. That might entail rehearsing with one or more new singers, if members of the cast were not available for the recording dates.

Some conductors went on to build substantial reputations. Max Steiner, who was to achieve fame as a film composer, was invited to London by Edwardes to conduct a performance of *The Merry Widow* in 1909. Steiner's paternal grandfather had been the manager of the Theater an der Wien in the later nineteenth century, and Steiner gained professional experience of the theatre from the age of 15. In London, Steiner soon found himself employed as musical director for all Edward Moss's theatres, which included the Adelphi and the Hippodrome.[17] When war broke out, he was interned as an enemy alien, but the Duke of Westminster obtained exit papers allowing him to travel to New York in December 1914. In the USA, he was to be found on Broadway in 1921 conducting Walter Kollo's operetta *Drei alte Schachteln*, given as *Phoebe of Quality Street*.

There were many other musical directors who left less of a historical trace and, in certain cases, time seems to have drawn a thick veil over their life in the theatre. Little is known of Gustave Salzer, who conducted many operettas on Broadway, or of Oscar Radin, a frequent musical director for the Shuberts. Gaetano Merola, who founded San Francisco Opera in 1923, has received little recognition for his previous work as a Broadway operetta conductor. Musical directors tend to fall between the cracks in dictionaries and encyclopedias of the stage. Consider the case of Jacques Heuval, who conducted many important shows at the Lyric Theatre on Shaftesbury Avenue. Between 1910 and 1930 he conducted the West End premieres of operettas by Straus (1910 and 1913), Gilbert (1912 and 1914), Eysler (1913), and *Nightbirds* (1911), an adaptation of Johann Strauss's *Die Fledermaus* (see Appendix 1). After the war, he conducted Kálmán's *A Little Dutch Girl* (*Das Hollandweibchen*) in 1920, Eduard Künneke's *Love's Awakening* (*Wenn Liebe erwacht*) at the Empire Theatre in 1922, Franz Lehár's *The Three Graces* (*Der Libellentanz*) at the Empire in 1924, and the same composer's *Frederica* (*Friederike*) at the Palace Theatre in 1930. Yet, in spite of all this activity, sources of information about his life and character are scarce.

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[17] Peter Wegele, *Max Steiner: Composing, Casablanca, and the Golden Age of Film Music* (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2014), 56.

Musical directors can be a source of insights not found elsewhere, and, because Broadway was less consistent in using particular musical directors for operetta from the German stage, I am choosing two British figures. The first is Ernest Irving, whose first extended employment was as musical director of Charles Cuvillier's *The Lilac Domino* at the Empire Theatre in 1918. This was actually an operetta taken from the German stage, because Cuvillier, though French, had composed it to a German libretto for Leipzig in 1912. By 1930, Irving's status was such that he was engaged as musical director for Franz Lehár's *The Land of Smiles* at Drury Lane in 1931, starring the internationally renowned Richard Tauber.

Irving was engaged for Stanley Scott's production of *The Dubarry* in 1932. The star was Anny Ahlers, who had previously performed in Berlin in Künneke's *Lady Hamilton* and Benatzky's *Casanova*. Irving wrote in his autobiography, 'I have never seen anybody quite like Anny. Her personality was unique and overwhelming'.[18] He was determined to do his best for her, in spite of the troubles that beset her.

Irving explained how he coached Ahlers in the singing of the song 'I Give My Heart', which was actually Mackeben's own composition and not in the original Millöcker operetta.

> She had a loud raucous singing voice, but we kept that a secret while she learned to speak the English dialogue. The day came when a decision had to be made, and at the first rehearsal with the orchestra I said to Anny, 'Don't sing, act the scene, speak the words, sing a note or two here and there but no top ones, and leave the rest to

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[18] Ernest Irving, *Cue for music* (London: Dennis Dobson, 1959), 124. Irving died in 1953 before completing a last chapter to his autobiography, which was published posthumously.

us'. I then trained the musicians in twenty different variations of 'I Give My Heart', so that artist and orchestra became united in emotional expression.

On the recording made of this song in 1932, it is evident that, despite the coaching, Irving is sometimes anticipating and sometimes following her performance, rather than directing it.[19] In the second verse, he is gauging her flexible approach to tempo and, at the end of the refrain, he is trying to assess exactly when she will begin each of the final two phrases that follow on from notes on which she pauses. Each time, he is just a little late bringing in the orchestra.

Musical directors developed a practical experience that gave them an awareness of what did and did not work on stage. In a letter to Ralph Vaughan Williams, Irving offers his opinion in verse on the use of an off-stage singing voice while dialogue is in progress. Here is an excerpt, addressed to an imaginary stage director or composer:

I very much regret to state
Your scheme for treating number 8
Has pulled us up with quite a jerk
Because we fear it will not work.

Miss Mabel Ritchie's off-stage tune,
Besides annoying Miss Lejeune,
Would cover, blur, confuse and fog
Our most expansive dialogue.[20]

Humorous it may be, but the advice is that of the seasoned hand who knows what mixture of sounds fails to work in the theatre.

Long runs were welcome relief from the insecurity of the theatre world and, similarly, an operetta that was produced regularly could offer job security for performers who excelled in a particular role. In Germany, Artur Preuss played Schubert in Heinrich Berté's *Das Dreimäderlhaus* over a period of ten years. In the UK, Frederick Blamey, who played the same role in George Clutsam's adaption of Berté's operetta as *Lilac Time* when it was revived in 1925, went on the play Schubert in some 1800 performances by 1930. Irving makes us aware, however, that a successful show such as *Lilac Time*, which ran initially for two years at the Lyric, can have its downside for a musical director.

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[19] Anny Ahlers, with Her Majesty's Theatre Orchestra, 'I Give My Heart', *The Dubarry* (English book by Desmond Carter and Rowland Leigh, lyrics by Leigh; music by Carl Millöcker, arranged by Mackeben and Grun; this particular song was composed by Mackeben). Parlophone R 1205, Matrix no. WE 4550–2 (1932).

[20] Quoted in a tribute by Ralph Vaughan Williams in *Music and Letters*, 35 (1 Jan. 1954), 17–18, and reproduced by Derek Hudson, 'Prologue', in Irving, *Cue for music*, 11.

> Such a long engagement is a soul-destroying affair, even with a little Schubert thrown in, but if the conductor is to have security of tenure, he cannot expect excitement as well.[21]

Nevertheless, Irving conducted the revival of *Lilac Time* at the same theatre in 1925, and, in 1933, when Richard Tauber visited the UK to present his own version of *Das Dreimäderlhaus* at the Aldwych with a Viennese opera company, Irving accepted the role of musical director. He then began to work more and more in film music and was appointed musical director of Ealing Studios in 1935. Although he composed for films himself, he championed many British composers, such as John Ireland, Alan Rawsthorne and Ralph Vaughan Williams. When the latter turned his film score for *Scott of the Antartic* into *Sinfonia Antartica* he dedicated it to Irving.

Another well-known musical director was Arthur Henry Wood, who acquired early professional experience playing violin and conducting in such diverse places as Harrogate, Bournemouth, and Llandudno. His first experience of conducting continental European operetta in London was André Messager's *Véronique* at the Apollo in 1904. His outstanding ability ensured that he was employed at the most prestigious of London theatres, most significantly, the Gaiety (1917–21), Daly's (1922–26), and His Majesty's (1928–29). Wood presided over West End premieres of operettas by Fall, Gilbert, Stolz, Straus, Lehár, and Benatzky. He also conducted the revival of *The Merry Widow* at Daly's Theatre in 1922, a triumph despite the absence of its adored former star, Lily Elsie. In the 1930s, Wood was often on tour outside London.

Like Irving, he is a source of information regarding unexpected situations in which a musical director becomes embroiled. Forbes-Winslow relates a story told to him by Wood regarding a calamity that befell Straus's *Cleopatra* (*Die Perlen der Cleopatra*) during its try-out at the Opera House, Manchester, on 11 May 1925.[22]

> On the morning of the first performance, while I was having a last band rehearsal, a water main burst in the street outside. We looked up to find rivers flowing down the gangways, and since water finds its own level, these emptied into the orchestral

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[21] Irving, *Cue for music*, 96.

[22] It was an adaptation by John Hastings Turner, with lyrics by Harry Graham, of *Die Perlen der Cleopatra* (1923).

> pit. By the time the orchestra had saved their instruments and scrambled out, the water was four feet deep. With the aid of the Fire brigade it was pumped out – or most of it. But the theatre was permeated through and through with the odour of damp and dusty plush. Everything was damp, the orchestra pit especially. In order to make it habitable at all, we had to put planks down, and the musicians kept their feet on these, while three inches of water swirled round their chair-legs. The elite of Manchester, drawn to a fashionable first night, got something of a shock that evening. They arrived to find the floor of the stalls deep in sawdust. As for me, I conducted the performance clothed in evening dress and gum boots.[23]

Thanks to Edison Bell cylinder recordings made in 1922, we can hear the Daly's Theatre Orchestra, conducted by Wood in a selection from *The Merry Widow*.[24] On recordings issued by Columbia in the 1920s, the Gaiety orchestra conducted by Wood, performs music from Gilbert's *Katja, the Dancer* – although he was not the musical director for this operetta at the Gaiety.[25]

As with many other musical directors, Wood was not merely a conductor, but also contributed to performances as an arranger. Arranging was necessary if structural changes had been made in the English version of a German operetta, or if the theatre orchestra differed in size from that called for in the composer's original score. Wood was co-arranger with Constant Lambert of Kálmán's *A Kiss in Spring* (*Das Veilchen von Montmartre*) at the Alhambra in 1932. He also composed additional music, and contributed interpolated numbers to Gilbert's *The Cinema Star* at the Shaftesbury 1914, Straus's *Cleopatra* at Daly's in 1925, and Gilbert's *Yvonne* (*Uschi*) at Daly's in 1926. Despite all this activity, Wood has been almost forgotten today – although millions of British radio listeners are familiar with one of his compositions that serves as the theme tune of the long-running BBC radio series *The Archers*.[26]

There was little social mingling between orchestral musicians and actors, but, as musical directors, Irving and Wood were closely involved with members of the cast – for instance, working with singers to shape their interpretations of songs. Robert Courtneidge remarked that the 'erudite Ernest Irving' and the 'genial Arthur Wood' were welcomed in dressing rooms, theatre clubs, and social gatherings, but not those who played in the orchestra.[27]

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[23] Forbes-Winslow, *Daly's*, 166.

[24] *The Merry Widow*, Daly's Theatre Orchestra under Arthur Wood, Edison Bell Velvet Face 565, X1279 (1922).

[25] He also made records for Columbia of Daly's Theatre Orchestra in *Madame Pompadour*, a work he was musically directing himself.

[26] 'Barwick Green: A Maypole Dance', the fourth movement of *My Native Heath* (1925).

[27] Courtneidge, *'I Was an Actor Once'*, 205–6.

Professional musicians had begun to feel the necessity of organizing in order to have greater negotiating power over work conditions. T. L. Southgate wrote anxiously in 1894 of the associations of musicians being formed in Manchester and London, and their intention to control the work practices of all British musicians.[28] However, not all musicians joined these associations, and they remained weak. The Amalgamated Musicians' Union had been founded in 1893, but when the orchestra of the Grand Theatre, Leeds, walked out in dispute in 1895, the management hired a new orchestra and faced down the threats of boycotts and picketing.[29]

Theatre musicians in New York had also been making demands in the nineteenth century. The American Federation of Musicians replaced the National League of Musicians in 1896, but the status of the theatre musician rarely rose above that of professional skilled worker, whereas singers were regularly viewed as artists, albeit of lesser or greater quality. That did not mean that stage performers were without their own labour struggles. London variety artists went on strike in January and February 1907, demanding a minimum wage and a maximum working week. In New York, there was a five-week actors' strike during August and September 1919, when the Actors' Equity Association demanded reforms, such as payment for a stipulated number of rehearsals, and extra pay for extra performances. The Producing Managers' Association at first refused to negotiate, but public sympathy was largely with the actors, and a compromise was reached.[30]

Dance Directors

The Merry Widow included a memorable waltz routine, which encouraged dance directors to find ways of capturing the audience's attention. Act 2 of the production of Lehár's *The Count of Luxembourg* at Daly's contained an inspired sequence, devised by Edward Royce and choreographed by Jan Oy-Ray, in which Lily Elsie as Angèle and Bertram Wallis as René waltzed up a grand staircase on one side of the stage, continued along a balcony at the top, and descended a staircase on the opposite side. The effect was sensational and was imitated in the Broadway version.[31] Of course, waltzing on a staircase posed difficulties: Wallis tripped and fell one evening in 1912, but he was unhurt, so Daisy Irving who had taken over the role of Angèle at that time, gamely chose to join him in his fall, much to the audience's amusement.[32] Ironically, the person most likely to have fallen was Elsie, who, in the early performances of this operetta, was taking morphine to counteract the pain of an operation for appendicitis.[33]

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[28] T. L. Southgate, 'The First Step in Musical Trades-Unionism', *Musical News*, 6 (1894), 57. See George Kennaway, 'Opera Orchestral Contracts Considered as a Research Resource', in Anastasia Belina-Johnson and Derek B. Scott, eds., *The Business of Opera* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2015), 119–32, at 124.

[29] See Kennaway, 'Opera Orchestral Contracts', 124–25.

[30] Burns Mantle, ed., *The Best Plays of 1919–1920* (Boston: Small, Maynard, 1920), 1–3.

The task of an operetta dance director could differ markedly from that of an opera choreographer, as, for example, when Fred Farren had to arrange a variety of comic dance moves for the male sextet 'Women!' in *The Merry Widow* at Daly's. It was a number that, in the words of cast member Bill Berry, 'brought all the nuts of that "Marsovian" village together on the stage at one time'.[34] Dance is vital to operetta, and singers are expected to be able to dance (Richard Tauber was a rare exception).[35] Choreographers, therefore, were sorely needed – hence the importance of Louis Grundlach in Vienna and Berlin, and Julian Mitchell, Jack Mason, and Albertina Rasch in New York. Some dance arrangers worked on both sides of the Atlantic, such as Max Rivers, who was responsible for the choreography of *White Horse Inn* at both the Coliseum and the Center Theatre, Broadway. The innovative ballet choreographer Frederick Ashton devised the dances for Benatzky's *The Flying Trapeze* (*Zirkus aimé*), produced at London's Alhambra Theatre in 1935.

Designers

Designers involved in operetta fall into two categories: those concerned with sets and those who focus on costume. Costume designers received some attention in Chapter 3, and they included figures such as Comelli, Lucile, Ernst Stein, Cora MacGeachy, and Homer B. Conant. Another notable figure was Wilhelm [William John Charles Pitcher], who had designed costumes for Gilbert and Sullivan productions before he created the costumes for *The Girl in the Train* at the Vaudeville and *Madame Pompadour* at Daly's. Prior to his becoming a celebrated director, Vincente Minelli had worked in costume and set design, and was responsible for the costumes in the New York production of *The DuBarry* at the George M. Cohan Theatre, in 1932. There were others who worked hard and long but whose names are less known: Mrs Field, wardrobe mistress at Daly's, made the costumes for many of those in *The Merry Widow*. After twenty-five years of service to that theatre, she became wardrobe mistress at Drury Lane.

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[31] 'Mr Bertram Wallis and Miss Lily Elsie waltz together up a staircase . . . a feat that was successfully accomplished twice . . . the audience roared for more'. 'The Count of Luxembourg', *The Times*, 22 May 1911, 10. '[The] Count and his bride, who thus far does not know that she is his bride, [waltz] up and down a long flight of stairs. The thing is very gracefully done and, of course, creates a mild sensation'. 'The Count of Luxembourg', *New York Times*, 17 Sep. 1911, 11. The staircase duet ('Are You Going to Dance?') for Angèle and René was a duet for Juliette and Brissard in the Vienna version ('Mädel klein, Mädel fein').

[32] Forbes-Winslow, *Daly's*, 98.

[33] Ernest Short, *Sixty Years of Theatre* (London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1951), 148. The *Times* reviewer seems aware that Elsie is physically weak on the opening night and imagines her delight at having had a 'triumph – or escape' with the successful performance of the staircase waltz. 'The King and Queen at Daly's Theatre', *The Times*, 22 May 1911, 10.

[34] Berry, *Forty Years in the Limelight*, 152.

[35] Carl Dahlhaus notes that the importance allotted to dance music stems from the Viennese operetta tradition. 'Zur musikalischen Dramaturgie der "lustigen Witwe"', *Österreichische Musikzeitschrift*, 12:40 (1985), 657–64, at 657.

In preparation for the opening night, the importance of stage scenery for creating an impact on the theatre audience should not be neglected. Among West End set designers, few attained the prestige of Joseph Harker. Forbes-Winslow calls him 'the greatest scene painter of his generation'.[36] He was from Manchester, and his mother, a well-known actress, Maria O'Connor, had instilled in him a love of the stage. Before enhancing the visual impact of productions at Daly's, he had worked for D'Oyly Carte creating memorable sets for the Savoy operas.[37]

One of the most admired scene designers on Broadway was Joe Urban, an Austrian who had emigrated to the USA in 1912 and worked frequently for Florenz Ziegfeld.[38] P. G. Wodehouse and Guy Bolton, who provided the book and lyrics for Kálmán's *Miss Springtime* (*Der Faschingsfee*) at the New Amsterdam in 1916, praised his work on that production and claimed Urban was 'making history with his stage-settings and even more with his revolutionary stage lighting'.[39] The next year, his scenery for *The Riviera Girl* (*Die Csárdásfürstin*) was acclaimed in the *New York Times* for its 'monumental stateliness and rich simplicity in color'.[40] The scene designer the Shuberts gave most consistent employment to in the 1920s and 1930s was Watson Barratt, although they hired others.

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[36] Forbes-Winslow, *Daly's*, 94.

[37] Raymond Walker and David Skelly, *Backdrop to a Legend: D'Oyly Carte Scenic Design over 100 Years* (Silsoe, Bedfordshire: published by the authors, 2018), 80–84, 124, 136, 141, and 241.

[38] Amy Henderson and Dwight Blocker Bowers, *Red, Hot & Blue: A Smithsonian Salute to the American Musical* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1996), 44–48.

[39] P. G. Wodehouse and Guy Bolton, *Bring on the Girls: The Improbable Story of Our Life in Musical Comedy, with Pictures To Prove It* (London: Herbert Jenkins, 1954), 50.

[40] '"The Riviera Girl" Charms Musically', *New York Times*, 25 Sep. 1917, 9.

The Background and Training of Singers

The closing decades of the nineteenth century witnessed an increasing number of actors coming from higher social strata.[41] This was undoubtedly part and parcel of what Michael Booth has described as 'the slow but sure upper-middle-class takeover' of the theatre, and its consequent growing respectability.[42] There was also a striking growth in the number of women entering the theatrical profession. The English census of 1851 recorded 1398 male and 643 female actors but, in the census of 1891, women outnumbered men by 3696 to 3625.[43] In the theatre, it was possible for women to earn more than men and for wives to earn more than husbands. Seymour Hicks, as a leading comic actor, accepted a three-year contract at the Gaiety in 1894 that gave him weekly earnings of £15 rising to £25 over that period, but his wife, Ellaline Terriss, as 'leading lady' was offered a similar contract for £25 rising to £35.[44]

A promising lead singer would be engaged at Daly's at £10 a week, rising by £5 each year of a three-year contract.[45] Audition days were held once a week, and could attract two hundred hopefuls from the UK and continental Europe each time. In the first decade of the twentieth century, salaries for theatre performers were higher in London than in Vienna or Berlin.[46] Some of those auditioning were seeking a place in the chorus, which had now become professionalized.[47] The chorus was a good training ground for learning stage craft – for example, how to move and gesture. Many ex-chorus girls became stars in their own right at Daly's: Mabel

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[41] Michael Sanderson, *From Irving to Olivier: A Social History of the Acting Profession in England, 1880–1983* (London: Athlone, 1984), 12–23, 331, and Appendix 1. Tobias Becker provides a comparative study of the social background and training of professional performers in Berlin and London in *Inszenierte Moderne: Populäres Theater in Berlin und London, 1880–1930* (Munich: Oldenburg Wissenschaftsverlag, 2014), 238–64.

[42] Michael Booth, 'The Metropolis on Stage', in H. J. Dyos and Michael Woolf, eds., *The Victorian City: Images and Realities*, vol. 1 (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1976), 211–24, at 224.

[43] Christophe Charle, *Théâtres en capitales: Naissance de la société du spectacle à Paris, Berlin, Londres et Vienne* (Paris: Editions Albin Michel, 2008), 107.

[44] Figures from Seymour Hicks, *Seymour Hicks: Twenty-Four Years of an Actor's Life* (London: Alston Rivers, 1910), 176.

[45] Forbes-Winslow, *Daly's*, 40.

[46] See Charle, *Théâtres en capitales*, 134, Table 6B. In the 1900s in London, a leading actor could earn £40 to £60 a week (women often earning more than men), and those playing small parts could expect 25 shillings or more a week, a sum exceeding the average weekly wage of 23–24 shillings for a man in this decade. Sanderson, *From Irving to Olivier*, 80.

[47] Forbes-Winslow, *Daly's*, 40–41. Salaries of chorus members (male and female) were typically £3 a week in 1918; see Gordon Williams, *British Theatre in the Great War: A Re-evaluation* (London: Continuum, 2003), 26–27.

Russell, Mabel Green, Gladys Cooper, Winifred Barnes, Maidie Andrews, Madeleine Seymour, Phyllis le Grand, Daisy Irving, Effie Mann, and Isobel Elsom. Evelyn Laye also began her career as a chorus girl, although not at Daly's, and went on to become a highly paid star of operetta in London in the 1920s and 1930s, appearing in *The Merry Widow* (revival 1923); *Madame Pompadour* (1923); *The Dollar Princess* (revival 1925); *Cleopatra* (1925), *Lilac Time* (revivals 1927 and 1928), *Helen!* (Offenbach, arranged by Korngold, 1932); and *Paganini* (1937).

Singers often took their first steps on the stage in pantomime. Derek Oldham, who achieved stardom as Bumerli in the revival of *The Chocolate Soldier* at the Lyric in 1914, had performed as a child in pantomime in the North West. Phyllis Dare also started out in pantomime.[48] In her teens, she studied music, singing, and dancing, while also performing in theatre. Robert Courtneidge regarded Dare with immense esteem, remarking, 'I never had an artist under my management who worked more assiduously at rehearsal, gave less trouble, or for whom I have a greater respect'.[49] In 1910, she played the divorce-case co-respondent Gonda van der Loo in *The Girl in the Train*. Ironically, Dare's father was a divorce clerk. Her one and only appearance at Daly's was as Mariana in *The Lady of the Rose* (1922).

Other singers had received operatic training, most notably Maggie Teyte, who had studied with the renowned Polish tenor Jean de Reszke in Paris. Teyte's domain was opera, but she accepted the role of Princess Julia in the West End production of Kálmán's *The Little Dutch Girl*. Constance Drever, born in Madras, India, and educated in Brussels and Paris, also had a trained operatic voice. She enjoyed huge success as Nadina in *The Chocolate Soldier* at the Lyric in 1910. Robert Evett, Daly's leading tenor during 1905–8, honed his vocal technique singing with the D'Oyly Carte Opera Company, and later starred in *The Merry Widow, A Waltz Dream, The Girl in the Train*, and Kálmán's *Autumn Manoeuvres*. Bertram Wallis had studied at the Royal Academy of Music in London, but first made his reputation in musical comedy on Broadway in the first decade of the twentieth century. He was sought out to play romantic leading roles in *The Count of Luxembourg*, *Love and Laughter* (Straus), *Madame Pompadour*, and *A Waltz Dream* (1934 revival). In some cases, professional training can only be assumed, given the roles performed. Wilda Bennett, for instance, sang the leading parts in Broadway productions of *The Riviera*

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[48] Phyllis Dare, *From School to Stage* (written with the assistance of Bernard Parsons) (London: Collier, 1907), 8.

[49] Courtneidge, *'I Was an Actor Once'*, 193.

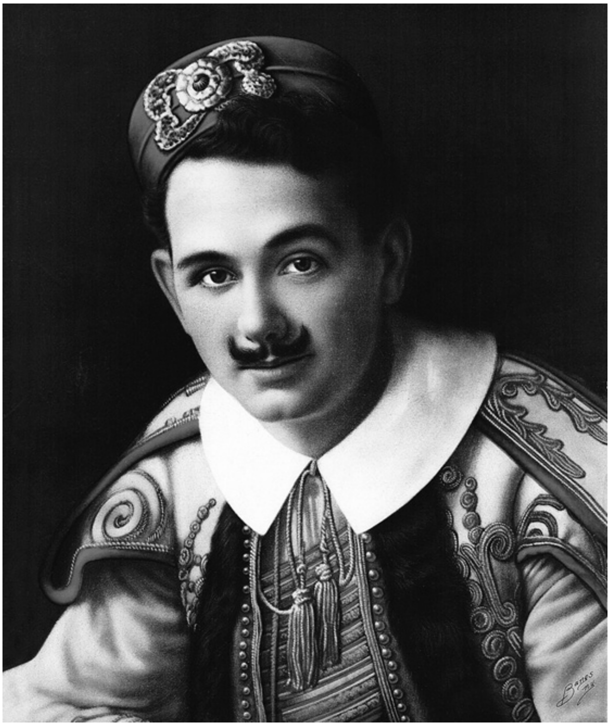

Figure 4.1 Donald Brian (1877–1948) as Danilo, cover of *The Theatre*, vol. 8, no. 84 (Feb. 1908).

Girl (1917), *The Lady in Ermine* (1922), and *Madame Pompadour* (1924), but little is known of her musical education – although her turbulent personal life was well reported.

Tenor Donald Brian became a major star of Broadway versions of German operetta in the first two decades of the twentieth century. He learned to sing in his local church choir in St John's, Newfoundland, where he was born and remained until the age of eighteen.[50] He won acclaim as Danilo in the Broadway premiere of *The Merry Widow* (Figure 4.1). His singing ability meant that, unlike Coyne, he was next able to play the romantic lead Freddy in *The Dollar Princess*. He also took leading parts in *The Siren* (1911), *The Marriage Market* (1913), *Sybil* (1916), and the revival of *The Chocolate Soldier* in 1921. Another prominent male singer was baritone John Charles Thomas, who had studied singing at the

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[50] Charles Foster, *Donald Brian: The King of Broadway* (St John's, NL: Breakwater Books, 2005), 10 and 22.

Peabody Institute, Baltimore. He made a distinguished reputation for himself in the second decade of the century, singing in *Alone at Last* (1911), *Her Soldier Boy* (1916), and *The Star Gazer* (1917). It can be seen in Appendix 1, however, that there was more diversity in performers taking leading roles in Broadway productions of operetta from the German stage than there was in the West End. Howard Marsh, for example, gained his reputation as a star tenor after singing Baron Schober in *Blossom Time* (1921) but appeared in just one more German operetta, *The DuBarry* (1932), and tenor Dennis King's sole appearance in a German operetta was as Goethe in *Frederika* (1937).

The least operatic of singers were the comedians, who played character roles more rooted in music hall, vaudeville, or burlesque, than opera. William Henry Berry was a favourite with West End audiences because of his skill in comedy roles.[51] He was always 'W. H. Berry' in cast lists, but known to acquaintances as Bill. Perhaps the name Bill Berry was thought too similar to bilberry for a theatre programme. He had worked initially for Keith Prowse, ticket agency.[52] After appearing first in *The Merveilleuses* (1906), he spent ten consecutive years at Daly's Theatre. He played Foreign Office messenger Nisch in *The Merry Widow* (1907) and appeared, also, in *A Waltz Dream* (1908, and its revivals in 1911 and 1934), *The Dollar Princess* (1909), *The Count of Luxembourg* (1911), *Gipsy Love* (1912), *The Marriage Market* (1913), and the 1927 and 1928 revivals of *Lilac Time* at Daly's. Leo Fall found Berry hilarious as Bulger in *Dollar Princess* despite the differences between Austrian and British comedians: the latter made more of movement and gesture, and often used comic props – one such being Berry's tennis racket with an overlong handle in Act 2.[53]

George Graves, perhaps the most celebrated comedian of the period, was born in London of Irish parents. He first appeared at Daly's in *The Little Michus* (1905), but his greatest triumph was playing Baron Popoff in *The Merry Widow*. Courtneidge asked him to appear in *Princess Caprice* at the Shaftesbury in 1912 and declared him 'audaciously funny'.[54] He had to pay him £200 a week, a far cry from the wage of £3.10*s* a week Graves had earned when he had hired him for the first time, years earlier.[55] Like other British stars, Graves toured abroad (including the USA, Canada, Russia, and South Africa). Charles B. Cochran praised Graves's 'unexcelled talents as a comedian'.[56] He was known for inserting extra comic material into his roles, but it was not a practice exercise unique to the West End. At the Liberty Theatre, New York, in 1910, Tom McNaughten, a comedian from the UK, found an excuse to interpolate a recitation in Heinrich Reinhardt's *The Spring Maid* that had gone down well in London's music halls.[57]

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[51] Graves, *Gaieties and Gravities*, 95.

[52] Berry, *Forty Years in the Limelight*, 23–25.

[53] Ibid., 155–58.

[54] Courtneidge, *'I Was an Actor Once'*, 218.

[55] Ibid., 218. Graves expresses his delight at this salary in his autobiography *Gaieties and Gravities*, 188.

There is little room to do more than summarize some other comic performers. George Grossmith, Jr was both a comedian and actor-producer. He first made his name in musical comedy, but played a leading role in *The Girl on the Film* (*Filmzauber*) in 1913. G. P. Huntley [George Patrick Huntley], praised by Courtneidge as a 'light comedian unsurpassed in his own particular time',[58] first appeared at Daly's in Viktor Jacobi's *The Marriage Market* (1913). Another celebrated comedian, Huntley Wright, performed at Daly's more than 5000 times before the theatre closed.[59] His appearances included roles in *The Little Michus* (1905), *The Girl in the Train* (1910), *The Count of Luxembourg* (1911), *The Lady of the Rose* (1922), and *Madame Pompadour* (1923).

The International Market for Singers

Pat Malone, stage director of *The Merry Widow*, appears to be the source of journalist Henry Hibbert's assertion that Edwardes had at first booked the original star, Mizzi Günther, for the title role, but, taken aback at her size when she arrived in London, had felt obliged to reject her and pay financial compensation.[60] It was, supposedly, only after attending operetta performances in Vienna with William Boosey, that Edwardes became aware that leading singers in Vienna tended to be larger in physique and some years older than those appearing in London's musical comedies.[61] That said, Mizzi Günther was no more than 26 years of age when she appeared in *Die*

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[56] Foreword to Graves, *Gaieties and Gravities*, xi–xiii, at xi.

[57] Harry B. Smith, *First Nights and First Editions* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1931), 253–54.

[58] Forbes-Winslow, *Daly's*, 141. [59] Ibid., 184.

[60] Henry G. Hibbert, *Fifty Years of a Londoner's Life* (London: Grant Richards, 1916), cited without pagination in Hyman, *The Gaiety Years*, 146. However, I have been unable to locate any reference to Günther in Hibbert's book. In any case, Hibbert is not reliable: on page 228, he attributes the composition of *A Waltz Dream* to Leo Fall (and also begins its title with a definite article instead of the indefinite). It may be the story is apocryphal, but the comedian Bill Berry, who took the role of Nisch in *The Merry Widow*, does seem confirm that Günther was 'in the running' for the part. W. H. Berry, *Forty Years in the Limelight* (London: Hutchinson, 1939), 38.

[61] Fritzi Massary played characters on stage that were younger than her own age; for example, she was in her mid-thirties when she took on the role of Kondja in the Berlin production of *The Rose of Stamboul*. However, that was in 1917.

lustige Witwe, and would have been only 28 had she performed at Daly's in 1907. Ethel Jackson, who played the widow in New York, was 30. The story of Günther's rejection does not square with William Boosey's claim that he persuaded Edwardes to purchase the rights at the last minute on their joint continental trip.[62] Moreover, Boosey's assertion that Edwardes was convinced that the 21-year-old Lily Elsie would be a hit in the title role casts further doubt upon the hiring of Günther.

Nevertheless, many performers from outside the UK appeared in operettas in the West End. Coyne was not the only American to land a role in *The Merry Widow*; it also featured Elizabeth Firth from New Jersey as Natalie, the 'highly respectable wife' of the ambassador. May de Sousa, who played Juliette in *The Count of Luxembourg* was American, too, and prior to her appearance at Daly's had performed at the Moulin Rouge in Paris and the Winter Garden in Berlin.[63] Charles Frohman had been unable to book her for *The Dollar Princess* on Broadway, but the Shuberts obtained her services for *Lieber Augustin* in 1913. Performance opportunities came in both directions across the Atlantic: Ethel Jackson, born in New York, had studied piano at the Vienna Conservatoire, before obtaining her first professional singing engagement in the chorus of *The Yeomen of the Guard* at the Savoy Theatre in 1897. Prior to taking the title role in *The Merry Widow*, she had appeared in operetta on Broadway playing Countess Sedlau in Johann Strauss's posthumous *Vienna Life* (1901). Coincidentally, Ethel Jackson, like Lily Elsie, quit the stage unexpectedly early, although both were to return to the boards from time to time. Elsie surprised Edwardes by declaring her intention to marry and retire from performance after appearing in *The Count of Luxembourg*. Jackson fainted twice while performing in *The Merry Widow* in spring 1908 and suffered additional anxiety from rumours concerning her imminent divorce proceedings. She obtained her divorce in August, and promptly married the solicitor who handled her case in October.[64]

International stars were an important part of the transnational entertainment industry. Danish singer Carl Brisson (real name, Carl Pedersen), who had begun his career as a dancer and revue performer in Stockholm, played Danilo (to Evelyn Laye's Sonia) in the *Merry Widow* revival at Daly's in 1923 and, according to the musical director Arthur Wood, could barely speak English when he was hired.[65] Robert Michaelis, who became a Daly's favourite after playing Freddy Fairfax in *The Dollar Princess*, was born in St Petersburg, educated in London and Paris, and studied singing in Vienna from an Italian (Felice Bottelli). Among other roles, he played the romantic Gipsy lead, Jozsi, in *Gipsy Love*. Playing opposite him in that operetta was Sári Petráss, born in Budapest, and making her London debut. Edwardes said of her,

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[62] William Boosey, *Fifty Years of Music* (London: Ernest Benn, 1931), 167. The story does not tally, either, with the account given in David Slattery-Christy, *The Life and Times of Lily Elsie: Anything but Merry!* (Milton Keynes: Author House, 2011), 106–113.

[63] 'New York To See "Dollar Princess"', *New York Times*, 24 Apr. 1908, 9.

[64] 'Ethel Jackson Faints Again', *New York Times*, 18 Mar. 1908, 1; 'Divorce for Ethel Jackson', *New York Times*, 4 Aug. 1908, 7; 'The Merry Widow Is Again a Bride', *New York Times*, 27 Oct. 1908, 9.

> she is essentially a personality that fascinates you at once. She is not a great singer, but her phrasing is perfect.[66]

Her last London appearance was as Sylva in *The Gipsy Princess* (1921). She drowned at the age of 41, when a car in which she was travelling plunged into the River Scheldt in Antwerp in 1930.

Emmy Wehlen, born in Mannheim, was the substitute merry widow for two weeks in April 1909, while Elsie took a holiday. Wehlan played to great acclaim as Olga in *The Dollar Princess*, and starred in both the West End and Broadway productions of *The Girl on the Film*. Despite the public admiration she garnered, she came under suspicion as a foreigner during the First World War, as did Petráss.[67] That did not prevent the renewed success of German and Hungarian singers in the West End once the memory of war began to fade. For example, Lea Seidl, who had sung the title role in the Viennese performance of *Friederike* in 1929, was warmly received in London playing the same role the following year. *Theatre World* was fulsome in its praise: 'her singing of perhaps the most beautiful song in the score ("Why Did You Kiss My Heart Awake?") is a revelation of the way in which good acting and singing may be combined'.[68] Seidl also sang at the Coliseum in *White Horse Inn*. Hungarian soprano Rosy Barsony played Kathi Mihazy in *Ball at the Savoy*, Drury Lane, 1933, and her husband Oskar Dénes was Mustapha Bei, attaché at the Turkish Embassy. Findon, in *The Play Pictorial* was bowled over by their routines together: 'They are as animated as quicksilver . . . They are here, there, and everywhere, laughing at and with themselves, and sending the audience into fits of hilarity with song and dance.'[69]

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[65] Quoted in Forbes-Winslow, *Daly's*, 159.
[66] Quoted in ibid., 104.
[67] George Grossmith, *'G. G.'* (London: Hutchinson, 1933), 92–93.
[68] N. H., 'Frederica', *Theatre World* (Oct. 1930), 102.
[69] B. W. Findon, *The Play Pictorial*, 63:379 (Mar. 1934), 54.

Two other well-known performers had a French connection. Yvonne Arnaud, who, like Ethel Jackson, originally planned to be a pianist, had studied at the Paris Conservatoire. She made her name in the West End playing Suzanne in *The Girl in the Taxi*, Zara in *Love and Laughter*, Etelka von Basewitz in *The Girl Who Didn't* (*Der lachende Ehemann*), and Noisette in *Mam'selle Tralala*. Parisian Alice Delysia, a star in her home city and New York, sang the title role in *Mother of Pearl* (*Eine Frau, die weiß, was sie will!*) at the Gaiety, a role that A. P. Herbert had reworked as a vehicle for her particular talents.

Operetta and Star Culture

Many singers already mentioned were part of a glamorous star culture (names of star performers and others playing key roles in operetta productions can be found in Appendix 1). One of the biggest names in Berlin was Vienna-born Fritzi Massary [Friederike Massaryk]. As a revue star at the Metropol, she demonstrated her skill at adopting different accents and playing a variety of characters. She gained recognition as an operetta singer after playing Princess Helene in Fall's *Der liebe Augustin* at the Neues Theater, in 1912. Her status as Berlin's leading female operetta star of the 1920s was established following her appearance in Straus's *Die Perlen der Cleopatra* (1923). She was Lutheran by religion, but Jewish by heritage, and left Germany in late 1932. She resided for a while in London, where Noël Coward became a friend. His stage work *Operette* of 1938 contained a role specially written for her. From 1939 on, she lived mainly in Beverly Hills, California.

Richard Tauber was Berlin's leading male star but rarely seen together with Massary. She was famed for roles in operettas by Fall and Straus (taking the lead in premieres of six Straus operettas), while Tauber became Lehár's favourite tenor after playing Jószi in a revival of *Zigeunerliebe* in 1920. His frequent partner in Lehár premieres was Croatian singer Vera Schwarz (*Paganini*, *Der Zarewitsch*, *Das Land des Lächelns*). Tauber married the singer Carlotta Vanconti in 1927, but they divorced the next year. She continued to extract money from him, however, by threatening to write a book about his inability to satisfy her sexually. It ended when she was found guilty of extortion in 1932.[70] Tauber's earnings at that time

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[70] Charles Castle, with Diana Napier Tauber, *This Was Richard Tauber* (London: W. H. Allen, 1971), 86–88.

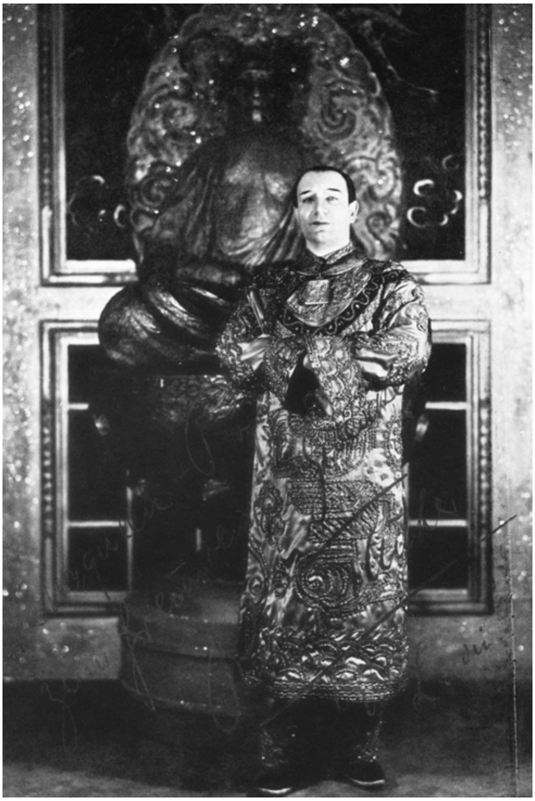

Figure 4.2 Richard Tauber (1891–1948) in Lehár's *The Land of Smiles* (Drury Lane, 1931).

were, indeed, large: the year before Vanconti's conviction, Stanley Scott had engaged him at £1500 a week (worth £96,880 in 2017) for his London debut in *The Land of Smiles* (Figure 4.2).[71] George Grossmith described Tauber as an 'indifferent actor' with 'no pretence of good looks', who radiated a rare stage magnetism.[72] He sang the lyrics mainly in German but spoke dialogue in English. On 8 May, the opening night, at which Lehár was present, Tauber took many curtain calls, then sang 'You Are My Heart's Delight' in English.[73] This was 'Dein ist mein ganzes Herz', specially composed by Lehár to display Tauber's lyrical skill to advantage. The *Times* reviewer was not happy with Tauber mixing German and English in his singing:

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[71] Ibid., 62. *Measuring Worth* gives this figure as an equivalent using changes in the UK's RPI: www.measuringworth.com/calculators/ukcompare.

[72] Grossmith, '*G. G.*', 278.

[73] 'Lehar Operetta in London', *New York Times*, 9 May 1931, 21.

> When for the sake of his audience, he moves from German to English, the delicacy and precision of his singing falter and he relies on methods of attack that are appropriate to artists not of his quality; but when he uses his own language he is a singer of exceptional power and discretion.[74]

According to MacQueen-Pope, Tauber began 'You Are My Heart's Delight' softly, then belted out the repeat of the refrain, at the close of which he was rewarded with a noise resembling the crowd at Wembley Stadium.[75] The success of *The Land of Smiles* was, however, stopped in its tracks: an inflamed throat began to affect Tauber on the second night, and he failed to sing at the third performance. He took a week off, but it was soon clear that he needed to withdraw from the cast.[76] Robert Naylor substituted for him and did well, but the audience wanted Tauber. Bookings dropped off and did not fully recover when Tauber returned, since his appearances could not now be relied on. MacQueen-Pope shows no sympathy for Tauber and claims he 'just did as the whim took him'.[77]

Scott planned to replace Tauber with Alfred Piccaver (a British-American tenor at the Vienna State Opera). Tauber was intensely jealous of him, and persuaded Lehár to tell Piccaver that he should not go to London.[78] Tauber returned but it was too late to rescue the show, and the operetta that promised to be the sensation of the season, thus petered out.[79] Lehár had been unlucky enough to suffer a similar fate on Broadway, when the prospects of *Gypsy Love* were damaged by Marguerite Sylva's loss of voice in the middle of the first act during its premiere.[80] In the end, there were just seventy-two performances of *The Land of Smiles*, 'all because of the temperament, the bad sportsmanship, the complete unreliability of a tenor', railed MacQueen-Pope.[81] Nevertheless, Diana Napier Tauber insists in her biography *This Was Richard Tauber*, published in 1971, that his throat trouble was genuine.[82] The following year, Tauber sang in a three-week revival at the Dominion Theatre, accepting a reduced weekly salary of £900, but doubts about his reliability remained: the *Theatre World* hailed him as 'Herr Tauber of the golden voice and temperamental larynx'.[83]

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[74] 'Drury Lane, "The Land of Smiles"', *The Times*, 9 May 1931, 10.

[75] MacQueen-Pope, *Fortune's Favourite*, 195–97.

[76] 'Herr Tauber and "The Land of Smiles"', *The Times*, 27 May 1931, 10. The *New York Times* reported that he was being paid a weekly salary the equivalent of $5,000. 'Tauber Loses Voice Again', 26 May 1931, 24.

[77] MacQueen-Pope, *Fortune's Favourite*, 200.

[78] Castle, *This Was Richard Tauber*, 93–94.

[79] 'Old Drury's Bad Luck', *Play Pictorial*, 58:351 (Nov. 1931), 2.

[80] Smith, *First Nights and First Editions*, 256. On the opening night, she had to resort to speaking rather than singing her lines, see 'Mme. Sylva Sings To-night', *New York Times*, 25 Oct. 1911, 13.

[81] MacQueen-Pope and Murray, *Fortune's Favourite*, 202.

[82] Castle, *This Was Richard Tauber*, 64.

In September 1933, Tauber was back in the UK with his own version of *Lilac Time* at the Aldwych and began appearing in British films. In 1937, he sang in a production of Lehár's *Paganini* at the Lyceum, managing, according to one reviewer, to solve the 'difficulty of resemblance' between himself and Paganini by 'converting the hero into a portly flirt'.[84] The sets and décor for *Paganini* were by Ernst Stein, whose costumes for *White Horse Inn* had been extensively praised, and who was almost always credited with the title 'professor'. The reception of *Paganini* had been lukewarm in Vienna but was a major success at the Deutsches Künstlertheater, Berlin, in 1926, starring Tauber and Schwarz. The director of the theatre, Heinz Saltenburg, had been convinced *Paganini* would fail, as it had done in Vienna. He told Tauber, 'I'll be happy to get through the first night without scandalizing the audience!'[85] Unfortunately, success eluded *Paganini* when Charles B. Cochran, whose name was a guarantee of quality, brought it to London, for, despite audience enthusiasm, the numbers attending were small. *The Play Pictorial* commented, 'Franz Lehár's operetta contains some of this distinguished composer's finest work, and his flowing melodies are brilliantly sung by Richard Tauber and Evelyn Laye, two superb artists who give of their best'.[86] It contained songs that soon became favourites – 'Girls Were Made To Love and Kiss', 'Love at Last', and 'Love, Live Forever!' – and Tauber took a cut in salary to help keep it going – but it still failed. It was a sign of decreasing appetite for operetta, because, six years earlier, Cochran had made £50,000 profit out of Coward's *Bitter Sweet* at His Majesty's, despite its higher production costs.[87] This declining taste for operetta was occurring on both sides of the Atlantic; *Paganini* was not produced in New York, although the rights had been bought by J. J. Shubert in 1923.[88]

Tauber settled in the UK in 1938 and that year played Tamino in *Die Zauberflöte* at Covent Garden. In 1940, he took on British nationality. His final appearance in a London revival of *The Land of Smiles* was at the Lyric in summer 1942. Tauber's talent was not confined to singing, he had studied composition at the Frankfurt Conservatory, and his operetta *Der*

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[83] D. C. F., 'The Land of Smiles', *Theatre World*, 18:90 (Jul. 1932), 13.

[84] 'Lyceum Theatre', *The Times*, 21 May 1937, 12.

[85] Quoted in Castle, *This Was Richard Tauber*, 46.

[86] Anon., *The Play Pictorial*, 71:420 (Jul. 1937), 5.

[87] Castle, *This Was Richard Tauber*, 99.

[88] 'J. J. Shubert Gets Lehár's Operettas', *New York Times*, 6 Aug. 1923, 14.

singende Traum had been given a warm reception in Vienna in 1934. He composed an English operetta, *Old Chelsea*, in 1943, which included the hit song 'My Heart and I'. Tauber enjoyed conducting, too, and was the musical director for *Gay Rosalinda*, a version of *Die Fledermaus*, which had a lengthy run at the Palace Theatre, 1945–46. It was not until September 1946 that Tauber was engaged to sing at the Shubert Theatre in *Yours Is My Heart*, the Broadway version of *Das Land des Lächelns*.[89]

Lily Elsie, whose performance in the title role of *The Merry Widow* propelled her into West End stardom, was born in Wortley, Leeds, as Elsie Hodder (becoming Elsie Cotton after her mother's marriage). She was always called Elsie, not Lily, by those who knew her. Her step-father William Cotton was a theatre worker, and, when the family moved to Manchester, Elsie showed talent for performance as a child in variety theatres in Manchester and Salford. Her West End début was in Howard Talbot and Ivan Caryll's *A Chinese Honeymoon* (1903).[90] She was then taken up by George Edwardes and appeared in several of his productions, including Felix's *Madame Sherry* (1903) and Messager's *The Little Michus* (1905). In addition to taking the title role in the London premiere of *The Merry Widow*, she also sang in the first Irish performance, at the Gaiety, Dublin, in August 1908, and, in October that year, played the widow at Manchester's Prince's Theatre with Edwardes's No. 1 Touring Company. Her subsequent role was Alice Condor in *The Dollar Princess* (1908), which attracted the attendance of King Manuel of Portugal twice in one week in December 1909.[91] Next, she was Franzi in a Daly's revival of *A Waltz Dream* and, after that, Angèle Didier in *The Count of Luxembourg*. She retired during October 1911, to prepare for her marriage in in November, and was replaced by Daisy Irving. She returned spasmodically to the stage during 1915–17, but then appeared rarely. She performed in *Pamela* (a comedy by Arthur Wimperis, with music by Frederic Norton) in 1917, and took the lead role in Stolz's *The Blue Train* (*Mädi*) at the Prince of Wales Theatre in 1927. Her marriage had ended in divorce in 1922 and, in that decade, the bouts of anxiety and melancholy she had long suffered were becoming more frequent. In later life, she underwent electric shock therapy, and then had a frontal lobotomy, which caused a severe personality change.[92] She died in St Andrew's Hospital, Dollis Hill, of bronchopneumonia on 16 December 1962.

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[89] A production had been planned by the Shuberts in 1930, and again in 1932, when they engaged American tenor Charkes Hackett for the leading role, but both fell through. 'To Give New Lehar Works', *New York Times*, 11 Sep. 1930, 22, and 'Hackett to Sing in "Land of Smiles"', *New York Times*, 27 Oct. 1932, 22.

[90] Book by Charles Dance, lyrics by Harry Greenbank, music by Howard Talbot and Ivan Caryll.

[91] Forbes-Winslow, *Daly's*, 82–83.

Her one-time co-star, Joe Coyne, was born in New York, where he performed at Niblo's Garden at the age of 16. He tried his hand in London in 1901, then returned to New York, but came again to London in 1906. Like Lily Elsie, he lacked confidence in taking on a leading role in *The Merry Widow*. Nonetheless, George Graves recalls sardonically that Coyne believed his voice might someday 'give birth to a demi-semi-quaver or two', and thus, at times, he 'had to be restrained'.[93] In particular, his rendition at rehearsals of the melancholic 'There once were two prince's children' proved disconcerting, until it was recommended that he recite rather than sing the lyrics. The effect was striking, and, according to Graves, the mood he created, affected all who heard him.[94] In the 1923 revival, Carl Brisson continued the practice of reciting those lines, and can be heard doing so still on a recording made for Decca in 1931.[95] Because Coyne lacked vocal technique, he could not play the romantic hero Freddy in the next Daly's production, *The Dollar Princess*, so, instead, took the role of the millionaire Conder (Couder in the German version). Thus, in London, Conder became the brother of dollar princess Alice, rather than her father. In spite of these changes, Fall, who had conducted the rather different Manchester try-out, was informed by his London agent Ernest Mayer that the reviews were glittering.

One of the most prominent British stars was José Collins. Born in Salford, in 1893, she started her career in music hall, where her mother Lottie Collins had achieved fame with the song 'Ta-ra-ra-Boom-de-ay' (words by Richard Morton, music arranged by Angelo A. Asher). Her acting and singing skills motivated the Shuberts to invite her to New York in 1911, and she appeared with Gaby Deslys in Eysler's *Vera Violetta* at the Winter Garden. She achieved stardom at the Casino the next year playing the lead role of Countess Rosalinda Cliquot in *The Merry Countess*, an adaptation of *Die Fledermaus* by Gladys Unger (given as *Nightbirds* in London). She revealed herself capable of singing the notoriously difficult csárdás, and, at barely twenty years of age, was earning the equivalent of £100 a week.[96] She then appeared in Lehár's *Alone at Last* and in the Ziegfeld Follies. She returned to London to perform in Seymour Hicks's *The Happy Day* at Daly's in 1916, but it was the next production there,

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[92] Slattery-Christy, *The Life and Times of Lily Elsie*, 192, 199, 206–7.

[93] Ibid., 89.

[94] Ibid., 90.

[95] Matrix GB 3949, Decca F 2820 (1931).

[96] José Collins, *The Maid of the Mountains: Her Story* (London: Hutchinson, 1932), 85.

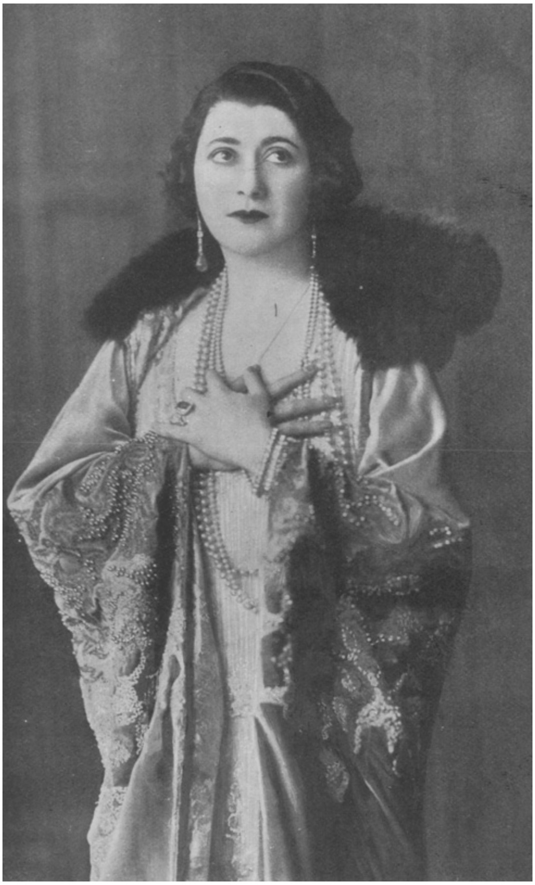

Figure 4.3 José Collins (1887–1958) in Straus's *The Last Waltz* (Gaiety Theatre, 1922).

Fraser-Simson's *The Maid of the Mountains*, that gave her the role with which she was forever associated and which provided her with the title of her autobiography published in 1932. After this remarkable success, Collins continued to play leading roles for six consecutive years at Daly's Theatre. She took her leave after playing the title character in *Sybil*, in 1922, a role for which she had her hair bobbed and set a fashion for this new style among women in town.[97] She then played the leading role of Vera Lisaveta in *The Last Waltz* at the Gaiety in December 1922 (Figure 4.3).

She was a singer of exceptional skill as well as a fine actor. Her mother was of Jewish heritage, her father of Spanish heritage, and she also claimed a Gipsy ancestry. Her ethnic background was undoubtedly the reason she became associated with exotic roles. Some critics regretted that she never played Carmen, although she often played Carmen-type roles – Frasquita being an obvious example. Perhaps the mezzo role of Carmen was not ideally suited to a soprano who was comfortable singing the csárdás from *Die Fledermaus*. She had a nervous breakdown after the failure of Lehár's *Frasquita* in 1925. Evett, its producer, decided to go into retirement after this flop. The following year, she found that her extravagant spending had brought her to bankruptcy. For a while she returned to performing in vaudeville and variety to try to pay off debts, but in 1927 she was left a large sum of money in the will of one of her friends, Frank Curzon.[98] Her singing career did not take off again. She was never drawn to syncopated styles, and was happiest in the Ruritanian realm of stage entertainment. Her career faded simultaneously with the diminution of appetite for operetta from the German stage.

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[97] Ibid., 155–56.

The Trials of Stardom

Many operetta performers in the early twentieth century were celebrities in the wider sense in which we now understand that term. This is not surprising, given that operetta in this period was one of the first examples of a global theatrical entertainment. The personal characters and day-to-day activities of operetta stars became of interest to the public, and the stars themselves could gain or suffer as a consequence of the attention of the communications media. On top of the demands of celebrity came the stress and insecurity of stage performance; as already mentioned, even the apparently self-assured José Collins suffered a nervous breakdown after the failure of *Frasquita*.

The leading stars of the West End *Merry Widow* were two of the first to suffer the stresses of the stage in the modern age of star culture. Edwardes had taken Elsie to Vienna to see Mizzi Günther in *Die lustige Witwe*. She liked the part but was 'terrified' that she would not be able to play it.[99] In fact, nobody thought she was up to its demands except Edwardes.[100] Joe Coyne, too, was made anxious by the vocal requirements of his role. At the time of his engagement as Danilo in 1907 (Figure 4.4), David Slattery-Christy describes him thus:

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[98] Ibid., 263–66.

[99] Graves, *Gaieties and Gravities*, 89.

[100] Forbes-Winslow, *Daly's*, 79.

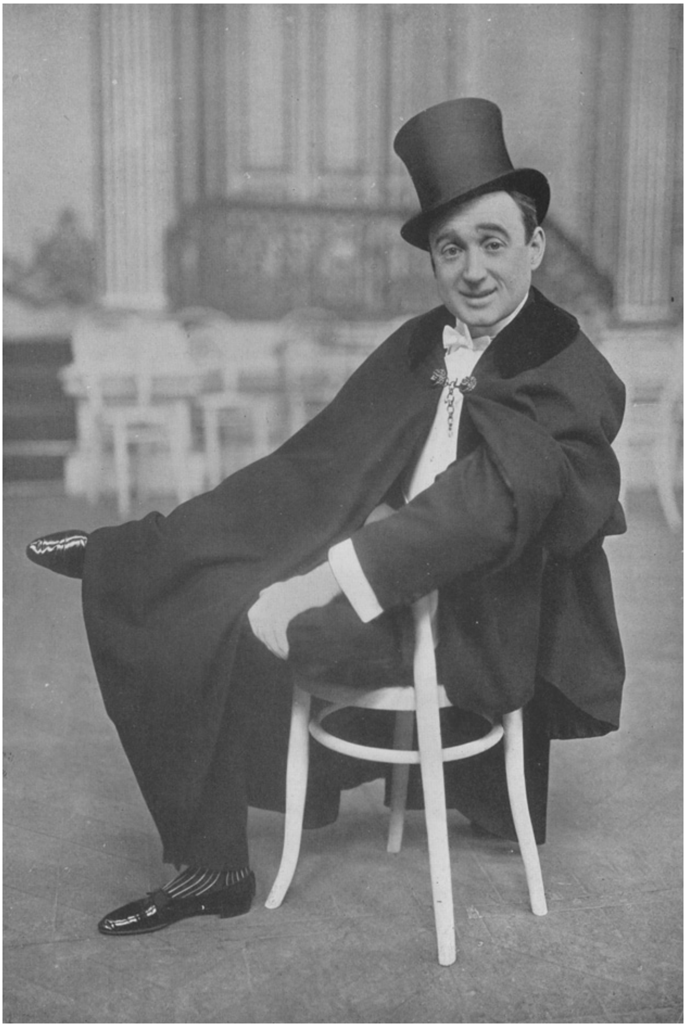

Figure 4.4 Joseph Coyne (1867–1941) as Danilo in Lehár's *The Merry Widow* (Daly's Theatre, 1907).

Coyne was an eccentric and rather dour soul who always saw his glass as half empty. He could often be seen standing on a street corner in Covent Garden having a heated discussion with an unseen companion, or walking along the Strand having similar conversations with unseen friends. On stage he was a master of comedy and his eccentric behavior had yet to become damaging to his personality or career.[101]

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[101] Ibid., 118. Coyne's habit of talking to invisible people is remarked upon by MacQueen-Pope (*Fortune's Favourite*, 86)

He was prone to melancholy moods and dealt with increasing mental health problems after the First World War. Yet, according to George Grossmith, Coyne 'made one of the greatest successes of his long career' when he appeared as Jimmy Smith in *No, No, Nanette* at the Palace Theatre in 1925.[102] He died in England of pneumonia in 1941. It is often said that Coyne could barely sing at all.[103] He may not have been a fine singer, but he was more than capable of putting over a song, and recordings reveal that when he sang he was generally in tune. He was also capable of singing a countermelody, as evidenced on his recording of the duet 'That Dear Old Home of Mine' with Violet Loraine.[104]

Sometimes the pressures of stardom had tragic consequences, as in the case of the 25-year-old German singer Anny Ahlers. She was born in Hamburg and became famous in London as the star of Stanley Scott's production of *The Dubarry*, which opened at His Majesty's Theatre on 28 May 1932. Before that, she had played leading roles in German productions of *Lady Hamilton*, *Madame Pompadour*, *Viktoria und ihr Husar*, and *Die Blume von Hawaii*. The critic James Agate, who was not known for a love of operetta, wrote of her performance, 'such vitality is altogether unknown among our lighter English actresses; her appearance over here will obviously do a world of good'. In unwitting tribute to Irving's coaching, he adds: 'Her singing voice is magnificent.'[105] A review in the *Morning Post* declared that Anny Ahlers possessed enormous fire and flung herself into the part of the courtesan 'without any hypocritical pursuit of those dulcet ditherings which are deemed to make stage-play prostitutes safe, and even sacrosanct, in suburbia'.[106]

Unfortunately, she developed trouble with laryngitis, which meant the theatre had to close for a week in September. Far worse followed: Ahler's life, like that of the real Dubarry, was cut short in a shocking manner. Countess Dubarry did, at least, enjoy fifty years of life before she was guillotined in 1793, but Anny Ahlers was just 25 when she was found with her neck broken, after having apparently jumped out of the window of her London flat on 14 March 1933. One theory was that she was sleep walking and unconsciously re-enacting the balcony scene from *The Dubarry*, since the window of her flat had a large balustrade outside. However, she was known to like a drink or two. A witness said that she had drunk one glass of champagne with her that evening but returned two hours later to find the bottle empty. At the theatre itself, Ahlers was said to regularly imbibe half a bottle of champagne, as well as drinking brandy between the acts. The coroner asked if she took rather a lot of brandy 'for a young woman'.

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[102] Grossmith, *'G. G.'*, 211.

[103] Among others, this opinion is shared by Graves (*Gaieties and Gravities*, 89), MacQueen-Pope (*Fortune's Favourite*, 97), Bloom (*Curtain Call for the Guv'nor*, 213), and Short (*Sixty Years of Theatre*, 146).

[104] HMV 04196, rec. 1917, from the revue *The Bing Girls Are There*, book by George Grossmith and Fred Thompson, lyrics by Clifford Grey, music by Nat D. Ayer.

[105] Both quotations from James Agate, *Immoment Toys: A Survey of Light Entertainment on the London Stafe, 1920–1943* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1945), 93.

[106] Review of *The Dubarry* in the *Morning Post*, reprinted in 'Plays of the Month', *The Play Pictorial*, 60:362 (Oct. 1932), 5.

A doctor's report showed that that her liver had been affected by drugs and drink over a long period of time. The coroner, however, was concerned to make known that Ahlers overindulged only when feeling 'the strain of her part', and insisted: 'She was worrying because she could not sleep properly or perform properly because of her nose, her headaches, and her voice.'[107] A large stash of narcotic drugs was discovered in her flat, some imported from Germany. The jury concluded that she had committed suicide, reaching a majority verdict of 7 to 2. Sylvia Welling took over her role briefly, but Ahlers was much loved and her death so upset the cast that Stanley Scott felt compelled to announce, 'I am withdrawing "The Dubarry" . . . Ever since the death of Anny Ahlers the actors have been playing with tears in their eyes.'[108] Whatever her technical weaknesses, Ahlers was a tremendous success in her role. Irving writes in his autobiography: 'London rose to Anny. In all my sixty years I have never seen such a triumph.'[109] *Theatre World* declared that she had 'taken all London by Storm by her vivacious acting and dramatic singing in the role of the famous courtesan . . . she invests the role with any amount of fire and passion'.[110] Figure 4.5 shows her in erotic attire that suggests the twentieth rather than eighteenth century.

In addition to the anxiety engendered by stage performance, stars had to deal with the risks created by audience adulation. One morning after a rehearsal at the Vaudeville Theatre, Phyllis Dare writes that she was 'almost mobbed by a crowd of several hundred people who had collected outside the stage door'.[111] First, and foremost, however, stars required the stamina to cope with an exacting workload. Dare details her hectic schedule two days before a tour in 1907:

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[107] 'Late Anny Ahlers: Inquest and Funeral', unidentified and undated newspaper cutting in Bristol Theatre Collection, box MM/REF/TH/LO/MAJ/45.

[108] *Daily Herald*, Mar. 1933. Undated newspaper clipping in Bristol Theatre Collection, MM/REF/TH/LO/MAJ/45.

[109] Irving, *Cue for music*, 124.

[110] Anon., 'The Star of "The Dubarry"', *Theatre World*, 18:90 (Jul. 1932), 39.

[111] Dare, *From School to Stage*, 114–15.

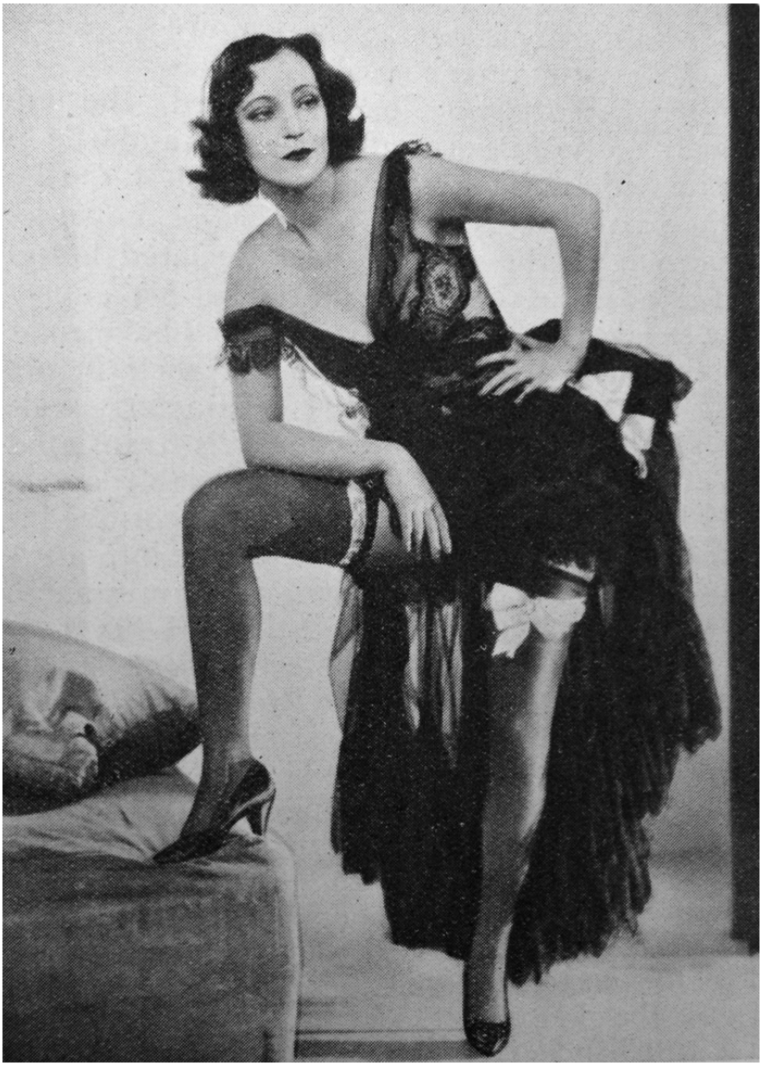

Figure 4.5 Anny Ahlers (1907–33) in *The Dubarry*, 1932.

Three visits to my theatrical dressmaker; two visits to my own dressmaker; measured for theatrical shoes; measured for private footgear; six hours at Messrs. Foulsham & Banfield's, my theatrical photographers; four hours at rehearsals; business connected with my appearance in pantomime at Birmingham at Christmas; two visits to theatrical milliners; visit to a well-known song-writer to try over some new songs he was writing for me; an hour's practice at two new dances; signed over three hundred picture postcards, and replied personally to thirty-four letters.[112]

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[112] Dare, *From School to Stage*, 131–32.

Over twenty years later, the time pressures had not diminished, as may be found in a report on the performers in *White Horse Inn*, which was playing twelve times a week at the London Coliseum (twice a day from Monday to Saturday, theatres being closed on Sunday). They were feeling the strain, and felt that life had become non-stop work. Lea Seidl told a reporter,

> I get up at noon because I am too tired to rise before. By 1.30 I am in the theatre, and I stay there making up or acting or singing until the curtain falls as half-past five. Sometimes I have a meal in the theatre, sometimes I have just time to rush home to a hasty snack, then return. By half-past seven I must be back at the theatre. I do not leave the theatre until a quarter to twelve. It is then time to go to bed again.[113]

An interest in stage gossip grew on the part of the cheaper press in the 1920s. It put added pressure on performing artists, and B. W. Findon rails against the advent of 'sensational journalism' in his editorial to the *Play Pictorial* in December 1922: 'now-a-days, we can see portrayed the progress of a popular actress from her bath to her motor, and the prettiest details of her unprofessional life are chronicled with chronic inaccuracy'.[114] The strain of being a celebrity could land a stage performer in the newspapers for the wrong reasons.

Such strain, no doubt, led to the incidents that occurred during the run of Benatzky's *Casanova* at the Coliseum. The German production of this work was, coincidentally, the operetta that had given Anny Ahlers her early celebrity. Things did not augur well when Greta Natler fainted on stage during the opening night in May 1932. Then, in August that year, Marianne Winkelstern, the prima ballerina in the production, faced manslaughter charges. To cap it all there was a fight on stage on the closing night in 1933 between Arthur Fear and Charles Mayhew. This meant that, next day, they shared headlines with Adolf Hitler on the front page of the *Daily Express*.[115] These two singing-and-dancing alpha males had both played the role of Casanova during the long run. Charles Mayhew turned up for the final night, determined to get his share of applause, and that displeased Arthur Fear. They threw punches at each other during the curtain call. Fortunately, in true operetta fashion, the Empress of Austria (in the shape of Marie Lohr) stepped between them and put an end to their fisticuffs.

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[113] Unidentified press cutting in box MM/REF/TH/LO/COL/19 in the Bristol Theatre Collection. There is no date, but it relates to the early weeks of the run, so it is likely to be May or June 1931.

[114] B. W. Findon, editorial, *The Play Pictorial*, 41:244 (Dec. 1922), 1.

[115] Mon., 30 Jan. 1933.

PART II

The Reception of Operetta

5 The Reception of Operetta in London and New York

The success of Franz Lehár's *Die lustige Witwe* was not only sensational and widespread, it was unpredicted – the play on which it is based had, after all, been around for over forty years. When it was being prepared for its first performance in Vienna, the manager of the Theater an der Wien, Wilhelm Karczag, exhibited little faith in its prospects.[1] Its conquest of the stages of Europe and its appeal to the wider world was a possibility unforeseen. That is why it makes sense to name it as the foundation stone of the Silver Age of operetta. There may have been stage works of the time that had a longer continuous run in one country or another, but *Die lustige Witwe* had a cosmopolitan appeal that reached across borders. The most successful stage work in the UK in the first half of the twentieth century was *Chu Chin Chow*, but nowhere else in the world did it achieve anywhere near the same number of performances as did the West End production. In January 1908, London's *Daily Mail* claimed that *The Merry Widow* had been performed 450 times in Vienna, 400 times in Berlin, 350 times in St Petersburg, 300 times in Copenhagen, and was currently playing every evening in Europe in nine languages. In the USA, five companies were presenting it, and 'the rush for tickets at the New Amsterdam Theatre' was likened to 'the feverish crowding round the doors of a threatened bank'.[2] Stan Czech, in his Lehár biography, claims that by 1910 it had been performed 'around 18,000 times in ten languages on 154 American, 142 German, and 135 British stages'.[3]

After try-outs in several American cities, *The Merry Widow* opened at the New Amsterdam on Broadway on 21 October 1907, where its reception was seen by critics as an indication that audience standards were rising, an opinion that gave comfort to American operetta composers such as Reginald De Koven and Victor Herbert.[4] So well known did the operetta become that a burlesque version was produced in January 1908 at the Weber and Fields Music Hall, New York.[5] It used Lehár's music, but had a new parodic script by George V. Hobart that cast Lulu Glaser as Fonia from Farsovia (rather than Sonia from Marsovia) and Joe Weber as the messenger Disch (instead of Nisch). Henry W. Savage, the manager of the New Amsterdam, granted permission for the parody, knowing that it would increase interest in his own production, which went on to enjoy a run of 416 performances.

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[1] Gustav Holm, *Im ¾ Takt durch die Welt: Ein Lebensbild des Komponisten Robert Stolz* (Vienna: Ibis-Verlag, 1948), 156–57.

[2] 'The Merry Widow', *Daily Mail*, 3 Jan. 1908.

[3] Czech, *Schön ist die Welt: Franz Lehárs Leben und Werk* (Berlin: Argon Verlag, 1957), 28. He alludes to statistical information, provides no sources.

[4] See Orly Leah Krasner, 'Wien, Women and Song: *The Merry Widow* in New York', *The Sonneck Society for American Music* Bulletin, 22:1 (Spring 1996), 1 and 8–11, at 10.

Anyone studying the reception of German operettas in the UK and USA is bound to recognize that the productions in the West End and on Broadway of *The Merry Widow* marked a distinctive new phase in operetta reception.[6] Before *The Merry Widow*, the last German operetta to have a successful premiere in both London and New York was Carl Zeller's *Der Vogelhändler* (produced first in Vienna in January 1891).[7] It became *The Tyrolean* at the Casino, New York, in October 1891, and was given five performances in German at Drury Lane, London, four years later.[8] *Wiener Blut*, an operetta of 1899 based on arrangements of the music of Johann Strauss Jr, was produced on Broadway as *Vienna Life* in early 1901, but had no outing in London.[9] A much-revised version of Hugo Felix's Berlin operetta *Madame Sherry* enjoyed modest success in London in 1903, but did not reach New York until 1910, when Felix's music was replaced by that of Karl Hoschna.

The librettists of *Wiener Blut* were Victor Léon and Leo Stein, and in 1905 they were to gain further acclaim with their adaptation of Henri Meilhac's *L'Attaché d'ambassade* as *Die lustige Witwe*. In December that year, set to music by Franz Lehár, it opened at the Theater an der Wien, and in May the following year was at the Berliner Theater. The year after, it was produced as *The Merry Widow* at Daly's Theatre in London's West End and, a few months later, was on Broadway. The English version by Basil Hood and Adrian Ross was used in both London and New York. George Edwardes's West End production opened on 8 June 1907 and ran for a remarkable 778 performances.[10] The actor-comedian George Graves, who played Baron Popoff in the operetta, looked back on the opening night in his autobiography of 1931, and declared: 'Never have I known such wild enthusiasm as greeted this show.'[11] During and after the London run, *The Merry Widow* conquered the provinces, where it was performed at city theatres by the Edwardes touring companies and by what were known as 'fit-up companies' in Corn Exchanges, Town Halls, and other urban venues.[12]

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[5] Joe Weber and Lew Fields, both from Polish Jewish immigrant families, opened their music hall in 1896. Their version was called *The Merry Widow Burlesque* and had 156 performances.

[6] Larry Stempel writes of a 'second broad phase in the history of the genre', and discusses the Broadway response, in *Showtime: A History of the Broadway Musical Theater* (New York: Norton, 2010), 177–201.

[7] Theater an der Wien, Vienna, 10 Jan. 1891; Friedrich-Wilhelmstädtisches Theater, Berlin, 20 Feb. 1891.

[8] The opening nights of the two productions were 5 Oct. 1891 and 17 Jun. 1895. It was performed in by the Ducal Court Company of Saxe-Coburg and Gotha (the same company then presented *Die Fledermaus*).

[9] Victor Léon's and Leo Stein's *Wiener Blut* (Carltheater, Vienna, 26 Oct. 1899), using Adolph Müller Jr's arrangements of the music of Johann Strauss Jr, was given as *Vienna Life* at the Broadway Theatre, 23 Jan. 1901.

The massive success of *The Merry Widow* opened up a flourishing market for operettas from Vienna and Berlin. This was confirmed by the huge success of Straus's *The Chocolate Soldier* in New York (1909) and London (1910). The stage works of Paul Lincke, who is credited as the founder of Berlin operetta with his one-act *Die Spree-amazone* of 1896, took time to travel. His ensemble song 'Glühwürmchen' from *Lysistrata* (1902) was familiar as an orchestral piece in London, and also featured in the Broadway show *The Girl Behind the Counter* (Talbot, 1907),[13] but his operetta *Frau Luna* (1899), popular in Germany, was not produced in London until 1911 (as *Castles in the Air*, at the Scala Theatre[14]), and was not given at all in New York. In contrast, the Berlin operettas of Jean Gilbert were in demand in both London and New York. Other operettas – those of Victor Herbert excepted – were not doing well on Broadway following the success of *The Merry Widow*. Among the better, though unimpressive, statistics are: a run of 65 performances for Edward German's *Tom Jones* at the Astor Theatre in late 1907, and 64 for Reginald De Koven's *Robin Hood* at the New Amsterdam in 1912. John Philip Sousa's *The American Maid* was given just 16 performances at the Broadway Theatre in 1913. Regular but short runs of Gilbert and Sullivan took place during 1910–13 at the Casino.

William Boosey comments that when he first went into publishing in the 1880s, French operetta was the dominant type, with Offenbach, Lecocq, Audran, and Planquette to the fore.[15] Operetta from the German stage ousted the French variety after 1907, although the latter returned during the First World War, with performances of Cuvillier and Messager. This needs to be qualified, however, because Cuvillier's biggest success in the West End was *The Lilac Domino* (1918), which originally had a German libretto, and Messager's *Monsieur Beaucaire* (London, April 1919, New York, December 1919) was composed to an English book by Frederick Lonsdale, with lyrics by Adrian Ross. Cuvillier's French operetta, *Afgar*, was produced at the Pavilion, London in 1919, and the Central Theatre, New York, in 1920. A reason Paris was failing in the new operetta market was given by the American book and lyric writer Harry B. Smith, who remarked after a visit in 1909: 'The *revue* was the only kind of musical piece in evidence.'[16] Nevertheless, the operettas of Henri Christiné, Maurice Yvain, and Reynaldo Hahn, proved successful in Paris, despite a puzzling lack of international interest in them.[17] The number of successful musical plays and operettas had, in fact, been declining in Paris after 1900. Between 1900 and 1914, 22.5 per cent of such pieces had runs of 100 performances or more in London, but only 5.7 per cent did so in Paris.[18]

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[10] Performance statistics are given in Appendix 1.

[11] *Gaieties and Gravities: The Autobiography of a Comedian* (London: Hutchinson, 1931), 92.

[12] W. MacQueen-Pope and D. L. Murray, *Fortune's Favourite: The Life and Times of Franz Lehár* (London: Hutchinson, 1953), 121.

[13] Richard Traubner, *Operetta: A Theatrical History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1983), 238.

[14] This was the once-act version; Lincke revised and extended the operetta in 1922.

[15] William Boosey, *Fifty Years of Music* (London: Ernest Benn, 1931), 158.

The Audience for Operetta

The disposable income of the middle and lower middle classes had increased in the late nineteenth century and changes in stage entertainment catered for the new audiences. Symptomatic of that was the renaming of music halls as Palaces of Variety, with its suggestion of greater respectability and suitability for a family audience. Linked to new audience appetites, also, was the development of romantic musical comedy as a substitute for burlesque in the 1890s. George Edwardes attributed his success, not to exceptional managerial and leadership skills, but to his understanding of an audience's reactions.

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[16] Harry B. Smith, *First Nights and First Editions* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1931), 250.

[17] In 1920, two French operettas by Cuvillier, *Wild Geese* (*Son p'tit frère*, 1907) and *The Naughty Princess* (*La Reine joyeuse*, 1912), were produced in London, the latter with more success than the former. In 1922, two operettas by Christiné were given in the West End: the first, *Phi-Phi*, was turned almost into a revue at the London Pavilion, with additional music by Cole Porter ('The Ragtime Pipes of Pan') and Herman Darewski, and it achieved 132 performances. The second, *Dédé*, featured Joe Coyne, famous for having played Danilo in *The Merry Widow* at Daly's, who was returning to the stage after a long absence. However, even though a rapturous reception was given to Coyne, it ran for 46 performances only. Hahn's *Mozart* was booked for just 28 performances at the Gaiety in 1926, despite featuring the renowned Sacha Guitry and Yvonne Printemps. It returned for three weeks (again with Guitry and Printemps) at Her Majesty's Theatre, 24 Jun. 1929.

[18] See Table 6 in Christophe Charle, *Théâtres en capitales: Naissance de la société du spectacle à Paris, Berlin, Londres et Vienne* (Paris: Editions Albin Michel, 2008), 221.

> I regard the members on an audience as the real critics. It is no use defying them as so many managers I know have done. That's altogether wrong! It's certainly very galling to spend many thousands of pounds upon a piece only to be rewarded with hisses; but when there is dissatisfaction my plan is carefully to examine the cause and see if there is really anything to complain about.[19]

The West End and Broadway were both developing rapidly as centres of entertainment in the early twentieth century, helped by rising prosperity in the period before the First World War.

The audience attracted to operetta needs to be considered from two angles, the economic and the aesthetic – although nobody familiar with the work of Pierre Bourdieu will be persuaded that these two perspectives can be easily separated. In the West End, the aesthetic attraction of *The Merry Widow* lay in its melodious music, its new emphasis on glamour and romance, and in the charismatic performances of Elsie and Coyne, who became 'idols of the day'.[20] The aristocracy did attend some of the theatres where operettas were staged, and evening dress was *de rigeur* for the stalls and dress circle, but these theatres attracted a cross-class audience, and the presence of aristocracy no doubt added to the allure of this genre. The presence of royalty at an opening night, as for *The Count of Luxembourg* in 1911, and the conducting of the opening night by the composer, further enhanced the glamour of the theatrical experience. Yet the presence of the King did not lend aristocratic status to operetta any more than it did to the Royal Variety Show, the first of which took place the following year. Commercial popular music was part of a 'common musical culture' in the first half of the twentieth century.[21] Another attraction of the theatre was spectacle, which relied on the latest technology (a discussion of this aspect of operetta will be found in Chapter 7).

Try-outs were common before West End or Broadway productions, so that changes could be made in response to the reactions of the first audiences. Manchester was a favourite try-out city in the UK, as was

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[19] Edwardes, quoted in James Jupp, *The Gaiety Stage Door: 30 Years of Reminiscences of the Theatre* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1923), 198.

[20] W. MacQueen-Pope, *Carriages at Eleven: The Story of the Edwardian Theatre* (London: Hutchinson, 1947), 87.

[21] Ross McKibbin, *Classes and Cultures: England 1918–1951* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 390–91 and 413–14.

Boston in the USA for the entrepreneurial Shubert brothers. J. J. Shubert was, in fact, keen to turn the Boston Opera House into an operetta venue.[22] Tours to other cities took place with original cast members after the end of a West End or Broadway run, but other touring companies were sent out while a show was still running. Try-outs could be unreliable, for, as Phyllis Dare remarked, 'very often that which appeals to London audiences falls quite flat in the provinces, and vice versa'.[23] An example is Jean Gilbert's *Lovely Lady* (*Die kleine Sünderin*), which had a successful try-out at the Opera House, Manchester in early February 1932, but was a surprise flop at the Phoenix in London later that month. This is an example of transcultural reception on the small scale, the cultural transfer from one region to another, rather than one country to another. Basil Hood tended to adopt a nationalist tone when speaking of differences between Austrian and British audiences (see Chapter 5), but those differences are to a large extent merely another example of the same phenomenon.

Operettas successful in the modern city of Berlin were more likely to cross borders easily.[24] Vienna had a lingering taste for depictions of country manners. Lehár's *Rastelbinder* was based on a Slovakian tale. Its folk-like style and its topic of Slovak immigrants in Vienna meant that, like Leo Fall's *Der fidele Bauer*, it did not travel easily.[25] In October 1909, the latter enjoyed a short run as *The Merry Peasant* at the Strand Theatre in London, but was found 'somewhat old fashioned according to the present lines of musical plays'.[26] In New York, it was performed for two weeks in German at the Garden Theatre. Although the First World War ruled out a production of Leon Jessel's *Schwarzwaldmädel*, it, too, was unlikely to travel well. Like *Der fidele Bauer*, it was too firmly in the *Volksoperette* mould. The composer Edmund Eysler was a little too Viennese to export easily, though several productions of his operettas enjoyed modest success on Broadway, and one, *The Blue Paradise* (*Ein Tag im Paradies*), had a long run at the Casino in 1915.[27] His only operetta to be given productions in both London (1913) and New York (1914) was *The Laughing Husband*. It was, in fact, the only performance of an Eysler operetta in London. It may be that the lukewarm success of Oscar Straus's *A Waltz Dream* in London and New York was a consequence of its being too Viennese.[28] It was at Hicks's Theatre in 1908 (produced by Edwardes) but was thought to be miscast: 'the whole cast did not seem to quite catch the right spirit'.[29] Its sad ending suited a Vienna that nursed nostalgic feelings for *alt Wien*, and it had been a huge success at the Carltheater in 1907, but it did not work in optimistic Edwardian London. Straus thought he was the first to introduce an operetta with a sad ending, but it was not novel in London, because Gilbert and Sullivan had already done so in *Yeomen of the Guard* (1888).

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[22] Amy C. Ward, 'Boston Theatre and Real Estate Material', *The Passing Show: Newsletter of the Shubert Archive*, 8:2 (1984), 5–7.

[23] Phyllis Dare, *From School to Stage* (London: Collier, 1907), 35.

[24] For an overview of cultural transfer between the UK and Germany in the years before the First World War, see David Blackbourn, '"As Dependent on Each Other as Man and Wife": Cultural Contacts and Transfers', in Dominik Geppert and Robert Gerwarth, eds., *Wilhelmine Germany and Edwardian Britain: Essays on Cultural Affinity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 15–37.

[25] It was performed in New York in German only: in 1909, by Emil Berla's Comic Opera Company and, in 1925, by Andreas Fugman's company at the Irving Place Theatre. John Koegel, *Music in German Immigrant Theater: New York City, 1840–1940* (Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 2009), 166 and 368.

[26] B. W. Findon, 'Plays of the Month', *The Play Pictorial*, 15:88 (1909), 16.

Sometimes, operettas did better in London and New York than in Vienna. Despite its mediocre reception at the Theater an der Wien in 1908, where it ran for just 62 performances, when Straus's *Der tapfere Soldat* opened as *The Chocolate Soldier* at the Lyric, New York, in 1909, it ran for nine months. The Broadway version was soon taken to London and featured in the lead roles Constance Drever, who could both sing and act, and ex-Gilbert and Sullivan stalwart C. H. Workman. Drever's singing of 'My Hero' was one of the highlights.[30] American Tin Pan Alley publisher Witmark and British publisher Feldman joined together to make money marketing this hit song. The West End triumph of *The Chocolate Soldier* encouraged Edwardes to revive *A Waltz Dream* at Daly's in 1911, but its reception again proved disappointing.

Fall's *Die Dollarprinzessin* achieved 428 consecutive London performances, compared to only 80 in Vienna, although it had enjoyed an initially enthusiastic reception there when it premiered at the Theater an der Wien in November 1908. No doubt that was because it featured the Austrian stars of *Die lustige Witwe*, Mizzi Günther and Louis Treumann. Karczag, who, in addition to being theatre's director was also the Fall's publisher, blamed Treumann for ruining the operetta's success when he abandoned his role after two months.[31] It was produced to much greater success in Berlin in June 1908, and the *Berliner Tageblatt* commented on the marvels of its presentation.[32] It had to wait until September 1909 to be staged at Daly's because of the success of *The Merry Widow*. The Broadway production by Charles Frohman was given almost simultaneously with that on the West End, but in a new English-language version by George Grossmith. Frohman then wanted to commission an all-American operetta from Fall, but Fall's agent Ernest Mayer informed him that the composer would not know how to write an operetta specifically for America, when the whole world was open to him.[33] Fall's response was symptomatic of the cosmopolitan outlook of those involved in operetta.

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[27] Gervase Hughes remarks, with a scornful tone characteristic of the later chapters of his operetta survey, that Eysler's music was 'much appreciated by unsophisticated Austrian burghers who were apt to find Lehár's music decadent'. *Composers of Operetta* (London: Macmillan, 1962), 150.

[28] In Vienna, it was admired hugely. Gustav Holm attributes the renaissance of Viennese operetta to *Die lustige Witwe* and *Ein Walzetraum*. See *Im ¾ Takt durch die Welt*, 155–64.

[29] *Daily Telegraph*, quoted Traubner, *Operetta*, 277.

[30] 'Lyric Theatre. "The Chocolate Soldier"', *The Times*, 12 Sep. 1910, 10.

[31] Stefan Frey, *Leo Fall: Spötischer Rebell der Operette* (Vienna: Steinbauer, 2010), 74.

Sometimes an operetta differed in its Broadway and West End receptions. *The Girl in the Train*, Harry B. Smith's version of Fall's *Die geschiedene Frau*, was first given at the Globe Theatre, New York, in October 1910, and lasted for just 40 performances. Adrian Ross's version of the same operetta (using the same title) opened at the Vaudeville Theatre, London, in June 1910, and ran for 339 performances. It would have continued, but Huntley Wright (playing the Judge) went to Switzerland for a holiday, and his understudy broke his arm.[34] Ralph Benatzky's *My Sister and I* had only eight performances at the Shaftesbury Theatre, London, in 1931, but as *Meet My Sister* in New York it notched up 167. Jean Gilbert's *Die keusche Susanne* was produced in London as *The Girl in the Taxi* (Lyric, 1912) and in New York as *Modest Suzanne* (Liberty, 1912). On Broadway, it managed just 24 performances,[35] but in London it ran for 384. With two successful West End revivals, it received a total of 597 performances during 1913–15, making it one of the most popular operettas in London. Why it fared so much better in London than New York is a question very difficult to answer, because a range of performance and staging factors need to be considered, as well as the content and its treatment.

Challenges to the Operetta Market

Operettas faced competition from other stage entertainment: at first, from musical comedies, and then, in the second decade of the century, from revues. These shows developed out of music hall and vaudeville, and consisted of turns and sketches related to a general theme. *Hullo, Ragtime!* (Hirsch), which opened at the Hippodrome on 23 December 1912, was the first of London's ragtime-flavoured revues, and ran for 451 performances. Operettas from Berlin were already making significant inroads at this time, and not just those of Gilbert. Walter Kollo, who composed for the Berliner Theater during 1908–18, enjoyed an English production of his *Filmzauber* (co-composed with Sirmay, 1912) at the Gaiety, London, in 1913, given as *The Girl on the Film*. It lasted eight months in the West End, but only eight weeks on Broadway. The hugely successful *Maytime* at the Shubert, New York, in 1917 was based on Kollo's *Wie einst im Mai* (1913), but it was changed almost out of recognition and given new music by Sigmund Romberg.[36]

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[32] A. W., 'Im Neuen Schauspielhaus', *Berliner Tageblatt*, 7 Jun. 1908, quoted in Frey, *Leo Fall*, 75.

[33] Frey, *Leo Fall*, 77.

[34] See Ernest Irving, *Cue for Music* (London: Dennis Dobson, 1959), 57–59.

[35] Wearing, in *The London Stage 1910–1919*, 165, cites 48 performances at the Astor Theatre, but they were actually of Stanislaus Stange's adaptation of the original French play *Le Fils à papa* (1906) by Antony Mars and Maurice Desvallières. Stange gave it the title *The Girl in the Taxi*, and it contained songs by Benjamin Hapgood Burt.

The first major blow to the operetta market, especially in the UK, was the outbreak of the First World War. Courtneidge had nothing ready for production in spring 1914, and Edwardes transferred to him his rights in Gilbert's *Die Kino-Königin*. Courtneidge went to see it on Broadway, where it was being given as *The Queen of the Movies*, with book and lyrics by Glen MacDonough. He did not care for the adaptation, so he made his own, *The Cinema Star*, with assistance from Jack Hulbert.[37] The leading roles were played by his daughter Cicely and Jack Hulbert, who were later to marry. He soon found himself in a quandary over this production because of the disastrous turn of events brought on by war.

> The play promised to be one of the most successful I had produced, and I looked forward with confidence to the future when the outbreak of War ruined all my hopes. The German origin of *The Cinema Star* was fatal. . . . After struggling vainly for a time I had to close the theatre.[38]

Edwardes made a similar mistake: his purchase of the rights to produce Gilbert's *Puppchen* also came to nothing because of the war. An even worse error was his neglect of his own safety abroad, resulting in his internment for some time at Nauheim, Germany, in 1914.

In the war years, a cosmopolitan appetite for operetta could be interpreted as unpatriotic. Although *The Cinema Star* was playing to full houses, it was withdrawn on 19 September 1914. That did not prevent it turning up with the original company at the Grand Theatre in Leeds the following year.[39] It was, in fact, Cicely Courtneidge who had suggested to her father that a tour would help recoup the losses caused by its premature closure in the capital. In her autobiography, she explains: 'The fact that *The Cinema Star* was originally a German show was little known away from London and we played to very good business.'[40] A revival of Straus's *The Chocolate Soldier* opened on 5 September 1914 at the Lyric Theatre, and ran for 56 performances, but the programme was careful to announce that service men in uniform could purchase half-price tickets, and profits were to go to the Belgian Relief Fund. Gilbert's *Mam'selle Tralala* (*Fräulein Trallala*) had closed at the Lyric in July, but its music was revised by Melville Gideon, who then took all the credit when it reopened the following year as *Oh, Be Careful!* at the Garrick.[41] However, it lasted for only 33 performances, despite Yvonne Arnaud repeating her role as Noisette.

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[36] Kollo, however, enjoyed more success on Broadway than in the West End. His prolific output has been neglected by musicologists, but a reassessment of his importance to the German stage is found in Ute Jarchow, *Analysen zur Berliner Operette: die Operetten Walter Kollos (1878–1940) im Kontext der Entwickling der Berliner Operette*. München: AVM, 2013.

[37] Robert Courtneidge, *I Was an Actor Once* (London: Hutchinson, 1930), 218.

[38] Ibid., 219.

As the war continued, people felt uncomfortable about attending the theatre, and there were pressures on actors, too. Managers were asked to adopt a policy of only employing actors unfit for military service.[42] Nevertheless, two home-grown musical comedies of operetta-like character became enormous wartime hits: Frederic Norton's *Chu Chin Chow* (His Majesty's, 1916) and Harold Fraser-Simson's *The Maid of the Mountains* (Daly's, 1917). The latter was given 1352 performances, while *Chu Chin Chow* ran for an astounding 2238 performances (a record unbroken in the UK before *Les Misérables*). Remarkably, Emmerich Kálmán's *Soldier Boy!* was first produced in London during wartime, in June 1918, but without his name on the programme. It was Rida Johnson Young's 1916 Broadway adaptation (*Her Soldier Boy*) of *Gold gab ich für Eisen*, with revisions by Edgar Wallace. Acting as a distraction from the work's origins, a song associated with the British troops, George and Felix Powell's 'Pack up Tour Troubles in Your Old Kit Bag', was interpolated in both the New York and London productions.[43] The downside to Kálmán's unique wartime achievement was that he received no royalties. However, barely two years after the war ended, he was to enjoy success with *The Little Dutch Girl*, which opened at the Lyric Theatre in December 1920.

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[39] Surprisingly, *The Girl in the Taxi* was revived at the Garrick in January 1915 with Jean Gilbert's name present. It is unlikely that many knew this was a pseudonym rather than his real name, Max Winterfeld.

[40] Cicely Courtneidge, *Cicely* (London: Hutchinson, 1953), 60.

[41] Gordon Williams, *British Theatre in the Great War: A Re-evaluation* (London: Continuum, 2003), 19–20.

[42] Reported in *The Era*, 23 Jun. 1915, and cited in Michael Sanderson, *From Irving to Olivier: A Social History of the Acting Profession in England, 1880–1983* (London: Athlone, 1984), 159.

[43] Kálmán's operetta originated as *Az obsitos*, at the Vigszínház Theatre, Budapest, 16 Mar. 1910, with book and lyrics by Karl von Bakonyi. It was adapted by Victor Léon as *Der gute Kamerad*,

Concern about productions of operetta from the German stage began to be voiced in New York after the USA entered the war in April 1917. At that time, two Kálmán operettas were running on Broadway, and, in June, Straus's *My Lady's Glove* (*Die schöne Unbekannte*) received its American premiere. In September 1917, *The Riviera Girl*, an adaptation of Kálmán's *Die Csárdásfürstin* was to be seen on Broadway, and, in November, Lehár's *The Star Gazer* (*Der Sterngucker*). The failure of the latter, which managed to scrape only eight performances, may be attributable to the changing public mood now that American troops were engaged in fighting. By May 1918, Rudolf Christians, the manager of Irving Place Theatre had been forced to cancel German-language performances because of public pressure, and a season of operetta in German to be produced by him at the Lexington Theatre, 1919–20, was also cancelled after heated debate.[44] Yorkville Theatre, a German-language theatre with a seating capacity of 1250, became an American playhouse in September 1918.[45] In August that year, it was announced that all royalties earned by 'enemy holders of American rights to Broadway hits' would be invested promptly in Liberty bonds.[46] When the war ended, the Shuberts planned to produce an American version of Eduard Künneke's *Das Dorf ohne Glocke*, which had a nostalgic nineteenth-century setting and had been well received in Berlin in 1919, but their plans fell through.[47] As the reality of American deaths in the war sunk in, the appetite for German operetta evaporated.

Operettas dating from the war years were often neglected. Fall's *Die Rose von Stambul* was a resounding success in Vienna in late 1916, and in Berlin the next year, but was not going to be welcomed as warmly in countries for which Germany, Austria, and Turkey (the location of the operetta) were the wartime enemy. There was no London production, and the Broadway production was not until 1922, when this work was growing in popularity in continental Europe. There were, of course, those who wanted a return to cosmopolitan entertainment in the West End once the war was over.

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for the Bürgertheater, Vienna, 27 Oct. 1911, and then revised by him as *Gold gab ich für Eisen*, for the Theater an der Wien, 17 Oct. 1914.

[44] 'German Operetta Silenced in New York', *The Literary Digest*, 29 Mar. 1919, 28. See also Koegel, *Music in German Immigrant Theater*, 126, 347, and 363–64.

[45] Koegel, *Music in German Immigrant Theater*, 126 and 342.

[46] 'Royalties on Enemy Operas Seized Here', *The New York Times*, 20 Aug. 1918, 9.

[47] Otto Schneidereit, *Eduard Künneke: Der Komponist aus Dingsda* (Berlin: Henschelverlag, 1978), 60.

Producer Albert de Courville asked in a letter to *The Times* on 8 April 1920, 'Are we at liberty to reawaken public interest in a class of show highly delectable before the war?'[48]

Operetta in the 1920s

After the war, many creators of operetta were eager to escape to the comfort of historical romances. Among the most popular operettas on historical themes were *Madame Pompadour* (1922), *Die Perlen der Cleopatra* (1923), *Lady Hamilton* (1926), *Casanova* (1928), *Friederike* (1928), *Das Veilchen von Monmartre* (1930) (with Delacroix and Hervé among the characters), *Walzer aus Wien* (1930), and *Die Dubarry* (1931). 'Operetta makes history marketable', scoffed Adorno: 'it presents the demons of the past as casually as rag dolls, and despite our fears we play with them: they have no further power over us'.[49] Not all new operetta productions succumbed to nostalgia, however, and Berlin remained fond of the modern well into the final days of the Weimar Republic, as exemplified by Abraham's *Ball im Savoy*, Dostal's *Clivia*, and Straus's *Eine Frau, die weiß, was sie will!* The incorporation of African-American elements was also an embrace of the modern that brought an anachronism to historical costume drama. Kevin Clarke remarks on the simultaneous, if contrasting, development of jazz operetta and nostalgic operetta after the First World War.[50]

Berlin became the centre for operetta production in the early 1920s, and British and American interest began to grow again. The market for musical comedy had waned, and the new American musicals of Gershwin and company were still to come. Most of the well-known operetta composers had turned to Berlin in the 1920s. Kálmán was the most resistant, remaining loyal to Vienna – his great success there being *Gräfin Mariza* (1924). Sometimes the British eagerness for German operetta outstripped the interest in Berlin: Jean Gilbert's *Die Frau im Hermelin* (Theater des Westens, 1919), which became *The Lady of the Rose* (Daly's, 1921), was greeted with 'scenes of great enthusiasm' by the London audience, and ran for longer than it did in Berlin.[51] It was a little less successful on Broadway, where it ran for 238 performances in all (beginning at the Ambassador in 1922 and transferring to the Century), but it was rare for any operetta to achieve 300 or more performances in New York (even *The Chocolate Soldier* made it to only 296). Gilbert visited New York in 1928, where he composed *The Red Robe* for the Shubert Theatre. Americans living in Berlin made it known back home if they saw a show that delighted them. The *New York Times* reported: 'Enthusiastic Americans residents in Berlin early in 1921 frantically called the attention of American theatrical managers to "Der Vetter aus Dingsda," a musical show playing at the Theater am Nollendorf Platz.'[52] This operetta by Eduard Künneke was bought by the Shubert brothers for production on Broadway as *Caroline*, and by Edward Laurillard for production in the West End as *The Cousin from Nowhere*.

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[48] Len Platt and Tobias Becker, '"A Happy Man Can Live in the Past" – Musical Theatre Transfer in the 1920s and 1930s', in Len Platt, Tobias Becker, and David Linton, eds., *Popular Musical Theatre in London and Berlin, 1890–1939* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 118–132, quoted on 121.

[49] 'Arabesken zur Operette' [1932]. *Gesammelte Schriften*, 19, Musikalische Schriften VI (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1984), 516–19, at 519.

[50] Kevin Clarke, 'Konkav und konvex: Bühnenoperetten und Operettenfilme als Spiegel der Zeitläufe 1933–1945', in Bettina Brandl-Risi, Clemens Risi, and Rainer Simon, eds., *Kunst der Oberfläche: Operette zwischen Bravour und Banalität* (Leipzig: Henschel Verlag, 2015), 184–96, at 185.

Kálmán's reception in London and New York could be unpredictable. *Ein Herbstmanöver* had a run of just 44 performances on Broadway as *The Gay Hussars* (1909) and 74 performances in the West End as *Autumn Manoeuvres* (1912). *Die Csárdásfürstin*, which had premiered at the Johann-Strauss-Theater in 1915 and went on to enjoy success at the Metropol, Berlin, also had a disappointing reception. It opened on Broadway in 1917 as *The Riviera Girl*, adapted by Guy Bolton and P. G. Wodehouse, with the setting changed to Monte Carlo, and incorporating additional numbers by Jerome Kern. The West End version, *The Gipsy Princess*, produced at the Prince of Wales Theatre in 1921, with a book by Arthur Miller and lyrics by Arthur Stanley,[53] was more successful than the Broadway version, and enjoyed a run of 212 performances. However, audiences failed to react with the enthusiasm of those in Austria and Germany, who regarded it as one of Kálmán's finest achievements. Perhaps the recently ended war affected its British reception. The London *Times* referred to it, unusually, by the German term *Operette*, and, although conceding that much of the music was delightful, the review ended obliquely 'one can only admire the courage of its producers in launching it at such a difficult moment'.[54] That may have referred to economic conditions, or to residual ill feeling towards Germany. In the next two years the appetite for German operetta began to grow again, but *The Gipsy Princess* had to wait for its London revival in 1981 to find itself fully appreciated.

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[51] 'The Lady of the Rose', *The Times*, 22 Feb. 1922, 10.

[52] '"Caroline" is Tuneful', *New York Times*, 1 Feb. 1923

[53] The Arthur Miller involved was not the famous American playwright, but Dr Arthur Miller, a specialist in children's diseases, who took to writing for the stage around 1910. See Graves, *Gaieties and Gravities*, 183–84.

Operetta and jazz-related dance music were vying for popularity in the 1920s, and the Shubert brothers were the major champions of the former. *Blossom Time* (Sigmund Romberg's version of Heinrich Berté's *Das Dreimäderlhaus*) was a huge hit for them in 1921, achieving a hundred more performances than had *The Merry Widow* for their business rival Abraham Erlanger. The Shuberts often visited Europe, and, while they always kept an eye open for novelty acts for their theatres, their main interest was in finding operettas that could be turned into Broadway successes.[55]

Operetta and the Costs of Attendance

In the first three decades of the twentieth century, many people were prepared to pay for operetta, and an assortment of theatres and ticket prices enabled a broad social mixture to do so.[56] The London Hippodrome, which advertised itself as 'the leading variety theatre' put on a series of one-act operettas during 1909–12. Lehár's *Mitislaw, or The Love Match* (*Mitislaw der Moderne*) was performed twice daily as part of a variety bill during November and December 1909, before being replaced by a Christmas spectacular *The Arctic*, complete with 70 polar bears.[57] More upmarket theatres, such as His Majesty's, usually had tickets available for one shilling, the same price as a 'posh' seat in the stalls at a West End music hall but contrasting strongly with the cheapest seats at the Royal Opera, Covent Garden, which were two shillings and sixpence.

It needs to be borne in mind that in most theatres there were always fewer seats in the costliest parts of the auditorium. Even on an opening night at Daly's there was a socially mixed audience, from the high society in the stalls to those in the pit and gallery who had queued all night because reserved seating was unavailable there.[58] MacQueen-Pope described the class mix of a Daly's first-night audience:

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[54] 'The Gipsy Princess', *The Times*, 27 May 1921, 8.

[55] David Barbour, 'The Shuberts in Europe', *The Passing Show: Newsletter of the Shubert Archive*, 8:2 (1984). The Shubert Archive in New York contains memorabilia and correspondence documenting these European ventures.

[56] Tobias Becker offers a comparative account of the social mix of audiences in Berlin and London in *Inszenierte Moderne: Populäres Theater in Berlin und London, 1880–1930* (Munich: Oldenburg Wissenschaftsverlag, 2014), 202–8.

[57] *Observer*, 27 Dec. 1909, 4.

> The stalls were a living edition of Debrett. White waistcoats gleamed, women's jewels shone and glittered – both sexes were perfectly 'turned out'. The pit and the gallery had not forgotten how to applaud. The upper circle – that strange class-conscious part of the house – was packed with Suburbia. The dress circle held rich people and those who could not get into the stalls.[59]

Those attending premieres were, in other ways, not typical. George Graves described them as 'highly-specialized', comprising guests of the management, people who attended out of social custom, critics of the press taking notes, and some 'on the prowl' who were ready to knock the show.[60] Commenting further on audiences, Graves declares that 'pleasure-seeking suburbanites . . . roll up on Saturdays', and are less critical than a mid-week audience.[61] At a Saturday matinée, however, spectators are 'less noisy in their laughter and more sparing of applause', which he attributes to the larger number of women present.[62] Nevertheless, despite this perceived reserve, he acknowledges the contribution made by women to the success of a show: 'every actor knows, if you have the women with you the show is all right'.[63]

The price of private boxes (£2 12*s.* to £5 5*s.*), stalls (10*s.* 6*d.*) and circle (7*s.* 6*d.*) marked them out for the social elite, and the upper circle (4*s.* to 5*s.*) was for moneyed people whom MacQueen-Pope describes as 'rather more flashy and less tasteful'.[64] His remarks indicate that money does not buy all the privileges of class – especially not 'good taste'. The gallery and the pit – the latter located at the back of the stalls and under the balconies – were for the 'general public'.[65] The pit was more expensive than the gallery: at Daly's the prices were 2*s.* 6*d.* and 1*s.*, respectively. On the box plan of Daly's shown in Figure 5.1, the 'balcony' represents MacQueen-Pope's 'dress circle', and the 'first circle' is his 'upper circle'. Only half of the seating is shown: the gallery is not depicted, and the position of the pit is marked only by a straight line, that is because seats could not be reserved in either of those areas.

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[58] D. Forbes-Winslow, *Daly's: The Biography of a Theatre* (London: W.H. Allen, 1944), 89.

[59] W. MacQueen-Pope, epilogue to Forbes-Winslow, *Daly's*, 203–10, at 207.

[60] George Graves, *Gaieties and Gravities: The Autobiography of a Comedian* (London: Hutchinson, 1931), 145–46.

[61] Ibid., 151. [62] Ibid., 150. [63] Ibid., 188.

[64] MacQueen-Pope and Murray, *Fortune's Favourite*, 102. [65] Ibid.

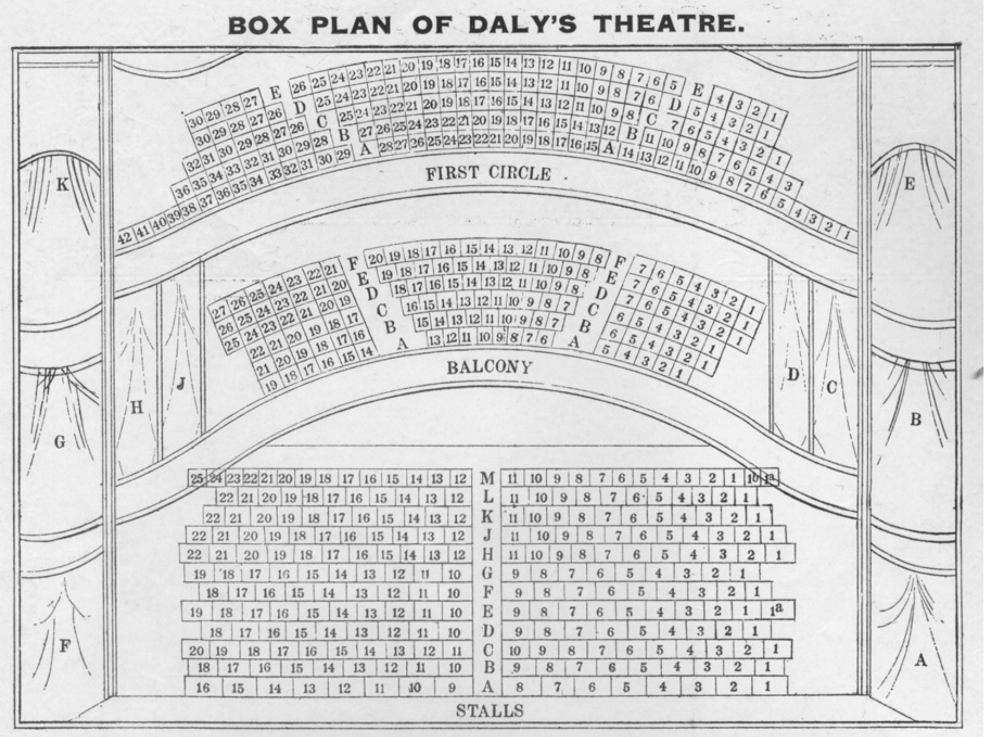

Figure 5.1 Box plan of Daly's Theatre from the *Play Pictorial*, vol. 17, no. 103 (Mar. 1911). The pit (unreserved seating) is not shown but was behind the stalls.

A mixture of lower-middle and middle class made up the audience norm. A large portion of the audience were reasonably well off, as at other upmarket London theatres. His Majesty's had similar prices to Daly's. Before and during the First World War, most West End theatres offered a range of prices between 6*d.* to 10*s.* 6*d.* (children being generally admitted at half price). The Royal Opera House, Covent Garden, was a notable exception, with prices ranging from 2*s.* 6*d.* to 1 guinea. In the 1920s, some theatres attempted to raise prices, but this was met with many complaints. In April 1922, it was reported that the price of stalls at the Empire was to return to half-a-guinea [10*s.* 6*d.*], because the manager, Edward Laurillard, claimed he had received many letters 'from music-lovers declaring that they could not afford to pay 12*s.* 6*d.*'[66]

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[66] 'Half-Guinea Stalls', *The Times*, 28 Apr. 1922, 12.

Operetta vs Musical Comedy

Continental European operetta entered a marketplace dominated by musical comedy. The latter was a genre that arose in the 1890s as people grew tired of absurd or satirical comic opera plots and looked for a mixture of humour and romance, and variety in musical style, from the operatic to music hall. Edwardes was a trendsetter with his shows at the Gaiety, such as *The Shop Girl* (Ivan Caryll) in 1894. British musical theatre retained much of that distinctiveness in later shows, such as Lionel Monckton and Howard Talbot's *The Arcadians* (1909). Broadway was dominated in the early years of the twentieth century by British fare and by the operettas of Victor Herbert, although Jerome Kern, Rudolf Friml, and Sigmund Romberg soon appeared on the scene.

A *New York Times* critic remarked in 1910:

> For years our ears have been so accustomed to the din of the mixed form [*musical comedy*] that the appeal of operetta failed to rouse us from our deafness. Importations from Vienna were made occasionally, but without much success. The red-wigged comedian, the overdressed showgirl, and the tinkling tunes were having their day, and nothing, it seemed, could stop them.[67]

The desire for a male comedian in musical comedy related partly to the comedy roles in Gilbert and Sullivan comic operas, and partly to music hall and vaudeville, in which comedians were star 'turns'. American musical comedy did not export well to London. Charles H. Hoyt's *A Trip to Chinatown*, which ran for 657 performances at Madison Square, managed only 125 in London in 1894. However, in 1898, Gustave Kerker's operetta *The Belle of New York* (book and lyrics by Hugh Morton) settled in at the Shaftesbury Theatre for a run of 693 performances. Its success proved Edwardes wrong in his assertion that 'an American could not write a musical play that would succeed in England'.[68] It should be acknowledged that, although the librettist was American, the composer was German but had moved with his family to the USA at the age of ten, and all his theatrical experience was gained there.

Operettas were distinguished from variety theatre and musical comedy by being marketed as a more artistically serious form of musical play, even when the subject matter was comic. Operetta was not seen as an artistic compromise but, rather, as a genre that eschewed high art snobbery as much as it avoided low art vulgarism. The magazine *Play Pictorial* paid tribute to Kálmán's *The Little Dutch Girl* by remarking that it was 'abounding in lilting tunes and absolutely devoid of vulgarity'.[69] *Theatre World* praised Straus's *Cleopatra* (1925) for containing 'really witty lyrics' and music that was 'tuneful without being trite'.[70] Yet Oscar Asche's exotic production did not draw in the 1920s audience as *Chu Chin Chow* had done in the previous decade.[71] In general, critics regarded operettas from continental Europe as superior to British and American musical comedy, and the battle of genres played itself out in many critical reviews. That said, the situation is complicated by the fact that, as Marion Linhardt has emphasized, genre identification was often a matter of promotion.[72] For instance, Gilbert's *Katja, the Dancer* is designated 'a musical play' in the English vocal score – a term first used by Edwardes for Sidney Jones's *The Geisha* (1896) to imply something akin to operetta. However, it was premiered in 1925 at the Gaiety as a 'musical comedy', no doubt because the audience there expected productions to have a more 'piquant flavour' than is suggested by the description 'musical play'.[73] At first, it would seem that no such genre blurring would occur between operettas and revues, which were especially popular on Broadway, where some of them ran as a series with fresh material each year, for example, the Ziegfeld Follies (1907–31) and the Passing Shows produced by the Shuberts (1912–24). However, a mixed genre of *Revue-Operette* was to develop in Berlin in the late 1920s.

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[67] 'Lure of Viennese Waltz Wins Wealth for Composers', *New York Times*, 24 Jul. 1910.

[68] Smith, *First Nights*, 212.

The Merry Widow was greeted by the *New York Times* as 'the greatest kind of a relief from the American musical comedy', and by *The Times* in London as a 'genuine light opera . . . not overlaid (yet) by buffoonery'.[74] The insinuation was that it might soon acquire buffoonery to make it more appealing to the musical comedy audience. The urge to liven up an operetta with a comic routine was found in both cities. The Broadway production of

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[69] Anon., 'Plays of the Month', *The Play Pictorial*, 38:227 (Jul. 1921), 30–31, at 31.

[70] 'Yorick', *The Theatre World and Illustrated Stage Review*, 6 (Jul. 1925), 22–23.

[71] See Brian Singleton, *Oscar Asche, Orientalism and British Musical Comedy* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2004), 180–82. Asche, in his autobiography, is of the opinion that 'a magnificent spectacle' had been let down by a poor story; *Oscar Asche* (London: Hurst and Blackett, 1929), 203.

[72] Marion Linhardt, 'Local Contexts and Genre Construction in Early Continental Musical Theatre', in Platt, Becker, and Linton, *Popular Musical Theatre in London and Berlin*, 44–61, at 47.

[73] B. W. Findon, 'Katja, the Dancer', *The Play Pictorial*, 46:277 (Sep. 1925), 50.

[74] '"The Merry Widow" Proves Captivating', *New York Times*, 22 Oct. 1907, 9; 'Daly's Theatre', *The Times*, 10 Jun. 1907, 4.

Straus's *A Waltz Dream* had an interpolated number in the second act that reminded one reviewer of 'cheap American musical comedy'.[75] Occasional crude humour was not the only problem with musical comedy. What had helped it appeal initially was the absence of a complex or ludicrous plot, but this lack of attention to plot came to be seen as a lack of attention to dramatic structure. A London critic offers *A Waltz Dream* as an instructive model, 'which the clever, but idle or, perhaps, hampered makers of English musical pieces might well take to heart', because the music 'is not dropped in here and there to relieve the tedium of a senseless plot'.[76]

The conviction that musical comedy is beset by artificiality surfaces in a number of reviews. The Broadway production in 1922 of Gilbert's *The Lady in Ermine* was welcomed as 'genuinely musical and dramatic', but irritated the reviewer in those spots 'where it has been obviously touched up for what is conceived to be a popular taste for musical comedies which are neither musical nor comic'.[77] The notion that musical comedy fell below the artistic standards of operetta and did not require skilful performers is illustrated in a review of Künneke's *Love's Awakening* (*Wenn Liebe erwacht*) given in London in 1922: 'The difference between *Love's Awakening* and a musical comedy may be gauged from the fact that, whereas in the latter the songs seem to occur in an incongruous way, at the Empire last night it was the intermittent conversation that seemed incongruous.' The critic sums up: 'here was a real light opera with real music and performed with real ability by real singers'.[78] *Love's Awakening* was an attempt to raise artistic standards at the Empire Theatre of Varieties by Edward Laurillard, its manager. His published announcement that, on the first night, he would present the piano score and book of lyrics to every member of the audience gives an idea of the cultural capital of those he expected to attend the production.[79] It was, indeed, considered an artistic success, but ran for only thirty-six performances.

When the next Künneke production, *The Cousin from Nowhere* (*Der Vetter aus Dingsda*), took place in London the following year, the *Times* critic noted that, although it was described as a 'new musical comedy', it had two peculiarities:

> One is that it does not possess the conventional 'chorus' of men and women who fill the stage at frequent and unexpected moments in the usual production of this

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[75] '"A Waltz Dream" Wins Applause', *New York Times*, 28 Jan. 1908, 9.

[76] 'Hicks Theatre. "A Waltz Dream"', *The Times*, 9 Mar. 1908, 8.

[77] '"Lady in Ermine" Romantic', *New York Times*, 3 Oct. 1922, 30.

[78] 'A New Light Opera', *The Times*, 20 Apr. 1922, 10.

[79] *The Times*, 13 Apr. 1922, 10.

> type. Secondly, although both the original 'book' and the music are by Continental writers and a Continental composer, in its present form it closely resembles English light opera.[80]

Conferring the label 'light opera' on a stage work always implied its superiority over musical comedy. Findon, of the *Play Pictorial*, was very taken with it and felt that no music 'of more bewitching tunefulness' had been composed since the days of Sullivan.[81] He praised its stars, Walter Williams (the stranger), Helen Gilliland (Julia), and Cicely Debenham (Wilhelmine), and he remarked on its enthusiastic audience reception. Although it contained no choruses, it included complicated ensemble work, as in the Act 2 finale. After a run of more than a hundred performances in London, Laurillard announced his intention to send out two touring companies.[82] A sign of the changing times, however, is that Walter Williams did not join the tour but, instead, accepted a part in the jazzy revue *Brighter London* (Finck) featuring Paul Whiteman and his orchestra at the Hippodrome.

A reviewer of the Broadway adaptation of Künneke's operetta as *Caroline* (1923) informs readers that American theatrical managers, having been alerted to the enthusiastic reception given to *Der Vetter aus Dingsda* in Berlin, had gone to see what the fuss was about:

> the managers came, one by one, and delivered their verdict: 'A great show, but impossible for America. The singing cast it calls for would ruin any production financially.' But finally there came a bolder one, and it was as a result of his visit that the Shuberts last night presented 'Caroline' at the Ambassador.[83]

At the end of the decade, however, there was evidence of a growing concern that operetta composers, who had become swept up in a fashion for historical themes, were becoming *too* earnest. In 1930, a London reviewer of Lehár's *Frederica* (*Friederike*) is unconvinced by this operetta based on the early life of Goethe. He argues that the composer's artistic ambitiousness 'has led to nothing more than pretentiousness', and adds, significantly, 'it is only in one or two lighter numbers written for the *soubrette* that the music sounds happy and at ease'.[84] The accusation of pretentiousness is always promptly made when popular genres dare to exhibit artistic aspirations. It is a criticism more usually directed at musical entertainment than plays; for example, a play of 1923 by Clemence Dane about incidents in the early life of Shakespeare gave rise to no similar concerns.[85] Taunts about excessive artistic pretensions are found in the previous century in Hanslick's criticism of Strauss Jr's concert waltzes and, in the later twentieth century, they surfaced in the critical reception of 'progressive rock'. In Germany, some critics were offended at the idea of Goethe appearing in an operetta. Others objected to the Jewish writer Fritz Löhner-Beda adapting Goethe's poetry.[86] After 1933, his efforts would be viewed as not simply adapting Goethe, but as falsifying or Judaizing Goethe – a literary equivalent to the Schubert adaptations by Jewish composer Heinrich Berté (real name, Bettelheim) in *Das Dreimäderlhaus*, described in a Nazi publication of 1940 as an 'unscrupulous plunder and falsification of the works and form of one of the greatest German masters'.[87]

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[80] 'The Cousin from Nowhere', *The Times*, 26 Feb. 1923, 8.

[81] B. W. Findon, *The Play Pictorial*, 42:253 (Sep. 1923), 72.

[82] 'The Theatres', *The Times*, 24 May 1923, 8.

[83] '"Caroline" Is Tuneful', *New York Times*, 1 Feb. 1923, 13.

[84] 'Palace Theatre. "Frederica"', *The Times*, 10 Sep. 1930, 10.

Not every composer was travelling along the same aspirational artistic path as Lehár. Erik Charell established what he called 'revue operetta' with a trilogy of stage works he directed in Berlin: *Casanova*, 1928, *Die drei Musketiere*, 1929, and *Im weißen Rössl*, 1930. Retitled *White Horse Inn*, the latter enjoyed great success in London and New York and has been discussed in previous chapters. Countering the gripes of critics who thought revue operetta was all about adding a *Schlager* (a hit song) here and there to a musical play, Charell declared that the isolated number was not the decisive factor in revue; instead, 'the constantly glittering movement of the whole' was needed to keep an audience excited.[88] However, in 1932, when Benatzky's *Casanova* (with music from Johann Strauss, Jr) was produced at the Coliseum, a critic reproached it for being 'as thin a story as has ever dragged a musical comedy across Europe'.[89] This is not to suggest that it was rare for the plots of operettas to be criticized. Within half-a-dozen years of the triumph of *The Merry Widow*, British and American critics were beginning to complain about the many plots involving 'petty Courts and showy uniforms', or 'tottering principalities, the elimination of which would probably prove fatal to the librettist's inspiration'.[90]

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[85] *Will Shakespeare* was performed at the National Theatre, New York, 1 Jan. 1923.

[86] Stefan Frey discusses the citations and references to Goethe's poetry, in '*Was sagt ihr zu diesem Erfolg*': *Franz Lehár und die Unterhaltungsmusik des 20. Jahrhunderts* (Frankfurt am Main: Insel, 1999), 269–70. See also, Barbara Denscher and Helmut Peschina, *Kein Land des Lächelns: Fritz Löhner-Beda, 1883–1942* (Salzburg: Residenz Verlag, 2002), 150–53.

[87] 'Dieses skrupellose Ausplündern und Verfälschen der Werke und der Gestalt eines der größten deutschen Meister'. Theo Stengel and Herbert Gerigk, eds., *Lexikon der Juden in der Musik* (Berlin: Bernhard Hahnefeld Verlag, 1940), 32.

[88] 'Wie ein Revue entsteht', *UHU, Das neue Monats Magazin*, 3 (Dec. 1925), 8; cited in Marita Berg, '"Der Jeschaft ist richtig!": Die Revueoperetten des Erik Charell', in Ulrich Tadday, ed., *Im weißen Rössl: Zwischen Kunst und Kommerz. Musik-Konzepte*, 133:134 (2006), 6, and Clemens Risi, 'Kunst der Oberfläche: Zur Renaussance der Operette im Gegenwartstheater', in Brandl-Risi, Risi, and Simon, *Kunst der Oberfläche*, 15–25, at 18.

[89] 'The Coliseum', *The Times*, 25 May 1932, 12.

Moral Questions Raised by Operetta

In addition to critical-aesthetic reception, theatrical productions were open to moral concerns. Motivated, perhaps, by the renown bestowed on Maxim's restaurant by *The Merry Widow*, an attempt was made to mount a London production of Georges Feydeau's comic play *La Dame de chez Maxim* of 1899. In 1912, it was one of seven plays banned that year by the Lord Chamberlain's Office (another was Strindberg's *Miss Julie*, dismissed as 'a clever but revolting play').[91] The Lord Chamberlain's Office, to which all plays (musical and spoken) had to be submitted, had the power to reject them or demand alterations before granting a licence for performance. *La Dame de chez Maxim*, which had a storyline about a respectable man who becomes involved with a coquette, was described as 'A French farce of a decidedly "polisson" type throughout. A great success in Paris, but unsuited for a London audience.'[92] The play was much admired later; indeed, George Grossmith Jr refers to *The Girl from Maxim's* as 'an oft-played comedy' in his autobiography of 1933, and Alexander Korda directed a British film of it that same year.[93] The fact that a licence had been granted for *The Merry Widow* does not mean that it was not found morally objectionable by some. The author Arnold Bennett expresses his distaste in his journal entry for 23 February 1910:

> All about drinking, and whoring and money. All popular operetta airs. Simply nothing else in the play at all, save references to patriotism. Names of tarts on the lips of characters all the time. Dances lascivious . . .[94]

In March 1912, there was a debate on censorship in the House of Lords,[95] but that same month a petition was submitted 'from West End

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[90] The first comment is from 'Shaftesbury Theatre', *The Times*, 13 May 1912, 12; the second is from '"Lieber Augustin" Delights at Casino', *New York Times*, 7 Sep. 1913, 13.

[91] Lord Chamberlain's Plays, British Library, 512/12, Add MS 83658a.

[92] In Lord Chamberlain's Office, file 83658A. (British Library). The word 'polisson' (rascal or scamp) is undoubtedly meant to convey the idea of 'French naughtiness'.

[93] George Grossmith, *'G. G.'* (London: Hutchinson, 1933), 54. Korda directed the film for London Film Productions, but the film is in French, and based on the original *La Dame de chez Maxim*.

[94] Newman Flower, ed., *The Journals of Arnold Bennett, 1896–1910* (London: Cassell, 1932), 361.

[95] *Parliamentary Debates*, House of Lords, Tuesday, 19 Mar. 1912, vol. 11, no. 14, Official Report (London: HMSO).

Theatre Managers to the King', asking for no change in the licensing of theatre plays.[96] Among the signatories were George Edwardes (Daly's, Gaiety, and Adelphi Theatres), P. Michael Faraday (Lyric Theatre), Arthur Collins (Drury Lane), Robert Courtneidge (Shaftesbury Theatre), and R. D'Oyly Carte (Savoy Theatre).

The Lord Chamberlain's Office felt a need to clarify its position regarding 'doubtful plays', and explained that they fell into two types:

1) 'general tone or plot is objectionable', examples being gross immorality, obscenity, or 'risk of international complication';
2) 'the language is indecent, blasphemous, or contains offensive personal allusions'.[97]

Shaw's *Mrs Warren's Profession* was cited as an example of the first type; it had been rejected for its plot: 'Mrs Warren kept a Brothel'. Many were left dissatisfied by such reasons for suppression, and, in July 1912, another petition was presented, but this time in opposition to the Lord Chamberlain. The next year, Robert Harcourt, in a parliamentary debate on 16 April, introduced a bill proposing the abolition of the censorship of plays. The Lord Chamberlain's Office continued to function, however, until 1968, and the first stage production that followed its demise was the hippie rock musical *Hair* (book and lyrics by James Rado and Jerome Ragni, music by Galt MacDermot).

A sample of comments from the Lord Chamberlain's Office (LCO) will illustrate some of the deliberations made before granting a licence in return for a fee of forty-two shillings. Fall's *The Girl in the Train* deals humorously with a court case for divorce, a serious and sensitive matter at this time, but it elicited no negative comments from the LCO, and that may be because the play on which it was based, Victorien Sardou's *Divorçons!*, had already received a licence for performance in a translation by Margaret Mayo in June 1907. Some changes had been made: the play was set in New York, the operetta version was set in Amsterdam; but, more to the point, the content of the German libretto by Victor Léon had been toned down by Adrian Ross (the Vienna version is discussed in Chapter 7). It was given a licence on 13 June 1910; unusually, this came a week after its first performance at the Vaudeville Theatre.

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[96] Lord Chamberlain's Office, file 83658A. (British Library).

[97] Lord Chamberlain's Office, memorandum 512/12, in file 83658A. (British Library).

Gilbert's *The Girl in the Taxi* has a leading character, Suzanne Pomarel, who has won a prize for conjugal virtue, a quality she distinctly lacks. Some of its eroticism may seem tepid today:

SUZANNE: 'Oh, dear, my shoe has come untied'.
HUBERT: 'By Jove, what ripping ankles'.

The subject matter was found a little indecent by the LCO, but prompted a jaded response: 'its chief scenes [are] laid in a gay Parisian restaurant, whither there come, as usual, for supper various improper husbands unaccompanied by their proper wives'. Paris always conjured up a morally unwholesome environment for the respectable British middle class. A licence was granted, however, on 23 August 1912, a week before the first performance at the Lyric Theatre.[98]

The same weary, reproachful tone is detected in the LCO's comments on *The Girl on the Film* (music by Albert Sirmay and Walter Kollo), licensed on 4 April 1913, the day before its first performance at the Gaiety Theatre: 'The underplot affords opportunity for the flirtations of the young ladies, who, whether as typists or followers of Terpsichore, are always looked for, and at, in Gaiety entertainments.'[99] Another operetta on the subject of film making, Gilbert's *The Cinema Star*, is summed up as follows: 'Its plot is chiefly concerned with the adventures of one Clutterbuck, a millionaire who has been prompted by his wife to agitate for the suppression of the cinematograph shows, and how he was trapped into being "filmed" in a compromising position.'[100] That is putting it mildly, given that he was tricked into appearing in a film called *Count Porn's Last Adventure*, in a scene that creates the impression of an attempted rape. The official, however, ignores this and decides, instead, that some of the lyrics require specific comment. He reports that 'the searcher for evil' might interpret the lines 'in the shade of the street, every girl that we meet is a maid who was just made for love' as a reference to 'street-walkers', although he believes that would be foolishly mistaken.[101] A licence was granted on 3 June 1914, the day before its premiere at the Shaftesbury. The libretto offers some insight into contemporary moral anxieties about cinema-going. In Act 3, a police constable invites a woman into the cinema, and she exclaims in response:

> Wot me – with you! In a place where they turn the lights out? You stop your nonsense! You're exceeding the speed limit, you are.

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[98] Lord Chamberlain's Plays, 1912/37.

[99] Lord Chamberlain's Plays, 1913/11.

[100] Lord Chamberlain's Plays, 1914/20.

[101] Lord Chamberlain's Plays, 1914/20.

A certain degree of suspicion is aroused by *The Joy-Ride Lady*, an adaptation by Arthur Anderson and Hartley Carrick of another of Gilbert's operettas, *Das Autoliebchen*. The term 'joy-rider' was new in 1914,[102] and the Parisian setting would immediately raise moral suspicion. Moral concern would be reinforced by lyrics such as the following, from the chorus in the Act 1 Finale:

Joy-ride lady, Joy-ride lady
   I'm on fire for you!
I've a feeling
O'er me stealing,
   Thrills me through and through.
Once again with my arms around you,
   Press your lips to mine!
All too late but, at last, I've found you
   Lady love divine.

The LCO believed, however, that there was more of an intention to suggest naughtiness than to make it explicit:

> I think the intention of the Play is to attract people by the report that it is improper, and I have no doubt that the original was extremely so. As it stands, however, it is not, so far as the situations and dialogue go, worse than many plays of the kind.[103]

It was granted a licence on 19 February 1914, a few days ahead of its production at the New Theatre.

A production suspected of being morally improper was not necessarily good for business. 'Immorality is not a popular card to play in middle-class England', wrote Findon, commenting on propriety and the stage in 1921.[104] Even a title could arouse suspicion. He relates that one regular playgoer informed him that she could on no account go to see a play called *Hanky Panky John*, despite assurances that it was devoid of offence.[105] That was a good enough reason to change an operetta title like *Die geschiedene Frau* into *The Girl in the Train*.

The acceptable duration of an embrace or kiss on stage was not specified. The scene in which Robert Evett (as Lieutenant Niki) kissed Gertie Millar (as Franzi) in the first London production of *A Waltz Dream* (1908) became known as, and was even advertised as, 'the longest kiss on record'.[106] When Edwardes revived this operetta in 1911, he decided against repeating the extended kiss, perhaps because it might seem a publicity stunt rather than because of moral objections. Yet, even in the more liberal 1920s, Jimmy White, who had taken over as manager of Daly's, worried about the close embrace in the last act of Straus's *Cleopatra* between the heroine and Mark Antony. His anxiety abated after the producer Oscar Asche assured him that the couple's marriage had been ratified by the Egyptian priesthood.[107]

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[102] Grossmith, *'G. G.'*, 103.

[103] G. S. Street, LCO, St James's Palace, 5 Feb. 1914. Lord Chamberlain's Plays (LCP), 1914/7, British Library.

[104] B. W. Findon, editorial comments, *The Play Pictorial*, 38:229 (Sep. 1921), 49.

[105] Ibid.

After the First World War, the London Public Morality Council, a quasi-official municipal body, became fretful about sex and the stage. The Council published a booklet titled *Sex Plays and Books*, reproducing excerpts from publications from 13 to 20 February 1925, and quoting a writer in the *Daily News* who stated: 'In America, I am told, a certain play is openly advertised a "sexy".'[108] The operations of the Censor of Plays became an issue again in March 1926, when the *Daily Telegraph* reported that means were being found to evade the law, including the production of unlicensed plays in theatres on Sunday evenings.[109] Another debate on the Censorship of Plays took place in the House of Lords on 10 June 1926.[110]

In New York, where no censorship office existed, some reviews contain expressions of distaste similar to those found in London. A reviewer of the Broadway production of *The Lilac Domino* deplored its vulgar humour: 'Jokes about sausages, hot dogs, and other comedy of the burlesque stage are plentiful, if not pleasing.'[111] A 'threat of flaunting licentiousness' was found to be arising in the 1924–25 season, which led to calls for a stage censor.[112] There being none, the District Attorney stepped in, but, in the end, took no legal action. The next season, however, a court case was brought against William Francis Dugan's play *The Virgin Man*, and Mae West was fined and spent ten days in the workhouse as a consequence of her production *Sex*. In the wake of this intervention by the District Attorney, the following season, 1927–28, witnessed the arrival of what was called the 'Wales padlock law', which meant that a theatre presenting a questionable play could be closed for a year, and its producers and performers brought to trial.[113]

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[106] Berry, *Forty Years in the Limelight*, 165.

[107] Asche, *Oscar Asche*, 202.

[108] *Sex Plays and Books* (London Public Morality Council, 1935), 3.

[109] 'Stage and Censor', *Daily Telegraph*, 20 Mar. 1926.

[110] *Parliamentary Debates*. House of Lords, vol. 64, no. 41 (HMSO, 1926).

[111] 'Tuneful Opera Is "The Lilac Domino"', *New York Times*, 29 Oct. 1914, 11. When this same adaptation was produced in London, at the Empire in 1918, a reviewer cautiously described he humour as having 'an original American flavour'; 'The Lilac Domino', *The Times*, 23 Feb. 1918, 9.

[112] Burns Mantle, ed., *The Best Plays of 1924–1925* (Boston: Small, Maynard, 1925), 5.

Politics and issues of gender and sexuality are discussed further in Chapter 7, but suffice it to say, here, that operetta was rarely thought a political threat. Even a piece as strongly oriented politically as Bertolt Brecht and Kurt Weill's *Die Dreigroschenoper* (1928) was given a New York production (as *The 3-Penny Opera*) at the Empire Theatre in April 1933, in a version by Clifford Cochran and Jerrold Krimsky. The New York run was only 12 performances, but Marc Blitztein's version for the off-Broadway Theatre de Lys enjoyed a record-breaking run of 2500 performances. It was that version which came to the Royal Court Theatre in February 1956, with Sam Wannamaker as stage director and Berthold Goldschmidt as musical director. Brecht and Weill's *Aufstieg und Fall der Stadt Mahagonny* (1930) was not performed in the West End until 1963, nor given an off-Broadway production until 1970, but its German reception had not proved encouraging to theatre managers elsewhere. There was a riot at the Leipzig premiere, and, at the Frankfurt performance, an audience fight that resulted in someone being shot dead. In this stage work, Brecht painted a relentless political satire of capitalism: Mahagonny is a fictional city, supposedly in Alabama, where everything is tolerated except lack of money.

The Waning Enthusiasm for Operetta Post-1933

The decline in productions on Broadway and in the West End of operetta from the German stage can be linked to several factors. One was the persecution of Jewish creative artists and the Nazi state control of operetta, which is discussed in the postlude to this book. Another was the growing enthusiasm for the new Broadway musicals and for sound film and screen musicals. There were also other leisure-time pursuits to distract the erstwhile operetta lover: social dancing and dance bands, for instance, and radio and records. Radio ownership was increasing in the mid-1920s, but records were still expensive. However, prices fell in the 1930s and records joined sound films as channels for the dissemination and promotion of American music. As syncopated American popular styles established a position of dominance in that decade, much of the music of operetta was beginning to sound like a bygone era.

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[113] Burns Mantle, ed., *The Best Plays of 1927–1928* (New York: Dodd, Mead, 1928), 3–4.

The new jazzy Broadway musical had begun to have an impact in the West End during 1925–28, with shows by George Gershwin, Jerome Kern, and Vincent Youmans. The novel character of the latter's *No, No, Nanette!* was recognized by *The Theatre World* in July 1925:

> 'No, No, Nanette' may be said to have been the first of the new type of musical comedy, which is rapidly ousting the more old-fashioned 'waltz and kiss' style of musical play. . . . High spirits are the secrets of the success of these modern shows . . . Quick-fire dancing and quick-fire comedy are the order of the day.[114]

No, No, Nanette! opened in March 1925 at the Palace Theatre and ran for 665 performances. In contrast, Lehár's *Frasquita* opened in April and closed after 36 performances. In June, as if responding to competition, the next Lehár production in the West End was *Clo-Clo*, which was described by a disgruntled critic in *Theatre World* as 'a jazz maniacal comedy'.[115] It did continue for a respectable run of 95 performances, but Oscar Straus's 'old-fashioned' *Cleopatra*, also produced in June, was still running when *Clo-Clo* closed. It was not, therefore, only the American jazzy style of show that appealed to West End audiences, and, in fact, the three biggest successes imported from the USA to the London stage in the second half of the1920s were of a more traditional operetta character: Rudolf Friml's *Rose-Marie* and *The Vagabond King*, and Sigmund Romberg's *The Desert Song*. Operetta from the German stage also remained a strong force: Gilbert's *Katja, the Dancer* was hailed in 1925 as 'one of the biggest successes the Gaiety has ever known' – the reviewer adding, somewhat backhandedly, 'even the waltz songs are not as irritatingly cloying as usual'.[116] It transferred to Daly's in September 1925 and enjoyed, in all, a run of 514 performances, which puts it in third place (behind *Rose-Marie*, with 851 performances, and *No, No, Nanette!*) among the most successful shows opening that year. Even in 1933, the *Daily Telegraph* welcomed Straus's *Mother of Pearl* at the Gaiety as 'a great relief from the blatant jazz compositions from which we have so long suffered'.[117]

At the same time as Broadway was exporting energetic fun mixed with romance, some operettas were taking a melancholy turn. In late 1929, the

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[114] *The Theatre World and Illustrated Stage Review*, 6 (Jul. 1925), 52–53, at 53.

[115] Yorick, 'Clo-Clo', *Theatre World*, 6 (1925), 70–71, at 71.

[116] 'Katja, the Dancer', *Theatre World*, 6 (1925), 30–31, at 31.

[117] 'Plays of the Month', *The Play Pictorial*, 62:372 (Aug. 1933), v–vii, at v.

New York Times claimed that Berlin impresarios the Rotter brothers knew the value of offering a piece that gave the audience the opportunity 'for a good cry'.[118] The work the newspaper had in mind was Lehár's *Friederike*, which was to arrive eventually at the Imperial Theatre in 1937. The sad ending and theme of resignation had already been present in *Ein Walzertraum* and *Das Dreimäderlhaus*.

Broadway musicals increased their presence on the London stage in the 1930s. Singer-comedian George Graves was more anxious about the 'American invasion' of the West End than he was about continental European fare, because American stage works were not adapted in the same way, and thus they threatened 'to eclipse our language and social standards'.[119] By 1931, the year Graves published his autobiography, he sensed the danger from Broadway has passed, and prophesized that 'a renewal of the popularity of British shows' would follow the 'long spell of foreign domination of our theatre'.[120] He failed to see that the Broadway shows had prepared the ground for the later dominance of American musicals in London. When Lehár's *Paganini* was produced by C. B. Cochran at the Lyceum in 1937, it had Richard Tauber and Evelyn Laye in the lead roles, and contained some Lehár's most lyrical music; yet, even so, the reception was disappointing. It was beginning to seem as if continental European operetta's glory days were over.

A weariness with operetta after the Second World War is evident in the *Times* review of the revival of Stolz's *Wild Violets* (*Wenn die kleinen Veilchen blühen*) at the Stoll Theatre, London, in February 1950. The reviewer thinks it 'may be of interest to the younger generation as a period piece', but *Annie Get Your Gun* (Berlin) and *Oklahoma!* (Rodgers and Hammerstein) had arrived in the West End three years before and had 'led audiences to expect a whole string of catchy tunes'.[121] *Wild Violets* actually continued for a respectable run of 121 performances, but it had achieved 290 at Drury Lane during 1932–33. It is ironic that the up-to-date George Gershwin told Oscar Straus, with whom he had become friends during the latter's American visits, that *The Chocolate Soldier* was his favourite musical.[122] Gershwin did not dismiss Straus as old fashioned, even if his own stage works now epitomized contemporary musical theatre. Nevertheless, Straus was present at the opening night of Rodgers and Hammerstein's *Oklahoma!* in 1943 and remarked afterwards: 'Something new and elemental has arrived. It is a revolution which makes old fogeys like me seem academic, perhaps even classical.'[123] Straus's *Three Waltzes* (*Die drei Wälzer*) was the last silver-age operetta to have a Broadway premiere in the 1930s. It opened at the Majestic Theatre, 25 Dec. 1937 and ran for 122 performances. After that, there was no premiere of an operetta from the German stage until 1946, when the long-planned production of Lehár's *Das Land des Lächelns* finally opened at the Shubert Theatre with the title *Yours Is My Heart*. It lasted a mere 36 performances, despite the presence of Richard Tauber.

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[118] 'Germans and Operetta', *New York Times*, 8 Dec. 1929, cited in Frey, '"Eine Sünde wert": Operette als künstlerischer Seitensprung', in Brandl-Risi, Risi, and Simon, *Kunst der Oberfläche*, 111–24, at 119.

[119] Graves, *Gaieties and Gravities*, 203.

[120] Ibid., 279.

[121] Stoll Theatre: 'Wild Violets', *The Times*, 13 Feb. 1950, 10.

[122] Grun, *Prince of Vienna*, 136.

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[123] Ibid., 191.

6 Operetta and Intermediality

Operetta not only transferred across borders but also from one media platform to another, a characteristic of industrialized production termed 'intermediality'. A stage show was a multilayered communication medium that connected to other media, such as sheet music, records, film, and radio, linking 'a variety of media in a symbolic mesh', as Carolin Stahrenberg and Nils Grosch explain succinctly.[1] As early as 1912, a Broadway theatre reviewer remarked: 'Nowadays when one goes to hear a Viennese operetta one is certain to recognize the tunes.' The next year, another American reporter observed: 'Viennese operetta waltzes are produced in New York restaurants long before they reach the New York theatres.'[2] Operetta also transferred from the theatre to the *palais de danse* after the First World War. Composers knew that if they included waltzes, tangos, and fox trots, these could be marketed in an alternative way via dance bands. An operetta song demonstrated its autonomy 'by its ability to walk out of the theatre on its own', as David Baker neatly puts it, 'becoming a hit in cafés, band concerts, dance halls or variety shows', and, of course, on records.[3] There was nothing so new about this, Johann Strauss's operettas were intermedial in a similar sense, since he served up ballroom versions of many of their numbers. Intermediality can create new styles of entertainment, as demonstrated by *Zirkus aimé* (1932), a mixture of revue operetta and circus, with music by Ralph Benatzky and book and lyrics by Curt Goetz. When it was given in the West End as *The Flying Trapeze* (1935), its novel combination of theatre and circus was commented on in *The Play Pictorial*.[4]

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[1] Carolin Stahrenberg and Nils Grosch, 'The Transculturality of Stage, Song and Other Media: Intermediality in Popular Musical Theatre', in Len Platt, Tobias Becker, and David Linton, eds., *Popular Musical Theatre in Germany and Britain, 1890–1939* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 187–200, at 187.

[2] '"Eva" Has One Charm', *New York Times*, 31 Dec. 1012, 7, and 'Copy London Halls at Palace Theatre', *New York Times*, 25 Mar. 1913, 8.

[3] David J. Baker, 'The Merry Mogul: Franz Lehár Modernized Operetta with *The Merry Widow*', *Opera News*, 65:6 (Dec. 2000), 48–51, at 50.

[4] Anon., *The Play Pictorial*, 66:398 (Oct. 1935), 24.

Arrangements of Operetta Music

The term ‘remediation’ refers to a change from one medium to another, and there were various ways in which the music of operetta might be remediated. For example, it could be turned into sheet music for private pleasure playing the home piano, or, re-emerge as a military band medley for the enjoyment of the public spending a leisurely afternoon in the park. The market for sheet music was enormous. Bernard Grun recollects that, in the first half of the twentieth century, people bought ‘thousands of piano scores, songs, and “selections,” which were then played at home on the piano’.[5] Diverse arrangements were published: for voice and piano, piano solo or duet, solo instrument with or without piano accompaniment, large or small orchestra, and military or brass bands. The Royal Artillery band recorded a selection from *The Merry Widow*, as did the Grenadier Guards band.[6] Military bands also spread this music in other countries. King Edward’s Horse, a British Dominions cavalry regiment, recorded a selection from *The Chocolate Soldier* in 1913 for Edison Bell.[7] Many arrangements were for dancing. MacQueen-Pope comments on the ubiquity of the ‘Merry Widow Waltz’, which in the days before the *palais de danse* was ‘ground out on piano organs . . ., played in restaurants by orchestras, at the seaside, in parks, at exhibitions, on parade by brass and military bands, tinkled on pianos in innumerable homes, churned on records on the new popular gramophones, [and] danced by couples . . . at parties everywhere’.[8]

A publisher might employ more than one arranger, even for piano selections. In 1909, Ascherberg, Hopwood & Crew published Carl Kiefert’s waltz based on melodies from *The Dollar Princess*, as well as Charles Godfrey’s piano selection from that operetta. The piano part of a vocal score needed an arranger, and Chappell often employed H. M. [Henry Marcellus] Higgs. There were many other arrangers, such as Henri Saxon, Guy Jones, and Gustav Blasser, working for various publishers. A musical director might also arrange selections, as Arthur Wood did for Gilbert’s *Yvonne*. In the early century, a vocal score would have cost around 6*s* in the UK and $2 in the USA (slightly more expensive).

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[5] Bernard Grun, *Prince of Vienna: The Life, the Times and the Melodies of Oscar Straus* (London: W. H. Allen, 1955), 72.

[6] Respectively, Gramophone Co., 0122, and the Odeon Company, 0706.

[7] Available on disc, 228, or cylinder, 20299; recorded in Oct. 1913.

[8] W. MacQueen-Pope and D. L. Murray, *Fortune’s Favourite: The Life and Times of Franz Lehár* (London: Hutchinson, 1953), 116.

A single song was around 2*s* in the UK and 60¢ in the USA. At this time a dollar was worth just under five shillings (and there were 20 shillings to the pound). The typical price of individual songs remained the same after the war, although the cost of a vocal score increased a little. As a consequence of the sharply rising prices in 1922, however, sheet music was becoming cheaper in real terms.

Before the war, figure dances were still in vogue, so Chappell published a set of 'Merry Widow Lancers'. Iff's Orchestra recorded the *Merry Widow Lancers* on three discs (containing the five figures of the dance).[9] Some of the music, notably that of the 'Merry Widow Waltz' and 'Vilja', is uncomfortably forced into the required tempo for the figures in a way that was rarely necessary in quadrilles based on music from the Johann Strauss operettas. After the war, dance bands grew in number and were of the newer variety dominated by wind instruments rather than strings. The repertoire of these bands included waltzes, fox trots, and tangos from operetta. The link between theatre and dance was evident when Irene and Vernon Castle took roles in Irving Berlin's *Watch Your Step* at Broadway's New Amsterdam Theatre in 1914, the year they started their dance school and published *Modern Dancing*.

The remediation of an operetta number as a dance piece involved related material but offered a different experience. A few examples from both sides of the Atlantic suffice to illustrate how the dance bands of the 1920s included operetta in their repertoire. The duet 'Josef, ach Josef' from Leo Fall's *Madame Pompadour* was a hit record for two stars of the Berlin stage, Fritzi Massary and Max Pallenberg, in 1928.[10] Yet the Savoy Orpheans at the Savoy Hotel, London, had already recorded it as a fox trot, 'Joseph', several years earlier.[11] In New York, George Olsen and His Music recorded the fox trot 'Leander' from Jean Gilbert's operetta *Katja, die Tänzerin* in 1926.[12] Needless to say it was a similar story with dance bands in Berlin, of which there were a plethora by 1927.[13] Operetta continued to relate to dance band music in the 1930s: Chappell published dance-band arrangements of the waltzes 'Pardon, Madame!' and 'Good Night!' from

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[9] Iff's Orchestra, conducted by Herr [Wilhelm] Iff, London: Gramophone Co., 0563–5. Available on Palaeophonics 92 (2015).

[10] *Die grossen Premieren*, Membran Music, 2CDs, 233003 (2010), CD 1, track 13.

[11] Columbia 3373, A560-1, rec. London, *c.* 16 Jan. 1924. *Madame Pompadour*, Palaeophonics 109 (2013), tracks 11 and 12.

[12] Victor, 10-inch, black label, 20289-B, rec. New York, 29 Oct. 1926.

[13] Anton Gill, *A Dance Between the Flames: Berlin Between the Wars* (London: John Murray, 1993), 104.

Abraham's *Viktoria and her Hussar* in 1931.[14] Henry Hall, who had recently become conductor of the BBC Dance Orchestra, was asked by Chappell to select and arrange a piano selection from the same composer's *Ball at the Savoy* in 1933.

Player Pianos and Records

There had been various early models of player piano, but it was the pianola developed by the Aeolian Company in 1897 that really took off.[15] In 1908, an industry conference in Buffalo agreed to a common format for piano rolls, which would be capable of playing all 88 notes of the standard piano keyboard. Before this, in 1904, Edwin Welte had invented a device that would play back a performance exactly as the original pianist had played it. People were desirous of hearing a celebrated pianist's performance in their own homes, and player-piano rolls now hold value as a source of historic performing practice – at least in terms of tempo, phrasing, and rhythm. It was still necessary to rely on mechanical devices to give prominence to a melodic line. The player piano was at the height of its popularity in the 1920s. Player pianos and piano rolls, which had been produced all around the globe, faced a period of decline in the1930s, as attention turned to radio and records. Figure 6.1 shows one of two rolls of selections from *Lilac Time*, arranged by G. H. Clutsam, issued by the Artistyle Music Roll Company.[16]

Before the British Government passed its new Copyright Act in 1911, a Royal Commission had to grapple with the vexed question of a composer's rights with regard to mechanical music. The gramophone

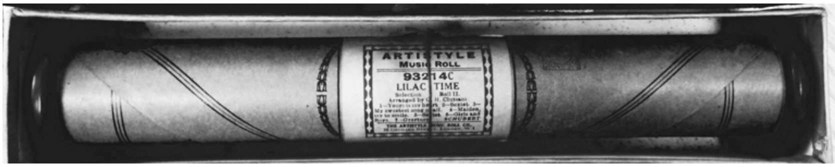

Figure 6.1 *Lilac Time* piano roll.

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[14] Pl. nos. 34041 and 31042.

[15] For more detailed information on player pianos, see Roehl, Harvey Roehl, *Player Piano Treasury* (New York: Vestal Press, 1973), and Arthur A. Reblitz, *The Golden Age of Automatic Musical Instruments* (Woodsville, New Hampshire: Mechanical Music Press, 2001).

[16] Artistyle Music Roll 93213C and 93214C. Aristyle was located at 18 Orchard Street, London, W1.

companies claimed that copyright fees would cost many jobs among the manufacturing workforce. According to William Boosey, Winston Churchill decided that pianola rolls infringed copyright because it was possible for a human being to read and reconstruct the music being played, but that was not the case with gramophone records. The Act resulted in many composers having to part with their work to record companies for a compulsory fixed percentage. Section 19 of the Act put it at 5 per cent of the price of the record, or 2.5 per cent if the composer's music did not feature on the second side of the record. It meant that composers were earning less than 2*d* from each record sold (records at this time cost between 1*s* and 3*s*). Moreover, this 2*d* had to be shared with any lyricist or agent they used. Once the copyright percentage was agreed with one record company, another company had the right to insist upon the same terms. The performers of music, on the other hand, were able to negotiate any terms they pleased, and consequently made far more money out of records than did composers and lyricists.

The changing music market in the early twentieth century prompted a shift from concentrating on sales of sheet music to the exploitation of rights.[17] The UK's Copyright Act of 1911 responded to the 1908 revision of the Berne Convention by asserting that copyright in music applied to its mechanical reproduction. The Mechanical Copyright Licences Company, established in 1910, collected and distributed royalties, and became the Mechanical Copyright Protection Society in 1924. Publishers realized that performing rights, about which they had been so neglectful previously, were now a major source of income, especially with the advent of recording, player pianos, films, and radio broadcasts.

The phonographic cylinder could no longer compete with competition from discs as the first decade of the twentieth century drew to a close. Columbia Records dropped the format in 1912, though Edison kept going with dwindling numbers. The industry was always keen, for competitive reasons, to stress its technological progress. An advertisement in 1912 for the Orpheus gramophone claimed that it had an 'everlasting sapphire point' making replacement needles unnecessary.[18] Another advertisement, for the new Columbia Grafonola of 1924, boasts of technological progress in Columbia's gramophones and records.[19] Yet the German record label Electrola, part of the same business as Britain's Gramophone Company, had already claimed perfection for its records of *The Merry Widow* in 1907, citing an endorsement from the composer: 'The new Gramophone Records reproduce the fine musical points of my own music in the most perfect manner.'[20] In 1910, the Gramophone Company gave Robert Falcon Scott two HMV 'Monarch' gramophones and a box of several hundred records to take with him on his ill-fated Terra Nova Expedition to the Antarctic. Among the discs were the 'Dollar Princess Two-Step' and 'Dollar Princess Operatic Party', issued while the operetta was still running at Daly's.[21]

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[17] See Ruth Towse, 'Economics of Music Publishing: Copyright and the Market', *Journal of Cultural Economics*, 41:4 (2016), 403–20.

[18] *The Play Pictorial*, 21:124 (Dec. 1912), vii.

[19] *The Play Pictorial*, 44:264 (Aug. 1924), 51.

Records were of performers who had achieved stardom on stage, and the same was true of films and photographs. Even published song-sheets commonly named the singer who had made the song popular. Thus, to pick up on Mary Simonson's useful phrase, performers created 'intermedial reference points'.[22] In 1911, for example, soloists from the London production of *The Count of Luxembourg* could be heard on discs released by HMV, and soloists from the New York production of *Gypsy Love* could be heard on Edison cylinders. Recordings were of single items or selections rather than of whole productions. Original cast members were preferred, but engaging every single one was not always possible. Records of some members of the Daly's *Merry Widow* cast (sadly, not Lily Elsie[23]) were released by Odeon, a company founded in Berlin in 1903, for which Eduard Künneke worked as musical director during 1908–10. Harry Welchman played Colonel Belovar in the Daly's production of *The Lady of the Rose*, but it is Thorpe Bates who sings the role on the Columbia recordings with Daly's Theatre Orchestra. Yet Phyllis Dare, Ivy Tremand, and Huntley Wright all sing their own numbers on these records (see Appendix 4). Singers engaged for recordings discovered that gramophone royalties could supplement their salaries substantially, especially if they were star performers. José Collins's earnings at the Gaiety in 1923, including her gramophone royalties, sometimes amounted to £800 in a single week.[24]

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[20] *The Play Pictorial*, 10:61 (Sep. 1907), viii.

[21] 'Dollar Princess Two-Step' (Fall, arr. Kaps), The Black Diamond Band, Mar. 1910, GC 2–462; 'The Dollar Princess Operatic Party' (Fall), opening chorus, sung by Eleanor Jones-Hudson, Peter Dawson, Stanley Kirkby, Ernest Pike, Carrie Tubb, and Harold Wilde, Oct. 1909, GC 4621. The recordings can be found on *Scott's Music Box*, 2 CDs, EMI 5099964494920, 2012.

[22] Mary Simonson, *Body Knowledge: Performance, Intermediality, and American Entertainment at the Turn of the Twentieth Century* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013), 20.

[23] Recordings were made by Columbia, however, of her singing in the leading role of Stolz's *The Blue Train* (1927). Transfers are available on Palaeophonics 101, PEO197 (2012).

[24] José Collins, *The Maid of the Mountains: Her Story* (London: Hutchinson, 1932), 205.

There were three record manufacturers in Britain in 1912, but by 1916 the number had risen to 60.[25] Recording companies marketed operetta not only as dance music but also as hit songs. The 1920s were a boom time for record sales, and songs from successful operettas were recorded regularly because, at this time, the industry was reluctant to promote anything new and untried.[26] In Austria and Germany, Odeon and Parlophone advertised records of *Schlager* (hit songs).[27] HMV Records of 'Sämtliche Schlager' ('All the Hits') from *Der Graf von Luxemburg* were advertised as on sale at Weiss's shop at 189 Friedrichstrasse, Berlin, almost immediately after its premiere in 1909.[28] When Paul Abraham appeared on the scene, he was well aware of the market for *Schlager*. Many songs from *Viktoria und ihr Husar* became hit records ('Meine Mama', 'Mausi', and 'Goodnight' were special favourites). In *Die Blume von Hawaii* (1931), there were again hit songs to be marketed: one of them, half written in English, was 'My Golden Baby'.[29]

The separate existence of *Schlager* encouraged intermediality. People who had never been to a theatre were whistling Lehár's 'Nechledl-Marsch' (from *Wiener Frauen*) on the streets, claims Anton Mayer.[30] Out of the context of operetta performance, it hardly mattered what key a song was sung in, or whether the singer was male or female. Chappell marketed the sheet music for 'You Are My Heart's Delight' in four different keys to cater for male or female soloists of various voice ranges, and also published a vocal duet version for soprano and tenor (Figure 6.2).

Tauber's voice ensured wide dissemination of Lehár's music on radio and records.[31] Certain songs became particularly identified with him, examples being 'Hab ein blaues Himmelbett' (*Frasquita*), 'Gern hab'ich

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[25] David Linton and Len Platt, '*Dover Street to Dixie* and the Politics of Cultural Transfer and Exchange', in Platt, Becker, and Linton, *Popular Musical Theatre in London and Berlin*, 170–86, at 185.

[26] See Simon Frith, 'The Industrialization of Music', in *Music for Pleasure: Essays in the Sociology of Pop* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1988), 11–23, at 15.

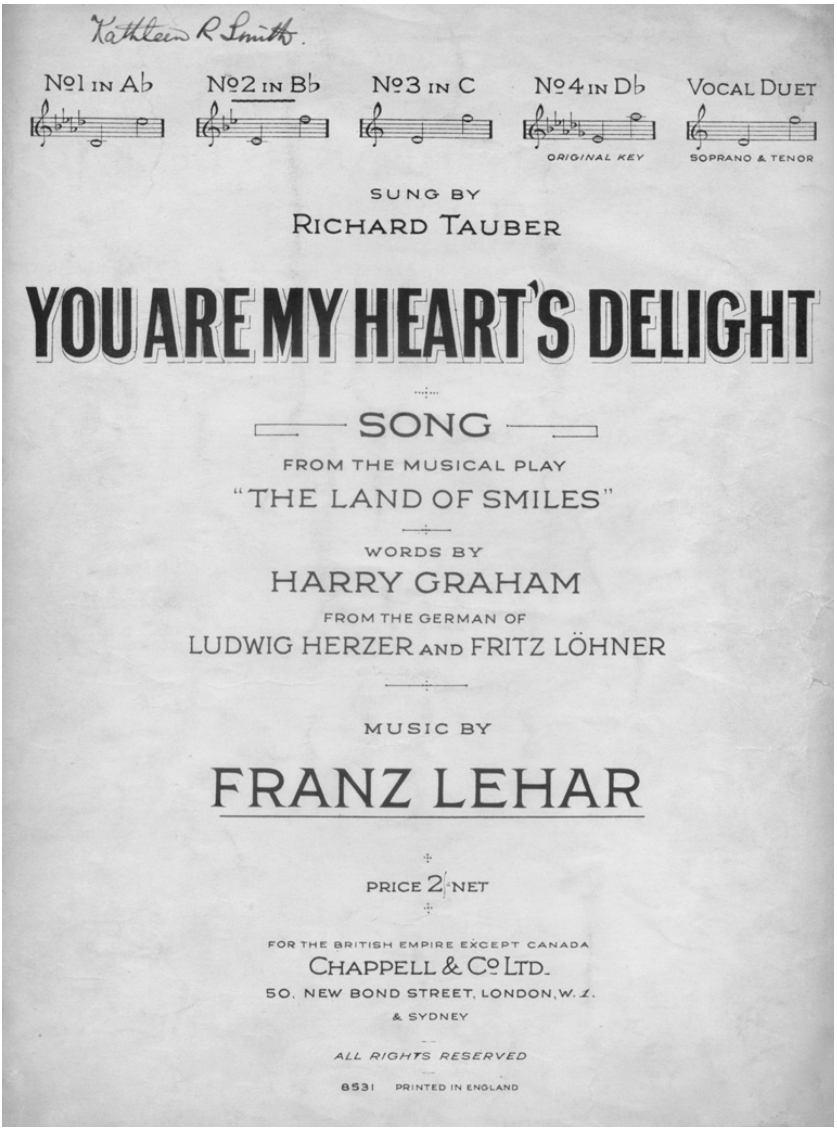
[27] See advertisement for records of *Im weißen Rössl* reproduced in Kevin Clarke and Helmut Peter, *The White Horse Inn: On the Trail of a World Success*, trans. Interlingua, Austria (St Wofgang: Rössl Hotel Verlag, 2009), 121.

[28] See advertisement reproduced in Stefan Frey, '*Was sagt ihr zu diesem Erfolg*': *Franz Lehár und die Unterhaltungsmusik des 20. Jahrhunderts* (Frankfurt am Main: Insel, 1999), 148.

[29] Welsh singer Donald Peers made a hit recording of this as late as 1949. HMV B.9808, OEA-14068.

[30] Anton Mayer, *Franz Lehár – Die lustiger Witwe: Der Ernst der leichten Muse* (Vienna: Edition Steinbauer, 2003), 40. Unfortunately, Mayer rarely provides sources of information, and his book contains no footnotes. It is often difficult, therefore, to verify the information given.

[31] Stefan Frey, *Franz Lehár oder das schlechte Gewissen der leichten Musik* (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1995), 176.



Kathleen R Smith.

Nº1 IN A♭
Nº2 IN B♭
Nº3 IN C
Nº4 IN D♭
ORIGINAL KEY
VOCAL DUET
SOPRANO & TENOR

SUNG BY
RICHARD TAUBER

YOU ARE MY HEART'S DELIGHT

SONG
FROM THE MUSICAL PLAY
"THE LAND OF SMILES"

WORDS BY
HARRY GRAHAM
FROM THE GERMAN OF
LUDWIG HERZER AND FRITZ LÖHNER

MUSIC BY
FRANZ LEHAR

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Figure 6.2 'You Are My Heart's Delight', the hit song of *The Land of Smiles*.

den Frau'n geküsst' (*Paganini*), and 'O Mädchen, mein Mädchen' (*Friederike*).[32] With 'Dein ist mein ganzes Herz' (*Das Land des Lächelns*), the Tauber-Lied became a 'declaration of love' song and lost the narrative quality it had in *Frasquita* and *Paganini*. Frey comments that this type of song was even more effective on radio or gramophone than the stage, and records of 'Dein ist mein ganzes Herz' sold over a million copies in German, English, French, and Italian versions.[33] The song was as popular on radio as it was in sheet music and on disc. In 1944, Forbes-Winslow remarked that 'You Are My Heart's Delight' had been 'broadcast repeatedly from more than fifty stations in parts of the world'.[34]

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[32] For an analysis of the 'Tauber-Lied', see Paul D. Seeley, 'Franz Lehár: Aspects of His Life with a Critical Survey of His Operettas and the Work of His Jewish Librettists', PhD diss. University of Liverpool, 2004, 358–64.

Some singers now made their reputations singing vocal refrains on dance-band records, one such being Pat O'Malley, who sang songs from *White Horse Inn* on recordings made by Jack Hylton and His Orchestra in Berlin and Milan,[35] before becoming a film and TV actor in the USA. Others who released songs from this operetta were Sam Browne and Cavan O'Connor.

Radio

When dance bands and singers performed on radio, it always created a thorny problem for the BBC. The corporation was anxious to avoid accusations that it was acting like an advertiser in a theatre programme. When Eric Maschwitz, head of the BBC's variety department, first invited Cavan O'Connor to appear on radio in 1935, he was asked to sing anonymously as 'The Vagabond Lover'. His signature song, 'I'm only a Strolling Vagabond', was that of the unknown stranger in Künneke's *The Cousin from Nowhere*.

In New York, RCA Radio had no hesitation in promoting the Broadway production of *White Horse Inn*, and broadcast excerpts in the same month as the premiere, excitedly announcing the presence of leading cast members, such as Kitty Carlisle and William Gaxton.[36] An unnamed chorus member was Alfred Drake, the understudy for Gaxton (as Leopold), who later achieved fame as Curly in *Oklahoma!* at St James's Theatre in 1943.[37]

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[33] Frey, '*Was sagt ihr zu diesem Erfolg*', 241–42.

[34] D. Forbes-Winslow, *Daly's: The Biography of a Theatre* (London: W. H. Allen, 1944), 162.

[35] 'It Would Be Wonderful' in Berlin, and 'Your Eyes' in Milan, both March 1931. Tracks 10 and 11 of *Selections from White Horse Inn*, Sepia 1141 (2009).

[36] RCA Radio *Magic Key* broadcast, 25 Oct. 1936, *Selections from White Horse Inn*, Sepia 1141 (2009), CD recording, tracks 3–8.

[37] Amy Henderson and Dwight Blocker Bowers, *Red, Hot & Blue: A Smithsonian Salute to the American Musical* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1996), 145.

In the next decade, Drake enjoyed star billing in a BBC broadcast of excepts from *White Horse Inn* (15 November 1959).

The precursor of radio was the electrophone. The use of telephone technology to relay music from the Paris Opéra had been demonstrated at the Exposition Internationale d'Électricité in 1881, and companies offering similar services soon sprang up elsewhere.[38] In 1890, Lillian Russell sang 'Voici le sabre' from Offenbach's *La Grande Duchesse de Gérolstein* into a funnel on the New York stage, while President Grover Cleveland listened to her performance in Washington.[39] In London, an audio system developed by the Electrophone Company in 1895 used telephone lines to relay musical shows and opera. On 1 February 1896, the cover of the weekly review *Invention* depicted a man relaxing in an armchair, smoking a pipe, and listening to an electrophone transmission over headphones.

Singer Ellaline Terriss mentions the electrophone in her autobiography, describing how, by means of microphones, a show was relayed over the telephone. It enabled her to hear *The Shop Girl* (1895) when she was temporarily absent from the show through illness. She explains:

> you listened by holding earphones to your ears on a kind of two-pronged metal rod – or you could just hold them in your hands. There was also an attachment like a stethoscope with little tubes which fitted into your ears. Over it you heard the show, and although it was by no means as clear and good as modern radio, still it served its purpose and we thought it was wonderful.[40]

The Electrophone Company had a salon at its headquarters in Pelican House, Gerrard Street, where listeners sat, often wearing evening dress in the early days, and listened over headphones. The system was also available in some hospitals, but the usual practice was to subscribe to the service and ask an operator to connect your telephone to the site of your choice. In 1906, all the main London operetta theatres were available. Terriss considered it a forerunner of radio, and, indeed, it was radio that drove the electrophone into oblivion in the summer of 1925. Just one year before, the Electrophone Company was offering subscribers the chance to listen to Fall's *Madame Pompadour* at Daly's and Lehár's *The Three Graces* at the

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[38] Carolyn Marvin, *When Old Technologies Were New* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), 209–11.

[39] Henderson and Bowers, *Red, Hot & Blue*, 33.

[40] Ellaline Terriss, *Just a Little Bit of String* (London: Hutchinson, 1955), 118.

Empire.[41] A subscription of £5 a year allowed two listeners access to any of the shows broadcast, and there was no extra charge for the telephone call.

The arrival of radio effected a change in music dissemination. William Boosey declared that the radio broadcasting of music was what decided Chappell to abandon concert giving.[42] It was also radio that made the collection of performing rights imperative. The first show to be broadcast from a theatre in the UK was Straus's operetta *The Last Waltz*, which opened at the Gaiety in December 1922. BBC radio services had begun that year, and the former Gaiety Restaurant, next door to the theatre, was now Marconi House, headquarters of BBC broadcasting.[43] It had a studio on the top floor, and leading stars such as José Collins and W. H. Berry were soon engaged.[44] Austria's first radio station Radio Verkehrs AG was established in 1924, and, two year later, *Frasquita* was the first operetta to be broadcast in its entirety (live from the Thalia-Theater). At this time, the station was attracting an audience of over 100,000, and issuing a weekly magazine, *Radio Wien*.[45]

Radio had, at first, transmitted live from theatres, but the BBC was soon using alternative premises, such as St George's Hall. Studio broadcasting then became the norm, and with this development came the recognition that the broadcasts needed to 'develop a technique of acting and production peculiar to themselves'.[46] An obvious difference was the interaction of actors with microphones, which necessitated decisions about where the latter were to be placed. If radio productions are ignored in studies of operetta reception, a sense of the public's familiarity with some stage works is undermined. The BBC, for example, broadcast over half-a-dozen studio performances of Künneke's *The Cousin from Nowhere* between 1927 and 1938. The neglect of radio broadcasts has given the impression that Weill's *Die Dreigroschenoper* was ignored in the UK until Marc Blitzstein's Broadway version was given at the Royal Court Theatre in 1956. In fact, its first performance took the form of a live BBC studio broadcast on 8 February 1935 (as *The Tuppenny-ha'penny Opera*, adapted by C. Denis

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[41] For further information, see Denys Parsons, 'Cable Radio – Victorian Style', *New Scientist*, 23 (30 Dec. 1982), 794–96.

[42] William Boosey, *Fifty Years of Music* (London: Ernest Benn, 1931), 179.

[43] W. J. MacQueen-Pope, *Gaiety: Theatre of Enchantment* (London: W. H. Allen, 1949), 455.

[44] Collins, *The Maid of the Mountains*, 213; and W. H. Berry, *Forty Years in the Limelight* (London: Hutchinson, 1939), 244.

[45] http://anno.onb.ac.at/cgi-content/anno?aid=raw

[46] Val Gielgud, *British Radio Drama 1922–1956* (London, 1957), 33, quoted in Michael Sanderson, *From Irving to Olivier: A Social History of the Acting Profession in England, 1880–1983* (London: Athlone, 1984), 221.

Freeman), and the musical suite that Weill made of this work had already been transmitted on 10 March 1933.

Radio offered opportunities for new compositions. Franz Marszalek, the musical director of the Schauspielhaus in Breslau (Wrocław), where Künneke's *Lady Hamilton* had its premiere in 1926, later took up work at that city's radio station. Künneke already had a connection with Breslau, because his wife, the singer Katarina Garden, had been born there. Marzalek commissioned him to compose a Dance Suite for radio, and it was broadcast on 8 September 1929. Künneke also composed his 'Opta-Walzer' for choir and orchestra (including a theremin) as an advertisement for Opta Radio. On 1 January 1932, the BBC broadcast the first radio operetta, *Good Night, Vienna!* (music by George Posford, libretto by Eric Maschwitz, using the pseudonym Holt Marvell).[47] It became a screen operetta later that year. A stage version did not appear until 1936. A later operetta heard first on radio was Kálmán's posthumous *Arizona Lady*, broadcast by Bayerische Rundfunk, 1 January 1954.

Film

In the early days of film, stage actors had generally been scornful about the new medium, but with the advent of sound film it became common for actors to combine a cinema and theatre career, especially since earnings tended to be higher in film.[48] Some acclaimed operetta singers, such as Carl Brisson and Evelyn Laye, became film stars. The singing of Gitta Alpár, a coloratura soprano first with Budapest State Opera, and later with Berlin State Opera, can be heard in the film *I Give My Heart* (Wardour Films, 1935), based on *The Dubarry*. Because of her Jewish heritage, Alpár had fled from the Nazis in 1933, first to Austria, then to the UK (later, to the USA). Stars crossing from film to stage could prove less trustworthy, especially in the days of silent film. When Charles Dillingham acquired the American rights of *Madame Pompadour*, there were rumours that Metropolitan Opera diva Geraldine Farrar, or even Fritzi Massary, might take the title role, but the part was, at length, given to silent screen star Hope Hampton.[49] Sadly, at the Philadelphia try-out she showed a lack of singing and stage acting experience, and so, for the Broadway premiere (the opening production at the new Martin Beck Theatre), she was replaced by the reliable Wilda Bennett. However, in contrast, Max Hansen, who played Leopold in Richard Oswald's 1926 silent film of the comic play *Im weißen Rössl* (written by Oscar Blumenthal and Gustav Kadelburg in 1897), succeeded in playing the same role on stage in the later operetta.

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[47] *Radio Times*, issue 431, 1 Jan. 1932, 48.

[48] Sanderson, *From Irving to Olivier*, 206.

[49] See Stefan Frey, *Leo Fall: Spötischer Rebell der Operette* (Vienna: Steinbauer, 2010), 196.

There were links between film and stage from the beginning. The performance of Paul Lincke's *Castles in the Air* at the Scala Theatre, London, in April 1911, was preceded by 'Charles Urban's Kinemacolor'.[50] Sirmay and Kollo's *The Girl on the Film* (1913) was the first operetta to include a scene of film projection (in Act 3). A year later, in the New York production of *The Lilac Domino* in 1914, a film was shown of the carnival in Nice. A number entitled 'Film Music' forms part of the musical score, but it is composed with a broad brush – a march and trio – rather than incidental music to be synchronized with screen images. That same year, the 'Song of the Picture-Palace Queen' in Act 1 of Gilbert's *The Cinema Star* illustrated how music was used more typically to represent action and mood in motion pictures.

Klaw and Erlanger formed a film company in 1913 and were soon joined by a major studio, the Biograph Company. They must have believed profits were assured because of the number of theatres they had at their disposal, but the prices they charged were too high and it folded in three years.[51] When the Shuberts took over the Longacre Theatre in 1918, it was in partnership with others, including L. Lawrence Weber who, as secretary of the Producer Managers Association was associated with several motion picture companies. Several of these companies listed their address as the Longacre Theatre, revealing how film and theatre businesses were working in cooperation.[52] In the mid-1920s, *The Play Pictorial* recognized such connections by including brief coverage of new films. The film rights to *Der letzte Walzer*, which Blumenthal and Rachman had sold to United Plays, Broadway, were purchased by the Shuberts in October 1920, but they failed to make the film within three years, as stipulated in the contract. As a consequence, in 1927, Grünwald, Brammer, and Straus resold the motion picture rights to the Davidson Film Aktiengesellschaft, Berlin, for 20,000 marks in lieu of royalties.[53]

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[50] *The Times*, 1 May 1911, 8.

[51] 'Klaw & Erlanger Films', *New York Times*, 24 May 1913, 11; John C. Tibbetts, *The American Theatrical Film: Stages in Development* (Bowling Green, OH: Bowling Green State University Popular Press, 1985), 72–75.

[52] See Maryann Chach *et al. The Shuberts Present: 100 Years of American Theatre History* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 2001), 251–53.

[53] Information given in a letter from United Plays, 15 Aug. 1927, in 'Show Series – Box 42', Shubert Archive, Lyceum Theatre, W45th Street, New York.

Operettas provided the subject matter of a number of classic films of the silent era. A much-admired director, Ludwig Berger, was responsible for *Ein Walzertraum* (1925), starring Willy Fritsch and Mady Christians. Unfortunately, a large number of silent films have either been lost or no longer exist. Early silent films were on a single reel, and thus short in duration; multi-reel films were a feature of the second decade of the twentieth century. In the 1920s, there were critics ready to argue for the artistic status of film. Cultural historian Egon Friedell maintained that, like other art forms, film had areas of activity and effects that were subject to its own generic laws; moreover, he believed it was the art that represented contemporary times most clearly and completely.[54]

Erich von Stroheim's *The Merry Widow* (MGM, 1925), starring John Gilbert as Danilo and Mae Murray as the widow, departs considerably from the operetta. It includes what would now be called a 'backstory' of the widow's early life as an American ex-vaudeville performer in the small kingdom of Monteblanco. The Parisian scenes come later. Lehár's music was rearranged by William Axt and David Mendoza. The film has erotic content featuring scantily clothed dancers at Maxim's restaurant and a love scene on a bed in a *chambre séparée*, with half-naked blindfolded musicians playing in an alcove.

After seeing *Die Zirkusprinzessin* in Berlin in 1926, Arthur Hammerstein contracted Kálmán for the opening show at the theatre he had built in honour of his father Oscar in New York.[55] It was to be *Golden Dawn*, in which Archie Leach took the minor role of Anzac. Leach had not yet become the film star known as Cary Grant, and did not appear in the Warner Brothers and Vitaphone film version directed by Ray Enright in 1930. The music was credited to both Emmerich Kálmán and Hubert Stothart, and the Vitaphone Orchestra was conducted by Louis Silvers. The fox trot song 'Though I'm Interested' and the sado-masochistic song in which a woman declares she wants a man like a tiger (a typical 'I want' burlesque number) must surely be Stothart, because Kálmán's grasp on syncopation was slight at this time. The screenplay and dialogue was by Walter Anthony, and the location and time was East Africa during the First World War, when it was under German rule. The cast was a mixture of

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[54] Egon Friedell, 'Kunst und Kino' [*c.* 1912] in *Wozu das Theater? Essays, Satiren Humoresken* (München: Deutsche Taschenbuch Verlag, 1969), 87–95, at 91 & 95.

[55] Stefan Frey, *Laughter under Tears: Emmerich Kálmán – An Operetta Biography*, trans. Alexander Butziger (Culver City, CA: Operetta Foundation, 2014), 172. Originally published as *'Unter Tränen lachen': Emmerich Kálmán – Eine Operettenbiographie* (Berlin: Henschel Verlag, 2003), 184.

British and American. Dawn (played by Vivienne Segal) is white but has been assured that once in many years African girls are born white and beloved of the god Mulungu. The 'wild African dances' at Dawn's purification ceremony in advance of her being sacrificed are not characterized by African signifiers – it is all very European. The bloodthirsty Shep Keyes, played by Noah Beery in blackface make-up, is undaunted by the dire warning, 'the British government will not tolerate the sacrifice of a white woman'. She is, of course, rescued.

A year later, contrasting with the overheated acting of *Golden Dawn*, G. W. [Georg Wilhelm] Pabst's film *Die 3-Groschen Oper* (1931) featured non-mimetic delivery of songs, most strikingly so in Lottie Lenja's singing of 'Seeräuber Jenny'. Her blank expression operates as a mask, but the effect is to force a critical position onto the viewer, something for which Brecht constantly strove in his epic theatre. Elsewhere, the film exhibited intertextuality in casting Fritz Rasp, who was celebrated for playing cold villains, as Peachum, and having Reinhold Schünzel play his usual shiftless character-type as Tiger Brown. The film credits make clear that the screenplay is *frei nach Brecht* (freely after Brecht) and not his stage play. In the film, for instance, there is a burglary at the London department store Selfridges. The musical director was the competent Theo Mackeben, but neither Kurt Weill nor Brecht were pleased with this version of *Die Dreigroschenoper* and took Pabst to court.[56]

Tonfilmoperette was a major part of the entertainment culture of the Weimar Republic.[57] Cinema numbers grew in this period from 2000 to 5000.[58] Films were able, via the simple expedient of locating a scene in a dance hall or bar, to feature cameo appearances by well-known dance bands.[59] Moreover, films had an influence the stage. In 1919, Ernst Lubitsch directed the film *Madame Dubarry*, starring Pola Negri as Jeanne and Emil Jannings as Louis XV; thus, the Mackeben-Millöcker *Dubarry* did not appear from out of the blue.

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[56] John Willett, *Brecht in Context: Comparative Approaches* (London: Methuen, rev. edn 1998; 1st pub. 1984), 128–29.

[57] Rainer Rother, 'Genreblüte ohnegleichen: Die deutsche Tonfilmoperette', in Bettina Brandl-Risi, Clemens Risi, and Rainer Simon, *Kunst der Oberfläche: Operette zwischen Bravour und Banalität* (Leipzig: Henschel Verlag, 2015), 177–83, at 179. At the time of writing, the only full-length study in English of these films is Richard Traubner, 'Operette: The German and Austrian Musical Film', PhD diss. New York University, 1996 (Ann Arbor: UMI Microform 9706293, 1996).

[58] Joseph Garncarz and Thomas Elsaesser, 'Weimar Cinema', in Thomas Elsaesser with Michael Wedel, eds., *The BFI Companion to German Cinema* (London: BFI Publishing, 1999), 247–48, at 247.

[59] Rother, 'Genreblüte ohnegleichen', 181.

During the 1930s, some theatres in Vienna were closing or screening films (see Chapter 3). Even the Theater an der Wien was operating mainly as a cinema in 1936. In Germany, Universum-Film Aktiengesellschaft, better known as Ufa, which had been founded in 1917, was absorbing other companies, but did not enjoy any kind of monopoly. Ufa presented the only serious European challenge to Hollywood, and its international success lay in operettas and comedies. Versions of these were often shot in three languages: German, English, and French. For example, one of the best-known films of the Weimar period, Ufa's *Der Kongreß tanzt* (1932), directed by Erik Charell, was produced simultaneously as *Congress Dances* and *Le Congrès s'amuse*.

Ufa released a screen operetta *Die Drei von der Tankstelle*, directed by Wilhelm Thiele, in 1930. Although the title, 'The Three from the Filling Station' might seem unexciting (a French version was retitled *Le Chemin du paradis*, but no English version was made), it proved to be Ufa's most commercial successful film of the 1930s. Rainer Rother has explained that musical films of this period derived their popular appeal by creating laughter in the face of economic depression, and this they achieved through irony.[60] There are common preconceptions of the days of the Weimar Republic as an outpouring of hedonism before the Nazi horrors to come,[61] but this film offers much more than dance, song, and frivolity. Its humour is infectious and the three best friends who are rivals for the hand of a wilful young woman resolve their differences amicably in the end. And it is the end of the film that is most surprising, because it shows that Brecht was not isolated in his ideas about breaking frame in dramatic representation and reminding audiences of the mechanics of the construction of representational forms. The stars of the film, Lilian Harvey and Willy Fritsch, are shown stepping through theatre curtains and suddenly noticing that the cinema audience is staring at them. They wonder why nobody has left; the show is over. They rapidly realize that the audience wants a proper operetta finale, and only then will be satisfied that it is the end. An ironic 'proper' finale follows, complete with full cast, a line of high-kicking dancers (revealing the influence of the Tiller Girls in Berlin) and assorted extras. In the later century, this kind of self-referentiality, and exposure of the means by which a narrative code, dramatic meaning, and illusion are constructed, would be termed ‘postmodernism’. But here it is, before the post has arrived.

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[60] Ibid., 183.

[61] 'The higher the prices rose the greater the abandon, the madder the night clubs, the faster the dance steps', Alexandra Richie, *Faust's Metropolis: A History of Berlin* (London: Harper Collins, 1998), 323.

The spectacular scenery that could be shown on film enthralled those who were stuck in the city in the depression years and yearned to travel (see Chapter 7). A film like *Die Blume von Hawaii* of 1933, directed by Richard Oswald, appealed to the tourist impulse. For most people Hawaii was an unattainable destination, and yet here it could be seen on screen: the palm trees, the sea hitting the rocks, and so forth. However, out-door production offered more than travel brochure information or beauty of landscape, it added to the apparent naturalism of film compared to the pseudorealistic decorative effect of stage scenery.[62] People expected a broader view of location, although this did not prevent a film from constructing an imaginary location, so that the inside and outside of a house might in reality be two different houses presented as one. German silent films were often outdoor films, but studio filming increased from the mid-1920s.

Robert Stolz’s *Zwei Herzen in Dreivierteltakt* was the first German screen operetta, and was premiered at the large Ufa-Palast cinema in Berlin on 13 March 1930.[63] Based on it, was the British film *Two Hearts in Waltztime* (1934), directed by Carmine Gallone and Joe May, starring Carl Brisson, Frances Day, Valerie Hobson, and Oscar Asche. Stolz’s screen operetta had been a great success in the USA, where it had been advertised as the ‘First German Screen Operetta: All-Talking, Singing, Dancing!’[64] His score to another screen operetta, *Das Lied ist aus*, which appeared later that same year, contained the song ‘Adieu, mein kleiner Gardeoffizier’ (lyrics by Walter Reich), which was interpolated into the West End production of *White Horse Inn* as ‘Good-Bye’.

Three original screen operettas were released in 1931: *Die Privatsekretärin*, with music by Paul Abraham, *Ronny*, music by Emmerich Kálmán, and *Die große Attraktion*, music by Franz Lehár. Composing for film could prove profitable. Kálmán was paid 30,000 marks for the seven numbers he composed for *Ronny*.[65] Lehár composed another two screen operettas during the Weimar years and had film adaptations made of three of his stage operettas: *Das Land des Lächelns*, *Friederike*, and *Der Zarewitsch*. A loose adaptation of Lehár's *Zigeunerliebe* was released by MGM in May 1930 as *The Rogue Song*, directed by Lionel Barrymore and Hal Roach (uncredited). It starred Catherine Dale Owen, Lawrence Tibbett, and, perhaps unexpectedly, Stan Laurel and Oliver Hardy. An example of a continental European operetta that made it to Hollywood, but not to the Broadway stage, is *The King Steps Out* (1936), directed by Josef von Sternberg, and starring Grace Moore and Franchot Tone. It was based on Fritz Kreisler's *Sissy* (libretto by Ernst and Hubert Marischka), first performed at the Theater an der Wien in 1932.

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[62] Arthur Maria Rabenalt emphasizes this in *Der Operetten-Bildband: Bühne, Film, Fernsehen* (Hildesheim: Olms Presse, 1980), 39.

[63] Gustav Holm, *Im ¾ Takt durch die Welt: Ein Lenensbild des Komponisten Robert Stolz* (Vienna: Ibis-Verlag, 1948), 283.

[64] Programme from Orpheum Theatre, Quincy, Illinois, quoted in John Koegel, *Music in German Immigrant Theater: New York City, 1840–1940* (Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 2009), 371.

[65] Ludwig Hirschfeld, ‘Kálmán-Tonfilm’, *Neue Freie Presse*, 25 Dec. 1931, cited in Stefan Frey, *Laughter under Tears*, 203; *‘Unter Tränen lachen’*, 217.

Erik Charell was director of the Großes Schauspielhaus in Berlin when Erich Pommer of Ufa asked him to direct *Der Kongreß tanzt* (1931). Michael Wedel has suggested that Charell's experience of the medium of film inspired an innovative creation of 'a virtuoso synthesis of choreography, musical montage and a smooth narrative flow, which enchanted audiences in Germany and abroad'.[66] Pommer founded the film company Decla and, after it became part of Ufa in 1923, he joined Ufa's directorial board. When Ufa reorganized under a new general manager, Ludwig Klitzsch, in 1927, financing and production became separate units. The production-unit system was also being established at a similar time in Hollywood. The separation of production and finance gave Pommer more freedom to accept Charell's expensive demands for *Der Kongreß tanzt*. Carl Hoffman, a renowned cameraman, and also a director, set an example of how camera mobility and sound could work together in this film.[67] It also had the services of the influential designer Walter Röhrig, who had created the expressionist sets for Robert Wiene's *Das Cabinet des Dr Caligari* (1919).

Siegfried Kraucauer argues that German films of 1918–33 reveal 'deep psychological dispositions' that 'influenced the course of events during that time'.[68] In particular, he criticizes the 'patronizing benevolence' of their depiction of a retrospective and Utopian Vienna with 'gentle archdukes, tender flirtations, baroque decors, Biedermeier rooms, [and] people singing and drinking in a suburban garden restaurant', all of which 'implied that such effeminate enemies would be a pushover'.[69] He holds that, with the coming of sound, 'operetta profited more than any other escapist genre'.[70] He recognized that *Die Drei von der Tankstelle* did not romanticize the past, but he still mistrusted its escapism:

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[66] Michael Wedel, 'Charell, Erik', in Elsaesser, *The BFI Companion to German Cinema*, 50.

[67] Michael Wedel, 'Hoffman, Carl', in Elsaesser, *The BFI Companion to German Cinema*, 137.

[68] Siegfried Kracauer, *From Caligari to Hitler: A Psychological History of the German Film* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1947), v.

[69] Ibid., 141.

> this film was a playful daydream woven of the materials of everyday life. Three careless young friends suddenly gone bankrupt buy a filling station with the proceeds of their car; there they devote themselves to flirting with a pretty girl who time and again turns up in her roadster – a dalliance which after some emotional confusion logically ends with one of the three rivals winning out. The refreshing idea of shifting the operetta paradise from its traditional locales to the open road was supported by the eccentric use made of music. Full of whims, the score constantly interfered with the half-rational plot, stirring characters and even objects to behave in a frolicsome manner. An unmotivated waltz invited workers clearing out the friends' unpaid-for furniture to transform themselves into dancers, and whenever the amorous roadster approached, its horn would emit a few bars which threaded the film with the stubbornness of a genuine leitmotiv.[71]

Instead of perceiving innovative ways in which music and sound are used, he finds the score eccentric and full of whims. The imaginative treatment of the heroine's car horn – turning noise into a leitmotiv – attracts no more than a scornful comment.

The screen operetta he chooses as the pinnacle of 'lucrative speculation in romantic nostalgia' is *Der Kongreß tanzt*:

> [It] set the flirtations of a sweet Viennese girl against the stately background of the Viennese Congress of 1814. Spectacular mass displays alternated with intimate tête-à-têtes involving the Tsar in person, and Metternich's diplomatic intrigues added a pleasing touch of high politics. Elaborate rather than light-winged, this superoperetta with its agreeable melodies and intelligent structural twists amounted to a compendium of all imaginable operetta motifs. Some of them set a fashion. Particularly frequent were imitations of that sequence of *Congress Dances* in which Lilian Harvey on her drive through the countryside passes various kinds of people who all take up the song she sings from her carriage.[72]

Once again, he is unimpressed by cinematic innovation: he has no words of admiration for the long tracking shot of Harvey's carriage journey, an astounding feat of camera work at this time. He sees it merely as a fashionable gimmick to be imitated. Nothing in Kracauer's commentary suggests that he would have had any sympathy with Richard Dyer's argument that social tensions in the depression years generated social needs to which film musicals responded, albeit by offering no more than the pleasure of an escapist Utopian vision.[73] People did not necessarily mistake a vision of a Utopian Vienna for social reality. Zoë Lang has also pointed out that, alongside an idealization of Austria's imperial past, a typical feature of such films – *Der Kongreß tanzt* among them – is the woman who gives up her dreams for more realistic options.[74]

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[70] Ibid., 207. [71] Ibid., 207. [72] Ibid., 208.

German operetta films begin to suffer from Nazi interference after 1933, which, at first, meant eliminating credits naming Jewish artists, as happened with *Die Csárdásfürstin* of 1934, directed by Georg Jacoby, and *Im weißen Rössl* of 1935, directed by Carl Lamac.[75] It was not long before Harvey and Fritsch were eclipsed by Marika Rökk and Johannes Heesters as the Nazi 'dream couple' (beginning with *Der Bettelstudent* of 1936, directed by Jacoby). Rökk, who married Jacoby, was banned for performing for a few years after the Second World War because of suspected Nazi collusion.[76] Ironically, it was revealed in 2017 that she had actually been a Soviet agent.[77]

When a stage operetta became a film, the tendency was to reduce musical content and increase dialogue, perhaps because musical numbers often seem static and undramatic on film. A lukewarm reviewer of Ufa's *Der Vetter aus Dingsda* (directed by George Zoch), screened at the 79th Street Theatre in Yorkville, commented on the 'occasional bit of singing to remind one of the film's origin'.[78] In many cases, screen adaptations of operetta were far from being filmed versions of the stage production: the music of more than one operetta might be included, and dialogue and narrative might change. In addition, the music was mediated differently. As Mary Simonson remarks: 'The emergent cinema did not simply remediate the materials, performance strategies, and aesthetics of the stage.'[79] According to Linda Hutcheon, when 'a manifestly artificial form like an opera or a musical' is adapted to the screen, there are two possible ways to proceed, either the artifice can be acknowledged or it can be 'naturalized'.[80] She notes that a particularly awkward problem is the convention that a character's interiority is conveyed through music, which sits uneasily with the conventions of realist drama.[81]

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[73] Richard Dyer, 'Entertainment and Utopia', in *Only Entertainment* (London: Routledge, 2nd edn 2002), 19–35; orig. pub. in *Movie*, 24 (Spring 1977), 2–13.

[74] Zoë Alexis Lang, *The Legacy of Johann Strauss: Political Influence and Twentieth-Century Identity* (Cambridge: University of Cambridge Press, 2014), 149–50.

[75] See Derek B. Scott, 'Operetta Films', in Anastasia Belina and Derek B. Scott, eds., *The Cambridge Companion to Operetta* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019).

[76] Hans-Michael Bock and Tim Bergfelder, eds., *The Concise Cinegraph: Encyclopedia of German Cinema* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2009), 401.

[77] Kate Connolly, 'Hitler's favourite actor was Soviet spy', *The Guardian*, 21 Feb. 2017, 14.

[78] 'At the 79th Street', *New York Times*, 1 Feb. 1936, 9.

[79] Simonson, *Body Knowledge*, 198.

[80] Linda Hutcheon, *A Theory of Adaptation* (New York: Routledge, 2nd edn 2013; first pub. 2006), 46.

Guido Heldt observes that, in film musicals, rather than music serving the plot by adding emotional intensity to a particular scene, the plot more often serves the music by providing 'the scaffolding for the numbers it has to frame and motivate'.[82] Interpreting songs as internal thoughts may be possible, but this becomes progressively more difficult in the case of duets, trios and larger ensembles. The ability of a group of people to articulate their thoughts simultaneously in musical harmony is never going to be convincingly realistic – as Mad Margaret says of her fellow villagers in Gilbert and Sullivan's *Ruddigore*: 'They sing choruses in public. That's mad enough, I think!' In film musicals, numbers are often introduced by an 'audio dissolve' from normal conversation to instrumental accompaniment to singing, whereas on stage they are usually distinct structural entities.[83] The change from stage play to screenplay is affected by the scenario, shooting script, and use of montage, and that leads to blurred distinctions about authorship between the screen writer and the film director from the 1920s on.

During the early 1930s, it is instructive to see the impact on performers when they move from a theatre stage to a film studio and are faced with a camera instead of a live audience. Film may seem to be an all-embracing medium, but it has its own conventions, even if they are subject to change with the passing of time. There are significant differences between theatre and film: in the theatre, the whole space of the action is seen but the spectator's position and angle of vision is fixed. In film, Béla Balázs observes that four new devices take over: a scene can be broken into several shots; the spectator can be given a close-up; the angle of vision can be changed; and montage can be used.[84] Moreover, there is a need to consider the editing of shots, for example, the speed of change from one to another. There were a range of conventional shot positions in the 1930s, the most common being the long shot, the mid-shot (often used for two actors in the same scene), and the close-up (head and shoulders). The relationship of the performer to the camera is important. If the performer sings to camera, it emphasizes the performance act, breaking with naturalistic illusion. There are many differences between working to camera and working with a live audience. In a theatre, a performer can turn unexpectedly to a section of the audience in any part of the auditorium. Filmmakers like to edit shots; they do not want performers choosing which camera to turn to.

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[81] Ibid., 60–61.

[82] Guido Heldt, *Music and Levels of Narration in Film: Steps Across the Border* (Bristol: Intellect, 2013), 138.

[83] See Rick Altman, *The American Film Musical* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1987), 66.

[84] Béla Balázs, *Theory of Film*, trans. Edith Bone (London: Dobson, 1952; originally published as *Filmkultúra*, Budapest: Szikra kiadás, 1948).

The British film *Blossom Time* of 1934 was a new adaptation of Schubert melodies by G. H. Clutsam and differed from his earlier West End success *Lilac Time*, based on Berté's *Das Dreimäderlhaus*. To add to the confusion, it also differed from Romberg's Broadway version of the latter as *Blossom Time*, which is why the film's American title became *April Blossoms*. The credits state that the screenplay, dialogue, and lyrics are by Franz Schulz, John Drinkwater, Roger Burford, and G. H. Clutsam, and the music is 'specially adapted and composed' by the latter. This screen operetta was later turned into a stage operetta, *Blossom Time* (book by Rodney Ackland), produced at the Lyric Theatre in 1941. *Blossom Time* cost British International Pictures (BIP) much more than its other films, owing to the expensive sets and crowd scenes.[85] The director Paul Stein was Viennese but had worked for five years in Hollywood.[86] The cast included Richard Tauber, the most famous star to work for BIP at that time. Tauber was one of first operetta singers to become a sound film star; indeed, he performed in over a dozen films (six of them British) and founded his own film production company in 1930, releasing *Das Land des Lächelns* in November of that year. Being of Jewish ancestry, he found it necessary to move to London permanently in 1938.

An examination of the scene in the film in which Tauber accompanies himself on piano singing 'Once There Lived a Lady Fair' (the music of which is by Clutsam rather than Schubert), reveals that his mimetic and gestural signs are in accord with operatic performance practice – as is his wide dynamic range – and contrast with the naturalistic code adopted by the members of the drawing-room audience in the film: his gestures are theatrical, whereas theirs are restrained. *Variety* remarked backhandedly of his acting in this film that it was 'surprisingly good – for a world-famous tenor'.[87] Jane Baxter, cast in the role of Vicki Wimpassinger, the object of Schubert's affection, was a glamorous film star of the 1930s and adopts the restrained kinesic code of cinema. Tauber is first and foremost a celebrated singer. Film is a medium in which sound tends to be balanced technologically, but this suits his gentle *falsetto* conclusion to the song. Shots are intercut showing details of the emotional impact his performance is having on the audience. The device of montage presents a sequence of different shots from which we interpret what is going on and build a picture of the whole (an idea of the space of the room, for instance). In one sense Tauber's audience 'stands in' for the viewers of the film, since they have no presence in a film equivalent to that which they enjoy in a theatre. Naturally, records were produced of film hits, and Tauber's recording of 'Once There Lived a Lady Fair' (CE 6480–2) was released in July 1934, the same month as the film's release.

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[85] Rachel Low, *The History of the British Film 1929–1939: Film Making in 1930s Britain* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1985), 123.

[86] Roy Ames, *A Critical History of the British Cinema* (London: Secker and Warburg, 1978), 85.

[87] 'Blossom Time', *Variety*, 24 Jul. 1934, 14.

The film was a triumph commercially, as well as being well received by critics, and that encouraged Stein to follow it up with *My Song Goes Round the World*, a film starring another famous tenor, Josef Schmidt. British and American companies became keen to make film versions of German operetta. The success of *Blossom Time* persuaded Alfred Hitchcock to try his hand later in 1934 with *Waltzes from Vienna*, which Oswald Stoll had presented at his Alhambra Theatre in 1931–32. MGM in the USA fought back in November 1934 with Ernst Lubitsch's film version of *The Merry Widow* starring Jeanette MacDonald and Maurice Chevalier.

The Hollywood version of *Waltzes from Vienna* had to wait until 1938 and was retitled *The Great Waltz*. It was directed by Julien Duvivier, Victor Fleming, and Josef von Sternberg, and starred Luise Rainer (as Poldi Vogelhuber), Fernand Gravey (as Johann Strauss), and Miliza Korjus (as Carla Donner). The screenplay was by Samuel Hoffenstein and Walter Reisch from an original story by Gottfried Reinhardt, rather than the book that Moss Hart had written for the Broadway production of 1934. The music was adapted and arranged by Dimitri Tiomkin, and Oscar Hammerstein II's lyrics replaced those of Desmond Carter, which had been used in the West End and Broadway productions. Broadway choreographer Albertina Rasch was, however, re-engaged to supervise dances and ensembles. The film begins with an on-screen announcement:

> In Vienna in 1844 'nice people' neither danced the waltz . . . nor kissed their wives in public . . . nor listened to new ideas . . . In 1845 came Johann Strauss II and his immortal melodies . . .

It is unhistorical nonsense, of course, but an excuse follows: 'We have dramatized the spirit rather than the facts of his life, because it is his spirit that has lived – in his music.' There follows a scene of Strauss's first performance with his orchestra at Dommayer's Casino. It is poorly attended and going badly. An aristocrat enters with 'famous opera singer'

Carla Donner in his party, and she is immediately attracted to young Strauss. They have to leave, but by now a large crowd has gathered outside. A tenor sings ‘Every Tree in the Park’, the tune of its verse based on ‘Ja, das alles auf Ehr’ from *Der Zigeunerbaron* (actually composed over forty years later). Around twenty minutes into the film, there is a dramatic cut from the sensual abandon of a waltz to a decorous minuet in an aristocratic hall. Carla has invited Strauss, who has brought a song, ‘Looking at You’. Carla sings it, tactfully avoiding announcing that it is a waltz. The polite audience looks shocked as the waltz rhythm kicks in, but – astonishingly – they are won over. Carla is an irrepressible vamp, although her voice is what one might imagine if Ethel Merman had been a coloratura soprano.

The film plot shares some resemblance to *Waltzes from Vienna* in being a love triangle between Strauss, his down-to-earth sweetheart, Poldi, and the sophisticated, high-society woman, but it also includes scenes of Strauss marching with the revolutionaries of 1848 (to his own march). Later, facing a blockage of barricades, he ends up in a carriage with Carla in the Vienna Woods and, naturally, it provides inspiration for his *Tales from the Vienna Woods* waltz (in reality composed twenty years later). In no time at all he is shown conducting its performance by a women’s orchestra in a garden restaurant. Carla offers the public another opportunity to hear her glass-shattering top notes, and, suddenly, the revolution is over.

There is now a domestic scene with Strauss playing the tune of the bullfinch duet from *Der Zigeunerbaron* on the piano and becoming irritated with Poldi for disrupting his work. They decide to leave Vienna (they are now man and wife) and inform a gathering of their friends. Strauss then sings ‘One Day When We Were Young’ to the bullfinch tune, but Carla happens to pop in, and her look indicates that she knows she is the inspiration for his song. Carla has brought an operatic commission. Poldi persuades him he must stay in order to compose for the Imperial Theatre. The piece he writes is *Die Fledermaus* (actually composed for the Theater an der Wien not the Burgtheater). Poldi goes to the performance and tells Carla she is not standing in her way, because she loves Strauss and recognizes his manly needs as an artistic genius. It is easy, perhaps, to feel a little nauseated, but the scene is affecting because of Louise Rainer’s acting. Strauss leaves in a carriage with Carla but she is suddenly struck with the realization that Poldi will always be between them. She tells him so and catches the Danube boat to Budapest alone (to strains of ‘One Day’). The film’s closing scene takes place forty-three years later; Strauss and Poldi have an audience with the Emperor, who takes Strauss to his balcony to show him a cheering crowd of Viennese citizens who love his music.

Oscar Straus had composed an operetta called *Hochzeit in Hollywood* in 1928, and the word 'Hollywood' in the title may have prompted the invitation he received from Warner Brothers. He arrived in Hollywood in January 1930 for a three-month engagement, but there was no project for him to work on. Straus re-established contact with Ernst Lubitsch whom he had met when the latter was an actor in Max Reinhardt's company. Lubitsch had left Germany for Hollywood in 1926 and had just begun to make his mark in musical films, the first being *The Love Parade* (Paramount, 1929), with Jeanette MacDonald and Maurice Chevalier. On the expiry of Straus's Warner contract, he received a telegram from Lubitsch informing him that a film was going to be made of *A Waltz Dream*. Straus became involved with the adaptation, working with Lubitsch and composing some fresh music.[88] Its title was *The Smiling Lieutenant* and, following its release in 1931, it became the first sound-film adaptation of a stage operetta to enjoy international success. It starred Claudette Colbert as Franzi, Maurice Chevalier as Lieutenant Niki, and Miriam Hopkins as Princess Anna. The musical director was Adolph Deutsch, and Johnny Green and Conrad Salinger were involved in arranging Straus's music. The screenplay was by Ernest Vajda and Samson Raphaelson, and the song lyrics by Clifford Grey.

Tom Gunning coined the term 'cinema of attractions' to describe the emphasis that early silent film placed on showing and exhibiting. Chevalier has not moved far from an 'exhibiting' technique in *The Smiling Lieutenant*. He sometimes directs his gaze towards the camera as a means of establishing contact with the spectator. Revealing an awareness of spectatorship by looking directly at the camera is a feature of early European film rejected in classical Hollywood practice because it ran counter to the creation of realistic illusion.[89] The plot of this film revolves around an incident in which Lieutenant Niki, on street duty during the arrival procession of the visiting King Adolf XV of Flausenthurm and his daughter, Princess Anna, smiles and winks at his sweetheart Franzi. Unfortunately, the princess thinks it was meant for her. In consequence, he finds himself having to marry her and move to Flausenthurm. He remains fond of Franzi, but, in the end, Franzi teaches Anna how to win him over to herself.

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[88] Grun, *Prince of Vienna*, 149–50.

[89] Tom Gunning, 'The Cinema of Attraction: Early Film, Its Spectator and the Avant-Garde', *Wide Angle*, 8:3–4 (1986), 63–70, at 64; see also Jonathan De Souza, 'Film Musicals as Cinema of Attractions', in Massimiliano Sala, ed., *From Stage to Screen: Musical Films in Europe and United States (1927–1961)*. Speculum musicae 19 (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2012), 71–91.

The scenes of Niki's initial courting of Franzi, and of the eventual winning over of Niki by Anna, reveal how continental European operetta was transcreated for the American market. In *The Smiling Lieutenant*, Niki courts Franzi with a song in fox-trot rhythm ('A dinner or supper for two') rather than the waltz song 'O du Lieber' – even if the latter remains part of the underscore at times. In the stage operetta, Franzi had to teach the princess about the lively temperament that makes Viennese women so attractive, and encouraged her, also, to cater for his love of Viennese food. In Berger's 1925 film of the operetta, Franzi goes further, and teaches the princess to play a Viennese waltz on the piano. In Lubitsch's film, Franzi has rather different advice: she plays ragtime and sings 'Jazz up your lingerie'. The next time we see the princess she is playing syncopated music at the piano with a cigarette dangling from her lips. Clearly, the vivacious, emancipated American woman is an equivalent of the Viennese woman and her fiery temperament. Indeed, while Niki is discovering his wife's change of behaviour, the film's underscore is of the trio 'Temp'rament' from Act 2 of the Viennese version. Two differing cultural traits are conflated here, and yet there is a similarity to be recognized in how they are used to achieve the same end, that of domesticizing Niki. The film concludes with Niki singing to camera, 'I've found at home my rata-tatata-tata'. That is how operetta cosmopolitanism works: an audience recognizes itself in the imported operetta, aided by appropriate cultural parallels.

Chevalier starred again, this time with Jeanette MacDonald, in the next Lubitsch-Straus collaboration, *One Hour with You* (1932). Lubitsch was proving his skill in comedy, especially of an erotic character, and was admired for his social psychological understanding of character motivation, as well as his talent for innuendo. In April 1934, he turned his attention to *The Merry Widow*, which premiered in October that year. It starred Chevalier as Danilo and MacDonald as Sonia, the screenplay was by Ernest Vajda and Samson Raphaelson, and new lyrics were provided by Lorenz Hart (with some additional lyrics by Gus Kahn). The musical arrangement was by Herbert Stothart, with help from orchestrators Paul Marquardt, Charles Maxwell, and Leonid Raab. Herbert Stothart had become a composer, arranger, and musical director for MGM in the 1930s, and brought with him his Broadway experience. The place name change from Marsovia to Marshovia in the film may be motivated by a desire to offer a more Eastern European pronunciation of Marsovia (as in the Hungarian 's', or the Czech 'š'). When Danilo first sees Sonia in

Marshovia, she wears a widow's veil, and so he does not recognize her later, when she pretends to be a new dancer, Fifi, at Maxim's restaurant in Paris. He has been sent to Paris to marry the widow, but he only realizes that Fifi and the widow are one and the same when he attends the ball at the embassy. There is no backstory of their having been young lovers in the past, but they are strongly attracted to each other and decide to marry. Then, discovering that the marriage has been a plot, Sonia calls it off, and Danilo returns to Marshovia, where he is imprisoned for failing in his task. She goes there, too, to vouch for his innocence, and they are finally reconciled in his prison cell.

There are several differences between the stage operetta and the film version: in the former, it is the 'Dollar Princess' problem (money creates distrust for a couple in love); in the film, seduction scenes are important. Lubitsch demonstrates his characteristic fascination with seduction and power relations, the latter being different during the seduction process when sexual desire is the focus.[90] Maurice Chevalier is the same charming seducer he was in *The Smiling Lieutenant*. MacDonald and Chevalier had already appeared in Lubitsch's *The Love Parade*, *One Hour with You*, and *Love Me Tonight*, but, surprisingly, *The Merry Widow* was not a box office success and that prompted MGM to find a new partner for MacDonald in the shape of Nelson Eddy.[91] MacDonald and Eddy's first film together was *Naughty Marietta* in 1935 (screenplay by Rida Johnson Young, music by Victor Herbert). The couple's biggest film success was *Maytime* (1937).

In *The Chocolate Soldier* (1941), directed by Roy del Ruth, Nelson Eddy's partner was Risë Stevens. Straus's music was adapted by Bronislau Kaper and Herbert Stothart, and additional music and lyrics were by Gus Kahn and Bronislau Kaper. Shaw had originally agreed, via his German agent Siegfried Trebitsch, that the plot of his play *Arms and the Man*, but no dialogue, could be used for *Der tapfere Soldat* and its Broadway version *The Chocolate Soldier* subject to two conditions: it should be advertised as an unauthorized parody and he should receive no royalties. The latter stipulation, which may be taken as typically Shavian derision, had clearly begun to pain him once he saw the enormous profits the operetta was making. When MGM expressed the wish to film it, he had no hesitation in demanding to be paid handsomely. Reversing his original position, which was undoubtedly intended to represent him as an idealistic artist rather than a business man, he now supported his demands by asserting that Louis B. Mayer was the idealist, while he was the businessman.[92] Unfortunately, Shaw's waspish wit failed him a second time, and he received nothing. With some help from Straus, the music was fitted around an adaptation of Ferenc Molnár's play *The Guardsman* by Leonard Lee and Keith Winter Shaw. Some years later, when Pinewood Studios made a film of *Pygmalion* (1938), they took care that no similar problem should arise by having Shaw write the screenplay. To Shaw's intense discomfort, however, his screenplay was awarded an Oscar in Hollywood. When Lerner and Loewe's musical *My Fair Lady* (which is closer to the Pinewood film of *Pygmalion* than to the stage play) was produced on Broadway to enormous acclaim in 1956, Shaw had been dead for over five years and was therefore spared further personal embarrassment.

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[90] Delphine Vincent, '"Lippen schweigen, 's flüstern Geigen: Hab mich lieb!" Seduction, Power Relations and Lubitsch's Touch in *The Merry Widow*', in Sala, *From Stage to Screen*, 271–87, at 272–74.

[91] Henderson and Bowers, *Red, Hot & Blue*, 124.

The 1941 film of *The Chocolate Soldier* opens with Maria (as Nadina) on stage singing 'My Hero'; she is soon joined by her husband Karl (as Bumerli), making it a duet. Maria longs to be an opera singer – she later sings 'Mon Coeur s'ouvre à ta voix' (from *Samson et Dalila* by Saint-Saëns) at a soirée. We learn that one of her favourite operatic arias is 'Star of Eve' from Wagner's *Tannhäuser*. Karl suspects his wife of having an eye for other men. In a restaurant scene, he enters in disguise as Vasily, a 'famous Russian bass', to sing Mussorgsky's 'Song of the Flea' (another interpolated number). He tells Maria he has seen her in *The Soldier of Chocolates* and tries to seduce her. When flowers arrive for Maria the next day, Karl demands to know who sent them. Maria, who is not fooled by what is happening, lies. Vasily visits and calculatingly sings 'Star of Eve'. Later that evening, her husband having had to go to Olmutz, he serenades her with 'The Moon Will Rise in Vain' (another interpolated number). Maria lets him in, sings 'Tiralala' (from the stage operetta), and they go out for the evening. She also reprises 'My Hero' as a song for Vasily, playing him along mercilessly, despite a jealousy he is unable to conceal.

That night Karl returns and asks what she has been doing. She tells him she has been reading. They travel to the theatre to perform in *The Chocolate Soldier*, and the scene is that of the Nadina-Bumerli duet 'Oh you little choc'late soldier man', but Karl changes Bumerli's words to fit his distrustful mood. After an ensemble dance routine, Karl returns to the stage as Vasily. It is a cue for another reprise of 'My Hero', at first with new lyrics, and then, as Nadina/Maria sings, the original lyrics. She informs him she was never fooled and they conclude with the duet 'Forgive, Forgive,

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[92] Richard Traubner, *Operetta: A Theatrical History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1983), 278.

Forgive'. The number of reprises of 'My Hero' in the film make up for Straus's failure to provide a single one in the stage operetta – he had not expected it to be a hit song.

Concluding Remarks

Austrian film director Arthur Maria Rabenalt commented on the various advantages screen adaptations possessed over the stage originals: the libretto became the basis of a scenario with montage, complicated intrigues could be edited in a way that made them more credible, awkward scene changes could become lither, and characters could be made more convincing by making certain dramatic situations more visible.[93] Another way of removing stage rigidity in screen adaptations was to reduce the quantity of music and be flexible about the sequence of an operetta's musical numbers. Short instrumental reprises could be used for scene transitions, and new numbers could be specially composed for the film version: for instance, 'Toujours l'amour in the Army' for Chevalier in Lubitsch's *The Merry Widow*.

Whatever its artistic merits, the commercial success of film meant that many in the theatre world viewed it negatively as a rival of their own performance medium. Similar feelings were engendered by radio. Yet others felt differently. George Grossmith, who joined the BBC management in 1926, declared that he had 'always thought that all branches of the entertainment world should work hand in hand'.[94] In the summer of 1929, he was in Hollywood learning about new developments in the motion picture industry at United Artists. He was approached by Ned Marin and Edmund Goulding of Fox Studios, who knew he had been responsible for the book of the Broadway production of *The Dollar Princess*. They asked if he would devise the scenario for a film they intended to make of it, directed by Alexander Korda. Flying films were proving popular at the time, so they wanted it updated to include planes; therefore, Freddy would not be Alice's secretary but, instead, her private pilot. Unfortunately, while still at the planning stage, two of the planes belonging to Fox Studios crashed over Santa Monica Bay. Grossmith was then asked to work on a Foreign Legion scenario instead. The next thing to disappear was the music, and the film became *Women Everywhere*, set in Casablanca, which was replicated in miniature at Fox Hills.[95] In this instance the term 'remediation' is absurd, because the final product lacks any resemblance to the initial product, but there is a traceable intermedial relationship.

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[93] Rabenalt, *Der Operetten-Bildband*, 33.

[94] George Grossmith, *'G. G.'* (London: Hutchinson, 1933), 214.

In this chapter the term 'intermediality' has been employed to indicate a mutually influencing *relationship* between one medium and another. Intermediality implies a conscious thought process about how the art that is created will work for different media. Thus, arranging selections of operetta in the nineteenth century for music boxes and other mechanical media platforms may be best seen as remediation, whereas writing a theatre piece with planned detachable numbers for other use (performance at home, dance bands, or records) is intermedial practice. Klaus Waller remarks that Abraham's intention, from the outset, was to create catchy melodies for the stage that could also be disseminated via dance halls, coffee houses, and records, radio, and cinema.[96] Intermediality stands in opposition to the *Gesamtkunst* ideal, which is one of centralization rather than dispersion. In the music dramas of Wagner, for example, it was the composer's wish that the arts should *unite* to serve the stage performance. In contrast, operetta of the early twentieth century is representative of an intermedial art world.

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[95] Grossmith, *'G. G.'*, 251–56. The film was released by Fox Film Corporation in June 1930, and starred J. Harold Murray and Fifi D'Orsay.

[96] Klaus Waller, *Paul Abraham: Der tragische König der Operette* (Norderstedt: BoD, 2014), 193–94.

7 Operetta and Modernity

Modernity serves as an overarching term for the social, economic, and cultural changes brought about by the scientific and technological innovations of what is commonly called 'industrial revolution'. Undoubtedly, people in the early twentieth century, especially those living in large cities, acquired a strong sense of being part of a modern age, and this term signified more than a simple chronological distinction between past and present. Jose Harris emphasizes that a perception of modernity pervaded mental life:

> the consciousness of living in a new age, a new material context, and a form of society totally different from anything that had ever occurred before was by the turn of the century so widespread as to constitute a genuine and distinctive element in the mental culture of the period.[1]

The term 'modern' had been used previously to contrast the 'classical' period with more recent times, but it had now come to mean contemporary life with its many social, scientific, and technological changes. Accounts of how modernity affected the arts frequently draw connections with the aesthetics of modernism. In Vienna, that would entail references to painters such as Gustav Klimt and Egon Schiele, and composers such as Arnold Schoenberg and Alban Berg. The concept of the modern was broader than this, however, and included all new developments that had produced marked effects on social and cultural life.

Contemporary life was rarely depicted in operetta and opera of the nineteenth century, although Offenbach's *La Vie parisienne* and Verdi's *La traviata* were notable exceptions.[2] In the early twentieth century, operetta frequently engaged with everyday life, and related to features of modernity such as trains (*The Girl in the Train*, *The Blue Train*), planes

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[1] Jose Harris, *Private Lives, Public Spirit: A Social History of Britain 1870–1914* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), 32.

[2] On the other hand, the social dance music of the Strauss family was already aligning itself with modernity in the nineteenth century, examples being Johann Strauss, Jr, *Elektro-magnetische* Polka, Op. 110 (1852) and *Accelerationen* Walzer, Op. 234 (1860); Josef Strauss, *Feuerfest!* Polka française, Op. 269 (1869); and Eduard Strauss, *Mit Dampf*, Polka schnell, Op. 70 (1871).

(*Little Boy Blue*,[3] *Love and Laughter*), factories (*Eva*), cinemas (*The Girl on the Film*, *The Cinema Star*), and cars (*The Girl in the Taxi*, *The Joy-Ride Lady*). Contemporary settings are also found in the *Zeitoper* of the Weimar Republic period, which shared some features characteristic of operetta. Ernst Krenek's *Jonny spielt auf* (1927), one of the best-known examples, references jazz idioms but is closer to modernism in musical style than is operetta. With the exception of Max Brand's *Maschinist Hopkins*, *Zeitoper* tended towards comedy (though mixed with satire), but the term remained vague and in Kurt Weill's opinion moved rapidly from concept to slogan (*Schlagwort*).[4]

Paul Lincke's *Frau Luna* of 1899 was, in its fantasy, comic characters, and high-spirited music, far closer to Offenbach's opéra-féerie *Le Voyage dans la lune* (1875) than to *Die lustige Witwe*. However, it did engage in several ways with modernity. It envisaged a new technologically advanced era: one scene, for example, had workers making electric lights. The German officer's desire to annex the moon for Prussia was both a satire of militarism and a foreshadowing of troubled times to come. It was the first notable operetta from Berlin, a city that embraced modernity and was soon welcoming operettas on modern life. The London version, *Castles in the Air*, produced at the Scala Theatre in 1911, was given a modern context by being preceded by Charles Urban's 'Kinemacolor', a development in early cinema.

Die lustige Witwe staged a clash between the values of feudal Pontevedro and the capitalist metropolis Paris. Moritz Csáky remarks that, for the Viennese audience, Pontevedro (recognized as Montenegro) represented 'a backward country' in which quasi-absolutist, pre-modern conditions prevailed.[5] The articulation of modern values was made more explicit in Lehár's *Mitislaw der Moderne*, composed in 1907 for the Hölle cabaret in the basement of the Theater an der Wien. This one-act operetta reintroduces Danilo, as well as dancers from Maxim's. One of its numbers, 'Sei modern' ('Be Modern'), asserts that modernity is exciting and fashionable.[6]

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[3] One of the popular numbers from Henri Berény's *Little Boy Blue* (*Lord Piccolo*, Vienna 1910) was the 'Aeroplane Duet'. This operetta enjoyed 184 performances on Broadway, 1912–13.

[4] Kurt Weill, 'Zeitoper', *Melos*, 7 (Mar. 1928), 106–8, at 106.

[5] Moritz Csáky, *Ideologie der Operette und Wiener Moderne: ein Kulturhistorischer Essay zur österreichischen Identität* (Vienna: Böhlau, 1996), 90.

[6] The book and lyrics were by Fritz Grünbaum and Robert Bodanzky; the translation is mine. The English version, *Mitislaw, or The Love Match*, which ran for 56 performances at the London Hippodrome in late 1909, has proven impossible to trace.

Sei modern, mein Sohn, modern,	Be modern, my son, modern,
Denn das hat man heute gern	For it pleases people today,
Sei modern vom Glockenrock	Be modern from your flared jacket
Bis zum dünnen Silberstock	To your thin silver cane;
Sei modern auch von Moral	Be modern in morals, too,
Liebe dreizehn auf einmal	Love thirteen at once,
Sei modern, sei immer jung	Be modern, be ever young,
Denn das hat Chique, hat Schmiss, hat Schwung!	For it's chic, lively, and energetic!

In Oscar Straus's burlesque operetta *Die lustigen Nibelungen* (1904), Siegfried, in addition to having a proud name, lays claim to the possession of modern chic in his song, 'So war's bei den Germanen'. Dapper modernity certainly needs to be distinguished from the earnest artistic movement labelled 'modernism'. Silver-age operetta was assuredly modern (like jazz and new styles of ballroom dancing), but it was not modern*ist*. Modernism was associated with aesthetic 'advances' in style. In music, this meant greater complexity in harmony and rhythm, driven by the conviction that music was evolving like some kind of organism. Yet, for all its purported advances and embrace of artistic autonomy, modernism is less likely to be perceived today as progressive in a social sense. One has only to consider that three common targets of early modernists were women, Jews, and ordinary working people (disdained as the 'masses').[7]

Die lustige Witwe was perceived as a modern operetta that broke with Viennese tradition. This was recognized by Lehár's first biographer, Ernst Decsay.[8] Stefan Frey, however, is careful to point out that its modernity is to be understood in social rather than aesthetic terms, in its depiction of scenes from modern life.[9] Danilo and Hanna are not a typical romantic young couple, and are not contrasted with a vulgar *buffo* couple, but with Camille and Valencienne, both of whom have social standing (even if Valencienne treats social respectability ironically). Maxim's restaurant, the setting of Act 3, had been founded by Maxime Gaillard in Paris just twelve years before the operetta's premiere, and was indisputably modern with its cosmopolitan *art nouveau* interior (it is still standing at 3 rue

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[7] See Len Platt, ed., *Musical Comedy on the West End Stage, 1890–1939* (Palgrave MacMillan, 2004), 119, and, for male-authored modernist misogyny in the early twentieth century (directed at the new woman and suffragettes) see Marianne DeKoven, 'Modernism and Gender', in Michael Levenson, ed., *The Cambridge Companion to Modernism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 174–93.

[8] Ernst Decsay, *Franz Lehár* (Berlin: Drei Masken Vertlag, 1930), 48.

[9] Stefan Frey, *Franz Lehár oder das schlechte Gewissen der leichten Musik* (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1995), 40.

Royale). In distinguishing between modern and modernist as these terms apply to the social and to the aesthetic, my intention is not to suggest that Lehár's music was not thought modern: indeed, a critic in 1906 found the music 'more modern than Viennese'.[10] A distinction between the social and aesthetic is necessary in order to distinguish this kind of popular modernity from the musical modernism cultivated by contemporary composers such as Richard Strauss and Arnold Schoenberg. Peter Bailey has used the phrase 'popular modernism' to describe theatrical entertainment that engaged with modernity but was 'less concerned with breaking down the structures of modernity than coming to terms with them'.[11] Adorno, in January 1934 writes of 'der veralteten Moderne der lustigen Witwe' ('the outdated modernity of *The Merry Widow*'). Although he perceives the modern of the early century as outdated, his comment acknowledges that *Die lustige Witwe* was once a modern, if not modern*ist*, stage work.[12] It does not mean that, from this stage work on, all operettas embraced modernity – an immediate exception was *Die Försterchristl* of 1907. It does not mean, either, that critics never imagined musical modernism might make its way into an operetta score. In fact, a reviewer of Lehár's *Eva* on Broadway declared: 'Eva says "Yes" in the first act to discords that Schoenberg might have been proud to have written'.[13]

Familiar objects of the modern age that members of the audience might either possess or desire feature often on stage. In the first scene of *The Chocolate Soldier*, set in Bulgaria, 1885–86, there is an 'electric reading lamp' on the bedside table. In the finale of Act 1 of *The Girl in the Taxi*, René enters carrying a 'pocket electric lantern'. A more common modern functional object was the typewriter. It appears in *The Dollar Princess*, and the cast of *The Girl on the Film* includes eight 'Typewriting Girls'. The latter, as may be guessed, also includes examples of modern work opportunities in the shape of six cinema actresses. In addition, the cast includes eight 'rather more stylishly dressed actresses and four actors'.[14] Clearly, the low artistic status of film at this time meant that stage actors were perceived as more stylish. Films were part of the technological advance of modernity, even if they were for many years more conservative than operetta in representing women. In 1932, Siegfried Kracauer wrote that working women who appeared in popular film had previously been pretty young secretaries or typists who end up marrying the boss, but increasing tension between reality and illusion meant that women in the audience were no longer easily enchanted by this.[15] With the advent of radio, it was not long before a wireless set appeared on stage. The one used in Act 2, scene 2, of Straus's *Mother of Pearl* was supplied by McMichael Radio of the Strand, who advertised in the programme that their radio equipment would be used by Mount Everist Expedition members for receiving weather reports.[16]

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[10] 'mehr allgemein modern als wienerisch'. Felix Salten, 'Die neue Operette', *Die Zeit*, cited in Otto Schneidereit, *Franz Lehár: Eine Biographie in Zitaten* (Berlin: Lied der Zeit, 1984), 107, and in Frey, *Franz Lehár*, 41.

[11] Peter, Bailey, 'Theatre of Entertainment/Spaces of Modernity: Rethinking the British Popular Stage, 1890–1914', *Nineteenth Century Theatre*, 26:1 (1998), 5–24, at 18.

[12] January 1934 in *Die Musik*, 26, issue 4, reprinted in Adorno, *Gesammelte Schriften,* 19, 248–50, at 250.

[13] Anon., '"Eva" Has One Charm', *New York Times*, 31 Dec. 1912, 7.

[14] Quotations are from the copy in LCP, 1913/11.

Communications technology was improving and speeding up booking processes for theatre patrons. Guglielmo Marconi's wireless telegraphy transmissions (begun in 1897) led to a regular transatlantic radio-telegraph service in 1907. Daly's Theatre was the first to receive a seat booking via 'Marconigram'.[17] The telephone enabled efficient booking of tickets. Private telephone lines in the 1920s meant that the Keith Prowse ticket agency could promise their customers that they would be able to book the seats they wanted at any of their many branches. Several of the firm's branches had 5 telephone lines, and the branch in New Bond Street had 12 lines.[18] For those choosing to listen to the music of operetta at home, technology was changing that experience, too. With the development of microphone technology, location recordings became possible that could then be played on the gramophone. The Columbia records of *The Blue Train* were advertised as being 'actually recorded in the Prince of Wales Theatre'.[19] Other developments in communications media were discussed in the Chapter 6.

American Capitalism and Dollar Princesses

The modernity of *Die Dollarprinzessin* was most striking in its American orientation; the transatlantic gaze was characteristic of a modern sensibility.

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[15] Siegfried Kracauer, 'Mädchen im Beruf', *Der Querschnitt*, 12:4 (Apr. 1932), 238–43, excerpted in Kaes, Jay and Dimendberg, *The Weimar Republic Sourcebook*, 216–18, at 216.

[16] *Mother of Pearl* programme booklet, Gaiety Theatre (1933), 16.

[17] Forbes-Winslow, *Daly's*, 36.

[18] Keith Prowse advertisement on inside cover of *The Play Pictorial*, 38:229 (Sep. 1921).

[19] *The Play Pictorial*, 51:305 (1927), iii.

Yet the dramatic situations were not altogether new: the jibe that dollar princesses never know if men want them for themselves or for their gold might be thrown at the 'merry widow' herself.[20] Moreover, she, too, had status because of money and not aristocratic lineage. Even so, Fall's operetta engages more directly with modernity than *Die lustige Witwe* by pitting the power of American capitalist enterprise against the declining economic fortunes of the landed gentry. *The Dollar Princess* records the emergence of a new era when financial capital conquers all, turning the landed aristocracy into what Antonio Gramsci called 'pensioners of economic history'.[21] In Act 1, the following exchange takes place between the American, Conder, and his head groom, the former Earl of Quorn.

QUORN: I understand it amuses you to recruit your servants from the ranks of the British aristocracy.
CONDER: That's it. It amuses me, and I can afford it. Besides, I'm doing the Mother country a good turn by reducing the number of her unemployed.

The chorus in the opening scene of the London production recognizes the social change brought about by capitalist enterprise:

There's no more use for rank or birth,
It's the Dollar, Dollar, Dollar!

In the UK, the political tide was ebbing away from the aristocracy. In 1909, the year of the London premiere of *The Dollar Princess*, new land taxes were introduced by the Liberal government. Implementation was delayed until 1910 by the House of Lords, but that served only to pave the way to a reform of the Lords' veto in the Parliamentary Act of 1911. The clash between businessmen and landed gentry was a social reality, but the operetta treads a fine line, neither celebrating nor bemoaning social change.

The expansion of the railroads in the later nineteenth century, and the electrification of factories in the early years of the twentieth, gave a huge boost to the American economy, enabling the USA to ride out the depression of 1893–97 and become more productive in manufacturing than the UK.[22] The Edwardian era was a time when 'all-conquering "dollar princesses" married their way into a third of the titles represented in the House of Lords'.[23] An early precedent was Lord Randolph Churchill's marriage in 1874 to Jennie Jerome, the daughter of a Wall Street financier (she was to be Winston Churchill's mother). The operetta does not, however, reference the sneering that wealthy American women had to face from those who placed status and value on 'breeding' and the distant date in history that their family acquired the charismatic capital of an aristocratic title. Despite pride in heritage, noble families were now showing that, in certain circumstances, they were willing to come to an arrangement with the right kind of moneyed person.

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[20] In Adrian Ross's lyrics for the Act 2 quartet: 'Who are the beauties ever in fear / They are but wooed for their wealth?'

[21] Antonio Gramsci, *Selections from the Prison Notebooks*, Quintin Hoare and Geoffrey Nowell-Smith, eds. (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1971), 281.

[22] See Louis C. Hunter and Lynwood Bryant. *A History of Industrial Power in the United States, 1730–1930, Vol. 3: The Transmission of Power* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1991).

Sometimes, stage glamour rather than wealth drew the attention of eligible male aristocrats. It is remarkable how many women, especially in the years 1906–13, abandoned theatrical careers to marry peers of the realm. The legal constraints of morganatic marriage, which prohibits the passage of a husband's title to a commoner and disallows its descent to children born from that marriage, did not exist in the United Kingdom. Nevertheless, in going strongly against tradition, these marriages were symptomatic of modernity, even if defended frequently by the argument that they strengthened a weakened blood line. Among those who married into the aristocracy after performing on the West End stage were Connie Gilchrist (Countess of Orkney, 1892), Rosie Boote (Marchioness of Headfort, 1901), Silvia Storey (Countess Poulett, 1908), Eleanor Souray (Countess of Torrington, 1910), Zena Dare (Lady Esher, 1911), May Etheridge (Duchess of Leinster, 1913), Olive May (Lady Paget, 1913), Irene Richards (Marchioness of Queensberry, 1917), José Collins (Lady Innes, 1920), and Gertie Millar (Countess of Dudley, 1924).[24] The jaded story of the beautiful young woman that improves her social status by marrying someone with wealth and, preferably, aristocratic connections gained a new resonance with the number of female stage performers who found themselves in this position. Yet it worked against the interests of the

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[23] Daisy Goodwin, 'Dollar Princesses', *Newsweek*, Global edn161:2, 11 Jan. 2013, 1. See also Ruth Brandon, *Dollar Princesses: American Invasion of the European Aristocracy, 1870–1914* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1980). The epithet 'dollar princess' was very familiar. A song, 'She Was a Dollar Princess', written by A. J. Mills and composed by Bennett Scott, appeared a few months after the London premiere of Fall's operetta (London: Star Music Publishing, 1910). British Library, Music Collections H.3995.zz.(41.). The rich American woman also featured in revue: Miss Havicash, for example finds herself courted by British aristocrats in *Hullo, Ragtime!* (London Hippodrome, Dec. 1912).

[24] See D. Forbes-Winslow, *Daly's: The Biography of a Theatre* (London: W. H. Allen, 1944), 133; James Jupp, *The Gaiety Stage Door: 30 Years of Reminiscences of the Theatre* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1923), 61–64; and 'Actresses and the Peerage', www.stagebeauty.net/th-frames.html?http&&&www.stagebeauty.net/th-peerge.html.

New Woman, who was bent upon making her own distinctive mark on the world through intellect and ambition.

The Modern Woman and Issues of Gender

Department stores, restaurants, railway stations, and theatres were modern spaces that men and women could occupy without moral suspicion of their motives. Department stores strove to attract women and encourage frequent visits. Many middle-class women took trains into town for a shopping trip and a visit to a matinée performance at the theatre. Matinées had been introduced in the 1870s and proved popular with women. George Edwardes told a Parliamentary Select Committee in 1892 that 'suburban ladies' were his most important clientele.[25] Department stores and theatres had more in common than their urban proximity; they were, as Erika Rapport observes, 'partners dedicated to igniting consumer appetites'.[26] The stage functioned like a shop window for costumes, furniture, and other desirable items.

The female glamour on display raises questions. To what extent can it be regarded as encouraging an erotic gaze and to what extent did it incite consumerist desire? Does operetta glamour address a feminine gaze as much as a masculine one? Rita Detmold's column 'Frocks and Frills' in the *Play Pictorial* comments that *A Waltz Dream* 'might easily be re-christened "The Ladies' Dream," for the gowns worn throughout this charming production are alone worthy of a visit to Daly's'.[27] Other columns of this magazine readily assume that its women readers embrace the modern. Jennie Pickworth's column 'What-Not', in 1927, contains advice on perfume, hair styles, and shampoo, and she asserts: 'Modern woman has certainly become educated in the subtle niceties of scent.'[28] The 'modern woman', we are told, prefers floral fragrances to obtrusive exotic scents.

With regard to fashionable and personal items of dress, men are targeted less and less in *Play Pictorial* advertisements after 1910. In the *Merry*

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[25] Viv Gardner, 'The Sandow Girl and Her Sisters: Edwardian Musical Comedy, Cultural Transfer and the Staging of the Healthy Female Body', in Len Platt, Tobias Becker, and David Linton, eds., *Popular Musical Theatre in London and Berlin, 1890–1939* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 203–23, at 205.

[26] Erica D. Rappaport, *Shopping for Pleasure: Women in the Making of London's West End* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2000), 184.

[27] Rita Detmold, 'Frocks and Frills', *Play Pictorial*, 17:103 (1911), 94–95, at 94. This refers to the Daly's revival of *A Waltz Dream*, 1911.

[28] *The Play Pictorial*, 51:305 (1927), iii.

Widow issue of 1907, for example, Morris Angel & Son announce that they made the 'Gentlemen's costumes' in the first and third act, and the makers of the Velvet Grip stocking supports advertise their 'Boston Garters' for men's socks, whereas in December 1909 their advertisements target women consumers only.[29] In 1912, there is an advertisement for Southalls' sanitary towels, which possess 'health advantages that are a boon to womankind', and will be sent post free under plain cover.[30] In the 1920s, there is another sign of progress, this time in the technology for managing and controlling hair, and there are many advertisements about 'permanent wave' products, and 'bobbed' and 'shingled' coiffures.

The labelling of young women as 'girls', which became frequent in the titles of musical comedies of the 1890s and in reference to the Gaiety Theatre's women performers, has been described by Peter Bailey as a strategy to frame them as 'naughty but nice'.[31] There was a new decorum in the presentation of women on stage, and the burlesque days of short skirts had largely disappeared by the 1890s. The Gaiety Girl was not prim or over-zealous in religion and politics, nor intellectually ambitious in the manner of the New Woman.[32] James Jupp, for many years the stage door-keeper at the Gaiety, sets out the qualities that were sought when young women were auditioned:

> They are chosen not only on account of their figures, height, and beauty – necessary attributes, it is true – but chiefly on account of their drawing power. Brains are not asked for so long as the show girl knows how to wear the beautiful gowns provided for her; but the most important question is: how many stalls and boxes can she fill, with whom is she well acquainted? If she is a woman of great personal attraction and boasts a lover or two of the aristocracy, she is certain of a position. She is then the means of attracting to the theatre nightly thrice or four times her weekly salary.[33]

Jupp is perfectly aware that some of those selected are highly intelligent women, but his point is that brains were not an *essential* requirement; what really counted was the woman's ability to draw into the theatre those who purchased expensive seats.

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[29] *The Play Pictorial*, 10:61 (Sep. 1907) and 15:88 (Dec. 1909).

[30] *The Play Pictorial*, 21:124 (Dec. 1912), ii.

[31] Bailey, '"Naughty but Nice": Musical Comedy and the Rhetoric of the Girl, 1892–1914', in Booth, Michael R. and Joel H. Kaplan, eds., *The Edwardian Theatre: Essays on Performance and the Stage* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 36–60, at 45. Between 1891 and 1914, there were at least thirty musical shows in London containing the word 'girl' in the title; see Edmund Whitehouse, *London Lights: A History of West End Musicals* (Cheltenham: This England Books, 2005), 21.

[32] On the New Woman, see Dekoven, 'Modernism and Gender', 174–93.

[33] Jupp, *The Gaiety Stage Door*, 50.

The 'merry widow' is not a girl, even if played in London by the young Lily Elsie. She has a confidence and self-drive that is unusual among opera heroines, and must be categorically distinguished from the typically doomed characters discussed by Catherine Clément.[34] She was lowly born but became the wife of a wealthy banker after Danilo's father forbade his son's marriage to her. The novelty of her character was noted by theatre historian MacQueen-Pope: 'Here was no ordinary heroine, shrinking in maidenly modesty before the man she loved; here was a rich woman of the world, coming face to face with a man whom she considered had slighted her.'[35] Alice, the 'dollar princess' is a similar force to be reckoned with, and, as a 'self-made Mädel', knows about the world of business. The American 'duchess' in Kálmán's *Die Herzogin von Chicago* is also headstrong. Her money comes from the profits of her father's sausage factory (no doubt intended as satire of American mass production). In this operetta, the impecunious Prince of Sylvaria finds himself in a similar position to Alice's lover Freddy: both of those wealthy women see them as commodities to be purchased.

Many operettas stage a form of duel between the sexes. It was not uncommon for the woman to have a more dominant role in the drama than the man. The modern woman in operetta differed from what Frey describes as 'the legendary pig-tailed, sweet and innocent Viennese girl'.[36] Ironically, the latter returned when Viennese operetta had passed its heyday in London, in Novello's *The Dancing Years*. The modern young woman rode a bike, played tennis, and rebelled against 'wasp waists' and tight corsets. Evelyn Laye, as Alice in the revival of *The Dollar Princess* at Daly's, was featured in a publicity photograph holding a tennis racket.[37]

Fall's operetta *Jung-England* (libretto by Rudolf Bernauer and Ernst Welisch), first performed in Berlin in 1914, focuses on the British 'Votes for Women' campaign, but the outbreak of war later that year meant it had no chance of being seen in London. A suffragette rally had taken place in Hyde Park in 1908, and women soon resorted to direct action. Much attention was given to the death of Emily Davison, who ran onto the racetrack at the Epsom Derby in 1913 and died after falling between the hooves of the King's horse. These events stimulated wider interest, and, in this operetta, a police chief has a daughter who sympathizes with the suffragettes and warns them about his plans. This being an operetta, the suffragette leader settles down as a contented wife before the final curtain falls. At the time of its premiere, the only European countries to have granted full voting rights to women were Finland (1906) and Norway (1913). Austria and Germany granted these rights in 1918, and that same year the UK allowed women to vote who were over 30 and met certain property requirements (equal voting rights with men had to wait until 1928). Women's suffrage campaigns were becoming more radical in the USA from 1906 on, with the efforts of Harriet Stanton Blatch and Emma Smith DeVoe. Gradually, voting rights were won in more and more States, but violent incidents were also occurring, such as the attack on a suffrage parade in New York in 1913 that left hundreds of women injured. In 1920, universal suffrage was endorsed in the Nineteenth Amendment to the US Constitution.

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[34] *L'Opéra ou la Défaite des femmes* (Paris: Éditions Grasset, 1979). Trans. by Betsy Wings, as *Opera: The Undoing of Women* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1988).

[35] W. J. MacQueen-Pope and D. L. Murray, *Fortune's Favourite: The Life and Times of Franz Lehár* (London: Hutchinson, 1953), 107.

[36] Stefan Frey, 'How a Sweet Viennese Girl Became a Fair International Lady: Transfer, Performance, Modernity – Acts in the Making of a Cosmopolitan Culture', in Platt, Becker, and Linton, *Popular Musical Theatre*, 102–117, at 109.

[37] Forbes-Winslow, *Daly's*, facing p. 128.

Suffragettes feature elsewhere in operetta: *The Girl on the Film* (1913) begins with a scene involving a women's rights agitator, although she turns out to be acting a role. *The Girl in the Taxi* (1914) has a duet in which a couple claim, with considerable irony, that their marriage is perfect – the man remarking that his wife is not a suffragette. Department stores usually had restaurants in which women felt comfortable ordering a table and, when it became known that Gordon Selfridge sympathized with the suffragette cause, the store he founded in 1909 on Oxford Street became a favourite meeting place. A Selfridge executive, Percy Nash, wrote a play, *The Suffrage Girl*, which was performed by the store's employees at the Court Theatre in 1911.[38]

Another issue for women was equal opportunities and fair treatment in the workplace. During the war, women took on a lot of what had formerly been men's work; yet, in 1921, they constituted the same 29 per cent of the workforce as before the war.[39] A young working-class woman in a Belgian glass factory is the leading character of Lehár's *Eva* (1911). Belgium did have a large glass factory, Val-St-Lambert, located in Liège, which traded internationally in everything from car headlamps to vases. The factory in *Eva* is in Brussels, which may have been a strategic decision, given the political dimension of this operetta. *Eva* was seen by many in Vienna as fuel for the cause of social democracy, and the press seized the opportunity to label it as such. Wilhelm Karczag, the Intendant of the Theatre an der Wien in 1911, felt compelled to reject publicly the claims made 'over and over again' that it was socialist propaganda, asking irritably, 'because workers revolt, is that Socialism?'[40] He preferred to interpret the men's action in protecting Eva from her sexually predatory employer as chivalry rather than socialism. Ideas of social change were very much in the air after the death of the right-wing mayor of Vienna, Karl Lueger in 1910, and helped to prepare the ground for the dominance of the Social Democrats during 1918–34, when the city became known as *Rotes Wien* (Red Vienna). Willner and Bodanzky manage to be politically evasive in their libretto, because the leader of the workers' revolt is in love with Eva. Without that compromise – and its implication that Eros was as much a stimulus to action as socialism – it might have seemed too rebellious. Another toning-down feature is found in its reference to fairy tale, and Eva's Cinderella-like aspirations.

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[38] Rappaport, *Shopping for Pleasure*, 201.

[39] See Asa Briggs, *A Social History of England* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1983) 364.

Socialism was a fiery topic at this time in the UK, and that may explain why *Eva* did not receive a production in the West End (it did so on Broadway). Trade Unionism had strengthened after the London dock strikes and the Liverpool general transport strike of 1911, and there was a succession of labour disputes the following year. In Act 1 of the West End production of *The Cinema Star* in 1914, the cooks have gone on strike at the Ritzroy Hotel, London, where the housemaids and waiters have been on strike previously. It soon transpires that the telephone operators and taxi men are on strike, too.

The 'factory girl' was not completely new as a stage heroine. Paul Rubens's musical comedy *The Sunshine Girl* (1912) had a plot revolving around Delia Dale who works in a soap factory inherited by a man who has fallen in love with her. It was clearly meant to call up associations with the Lever Brothers' soap factory and their 'Sunlight' cleaning agent, but it was primarily a comedy of mistaken identity and lacks the political edge of *Eva*. Other urban working women appear in *The Blue House*, produced at the London Hippodrome in 1912. It was Kálmán's setting of an English libretto by Austen Hurgon. Regrettably, the score has been lost, but the short operetta was set in a launderette. Publicity described its women workers as '40 examples of female loveliness', which suggests that this was not, perhaps, a gritty social drama.[41]

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[40] Wilhelm Karczag, 'Operette und musikalische Komödie', *Neues Wiener Journal*, 12 Apr. 1914, 13; quoted in Stefan Frey, '*Was sagt ihr zu diesem Erfolg*': *Franz Lehár und die Unterhaltungsmusik des 20. Jahrhunderts* (Frankfurt am Main: Insel, 1999), 143.

A new professional class of women also finds a place in operetta: the achievements of modern women are celebrated in a quintet in *The Lilac Domino* (1914) titled 'Ladies' Day' (with lyrics by Robert B. Smith):

Ev'rywhere in ev'ry place, the women are showing the way,
Ev'rywhere you'll find a trace of Emancipation day.

Next, we hear of 'lady teachers', lecturers, aeronauts and 'girl chauffeurs', and, later, lawyers, poets, barbers, and doctors. Women musicians are not mentioned, but there was a ten-strong 'Ladies' Orchestra' on stage in the Hicks's Theatre production of *A Waltz Dream* in 1908. The principal character in Gilbert's *Moderne Eva* (1911), given on Broadway in 1915 as *A Modern Eve*, is a woman doctor, and her mother is a lawyer. In Abraham's *Roxy und ihr Wunderteam* (Budapest, 1936; Vienna, 1937) the heroine is an English woman who becomes the coach of the Hungarian national football team. Given growing political tension in Europe, this operetta arrived too late to be considered for a Broadway or West End production.

In the first half of the twentieth century, the power structures controlling theatrical production were largely in the hands of men.[42] However, a number of women were involved in the writing of operetta. Rida Johnson Young, the librettist of Herbert's *Naughty Marietta*, was responsible for *Her Soldier Boy*, the Broadway version of Kálmán's *Gold gab ich für Eisen*, in 1916. She worked with Romberg on *Maytime* the following year and made the tactful decision to shift the action of its German source *Wie einst im Mai* to New York (the USA having now become embroiled in the war). Dorothy Donnelly collaborated with Romberg, too, writing the book and lyrics for *Blossom Time* (1921), the Broadway version of *Das Dreimäderlhaus*.[43] Fanny Todd Mitchell took charge of Emil Berté's *Musik im Mai* in 1929, and, in the same year, reworked *Die Fledermaus* as *A Wonderful Night* for production by the Shuberts at the Majestic. Other women involved with German operetta for Broadway were: Catherine Cushing (Kálmán's *Sári* 1914), Anne Caldwell (Winterberg's *The Lady in Red*, 1919), Marie Armstrong Hecht and Gertrude Purcell (Kollo's *Three Little Girls*, 1930), and Clare Kummer (Heuberger's *The Opera Ball*, 1912, and Straus's *Three Waltzes*, 1937). In London, Mrs Caley Robinson (Winifred Lucy Dalley) worked with Adrian Ross on the West End version of Lincke's *Castles in the Air* in 1911. Findon informs us that Gladys Unger, an American who lived in England from the 1890s to the 1920s, translated Victor Jacobi's *The Marriage Market* from the original Hungarian libretto by Max Brody and Ferenc Martos.[44] The English lyrics were written by Arthur Anderson and Adrian Ross, so must have been based on the German version by E. Motz & Eugen Spero.

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[41] Advertisement for the production in *The Observer*, 27 Oct. 1912, 11.

[42] See Maggie B. Gale, *West End Women: Women and the London Stage 1918–1962* (London: Routledge, 1996), 61–66.

[43] For a study of the work of Rida Johnson Young, see Sherry D. Engle, *New Women Dramatists in America, 1890–1920* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 149–97; and for both Young and Dorothy Donnelly, see Ellen Marie Peck, '"Ah, Sweet Mystery": Rediscovering Three Female Lyricists of the Early Twentieth-Century American Musical Theater', *Contemporary Theatre Review*, 19:1 (2009), 48–60; and for Young, Donnelly, and some other American women lyricists, see Korey R. Rothman, '"Will You Remember": Female Lyricists of Operetta and Musical Comedy', in Bud Coleman and Judith Sebesta. *Women in American Musical Theatre: Essays on Composers, Lyricists, Librettists, Arrangers, Choreographers, Designers, Directors, Producers and Performance Artists* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2008), 9–33.

In the fictional world of Paul Abraham's *Ball im Savoy*, the jazz composer Daisy Darlington enters and sings her latest dance hit 'Kanguruh' (Kangaroo), composed under her pseudonym José Pasadoble. The song claims that the fox trot has been passé for a long time, nobody knows if people dance the rumba, and you don't see the tango much anymore. The new, fashionable dance in Europe in the Kangaroo. Paris is bewitched by it, and London is crazy for it; soon, Berlin will be delighted with it. In reality, very few women were involved in the theatre as composers. Elsa Maxwell was responsible for an interpolated number 'A Tango Dream' for Eysler's *The Girl Who Didn't* (1913), which was a hit for American singer Grace La Rue, who appeared in the West End production. Ivy St Helier was a composer, lyricist, and actor, and responsible for interpolated numbers in Stolz's *The Blue Train* (1927). Kay Swift was the first woman to compose a successful Broadway musical, *Fine and Dandy* (1930), to a book by Donald Ogden Stewart and lyrics by Paul James. Her music was orchestrated by Hans Spialek.

Tobias Becker remarks on how often a woman occupied the central role in an operetta and how common it was for a woman to feature in its title, but he points out that, rather than depict the emancipated and political 'new woman', operetta preferred self-confident but ultimately harmless young women who did not threaten traditional social order.[45]

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[44] B. W. Findon, 'The Marriage Market', *The Play Pictorial*, 22:132 (Aug. 1913), 42–43.

[45] Tobias Becker, 'Sexualität und Geschlechterrollen in der Berliner Operette', in Bettina Brandl-Risi, Clemens Risi, and Rainer Simon, *Kunst der Oberfläche: Operette zwischen Bravour und Banalität* (Leipzig: Henschel Verlag, 2015), 143–49, at 144–45.

There are, however, plenty of exceptions. Self-assured women who threaten social order include Hanna/Sonia (*Die lustige Witwe*), Olga (*Die Dollarprinzessin*), Gonda (*Die geschiedene Frau*), Jeanne (*Madame Pompadour*), Anna Elisa (*Paganini*), Amy (*Lady Hamilton*), Manon (*Eine Frau, die weiß, was sie will!*), Daisy (*Ball im Savoy*), and Marie Jeanne (*Die Dubarry*). Heike Quissek, in her study of German operetta librettos, describes Amy Hamilton as having an unusual degree of 'impertinence bordering on self-assurance'.[46] Many of these women are confident in their sexuality. Of the London production of Straus's *Cleopatra*, Findon remarks:

> It was a somewhat daring experiment to make 'Cleopatra' the heroine of a musical play. . . . The authors in the present instance, however, deal lightly with the lady whose charm and infinite variety made her the beauty-witch of her generation, and the type for succeeding ages of erotic womanhood.[47]

Evelyn Laye, who took the role of Cleopatra, had previously played Madame Pompadour, to whom, a critic commented, Laye brought charm as well as naughtiness.[48] Manon Cavallini, in *Eine Frau, die weiß, was sie will!*, asks defiantly why a women should not have a relationship. The operetta includes in its cast 'former partners or friends from whom she is partly separated'. The very title of the operetta seems to fly in the face of Freud's famous question 'was will das Weib?'[49] Here is a woman who knows what she wants. Operetta, observes Marion Linhardt, placed women on stage in two differing ways: she is either in a group that functions in a non-individualistic and mechanistic manner, or, she is the 'extraordinary' woman (played by the diva), whose characteristics are moodiness, eccentricity, obstinacy, self-confidence, and seductiveness.[50] Such is often the case, but those qualities apply only selectively to the characters mentioned in this paragraph.

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[46] Heike Quissek, *Das deutschsprachige Operettenlibretto: Figuren, Stoffe, Dramaturgie* (Stuttgart: Verlag J. B. Metzler, 2012), 155.

[47] B. W. Findon, *The Play Pictorial*, 47:281 (Jan. 1926), 18.

[48] '"Madame Pompadour." Miss Evelyn Laye's Success', *The Times*, 21 Dec. 1923, 8.

[49] The question is attributed to Freud by Ernest Jones, in *Sigmund Freud: Life and Work*, vol. 2, '1856–1900: The Formative Years and the Great Discoveries' (London: Hogarth Press, 1953), 421.

[50] Marion Linhardt, 'Inbesitznahmen zwischen Intimität und Oberfläche: Die Diva und die Girl-Truppe', in Brandl-Risi, Risi, and Simon, *Kunst der Oberfläche*, 125–29, at 127–28.

Modernity and Sexuality

In the UK, concerns about morality became more relaxed in the early twentieth century than the 1890s. In 1892, the Lord Chamberlain had refused a licence for Oscar Wilde's French play *Salomé*, and Aubrey Beardsley's erotic illustrations that accompanied the English translation of the play in 1894 were considered an affront to bourgeois respectability. In 1908, none of that prevented the first prize at a Fancy Dress Carnival held at the Crystal Palace, Sydenham, being awarded to theatrical costumier Mary Fisher dressed as Salomé[51] or, in 1910, the performance of Richard Strauss's opera *Salome*, based on Wilde's play, at Covent Garden. The phrase 'dance of the seven veils' had been invented by Wilde for Salome's dance, and, in the early 1900s, it became associated with pseudo-Oriental striptease shows.

The more open attitude to sexuality, that is a feature of modernism, is found in *Die geschiedene Frau* (1908), the operetta Fall composed immediately after *Die Dollarprinzessin* to a libretto by Victor Léon. It was based on Sardou's play *Divorçons!*, which was popular in continental Europe. In Austria, at the time of the production of this operetta, civil marriages did not exist and divorce was difficult. Rumours, however, had circulated about a divorce that had taken place within Viennese high society.[52] Ironically, a little over five years after this operetta's premiere, Leo Fall's wife Bertha filed for divorce.

The first scene is set in the divorce court of the Palace of Justice, Amsterdam. The defendant, Karel, alleges he was trying to assist Gonda van der Loo, while travelling on the Nice express: 'She had omitted to book a sleeping compartment' and was 'in great distress'. He shared his lunchbox with her in a compartment reserved for himself, and it included – to the consternation of those in court – a bottle of Cliquot champagne. There was nothing else to drink. Finding a dirty collar on the seat, he complained to an attendant about the untidiness of the compartment. The attendant became angry and departed slamming the door, causing the lock to break and leaving them trapped inside. The attendant is called to give evidence and is asked if he works for the Trans-European Sleeping Car Company. In the German version, he is an unemployed academic, but in the West End version he is a socialist, who assures the court that the word 'work' has been 'expunged from the vocabulary of the Labour Party of which I am a prominent member'. The Labour Party had been formed in 1900 but had adopted this name only four years before the West End production of 1910, and its political agenda was becoming a target for satire. The attendant claims he gently closed the door after Karel had been rude to him, but later found the door locked and could hear a woman laughing. The plot is resolved when it turns out that there was a third person in the sleeping car, who, having failed to purchase a ticket, had hidden under the seat all night. He had previously taken off his collar, and this was the dirty collar Karel found.

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[51] Anon., 'The Playgoer at Home', *The Play Pictorial*, 15:88 (1908), v.

[52] Review of *Die geschiedene Frau, Die Zeit*, 2247, 24 Dec. 1908, 2f, cited in Frey, *Leo Fall*, 84.

Superficially, then, all appears to be light-hearted innocence and unrelated to modern notions of sexual audaciousness. Bernard Grun writes that the first act is filled with an amusing trial scene 'à la Gilbert und Sullivan'.[53] Indeed, the difficulties are all resolved by the judge, as in *Trial by Jury*, although, in this case, the judge pairs off with a woman accused of improper behaviour. An 'innocent' reading, however, faces complications from the fact that, in the German version, Gonda is the editor of the journal *Freie Liebe* (Free Love). She makes clear her views on this subject, claiming that love does not need, and usually does not long survive, the shackles of marriage: 'frei sei Weib und frei sei Mann, Liebe sei nicht Pflicht!' ('let women be free and men be free, love shouldn't be a duty!') Those sentiments accorded with the views of the *Verband Fortschrittlicher Frauenvereine* (League of Progressive Women's Associations), who were active in Germany from 1891 to 1919, and called for a boycott of marriage and for the enjoyment of sexuality. The league was founded by Lily Braun and Minna Cauer, and had among its aims the unionization of prostitution, the teaching of contraceptive methods, abortion rights, and the abolition of laws prohibiting same-sex relationships. In 1895 and 1897, Berlin school teacher Emma Trosse published pamphlets on homosexuality and free love.[54] Advancing these thoughts could attract penalties: Adelheid Popp, editor of the *Arbeiterinnen-Zeitung*, was prosecuted in Austria in 1895 for publishing a free love article that was deemed to degrade marriage.[55] Nevertheless, the debate continued after the war. Hugo Bettauer, in his article 'Die erotische Revolution' (1924), states that men created the 'fundamental principle, that the erotic belongs to marriage', and argues that 'the man has access to free love through secret means whereas for the woman there is only subjection'.[56] Such ideas were also promulgated in the UK and USA. Victoria Woodhull, leader of the American suffrage movement, defended free love in a speech in Steinway Hall, New York, in 1871.[57] In the UK, Edward Carpenter, one of the founders of the Fellowship of the New Life in 1883 and of the Fabian Society the following year, was a champion of sexual freedom and what would now be called gay rights.

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[53] Bernard Grun, *Kulturgeschichte der Operette* (Munich: Langen Müller Verlag, 1961), 410.

[54] See Christiane Leidinger, 'Emma (Külz-)Trosse (1863–1949)', (2005): www.lesbengeschichte.de/Englisch/bio_trosse_e.html.

[55] Freie Liebe und bürgerliche Ehe. Schwurgerichtsverhandlung gegen die Arbeiterinnen-Zeitung durchgeführt bei dem k. k. Landes- und Schwurgerichte in Wien am 30. September 1895. Protokoll der Verhandlung gegen Adelheid Popp als Herausgeberin der Arbeiterinnen-Zeitung wegen Publikation eines Artikels (Frau und Eigentum), der die Ehe herabwürdigt (Vergehen nach § 305 St.-G.). Austrian Literature Online: www.literature.at/viewer.alo?viewmode=overview&objid=11085.

The West End version ignores completely Gonda's first verse in the Act 2 duet 'Gonda liebe, kleine, Gonda', in which she declares that she is unconcerned about fidelity and the rights of wives. She claims that marriage is demanded only because of conventional ideas of social duty and good reputation.

Nicht um Ihre Liebe, noch Ihre Treu' ist mir's zu tun!
Gattinrechte ich gar nicht möchte! Was sagen Sie wohl nun?
Brauch' nicht alles dies, was wohl ganz süss Natur erschuf!
Nein, ich leist' drauf Verzicht!
Gesellschaftspflicht verlangt nur diese Heirat und mein guter Ruf.

I'm not bothered about your love, or your fidelity!
I wouldn't want a wife's rights! What do you say now?
I don't need all that which, no doubt, sweet nature created!
No, I renounce it!
It is merely social duty that demands this marriage and my good reputation.

After the first performance in Berlin at the Theater des Westens, 6 Sep. 1910, the *Berliner Zeitung* commented that *Die geschiedene Frau* had all the necessary ingredients for a modern operetta.[58] Nevertheless, as mentioned in Chapter 2, it was found necessary to tone down this operetta in both its West End and Broadway versions as *The Girl in the Train* (1910), although the unconventional Gonda replaced the wife as the title character.

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[56] Hugo Bettauer, 'Die erotische Revolution', *Er und Sie*, 1 (1924), 1–2, excerpted in Anton Kaes, Martin Jay, and Edward Dimendberg, *The Weimar Republic Sourcebook* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), 698–700, at 699.

[57] Mary L. Shearer, 'Abandoned Woman? A Review of the Evidence'. www.victoria-woodhull.com/prostitute.htm.

[58] Review, 4 Oct. 1910, quoted in Stefan Frey (with the collaboration of Christine Stemprok and Wolfgang Dosch), *Leo Fall: Spöttischer Rebell der Operette* (Vienna: Edition Steinbauer, 2010), 89.

Sexuality was being explored more broadly and openly in the early twentieth century. The visual arts spring first to mind. One of the themes of 'The Women of Klimt, Schiele and Kokoschka', an exhibition held at the Belvedere, Vienna, in 2015 was an exploration of gender politics in Vienna at the beginning of the twentieth century, 'when both women and men's sexuality were undergoing a revolution'.[59] There was cross-dressing from female to male in *Filmzauber* and from male to female in *Die Rose von Stambul*. There was also erotic dressing in the Viennese version of *Die Dollarprinzessin*: Olga's arrival with her women Cossacks was striking because of her costume, which, she admits knowingly, is so close and tight that it 'gets many guessing'.[60] This entrance scene was omitted in the London and New York versions.

Sigmund Freud published three essays on sexual theory, *Drei Abhandlungen zur Sexualtheorie*, in 1905.[61] The following year, Austrian author Robert Musil offered a study of transgressive sexuality in his novel *Die Verwirrungen des Zöglings Törless*. Sexuality was also a topic in the air in the UK, where, Mica Niva informs us, 'Free love and the idea of sexual pleasure as an entitlement for women as well as men were gradually put on the agenda, albeit in mainly urban Bohemian and intellectual circles'.[62] Telling questions are posed in operetta songs: for example, 'Was hat eine Frau von der treue?' ('What does a woman gain from fidelity?') from *Ball im Savoy* and 'Warum soll eine Frau kein Verhältnis haben' ('Why shouldn't a woman have a relationship?') from *Eine Frau, die weiß, was sie will!* The question of an age of consent is raised in *Friederike*, in the title character's poignant song, 'Warum hast Du mich Wach geküsst?' ('Why did you kiss me awake?'). Friederike asserts, 'Ich war kein Weib, ich war ein Kind' ('I wasn't a woman, I was a child'). Her love involved more than kissing, as the line 'Mit jeder Faser war ich Dein' ('With every fibre I was yours') makes plain.

When the focus shifts to queering the production and consumption of operetta, much light is shed by the arguments compiled and edited by Kevin Clarke in *Glitter and Be Gay* (2007).[63] It requires little effort to queer certain operatic characters, such as Fränze, who passes incognito as a drummer boy in *Filmzauber*, the Zarewitsch in Lehár's operetta of that name, Schubert (*Das Dreimäderlhaus*), and Josepha Vogelhuber (*Im weißen Rössl*). Camp representation was part of operetta from its early days, but is perhaps most associated with the productions of Erik Charell. Charell had been far from discreet about his sexuality in the 1920s, when he found a gay partner in African-American Louis Douglas, a star of *La Revue nègre* (Hopkins). Regarding the various male groups in Charell's production of *Im weißen Rössl*, Clarke writes that no gay cliché was left out, although it could all be viewed 'innocently' as local colour.[64] Charell was also aware of the erotic spectacle of his boys in lederhosen and girls in short dirndls. Today, it is possible to regain a sense of how camp functioned in the silver age of operetta by watching certain operetta films of the period. The consciously 'tacked on' operetta finale to *Die Drei von der Tankstelle* (1930) with its high-kicking chorus line is a good place to begin.

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[59] Amah-Rose Abrams, 'Dazzling Vienna Exhibition Explores the Female Muses of Klimt, Schiele, and Kokoschka', 3 Nov. 2015, https://news.artnet.com/art-world/female-muses-klimt-schiele-kokoschka-348536.

[60] 'Das Costüm so stramm und fest mancherlei erräten lässt'.

[61] Leipzig and Vienna: Franz Deuticke.

[62] Mica Niva, 'Modernity's Disavowal: Women, the City and the Department Store', in Mica Niva and Alan O'Shea, eds., *Modern Times: Reflections on a Century of English Modernity* (London: Routledge, 1996), 38–76, at 45.

[63] Kevin Clarke, ed., *Glitter and Be Gay: Die authentische Operette und ihre schwulen Verehrer* (Hamburg: Männerschwarm Verlag, 2007).

Modern 'Enlightenment' and Spectacle

New York began to move from gas to electric street lighting in the 1880s, and, by 1895, electric signs were common. Electric lighting had become familiar in theatres in the last decade of the nineteenth century. Hollingshead had been the first to use electric lights in a London theatre (the Gaiety, 1878) using the Lontin light.[65] At the turn of the twentieth century, New York had more electric illumination than either London or Berlin. Broadway was already known as the 'Great White Way' in the 1890s, mainly because of its electric advertising.[66] Charles Dillingham introduced the first electrically illuminated advertising sign on Broadway the season before the *Merry Widow* premiere.[67] Striking modern poster design was developing, too: a widely used poster for *The Chocolate Soldier* showed Captain Massakoff's finger pointing directly at the viewer, and carried the accusation: 'You haven't seen the Chocolate Soldier yet!' It was a forerunner of Alfred Leete's famous Kitchener recruitment poster for the First World War.

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[64] 'Es wurde kein schwules Klischee ausgelassen, aber immer so gepackt, dass man es auch "harmlos" sehen konnte, als lokal Kolorit'. Kevin Clarke, 'Im Rausch der Genusse', in *Glitter and Be Gay*, 108–39, at 125.

[65] Forbes-Winslow, *Daly's*, 27.

[66] Gerrylynn K. Roberts and Philip Steadman, *American Cities and Technology: Wilderness to Wired City* (London: Routledge, 1999), 120. It was the electric sign publicist O. J. Gude, who named it the 'Great White Way'; see Amy Henderson and Dwight Blocker Bowers, *Red, Hot & Blue: A Smithsonian Salute to the American Musical* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1996), 16.

[67] Gerald Bordman, *American Operetta: From H.M.S. Pinafore to Sweeney Todd* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1981), 76.

New York was even better served by electric trams in the early 1900s than Berlin, which possessed the best tram network in Europe. New York's first underground line opened in 1904, three years before *The Merry Widow*.[68] The world's first underground railway line (the Metropolitan) opened in London in 1863 and had 40 million passenger journeys a year by the 1870s.[69] With increased transport available, the urban consumer's attitude to country life and its villages changed. If a city dweller moves to the country, he or she soon desires city features (reliable telecommunications, street lighting, and roads free of mud). The countryside that lacks these attributes is consumed as scenery – a green field, a tranquil lake, a misty mountain – or as rural heritage (a national park). Onstage, such scenery became spectacle enhanced by modern technology.

Revolving stages were speeding up scene changes. A complicated revolving stage mechanism had been installed at the Coliseum in 1904 and was used to great effect in the production of *White Horse Inn*.

> It is much more than merely a 'mammoth' show. It is like nothing that has yet been presented. It surrounds and wraps one up in jollity, colour, and music, attacking from both sides as well as in front. The three revolving stages bring the scenes on and off with a rhythm that is an inspiration in itself.[70]

The revolving stage was especially effective for showing the trip round the lake.

Stoll re-engaged Charell for the next Coliseum production, *Casanova*, which was proclaimed 'the ultimate limit in stage spectacle'.[71] The revolving stage was in action again, enabling 'scenes of loveliness' to succeed one another in 'marvellous sequence'.[72] After 'an extraordinary pageant of scenery', the performance culminated in a revolving panorama of the carnival in Venice, 'with hundreds of gaily clad revelers, gondolas, canals and palazzos paying tribute to the producer's genius'[73] (Figure 7.1). Not

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[68] Roberts and Steadman, *American Cities and Technology*, 41.

[69] David Goodman, 'Two Capitals: London and Paris', in David Goodman and Colin Chant, *European Cities and Technology: Industrial to Post-industrial City* (London: Routledge, 1999), 73–120, at 97.

[70] *Morning Post* quoted in *The Play Pictorial*, 58:350 (May 1931), ii.

[71] D. C. F., 'Casanova', *Theatre World*, 18:90 (Jul. 1932), 13–14, at 13.

[72] B. W. Findon, *The Play Pictorial*, 61:364 (Dec. 1932), 2.

[73] Anon., '"Casanova" at the London Coliseum', *Theatre World*, 18:90 (Jul. 1932), 12.

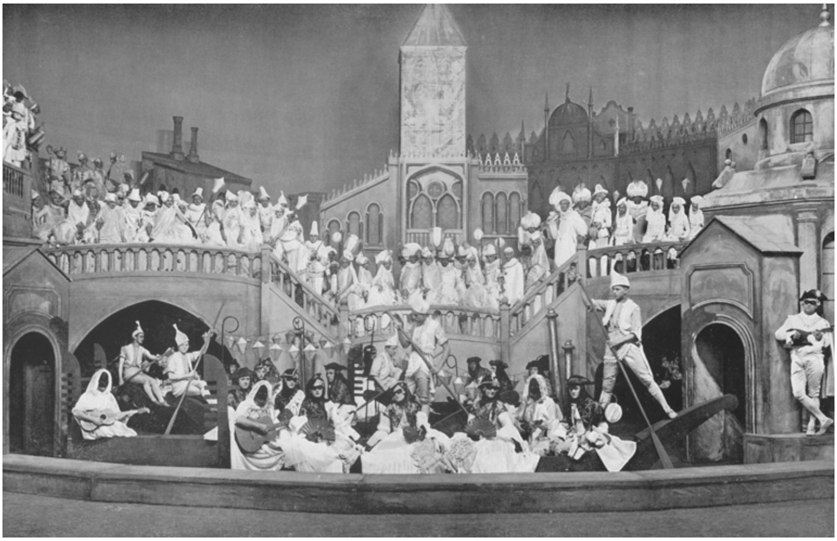

Figure 7.1 Venetian Scene in *Casanova* (Coliseum, 1932). *The Play Pictorial*, vol. 61, no. 364 (Dec. 1932), 20.

everyone was bowled over by it all: Charles Morgan, reporting from London for the *New York Times*, complained that it created 'an impression of unselective excess'.[74]

Technological developments in stage lighting also played an important role, making possible realistic effects of thunder, lightning, and rain. The *Morning Post* praised the cyclorama (the background scenery) of the Coliseum production of *White Horse Inn* in April 1931.

> [T]here is the 'cyclorama' of the Alps standing out just as if they were real, with a quite marvelous moment of storm; a lake with a steamer from which the Emperor arrives; mountain-top scenes with goats and comic cows and reveling yodelers, and above all, an inexhaustible wealth of design, richness, and variety in Ernst Stein's costumes.[75]

Lehár expressed surprise at the stage lighting employed at Daly's and the costs it must entail,[76] but great strides were being made in stage lighting in Germany in the 1920s, and they soon crossed the English Channel. The London firm Ventreco claimed that a new era had begun with the lighting of *White Horse Inn,* and although they admit to having achieved it under

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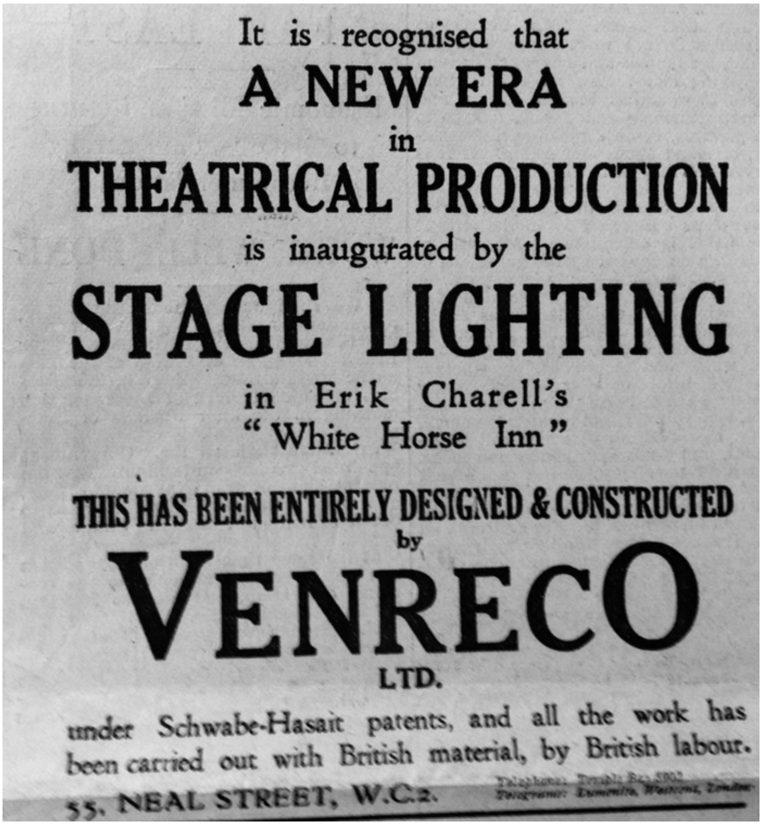
[74] Charles Morgan, 'Casanova, Revue Style', *New York Times*, 19 Jun. 1932, X2.

[75] *Morning Post* quoted in ibid., ii.

[76] Stefan Frey, 'How a Sweet Viennese Girl Became a Fair International Lady', 105.



It is recognised that

A NEW ERA

in

THEATRICAL PRODUCTION

is inaugurated by the

STAGE LIGHTING

in Erik Charell's

"White Horse Inn"

THIS HAS BEEN ENTIRELY DESIGNED & CONSTRUCTED

by

VENRECO

LTD.

under Schwabe-Hasait patents, and all the work has been carried out with British material, by British labour.

55, NEAL STREET, W.C.2.

Figure 7.2 Advertisement in the *Sunday Referee*, 5 Apr. 1931.

Schwabe-Hasait patents, they stress that it was with the employment of British material and labour (Figure 7.2).[77]

Hans Schwabe had been active in Berlin before the First World War. He had developed a battery of 1000-watt lanterns that replaced the large central lanterns at the Deutches Theater and gave an even spread of light. Schwabe's assistant Reiche developed a machine that projected clouds onto the cyclorama (Figure 7.3).

Max Hasait was stage manager of the Residenz Theater, Munich, and developed a cyclorama that could be set very quickly from either side of the stage, allowing realistic effects of storm, lighting and rain. The Schwabe-Hasait system had already been tried out in St Martin's Theatre and Drury Lane in the mid-1920s.[78]

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[77] *Sunday Referee*, 5 Apr. 1931, 4.

[78] Basil Dean, 'Recollections and Reflections', *Tabs*, 20:3 (Dec. 1962), 5–23, at 17–18.

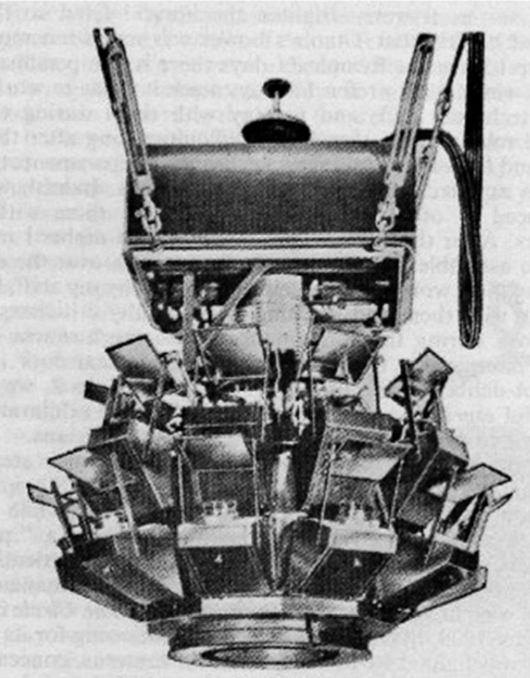

Figure 7.3 Reiche's 3000-watt cloud machine, containing two tiers of lenses and mirrors.

It took several years for *White Horse Inn* to reach New York, but on 1 October 1936 it opened at the Center Theatre, where 'the genii of American spectacle making [had] done one of their handsomest jobs on this international holiday to music'.[79] It involved:

> mountain scenery and hotel architecture, costumes beautiful and varied enough to bankrupt a designer's imagination, choruses that can do anything from the hornpipe to a resounding slapdance, grand processionals with royalty loitering before the commoners, a steamboat, a yacht, a char-à-banc, four real cows and a great deal more of the same.[80]

The cows had been distinctly and purposefully unreal in the London production. The songs, by Benatzky and others were characterized without condescension as, 'for the most part, simple things which are well-bred and daintily imposing'. The director Erik Charell, who was also partly responsible for the libretto, was praised for 'the general spirit of good humor that keeps "White Horse Inn" a congenial tavern'.[81] A report three days later claimed that the second night's gross taking at the Center Theatre was $7,240, 'a sum which smacks of success'.[82]

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[79] Brooks Atkinson, 'The Play: "White Horse Inn", an Elaborate Musical Show, Opens the Season in Rockefeller City', *New York Times*, 2 Oct. 1936, 28.

[80] Ibid.

Spectacle was a way of engaging with modernity, with the new means of representation that technology made possible. Even operettas that were set in Ruritanian principalities related to modernism: first, because they offered spectacle, but also because they depicted a type of social formation that was failing in the modern age. Not every theatre critic was bowled over by spectacle. After describing the London production of Abraham's *Ball at the Savoy* as 'a spectacle', the reviewer elucidates as follows: 'Bits of the stage and bits of the chorus keep on going up and down.' The costumes are treated to equally sardonic comment: 'its dresses are, not beautiful, but an entertainment in themselves'.[83]

Stoll brought spectacle to another of his theatres, the Alhambra. After having this theatre reconstructed, he invited Hassard Short to produce *Waltzes from Vienna* there in 1931. Findon writes of a 'slight plot which bears so valiantly the mighty framework of scenic design and elaborate stagecraft', but extols the production for having 'amazed the world of amusement seekers'.[84] Besides the beautiful costumes and scenery, there were the modern stage lighting effects of the Strand Electrical Company. Hassard Short was English, but 'discovered' in America. He was a lighting expert, and one of his innovations at the Alhambra was to move the footlights to the dress circle, from where they threw a stream of light onto the stage.[85] He illuminated the stage further by using the latest lighting towers and a granulated reflector with a 1000-watt lamp that diffused and amplified the light at the same time.[86]

The Strand Electric Company was again manufacturing and installing special lighting for Hassard Short's production of *Wild Violets* (1933), this time at Drury Lane rather than the Alhambra. There was a cast of over 160 actors and 120 stage hands, and the production involved 16 scene changes and 260 costumes. The revolving stage allowed scenes to be built up invisibly, behind the scene the audience was currently viewing. The lighting system included a new bridge on the stage side of the proscenium arch employing 120 spotlights, many with telescopic lenses of three or four colours. There were 900 small electric lamps used to create a star-spangled background in the elopement scene, and 500 of them were used for the skating scene.[87] Findon remarks that the revolving stage and Short's 'bewildering, lighting effects' made the strongest impressions – in spite of the 'many tuneful melodies'. The scene of the ice-skating rink (with real ice) in the snowy Swiss Alps was 'a joy to the eye'.[88] Another scene had the chorus on bicycles, but the precariousness of modern mobilities was also on display when a car was shown failing to climb a steep hill. In a comment that underlines some of the observations on intermediality presented in Chapter 6, the *News Chronicle* remarked that the revolving stage took the audience from scene to scene 'with almost the rapidity of a film'.[89]

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[81] Atkinson, 'The Play: "White Horse Inn"', 28.

[82] 'News of the Stage', *New York Times*, 5 Oct. 1936, 24.

[83] 'Drury Lane', *The Times*, 9 Sep. 1933, 8. The operetta was set in the Savoy Hotel at Nice, rather than the Savoy, London.

[84] B. W. Findon, *The Play Pictorial*, 59:355 (Mar. 1932), 50.

[85] *The Sphere*, 22 Aug. 1931, 289. [86] Ibid.

Modernity and Mobility

Act 3 of the German-language version of *Die Dollarprinzessin* opened with an 'Automobil-Terzett' in praise of the motor car (omitted in the Broadway and West End versions).

> Ja das Auto ihr Leute bewundert's, ist die Krone des Jahrhunderts, ein Geschenk, das vom Himmel gesendet auf die Erd', wenn man vorsichtig fährt! All Heil! All Heil!

> Yes, the car you people admire is the crown of the century, a gift sent from heaven to earth, if you drive carefully! All hail! All hail!

Shortly after the Vienna premiere of *Die Dollarprinzessin* in November 1907, the American economy was further boosted by car manufacturing using 'mass production' techniques. The Ford Model T motor car was first produced in 1908, the year before Broadway premiere of *The Chocolate Soldier*. The fact that *The Chocolate Soldier* is set in Bulgaria during 1885–86 does not prevent Bumerli informing Colonel Popoff towards the end of Act 3 that he can supply 'every make and style of motor car'.[90] One of Jean Gilbert's operettas, *Das Autoliebchen* (1912), takes the love of cars as its theme – it was produced in the West End as *The Joy-Ride Lady* (1914).

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[87] Information given in 'The Inner Workings of Our Great National Theatre: Behind the Scenes at Drury Lane', *The Illustrated London News*, 5 Nov. 1932, 722–23.

[88] 'Wild Violets', *The Play Pictorial*, 61:369 (May 1933), 90.

[89] Quoted in Anon., 'Plays of the Month', *The Play Pictorial*, 61:369 (May 1933), vi–vii, at vi.

[90] LCP, 1910/21.

Mimi Sheller and John Urry complain that early sociologists of urban life 'failed to consider the overwhelming impact of the automobile in transforming the time–space "scapes" of the modern urban/suburban dweller'.[91] It might be added that the train had already had a similar effect. Transport was a subject taken up by scholars developing the 'mobilities paradigm' of early twenty-first-century sociology, which emphasizes that 'all places are tied into at least thin networks of connections that stretch beyond each such place'.[92] Much of the focus of mobilities research is on later developments (for instance, airports and mobile technologies, and the distinction between mobility and migration), but in the first decade of the twentieth century, cars, motorbikes, trains, ocean liners, and airships were transforming connections between people and cultures. In the second decade, horses were disappearing from the roads to be replaced by cars and motor buses. In the mid-1920s, regular articles appeared in the *Play Pictorial* under the title 'Players, Playgoers and the Car'. An advertisement in a 1924 issue gives the price of a basic Morris four-seater as £225.[93] In 2017, the relative cost would have been around £12,200 or $15,600; so this mode of transport was within the reach of some middle-class theatre goers.[94] Furthermore, second-hand models were appearing on the market.[95]

The growth of tram networks and the asphalting of roads and streets enhanced mobility in cities. For travel further afield, transport by steamship and rail was improving. The synchronizing of clocks throughout a country was a consequence of the latter. The travel bureau was part of modernity: Lehár's *Der Mann mit den drei Frauen* of 1908 (given on Broadway as *The Man with Three Wives*, 1913) features a travel guide as the leading male character, and the desire for tourism adds appeal to Benatzky's *Im weißen Rössl* (1930) and Künneke's *Glückliche Reise* (Bon Voyage) of 1932. Stolz's *Mädi* (1923) concerns the Calais-Mediterranée Express, which ran between Calais and the French Riviera. The tile of the West End version was *The Blue Train*, a reference to the train's alternative name, which it owed to the colour of its sleeping cars.

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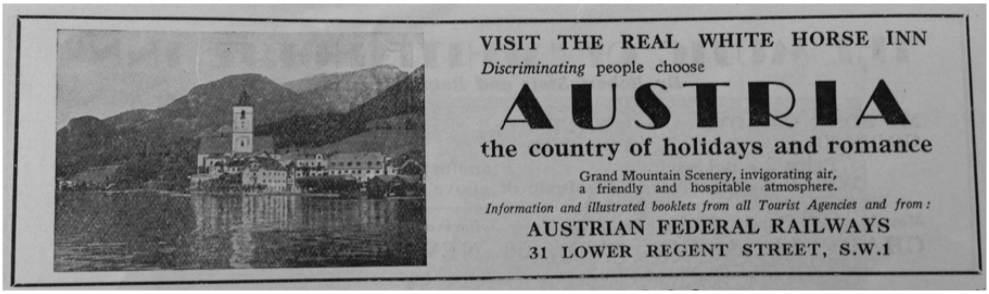
[91] Mimi Sheller and John Urry, 'The New Mobilities Paradigm', *Environment and Planning A*, 38 (2006), 207–26, at 209.

[92] Ibid. In addition to Sheller and Urry, some other sociologists whose work has prompted the 'mobilities turn' are Mark Buchanan, Tim Cresswell, Caren Kaplan, and Vincent Kaufmann.

[93] *The Play Pictorial*, 45:268 (Dec. 1924), 3.

[94] UK price calculation using percentage rises in Retail Price Index http://measuringworth.com/calculators/ppoweruk. US price calculation using 'real value' conversion chart (UK pounds to US dollars) for consumer goods in 1924 and 2017 www.measuringworth.com/exchange.

[95] Wheeler, 'Players, Playgoers and the Car', *The Play Pictorial*, 46:277 (Sep. 1925), viii.



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a friendly and hospitable atmosphere.

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31 LOWER REGENT STREET, S.W.1

Figure 7.4 Advertisement from the Coliseum *White Horse Inn* programme (1931).

Dennis Kennedy remarks on the commonalities between tourists and theatre spectators:

> As travelers approach a touristic site, so spectators encounter a performance through the gaze, which implies a distance of subject to object. Both spectators and tourists are temporary visitors to another realm who expect to return to the quotidian.[96]

He adds: ‘Modernity and tourism are intertwined: as the technology of travel increased so more and more of the world became objectified as sights to wonder over or visit for private refreshment.’[97]

The appeal of the Austrian alps as a tourist destination offers an explanation for the appeal of *White Horse Inn*, as it was to do later in the case of *The Sound of Music*. The *Observer* referred to *White Horse Inn* at the Coliseum as ‘Baedecker gone mad’.[98] Indeed, an updated edition of Baedecker drew on the operetta in describing the actual Weißes Rössl hotel in St Wolfgang, its lakeside setting and the availability of steamboat trips on the Wolfgangsee, before awarding it a Baedecker star.[99] Charell had envisaged a revue operetta that would appeal to ‘summer-resort addicted Berlin’.[100] Economic depression in Germany meant that a lakeside holiday was out of the question for many people. However, the idea of a visit to the real White Horse Inn was an attractive proposition for London’s more affluent theatre-goers. The programme for the Coliseum production carried an advertisement recommending this establishment to ‘discriminating people’ (Figure 7.4).

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[96] Dennis Kennedy, *The Spectator and the Spectacle: Audiences in Modernity and Postmodernity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 94.

[97] Ibid., 99.

[98] ‘White Horse Inn’, *The Observer*, 17 Apr. 1931.

[99] Len Platt and Tobias Becker, ‘“A Happy Man Can Live in the Past” – Musical Theatre Transfer in the 1920s and 1930s’, in Platt, Becker, and Linton, *Popular Musical Theatre in London and Berlin*, 118–132, at 127–28.

[100] Quoted in Kevin Clarke and Helmut Peter, *The White Horse Inn: On the Trail of a World Success*, trans. Interlingua, Austria (St Wofgang: Rössl Hotel Verlag, 2009), 82.

Staging the Modern World

The period 1880–1900 witnessed the growth of theatre quarters in Berlin, London, and New York. Len Platt argues that one of the most important struggles among competing theatrical centres was over the concept of modernity: 'This was the real domain that musical theatres fought over, because, even in the sphere of light entertainment – then as now – whoever authorised the modern authorized the world.'[101] Kerston Lange offers the comment: 'Musical theatre was where "the world" in the city was staged.'[102]

The twentieth century witnessed changes in the representation of other cultures. Fall's *Die Rose von Stambul* of 1916 (given on Broadway as *The Rose of Stamboul*, 1922) is full of historical references, but makes constant reference to westernizing reforms.[103] Its topicality and connection to events in Turkey at the time of its 1916 premiere in Vienna were evident when Hubert Marischka, playing the lead role Achmed Bey,[104] wanted his costume to be a khaki uniform with black fur hat and high black boots. This outfit was familiar from images of the Turkish general Mustafa Kemal, who had driven the British from the Dardanelles in the previous year.[105] Kemal had been born in what is today the Greek city of Thessaloniki, which, in Ottoman days, was known as Selanik. Although he had many years of active service in the Ottoman Army, he regarded his struggle for an independent Turkey during 1919–22 as a fight against Ottoman oppression.

The operetta is set in the early twentieth century, when the Ottoman Empire had declined and its receptiveness to western European influence had increased. In 1908, ideas of liberal reform and democracy were very much in the air, and the Young Turk Revolution began. Reform is an important issue in *Die Rose von Stambul*. Kondja Güll, the daughter of Kemal Pasha, rebels against her father's plans for her marriage because she is corresponding with the poet André Lery, who believes in fighting for the emancipation of women. She has read his novels, but they have never actually met. With typical operetta felicity, he turns out to be Achmed Bey, the very man her father wishes her to marry, who writes under a pen name. Kondja's girlfriend is named Midilli, the Turkish name for Mytilini, the capital of Lesbos. Both Thessaloniki and Mytilini were taken by Greek forces in the First Balkan War, which ended three years before *Die Rose von Stambul* was premiered. The women in the operetta look forward with eager anticipation to 'reforms on the Bosphorus' and the abolition of the veil.

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[101] Platt, Becker, and Linton, *Popular Musical Theatre in London and Berlin*, 40.

[102] Kerstin Lange, 'The Argentine Tango: A Transatlantic Dance on the European Stage', in Platt, Becker, and Linton, *Popular Musical Theatre in London and Berlin*, 153–69, at 165.

[103] Frey, *Leo Fall*, 158.

[104] The Turkish title 'bey' means 'chief'.

[105] Frey, *Leo Fall*, 157.

The idea that there was an appetite for westernizing reform in Turkey received a jolt after the horrific destruction of the cosmopolitan city of Smyrna in 1922, but Mustafa Kemal began driving reforms through once he became the first president of the Republic of Turkey in 1923. In 1925, his wife witnessed a performance of Friml's *Rose-Marie* at Drury Lane, and believed she had found a useful aid to her campaign to persuade Muslim women to drop the old policy of seclusion and advance 'their education in the lighter phases of life'; and so she made arrangements for it to be presented as soon as possible in the new Republic of Turkey.[106] The issue of Turkish reform proved topical again, when the *Die Rose von Stambul* was performed at the Lehár Festival, Bad Ischl, in 2016, a hundred years after its premiere. The critic of the *Salzburger Nachrichten* found it ironic how times had changed, that the current Turkish leader wanted to 'turn back history', and that Istanbul had acquired notoriety as the scene of terrorist atrocities.[107]

Orientalist devices in this operetta are infrequent, and often serve merely to frame a scene (as in the opening and close of the operetta). Elsewhere, they are applied unevenly (see Chapter 1). When the subject turns to fashionable pleasure ('das Glück nach der Mode'), a waltz rhythm is heard. It is also significant that Achmed Bey tries to seduce Kondja with the song 'Ein Walzer muß es sein'. That not as fanciful as it may seem; the Ottoman interest in the waltz was longstanding, and the nineteenth-century sultans Abdülaziz and Murad V both composed waltzes.

Modernity was no longer so exciting or chic after the outbreak of the First World War. It could feel threatening, and revues sometimes viewed it cynically. America was an exception to this mood, perhaps because of its new international power after the war: for one thing, the UK was left owing the USA $4.6 billion.[108] Berlin operetta had been more taken with modernity than Viennese operetta because Berlin was very much a modern city, whereas Vienna retained a certain nostalgia for the days of 'alt Wien' and its residents spoke fondly of times past. Yet, after the war, Platt and Becker suggest that Berlin operetta became conservative and indifferent to modernity: 'the once-characteristic mix of localism and cosmopolitanism firmly positioned in terms of a confident negotiation of the modern gave way to spectaculars of a different kind – historical romances'.[109]

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[106] 'Rose-Marie', *The Theatre World and Illustrated Stage Review*, 6 (Jul. 1925), 24–25, at 25. It was not the only occasion on which foreign dignitaries looked to the musical stage to deepen their understanding of western society: Amanullah Khan, the king of Afghanistan, and his entourage, were on a study tour of European methods and manners in 1928, and attended a performance of *Lady Mary* at Daly's Theatre. George Grossmith, *'G. G.'* (London: Hutchinson, 1933), 218. Albert Sirmay composed *Lady Mary* to an English book by Frederick Lonsdale and J. Hastings Turner, and lyrics by Harry Graham.

[107] Anon., 'Türkische Frauen schwärmen von "Reformen am Bosporus"', review in *Salzburger Nachrichten*, 25 Jul. 2016.

There was usually more to a historically themed operetta, however, than mere sentimental romance. Indeed, Volker Klotz sees a lively return to the spirit of Offenbach in the 'cheeky exuberance' of Fall's *Madame Pompadour*, and Christoph Dompke finds a camp element from the beginning.[110] It may be true that modernity lost its attraction to a certain extent, but there were exceptions: for instance, Kálmán's *Die Herzogin von Chicago*, Abraham' s *Ball im Savoy*, Straus's *Eine Frau, die weiß, was sie will!*, and Dostal's *Clivia*. Finally, it may also be argued that the presence of African-American elements in operettas by Künneke, Granichstaedten, Kálmán, Abraham, and Benatzky was a continuing assertion of the modern, even when an operetta was set in the past (like *Lady Hamilton* and *Im weißen Rössl*).

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[108] David Linton and Len Platt, '*Dover Street to Dixie* and the Politics of Cultural Transfer and Exchange', in Platt, Becker, and Linton, *Popular Musical Theatre in London and Berlin*, 170–86, at 180.

[109] Platt and Becker, 'A Happy Man Can Live in the Past', 124.

[110] Volker Klotz, *Operette: Porträt und Handbuch einer unerhörten Kunst* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, rev.edn 2004), 69; Christoph Dompke, 'Zauberwort "Camp"', in Clarke, *Glitter and be Gay*, 74–84, at 77.

8 Operetta and Cosmopolitanism

The pleasure of operetta was linked to a cosmopolitan appetite that developed with modernity. Indeed, the growth of cosmopolitan consumption can be related to capitalist enterprise in the nineteenth century. As early as 1848, Karl Marx was announcing, 'the bourgeoisie has through its exploitation of the world market given a cosmopolitan character to production and consumption in every country . . . The individual creations of individual nations become common property'.[1] In the rise of operetta as a cosmopolitan genre there was a mixture of social factors in which the political economics of consumption played a significant role. The expansion of a middle class with disposable income that could be spent on leisure pursuits was crucial to the success of operetta. What is more, the increased facility of communication and travel in the early twentieth century began to erode partisan feelings of locality, even before globalization, migration, and nomadic citizenship worked to change the way people conceptualized their relationship to others.

The consequence of a loss of partisan attachment to the local is not that culture becomes consumed in the same way in different countries, and this is evident in the various revisions made during cultural transfer and exchange. The local plays as much a part in cosmopolitanism as in globalization. Cosmopolitanism involves a taste for cultural products of other countries and requires a disposition of openness towards new cultural experience,[2] but it also calls for the sense of recognition of the Self in the Other. I am not convinced that the uncritical consumption of food, drink, or music should be so readily dismissed by Ulrich Beck and Edgar Grande as 'banal cosmopolitanism'.[3] I am more drawn to Ryan Minor's phrase 'everyday cosmopolitanism' and his suggestion that cosmopolitanism can sometimes be interesting precisely for being an unmarked category.[4] The English diner who loves Indian curry because it is delicious, and not because it is exotic, is, in effect, consuming the foreign as a local pleasure, and this represents something more remarkable than a banal act. The next step is to adapt the imported culture to local preferences. Remaining in the world of curry, an example is the addition of masala sauce to the Indian dish chicken tikka in order to satisfy a Western taste conditioned by eating meat with gravy. It is a similar process that I argue can be found in the adaptation of German operetta for Broadway and the West End, and also in the readiness with which German operetta assimilated American features in the 1920s.

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[1] Karl Marx and F. Engels *The Manifesto of the Communist Party* [1848] (Moscow: Foreign Languages, 1952), 46–47.

[2] See Bronislaw Szerszynski and John Urry, 'Cultures of Cosmopolitanism', *The Sociological Review* 50:4 (2002), 461–81, at 468.

[3] Ulrich Beck and Edgar Grande, 'Cosmopolitanism: Europe's Way out of Crisis', *European Journal of Social Theory*, 10:1 (2007), 67–85, at 72.

The production and reception of operetta relate to many of the themes that have emerged in recent years concerning the meaning and character of cultural cosmopolitanism, such as the development of non-national affiliations. Cosmopolitan theorizing is a means of addressing the new challenges that sociology faces in the twenty-first century, when, as John Brewer puts it, 'the very notion of society and "the social" is under challenge from globalization and fluid mobilities and networks of exchange that render the idea of social structure irrelevant'.[5] In fact, fluid mobilities and networks of exchange can be found emerging in the previous century, through the cultural transfer of operetta. In the twenty-first century, it is jazz, pop music, and film that tend to feature in accounts of cosmopolitan taste, but operetta was a forerunner.

Operettas replaced the dialect dramas in Vienna's commercial theatres as the desire to export operetta internationally increased.[6] Like jazz, operetta appealed to people from different cultural backgrounds, offering them opportunities for participation as both listeners and creative artists. Max Schönherr, a conductor who was engaged at the Theater an der Wien and the Wiener Stadttheater in the 1920s, recalled that, while new productions of operettas were 'not always met with critical acclaim', they were nevertheless adored by people from a diverse array of ethnic and social backgrounds.[7] Theatres on Broadway and in the West End recognized

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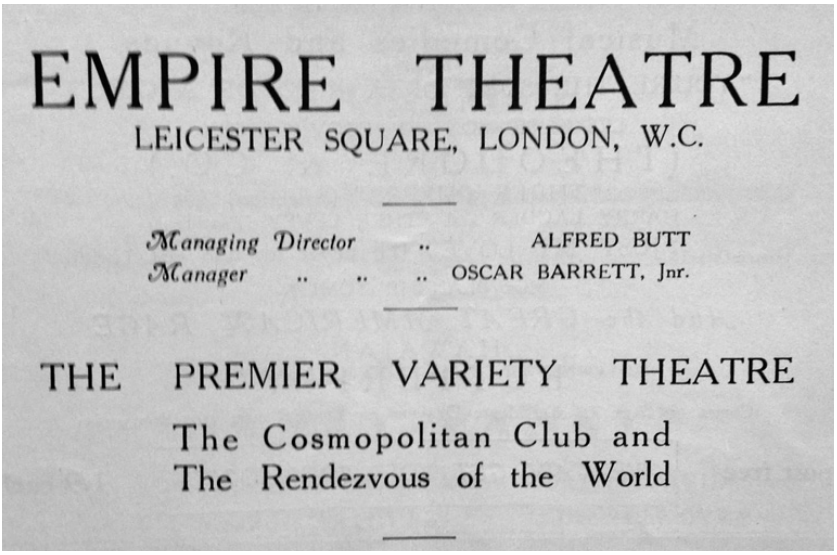
[4] Ryan Minor, 'Beyond Heroism: Music, Ethics, and Everyday Cosmopolitanism', in Dana Gooley, 'Colloquy: Cosmopolitanism in the Age of Nationalism, 1848–1914', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 66:2 (2013), 523–49, at 529–34.

[5] John D. Brewer, review of Steve Fuller, *The New Sociological Imagination* (London: Sage, 2006) in *European Journal of Social Theory*, 10:1 (2007), 173–76, at 173.

[6] W. E. Yates, *Theatre in Vienna: A Critical History, 1776–1995* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 196.

[7] Quoted in Kirstie Hewlett, 'Heinrich Schenker and the Radio' (PhD diss. University of Southampton, 2014), 224. citing Andrew Lamb, *Light Music from Austria: Reminiscences and Writings of Max Schönherr* (New York: Peter Lang, 1992), 136–39.



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THE PREMIER VARIETY THEATRE

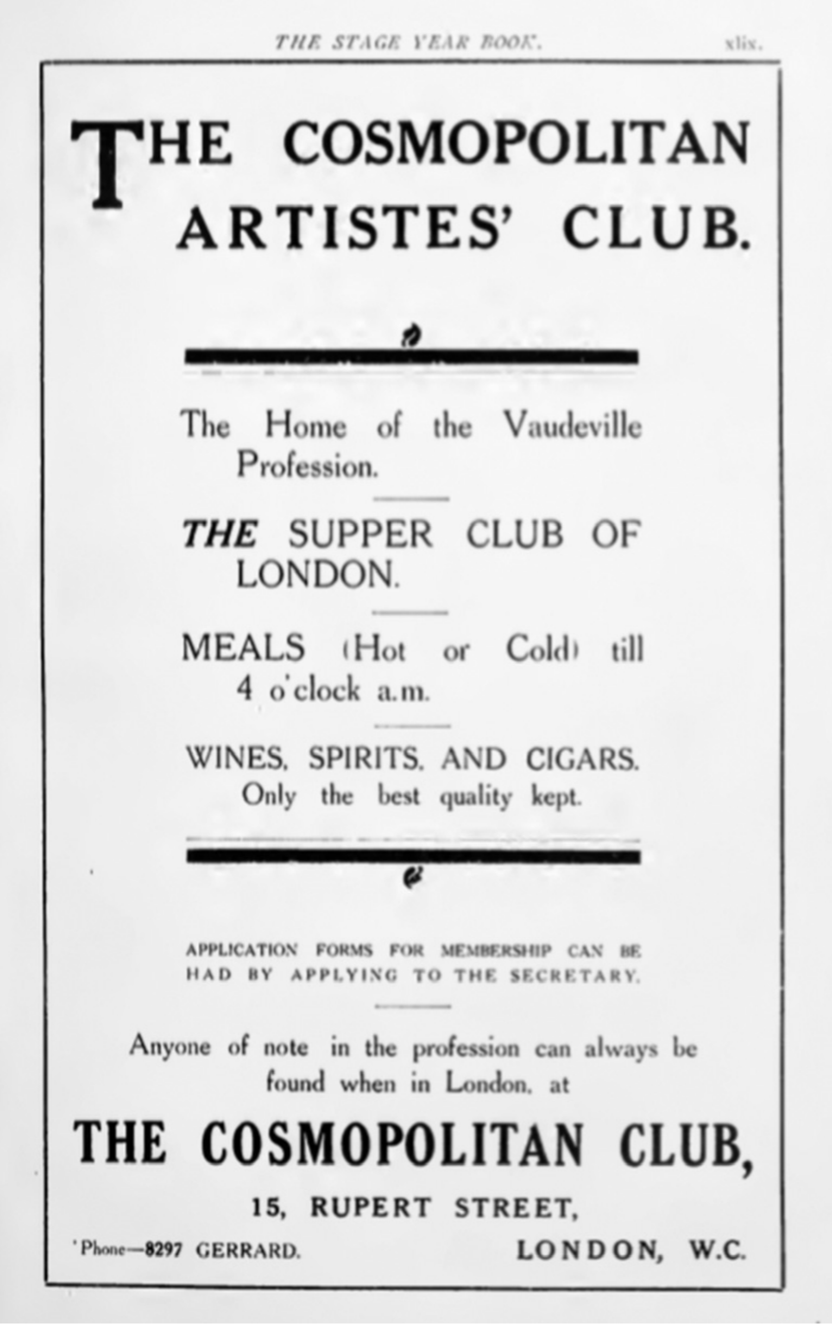
The Cosmopolitan Club and

The Rendezvous of the World

Figure 8.1 Cosmopolitan pleasures advertised at the Empire Theatre, home to the London premiere of Künneke's *Love's Awakening* in 1922 and Lehár's *The Three Graces* in 1924.

themselves as cosmopolitan spaces, and sometimes advertised themselves as such (Figure 8.1). Those working in the theatre profession were well aware of the cosmopolitan circles in which they moved, and that was true both on and off stage (Figure 8.2). This concluding chapter examines operetta from the perspective of both the social and the aesthetic. It explores the social conditions that allowed operetta and its cultural networks to flourish, but also has words to say about the stage works themselves, seeking to explain what is cosmopolitan is their musical style and dramatic content.

Operetta's character as a cosmopolitan genre became ever more pronounced in the first decades of the twentieth century, and this raises important questions about cultural transfer and exchange. My use of the term 'cosmopolitan genre' is intended to indicate that it established itself as an artistic form that was particularly accessible to people of differing cultural backgrounds. To be cosmopolitan does not rule out a local dimension: a cosmopolitan genre has an identity that relates to place but is not constrained by place. The Viennese waltz retains an element of Vienna, just as reggae includes an element of Trenchtown, Jamaica, but, at the same time, these genres belong to the world. Long before jazz and syncopated dance music became cosmopolitan pleasures, the waltz and polka had



THE STAGE YEAR BOOK. xlix.

THE COSMOPOLITAN ARTISTES' CLUB.

The Home of the Vaudeville Profession.

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Figure 8.2 Advertisement for the Cosmopolitan Club in Rupert Street, *The Stage Year Book* (1914), xlix.

found their way around the globe, and the cosmopolitan consumer found nothing odd about a Cockney song or an African-American song in waltz time. To give a couple of examples among many, there were Cockney waltz songs such as 'Pretty Polly Perkins of Paddington Green' and African-American waltz songs such as 'Goodnight, Irene'. An example of a Cockney polka is 'Immenseikoff', and an 'African polka' can be found in *Dobson's Universal Banjo Instructor* of 1882.[8]

Not all musical forms exhibit the mixture of local and cosmopolitan found in the waltz and the polka. The Ländler, for example, carries a firm identity as an Austrian genre, just as the Scottish identity of the Strathspey remains fixed. Both of them can, of course, give pleasure to the cosmopolitan consumer, but they are not cosmopolitan genres. When uprooted and planted elsewhere they remain strongly marked by place, just as a dirndl bears a stronger reference to place than a Viennese ball gown. A local cultural artefact must be accessible to change if it is to become part of a cosmopolitan culture. A cosmopolitan genre is one that is open to international musical influences, as European operetta demonstrated when responding to jazz and dance band music.

It is not coincidental that social dancing and stage entertainment developed a cosmopolitan character in the Austro-Hungarian Empire, where to be patriotic was to be supranational – to feel commitments extending beyond the national. Austria-Hungary, created in 1867 with a dual monarchy, was an empire of many nations and religions. Vienna became the cultural centre of the Habsburg Empire, and that meant a transcultural and intercultural city, where there was cross fertilization of cultures as well as interaction between cultures. It is undeniable that nationalist sentiment gained ground in the later nineteenth century, but there remained plenty of politicians with an international outlook in the first two decades of the succeeding century.[9] What is more, those involved in creating operetta for the German stage were from a broad range of countries, which would now give them the national identities of Croatian (Suppé, Albini), Czech (Benatzky, Fall, Nedbal), Slovak (Lehár), Polish (Millöcker, Hirsch,

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[8] See Derek B. Scott, 'Cosmopolitan Musicology', in Elaine Kelly, Markus Mantere, and Derek B. Scott, eds., *Confronting the National in the Musical Past* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2018), 17–30, at 22–23. 'Pretty Polly Perkins of Paddington Green', words and music by Harry Clifton, arranged J. Candy, 1863; 'Goodnight Irene', recorded by Huddie Ledbetter ('Lead Belly') in 1933, but of much earlier date; 'Immenseikoff, or The Shoreditch Toff', words and music by Arthur Lloyd, 1873; the 'African Polka' is in *Dobson's Universal Banjo Instructor* (Boston: Oliver Ditson, 1882), 36.

[9] The Austrian Social Democratic Workers' Party, with its international outlook, was by no means a negligible force after the 1907 elections and dominated the parliament of 1911.

Kollo), and Serbian (Abraham), in addition to Austrian, German, or Hungarian. The international outlook they espoused was shared by composers born in Vienna itself, such as Oscar Straus, who declared 'I have never been homesick anywhere, and if there is such a thing as a world citizen, then I am one'.[10]

Transcultural Networks

German operetta of the early twentieth century became part of a transcultural entertainment industry that built upon the international success in the 1890s and 1900s of musical comedies transferring from London's West End to continental Europe and North America, as well as to countries with various ties to the British Empire, such as Australia, Canada, Singapore, and South Africa.[11] Entrepreneurs in the East also bought rights from Broadway producers: Maurice E. Bandmann, whose head office was at the Empire Theatre, Calcutta, commanded the 'Exclusive Eastern Rights' for professional and amateur performance in India, Egypt, Singapore, Malaysia, China, and Japan, and these rights covered Klaw and Erlanger's stage entertainments as well as those of George Edwardes.[12] Operetta's status as a cosmopolitan art world is evident in the transnational networks it created, and in the border-crossing lifestyles and mixed nationalities to be found among its orchestral musicians,[13] star performers, composers, book and lyric writers, translators and adapters, stage directors, music directors, music publishers, scenic and costume designers, technicians, carpenters, theatre managers, entrepreneurs, producers, agents, photographers, and, of course, record companies.[14] As an illustration of this transnational art world, we might glance at the list of those involved in the West End production of Fall's *The Girl in the Train* in 1910. Its producer was born of Irish parents, its composer was Austrian Jewish, its librettist Polish Jewish, its translator and adapter English, its costume designers Italian and English, and its hat designers French.

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[10] Quoted in Bernard Grun, *Prince of Vienna: The Life, the Times and the Melodies of Oscar Straus* (London: W. H. Allen, 1955), 167.

[11] After the Imperial Conference of 1907, the British Government no longer referred to colonies, but to dominions.

[12] Tracy C. Davis, *The Economics of the British Stage 1800–1914* (Cambridge University Press, 2000), 351.

[13] 'Our orchestra was a cosmopolitan crowd – French, German, Belgian, Italian, Swiss, and Russian', writes James Jupp of London's Gaiety Theatre, in *The Gaiety Stage Door: 30 Years of Reminiscences of the Theatre* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1923), 279–80.

[14] I am drawing upon Howard Becker's concept of an art world as a cooperative activity, rather than a structure; see *Art Worlds* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982), 35.

A diasporic cosmopolitanism forms another dimension of the art world of operetta. A diaspora may make great efforts to retain cultural traditions but can also assimilate other cultural knowledge and practices. Operetta involved a large number of Jews working in all aspects of its production. A Jewish artist may form multiple attachments: to a country of birth, to other countries where friends and relations perhaps once lived, and to friends and relations who are not Jewish. To imagine that German Jews did not think themselves German, or that they were all strictly committed to Orthodox Judaism, was to fall prey to Third Reich propaganda. The term 'embedded cosmopolitanism' has been used to describe those who have a strong attachment to a community but readily interact with others and demonstrate cultural openness.[15] The 1930s were marked by social upheaval and migration, in which displaced persons (many though not all of them Jewish) began to affect the course of European culture. Two of the preeminent stars of operetta, Fritzi Massary (Jewish, but Protestant by religion) and Richard Tauber (Jewish, but Roman Catholic by religion) both found it necessary to flee Germany.[16]

Adding to the frictions between those who felt multiple attachments and those immersed in blood and soil ideology was the increasing international presence of Americans. With what ethnicity were the many Americans born of immigrant families to identify? From the middle of the nineteenth century to the turn of the twentieth, New York held the largest German-speaking population of any city other than Berlin and Vienna.[17] Then there was the question of whether or not America possessed a national music. The music that characterized America for audiences in Europe was marked by African-American stylistic features, and this had been so since the popularity of blackface minstrelsy in the nineteenth century. The threat of such music for European national musical styles surfaces in Kálmán's *Die Herzogin von Chicago* (1928) in the cultural clash between the csárdás and the Charleston. Moreover, in the early twentieth century, Yiddish culture was thriving in New York and was, for many Jews, a form of high culture (its decline can be dated to the outbreak of the Second World War).[18] Finally, there was the political challenge of American republicanism. The threat that wealthy American industrialists posed to an impoverished European aristocracy is satirized in Fall's *Die Dollarprinzessin* (1907).

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[15] Toni Erskine, 'Embedded Cosmopolitanism and the Case of War: Restraint, Discrimination and Overlapping Communities', *Global Society*, 14:4 (2000), 569–90.

[16] Emigrants often travelled to the UK, and then the USA. Stephen Hinton lists more than twenty well-known musicians who made the UK their home in the 1930s, in 'Großbritannien aus Exilland', in Horst Weber, ed., *Musik in der Emigration 1933–1945* (Stuttgart: J. B. Metzler, 1994), 213–27, at 214–15. See also Erik Levi, 'Musik und Musiker im englischen Exil', in the same collection of essays, 192–212.

[17] Edwin G. Burrows and Mike Wallace, *Gotham: A History of New York City to 1898* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 745. Leo Fall's *Der fidele Bauer* enjoyed two weeks in its original German at the Garden Theatre, New York, in February 1911.

Before the First World War, operettas for the German stage were being created with an ambition to achieve success not only on the wider European stage but also around the globe. That ambition returned as soon as war ended, and, to achieve it, an English version was important. The principal reason international success was sought was for the immense profits that ensued, but a wider social and cultural impact was evident in the transnational affiliations formed between composers, performers, and producers. These affiliations are what make the national narratives of traditional music historiography ill-suited to twentieth-century operetta. Berlin was often an intermediary between Vienna and London: Len Platt and Tobias Becker remark that 'success in what many saw as the definitive modern metropolis was often a prerequisite for transfer to London and/or Paris'.[19] The networks that facilitated these transfers indicate for Platt and Becker the existence of 'a cosmopolitan culture crossing traditional national boundaries'.[20] George Edwardes was, in the words of one of his contemporaries, 'as well known on the Continent as in London', travelling there frequently 'in search of new musical plays'.[21]

Operetta, as a transnational genre, required widespread copyright protection for business to flourish. The Berne Convention, discussed in Chapter 3, had an important role to play in stimulating the European entertainment business and building the confidence of transnational financial institutions.[22] Those involved in the business of music aimed at a global market. This had been true of nineteenth-century music publishers and it was equally true of the burgeoning record companies of the twentieth century. A mixture of the transnational and the local is evident in marketing strategy. Martin Stokes remarks that in the twentieth-century record companies 'became the dominant institutional site of global musical exchange',[23] but well before this the larger urban theatres played a major role in cultural transfer and exchange.

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[18] Leon Botstein, 'The National, the Cosmopolitan, and the Jewish', *The Musical Quarterly*, 97:2 (2014), 133–39, at 134–35.

[19] Len Platt and Tobias Becker, 'Berlin/London: London/Berlin – Cultural Transfer, Musical Theatre and the 'Cosmopolitan', 1890–1914', *Nineteenth Century Theatre and Film*, 40:1 (2013), 1–14, at 3.

[20] Platt and Becker, 'Berlin/London: London/Berlin', 3.

[21] James Jupp, *The Gaiety Stage Door: Thirty Years of Reminiscences of the Theatre* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1923), 154, quoted in Platt and Becker, 'Berlin/London: London/Berlin', 5.

[22] It should be noted, however, that the UK ignored large parts of the Berne Convention until the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act of 1988, and that the USA did not ratify the treaty until March 1989.

Modern Urban Culture

Prominent among the social conditions underpinning the development of operetta as a cosmopolitan genre was the flourishing market for cultural goods in the modern metropolis. The cosmopolitan and the metropolitan share similarities: the German adjective *weltstädtisch* can, for instance, be translated as either metropolitan or cosmopolitan. Operetta carried an image of glamour, sophistication, and modernity that appealed to urban sensibilities. The sense of spatial difference between city dwellers in one country and those of another had been diminishing rapidly in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. As the social experience of cities, especially of metropolises, grew more similar from nation to nation, urban recreational activities could be disseminated from one city to another with ease. Theatres contributed to the construction of what it was to be urban, fashionable, and cosmopolitan; they did not cater passively to urban style. A cosmopolitan culture must, of necessity, possess transnational qualities, an ability to adapt flexibly to modification as it crosses borders. I have argued that, in the nineteenth century, the metropolis became the site of cultural transfer and exchange on a scale previously unknown.[24] A musical consequence of this transfer of cultural goods was that a new concept arose of popular music as a cultural commodity serving a global market, rather than music that sprang from a nation's soil, was intended for local ears, and circulated in the blood of a particular ethnic group.

During the process of modernity, sociocultural features developed that were recognizable to residents of most large cities. Because of this, urban dwellers in different countries found that they experienced a material environment that had much in common with that in another city. In the early twentieth century, there were new forms of social relations that gave rise to two coexisting forms of cosmopolitanism. One was shaped by the presence of immigrants whose cultures and languages were unfamiliar to existing residents. Arthur Ransome described the streets of London's Soho in 1907 as 'always crowded with foreigners', many of whom were artists, poets, writers, actors, and musicians.[25] The cosmopolitan character of operetta appealed to many Jewish creative artists who had sought opportunities in the city, and their contribution to this genre is substantial. The other form of cosmopolitanism was characterized by what Richard Sennett calls the 'dynamic of difference', which was embodied in the bureaucratic mechanisms of capitalism, especially the division of labour.[26] Georg Simmel argued that the metropolis gave rise to distinct forms of mental life, and it is to be noted that his focus was on cities in the plural (*Grossstädte*) and not on the role a metropolis might play as a national capital city.[27] His analysis of the social and cultural life of cities offers an alternative to arguments focusing on the development of a national culture.

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[23] Martin Stokes, 'On Musical Cosmopolitanism', *The Macalester International Roundtable 2007*, paper 3 http://digitalcommons.macalester.edu/intlrdtable/3, 2.

[24] Derek B. Scott, *Sounds of the Metropolis: The 19th-Century Popular Music Revolution in London, New York, Paris, and Vienna* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008).

The *Stage Yearbook* of 1914 commented of Gilbert's *Die keusche Susanne*, 'this class of piece seems to suit the taste of the "big", city public'.[28] It is an observation that recognizes commonalities in metropolitan cultures. It might be noted, too, that there is nothing nationalistic about the sinful city of Mahagonny in *Aufstieg und Fall der Stadt Mahagonny* by Bertolt Brecht and Kurt Weill.[29] Mahagonny demands nothing more of its citizens than the possession of sufficient money to buy the pleasures it sells. The clash of national and metropolitan desires is present in *Die lustige Witwe*, the stage work that launched the Silver Age of operetta. Its music underpins the dualism between small rural nation and modern metropolis, as Micaela Baranello has set out clearly in a table in an article on the operetta.[30] The hero, Danilo, has abandoned his homeland for the pleasures of Paris. Moreover, it is romantic love, not patriotism, that provides his motivation for marrying the wealthy widow and, thereby, saving his country's national bank from economic collapse.

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[25] Arthur Ransome *Bohemia in London* (London: Dodd, Mead, 1907), 110.

[26] See Richard Sennett, 'Cosmopolitanism and the Social Experience of Cities', in Steven Vertovec and Robin Cohen, eds., *Conceiving Cosmopolitanism: Theory, Context, and Practice* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), 42–47, at 43–44.

[27] Georg Simmel, 'The Metropolis and Mental Life', in Kurt H. Wolff, trans. and ed., *The Sociology of Georg Simmel* (New York: The Free Press [Macmillan], 1950), 409–24. Simmel's essay was originally published as 'Die Grossstädte und das Geistesleben' in *Die Grossstädte: Vorträge und Aufsätze*, 9 (1902–3), 185–206.

[28] Frank E. Washburn Freund, 'The Theatrical Year in Germany', *The Stage Yearbook 1914* (London, 1914), 81–96, at 90, quoted in Platt and Becker, 'Berlin/London: London/Berlin', 3.

[29] First performed at the Neues Theater, Leipzig, 9 Mar. 1930.

[30] Micaela Baranello, '*Die lustige Witwe* and the Birth of Silver Age Operetta', *Cambridge Opera Journal*, 26:3 (2014), 175–202, at 190.

In tandem with these new material conditions, a new cultural environment arose, encouraging the development of a cosmopolitan disposition open to a variety of cultural experience, rather than an appetite for cultural uniformity (or, for that matter, conformity). One manifestation of this disposition was what might be called 'cosmopolitan eating'. Italian restaurants had already opened in nineteenth-century London, and Richard D'Oyly Carte engaged the celebrated French chef Auguste Escoffier at the Savoy Hotel, where he created *pêche Melba* for the diva Nellie Melba in 1893. Menus from around the globe became increasingly available in early twentieth-century London. The West End's first Chinese restaurant opened in 1908, after Chung Koon, who had worked as chef on the Red Funnel Line, married an English woman.[31] It was named Maxim's, perhaps after the Parisian restaurant made famous in *The Merry Widow*. London's first Indian restaurant, the Salut e Hind, opened in Holborn in 1911. The cosmopolitan appetite for food extended to other areas of consumption. In this respect, modern department stores proved influential: Selfridges, which opened on Oxford Street in 1909, had reception rooms for French, German, and overseas customers, and was proud of the cosmopolitan range of goods it made available. It also sometimes acted as supplier to operetta productions.[32] It is not coincidental that Theodor Adorno, with his typical mixture of insight and waspishness, explained that the massive appeal of *Die lustige Witwe* throughout Europe could be compared to the success of the first department stores.[33]

Cultural Transfer

The production and reception of operetta defies any adequate explication in nationalist terms, and is better conceived of as a historically important example of the shaping of a cosmopolitan disposition, both social and aesthetic. Its study, therefore, provides an alternative to the methodological nationalism that has dominated so much musical historiography. Ulrich Beck and Natan Sznaider have criticized such methodology for subsuming society under the nation-state and have called, instead, for a methodological cosmopolitanism that investigates border crossings and other transnational phenomena.[34] In the early twentieth century, nothing was crossing borders with the same speed as the music of operetta. Stefan Frey cites the experience of a captain of the Belgian army in 1909, who, entering a traditional-looking restaurant in Beijing was surprised to hear the resident musicians strike up the 'Merry Widow Waltz'.[35] The next year, another captain witnessed a performance of *Die lustige Witwe* in a hotel by the Zambesi to which an extra train brought farming families from Northern Rhodesia (today Zimbabwe).[36] In that year alone, this operetta clocked up 18,000 performances in ten different languages.[37]

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[31] Dean Mahomed, 'The History of the "Ethnic" Restaurant in Britain', www.menumagazine.co.uk/book/restauranthistory.html.

[32] For example, several of the hats worn in the London production of *The Girl in the Train* were provided by Selfridges.

[33] 'der Jubel, mit dem das Bürgertum Lehár's Operette begrüßte, ist dem Erfolg der ersten Warenhäuser zu vergleichen'. 'Zur gesellschaftlichen Lage der Musik' [1932], *Gesammelte Schriften*, 18, Musikalische Schriften 5 (Frankfurt: Suhrkamp, 1984), 729–77, at 772.

Scrutinizing international organizations, entrepreneurs, agents, cultural institutions, and communications media, requires the development of a methodology that avoids rigid top-down thinking. Martin Stokes advises that focusing on musical cosmopolitanism, rather than musical globalization, 'invites us to think about how people in specific places and at specific times have embraced the music of others'.[38] He notes that it has the advantage of restoring 'human agencies and creativities to the scene of analysis', because music becomes part of a process 'in the making of "worlds", rather than a passive reaction to global "systems"'.[39] It turns our attention to the many knowing and deliberate acts of cultural transfer and exchange.

As noted in Chapter 2, the music of operetta was rarely altered to suit any new location or modified in any significant way, although it was often supplemented with additional numbers. It was not just the presence of syncopated songs and tangos that indicated a transcultural musical dimension to German operetta; the various musical style-types function as codes that signify emotions or moods in different ways – ways that relate to the sociocultural context in which those styles developed. The Viennese waltz was a well-established style for signifying love and romance, but a romantic or erotic mood could also be achieved via the newer style of African-American syncopation, or the Argentine tango. Then, there is the incorporation of 'jazz' styles that may connote place but do not necessarily connote a nation. By the end of the 1920s, African-American styles were regarded in Berlin as belonging to 'an international musical vocabulary'.[40] This is the reason jazzy elements are not found out of place among the Alpine scenery of *Im weißen Rössl*. The presence of this variety of signifying practices is why operetta can be called cosmopolitan in a musical sense, in addition to the cosmopolitan attributes it displays in subject matter and reception.

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[34] Ulrich Beck and Natan Sznaider, 'Unpacking Cosmopolitanism for the Social Sciences: A Research Agenda', *The British Journal of Sociology*, 57:1 (2006), 1–23, at 1. Beck coined the term 'methodological nationalism' in his essay 'The terrorist Threat: World Risk Society Revisited', *Theory, Culture & Society*, 19:4 (2002), 39–55. Beck and Szaider accept that cosmopolitanism is a contentious term with no uniform interpretation, and its redefinition needs to be part of a transdisciplinary undertaking ('Unpacking Cosmopolitanism', 2).

[35] Stefan Frey, 'How a Sweet Viennese Girl Became a Fair International Lady', 114.

[36] Maria von Peteani, *Franz Lehár: Sein Musik, sein Leben* (Vienna: Glocken Verlag, 1950), 92. The report, 'Die lustige Witwe am Zambesi', is in the *Berliner Tageblatt*, 22 Feb. 1910; it is cited in Stefan Frey, '*Was sagt ihr zu diesem Erfolg*': *Franz Lehár und die Unterhaltungsmusik des 20. Jahrhunderts* (Frankfurt am Main: Insel, 1999), 87.

[37] Maria von Peteani, *Franz Lehár: Sein Musik, sein Leben* (Vienna: Glocken Verlag, 1950), 90.

[38] Stokes, 'On Musical Cosmopolitanism', 6.

[39] Ibid.

Ethnic identity is rarely presented as exclusive. It may have been the strong rustic character to much of *The Merry Peasant*, the West End version of Fall's *Der fidele Bauer*, that caused a critic to describe it as 'somewhat old fashioned'.[41] It opens with a song containing yodels and is marked with traditional Austrian music features elsewhere. However, when Austria becomes spectacle – as in Benatzky's *White Horse Inn* (*Im weißen Rössl*) – it is fine to open with yodels (just as it was acceptable for Rodgers and Hammerstein to include a yodelling song in *The Sound of Music*). Nevertheless, there is no glib contrast to be made between the experience of the reality of the Salzkammergut and the stage representation. Certainly, people went to Wolfgangsee in droves after watching *White Horse Inn*, but most placed themselves in the care of businesses who were selling tourism as a form of leisure-time consumption (see Chapter 7, Figure 7.4). Thus, the sublime became intermingled with the banal, for, as Guy Debord remarked, '[t]he economic organization of visits to different places is already in itself a guarantee of their equivalence'.[42]

The operetta stage was certainly geographically diverse. MacQueen-Pope asks, apropos of Lehár: 'Is there any composer of musical plays who has drawn his subjects from so many lands and cities? Vienna, Paris, Alsace, Hungary, Russia, the Balkans, the Alps, Italy, Spain, Tangiers, the Far East . . . '[43] What is more, it is not unusual for a country to change during the course of an operetta (Belgium to France in *Eva*, Spain to France in *Frasquita*, Austria to China in *Das Land des Lächelns*). Lehár is not alone in this regard; Paul Abraham's *Viktoria und ihr Husar*, for example, moves between Siberia, Tokyo, St Petersburg, and Hungary. This complicates the simple binarism of Self and Other (or Us and Them) that is found in Orientalist works. In twentieth-century operettas there is a multiplicity of Others rather than a simple East/West binarism. The Other may be the Dutch girl or the American tycoon, and the environment of the Other might be the French Riviera or the Austrian Salzkammergut. The lack of anti-Semitism in operetta may be owing to the number of Jews involved in its creation, from composers and librettists to performers and impresarios (for example the Shubert brothers in the USA). Actor and theatre manager Seymour Hicks comments in his autobiography on the importance of Jews to the West End: 'I have organized or assisted at many, many matinees for Jewish charities, as I always feel that in doing so I am making some slight return to a vast number of ladies and gentlemen who are one of the chief supporters of the theatre in this country.'[44]

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[40] Carolin Stahrenberg and Nils Grosch, 'The Transculturality of Stage, Song and Other Media: Intermediality in Popular Musical Theatre', in Len Platt, Tobias Becker, and David Linton, eds., *Popular Musical Theatre in London and Berlin, 1890–1939* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 187–200, at 192.

[41] B. W. Findon, 'Plays of the Month', *The Play Pictorial*, 15:88 (1909), 16.

[42] Guy Debord, *Society of the Spectacle* (Detroit: Black & Red, 1983), §168 [no pagination]. Orig. pub. as *La Société du spectacle* (Paris: Editions Buchet-Chastel, 1967).

[43] W. Macqueen-Pope and D. L. Murray, *Fortune's Favourite: The Life and Times of Franz Lehár* (London: Hutchinson, 1953), 226. Hungary features as a setting just once in Lehár's output, in

Nationalism and Cosmopolitanism

The most common historiographical discourse about nineteenth-century Europe is one of increasing nationalism and nationalist movements, but there is an alternative, if neglected, story to be told: that of increasing cosmopolitanism, especially in the appetite for cultural goods. The Viennese waltz, for example, swept around the world in the 1830s. Despite growing nationalist sentiment in Germany in that century, cosmopolitan attitudes (as connoted by the adjectives *weltläufig* or *weltoffen*) could still be viewed as positive qualities. Nevertheless, cosmopolitanism in the nineteenth century was often likely to be regarded as sophisticated worldliness rather than open-mindedness to other cultures. This may, or may not, be the kind of cosmopolitanism of which the aristocratic Lady Babby's boasts in *Gipsy Love*. Her song 'Cosmopolitan' was an interpolated number composed by Franz Lehár to lyrics by Adrian Ross for the London production of 1912.[45] The refrain runs as follows:

Wo die Lerche singt (1918) – and this operetta was originally set in Russia, but had to be changed because of the war. *Zigeunerliebe* (1910) is set in Romania.

[44] Seymour Hicks, *Twenty-Four Years of an Actor's Life* (London: Alston Rivers, 1910), 254.

[45] It does not feature in the American version.

All the men are glad to look at Lady Babby,
And they look again!
The French say, ‘Oh, la, la!’
Italians cry ‘Brava!’
The Germans bow and softly murmur ‘Wunderschön!’
From Cairo donkey boy to London Taxi cabby,
Ev’ry mortal man
Would like to have me stay;
Some day I may – I *am* so cosmopolitan!

The noun *Weltläufigkeit* might indicate a sophisticated, urbane type of cosmopolitanism, but *Weltbürgetum* was a term bearing positive, even idealistic, connotations. During the German Enlightenment, cosmopolitanism had been the subject of important and influential texts, for example, Christoph Martin Wieland’s *Das Geheimnis des Kosmopolitenordens* (1788) and Immanuel Kant’s essay *Zum ewigen Frieden* (1795), in which he advanced a political argument for a universal civil society comprised of states in a pacific federation under the rule of international law.[46] In the field of culture, Germany had the example of a preeminent cosmopolitan literary figure in Johann Wolfgang von Goethe. Cosmopolitanism offered an alternative to national politics, although it was unable to counter the rise of aggressive nationalism. Austin Harrington argues, however, that ‘cosmopolitan pluralistic ideas lived on beyond the caesura of 1914–18’ in the writings of Karl Jaspers and Karl Mannheim.[47]

Negative views of cosmopolitanism tended to be held by those who condemned it for eroding national traditions. Yet increasing numbers of composers born late in the nineteenth century found that their family lineage or place of birth gave them no direct or clear-cut national identifications, and, in consequence, they had enjoyed a youthful experience of different cultural choices. It equipped them with an ability to move flexibly among cultural options – Hungarian, Slovakian, or Austrian in Lehár’s case, for instance.[48] Bernard Grun, who knew Lehár personally, also attributed the composer's cosmopolitanism and fluency in languages to the 'frequent migrations' necessitated by his father's changes of infantry garrisons.[49] Kálmán is often thought of as thoroughly Hungarian, but his family spoke both Hungarian and German; he adopted the Hungarian name 'Kálmán' (actually a given name rather than family name) as a replacement for his family name Koppstein. He was not the only one doing this in response to growing nationalism in Hungary: Albert Szirmai, for instance, was born Albert Schönberg. Many individuals involved with operetta were, like Kálmán and Szirmai, Jewish artists, and they sometimes found themselves described negatively as 'rootless cosmopolitans'.[50] The charge of rootlessness is, of course, linked to nationalist discourse, and this is what I wish to cast aside in order to narrate a different type of history, one that places cosmopolitanism in a positive light. Nicolas Bourriaud offers an alternative to the negative image of the 'rootless cosmopolitan' with his thoughts on the radicant: 'an organism that grows its roots and adds new ones as it advances' (an example being ivy).[51]

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[46] Immanuel Kant, *Political Writings*, ed. H. R. Reiss, trans. H. B. Nisbet (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 93–115.

[47] Austin Harrington, *German Cosmopolitan Thought and the Idea of the West: Voices from Weimar* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 336. Relevant texts are Karl Mannheim, *Ideologie und Utopie* (Frankfurt am Main: 1929), and Karl Jaspers, *Die geistige Situation der Zeit* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1931).

[48] See Norbert Linke, *Franz Lehár* (Reinbek bei Hamburg: Rowohlt, 2001), 13–17. He was known to Brammer, Grünwald, and Kálmán as ‘the Slovak’, because he was born on the north side of the Danube in Komaróm, Hungary, which became Komárno, Slovakia, after the First World

Cosmopolitans do not necessarily abandon their local identity. In any case, social identity, unlike personal subjectivity, is largely in the hands of those who do the identifying (which is why identity and subjectivity may sometimes be at odds with one another). Moreover, it is unlikely that cosmopolitan consumers would take a keen interest in the culture of others if they possessed little interest in their local culture. There may have been no general desire for the local to dominate radio broadcasting even in its early days, but that did not suppress the wish to hear something of local affairs. At the same time, it is evident that radio was an example of those modern technological innovations that eroded a sense of local belonging. Martin Heidegger found that the radio he acquired in 1919 transformed his village life into something cosmopolitan.[52] Cosmopolitanism combines a sense of the global alongside the local and this produces a complex mixture of ideas. Cosmopolitanism can even link to nationalist

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War. See Stefan Frey, '*Unter Tränen lachen*': *Emmerich Kálmán – Eine Operettenbiographie* (Berlin: Henschel Verlag, 2003), 200; *Laughter under Tears: Emmerich Kálmán – An Operetta Biography*, trans. Alexander Butziger (Culver City, CA: Operetta Foundation, 2014), 188.

[49] Grun, *Gold and Silver*, 24. Edward Michael Gold titled a tribute to Lehár on the 125th anniversary of his birth *By Franz Lehár, the Complete Cosmopolitan* (London: Glocken, 1995).

[50] See Botstein, 'The National, the Cosmopolitan, and the Jewish', 133.

[51] Nicolas Bourriaud, *The Radicant*, trans. James Gussen and Lili Porten (New York: Lukas and Sternberg, 2009; orig. pub. as *Radicant : pour une esthétique de la globalisation*, Paris: Denoël, 2009), 22.

[52] See Paddy Scannell, *Radio, Television and Modern Life* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1996), 161, quoted in Szerszynski and Urry, 'Cultures of Cosmopolitanism', 463.

aspirations – for example winning prestige for one's country internationally – but it also presents a serious problem for nationalists by appearing to dilute the home culture. A simple link between the national and the cosmopolitan can be found in the 'traditional English cup of tea', with its leaves from the Asian Subcontinent, its sugar from the Caribbean, and its milk from home.

There are two other negative perceptions of cosmopolitanism, both of which link it to imperialism. From one point of view, it embodies a Western self-interest that masquerades as a universal human interest and 'opens the way for imperialist interventions into vulnerable nations'.[53] However, the cosmopolitan disposition is open to different cultures; it is the nationalist disposition that is predominantly interested in one culture. The second perspective sees precious culture from the colonial periphery being sucked into and distorted by the metropolitan centre. Operetta, however, did not transfer from the periphery but, instead, from one urban centre to another. What is at stake, here, is competing urban cultural power rather than a dominant metropole and a periphery. In 1912, Ernst Klein wrote in the *Berlin Lokal-Anseiger* (gazette) that the cosmopolitanism of Viennese operetta was motivated by business interests,[54] which sought the large royalties that were to be earned in the UK, the USA, and France.

Cosmopolitan Production and Cosmopolitan Reception

We are now left to ask how much cosmopolitanism there was in the creation of the operettas and how much lay in the consumption. Operetta composers could be open to cosmopolitanism to varied degrees, and audiences could also vary in their cosmopolitan disposition. It would be naïve to deny that an operetta such as Fall's *Die Rose von Stambul* indulges to some extent in cultural Othering, but it differs in significant respects from exoticism and Orientalism in its representation of the cultural Other (its hero and heroine are drawn to Western values, and the last act is set in a cosmopolitan hotel in Switzerland). This is where reception needs to be examined in combination with the subject positioning of operetta. Those involved in its production made a variety of assumptions about the audience to whom they were catering. To satisfy the kind of aesthetic cosmopolitanism already evident in the audience's appetite for English adaptations of German operetta, cultural traditions needed to be explained and shared and not become barriers that separate. Thus, we find something closer to what Bourriaud calls a 'translation of singularities',[55] rather than cultural misrepresentation.

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[53] Robert Fine and Vivienne Boon, 'Cosmopolitanism: Between Past and Future', *European Journal of Social Theory*, 10:1 (2007), 5–16, at 8. Fine and Boon cite this view but argue that it misrepresents the concept of cosmopolitanism.

[54] 'Die Operette, ursprünglich ein Wiener Kind . . . wächst sich auf einmal in eine Kosmopolitin aus – aus Geschäfteinteresse'. 'Aus der Wiener Operettenwerkstatt', *Berliner Lokal-Anseiger*, 29 Apr. 1912, quoted in Frey, *'Unter Tränen lachen': Emmerich Kálmán – Eine Operettenbiografie* (Berlin: Henschel Verlag, 2003), 67.

In contrast, a characteristic trait of Orientalism is its focus on representation over imitation, by which I mean that the Other may be represented by material that bears little or no relationship to the culture of that Other.[56] Exotic and Orientalist representational techniques serve the function of emphasizing *difference* or strangeness: they work to produce recognition of the Self as *different* from the Other, and not to stimulate recognition of the Self *in* the Other – that is, *sameness*.[57] If we reach back to *The Mikado*, we find perhaps the most pronounced example of an 'Eastern' operetta in which the English audience recognized itself – even if the eponymous character enters to a Japanese tune. However, *The Mikado* works in an allegorical way, whereas *Die Bajadere* has a scene in which the Indian prince calls directly for recognition of sameness:

> People in Benares also kiss as hotly and sweetly as here,
> People in Benares also love as deeply and strongly as here.[58]

Indeed, confusion about ethnic difference is fundamental to Julius Brammer and Alfred Grünwald's plot to Kálmán's operetta. The prince falls in love with a young woman he assumes to be a Hindu dancer, but when he discovers her to be a French woman playing a role it makes no difference to him. The sentiments of the Indian Prince find an echo some years later in Gustl and Mi's duet in *Das Land des Lächelns*, which begins with the assertion that when the world was created all human beings were the same and love remains the same for all – the implication being that it is culture, not nature, that divides people.

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[55] Bourriaud, *The Radicant*, 39.

[56] I discuss this at length in 'Orientalism and Musical Style', in my book *From the Erotic to the Demonic: On Critical Musicology* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), 155–78, 235–39.

[57] For an overview of theories of Self and Other, see Stuart Hall, 'The Spectacle of the "Other"', in Stuart Hall, ed., *Representations. Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices* (London: Sage, 1997), 223–79.

[58] Man küßt auch in Benares, so hieß, so süß wie hier, Man liebt auch in Benares, so tief und stark wie hier. No. 10, Duet, Odette and Radjam.

In the reception of the music of operetta, the Other may simply be absorbed as the Self. This is evident in the confusion over interpolated numbers in operettas. Critics often failed to notice a local interpolation that was not part of the imported score. as an American critic pointed out in a review of the music of Fall's *Lieber Augustin* (see Chapter 2).[59] It raises the question of how far we can regard the countries of Europe as standing in a Self vs Other relationship to one another. Rabindranath Tagore, in his study of nationalism published in 1917, quipped that Europe was actually 'one country made into many'.[60] There is usually a need for semiotic competence in understanding the meanings of other cultures, but operetta falls within a broad Western musical and theatrical culture, some of the elements of which had become familiar globally in the previous century. Bronislaw Szerszynski and John Urry describe cultural cosmopolitanism as a disposition that delights in 'contrasts between societies'.[61] However, there is often a feeling of 'this is the same' in operetta, especially if it is an operetta concerned with the experience of modernity. It is felt most strikingly when modern technology features in the scenes on stage (for example, the typewriter and car in *Die Dollarprinzessin*). In Thomas Mann's novel *Der Zauberberg* (1924), set in the period before the First World War, it is technology that the humanist Ludovico Settembrini praises for creating increased understanding between people of different countries and destroying prejudice.[62]

The character Mustafa Bei in Abraham's *Ball im Savoy* (1932) excuses his free lifestyle and liberal attitude to sexual relationships by stressing that his home city of Istanbul is cosmopolitan. His six divorced wives, from Vienna, Prague, Rome, Madrid, Berlin, and Budapest, all appear in the operetta. Certainly, his character might appear offensive to more Turkish people now than at the time the operetta was written. It was produced after the period of reforms in Turkey, 1926–30, during which Mustafa Kemal secularized the Turkish state, closed Islamic courts, adopted a variant of the Swiss Civil Code (stressing gender equality), adapted the Latin alphabet for the Turkish language, and, not least, was prepared to be seen drinking alcohol in public places. The representation of Mustafa Bei is a striking move away from Orientalist thinking. When a musical sign of cultural difference is present in Abraham's representation of Bei (such as the augmented second) it serves only as a reminder of the local in the cosmopolitan. Stereotyping it may still be called, but no more so than the use of a snap rhythm to indicate that a character is Scottish. Stefan Schmidl has argued that such ready-made associations (csaŕdás for Hungary, polka for Bohemia, mazurka for Poland, and so forth) can be understood as musical symbols of the everyday encounters with coinciding nationalities in expanding urban environments.[63]

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[59] '"Lieber Augustin" Delights at Casino', *New York Times*, 7 Sep. 1913, 13.

[60] Rabindranath Tagore, *Nationalism* (London: Macmillan, 1917), 114.

[61] Szerszynski and Urry, 'Cultures of Cosmopolitanism', 468.

[62] Technology, especially in its contribution to improved transport and communication, was bringing people closer together: 'ihre gegenseitige Bekanntschaft zu fördern, menschlichen Ausgleich zwischen ihnen anzubahnen, ihre Vorurteile zu zerstören und endlich ihre allgemeine Vereinigung herbeizuführen'. Thomas Mann, *Der Zauberberg* [1924] (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer Verlag, 2002), 238.

The theoretical premise of transculturalism, from Fernando Ortiz's seminal thoughts of the 1940s onwards,[64] is that identity is not restricted to definitions of the Self but recognizes the relationship one shares with others. The ability to recognize oneself in the other person is what distinguishes a transcultural outlook from a Self that is defined *against* an Other, as in Orientalist discourse. Moreover, in contrast to multiculturalism, which has so often resulted in the parcelling up of cultural differences into detached units that encourage no recognition of shared commonalities, transculturalism is about cultural mixing. Operetta in the twentieth century was part of an entertainment industry that prompted the cross-fertilization of cultures (for example, Hungarian, Austrian, African-American, and Argentine musical styles) with none of the embedded friction or anxiety suggested by theories of cultural hybridization. It was cosmopolitan in its embrace of culture beyond regional or national boundaries; anything that appealed to the urban theatregoer – from the csárdás to the fox trot – was incorporated without hesitation. A mixture of musical style was the norm.

The flexibility of the term 'cosmopolitan' is what makes it – like the term 'liberty' – both attractive and contentious. Attempts to find modifiers that can be placed before it are an indication that the term in isolation is found too vague for many social theorists. Its conflicted meanings – some of them are historical, while others emanate from the recent vogue for cosmopolitan ideas – have yet to be resolved. Homi Bhabha attempts to account for the day-to-day cosmopolitanism bound up in the everyday existence of displaced individuals with his concept of 'vernacular cosmopolitanism'.[65] Brigid Cohen uses the term 'migrant cosmopolitanism' to describe the transnational and disparate cultural affiliations found in the work of Stefan Wolpe and Yoko Ono.[66] Many of the modified versions of cosmopolitanism are driven by the desire to link together the ties of a particular social membership with the universalist aspirations of cosmopolitanism. An example is Mitchell Cohen's 'rooted cosmopolitanism'.[67] Still, it is to be wondered if clarity is to be gained by an ever-proliferating number of cosmopolitan variants.

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[63] Stefan Schmidl, 'Die Utopie der Synthese: Nation und Moderne in der Operette Osterreich-Ungarns', in Marie-Theres Arnbom and Kevin Clarke, eds., *Die Welt der Operette. Glamour, Stars und Showbusiness* (Vienna: Brandstätter, 2011), 54–63, at 55.

[64] Fernando Ortiz, *Cuban Counterpoint: Tobacco and Sugar* [1947], trans. Harriet de Onís (Durham: Duke University Press, 1995), 97–102.

Cosmopolitanism is sometimes criticized for being too closely aligned with the opportunities available to affluent men. Yet the cosmopolitan appeal of fashion in operetta was directed primarily at the feminine gaze, as many advertisements appearing in the periodical the *Play Pictorial* testify (see Chapter 7). All the same, cultural cosmopolitanism in the early decades of the twentieth century remains vulnerable to the accusation that it represented a bourgeois or elite taste, despite the fact that operetta was never viewed as a high cultural form and many operettas were marketed simply as Broadway or West End entertainment. Platt and Becker argue that early twentieth-century musical theatre presented a challenge to ideas of 'highbrow' cosmopolitanism and its 'privileged cultural products and social elites'.[68] Operetta from the German stage was produced in commercial theatres that were taking advantage of a growing urban population made increasing mobile by improvements in public transport. Some of the venues producing operetta were variety and vaudeville theatres (for example, the Hippodrome in London and the Palace Theatre in New York). Its reception in theatres of differing social status eats away at the idea that its cosmopolitan character was elitist to any pronounced degree, even if Amanda Anderson is right to point to the frequent tension that exists between egalitarianism and elitism in cosmopolitanism.[69] Certainly, there must have been a part of the audience that regarded a visit to an operetta performance as a posh night out.

A charge of elitism could be directed more persuasively at upper-class cosmopolitanism during the early decades of the eighteenth century (for example, the Grand Tour, or aristocratic enthusiasm for Italian opera). William Weber argues that Italian opera played 'a central role in shaping cosmopolitan identity for the nobility and upper-middle class' in London.[70] Katherine Preston adds that this was understood by wealthy Americans, who 'used their own patronage of Italian opera to imitate the British nobility and to demonstrate their own connection with a cosmopolitan world beyond North America'.[71] Italian vocal music carried with it what Weber describes as 'cosmopolitan authority'.[72] Thomas Turino has pointed out the irony of the denigration of cosmopolitanism during the Third Reich, while, at the same time, the selection of music in Nazi-sponsored international tours was informed by the status German composers held in cosmopolitan circles.[73] In the second half of the nineteenth century, the concept of 'classical music' carried the same kind of authority, and was a reason why British composers felt little urge to develop a national style – although, of course, that became a concern towards the end of the century, when Britain's imperialist policies gained increased momentum.

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[65] Homi Bhabha, 'Unsatisfied: Notes on Vernacular Cosmopolitanism', in Peter C. Pfeiffer and Laura Garcia-Moreno, eds., *Text and Nation* (Columbia: Camden House, 1996), 191–207.

[66] Brigid Cohen, 'Limits of National History: Yoko Ono, Stefan Wolpe, and Dilemmas of Cosmopolitanism', *The Musical Quarterly*, 97:2 (2014), 181–237, at 215.

[67] Mitchell Cohen, 'Rooted Cosmopolitanism', *Dissent* (Fall, 1992), 478–83.

[68] Platt and Becker, 'Berlin/London: London/Berlin', 3.

[69] Amanda Anderson, *The Way We Argue Now: A Study in the Cultures of Theory* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2006), 73.

Prior to operetta – defined broadly to include *opéras-bouffes* and the comic operas of Gilbert and Sullivan – the musical-theatrical genre with the broadest cosmopolitan appeal was *opéra comique*. The international success of André Grétry's *Richard Coeur-de-lion* (1784) was considerable, François-Adrien Boieldieu's *Le Calife de Bagdad* (1800) more so. After the Napoleonic Wars, Boieldieu enjoyed his greatest success on the international stage with *La Dame blanche* (1825), and Daniel Auber, Adophe Adam, and Ferdinand Hérold experienced similar triumphs in the 1830s. Nevertheless, the cultural transfer of *opéra comique* lacked the global networks of exchange that developed later in the century.[74]

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[70] William Weber, *The Great Transformation of Musical Taste: Concert Programming from Haydn to Brahms* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 21.

[71] Katherine K. Preston, 'Opera Is Elite / Opera Is Nationalist: Cosmopolitan Views of Opera Reception in the United States, 1870–90', contribution to Dana Gooley, 'Colloquy: Cosmopolitanism in the Age of Nationalism, 1848–1914', *JAMS*, 66:2 (2013), 523–49, 535–39, at 536.

[72] William Weber, 'Cosmopolitan, National, and Regional Identities in Eighteenth-Century European Musical Life', in Jane Fulcher, ed., *The Oxford Handbook of the New Cultural History of Music*, 209–26, at 224.

[73] Thomas Turino, *Music as Social Life: The Politics of Participation* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008), 200.

[74] However, Mark Everist argues that, in their distribution, they formed patterns of reception that correspond to the 'macro-regions', identified by cultural geographers such as Michael Mann. See 'Cosmopolitanism and Music for the Theatre: Europe and Beyond, 1800–1870', in Anastasia Belina, Kaarina Kilpiö and Derek B. Scott, eds., *Music History and Cosmopolitanism* (Routledge, 2019).

To return to Weber's notion of 'cosmopolitan authority', there is little of a case to be made for operetta's ability to exert this kind of cultural power. Operetta's main rival was musical comedy, which Charles Kassell Harris in 1906 claimed had helped to increase the sale of popular songs because it was 'made up almost entirely of popular music'.[75] Although, as seen in Chapter 5, many critics drew a contrast between operettas from the German stage and what they regarded as vapid Anglo-American musical comedy, this did not mean that operetta was part of a cosmopolitan package of culturally authoritative artworks for refined and educated sensibilities.[76] It represented a wider artistic vision of cosmopolitanism in which popular entertainment plays a significant role. In this regard, its translations and adaptations were significant, because the art versus entertainment struggle of the second half of the nineteenth century ensured that no high-art operas could be subjected to such 'degrading' treatment.[77]

Nevertheless, the years of the First World War provided a severe test to those who devoured English versions of operettas from the German stage with a cosmopolitan appetite. The difficulty was felt to a greater degree in London than in New York, partly because the American city was home to many citizens of German descent and partly because the USA was late to enter the conflict. Jean Gilbert's *The Cinema Star* was playing to full houses in London just before Britain declared war on Germany (4 August 1914), but it was soon withdrawn (see Chapter 5).[78] It is an illustration of the tension in Kwame A. Appiah's argument that patriotic attachments can exist without friction as part of a liberal cosmopolitanism.[79] Appiah developed the idea of 'patriotic cosmopolitanism' as part of a critique of Martha Nussbaum's concept of a world citizenship uninhibited by particular cultural, political or religious affiliations.[80] However, patriotic cosmopolitanism appears to be content with contradictory words and actions in times of national strife. When Rudolf Christians, manager of the Irving Place Theatre, New York, found himself compelled to cancel German-language performances, he complained that President Woodrow had given many assurances the war was not against the German people, and, that being so, he demanded to know why local authorities were interfering with performances and depriving his company of a livelihood.[81] He was offered no answer.

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[75] Charles Kassell Harris, *How to Write a Popular Song* (Chicago: published by the author, 1906), 7.

[76] In 1930, when Frank A. Beach strove to encourage operatic productions in Schools, he found it necessary to devote a chapter to the question, 'Is the Operetta Worth While?' *Preparation and Presentation of the Operetta* (Boston: Oliver Ditson, 1930), 7–12.

[77] See Lawrence Levine, *Highbrow/Lowbrow: The Emergence of Cultural Hierarchy in America* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1988), and Scott, *Sounds of the Metropolis*, 85–113, and 241–48.

[78] Some regional theatres were less ready to cancel German operetta. The Grand Theatre, Leeds, for example, produced two of Jean Gilbert's Berlin operettas in 1915: *The Cinema Star* [*Die Kino-Königin*] in April, and *The Girl in the Taxi* [*Die keusche Susanne*] in August.

[79] Kwame Anthony Appiah, 'Cosmopolitan Patriots', *Critical Inquiry*, 23:3 (Spring, 1997), 617–39. Appiah's focus, however, is not on nationalist patriotism, but on patriotism as loyalty to a state with a liberal political culture that respects the dignity of individuals (635).

A counter-argument to the kind of cosmopolitan appreciation that I am advancing here is usually based on the idea that the cultural conditioning a person acquires from being part of a nation, a community, or a social milieu means that this individual will create or perform artworks in a way that an outsider never can do. This conviction can lead to more rigid beliefs, for example, that the ability to play a Dvořák symphony is in the blood of Czech orchestral musicians, or that an understanding of Elgar is in the blood of English musicians.[82] However, this conviction fails to account for the number of Chinese musicians who appear to be such expert and sensitive interpreters of Western concert music. Bourriaud does not regard tradition or local cultures as inevitable adversaries of efforts to immerse oneself in another culture; they become such only when they act as constraining cultural schemata, and roots become part of a 'rhetoric of identity'.[83]

By engaging with culture across borders of all kinds, cosmopolitanism challenges ideas of Self and Other. To be cosmopolitan is to recognize a common humanity in the world's diverse cultural artefacts. The cosmopolitan disposition does not disregard local culture, but it is also open to the culture of others. The local, in any case, is often just a part of something that is bigger than the local. Jazz is not perceived as a type of 'local' music, but there are local flavours such as those that developed in New Orleans, Chicago, Kansas City, and New York. In arguing that operetta is a cosmopolitan genre, I do not mean to imply that every operetta travels as well as another. Fall's *Der fidele Bauer* (1907) will probably never achieve the success it has enjoyed in Austria because its local elements, embedded in both text and music, are unusually strong. In contrast, the same composer's *Die Dollarprinzessin* reaches effortlessly across borders. It is evident that operetta is a genre that lends itself readily to cosmopolitanism, but it does not necessarily ensue that every single operetta has cosmopolitan appeal.

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[80] Martha C. Nussbaum, 'Patriotism and Cosmopolitanism', *Boston Review*, 19:5 (Nov. 1994), 3–16; reprinted in Martha C. Nussbaum and J. Cohen, eds., *For Love of Country: Debating the Limits of Patriotism* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1996), 2–20.
It should be noted, however, that Nussbaum has not attacked diversity as such; her target is specifically the hierarchical ordering of diversity; see 'Reply', in Nussbaum and Cohen, *For Love of Country*, 131–44, at 138.

[81] John Koegel, *Music in German Immigrant Theater: New York City, 1840–1940* (Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 2009), 364, quoting Christians, as reported in the *New York Times*, 11 Mar. 1919, 9.

[82] I have criticized this idea that music is in the genes in my article 'In Search of Genetically Modified Music', *Nineteenth-Century Music Review*, 3:1 (2006), 3–23. It is still around: reviewing a collection of Janaček recordings, Hugh Canning writes that Jiri Belohlavek and the Czech Philharmonic are 'musicians who have the idiom in their blood', *The Sunday Times, Culture* supplement, 9 Sep. 2018, 27. Conductor Antonio Pappano claimed that the Saint Cecilia Orchestra, Rome, had Italian music 'in their DNA, even if they haven't played it. They naturally somehow know what it requires', interview by Hugo Shirley, '"A miracle!" Aida returns to the studio', *Gramophone* (Sep. 2015), 18–20, at 20.

[83] Bourriaud, *The Radicant*, 56.

Postlude: The Demise of Operetta

In September 1932, Oscar Straus's *Eine Frau, die weiß, was sie will!* was the last new operetta produced in Berlin that went on to achieve international renown (its London version was *Mother of Pearl*). Straus left Berlin in spring the following year, at first moving to his villa in Bad Ischl in the Salzkammergut. German operetta began to fall into decline after its production was required, from 14 March 1933, to conform to the demands of the Reichsministerium für Volksaufklärung und Propaganda (the Reich Ministry of Public Enlightenment and Propaganda) headed by Joseph Goebbels. He had been appointed as Minister for Culture the day before, and he aimed to promote the enlightenment of the people by controlling all cultural activities in Germany and ensuring they were in accord with the objectives of National Socialism. In the autumn of 1933 the Reichskulturkammer (the Reich Culture Chamber) was established, of which the Reichstheaterkammer was a subdivision. Linked to antipathy for the numbers of Jews involved in operetta was a fear about decadence and, connected to that, anxiety about jazz rhythms.[1] Already, after April 1933, Jewish homes and business in Berlin were being daubed with the word 'Jude' (Jew) or the Star of David.[2] Adolf Hitler, who had become Chancellor in January 1933, turned into Germany's all-powerful Führer following President Hindenburg's death in August 1934.

In 1935, many Jews who self-identified as German found they were no longer classified as such under the Nuremberg Laws, which specified that all four grandparents must be Aryan and deprived Jews of the right to own wealth, to work in various professions, and to marry non-Jews. Operetta star Gitta Alpár had married a non-Jew in 1931, and given birth to a child, but her marriage was dissolved on grounds of illegality in 1935. Many operettas were coming to be regarded as 'verjudet' (Judaized) and 'entartet' (degenerate).[3] Senior government officer and dramaturg Rainer Schlösser sent a message to Joseph Goebbels in 1934 informing him that 80 per cent of the production of operetta, in both music and text, was of Jewish origin.[4] Artistic directors, such as Heinz Hentschke at the Metropol-Theater (nationalized as the Staatliches Operettentheater), worked under the supervision of Goebbels.[5] In 1940 the *Lexikon der Juden in der Musik* was published, listing proscribed composers and performers.

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[1] See Kevin Clarke, 'Konkav und konvex: Bühnenoperetten und Operettenfilme als Spiegel der Zeitläufe 1933–1945', in Bettina Brandl-Risi, Clemens Risi, and Rainer Simon, eds., *Kunst der Oberfläche: Operette zwischen Bravour und Banalität* (Leipzig: Henschel Verlag, 2015), 184–96, at 187–88.

[2] Berta Geissmar, *The Baton and the Jackboot: Recollections of Musical Life* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1944), 72.

Kálmán, Straus, Gilbert, and Abraham all left Germany to avoid Nazi persecution. This was not accomplished easily; the Hitler regime only allowed people out of the country whose passport carried a special exit permit, and touring musicians were not exempted.[6] Straus was helped to escape by a Nazi officer who loved *Ein Walzertraum*. He managed to prevent customs officials checking Straus's papers on a train journey the composer was making in order to join his wife in Zürich.[7] Some Jews relocated, at first to Austria, although a Nazi regulation imposed in May 1933 required the payment of an economic sanctions tax of 1000 marks before anyone could travel to Austria. That was abolished in July 1936, but worse was to follow: the Austrian Anschluss was declared on 12 March 1938. The Czech Sudetenland was then annexed in October 1938, a month that also witnessed the pogrom against Jews known as Kristallnacht. Those seeking to emigrate in 1938 were looking to obtain permits for the UK, the USA, Australia, and China.

In the late 1930s, around 18,000 harassed and impoverished Austro-German Jewish refugees travelled to Shanghai, where they were accepted without visas. Shanghai had self-governing foreign Concessions that had developed around the city as part of its trade relations. There were many musicians among the newcomers, and they soon began organizing cultural activities, including the performance of operettas.[8] Even though Hongkew, the area of Shanghai in which Jews lived, came under Japanese rule in December 1941, Adolf Breuer founded a permanent operetta company in 1943. Along with two operetta companies that had been put together on an *ad hoc* basis, this meant that performances of Kálmán, Lehár, and Straus took place regularly in Shanghai's Broadway Theatre.[9] Even before this occurred, the film version of *The Merry Widow*, starring Jeanette MacDonald and Maurice Chevalier, had been screened in Shanghai. This became the favourite film of the refugees.[10]

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[3] See Stefan Frey, '*Unter Tränen lachen*': *Emmerich Kálmán: Eine Operettenbibliographie* (Berlin: Henschel, 2003), 245.

[4] The complete message (in the Bundesarchiv, R 55/20169, 145–47) is reproduced in Wolfgang Schaller, ed., *Operette unterm Hakenkreuz: Zwischen hoffähiger Kunst und 'Entartung'* (Berlin: Metropol Verlag, 2007), 14–15. For more information on Schlösser, see Boris von Haken, *Der Reichsdramaturg: Rainer Schlösser und die Musiktheater-Politik in der NS-Zeit* (Hamburg: Bockel, 2007).

[5] See Matthias Kauffman in in Len Platt, Tobias Becker, and David Linton, eds., *Popular Musical Theatre in London and Berlin, 1890–1939* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 258–73.

[6] Geissmar, *The Baton and the Jackboot*, 74.

[7] Bernard Grun, *Prince of Vienna: The Life, the Times and the Melodies of Oscar Straus* (London: W. H. Allen, 1955), 163–66.

Sometimes those who managed to leave Germany found that the Nazis were relentlessly at their heels. Abraham, for instance, went first to Vienna, then to Budapest, Paris, Cuba, and New York. He died in 1960, but produced no post-war operettas; he had been diagnosed in 1946 as suffering from psychosis with syphilitic meningoencephalitis.[11] Ralph Benatzky and Robert Stolz, neither of whom were Jewish, decided they had no future in Germany or Austria.[12] Stolz was visited by Goebbels's envoy in Paris with a request that he return, but he refused on principle, declaring that it was impossible for him to live and work in an atmosphere where his friends and co-workers were harassed in the cruellest way because they did not meet the requirements of the Nuremberg Racial Equality Laws. If either Benatzky or Stolz nursed any doubts, these would have been intensified by the exhibition of *Entartete Musik* (degenerate music) in Düsseldorf in May 1938. The organizer was Hans Severus Ziegler, who later wrote an introduction to an operetta guide, in which he stressed ominously the importance of care and taste in its music and staging.[13]

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[8] See Renata Berg-Pan, 'Shanghai Chronicle: Nazi Refugees in China', in Jarrell Jackman and Carla Borden, eds., *The Muses Flee Hitler* (Washington DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1983), 283–89; Jeremy Leong, 'Musical Irony and Identity Politics: Austro-German Jewish Refugees in Republican China', in Katherine L. Turner, ed., *This Is the Sound of Irony: Music, Politics and Popular Culture* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2015), 59–72; and Yating Tang, 'Musical Life in the Jewish Refugee Community in Shanghai: Popular and Art Music', *Journal of Music in China*, 4 (2002), 167–86.

[9] Several reviews of operetta productions can be found in the weekly German-language *Shanghai Jewish Chronicle*.

[10] See Marcia Reynders Ristaino, *Port of Last Resort: The Diaspora Communities of Shanghai* (Stanford CA: Stanford University Press, 2001), 126, 129.

[11] Klaus Waller, *Paul Abraham: Der tragische König der Operette* (Norderstedt: BoD, 2014), 166.

[12] 'es ist mir leider unmöglich, in einer Atmosphäre zu leben und zu arbeiten, in der meine beste Freunde und Mitarbeiter, nur weil sie den Anforderungen der Nürnberger Rassegesetze nicht entsprechen, auf das grausamste verfolgt und drangsaliert warden'. Stolz's words, quoted by Gustav Holm in *Im ¾ Takt durch die Welt: Ein Lebensbild des Komponisten Robert Stolz* (Vienna: Ibis-Verlag, 1948), 342.

[13] *Operettenführer* (Reclam, 1939).

Others who faced no immediate threats were not unaffected by events: after the Nuremberg Laws were enacted, Künneke found that his wife was categorized as a 'Mischling' (a German-Jew hybrid in the Nazi pseudoscience of race). In January 1936, he was dismissed as conductor of his opera *Die große Sünderin* at the Berlin Staatsoper, because he clung to his marriage with a 'half-barbaric' wife.[14] The most successful operetta of the Third Reich era was perhaps Fred Raymond's escapist *Maske in Blau* (1937). Raymond's *Saison in Salzburg* appeared in the year of the Anschluss, 1938, and was intended as a Nazi-approved substitute for *Im weißen Rössl* – banned because of its connection with the Jewish director Erik Charell, the Jewish lyricist Robert Gilbert (Jean Gilbert's son), and the decadent jazz rhythms of Ralph Benatzky. An operetta of this period, however, that can be seen to some extent as a satirizing the Nazis, especially their recent focus on sporting prowess at the Olympic Games in Berlin in 1936, was Abraham's *Roxy und ihr Wunderteam*, produced in Vienna in 1937.[15]

Stefan Frey has made the astute observation that *Giuditta*, which ends with the most affecting of Lehár's several depictions of resignation, symbolizes the demise of operetta. Four days after a final performance at the Vienna State Opera on 7 March 1938, Nazi troops took over the city. Jarmila Novotna, who sang the title role (as she had done in the premiere of 1934) went to the USA and became a star at the Metropolitan Opera. Richard Tauber, who played the lead male role Octavio, made his way to the UK, as did one of the librettists, Paul Knepler. Tauber had married English actress Diana Napier in 1936, and she recollects that Hermann Göring, who was an admirer of Tauber's singing, came over to their table at a restaurant in Munich to warn him of the danger facing him in Germany.[16] The lyricist, Fritz Löhner-Beda, had written satirical poems about Nazism, and was arrested the day after the Anschluss. On 1 April 1938, he was transported along with over 150 others regarded as key subversives (*Prominente*) to Dachau Concentration Camp.[17] He was transferred to Auschwitz III in October 1942 and beaten to death there in

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[14] 'weil er an seiner Ehe mit einer "halb barbarischen" Frau festhielt'. Words attributed, without a precise source, to operetta composer Edmund Nick, in Schneidereit, *Eduard Künneke*, 181.

[15] A view put forward by Clarke in 'Konkav und konvex', 192–93. The libretto of 1937, held in the Billy Rose Theatre Division, New York Public Library, states that the operetta is 'playing today in London, Budapest and Siofok [Lake Balaton, Hungary]', but I can find no record of a London performance.

[16] Charles Castle, with Diana Napier Tauber, *This Was Richard Tauber* (London: W. H. Allen, 1971), 89.

[17] Günther Schwarberg, *Dein ist mein ganzes Herz* (Göttingen: Steidl, 2002), 82.

December.[18] It is sometimes claimed that Lehár had made a personal plea to Hitler in a vain attempt to obtain Löhner-Beda's release, but, when asked after the war, he said he knew nothing of his colleague's arrest.[19]

Operetta continued to enjoy a measure of popularity during the Third Reich, but many operettas went unperformed. Syncopated rhythms ran into difficulties as the 1930s progressed because all jazz rhythms were to be avoided in Nazi-approved operetta.[20] Operetta production was no longer to be guided by the taste of the public but, rather, by the specifications of the Ministry. The Ministry, however, knew better than to try to use operetta as a means of indoctrination and was content for it to be escapist entertainment with the occasional gesture of conformity with the politics of *Nationalsozialismus*.

Operettas by Jewish composers were banned, including one of Hitler's and Himmler's favourites, *Schwarzwaldmädel*. Its composer Leon Jessel was eventually arrested by the Gestapo. He was admitted some time later to the Jewish Hospital in Berlin, wrapped in rags, bleeding from his mouth and nose, and reduced to a skeleton.[21] Lehár may have seemed to be doing well – he and Künneke were made exceptions when the Reich Radio Chamber adopted a policy in early 1938 of not broadcasting music by composers who had Jewish wives[22] – but Lehár's *Rastelbinder* was banned because of its Jewish leading character, and *Friederike* was banned because of Löhner-Beda's involvement in the libretto. In 1936, Leopold Jacobson's name was removed from the Berlin production of Künneke's *Lady Hamilton*,[23] and this well-established librettist, who had written the books for Straus's *Ein Walzertraum* and Gilbert's *Katja, die Tänzerin*, was later murdered in Theresienstadt. Other composers found difficulties because they worked with Jewish librettists or Jewish directors. Benatzky was 'accidentally' included in a list of Jewish composers, perhaps because he had married singer Josma Selim, who was Jewish, and then, a year after her death in 1929, had married another Jewish artist, the dancer Mela Hoffmann. Goebbels certainly believed Benatzky was Jewish until he discovered otherwise in July 1938, when he 'rehabilitated' him.[24] Hence, his name does not appear on the proscribed list in the *Lexikon* of 1940.

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[18] Raul Hilberg, *Die Vernichtung der europäischen Juden* (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer Verlag, 1990), 994. Paul D. Seeley examines Lehár's life during the Nazi period, in 'Franz Lehár: Aspects of His Life with a Critical Survey of His Operettas and the Work of His Jewish Librettists', PhD diss. University of Liverpool, 2004, 88–143.

[19] Gunther Schwarberg, *Dein ist mein ganzes Herz* (Göttingen: Steidl, 2002), 12, 125, and 183.

[20] As early as 1933, Heinrich Streker reassures the musician in the piano score to his *Ännchen von Tharau*: 'Alles Jazzmäßige vermeiden' (everything jazz-like avoided). Quoted in Kevin Clarke, 'Konkav und konvex: Bühnenoperetten und Operettenfilme als Spiegel der Zeitläufe 1933–1945', in Brandl-Risi, Risi, and Simon, *Kunst der Oberfläche*, 184–96, at 187.

[21] Günter Weisenborn, *Der lautlose Aufstand: Bericht über die Widerstandsbewegung des deutschen Volkes 1933–1945* (Frankfurt am Main: Röderberg-Verlag, 4th edn 1974), 274; cited in Albrecht Dümling, 'Wiederentdeckung NS-verfolgter Operettenkomponsiten: Erfahrungen eines Musikwissenschafters', in Schaller, *Operette unterm Hakenkreuz*, 198–208, at 204.

[22] Michael H. Kater, *The Twisted Muse: Musicians and Their Music in the Third Reich* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 83.

[23] Kevin Clarke, 'Song of the Sea', booklet accompanying 2 CD box set of *Lady Hamilton*, cond. Franz Marzalek [1953], Gala GL 100.774 (2007), 7–12, at 12.

While conceding that, to a degree, operetta remained popular under the Third Reich, its glory days had passed with the lack of productions of Fall, Straus, Gilbert, Kálmán, Berté, Jessel, Abraham, Benatzky, and Stolz – and, making things worse, was the disappearance of some of the great operetta stars, such as Fritzi Massary, Oskar Dénes, Rosy Barsony, Gitta Alpár, Richard Tauber, and Marta Eggerth. Louis Treumann, Vienna's first Danilo, was deported to Theresienstadt on 28 July 1942, where he died 'of exhaustion' the next year.[25] The German state wrenched control of operetta from private and commercial hands, but there was concern at its lack of grandeur. A desire to elevate its standing is evident in the production of Künneke's *Die große Sünderin* at the Berlin State Opera in 1935. The leading roles were given to 'serious' opera singers Tiana Lemnitz and tenor Helge Roswaenge, and the music was played by a high-status orchestra. Sometimes, remarkable ironies surround operetta during the Third Reich. In his Leningrad Symphony (1940), Shostakovich constructs a relentless march out of a tune related to Danilo's 'Da geh' ich ins Maxim', from Hitler's favourite operetta *Die lustige Witwe*. Shostakovich undoubtedly intended it to represent frenzied German aggression, and yet, at the end of the refrain of the original song, Danilo explains scornfully that he goes to Maxim's because 'dann kann ich leicht vergessen mein teures Vaterland' ('I can then easily forget my dear fatherland').

Operettas of the Third Reich era did not travel to Britain and America the way they had done in the past. Kálmán's *Maritza* (*Gräfin Mariza*) was the last operetta from the German stage to have a West End premiere before the outbreak of the Second World War. In the previous decade, this work had been a great success at both the Theater an der Wien and the Shubert Theatre, New York (as *Countess Maritza*, with comic scenes and a subplot added by Harry B. Smith). The London production of *Maritza* in

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[24] Diary entry, 12 Jul. 1938, in Elke Fröhlich, ed., *Die Tagebücher von Joseph Goebbels: Sämtliche Fragmente*, vol. 3 (Munich: Saur, 1987),478, cited in Stefan Frey, '*Was sagt ihr zu diesem Erfolg*': *Franz Lehár und die Unterhaltungsmusik des 20. Jahrhunderts* (Frankfurt am Main: Insel, 1999), 305.

[25] See Stefan Frey, '*Was sagt ihr zu diesem Erfolg*', 322.

July 1938 gave Kálmán an excuse to leave Vienna. The Anschluss had been in March that year, and the imposition of the Nuremberg Laws in Austria had been in May. Described by Stefan Frey as the swansong for Hungarian-Austrian operetta, it was ironically appropriate that *Maritza* was also the swansong for silver-age operetta in the West End.[26] It ran for just 68 performances. Kálmán emigrated to the USA, but found his bank accounts frozen in December 1941, when Germany declared war on the US and he became regarded as an enemy alien.[27] Worse was in store for his two youngest sisters, Ilona and Milike, who both died during an enforced march of Jewish slave labourers from a Budapest brickyard in November 1944.[28]

The last 'Viennese' operetta in London before the Second World War was Ivor Novello's *The Dancing Years*. Len Platt cites a letter in the Lord Chamberlain's Plays collection in the British Library, which complains about the anti-Nazi scene (scene 6): 'It undoubtedly pleased a certain section of the audience and was wildly applauded, but it jarred others and some of the people booed.'[29] Novello had shown that he was not averse to drawing comparisons between the stage and real life, and, indeed, George Edwardes appears briefly as a character in this operetta. However, Edwardes's most famous theatres, Daly's and the Gaiety, had both closed their doors by the time of this production, the former in 1937, the latter in 1938. It was another sign of the end of an era.

'Schön war das Märchen, nun ist es zu Ende'.[30]

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[26] '*Unter Tränen lachen*', 166.

[27] '*Unter Tränen lachen*', 264.

[28] '*Unter Tränen lachen*', 282.

[29] Len Platt, 'West End Musical Theatre and the Representation of Germany', in Platt, Becker, and Linton, *Popular Musical Theatre in London and Berlin*, 224–41, at 238.

[30] The fairytale was beautiful, but now it has ended. 'Good Night' (English waltz), *Viktoria und ihr Husar* (lyrics by Fritz Löhner-Beda, music by Paul Abraham, 1930).

Appendix 1 Productions of Operetta from the German Stage on Broadway and in the West End, 1900–1940

This appendix lists only operettas that appeared on both German-language and English-language stages. Whenever possible the number of performances of the first production in Vienna, Berlin, London, or New York has been checked from several sources. These include: J. P. Wearing, *The London Stage*, 8 vols., covering the period 1900–39 (Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow Press, 2nd edn 2013–14); Burns Mantle, *The Best Plays of 1909–19*, and annual vols. 1920–25 (Boston: Small, Maynard) and 1926–40 (New York: Dodd, Mead); Kurt Gänzl and Andrew Lamb, *Gänzl's Book of the Musical Theatre* (London: The Bodley Head, 1988); Anton Bauer, *150 Jahre Theater an der Wien* (Vienna: Amalthea-Verlag, 1952); Richard C. Norton, *A Chronology of American Musical Theater*, 3 vols. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002); Gerald Bordman, *American Operetta: From H.M.S. Pinafore to Sweeney Todd* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1981), Appendix, 185–94; Stanley Green, *Encyclopedia of the Musical Theatre* (New York: Dodd, Mead, 1976); Robert Ignatius Letellier, *Operetta: A Sourcebook* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars, 2015); the *Internet Broadway Database* www.ibdb.com/index.php; *The Guide to Light Opera & Operetta* www.musicaltheatreguide.com/menu/introduction.htm; the *Operone* database www.operone.de/ and the *Ovrtur* database of musicals www.ovrtur.com/. Note that performance statistics in Table II, 427–35 of Otto Keller, *Die Operette in ihrer Geschichtlichen Entwicklung: Musik, Libretto, Darstellung* (Leipzig: Stein Verlag, 1926) give the total number of performances on the German stage up to 1921 of operettas dating from 1900 and later. Anton Bauer also includes revivals (up to 30 May 1939) in his performance data in *150 Jahre Theater an der Wien* (Zürich: Amalthea-Verlag, 1952).

Abbreviations

Bk	Book
DD	Dance Director (Choreographer)

Lyrs	Lyrics
MD	Musical Director
P	Producer
SD	Stage Director

Abraham, Paul (Pál Ábrahám), b. Apatin, Hungary (now Serbia), 2 Nov. 1892, d. Hamburg, 9 May 1960

Viktória, Stadttheater (Operettentheater), Budapest, 21 Feb. 1930. Bk & lyrs: Imre Földes & Imre Harmath; *Viktoria und ihr Husar*, Leipzig, 7 Jul. 1930; Bk & lyrs: Alfred Grünwald & Fritz Löhner-Beda. Metropol-Theater, Berlin, 15 Aug. 1930, Rosy Barsony (Viktoria), Oskar Dénes (Ferry), & Lizzi Waldmüller (Lia San).

Viktoria and her Hussar, Palace Theatre, London, 17 Sep. 1931, 100 perfs. Harry Welchman (John Carling), Margaret Carlisle, & Oskar Dénes. Bk & lyrs: Harry Graham; Presenter: Alfred Butt; P: Ralph Reader; SD: Maurice Edmonds; MD: Frank Steininger; Costumes: Norman Hartnell & others.

Ball im Savoy, Großes Schauspielhaus, Berlin, 23 Dec. 1932 (Gitta Alpár). Bk & lyrs: Alfred Grünwald & Fritz Löhner-Beda.

Ball at the Savoy, Drury Lane, London, 8 Sep. 1933, 146 perfs. Maurice Evans (Aristide), Natalie Hall (Madeleine), Oskar Dénes (Mustapha Bei), & Rosy Barsony (Kathi Mihazy). Bk & lyrs: Oscar Hammerstein II; P: Oscar Hammerstein; SD: William Abingdon; MD: Charles Prentice; DD: Jack Donohoe.

Albini, Srećko (Felix), b. Županja, Croatia, 10 Dec. 1869, d. Zagreb, 18 Apr. 1933

Baron Trenck, Leipzig, 1908. Bk & lyrs: Alfred Maria Willner & Robert Bodanzky.

Casino Theatre, New York, 11 Mar. 1912, 40 perfs. Fritz Sturmfels (Baron Trenck). Bk & lyrs by Henry Blossom; Add. music by Alfred G. Robyn.

Ascher, Leo, b. Vienna, 17 Aug. 1880, d. New York, 25 Feb. 1942

Was tut man nicht alles Liebe, Ronacher Etablissement, Vienna 17 Dec. 1914. Bk & lyrs: Felix Dörmann.

Follow Me, Casino Theatre, New York, 29 Nov. 1916, 78 perfs. Music: Romberg; Lyrs: Robert B. Smith; Add. numbers by others; P: the Shuberts; SD: J. H. Benrimo; MD: Frank Tours; DD: Jack Mason & Allan K. Foster.

Benatzky, Ralph (Rudolf Josef František Benatzki), b. Mährisch-Budwitz, Moravia (now Moravské Budějovice, Czech Republic), 5 Jun. 1884, d. Zürich, 17 Oct. 1957

Apachen! Apollotheater, Vienna, 20 Dec. 1920. Bk & lyrs: Ignaz Michael Welleminsky.

The Apache, London Palladium, 15 Feb. 1927, 166 perfs. Carl Brisson & Dorothy Ward. Bk: Edward A. Horan; Lyrs: Dion Titheradge & Clifford Harris; P: Julian Wylie; MD: Horace Sheldon; DD: Edward Dolly.

Im weißen Rössl, Großes Schauspielhaus, Berlin, 8 Nov. 1930, 416 perfs. Camilla Spira (Josepha) & Max Hansen (Leopold). Bk: Hans Müller & Erik Charell (after the comedy of 1897 by Oskar Blumenthal & Gustav Kadelburg); Lyrs: Robert Gilbert; Add. songs: Robert Stolz, Bruno Granichstädten & Robert Gilbert.

White Horse Inn, Coliseum, London, 8 Apr. 1931, 651 perfs. Lea Seidl (Josepha) & Clifford Mollison. Bk & lyrs: Harry Graham; Add. numbers: Robert Stolz; P: Erik Charell; SD: Henry Cocker; MD: Charles Prentice; DD: Max Rivers. Revival Coliseum, 20 Mar. 1940 (270 perfs).

White Horse Inn, Center Theatre, New York, 1 Oct. 1936, 223 perfs. Kitty Carlisle & William Gaxton. Bk: David Freedman; Lyrs: Irving Caesar; P: Laurence Rivers, Inc.; SD: Erik Charell; MD: Richard Baravalle; DD: Max Rivers; Settings & costumes: Ernst Stein; Modern dresses: Irene Sharaff; Lighting: Eugene Braun.

Casanova, Großes Schauspielhaus, Berlin, 1 Sep. 1928. Michael Bohnen (Casanova), Anni Frind (Laura), & Anny Ahlers (Barberina). Bk & lyrs: Rudolf Schanzer & Ernst Welisch; Music arranged & adapted from Johann Strauss Jr: Ralph Benatzky; P: Erik Charell.

Coliseum, London, 24 May 1932, 429 perfs. Arthur Fear alternating with Charles Mayhew as Casanova, Marie Löhr (Empress Maria Theresa of Austria), & Soffi Schonning (Laura). Bk & lyrs: Hans Muller & Harry Graham (the latter writing a new second act); Presenter: Oswald Stoll; P: Erik Charell; SD: Sidney C. Sinclair; MD: Ernst Hanke & Arthur Wood; DD: Max Rivers.

Meine Schwester und ich, Großes Schauspielhaus, Berlin, 29 Mar. 1930. Bk & lyrs: Robert Blum, after *Ma Soeur et moi* by Georges Berr & Louis Verneuil.

Meet My Sister, Shubert Theatre, Broadway, 30 Dec. 1930. moved to Imperial Theatre, 6 Apr. 1931, Walter Slezak & Bettina Hall, total perfs 167. Bk: Harry Wagstaff Gribble; Lyrs: Ralph Benatzky & Irving Schloss; P: the Shuberts; SD: William Mollison; MD: anon.; DD: John Pierce.

My Sister and I, Shaftesbury Theatre, London, 23 Feb. 1931, 8 perfs. Francis Lederer, Alexa Engstroem, & Joe Coyne. Bk: Laurie Wylie, Brandon Fleming & H. W. Gribble; Lyrs: Desmond Carter & Frank Eyton; Add. music: Billy Mayerl; Presenter: Edward Laurillard; P: George Grossmith; SD: Charles Maynard; MD: Ernest Irving; DD: Max Rivers.

Zirkus aimé, Stadttheater, Basel, 5 Mar. 1932. Melanie Hoffman. Bk & lyrs: Curt Goetz.

The Flying Trapeze, Alhambra Theatre, London, 4 May 1935, 73 perfs. Jack Buchanan & Pearly Argyle. Bk & lyrs: Douglas Furber (adapted from Hans Müller, *Zirkus aimé*, 1928); Add. lyrs: Desmond Carter & Frank Eyton; Add. music: Mabel Wynne; Managing Director: Oswald Stoll; Presenter: Jack Buchanan; P: Erik Charell; SD: Stanley Bell & Frank Smythe; MD: Harry Perritt; DD: Frederick Ashton; Costume design: Ernst Stern; Costumes: Hawes & Curtis, & others.

Berény, Henri, b. 1871, d. 23 Mar. 1932

Lord Piccolo, Johann-Strauß-Theater, 9 Jan. Vienna, 1910. Bk & lyrs: Rudolph Schanzer & Carl Lindau.

Little Boy Blue, Lyric Theatre, New York, 27 Nov. 1911 to 27 Apr. 1912, then Grand Opera House, 21 Apr. 1913, 184 perfs in all. Bk & lyrs: A. E. Thomas & Edward A. Paulton; Add. lyrs: Carolyn Wells, Grant Stewart & others; Add. songs: Paul Rubens & others; P: Henry W. Savage; SD: Frank Smithson; MD: Arthur Weld.

Das Mädel von Montmartre, Neues Operetten-Theater, Berlin, 1911. Bk & lyrs: Rodolph Schanzer, after Georges Feydeau's farce *La Dame de chez Maxim*.

The Girl from Montmartre, Criterion Theatre, New York, 5 Aug. 1912, then Grand Opera House, 4 Jul. 1913, 72 perfs in all. Bk & lyrs: Harry B. Smith & Robert B. Smith; Add. music: Jerome Kern & others; P: Charles Frohman; SD: Thomas Reynolds; MD: Harold Vicars.

Heinrich Berté (Bettelheim), b. Galgócz (now Hlohovec), Hungary, 8 May 1858, d. Perchtoldsdorf, Austria, 23 Aug. 1924

Kreolenblut, Operetten-Theater, Hamburg, 1910. Bk & lyrs: Ignaz Schneitzer & Emerich von Gatti.

The Rose of Panama, Daly's Theatre, New York, 22 Jan. 1912, 24 perfs. Bk & lyrs: John L. Shine & Sydney Rosenfeld; P: John Cort; SD: Frank Smithson; MD: Theodore Bendix.

Das Dreimäderlhaus, Raimundtheater, Vienna, 15 Jan. 1916. Fritz Schrödter (Schubert) & Anny Rainer (Hannerl), over 650 perfs, remained in the repertoire & had its 1100 performance at the Raimondtheater on 9 Apr. 1927. Bk & lyrs: A. M. Willner & Heinz Reichert, after Rudolph Hans Bartsch's novel *Schwammerl* (1912); Music adapted & arranged from Schubert. At Friedrich-Wilhelmstädtisches Theater, Berlin, 1916 until 11 Sep. 1918.

Blossom Time, Ambassador Theatre, New York, 29 Sep. 1921, moving to Jolson's 58th St, then Century. Bertram Peacock (Schubert), Olga Cook (Mitzi) & Howard Marsh (Schober), 576 perfs in all. Bk & lyrs: Dorothy Donnelly; Musical arrangements: Sigmund Romberg; SD: J. C. Huffman; MD: Oscar Radin. Revivals: Jolson Theatre, 19 May 1924 (Greek Evans as Schubert, Margaret Merle as Mitzi, 24 perfs), P: the Shuberts; 1926 (Knight MacGregor as Schubert, Beulah Berson as Mitzi, 16 perfs), 1931 (29 perfs), P: the Shuberts; 1938 (19 perfs), P: the Shuberts (Pub. Leo Feist, 1921)

Lilac Time, Lyric Theatre, London, 22 Dec. 1922, 628 perfs. Courtice Pounds (Schubert) & Clara Butterworth (Lili). Bk & lyrs: Adrian Ross, musical arrangements: G. H. Clutsam; Presented by William Boosey & Alfred Butt; P: Dion Boucicault; MD: Clarence Raybould; DD: Carlotta Mossetti; Costume design: Comelli. Revived Lyric, 26 Dec. 1925 (Frederick Blamey as Schubert, 90 perfs); Daly's, 23 Dec. 1927 (68 perfs); Daly's, 24 Dec. 1928 (73 perfs), Lyric, 25 May 1930 (56 perfs), Globe, 26 Dec. 1932 (35 perfs), Alhambra, 23 Dec. 1933 (37 perfs), Coliseum, 29 Jul. 1936 (70 perfs), Stoll, 13 Oct. 1942 (80 perfs). At Aldwych with Richard Tauber on 22 Sep. 1933 (35 perfs), given in German by Viennese Opera Company; Director: L. Léonidoff; MD: Ernest Irving.

Berté, Emil (1898–1968) (Nephew of Heinrich Berté)

Musik im Mai, Raimundtheater, Vienna, 13 May 1927. Bk & lyrs: Heinz Merley & Kurt Breuer.

Music in May, Casino Theatre, New York, 1 Apr. 1929, 80 perfs. Bk: Fanny Todd Mitchel; Lyrs: J. Keirn Brennan; Add. music: Maury Rubens & others; P: the Shuberts; SD: Lou Morton & Stanley Logan; MD: Ivan Rudisill; DD: Chester Hale; Orchestration: Emil Gerstenberger.

Cuvillier, Charles, b. Paris, 24 Apr. 1877, d. Paris, 14 Feb. 1955

Flora Bella, Staatstheater am Gärtnerplatz, Munich, 1913. Bk & lyrs: Felix Dörmann.

Casino Theatre, New York, 11 Sep. 1916, 112 perfs. Bk & lyrs: Cosmo Hamilton & Dorothy Donnelly; Add. music: Milton Schwarzwald; P: John Cort; SD: Richard Ordynski; MD: Gus Salzer; DD: Carl Randall; Scene design: Joseph Urban.

Der lila Domino, Stadttheater, Leipzig, 3 Feb. 1912. Bk & lyrs: Emmerich von Gatti & Béla Jenbach. First production in Vienna also 1912.

The Lilac Domino, 44th Street Theatre, New York, 28 Oct. 1914, 109 perfs. Eleanor Painter (Georgine) & Wilfrid Douthitt (Count André). Bk: Harry B. Smith; Lyrs: Robert B. Smith; P: Andreas Dippel (Dippell Opéra Comique); SD: Maxwell Olney; MD: Anselm Goetzl.

The Lilac Domino, Empire Theatre of Varieties, Leicester Square, London, 21 Feb. 1918, transferring to Palace Theatre, Oct. 1919, 747 perfs in all. Clara Butterworth (Georgine) & Vincent Sullivan (Elliston Deyn). Add. dialogue by S. J. Adair Fitzgerald & interpolated numbers by Howard Carr; P: Joseph Sacks; MD: Howard Carr. Revived His Majesty's, 5 Apr. 1944.

Eysler, Edmund, b. Vienna, 12 Mar. 1874, d. Vienna, 4 Oct. 1949

Künstlerblut, Carltheater, Vienna, 20 Oct. 1906. Bk & lyrs: Leo Stein & Carl Lindau.

The Love Cure, New Amsterdam, New York, 1 Sep. 1909, moved to Grand Opera House, 3 Jan. 1910, 78 perfs in all. Bk & lyrs: Oliver Herford; P: Henry W. Savage; SD: George Marion; MD: Augustus Barratt.

Vera Violetta, Apollo-Theater, Vienna, 30 Nov. 1907. Bk & lyrs: Leo Stein.

Winter Garden Theatre, New York, 20 Nov. 1911, 112 perfs. José Collins. Bk: Leonard Liebling & Harold Atteridge; Lyrs: Harold Atteridge; P: the Winter Garden Company; SD: Lewis Morton; MD: Samuel Lehman; DD: William J. Wilson & Joseph C. Smith.

Die Frauenfresser, Bürgertheater, Vienna, 23 Dec. 1911. Bk & lyrs: Leo Stein & Karl Lindau; Add. music: Walter Kollo.

The Woman Haters, Astor Theatre, New York, 7 Oct. 1912, 32 perfs. Bk & lyrs: George V. Hobart; P: A. H. Woods; SD: George Marion; MD: John Lund.

Der lachende Ehemann, Bürgertheater, Vienna, 19 Mar. 1913. Bk & lyrs: Julius Brammer & Alfred Grünwald.

The Laughing Husband, New Theatre, London, 2 Oct. 1913, 78 perfs. Courtice Pounds (Ottakar Bruckner) & Daisy Irving (Belle Bruckner). Bk & lyrs: Arthur Wimperis; P: Philip Michael Faraday; MD: Jacques Heuvel. Revd as *The Girl Who Didn't*, Lyric, London, 18 Dec. 1913 (C. H. Workman as Ottakar Bruckner, Yvonne Arnaud as Etelka von Basewitz, 68 perfs); Grace La Rue (American) as Hella Bruckner sang interpolated number, 'A Tango Dream' (words & music: Elsa Maxwell).

The Laughing Husband, Knickerbocker Theatre, New York, 2 Feb. 1914, 48 perfs. Courtice Pounds (Ottakar Bruckner) & Betty Callish (Hella Bruckner). Bk & lyrs: Arthur Wimperis, as for London; P: Charles Frohman; SD: Edward Royce; MD: Gustave Selzer.

Ein Tag im Paradies, Bürgertheater, Vienna, 23 Dec. 1913. Bk & lyrs: Leo Stein & Béla Jenbach.

The Blue Paradise, Casino Theatre, New York, 5 Aug. 1915, moved to 44th Street Theatre, 29 May 1016, 356 perfs in all. Frances Demarest (Gladys), Vivienne Segal (Mizzi), & Cecil Lean (Stoeger). Bk: Edgar Smith; Lyrs: Herbert Reynolds; Add. music: Sigmund Romberg (8 songs) & Leo Edwards; P: the Shuberts; SD: J. H. Benrimo; MD: Herbert Kerr; DD: Ed Hutchinson.

Fall, Leo, b. Olmütz, Moravia (now Olomouc, Czech Republic) 2 Feb. 1873, d. Vienna, 16 Sep. 1925

Die Dollarprinzessin, Carltheater, Vienna, 2 Nov. 1907. Mizzi Günther (Alice Couder) & Louis Treumann (Fredy Wehrburg), 80 perfs. Bk

& lyrs: Alfred Maria Willner & Fritz Grünbaum. Neue Schauspielhaus, Berlin, 6 Jun. 1908.

The Dollar Princess, Daly's Theatre, London, 25 Sep. 1909, 430 perfs. Lily Elsie (Alice Conder), Robert Michaelis (Freddy), Joseph Coyne (Harry Q. Conder), & Emmy Wehlen (Olga). Bk & lyrs: Basil Hood & Adrian Ross; Add. numbers: Richard Fall; P: George Edwardes; SD: Edward Royce; MD: Harold Vicars; Costume design: Comelli; Costume providers inc. Margaine Lacroix, Lucile Ltd, & eight others. Try-out: the Prince's Theatre, Manchester, 24 Dec. 1908. Revival at Daly's, 4 Feb. 1925 (Evelyn Laye as Alice, Carl Brisson as Harry Q. Conder, 69 perfs).

The Dollar Princess, Knickerbocker Theatre, New York, 6 Sep. 1909, 288 perfs. Valli Valli (Alice Cowder), Donald Brian (Freddy), E. J. Connoly (John W. Cowder), & Louise Pounds (Olga). Bk & lyrs: George Grossmith Jr; Add. numbers in Act 3: Leo Fall (1), Richard Fall (1), W. T. Francis (1), & Jerome D. Kern (3); P: Charles Frohman; SD: J. A. E. Malone; MD: W. T. Francis.

Der fidele Bauer, Hoftheater, Mannheim, 27 Jul. 1907. Bk & lyrs: Victor Léon. Theater an der Wien, 1 Jun. 1908. Theater des Westens, Berlin, 23 Oct. 1908.

The Merry Peasant, Strand Theatre, London, 23 Oct. 1909, 69 perfs. Courtice Pounds (Mathaeus) & Sybil Arundale (Annamirl). Bk & lyrs: Cosmo Hamilton; Add. songs by Theodore Holland; P: Herbert Cottesmore; MD: Theodore Stier; DD: Fred Farren; Costume design: Comelli.

Der fidele Bauer, given in German, Garden Theatre, Madison Ave & 27th Street, New York, 22 Feb. 1911 (12 perfs?).

Die geschiedene Frau, Carltheater, Vienna, 23 Dec. 1908. Mizzi Zwerenz (Jana), Anny Dirkens (Gonda), & Hubert Marschka (Karel). Bk & lyrs: Victor Léon, after Victorien Sardou's play *Divorçons!* of 1880. 1st perf. in Berlin at the Theater des Westens, 6 Sep. 1910.

The Girl in the Train, Vaudeville Theatre, London, 4 Jun. 1910, 339 perfs. Phyllis Dare (Gonda) & Robert Evett (Karel). Bk & lyrs: Adrian Ross; P: George Edwardes; SD: Edward Royce; MD: Theodore Stier.

The Girl in the Train, Globe Theatre, New York, 3 Oct. 1910, 40 perfs. Vera Michelena & Melville Stewart. Bk & lyrs: Harry B. Smith; P: Charles Dillingham; SD: Fred G. Latham; MD: Anton Heindl.

Brüderlein fein, Die Hölle (Theater und Kabarett), Vienna, 1 Dec. 1909. Bk & lyrs: Julius Wilhelm. One act.

Darby and Joan, London Coliseum, London, Aug. 1912.

Joys of Youth, US version by John A. Bassett, but not performed in New York.

Die Sirene, Johann-Strauß-Theater, Vienna, 5 Jan. 1911. Bk & lyrs: Leo Stein & A. M. Willner.

The Siren, Knickerbocker Theatre, New York, 28 Aug. 1911, 136 perfs. Donald Brian (Marquis de Ravaillac). Bk: Harry B. Smith; Lyrs: Adrian Ross, Herbert Reynolds [M. E. Rourke], *et al.*; Add. music: Jerome Kern, Worton David [Lawrence Wright], & Egbert van Alstyne; P: Charles Frohman; SD: Thomas Reynolds; MD: Harold Vicars.

Das Puppenmädel, Carltheater, Vienna, 4 Nov. 1910. Bk & lyrs: Leo Stein & Alfred Maria Willner (after Robert de Flets & Gaston de Caillavet).

The Doll Girl, Globe Theatre, New York, 25 Aug. 1913, 88 perfs. Bk & lyrs: Harry B. Smith; P: Charles Frohman; MD: Gustave Salzer; DD: Edward Royce; Costume design: Comelli.

Der liebe Augustin, Neues Theater am Schiffbauerdamm, Berlin, 3 Feb. 1912. Fritzi Massary (Helene); much revd version of *Der Rebell* (Vienna, 1905). Bk & lyrs for both by Rudolf Bernauer & Ernst Welisch. Fall's first operetta to be premiered in Berlin.

Princess Caprice, Shaftesbury Theatre, London, 11 May 1912, 265 perfs. Harry Welchman (Augustin), Clara Evelyn (Helen), Courtice Pounds (Jasomir), George Graves (Bogumil), & Cicely Courtneidge (Clementine). Bk & lyrs: Alexander M. Thompson, Arthur Scott Craven, Harry Beswick, & Percy Greenbank; P & SD: Robert Courtneidge; MD: Arthur Wood; DD: Espinosa.

Lieber Augustin, Casino Theatre, New York, 3 Sep. 1913, 37 perfs. George MacFarlane & May de Sousa. Bk & lyrs: Edgar Smith; P: the Shuberts; SD: J. C. Huffman; MD: John Lund. Song 'Look in Her Eyes' by Jerome Kern & Michael E. Rourke. Later renamed *Miss Caprice*.

Die Rose von Stambul, Theater an der Wien, Vienna, 2 Dec. 1916, 480 perfs. Hubert Marischka (Achmed Bey) & Betty Fischer (Kondja). Bk & lyrs: Julius Brammer & Alfred Grünwald. Berlin (Fritzi Massary), 1917.

The Rose of Stamboul, Century Theatre, New York, 7 Mar. 1922, 111 perfs. Tessa Kosta (Kondja) & Marion Green (Achmed Bey). Bk & lyrs: Harold Atteridge; Add. music by Sigmund Romberg; SD: J. C. Huffman; MD: Alfred Goodman; DD: Allan K. Foster Costume design: Charles LeMaire; scenic design: Watson Barratt; Production supervised by J. J. Schubert.

Madame Pompadour, Berliner Theater, Berlin, 9 Sep. 1922. Fritzi Massary (Madame Pompadour). Bk & lyrs: Rudolf Schanzer & Ernst Welisch.

Madame Pompadour, Daly's Theatre, London, 20 Dec. 1923, 461 perfs. Evelyn Laye (Madame Pompadour), Bertram Wallis (Louis XV), & Derek Oldham (René). Bk: Frederick Lonsdale & Harry Graham; Lyrs: Harry Graham; P: Fred J. Blackman; MD: Arthur Wood; Set designers: Alfred Terraine, Joseph & Phil Harker; Costume design: Comelli.

Mme. Pompadour, Martin Beck Theatre, New York, 11 Nov. 1924, 80 perfs. Wilda Bennett (Mme. Pompadour) & John Quinlan (René). Bk & lyrs: Clare Kummer; P: Charles Dillingham & Martin Beck; SD: R. H. Burnside; MD: Oscar Radin. Opening production at this theatre.

Felix, Hugo, b. Vienna, 19 Nov. 1866, d. Los Angeles, 24 Aug. 1934

Madame Sherry, Central-Theater, Berlin, 1902. Bk & lyrs: Maurice Ordonneau, trans. into German by Benno Jacobson.

Madame Sherry, Apollo Theatre, London, 23 Dec. 1903, 102 perfs. Nigel Playfair (Mac Sherry) & Florence St John (Catherine). Bk: Charles E. Hands; Lyrs: Adrian Ross; P: George Edwardes; SD: J. A. E. Malone; MD: Barter Johns; DD: Willie Warde.

Madame Sherry, New Amsterdam Theatre, New York, 30 Aug. 1910, 231 perfs. Jack Gardner (Edward Sherry) & Elizabeth Murray (Catherine). Music mainly Karl Hoschna, new bk & lyrs: Otto Hauerbach; Add. numbers by others; SD: George W. Lederer; MD: Hans S. Linne.

Gilbert, Jean (real name, Max Winterfeld), b. Hamburg 11 Feb. 1879, d. Buenos Aires, 20 Dec. 1942

Die keusche Susanne, Wilhelm Theater, Magdeburg, 26 Feb. 1910. Bk & lyrs: Georg Okonkowski; Lyrs: Alfred Schönfeld, after Antony Mars & Maurice Desvallières's play *Le Fils à papa* (1906). Carltheater, Vienna, 18 Mar. 1911.

Modest Suzanne, Liberty Theatre, 1 Jan. 1912, 24 perfs. Sallie Fisher (Suzanne), Stanley G. Ford (Baron Dauvray), & John L. Kearney (Pomeral). Bk & lyrs: Harry B. Smith & Robert B. Smith; P: A. H. Woods & H. H. Frazee; SD: George Marion; MD: Louis F. Gottschalk. Stanislaus Stange's adaptation of the original French play *Le Fils à papa* (1906) by Antony Mars & Maurice Desvallières had been given at the Astor Theatre, 24 Oct. 1910, with the title *The Girl in the Taxi* (songs by Benjamin Hapgood Burt), 48 perfs.

The Girl in the Taxi, Lyric Theatre, London, 5 Sep. 1912. Yvonne Arnaud (Suzanne), Arthur Playfair (Baron Dauvray) & C. H. Workman (Pomarel), 384 perfs. Bk & lyrs: Frederick Fenn & Arthur Wimperis; P & SD: Philip Michael Faraday; MD: Jacques Heuvel. Revived Lyric, 1 Nov. 1913 (48 perfs), Garrick, 23 Jan. 1915 [wartime] (165 perfs). 597 perfs in all.

Die Kino-Königin, Metropol-Theater [now the Komische Oper], Berlin, 8 Mar. 1913. Bk & lyrs: Georg Okonkowski & Julius Freund.

The Queen of the Movies, Globe Theatre, New York, 12 Jan. 1914, 104 perfs. Bk & lyrs: Glen MacDonough; Add. music & lyrs: Leslie Stuart & Irving Berlin; P: Thomas W. Ryley; SD: Herbert Gresham; MD: Hugo Riesenfeld; Scene & costume design: Hugo Baruch.

The Cinema Star, Shaftesbury Theatre, London, 4 Jun. 1914. Dorothy Ward (Louise), Cicely Courtneidge (Phyllis), Harry Welchman (Victor), & Jack Hulbert (Billy), 108 perfs. Bk & lyrs: Jack Hulbert; Lyrs: Harry Graham; Add. lyrs: Percy Greenbank; P & SD: Robert Courtneidge; MD: Arthur Wood.

Das Autoliebchen, Thalia-Theater, Berlin, 16 Mar. 1912. Bk: Jean Kren; Lyrs: Alfred Schönfeld.

The Joy-Ride Lady, New Theatre, London, 21 Feb. 1914, transferred to Garrick 9 May 1914, 105 perfs in all. Bk & lyrs: Arthur Anderson & Hartley Carrick; P: Sydney Ellison; MD: George W. Byng; DD: Renée Verue.

Backseat Baby, Yorkville Theatre, New York, 1917–18 season. P: Adolf Philipp.

Die moderne Eva, Neues Operetten-Theater, Berlin, 18 Oct. 1911. Bk & lyrs: Georg Okonowski & Arthur Schönfeld.

A Modern Eve, Casino Theatre, New York, 3 May 1915, 56 perfs. Bk: William M. Hough; Lyrs: Benjamin Hapgood Burt; Add. music: Victor Hallaender & Jerome Kern; P: John Cort; MD: Ben Jermone; DD: Julian Alfred.

Fräulein Trallala, Neues Luisen-Theater, Königsberg, 15 Nov. 1913. Bk: Georg Okonkowski; Lyrs: Leo Leipziger.

Mam'selle Tralala, Lyric, 16 Apr. 1914, 107 perfs. Yvonne Arnaud (Noisette). Bk & lyrs: Arthur Wimperis & Hartley Carrick; SD: Philip Michael Faraday; MD: Jacques Heuval. 2nd prod., score much revd, as *Oh! Be Careful!* at the Garrick, 19 Jun. 1915 (Yvonne Arnaud again as Noisette, 33 perfs). MD: Leonard Hornsey.

Die Frau im Hermelin, Thalia-Theater, Berlin, 1919. Bk & lyrs: Rudolf Schanzer & Ernst Welisch.

The Lady of the Rose, Daly's Theatre, London, 21 Feb. 1922, 516 perfs. Harry Welchman (Colonel Belovar) & Phyllis Dare (Mariana). Bk & lyrs: Frederick Lonsdale; Lyrs: Harry Graham; Add. song 'Catch a Butterfly': Leslie Stuart (lyrs H. Graham); P & SD: Fred J. Blackman; MD: Merlin Morgan; DD: A. H. Majilton; Costume design: Comelli. Revived Daly's 26 Apr. 1929 (Welchman as Belovar again, 27 perfs). Try-out: Prince's Theatre, Manchester, 26 Dec. 1921.

The Lady in Ermine, Ambassador Theatre, New York, 2 Oct. 1922, transferred to Century Theatre, New York, 29 Jan. 1923, 238 perfs in all. Wilda Bennett (Mariana) & Walter Woolf (Colonel Belovar). Bk: Frederick Lonsdale & Cyrus Wood; Lyrs: Harry Graham & Cyrus Wood; Add. music: Alfred Goodman; SD: Charles Sinclair; MD: Oscar Bradley; DD: Jack Mason & Allan K. Foster; Prod. supervised by J. J. Shubert.

Katja, die Tänzerin, Vienna, 1922. Bk & lyrs: Leopold Jacobson & Rudolph Österreicher.

Katja, the Dancer, Gaiety Theatre, London, 21 Feb. 1925, transferred to Daly's, 7 Sep. 1925, 514 perfs in all. Lilian Davies (Katja) & Gregory Stroud (the Prince). Bk: Harry Graham & Frederick Lonsdale; Lyrs: Harry Graham; P & SD: Fred J. Blackman; MD: Idris Lewis; Costume design: Comelli. Try-out: Prince's Theatre, Bradford, 4 Aug. 1924.

Katja, 44th Street Theatre, New York, 18 Oct. 1926, 112 perfs. Lilian Davies (Katja) & Allan Prior (the Prince). London version with add. music: Maurice Rubens & Ralph Benatzky; SD: J. C. Huffman; MD: Oscar Radin; DD: Max Scheck; Production supervised by J. J. Shubert.

Uschi, Hamburg, 1925. Bk & lyrs: Leo Kastner & Alfred Möller.

Yvonne, Daly's, London, 22 May 1926, 281 perfs. Ivy Tresmand & Arthur Pusey. Bk & lyrs: Percy Greenbank; Add. music: Vernon Duke (under his birth name Dukelsky) & Arthur Wood; P & SD: Herbert Mason; MD: Arthur Wood; DD: Fred A. Leslie.

Das Weib in Purpur, Vienna, 1923. Bk & lyrs: Leopold Jacobson & Rudolf Oesterreicher.

The Red Robe, Shubert Theatre, New York, 25 Dec. 1928 transferred to Jolson's Theatre 13 May 1929, 167 perfs in all. Bk: Harry B. Smith & Edward Delaney Dunn (after *Under the Red Robe* by Stanley Weyman); Lyrs: Harry B. Smith; P: the Shuberts; SD: Stanley Logan; MD: unknown.

Hotel Stadt Lemberg, Hamburg, 1929. Bk & lyrs: Ernst Neubach, after the novel by Lajos Biró.

Marching By, Chanin's 46th Street Theatre, New York, 3 Mar. 1932, 12 perfs. Bk: Harry B. Smith & Harry Clarke; Lyrs: Harry B. Smith; Add. music: Harry Revel, Gus Edwards, *et al.*; P: the Shuberts; SD: J. C. Huffman; MD: George Hirst; DD: Allan K. Foster.

Die kleine Sünderin, Berlin 1922. Bk: Hans Hellmut Zerlett; Lyrs: Willy Prager & Robert Gilbert.

Lovely Lady, Phoenix, London, 25 Feb. 1932, 4 perfs. Polly Walker (Peggy). Bk & lyrs: Arthur Wimperis; P: Edward Laurillard; SD: Ben Taylor; MD: Philip Braham? Try-out: Opera House, Manchester, 1 Feb. 1932.

Granichstaedten, Bruno, b. Vienna, 1 Sep. 1879, d. New York, 30 May 1944

Bub oder Mädel?, Johann-Strauß-Theater, Vienna, 13 Nov. 1908. Bk & lyrs: Felix Dörmann & Adolf Altmann.

The Rose Maid, Globe, New York, 22 Apr. 1912, 181 perfs. Bk: Harry B. Smith & Raymond Peck; Lyrs: Robert B. Smith; SD: George Marion; MD: Robert Hood Bowers; DD: William Rock; Produced by Louis F. Werber & Mark A. Luescher.

Der Orlow, Theater an der Wien, 1925. Bk & lyrs: Ernst Marischka.

Hearts and Diamonds, Strand, 1 Jun. 1926, 43 perfs. George Metaxa (Alex Dorotchinsky) & Darly Aitken (Mildred Harris). Bk: P. G. Wodehouse; Lyrs: Graham John; Add. numbers: Max Darewski; SD, set & costume design: Theodore Komisarjevsky; MD: Max Darewski.

Heuberger, Richard, b. Graz, 18 Jun. 1850, d. Vienna, 28 Oct. 1914

Der Opernball, Theater an der Wien, 5 Jan. 1898. Bk & lyrs: Viktor Léon & Heinrich von Waldberg, after a comedy by Alfred Hennequin & Alfred Delacour.

The Opera Ball, Liberty Theatre, New York, 12 Feb. 1912, 32 perfs. Bk & lyrs: Sydney Rosenfeld & Clare Kummer; Add. songs: Jerome Kern & Chris Smith; MD: Josiah Zuro.

Hirsch, Hugo, b. Birnbaum (now Międzychód), Provinz Posen (now Poznań), 12 Mar. 1884, d. Berlin, 16 Aug. 1961

Der Fürst von Pappenheim, Deutsches Künstlertheater, Berlin, 6 Feb. 1923. Bk & lyrs: Franz Arnold & Ernst Bach.

Toni, Shaftesbury Theatre, London, 12 May 1924, 248 perfs. Jack Buchanan (Toni). Bk & lyrs: Douglas Furber & Harry Graham; Add. music: Stephen Jones; P: Herbert Bryan; SD: Frank Smythe; MD: Thomas Tunbridge; DD: Jack Buchanan.

Jacobi, Viktor, b. Budapest, 22 Oct. 1883, d. New York, 19 Dec. 1921

Leányvásár, Király Színház (King's Theatre), Budapest, 14 Nov. 1911, Sári Petráss, Sári Fedák, Ernö Király, & Árpád Latabár. Bk & lyrs: Max Brody & Ferenc Martos.

Mädchenmarkt, Carltheater, Vienna, 5 Jul. 1912. German version by E. Motz & Eugen Spero.

The Marriage Market, Daly's, 17 May 1913, 423 perfs. Robert Michaelis (Jack), Sári Petráss (Mariposa), Gertie Millar (Kitty), W. H. Berry, & G. P. Huntley. Bk: Gladys Unger; Lyrs: Arthur Anderson & Adrian Ross; P & SD: Edward Royce; MD: Franz Ziegler; Costume design: Comelli.

The Marriage Market, Knickerbocker, New York, 22 Sep. 1913, 88 perfs. Donald Brian (Edward Fleetwood) & Venita Fitzhugh (Mariposa Gilroy). Same as London, but interpolated songs by Jerome Kern & others. P: Charles Frohman; SD: Edward Royce; MD: Harold Vicars; Costume design: Comelli; Costumes by Mme Zimmerman, Lucile, & others.

Szibill, Király Színház (King's Theatre), Budapest, 27 Feb. 1914. Bk & lyrs: Max Brody & Ferenc Martos.

Sybill, Stadttheater, Vienna, 2 Dec. 1919. Bk & lyrs: Robert Bodanzky.

Sybil, Liberty Theatre, New York, 10 Jan. 1916, 168 perfs. Julia Sanderson (Sybil) & Donald Brian (Grand Duke). Bk & lyrs: Harry Graham; Add. lyrs: Harry B. Smith; P: Charles Frohman; SD: Fred G. Latham; MD: Harold Vicars. Try-out National, Washington DC, 27 Dec. 1915.

Sybil, Daly's, London, 19 Feb. 1921, 374 perfs. José Collins (Sybil) & Harry Welchman (Grand Duke). Same version as New York. P: Seymour Hicks; SD: Fred J. Blackman; MD: Merlin Morgan; Costumes Reville & Comelli. Try-out: Palace Theatre, Manchester, 27 Dec. 1920.

Jarno, Georg, b. Buda (now Budapest), 3 Jun. 1868, d. Breslau (now Wrocław), 25 May 1920

Die Försterchristl, Theater in der Josefstadt, Vienna, 17 Dec. 1907. Bk & lyrs: Bernhard Buchbinder.

The Girl and the Kaiser, Herald Square Theatre (Broadway), 22 Nov. 1910, 64 perfs. Bk & lyrs: Leonard Liebling; P: Sam S. & Lee Shubert; MD: Oscar Radin.

Kálmán, Emmerich (Imre Koppstein), b. Siófok, Hungary, 24 Oct. 1882, d. Paris, 30 Oct. 1953

Tatárjárás, Vigszínház Theatre, Budapest, 22 Feb. 1908. Bk: Károly von Bakyonyi; Lyrs by Andor Gabor.

Ein Herbstmanöver, Theater an der Wien, Vienna, 21 Jan. 1909, Louise Kartousch (Marosi), Otto Storm (Lörenthy), & Max Pallenberg (Wallerstein). Bk & lyrs: Robert Bodanzky; Conducted by Robert Stolz.

The Gay Hussars, Knickerbocker Theatre, New York, 29 Jul. 1909, 44 perfs. Bk & lyrs: Maurice Browne Kirby; Lyrs: Grant Stewart; P: Henry W. Savage; SD: George Marion; MD: Gustave Salzer.

Autumn Manoeuvres, Adelphi Theatre, 25 May 1912, 74 perfs. Robert Evett & Gracie Leigh. Bk & lyrs: Henry Hamilton; Add. music: Lionel Monckton, Howard Talbot, Hamish McCunn, Herbert Bunning, & Carl Kiefert. Just three numbers by Kálmán; P: A. E. Malone; MD: Carl Kiefert; DD: Willie Warde; Costumes: Lucile, & others.

Der Zigeunerprimás, Johann-Strauß-Theater, Vienna, 11 Oct. 1912. Bk & lyrs: Fritz Grünbaum & Julius Wilhelm.

Sári, Liberty Theatre, NY, 13 Jan. 1914, moving to New Amsterdam, 151 perfs. Mitzi Hajos (Sári). Bk: Catherine Chisholm Cushing & E. P. Heath; Lyrs: Catherine Cushing; P: Henry W. Savage; SD: George Marion; MD: Max Bendix. Revival Liberty Theatre, 29 Jan. 1930 (15 perfs).

Zsuzsi kisasszony [*Little Miss Susie*], Vigszínház Theatre, Budapest, 27 Feb. 1912. Bk & lyrs: Ferenc Martos & Miksa Bródy.

Die Faschingsfee, Johann-Strauß-Theater, Vienna, 21 Sep. 1917. Bk & lyrs: Arthur Willner & Rudolf Österreicher.

Miss Springtime, New Amsterdam Theatre, New York, 25 Sep. 1916, 224 perfs. George MacFarlane (Jo Varady). Bk: Guy Bolton; Lyrs: P. G. Wodehouse & Herbert Reynolds; Add. music: Jerome Kern; P: Klaw & Erlanger; SD: Herbert Gresham; MD: Charles Previn; DD: Julian Mitchell.

Az obsitos, Vigszínház Theatre, Budapest, 16 Mar. 1910. Bk & lyrs: Karl von Bakonyi.

Der gute Kamerad, Bürgertheater, Vienna, 27 Oct. 1911. Bk & lyrs: Victor Léon. Revd by Léon as *Gold gab ich für Eisen*, Theater an der Wien, 17 Oct. 1914.

Her Soldier Boy, Astor Theatre, New York, 6 Dec. 1916, moved to Lyric then Shubert, 198 perfs in all. John Charles Thomas (Alain Teniers). Bk & lyrs: Rida Johnson Young; Add. music: Sigmund Romberg; P: the Shuberts (Lee & J. J.); SD: J. J. Shubert; MD: Augustus Barratt; DD: Jack Mason.

Soldier Boy!, Apollo Theatre, London, 26 Jun. 1918, 374 perfs. Rida Johnson Young's version further revd by Edgar Wallace; music adapted by Frederick Chappelle (Kálmán not credited – this was wartime). P: Albert de Courville; SD: J. H. Benrimo; MD: Leonard Hornsey; DD: Frank Smithson. Like the Broadway version, it included George & Felix Powell's 'Pack up Tour Troubles in Your Old Kit Bag'.

Das Hollandweibchen, Johann Strauß-Theater, Vienna, 30 Jan. 1920. Bk & lyrs: Leo Stein & Bela Jenbach.

A Little Dutch Girl, Lyric Theatre, London, 1 Dec. 1920, 215 perfs. Maggie Teyte (Princess Julia). Bk: Harry Graham & Seymour Hicks; Lyrs: Harry Graham; P: Seymour Hicks & J. L. Sacks; MD: Jacques Heuval; DD: Willie Warde.

The Dutch Girl, Majestic Theatre, Boston, 22 Jan. 1925; did not reach Broadway.

Die Csárdásfürstin, Johann-Strauß-Theater, Vienna, 17 Nov. 1915, Mizzi Günther (Sylva). Bk & lyrs: Leo Stein & Béla Jenbach.

The Riviera Girl, New Amsterdam Theatre, New York, 24 Sep. 1917, 78 perfs. Wilda Bennett (Sylva Vareska) & Carl Gantvoort (Victor de Berryl). Bk: Guy Bolton & P. G. Wodehouse; Lyrs by P. G. Wodehouse. Interpolated number 'The Bungalow in Quogue': Jerome Kern (lyrs Wodehouse). Set in Monte Carlo; P: Klaw & Erlanger; SD: Herbert Gresham; MD: Charles Previn; DD: Julian Mitchell.

The Gipsy Princess, Prince of Wales Theatre, London, 26 May 1921, transferred to Strand, 3 Oct., 212 perfs. Sará Petráss (Sylva). Bk: Arthur Miller; Lyrs: Arthur Stanley; P: Claude B. Yearsley, De Groot; SD: William J. Wilson; MD: Robert Cox. Revival Saville, 14 Jun 1944.

Die Bajadere, Carltheater, Vienna, 23 Dec. 1921. Bk & lyrs: Julius Brammer & Alfred Grünwald.

The Yankee Princess, Knickerbocker Theatre, New York, 2 Oct. 1922, 80 perfs. Thorpe Bates (Prince Radjami) & Vivienne Segal (Odette). Bk & lyrs: William Baron & B. G. deSylva; P: A. L. Erlanger; SD: Frederick G. Latham; MD: William Daly; DD: Julian Mitchell.

Gräfin Mariza, Theater an der Wien, Vienna, 28 Feb. 1924, Betty Fischer (Mariza) & Hubert Marischka (Tassilo). Bk & lyrs: Julius Brammer & Alfred Grünwald.

Countess Maritza, Shubert Theatre, New York, 18 Sep. 1926, 321 perfs. Yvonne d'Arle (Maritza) & Walter Woolf (Tassilo). Bk & lyrs: Harry B. Smith; Add. numbers: Sigmund Romberg & Al Goodman; P: the Shuberts; SD: J. J. Shubert; MD: anon. Revived Century Theatre, 9 Apr. 1928 (16 perfs).

Maritza, Palace Theatre, London, 6 Jul. 1938, 68 perfs. Mara Lossef (Maritza) & John Garrick (Torok). Bk & lyrs: Robert Layer-Parker, Eddie Garr, & Arthur Stanley; P: J. Whyte-Melville Skeffington; SD: Robert Nesbitt; MD: George Walter; DD: Freddie Carpenter.

Die Zirkusprinzessin, Theater an der Wien, 26 Mar. 1926. Hubert Marischka & Betty Fischer. Bk & lyrs: Julius Brammer & Alfred Grünwald.

The Circus Princess, Winter Garden Theatre, New York, 25 Apr. 1927, 192 perfs. Guy Robertson & Desiree Tabor. Bk & lyrs: Harry B. Smith; P: the Shuberts; SD: J. C. Huffman & Marcel Varnell; MD: Alfred Goodman; DD: Allan K. Foster.

Das Veilchen von Montmartre, Johann-Strauß-Theater, Vienna, 21 Mar. 1930. Bk & lyrs: Julius Brammer & Alfred Grünwald.

A Kiss in Spring, Alhambra Theatre, London, 28 Nov. 1932, 83 perfs. Eric Bertner (Raoul) & Eileen Moody (Violette). Bk & lyrs: Lawrence du Garde Peach; Add. music: Herbert Griffiths; P: Oswald Stoll; SD: Norman Marshall; DD: Frederick Ashton.

Kollo, Walter, b. Neidenburg, 28 Jan. 1878, d. Berlin, 30 Sep. 1940

Filmzauber, see Sirmay.

Wie einst im Mai, Berliner Theater, Berlin, 4 Oct. 1913. Bk & lyrs: Rudolf Bernauer, Rudolf Schanzer, & Willy Bredschneider.

Maytime, Shubert Theatre, NY, 16 Aug. 1917, transferred to 44th Street, then Broadhurst, then Lyric, then again Broadhurst, 492 perfs. Peggy Wood & Charles Purcell (replaced by John Charles Thomas). Bk & lyrs: Rida Johnson Young; Music: Sigmund Romberg; P: the Shuberts (Lee & J. J.); SD: Edward P. Temple; MD: Frank Tours; DD: Allen K. Foster.

Drei alte Schachteln, Theater am Nollendorfplatz, Berlin 1917, Claire Waldoff (Auguste). Bk: Herman Haller; Lyrs: Rideamus (Fritz Oliven), after J. M. Barrie's play *Quality Street*.

Phoebe of Quality Street, Shubert Theatre, 9 May 1921, 16 perfs. Bk & lyrs: Edward Delaney Dunn; P: the Shuberts; SD: W. H. Gilmore & Max Scheck; MD: Max Steiner.

Sterne, die wieder leuchtet, Berlin 1918. Bk & lyrs: Rudolf Bernhauser & Rudolf Schanzer, after Michael Klapp.

Springtime of Youth, Broadhurst Theatre, NY, 26 Oct. 1922, 68 perfs. George MacFarlane (Roger Hathaway) & Olga Steck (Priscilla Alden). Bk & lyrs: Harry B. Smith, Matthew C. Woodward, & Cyrus Wood; Add. music: Sigmund Romberg; P: the Shuberts; SD: John Harwood & J. C. Huffman; MD: Frank Cork; DD: Allan K. Foster; Orchestration: Emil Gerstenberger.

Drei arme kleine Mädels, Berlin 1927. Bk & lyrs: Herman Feiner & Bruno Hardt-Warden.

Three Little Girls, Shubert Theatre, NY, 14 Aug. 1930, 104 perfs. Charles Hedley (Hendrik) & Natalie Hall (Beate-Marie). Bk: Marie Armstrong Hecht & Gertrude Purcell; Lyrs: Harry B. Smith; P: the Shuberts; SD: J. J. Shubert; MD: Louis Kroll.

Korngold, Erich Wolfgang, b. Brünn (now Brno), 29 May 1897, d. Hollywood, 29 Nov. 1957, & Julius Bittner, b. Vienna, 9 Apr. 1874, d. Vienna, 9 Jan. 1939

Walzer aus Wien, Stadttheater Vienna, 30 Oct. 1930. Bk & lyrs: A. M. Willner, Heinz Reichert, & Ernst Marischka; music adapted from J. Strauss Sr & Jr by Erich Korngold & Julius Bittner.

Waltzes from Vienna, Alhambra Theatre, London, 17 Aug. 1931, 607 perfs. Evelyn Herbert (Therese Ebenseder) & Robert Halliday (Strauss Jr). Bk & lyrs: Desmond Carter & Caswell Garth, in addition to Korngold & Bittner; Music arr. by G. H. Clutsam & Herbert Griffiths; Presenter: Oswald Stoll; P & Lighting: Howard Short; SD: Stanley Bell; MD: anon; DD: Albertina Rasch; Sets: E. Delaney & J.

Brun-skill; Costume design: Doris Zinkeisen. Very successful revival in 1970 as *The Great Waltz*, Drury Lane (605 perfs).

The Great Waltz, Center Theatre, New York, 22 Sep. 1934, 298 perfs. Marion Clare (Therese) & Guy Robertson (Strauss Jr). Revd Bk by Moss Hart; Lyrs: Desmond Carter; Music arr. Frank Tours & Robert Russell Bennett; P: Max Gordon; SD (& lighting): Hassard Short; MD: Frank Tours; DD: Albertina Rasch (as in London); Sets: Albert Johnson; Costumes: Doris Zinkeisen (as in London) & Irene Sharaff. Revived at same theatre, 5 Aug. 1935 (49 perfs).

Künneke, Eduard, b. Emmerich am Rhein, 27 Jan. 1885, d. Berlin, 27 Oct. 1953

Wenn Liebe erwacht, Theater am Nollendorfplatz, Berlin, 3 Sep. 1920. Bk: Herman Haller; Lyrs: Rideamus (Fritz Oliven), after the comedy *Renaissance* (1896) by Franz von Schönthan & Franz Koppel-Ellfeld. (Action moved from the Medici period to 19th century.)

Love's Awakening, Empire Theatre, London, 19 Apr. 1922, 37 perfs. Juliette Autran (Countess) & Edouard Lestan (Lorenzo). Bk & lyrs: Adrian Ross; P: Edward Laurillard; SD: Charles Ross; MD: Jacques Heuval; DD: Jack Haskell.

Der Vetter aus Dingsda, Theater am Nollendorfplatz, Berlin, 15 Apr. 1921, Lori Leux (Julia) & Johannes Müller (the stranger). Bk: Herman Haller; Lyrs: Rideamus (Fritz Oliven), after Max Kempner-Hochstädt's comedy.

Caroline, Ambassador Theatre, New York, 31 Jan. 1923, 151 perfs. Tessa Kosta (Caroline) & J. Harold Murray (Captain Robert Langdon). Bk & lyrs: Harry B. Smith; P: the Shuberts; SD: Fred G. Latham & J. J. Shubert; MD: Fred Hoff; DD: Frank M. Gillespie.

The Cousin from Nowhere, Prince's Theatre, London, 24 Feb. 1923, 106 perfs. Helen Gilliland (Julia) & Walter Williams (the Stranger). Bk: Fred Thompson; Lyrs: Adrian Ross, Robert C. Tharp, & Douglas Furber; P: Edward Laurillard; SD: Felix Edwardes; MD: J. A. de Orellana; DD: Jack Buchanan.

Lady Hamilton, Schauspielhaus, Breslau (now Wrocław), 25 Sep. 1926. Anny Ahlers (Amy). Bk & lyrs: Richard Bars & Leopold Jacobson. MD Franz Marszalek.

The Song of the Sea, His Majesty's, London, 6 Sep. 1928, 155 perfs. Lilian Davies (Nancy), Stanley Holloway (Lieut. Richard Manners).

Bk & lyrs: Arthur Wimperis & Lauri Wylie; P: Jack Hulbert; SD: Alfred Bellew; MD: Percy Fletcher.

Lehár, Franz, b. Komorn (split into dual towns Komárom, Hungary, & Komárno, Slovakia, in 1920) 30 Apr. 1870, d. Bad Ischl, 24 Oct. 1948

Die lustige Witwe, Theater an der Wein, Vienna, 28 Dec. 1905, Mizzi Günther (Hanna) & Louis Treumann (Danilo), transferred to Raimundtheater then Volksoper, 483 perfs in all. Bk & lyrs: Victor Léon & Leo Stein from *L'Attaché d'ambassade* (comédie en trois actes, Théatre du Vaudeville, Paris, 1861) by Henri Meilhac (1831–97). Berliner Theater, Berlin, 1 May 1906 (Marie Ottmann as Hanna, & Gustav Matzner as Danilo). *Die lustige Witwe*, Berlin Neufassung, 1928 (Großes Schauspielhaus).

The Merry Widow, Daly's Theatre, London, 8 Jun. 1907, 778 perfs. Lily Elsie (Sonia), Joseph Coyne (Danilo), Elizabeth Firth (Natalie), & Robert Evett (Camille). Bk & lyrs: Basil Hood & Adrian Ross; P: George Edwardes; SD: J. A. E. Malone; MD: Barter Johns; DD: Fred Farren. Costumes by Lucile & others. Two new numbers added by Lehár. Revived Daly's. 19 May 1923, Evelyn Laye (Sonia), 238 perfs; revived at Lyceum, 28 May 1924, Adrienne Brune & others as Sonia, 216 perfs; revived London Hippodrome 29 Sep. 1932, Helen Gilliland (Sonia), 85 perfs. Revival His Majesty's, 4 Mar. 1943 (302 perfs), Coliseum, 19 Sep. 1944 (107 perfs).

New Amsterdam Theatre, New York, 21 Oct. 1907, moving to Aerial Gardens (Jul. & Aug. 1908) then back to New Amsterdam, 416 perfs in all. Ethel Jackson (Sonia) & Donald Brian (Danilo). Brought to NY by Erlanger. P: Henry W. Savage; SD: George Marion; MD: Louis F. Gottschalk. Revivals: Knickerbocker Theatre, 5 Sep. 1921, Lydia Lipkowska (Sonia) & Reginald Pasch (Danilo), 56 perfs, P: Henry W. Savage; Jolson's 59th Street Theatre, 2 Dec. 1929 (16 perfs); Erlanger's Theatre, 7 Sep. 1931, Alice McKenzie (Sonia) & Donald Brian (Danilo), 32 perfs; Majestic Theatre, 4 Aug. 1943 (322 perfs).

The Merry Widow Burlesque, Weber's Music Hall, New York, 2 Jan. 1908, 156 perfs. Joe Weber's burlesque of *The Merry Widow* (by arrangement with Henry W. Savage, & using Lehár's music), Lulu Glaser as Fonia from Farsovia [instead of Sonia from Marsovia], Joe

Weber as Disch [instead of Nisch the messenger], and Bessie Clayton (advertised as 'the world's greatest dancer'); Bk: George V. Hobart.

Mitislaw der Moderne, Die Hölle (Cabaret in the Theater an der Wien basement), Vienna, 5 Jan. 1907, Emil Richter-Roland (Mitislaw) & Mela Mars (Amaranth). Bk & lyrs: Fritz Grünbaum & Robert Bodanzky.

Mitislaw, or The Love Match, London Hippodrome, 29 Nov. 1909, 56 perfs. Maurice Farkoa (Mitislaw) & Zena Dare (Amaranth).

Der Graf von Luxemburg, Theater an der Wien, Vienna, 12 Nov. 1909, Otto Storm (René) & Annie von Ligety (Angèle). Bk & lyrs: A. M. Willner & Robert Bodanzky. Neues Operettentheater am Schiffbauerdamm, Berlin, 23 Dec. 1909 (Fritz Werner & Mizzi Wirth).

The Count of Luxembourg, Daly's Theatre, 20 May, 1911, 339 perfs. Bertram Wallis (René) & Lily Elsie (Angèle). Bk & lyrs: Adrian Ross & Basil Hood; P: George Edwardes; SD: Edward Royce; MD: Franz Ziegler; DD: Jan Oy-Ray; Costume design: Comelli.

The Count of Luxembourg, New Amsterdam Theatre, New York, 16 Sep. 1912, 120 perfs. George L. Moore (René) & Ann Swinburne (Angèle). Bk: Glen MacDonough; Lyrs remain those of Ross & Hood; P: Klaw & Erlanger; SD: Herbert Gresham; MD: Anton Heindl; Costume design: Comelli. Try-out: Tremont Theatre, Boston, 26 Aug. 1912. Revival Jolson's 59th Street Theatre, 17 Feb. 1930 (16 perfs).

Zigeunerliebe, Carltheater, Vienna, 8 Jan. 1910, Greta Holm (Zorika) & Willi Strehl (Jozsi). Bk & lyrs: A. M. Willner & Robert Bodanzky. Metropol-Theater [now the Komische Oper], Berlin, 12 Feb. 1911 (Martha Winternitz-Dorda & Jean Nadolovitch).

Gypsy Love, Globe Theatre, New York, 17 Oct. 1911, 31 perfs. Phyllis Partington [replacing Marguerite Sylva] (Zorika) & Albert Albro (Jozsi). Bk & lyrs: Harry B. Smith & Robert B. Smith; P: A. H. Woods; SD: George Marion; MD: Louis F. Gottschalk.

Gipsy Love, Daly's Theatre, London, 1 Jun. 1912, 299 perfs. Sári Petráss (Ilona) [her London debut], Robert Michaelis (Jozsi), & Gertie Millar (Lady Babby). Bk & lyrs: Basil Hood & Adrian Ross; Add. numbers: Lehár; P: George Edwardes; SD: Edward Royce; MD: Franz Ziegler; Costume design: Comelli.

Eva, Theater an der Wien, 24 Nov. 1911. Bk & lyrs: Alfred Maria Willner & Robert Bodanzky.

Eva, New Amsterdam Theatre, New York, 30 Dec. 1912, 24 perfs. Bk & lyrs: Glen MacDonough; P: Klaw & Erlanger; SD: Herbert Gresham; MD: Hugo Riesenfeld; DD: Julian Mitchell.

Der Mann mit den drei Frauen, Theater an der Wien, 21 Jan. 1908, 82 perfs. Bk & lyrs: Julius Bauer, after Alexandre Bisson, *Le Contrôlleur des wagon-lits*.

The Man with Three Wives, Weber & Fields' Music Hall, New York, 23 Jan. 1913, 52 perfs. Bk: Agnes Morgan, Paul M. Potter, & Harold Atteridge; Lyrs: Atteridge & Potter; P: the Shuberts (Lee & J. J.); SD: William J. Wilson & J. C. Huffman; MD: Oscar Radin.

Das Fürstenkind, Johann Strauß-Theater, Vienna, 7 Oct.1909. Bk & lyrs: Victor Léon after Edmond About, *Le Roi des Montagnes*.

Maids of Athens, New Amsterdam Theatre, New York, 18 Mar. 1914, 22 perfs. Leila Hughes & Elbert Fretwell. Bk & lyrs: Carolyn Wells; Interpolated songs: Charles J. Anditzer, Frederick Norton, & others; P: Henry W. Savage; SD: George Marion; MD: John McGhie.

Endlich Allein, Theater an der Wien, 10 Feb. 1914. Bk & lyrs: Robert Bodanzky & A. M. Willner.

Alone at Last, Shubert Theatre, New York, 19 Oct. 1915, 180 perfs. Marguerite Namara (Dolly Cloverdale) & John Charles Thomas (Baron Franz von Hansen). Bk & lyrs: Edgar Smith & Joseph Herber; Add. music: Gaetano Merola; Add. lyrs: Matthew Woodward; P: the Shuberts; SD: J. H. Benrimo; MD: Gaetano Merola; DD: Allan K. Foster.

Der Sterngucker, Theater in der Josefstadt, 14 Jan. 1916, Louis Treumann (Franz Höfer) & Louise Kartousch. Bk & lyrs: Fritz Löhner-Beda & A. M. Willner.

The Star Gazer, Plymouth Theatre (renamed Gerald Schoenfeld Theatre in 2005), New York, 26 Nov. 1917, 8 perfs. John Charles Thomas (Arthur Howard). Bk: Cosmo Hamilton' Lyrs: Matthew C. Woodward; P: the Shuberts; SD: Edward P. Temple; MD: Gaetano Merola. Hit song 'If You Only Knew': Neville Fleeson & Albert Von Tilzer.

Die blaue Mazur, Theater an der Wien, 28 May 1920; Bk & lyrs: Leo Stein & Bela Jenbach.

The Blue Mazurka, Daly's, London, 19 Feb. 1927, 138 perfs. Gladys Moncrieff (Blanca) & Bertram Wallis (Clement). Bk: Monckton Hoffe; Lyrs: Harry Graham; P: Robert Courtneidge; SD: Fred A. Leslie; MD: Arthur Wood. Try-out: Prince's Theatre, Manchester, late 1926.

Frasquita, Theater an der Wien, Vienna, 12 May 1922, 195 perfs. Bk & lyrs: A. M. Willner & Heinz Reichert, after *La Femme et le pantin* by Pierre Louys.

Frasquita (A Gipsy Maid), Prince's Theatre, London, 23 Apr. 1925, 35 perfs. José Collins (Frasquita) & Thorpe Rates (Armand). Bk & lyrs: Reginald Arkell & Fred de Gresac; P: Oscar Ashe; MD Frederick Grey. Try-out: Lyceum Theatre, Edinburgh, 24 Dec. 1924.

La danza delle libellule, Milan, Teatro Lirico, 27 Sep. 1922. Music originally to *Der Sterngucker*; given new libretto by Carlo Lombardo.

Der Libellentanz (Die drei Grazien), Stadttheater, Vienna, 1 Apr. 1923. German version by A. M. Willner.

The Three Graces, Empire Theatre, London, 26 Jan. 1924, 121 perfs. Thorpe Bates (the Duke) & Winifred Barnes (Cliquot). Bk & lyrs: Ben Travers; P: J. L. Sacks; SD: Thomas M. Reynolds; MD: Jacques Heuval. Scenery: Joe & Phil Harker; costumes by Comelli.

Der Sterngucker was revd again as *Gigolette*, Milan, Teatro Lirico, 30 Oct. 1926 (libretto by G. Fortzano); given at Stadttheater, Vienna, 1926, Bk & lyrs: Fritz Löhner & A. M. Willner.

Clo-Clo, Bürgertheater, Vienna, 8 Mar. 1924. Louise Kartouche. Bk & lyrs: Bela Jenbach. Revd version, Johann-Strauß-Theater, 4 Sep. 1924.

Shaftesbury Theatre, London, 9 Jun. 1925, 95 perfs. Cicely Debenham (Clo-Clo) & Claude Bailey (Maxime). Bk & lyrs: Douglas Furber; Add. songs: Max Darewski; P: C. A. Mills & T. F. Dawe; MD: Max Darewski; DD: Max Rivers.

Paganini, Johann-Strauß-Theater, Vienna, 30 Oct. 1925. Carl Clewing (Paganini) & Emma Kosáry (Anna). Bk & lyrs: Paul Knepler & Béla Jenbach. Deutsches Künstlertheater, Berlin, 30 Jan. 1926, Richard Tauber & Vera Schwarz.

Lyceum Theatre, London, 20 May 1937, 59 perfs. Richard Tauber (Paganini), Evelyn Laye (Elisa) & Bertram Wallis as the Duke. Bk & lyrs: A. P. Herbert & Reginald Arkell; P: Charles B. Cochran; SD: Ernest W. Parr; MD: Frank Collinson.

Friederike, Metropol-Theater [now the Komische Oper], Berlin, 10 Oct. 1928. Richard Tauber (Goethe) & Käthe Dorsch (Friederike). Bk & lyrs: Ludwig Herzer & Fritz Löhner-Beda.

Frederica, Palace Theatre, London, 9 Sep. 1930, 110 perfs. Lea Seidl (Frederica) & Joseph Hislop (Goethe). Bk & lyrs: Adrian Ross & Harry S. Pepper; P: Felix Edwards; SD: Cyril Smith; MD: Jacques Heuval. Try-out King's Theatre, Glasgow, 1 Sep. 1930.

Frederika, Imperial Theatre, New York, 4 Feb. 1937, 95 perfs. Dennis King (Goethe) & Helen Gleason (Frederika). Bk & lyrs: Edward Eliscu. Try-out in Boston, 26 Dec. 1936. P: the Shuberts; SD: Hassard Short; MD: Hilding Anderson; DD: Chester Hale; Orchestration: Hilding Anderson & William Challis.

Das Land des Lächelns, Metropol-Theater, Berlin, 10 Oct. 1929. Richard Tauber (Sou-Chong) & Vera Schwarz (Lisa). Bk & lyrs: Ludwig Herzer & Fritz Löhner, much revd version of Victor Léon's libretto for *Der gelbe Jacke*, Theater an der Wien, Vienna, 9 Feb. 1923.

The Land of Smiles, Theatre Royal, Drury Lane, London, 8 May 1931, 72 perfs. Richard Tauber (Sou Chong) & Renée Brullard (Lisa). Bk & lyrs: Harry Graham; P: Stanley H. Scott; SD: William Abingdon; MD: Ernest Irving. Revived at Dominion, 31 May 1932 (Tauber, 20 perfs).

Lincke, Carl Emil Paul, b. Berlin, 7 Nov. 1866, d. Berlin, 4 Sep. 1946

Frau Luna, Apollo Theater, Berlin, 31 Dec. 1899. One act (in four scenes). Neue Fassung in two acts, Berlin 1922 (including an aerial ballet). Bk & lyrs: Heinrich Bolton-Bäckers; suggested by Offenbach's *Un voyage dans la lune*.

Castles in the Air, Scala Theatre, London, 11 Apr. 1911, 65 perfs. Cameron Carr, Gwilym Evans, Ivy Moore, & Sybil Tancredi. Bk & lyrs: Mrs Cayley Robinson & Adrian Ross; P: Sidney Watson; SD: Louis Hillier; MD: not known.

Ein Abenteuer im Harem, Berlin, 1896. Heinrich Bolten-Baeckers. One act.

The H'arum Lily, Pavilion Music Hall, London, 9 Dec. 1912.

Millöcker, Carl (1842–99), *Gräfin Dubarry* (1879) adapted by Theo Mackeben, b. Preußisch Stargard (now Starogard Gdański, Poland), 5 Jan. 1897, d. Berlin, 10 Jan. 1953

Die Dubarry, Admiralspalast, Berlin, 14 Aug. 1931. Gitta Alpár (Countess Dubarry). New Bk & lyrs: Paul Knepler & Ignaz Michael Welleminsky. (Original libretto by F. Zell & Richard Genée.) Music from other Millöcker operettas included. The song 'Ich schenk mein Herz' ('I Give My Heart') is by Mackeben.

The Dubarry, His Majesty's, London, 14 Apr. 1932, 398 perfs. Anny Ahlers (Jeanne) & Heddle Nash (René). Bk: Desmond Carter & Rowland Leigh; Lyrs: Rowland Leigh; P: Stanley Scott; SD: Felix Edwardes & Arthur Hammond; MD: Ernest Irving; DD: Anton Dolin & Fred A. Leslie.

The DuBarry, George M. Cohan Theatre, New York, 22 Nov. 1932, 87 perfs. Grace Moore (Jeanne) & Howard Marsh (René). Same version as London. P: Morris Green & Tillie Leblang; SD: A. O. Huhn; MD: Gustave Salzer; DD: Dorothea Berke; Scene & costume design: Vincente Minnelli.

Nedbal, Oskar, b. Tábor, Bohemia (now Czech Republic) 26 Mar. 1874, d. Agram (Zagreb), 24 Dec. 1930

Polenblut, Carltheater, Vienna, 25 Oct. 1913. Bk & lyrs: Leo Stein.

The Peasant Girl, 44th Street Theatre, New York, 2 Mar. 1915, 111 perfs. Emma Trentini (Helena). Bk: Edgar Smith; Lyrs: Herbert Reynolds & Harold Atteridge; Add. music: Rudolf Friml & Clifton Crawford; Add. lyrs: Clifton Crawford; P: the Shuberts; SD: J. C. Huffman & J. H. Benrimo; MD: Gaetano Merola; DD: Jack Mason.

Reinhardt, Heinrich, b. Pressburg (Bratislava), 13 Apr. 1865, d. Vienna, 31 Jan. 1922

Das süsse Mädel, Carltheater, Vienna, 25 Oct. 1901. Bk & lyrs: Alexander Landesberg & Leo Stein.

The Sweet Girl, Princess of Wales's Theatre, Kennington, 26 Jul. 1902 (NB not Prince of Wales Theatre, West End). Bk & lyrs: E. Demain Grange; Add. music: Ernest Irving.

Die Sprudelfee, Raimund-Theater, Vienna, 23 Jan. 1909. Bk & lyrs: Alfred Maria Willner & Heinrich Wilhelm.

The Spring Maid, Liberty Theatre, New York, 26 Dec. 1910, moving to New Amsterdam, 20 Jan. 1913, 208 perfs in all. William Burress (Prince Nepomuk) & Christie MacDonald (Princess Bozena). Bk & lyrs: Harry B. Smith & Robert B. Smith; P: Louis F. Werber & Mark A. Luescher; SD: George Marion: MD: Max Bendix.

The Spring Maid, Whitney Theatre, Strand, London, 30 Sep. 1911, 63 perfs. Courtice Pounds (Prince Nepomuk) & Marise Fairy as Princess Bozena. P: F. C. Whitney; SD: E. J. Caldwell.

Die süßen Grisetten, Vienna, 1 Dec. 1907. Bk & lyrs: Julius Wilhelm. One act.

The Daring of Diane, London Pavilion, 1914, Bk & lyrs: Alfred Anderson.

Napoleon und die Frauen, Volksoper, Vienna, 1 May 1912.

The Purple Road, Liberty Theatre, New York, 7 Apr. 1913, moving to Casino Theatre, 16 Jun. 1913, 136 perfs in all. Bk & lyrs: Fred De Grésac & William Carey Duncan; Add. music: William Frederick Peters; P: Joseph M. Gaites; SD: Edward P. Temple & George Marion; MD: Gustave Salzer.

Reznicek, Emil Nikolaus (Joseph) Freiherr von, b. Vienna, 4 May 1860, d. Berlin, 2 Aug. 1945

Die wunderlichen Geschichten des Kapellmeiters Kreisler, Berlin, 1922; melodrama by C. Meinhard & R. Bernauer.

Johannes Kreisler, Apollo Theatre, New York, 20 Dec. 1922, 65 perfs. Jacob Ben-Ami (Kreisler). Bk & lyrs: Louis N. Parker; P: the Selwyns.

Sirmay (Szirmai), Albert

Filmzauber, Berliner Theater, Berlin, 19 Oct. 1912. Music: Sirmay, Kollo, & Willy Bredschneider. Bk & lyrs: Rudolf Bernauer & Rudolph Schanzer.

The Girl on the Film, Gaiety, London, 5 Apr. 1913, 232 perfs. George Grossmith, Jr (Max Daly), Emmy Wehlan ('Freddy'), & Connie Ediss (Euphemia Knox). Bk: James T. Tanner; Lyrs: Adrian Ross; Add. music: Melville J. Gideon; P: George Edwardes; MD: George W. Byng; Costume design: Comelli.

44th Street Theatre, New York, 29 Dec. 1913, 64 perfs. Same version as London. P: the Shuberts (Lee & J. J.); SD: Harry B. Burcher; MD: Leonard Hornsbee; Costume design: Comelli.

Alexandra, Budapest, 1925. Bk & lyrs: Franz Martos.

Alexandra, Johann-Strauß-Theater, Vienna, 11 May 1926. Bk & lyrs: P. Frank & P. Herz.

Princess Charming, Palace, London, 21 Oct. 1926, 361 perfs. Alice Delysia (Wanda) & W. H. Berry (Albert). Bk: Arthur Wimperis and Lauri Wylie' Lyrs: Arthur Wimperis; P: Herbert Clayton & Jack Waller; SD: William Mollison.

Princess Charming, Imperial, New York, 13 Oct. 1930, 56 perfs. Evelyn Herbert (Princess Elaine) & Robert Halliday (Captain Torrelli). Bk: Jack Donahue; Lyrs: Arthur Swanstrom; P: Bobby Connolly & Arthur Swanstrom; SD: Edward Clarke Lilley & Bobby Connolly; MD: Alfred Goodman; DD: Albertina Rasch.

Stolz, Robert, b. Graz, 25 Aug. 1880, d. Berlin, 27 Jun. 1975

Der Tanz ins Glück, Raimundtheater, Vienna, 28 Oct. 1920, Robert Nästlberger & Christl Mardayn. Bk & lyrs: Robert Bodanzky & Bruno Hardt-Warden.

Whirled into Happiness, Lyric Theatre, London, 18 May 1922, 245 perfs. Lily St John (Florence), Mai Bacon (Delphine), & Billy Merson (Matthew Platt). Bk & lyrs: Harry Graham; P: Cecil Paget; SD: Fred J. Blackman; MD: Arthur Wood; DD: A. H. Majilton; Scenic Design: Terraine, Harker; Costume design: Comelli.

Sky High, Shubert Theatre, 3 Feb. 1925, 217 perfs. Joyce Barbour (Florence), Vanessi (Delphine), & Willie Howard (Sammie Myers). Bk & lyrs: Harold Atteridge & Harry Graham; Add. music by Alfred Goodman, Carlton Kelsey, & Maurie Rubens; Add. lyrs: Clifford Grey; Add. songs: Hal Dyson & Irving Weill; P: the Shuberts; SD: Fred G. Latham & Alexander Leftwich; MD: Carlton Kelsey; DD: Seymour Felix. Scenic design by Watson Barratt; Costume design: Paul Arlington & Vanity Fair Costumes.

Mädi, Berliner Theater, Berlin, 1 Apr. 1923. Bk & lyrs: Alfred Grünwald & Leo Stein.

Also given in German at the Yorkville Theatre, New York, 1925–26 season, 21 perfs.

The Blue Train, Prince of Wales Theatre, London, 10 May 1927, 126 perfs. Bobby Howes (Freddy) & Lily Elsie (Eileen). Bk: Reginald Arkell & Dion Titheradge; Lyrs: Reginald Arkell; P: Philip Ridgeway; SD: Jack Hulbert; MD: Charles Prentice. Try-out: King's Theatre, Southsea, 14 Mar. 1927.

Wenn die kleinen Veilchen blühen, Princess Theatre, The Hague, 1 Apr. 1932. Bk & lyrs: Bruno Hardt-Warden.

Wild Violets, Theatre Royal, Drury Lane, 31 Oct. 1932, 290 perfs. Jerry Verno (Hans) & Charlotte Greenwood [American, her debut] (Augusta). Bk & lyrs: Hassard Short, Desmond Carter, & Reginald Purdell; Producer, scene design & lighting: Hassard Short; SD: William Abingdon; MD: Charles Prentice; DD: Albertina Rasch. Revived Stoll Theatre, 11 Feb. 1950 (121 perfs).

Straus, Oscar Nathan, b. Leopoldstadt, Vienna, 6 Mar. 1870, d. Bad Ischl, 11 Jan. 1954

Ein Walzertraum, Carltheater, Vienna, 2 Mar. 1907, Mizzi Zwerenz (Franzi) & Fritz Werner as (Niki). Bk: Leopold Jacobson; Lyrs: Felix Dörmann; after 'Nux, der Prinzgemahl', in Hans Müller's *Das Buch der Abenteuer*, 1905. Theater des Westens, Berlin, 21 Dec. 1907.

A Waltz Dream, Broadway Theatre, New York, 27 Jan. 1908, 111 perfs. Sophie Brandt (Franzi) & Edward Johnson (Niki). Bk & lyrs: Joseph W. Herbert, other songs interpolated; P: Inter-State Amusement Company; SD: Herbert Gresham; MD: Arthur Weld. Try-out: Chestnut Street Opera House, Philadelphia, 6 Jan. 1908.

A *Waltz Dream*, Hicks's Theatre [it became the Globe, & is now the Gielgud], London, 28 Mar. 1908, 146 perfs. Gertie Millar (Franzi) & Robert Evett as (Lieutenant Niki). Bk & lyrs: Basil Hood & Adrian Ross; P: Charles Frohman; SD: J. A. E. Malone; MD: Oscar Straus; DD: Fred Farren. Revd version by Hood at Daly's, 7 Jan. 1911, Lily Elsie (Franzi) & Robert Michaelis (Niki), 106 perfs. P: George Edwardes; SD: Edward Royce; MD Hamish McCunn; Costume design: Comelli. Revived Winter Garden 20 Dec. 1934 (29 perfs).

Der tapfere Soldat, Theater an der Wien, Vienna, 14 Nov. 1908, 62 perfs. Max Pallenberg (Popoff) & Greta Holm (Nadina). Bk & lyrs: Rudolf Bernauer & Leopold Jacobson, after George Bernard Shaw's *Arms and the Man* (1894). MD: Robert Stolz. Theater des Westens, Berlin, 23 Dec. 1908.

The Chocolate Soldier, Lyric Theatre, New York, 13 Sep. 1909, moved to Herald Square Theatre then back to Lyric, then to Casino, 296 perfs in all. Thomas G. Richards (Bumerli), William Pruette (Colonel Popoff), & Ida Brooks Hunt (Nadina). Bk & lyrs: Stanislaus Stange; P: Fred C. Whitney; SD: Stanislaus Stange; MD: Mr de Novellis; DD: Al Holbrook. Try-out: the Lyric Theatre, Philadelphia, 6 Sep. 1909 (The Whitney Opera Company). Revived 1910 (8 perfs), Century Theatre, 12 Dec. 1921, Donald Brian (Bumerli), 83 perfs, P: by Shuberts; Jolson's 59th Street Theatre, 27 Jan. 1930 (25 perfs); Erlanger's Theatre, 21 Sep. 1931 Charles Purcell (Bummerli) & Vivienne Segal (Nadina), 16 perfs; St James Theatre (formerly Erlanger's), 2 May 1934 Charles Purcell (Bummerli) & Bernice Claire (Nadina), 13 perfs, P: Charles Purcell & Donald Brian; New Century Theatre, 12 Mar. 1947 (69 perfs). Shaw's *Arms and the Man* had been performed at the Lyric during April–May, 1906.

The Chocolate Soldier, Lyric Theatre, London, 10 Sep. 1910, 500 perfs. Derek Oldham (Bumerli) & Constance Drever (Nadina). Stanislaus Stange's New York version. P: Fred C. Whitney; SD: Stanislaus Stange; MD: Jacques Heuvel; DD: Mlle Rosa. Revival Lyric, 5 Sep. 1914 (Derek Oldham as Bumerli, Margaret Ismay as Nadina, 56 perfs; profits to go to Belgian Relief Fund); Shaftesbury, 31 Mar. 1932 (Horace Percival as Bumerli, & Anne Croft as Nadina, 20 perfs); Shaftesbury Theatre, 20 Aug. 1940 (23 perfs).

The Dancing Viennese (Eine vom Ballett), 2-act operetta ballet. Bk & lyrs: Julius Brammer & Alfred Grünwald.

The Dancing Viennese, London Coliseum, given in German by a Viennese company, with Josefine Ritzinger, 3–29 Jun. 1912, 48 perfs, then in English 1–27 Jul. 1912, with Constance Drever, 48 perfs. Gustav Werner, of the Viennese cast, remained & sang in English; Mme. Malvine Lobel acted in Yiddish.

Die kleine Freudlin, Carltheater, Vienna, 20 Oct. 1911. Bk & lyrs: Leo Stein & Alfred Maria Willner.

My Little Friend, New Amsterdam Theatre, New York, 19 May 1913, 24 perfs. Bk: Harry B. Smith; Lyrs: Robert B. Smith; P: F. C. Whitney; SD: Herbert Gresham; MD: Antonio DeNovellis; DD: Joseph C. Smith.

Die schöne Unbekannte, Carltheater, Vienna, 15 Jan. 1915. Bk & lyrs: Leopold Jacobson & Leo Stein.

My Lady's Glove, Lyric Theatre, New York, 18 Jun. 1917, 16 perfs. Vivienne Segal (Elaine). Bk & lyrs: Edgar Smith & Edward A. Paulton; Add. music: Sigmund Romberg; P: the Shuberts; SD: J. C. Huffman & J. J. Shubert; MD: Gaetano Merola; DD: Allan K. Foster.

Der letzte Walzer, Berliner Theater, Berlin, 12 Feb. 1920, Fritzi Massary (Vera). Bk & lyrs: Julius Brammer & Alfred Grünwald. Theater an der Wien, 27 Oct. 1921.

The Last Waltz, Century Theatre, New York, 10 May 1921, 185 perfs. Eleanor Painter (Vera Lizaveta) & Walter Woolf (Lieutenant Jack Merrington). Bk & lyrs: Harold Atteridge & Edward Delaney Dunn, inc. interpolated music by Al Goodman, Ralph Benatzky, & others; P: the Shuberts; SD: J. C. Huffman & Frank Smithson; MD: Oscar Radin; DD: Allan K. Foster & Jack Mason.

The Last Waltz, Gaiety Theatre, London, 7 Dec. 1922, 283 perfs. José Collins (Vera Lisaveta), Alfred Wellesley (General Krasian), & Bertram Wallace (Prince Paul). Bk & lyrs: Reginald Arkell & Robert Evett; P: Charles Hawtrey; SD: Robert Evett; MD: Hubert Bath; DD: Espimosa. Try-out: Opera House, Manchester, 19 Aug. 1922.

Die Perlen der Cleopatra, Theater an der Wien, 17 Nov. 1923, 61 perfs. Fritzi Massary (Cleopatra), Richard Tauber (Silvius), & Max Pallenberg (Mark Antony). Bk & lyrs: Julius Brammer & Alfred Grünwald. Theater am Nollendorfplatz, Berlin, 22 Mar. 1924, Frizi Massary, Richard Tauber, & Hans Albers (Antony).

Cleopatra, Daly's Theatre, London, 2 Jun. 1925, 111 perfs. Evelyn Laye (Cleopatra) & Alec Fraser (Victorian). Bk: John Hastings Turner; Lyrs: Harry Graham; Add. numbers: Arthur Wood; P: Oscar Asche; SD: Fred A. Leslie; MD: Arthur Wood; Costume design: Comelli.

Riquette, Deutsches Künstlertheater, Berlin, Feb. 1925. Bk & lyrs: Rudolf Schanzer & Ernst Welisch.

Naughty Riquette, Cosmopolitan Theatre, New York, 13 Sep. 1926, 88 perfs. Bk & lyrs: Harry B. Smith; Music: Kendall Burgess, R. P. Weston, Alfred Goodman, & Maurice Rubens; Add. lyrs by Bert Lee; P: by Shuberts; SD: J. J. Shubert.

Mein junger Herr, Raimund-Theater, Vienna, 23 Dec. 1910. Bk & lyrs: Ferdinand Stollberg (Felix Salten).

My Son John, Shaftesbury Theatre, 17 Nov. 1926, 255 perfs. Reginald Sharland (Jack) & Annie Croft (Sandy). Bk & lyrs: Graham John; Add. numbers: Vivian Ellis; P: M. E. Ltd; SD: David Miller & Billy Merson; MD: Leonard Hornsey; DD: Edward Dolly.

Mariette; ou, comment on écrit l'histoire, Paris, Théâtre Edouard, 1 Oct. 1928, Sacha Guitry (Prince Louis-Napoleon) & Yvonne Printemps (Mariette). Bk & lyrs: Sacha Guitry.

Marietta, Berlin, 1929. Bk & lyrs: Alfred Grünwald.

Mariette; ou, comment on écrit l'histoire, His Majesty's Theatre, 3 Jun. 1929, 21 perfs. Sacha Guitry (Prince Louis-Napoleon) & Yvonne Printemps (Mariette). P: Daniel Mayer Co.; SD: Frank Collins; MD: Raoul Labis. Given in French.

Eine Frau, die weiß, was sie will!, Metropol-Theater [now the Komische Oper], 1 Sep. 1932, Frizi Massary (Manon Cavallini). Bk & lyrs: Alfred Grünwald, after Louis Verneuil's *Mademoiselle ma mère*.

Mother of Pearl, Gaiety Theatre, 27 Jan. 1933, 181 perfs. Alice Delysia (Josephine Pavani), Sepha Treble (Pearl), & Frederick Ranalow (Richard Moon). Bk & lyrs: A. P. Herbert; P: Charles B. Cochran; SD: Frank Collins & Cecil King; MD: Hyam Greenbaum; DD: Buddy Bradley. Décor by Oliver Messel. Choreographer: Buddy Bradley. Try-out: Opera House, Manchester, 23 Dec. 1932.

Die drei Wälzer, Stadttheater, Zurich, 5 Oct. 1935. Bk & lyrs: Paul Knepler & Armin Robinson; Music: Johann Strauss Sr, Johann Straus Jr, & Oscar Straus.

Three Waltzes, Majestic Theatre, Broadway, 25 Dec. 1937, 122 perfs. Kitty Carlisle (Marie/Charlotte/Franzi) & Michael Bartlett (the three Counts). Bk & lyrs: Clare Kummer & Rowland Leigh; P: the Shuberts; SD: Hassard Short; MD: Harold Levey; DD: Chester Hale.

Three Waltzes, Prince's Theatre, London, 1 Mar. 1945, 189 perfs. Evelyn Laye (Katherine/Katie/Kay) & Esmond Knight (Richard/Dickie/Dick). Bk & lyrs: Robert MacDermot & Diana Morgan; P: Norman Marshall; SD: Frank Royde; MD: Herbert Griffiths. Try-out: Grand Theatre, Leeds, 17 Oct. 1944.

Weill, Kurt Julian, b. Dessau, 2 Mar. 1900, d. New York City, 3 Apr. 1950

Die Dreigroschenoper, Theater am Schiffbauerdamm, Berlin, 31 Aug. 1928, Harald Paulsen (Macheath), Roma Bahn (Polly), & Lotte Lenja (Jenny). Bk & lyrs: Bertolt Brecht & Elisabeth Hauptmann (after John Gay's play). Produced at Raimund-Theater, Vienna, 1929.

The 3-Penny Opera, Empire Theatre, New York, 13 Apr. 1933, 12 perfs. Robert Chisholm (Macheath) & Steffi Duna (Polly). Bk & lyrs: Clifford Cochran & Jerrold Krimsky; P: John Krimsky & Gifford Cochran; SD: Francesco von Mendelssohn; MD: Macklin Marrow. Revived at off-Broadway Theatre de Lys, 1954 (over 2500 perfs), new Bk and lyrs by Marc Blitzstein.

1st London performance was a live BBC broadcast, Jan. 1935.

1st London theatre production was of the Blitzstein version of 1954, Royal Court Theatre, 9 Feb. 1956, 167 perfs. Bill Owen (Macheath) &

Maria Rémusat (Jenny). P: Oscar Lewenstein; SD: Sam Wanamaker & Colin Graham; MD: Berthold Goldschmidt.

Der Kuhhandel, begun in 1928, bk & lyrs: Robert Vambery. Incomplete when Weill left Paris for London in Dec. 1934.

A Kingdom for a Cow, Savoy Theatre, London, 28 Jun. 1935, 18 perfs. Webster Booth (Juan) & Jacqueline Francell (Juanita). Bk: Reginald Arkell; Lyrs: Desmond Carter; P: Ernest Matray & Felix Weissberger; SD: E. W. Parr.

Winterberg, Robert, b. Vienna, 27 Feb. 1884, d. Töpchin (Mark Brandenburg), 22 Jun. 1930

Die schöne Schwedin, Vienna, 30 Jan. 1915. Bk & lyrs: Julius Brammer & Alfred Grünwald.

The Girl from Brazil, 44th Street Theatre, New York, 30 Aug. 1916, moving to Shubert, 9 Oct. 1916, 61 perfs in all. Hal Forde (Carl) & Dorothy Maynard (Lona). Bk: Edgar Smith; Lyrs: Matthew Woodward; Add. music: Sigmund Romberg; P: the Shuberts; SD: J. H. Benrimo & J. J. Shubert; MD: Gaetano Merola; DD: Allen K. Foster.

Die Dame in Rot, Berlin, 1911. Bk & lyrs: Julius Brammer & Alfred Grünwald.

The Lady in Red, Lyric Theatre, New York, 12 May 1919, 48 perfs. Donald MacDonald (Tony) & Adele Rowland (Kitty). Bk & lyrs: Anne Caldwell; Add. lyrs: Irving Caesar & Lou Paley; Add. songs: Walter Donaldson & George Gershwin; P: John P. Slocum; SD: Frank Smithson.

Ziehrer, Carl Michael, b. Vienna, 2 May 1843, d. Vienna, 14 Nov. 1922

Die Landestreicher, Venedig in Wien (Sommertheater), Vienna, 26 Jul. 1899. Bk & lyrs: Leopold Kremm & Carl Lindau.

The Strollers, Knickerbocker Theatre, New York, 24 Jun. 1901. Irene Bentley (Bertha) & Francis Wilson (August). New music by Ludwig Englander for libretto by Harry B. Smith closely after that of Kremm & Lindau for Ziehrer, add. music: Fred Meyer, Leo Friedman,

& others; P: George W. Lederer, Sam Nixon, & J. Fred Zimmerman; SD: A. M. Holbrook.

Ein tolles Mädel, Walhalla-Theater, Wiesbaden, 24 Aug. 1907. Bk & lyrs: Wilhelm Sterk, after Curt Kraatz & Heinrich Stobitzer.

Mlle. Mischief, Lyric Theatre, New York, 28 Sep. 1908, moved to *Casino*, 30 Nov., Lulu Glaser, 96 perfs in all. Lulu Glaser (Rosette). Bk & lyrs: Sydney Rosenfeld; P: Sam & Lee Shubert; SD: J. C. Huffman & Ned Wayburn. Try-out: Philadelphia, 12 Sep. 1908.

Liebeswalzer, Raimundtheater, Vienna, 24 Oct. 1908. Bk & lyrs: Robert Bodanzky & Alfred Grünbaum.

The Kiss Waltz, Casino Theatre, New York, 18 Sep. 1911, 88 perfs. Adele Rowland (Antschi) & Robert Warwick (Guido). Bk: Edgar Smith; Lyrs: Matthew Woodward; Add. music: Jerome Kern & others; P: Sam & Lee Shubert; SD: J. C. Huffman & William J. Wildon; MD: Frank Tours; DD: Gus Sohike.

Appendix 2 Longest Runs of First Performances of Operettas from the German Stage on Broadway and in the West End, 1900–1940

Broadway Top Twenty

1. Berté/Schubert/Romberg, *Blossom Time* (Ambassador, 1921): 516
2. Lehár, *The Merry Widow* (New Amsterdam, 1907): 416
3. Eysler, *The Blue Paradise* (Casino, 1915): 356
4. Kálmán, *Countess Maritza* (Shubert, 1926): 321
5. Korngold/Bittner/Strauss Jr & Sr, *The Great Waltz* (Center, 1934): 298
6. Straus, *The Chocolate Soldier* (Lyric, 1909): 296
7. Fall, *The Dollar Princess* (Knickerbocker, 1909): 288
8. Gilbert, *The Lady in Ermine* (Ambassador, 1922): 238
9. Benatzky, *White Horse Inn* (Center, 1936): 233
10. Kálmán, *Miss Springtime* (New Amsterdam, 1916): 224
11. Stolz, *Sky High* (Shubert, 1925): 217
12. Reinhardt, *The Spring Maid* (Liberty, 1910): 208
13. Kálmán, *Her Soldier Boy* (Astor, 1916): 198
14. Kálmán, *The Circus Princess* (Winter Garden, 1927): 192
15. Straus, *The Last Waltz* (Century, 1921): 185
16. Berény, *Little Boy Blue* (Lyric, 1911): 184
17. Granichstaedten, *The Rose Maid* (Globe, 1912): 181
18. Lehár, *Alone at Last* (Shubert, 1915): 180

19= Gilbert, *The Red Robe* (Shubert, 1928): 167
19= Benatzky, *Meet My Sister* (Shubert, 1930): 167

Maytime, which opened at the Shubert in 1917, ran for 492 performances, but Kollo's music was replaced by that of Romberg.

West End Top Twenty

1. Lehár, *The Merry Widow* (Daly's, 1907): 778
2. Cuvillier, *The Lilac Domino* (Empire, 1918): 747

3. Benatzky, *White Horse Inn* (Coliseum, 1931): 651
4. Berté/Schubert/Clutsam, *Lilac Time* (Lyric, 1922): 628
5. Korngold/Bittner/Strauss Sr & Jr, *Waltzes from Vienna* (Alhambra, 1931): 607
6. Gilbert, *The Lady of the Rose* (Daly's, 1922): 515
7. Gilbert, *Katja, the Dancer* (Gaiety then Daly's, 1925): 514
8. Straus, *The Chocolate Soldier* (Lyric, 1910): 500
9. Fall, *Madame Pompadour* (Daly's, 1923): 461
10. Benatzky and Strauss, *Casanova* (Coliseum, 1932): 429
11. Fall, *The Dollar Princess* (Daly's, 1909): 428
12. Mackeben/Millöcker, *The Dubarry* (His Majesty's, 1932): 398
13. Gilbert, *The Girl in the Taxi* (Lyric, 1912): 384
14. Kálmán, *Soldier Boy* (Apollo, 1918): 374

15= Fall, *The Girl in the Train* (Vaudeville, 1910): 339
15= Lehár, *The Count of Luxembourg* (Daly's, 1911): 339

17. Lehár, *Gipsy Love* (Daly's, 1912): 299
18. Stolz, *Wild Violets* (Drury Lane, 1932): 290
19. Straus, *The Last Waltz* (Gaiety, 1922): 283
20. Gilbert, *Yvonne* (Daly's, 1926): 281

Appendix 3 Operettas with English Librettos by Composers for the German Stage

Fall, Leo

The Eternal Waltz, Hippodrome, London, 22 Dec. 1911, 100 perfs. Clara Evelyn & Ackerman May (as Feo Lahll). Bk & lyrs: Austen Hurgon (one act); SD: Austen Hurgon; MD: Leo Fall.

The Eternal Waltz, Palace Theatre, New York, 24 Mar. 1913 (12 perfs). Opening production at Palace Theatre.

Fall, Richard

Arms and the Girl, London Hippodrome, 29 Apr. 1912, 95 perfs. G. P. Huntley, May de Sousa, & Jean Aylwin. Bk & lyrs: Austen Hurgon.

Felix, Hugo

The Merveilleuses (later, *The Lady Dandies*), Daly's Theatre, London, 27 Oct. 1906, 197 perfs. Robert Evett (Dorlis) & Denise Orme (Illyrine). Bk: Basil Hood (after Victorien Sardou); Lyrs: Adrian Ross; P: George Edwardes; SD: J. A. E. Malone; MD: Barter Johns; DD: Willie Warde.

Tantalizing Tommy, Criterion Theatre, New York, 1 Oct. 1912, 31 perfs. Bk: Michael Morton, after Paul Gavault's play *La Petite Chocolatière*; Lyrs: Adrian Ross; P: A. H. Woods; SD: George Marion; MD: Hans S. Linne.

The Pearl Girl, Shaftesbury Theatre, London, 25 Sep. 1913, 254 perfs. Bk & lyrs: Basil Hood; Music by Hugo Felix & Howard Talbot; P & SD: Robert Courtneidge; MD: Arthur Wood; DD: Willie Warde.

Pom-pom, Cohan Theatre, 28 Feb. 1916, 128 perfs. Bk & lyrs: Anne Caldwell; P: Henry W. Savage; SD: George Marion; MD: Max Bendix.

Lassie, Nora Bayes Theatre, New York, 6 Apr. 1920, transf. to Casino, 159 perfs. Bk & lyrs: Catherine Chisholm Cushing; P: Lassie, Inc.; SD: Edward Royce; MD: Emo Rapee.

Peg-o'-My-Dreams, Jolson Theatre, New York, 5 May 1924, 32 perfs. Bk: J. Hartley Manners (based on his own play); Lyrs: Anne Caldwell; P: Richard Herndon; SD: Hassard Short; MD: Gustave Salzer.

Gilbert, Jean

The Girl from Cook's, Gaiety, London, 1 Nov. 1927, 30 perfs. Bk & lyrs: R. H. Burnside & Greatrex Newman; Add. music: Raymond Hubbell; Mus. arr. Frank Tours; P: Bestown Productions; SD: R. H. Burnside; MD: Leonard Hornsey.

Goetzl, Anselm

The Royal Vagabond, Cohan & Harris Theatre, New York, 17 Feb. 1919, 348 perfs. Bk: Stephen Ivor-Szinney & William Carey Duncan; Lyrs: W. C. Duncan; Add. numbers George M. Cohan; P: Cohan & Harris; SD: Julian Mitchell & Sam Forrest. MD: Gustave Salzer.

The Rose Girl, Ambassador Theatre, New York, 11 Feb. 1921, 110 perfs. SD: Hassard Short.

Holländer, Victor

The Charity Girl, Globe Theatre, New York, 2 Oct. 1912, 21 perfs. Bk & lyrs: Edward Peple; Add. lyrs: Melville Alexander; Add. music: Gene Hodgkins, Ernest Brewer & others; P: & SD: George W. Lederer; MD: Albert Krausse.

Kálmán, Emmerich

The Blue House, London Hippodrome, 28 Oct. 1912, 64 perfs. Shirley Kellogg (Cornelia Van Huyt of the USA) & Bert Coote (the

Honourable Chippendale St Arch). Bk & lyrs: Austen Hurgon; P: Frank Allen & Edward Moss. [Score lost.]

Golden Dawn, Hammerstein's Theatre, New York, 30 Nov. 1927, 184 perfs. Bk & lyrs: Otto Harbach & Oscar Hammerstein; Add. music: Herbert Stothart; P: Arthur Hammerstein; SD: Reginald Hammerstein; MD: Herbert Stothart; DD: Dave Bennett; Scenic design: Joseph Urban.

Kreisler, Fritz & Viktor Jacobi

Apple Blossoms, Globe, New York, 7 Oct. 1919, 256 perfs. Bk & lyrs: William Le Baron; P: Charles Dillingham; SDs: Fred G. Latham & Edward Royce; MD: William Daly.

Künneke, Eduard

Lover's Lane, London 1923.[1] Bk & lyrs: Arthur Wimperis & Harry M. Vernon.

The Love Song, Century Theatre, New York, 13 Jan. 1925, 157 perfs. Allan Pior (Offenbach). Music: Offenbach, arr. Künneke, plus some original music; Bk & lyrs: Harry B. Smith (after German adaptation by James Klein & Carl Bretschneider of Hungarian libretto by Mihály Nador & Jenö Ferago); P: the Shuberts; SD: Fred G. Latham & J. J. Shubert; MD: Alfred Goodman.

Mayflowers, Forrest Theatre, New York, 24 Nov. 1925, 81 perfs. Ivy Sawyer (Elsie Dover) & Joseph Santley (Billy Ballard). Bk & lyrs: Clifford Grey (after the play *Not So Long Ago* by Arthur Richman); Add. music: J. Fred Coots & Frank E. Tours; P: the Shuberts; SD: William J. Wilson & Joseph Santley; MD: Frank Cork; DD: Earl Lindsay.

Riki-Tiki, Gaiety Theatre, London, 16 Apr. 1926, 18 perfs. Gladys Moncrieff (Riki-Tiki). Bk & lyrs: Leslie Stiles; SD: A. H. Majilton; MD: Ernest Irving.

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[1] Date given in the Künneke article in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart* (*MGG*) for the London production. I have been unable to trace this performance.

Stolz, Robert

Rise and Shine, Drury Lane, 7 May 1936, 44 perfs. Bk & lyrs: Harry Graham & Desmond Carter (after Arnold & Gilbert); SD: William Abingdon; MD & musical arranger: Charles Prentice.

Straus, Oscar

Love and Laughter, Lyric Theatre, London, 3 Sep. 1913, 67 perfs. Bertram Wallis (Prince Carol) & Yvonne Arnaud (Zara). Bk: Frederick Fenn & Arthur Wimperis; Lyrs: Wimperis; P & SD: Philip Michael Faraday; MD: Jacques Heuvel.

Weill, Kurt

Johnny Johnson, 44th Street Theatre, New York, 19 Nov. 1936, 68 perfs. Comedy by Paul Green, incidental music by Weill; P: The Group Theatre; SD: Lee Strasberg; MD: Lehman Engel.

The Eternal Road, Manhattan Opera House, 7 Jan. 1937, 153 perfs. Incidental music. Biblical spectacle *Der Weg der Verheissung* by Frank Werfel, adapted from Ludwig Lewisohn's translation by William A. Drake; P: Meyer W. Weisgal & Crosby Gaige; SD: Max Reinhardt; MD: Isaac van Grove; Scene, costume, & lighting designer: Norman Bel Geddes.

Knickerbocker Holiday, Ethel Barrymore Theatre, New York, 19 Oct. 1938, transfd to 46th Street, 13 Feb. 1939, 168 perfs in all. Bk & lyrs: Maxwell Anderson; P: Playwrights' Company; SD: Joshua Logan; MD: Maurice Abravanel; DD: Carl Randall & Edwin Denby.

Lady in the Dark, Alvin Theatre, New York, 23 Jan. 1941, 162 perfs, returned 2 Sep. 1941 305 perfs. Gertrude Lawrence. Bk: Moss Hart; Lyrs: Ira Gershwin; P: Sam H. Harris; SD: Hassard Short & Moss Hart; MD: Maurice Abravanel; SD: Hassard Short; DD: Albertina Rasch.

One Touch of Venus, Imperial Theatre, New York, 7 Oct. 1943, transfd to 46th Street, 26 Jan. 1944, 567 perfs in all. Bk: S. J. Perelman & Ogden Nash; Lyrs: Ogden Nash; P: Cheryl Crawford; SD: Elia Kazan & Agnes De Mille; MD: Maurice Abravanel.

The Firebrand of Florence, Alvin Theatre, New York, 22 Mar. 1945, 43 perfs. Bk: Edwin Justus Mayer & Ira Gershwin; Lyrs: Ira Gershwin; P: Max Gordon; SD: John Murray Anderson; MD: Maurice Abravanel; DD: Catherine Littlefield.

Street Scene, Adelphi Theatre, New York, 9 Jan. 1947, 148 perfs. Bk: Elmer Rice (based on his play); Lyrs: Langston Hughes; P: Dwight Deere Wiman & the Playwrights' Company; SD: Charles Friedman & Anna Sokolow; MD: Maurice Abravanel.

Love Life, 46th Street, New York, 7 Oct. 1948, 252 perfs. Bk & lyrs: Alan Jay Lerner; Add. music: Irving Schlein; P: Cheryl Crawford; SD: Elia Kazan; MD: Joseph Littau; DD: Michael Kidd.

Lost in the Stars, Music Box Theatre, New York, 30 Oct. 1949, 281 perfs. Bk & lyrs: Maxwell Anderson, after Alan Paton's novel *Cry, the Beloved Country*.; P: Playwrights' Company; SD: Rouben Mamoulian; MD: Maurice Levine; DD: La Verne French.

Appendix 4 Selected Period Recordings of English Versions of Operetta from the German Stage

The recordings listed are contemporaneous with the first London or New York production.[1] Note that Edison Bell (London) began making discs in addition to cylinders in May 1908. In 1901, Emile Berliner joined Victor, an American company that manufactured his gramophone, and Victor then began making disc records. Victor allowed Columbia, which had formerly monopolized the American production of cylinders, to use its disc patent, and discs began to overtake cylinders in the market from 1910 on. The Gramophone Company, formed in London in 1899, was to become known as 'His Master's Voice' from 1909 on, when it printed its trademark of the listening dog on record labels. Victor had bought the copyright to use this trademark in the USA and had been doing so since 1902. Some of the recordings below can be found in the British Library's sound archive; a few can be heard on the Internet Archive (www.archive.org), and some have been re-released by Norbeck, Peters & Ford.

The dates below refer to the first English versions in either London or New York. Square brackets following titles of interpolated songs indicate authors and composers; regular brackets indicate singers.

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[1] Sources of information: Robert Bauer, *The New Catalogue of Historical Records, 1898–1908/09* (London: Sidgwick and Jackson, 1947); Sound & Moving Image Catalogue (British Library): http://cadensa.bl.uk/cgi-bin/webcat; Truesound discography of the acoustical era: www.truesoundtransfers.de/discoenglish.htm; Brian Rust, with Rex Bunnet. *London Musical Shows on Record 1897–1976* (Harrow, Middx: General Gramophone Publications, 1977); Jack Raymond, *Show Music on Record from the 1890s to the 1980s* (New York: Frederick Ungar, 1982); and *Music from the New York Stage, 1890–1920*, 4 vols, original cast recordings, produced by Jack Raymond with discographical research by Larry Warner and Bill Bryant, Pearl GEMM CDS 9059–61.

1907 *The Merry Widow* (Lehár)

‘A Dutiful Wife’ and ‘Love in My Heart Awaking’ (Elizabeth Firth & Robert Evett), Odeon 66080–83, London.

‘Home’ (R. Evett), Odeon 66079, London.

‘I Love You So’ (Florence Hinkle and Reed Miller), Edison 9748 [cylinder], New York, Oct. 1907.

‘I Love You So’ (Miss Stevenson and Mr Macdonough), Victor 5340 [disc], New York, 11 Dec. 1907.

‘Maxim March’ (Madame Jones-Hudson & Ernest Pike), Gramophone Company GC 4431, London (lost).

‘The Merry Widow Waltz’, National Military Band, Edison Gold 13622 [cylinder], London, May 1907.

‘Oh the Women’ (septet), Odeon 44871, London.

Selection, Edison Symphony Orchestra, Edison Gold 9789 [cylinder], New York, Nov. 1907.

‘Vilja Song’ (Madame Jones-Hudson), Gramophone Company GC 3710, London (lost).

‘Vilja’ (Elsie Sinclair), Odeon 44839, London.

‘Weiber-Marsch’ and ‘Maxim-Marsch’, London Concert Orchestra, Edison Bell 10328 & 10341 [cylinders], Aug. 1907, Selection, 10447, Oct. 1907.

1908 *A Waltz Dream* (Straus)

‘The Dream Waltz’ and ‘My Dear Little Maiden’ (R. Evett), Odeon 0413, 1908,

1909 *The Dollar Princess* (Fall)

‘Inspection’ (Eleanor Jones-Hudson, recording as Marion Jerome, & Harold Wilde), HMV 04040, London, 1 Mar. 1909.

The Dollar Princess Operatic Party (Peter Dawson,[2] Eleanor Jones-Hudson, Stanley Kirkby, Ernest Pike, Carrie Tubb, Harold Wilde), HMV 04501, HMV 04039, HMV GC-4621, HMV GC-4622, London 1 Mar. 1909; HMV 04502, HMV GC-4623, HMV

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[2] The celebrated baritone Peter Dawson was also a member of the Light Opera Company on various recordings made 1910–27.

GC-3815, HMV GC-3814, HMV GC4-2026, HMV GC2-4003, London, 2 Mar. 1909.

Selection, London Concert Orchestra, Edison 10574 [cylinder], London, Oct. 1909.

Vocal Gems, Victor Light Opera Company (Elizabeth Wheeler, Elise Stevenson, Harry Macdonough, Frederick Gunster), Vic 31751, New York, 16 Oct. 1909. Also issued on HMV 04503, credited to the Light Opera Company.

'Dollar Princess' Two Step (Fall arr. Kaps), The Black Diamond Band, Gramophone Company 2–462, London, Mar. 1910.

Mayfair Orchestra, cond. George W. Byng, Selection, Parts 1 & 2, HMV C-1189, Hayes, Middx, 13 Feb. 1925.

1910 *The Girl in the Train* (Fall)

'The Sleeping Car Song' (Phyllis Dare), HMV 03189, London, 1910.

Vocal Gems, Light Opera Company (Peter Dawson, Stewart Gardner, Eleanor Jones-Hudson, Ernest Pike, Harold Wilde), orch. cond. by Eli Hudson, HMV 04508, London, 10 Aug. 1910.

Waltz, Alhambra Orchestra, cond. George W. Byng, 1CYL0002832 BD1 Black Amberol, London, 1910.

1910 *The Chocolate Soldier* (Straus)

Selection, orch., Oxford Disc 4262, London, Jan. 1910.

Vocal Gems, Victor Light Opera Company (Elizabeth Wheeler, Lucy Marsh, Marguerite Dunlap, Frederick Gunster, Harry Macdonough, John Beiling, Reinald Werrenrath, W. F. Hooley), Vic 31780, New York, 8 Mar. 1910.

Vocal Gems, Light Opera Company, with orch., HMV 04509, London, 11 Oct. 1910.

Selection, members of London prod., Odeon 0703, 0704 & 0705 [discs], 1910.

Medley, Columbia Light Opera Company, Col DX-284, 1910.

'My Hero' (Elizabeth Spencer), 1CYL0001351 BD1 Blue Amberol, New York (before Apr. 1913).

Vocal Gems, Victor Light Opera Company (Lucy Marsh, Olive Kline, Elsie Baker, Lambert Murphy, Charles Hart, Reinald Werrenrath, Wilfred Glenn), Vic 35416, New York, 23 Oct. 1914.

1911 *The Spring Maid* (Reinhardt)

Selection, Mayfair Orchestra, HMV 0663, 5 Sep. 1911.

Victor Light Opera Company, with orch., Vic 31833, New York, 5 Oct. Vocal Gems, 1911.

'The Three Trees' (Tom McNaughton), Vic 5866, New York, 23 Oct. 1911.

'Two Little Love Bees' (Christie MacDonald), Vic 60060, New York, 23 Oct. 1911.

'Day Dreams, Visions of Bliss' (Christie MacDonald), Vic 60061, New York, 27 Oct. 1911.

Vocal Gems, Victor Light Opera Company (Marguerite Dunlap, W. F. Hooley, Olive Kline, Harry Macdonough, Lucy Marsh, Lambert Murphy, Reinald Werrenrath, Elizabeth Wheeler), Vic 35423, New York, 17 Sep. 1914.

1911 *Castles in the Air* (Lincke)

'Luna Waltz', Lincke's Orchestra, HMV 0657, C-141, London, 12 Apr. 1911.

1911 *The Count of Luxembourg* (Lehár)

Selection, Parts 1 & 2, Grand Opera Orchestra, cond. Ernest Flecker, HMV 0569 & 0660.

'Say Not Love Is a Dream' (Elsie Fox-Bennett & Philip Cumings), Jumbo 636, Jul. 1911.

'Pierrette and Pierrot' (May de Sousa), HMV 03248, London, 1911.

'In High Society' (M. de Sousa & W. H. Berry), HMV 04086, London 1911.

'A Carnival for Life' (M. de Sousa & W. H. Berry), HMV 04087, London 1911.

'Are You Going to Dance?' (Elizabeth Spencer and Irving Gillette), Edison 4 M-1005 [cylinder], New York, Jan. 1912.

‘Say Not Love Is a Dream’ (Elizabeth Spencer), Edison 4 M-1610 [cylinder], New York, Sep. 1912.

Medley, Victor Light Opera Company, Voc 31856, New York, 1912.

Medley, Columbia Light Opera Company, Col A-5434, New York, *c.* 1912.

‘Waltz’, Band of King Edward’s Horse Guards, Edison Bell, 20296, London, Oct. 1913.

1911 *Nightbirds* (Strauss)

Vocal Gems, Victor Light Opera Company (Marguerite Dunlap, W. F. Hooley, Olive Kline, Harry Macdonough, Lucy Marsh, Lambert Murphy, Reinald Werrenrath, Elizabeth Wheeler), Vic 31875, 24 Oct. 1912.

1911 *Gypsy Love* (Lehár) [*Gipsy Love*, London]

‘Melody of Love’ (Marguerite Sylva), Edison 28001 [cylinder], New York, 1911.

‘Love Is Like the Rose’ (M. Sylva & Arthur Albro), Edison 28002 [cylinder], New York, 1911.

‘I Will Give You All for Love’ (M. Sylva), Edison 28003 [cylinder], New York, 1911.

‘There Is a Land of Fancy’ (M. Sylva & Carl Hayden), Edison 28004 [cylinder], New York, 1911.

‘Love and Wine’ (Peter Dawson), HMV 4–2238, London, 25 Sep. 1912.

Vocal Gems, Light Opera Company (Peter Dawson, Carrie Gaisberg, Stewart Gardner, Bertha Lewis, Ernest Pike, Annie Rees, Harold Wilde), HMV 04550, London, 14 Dec. 1912.

1911 *Vera Violetta* (Eysler)

‘Rum Tum Tiddle’ [Schwartz & Jerome] and ‘That Haunting Melody’ [Cohan] (Al Jolson), Vic 17037, New York, 22 Nov. 1911.

‘My Lou’ (Stella Mayhew & Billie Taylor), Edison 4 M-995 [cylinder], New York, 8 Jan. 1912.

‘In the Shadows’ [Finck] (Melville Ellis, pf.), Col A-1160, New York, 1912.

1912 *Princess Caprice* (Fall) [*Lieber Augustin*, New York]

Vocal Gems, Parts 1 & 2, Light Opera Company (Peter Dawson, Stewart Gardner, Bertha Lewis, Ernest Pike, Carrie Tubb, Harold Wilde), HMV 04531 & 04532, London, 13 Aug. 1912.

Selection, Alhambra Orchestra, 1CYL0002795 BD1 Black Amberol, London, 1912.

Medley, Victor Light Opera Company, Vic 35332, New York, 1912.

‘Look in Her Eyes’ [Kern and Rourke] (George MacFarlane), Vic 60120, New York, 5 May 1914.

1912 *The Girl in the Taxi* (Gilbert)

Vocal Gems, Light Opera Company (Peter Dawson, Carrie Gaisberg, Stewart Gardner, Bertha Lewis, Ernest Pike, Annie Rees, Harold Wilde), orch. cond. by Eli Hudson, HMV 04545, London, 14 Dec. 1912.

‘Suzanne, Suzanne’ (Mary Reed) and ‘Waltzing’ (Arthur Lewis), Col 2083, London, Dec. 1912.

1913 *The Man with Three Wives* (Lehár)

Medley, Victor Light Opera Company, Vic 31883, New York, 1913.

1913 *The Girl on the Film* (Sirmay and Kollo)

‘Tommy, Won’t You Teach Me How to Tango?’ [Penso and Ross] (George Grossmith), HMV 02500, London, 13 Nov. 1913.

Vocal Gems, Victor Light Opera Company (Marguerite Dunlap, W. F. Hooley, Miss Hosea, Olive Kline, Harry Madonough, Lambert Murphy, Reinald Werrenrath, Elizabeth Wheeler), Vic 35363, New York, 6 Jan. 1914. Also issued on HMV 04591, credited to the Light Opera Company.

1913 *The Laughing Husband* (Eysler)

'Friend to the End' (Reed Miller), Vic 17555, New York, 24 Feb. 1914.

Vocal Gems, Victor Light Opera Company (Marguerite Dunlap, W. F. Hooley, Olive Kline, Harry Madonough, Lucy Marsh, Lambert Murphy, Edward Rous, Reinald Werrenrath, Elizabeth Wheeler), Vic 35379, New York, 12 Mar. 1914. Also issued on HMV 04595, credited to the Light Opera Company.

1914 *Queen of the Movies* (Gilbert) [*The Cinema Star*, London]

'Follow the Crowd' (Written and sung by Irving Berlin), Col 32229, New York, 12 Jan. 1914.

Vocal Gems, Victor Light Opera Company (Olive Kline, Lucy Marsh, Elizabeth Wheeler Marguerite Dunlap, Harry Madonough, Charles Harrison, Reinald Werrenrath, Wilfred Glenn), Vic 35365, New York 4 Feb. 1914. Also issued on HMV 04593, as *The Cinema Star*, credited to the Light Opera Company.

1914 *Sári* (Kálmán)

Medley, Victor Light Opera Company, Vic 35365, New York, 1914.

1914 *Mam'selle Tra-la-la* (Gilbert)

'When Mr Moon Is Shining', Jacobs' Trocadero Orchestra, HMV B-257, London, 7 May 1914.

Selection, Parts 1 & 2, The Peerless Orchestra, Zon 1343, Hayes, Middx, 10 Jul. 1914.

1914 *The Lilac Domino* (Cuvillier)

'The Lilac Domino' (Eleanor Painter), Col A-1937, New York, 26 Nov. 1915.

Selection, Parts 1 & 2, members of London prod. with Empire Theatre Orchestra, cond. Howard Carr, Col 710, Col L-1238, Col L-1239, Col

L-1240, L-1241, Col D-1400, Col D-1404. HMV C-848, HMV C-849, HMV C-850, HMV B-906, London, Feb–Mar. 1918.

Selection, Light Opera Company, HMV C-1705, 1918.

1915 *Alone at Last* (Lehár)

Medley, Victor Light Opera Company, Vic 35517, New York, 1915.

'Some Little Bug Is Going to Find You' [Hein, Burt, and Atwell] (Roy Atwell), Col A-1926, New York, 20 Dec. 1915.

'Thy Heart My Prize' (John Charles Thomas), Rex 2021, New York, 1915.

1916 *Miss Springtime* (Kálmán)

Medley, Victor Light Opera Company, Vic 35592, New York, 1916.

'My Castle in the Air' [Wodehouse & Kern] (George MacFarlane), Vic 45110, New York, 12 Jan. 1917.

1917 *Maytime* (Romberg, orig. Kollo)

'Will You Remember?' [Young and Romberg] (John Charles Thomas), Vocalion 60038, New York, Jan. 1922.

1917 *The Riviera Girl* (Kálmán) [*The Gipsy Princess*, London]

'Bungalow in Quogue' [Kern & Wodehouse] (Billy Murray & Gladys Rice), Edison Blue Amberol 3391, issued in 1918.

Selection, Parts 1 & 2, Herman Finck and His Orchestra, Col 876, London, Sep. 1921.

'Naughty Cupid', De Groot and the Piccadilly Orchestra, HMV B-1264, Hayes, Middx, 12 Sep. 1921.

1917 *Her Soldier Boy* (Kálmán) [*Soldier Boy*, London]

Selection, Parts 1 & 2, Apollo Theatre Orchestra, cond. Leonard Hornsey, London, Col 717, London, Jul. 1918.

Selection, Parts 1 & 2, Mayfair Orchestra, cond. Arthur Wood, HMV C-867, Hayes, Middx, 18 Jul. 1918.

'The Kiss Waltz' and 'Song of Home' (Winifred Barnes & Laurence Leonard), Col L-1262, London, 1918.

'Alone in a City Full of Girls' and The Battle Front at Home' (Fred Duprez), Col L-1263, 1918.

'I'm Going Home' and 'March Along' (M. Gay), Col L-1264, 1918.

'The Military Stamp' (M. Gay & Billy Leonard) and 'Mother' (Dewey Gibson), Col. L-1265, 1918.

'The Lonely Princess' and 'He's Coming Home' (Winifred Barnes), Col L-1266, 1918.

'Soldier Boy' (F. Duprez & Maisie Gay), Col L-1267, 1918.

1917 *The Star Gazer* (Lehár)

'If You Only Knew' [Fleeson and Von Tilzer] (John Charles Thomas), Vocalion 60053, New York, Jul. 1923.

1920 *A Little Dutch Girl* (Kálmán)

Selection, Parts 1 & 2, Herman Finck and His Orchestra, Col 857, London, Jan. 1921.

'Prince of My Maiden Fancies' and 'The Dreamland Lover' (Doris Vane), Col 858, London, 31 Jan. 1921.

1921 *Sybil* (Jacobi)

Selection, Parts 1 & 2, Herman Finck and His Orchestra, Col 856, London, Feb. 1921.

1921 *Blossom Time* (Schubert/Berté/Romberg)

Vocal Gems, Columbia Light Opera Company. 1. Let Me Awake 2. Only One Love Ever Fills the Heart 3. My Springtime Thou Art 4. Serenade 5. Song of Love. Col 98002, 1921.

Medley, Victor Light Opera Company, Vic 35722, New York, 1922.

1922 (*Lilac Time*, Schubert/Berté/Clutsam, London)

Selections, Prince's Orchestra, Col 98011, 1922.

Selection, Parts 1 & 2, Herman Finck and His Orchestra, Col 919, London, Jan. 1923.

'When the Lilac Bloom Uncloses' and 'I Want to Carve Your Name' (Clara Butterworth & Percy Heming), Vocalion K-05068, 1923.

'Underneath the Lilac Bough' (P. Heming & Courtice Pounds) and 'The Golden Song' (Pounds & Butterworth), Vocalion K-05065, 1923.

'Dear Flower, Small and Wise' (C. Pounds & C. Butterworth) and 'Dream Enthralling' (Pounds), Vocalion K-05067, 1923.

'I Am Singing, I, Your Lover' (P. Heming) and 'The Three Little Girls' (C. Butterworth), Vocalion K-05066, 1923.

1922 *The Lady of the Rose* (Gilbert)

Selection, Parts 1 & 2, Mayfair Orchestra, cond. George W. Byng, HMV C-1050, Hayes, Middx, 16 Feb. 1922.

Selection, Parts 1 & 2, Daly's Theatre Orchestra, cond. Merlin Morgan, Col 75052–53, London, Feb.–Mar. 1922.

'Silhouettes' (Huntley Wright), 'Land o' Mine' and 'Mariana' (Thorp Bates), 'Call to Arms' (T. Bates & Ivy Tremand), 'A Woman's No' and 'I Love You So' (T. Bates and Phyllis Dare), 'Catch a Butterfly' [Graham & Stuart] (I. Tremand), Daly's Theatre Orchestra, cond. M. Morgan, Col 75061, 75064–65, 75066, 75073–74, 75063.

1922 *Whirled into Happiness* (Stolz)

Selection, Parts 1 & 2, London Theatre Band, cond. Albert W. Ketèlbey (?), Col 3147, London, Aug. 1922.

1922 *The Yankee Princess* (Kálmán)

Medley, Victor Light Opera Company, Vic 35722, New York, 1922, medley.

1922 *The Last Waltz* (Straus)

Selection, Parts 1 & 2, Herman Finck and His Orchestra, Col 904, London, Oct. 1922.

'The Mirror Song' and 'When Love and Life Are Calling' (José Collins & Kingsley Lark), Col 912, London, 1922.

'The Magic Waltz Refrain' and 'The Last Waltz' (J. Collins & K. Lark), Col 910, London, 1922.

'Red Roses' and 'When Man Is Master of His Fate' (K. Lark), Col 913, London, 1922.

1923 *Caroline* (Künneke) [The Cousin from Nowhere, London]

'I'm Only a Pilgrim' and 'Man in the Moon' (J. Harold Murray), Vocalion 14549, New York, 1923.

Selection, Parts 1 & 2, London Theatre Band, cond. Albert W. Ketèlbey (?), Col 922, London, Mar. 1923.

1923 *Madame Pompadour* (Fall)

Selection, Parts 1 & 2, Daly's Theatre Orchestra, cond. Arthut Wood, Col 965, London, Jan. 1924.

'Serenade' (Derek Oldham) and 'Love Me Now' (Evelyn Laye), Col 966, London, 1924.

'By the Light of the Moon' and 'Love's Sentry' (E. Laye & D. Oldham), Col 967, London, 1924.

'Carnival Time' (D. Oldham) and 'Reminiscence' (E. Laye & D. Oldham), Col 3372, London 1924.

'Two Little Birds in a Tree' (Huntley Wright & Elsie Randolph) and 'Joseph' (E. Laye & H. Wright), Col 3371, London, 1924.

1925 *The Love Song* (Offenbach/Künneke)

Columbia Light Opera Company, 1925, medley, Col 50015-D.

Gems, Victor Light Opera Company, Chorus, 'Yes or No' – Baritone Solo, 'Only a Dream' – Tenor and Ladies Trio, 'He Writes a Song' –

Contralto and Chorus – 'Love Song (Remember Me)'. Vic 35757-B, New York, 16 Apr. 1925.

1925 *Katja, the Dancer* (Gilbert) [*Katja*, New York]

Selection, Parts 1 & 2, Mayfair Orchestra, cond. George W. Byng, HMV C-1193, Hayes, Middx, 13 Mar. 1925.

Selection, Parts 1 & 2, Gaiety Theatre Orchestra, cond. Arthur Wood, Col 9035, London, Mar.–Apr. 1925.

'Thro' Life We Go Dancing Together' (Lilian Davies) and 'Just for a Night' (L. Davies & Gregory Stroud), Col 3625, London, 1925.

'I've Planned a Rendez-vous' (G. Stroud) and 'When We Are Married' (Ivy Tresmand & Gene Gerrard), Col 3626, London, 1925.

'Those Eyes So Tender' (L. Davies and G. Stroud) and 'If You Cared' (G. Stroud & I. Tresmand), Col 3627, London, 1925.

'Leander' (I. Tresmand & G. Gerrard) and 'Love and Duty' (Bobbie Comber & Rene Mallory), Col 3628, London, 1925.

1925 *Frasquita* (Lehár)

Selection, Parts 1 & 2, De Groot and the Piccadilly Orchestra, HMV C-1185, Hayes, Middx, 10 Nov. 1924.[3]

1925 *Clo-Clo* (Lehár)

Selection, Parts 1 & 2, London Theatre Orchestra, cond. Albert W. Ketèlbey (?), Col 9049, London, Jul. 1925.

1926 *Yvonne* (Gilbert)

Selection, Parts 1 & 2, Daly's Theatre Orchestra, cond. Arthur Wood, Col 9113, London, 9 Jul. 1926.

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[3] Recorded before its try-out at the Lyceum, Edinburgh, opening 24 Dec. 1924.

1926 *Hearts and Diamonds* (Granichstaedten)

Selection, Parts 1 & 2, Percival Mackey (piano) and the 1926 Orchestra, Col 9055, London, 21 Jun. 1926.

1926 *Countess Maritza* (Kálmán) [*Maritza*, London]

Medley, Victor Light Opera Company, Vic 35809, New York, 1926.
'Play Gypsies, Dance Gypsies' (Walter Woolf), Gennett 6043, New York, 1926.
'I Must Have Everything Hungarian' and 'I'm the Best of Budapest' (Douglas Byng), Parlophone F-1200, London, 20 Jul. 1938.
'Vienna So Gay' and 'Come, Gipsy, Come' (John Garrick), orch. cond. by Walter Goehr, HMV B-8787, London, 21 Jul. 1938.

1926 *My Son John* (Straus)

Selection, Parts 1 & 2, Percival Mackey (piano) and His Band, Col 9187, London, 3 Feb. 1927.

1927 *The Blue Mazurka* (Lehár)

Vocal Gems, Light Opera Company (Peter Dawson, Barrington Hooper, Elisabeth Pechy, *et al.*), orch. cond. George W. Byng, HMV C-1331, Small Queen's Hall, London, 6 Apr. 1927.
Selection, Parts 1 & 2, Daly's Theatre Orchestra, cond. Arthut Wood, Col 9216, London, 10 May 1927.

1927 *The Blue Train* (Stolz)

Selection, Parts 1 & 2, Percival Mackey and His Band, Col 9213, London, 6 May 1927.

1928 *Lady Mary* (Sirmay)

'You Can't Have My Sugar for Tea', vocal anon., Jack Hylton and His Orchestra, HMV B-5447, Hayes, Middx, 1 Mar. 1928.

Selection, Parts 1 & 2, London Theatre Orchestra, cond. Charles Prentice, Col 9418, London, 17 Mar. 1928.

1928 *Song of the Sea* (Künneke)

'Song of the Sea' and 'Lovely Ladies' (Stanley Holloway, Claude Hulbert, and chorus), His Majesty's Theatre Orchestra, cond. P. Fletcher, Col 9542, London, Sep. 1928.

Selection, His Majesty's Theatre Orchestra, cond. Percy Fletcher, Col 9543, London, 18 Sep. 1928.

'True Eyes' and 'Somewhere' (Lilian Davies, Stanley Holloway, & Jerry Verno), His Majesty's Theatre Orchestra, cond. P. Fletcher, Col 9543, London, Sep. 1928.

'Women' and 'All Day Long' (A. W. Bascomb & Lilian Davies), His Majesty's Theatre Orchestra, cond. P. Fletcher, Col 9543, London, Sep. 1928.

'The Tavern Maid' and 'The Mirror Song' (Lilian Davies), His Majesty's Theatre Orchestra, cond. P. Fletcher, Col 5084, London, 18 Sep. 1928.

'Mirror Song', 'All Day Long', 'True Eyes', and 'Somewhere', Debroy Somers Band (with vocal chorus), Sep. 1928, Col 5087 & 5088.

Vocal Gems, Light Opera Company, orch. cond. George W. Byng, HMV C-1584, London, 5 Oct. 1928.

1930 *Frederica* (Lehár)

Selection, Parts 1 & 2, London Theatre Orchestra, cond. Charles Prentice, Col DX-132, London, 18 Sep. 1930.

'Wonderful, So Wonderful' and 'Wayside Rose' (Joseph Hislop), HMV B-3589, London, 1930.

'A Heart as Pure as Gold' and 'Oh Maiden, My Maiden' (J. Hislop), HMV B-3590, London, 1930.

'Love Will Kiss and Ride Away' and 'Little Roses, Little Flowers' (Lea Seidl), Col DB-269, London, 1930.

'Why Did You Kiss My Heart Awake?' and 'God Has Sent a Lovely Day/I Love Him So' (L. Seidl), Col DX-131, London, 1930.

1931 *White Horse Inn* (Benatzky)

Vocal Gems, Parts 1 & 2, Light Opera Company, with orch. cond. Ray Noble, HMV C-2229, Small Queen's Hall, London, 14 May 1931.

Vocal Gems, Parts 1 & 2, Columbia Light Opera Company, with orch. cond. Charles Prentice, Col DX-251, London, 18 May 1931.

1931 *The Land of Smiles* (Lehár)

'You Are My Heart's Delight' and 'Patiently Smiling' (Richard Tauber), Parlophone RO-20500, London, 1935.

1931 *Waltzes from Vienna* (Strauss, arr. Bittner and Korngold)

Selection and Vocal Gems, Parts 1 & 2, Alhambra chorus, cond. Walford Hyden, Broadcast 3082 & 3093, London, Sep. 1931.

'You Are My Song' and 'The Blue Danube' (Thea Phillips & William Parsons), Alhambra chorus, cond. Walford Hyden, Bcst 3093, London, Sep. 1931.

'For We Love You Still' (Marie Burke) and 'Love and War' (M. Burke & Dennis Noble), Col DB-620, London, 1931.

1931 *Viktoria and Her Hussar* (Abraham)

Selection, Parts 1 & 2, Debroy Somers Band, Col DX-285, London, 15 Aug. 1931.

'Star of My Night' (Winnie Melville & Derek Oldham), orch. cond. by Ray Noble, HMV B-3954, London, 30 Sep. 1931.

1932 *The Dubarry* (Millöcker/Mackeben)

Selection, Parts 1 & 2, His Majesty's Theatre Orchestra, cond. Ernest Irving, Col DX-349, London, 21 Apr. 1932.

'I Give My Heart' and 'The Dubarry' (Anny Ahlers), Parlophone R-1205, 1932.

'Today', 'Happy Little Jeanie' and 'Beauty' (A. Ahler), Parlophone R-1206, 1932.

'If I Am Dreaming' (Heddle Nash), 1932, Col DB-815, 1932.

'The Dubarry' and 'I Give My Heart' (Rowland Leigh), New York, 1932 (label and number unknown).

1932 *Casanova* (Strauss, arr. Benatzky)

Selection, Parts 1 & 2, New Mayfair Orchestra, cond. Ray Noble, HMV C-2434, London, 3 Jun. 1932.

1932 *Wild Violets* (Stolz)

Vocal Gems, Parts 1 & 2, Columbia Light Opera Company, with orch. cond. Clarence Raybould (?), Col DX-431, London, 25 Nov. 1932.

1933 *Mother of Pearl* (Straus)

Selection, Parts 1 & 2, New Mayfair Orchestra, cond. Ray Noble, HMV C-2518, London, 6 Jan. 1933. [Recorded 3 weeks before première.]

1933 *Ball at the Savoy* (Abraham)

Selection, Marek Weber and His Orchestra, HMV C-2588, London, 24 Aug. 1933.

Selection, Parts 1 & 2, Drury Lane Theatre Orchestra, cond. Charles Prentice, Col DX-522, London, 27 Aug. 1933.

Vocal Gems, Parts 1 & 2, Light Opera Company, with orch. cond. anon., HMV C-2604, London, 27 Sep. 1933.

1937 Paganini

Vocal Gems, Light Opera Company (inc. Ina Souez & Dennis Noble), cond. Walter Goehr, HMV C-2902, London, 13 Apr. 1937.

Appendix 5 Selected Films in English of Operettas by Composers for the German Stage

The Merry Widow (Lehár)

1925 Mae Murray & John Gilbert, dir. Erich von Stroheim. Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer. 137 mins. [Silent]

1934 Maurice Chevalier & Jeanette MacDonald, dir. Ernst Lubitsch. MGM. 99 mins.

1952 Lana Turner & Fernando Lamas, dir. Curtis Bernhardt. Turner dubbed by Trudy Erwin. New lyrics by Paul Francis Webster. MGM. 105 mins.

The Chocolate Soldier (Straus)

1914 Alice Yorke & Tom Richards, dir. Walter Morton & Hugh Stanislaus Stange. Daisy Feature Film Company [USA]. 50 mins. [Silent]

1941 Nelson Eddy, Risë Stevens & Nigel Bruce, dir. Roy del Ruth. Music adapted by Bronislau Kaper and Herbert Stothart, add. music and lyrics: Gus Kahn and Bronislau Kaper. Screenplay Leonard Lee and Keith Winter based on Ferenc Mulinár's *The Guardsman*. MGM. 102 mins.

1955 Risë Stevens & Eddie Albert, dir. Max Liebman. Music adapted by Clay Warnick & Mel Pahl, and arr. Irwin Kostal, add. lyrics: Carolyn Leigh. NBC. 77 mins.

The Count of Luxembourg (Lehár)

1926 George Walsh & Helen Lee Worthing, dir. Arthur Gregor. Chadwick Pictures. [Silent]

Madame Pompadour (Fall)

1927 Dorothy Gish, Antonio Moreno & Nelson Keys, dir. Herbert Wilcox. British National Films. 70 mins. [Silent]

Golden Dawn (Kálmán)

1930 Walter Woolf King & Vivienne Segal, dir. Ray Enright. Music credited to Emmerich Kálmán and Hubert Stothart. Screenplay: Walter Anthony. Vitaphone Orchestra, cond. Louis Silvers. Warner Bros and The Vitaphone Corporation. 81 mins.

The Smiling Lieutenant [*Ein Walzertraum*] (Straus)

1931 Claudette Colbert, Maurice Chevalier & Miriam Hopkins, dir. Ernst Lubitsch. MD: Adolph Deutsch; music arr. Johnny Green & Conrad Salinger, lyrics Clifford Grey. Screenplay Ernest Vajda & Samson Raphaelson. Paramount Pictures. 90 mins.

The Lady in Ermine (Gilbert)

1927 Corinne Griffith, Einar Hanson & Ward Crane, dir. James Flood. Corinne Griffith Productions. [Silent]

1948 [*That Lady in Ermine*] Betty Grable, Douglas Fairbanks Jr, & Cesar Romero; dir. Ernst Lubitsch and Otto Preminger. [Preminger took over after Lubitsch's death during filming.] Lyrics & music: Leo Robin & Frederick Hollander. Screenplay Samson Raphaelson. Orchestration: Edward Powell, Herbert Spencer, & Maurice dePakh. MD and incidental music: Alfred Newman. Twentieth Century Fox. 85 mins.

One Hour with You (Straus)

1932 Maurice Chevalier, Jeanette MacDonald & Genevieve Tobi, dir. Ernst Lubitsch, assisted by George Cukor. Script: Samson Raphaelson (after Lothar Schmidt's play *Only a Dream*). Songs by Oscar Straus, lyrics

Leo Robin, title song by Richard Whiting. Paramount Pictures. 80 minutes.

Waltz Time [*Die Fledermaus*] (Strauss, Jr)

1933 Evelyn Laye, Fritz Schultz & Gino Malo, dir. Wilhelm Thiele. Screenplay: A.P. Herbert & Louis Levy. Gaumont British Picture Corporation. 82 mins.

Blossom Time (Clutsam/Schubert)

1934 Richard Tauber, Jane Baxter & Carl Esmond, dir. Paul L. Stein. British International Pictures (BIP). 91 mins.

Waltzes from Vienna (Strauss Sr & Jr, arr. Korngold & Bittner)

1934 Esmond Knight, Jessie Matthews & Edmund Gwen, dir. Alfred Hitchcock. Gaumont British Picture Corporation. 76 mins.

1938 [*The Great Waltz*] Luise Rainer, Fernand Gravey, and Miliza Korjus, dir. Julien Duvivier, Victor Fleming, & Josef von Sternberg. Screenplay Samuel Hoffenstein & Walter Reisch from an original story by Gotfried Reinhardt. Music arr. Dimitri Tiomkin, lyrics: Oscar Hammerstein II. MD: Arthur Gutmann. Dances and ensembles: Albertina Rasch. MGM. 104 mins.

Two Hearts in Waltztime (Stolz)

1934 Carl Brisson, Frances Day, Valerie Hobson & Oscar Asche, dir. Carmine Gallone & Joe May. Based on the German film of 1930. Nettlefold Films. [Walton-on-Thames, Surrey.] 80 mins.

I Give My Heart [*Die Dubarry*] (Millöcker/Mackeben)

1936 Gitta Alpár, Patrick Waddington & Owen Nares, dir. Marcel Varnel, BIP. 90 mins.

The Last Waltz (Straus)

1936 Jarmila Novotna & Harry Welchman, dir. Gerald Barry and Leo Mittler. Warwick Film Productions & Gnom-Tonfilm. 74 mins.

Dreams Come True [*Clo-Clo*] (Lehár)

1936 Frances Day, Nelson Keys, Hugh Wakefield & Marie Lohr, dir. Reginald Denham. London & Continental Films. 78 mins.

The King Steps Out [*Sissi*] (Kreisler)

1936 Grace Moore & Franchot Tone, dir. Josef von Sternberg. Columbia Pictures. 85 mins.

With Pleasure, Madame [*Ball im Savoy*] (Abraham)

1936 Conrad Nagel & Marta Labarr, dir. Victor Hanbury. John Stafford Productions. 75 mins.

The Girl in the Taxi (Gilbert)

1937 Frances Day, Henri Garat, & Lawrence Grossmith, dir. André Berthomieu. British Unity Pictures. 66 mins.

The Lilac Domino (Cuvillier)

1937 Michael Bartlett, June Knight, & Fred Emney, dir. Frederic Zelnik. Grafton Films [UK]. 79 mins.

Maytime (music originally Kollo, then Romberg)

1937 Jeanette MacDonald, Nelson Eddy, & John Barrymore, dir. Robert Z. Leonard. Music arr. & composed: Herbert Stothart. MGM. 131 mins.

Appendix 6 Research Resources

Websites

Austrian Newspapers Online (ANNO): http://anno.onb.ac.at/
British Newspaper Archive: www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/
The Cylinder Archive: www.cylinder.de/
Discography of American Historical Recordings: http://adp.library.ucsb.edu/index.php
German Operetta in London & New York (GOLNY): http://golny.leeds.ac.uk/
Grove Music Online: www.oxfordmusiconline.com/grovemusic
Guide to Light Opera & Operetta: www.musicaltheatreguide.com/menu/introduction.htm
International Musical Score Library Project (IMSLP): http://imslp.org/wiki/Main_Page
Internet Archive: https://archive.org/details/audio
Internet Broadway Database: www.ibdb.com/index.php
Internet Movie Database (IMDb): www.imdb.com/
London Musicals: www.overthefootlights.co.uk/London_Musicals.html
Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart (MGG): www.mgg-online.com/
Operetta Foundation: http://operettafoundation.org/
Operetta Premieres: http://operadata.stanford.edu/?f%5Bsubgenre_facet%5D%5B%5D=Operetta
Operetta Research Center: http://operetta-research-center.org/
Operetten-Lexikon: www.operetten-lexikon.info/
Operone: www.operone.de/
Ovrtur (database of musicals): www.ovrtur.com/
Radio Times: https://genome.ch.bbc.co.uk/issues
Source Catalogue of Hungarian Operetta (*A magyarországi operetta forráskatalógusa, 1860–1958*): http://db.zti.hu/mza_operett/operett_Kereses.asp
Theatre Collection (Bristol): www.bristol.ac.uk/theatre-collection/explore/

Libraries & Archives

Austria

Österreichisches Biographisches Lexikon 1815–1950: www.biographien.ac.at/oebl?frames=yes

Österreichisches Theatermuseum, Palais Lobkowitz, Lobkowitzplatz 2, 1010 Wien

Theatre Museum Library: www.theatermuseum.at/de/hinter-den-kulissen/bibliothek/

Wienbibliothek im Rathaus (music and mss collections), Rathaus, Felderstraße, 1082 Wien: www.wienbibliothek.at/english/

Österreichische Nationalbibliothek (Austrian National Library). The music collection is in the Palais Mollard, Herrengasse 9, 1010 Wien: www.onb.ac.at/ev/collections/music.htm

Lehár-Archiv, Stadtgemeinde Bad Ischl: www.stadtmuseum.at/aktuelles.php

Germany

Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin. The music collection (Musikabteilung) and *Deutscher Bühnenspielplan* are in the Haus Unter den Linden, entrance Dorotheenstrasse 27, 10117 Berlin. The *Deutscher Bühnenspielplan* is also available at Potsdamer Strasse 33, 10785 Berlin: www.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de

Musikarchiv, Akademie der Künste. This is not in the main building at Pariser Platz, but located at Robert Koch Platz 10, 10115 Berlin. Among other holdings there are the Paul Abraham, Ralph Benatzky, Jean Gilbert, and Eduard Künneke Archives: www.adk.de/de/archiv/archivbestand/musik/index.htm

Landesarchiv Berlin: www.landesarchiv-berlin.de/lab-neu/home.htm

Bundesarchiv Berlin Lichterfelde: www.bundesarchiv.de/index.html.de

Märkisches Museum Berlin: www.stadtmuseum.de/maerkisches-museum

Museum für Film und Fernsehen, Berlin: www.deutsche-kinemathek.de/

Stiftung Sradtmuseum, Berlin: www.en.stadtmuseum.de/

Theaterhistorische Sammlung Walter Unruh:
www.geisteswissenschaften.fu-berlin.de/we07/institut/sammlungen/index.html

Josef Weinberger. Neulerchenfelder Straße 3, 1160 Wien: www.weinberger.co.at/home/index.php

Berliner Zentral- und Landesbiblithek (inc. newspapers): www.zlb.de/en.html

Hamburger Archiv für Gesangskunst: www.vocal-classics.com/

UK

British Library, The Lord Chamberlain's Plays collection, Ref: Add MS 65534–68881, needs to be consulted in the Rare Books & Music reading room. However, the typescripts are not necessarily the London versions. It is clear, for example, that *The Dollar Princess* is the version used for the try-out in Manchester, which was revised for London: www.bl.uk/

Bodleian Library, Oxford: www.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/

V&A Theatre and Performance Archives (Olympia): www.vam.ac.uk/content/articles/t/archives-theatre-performance/

Theatre Collection (Bristol): http://archiveshub.ac.uk/data/gb71-thm/275

Lucile, fashion designer, Lily Elsie theatre designs (1 folder) (V&A) Ref. no. GB 73 AAD/2008/6/4

Surprisingly, there are no operetta playbooks in the Samuel French Archive, London, and the National Operatic and Dramatic Association library no longer exists.

USA

Billy Rose Theatre Division, New York Public Library for the Performing Arts: www.nypl.org/locations/tid/55/node/35928

Alfred Grünwald Papers (30 boxes), collection ID: *T-Mss 1998–030.

The libretto of *Roxy und ihr Wunderteam* is in the Otto Kinkeldy Memorial Collection, NYPL Performing Arts Library, Lincoln Center. *The Cinema Star* (the Hulbert and Graham London libretto of *Die Kino-Königin*) is there, too.

Shubert Archive, Lyceum Theatre, 149 W. 45th Street, New York, NY 10036: www.shubertarchive.org/

Leo Ascher archive, *Helen A. Ganser Library,* Millersville University of Pennsylvania:

www.library.millersville.edu/home

John Milton and Ruth Neils Ward Collection (Harvard Theatre Collection) for vocal scores: http://hollisclassic.harvard.edu/

Morgan Library: www.themorgan.org/

Library of Congress: www.loc.gov/

Theatre Historical Society (of America). York Theatre Building, 152 N. York Street, 2nd floor, Elmhurst, IL: www.historictheatres.org/

Theatre and Music Collection of the Museum of the City of New York. 1220 Fifth Avenue (at 103rd Street), New York, NY 10029: www.eoneill.com/mcny/collection.htm

Harry B. Smith archive at the Harry Ransom Center, University of Texas at Austin: http://norman.hrc.utexas.edu/fasearch/findingAid.cfm?eadid=00125#;

Australia

National Library of Australia, J. G. Williamson collection: http://trove.nla.gov.au/version/45852476.

The library holds much rare material, for example: *Darby and Joan* (Fall's *Brüderlein fein*), book and lyrics by Arthur Anderson, one act. Eng. vocal score pub. London: Enoch & Sons, 1912. Vocal score and script in 'Operas – Scores and Parts'. Typescript and orchestral parts of *Cousin from Nowhere* also in this collection, in 'Musicals – Scores and Parts'. Actor-manager and theatre owner James C. Williamson ran Australia's largest theatrical agency, which he founded in 1882.

Periodicals

Berlin & Vienna

Berliner Lokal-Anzeiger (1883–1945)
Berliner Morgenpost (1898–present)
Berliner Tageblatt (1872–1939)
Die Bühne (Vienna, 1924–38)
Der Floh (Vienna, 1869–1919)
Frankfurter Zeitung (1856–1943)
Fremden-Blatt (Vienna, 1847–1919)
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Neue Freie Presse (Vienna, 1864–1938)
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Reichspost (Vienna, 1894–1938)
Die Schaubühne (Berlin) 10 vols., 1905–18. Königstein: Athenäum Verlag, 1979

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Die Zeit (Vienna, 1902–19)

London

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Daily News (1846–1930)
Daily Mail (1896–present)
Daily Telegraph (1855–present)
The Encore (1892–)
The Era (1838–1900)
The Era Almanac (1868–1919) – ProQuest:
Evening News (1881–1980)
The Graphic (1869–1932)
Illustrated London News (1842–2003, pub. weekly until 1971)
London Figaro (May 1870–Dec. 1897)
Pall Mall Gazette (1865–1923)
The Performer (1906)
The Phono Record (1912–)
The Play (May–Oct. 1904)
The Play Pictorial (Apr. 1902–Sep. 1939)
The Playgoer and Society Illustrated (Oct. 1909– Dec. 1913)
Radio Times (1923–)
The Stage (1880–present)
The Stage Year Book
St James's Gazette (May 1880–Mar. 1905)
Sunday Referee (1877–1939)
Theatre World and Illustrated Stage Review (London, 1925–65), incorporated *Play Pictorial* in 1939.
The Times (1785–present)

New York

Billboard (1894–1960)
Billboard's Index (1920–41)
Broadway Magazine (1898–1912)
(New York) Dramatic Mirror (1879–1922)
Musical America (New York, 1898–99, 1905–22)
New York Clipper (1853–1924), absorbed by *Variety*

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New York World (1860–1931)
The Passing Show: Newsletter of the Shubert Archive (1976–present)
A Look Back at The Passing Show: An Index to Volumes I–XX, The Passing Show, 20:2 & 21:1 (Fall-Winter 1997/Spring-Summer 1998).
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