

REFLEXIVE SONGS IN THE AMERICAN MUSICAL, 1898 TO 1947

by

MICHAEL G. GARBER

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty in Theatre in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, The City University of New York

2006

UMI Number: 3213167

Copyright 2006 by
Garber, Michael G.

All rights reserved.



UMI Microform 3213167

Copyright 2006 by ProQuest Information and Learning Company.
All rights reserved. This microform edition is protected against
unauthorized copying under Title 17, United States Code.

ProQuest Information and Learning Company
300 North Zeeb Road
P.O. Box 1346
Ann Arbor, MI 48106-1346

© 2006

MICHAEL G. GARBER

All Rights Reserved

This manuscript has been read and accepted for the
Graduate Faculty in Theatre in satisfaction of the
dissertation requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

David Savran

Date

Chair of Examining Committee

Pamela Sheingorn

Date

Executive Officer

Marvin Carlson

Judith Milhous

Supervision Committee

THE CITY UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK

Abstract

REFLEXIVE SONGS IN THE AMERICAN MUSICAL, 1898 TO 1947

by

Michael G. Garber

Adviser: David Savran

In reflexive songs, the lyrics mention music, singing, dancing, or entertainment. I supply a history of reflexive songs in the American musical, 1898 through 1947. I offer this chronicle as a methodological model, drawing inspiration from cinema studies and musicology for the selection of a body of material and its stylistic analysis. The corpus balances the diverse but overlapping criteria of previous scholars: quality; prevalence and typicality; and prominence. I survey 2,367 songs and find 46% are reflexive songs. One hundred and forty-seven lyricists are represented, including: complete lyrics of Irving Berlin, Cole Porter, Lorenz Hart, Ira Gershwin; hit songs; and the scores for seventy sample productions, obscure and famous, studied in-depth. I cover Broadway musical theatre and Hollywood movie musicals, ranging through operetta, musical comedy, and revue, and focus a chapter on analyses of three shows: *He Came from Milwaukee* (1910), *King of Jazz* (1930), and *On the Town* (1944), by Comden, Green, and Bernstein.

Reflexive songs constitute a metadramatic device that is central to the American musical. The songs depict music, song, dance, and entertainment as one. Self-referential lyrics define music as abstract, incorporeal, and internal—and also as physical, affecting

the body and making listeners dance. They construct response, inviting and depicting participation, promising a way to “lose the blues.” The songwriters create an implied community through nostalgia, parody, irony, and a widespread net of cultural references, from highbrow to lowbrow.

I use the seminal discussion of reflexivity in musicals by Jane Feuer as a springboard, extending it conceptually and chronologically. I unfold the important hermeneutic potential of reflexive songs, one that is not simple and self-apparent, but rather depends on subtle and complex layers of allusiveness. Their meaning exists within a history of conventions—techniques, tropes, topics, and themes that build a tradition of intertextual connotations. This chronicle throws new light on the work of analysts of the American musical, modifying—sometimes negating—previous interpretations of specific texts and the genre as a whole. I reveal irony and related reversals of convention as basic components of the musical. Reflexive songs act as keys, unlocking meaning in American musicals.

Acknowledgments

I have many people to thank. A wide circle of friends and relatives have offered moral support throughout this dissertation process. They know who they are, and I hope they will accept this blanket acknowledgment of my deep appreciation. Some have contributed more materially to the following writings, and I will mention them below individually.

First, I wish to thank my dissertation committee, whose guidance and stimulating questions have formed what lies herein: David Savran, chair of the committee, who bore the brunt of dealing with my difficulties and demands; Marvin Carlson; and Judith Milhous. All of them sparked me with ideas and conscientiously waded through what I wrote, helping to hone it into its present shape.

Dr. John Diamond, a life-long mentor, constantly encouraged me and willingly listened to my woes and ideas. That a few of his ideas have wandered into this tome will be seen as acknowledged in what follows. All my colleagues in studying with Dr. Diamond in the Diamond Method of Music helped along the way, in one way or another; and several in specific ways that call for individual acknowledgment. Two musicologists kindly played through sheet music and advised me on how to discuss certain compositions: Jan-Piet Knijff and Peter Muir. The latter also loaned me books, pointed me to helpful bibliographic sources, and contributed materially to the content of this dissertation through conversations and his own scholarly writings. Any sophistication in my musical analyses can be credited to the help of Muir and Knijff, and any awkwardness to my own attempts! In addition to them, two friends in particular provided

valuable bouncing-off boards, helping me with their enthusiasm, ideas, and questions:

Susan Joyce Carpenter and David Dean Richard. Although never able to overcome my naiveté about statistics, Michael Allwood advised me about percentages and statistics at several points. David Colmar, along with his constant moral support, also proofread and did light editing for the appendices—on very short notice!

I am indebted to the work of previous scholars, who are acknowledged throughout the following. Without their prior work, projects of the scope of the present one could not be done. On a more personal level, I thank all the teachers I have had over the decades of my education, all of whom have contributed to this accomplishment through their tutelage.

To my parents, John Michael Garber and Amey Acheson Geier Garber, I owe the bases for my entire outlook on life and any powers of intellectual and aesthetic discernment I may possess. To my late father, I am indebted for his enthusiasm about my intellectual life and a fatherly moral support I continue to feel even today. Above all, I give thanks to my mother, for she supplied both moral and practical support that helped me bring this project to a conclusion. Most basically, I thank her for her legacy of love of music and dancing—ultimately, for her lullaby, the first and loveliest music that life can hold.

Table of Contents

Volume I

Key to Symbols and Terms	1
Chapter One: Introduction.....	3
<i>The Import of This Study.....</i>	<i>7</i>
<i>The Reflexive Song: Definitions and Terminology.....</i>	<i>28</i>
<i>Selecting a Corpus</i>	<i>37</i>
<i>Taxonomy and Periodization</i>	<i>48</i>
<i>Outline of Chapters.....</i>	<i>58</i>
Chapter Two: Defining the Nature of Music	64
<i>Introduction</i>	<i>64</i>
<i>Dance and the Physicality of Music.....</i>	<i>72</i>
<i>Vocal and Instrumental Music</i>	<i>110</i>
<i>Song and Dance.....</i>	<i>117</i>
<i>Internal Music as Song</i>	<i>121</i>
<i>Conclusion</i>	<i>142</i>
Chapter Three: Participation	145
<i>Introduction</i>	<i>145</i>
<i>Irving Berlin and the “Happy Ruction”</i>	<i>150</i>
<i>Optimistic Songs</i>	<i>164</i>
<i>Music and Happiness.....</i>	<i>171</i>
<i>Rousing Pseudo-Religious Songs.....</i>	<i>183</i>
<i>The Encouragement to Sing</i>	<i>187</i>
<i>The Urban Bazaar</i>	<i>201</i>
<i>Conclusion</i>	<i>220</i>
Chapter Four: Self-Consciousness About Entertainment.....	222
<i>Introduction</i>	<i>222</i>
<i>The Song about Entertainment as Reflexive Song.....</i>	<i>226</i>
<i>Self-Conscious Moments in the Dramaturgical Structure</i>	<i>228</i>
<i>Celebrating Entertainment.....</i>	<i>231</i>
<i>Life and Love as Drama.....</i>	<i>244</i>

<i>Parody, Irony, and Reversal</i>	247
<i>The Impasse of Expressing Emotion and the Transition from Speech to Song</i>	267
<i>The Mediating Communication System and Epic Devices</i>	286
<i>Conclusion</i>	299
Chapter Five: An Analysis of Three Shows	301
<i>Introduction</i>	301
<i>He Came from Milwaukee</i>	311
The “Paris” Song	317
The Gypsy Song	323
“Double Negative” Allusions to Music	326
Music and Love	328
Side-Show Primitivism	335
The Moon Song	339
<i>King of Jazz</i>	340
Variety and Unity in Revue	344
The Opening Title Song	347
Music, Love, and Sex	350
The Dance Song and Modernity	352
Primitivism and Appropriation	358
Convention and Reversal of Convention	361
Make Believe and the Artist	368
<i>On the Town</i>	369
Variety, Integration, and Irony	372
Extended Songs and List Songs	376
New York as Variety	380
The Depiction of Response	384
Work, Entertainment, and Sex	390
The Ballyhoo Song	396
<i>Conclusion</i>	399
Chapter Six: Concluding Thoughts	402
<i>Introduction</i>	402
<i>Music, Pleasure, and the Critics</i>	402
<i>Conclusion</i>	408
<i>Epilogue: A Personal Note</i>	409
Appendix One: The Sample of Productions	411
<i>Description of Criteria and Selection Process</i>	411
Quantity of Productions	411
Criteria for Selection	411
Selection Process	415
Guide to Production Details	416
<i>The Sample of Productions in Alphabetical Order</i>	420
<i>The Sample—Details of the Productions</i>	422
<i>The Sample of Productions in Chronological Order</i>	513
<i>Extended Sample of Shows, 1948-1966</i>	515

Appendix Two: Hit Songs.....	516
<i>Alphabetical List of Hit Songs</i>	<i>519</i>
<i>Chronological List of Hit Songs.....</i>	<i>522</i>
Appendix Three: The List of Reflexive Song Titles.....	527
<i>Introduction</i>	<i>527</i>
<i>Song Titles of 1890-1899</i>	<i>531</i>
<i>Song Titles of 1900-1909</i>	<i>544</i>
<i>Song Titles of 1910-1919</i>	<i>568</i>
<i>Song Titles of 1920-1929</i>	<i>605</i>
<i>Song Titles of 1930-1939</i>	<i>645</i>
<i>Song Titles of 1940-1947</i>	<i>676</i>
<i>Chart of Data from the List of Reflexive Song Titles</i>	<i>703</i>
<i>Interpretation of Data from the List of Reflexive Song Titles</i>	<i>705</i>
Appendix Four: Summary of Statistics	709
<i>The Corpus.....</i>	<i>709</i>
<i>Quantified Sub-Corpus</i>	<i>710</i>
<i>General Statistics for Reflexive Songs</i>	<i>711</i>
<i>Hit Songs in the Corpus</i>	<i>712</i>
<i>General Information on Hit Songs.....</i>	<i>713</i>
<i>List of Reflexive Song Titles.....</i>	<i>714</i>
<i>Estimated Total Quantity of Reflexive Production Songs</i>	<i>715</i>
<i>Love and Music.....</i>	<i>716</i>
<i>Dance Songs</i>	<i>717</i>
<i>“Primitivism”</i>	<i>718</i>
<i>Happiness and Optimism</i>	<i>719</i>
<i>“New York” Songs.....</i>	<i>720</i>
<i>“Paris” Songs.....</i>	<i>721</i>
<i>Songs About Entertainment.....</i>	<i>722</i>
<i>Unifying Devices in Revues</i>	<i>723</i>
<i>General Statistics for the Sample of Productions</i>	<i>724</i>
<i>Miscellaneous Statistics</i>	<i>726</i>
Bibliography.....	728

Key to Symbols and Terms

^{TT} This superscript mark next to a song title indicates that the song is listed by Edward Foote Gardner in *Popular Songs of the Twentieth Century* as one of the “top twenty” song hits of the first half of the twentieth century. See Appendix Two for details.

Example: “Singin’ in the Rain”^{TT}

^{TR} This superscript mark next to a song title indicates that the song is listed by Joel Whitburn in *Pop Memories* as one of the “top recordings” of the first half of the twentieth century. Despite this level of success, however, the song did not achieve the status of a “top twenty” hit, as defined by Gardner. See Appendix Two for details. Example:

“Broadway Rhythm”^{TR}

Dubilocation: This is a word coined by the author, meaning “a verbal communication that indicates doubt about how to speak about something.” I have formed this neologism from the Latin words *dubitō*, meaning “to doubt, to be uncertain,” and *loquor*, “to speak.” They combine to indicate “speaking doubtful thoughts,” which I extend to denote “speaking doubtful thoughts about speaking.” By analogy with “elocation” and “circumlocution,” it leads to extended forms, such as “dubilocationist” and “dubilocutory.” See Chapter Four for details.

Extended Songs: The usual structure for the songs in the corpus is that of verse and refrain, with up to two sets of lyrics for both. Therefore, I use the term “extended song”

to indicate two types of number, both of which exceed that usual pattern. One category of extended song supplies additional lyrics for third, fourth, fifth, or even more, repetitions of the verses or refrains. At times, such numbers insert additional material, such as skits or song parodies, between the sections. Another category of extended song is a multi-sectioned piece that comprises an extension of the usual verse-refrain pattern. These latter are often through-composed or, in a rondo effect, supply multiple refrains between repeated verses. See Chapter Five for details.

Happy ruction: This is a phrase coined by Irving Berlin to denote the kind of musical event depicted in his song “Alexander’s Ragtime Band.” According to the *American Heritage Dictionary*, 4th edition, “ruccion” probably stems from “insurrection” and denotes “a riotous disturbance; a noisy quarrel.” Berlin clearly intended it in a non-pejorative sense, to indicate “a rowdy, noisy event.” See Chapter Three for details.

Music matrix: This is term coined by the author to refer to a concept implied in reflexive songs of the American musical, wherein music, song, dance, poetry, and entertainment are seen as concomitant elements of one medium. This concomitance is indicated by the frequent concurrence, juxtaposition, and confounding of “vocal music,” “instrumental music,” and “dance.” I argue that this confusion of media strongly indicates the project of the American musical: to present as natural a matrix that contains all these elements and unites them. See Chapter Two for details.

Chapter One: Introduction

In a cottage in the highlands of Scotland, Tommy asks his fellow American, Jeff, how he feels. “Surprisingly well,” is the answer, “How are you?” Tommy, it seems, is doing even better than his friend. He has just returned from gathering heather on the hills with Fiona, a native of the village, where they have been wandering in the mist and dew, beneath sun and clouds. “I never felt better in my life,” Tommy exclaims. In this way, the musical *Brigadoon* (1947) reaches its mid-point and prepares to introduce its big hit song, “Almost Like Being in Love,” with words by lyricist-librettist Alan Jay Lerner and music by Frederick Loewe.

Tommy starts the song with an introductory section, the verse. He speaks of the sun and the air. Perhaps, he suggests, these are the factors that are making him feel so good. He launches into the refrain, rejoicing in a sensation of well-being: “What a rare mood I’m in!” How can he describe such an emotion? “Why it’s ...”—he hesitates for the length of a quarter note, searching his mind—“... almost like being in love!” In the second stanza, he declares that he has a smile “for the whole human race”; he is overflowing with cheerfulness. His thoughts have turned increasingly abstract and general, moving from the elements of his immediate environment—the sun and air—to the more intangible but still specific and localized idea of his “mood,” to a kind of global generality, “the whole human race.”

By now, Tommy has come up with the notion that he might possibly be in love. Perhaps he is even certain that such is the case. Can he tell Jeff? Will his friend give

credence to such a sudden infatuation? Does Tommy himself trust it? No, he cannot yet admit that he is definitely in love. He hesitates again, and retains the qualification: “it’s ... *almost* like being in love.”

Then comes the release—the third, contrasting section. The music modulates and climbs to its highest note. Here, Tommy’s thoughts become very poetic; he now alludes to “the music of life.” In a previous song, “The Heather on the Hill,” he has rhapsodized about the “lazy music in the rill,” depicting the sounds of nature as akin to human music. Now he goes further. Life itself has music, *is* music. From this extreme abstraction, Tommy quickly retracts to a more specific, concrete image: “All the music of life seems to be / like a bell that is ringing for me.” As he does so, the melody descends from its highest note back to the middle range of the tune. Simultaneously, in the lyric, the ethereal “music of life” is transmuted into the percussive stroke of clapper hitting metal—festive, ceremonial, and potentially sacred.

In the first half of the song, each of the two stanzas introduces a new topic, which is thereafter discarded. Now, however, from the release onwards to the final cadence, the image of the “bell” playing the “music of life” continues and intensifies. The lead-in notes to the return of the main melody are stretched out, with *tenuto* markings in the accompaniment. This imbues the first line of the fourth stanza with an ebb-and-flow of tension and relaxation: “*And from the* waaaaay that I feel / when that bell starts to peal ...,” Tommy expansively declares, “I would swear I was falling.” He stops. Can he say it? “I could swear I was falling.” Again, he pauses—no, he cannot say it. Even yet he must throw doubt upon his state of emotion: “It’s almost like being in love.” Through poetic associations and the interaction of melody and lyrics, the song has defined the very

nature of music: both prosaic and otherworldly, both displaying and overcoming emotional reticence, both caused by and causing elation.

“Almost Like Being in Love” is a reflexive song: it reflects upon its own components, such as music and lyrics, through explicit allusions to those elements. It is one of thousands of reflexive songs introduced in American musicals during the decades when the genre was developing its distinctive traits. Unlike “Almost Like Being in Love,” many such songs reveal their reflexivity in their very titles. They allude to music (for instance, “Alexander’s Ragtime Band”), singing (“Singin’ in the Rain”), dance (“Dancing in the Dark”), and entertainment (“There’s No Business Like Show Business”). Some of these songs are among the most popular and well-remembered of their era, as is the case with “I Got Rhythm.”¹ Even “Over the Rainbow,” with its allusion to “a land that I heard of / once in a lullaby,” fits into this category.² These songs depict the joys of music and entertainment, documenting changes in the rhetoric surrounding musical pleasure in the first half of the twentieth century.

As with “Almost Like Being in Love” or “Over the Rainbow,” the reflexivity in songs from the American musical is often not immediately apparent, and therefore it is

¹ I draw information about the popularity of songs from two sources: Edward Foote Gardner, *Popular Songs of the Twentieth Century: Volume I—Chart Details and Encyclopedia, 1900-1949* (St. Paul, Minn.: Paragon House, 2000); and Joel Whitburn, *Pop Memories, 1890-1954: The History of American Popular Music* (Menomonee Falls, Wisc.: Record Research, 1986). Gardner lists one hundred and seventy-three reflexive songs from musicals among the “top twenty” hits of the period covered by my study—i.e., an average of more than three a year. Numerous additional ones did not achieve that status but nevertheless enjoyed one hit recording, and Whitburn supplies information on these.

² Signs of the enduring prominence of these reflexive songs include re-use in film and stage productions, a large number of recorded renditions, inclusion in song anthologies, industry awards, rankings in opinion polls, and discussions by historians and analysts. “Over the Rainbow” supplies a good example, for it was honored as the number one song of the twentieth century by the *Songs of the Century* educational project. Regarding “I Got Rhythm,” Walter Rimler lists sixty-seven recordings that post-date the year of its introduction; *A Gershwin Companion: A Critical Inventory and Discography, 1916-1984* (Ann Arbor, Mich.: Popular Ink, 1991), 242-244. Will Friedwald’s discussion of “I Got Rhythm” includes additional examples, including nineteen recordings by jazz violinist Stephane Grappelli; *Stardust Memories: A Biography of Twelve of America’s Most Popular Songs* (New York: Pantheon Books, 2002), 180-211.

seldom noticed or commented upon. Yet, these songs subtly inflect entire productions with a pervasive reflexivity, because they define the distinctive aspects of the genre—music, song, dance, and entertainment. For instance, at first glance, *Brigadoon* does not seem to be a very self-referential musical. In it, nobody puts on a show, stops to discuss the meaning of music in human life, or mentions the odd phenomenon that everybody is going around singing. Yet, there it is, at the heart of the central love song, providing its rhapsodic climax: the allusion to music.

In the following dissertation, I unveil the importance of reflexive songs as a central component of the American musical, one that defines the most intrinsic elements of the genre. This insight results from my methodology, at the core of which is the selection and examination of a large and representative body of material. I have inspected more than 2,335 songs, chosen according to a range of criteria, and identified those that are reflexive. The result is a collection for study of 1,073 reflexive songs. Thus, I offer this history of reflexive songs as a model for a specific methodology for studying musicals, which will be described more fully below.

In this chapter, I will first look at the importance of my study to the scholarly discourse on the genre of American musicals, for the themes it reveals and the analyses it facilitates. I write a broad history of the reflexive song as a formal device. Below, I will offer two specific examples of how this approach can enhance or modify the analyses offered by previous scholars of the genre. This dissertation is also significant as a methodological model. I will present the details of my methodology, including discussions of how I define reflexive songs, my terminology, and the criteria used for selecting a corpus. I conclude with a summary of the upcoming chapters.

The Import of This Study

Reflexive songs are only one of many conventional structural elements used in the American musical. These components are alluded to and utilized by scholars in their analyses of individual shows and the genre as a whole. Nevertheless, there are no histories of any of these formal units—none that methodically dissects a large and representative body of material, looking at both stage and screen, and covering the earlier decades of the twentieth century. I believe that such histories are essential to the scholarly discourse about the American musical, and I offer this study as the beginning of such a project.

Scholars discuss reflexive songs in order to reveal topics and values of the genre. For example, Timothy Donovan, Andrea Most, and Carey Wall, separately, all relate the theme of the American Dream to the song “There’s No Business Like Show Business” (*Annie Get Your Gun*, 1946).³ They emphasize the exhilarating vision offered by the song, wherein you wake up and “on your dressing room / they’ve hung a star.”

Only one scholar, however, highlights the fact that these songs are reflexive—Jane Feuer. Her 1982 study, *The Hollywood Musical*, has to a great extent been the inspiration and springboard for my own.⁴ Feuer concentrates on MGM musicals from 1939 to 1955; and I started this project to demonstrate that her analysis of reflexive songs

³ Timothy P. Donovan, “Annie Get Your Gun: A Last Celebration of Nationalism,” *Journal of Popular Culture* 7, no. 3 (1978): 531-539, at 536, 538-539; Andrea Most, *Making Americans: Jews and the Broadway Musical* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2004), 128-131; Carey Wall, “There’s No Business Like Show Business: A Speculative Reading of the Broadway Musical,” *Approaches to the American Musical*, ed. Robert Lawson-Peebles, (Exeter, U.K.: University of Exeter Press, 1996), 24-43, at 34-35.

⁴ Jane Feuer, *The Hollywood Musical*, 2nd ed. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, [1982], 1993).

is valid not only for that limited corpus, but also for many other musicals, especially the Broadway musicals that precede the era she studied.⁵ As I progressed, however, and historicized the development and prevalence of reflexive songs, I found information that considerably modified parts of Feuer's argument. Further, my study revealed many additional conventions and themes, some not discussed by Feuer or anybody else. The end result constitutes an extensive revision of our understanding of such reflexive songs and, indeed, of the American musical.

This study, therefore, fills a gap—one that needs to be filled in order to understand specific musicals and the genre as a whole. Its revelations have been many, both large and small, and have been a result of my methodology in selecting a corpus for analysis. Because of this survey, I am able to present a thorough, in-depth history and analysis of a formal device—the reflexive song. The proof that this methodology is valuable is that it expands our understanding of previously discussed themes of the genre and reveals new ones. These threads run through the fabric of the four chapters that immediately follow.

Feuer points out that reflexivity manifests in the movie musicals of her corpus in many explicit and implicit ways.⁶ The musicals covered in my study, too, are all reflexive—most of them considerably so. This reflexivity is associated with a wide variety of themes. Some of these have already been identified by previous analysts of the American musical, but only in relationship to corpuses that are limited by medium or era.

⁵ The corpus used by Feuer in the first edition of *The Hollywood Musical* includes 107 movie musicals, covering a fairly wide range. As Rick Altman points out, however, “for Jane Feuer ... the musicals that really count are those produced by MGM's Freed unit”; *Film/Genre* (London: British Film Institute, 1999), 17.

⁶ Although Feuer does not always label it “reflexivity,” she is discussing this trait throughout most of her study, *The Hollywood Musical*.

For instance, many themes have been discussed for the mid-century period but not for earlier decades: nationalism, assimilation through theatricalized self-invention, the work ethic versus the values of entertainment, and the cultural dynamic between highbrow and lowbrow, among others.⁷ Others have been analyzed more systematically for movie musicals than for Broadway shows: nostalgia for older forms of entertainment, the confounding of “music” and “song,” and the presence or absence of African Americans.⁸

⁷ On nationalism, see: Rick Altman, *The American Film Musical* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1985), 272-327; John Bush Jones, *Our Musicals, Ourselves: A Social History of the American Musical Theatre* (Hanover, Mass.: Brandeis University Press, University Press of New England, 2003), 21-49; Raymond Knapp, *The American Musical and the Formation of National Identity* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005); and, discussing film melodrama and comedy as well as musicals, Peter Stanfield, *Body and Soul: Jazz and Blues in American Film, 1927-63* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2005). On assimilation and self-invention, see: Henry Jenkins, *What Made Pistachio Nuts? Early Sound Comedy and the Vaudeville Aesthetic* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1992), 153-184; Krin Gabbard, *Jammin' at the Margins: Jazz and the American Cinema* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996); Jeffrey Melnick, *A Right to Sing the Blues: African Americans, Jews, and American Popular Song* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1999); Andrea Most, *Making Americans*; and Michael Rogin, *Blackface, White Noise: Jewish Immigrants in the Hollywood Melting Pot* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996), 121-158. On the work ethic, see: Rick Altman, op. cit., 50-54, 337-344; and Carey Wall, “There’s No Business Like Show Business: A Speculative Reading of the Broadway Musical.” A history of the concept of highbrow and lowbrow in nineteenth-century American culture is offered by Lawrence W. Levine, *Highbrow /Lowbrow: The Emergence of Cultural Hierarchy in America* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1988). Levine commences by talking about musical comedy, but rarely returns to that topic. For the working out of this cultural dynamic in musicals, see: Jane Feuer, *Hollywood Musical*, 53-65; Henry Jenkins, op. cit., 26-95; Robert Lawson-Peebles, “Brush Up Your Shakespeare: The Case of *Kiss Me, Kate*,” in the aforementioned *Approaches to the American Musical*, 89-108; Gerald Mast, *Can’t Help Singin’: The American Musical on Stage and Screen* (Woodstock, N.Y.: Overlook Press, 1987), 1-6; Andrea Most, op. cit., especially 153-182; Peter Stanfield, op. cit.; and David Savran, *A Queer Sort of Materialism: Recontextualizing American Theater* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2003), 14-55.

⁸ On nostalgia in movie musicals, see: Rick Altman, *American Film Musical*, 272-290, 350-359; and Jane Feuer, *Hollywood Musical*, 102-106. On defining music as song, see: Jane Feuer, op. cit., 49-66. On blacks in film, see: Richard Dyer, “The Colour of Entertainment,” in *Musicals: Hollywood and Beyond*, ed. Bill Marshall and Robynn Stilwell (Exeter, U.K.: Intellect Books, 2000), 23-30; Sean Griffin, “The Gang’s All Here: Generic versus Racial Integration in the 1940s Musical,” *Cinema Journal* 42, no. 1 (2002), 21-25; Arthur Knight, *Disintegrating the Musical: Black Performance and American Musical Film* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2002); Kenneth MacKinnon, “‘I Keep Wishing I Were Somewhere Else’: Space and Fantasies of Freedom in the Hollywood Musical,” in *Musicals: Hollywood and Beyond*, 40-46; Michael Rogin, *Blackface, White Noise*, 121-158. Although race and nostalgia have been discussed for musical theatre, the discussions tend to focus on all-black shows or on individual properties such as *Show Boat*, rather than the genre as a whole. For examples, see: Lauren Berlant, “Pax Americana: The Case of *Show Boat*” in *Cultural Institutions of the Novel*, eds. Deidre Lynch and William B. Warner (Durham and London, Duke University Press, 1996), pp. 399-422; Robin Breon, “*Show Boat*: The Revival, the Racism,” *The Drama Review* 39, no. 2 (Summer 1995): 86-105; Raymond Knapp, *The American Musical and the Formation of National Identity*, 181-227; Scott McMillan, “Paul Robeson, Will Vodery’s ‘Jubilee Singers,’ and the Earliest Script of the Kern-Hammerstein *Show Boat*,” *Theatre Survey* 41, no. 2 (November 2000),

Despite their useful insights, these scholars are often incorrect in their depiction of the historical development of the genre. In this study, I rectify such errors of representation, by drawing methodically on a wider corpus.

My study makes clear that musicals of the turn of the century already possess many of the characteristic concerns and strategies so distinctive and important to later musicals. I also reveal more extensively and in more detail than has ever been done heretofore how reflexive song conventions from the 1920s Broadway musical were utilized by Hollywood. By contrast, certain conventions became prominent at a later date than has previously been assumed. Overall, I historicize what have often been presented as generalized truths about the genre and delineate links between the media-specific analyses of previous scholars.

Perhaps of even more interest, however, are the themes that have never been given any extensive or sustained analysis by previous scholars. Of these, I will highlight four major concerns. First, musicals depict response. They create a theatrical or cinematic construction of the audience's relationship to musical comedy and its constituent elements, such as music, dance, and dramatic narrative. This is manifested in a variety of ways. One method is to describe reactions to performance. An example is supplied by "Boogie Woogie Bugle Boy" (from *Buck Privates*, 1940). The lyric narrates a story wherein the eponymous musician plays, and therefore "the company jump[s]," i.e., dances. Moreover, the soldiers also "clap their hands and stamp their feet," joining in the music-making. Another strategy is for the characters to turn, first to each other, then to

51-70; Thomas L. Riis, *Just Before Jazz: Black Musical Theatre in New York, 1890-1915* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1989) and *More Than Just Minstrel Shows: The Rise of Black Musical Theatre at the Turn of the Century* (Brooklyn, N.Y.: Institute for Studies in American Music, 1992); and Allen L. Woll, *Black Musical Theatre: From "Coontown" to "Dreamgirls"* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1989).

the audience, and sing reflexive songs that issue the invitation to “come along and join in.” “Do the Varsity Drag!” “Everybody sing!” This is a command to participate, and the people on stage or in the film invariably obey. Such songs and their stagings function similarly to a reaction shot in a film, indicating to the spectator how to interpret the material being presented.

Characters in these musicals are always like the pair in *On the Town* who get “Carried Away” by music or drama. They react viscerally to music. They become emotionally involved with entertainment. They imitate star performers or fictional characters. All these responses lead them to take action of their own. The characters get irresistibly drawn into the same sort of activities that are the basis for musicals. In emulation, they march alongside the parade, or make love as people do in the movies, or try to dance the hula-hula with the natives.

This response to music by the *dramatis personae* is not limited to exterior activity, however—it is also portrayed as occurring in an internal space. All sensory impressions and feelings get translated into music. Romance makes you hear music. The excitement of the city is like music. The sounds of nature are interpreted as music. Even disillusionment is seen in musical terms—for, as the lyric to “Only a Paper Moon” puts it, it can make life into “a honky-tonk parade.”

Such responses by the characters to music and entertainment implies a second theme: the importance and value of music. Again, Feuer points out the basic facts of the case: “Musicals not only *showed* you singing and dancing; they were *about* singing and dancing.”⁹ Through reflexive songs, however, the genre goes further. Music is linked to

⁹ Jame Feuer, *Hollywood Musical*, x; italics in the original.

manifold kinds of pleasure—delight, abandon, sensuality, eroticism, romance. It is depicted as being rooted both in body and psyche—for it irresistibly compels you to dance, and it surges up from your deepest inner self as a “song in your heart.”

These songs declare: “If you are happy, you sing and dance.” Even more, however, the genre maintains that music is curative. It will help you “lose the blues,” partly because it will counteract the stresses of modern life. Music becomes associated with the optimism that helps mankind endure. As in “Without a Song,” the lyrics repeatedly declare, “I’ll get along / as long as a song / is strong in my soul.”

The hyperbolic nature of many of these descriptions of music has a double edge. The songs offer blatant self-promotion—a kind of salesmanship redolent of the highly commercialized context of their creation, introduction, and distribution. Yet they also create a dramatic depiction of a great idealism, a strong faith in the power of music to enrich life and to help people tap into its deeper meaning.

The third theme paradoxically co-exists with the genre’s sentimental and idealistic bent: musicals satirize all of artistic culture, including and especially themselves. They parody specific works and whole genres. They take an ironic stance in relationship to their own conventions. Through these means, they draw the audience into a slyly complicit relationship, a secret joke. They create what Manfred Pfister discusses as a “mediating communication system”—an implied author manipulating the characters and events.¹⁰ As part of this general self-consciousness, musicals use many of the metatheatrical elements that are characteristic of modernist drama—particularly of epic

¹⁰ Manfred Pfister, *The Theory and Analysis of Drama*, trans. John Halliday (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 3-4, 71, 116.

theatre—without straying from their characteristic tone of popular comedy and sentimental melodrama.

Fourth, musicals are concerned with the modern. This preoccupation partly manifests as an interest in novelty. For instance, the “The Varsity Drag” is “newer than new” and “The Continental” is “ultra new.” As another sign of this theme, musicals often focus on the city as a symbol of the changes wrought by the twentieth century. This urban environment is musicalized as a “New York Serenade” or “Broadway Melody.” I position several other themes in relationship to that of modernization and urbanism. Primitivism, rural idylls, nostalgia—these exist in a dialectical relationship to the technologically-advanced, cosmopolitan, contemporary city.

In light of the musical’s thematization of modernity, a discussion of the relationship between musicals and modernist art becomes inevitable. This, in turn, requires a careful defining of three terms that are often used interchangeably: modernization, modernism, and modernity. Daniel Singal defines *modernization* as “a process of social and economic development, involving the rise of industry, technology, urbanization, and bureaucratic institutions.”¹¹ Marshall Berman similarly emphasizes “the social processes” that bring modernization into being—a “maelstrom” of industrialization, science, technology, new communication systems, and the shifts of masses of people into new environments, life styles, classes, and political structures.¹² *Modernism*, by contrast, is “a culture”—“an amazing variety of visions and ideas that aim

¹¹ Daniel Joseph Singal, “Towards a Definition of American Modernism,” *American Quarterly* 39, no. 1 (spring 1987): 7-26, at 7.

¹² Marshall Berman, *All That Is Solid Melts into Air: The Experience of Modernity* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1982), 16.

to make men and women the subjects as well as the objects of modernization.”¹³ The arts and their movements are primary vehicles for the formation of this heterogeneous, international culture. *Modernity* is distinct from both modernization and modernism. Kenneth Bindas defines it as “the acceptance, appropriation, and dissemination of things modern, both technological and cultural.”¹⁴ The processes of modernity make both modernization and modernism “part of the daily fabric.”¹⁵

Most definitions of modernism emphasize the self-conscious break with tradition. As Matei Calinescu puts it, in the modern world “an artist ... is cut off from the normative past,” and, therefore, “the present ... appears as his main source of inspiration and creativity.”¹⁶ After this basic characteristic, however, definitions of modernism often vary widely. Nevertheless, reflexivity is discussed by many critics as an important characteristic of some or all modernist artworks and movements. Eugene Lunn, among others, speaks of how “modernism as a whole” displays an “aesthetic self-consciousness or self-reflexiveness” that often draws “attention to the media or materials with which [the artists] are working, the very processes of creation in their craft.”¹⁷ Critics such as Malcolm Bradbury, Thomas Crow, Sergei Guilbaut, Andreas Huyssens, and James McFarlane point to the dialectic within modernism between, on the one hand, an “autonomy” and “exclusivity,” and, on the other, an intertextuality that can embrace

¹³ Daniel Joseph Singal, “Towards a Definition of American Modernism,” 7; Marshall Berman, *All That Is Solid Melts into Air*, 16.

¹⁴ Kenneth J. Bindas, *Swing, That Modern Sound* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2001), xiii.

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ Matei Calinescu, *Five Faces of Modernity: Modernism, Avant-Garde, Decadence, Kitsch, Postmodernism* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1987), 3.

¹⁷ Eugene Lunn, *Marxism and Modernism: An Historical Study of Lukàcs, Brecht, Benjamin, and Adorno* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982), 34.

ironic allusions to established conventions, classical works, low-culture, or mass culture.¹⁸ Like the musicals covered in my study, modernist art is reflexive.

Thus, reflexivity, metatheatrical devices, parody, irony, a focus on the modern—all are prominent traits in the European modernist art that arose in the late nineteenth century; and they are also characteristic of the earliest American musicals included in my study: *The Fortune Teller* (1898), *Whirl-I-Gig* (1899), and so on. Yet, although musicals and modernism incorporated many of the same attitudes, themes, and techniques, there are significant differences, some of which are central to my discussion, as outlined above. The depiction of reception is a distinctive aspect of musicals—yet it is never remarked upon as an intrinsic component of contemporaneous modernism. Even if this theme should be included in modernist art, it would be hard to imagine the figures represented in such works as having the rhapsodic, enthusiastic, joy-filled responses of the inhabitants of musicals. Perhaps even more notable is the absence from modernist art of that odd mixture so characteristic of the American musical: the idealist affirmation of a bromidic philosophy plus a blatant salesmanship of its own elements that does not flinch from commercialism—indeed, that embraces it and celebrates it.

As well as textual differences, there are contextual differences between musicals and modernist art. Musicals developed within the very distinctive industry of American show business. The genre also took shape within a specific cultural sphere, albeit one that

¹⁸ Malcolm Bradbury and James McFarlane, “The Name and Nature of Modernism,” in *Modernism, 1890-1930*, ed. Malcolm Bradbury and James McFarlane (Harrocks, England: Harvester Press, 1978), 19-56, at 26, 29-30; Thomas Crow, *Modern Art in the Common Culture* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996), 3-4; Sergei Guilbaut, “The Relevance of Modernism,” in *Modernism and Modernity: The Vancouver Conference Papers*, ed. Benjamin H.D. Buchloh, Serge Guilbaut, and David Solkin (Halifax: Press of the Nova Scotia College of Art and Design, 1983), ix-xv, at xii; Andreas Huyssens, *After the Great Divide: Modernism, Mass Culture, Postmodernism* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1986), vii-viii and passim.

is defined in relationship to its others: the “middlebrow” that can only exist sandwiched between the “highbrow” and the “lowbrow.”¹⁹

It is tempting to valorize the American musical by annexing it into the domain of modernism, allowing its reputation to benefit thereby from the attendant cultural and intellectual prestige of modern art. Indeed, this is one strategy of the genre itself, and the deliberate incorporation of modernist elements is an increasing characteristic of musicals from the mid-1920s onward.²⁰ Yet, by the time of the 1913 Armory Show in New York, which first made many Americans aware of the anti-realist trends developing in European modernism, most of the basic characteristics of the American musical that parallel those of modernist art, such as reflexivity and irony, were already in place.²¹

Huyssens argues that modernism was shaped by its dialectic relationship with mass culture. Musicals, too, were in constant interaction with the processes of mass culture as well as other forms of modernization, such as the creation of centralized show business oligopolies. Unfortunately, however, the precise relationship between musicals and mass culture has never been vigorously defined.²² Singal offers another point of

¹⁹ In the musicals examined in my survey, the idea of (if not the exact term for) the “middlebrow” is first clearly brought forward in the 1920 Broadway revue, *What’s in a Name?*, in a skit called “Highlowbrow.”

²⁰ A potted history will offer some examples of the increasing overlap between modernism and the musical. Broadway saw the use of scenic design influenced by modernist practices as early as Joseph Urban’s work with the *Ziegfeld Follies*, starting in 1915. Dream sequences and their surreal effects grow in prominence after *Peggy-Ann* (1926). Albertina Rasch created modern ballets to George Gershwin’s *An American in Paris* for *Show Girl* (1929), and this trend increased after George Balanchine began to choreograph on Broadway (*Ziegfeld Follies*, 1936) and in Hollywood (*Goldwyn Follies*, 1937). Charles Weidman featured American modern dance techniques on Broadway in *As Thousands Cheer* (1933), as did Katherine Dunham in Hollywood in *Pardon My Sarong* (1942). Psychoanalysis is increasingly a topic after *May Wine* (1935). A kind of *verismo* is seen in *Porgy and Bess* (1935), and symbolism influenced *Carousel* (1945).

²¹ For a discussion of the dominance of realism in American modernism through 1910 and the impact of the Armory Show, see: William B. Scott and Peter M. Rutkoff, *New York Modern: The Arts and the City* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1999), 14–62

²² David Bordwell, Janet Staiger, and Kristin Thompson discuss how Hollywood cinema, including musicals, was “part of mass production.” They emphasize, however, that “its organization most closely approximates serial manufacture,” which depended upon “collective activity and cooperation between craft workers”—not the assembly-line approach of “machine-tool, or modern, industry”; *The Classical*

connection between musicals and modernism. He defines the latter as being an expression of the urge to reconnect the dichotomies that were imposed by Victorian ideology. This “integrative mode” of modernism displayed a “passion ... for fusing together disparate elements of ... experience into new and original ‘wholes.’”²³

Modernist artists sought “to reconnect all that the Victorian moral dichotomy tore asunder,” such as body and spirit, secular and sacred, city and country, old and new, female and male.²⁴ As I will amply demonstrate throughout the following chapters, the overlapping and blurring of boundaries between such seeming opposites is one of the main strategies of the reflexive song in the American musical.

Despite such correspondences, I argue that the musicals examined in my study cannot be viewed strictly as examples of modernist art. Instead, they are more accurately seen as part of the processes of modernity. In Bindas’ terms, these shows helped to make both modernization and modernism “part of the daily fabric.” I maintain that musicals represent a tradition overlapping with but in many ways independent of modernism. Arising alongside modernism, musicals offered an alternate artistic response to modernization, developed within the largely separate spheres of commerce and middlebrow culture.

As with acclaimed modernist artworks, musicals in general—and the reflexive songs within them in particular—have multiple layers of meaning. Through simultaneous ballyhooing and irony, idealism and cynicism, sentiment and self-satire, evocation of

Hollywood Cinema: Film Style and Mode of Production to 1960 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1985), 92. How closely “serial manufacture” describes the mode of production for stage musicals during the first half of the twentieth century remains an open question, as does the exact relationship between mass culture and the market for songs from musicals in the form of sheet music, recordings, and so forth.

²³ Daniel Joseph Singal, “Towards a Definition of American Modernism,” 12.

²⁴ Ibid.

emotion and distancing from it, the musicals covered by my study create a distinctive tone. The result of this mixture is that interpreting these works is a complex task. The goal of my study is to provide a history that contributes to such hermeneutics. In each chapter, I will analyze specific works in order to illustrate how, in practice, the American musical's contradictory themes interact.

The multifarious themes that I trace in reflexive songs have specific historical developments, and it is the main task of this project to chart these diachronic trajectories. Each convention fluctuates in prominence from decade to decade. Importantly, these reflexive topics are shared by both stage and screen. Sometimes there are, however, differences between the two media in the handling of conventions or in the historical prevalence of a specific convention in one medium or the other. I will detail these distinctions at various points in my narrative.

This study is primarily concerned with the historiographic value of studying formal devices—in this case, the reflexive song. For those interested in formalist analysis for its own sake, the project needs no further justification. Such a history of conventions, however, also bestows further benefits. It offers a new and broader historical perspective that can add precision and depth to the analysis of individual texts. I will present two specific demonstrations of this process later in this chapter. Because such interpretations of particular shows are then used by commentators to explore the relationship of the American musical to society—to individual and group response, to the discourses of power in culture and politics—this study also helps to lay the groundwork for those who wish to do such analysis more fully.

The reflexive song is only one of many devices used extensively in the genre. Others, for instance, are the use of the chorus, spectacle, or patterns of closely related musical motifs. Some scholars have looked at such formal elements and the dynamics between these devices and the storylines of particular works. These studies, however, concentrate on limited timeframes or corpuses usually comprised solely of standard canonical works.²⁵

The most extensive catalogings of the traits of the American musical have been done for the movie musical, in two closely-related studies. First is that by Feuer, who methodically discusses the formal traits that create what she identifies as the major through-line in the genre—the thematization and valorization of singing, dancing, and popular entertainment itself.²⁶ Second is her erstwhile mentor, Rick Altman, who uses his extensive corpus to analyze movie musical style, history, taxonomy, and social function.²⁷ While Altman covers an impressively large corpus, he, like Feuer, focuses his investigation on the products of Hollywood. Therefore, these authors, to a large extent, detach the movie musical from certain social, economic, and artistic contexts, in all of which Hollywood and Broadway functioned in close relationship to each other, as the

²⁵ Martin Rubin studies spectacle in the American musical, but his focus is in on the film work of Busby Berkeley, and he presents the surrounding history and theory primarily to contextualize and “problematize” this auteurist study; *Showstoppers: Busby Berkeley and the Tradition of Spectacle* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993), 5. Teresa Durbin focuses on the chorus, but analyzes only six works; “The Function of the Chorus in Musical Theatre: 1970-1990” (master’s thesis, Bowling Green State University, 1991). Geoffrey Block, Larry Stempl, and Joseph Swain all concentrate on a standard canon of Broadway works to demonstrate the opera-like motific musical organicism of certain works: Geoffrey Block, *Enchanted Evenings: The Broadway Musical from “Show Boat” to Sondheim* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997); Larry Stempl, “The Musical Play Expands,” *American Music* (Summer 1992): 136-169, and “Broadway’s Mozartean Moment, or An Amadeus in Amber,” in *Sennets and Tuckets: A Bernstein Celebration*, ed. Steven Ledbetter (Boston: David R. Godine, Boston Symphony, 1988), 39-56; Joseph Swain, *The Broadway Musical: A Critical and Musical Survey* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991).

²⁶ Jane Feuer, *Hollywood Musical*.

²⁷ Rick Altman, *American Film Musical*.

present study will demonstrate in regards to their mutual deployment of specific kinds of reflexive song.

Most recent authors on the musical genre concentrate on the complex dynamics between the musical and American social, political, and cultural history. For instance, in a recent study, John Bush Jones examines the depiction of social and political values in the Broadway musical, covering the entire twentieth century.²⁸ To a certain degree, Jones's project resembles the present study in that he examines a broad time span and concentrates on a limited subject.

In examining the link between musicals and social history, Jones overlaps with a number of recent authors who have explored this same connection.²⁹ As part of this trend, many of the most intriguing recent studies of the musical concentrate on subaltern authorship and spectatorship.³⁰ Andrea Most (for theatre) and Michael Rogin (for film)

²⁸ John Bush Jones, *Our Musicals, Ourselves*.

²⁹ An early example of the study of musicals and American culture is by Gerald Mast, who, in *Can't Help Singin'*, nevertheless, concentrates primarily on specific *auteurs*—songwriters, directors, and stars—and thereby includes much formal analysis as well. In addition to the authors discussed further in the main body of the text, there are two full-length studies on this topic: Raymond Knapp, *The American Musical and the Formation of National Identity* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005); and David Walsh and Len Platt, *Musical Theater and American Culture* (Westport, Conn.: Praeger, 2003). Bruce Kirle also focuses much of his work on this topic, combined with a concern for performance and reception; *Unfinished Show Business: Broadway Musicals as Works-in-Process* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 2005). More concise essays in this field can be found by a number of others: Paul Filmer, Val Rimmer, and Dave Walsh, "Oklahoma!: Ideology and Politics in the Vernacular Tradition of the American Musical," *Popular Music* 18, no. 3 (October 1999), 381-397; Mark Roth, "Some Warners Musicals and the Spirit of the New Deal," in *Genre: The Musical—A Reader*, ed. Rick Altman (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, British Film Institute, 1981), 41-56; David Savran, *Queer Sort of Materialism*, 3-55; and various articles in the anthology edited by Robert Lawson-Peebles, *Approaches to the American Musical* (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1996), including his own "Brush Up Your Shakespeare: The Case of Kiss Me, Kate," 89-108, as well as: Carey Wall, "There's No Business Like Show Business: A Speculative Reading of the Broadway Musical," 24-43; and Ralph Willett, "From Gold Diggers to Bar Girls: A Selective History of the American Movie Musical," 44-54.

³⁰ D.A. Miller concentrates on baby-boomer male homosexual spectatorship; *Place for Us: Essay on the Broadway Musical* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1998). His discussion has been responded to by: John Clum, adding gay authorship to the focus; *Something for the Boys: Musical Theater and Gay Culture* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1999); and Stacy Wolf, who analyzes lesbian spectatorship, particularly of female star personas; *A Problem Like Maria: Gender and Sexuality in the American Musical* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2002). Arthur Knight analyzes black performance in the movie musical,

combine this emphasis with an analysis of the use of theatricalism in the musical as a mode of identity formation for Jewish Americans.³¹ Again, however, these writers concentrate on corpuses of study that are limited in various ways: by media, i.e. either stage or film; or time span, for very few cover the years prior to the mid-1920s, and some do not even venture further back than the mid-1940s; or by selection, with examples often drawn from a short list of canonical works.

Within this exciting growth of serious commentary that spotlights the societal and reception aspects of the American musical, the history of formal devices still deserves a place in scholarly endeavors as a necessary complement. In her study, Feuer identifies about twenty-five conventional elements of the Hollywood musical and shows how these intimately link with themes. For instance, one theme of the Hollywood musical, according to many, is the creation of community.³² As part of this construction, Feuer points out, the genre emphasizes immediate and direct communication. This can be manifested cinematically in ways as simple and yet effective as cutting from a long-shot or a side-angle view of a show-within-the-show to a closer, frontal view of the same performance, now seemingly addressed directly to the film viewer who thereby joins the audience-community depicted in the film's storyline.³³ Perhaps this visual framing technique originally resulted from the basic requirement of presenting the performer clearly, both acoustically and visually, but it soon—perhaps immediately—became

concentrating on the interactions, both on screen and in black journalism, of African Americans with the use of blackface in Hollywood films and in the all-black race film industry; *Disintegrating the Musical*.

³¹ Andrea Most, *Making Americans*; Michael Rogin, *Blackface, White Noise*.

³² For discussions of the creation of community in the movie musical, see: Rick Altman, *American Film Musical*, 126, 309ff, and passim; Richard Dyer, "Entertainment and Utopia," in *Genre: The Musical—A Reader*, ed. Rick Altman, 175-189, especially pp. 180-181, and passim; Jane Feuer, *Hollywood Musical*, 31-42; Thomas Schatz, *Hollywood Genres: Formula, Film Making, and the Studio System* (New York: Random House, 1981), 188.

³³ Jane Feuer, *Hollywood Musical*, 35.

thematically significant. This dramaturgical importance then encouraged the continuation of the formal device.

Because Feuer so clearly outlines basic devices and themes of the movie musical, her work has been a major springboard for a number of later writers. Bruce Babington and Peter Evans use her argument as a major touchstone, testing her generalizations against their detailed analyses of eleven movie musicals.³⁴ Heather Laing uses Feuer as the basis for her consideration of the dynamics of freedom and constraint within musical numbers.³⁵ Ralph Willett repeatedly refers to Feuer's work as he traces thematic threads throughout the history of the Hollywood musical.³⁶ Robert Lawson-Peebles incorporates her observations into his discussion of the film version of *Kiss Me, Kate* (1953).³⁷ Arthur Knight alludes to Feuer's analysis, along with that of others, in describing both the "utopian feelings" created by the movie musical and its "fragmentary" formal structure.³⁸ Numerous others, writing on both theatre and film, draw on her work.³⁹ The contribution her study has made to the field argues for the value of examining stylistic traits of the genre.

Yet the fact remains that although Feuer identifies and analyzes an illuminating set of devices and themes, her corpus is limited and her discussion lacks an extensive

³⁴ Bruce Babington and Peter Evans, *Blue Skies and Silver Linings: Aspects of the American Musical* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1985).

³⁵ Heather Laing, "Emotion by Numbers—Music, Song and the Musical," in *Musicals: Hollywood and Beyond*, ed. Bill Marshall and Robynn Stilwell (Exeter: Intellect Books, 2000), 5-13.

³⁶ Ralph Willett, "From Gold Diggers to Bar Girls."

³⁷ Robert Lawson-Peebles, "Brush Up Your Shakespeare."

³⁸ Arthur Knight, *Disintegrating the Musical*, 17.

³⁹ Others scholars who cite Feuer's study include: Stephen Banfield, *Sondheim's Broadway Musicals* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1993); Richard Barrios, *A Song in the Dark: The Birth of the Musical Film* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995); David Bordwell, Janet Staiger, and Kristin Thompson, *The Classical Hollywood Cinema*; Krin Gabbard, *Jammin' at the Margins*; Gerald Mast, *Can't Help Singin'*; Martin Rubin, *Showstoppers*; David Walsh and Len Platt, *Musical Theater and American Culture*; and Graham Wood, "Distant Cousin or Fraternal Twin? Analytical Approaches to the Film Musical," in *The Cambridge Companion to the Musical*, ed. William A. Everett and Paul R. Laird (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 212-230.

reference to analogous stage practices. Her concentration on the MGM musicals produced by Arthur Freed leads her to make statements such as: “The reflexive song lyric celebrating the power of music (or the power of popular entertainment in general) came to be institutionalized at MGM.”⁴⁰ While this statement is factually correct, as both the films themselves and behind-the-scenes histories corroborate, its implication that MGM placed a *uniquely* strong emphasis on reflexive songs is false, as my study will amply demonstrate. As well, even the non-MGM films Feuer includes in her corpus are mostly well-established canonical works. Further, while some of the devices Feuer explores, such as camera framing and editing, are specific to cinema, many of the techniques are shared with musical theatre. This common pool of devices has not been detailed or traced historically. In the present study, I attempt to fill part of this gap by writing a chronicle of the reflexive song.

Most scholars who explore the social, cultural, or political aspects of musicals base their discussions on the genre’s use of particular formal devices. These have included: specific musical techniques—for example, the flatted notes of the blues, Latin rhythms, symphonic orchestrations, and so forth; reflexive allusions in the verbal text; direct audience address; specialty acts; blackface; and cross-dressing.⁴¹ Their work, however, is marred by the lack of a broader perspective on these devices and subject matters—one that would encompass both a wider chronological range and a cross-media consideration including, at the least, both theatre and cinema.

⁴⁰ Jane Feuer, *Hollywood Musical*, 50.

⁴¹ Although some might judge blackface and cross-dressing to be elements of “content,” I am categorizing them as formal devices. In doing so, I follow the indication of Pfister in his analysis of dramatic structure. Using his terminology, I see these as “implicit figural techniques of characterization”; *Theory and Analysis of Drama*, 184-185. Here, as elsewhere in my study, I am focusing on the overlap between dramatic form and content and therefore use the umbrella term, “conventions.”

Writers clearly need a history of the convention of the reflexive song. For instance, Jean-Loup Bourget opines that “the musical ... is allowed a Saturnalian freedom [I]ts self eulogy ... shows its understandable reluctance to part with such a liberty.”⁴² Bourget cites as representative of this “self eulogy” three songs from MGM musicals from the limited period of 1948 to 1953: “Be a Clown,” “Make ‘Em Laugh,” and “That’s Entertainment.” As I will discuss in Chapter Four, however, such generalized tributes to show business are actually a late development in the reflexive song genre. Bourget’s main topic is elsewhere—the overall social role of Hollywood genres. Nevertheless, his examples are few and unrepresentative, and such limitations raise questions about the validity of his analysis.

In some analyses, the device of the reflexive song lies close to the core of the writer’s main topic. Even more than in the case of Bourget, these discussions would be greatly strengthened if informed by a fuller understanding of historic trends. I will offer here two specific instances as examples of how my present historical survey of a formal trait can contribute to other types of analysis.

One example is offered by Andrea Most in her analysis of *Babes in Arms*, a 1936 Broadway show with a score by Richard Rodgers and Lorenz Hart. Most points out that the white characters in the storyline reinvent their identities through theatrical means. The African American characters, however, do not have this flexibility. As part of this argument, Most analyzes the reflexive song, “All Dark People,” pointing out that it defines blacks in essential terms solely as “dark people” who are “light on their feet.”⁴³

⁴² Jean-Loup Bourget, “Social Implications in the Hollywood Genres,” in *Film Genre: Theory and Criticism*, ed. Barry K. Grant (Metuchen, N.J.: Scarecrow Press, 1977), 62-72, at 68.

⁴³ Andrea Most, *Making Americans*, 90-91.

“All Dark People” should also be seen, however, as part of the career-long attempt by Lorenz Hart to accommodate his idiosyncratic sensibility to the musical comedy trope of the dance song. His previous lyrics about American vernacular dance, such as “Crazy Elbows” (*Present Arms*, 1928) and “Knees” (*Heads Up*, 1929), had been filled with images of physical and mental agitation, exaggerating to a point of discomfiture the by-then conventional link of dance to nervous energy. By contrast, “All Dark People”—Hart’s first dance song written for African American characters to sing—represents a breakthrough in his development. In the song’s introductory verse, Hart places unusual emphasis on scat singing as an insider’s language, with a private meaning known only to those “up Harlem way.” In the refrain, for the first time in his oeuvre, he associates jazz dance with images of ease and beauty—the efflorescence of flowers and freedom of movement through the streets. Hart even manages to forgo his previous heavy-handedness in treating the topic to the extent of throwing in an example of his more characteristic lighthearted wit—the flip comment, “pay no mind to a little conceit.” This phrase adds to the lyric’s depiction of race pride and hints at an amused, detached, urbane attitude towards the stated privileged status, one wherein only “dark people” can “dance in the street.” Most herself points out the pun in the lyric—the quibble on “dark” color and “light” movement. Through dance, the blacks become not only buoyant but also, as it were, lighter-skinned.⁴⁴ Although they express themselves with a touch of stereotyped dialect, stating that “all dark people is light on their feet,” the African Americans can indulge in sophisticated word play in the same manner as their white

⁴⁴ Ibid, 94.

friends. More importantly, they can simultaneously “lighten” themselves and extol their own culture through their involvement with music and dance.

Most calls the song “distasteful,” claiming that it segregates blacks into an isolated category.⁴⁵ The lyric, however, also implicitly portrays African Americans as having “good taste”—i.e. as being part of the same smart, witty world as the rest of the characters. They are separate, perhaps, but equal. Further, the images are literally “tasty”: blacks produce “buck-and-wings,” “just the same as the flowers get honey.” Within Hart’s oeuvre, such images are remarkably “delicious.” Therefore, within the history of reflexive song conventions, in general, and Hart’s use of them, in particular, these factors indicate a notable valorization of African American culture. There are processes of valuation operant in the song; and an understanding of them modifies Most’s analysis of the lyric as promoting the essentialization of black identity— although it does not necessarily completely negate her argument.

In another instance, Arthur Knight analyzes “I Love to Sing-a,” with lyrics by E.Y. Harburg and music by Harold Arlen, as it is used in *The Singing Kid* (1936), a movie musical starring Al Jolson. Knight identifies a potential contradiction within the song: “the lyric is about the past,” alluding to the favored topics of Jolson’s repertoire such as the “love of nature and song, romance, the South, the nation, mammy,” but this conflicts with Arlen’s swinging melody, which is “about the present and about moving speedily into the future.”⁴⁶ Knight misses, however, the playful and ironic nature of Harburg’s lyric, which consists of a rapid-fire list of popular song clichés. Most specifically, it parodies an anthem-like ballad introduced and popularized by Jolson in

⁴⁵ Ibid, 91.

⁴⁶ Arthur Knight, *Disintegrating the Musical*, 72.

1930—Irving Berlin’s “Let Me Sing and I’m Happy” (from the movie musical *Mammy*). More generally, Harburg burlesques a convention that reached its peak of popularity in 1936: songs celebrating singing itself. “Sing, Baby, Sing,” “Let’s Sing Again,” “Sing Me an Old Fashioned Song,” “Sing Me a Swing Song,” and “Sing, Sing, Sing”—all these were “top twenty” hits that year. In “I Love to Sing-a,” Harburg manages both to exemplify and satirize this trend.

The lyric for “I Love to Sing-a” is also an example of various playful “smart” devices used by Harburg—here, the addition of suffixes. It is exactly this kind of urbane flippancy that had already proved so unsuccessful for Jolson in his film failure, *Hallelujah, I’m a Bum* (1933), written by Rodgers and Hart. So, although Harburg’s images in “I Love to Sing-a” are old-fashioned, it is not just Arlen’s music that qualifies this seeming atavism, for when viewed in historical context the parodic intent of the lyrics is clear. Such an interpretation bolsters Knight’s analysis of the goal of *The Singing Kid*—“to stage an explicit autocritique of the old-fashioned content of Jolson’s past while maintaining some of his modernist form and style.”⁴⁷ It also begins to explain why the film was a commercial failure: the “autocritique” of Jolson’s persona is too pervasive. First, the anthem to singing assigned to Jolson ill-suits his style—and the song is emphasized by opening and helping to close the movie—and, in addition, Harburg goes further, making light of the material Jolson can do well.

In both cases, the analysis of a specific use of a formal device gains in force and cogency when viewed within a history of that device. In the present study, I endeavor to supply such a history, presenting facts about the prevalence of specific types of reflexive

⁴⁷ Ibid, 73.

songs. I offer my own interpretation of these facts, with concise analyses of some of the songs, hoping that other writers will engage with this material and present alternative views.

The Reflexive Song: Definitions and Terminology

For the purposes of this study, I define “reflexive song” in a very specific and limited way. As used here, a “reflexive song” mentions music, song, dance, or entertainment in the lyric. Like most other popular songs of the period, these are usually organized into an introductory section called the verse, followed by a refrain made of four verbal stanzas, each of which corresponds to a musical section. Typically, these songs are organized into one of a few conventionalized patterns. Through 1924, the most common forms are the closely-related ABA'B' and ABA'C structures.⁴⁸ Looked at schematically, these melodies are organized into two halves: the tune of each commences similarly, but the second statement is more or less varied to provide a fitting climax and resolution. From 1925, the most frequent form is AA'BA". This is the structure of “Almost Like Being in Love.” Here, the initial eight-bar melody is repeated, either exactly or with slight alterations. There then follows a contrasting section called the “release,” which supplies a climax or otherwise changes the musical and lyrical textures. The initial strain then returns, but it is varied in order to bring the song to a conclusion.

⁴⁸ The mark ' is used here to designate a musical variation on an earlier melodic strain. The periodizations given here are based upon my own unpublished study, “The Structure of American Popular Songs,” in which I categorize the structures of one thousand songs of the years 1900 to 1943. Helpful discussions of Tin Pan Alley song form include: Allen Forte, *American Popular Ballad*, 36-41; Charles Hamm, *Yesterdays: Popular Song in America* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1979), 360-361; Gerald Mast, *Can't Help Singin'*, 27-30; Nicholas Tawa, *The Way to Tin Pan Alley: American Popular Song, 1866-1910* (New York: Schirmer Books, 1990), 162-206, especially 170, 179, 196.

Most of the songs I discuss have at least one stanza of the refrain devoted to the topics of music, singing, entertainment, or dance. These I classify as “fully reflexive songs.” This is distinct from my other category, which will be discussed below, of “incidentally reflexive songs.” Fully reflexive songs are the main focus of this study, and, for the sake of convenience, I will usually refer to them simply as “reflexive songs.” Sometimes a full quarter of the lines in a lyric allude to music, but these reflexive lines are spread throughout the four stanzas. I still classify these songs as fully reflexive.

My examples at the start of this chapter offer illustrations of the extent of reflexive emphasis in such songs. In “I Got Rhythm” (from *Girl Crazy*, 1930), only the first stanza is about music. Both “Almost Like Being in Love” (*Brigadoon*, 1947) and “Singin’ in the Rain” (*The Hollywood Revue of 1929*) have two stanzas that are reflexive. “Almost Like Being in Love,” as discussed above, concentrates on music in its second half. In “Singin’ in the Rain,” the first and last sections mention singing, bookending the refrain with reflexive allusions. In both cases, half of the lyric is reflexive. Three of the four stanzas of “Dancing in the Dark” (*The Band Wagon*, 1931) are about dance and music. All four stanzas in “There’s No Business Like Show Business” (*Annie Get Your Gun*, 1946) are about entertainment. Comedy songs often feature multiple refrains. Sometimes, one of those refrains is devoted to my theme. A famous example is “Kansas City” from *Oklahoma!* (1943), in which just one of the two refrains is about the entertainment institution of the “big theayter they call a burleekew.” In such cases, I also categorize the song as fully reflexive.

Other songs only briefly mention music. “Over the Rainbow” offers a famous example, with its passing allusion to “a land that I heard of / once in a lullaby.” Songs

with such fleeting images I label “incidentally reflexive.” By this term, however, I do not mean that the reflexivity in the lyric is inconsequential. The “lullaby” in “Over the Rainbow” is important for its evocation of both childhood and vocal music. In addition, the accumulation of many such glancing references throughout a score creates a significant thematic thread. Similarly, reflexive allusions frequently only occur in the introductory verse to a song. I also trace these, but they are rarely the focus of my analysis.

In my corpus, I look for the frequency and prominence of particular reflexive song conventions. An example is the idea that “love is a melody,” the history of which I trace in Chapter Two. There are precedents for all these reflexive tropes, and I am not claiming to find the earliest use for any of them. Equally extensive surveys of opera, lieder, folk songs, hymns, and so on, would be necessary in order to make claims about the place of the songs in my corpus within larger cultural traditions. Instead, I am looking for the moment in the history of the American musical when a particular image becomes the ruling metaphor for a large number of songs.

With some of the conventions I trace, a specific image will occur for a number of years in the introductory verses to songs, but not in their refrains. Then allusions to the idea will start to appear incidentally in various refrains, but they are not yet predominant in any lyric. Eventually, the idea will appear as the central image in the refrains of a few songs, and then of many. Through this process, the convention becomes firmly established as part of the range of paradigmatic choices for songwriters. I write of this process with an implicit use of the time-honored metaphor of plant growth: the seeds are sown as fleeting images in verses, sprout as incidental allusions in refrains, and come to

full bloom in the flowers of poesy that dominate a full crop of song examples. I make use of this model of organic development because it comes closest to fitting the data I have examined. By no means, however, do I mean thereby to devalue reflexive allusions that occur in verses or as fleeting images in refrains. Simply, the main concern of my study is when reflexive matters are the major focus of a song.

Reflexivity is a commonly used device in the arts.⁴⁹ In songs, there are many specific kinds of reflexivity, both lyrical and musical, not all of which can be covered within the scope of this study. For example, Stephen Banfield points out that there are cases in which “the words actually describe what the structure of the music is doing.”⁵⁰ A familiar example is supplied by “Taking a Chance on Love” (*Cabin in the Sky*, 1940). As composer Vernon Duke builds his music to a final, climactic statement, lyricists Ted Fetter and John LaTouche mirror the resolution of the melody with the declaration, “We’ll have our happy ending now.” The lyric speaks of “ending” even as the melody comes to its conclusion. I will only occasionally analyze such implicit types of reflexivity, for my main focus is on explicit verbal allusions to the defining elements of the American musical—music, song, dance, and entertainment.

Another distinction is important to outline at the start. All the songs I have examined can well be described as *conventional*. They were created within the context of established song genres. For example, Lehman Engel describes how famous Broadway

⁴⁹ There are many discussions of the general reflexive tendencies of art. Rick Altman writes of the intertextuality of all genre films; *American Film Musical*, 330-331. Richard Hornby discusses the manner in which all drama is reflexive: *Drama, Metadrama, and Perception* (Cranbury, N.J.: Bucknell University Press, 1986), 31. Simon Frith speaks of the intertextual conventions of popular songs; *Performing Rites: On the Value of Popular Music* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 160-161. Richard Middleton outlines the internally self-referential as well as the externally intertextual aspects of popular music and song; *Studying Popular Music* (Milton Keynes: Open University Press, 1990), 220-232.

⁵⁰ Stephen Banfield, “Sondheim and the Art That Has No Name,” in *Approaches to the American Musical*, 137-160, at 158.

scores utilize basic song types: ballad; charm song; rhythm song; comedy song; marching song; musical scene; and so forth.⁵¹ This fact underlies all my historical tracings of various song sub-categories. My task is to detail the proliferation of each specific reflexive trope.

This conventionality has further ramifications, however, that I do not explore. For instance, “The Way You Look Tonight” (*Swing Time*, 1936), a ballad by Dorothy Fields and Jerome Kern, was created in reference both to a previous hit by the same pair, “Lovely to Look At” (*Roberta*, 1935), and to all previous love songs of similar type. Thus, the love song from *Swing Time* tacitly points back to its predecessors. Although, like so many songs, it does contain an implicit reflexive intertextuality, that aspect is beyond the scope of my discussion. Therefore, within the context of the present study, I do not classify “The Way You Look Tonight” as a reflexive song.

Although the American musical utilizes many formal techniques, and all deserve a full historical study, an exploration of the reflexive song has many points in its favor as a starting point for such a project. The reflexive song is a formal device that is defined by and inextricably linked to the issue of content; after all, these are songs *about* music. This is a topic central to the Hollywood musical, as Feuer has discussed, and also to Broadway musical theatre, as I demonstrate in the present study.

Although some commentators give priority to the narrative nature of musicals, the very generic term “musical” suggests that the presence of music is the pivotal factor in the genre.⁵² Reflexive songs comment on the very medium central to the genre—music—

⁵¹ Lehman Engel, *The Making of a Musical* (New York: Macmillan, 1977), 22-26.

⁵² The umbrella term, “musical” appears in Broadway reviews as early as 1910; see Gerald Bordman, *American Musical Theatre* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978), 254. It came into wide currency for Hollywood productions during 1930; see Rick Altman, *Film/Genre*, 32-33. It is a self-label in musical

and thus give insight into its function within these entertainments. I take as axiomatic that any explicit comment, within the works themselves, on such a crucial element is of clear importance to an understanding and interpretation of a genre. Indeed, reflexive songs illuminate a host of generic aspects—from the formal to the cultural and societal, from the phenomenological to the ideological.

In my study, I concentrate upon the lyrics. This places me in a long line of writers on popular song who focus upon such content analysis.⁵³ A song, however, is both words and music. Therefore, I also attempt to give some limited sense of the style of the music and how the melody and lyrics interact within a song.

In addition to being a cross-disciplinary study involving theatre and film, this project also overlaps with the field of musicology, as a history of a particular sub-set of popular song. As in theatre and cinema studies, in the field of analyzing popular music

theatre programs by 1936, with *On Your Toes* and *Forbidden Melody*. Despite this time-honored terminology, the narrative of musicals is credited with primary importance by several authors: James B. Graves, "The American Musical Comedy: A Theoretical Discussion," *Journal of Popular Culture* 19, no. 4 (1986): 17-26; Martin Gottfried, *Broadway Musicals* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1979), 7-9; and Richard J. Helldobler, "An Analysis of the Dramatic Structures of Traditional and Concept Musicals Based on the Theories of John Howard Lawson" (PhD diss., Bowling Green State University, 1991). Other writers also convey their belief in the primacy of narrative, but only implicitly, through emphasis: Michael Rogin, *Blackface, White Noise*; Timothy P. Donovan, "Oh, What a Beautiful Mornin': The Musical, *Oklahoma!* and the Popular Mind in 1943," *Journal of Popular Culture* 8, no. 3 (1974): 477-488, and "Annie Get Your Gun: A Last Celebration of Nationalism," cited above; Lehman Engel, *Words with Music* (New York: Macmillan, 1972); and in response to Engel, James A. Panowski, "A Critical Analysis of the Librettos and Musical Elements of Selected Musical Failures on the Broadway Stage: 1964/65-1968/69" (PhD diss., Bowling Green State University, 1974). On the other hand, those who argue for music's centrality include: Hollis Alpert, *Broadway! 125 Years of Musical Theatre* (New York: Little Brown, Museum of the City of New York, 1991), 1; Stanley Green, *The World of Musical Comedy* (New York: Grosset and Dunlap, 1960), xiii; and Ted Sennett, *Hollywood Musicals* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1981), 13. Many more writers emphasize the dynamic *between* music and narrative, usually seeing in it the conflict of freedom and ideology. These include: Bruce Babbington and Peter Evans, *Blue Skies and Silver Linings*, particularly p. 4; Jean-Luc Bourget, "Social Implications"; Richard Dyer, "The Colour of Entertainment"; Sean Griffin, "The Gang's All Here"; Kenneth MacKinnon, "I Keep Wishing I Were Somewhere Else"; D.A. Miller, *Place for Us*, 3; Martin Rubin, *Showstoppers*, 12-13; Thomas Schatz, *Hollywood Genres*, 188-189; Carey Wall, "There's No Business Like Show Business": 31; Robin Wood, "Art and Ideology: Notes on Silk Stockings," in *Genre: The Musical—A Reader*, ed. Rick Altman, 57-69.

⁵³ Simon Frith helpfully traces the trends in content analysis of popular songs in *Music for Pleasure: Essays in the Sociology of Pop* (New York: Routledge, 1988), 105-128.

there are those who concentrate on formal traits. Some treat the topic critically, looking at the characteristics of the music or lyrics and judging these qualitatively—and, at times, discussing them in comparison to trends in tangentially-related artistic fields, such as those of classical music, instrumental jazz, or modern poetry.⁵⁴

Other commentators look at songs in a more taxonomic fashion. Both Nicholas Tawa and Peter van der Merwe trace specific rhythmic, harmonic, and melodic practices in nineteenth-century popular song.⁵⁵ Tawa extends his study to 1910 and offers his own taxonomy of song genres based on textual subject matter, much in the manner of the present study. He correlates these topics both to musical characteristics and to patterns of poetic techniques, such as meter, end-rhyming, and the use of first- or third-person narration. Charles Hamm matches Tawa's approach, examining poetic and musical style in the songs of Irving Berlin during his early songwriting years of 1907 through 1914.⁵⁶ Hamm then uses this analysis as the basis for a categorization of song types.

From Tawa and Hamm, I take the practice of referring to a song's "protagonist."⁵⁷ Some songs are narrative in nature. One example is "The Saga of Jenny," sung by the

⁵⁴ In music, Alec Wilder's highly subjective critique is a seminal work; *American Popular Song: The Great Innovators, 1900-1950* (London: Oxford University Press, 1974). Later analyses that are outstanding contributions to the field include: Allen Forte, *American Popular Ballad*; and Steven E. Gilbert, *The Music of Gershwin* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995). For the examination of lyrics, Philip Furia offers a close parallel to Wilder's work in his strict qualitative standards and the influential status his study has earned; *The Poets of Tin Pan Alley: A History of America's Great Lyricists* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990). Two studies helpfully examine the relationship of music and lyrics: Stephen Citron, *Noel and Cole: The Sophisticates* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993); Deena Rosenberg, *Fascinating Rhythm: The Collaboration of George and Ira Gershwin* (New York: Penguin Books, 1993). All these works overlap to an extent with the musicological studies of the Broadway musical, mentioned above, by Geoffrey Block, Larry Stempl, and Joseph P. Swain.

⁵⁵ Nicholas E. Tawa, *The Way to Tin Pan Alley*; Peter van der Merwe, *Origins of the Popular Style: The Antecedents of Twentieth-Century Popular Music* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989).

⁵⁶ Charles Hamm, *Irving Berlin: Songs from the Melting Pot—The Formative Years, 1907-1914* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997).

⁵⁷ For discussions of the "protagonist" of popular songs, see: Charles Hamm, *Irving Berlin*, 20-21, and passim; Nicholas Tawa, *Way to Tin Pan Alley*, 18, 91, and passim. Although he does not use this term, Gerald Mast is also helpful on this subject; *Can't Help Singin'*, 290-291, and passim.

character of Liza, the eponymous heroine of *Lady in the Dark* (1941), originally played by Gertrude Lawrence. The lyric relates the life story of “poor Jenny,” and it is told in the third person. “She would make up her mind,” mostly with the result that she disregards sexual proprieties. The song’s protagonist, Jenny, is separate from but also inextricably linked to both the character, Liza, who also cannot make up her mind, and the star, Lawrence, whose persona was similarly that of a free-spirited modern woman.

Despite the presence of such narrative songs, especially during the first decade of my survey, the increasing trend during this era is toward “I and you” lyrics—first person sentiments, usually explicitly conveyed to a second person singular (such as the beloved object) or plural (the community). The protagonist of “Dancing in the Dark” is typical. The song is a personal statement and is not gender specific, for it can be sung either by a male or a female. He or she is physically present with the beloved, as is indicated by the first-person plural phrase, “We’re dancing in the dark.” The sweethearts are in a situation of emotional intimacy: “I have you, love.” The protagonist speaks in standard English—not with an accent or in dialect—in conversational syntax that is filled, nevertheless, with figurative language and abstract images: “Looking for the light of a new love ... / we can face the music, together.” All these traits imply the personality of this protagonist; it is written into the piece as surely as is the characterization in “The Saga of Jenny”—and this is a factor even when modified to various extents by the stars who perform the song or the *dramatis personae* they may be enacting.

A number of songs in my corpus are dialect songs using conventionalized deviations from standard English. The most frequently-used idiom is intended to connote a caricature of African Americans. Most historians, such as Hamm and Tawa, utilize a

contemporaneous label for these—“coon songs,” a term prevalent from about 1895 to 1910—and refer to them as featuring a “black protagonist.”⁵⁸ Denis Loranger objects to this adoption of a scurrilous terminology and calls them instead “racial dialect songs.”⁵⁹ I choose to describe the protagonist of such a song as having a “blackface persona” and the verbal style as “blackface dialect,” because of the extreme degree of stylization of their images and language. Theatrical blackface was a prominent convention, particularly during the first thirty years of the era I study, and it had its own, almost hermetic, tradition—in many ways separate from any real-life African American behavior and speech patterns. Blackface dialect songs were not necessarily delivered by a performer in blackface, for the patois alone conveyed the stereotype. For instance, when Lillian Russell introduced “When Chloe Sings a Song” in *Whirl-I-Gig* (1899), she did not need to don makeup to convey the blackface persona of the song’s protagonist; words alone sufficed.

Both Tawa and Hamm include a certain amount of social history to contextualize the narrative themes and styles of the songs, but they concentrate on mapping the changes in musical traits and lyrical subject matter—and the relationship between these two aspects. Even more than those two authors, I limit any discussion of the historical context for these songs to a minimum, due to the amount of material in my corpus. For reasons of convenience, I employ as touchstones well-known events and common periodizations, such as World War One, the Jazz Age, the Great Depression, and so forth. In a few cases, I offer a *précis* about certain cultural trends that may be less familiar to most readers, but

⁵⁸ Charles Hamm, *Irving Berlin*, 68-80; Nicholas Tawa, *Way to Tin Pan Alley*, 181-193.

⁵⁹ Dennis Loranger, “Useful Morals and Fleeting Moments: Class and Popular Music in the United States, 1890-1910” (PhD diss., University of Colorado, Boulder, 1997), 172-220.

are alluded to within the songs themselves and therefore require some explanation. My overall purpose is to orient or inform the reader as concisely as possible.

In tracing the prevalence of specific conventions, I venture brief suggestions of historical factors that may have brought these tropes to the fore at certain times.

Nevertheless, there are cases where contextual explanations fail, for I have often been surprised by the results of my survey. For instance, why did a certain convention of the reflexive song about dance suddenly appear in hit songs of 1906, during a slump in ragtime's popularity? I would have expected it to coincide with the ragtime dance craze that emerged three years later. In another example, why does the song of optimism come to the fore in musicals only in 1920, when it had been a Tin Pan Alley staple since 1905? These and a few other questions continue to confound me. In other instances, however, I can supply a hint at significant surrounding circumstances. I make one apologia for this entire study: I offer my suppositions merely as potted, partial, and provisional theories.

Selecting a Corpus

Many topics related to the Broadway musical have received systematic formalist analysis—such as canonical drama, metadrama, American popular song through 1914, ragtime, Hollywood cinema in general, biographical films in particular, and (to an extent) rural blues and movie musicals. Much of this activity occurred from the 1970s through the mid-1980s—perhaps not coincidentally, the heyday of semiotics and structuralism in

America, although not all these works use those approaches.⁶⁰ Neither the Broadway musical nor the post-1914 popular song has been the beneficiary of this kind of investigation. Therefore, to an extent, subsequent scholars have been operating in a vacuum, with much relevant information missing from the scholarly literature. In this study, I endeavor to cover part of this uncharted terrain. In particular, I hope to introduce to the field of musical theatre studies models drawn from cinema studies and musicology for the selection of a body of material and its stylistic analysis. In my corpus, I try to balance the diverse but overlapping criteria used by previous scholars: quality; prevalence and typicality; and prominence.

Many writers concentrate on a small corpus of works defined by *quality*—either explicitly determined by their own individual criteria or implicitly determined by the weight of accumulated critical opinion (i.e., by studying an already accepted canon), and of course these two often overlap.⁶¹ Following the example of this school, I include in my

⁶⁰ On canonical drama, Manfred Pfister, *Theory and Analysis of Drama*, published in the original German in 1977 and in English in 1988. On metadrama, Richard Hornby, *Drama, Metadrama, and Perception* (1986). On ragtime, Edward Berlin, *Ragtime: A Musical and Cultural History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980). On Hollywood cinema, David Bordwell, Janet Staiger, and Kristen Thompson, *Classical Hollywood Cinema* (1985); they draw inspiration from previous studies such as that by Barry Salt, “The Early Development of Film Form,” *Film Form* 1, no. 1 (1976): 91-106. On biographical films, George F. Custen, *Bio/Pics: How Hollywood Constructed Public History* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1992). On rural blues, Jeff Todd Titon, *Early Downhome Blues: A Musical and Cultural Analysis*, 2d ed. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1994), originally published in 1974. On movie musicals: Rick Altman, *American Film Musical* (1987) and Jane Feuer, *Hollywood Musical*, originally published in 1982. Unlike the other areas mentioned, the systematic analysis of American popular song to 1914 has burgeoned in the more recent period of 1989 to 1997: Charles Hamm, *Irving Berlin* (1997); Dennis Loranger, “Useful Morals and Fleeting Moments” (1997); Nicholas E. Tawa, *The Way to Tin Pan Alley* (1990); Peter van der Merwe, *Origins of the Popular Style* (1989).

⁶¹ In popular song analysis, two seminal critiques are influential and yet highly subjective: for lyrics, Philip Furia’s *Poets of Tin Pan Alley*; for music, Alec Wilder’s *American Popular Song*. Early examples of critical canon formation as applied to musical film and theatre are, respectively: Joseph Delameter, *Dance in the Hollywood Musical* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Research Press, 1981); and Lehman Engel, *The American Musical Theater: A Consideration* (New York: CBS Legacy Collection, Macmillan, 1967), 75ff, and *Words with Music*. Geoffrey Block surveyed Broadway histories and distilled a canon of twelve works, now somewhat dated; “The Broadway Canon from *Show Boat* to *West Side Story* and the European Operatic Ideal,” *Journal of Musicology* 11, no. 4 (Fall 1993): 525-544. Block explores this topic more implicitly in his full-length study, *Enchanted Evenings*. For the purposes of musicological pedagogy, Paul

study the contents of the anthologies edited by Robert Kimball, covering the complete lyrics of a small, canonical group of popular song auteurs: Irving Berlin, Cole Porter, Ira Gershwin, and Lorenz Hart.⁶²

My second criterion is *typicality*. This is the criterion that has been most lacking in the study of the American musical. The most comprehensive corpuses in the field for analytic purposes (as opposed to all-inclusive histories) have been used by Rick Altman (covering a broad expanse of film musicals), John Bush Jones (looking at all Broadway musicals in the twentieth century, but at only one trait within that highly inclusive corpus), and Gerald Mast (who concentrates most of his discussion on canonical works, but by covering both stage and screen manages to attain breadth).⁶³ I draw inspiration from all three of their studies; nevertheless, my parenthetical statements indicate how each study is limited either by medium or by selection.

I take for closer models, therefore, two studies from other fields: the history of the style of piano ragtime by Edward Berlin; and the analysis of classical Hollywood cinema style by David Bordwell, Janet Staiger, and Kristin Thomson.⁶⁴ Edward Berlin examines one thousand ragtime piano compositions and traces the shifts in compositional style

R. Laird distills the Broadway canon down to thirty-two works; “‘If You Asked Me I Could Write a Book’: An Approach to a Broadway Musical Theater Canon,” *Bulletin of the Society for American Music* 27, no. 1 (spring 2001): 6. Another notable analysis of a canon of musical theatre works is by Joseph P. Swain, *Broadway Musical*.

⁶² *The Complete Lyrics of Cole Porter*, ed. Robert Kimball (New York: Da Capo Press, 1983); *The Complete Lyrics of Ira Gershwin*, ed. Kimball (New York: Da Capo Press, 1993); *The Complete Lyrics of Lorenz Hart*, exp. ed., ed. Kimball and Dorothy Hart (New York: Da Capo Press, 1995); *The Complete Lyrics of Irving Berlin*, ed. Kimball and Linda Emmet (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2001). The lyrics of Noel Coward have also been anthologized, but were mostly written for British productions during the period covered by my study. More recent or upcoming anthologies of the complete lyrics of Frank Loesser, P.G. Wodehouse, Oscar Hammerstein II, and Johnny Mercer were not available when I formed my corpus.

⁶³ Rick Altman, *American Film Musical*; John Bush Jones, *Our Musicals, Ourselves*; Gerald Mast, *Can't Help Singin'*.

⁶⁴ Edward Berlin, *Ragtime*; David Bordwell, Janet Staiger, and Kristin Thompson, *Classical Hollywood Cinema*.

within them, presenting percentages for these various traits in each succeeding period.⁶⁵

Providing an even closer model for my study, Bordwell, Staiger, and Thomson used random number tables to choose one hundred films, which they label their Unbiased Sample. (In my study, I have emulated their example and created a random sample of productions, as I will discuss further below.) Analyzing this corpus, they identify formal characteristics such as the average shot length and the number of narrative sequences per film. As with Edward Berlin, they quantify their data, tracing changes in style. These statistics help them to define periods of stability and change. The authors then double-check these findings against the analysis of an Extended Sample—a body of two hundred additional films that were chosen from the critical canon, i.e., using qualitative criteria. (In my study, Kimball’s canonical anthologized lyrics correspond in function to this Extended Sample of Bordwell, Staiger, and Thompson.) Agreement between the two corpuses helps them make claims as to the typicality of the stylistic trends they identify.

Discussions of the typical, by definition, blend into discussions of what is *prevalent*. As David Horowitz argues as part of his discussion of commodity images in popular songs, “the frequent appearance of these motifs is significant.”⁶⁶ In other words, significance is dependent upon prevalence, whether you are analyzing how a body of works may reflect the “dilemmas of modern existence,” as Horowitz does, or tracing the development of style, as is Edward Berlin.⁶⁷

⁶⁵ Edward Berlin, *Ragtime*. Two other studies that resemble Berlin’s in seeking to explore a dialectic between presentist and historicist taxonomies of their subjects are: Krin Gabbard, *Jammin’ at the Margins*; and, in a project even more similar to Berlin’s in its use of a randomly-selected sample of works to create statistical analyses of aspects of style, Peter Muir, “Before ‘Crazy Blues’: Commercial Blues in America, 1850-1920” (PhD diss., City University of New York, 2004).

⁶⁶ David Horowitz, “The Perils of Commodity Fetishism: Tin Pan Alley’s Portrait of the Romantic Marketplace, 1920-1942,” *Popular Music and Society* (summer 1985): 48.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

Some critics produce work that features a methodological contradiction, wherein an exclusive corpus selected on the basis of quality is analyzed for the prevalence of certain themes; and the conclusions are then presented, explicitly or implicitly, as if they were typical for an inclusive corpus.⁶⁸ Such a procedure can lead to inaccurate surmises, such as when Ulf Lindberg analyzes the self-consciousness in Johnny Mercer's lyric for "Too Marvelous for Words" (1936), and then adds that "this seems not to have been a common practice in the period."⁶⁹ In fact, although "Too Marvelous for Words" may be an extreme example, the kind of reflexivity found in Mercer's lyric is fairly common in my corpus, as will be discussed in Chapter Four. To an extent, Feuer's analysis of the Hollywood musical also falls into this category, for most of her filmography is drawn from a small corpus of "quality" products. Therefore, in my study I test her analysis of the reflexive song against my findings from a much more diverse corpus.

In order to ascertain prevalence and thus make claims of typicality, in the present study I draw on two overlapping sub-corpus. One is a list of reflexive song *titles*—titles that refer to music, song, dance, or entertainment. These titles are taken from what, for all practical purposes, can be considered the most inclusive corpus of stage and screen musicals. For musical theatre songs, I draw from the catalogue of all Broadway musical

⁶⁸ For instance, Edward Pessen selects a corpus based on his own criteria of quality, lists common themes within this sample, and discusses the demographics of the songwriters; "The Great Songwriters of Tin Pan Alley's Golden Age: A Social, Occupational, and Aesthetic Inquiry," *American Music* (Summer 1985): 180-197. The aforementioned David A. Horowitz also indulges in this problematic procedure, seemingly drawing on only thirty-four songs from a thirty-year period to make generalizations about the "frequent appearance" of certain ideological themes in popular song lyrics and how such a prevalence reflects society's mores; "The Perils of Commodity Fetishism," 48. Similarly, Ulf Lindberg takes from Philip Furia's qualitatively-chosen corpus to analyze a handful of those songs and claim that they were "the symptom" and also "helped shape" a "new sensibility" in urban society; "Popular Modernism? The 'Urban' Style of Interwar Tin Pan Alley," *Popular Music* 22, no. 3 (Oct. 2003): 283-298, at 288.

⁶⁹ Ulf Lindberg, "Popular Modernism," 290.

productions compiled by Richard C. Norton.⁷⁰ For movies, I rely primarily on Clive Hirschhorn's encyclopedic descriptions of Hollywood musicals.⁷¹ When there is any doubt or confusion concerning those, I have gone for supplementary information to Ken Bloom's comprehensive entries about all Hollywood movies with vocal music.⁷²

Of course, not all reflexive songs contain allusions to music, song, dance, or entertainment in their *titles*. For example, it would be impossible to know merely by the title that, when the characters in *On the Town* (1944) sing "I Get Carried Away," some of the things that carry them away are symphony concerts and movie shows. Because of this, and for other reasons to be discussed immediately below, I have chosen seventy productions to examine in detail for reflexive songs. I selected these using a modified version of the random technique of Bordwell, Staiger, and Thompson.⁷³ There are limits to the representativeness of such a sample, for not every script or film has an equal chance to survive in extant form and to be available for study. Nevertheless I can claim, as do the trio of cinema scholars, that for this part of the corpus my "choices were not biased by personal preferences or conceptions of influential or masterful films."⁷⁴ Some of the productions in my sample are "canonical," but not in disproportion to the "average" shows.⁷⁵

The sample of productions allows me to look at a specific quantifiable body of *complete lyrics*. This helps me to accomplish two aims: to measure how often reflexive

⁷⁰ Richard C. Norton, *A Chronology of American Musical Theater*, 3 vols. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002).

⁷¹ Clive Hirschhorn, *The Hollywood Musical* (New York: Crown Publishing, 1981).

⁷² Ken Bloom, *Hollywood Song: The Complete Film and Musical Companion*, 3 vols. (New York: Facts on File, 1995).

⁷³ David Bordwell, Janet Staiger and Kristen Thompson describe their selection procedure in *Classical Hollywood Cinema*, 388-389. My procedure for selection is a version of theirs, much simplified, but aiming for the same objectivity. For details of my methodology, see Appendix One.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 388.

⁷⁵ About 40% of my sample productions are canonical.

songs indicate their reflexive nature within their titles; and, more importantly, to quantify stylistic changes. I can claim, for instance, that in the 1910s, 90% of the sample productions have songs about dance, as opposed to only 27% in the final decade of my survey.⁷⁶ I take as axiomatic that a randomly-selected, representative *exclusive* sample will roughly reflect stylistic trends within the most *inclusive* corpus. Whenever possible, however, I have double-checked statistics from the exclusive sample of productions against those from the inclusive list of song titles.

The third major approach to selecting corpuses for study is that of *prominence*, which in turn has two manifestations; one is the prominence within the dramatic structure, which I will discuss momentarily. The other aspect of prominence is that of popularity—visibility within the marketplace. We can imagine that there may be hundreds of songs written, for example, about fishing. If none of them become prominent successes, however, then historians of major trends in popular culture are perhaps justified in ignoring them.

The criterion of popularity is particularly common in the study of popular song. Many of the earliest studies of themes in popular song lyrics used popular currency as their criterion in selecting a corpus of study. In 1942, John Peatman used content analysis to differentiate themes in songs popular on the radio.⁷⁷ In a 1955 study, David Horton drew from popular song fan magazines, creating a corpus that represents both hit songs and those that were being promoted in hopes of attaining popularity.⁷⁸ In a 1966 study,

⁷⁶ In Appendix Four, I give a summary of all the statistics presented in this dissertation.

⁷⁷ John Peatman, "Radio and Popular Music," in *Radio Research: 1942-1943*, ed. Paul F. Lazarfeld and Frank N. Stanton (New York: Essential Books, Duell, Sloan and Pearce, 1944), 335-393.

⁷⁸ Donald Horton, "The Dialogue of Courtship in Popular Songs," in *Popular Music: Critical Concepts in Media and Cultural Studies*, ed. Simon Frith (London: Routledge, 2004), 173-185.

James Carey examines the depiction of courtship rituals in popular song lyrics.⁷⁹ He partially models his corpus selection on that of Horton, but Carey pointedly adds data from *Billboard* magazine hit song rankings and youth-market radio play. It is from this latter information that Carey gleans his most significant findings.

The work of Horton and Carey emerged from the field of sociology of their own day, but the criterion of popularity is applied also in such retrospective, largely formal analyses as that of Nicholas Tawa in his study of nineteenth-century popular song. In the absence during that era of trade rankings and popularity lists, Tawa selected his corpus of songs on the basis of such indicators of historic popularity as allusions in contemporaneous journalism, interviews, and autobiographies, and on discussions by those later historians who were retrospectively tracing the currency of these songs.⁸⁰

In commentary on stage and cinema texts, too, popularity is a criterion for selection found in the literature. For example, in cinema studies, Will Wright looks to box-office performance in selecting a corpus of western movies for analysis.⁸¹ Abe Laufe centers his historical narrative of the Broadway musical on long-running successes.⁸² Walsh and Platt, in tracing “the musical as a vehicle for American myths, ideologies, and dreams,” examine “specific musicals that can be seen as canonical only in the sense that they offer key examples, *through their popularity*, of works that evince and chart this process.”⁸³ Walsh and Platt use the familiar image of art as a mirror to society: “Musicals

⁷⁹ James T. Carey, “Changing Courtship Patterns in the Popular Song,” *The American Journal of Sociology* 74, no. 6 (May 1969), 720-731.

⁸⁰ Nicholas Tawa, *The Way to Tin Pan Alley*; he discusses his selection criteria on p. xi.

⁸¹ Will Wright, *Sixguns and Society: A Structural Study of the Western* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994).

⁸² Abe Laufe, *Broadway's Greatest Musicals*, rev. ed. (New York: Funk and Wagnalls, 1977).

⁸³ David Walsh and Len Platt, *Musical Theatre and American Culture*, 10; italics added.

have an explicitly reflexive relationship with the societies from which they stem.”⁸⁴

Further, they assume that the popularity of a text is an index of its ability to reflect society’s prevalent values. As do Horton and Carey in a sociological context, they claim that popularity indicates cultural significance.

For the present study, I have accommodated the selection criterion of popular prominence in two ways. First, I have chosen the sample of productions from stage shows that achieved a modest-to-long run—i.e., they were not quick flops—and, for movie musicals, from those that were listed among the top-grossing films of the year by trade journals.⁸⁵ In addition, individual songs that achieved hit status during their era are included among the corpus of lyrics. Hit songs will most often be indicated in the following chapters by superscript indications showing that the song was among the “top twenty” (TT) or, if it did not quite attain that height, that it enjoyed at least one “top recording” (TR).⁸⁶ From sheet music sales in 1900 for “When Chloe Sings a Song”^{TT} (*Whirl-I-Gig*) to 1947 record sales of “Almost Like Being in Love”^{TT} (*Brigadoon*), reflexive songs from musicals were among the most popular of the era under study.

I draw my examples of reflexive lyrics, therefore, from three main bodies of texts: the oeuvres of the four songwriters anthologized by Kimball; musical numbers in the sample of productions; and top hit songs. In addition, throughout, the list of song titles

⁸⁴ Ibid.

⁸⁵ These box office tabulations have been reprinted in many sources. I draw from Steinberg Cobbett’s *Reel Facts: The Movie Book of Records* (New York: Random House, 1978).

⁸⁶ A general note about the evidence my sources use to gauge the popularity of songs or recordings will clarify this criterion. In creating his “top twenty” charts for 1900 to 1949, Edward Foote Gardner looked at the columns and best-selling lists in five trade journals, the radio series, *Your Hit Parade*, that started in 1935, and three retrospective accounts by popular song historians. He accumulated “over a million bits of information regarding about 5000 song candidates”; *Popular Songs of the Twentieth Century*, xi. Joel Whitburn’s charts range in scope to include from five to thirty “top recordings” positions. His fourteen sources of information are similar to Gardner’s: *Your Hit Parade*, trade journals, industry reports, and historians; *Pop Memories, 1890-1954*, 9-10. See Appendix Two for further details on these songs and my sources of information for them.

functions as a supplementary source of information. Of course, a number of songs are included in all my categories. For example, Ira Gershwin's lyric, "Fascinating Rhythm,"^{TT} is on the list of song titles, has been anthologized by Kimball, comes from the sample production *Lady, Be Good!* (1924), and, further, it was a "top twenty" hit. Outside of this multifaceted corpus, I have added only a handful of additional examples, when I needed them for tracing the very early manifestations of certain song types.

A second kind of prominence for a song is that which is granted by its placement within the structure of a production. It is here that the sample of productions offers information not otherwise available. Opening numbers and finales are particularly prominent in a show's structure, and reflexive songs often, as Feuer claims, "serve a finale function."⁸⁷ Frequently, this prominence *in situ* corresponds to prominence on the pop song market—as is the case with "Fascinating Rhythm," which is used in *Lady, Be Good!* as both the first and second act finales. Many times, however, obscure songs are given prominence within a production via their dramatic placement. In *Show Boat* (1927), for example, the reflexive musical ensembles that occur as part of the opening of both acts—ballyhooing, respectively, the *Cotton Blossom* riverboat show and the attractions of the Chicago World's Fair—are clearly not intended for the popular song market. In *King of Jazz* (1930), it is not the big hit song, "It Happened in Monterey," with its one brief reflexive allusion, that is placed at the end of the film's finale, but rather the more thoroughly reflexive, anthem-like "The Song of the Dawn." Of fifteen songs in *Apple Blossoms* (1919), only three are fully reflexive, but reprises of two of these comprise the grand finale. Whatever weight these songs may fail to attain in terms of popularity, they

⁸⁷ Jane Feuer, *Hollywood Musical*, 37.

achieve in terms of dramatic usage. Thus, the sample of productions, more than just helping to gauge typicality, is of equal importance in demonstrating how reflexive songs are given emphasis within productions.

Most of the songs I use as examples have never received scholarly attention. Examining a large corpus that includes such previously neglected material is an important aspect of my methodology. Some of the songs I use as illustrations have received comment, but only a few—such as “Fascinating Rhythm”—have enjoyed multiple analyses. Even the most famous, however, have rarely been dissected for their reflexive content. Musicologists concentrate on their rhythm, melody, harmony, and structure. Other writers detail their poetic patterns or the match between their verbal and musical phrases. Some point out their social or cultural content. If the song is spoken of as being about music or entertainment, however, it is usually in a cursory manner, and I have found very little of relevant substance to engage with in such brief references.

Because musicals are collaborative and based on conventions, an auteurist critical approach—one that focuses on single creative artists and their unique traits and themes—is problematic. The four anthologized lyricists have been celebrated because they have strong individual styles and often wielded a great deal of creative control over their projects. My corpus, however, includes the work of 143 additional lyricists. Some have not received the sustained acclaim or analysis of the anthologized songwriters, but nevertheless are known as the creators of hit shows—for instance, Harry B. Smith, Gus Kahn, Anne Caldwell, and Al Dubin. Others are even more obscure, such as William Jerome, George Spink, or Dorothy Terriss. My goal is to write a history of conventions,

and this performe involves drawing from copious examples written by such relatively neglected lyricists.⁸⁸

At the same time, in including the complete lyrics of Berlin, Porter, Gershwin, and Hart, I also offer a contribution to our understanding of such celebrated lyricists. Bordwell, Staiger, and Thompson write that a film director's distinctive style is defined by his or her judicious use of the techniques offered by Hollywood's mode of production—the "range of choices" that are allowed within strict "bounds of difference."⁸⁹ In an analogous fashion, I offer a new understanding of the range of paradigmatic options used within the genre of the American musical as a whole. It is within this context that the idiosyncrasies of the four anthologized lyricists gain significance, and I will explore some of these individual characteristics within the chapters that follow.

Taxonomy and Periodization

As mentioned above, I include both stage and screen musicals in my corpus, and this procedure is sufficiently unusual to merit some rationale. Most histories of the genre discuss only one medium, but there are exceptions, both in general histories (such as that by Amy Henderson and Dwight Blocker Bowers) and in more analytic studies (such as those by Gerald Mast and Stacy Wolf)—and even in scholarly anthologies (such as that

⁸⁸ For this aspect of my study, I am inspired, in part, by David Savran, in his discussion of how musicals call into question "the values of a theory of authorship" and thus open an opportunity for "the history of conventions"; "Toward a Historiography of the Popular," *Theatre Survey* 45, no. 2 (November 2004), 211-217, at 214.

⁸⁹ David Bordwell, Janet Staiger, and Kristin Thompson, *Classical Hollywood Cinema*, 79-82, at 80.

edited by Robert Lawson-Peebles).⁹⁰ From the late 1920s, developments in the stage musical and film musical were interrelated. Among the many customary practices of the American musical, some are certainly specific either to theatre (such as the conductor's bow to the audience) and or to film (such as the cut from long-shot to close-up), but most devices common to one medium can at least occasionally be found in the other. I argue that the history of a stylistic device such as the reflexive song points up the similarities and interrelationships of the two media, and therefore any contemplation of the genre's history and significance is best done with consideration of both the stage and screen manifestations of the genre.

Taxonomically, I include both narrative musicals and revues in my study. This is a common practice among historians, but is less so among the more analytic commentators.⁹¹ There have been very few Hollywood musical revues, but one is included in the corpus that Feuer analyzes—she mentions MGM's *Ziegfeld Follies* (1946) in a discussion of the device of the dream ballet.⁹² A number of the other more analytic writers on the genre also include such brief discussions of revues. John Bush Jones is perhaps the most thorough of these in considering both forms of musical

⁹⁰ Amy Henderson and Dwight Blocker Bowers. *Red, Hot and Blue: A Smithsonian Salute to the American Musical* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1996); Gerald Mast, *Can't Help Singin'*; Stacy Wolf, *Problem Like Maria*; and *Approaches to the Musical*, ed. Robert Lawson-Peebles.

⁹¹ Among the many writers who include both narrative and revue forms in one historical overview are: Richard Barrios, *Song in the Dark*; Lehman Engel, *American Musical Theater*; Stanley Green, *Ring Bells! Sing Songs! Broadway Musicals of the 1930s* (New York: Galahad Books, 1971); and Abe Laufe, *Broadway's Greatest Musicals*. Four histories by Gerald Bordman variously manifest both the historiographic inclusion and segregation of the revue. He is inclusive in *American Musical Theatre*. In a trilogy, however, he rigidly separates out three subgenres: *American Musical Comedy: From "Adonis" to "Dreamgirls"* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1982); *American Musical Revue: From "The Passing Show" to "Sugar Babies"* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985); and *American Operetta: From "H.M.S. Pinafore" to "Sweeney Todd"* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1981).

⁹² Jane Feuer, *Hollywood Musical*, 74. There were six feature-length film revues in 1929 and 1930 and seven in the 1940s, most notably a series of multi-segment features from the Disney studio, such as *Make Mine Music* (1946).

theatre.⁹³ In contrast, Rick Altman is the most adamant in insisting that “the musical must be seen as a narrative genre.”⁹⁴ Nevertheless, even Altman admits that “an individual number within a revue may recapitulate in miniature the narrative and musical patterns of a full-length musical”—a relationship that he capitalizes upon by including two film revues among his examples for analysis.⁹⁵ Thus, the existing literature supplies some precedents for including both narrative and revue forms in one discussion, even though the practice is not universal. As I will demonstrate, both revue and narrative forms (and, incidentally, within this latter category, both musical comedy and operetta-styled shows) equally utilize reflexive songs as an important formal device, with a resulting similarity in thematics. Thus, the reflexive song is one of the most important and pervasive of the many conventions that unite an inclusive corpus—one in which revue and narrative subgenres are of equal importance and that is increasingly being labeled simply “the musical.”

I refer to all songs used in a musical as “production songs.” In this I am following the lead of Russell Sanjek in his panoramic history of the American popular music industry.⁹⁶ In adopting Sanjek’s term, I implicitly allude to the interconnected business practices of the production centers of Broadway and Hollywood. They existed in a

⁹³ John Bush Jones, *Our Musicals, Ourselves*. As any comparative survey of programs, sheet music, advertising, journalism, and histories soon reveals, there has been little consistency in the application of the various terms denoting musical productions, and particularly in distinguishing “revue” from “musical comedy.” The terminological distinctions have been more fully enforced since the late 1960s, but even then not consistently in all cases—and, as previously mentioned, the convenient catch-all description “musical” has been used increasingly since the early 1930s. Analytic writers who concentrate on narrative musicals but nevertheless use examples of revue forms as part of their discussion include: John M. Clum, *Something for the Boys*; Krin Gabbard, *Jammin’ at the Margins*; Arthur Knight, *Disintegrating the Musical*; Michael Rogin, *Blackface, White Noise*; Rubin, *Showstoppers*; David Walsh and Len Platt, *Musical Theater and American Culture*; and Stacy Wolf, *Problem Like Maria*.

⁹⁴ Rick Altman, *American Film Musical*, 102.

⁹⁵ In *American Film Musical*, Rick Altman analyzes sequences from *Ziegfeld Follies* and *Paramount on Parade*; 42, 168-169.

⁹⁶ Russell Sanjek, *American Popular Music and Its Business: The First Four Hundred Years, Volume III, From 1900 to 1984* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988).

symbiotic relationship with the song publishing companies, which were grouped under the term Tin Pan Alley, and the recording industry. Indeed, during the period covered by my study, production songs usually represented from 25% to 38% of each year's top hits.⁹⁷

Tin Pan Alley, Broadway, and Hollywood shared the same personnel on all levels, many of whom moved freely and in swift alternation between these various areas of the entertainment industry. Some songs were written expressly for stage or screen musicals, while others were created as independent popular songs and only subsequently interpolated into productions. I include all these types. Indeed, it would probably be impossible to trace the history of each song in the corpus for its originally intended venue. Nor is it essential for my study. If a song is put on stage or screen, it becomes part of the theatre or movie show. It is a component of the overall production—one that then represents the latter to the general public.

In this study, I cover the time span of 1898 through 1947. At the start of this period, from 1895 through 1898, the quantity of the reflexive Broadway song titles jumps—both in sheer numbers and in the percentage of the season's shows in which they were featured—and then stabilizes, staying above a certain level. In terms of the impact of musical theatre on the popular song market, the introduction of "When Chloe Sings a

⁹⁷ I glean my figures from my own tabulations, drawn from the information presented by Edward Foote Gardiner in *Popular Songs of the Twentieth Century*. Between 1903 and 1933, both the median and the average of Broadway's share of each year's "top twenty" hit songs was 25%; from 1934 through 1947, 6% is both median and average. Between 1929 and 1947, the average number of hits from Hollywood was 32% of the year's total successes, while 34% represents the median. The peak of the dominance of Tin Pan Alley by production songs came in 1929, when 39% of the "top twenty" hits were from Hollywood and 20% were from Broadway; thus, 59% of the hits that year were from musicals.

Song” in the autumn of 1899 commences a steady stream of reflexive Broadway songs on the hit lists.⁹⁸

The period covered by my study was a time of increased industrialization and monopolization of musical entertainment, manifested in the theatre (with the Syndicate followed by the Shuberts), Tin Pan Alley (with the Music Publisher’s Association followed by ASCAP), and cinema (with the early cartel of Edison-authorized studios followed by the “Big Five” studio system). During this same period, the dominance of mass culture and consumerism increased. It is within this context that modernist art developed, and the same is true for musicals.⁹⁹ Speaking about Hollywood practices, Altman suggests that film musicals offer an apologia for this modernization and commodification of musical activity.¹⁰⁰ Feuer implies that she holds a similar point of view and links this strategy to the reflexive songs featured in movie musicals.¹⁰¹ In analogy to their discussions, I propose that the rise to prominence of the reflexive song in the Broadway musical in the late 1890s corresponded to the needs of both the industry and the consumers for a reassurance that music could retain its special aura in the face of increasing mechanical reproduction and other changes.

The reflexive song conventions that Feuer discusses are amply illustrated by my survey, and they develop into their characteristic prominence and forms during the fifty years under study. Essentially, all the reflexive song conventions used through the mid-

⁹⁸ I do not mean to imply that there had been no previous popular reflexive production songs. Indeed, it may be significant that the tour of what is often considered a progenitor of musical comedy, *A Trip to Chinatown* (1891), helped to introduce a landmark reflexive song hit, “After the Ball” (1892). It is not until early in the twentieth century, however, that there is a regular recurrence of such reflexive production songs among each year’s biggest successes.

⁹⁹ On the complex dynamic between modernism and mass culture, see Andreas Huyssen, *After the Great Divide*.

¹⁰⁰ Rick Altman, *American Film Musical*, 316-327, 350-362.

¹⁰¹ Jane Feuer, *Hollywood Musical*, 1-3, 36-37, 51-54, 94-96.

1960s were in place by 1947, the end of my period of study.¹⁰² Overall, by the late 1940s, style in popular song achieved a certain stability—almost a stagnation.¹⁰³ This was manifested, too, in an increased number of old songs revived into popularity. By 1949, fully one-fifth of the year’s top hit songs were vintage pieces resurrected through new recordings.

In the mid-1940s, two formal developments mark the completion of a range of paradigmatic choices for the use of reflexive songs in the American musical. With *Oklahoma!* (1943) and, even more, *Carousel* (1945), Oscar Hammerstein and Richard Rodgers establish a model of the “integrated” musical that does not feature any one song that is emphatically reflexive. Instead, this type of show creates a pattern of brief, fleeting reflexive allusions that are sprinkled throughout the score. Then, in 1946, Irving Berlin stabilizes the convention of the anthem-like song praising entertainment in general, with “There’s No Business Like Show Business”—perhaps, as Most suggests, as a defiant reaction to the newly-prominent integrated model associated with Rodgers and Hammerstein.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰² I base this statement upon the examination of an Extended Sample of thirty-one productions from the years 1948 through 1966, listed in Appendix One. The nadir of reflexive songs as a device in the American musical during that period is seen in the late 1950s, in such examples as *West Side Story* (1957) and *Gigi* (1958). Both of these exemplars of the integrated musical include only three very brief reflexive allusions within their scores. From 1956 onwards, rock and roll introduces new musical styles to the movies; nevertheless, rather surprisingly, these lyrics use much the same dance vocabulary as I find in the ragtime era. From 1964, there is one new convention: the reflexive situation song, such as “I Just Heard” in *Fiddler on the Roof* (1964) or “The Telephone Song” in *Cabaret* (1966). Also at this time, an increasing number of reversals of convention begin to appear. For instance, in “A Quiet Thing” (*Flora, the Red Menace*, 1965), happiness results in an internal silence rather than in the heavenly choirs, bells, and drums of songs of earlier decades. Otherwise, there were no new developments in reflexive song conventions during the period from 1947 through 1966.

¹⁰³ Both Alec Wilder, in *American Popular Song*, and Philip Furia, in *Poets of Tin Pan Alley*, analyze popular song style and find that the late 1940s mark the end of an era of innovations contained within an established tradition.

¹⁰⁴ Andrea Most, *Making Americans*, 119-120, 123.

Other new styles in the American musical became entrenched at that time.

Modern dance and modern ballet flourished with new prominence in musicals both on stage and screen. Serious and operatically-inclined pieces flourished on Broadway, such as *Carmen Jones* (1943), “*The Telephone*” and “*The Medium*” (a dual-bill of 1947), and *Street Scene* (1947). Death scenes began to feature prominently in many Broadway works, such as *Carousel*, as well as in Hollywood biopics, such as *Rhapsody in Blue* (1945), the fictionalized biography of George Gershwin that concludes with the demise of its protagonist. By the end of 1947, these new conventions had fully effected a shift both in the range of choices allowed within the genre and in the rhetoric surrounding it.

There were additional changes that made the mid-1940s a turning point in the history of the American musical. After 1946, television began to draw audiences away from the movies, and there were fewer Hollywood musicals.¹⁰⁵ Partially, though not entirely, consequent upon this decline, there are also fewer reflexive song titles in both Hollywood and Broadway musicals. More dramatically, the annual percentage of “top twenty” hits from movie musicals declines from the usual one-third share in 1945 to only twelve percent in 1949. This period marked the rise to mainstream success of “race” and “hillbilly” records. Countering these upstart incursions into the hit parade was the fresh popularization of show music through albums of Broadway original cast recordings (from 1942) and Hollywood soundtracks (from 1946).¹⁰⁶ By 1950, record companies had become major financial backers of Broadway musical productions. Thus, the late 1940s

¹⁰⁵ The number of Broadway musicals had already decreased definitively in 1933 and stayed relatively stable for decades.

¹⁰⁶ Despite earlier precedents and the subsequent outstanding success of the record of *Oklahoma!* (1943), the album of *This Is the Army*, recorded in July, 1942, is best considered as the start of the Original Broadway Cast Recording era. Unfortunately, the early history of soundtrack recordings has received no scholarly attention. The earliest I can identify is the best-selling album of *Till the Clouds Roll By* (1946), the first issue on the MGM record label.

mark a time when show business trends were shifting considerably, but the style of the American musical was fully developed, for the range of paradigmatic choices used over the ensuing two decades was manifested by the end of 1947.

I have quantified data concerning 2,289 full lyrics of this fifty-year period between 1898 and 1947.¹⁰⁷ These are drawn from two parts of my corpus. First, there are the 1,471 anthologized songs by Berlin, Porter, Gershwin, and Hart featured in American musicals during the period covered by my study.¹⁰⁸ Second, the sample of productions features 818 additional songs by other songwriters. In the sample productions, an additional 174 songs are by the anthologized songwriters. Thus, the sample contains 992 songs in total, 18% of which is by the four auteurs.¹⁰⁹

In these songs, the most prevalent topic is love. Songs concerning the relationship of men and women, encompassing both sex and idealized romance, constitute 69% of the corpus.¹¹⁰ This supports the arguments of Engel, Mast, Altman, and others, that both theme and structure in the American musical are dominated by heterosexual pairing.¹¹¹

¹⁰⁷ This figure does not include the seventy-eight complete songs that are included among my examples because they were hits. In order to keep this project within manageable bounds, I have not fully quantified data about hit production songs. The list of titles, too, presents a special case in terms of quantification. See, respectively, Appendices Two and Three for more information.

¹⁰⁸ In my survey of these works, I do not include songs that were only featured in foreign shows or songs written for productions but unused in the final Broadway or film versions.

¹⁰⁹ One song by Irving Berlin in the sample production *Mammy* (1930) is unaccountably not included in the anthology of Berlin's complete lyrics: the reflexive "Here We Are." Fortunately, however, the lyric is just audible on the commercial video transfer of this early movie musical.

¹¹⁰ This is somewhat lower than the statistics offered by previous investigators of Tin Pan Alley, which usually show a proportion of about 85% love songs; those previous surveys, however, were based primarily on popular hits. Therefore, the discrepancy is probably because musicals contain a certain proportion of songs written to fit specific characters and dramatic situations, only some of which involve romance, while songs that become hits usually focus on generalized sentiments. Most surveys show that about 85% of popular songs were about love. Richard A. Peterson and David G. Berger draw on an unpublished survey by the latter of ninety hits from 1910 to 1950, 91% of which were "on love themes," and they add a survey of sixty songs from 1948 to 1958, with 82% of them being love songs; "Three Eras in the Manufacture of Popular Music Lyrics," in *The Sounds of Social Change: Studies in Popular Culture*, ed. R. Serge Denisoff and Richard A. Peterson (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1972), 282-303, at 284-285. Edward Pessen creates his own corpus of 600 "good" and "great" songs of the Tin Pan Alley period and finds that 85% were love songs; "The Great Songwriters of Tin Pan Alley's Golden Age," 192-193. Studies from earlier decades

Music and entertainment constitute the second most prevalent theme in the corpus. There are 490 fully reflexive lyrics among the anthologized and sample production songs, representing 21% of the whole. In other words, among production songs, one in five concentrates on reflexive imagery. In addition there are 409 incidentally reflexive songs (18%) and 133 songs which are reflexive only in their verses (6%). Combined, these reflexive songs equal 1,032, representing 45% of the quantified corpus. Thus, remarkably, almost half the songs within my survey contain reflexive allusions.

Of course, the subjects of love and music are not mutually exclusive. The strong connection depicted between the two is of central importance in reflexive songs. Although I will only occasionally highlight this aspect of the songs I analyze, the symbiosis of romance and music is basic to the genre. The overlap of the two topics roughly corresponds to their respective prevalence within the overall corpus. While love songs are 69% of the overall corpus, they are 61% of the reflexive songs. Reflexive songs are 45% of the total, and they represent 39% of the love songs. This intersection is sufficient to create a strong link between the two themes. Moreover, 91% of the sample productions explicitly portray this association through their reflexive lyrics.

The importance of reflexive songs during this era is indicated in the histories of two of the seventy sample productions: *Oh, Lady! Lady!!* (1918) and *Fifty Million Frenchmen* (1929). Both opened on Broadway with no fully reflexive songs but, rather, a

found much the same percentage. For 1941, John G. Peatman found 83% of the hit songs contained what he dubs “sex interest”; “Radio and Popular Music,” 375. In his survey of 1955 songs, Donald Horton found 86.8% were about love; “The Dialogue of Courtship in Popular Songs,” 180.

¹¹¹ Lehman Engel emphasizes the centrality of the couple in part of his discussion in *Words with Music*, 10-14. Gerald Mast does similarly in his description of the paradigms for operetta and the integrated musical; *Can't Help Singin'*, 208-209. Rick Altman discusses heterosexual pairing more extensively and analytically in *American Film Musical*, 28-58.

modest proportion of lyrics with incidentally reflexive allusions: six out of sixteen in *Lady* and eight out of twenty in *Frenchmen*. Within two months of their openings, however, both shows introduced a fully reflexive song into the score. With the inclusion of these two shows, 96% of the sample productions include fully reflexive songs.

Among the seventy sample productions, only three do not include a fully reflexive lyric: *George Washington, Jr.* (1906), *One Touch of Venus* (1943), and *Finian's Rainbow* (1947). Each of these shows, however, creates a prominent thread of incidental reflexive allusions running through their scores. Of the nine songs I examined from *George Washington, Jr.*, three have incidental reflexive allusions within their refrains and a fourth features a first verse which is dominated by reflexive concerns. This last-mentioned is, importantly, the hit theme song of the show, "You're a Grand Old Flag," with its opening lines, "There's a feeling comes a-stealing ... / when I'm listening to the music of a military band." *One Touch of Venus* includes ten fleeting reflexive allusions in a score of fourteen songs. *Finian's Rainbow* is similar, having eight incidentally reflexive allusions in its twelve songs, including in the two hits: "How Are Things in Glocca Mora" (where a "laddie" comes "whistlin' by") and "Old Devil Moon" (that makes the singer "wanna croon"). Thus, a full 100% of the sample productions include a significant pattern of reflexive allusions in their lyrics.

These statistics reveal that reflexivity is inherent to the American musical during the period covered by my study. Heterosexual relations and reflexivity are so intertwined that they can hardly be considered separately in this context; together, they create the fabric of the genre. Yet, while love is often spoken of as a major concern of the musical,

comment on the genre's obsession with music and entertainment is scanty in light of my findings. The following chapters seek to redress this imbalance.

Outline of Chapters

This first chapter has served as an introduction to my project. The second, third, and fourth chapters constitute the heart of this study. They spell out the chief characteristics of reflexive songs and the historical trajectories of the most important conventions within them. These generic traits are present throughout the era covered by my study, but have specific permutations as the years go by. Chapter Five applies this historicizing to the interpretation of three representative texts. Overall, I argue that a methodical historical study of a formal device—in this instance, the reflexive song—reveals the presence of important themes in the genre.

In Chapter Two, I detail how reflexive songs define music. In the corpus, all forms of music are interconnected. Further, this multifaceted music is rooted both in the body and in an interior landscape of the soul. The height of dance songs was in the two decades that encompassed the ragtime dance craze and the Jazz Age, from 1910 to 1930. During this time, songs strongly assert that music produces involuntary physical responses. Here, music is physical. The era from 1929 to 1949 was the height of prevalence for a contrasting image: music as internal and as an abstract metaphor for love and life. Here, music is incorporeal.

My survey has enabled me to outline these two separate eras for the first time in the scholarly literature. I argue that this kind of distinction is important for understanding

the American musical and its history. Yet, perhaps as importantly, I wish to avoid an overly simplified periodization, for both definitions of music are present during the entire era under study. The differences are not categorical; rather, they are matters of emphasis and proportionate prevalence. Further, with both trends, clear connections are made between the diverse modes of music-making: instrumental music, vocal music, and dancing are represented as being concomitant.

Reflexive songs invite participation. They often bid the listener, “come on and watch, listen, dance, and sing.” I focus on this summons to attendance and activity in Chapter Three. Further, I address the query: what inducements are offered for this participation? Throughout the fifty-year period of my survey, music is most often associated with happiness—as if to say: “You are happy, therefore you sing.” This connection is given increasing emphasis, and by the mid-1920s, the songs go further and offer music as a cure for the blues. These later songs declare: “If you sing, then you will become happy.” This alluring promise becomes a chief characteristic of the period 1925 to 1940. Aside for some brief allusions, no previous writer has pointed out the genre’s depiction of music as a therapeutic force.

Participation in the exhilaration of city life is also offered as an enticement. One of the strongest links between the musical and modernist art, this fascination with urban modernity becomes couched in reflexive terms, particularly from 1928 to 1938. These songs command, as in a 1935 song, “come on along and listen to / the lullaby of Broadway.” Again, I maintain that such themes are most convincingly revealed through a historical study based on a representative sample of material.

Reflexive songs are also often self-conscious about show business and its conventions, and this is the focus of Chapter Four. Among songs that concentrate on entertainment, most of them also mention music. Thus, there is a clear bond depicted between these two topics. Early songs about show business focus nostalgically on the circus and blackface minstrel traditions. Only in 1946, with Irving Berlin's "There's No Business Like Show Business," do more generalized celebrations of entertainment come to the fore. The historicization of these types is important, for writers often mention these later songs in such a way as to imply that they are typical of the genre in a synchronic fashion.

Alongside the handful of songs that glorify entertainment are a larger number that treat the subject with a satirical touch. Musicals make fun of themselves. Indeed, their depictions of show business are most often dominated by parody and irony. It is here, perhaps, that my methodology has been most vindicated. Based on Feuer's analysis of what she dubs the Ode to Entertainment, I expected straightforward self-praise to dominate this kind reflexive convention.¹¹² Such preconceptions were considerably modified by a close examination of my corpus. In exploring this topic, I venture into uncharted terrain, for no other author has examined irony as a general characteristic of the American musical.

My corpus reveals many instances in which the depiction of an authorial voice is clearly constructed. These musical numbers imply a personalized relationship between artist and audience. Further, through burlesque, parody, and satire, the creators allude to a pool of cultural references in such a way as to suggest a like-minded community. Ironic

¹¹² Jane Feuer, *Hollywood Musical*, 36-38.

reflexive songs about entertainment conventions often break the suspension of disbelief, sometimes explicitly using direct audience address. Therefore, they are analogous to the alienation techniques of epic theatre. In musicals, such devices usually serve both to equate and contrast the old and the new, the nostalgic and the modern.

How do these themes play out within an individual musical? In Chapter Five, I analyze the use of reflexive songs within three representative productions: *He Came from Milwaukee* (a musical comedy of 1910), *King of Jazz* (a movie revue of 1930), and *On the Town* (a musical comedy of 1944). Within the scope of my study, I cannot perform a full analysis of any one production. Here, my purpose is to demonstrate that reflexive songs are important to both structure and theme in musicals during the period under study. These three particular shows were chosen using an aleatory method, in order to ascertain that I could not influence the evidence in arguing this point.

Reflexive songs in these three productions manifest most of the themes outlined in the preceding chapters. They all suggest the concomitance of the various modes of music-making, as well as of music with entertainment, and of these with heterosexual courtship and mating. One features a “love is a song” lyric, thus emphasizing the abstract definition of music; and another has a song emphasizing dancing, thereby encompassing the physicality of music. All three shows have songs that encourage the listener to participate actively in music and entertainment. Each has lyrics in which the conventions of reflexive songs are parodied or ironically reversed. The two later shows both have multiple songs touching on idealistic, optimistic philosophy; some of these are presented in a straightforward mode and some with irony.

All three shows have musical numbers alluding to the glamour of urban life and modernity. Coincidentally, all three also touch on the dynamic of the primitive and the modern. This is a theme favored by modernist artists—and one that is found occasionally but not extensively in the sample of productions. Further, in their different ways, each production seeks to find a meeting ground of the lowbrow and the highbrow. In addition, the scores of the three musicals present an opportunity for the discussion of reflexive conventions not previously touched upon: gypsy ballads; wedding choruses; the moon as a symbol of romance; musical numbers with extended structures; and list songs as miniature variety shows.

In all three shows, reflexive songs are used as important structural elements. In *He Came from Milwaukee*, they are the vehicle for the early stages of romantic interaction of the central couple. In *King of Jazz*, a reflexive opening song quickly establishes a philosophy of music for the film's eponymous star, bandleader Paul Whiteman. In *On the Town*, a comedy of character and relationship, the reflexive songs introduce and display the personalities of and dynamics between the *dramatis personae*. All three use reflexive songs as their penultimate numbers, or finales, or both.

The rhetoric about music in reflexive songs of the American musical resembles the discourse about pleasure and participation found in critical writings about the genre. In Chapter Six, I focus on this correspondence. As throughout, I argue that an understanding of the continuous yet ever-shifting tradition of reflexive song conventions offers an important contribution to the scholarly endeavor. Therefore, I call for further methodical historicizations of the elements of the American musical, tracing the history of other devices of the genre, such as the show-within-the-show.

Charting the history of a formal device presents the field of scholarship of the American musical with valuable input, providing information that cannot be accessed through other methods. Through this method, we gain an increased understanding of the diachronic permutations of the genre. In addition, certain themes are found continuously through the decades, and this fact helps unveil a fresh synchronic view of the genre. Together, these insights clearly point to additional scholarly projects. All these factors aid analysts in their interpretations of specific works and of the genre as a whole, helping them achieve breadth, depth, and accuracy. It is the goal of my dissertation to further this scholarly project.

Chapter Two: Defining the Nature of Music

Introduction

What is being referred to when the musical talks about “music”? In this chapter I will provide examples of reflexive songs that begin to answer that question, supplying a basic generic definition of “music” that provides the foundation for the discussion of reflexive songs in the later chapters. In the corpus, the basic characteristic assigned to music is that all manifestations of it, no matter how seemingly diverse, are concomitant.¹

Instrumental music, vocal music, dance music and the dancing performed to it—all these are depicted as inseparable and intertwined. This seemingly commonplace and clumsy conceptualization is actually extraordinary. It opposes the German nineteenth-century intellectual tradition of music philosophy. That line of thought defined instrumental music as the highest art, for it is the least referential and the least corporeal. By contrast, the popular tradition manifested in American musicals from the turn of the twentieth century defines music as highly corporeal, inextricably linked to physiological responses such as the urge to dance.

In addition, the equivalence of musical modalities in musicals does not fit into contemporaneous theories of modernist art. As Eugene Lunn points out, “modernist artists, writers, and composers often draw attention to the media or materials with which

¹ My use of the word “concomitance” in this context is indebted to the work of John Diamond, M.D., although he uses it not in a scholarly or analytic context, but rather as part of his goal of assessing the healing potential of music and dance; *Singing and Movement: Essential Concomitants*, audiotape (South Salem, N.Y.; The Diamond Center, 1991).

they are working, the very processes of creation in their craft.”² In such a scheme, the artist emphasizes the uniqueness of each medium—the intrinsic qualities of paint, word, tone, instrumental timbre, and so forth. In this modernist tradition, dance becomes independent of music. Musical instruments are no longer expected to reproduce the “singing” quality of vocal music. Music, poetry, and the visual arts are divorced from representation and narrative in order to emphasize their abstract values.

While American musicals display a self-consciousness that is analogous to modernist art, the genre does not seek to isolate the unique qualities of each medium. Indeed, these musicals present a clear but implicit argument that the seemingly diverse media of instrumental and vocal music, dance, and entertaining in general, together represent one single medium. If the medium is the message, the American musical sets its own terms for how its medium should be understood, defying other cultural preconceptions. It is likely that this attitude toward the concomitance of various modes of music-making aligns with other popular discourses on music—unfortunately, a history of these remains to be written. I offer what follows as a contribution to such a project.

Although the main goal of this chapter is to extend and historicize Jane Feuer’s observations on the confounding of music and song in the Hollywood musical, I also touch on other important topics. Nationalism, race, work and entertainment, highbrow and lowbrow—all these concerns are manifest in reflexive songs that predate any examples previously discussed in any depth by scholars. These themes do not always manifest in predictable ways; for instance, it is not invariably “work versus

² Eugene Lunn, *Marxism and Modernism*, 34.

entertainment.” In these songs, there is a fluid dynamic which encompasses cooperation as well as conflict between seeming dichotomies.

Most importantly, the response of these songs’ protagonists defines music as creating *activity* within human beings—within both their external, corporeal reality and their interior landscape. Through this means, the reflexive songs discussed below emphasize what Feuer hints at in her analysis: the primary goal of the American musical is to valorize music itself. This insight is more broadly applicable than Feuer indicates, spanning the decades and both stage and screen. To accomplish this valorization of music, the songwriters feel free to recruit a wide variety of cultural attitudes. Looked at from such a perspective, these other themes are of secondary importance. Overall, I contend that such insights result from the methodology applied in this study.

While the linking of various types of musical expression is characteristic of the genre throughout the decades, a closer examination of this trait of the American musical reveals several specific ways this concomitance is manifest and the historical trends of their prevalence. These trends will be traced in this chapter, which will be divided into four sections. First I will illustrate how reflexive songs depict instrumental music as creating powerful physical responses, particularly in songs about dance. The second section will focus on the links between instrumental music and vocal music. Those two topics lay the foundations for the third section, which concentrates on the concomitance of vocal music and dance. While songs discussed in these three sections depict the physicality of music, the final part of this discussion traces the development of another concept—of music as abstract and internalized.

Feuer is the only previous scholar who has written about the predilection of the genre for connecting different musical modes. She focuses, however, exclusively on instrumental music and song as depicted in the Hollywood musical. I will extend her analysis both conceptually and historically, showing that the interlinking of modes includes dance and manifests in musical theatre from the start of the period under study. A closer examination of the production number that she examines will reveal a number of additional connotations created for music by reflexive songs, beyond those analyzed by Feuer, and thus will provide a springboard for the discussions in both this chapter and the following one as well.

Feuer points out that the musical redefines music as song. She offers the example of a lyric from the finale of *Presenting Lily Mars* (1943): “Where There’s Music,” a serene, flowing ballad written by Roger Edens and sung by Judy Garland:

Refrain: Where there’s music, there’ll be singing,
 Where there’s singing, you’ll find skies of blue.
 For when all the world goes wrong
 A simple little song
 Will always bring a rainbow smiling through.
 With a rainbow, there’ll be laughter,
 Chasing after sunshine from above.
 Where there’s sunshine, there’ll be music,
 And where there’s music, there’s love.

In Edens’ schematic lyric, Feuer recognizes the genre’s characteristic representation of a lack of boundaries between artistic modes—here, between instrumental music and vocal music:

The lyric is instructive not because it’s poetically rich but because it’s so skeletal. What is most instructive about this entirely conventional reflexive song lyric is that, in order to link

music and love, it must first *redefine music as singing*. In order to sing the praises of music, the general term “music” must be particularized as “song.” The redefinition masks the lack of a real equivalence between the two terms. “Where there’s music, there’ll be singing,” says the lyric, conveniently ignoring the fact that song is a hybrid form of presentation, combining the purely symbolic ‘language’ of music with the referential language of words in order to achieve a synthesis which is also referential and which may be addressed to an audience. ... Without words, music has trouble talking about itself.³

Feuer points out Edens’ sleight of hand in equating music with song. The fallacy of logic of which Edens provides an example is endemic in the genre, spanning the decades and both stage and film productions. It is so endemic, indeed, that the effect is of an extended and concerted argument against any distinct ontological difference between the many modes that seem so variously to express musical impulses. A historicized understanding of this phenomenon is essential for contextualizing Feuer’s observations. Just taking a small step beyond Feuer’s example begins to reveal the complexity of the connotations with which music is imbued in the musical—for the finale of *Presenting Lily Mars* continues beyond Garland’s chorus of “Where’s There’s Music.”

Presenting Lily Mars tells a quintessentially typical story of a theatrically-ambitious small-town girl who comes to the big city and, through various complicated plot devices, finds professional training and romance with a Broadway director. The

³ Jane Feuer, *Hollywood Musical*, 51-52, italics in original.

finale depicts the eponymous heroine's apotheosis as a Broadway musical comedy star and allows her to demonstrate her ability as a balladeer, a dancer, and a rhythm singer. Thus, "Where's There's Music" introduces several further sections, and each of these also unites diverse phenomena. First, in a brief segue, the choral ensemble extends the string of associations of Eden's refrain, affirming that "where there's music, / there'll be dancing, no matter where you go." This leads into a rendition of Dorothy Terriss' lyric for "Three O'Clock in the Morning"^{TT} (originally from *The Greenwich Village Follies*, 1921). Terriss clearly associates music with dancing even in the slightly truncated version presented in the Garland film:

Refrain excerpt: It's three o'clock in the morning,
We've danced the whole night through.
The melody so entrancing
Seems to be made for us two.
I could keep right on dancing
Forever, dear, with you.

Terriss pictures the song's protagonist in a clear situation. The couple has "danced the whole night through." The band is playing a final waltz; it seems to be a "melody so entrancing" that it was "made" just for the two lovers. The implied scene could be anywhere from a town hall to an urban ballroom. In contrast to the song that follows next, the co-presence of music and dancing is verisimilitudinous, even though the emotional atmosphere is highly romantic.

The next song in the finale of *Presenting Lily Mars* is "Broadway Rhythm"^{TR} (originally the finale of *Broadway Melody of 1936*), in which lyricist Arthur Freed goes beyond the kind of concrete, realistic scene implied by Terriss' lyric. Freed describes the excitement of the urban environment—specifically of the entertainment district—as a "rhythm." The metaphor of "urban life as music" becomes an anthropomorphic

“Broadway Rhythm” that can “get you,” for it provokes an irresistibly strong physical response: “Gotta dance,” the protagonist exclaims. In the refrain’s final line this urban rhythm and the dancing it provokes is further yoked to vocal production: “Everybody sing and dance!” In a gesture typical of the musical, Freed inextricably intertwines a reified metaphor (a “Broadway Rhythm”) with concrete, physical activity (singing and dancing).

Thus, as a whole, the *Presenting Lily Mars* finale unfurls a swift succession of implicit and explicit concomitances—music with singing, music with dancing, singing with dancing, and all of these with both the ballroom floor and the New York thoroughfare that symbolizes the American theatre industry and the essence of urban high life. Indeed, Feuer’s example of the finale of *Presenting Lily Mars* illustrates more than she explores, revealing a whole network of associations that “redefine music.”

In *Presenting Lily Mars* and, indeed, in all musicals covered in this study, music, song, dance, and entertainment are contained within an overarching concept that I will call the *music matrix*. The concomitance of these elements is stated or implied in various ways. Sometimes the separate activities are depicted as occurring simultaneously, as in “Three O’Clock in the Morning.” At other times they are represented as being cause-and-effect. Most often, music is depicted as the motivating factor for dancing—as the chorus sings in *Presenting Lily Mars*, “Where there’s music, / there’ll be dancing.” At still other times, the different modes are mentioned in such close juxtaposition to each other that an interdependent relationship is implied, as in “Broadway Rhythm.”⁴ At the extreme of the

⁴ Throughout this study, I interpret all the various juxtaposed topics in a lyric—such as singing and dancing in “Broadway Rhythm”—as implying an association, kinship, or even equivalence of the terms or images involved. Only occasionally is a contrast or opposition between such elements made explicit.

spectrum, the concepts become so confounded that any denotative specificity disappears, as in “Where There’s Music.”

It is this very confusion of media (dance, instrumental music, vocal music, poetry) that so strongly indicates the project of the American musical: to present as natural a matrix that contains all these elements and unites them. Thus *Presenting Lily Mars*, as with most shows of the period under study, defines instrumental music, vocal music, and dance as concomitant phenomena. Indeed, in these musicals all entertainment is depicted as somehow musical, as will be discussed further below in Chapter Four. Out of the 212 fully reflexive songs in the sample of productions, I have identified 96 songs (i.e. 45%) that decidedly touch on the concomitant status of the elements of the music matrix. They are featured in 74% percent of the sample productions. This concomitance is indicated by the frequent concurrence, juxtaposition, and confounding of “vocal music,” “instrumental music,” and “dance.” In these songs, band music makes you sing, and “songs” are played by orchestras. “To rag,” “to jazz,” “to jump,” and “to jive” are all defined equally as modes of playing instrumental music, singing, or dancing. In fact, all sorts of music impel listeners to dance. The song of the breeze makes the trees dance as surely as the Viennese orchestra makes the *dramatis personae* waltz. Whether due to the intensely collaborative, multi-media nature of production, to the close ties with related industries (such as those for sheet music, phonorecords, ballroom venues, and social dance instruction), to an underlying philosophy of music, or merely to a tradition of formal conventions, throughout the decades under study, an overarching project in the lyrics of the American musical is to present as wide a definition of “music” as possible.

Indeed, “music” is defined in the American musical through a complex set of associations. Most of these poetic connotations predate the period under study, but they are adapted to an American idiom and then rise to a new prominence during certain periods in the history of the American musical. Descriptions of an intense physical response to music gain sudden ascendancy in the 1910s during the craze for ragtime dances, and the momentum of this trend continues through until the advent of the Depression in 1930. Meanwhile, allusions to self-accompanied singing dwindle in the lyrics, just as the practice faded out in the population. Overlapping with these developments are fresh, Americanized adaptations of the operetta discourse concerning the incorporeal, abstract nature of music—the “song of life,” the “song of love,” and the “song inside.” By the early 1930s, this “song of romance” and the dance song became intermixed in examples such as “The Continental.” Keeping in mind the resulting difficulty of isolating examples for each of the following points, I will proceed to illustrate the specific concomitances the corpus reveals.

Dance and the Physicality of Music

In this section, I discuss the way many reflexive songs present two interrelated phenomena: the intense physical response to music and the concomitance of music and dance. The songwriters match their descriptions of the irresistible impulse to dance when music is playing with an extensive exploration of action verbs to describe movement itself. Music is constructed as being corporeal in nature, and the lyrics present this depiction in vivid terms.

The “Opening Chorus” of *The Fortune Teller* (1898) is illustrative of a number of traits of the music matrix. Here, in the very first musical number in the earliest sample production, Harry B. Smith vividly depicts the physicality of dance. The opening scene depicts a ballet corps rehearsal, and Smith has his dancers describe the very movements they are enacting. In the terms used by analyst Manfred Pfister, the relationship between verbal and non-verbal information is one of *identity*—the stage directions are implicit in the verbal text:⁵

Girls: La la la la la with pirouetting,
 Soprano: With smile enduring,
 Alto: And yet alluring.
 Girls: La la la la la! We are coquetting,
 Alto: So statuesquely
 Soprano: So picturesquely, ...
 Girls: Twirling, whirling,
 Sliding, gliding,
 Hi! Ola, ola, ola!
 Dancing with grace entrancing,
 Hi! Ola, ola, ola!
 Round in circles swinging,
 Like gazelles a-springing

The swift accumulation of action verbs in the lyric (pirouetting, twirling, whirling, sliding, gliding, swinging, springing), linked here with what might well be referred to as “animal spirits” (“like a gazelle”), conveys an intense physicality. In the staging, the dancing itself surely cooperated with the lyric to magnify this effect. In addition, the composer Victor Herbert uses various musical devices to convey the vertiginous abandon of the dance: cascading eighth notes; shifting tempos, increasing from the graceful, moderate *tempo di gavotte* to a faster *allegro molto*; and shifting keys and meters that build climactically.⁶

⁵ Manfred Pfister, *Theory and Analysis of Drama*, 45.

⁶ I wish to thank Jan-Piet Knijff and Peter Muir for their help in examining and analyzing the music for some of the songs in this chapter.

Despite the importance of Herbert's music to the overall effect, however, Smith does not create any clear, explicit link between music and his vivid dance-evoking vocabulary. The women of the corps never mention music at all, and their ballet master Fresco merely mentions it in passing and then only as a restraining factor to which they must rigidly adhere:

Fresco: That's not it, Not a bit!
 Left foot! Right foot!
 Ev'ry bar of music fit:
 You must do better now,
 Here I will show you how!
 I will give an imitation,
 I will give an illustration,
 Follow me, and you will be all right!
 Follow me! Follow me!
 Clear the way! Clear the way!
 One and two, and one and two, and one!
 You must watch me! One, two, three, four! ...

For Fresco, dance must *fit* the music; but unlike in later reflexive songs, in Smith's lyric the dancing does not *arise out of* the music as an irresistible or inevitable impulse. In fact, Fresco's discourse invokes the drudgery of work—connotations for music that are avoided throughout most of the corpus. Counteracting Fresco's rigid strictures, however, are several factors: the captivating music, the simultaneous dancing of the corps, and their lyric that conveys an intoxicated pleasure in the dance.

Opening a year after *The Fortune Teller*, the next sample production *Whirl-I-Gig* (1899) featured the African American-inspired dance of the cakewalk, performed by Bessie Clayton at the start of the run to the instrumental "De Sun Do Move" and later in the run to a piece called "De Cakewalk Dream," which was perhaps a song.⁷ Such songs about specific dances occur throughout the late nineteenth century, celebrating the waltz,

⁷ Unfortunately, "De Cakewalk Dream" was not available for examination for this study.

the can-can, and Spanish dances such as the cachucha, tarantella, and sequevilla. The first cakewalk routine on Broadway may have been as early as 1877, when David Braham and Ed Harrigan published “Walking for Dat Cake.”⁸ The years of the initial ragtime music craze, however, starting in 1895 but escalating in 1899, mark an increase in the list of titles of dance songs, including a sprinkling of cakewalk and ragtime dance songs: “La Pas Ma La” (this was an African American dance that specifies such moves as the Turkey Trot and the Bumbishay—a.k.a. the Fanny Bump—and the song was in both *A Black Sheep*, 1896, and *The Sad Sea Waves*, 1899); “The Cake Walk Swell” (*Darkest America*, 1896); “Cake-Walk Jubilee” (*Courted into Court*, 1896); “The Rag-Time Dance” (*A Hired Girl*, 1898); “First You Do the Rag, Then You Bombashay (Dat’s How De Rag-time Dance Is Done)” (*A Reign of Error*, 1899); and “The Cake Walk” (*Sister Mary*, 1899).⁹

As well as helping to introduce African American dances to Broadway audiences, these musicals also began to feature newly-invented dances claiming to be—even aspiring to be—the latest thing. From early examples such as “The Bellamy Dance” (*The Man in the Moon*, 1899) and “The Newport Dip” (*In Newport*, 1904), onwards through the 1930s, shows abounded with these “dance craze” songs. Starting with “The Gaby Glide”^{TT} (*Vera Violetta*, 1911), these songs sometimes achieved independent success on the pop market as well, most often merely as regular pop songs adaptable as the accompaniment for several common dance steps.¹⁰ Usually the lyric’s so-called

⁸ There is no clear evidence whether this song was used in one of Harrigan and Hart’s Broadway shows of 1877 or in one of their variety skits of the same year.

⁹ The pas ma la and the bumbishay are discussed by Marshall Stearns and Jean Stearns, *Jazz Dance: The Story of American Vernacular Dance* (1964; reprint, New York: Schirmer Books, 1968), 101.

¹⁰ There may have been an earlier top hit “dance craze” production song. The cover of the sheet music for “The Cubanola Glide”^{TT} claims that it was featured in *The Girl from Rector’s*, that opened on Broadway in

instructions for the dance were vague, but sometimes the dances described were specific enough to be taught as discreet maneuvers. In the 1930s, some of these show business inventions were even successful on the social dance scene, as was the case with “The Carioca”^{TT} (*Flying Down to Rio*, 1933) and “The Lambeth Walk”^{TT} (from the British musical *Me and My Girl*, 1937).

In dance songs, the lyricists allude to the public’s embrace of a long series of social dances. The lyrics depict music as invoking a physical response, the most obvious manifestation of which is dance. As well, the physical response to music is enwrapped with an intense emotional response. These lyrics are often matched to music that is notable for its dance-like quality, created by certain techniques of composition and performance. In particular, in American popular music from the ragtime era onwards, the composers created a pliable but strong rhythmic propulsion through devices such as syncopation, varied repetition, and the juxtaposition, between the vocal line and the accompaniment, of musical phrases of contrasting length or pattern.¹¹ In general, this music was known first as “ragtime” and then as “jazz,” for these terms were applied during this era to any rhythmic American popular music.¹²

Not all of these dance songs emphasize the American vernacular tradition; some allude to European traditions and especially to the waltz. Jon Finson notes that despite the German origins of the waltz and the popular British examples of the late nineteenth

May 1909. Reviews of the show remark upon the scintillating dance number in Act Two of this otherwise non-musical comedy, but do not mention any specific song title; *The Girl from Rector’s Programme* 1909, New York Public Library for the Performing Arts, Research Collections.

¹¹ For discussions of these compositional traits, see: Allen Forte, *American Popular Ballad*, 331-332 and passim; Steven E. Gilbert, *Music of Gershwin*, 25-40 and passim; Charles Hamm, *Irving Berlin*, 80-92, 100-106; Alec Wilder, *American Popular Song*, passim. The song patterns discussed by these writers also relate to some of the instrumental patterns analyzed by Edward Berlin, *Ragtime*, particularly in his Chapter Eight.

¹² For a fuller discussion of the historical definitions of ragtime, see Edward Berlin, *Ragtime*, 5-20, 154-162, and of jazz, Krin Gabbard, *Jammin’ at the Margins*, 8-33.

century (for instance, “The Flying Trapeze” and “Daisy Bell”), by the 1890s “the foreign, ethnic origins of the waltz were forgotten.”¹³ Instead, Finson states, the lyrics “concentrated on its properties as a dance and on the associations with that activity”—especially the erotic and romantic intimacy allowed by this couple dance.¹⁴ The waltz became a staple on the Broadway stage as it was on the ballroom floor, with reflexive titles such as “Waltz Me Down the Alley, Sally” (*The Show Girl*, 1902), “Waltzing with Jane” (*Piff! Paff! Pouf!!* 1904, return engagement), “Waltz, Waltz, Waltz” (*Paris by Night*, 1904) and “The Waltz” (*The Belle of the West*, 1905). With the 1905 European debut of *The Merry Widow* and its tremendously popular waltz-time love song—and then even more so with the 1907 American production of that Viennese operetta—the waltz received a new boost. This was reflected in such titles as “Won’t You Waltz?” (*The Little Cherub*, 1906), “Waltz with Me” (*Fifty Miles from Boston*, 1908), “Waltz and Two-Step” (*Nearly a Hero*, 1908), and “Waltz with Me Till I’m Dreamy” (*The Girl in Question*, 1908).

The popularity of the “Merry Widow Waltz” brought into new prominence the compelling quality of the waltz song and the vertiginous abandon of its dance. In “Waltz Me Around Again, Willie”^{TT} (used in two shows of 1906, *Miss Dolly Dollars* and *His Honor, The Mayor*), lyricist Will D. Cobb illustrates these aspects as he emphasizes his protagonist’s physical response to music, a response that is also entwined with an intense emotional rapture—seemingly a description, as Richard Dyer puts it, of “what utopia

¹³ Jon W. Finson. *The Voices that Are Gone: Themes in 19th-Century American Popular Song* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), 67.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 67-75, at 67.

would feel like.”¹⁵ Composer Ren Shields matches this description with an exuberant triple-metered tune very much on the line of past waltzes such as “The Sidewalks of New York”^{TT} (an independent pop song of 1894) and “In the Good Old Summertime”^{TT} (*The Defender*, 1902). The verse informs us that Willie’s partner is “Madeline Mooney,” who would “rather be dancing than eat.” She “shouts with joy” the imperative of the title phrase:

Refrain: Waltz me around again Willie,
 Around, around, around;
 The music is dreamy,
 It’s peaches and creamy,
 Oh! don’t let my feet touch the ground.
 I feel like a ship on an ocean of joy,
 I just want to holler out loud, “Ship Ahoy!”
 Oh! waltz me around again, Willie,
 Around, around, around.

While dancing, Madeline experiences an oceanic feeling, joyfully riding the waves of music. The repeated lyrics and melodic variations on the phrase “around, around, around” convey the repetitive circling and centripetal force of the dance. The dancing (the kinesthetic), the music (the sonic), and the joyousness (the emotion) are all part and parcel; and, in the protagonist’s exclamations, they follow each other in swift succession without discrimination amongst them.

Also from 1906 is George Spink’s song “I’ve Got to Dance Till the Band Gits Through (Bill Simmons)”^{TT} (from the sample production, *The Social Whirl*). In his lyric, Spink tells the tale of a male protagonist of the blackface type with impulses similar to those described in “Waltz Me Around Again, Willie.” Like Madeline Mooney, Bill Simmons is in thrall to his dance impulses; but he is depicted as even more addicted than

¹⁵ Richard Dyer, “Entertainment and Utopia,” 177. “Waltz Me Around Again, Willie” most closely relates to the utopian qualities Dyer describes as “energy” and emotional “intensity” and “transparency”; see op. cit., 183-184. Dyer’s analysis of the elements of utopia will be discussed more fully below in Chapter Three.

Willie's girlfriend, and the origin of his compulsion is more explicitly and clearly in the music that he hears:

Verse one: Bill Simmons was a lazy coon as you would all agree,
 If work was 'round Bill could be found
 So tired he could not see.
 But let him hear a band draw near he'd quickly come to life,
 No matter if 'twas Sousa's Band,
 Or just a drum and fife.
 And as they come his way
 Old Bill would sadly say,
 "It ain't no use, I've got to dance, there is no other way."

Refrain: Mister, let me tell you, when the music starts, (Boom) (Boom)
 I can't keep still,
 Got a feeling in my feet just like St. Vitus dance,
 Although it is against my will;
 I'm trying mighty hard for to concentrate, (Boom) (Boom)
 What shall I do?
 Music sets me going like a jumping Jack,
 Got to dance till the band gits through.

Verse two: Bill got a job as waiter in a ham and eggie place,
 And tried his best to hold it down
 But no such luck had he.
 One day as he was carrying down a tray piled four feet high,
 He stubbed his toe, you know the rest,
 The boss said "Bill, good-bye."
 Upon that fatal day
 Old Bill was heard to say,
 "It wasn't my fault, I heard a band, my feet done went astray."

Music dispels Bill's slothfulness and invests him with physical energy—but it is an energy that is nervous and beyond his control; indeed, it resembles the illness, St. Vitus's dance. Spink's melody firmly avoids the triple-meter feeling of the waltz in favor of a duple-time, two-four meter, lending the song a potentially more American feeling than is found in "Waltz Me Around Again, Willie." Nevertheless, Spink fails to match the images of the lyric with any compelling musical devices. There is only one single syncopation near the end of the refrain and except for the rests that are filled in with a

parenthetical “boom, boom” there are no other rhythmic surprises.¹⁶ Still, in his lyric, Spink clearly depicts the protagonist’s impulses. Notably, these instincts are adverse to the work ethic; they never contribute to Bill’s ability to work, and, indeed, they eventually cause him to lose his job.¹⁷ Rick Altman has pointed to this topic as central to the genre of the movie musical: “One side of the thematic dichotomy is closely associated with the work ethic and its values, while the other is devoted to those activities and qualities traditionally identified with entertainment.”¹⁸ Bill Simmons provides an encapsulation and embodiment of this conflict. The literal and metaphorical stability that Bill needs for holding down a job is abolished by his spontaneous musical impulses—but only because music inevitably leads to physical response, to dance as a concomitant activity. Thus, in this lyric, Spink supplies an early example on Broadway of an ideological motif that Altman has outlined only in relationship to later movie musicals.

These narratives about Madeline Mooney and Bills Simmons are forerunners of a group of songs from this era about addiction to music and dance. As with these two songs, the uncontrollable impulses caused by music are usually attributed to protagonists that are black or female or both. In the waltz hit “Yip-I-Addy-I-Ay!”^{TT} (sung by Blanche Ring in both *The Merry Widow and the Devil*, 1908, and *The Midnight Sons*, 1909) the female protagonist, who the lyric implies is white, sings, “I don’t care what becomes of me / when you play me that sweet melody.” “Play That Barbershop Chord”^{TT} (featured in

¹⁶ Of course, variations by the performers may have supplied a rhythmic interest that the published version lacks.

¹⁷ The published sheet music includes five additional verses which relate how Bill similarly loses a series of other jobs: boxing; ticket-taking; firefighting; elevator operating; and his lack of control when he hears music finally causes him to float away in a circus balloon.

¹⁸ Rick Altman, *American Film Musical*, 49; see also pp. 337-339.

both *Girlies*, 1910, and *Ziegfeld Follies of 1910*) has an explicitly black female protagonist who declares “I surely go off of my base / when I listen to that melody.”

Irving Berlin produced a series of these lyrics, usually to music by other composers, representing some of his earliest hits. Each expands on the theme in a unique way, but perhaps a typical example can be found in “Stop That Rag (Keep On Playing, Honey)”^{TT} (*The Jolly Bachelors*, 1910). The song’s protagonist is implicitly black (for the lyric uses traces of blackface dialect) and female (for she addresses her “Mister Man”). As the title implies, music fills the protagonist with an ecstasy too great to be borne, resulting in mixed but compulsive desires. At the end of the first verse, she exclaims, “Go get me some ammonia, ‘cause I fear I must faint, / I’m suffocating with delight.” The emotional intensity is clearly affecting her autonomic nervous system. The second verse even more vividly tells of how her response to the music involves a mix of mental perturbation, physical sensations, and the impulse to dance:

Refrain: Stop dat rag, keep on playin’, honey ...
 Oh, I’m sad,
 No, I’m glad,
 Stop dat rag, I’m sayin’,
 I mean keep on a-playin’,
 Don’t you dare to stop dat rag.

Verse two: Call in some physician
 ‘Cause I feel that I’m ill;
 Somehow or another,
 Hon, my feet won’t keep still.
 Please request that leader man
 To keep a-playin’ till
 I cry enough, enough some more;
 Hon, I’ll ne’er forgive you, just for takin’ me here,
 Take me miles and miles away from here, anywhere,
 Just raise a hand to move me, Mister Man, if you dare,
 I’m satisfied to die right now.

Here Berlin juxtaposes elements typical of this song type. Mixed emotions (sadness and gladness), faintness and physical illness, and heightened physical energy—the

uncontrollable impulse to move, to propel oneself across the ground—all are intermingled in response to the ragtime music. Composer Ted Snyder appropriately matches these ideas with a restless melody filled with accidentals and rhythmic touches of syncopation. Berlin’s other songs in this series include the production songs “Wild Cherries (Coony, Spoony Rag)”^{TT} and “Grizzly Bear”^{TT} (both interpolated into *Ziegfeld Follies of 1910*), “That Opera Rag” (*Getting a Polish*, 1910), and “Oh! That Beautiful Rag”^{TR} (featured in two shows in 1910, first *Up and Down Broadway* and, later, inserted into *The Jolly Bachelors*), as well as a long string of independent songs starting with “Yiddle on Your Fiddle, Play Some Ragtime” (1909).

As illustrated above, the rhythmic, colloquial, slangy, conversational qualities in these songs are at first usually associated with blackface protagonists. These songs occur, however, on the cusp of the “de-racializing” of this musical and verbal idiom. As a sign of this transition, in both “Stop That Rag” and “Oh! That Beautiful Rag,” Berlin offers fewer indications of the race of the protagonists than in his earlier “Wild Cherries.” The dialect markers become fewer—there are no occurrences of “gwine” in the two later songs, and the singer in “Oh! That Beautiful Rag” sometimes drops the “g,” as in “reelin’” and “fallin’,” but sometimes does not, as in “feeling stealing.” As Charles Hamm points out about the songs of Irving Berlin, this trend was consolidated over the next two years:

None of Berlin’s ragtime songs published after 1911 has an unequivocally black protagonist, none uses “black” dialect in the lyrics, and none makes pervasive use of rhythmic or structural patterns associated with piano ragtime. These pieces were

sometimes sung in blackface, but this was a performer's decision, not demanded by the style or content of the song itself.¹⁹

Ragtime lost its racial connotations, as in an analogous manner the waltz had lost its ethnic-German connotations decades earlier. As illustrated by “Waltz Me Around Again, Willie” (1906) and “Yip-I-Addy-I-Ay” (1908), the waltz was sometimes depicted as partaking of the physically compelling traits that ragtime also held, with the overall effect being similar to the disequilibrium found in the ragtime songs. To an extent, however, the famous waltz from *The Merry Widow* once again shifted the connotations surrounding the waltz. British lyricist Adrian Ross had translated the “Merry Widow Waltz” for the London production under the title “I Love You So,”^{TT} and this was the version used and made popular in 1907 in America. The show's and the song's Continental atmosphere reinstated the waltz's link with the sophistication of the Austrian-Germanic tradition. Ross' lyric moves away from the robustness and vertigo of such songs as “Waltz Me Around Again, Willie” and depicts the waltz music as imbuing a delicacy of atmosphere that has a potent aphrodisiac affect, part of which is the ability of the music (and dance) to convey reticent, unspoken emotion:

Refrain one: Golden glowing
Lamps are throwing
Light above,
While the swaying
Tune is playing,
Love, love, love!
And the feet of dancers
Sound it as they go.

¹⁹ Charles Hamm, *Irving Berlin*, 87. The same transition is traced by other writers: Philip Furia, *Poets of Tin Pan Alley*, 27-34; and through implication by Alec Wilder, *American Popular Song*, 3-28. An analogous shift in piano ragtime and its iconography is detailed by Edward Berlin, *Ragtime*, 123-128.

Don't you hear
 Them say, my dear,
 I love you so!

Interlude:
 And with the music's chime,
 My heart is beating time,
 As if to sigh that it would cry
 Be mine, be mine!
 Though our lips may say no word,
 Yet in my heart a voice is heard,
 That seems to whisper soft and low, I love you so!

Refrain two: Love that hovers
 Over lovers
 Speaks in song,
 In the fingers'
 Clasp that lingers
 Close and long.
 And the music answers
 Swaying to and fro
 Telling you,
 It's true, it's true,
 I love you so!

In the melody, composer Franz Lehar conveys a delicate sensuality through a series of gently rising diatonic musical phrases. In the lyric, Ross combines abstracting and etherealizing with reification and anthropomorphizing to create a poetic atmosphere that matches the music. Here, “love” is like a person, for it “speaks in song,” and the “tune,” the “song,” is “swaying” as a person might sway. It is “telling you ... it's true, / I love you so!” It “plays,” but what it plays is not notes and chords but “love, love, love.” The music is depicted not as an actual acoustic phenomenon but as an intangible emotional atmosphere. As a result, the act of dancing itself becomes less visceral and vertiginous and is manifested only by the quiet patter of footfalls and by the most delicate touch of the skin, in distinct contrast to the action verbs and vivid nervous symptoms of the ragtime fans depicted in this same time period. The wide influence of the waltz from *The Merry Widow* created a new genre of lyrics about a disembodied music, heard internally

or issuing from such reified abstractions as “love” or “nature,” that nevertheless is often still linked with dancing.

A rage for the waltz followed in the path of the 1907 American success of *The Merry Widow*, and this was soon equaled by a vogue for the tango. The popularity of the two dance forms continued to give the European tradition a reputation for establishing new fashions in dance. In 1909, the vogue for “tango teas”—afternoon ballrooms, without alcohol served, where women could go unescorted—was the topic of a Broadway reflexive song, “Take Me to That Tango Tea” (*The Newlyweds and Their Baby*). By 1910, these afternoon dancers were spreading the popularity of African American-derived dances—the Texas Tommy and the many “animal” dances such as the Grizzly Bear and the Turkey Trot—rowdy dances which, like the tango, permitted clinging physical intimacy, but, in contrast to the tango, were compatible with the ragtime music then experiencing a well-publicized resurgence in popularity.

The combined nationwide vogue of the waltz, tango, Grizzly Bear, Turkey Trot, and subsequent dances signaled a distinct era in American culture. Finding its icons in Vernon and Irene Castle, this ragtime dance craze lasted through the country’s involvement in World War One.²⁰ It was quickly succeeded by the Jazz Age dance craze typified by the Charleston, first introduced to Broadway in 1922 and widely popularized after 1923. This remarkable cultural phenomenon of the era from 1910 to 1930 combined the widespread adaptation of African American and “Latin” dances, such as the Grizzly Bear and the tango, with the simultaneous synthetic creation of new dances by the dance

²⁰ For two helpful discussions of the ragtime dance craze, see: Lewis A. Erenberg, *Steppin’ Out: New York Nightlife and the Transformation of American Culture, 1890-1930* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1981), 146-175; Marshall Stearns and Jean Stearns, *Jazz Dance*, 95-102.

instruction industry, such as the Castle Walk. This combination created a paradigm for further American social dance trends that lasted through the mid-1960s.

During the ragtime and jazz eras, dance songs increased on Broadway in number and prominence as well as in intensity of language, utilizing a battery of vivid dance descriptors: gallop, toddle, throw, glide, slide, skip, slip, dip, drag, kick, jiggle, wiggle, wriggle, shake, shuffle, shiver, quiver, roam, roll, whirl, twirl, curl, and others. During the full flowering of the ragtime dancing craze, Broadway introduced a number of hit songs in this vein: “The Gaby Glide”^{TT} (*Vera Violetta*, 1911); “That Baboon Baby Dance”^{TT} (*Hanky Panky*, 1912); “Syncopated Walk”^{TT} (*Watch Your Step*, 1915); “(Everybody Ought to Know How to Do) The Tickle Toe”^{TT} (*Going Up*, 1918); and “The Vamp”^{TT} (from the tour of *Oh, Look!*, 1918, and the 1919 edition of *The Greenwich Village Follies*). Later Broadway musicals set in the 1910s sometimes utilize a pastiche of these early dance songs, usually to create metaphors for the social conditions of the ragtime era, such as with “Doing the Latest Rag” (*Titanic*, 1997) and “Pretty Music” (*Parade*, 1998).

Moreover, the hit tunes were just the tip of the iceberg of Broadway’s output of dance songs, and from 1910 onwards song titles about dancing burgeon in Broadway musicals. During the preceding period of 1897 through 1909 only 19% of the reflexive song titles are about dance, while from 1910 through 1919, 37% of them are. One climax of this trend was reached in 1914, when 56% of the song titles are clearly dance songs. The decade of the 1920s brings yet another jump in the statistics, with an average of 43% of the song titles being devoted to dance. The 1914 peak of dance song titles about dancing was matched in 1923 (55%) and 1929 (57%). During these peak years, the

reflexivity of the Broadway song was funneled into the subgenre of the dance song in an overwhelming preoccupation.

The sample of productions reveals the same trend. Before 1911, 47% of these productions feature a song that predominantly focuses on dancing. From 1911 through 1928, 79% of the sample productions feature these dance songs. After 1929, the percentage drops considerably, though not quite as low as before the ragtime dance craze: from 1930 through 1947, dance songs are featured in around 52% of the sample of productions.²¹ Clearly the ragtime dance era was a watershed in the tradition of the reflexive dance song in the American musical.

The peak of dance songs in 1914 is represented in the sample of productions by *Dancing Around*, which opened in October of that year. The show exemplifies the dance vogue of the 1910s, from its title to its numerous songs about dancing—many of them introduced by Al Jolson. Despite the plot's settings of England and Venice, the score is filled with tributes to American vernacular dancing. The core of the score was co-composed by Sigmund Romberg and Harry Carroll, and the lyrics were by Harold Atteridge; the trio contributed “Somebody’s Dancing with My Girl,” “The Dancing Maniac” (a.k.a. “The Dancing Fad”), “Dance, Dance, Dance,” “The Shepherd Gavotte,” and the finale, “The Shufflin’ Shiverree.” For Jolson’s specialty spot other songs were interpolated, including “Dancing the Blues Away” and the hit song of the production, “Everybody Rag with Me.”^{TT}

“To rag” meant both to dance and to listen to or play music. Edward Berlin points out that “throughout the period there are references to specific steps being ‘rags’ and to

²¹ The period after 1928 can be further demarcated to demonstrate the decreasing presence of dance songs: during 1929 through 1938, 55% of the sample of productions have songs emphatically dwelling on dance; after that the percentage drops to 44%.

‘ragging’ being a style of dancing” and gives citations dating from 1899 through 1924.²²

Thus, casual terminology of the time, too, emphasized an inextricable identity of ragtime music and ragtime dance. In “Everybody Rag with Me,” lyricist Gus Kahn takes advantage of this double denotation:

Verse one: What’s that sneaky, freaky, creepy melody?
It just takes me, makes me restless as can be.
It goes to my heart, my head, my feet,
I’ll give anybody in the house my seat,
I want to dance, dance, dance, dance till I drop.
I don’t ever want to stop this ragging.

Refrain: Ev’rybody rag with me,
Ev’rybody drag with me.
I’ve learned those dips and skips and dreamy hesitations,
I could dance till day is dawning,
Then I want to dance all morning.
Drop your work and play with me.
I don’t want any opera grand,
Ragtime music that’s what I understand!
I want ev’rybody in the world to rag with me.

Verse two: Sousa’s clever but he never played like this,
This just thrills me and it fills me full of bliss;
There it goes again! that sweet refrain!
Every note reminds me of an Angel strain!
Come on and dance, dance, dance, dance, then dance some more,
We’ll wear out this old pine floor completely.

Kahn lists a typical series of vivid dance descriptors—drag, dip, skip, and hesitate—as well as the more general verbs “to rag,” used three times in all, and “to dance,” repeated eleven times. From the start of the first verse, the protagonist makes it clear that his compulsion to dance is the unavoidable result of hearing the “sneaky, freaky, creepy melody” of ragtime music. In the melody, composer Grace LeBoy creates driving momentum through the use of syncopation, the canny alternation of long and short note values, unexpected rests, and occasional phrases of emphatic repeated notes. In the lyric,

²² Edward Berlin, *Ragtime*, 13.

Kahn claims that this music goes not just to your “feet,” but (like alcohol) to your “head.” Both these effects are inextricable with the affective power of music, for the music also makes the protagonist “full of bliss” and is specifically described as going to “the heart.” The distinction is moot whether Kahn denotes “the heart” as a physical organ or as the metaphorical seat of emotion, for the physical being and emotional being are represented as equally affected by the music; affective and visceral impact are simultaneous. Through the song, an intense dramatic representation of a specific response to music is described and—through Jolson’s performance—enacted; and, within this response, music and dance are inextricably entwined.

As does Spink in “I’ve Got to Dance Till the Band Gits Through,” Kahn explores the theme attributed by Altman to Hollywood musicals: the opposition between the work ethic and the values of popular entertainment.²³ Kahn clearly contrasts these two facets of life, as the protagonist commands the listener to “drop your work and play with me.” Kahn also outlines other cultural tensions in his lyric, such as between highbrow and lowbrow. More than a decade earlier, George M. Cohan had written “I Want to Hear a Yankee Doodle Tune” (*Mother Goose*, 1903), which contrasted American music to European: “I want a Sousa strain, / instead of a Wagner pain.”²⁴ As in Cohan’s song, Kahn’s protagonist cannot “understand” opera. By 1914, however, even Sousa’s marches are outdated: “Sousa’s clever but he never played like this.” The cultural contrasts, therefore, are not just between European and American but also the roughly analogous contrasts between the “old world” and the “new world” and between the “outdated” and

²³ Rick Altman, *American Film Musical*, 49-50, 337-339.

²⁴ This song is not part of the corpus (for it is not from the sample of productions, not anthologized, and not a hit song) but is included in the current study as an aid in tracing early manifestations of a recurring topic in the corpus.

the “modern.” The heady combination of emotional, autonomic, and kinesthetic responses is, therefore, associated in such songs with the vigor of a youthful and new American society and its vernacular culture. Although performed by Al Jolson in blackface, the song itself eschews dialect and implies that ragtime dance fever is normative for all Americans and, indeed, is an important element of their global influence.

So pervasive was the dance ethos on Broadway that even shows influenced more by the European operetta tradition often featured “dance craze” songs during this era. America’s claim on the novelty of modern popular culture was never a monopoly in the American musical, and from at least the time of the *Merry Widow*-inspired vogue for the waltz, Europe retained a reputation for supplying new dance fads. This reputation continued with the popularity of the tango and derived clout from the dancers who flourished in Europe, gained prestige there, and then performed in the United States—such as the ballroom proponents Vernon and Irene Castle and concert dancers such as Isadora Duncan and Anna Pavlova. This reputation is alluded to in Broadway’s reflexive lyrics, such as “The Gaby Glide” (“It’s just a real Paris slide,” introduced by French star Gaby Deslys in *Vera Violetta*, 1911). An example appears in the climactic ball in the third act of the sample production *The Firefly* (1912). Lyricist Otto Harbach gives the chauffeur and maid characters a song about “The Latest Thing from Paris”:

Verse:

Suzette: There’s a dance they’re doing now in old Patee,

Pietro: Which seems to me the essence of glee,

Suzette: Just the cutest step you ever care to see;

Pietro: It’s neither valse nor glide

No hop nor stride,

Suzette: But just a bit of each of them

And more beside!

Chorus: Just for fun, just for fun,

Won't you show us how it's done?

Refrain:

Both: It's quite extraordinary,
 This latest dance from Paree!
 You take a stride, then turn and glide,
 Then catch your adversary,
 And pivot and swing
 Into a kind of merry, airy, gallop-y thing,
 And all the time you're dancing you're supposed to sing:
 Tra la la la la la la! Tra la la la la la la!
 You twist and you twirl,
 And whiz and whirl,
 In fashion acrobatic;
 She bends o'er your knee
 You plant a kiss ecstatic:
 Just take it from me,
 There's something doing when they dance in gay Paree!

Harbach's allusion to Continental sophistication is not inspired by a European setting, for *The Firefly* takes place in Bermuda and New York. Rather, it is the operetta-like score composed by Hungarian émigré Rudolf Friml and the matching sober, romantic atmosphere of the script—with its street-urchin heroine who returns from Europe trained as a great opera singer—that dictates the European style of this show. Even with those operetta-like traits, however, the dancing fad manifests itself with remarkable physicality in Harbach's lyric, which features numerous vivid action verbs, from glide to whirl. Here, writing prior to World War One, Harbach does not depict any American monopoly on the ideas of dance fever, novelty, or "modern" popular culture. Indeed, such themes can be found in dance songs in other European-influenced shows of the 1910s from the sample of productions, such as "Pavlova" (since that famous Russian dancer "bowed us over, / everyone's got to dance," *Oh! Oh! Delphine!*, 1913) and "When the Wedding Bells Are Ringing" (the bells seem "to set your feet a-swinging," *Apple Blossoms*, 1919).

These "operetta" dance songs of the 1910s indicate the great extent to which the dance craze pervaded the rhetoric of Broadway's reflexive songs during that decade. In

the next decade, although dance songs continued with equal prevalence and similar themes, there are several new trends in these songs that indicate an attenuation of the fad. One sign is found in operetta-like shows of the 1920s where, in contrast to those of the 1910s, dance songs tended to be separated from current trends. Dance songs for such later operettas tend towards the waltz song (the title song from *The Last Waltz*, 1921; “When I Waltz with You,” *The Blue Kitten*, 1922; “If You’re in Love, You’ll Waltz,” *Rio Rita*, 1927) or display the generic dance titles common to all categories of musical (“Dance with Me,” *Princess Flavia*, 1925; “Dance with You,” *Katja*, 1926; “Dance, Dance, Dance,” *The White Eagle*, 1926). Lyrics relating to current dance vogues disappear from the operetta-influenced 1920s sample productions. There are none in *The Vagabond King* (1925), *The Desert Song* (1926), or *Show Boat* (1927). Indeed, in this latter production the creative team jettisoned the “dance craze” song that was originally intended for the finale, “It’s Getting Hotter in the North,” and instead used jazzy reprises of the lightly-textured love song “Why Do I Love You.”²⁵

One of the seeming exceptions to the operetta ban on vernacular dance craze songs actually proves to be a revealing case in point. In 1923, one of the peak years for dance song titles and the year that introduced the Charleston craze, in the operetta-influenced *Wildflower* Otto Harbach (who had an earlier hit with “The Tickle Toe”) with Oscar Hammerstein II created a hit “dance craze” song, “Bambalina.”^{TT} Composer Vincent Youmans builds the melody for this song on jazzy patterns of staccato repeated notes. The lyricists, by contrast, evoke the world of rural dances appropriate to the

²⁵ The best discussions of the deletion of “It’s Getting Hotter in the North” can be found in two sources: Miles Kreuger, *Show Boat: The Story of a Classic American Musical* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1977), 51; John McGlinn, “Notes on Show Boat,” brochure notes for Jerome Kern, *Show Boat*, EMI CDS 7 49108, 26-38, at 28-29.

show's setting in Italian farm country. The lyric describes how the country fiddler Bambalina plays a kind of game of musical chairs. At the end of each section, a sudden rest, indicated below in brackets, creates a dramatic hiatus in the propulsion of the melody. The lyric informs us that the dancers have to match this pause in the music by suddenly stopping. This moment of stillness allows the couples a moment of lingering intimacy—the opportunity for an innocent eroticism:

Verse:

Nina: Wilt thou come with me to the fair?

Bambalina will be there.

Chorus: Who is Bambalina?

What sort of man is he?

Nina: He's a fiddler man by trade,

Both beloved by man and maid

Chorus: Good for Bamablina, a bright old man is he!

Nina: He'll start in to fiddle and stop in the middle of a dance as quick as a wink,

And there you stand in your sweetheart's arms before you've time to think!

It makes old Bambalina grin to see the fix the girls are in:

Refrain: When you're dancing at the fair we have to watch and keep aware,

When good old Bambalina calls a stop. [rest]

That means I must stand still in your arms and I must hold still

For we dare not dance or skip or kick or hop. [rest]

Times when he may choose to stop

Give me a good excuse to prop

My little head against my partner's chest. [rest]

So you see the reason why tho' other dances I may try,

I always like the Bambalina best!

Here, the power of the courtship ritual lies not in the skipping, kicking, or hopping mentioned but rather in the *cessation* of dancing. This is symbolic of the European-derived aesthetic of operetta-influenced shows wherein allusions to the visceral physicality of American music and dance are avoided. A similar cooling of the dance fever of the ragtime era is demonstrated in “The Kinkajou”^{TT} (from the operetta-like *Rio Rita*, 1927). In the verse, lyricist Joseph McCarthy describes the titular dance as “wild” and “dynamite,” while his refrain assures that it is “lazy” and “dainty.” This delicacy

matches composer Harry Tierney's indication that the music should be played *grazioso*, i.e., "gracefully." McCarthy's ambiguous description of this "Mexican" dance illustrates the ambivalence toward intense physicality typical of the 1920s operetta.

Despite the relative antipathy to celebrating the physicality of dance found in the lyrics to "The Kinkajou" and "Bambalina," however, both songs do equate music with dance. "The Kinkajou" is both a dance and something you can "have on your pianola"—i.e., a musical composition. "Bambalina" presents an even more interesting example of the concomitance of different elements of the music matrix, for Nina refers to as *one* what are normally considered *separate phenomena*: the musician himself and the dance structure that he imposes on the dancers. The musician is one with his music, which in turn is one with the dancing executed to that music—another example of a blurring of boundary lines, one that implies the concomitance of all the elements present.

Many of the dance songs from 1920s musical comedies and revues clearly continue the model established in the ragtime era. Ira and George Gershwin provide a particularly interesting example in "Fascinating Rhythm"^{TT} (from the sample production *Lady, Be Good!*, 1924). Unlike most of the songs illustrated in the present study, this one has received extensive scrutiny by analysts. From Alec Wilder in 1972, through Gerald Mast, Philip Furia, Deena Rosenberg, Walter Rimler, and Steven Gilbert, to Allen Forte in 2001, all commentators point to the central device of George Gershwin's main strain: a cross-meter implied between the vocal line and its underlying accompaniment.²⁶ With

²⁶ Alec Wilder, *American Popular Song*, 130-131; Gerald Mast, *Can't Help Singin'*, 72-73; Philip Furia, *Poets of Tin Pan Alley*, 128-130, and *Ira Gershwin: The Art of the Lyricist* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), 47-49; Deena Rosenberg, *Fascinating Rhythm*, 89-96; Walter Rimler, *Gershwin Companion*, 110-112; Steven E. Gilbert, *Music of Gershwin*, 32-33; Allen Forte, *Listening to Classic American Popular Songs* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2001), 28-37.

varying degrees of emphasis, most of these authors note that this musical device is the “fascinating rhythm” around which Ira Gershwin builds his lyric:²⁷

Verse: Got a little rhythm, a rhythm, a rhythm
That pit-a-pats through my brain;
So darn persistent,
The day isn't distant
When it'll drive me insane.
Comes in the morning
Without any warning,
And hangs around me all day.
I'll have to sneak up to it
Someday and speak up to it.
I hope it listens when I say:

Refrain: Fascinating Rhythm,
You've got me on the go!
Fascinating Rhythm,
I'm all a-quiver.
What a mess you're making!
The neighbors want to know
Why I'm always shaking
Just like a flivver.

Each morning I get up with the sun —
Start a-hopping,
Never stopping —
To find at night no work has been done.

I know that
Once it didn't matter —
But now you're doing wrong;
When you start to patter
I'm so unhappy.
Won't you take a day off?
Decide to run along
Somewhere far away off —
And make it snappy!

Oh, how I long to be the man I used to be!
Fascinating Rhythm,
Oh, won't you stop picking on me?

In his analysis of this lyric, Furia highlights the importance of the flivver, “a nickname for the automobiles that set the new pace of American life in the 1920s.”²⁸ Paradoxically,

²⁷ The only one of these seven analysts who does not comment on the self-referential nature of the title and lyric is Walter Rimler.

while the automobile was a symbol of technological modernization, a “flivver” primarily connotes a decrepit, outdated automobile that would shudder and shake; and, yet, these used cars were associated mostly with college-age youths. Thus, the image conjures up both the old and the new, at one stroke.

The flivver, the agitated music, the analogous verbal devices—such as alliteration and contractions—all these elements add up to the depiction of a protagonist who is, as Furia describes, “a doped-out addict of the nervous energy of the era.”²⁹ As illustrated above, by 1924, production songs had a long history of depicting this sensation of music-induced nervousness, intoxication, and disequilibrium. The protagonist of “Fascinating Rhythm,” indeed, seems like a cousin to Bill Simmons of “I’ve Got to Dance Till the Band Gits Through.” Here, this uncontrolled energy is invoked without connoting any explicit link to African American culture—even though Ira Gershwin continues to deploy some of the same vivid action verbs long associated with African American dances.

The stance of protest in “Fascinating Rhythm” is presented ironically, for the music clearly endeavors to create exactly the compelling qualities about which the lyric coyly complains. This aspect is noted in passing by Forte, as he describes “the singer’s whimsical indictment,” which ends in “an appropriately humorous final effort” against the “deleterious effects” of the music—clearly a “histrionic ... gesture.”³⁰ Deena Rosenberg is more explicit, stating that the plangent query at the refrain’s end is “clearly rhetorical,” for “the rhythm is ... a challenge, even a high.”³¹ By the time of the writing of “Fascinating Rhythm,” such ironic laments are already a well-established convention,

²⁸ Philip Furia, *Ira Gershwin*, 49.

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ Allen Forte, *Listening to Classic American Popular Songs*, 34-36

³¹ Deena Rosenberg, *Fascinating Rhythm*, 96.

prevalent from the time of Irving Berlin's "Stop That Rag." While Berlin makes the ambivalence explicit, by the time of Gershwin's lyric it can be implicit.

No previous writer has noted that "Fascinating Rhythm" distills the theme that Altman has discussed as being so central to the American musical, the genre's "fundamental opposition between work values and entertainment values."³² Indeed, the protagonist's loss of self-control pointedly counteracts his daily goal of getting work done. This connects with aspects of the plot of *Lady, Be Good!* The central characters, Dick and Susie, as well as a secondary character, Jeff, are all associated with the song; and all are trying to fulfill their work tasks or otherwise live up to their financial responsibilities. Jeff introduces "Fascinating Rhythm" partly in order to live up to his job description as a party entertainer, and partly to distract Dick and Susie from their argument over how to gain money. Ironically, through a song about not being able to live up to the work ethic, Jeff "goes to work," and the result is that Dick and Susie are prevented from "taking care of business." Through its concentration of reflexive allusions, the song strongly presents the power of the music matrix as a motive for action, but that action is dancing. Dance draws the characters away from business worries—away, as it were, from the reality principle.

My allusion to psychoanalysis is not arbitrary, for, in addition to drawing on well-established conventions of the dance song, with "Fascinating Rhythm," Ira Gershwin adds a new element. The music that summons forth the quivering and shaking does not issue from a bandstand but is internalized. As the verse puts it, it is "a rhythm / that pit-a-pats through my brain." The music is incorporated into the very nervous system, perhaps

³² Rick Altman, *American Film Musical*, 60.

even into the unconscious, of the protagonist. Thus, the music is made more abstract, for it is not really sounding in any “real” acoustic manner. In such a picture, the music matrix starts to become psychologized. At the same time, however, it is also reified through being anthropomorphized. Music, although internal, can be walked up to and spoken to as if it were a separate being: “I hope to sneak up to it / someday, and speak up to it ... / oh, won’t you stop picking on me?” Here, music is at once physical, abstract, and reified. The subconscious urges of the protagonist are simultaneously externalized as dance, internalized as music, and personified as almost a doppelganger.

Thus, in songs such as “Fascinating Rhythm,” music is the id, the work ethic is the ego, and the song itself depict and expresses the triumph of primal urges. Certainly, however, other factors mitigate against this being a loosening of all social controls. As Forte points out, the “final statement ... arriving firmly on the tonic note” seems to imply that the protagonist is released from “the obsessive pattern that has threatened to ruin his life.”³³ Similarly, Rosenberg argues that “by the end the characters have harnessed” the rhythm, and, “in so doing, asserted their autonomy”; indeed, “they show that by being able to sing (and dance) the song, they in fact control the rhythm.”³⁴ What Heather Laing suggests in regards to movie musicals applies here to a stage song that predates the talkies: the tying of melody to coherent verbal structures, the compact form and final musical resolution, and the manner in which “the character appears to be the actual site of the music’s production ... as a means of self-expression”—all these create a “familiar and safe” balance between emotionality and the rational.³⁵ The irrepressible urge to dance

³³ Allen Forte, *Listening to Classic American Popular Songs*, 37.

³⁴ Deena Rosenberg, *Fascinating Rhythm*, 89, 96.

³⁵ Heather Laing, “Emotion by Number,” 7, 10, and *passim*.

is both explicitly released by the music and implicitly moderated by its confinement in song form—another set of dynamics between concomitant elements.

“Fascinating Rhythm” supplies a clear example of how the historicization of a set of conventions reveals new facets of even a well-examined song. Many themes analyzed as found in movie musicals are already well-established by the mid-1920s: the concomitance of different elements of the music matrix; work versus entertainment; and the dynamic between emotion and reason within one musical number. As will be discussed further in Chapter Four, such early-established stage practices as valorization through ironic protest, hinted at in the analyses of Rosenberg and Forte, also apply to later film songs. While all these elements had become established by 1910, as crucial are the newer approaches explored by Ira Gershwin: interiorization and personification. These innovations bring fresh shadings to the established themes and distinguish “Fascinating Rhythm” from its predecessors, both as part of Gershwin’s oeuvre and as a representative of 1920s style.

Not all songs of the jazz decade have the introverted tendencies of “Fascinating Rhythm”; many are more extroverted in character. As part of this, some evoke a device that lies exactly on the cusp between two forms—body percussion, which is simultaneously both expressive movement and music-making. Irving Berlin often included snapping fingers in his descriptions of ragtime fever as in “Everything in America Is Ragtime” (from the sample production, *Stop! Look! Listen!*, 1915), when the protagonist describes the nation “snapping fingers so.” In two examples from the 1920s, allusions to clapping and stamping are associated with African American culture. In “Clap Yo’ Hands” (*Oh, Kay!*, 1926), Ira Gershwin uses blackface dialect in a lyric that

emphasizes body percussion as part of the dances of religious revivalism: “Clap-a yo’ hands, slap-a yo’ thigh, / Hallelujah, hallelujah.” In a 1927 pop song hit, which is used in a partial rendition in the sample movie musical, *King of Jazz* (1930), lyricist Harry Barris is even more explicit in specifying the association of body percussion with African Americans. Using a then-prevalent term, “darkies,” he describes rural blacks of the South clapping and stamping on the “Mississippi Mud.”^{TT} Barris describes their activity clearly as a “dance” (“What a dance do they do”), yet it is also dance accompaniment (“They don’t need no band”) and the beating feet clearly join with the clapping hands to make the music (“They keep time by clappin’ their hands ... / when the darkies beat their feet on the Mississippi mud”). Barris implies that all the activities involved arise from a single impulse and are united as one spontaneous expression. Although few in number, these lyrics about body percussion are important, for they probably go as far as is conceivable in depicting dance and music as inextricably bound together.

Some other dance songs from the 1920s make dance—and its physicality—a metaphor for thematic concerns of the rest of the show. A tentative early example of this technique is seen in “Swing Along” (from the with the 1904 return engagement of the sample production *In Dahomey*), which has African American songwriter Will Marion Cook describing the cakewalk-like marching of blacks on parade as an implicit symbol for race pride and solidarity. Examples occur more frequently after 1919. In “The Varsity Drag”^{TT} (from the sample production *Good News*, 1927), co-lyricists B.G. DeSylva and Lew Brown create probably the most famous dance song of the 1920s that is also implicitly a metaphor for a show’s dramatic themes. In the lyric, the songwriters ignore any connection between dance and music and instead focus on the concerns of the plot:

the opposition of dry, intellectual academic learning (exemplified in the storyline by an astronomy course) versus more community-oriented interests, rooted in the physical and the musical (represented in the plot by football and community singing). Thus, the freshman Flo and a group of her college mates decry “dusty old books” and college courses such as Latin and instead celebrate dancing:

Verse: We’ve always thought
 Knowledge is naught.
 We should be taught to dance.
 Right here at Tait
 We’re up-to-date:
 We teach a great new dance.
 Don’t think that I brag,
 I speak of the drag.
 Why should a sheik
 Learn how to speak
 Latin and Greek—badly?
 Give him a neat
 Motto complete:
 “Say it with feet—gladly!”
 First lesson right now;
 You’ll love it and how you’ll love it!

Refrain: Here is the Drag—see how it goes.
 Down on the heels—up on the toes—
 That’s the way to do the Varsity Drag.

Hotter than hot—newer than new!
 Meaner than mean—bluer than blue!
 Gets as much applause as waving the flag!

You can pass many a class
 Whether you’re dumb or wise
 If you all answer the call
 When your Professor cries:

“Everybody down on the heels—up on the toes—“
 Stay after school—learn how it goes—
 Everybody do the “Varsity Drag”!

In this vision of college life, there is work involved in learning this “dance craze,” for the students have to “stay after school” to be “taught” it. Any potential drudgery, however, is obviated both by the dance’s communal nature and by its physicality. The verbal

instruction offered by the lyrics is offered simultaneously with physical demonstration—“see how it goes”—as the singer’s body fills in the choreographic details that her words can only partially supply, thereby indicating that there are aspects of dance that are beyond verbal articulation.

DeSylva and Brown hinge their lyric on a quibble on the meanings of “drag,” which can denote either a dreary routine or an African American-derived dance step. By a sleight-of-hand that literalizes a common figure of speech, the lyricists transform the “drag” of university studies into fun-filled play that unites the community in pleasure. Composer Ray Henderson contributes to the song’s playfulness with a syncopated melody that subtly builds up from low notes to high notes, creating dramatic suspense and release. This enhances the song’s overall effect: a depiction of sweeping away the enervation of a life dominated by activities of the solitary intellect in favor of the life of the body—both of the individual body and of the student body.

The themes expressed in “The Varsity Drag” are relevant not only to their specific context in *Good News*, but also to many other American musicals. Novelty and the modern age are often linked both to American nationalism, to “waving the flag,” and to the intense physicality of vernacular dances. This nexus is opposed to a loose group of antithetical values—a European culture that is equated with the ancient world, intellectualism, and highbrow art.

The corpus reveals an important shift in dance songs starting in 1929 and firmly in place by 1931. First, the quantity of such songs decreases. From 1910 through 1929, a majority of the Broadway sample productions feature at least one song predominantly about dance (67% of the Broadway shows of those two decades) and in the list of song

titles dance songs dominate (40% of the song titles are clearly those for dance songs). From 1930 through 1947, only 52% of the sample of productions have dance songs (a drop of 15% from the previous era) and songs titles about dance are only 27% of the total (a drop of 13% from the preceding decades). When stage and film productions are separated, the percentages are nearly identical in both media. It is beyond the scope of the present study to explore all the related factors that are linked to this change; there are many suggestive contemporaneous events. The economic Depression dampened the national mood—“depression” being opposed to the verbal and musical “buoyancy” of ragtime and jazz era dance songs. Simultaneously, there was the end of a particular era in American social dancing, which encompassed African American-derived dances, from the Grizzly Bear to the Black Bottom. Musical changes accompanied this shift, with a transition from the jerky percussiveness of early jazz to the smoother style of swing music; and critics introduced a new rhetoric surrounding vernacular music, with the 1930s seeing a burgeoning intellectualism in jazz music criticism. The change can also be viewed in more formal terms, as due to the increased avoidance of an overused convention. Whatever contextual or generic trends correlate to this change, however, it was clearly a shift that manifested within the entire range of production for American musicals, whether on Broadway or in Hollywood.

Besides the decrease in prevalence, an additional, equally remarkable change occurs: the lexicon used for movement within these lyrics shifts from the intense, vivid verbs of the ragtime and jazz dance eras to others that are milder. General verbs

predominate, such as “to dance” and “to swing.”³⁶ Sometimes specific dance forms of both European and African American origin are used: minuet, waltz, tango, rumba, jitterbug, shag, truck. On very rare occasions, some of the milder action verbs are brought into play, such as “to tap” and “to sway.” For the most part, however, the long list of dance vocabulary typical of the previous two decades disappears. Gone, too, are the related symptoms—the thrills and chills, the funny feeling, reeling, fainting, suffocating, the illness like St. Vitus’s dance, the symptoms of inebriation, the nervous strain and the resulting fear of insanity—perhaps due to a less ambiguous embrace of the modern and the urban as well as a general acceptance of the African American-derived vernacular music-and-dance tradition. By 1930, this rhythmic vernacular style is not as often perceived as a dangerous or marginal form.

The movie industry, however, continued to evoke the ragtime and jazz eras through the use of pre-existing songs. Shaking, shuffling, twisting—even body percussion—continue in the sample of productions through the use of such past hits as “The Vamp,” originally part of the post-Broadway tour *Oh, Look!* (1918) as well as the 1919 edition of *The Greenwich Village Follies* and then revived in the sample production *The Dolly Sisters* (1945). In this song, lyricist-composer Byron Gay urges, “Buzz around a bit, / shake a wicked knee.” By 1945, however, when the song was revived, twenty years of short skirts and revealing bathing suits had made the “wicked knee” no longer a threat. The cultural innovations of the early decades of the century are now embedded in nostalgia. At the same time, although these songs are presented as a part of the past, it is a

³⁶ In the corpus, the lone exception to this trend towards milder action verbs is found in “The Balboa” (from the sample production *Pigskin Parade*, 1936), which uses step, kick, shake, swing, break, wing, hop, toe, stop, and go—a list similar to that of the ragtime and jazz dance eras.

past that is (if only by virtue of its “recreation” in the film) also a vital and positive part of the present.

Despite this loss of the most intense physicality, the dance songs of the post-1930 era still blur and merge the modes of music and dance—implicitly or explicitly re-defining music and dance as one. Most persistently, dance is associated with romance, whether in concrete terms (“Cheek to Cheek,”^{TT} *Top Hat*, 1935) or through abstractions (“Love Is a Dancer,” *New Faces of 1936*). The conventions for these songs that link dancing to romance almost always resemble those established by the “Merry Widow Waltz.”

Perhaps the most prominent “dance craze” songs of the 1930s were those in the series of movie musicals starring Fred Astaire and Ginger Rogers, and these illustrate well how the conventions of *The Merry Widow* were adapted to an American idiom. All four “dance craze” songs introduced by Astaire and Rogers were popular: “The Carioca”^{TT} (*Flying Down to Rio*, 1933); “The Continental”^{TT} (*The Gay Divorcee*, 1934); “The Piccolino”^{TT} (*Top Hat*, 1935); and “The Yam”^{TR} (*Carefree*, 1938). Each entry in the series is unique, but “The Continental” can be taken as in many ways exemplary. The lengthy structure of “The Continental” includes an introduction which is repeated at the end as a coda and, sandwiched between, what amounts to two completely different refrains:

Beautiful music! Dangerous rhythm!

First “refrain”: It’s something daring, “The Continental,”
A way of dancing that’s really ultra new;
It’s very subtle, “The Continental,”
Because it does what you want it to do.
It has a passion, “The Continental,”
An invitation to moonlight and romance;

It's quite the fashion, "The Continental,"
 Because you tell of your love while you dance.
 Your lips whisper so tenderly,
 Her eyes answer your song.
 Two bodies swaying "The Continental,"
 And you are saying just what you're thinking of.
 So keep on dancing "The Continental,"
 For it's a song of romance and of love.

Second "refrain": You kiss while you're dancing;
 It's continental, it's continental.
 You sing while you're dancing,
 Your voice is gentle and sentimental.
 You'll know before the dance is through,
 That you're in love with her and she's in love with you.
 You'll find while you're dancing,
 That there's a rhythm in your heart and soul;
 A certain rhythm that you can't control,
 And you will do "The Continental" all the time.

Beautiful music! Dangerous rhythm!

In the lyric to "The Continental," the dance is recommended partly for its novelty (indicated by the superlative "ultra new") as in many of the ragtime and jazz era "dance craze" songs such as "The Varsity Drag" (which features an analogous hyperbolic phrase, "newer than new"). As with the operetta-influenced dance songs of the 1910s, such as "The Latest Thing from Paris" (*The Firefly*, 1912) and "Pavlova" (*Oh! Oh! Delphine!*, 1913), this modernity is linked to Continental sophistication. As in songs of the previous two decades, too, the experience creates an uncontrollable dance fever. In addition, as in most dance songs of the ragtime and jazz eras, the components of music and dance are nearly impossible to separate. Although the lyric quickly affirms that the Continental is "a way of dancing," yet the dance itself involves making music, for "you sing while you're dancing." The precise designation of the title is in doubt, for the listener is told to "keep on dancing ... a song of romance and of love." Is "The Continental" primarily a

dance or a song? The dancing instills music in the participant. “There’s a rhythm in your heart and soul,” and this “rhythm,” the coda remind us, is “beautiful music.”

Unlike the songs of the 1910s and 1920s, however, “The Continental” lacks almost all specificity about the actual movements involved. As with the lovers in *The Merry Widow*, the dancers here are “swaying,” but no further details are offered. Further, as in the operetta tradition, the modes of dance and music are both physicalized (in speaking, singing, kissing, swaying) and made abstract. These elements of the music matrix constitute “an invitation to moonlight and romance” and “a song of romance and of love.” The gay divorcee sings that the “rhythm that you can’t control” is not in the head, legs, feet, arms, or shoulders, but “in your heart and soul,” just as the merry widow sang of her “heart beating time ... with the music’s chime.”

As with the operetta-influenced “The Kinkajou” (*Rio Rita*, 1927), the lyric is ambiguous about the nature of this dance-song. Lyricist Herb Magidson tells us that the Continental has danger, daring, and passion, invoking some of the forcefulness of the “primitiveness” that is usually linked to “Latin” or African American traditions. In the greater part of the lyric, however, Magidson dwells on images that express quiet tenderness—“your lips whisper so tenderly ... / your voice is gentle and sentimental”—images that would fit in nicely with the merry widow’s delicate “fingers’ clasp that lingers.”

As Lehar does with the “Merry Widow Waltz,” Con Conrad, the composer of “The Continental,” creates an extended melodic structure complete with changes of key signature and rhythmic feeling. Unlike Lehar, however, Conrad composes a duple-time melody filled with rhythmic “shocks”: extensive syncopation; sudden changes between

long and short note values; and the cross rhythms of occasional triplet figures over the song's basic cut-time duple meter. The varied sections of the song are united by a recurring chromatic ostinato figure in the bass that helps maintain a forward-moving thrust throughout the composition. The overall effect is one of streamlined elegance that nevertheless is, as Alec Wilder puts it in his analysis, "swinging."³⁷ Music and lyrics act together, then, to create a combination of the raucous, irrepressible extroversion of ragtime and the sensual, dreamy interiority of the "Merry Widow Waltz" and its successors. The "dangerous rhythm ... that you can't control" is also "a song of romance and of love." All these "dance craze" songs from the Astaire-Rogers films mix the romantic, dream-like poeticisms of the Viennese tradition of *The Merry Widow* with a spicing of the dash and physicality of the American ragtime and jazz eras—a blend that is entirely typical of the post-1930 dance song.

Even the popularity of swing and the advent of the big band era did not bring any appreciable return to the vivid physicality of the 1910 through 1930 period. While many songs were sprinkled with one or two action phrases, these verbs and images remained general and intermixed with phrases that conjure up abstract images or at least less physically intense ones. The sample of productions contains some interesting examples of swing-era aesthetics in the lyrics that Don Raye, who had himself been an accomplished show business dancer during the Jazz Age, wrote for *Buck Privates* (1941). "Bounce Me with a Solid Four" was sung by the Andrews Sisters and danced to by a jitterbugging ensemble. In his lyric, Raye establishes that the chief virtue of the "solid four" beat manifest in composer Hughie Prince's melody is its irresistible danceability:

³⁷ Alec Wilder, *American Popular Song*, 486.

Refrain: Come on in, the whole place is jumpin',
 Everybody's out on the floor,
 If you want to keep the rhythm bumpin',
 Bounce me, brother, with a solid four! ...

Move the tables and roll the rug up,
 Shut the windows and lock the door,
 While I try to heat the "Little Brown Jug" up—
 Bounce me, brother, with a solid four!

Raye uses vivid action verbs in such a way that their physicality is diminished. It is clear that dancing is taking place—"everybody's out of the floor," and they must "move the tables and roll the rug up" to clear a dance space. Raye avoids, however, actually describing the dancers in action. "The whole place is jumpin'," he specifies; but by applying the word "jump" not to the dancers but to the place, Raye plays on the equivocation between the two potential meanings of the word: the more specific image that "the dancers are jumping in the air" and the general indication that "people are busy." Further, Raye's protagonist calls to the musicians to "keep the rhythm bumpin'," applying the verb "to bump" not to the dancer's anatomy but to the rhythm. Even in the title phrase, the protagonist does not claim to "bounce" physically, but uses the verb as a general command for the musicians to play. By applying dance verbs only to the milieu and the music, Raye manages to evoke intense dance activity without actually describing any particular movements by the dancers. During the whole era covered by this present study, in fact, not merely the swing songs but most songs about dance—75% of them—make it clear that music is in some way intertwined with dance. Dance songs that do not explicitly mention music usually use dance as a thematic metaphor, as with "The Varsity Drag" or the well-known example of "The Farmer and the Cowman" in *Oklahoma!* (1943).

Vocal and Instrumental Music

What, however, is the nature of this “music” with which dance is so closely entwined? As Feuer noted, musicals tend to “redefine music as song.” Many examples in the corpus implicitly convey a belief that, at its base, music is song and that the primary form of music-making is singing. Repeatedly, the lyricists equate “music” with “song,” instrumental music with vocal music. Music as a practice is dominated by the model of vocal production, and “music” as a category—as an idea—exists in its ideal Platonic state as “song.”

On the most basic level, the lyricists demonstrate the link between the vocal and instrumental modes of music by allusions to the common practice of accompanied (often self-accompanied) singing—particularly by the guitar family, including the banjo and the ukulele. The convention of the nocturnal serenade—so long-established in the opera tradition—is prevalent in lyrics from the early decades and appears in Harry B. Smith’s multi-sectioned “The Serenades of All Nations” in *The Fortune Teller* (1898). The heroine sings of being serenaded by erstwhile suitors from France, China, Spain, and Haiti—and she specifies for these latter two, in particular, the use of the guitar and the banjo, respectively. During the early decades of the sample of productions, examples of such folk-inflected singing include allusions to most of the guitar family: banjo (“When Chloe Sings a Song,”^{TT} *Whirl-I-Gig*, 1899; “For I Love Only You,” *The Slim Princess*, 1911); mandolin (“Our Castle in Spain,” *Babes in Toyland*, 1903); and guitar (“Lucia,” *Neptune’s Daughter*, 1906). The common rhyme of “hum” and “strum” becomes a trope

that conveniently conjoins playing and vocalization. Ira Gershwin employs this convention in “Tra-La-La” (“Hum it, strum it, sing and drum it,” *For Goodness Sake*, 1922) and “Ukulele Lorelei” (“Hum a little tune ... / strum a little tune,” *Tell Me More*, 1925). Tot Seymour uses it in the introduction to “Croony Spooney Tune” (“Nowadays I’m always humming and strumming that tune so pretty,” in the sample production *Innocent Eyes*, 1924).

Despite the prevalence in American musical life of banjos, guitars, and ukuleles—and of songs about them—sheet music was primarily oriented to vocal accompaniment by the parlor piano. Surprisingly, although pianos are often seen onstage and on screen in the sample productions, and the dialogue and staging frequently draw attention to the presence of the piano, only a few song lyrics mention it. Some of these few are: “Left All Alone Again Blues,”^{TT} in which the grass widow heroine sings the pun, “it’s lucky maybe / that there’s a baby / grand piano coming” (from the sample production *The Night Boat*, 1920); and “Play Me a Tune,” with Cole Porter’s memorable rhyme, “I can see your fingers flickering / on the Chickering” (*The Dancing Girl*, 1923). Perhaps the most notable piano song occurs in the sample production *Stop! Look! Listen!* (1915) with “I Love a Piano.”^{TT} In this, Irving Berlin creates a paean to the keyboard that, in a rare instance, praises one form of music-making while belittling others. Act One finds the characters congregated in the music section of a department store, for the prima donna is getting her wealthy suitor to buy her *two* pianos to be used on their world cruise, leading a character to observe that “all girls are crazy about the piano.” Abel Connor, the symbolically-named hustling press agent, agrees, stating that he is also “kind of dippy” about the instrument. This conversation naturally leads into the refrain’s slyly erotic

metaphor that, as Philip Furia points out, “implicitly compares the piano to a woman” through lines such as “with the peddle / I love to meddle.”³⁸ In the first verse, Berlin has Connor reject his childhood enthusiasm for the orchestra in favor of the solo piano. In the second verse, Connor, unusually, rejects the vocal music that is so commonly united with the piano by way of the relationship of soloist and accompanist:

Verse two: When a green Tetrizin’ starts to warble,
I grow cold as an old piece of marble;
I allude to the crude little party singer
Who doesn’t when know to pause.
At her best I detest the soprano;
But I run to the one at the piano—
I always love the accompaniment, and that’s because:

Refrain: I love a piano, I love a piano ...

In rejecting the customary relationship of singer and instrument, however, Berlin only emphasizes its importance. He further defuses his critique of singing by aiming at one target that most people would not try to defend—the amateur or novice (“green”) soprano, whose appetite for the spotlight and pretensions to the vocal and artistic heights of the great coloratura Luisa Tetrazini exceed any actual level of accomplishment. The song’s very presentation makes paradoxical the lyric’s content—for the critique of the orchestra and of the vocal soloist is performed by ... an orchestra accompanying a vocal soloist. Clearly, over all, the playfulness of the song qualifies the condemnation.

By the end of the 1920s—a time when sheet music yielded in prevalence to records, and live music to electronic media such as radio and the talkies—examples of lyrics which specify that instruments accompany singing disappear from the corpus. At the same time, occasional lyrics appear that depict the musical instrument itself as “singing.” An early example is offered by Lorenz Hart in his tribute to the piano, “Keys

³⁸ Philip Furia, *Poets of Tin Pan Alley*, 53.

to Heaven” (*The Garrick Gaieties*, 1926): “Black notes, blue notes / melting into singing seas.” The idea that instruments “sing” or “hum” is found more often in descriptions of Spanish music; it is applied to castanets in “My Little Castagnette” (in the sample production *Desert Song*, 1926) and to guitars in two of Cole Porter’s more melodramatic songs, “The Gypsy in Me” (*Anything Goes*, 1934) and “Sing to Me, Guitar” (*Mexican Hayride*, 1944). In this last, Porter makes the singing instrument the dominant theme of the lyric. The guitar is anthropomorphized to the extent that the singer even begs the instrument to “explain” the shifting moods she experiences: “Why so suddenly / do you sing to me in a minor key?” Although to refer to a musical instrument as “singing” is a common figure of speech, in such songs the metaphor is emphasized to an extent that implies that the voice is the paradigm for all music.

If instrumental timbres can occasionally be likened to singing, it is more rare for singing to be paralleled to instrumental music. Ira Gershwin offers a rare example in “Little Jazz Bird” from the sample production *Lady, Be Good!* (1924). Here, the lyricist tailors the imagery to match the vocal style of Cliff “Ukulele Ike” Edwards, a pioneer of scat, the emulation of jazz instrumental styles through wordless singing:

Refrain: I’m a little jazz bird,
 And I’m telling you to be one, too, ...
 When the going gets rough
 You will find your troubles all have flown,
 If you warble your stuff
 Like the moaning of a saxophone. ...

Ira Gershwin equates singing with the sound of the saxophone. Although by this means he implies a reversal of the genre’s more customary ontology of music whereby singing

is the model for instrumental music, he also manages to evoke the whole world of vernacular vocal styles in which Cliff Edwards played an important part.³⁹

Such terms as “music,” “tune,” and “melody” apply equally to either instruments or voice, and many lyrics utilize this ambiguity to avoid specificity—a strategy in line with the genre’s general blurring of distinctions between elements of the music matrix. Other terms have a clear denotation: “song” has a core definition as vocal music, and “to play” clearly indicates instrumental music. Yet, once again, the various ways these terms are mixed-and-matched and otherwise confounded implicitly asserts the identical nature of all the categories.

In disparate ways, various songs from the corpus display this conflating of vocal and instrumental compositions. In “When Sousa Comes to Coontown” (*In Dahomey*, 1903), African American lyricist Alex Rogers tells of how “Jasper Green wrote a ragtime march with words and music too,” and when Sousa plays it everybody is urged to sing along, even in preference to “the song called Liberty Bell.” Here, the well-established instrumental march, “Liberty Bell,” is depicted as being a song, and the nation’s most famous concert band is used as accompaniment for a mass sing-along. Thereby, during the early years of the corpus, Rogers demonstrates the blurring of distinctions that redefines music as song.

Glen MacDonough creates a different confusion of vocal and brass repertoire, in “The Legend of the Castle” (from the sample production *Babes in Toyland*, 1903). This fable tells of a poor trumpeter who fruitlessly woos a baron’s daughter: “To her this song he made: / Love cannot die, love lives for aye.” When he dies of unrequited love, his

³⁹ For a discussion of the importance of Edwards to jazz vocal tradition, see Will Friedwald, *Jazz Singing: America’s Great Voices from Bessie Smith to Bebop and Beyond* (1990; reprint, New York: Da Capo Press, 1996), 6-22.

ghost returns for a hundred years, and “through the glade his song shall peal triumphantly: / Love cannot die, love lives for aye.” MacDonough implies that there is no contradiction between the trumpet “pealing” and the vocal and verbal nature of the material it “peals.”

On a more earthly level, Irving Berlin, in “Play a Simple Melody”^{TT} (from *Watch Your Step*, 1914), equally confounds “playing” and “singing” via the trick of shared melodic repertoire. The protagonist requests an instrumental rendition be “played” of the vocal music his mother “sang”: “Play a simple melody, / like my mother sang to me.” Seven years later, Berlin created another hit that illustrates the same fusion of vocal and instrumental in “Say It with Music”^{TT}—a title that could be taken as the motto of both *Tin Pan Alley* and the American musical. In this song from the 1921 edition of the *Music Box Revue*, Berlin creates a more elaborate chain of associations. He first implicitly particularizes the general term “music” as *instrumental music* by alluding to Chopin and Liszt (both most famed for their piano compositions) and then to the cello. He then performs a *volte face*, however, and endorses “song,” thereby retroactively coloring all the previous instrumental associations with the connotations of vocal music—at the same time associating his own “song” with the highbrow prestige value of nineteenth-century masters of classical music:

Refrain: Say it with music,
 Beautiful music;
 Somehow I’d rather be kissed
 To the strains of Chopin and Liszt.
 A melody mellow
 Played on a cello
 Helps Mister Cupid along;
 So say it with a beautiful song.

Berlin creates a sleight-of-hand, changing the imperative “say it with music” into “say it with ... song” with such craftsmanship that the listener is apt not to notice the specious nature of the implied equivalence. His songwriting technique is canny, for he creates the expectation of a resolving rhyme for “along.” He then supplies that resolving rhyme in combination with a rush of quarter notes (in a song dominated by smoothly flowing whole and half notes), quickening the rhythmic feel and also coming back to the dominant as he slips in his sleight-of-hand redefinition of “music” as “song.” Thus, Berlin’s “punchline,” satisfying all conventional needs for resolution of melody and rhyme, overrides any logical reservations the listener might otherwise have about the chain of associations.

As discussed above, this is precisely the kind of “fallacious” logical chain described by Jane Feuer as characteristic of the Hollywood musical. As she points out, the decks are loaded in such a situation toward identifying “music” as “singing,” for when “music” is spoken of in the context of a song lyric there is a bias toward linking the message to the medium. Music *sung about* must be music *that is sung*. Further, however, Berlin, like Roger Edens in Feuer’s example from over twenty years later, makes this bias explicit by way of the chain of associations in the lyric as a whole which moves from discussing “music” to discussing “song” without indicating any need to differentiate between them.

Song and Dance

Given the respiratory needs of the two activities, particularly within the demands of theatrical projection and virtuosity, one would not expect singing and dancing to be claimed as simultaneous by the writers of early musicals. Despite these factors, however, the song lyrics themselves often herald the possibility—more, the inevitability—of the concomitance of song and dance. From the beginning and throughout the decades, the corpus represents singing and dancing as occurring simultaneously, as if arising from the same impulse.

Several songs already discussed above offer examples of the simultaneity of singing and dancing. Once again, *The Fortune Teller* (1898) supplies an early illustration for this discussion. In the “Opening Chorus,” Harry B. Smith offers a clear allusion to simultaneous singing and dancing. As the corps de ballet of the Opera House is rehearsing, they sing:

Ensemble: ... Round in circles swinging
Like gazelles a-springing,
Scarcely have we breath for singing. ...

Even amidst the tremendous physical exertion described so vividly in the lyric—which, as illustrated above, includes pirouetting, twirling, whirling, sliding, gliding, swinging, and springing—Smith still insists that singing is part and parcel of the activity. Similarly, Otto Harbach in “The Latest Thing from Paris” (*The Firefly*, 1912) depicts dancers in Paris as engaging in “acrobatic” dancing—twisting, twirling, whizzing, whirling, bending. Yet Harbach specifies that “all the time you’re dancing you’re supposed to sing / tra la la la la la la!” Harbach pictures his sophisticated Parisians in the midst of a

whirling ecstasy of musical experiences in which singing and dancing are simultaneous—and the dance ends in operetta’s typical “kiss ecstatic.” A very similar combination has already been illustrated in Herb Magidson’s lyric for “The Continental,” in which, again, European sophistication is linked to both kissing and singing while dancing: “You sing while you’re dancing,” and “her eyes answer your song.” “It’s continental,” Magidson informs the listener, to “kiss while you’re dancing,” and, by implication, this extends to his next thought, too: to “sing while you’re dancing” is also Continental.

Whether or not singing while dancing is, indeed, Continental, the American musical often seems to think it is—for almost two-thirds of the examples of this combination in the corpus mention Continental Europe or are depicted as being sung in Europe or have some link with a European aesthetic. Connotations range throughout the sphere of European influence: the France of “Dear Old Moulin Rouge” (“We’re going to dance and sing,” *Innocent Eyes*, 1924); French New Orleans in “Dance with Me (At the Mardis Gras)” (“Where we will dance and sing,” *Louisiana Purchase*, 1940); French North Africa in “Dear Algerian Land” (“How we love your song and dance,” *Criss Cross*, 1926); the Germanic waltz of “Three-Quarter Time” (“We laugh and we sing ... / and we dance,” *Pardon My English*, 1933)—and the Americanized waltz in “Arthur Murray Taught Me Dancing in a Hurry” (“The people around me can all sing, / ‘a-one and a-two and a-three,’” *The Fleet’s In*, 1942); and Latin America in “A Little Rumba Numba” (“Through a dance she’d sway, / singing, ‘Ay, ay, ay,’” *Let’s Face It*, 1941). Although songs that emphasize modern America tend to emphasize the concomitance of dancing and instrumental dance music (i.e., the jazz band), European-influenced culture seems to be a topic that allows for depictions of singing and dancing. The combination of

singing and dancing is most often used to connote utopian feelings—such as a sensual gaiety or a folk-inflected communality—and these are repeatedly linked to European culture. As in the individual song, “Say It with Music,” these songs as a group display a mix of attitudes towards American culture’s European roots—borrowing prestige (as in “The Latest Thing from Paris”), or exploiting exotic associations (as in “Dear Algerian Land”), or parodying the “old” aspects of the Old World (as in “Three-Quarter Time”).

While those songs allude to actual singing and dancing, a number of other songs speak of the same combination in more abstract terms. For instance, two songs from the sample of productions coin verbal phrases that emphatically confuse the boundaries between the ideas of “song” and “dance.” In *Innocent Eyes* (1924), the lyrics of African American songwriter Henry Creamer show that the primitive (as well as the sophisticated) “other” brings a blurring of musical categories. Part of a show-within-the-show, represented as taking place at the Parisian Moulin Rouge, Creamer’s singer addresses a reified “Africa”:

Refrain: ... You sent us monkeys to fill the zoos,
Started the jungle blues,
Brought us your dancing,
Taught us your prancing song. ...

When Creamer creates the phrase “prancing song,” he playfully blurs the ontological boundaries between “song” (defined primarily as vocal production) and “prancing” (here, clearly denoting dance movements).

A phrase similar to Creamer’s is coined by co-lyricists Otto Harbach and Anne Caldwell in *Criss Cross* (1926). In the play’s opening number, the fictional *dramatis personae* of past fairy tale extravaganzas lament their fall from favor:

Ensemble: ... This undeserved atrocity,
Fills us with curiosity.

Can it be animosity
 Which leads them to announce
 That figures histrionic,
 Terpsichoreanly harmonic,
 Who were once considered chronic,
 To be vulgar—get the bounce? ...

The “figures histrionic” are also “terpsichoreanly harmonic”—a phrase that confuses the boundaries between dance and music. They are “harmonic,” and, given the context, this can be taken literally—i.e., they create musical chords. Again, given the context, their harmonies are surely created through singing. Nevertheless, they are musical in a way that has to do with the art of dancing. In fact, they imply that they are disciples of Terpsichore in her fullest function, not just as the muse of dance but also of choral singing. Such phrases as “prancing song” and “terpsichoreanly harmonic” encapsulate the notion that not only can singing and dancing exist simultaneously or in close succession but that the very definitions of the terms “song” and “dance” are inseparable.

Some lyrics go even farther in abstracting the notions of “dancing” and “singing” and then confounding them. Howard Dietz makes little distinction between song and dance in his lyric for “Love Is a Dancing Thing”—a song set to Arthur Schwartz’s delicate waltz melody and featured in the Vienna segment of the sample production *At Home Abroad* (1935):

Refrain: Love is a Dancing Thing,
 Gay as a Mayday—
 I’m in the heyday of it.
 Love is a dancing thing—
 It’s dancing my light heart away.
 When this entrancing thing
 Came like a Spring Song,
 I heard the sing-song of it—
 Love is a dancing thing,
 Romancing my light heart away.

In keeping with the Viennese tradition exemplified by the “Merry Widow Waltz,” Dietz anthropomorphizes “love” and represents it as a dancer who can become a dancing partner to the protagonist’s “heart.” This “dancing thing,” however, also comes “like a Spring Song,” and this statement itself allows room for equivocation: does it refer to any song of the springtime or to Mendelssohn’s famous piano piece in his collection of *Songs Without Words*? The ensuing qualification—that this Spring Song had a sing-song quality—further confuses the issue, for “sing-song” primarily denotes a kind of speech, either monotonous conversational speech or mechanically regular poetic verse. Here, Dietz most probably means to imply that the Spring Song is a liltingly regular vocal music that would go well with the regular meter of waltzing. Perhaps more important than any decisive denotation a listener may decide upon, however, is the fact that Dietz does use the terms ambiguously. It is this confusion of modes that characterizes the genre and implicitly defines what I am calling the music matrix. Dietz takes the concomitance of singing and dancing as far as is possible into an area of abstract conceptual confluence.

Internal Music as Song

As illustrated by “Love Is a Dancing Thing,” the corpus frequently draws on a traditional web of metaphors by which love is a song (or a dance), life is a song (or a dance), the heart sings (or dances), or within the internal world of the protagonist music and song are heard and issue forth—and, once again, there is no distinction drawn in any of these examples between music, song, and dance. In fact, the most profound mixing of the concepts of “music” and “song” appears in lyrics that refer to this internal music—the

music heard within the heart, the music of the romance or of the beloved. Out of the 70 sample productions, this family of metaphors appears in 36 shows (52% of the total), encompassing a total of 49 songs—and an examination of the rest of the corpus produces many further instances.

The roots for this set of images go back at least to the eighteenth century, as exemplified in the famous lines from Robert Burns's "A Red, Red Rose": "O, my luve is like the melodie / That's sweetly played in tune." The British popular song of 1884, "Love's Old Sweet Song," is less specific in its metaphor. Lyricist G. Clifton Bingham tells of the ill-defined "dead days beyond recall" when an equally ill-defined "love" "sang an old sweet song" to "our hearts." Bingham has "love" both *sing* a song (in the first verse and in the refrain) and also *be* a song (in the second verse)—"Love will be found the sweetest song of all"—creating the same kind of ambiguity that has already been illustrated in "Love Is a Dancing Thing" and is found in other examples of this family of images.

This tradition of poetic metaphor is continued in Adrian Ross' 1907 English-language version of the waltz from *The Merry Widow*. In contrast to "Love's Old Sweet Song" Ross is very clear that it is *romantic love* that "speaks in song":

Refrain: Love that hovers
Over lovers
Speaks in song ...

The protagonists in *The Merry Widow* believe that love sings—and so lovers believe throughout the sample of productions. From 1903 onwards, the corpus is filled with glancing allusions to "the song of love," "the song of life," or "the song inside." The earliest examples, both from 1903, place these incidental metaphors in the verse of the song, a place of subsidiary interest and emphasis: "My Dear Luzon" ("The gleam of her

dark eyes glancing / thrills my heart with love strains entrancing,” *In Dahomey*) and “Our Castle in Spain” (“Life to us only will seem / a song,” *Babes in Toyland*).

Most of the allusions to this group of metaphors in the sample of productions—90% of them, in fact—are of a passing nature; they do not serve as controlling metaphors for the lyric. The placement of the allusions, however, soon moves to the refrain, as in the “Merry Widow Waltz” (1907). The huge success of this song set a strong precedent for the prominence of the “love is a song” metaphor in operettas and operetta-like shows. A clear follow-up to the success of *The Merry Widow* was found in the import of Oscar Straus’s operetta, *A Waltz Dream* (1908). In that show, American lyricist Joseph Herbert supplied English words for the central waltz, “Love’s Roundelay,”^{TT} in which the breeze of a springtime evening becomes a “song” that is quite specifically a “beautiful Viennese waltz”:

Verse one: The zephyr of night serenading
The trees with their mystical tone.
The leaves seemed to thrill to each measure,
The boughs beating time to each strain. ...
A melody simply entrancing,
A beautiful Viennese Waltz!

Refrain: Song of the springtime,
Love’s month of May,
Song of the ringtime,
Love’s roundelay!

Verse two: The melody seemingly bore me
To a land of a beautiful dream;
Where splendors were opened before me,
On banks of a mystical stream. ...
And Sol seemed to smile as though blessing
An Eden of Truth and Love.
And chanting in song captivating
Each heart vowed ‘twould never be false,
In tones that with love were pulsating,
A beautiful Viennese Waltz.

Here, within the first decade of the twentieth century, Herbert presents a confluence of images that will recur throughout the period under study. First, nature sounds are presented as “music” (“the zephyrs ... serenading”). References to “the sounds of nature as music” occur in 39% of the sample of productions in a wide variety of contexts. Here, Herbert has this “mystical tune” of the evening breeze suffuse the exterior world with musical sound and dancing motion and at the same time infuse the protagonist with music. This music generates the vision of a land of perfect romantic love, a revelation described using a vocabulary freighted with religious connotations (“mystical,” “blessed,” “Eden”). From the rather prosaic sound of the wind Herbert moves easily to a rhapsodic description of the kind of emotional intensity and transparency Dyer describes as “utopian”—an ecstatic state in which both the exterior and interior worlds of the protagonist are filled with music.⁴⁰ All this is defined both as “love’s roundelay” and as a “beautiful Viennese waltz,” implicitly ascribing all these phenomena to the melody that accompanies the lyric—which is in fact, of course, quite precisely Straus’s swooning Viennese waltz. As clearly as do the dance songs of the ragtime and jazz eras, so does this song, through its lyric, describe a response to its own music. Here, however, the response is not kinesthetic, but perceptual (the external world is music) and introspective (the internal world is music).

As discussed above, the reified abstractions of this poetic tradition eventually colonized the rhythmic dance songs of the 1930s, such as “The Continental.” Nevertheless, the most prominent, concentrated manifestations of this set of images occur

⁴⁰ Richard Dyer, “Entertainment and Utopia,” 183-184.

in slow-tempoed, lyrical love ballads that feature sustained, long-lined melodies.⁴¹ Each of these ballads supplies a conjoining of two or more musical terms—music, melody, tune, refrain, hymn, or lullaby—and all are equated with “song.”

Irving Berlin supplies an important early example of this type with “A Pretty Girl Is Like a Melody”^{TT} (*Ziegfeld Follies of 1919*): “Just like the strain of a haunting refrain ... / a pretty girl is just like a pretty tune.” Here, through a combination of abstraction and reification akin to that of the “Merry Widow Waltz,” each successive beloved object is a piece of music. Unlike most of the other early “song inside” examples, however, Berlin’s tune is not a waltz. It is instead in the duple meter of four-four time—potentially more “American” and thus somewhat removed from the waltz tradition of *The Merry Widow* and “Love’s Roundelay.” Musical analyst Alec Wilder describes “A Pretty Girl Is Like a Melody” as a “pure,” “self-sufficient” melody, manifesting “style and sophistication.”⁴² By his own account, Berlin used this song as the prototype for a long list of further long-lined ballads, including such reflexive songs as “Say It with Music” and “Soft Lights and Sweet Music.” As Berlin biographer Laurence Bergreen puts it, Berlin “would return repeatedly to this type of song—flowing and serene—throughout the 1920s until it became his dominant mode (and, by extension, the dominant mode of popular music) during the decade.”⁴³ “A Pretty Girl Is Like a Melody” subsequently became the theme song of the *Ziegfeld Follies*, as well as being used in a series of movie musicals.⁴⁴

⁴¹ Some exceptions do occur, such as the rousing “Drums in My Heart”^{TR} (*Through the Years*, 1932) and the exuberant “I Feel a Song Coming On”^{TT} (*Every Night at Eight*, 1935).

⁴² Alec Wilder, *American Popular Song*, 99.

⁴³ Laurence Bergreen, *As Thousands Cheer*, 170; for Irving Berlin’s comments, see the same, 118.

⁴⁴ The song is used prominently in *The Great Ziegfeld* (1935) and in more cursory presentations in *Alexander’s Ragtime Band* (1938), *The Powers Girl* (1943), *Blue Skies* (1946), and *There’s No Business Like Show Business* (1954).

Despite the success of the duple-metered “A Pretty Girl Is Like a Melody,” however, the waltz retains a strong connection with the “song inside” convention as it develops during the early twenties. For instance, “Hiawatha’s Melody of Love”^{TT} (featured in the tour of *Hello, Alexander*, 1919, and on Broadway in *The Midnight Rounders*, 1920) has a gently flowing waltz melody by George Meyer, with short, slithering chromatic phrases. This is paired with a lyric by co-authors Alfred Bryan and Artie Mehlinger that draws on the kind of nostalgia for a vaguely-defined past that characterized “Love’s Old Sweet Song,” as well as on the parallel between human song and the song of the birds and the breezes found in “Love’s Roundelay”:

Verse one: Indian lovers came to dream.
 ‘Neath the moon aglow,
 In the long ago.
 They sang of love sweet and low—

Refrain: And the song they sang was Hiawatha’s melody,
 Just a golden memory ...
 And the evening breezes sang Hiawatha’s melody,
 Sang it sweet and tenderly, ...
 Now the songbirds in Spring still remember and sing
 Hiawatha’s melody of love.

Bryan and Mehlinger mix “actual” singing by the legendary lovers with the “same” song “sung” by the breezes and songbirds. As in the Viennese tradition, they create an overall impression of a song that is both literal and yet also abstract—a metaphor for romance.

The next year, in *Blossom Time* (1921), the Viennese operetta tradition had an even stronger influence on “Song of Love,”^{TT} a waltz song adapted by Sigmund Romberg from a melody in Franz Schubert’s “Unfinished Symphony.” As in “Hiawatha’s Melody of Love,” lyricist Dorothy Donnelly uses the verse to tell a legendary tale—this time of an enchanted prince freed by a “holy” maiden. In the refrain however, the prince directly addresses his beloved:

Refrain: You are my song of love,
 Melody immortal,
 Echo of Paradise,
 Heard through Heaven's portal.
 Soft your music is singing, bringing
 Secrets sweet in its song to me,
 Your vision shines on me from above,
 You are my song of songs,
 All the glory of love.

Although the verse lends the sentiments of the lyric an emotional distance, the refrain is a powerful and personal expression of the idea of the beloved as song. As in "Love's Roundelay" this metaphorical "song" is linked to religious imagery; it is an "echo of Paradise / heard through Heaven's portal." The "heavenly" effect is intensified with the pure melodic writing (there is only one accidental in the refrain's vocal line) and a climax which climbs the vocal heights to a two-octave range. These compositional traits combine with the lyric's "elevated" diction to create a "highbrow" effect that aligns the song with the prestigious nineteenth-century symphonic tradition from which the melody is borrowed.

Another waltz, from the following year, George M. Cohan's "The Voice in My Heart," from *Little Nellie Kelly* (1922), continues the trend toward distilling and intensifying the "song inside" trope.⁴⁵ The song is the eleven o'clock number for the eponymous heroine, and Cohan provides her with a highly personal statement in both verse and refrain:

Verse: Oh, what a wonderful change has come into my life of late
 In a happy way.
 Oh, what a glorious feeling of not having long to wait
 For the happy day.
 Softly the secret is whispered
 When heaven has something to say.

⁴⁵ As with Cohan's "I Want to Hear a Yankee Doodle Tune," this song is not part of the corpus under study, but is included in the discussion as one of the rare early examples of the "song inside" convention being used as the dominant image in a production song lyric.

Refrain: There's a tiny voice I hear
 Down deep in my heart,
 There's a song so soft and clear,
 Down deep in my heart,

Early in the morning,
 Into the night so drear,
 Can cupid be warning,
 Warning that he is near,
 With this beautiful, perfect —

Melody of love,
 Down deep in my heart,
 Cooing like a gentle dove,
 Down deep in my heart.

No song of an angel ever excelled the art
 Of this refrain,
 This wonderful strain,
 Ever clinging,
 Ever secretly ringing,
 From the voice in my heart.
 Oh, why did it start?

Through such phrases as “heaven has something to say” and “no song of an angel ever excelled ... this refrain,” Cohan evokes the same mystical, religious experience provided by this “voice in the heart” as is evoked in “Love’s Roundelay” and “Song of Love.” Despite the waltz meter, however, Cohan builds his melody along American lines. He uses a device previously heard in Jerome Kern’s melody for “Honeymoon Inn” (*Have a Heart*, 1917) and characteristic of Richard Rodgers’s future style. As Alec Wilder describes this technique in his analysis of Rodgers’s “The Blue Room”^{TT} (*Garrick Gaieties*, 1926), the composer keeps “returning to a series of notes ... while building a design with the other notes”—usually by taking them up the scale higher and higher, as in Cohan’s melody. Cohan alternates these melodic jumps with short chromatic phrases similar in style to those in “Hiawatha’s Melody of Love.” His lyric, too, is more American than those of his operetta predecessors. His vocabulary is not archaic (no

“’twould”) nor rhapsodic (no “splendor” or “pulsating”). Clearly Cohan, like Berlin, was working to naturalize the “song inside” trope to fit an American style.

From 1924, Irving Berlin started turning more frequently to the theme of song as a metaphor for the romantic affair. This stylistic tendency first manifested in his tender, intimate waltz ballads. The verse of “All Alone”^{TT} (*The Music Box Revue*, 1924) establishes his most frequently used convention: “Just like a melody that lingers on, / you seem to haunt me night and day.” Subsequent songs in his series were written for the independent pop song market or as movie theme songs: “The Song Is Ended (But the Melody Lingers On)”^{TT} (1928), “Where Is the Song of Songs for Me?”^{TT} (*Lady of the Pavements*, 1929), and “Reaching for the Moon”^{TT} (the title theme of the 1930 movie, which includes the lines, “My song of love is incomplete, / I’m just the words, looking for the tune”). It is not until the late 1930s that Berlin would again apply this kind of “romance is song” metaphor to the smooth fox-trot ballad he helped formulate with “A Pretty Girl Is Like a Melody” in a series of hit movie musical songs: “Let’s Face the Music and Dance”^{TT} (*Follow the Fleet*, 1936), “I Poured My Heart into a Song”^{TT} (*Second Fiddle*, 1939), and “You Keep Coming Back Like a Song”^{TT} (*Blue Skies*, 1946).

While Berlin was beginning to develop the “romance as song” idea away from Broadway, other important variations on this group of metaphors were being developed within musical theatre. In the sample production *The Desert Song* (1926), co-lyricists Otto Harbach and Oscar Hammerstein popularized the idea of song as a metaphor for the exotic locale—a locale which is itself a metaphor for romance. The hero, Pierre, in his guise as the outlaw leader the Red Shadow, tempts the heroine to run away with him to real romantic adventure. He lures her with a vision of an exotic world where, yet again,

the sounds of nature and romantic singing are intermingled, this time in “The Desert Song”:^{TT}

Verse: My desert is waiting, dear,
Come there with me!
I’m longing to teach you
Love’s sweet melody!
I’ll sing a dream song to you,
Painting a picture for two—

Refrain: Blue heaven and you and I
And sand kissing a moon-lit sky,
The desert breeze whisp’ring a lullaby,
Only stars above you
To see I love you.
Oh, give me that night divine.
And let my arms in yours entwine.
The desert song calling,
It’s voice enthralling,
Will make you mine!

Harbach and Hammerstein establish in the verse the abstract nature of the music being described. “Love” itself has a “sweet melody.” Further, when the hero tells of serenading the heroine, it is “a dream song”—on the one hand, a real “song” that describes a paradise-like place of rendezvous, and, on the other hand, a metaphoric “dream” made of desires that emerge from the unconscious.

In the refrain, the exotic location is itself the song of romance. The breeze make music—“a lullaby”—and the appeal of the desert is symbolized by “the desert song calling.” This lyric is matched to Sigmund Romberg’s passionate operetta waltz melody filled with swooning hesitations that emphasize the romantic imagery (“The desert breeze whisp’ring—[pause]—a *lullaby*”). When “The Desert Song” was re-popularized in 1929 with the release of a film version, it inspired a series of movie theme songs along the same lines, many of them with lyrics by Arthur Freed: “Pagan Love Song”^{TT} (an operetta-like waltz from *The Pagan*, 1929), “Chant of the Jungle”^{TT} (*Untamed*, 1929), and “Love

Songs of the Nile”^{TT} (*The Barbarian*, 1933). Other writers supply further instances: Alfred Bryan wrote “My Song of the Nile,”^{TT} featured in *Drag*, 1929; Dorothy Fields supplied “Cuban Love Song”^{TT} for the 1931 film of the same name; and, some years after the peak of this song subgenre, Mack Gordon contributed “Sing Me a Song of the Islands”^{TT} to *Song of the Islands* (1942).

As did “Love’s Roundelay,” “The Desert Song” depicts an external environment that is a song, drawing for its aid upon the sounds and dance-like movements of nature. Removed from its exotic context, these ideas later proved useful to Hammerstein and his imitators in trying to incorporate song and dance into the naturalistic settings of the “integrated musical,” starting with the very first song from *Oklahoma!*, the sample production of 1943 that represented the flagship of that new trend. When the hero Curly entered and sang that “all the sounds of the earth are like music,” he consolidated a convention that became especially characteristic of what Altman has dubbed the folk musical subgenre.⁴⁶ Spurred by the powerful influence of *Oklahoma!*, for over fifteen additional years in the history of the American musical whistling breezes, crooning rivers, singing birds, and ringing steeple bells helped to depict the whole universe as making music.

While “The Desert Song” typifies the trend toward making the external world into music, several important songs emerge in the late 1920s in which the idea of music heard inside finds its most powerful expression. During the very same years that Irving Berlin was unspooling his string of “romance as song” waltzes, Lorenz Hart was following related threads. In the Broadway failure *Chee-Chee* (1928), Hart explores the “romance

⁴⁶ Rick Altman, *American Film Musical*, 272-327, especially 287.

as song” idea in “Singing a Love Song,” stating baldly that “music is made of love alone.” In another song from the same show, “Dear, Oh Dear,” Hart has the hero and the ingénue playfully explore the “song inside” phenomenon to a bright, bouncing tune by Richard Rodgers: “In my ear those little trumpets blare for you, / they’re there for you, my own.”

The playful qualities of “Dear, Oh Dear!” contrast with Hart’s next lyric drawing on this family of metaphors. This is “With a Song in My Heart”^{TT} (*Spring Is Here*, 1929), and it is the single most important landmark in the development of the “song inside” trope. Richard Rodgers’s melody is so weighty that, against the wisdom of all musical comedy conventions, the show’s creative team had to re-assign the song to the hero’s rival when the actor playing the hero proved vocally deficient for fully conveying the dramatic effect of this “big” ballad.⁴⁷ Wilder dismisses it as “arty,” “melodramatic and over-elegant.”⁴⁸ In fact, Wilder criticizes most ballads that draw in their lyrics on the “song inside” trope for being either “melodramatic” or “arty” or both. He levels much the same descriptors at “Without a Song,” “The Song Is You,” “Dancing in the Dark,” and “Let’s Face the Music and Dance.”⁴⁹ In his turn, Philip Furia criticizes Hart’s lyric for matching Rodgers’s “arty” melody by striving for the same “sappy sentimental ... melodramatic heights,” using “the simplest of rhymes.”⁵⁰ Furia levels similar criticism at other lyricists’ “song inside” ballads, such as “Dancing in the Dark,” “You and the Night

⁴⁷ The song assigned to the hero of *Spring Is Here*, “Yours Sincerely,” has the same vocal range (a tenth) as “With a Song in My Heart.” The former has, however, a lighter, more playful melodic line and, most relevantly to the present discussion, the epistolary style of the lyric allowed the actor playing the hero to speak the song rather than sing it. This story is found in many sources, including: Frederick Nolan, *Lorenz Hart: A Poet on Broadway* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), 125-126.

⁴⁸ Alec Wilder, *American Popular Song*, 181.

⁴⁹ Ibid. The discussions alluded to are found as follows: “Without a Song,” 305; “The Song Is You,” 64-65; “Dancing in the Dark,” 314-315; “Let’s Face the Music and Dance,” 111.

⁵⁰ Philip Furia, *Poets of Tin Pan Alley*, 111.

and the Music,” “The Song Is You,” “Star Dust,” and “And the Angels Sing.”⁵¹ Both Wilder and Furia indicate that these songs seem to be reaching for the same “elevated” effects as do the operetta waltz ballads that helped inspire this song subgenre.

Despite the traits criticized by Wilder and Furia, however, “With a Song in My Heart” manages to avoid sounding like an operetta tune, partly through the melody’s duple meter of cut time which is adaptable to the fox-trot (“rather slow but in steady rhythm,” the sheet music advises) and partly through Hart’s conversational phrasing and canny mixture of the concrete and the abstract:

Verse one (He): Though I know that we meet ev’ry night
And we couldn’t have changed since the last time,
To my joy and delight it’s a new kind of love at first sight.
Though it’s you and it’s I all the time,
Ev’ry meeting’s a marvelous past time,
You’re increasingly sweet,
So whenever we happen to meet,
I greet you—

Refrain: With a song in my heart
I behold your adorable face.
Just a song at the start,
But it soon is a hymn to your grace.

When the music swells
I’m touching your hand;
It tells that you’re standing near,
And—

At the sound of your voice
Heaven opens its portals to me.
Can I help but rejoice
That a song such as ours came to be?

But I always knew
I would live life through
With a song in my heart
For you.

Verse two (She): Oh, the moon’s not a moon for a night,

⁵¹ Ibid. The discussions alluded to are found as follows: “The Song Is You,” 188; “Dancing in the Dark” and “You and the Night and the Music,” 200-202; “Star Dust,” 256; “And the Angels Sing,” 268.

And the stars will not twinkle and fade out!
 And the words in my ears will resound for the rest of my years.
 In the morning I'll find with delight
 Not a note of our music is played out,
 It will be just as sweet,
 And an air that I'll live to repeat.
 I greet you—

Hart creates two analogous progressions for the protagonist. At the physical level, he first sees the beloved, then touches her hand, then hears her voice—each stage intensifying the heady romantic experience. This is paralleled to the musical development: the “song” becomes a “hymn,” then swells in volume—and then the heavens open in a celestial vision reminiscent of that described in “Love’s Roundelay.” Through this parallel action, the protagonist implies that the beloved not only inspires a song heard inwardly but, going even farther, the beloved is incorporated inside the consciousness of the protagonist *as* a song. The beloved exists as much inside (as music) as outside (seen, heard, and touched).

In “With a Song in My Heart,” Hart eschews the playfulness of his own “Dear, Oh Dear,” but at the same time he also avoids many of the often overwrought poeticisms of his predecessors. He omits the use of a legendary framework (such as in “Hiawatha’s Melody of Love” and “Song of Love”), the element of nature sounds, exotic locales, and the inverted syntax of lyrics such as that for “Song of Love” (no “melody immortal” or “secrets sweet”). While “A Pretty Girl Is Like a Melody” is a generalized, impersonal statement, Hart emphasizes his protagonist’s direct relationship with the beloved object. Cohan has Nellie Kelly sing of the third-person “him” in her soliloquy-like “The Voice in My Heart,” and Berlin’s torch song protagonists, too, sing to absent love objects, but the protagonist of “With a Song in My Heart” sings to a beloved who is tangibly, intimately,

sensually present. Despite its emotional raptures, Hart's lyric remains logically-developed, conversational, and personal.

In contrast to the critical reservations of analysts such as Wilder and Furia, the public have always embraced "With a Song in My Heart." The song quickly became a "top twenty" hit, remained so for three months, and has been a standard ever since. The Hollywood industry has also made good use of its anthem-like qualities. The song occupies the finale position in both the film biography of Rodgers and Hart (*Words and Music*, 1948) and the quasi-biographical film based on the legend of jazz trumpeter Bix Beiderbecke (*Young Man with a Horn*, 1950). It also is sung in *This Is the Life* (1944) and *Painting the Clouds with Sunshine* (1951), as well as supplying the musical climax and title for the biopic of singer Jane Froman (*With a Song in My Heart*, 1952), thus contributing to five movie musicals in the space of nine years.

The year 1929 was clearly the watershed for the "song as romantic metaphor" convention. At the same time that "With a Song in My Heart" was at the peak of its initial popularity, it shared top honors with the flood of related lyrics that celebrate "the exotic locale as song," "the romance as song," "the beloved as song," and such related examples as "Broadway Melody" and "Without a Song." Another major example, the independent pop song "Star Dust," was also published that year (with its lines, "In my heart it will remain, / my star dust melody"), although it took two more years to achieve hit status. At the start of the Depression, this subgenre of lyric crystallized its manifestations and its importance as a popular song convention.

The conventions of these songs seem to draw upon a long-standing tradition of defining "music" as abstract and bodiless. This conception was widely celebrated by

nineteenth-century thinkers such as poet John Keats, who famously wrote in “Ode to a Grecian Urn” that “Heard melodies are sweet, but those unheard / Are sweeter,” and art critic Walter Pater, who almost equally famously wrote that “all art constantly aspires towards the condition of music,” because music has no other “subject” than itself.⁵² Several factors, however, mitigate against a complete correlation to nineteenth-century thought. First, there is a frequent linkage with the sounds of nature. Second, this “abstract” music often coincides with allusions to dance. Indeed, as illustrated previously, such songs as “Fascinating Rhythm” and “The Continental” find no contradiction between the “abstract” nature of the music described and an intensely physical manifestation of that music as dancing.

Most of all, in contrast to the nineteenth-century tradition, this “unheard” music is “psychologized.” Indeed, these songs arise at the same time as the popularization of Freudianism and share in its preoccupation with internal experience. In contrast to the rhetoric surrounding psychoanalysis, however, these lyrics stay firmly rooted in the emotional world of idealized romance and the language of the courtly love tradition. The songs’ descriptions of an interior landscape of images, sounds, and emotions link to modern trends in analyzing the unconscious through psychoanalytic treatment or through the creative processes of art, as with surrealism. Meanwhile, however, phrases such as “echo of paradise / heard through heaven’s portal,” “song of an angel,” “a hymn to your grace,” “heaven opens its portals,” and so on, point to the medieval tradition of equating an idealized beloved with divinity.

⁵² Walter Pater, *The Renaissance: Studies in Art and Poetry* (London: Macmillan, 1904), 124.

Rodgers and Hart clearly set a pattern with “With a Song in My Heart” that was followed closely by subsequent writers who adapted to an American style the European-derived “song of love” family of metaphors—many (although not all) subtly invoking the connotations of highbrow prestige with which the tradition is associated. From 1929 onwards, there is a steady trickle of prominent production songs that draw on the “song inside” family of metaphors: “The Song Is You,”^{TT} 1932 (in which Oscar Hammerstein follows Hart’s model particularly closely); “The Shadow Waltz,”^{TT} 1933; “Give Me a Heart to Sing To,”^{TR} 1934; “You and the Night and the Music,”^{TT} 1934; “Zing! Went the Strings of My Heart,”^{TR} 1934; “Sweet Music,”^{TT} 1935; “I’ll Sing You a Thousand Love Songs,”^{TT} 1936; “Serenade in Blue,”^{TT} 1941; “Careless Rhapsody,” 1942; and so on right through to “The Sound of Music”^{TR} (the title song of the 1959 show). Indeed, the depiction of music as abstract and metaphorical continues to appear in much later Broadway shows. For example, this notion is found in “Your Eyes” (*Rent*, 1996), in which the hero sings to the dying heroine, “You were the song all along.”

Numerous songs about the “music inside” appeared on the independent song market, as well, especially in the decade 1938 through 1947. Many of these pop songs were adaptations of pre-existing melodies taken wholesale from foreign hits (such as with “I Hear a Rhapsody,” 1941, and “Symphony,” 1947) or originally intended as jazz instrumentals (such as with Ziggy Elman’s jazz trumpet solo version of a traditional tune, set with words by Johnny Mercer as “And the Angels Sing,” 1939). Production songs also partook of this technique of setting pre-existing melodies with “song inside” lyrics. For example, the melody of “Strange Music”^{TT} (*Song of Norway*, 1944) is taken from the music of classical composer Edvard Grieg, and the tune for “(All of a Sudden) My Heart

Sings”⁵³ (1944; used in the sample production *Anchors Aweigh*, 1945) is adapted from a French pop song.⁵³ The prevalence of this combination of pre-existing melody and “song inside” lyrics suggests that the act of setting with words an already-successful melody made the lyricists particularly self-conscious about the powerful impact of music and song.⁵⁴

These lyrics do not stop to quibble about whether the music inside is *love*, is the *beloved*, is *for* the beloved, is *caused by* (the thought, sight, sound, or presence of) the beloved, or is the romance between the protagonist and the beloved—all these ideas are contained within the overall concept. In addition, they almost all define this music of love as “song.” No matter if the lyric in part uses ambiguous terms such as “melody,” “tune,” or “strain” (terms that might designate instrumental music), the denotation of those general terms is usually clarified by others that clearly allude to vocal music—“refrain,” “lullaby,” “hymn,” or “song.” Hart may specify in his second stanza that “the music swells,” but this “music” remains a “song.” Thus, while lyrics examined in the previous section may depict the everyday making of music as combining vocal and instrumental effects, in the “song inside” family of lyrics the definition of “music” as “song” is even more powerful, for the internal music of which all external music is only a manifestation is depicted at its base as being vocal, as being song.

Some interesting permutations of the “song inside” family of metaphors occur when the lyricists introduce the idea of dance. As early as 1916, an operetta can declare

⁵³ The Franz Schubert-derived “Song of Love,” discussed above, is an obvious precedent for the Grieg-derived “Strange Music” and perhaps for other songs in this category.

⁵⁴ Philip Furia makes a similar point in his discussion of Mitchell Parish’s lyric for “Star Dust.” The complex melody for this song, by Hoagy Carmichael, was originally presented as a jazz instrumental. Furia points out that “Parish shrewdly made the subject of the song the melody itself—its drifting, delicately turning phrases suggesting the metaphor of the title”; *Poets of Tin Pan Alley*, 256.

in song title that “Love Is a Dance,” and the idea is illustrated above with Howard Dietz’s “Love Is a Dancing Thing” (1935). As with this latter song, these allusions to dance almost invariably adjoin allusions to music. In the stage revue, *The Band Wagon* (1931), Dietz created a new wrinkle on this idea with his existentially-flavored “Dancing in the Dark,”⁵⁵ which continues the title phrase with the foreboding qualification, “... till the tune ends.” Tied to Arthur Schwartz’s brooding, long-lined chromatic melody, Dietz’s *carpe diem* sentiment seems to capture the essence of Depression-era romantic sophistication by ambiguously mixing an adult perspective on ephemerality and fatalism (“It soon ends ... / We’re here and gone”) with a childlike awe of the unknown (“We’re waltzing in the wonder of why we’re here”).

Irving Berlin clearly took the Dietz and Schwartz song as a close model for his “Let’s Face the Music and Dance” (*Follow the Fleet*, 1936), with its minor-tinged melody and its lyric expressing a gallant stance in the face of uncertainty about the future. Berlin turns the military metaphor of “face the music” (which probably stems from the ritual of ceremoniously and dishonorably “drumming out” a soldier from the army) into a more fully reflexive one by the addition of the conceit of adding “and dance”—simultaneously making the “music” less figurative (imbuing it with literalness and physicality by alluding to “dance”) and the dance more abstract (by giving it metaphorical as well as literal significance).⁵⁵

In the sample production *Oklahoma!* (1943), Oscar Hammerstein further abstracts and interiorizes dance when he has the villain, Jud, sing of his “Lonely Room”: “Then the shadder of a tree starts a-dancin’ on the wall, / and a dream starts a-dancin’ in my head.”

⁵⁵ Possible origins for the phrase “face the music” are given by Nigel Rees, *Why Do We Say ...?* (London: Blandford Press, 1987), 72.

Writing in 1949, Hammerstein related the story of how he and composer Richard Rodgers formed Jud's characterization. The lyricist uses psychoanalytic terms to describe this process: "We didn't want to resort to ... having two other characters ... give ... a psychological analysis."⁵⁶ Instead, he and Rodgers created a musical soliloquy that was "self-analysis, but ... emotional and not cerebral."⁵⁷ As Joseph Swain points out, the song "establishes a singular musical idiom ... different from all the other music in the play."⁵⁸ It is, indeed, as Andrea Most claims, like "an operatic aria."⁵⁹ Although the pathological psychology being explored in Jud's mini-aria is distant from the romantic imagery of most reflexive songs, the lyric's mixture of the dance of nature and the interior dance is, as has been illustrated, well within the tradition of the "song inside" trope. Since this convention has roots in operetta, this supports Most's argument that Jud is associated with "elite European genres." She argues that Jud is "both uncivilized and too civilized," and thus the villain parallels American Jews who were also thought to be characterized by this paradoxical combination of depravities. Thus, Jud's "too civilized" qualities link him with the American Jews who created the musical.⁶⁰

Bruce Kirle points to the dramaturgical dynamic in *Oklahoma!* between theatricalized song-and-dance and "more realistic, psychologized dilemma[s]."⁶¹ He argues that Jud's sung soliloquy contributes to the psychological reality of the character. As Kirle states, Jud "evokes a degree of audience empathy with his two songs," "Pore

⁵⁶ Oscar Hammerstein II, *Lyrics* (1949; reprint, Milwaukee, Wisc.: Hal Leonard Books, 1985), 18.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 19.

⁵⁸ Joseph P. Swain, *Broadway Musical*, 88.

⁵⁹ Andrea Most, *Making Americans*, 116.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

⁶¹ Bruce Kirle, "Reconciliation, Resolution, and the Political Role of *Oklahoma!* in American Consciousness," *Theatre Journal* 55, no. 2 (May 2003), 251-274, at 260.

Jud” and “Lonely Room.”⁶² In the latter, the tradition of idealized romance that surrounds the “song inside” group of metaphors may encourage the audience to draw into sympathy with Jud. This makes, however, the song’s later indications of his mental disturbance all the more shocking. Hammerstein’s canny strategy is clear in light of the present study: he takes advantage of both sets of connotations for this dancing dream—the idealizations of courtly rhetoric, that creates audience sympathy, and the interiority of psychoanalysis, that can reveal psychopathology.

No commentators on *Oklahoma!* point out that the images in “Lonely Room” create a parallel between Jud and Laurie. Indeed, this link is not immediately apparent. While Laurie’s unconscious processes are embodied at considerable length through dance, Jud’s are only concisely described through song. Nevertheless, these are the only two characters in the play who have dreams that dance “in their head.” Further, each dreams about the other. As I argue throughout the present study, this kind of detail is highlighted only when careful attention is given to historically important formal elements, such as the reflexive song.

Importantly, Laurie’s dream is invoked through an ensemble number, “Out of My Dreams,” wherein she is surrounded by other women of the community. By contrast, Jud dreams alone. As Kirle argues, Jud, by choice, isolates himself, and, because he does so, he prioritizes “fragmentation over community.”⁶³ Jud’s “dancin’ in my head” thus defines the limit for the interiorization of dance—the point where it begins to threaten the communal impulses of the genre.

⁶² Ibid.

⁶³ Ibid, 271.

More characteristic of the “dance inside” lyrics, therefore, is a straightforward depiction of romanticized love as in “This Heart of Mine”^{TT} (from the sample production, *Ziegfeld Follies*, 1946), where composer Harry Warren colors a smooth-flowing melody with dramatic touches, while lyricist Arthur Freed combines moments of emotional fervor with a lighthearted bemusement:

Refrain: ... At dawn I woke up singing
Sentimental overtures.
This heart of mine
Is gaily dancing now. ...

Freed mixes two things: examples of an instrumental genre—overtures—and a vocal rendition of them; and this “exterior” singing with an “interior” dancing of the heart. By now such a combination will be familiar to the reader as a gesture entirely typical of the genre. This combination both of internal and external experience and of varying artistic modes implies that music, song, and dance are concomitant parts of a music matrix that can envelop all human experience.

Conclusion

Through juxtaposition, association, and the blurring of distinctions, the American musical defines music: instrumental music, singing, and dance are depicted as concomitant elements contained within a music matrix that is, in its nature, both physical and abstract, external and internal. The idea that music and dance are inextricably wedded is implied from the earliest examples in the corpus and extends through the entire period under study. The most vivid descriptions of the irresistible impulse to physicalize music as dance, however—as well as the most extensive vocabulary to describe this dancing—are

found during the two decades from 1910 to 1930. This intensely physical response to music is most often, although not exclusively, identified with African American-derived music and dancing during an era when this “marginal” tradition first had an extended effect on the practices of the white mass audience by way of the ragtime and jazz era dance crazes.

The idea of an incorporeal song that either *is* love or *results from* love comes to the corpus under study from the sentimental tradition of the nineteenth century, often by way of the European operetta—to which it retains its reference and towards which its connotations point. It was adapted to an American idiom by the late 1920s, in songs in which conversational diction is set to a fox-trot rhythm. The early operetta tradition that propagated this rhapsodic fusion of music, song, waltzes, nature, humans, and hearts is reflected in the later American songs through their religious images and allusions to the sounds of nature. The American songs, however, often add a heightened sense of the interior landscape. Music occurs here as an auditory hallucination without physical source—personal, yet beyond the mundane. Music seems to be in the very air the characters breath and in their inner souls.

Indeed, in the American musical, the whole world is music, the whole world dances. Even the music heard only within the psyche of the individual is defined as a kind of “singing,” and this song of the heart compels the heart to dance just as the jazz band compels the listener to shiver, shake, and shimmy. Musicals define their own medium; and this medium is constituted of a unity of modes that are often, in other contexts, defined as being essentially separate. This melding of media parallels the fluid continuity depicted in these songs between concrete and abstract, physical and internal.

Through reflexive production songs, the American musical creates a powerful rhetoric of integration: song saturates existence, uniting disparate elements, enfolding into the music matrix all of life's pleasures.

Chapter Three: Participation

Introduction

In *Presenting Lily Mars* (1943), Judy Garland, Charles Walters, and a choral ensemble sing “Broadway Rhythm,”^{TR} in which lyricist Arthur Freed concludes with this command to the listener: “Everybody sing and dance!” This song was originally written for *Broadway Melody of 1936*—relatively late in my survey—but from the very start of the period under study American musicals issue similar imperatives to the listener to “come on and ...” Among previous scholars, Charles Hamm is the only one to write about this trope; and he only does so in relation to the pre-1915 songs of Irving Berlin.¹ Nevertheless, the “come-and-hear-the-band gesture,” as Hamm calls it, is a chief characteristic of the American musical.² It expands to include an invitation to many varied modes of activity; and it offers a particularly transparent window for viewing the musical’s depictions of response and community. “Come on and” engage in what musical activities? What affective powers are these depicted as holding? What locales will induce the hoped-for thrills—the country or the city? In this chapter I will seek to answer these questions and outline the prevalence and manifestations of these calls to action.

Tracing the manifestations of one trope of reflexive songs—the “come on and” gesture—highlights several other major themes. First is the idealistic valorization of

¹ Charles Hamm, *Irving Berlin*, 102-104 and passim.

² *Ibid.*, 103.

music. Music is constructed as important because it both expresses and induces positive emotions: happiness, optimism, and so on.³ Second is response. The happiness associated with music becomes the rationale for encouraging participation in it. Through reflexive songs, musicals depict this successful invocation of a particular reaction.

Third, this topic leads to a discussion of modernity. The main playground for the musical celebration is New York, the epitome of twentieth-century urban life.

Alternately, the protagonists of these songs recollect or otherwise comment on a pastoral image—one usually associated with childhood and frequently of the South. These images, however, are implicitly defined in contrast to the modern, urban culture from which they are viewed. Altogether, participation, the excitement of the city, nostalgia for regionalism and childhood—all these topics are presented in such a manner that the theme of community is emphasized. Such factors counteract the tendency of modern life to produce isolation of the individual from others, from traditions, from work, and from nature.

As throughout this study, I argue that such themes become apparent through a methodical examination of a large and representative body of material. Their relative importance within the genre is traceable through the various decades of the era. In the section following this introduction, I engage with Hamm's interpretation and historicization of Irving Berlin's "Alexander's Ragtime Band" (1911). I illustrate how the call to attendance and participation was already a convention in the late nineteenth century. Nevertheless, it does increase in its prevalence and vividness of expression after the success of Berlin's song. Next, I argue that the optimism of the genre, often remarked

³ I was first consciously alerted to the prevalence of this theme in musicals via a paper presented by Sandra Laredo on the movie musicals of Fred Astaire and Ginger Rogers, which she gave as visiting scholar to New York University, 26 November, 1996.

upon by scholars as characteristic of later musicals, is very prominent in production songs from as early as 1921, following the success of “Look for the Silver Lining”^{TT} (*Sally*, 1920).

In three further sections, I detail the prevalence of the idea that links happiness to the music matrix. The concept that music is a natural expression of happiness is found in the corpus from the earliest examples. By contrast, the belief that music induces happiness grows to prominence only during the 1920s. I maintain that these two attitudes towards the relationship between music and emotions are usually kept distinct. To a great extent, the latter eventually substituted for the former. By 1914, dance was presented as a way to “lose the blues.” By 1920, the same power is credited to singing; but this attribution does not become prevalent until 1929, and it peaks only in the middle of the Great Depression. Meanwhile, from 1926 onwards, the rousing pseudo-religious song becomes an established convention of the musical. These often contain a slightly tongue-in-cheek but exhilarating promise of salvation through participation with the music matrix. My detailed discussion of the early prominence and specific trends of these interrelated themes creates an important historical contextualization for the discussions by other writers of optimism within the genre.

The themes of community and nostalgia found in such reflexive songs are presented as a counteragent to the modernity of urban life, with its alienation of the individual from work tasks, neighborhoods, and traditions. Yet, as I argue in the sixth section, from 1927 onwards New York becomes increasingly equated with music; and, thus, these potentially opposing elements are depicted as being in alignment. Throughout, I demonstrate that themes that are familiar through their prominence in movie musicals

are present in Broadway reflexive songs prior to the industry-wide adoption of sound film technology in 1929.

Songs that include the “come on and” gesture are a chief characteristic of the American musical during the era under study. They appear in 81% of the shows in the sample of productions and represent 18% of the reflexive songs examined in those scores. This command has many variations and invites various types of participation: to gather around, listen, view, become emotionally involved, imitate, and take action in singing and dancing. Usually the imperative is to *sing and dance*; sometimes it is to *attend and watch and listen*; and often the passive and active modes are combined. The inducement offered can be summarized by the phrase “to lose the blues.” The place is often the urban bazaar, especially the city playground as exemplified by New York. For example, Freed depicts the “Broadway rhythm” as offering the “merriment” of its “cafés” where “orchestras play.” This “rhythm” causes overwhelming excitement that “takes your breath away.” All this leads to an inevitable participation in “singing and dancing.” The city is depicted as provoking the same kind of intensely physical and musical responses as are credited during the 1910s to ragtime music and during the 1920s to jazz.

This same kind of command to attend and take musical action is seen in the earliest sample productions. In *Babes in Toyland* (1903), Henry Blossom issues the injunction to participate in dancing when, as part of the Act Two opening chorus “Hail to Christmas,” a trio sings “Come and dance!” During the ragtime dance craze of the 1910s, Gus Kahn intensifies by repetition this command to dance in the second verse to “Everybody Rag with Me”^{TT} (*Dancing Around*, 1914): “Come on and dance, dance, dance, dance, then dance some more.”

Although the call to dance is the genre's most prominent imperative, the invitation extends further. In some examples the audience is encouraged to sing. As early as *The Fortune Teller* (1898), the gypsies urge each other—and the listener—to seize the day and “sing, ay, sing / zigeuner, while yet we may.” In other instances we are enticed into a life of urbane pleasure. In *Whirl-I-Gig* (1899), Lillian Russell, as the “Queen of Bohemia,” and the Parisian demimonde invite us to join them in “the land of Bohemia” where “the music of laughter is heard day and night”: “Come with us—you’ll find it’s a place of good cheer.” Underlying all these examples is an emotional appeal based on a construction that associates music with happiness itself. The basic incentive offered to participation is to attain cheerfulness, merriment, buoyancy, delight, elation, and joy.

There is a loose correspondence between this list of positive emotions and Richard Dyer's analysis of “what utopia would feel like.”⁴ Dyer centers his discussion on generalized “utopian solutions” to societal problems, and the call to participate manifested in these songs does imply a social dimension to musical experience. This communal experience promises to supply the “utopian solutions” to “inadequacies of society,” such as those of which Dyer writes: (1) “scarcity”; (2) the “exhaustion” of “alienated labor” and “pressures of urban life”; (3) “dreariness ... of the daily round”; (4) “manipulation” of consumers by business and, as well, between individuals; and (5) “fragmentation” caused by social isolation.⁵ Although Dyer does not explicitly discuss them as such, most of these societal faults can be seen as contemporary developments, symptoms of modernization. It is these depersonalizing elements that help induce the “blues” of modern life.

⁴ Richard Dyer, “Utopia and Entertainment,” 177.

⁵ Ibid, 177-178, 182.

To counteract such stresses of modern society, reflexive songs offer visions of the utopian accomplishments outlined by Dyer.⁶ In them, a depiction of “abundance” banishes the fear of scarcity. A playfulness Dyer associates with “energy” overcomes exhaustion. “Intensity” and “affectivity of emotion” combat dreariness. Dyer names spontaneity as characteristic of “transparent,” non-manipulative interactions. Most of all, “community” heals fragmentation. Most of these songs focus on emotions that are specific and personal; but Dyer implies that this focus on the individual is part of a strategy to depict the flaws of real-life social conditions.

Thus, “come on and” songs touch on all the feelings outlined by Dyer. As well, these lyrics imply a second person plural address, directed to that slice of society represented by the audience present at a show, offering them the feelings of utopia. The songs offer a representation of energy, spontaneity, and, above all, community; but they also deal with transparency and intensity of emotion, as well as the abundance offered by the urban marketplace. More generally, these songs speak of optimism defeating pessimism, of living in the moment versus worry and insecurity, and of hope overcoming hopelessness.

Irving Berlin and the “Happy Ruction”

The most prolific producer of reflexive songs in general—and the major proponent of the “come on and” gesture in particular—is Irving Berlin. At least thirty-four of Berlin’s major hit songs have reflexive lyrics, as compared to a mere seven or eight for other

⁶ Ibid, 177-178, and passim.

major lyricists such as Gus Kahn or Ira Gershwin.⁷ In 1911, Berlin gave fresh impetus to the reflexive song tradition with his “Alexander’s Ragtime Band.”^{TT} The data presented by Edward Foote Gardner indicates that there were five fully reflexive songs among the “top twenty” hits of 1911, representing 8% of the year’s total. In 1912, following the international success of “Alexander’s Ragtime Band,” there were nineteen reflexive song titles among the “top twenty” hits, representing a never-exceeded 33% of the year’s total number of major successes.⁸

The tremendous cultural impact of “Alexander’s Ragtime Band” has led to excessive claims both at the time—with Irving Berlin being acclaimed as the originator and “King” of ragtime—and even in more recent scholarship. Berlin himself put forward an explanation of the song’s success in a contemporaneous interview:

No one was more flabbergasted than I was at the smashing hit it made. I humbly began to study my own song, asking myself, “Why? Why?” And I got an answer. The melody ... started the heels and shoulders ... rocking. ... Its opening words, emphasized by immediate repetition—“Come on and hear! Come on and hear!”—were an invitation to “come,” to join in, and to “hear” the singer and his song. And that idea of inviting

⁷ Perhaps not coincidentally, Berlin’s publishing company was also a major printer for the reflexive songs of other writers, wracking up at least sixteen additional major hit reflexive songs. As throughout this study, in making this statement as well as in my claims in the following two sentences, I glean the numbers primarily from the information collected by Edward Foote Gardner in *Popular Songs of the Twentieth Century*.

⁸ Technically, “Alexander’s Ragtime Band” is not a Broadway production song. It did appear, however, in two para-Broadway shows: the extended Broadway run and tour of what was essentially an all-star benefit concert, *Friar’s Frolics of 1911*, which played a Broadway theatre, the New Amsterdam; and the “high-class” New York burlesque show *The Merry Whirl*; see Charles Hamm, *Irving Berlin*, 122-126. The song was also the inspiration and title song for a movie musical, *Alexander’s Ragtime Band* (1938), and it was later used prominently in the film *There’s No Business Like Show Business* (1954).

every receptive auditor within shouting distance to become a part of the happy ruction—an idea pounded in again and again throughout the song in various ways—was the secret of the song’s tremendous success.⁹

Berlin claims to have studied his own song closely, yet this retrospective interpretation technically does not match the specifics of his lyric:

Verse: Oh, ma honey, oh, ma honey,
Better hurry and let’s meander,
Ain’t you goin’, ain’t you goin’,
To the leader man, ragged meter man?
Oh, ma honey, oh, ma honey,
Let me take you to Alexander’s
Grand stand, brass band,
Ain’t you comin’ along?

Refrain: Come on and hear, come on and hear,
Alexander’s Ragtime Band,
Come on and hear, come on and hear,
It’s the best band in the land.

They can play a bugle call like you never heard before,
So natural that you want to go to war,
That’s just the bestest band what am,
Honey lamb.

Come on along, come on along,
Let me take you by the hand
Up to the man, up to the man
Who’s the leader of the band,

And if you care to hear the “Swanee River” played in ragtime,
Come on and hear, come on and hear,
Alexander’s Ragtime Band.

In his analysis, Berlin claims that the music the listener is invited to “come and hear” is “the singer and his song.” By contrast, the lyric actually indicates instrumental music played by a band at some distance from the singer-protagonist. To describe this event,

⁹ This statement is quoted by Gary Giddins, “Irving Berlin,” *Stereo Review* 53, no. 2 (Feb., 1988), 77-82, at 79. Giddins’ only attribution is that it is from “one of several interviews [Berlin] gave in and around 1915.”

Berlin uses the unusual word “ruction.” Originally holding revolutionary connotations, by 1911 this variant of “insurrection” had come to denote any noisy, riotous event. The songwriter thus defines the distant attraction by its sonic penetration as well as its boisterous, rowdy nature. Rather than being a brawl, however, this is a “happy ruction”—an explosion of merriment. The event is characterized by the feelings of utopia described by Dyer: energy, spontaneity, and community.¹⁰ To this musical event, the song proffers the listener an invitation to “join in”—or so Berlin claims. Looking closely at the lyric, however, reveals that if this is so, it is only an invitation to become a passive, albeit thrilled, auditor. Further, this summons is not made to “every receptive auditor within shouting distance,” but to “ma honey” or “honey lamb”—terms of endearment that primarily denote a beloved individual, not a crowd.

Hamm argues that the lyric for “Alexander’s Ragtime Band” was unprecedented. In making this claim, Hamm largely depends upon Berlin’s interpretation of the lyric as the basis for his own analysis of the song:

... the gesture of the piece, a first-person exhortation to anyone and everyone within earshot to come and listen to the band, has no precedent in earlier “coon” songs or in any other songs of the Tin Pan Alley era, or even in the “come-all-ye” command of British balladry to heed the words of the bard. ... Although there’s no exact precedent in Berlin’s earlier songs for this “come-and-hear-the-band” gesture, he came close to it in “That Kazzatsky Dance,” a Jewish novelty song, ... [of] 1910, in

¹⁰ Richard Dyer, “Entertainment and Utopia,” 180-181, 182-183.

which the female protagonist enthuses to her friend Abie, “Can’t you hear very clear, they’re playing that Kazzatsky dance, Cohen with his hand leads the band, ain’t it grand.” Once the gesture worked so well with “Alexander,” Berlin used it again and again
 ...¹¹

Swayed by the attention-grabbing imperative mood of the song, Hamm, like Berlin, incorrectly claims that the song’s exhortation is “to anyone and everyone in earshot.” Rather than simply dismiss Berlin and Hamm for the inaccuracies of their interpretations, I claim that they, seemingly unwittingly, point to the very heart of the matter. In this reflexive popular song tradition, it often does not matter to whom the invitation of a song is addressed nor the exact nature of the invitation—to attend, hear, watch, march, dance, shout, sing, whistle, hum, or even to play instrumental music. In fact, the blurring of these distinctions may be the very point of the songs. In Chapter Two, I have already illustrated how the various modalities of music are depicted as concomitant: music, song, and dance are considered one. Berlin analyzes his own song in such a way as to reveal these concomitances: “Alexander” and his “band” music are the same as “the singer and his song”—which is, of course, implicitly equated with Irving Berlin’s song. Through the song, the protagonist is giving a sales pitch for that very song—and behind the protagonist is the songwriter-publisher himself, plugging his own tune. Further, Berlin points to an important additional concomitance: attending, listening, and viewing are the same as “join[ing] in.” Hearing a performance of the song is the same as singing it

¹¹ Charles Hamm, *Irving Berlin*, 102-103.

oneself. In reflexive songs of the American musical, there is always an implicit bridge between passive reception and active participation.

Berlin represents his song's call to "honey lamb" as a call to "every receptive auditor within earshot" because the genre encourages in the audience this kind of identification with characters embedded in a dramatic situation. Berlin and Hamm assume that the audience will identify with the "honey lamb" being addressed by the singer, whether that beloved object is an imaginary presence or is enacted by a flesh-and-blood actor. By extension, Berlin implies that the performer will—or should—use techniques of vocal production, gaze, stance, and gesture to encourage such an identification. The whole audience becomes the beloved individual, and the artist-audience interaction creates the utopian feelings analyzed by Dyer—playful and spontaneous, filled with intense, personal emotions of enthusiasm.¹²

This process of identification is especially the case whenever, as in "Alexander's Ragtime Band," it encourages and leads to action. Such activity takes many forms: attending a performance event, which is always at least implicitly equated with the musical comedy itself; purchasing its auxiliary products, such as records and sheet music; and patronizing its neighboring industries—band stand concerts, ballrooms, restaurants, nightclubs, and cabarets. These are all manifestations or encapsulations of what Berlin describes as "the happy ruction."

Even when the direction of communication is depicted as being reversed, and the command is from the audience to the performer, the effect is much the same. A female protagonist issues her command to a rathskeller pianist to "Play That Barbershop

¹² Richard Dyer, "Entertainment and Utopia," 180-181, 182-183.

Chord”^{TT} (*Ziegfeld Follies*, 1911). The cabaret customer in the Gershwins’ “Sweet and Lowdown”^{TT} (*Tip-Toes*, 1926) shouts out “Professor, start that beat.” In all cases, the powerful imperative mood of the song grabs and holds the attention of the listener. The directive to action effects the listener as if it were directed at him or her, not to the professional musicians up on the stand; or, at the least, listeners are encouraged to sympathize with and imagine themselves also engaging in the exuberant, active responses of the protagonists of the song.

Within this context Hamm is clearly wrong in assigning to “Alexander’s Ragtime Band” a unique, unprecedented status as a “first-person exhortation to anyone and everyone within earshot to come and listen to the band.”¹³ Indeed, certain blackface dialect songs of the late nineteenth century supply forerunners for Berlin’s later song. An early production song that offers an example is “Sam Johnson’s Colored Cake Walk” (*Cordelia’s Aspirations*, 1883), in which lyricist Edward Harrigan has the protagonist invite the listeners to “come along, you children ... / hear de harp and de flute,” and then goes on to list the drum, horn, and fiddle as well, issuing a summons to dance to this music. Perhaps a particularly apt example is seen in “Come and Meet Us Dar,” an independent song of 1888. As lyricist Annie Lichten depicts a happy ruction, she makes clear that it includes a banjo, a sing-along, and a band, the music of which compels the listeners to dance:

Refrain one: De way up coons am comin’ down
 Come ‘long, Honey
 Dey’re gwine to wake up dis yer town
 Come ‘long, Honey, ...
 Oh, can’t you hear the Banjo sound
 Come and meet us dar.

¹³ Charles Hamm, *Irving Berlin*, 103.

Refrain two: ... Music make yo shake yo shin,
 Come 'long, Honey.
 Primrose Green will lead de band,
 Come 'long, Honey.
 Oh, how dem coons will shift dat sand.
 Come and meet us dar.

Refrain three: ... We'll sing till we turn ole Gabriel out
 Come 'long, Honey,
 To see what all dem coons about,
 Come and meet us dar.

Although the lyric does not put him front-and-center, “Primrose Green” who “will lead de band” is clearly a precursor for “Alexander”; and the call to attend the happy ruction is as strong here as in “Alexander’s Ragtime Band.” True, with its repetition of “come 'long, Honey,” the second-person-singular address of “Come and Meet Us Dar” is more emphatic than in Berlin’s song. Such an emphatic specificity of address does separate many earlier pop songs from “Alexander,” but perhaps in production songs this specificity is less apparent in actual performance. Certainly, the gypsies who issue the command to “sing, zigeuner, while yet we may” in *The Fortune Teller* are explicitly addressing each other, but the slightest shift in body angle and glance can make the exhortation apply to the theatre audience as well. Almost certainly the demi-monde characters in *Whirl-I-Gig* used such direct audience address when they urged “come to the land of Bohemia.” Again, admittedly, this last example is not quite a clear analogue to “Alexander”—for this time the nature of the happy ruction to which the listener is invited is socially and geographically very specific: the gathering of the Parisian demimonde. Similarly specific is the opening of the second act of *Babes in Toyland* (1903), wherein Henry Blossom has the residents of Toyland invite the listener to attend their Christmas fair. Nevertheless, although the event and the diction employed may be different from

that of “Alexander’s Ragtime Band,” the allurement of the prospect is similar: “Come where pleasure invites / ‘neath the glittering lights ... / come where music enchants.”

Berlin himself comes close to anticipating “Alexander’s Ragtime Band,” not only in the rather obscure example offered by Hamm of “That Kazzatsky Dance,” but also in the commands emphasized in the refrains of his earliest hits: “Wild Cherries Rag”^{TT} (“Play that tune for me / just because I feel so funny,” *Ziegfeld Follies of 1910*) and “Stop That Rag”^{TT} (“I mean keep on a-playin’ / Don’t you dare to stop dat rag,” *Jolly Bachelors*, 1910). Admittedly, they are set up in their verses as third-person stories. Only in the subsequent refrains does the mood change to a first person imperative, uttered by a “coon.” By contrast, in “Alexander’s Ragtime Band,” both verse and refrain are personal. Throughout, the protagonist entreats his “honey” to “let me take you” to hear the band. Berlin’s depiction of the protagonist in his lyric for “Dance of the Grizzly Bear”^{TT} (*Ziegfeld Follies of 1910*), however, does match the persona of “Alexander.” The lyric is mostly in standard English; and both verse and refrain convey the exclamation of a first person singular “I” addressed to a second person singular “you”:

Verse: ... Listen, my honey, do,
And I will show to you
The dance of the Grizzly Bear.

Refrain: Hug up close to your baby, ...
Sway me everywhere;
Show your darlin’ beau
Just how you go to Buffalo,
Doin’ the Grizzly Bear.

None of the above-mentioned Berlin songs specifically calls the listener *to hear a band*. Even for this, however, Berlin himself provides a precedent to “Alexander” that matches Hamm’s description in most particulars with “Oh, That Beautiful Rag”^{TT} (performed by

Berlin himself with his songwriting partner Ted Snyder in *Up and Down Broadway*, 1910):

Verse: Honey, that leader man
 Leads like a leader can,
 Just see him leadin' that band —
 My honey, don't you understand,
 That they're playin' music grand? ...

Refrain: ... Hear that trombone blowin', hon,
 Ain't dem fiddles goin' some?
 Oh, sir! Oh, sir!
 Cuddle up closer. ...

In “Alexander’s Ragtime Band,” Berlin avoided the intimate physical details of the hugging and cuddling of the protagonists of “Dance of the Grizzly Bear” and “Oh, That Beautiful Rag.” Therefore, despite the private implications of the phrase “ma honey,” he facilitated the interpretation of the song as being directed to the second person plural, to “every receptive auditor.” Nevertheless, “Alexander’s Ragtime Band” clearly was written as part of a long line of similar songs that issue an imperative to attend, listen, dance, and sing.

Hamm’s observation that Berlin repeatedly uses the “come on and” gesture is accurate. Hamm discusses numerous examples in the early period of Berlin’s career, through 1914; and many of these are production songs—from “The Million Dollar Ball” (“Come with me / and hear that most appealing harmony,” *Hanky-Panky*, 1912) to “Let’s Go Around the Town” (*Watch Your Step*, 1914). In fact, after 1914 and throughout his career, Berlin continues to invite the listener—sometimes the beloved individual and sometimes the crowd—to “come along.” The examples are too numerous to detail here and range chronologically from “Syncopated Walk”^{TT} (in the sample production *Stop!*

Look! Listen!, 1915) through to three songs in his score for *Call Me Madam* (1950): “Washington Square Dance,” “The Ocarina,” and “Something to Dance About.”

Berlin also early on exemplifies another crucial inducement in the call to participation, summarized in the title of one of his earliest hits: “Everybody’s Doing It Now” (1911).¹⁴ Again, my survey reveals precedents for this persuasive tactic. Already, in *Babes in Toyland*, the Act Two opening ensemble adds weight to its invitation to “come where pleasure invites” by assuring the listener that “from all Toyland ... all to our fair come / to make merry here!” In the same year, two songs from *In Dahomey* (1903) also have brief passages that begin to suggest this element. In “On Emancipation Day,” lyricist Paul Lawrence Dunbar states that on the titular holiday “all de alleys done turned out” for the musical parade so that even “white folks try to pass fo’ coons.” A similar kind of racial pride is evoked in “Swing Along,” in which songwriter Will Marion Cook issues a call to join in cakewalk-like parading: “Swing along, chillun ... / Lif’ yo’ head and yo’ heels mighty high.” The “pride” and “gladness” of these marchers makes the “white fo’ks, a-watchin’ an’ seein’ what you do, / ... jealous, when you’s walkin’ two by two.” In these two songs the pleasures of the rhythmic procession are those provided both by the music matrix and by communal solidarity—and the combination proves irresistible both to those within the community and to outsiders, who long both to watch and participate.

Despite such precedents, Berlin must be given credit for having crystallized and popularized the reflexive song convention of appealing to the listener to “come along” because “everybody’s doing it.” As a sign of the influence of “Everybody’s Doing It

¹⁴ As with “Alexander’s Ragtime Band,” “Everybody’s Doing It Now” was not a Broadway production song at the time of its first introduction, but it appears in the corpus by means of its inclusion in the Hollywood musical *Alexander’s Ragtime Band* (1938).

Now,” two songs in the sample of productions include exact quotations of Berlin’s title phrase and its melody: Elsie Janis’s “Fo’ de Lawd’s Sake, Play a Waltz”^{TR} (*The Slim Princess*, 1911); and George M. Cohan’s “Those Irving Berlin Melodies” (*Hello, Broadway!*, 1914). More generally, in songs from the sample of productions, this exhortation is characteristic of the ragtime and jazz dance eras, from “Pavlova” (*Oh! Oh! Delphine*, 1911) to “The Varsity Drag”^{TT} (*Good News*, 1927).

The convention of “everybody’s doing it” carries a multifaceted meaning. It promises the listener companionship and camaraderie. As Dyer outlines, this assurance of community is an essential ingredient of utopia.¹⁵ These communal feelings offer an antidote to that alienation from co-workers, family, and traditions that is caused by urban modernization. The social promise of “everybody’s doing it” is that of involvement—either in a nostalgic past where the communal bonds of the village still apply or in a new consumer society of novelty and the modern. As Otto Harbach puts it in the title of a song from the sample production *The Firefly* (1911), the listener can become a participant in “The Latest Thing from Paris”—or the latest fad emerging from the electrical excitement of urban New York or the exoticism of Latin America or the primitivism of black culture in the rural South. “Everybody’s doing it” is also an attempt to enforce social norms through peer pressure—or, perhaps as often, the attempt to establish new social fads through purported peer pressure—so that everybody will, indeed, “do the Varsity Drag.”

Stagings are very important to the effect of these “come on and” songs, for they almost invariably depict the community within the narrative heeding the inducements to

¹⁵ Richard Dyer, “Entertainment and Utopia,” 180-181, 182-183.

participate.¹⁶ “Here’s how it goes,” sings Flo in *Good News* as she demonstrates “The Varsity Drag”—and her college mates imitate her actions. Thus, this imitation is sometimes built into the structure of the songs themselves—their narratives and verbal and musical patterns. A good example is offered by the verse of Berlin’s “That Hula Hula”^{TR} (from the sample production *Stop! Look! Listen!*, 1915). This song was introduced in a Hawaiian setting by the ragtime singer-dancer Blossom Seeley, already well known for introducing dance tunes such as “Toddling the Todalo” (*The Hen Pecks*, 1911). The published verses do not indicate the dialogic nature of the scene as it is revealed in the script:¹⁷

Verse two:

Solo: I can teach you how to do the dance.

Chorus: No one would ever think you knew it.

Solo: Tell me, would you like to take a chance?

Chorus: Show us the way and we will do it.

Solo: Shake your hands, quietly advance.

Chorus: Show us some more and we’ll go through it.

Solo: In another minute you’ll be doing—

Refrain: That hula-hula—

Have you seen them do the hula

In Honolulu

The way they do?

I know if you knew

How to do the hula-hula,

You’d be in Honolulu

Doing the hula too.

Here, the command to action is two-way: the invitation to participate by the soloist to her audience is matched by the command back from that audience to the soloist to demonstrate and teach the dance. “Come on and dance,” cries the star; “start us off,” responds the crowd—and then they follow the demonstration. At first, specific verbal

¹⁶ I would include in this statement stagings of the mini-narratives of the revue format as well.

¹⁷ The lines of the verse assigned to the chorus can be found in the script copy archived at the New York Public Library for the Performing Arts, Research Collections.

directions are given, but then this approach is abandoned for one of demonstration, encouragement, and persuasive salesmanship. The refrain has only forty-eight syllables; but, within that small compass, Berlin manages to match the echo-like duplication of movements of a dance lesson with the verbal techniques of alliteration and sound repetition—ten “h”s, ten “l”s, and eighteen “oo” sounds.

Although this pattern of imitation is explicit in the call-and-response verse for “That Hula Hula,” it is characteristic in the staging of ensemble reflexive songs throughout the corpus. “Fascinating Rhythm”¹⁷ in *Lady, Be Good!* (1924) offers another example of how staging manifests the idea of “everybody’s doing it.” As the script specifies: “This number works into big ensemble dance number using all the girls and boys.” At first, the singer-ukulele player Jeff expounds on the compelling movements summoned forth by this “Fascinating Rhythm”; and *therefore* the lead characters, Dick and Susie, are irresistibly drawn into dancing to it; and *then* the whole community is led by them to fall under its spell. The event becomes an example of social contagion.

Lyrics giving a call to action or attendance are usually found in reflexive songs. Nevertheless, there are a certain small quantity of songs that are not about the music matrix that, nevertheless, include a “come on and” gesture.¹⁸ Even when the song does not mention music, however, it still seems to address the same nexus of concerns as the reflexive “come on and” songs: communal activity (a fan inspires hope in the Texas football team by singing “The Texas Tornado” in *Pigskin Parade*, 1936); old-fashioned community life of the village (“Come ye to the fair ... / Down on McConnachie Square” sing the villagers in *Brigadoon*, 1947); the old-fashioned values of the South (“I Was

¹⁸ There are only thirteen non-reflexive “come on and” songs in the sample of productions that can be interpreted as being addressed to a second person plural, i.e. “you all.” This represents 2% of the total non-reflexive songs in the sample productions.

Born in Virginia” and “that’s one state that will win yer” the heroine affirms in *George Washington Jr.*, 1906); or the spectacle of contemporary urban street life (“Come with me and we’ll attend their jubilee ... / Putting on the Ritz,”¹⁷ proclaims the hero in the film title song, 1930). In addition, even if the songs celebrating these ructions do not mention music, the multimedia presentation of the scene will rectify this omission by portraying the setting as a location for music-making. It can be a village market day, state fair, exotic foreign country, urban landscape, or a seaside beach—any potentially musical aspects of these locales might or might not be mentioned, but the denizens *are* singing and dancing. Further, each such non-reflexive “come on and” song involves a kind of salesmanship to the listener that is associated most strongly with the conventions of the reflexive song. This type of song does not necessarily in any explicit manner praise entertainment, but in “selling” the values explicitly celebrated within the narrative of each show—such as community, rural nostalgia, urban modernity, or leisure fun—the song is also “selling” the very show itself.

Optimistic Songs

A friend declared: “For me musicals are not about music, but rather are about optimism—about finding a happy ending.” Happiness and optimism are linked, but for the purposes of this discussion, nevertheless, can be distinguished. Happiness, an emotion of the present, is the result of seeing the current situation as one of good fortune.¹⁹ By

¹⁹ A helpful discussion of the definition and etymology of happiness is offered by John Diamond, M.D.; *Life Energy: Using the Meridians to Unlock the Hidden Power of Your Emotions* (New York: Paragon House, 1985), 111-117.

contrast, optimism is the state of expecting that future outcomes will be positive—will sustain or bring about a state of happiness.

In the context of this study, however, I use optimism to invoke other connotations as well. The basic idea behind such songs is that an individual's mental outlook determines the quality of his or her life. As a 1929 movie musical title song, "Sunny Side Up,"^{TT} puts it, "happiness is just a point of view." This positive attitude is often, but not always, associated with the caring nature of relationships—with a true love, friends, neighbors, or family. These blessings give worth to life, despite poverty or other troubles; and money and material possessions are denigrated. The bromidic manner in which the songs express this attitude does not completely counteract their concern for finding a deeper meaning to existence.

There is a clear contrast between songs of optimistic philosophy and those that celebrate a carefree, sensualistic hedonism—despite the fact that both types often espouse a *carpe diem* attitude. In hedonistic songs, the protagonists search for immediate pleasure. They often declare, as the song title puts it, "Let's Have a Good Time" (*Innocent Eyes*, 1924). Such a search for "wine, women, and song" is never seen as incompatible with luxury and spending power. Most songs of optimistic philosophy declare the opposite—that money is not necessary for happiness. In fact, wealth is often portrayed as being inimical to the true values of life.

In this section, I trace the development of songs about optimism in the American musical and the linking of this emotion to the music matrix. This history has never been previously detailed. From 1898 onwards, songs tell of how happiness expresses itself in music. With the coming of jazz from 1917, songs about dancing gradually shift from

being celebrations of momentary thrills to promises of curing “the blues” of modern life. Only after 1921, however, does the true song of optimistic philosophy become a firmly established convention within the American musical. By the mid-1920s, this is linked to dancing. In the 1930s, singing itself becomes the most prevalent manner of attaining a true philosophy of life. This latter topic is particularly characteristic of movie musicals; for, commencing with the advent of “talking pictures” in 1929, through the early 1940s, and intermittently afterward, Hollywood retains a characteristic mix of self-consciousness and idealism in relationship to the act of vocalizing.

Many critics would agree with my friend: happy endings or at least underlying optimistic attitudes are fundamental to the American musical. Most scholars explore the theme of optimism in the musical as it relates to the plot structures, particularly the character actions and narrative resolutions that embody the American dream of self-invention, assimilation, and personal and public success. Many of the relevant writers have dealt only with a small numbers of shows and limited timespans. The present survey, however, reveals that the theme of optimism is clearly, explicitly, and emphatically manifested in songs of the American musical from 1920 onwards; and it is often linked to reflexivity about music, song, dance, and entertainment.

Writers about the expression of optimism in the American musical often link this dramatic theme to specific historical contexts. Some see it as an antidote to a prevailing pessimism. Stanley Green and Edward Pessen claim “cheer up” show tunes of the 1930s counteracted the emotional anxiety of the Great Depression.²⁰ Richard Hasbany argues that the optimism of *Oklahoma!* (1943) soothed audiences who were fearful about World

²⁰ Stanley Green, *Ring Bells, Sing Songs!*, 15; Edward Pessen, “The Great Songwriters of Tin Pan Alley’s Golden Age,” 193-194.

War Two.²¹ By contrast, other writers view the optimism in the genre as an expression of a prevailing positive attitude in America, as Timothy Donovan argues concerning *Oklahoma!* and *Annie Get Your Gun* during that same mid-1940s period.²² In a discussion of American musicals from 1943 to 1966, Carey Wall suggests that both are true: the optimism of the genre is an antidote to America's underlying distress over the pressures of the business ethic and, as well, an expression of a prevalent American "mythology of a nation happily supreme in world markets and cultural virtue."²³ Like other writers, Wall discusses the manner in which the genre's uncritical reflexivity valorizes both show business and an American ethos, concentrating on "There's No Business Like Show Business"^{TR} (*Annie Get Your Gun*, 1946):

The musical avows optimism; it shouts "we can do it." At the centre of all its affirmations is the one Ethel Merman sings about in "There's No Business Like Show Business:" ... ["Y]esterday they told you you would not go far / That night you open and there you are / Next day on your dressing room they've hung a star[.]" "You" here are character/actor/audience/America; in the musical you are transformed overnight in this American version of "Once upon a time" from any-ordinary-body into the star.²⁴

Wall points to Berlin's affirmation of the possibility of achieving your dream and how the song links this explicitly to theatre and, implicitly, to the American ethos. Other

²¹ Richard Hasbany, "Bromidic Parables: The American Musical Theatre During the Second World War," *Journal of Popular Culture* 6, no. 4 (spring 1973): 642-665, at 663 and passim.

²² Timothy P. Donovan, "Oh, What a Beautiful Mornin'" and "Annie Get Your Gun."

²³ Carey Wall, "There's No Business Like Show Business," 38.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 34.

scholars discuss in more depth this empowering transformation as it occurs in both stage and film musicals. Andrea Most relates it to Jewish American assimilation strategies of self-definition. She starts with the stage version of *The Jazz Singer* in 1925 and proceeds through 1950 in her discussion of Broadway musicals as optimistic texts—as “a celebration of acting, and particularly of American acting, of the marvelous freedom Jews felt in America to invent themselves anew.”²⁵ In examining race in movie musicals, Krin Gabbard also starts with *The Jazz Singer*. He uses the 1927 film version of that property as a springboard in his discussion of almost a dozen Hollywood musicals that present “optimistic narratives of assimilation through music” for Jews, blacks, and Latinos, and that extend in a line of tradition through to *La Bamba* (1987).²⁶

Although these writers generally focus on the “happy ending” narrative patterns of these shows, their analyses often utilize songs of optimism. Some of these are fully reflexive songs, such as “There’s No Business Like Show Business,” analyzed in considerable detail by Donovan, Wall, and Most. Some are incidentally reflexive songs. Hasbany makes use of “Oh, What a Beautiful Morning,” which has allusions to the metaphorical “music” of the earth. Green mentions the “Shine on Your Shoes,” which incites “a melody in your heart.” Pessen cites “Cheerful Little Earful,” which extols the “pet phrase” “I love you” although “in ev’ry play it’s a set phrase.” Yet, none of these critics acknowledge that such optimistic reflexive production songs are part of a long history in American popular music of songs promoting a positive philosophy. A well-known example in the canon of Americana is Stephen Foster’s “Some Folks” (1855),

²⁵ Andrea Most, *Making Americans*, 10. In a paper given at the ATHE conference August 2004, Most presented her view that the genre’s optimistic celebration of Jewish theatrical self-invention within musical comedy starts to erode as early as with *Pal Joey* (1940), even further constricting the time period she assigns for this particular brand of optimism in American theatre.

²⁶ Krin Gabbard, *Jammin’ at the Margins*, 37 and ff.

with its refrain, “long live the merry, merry heart / that laughs both night and day / ... no matter what some folks say.” Further, no previous writer has methodically outlined the distinct historical trends in songs of optimism in the American musical and their considerable overlapping with the reflexive song tradition.

By the early twentieth century, several variants of the philosophical song were current. Most of these types eventually infiltrated the American musical. The wistful, somewhat bittersweet longing for a perfect life or idyllic locale is manifested in the sample of productions in Glen MacDonough’s nostalgic lyric celebrating youth’s “Toyland”^{TT} (*Babes in Toyland*, 1903). The more mature rueful philosophy that encompasses life’s vagaries is sung about as early as George M. Cohan’s “Life’s a Funny Proposition After All”^{TT} (*Little Johnny Jones*, 1904) and Bert Williams’s “I’m a Jonah Man”^{TT} (from the sample production *In Dahomey*, 1903).²⁷ This latter attitude most famously manifests in two hits of 1918: “I’m Always Chasing Rainbows”^{TT} (*Oh, Look!*, 1918; re-popularized in the sample production, *The Dolly Sisters*, 1945) and “I’m Forever Blowing Bubbles”^{TT} (*The Passing Show of 1918*).

The year 1906 was a landmark in establishing on Tin Pan Alley the staple convention of the “cheer up” song. The success of “Wait Till the Sun Shines, Nellie”^{TT} (published late in 1905) was quickly followed by that of “Keep on the Sunny Side”^{TT} (1906) and “Cheer Up, Mary”^{TT} (1906). This song type, however, took a further decade to manifest with success on Broadway, which it finally did with the importation of the 1915

²⁷ Thomas L. Riis points out that the success of “I’m a Jonah Man” initiated a cycle of such hard-luck songs in all-black shows; *Just Before Jazz*, 50 and passim. He offers six examples, dating from 1903 through 1908. The best-remembered is Bert Williams’ “Nobody” (1905; used on Broadway in *Bandanna Land*, 1908, and other shows). George M. Cohan’s examples also constitute a series, lasting through to “Poor Old World” in *The Rise of Rosie O’Rielly* (1923).

British hit “Pack Up Your Troubles in Your Old Kit Bag (And Smile, Smile, Smile)”^{TT} (introduced to America in *Her Soldier Boy*, 1916).

Within this history, “Look for the Silver Lining”^{TT} (*Sally*, 1920) holds a special place because it marks a watershed for the philosophy song in the American musical. The song combines Buddy DeSylva’s upbeat lyric, with an optimistic philosophy along the lines of “Pack Up Your Troubles,” and Jerome Kern’s hymn-like melody, seemingly as “classical” as the Chopin melody used as the basis for “I’m Always Chasing Rainbows.” A hit song in a hit show, its influence proved to be enduring. Before “Look for the Silver Lining,” there are no such inspirational songs in the sample of productions. After its success in early 1921, there are examples of such songs in 58% of the sample productions—from the contemporaneous and frankly imitative “After the Clouds Roll By” (*Sally, Irene and Mary*, 1922) to “Look to the Rainbow” (*Finian’s Rainbow*, 1947).

The steady stream of hit production songs of this type starts from this date, as well, beginning with “Learn to Smile”^{TT} (*The O’Brien Girl*, 1921) and Buddy DeSylva’s own follow-up hit, this time with composer Louis Silvers, “April Showers”^{TT} (*Bombo*, 1921). This run of hits extends through the end of the period under study with ballads (“Going My Way,”^{TT} the 1945 movie title song), charm songs (“The Dickey-Bird Song,”^{TT} *Three Daring Daughters*, 1947), and rhythm songs (“I’ve Got the Sun in the Morning,”^{TT} *Annie Get Your Gun*, 1946). In fact, this convention continues through the last such top hit, “The Impossible Dream”^{TR} (*Man of La Mancha*, 1965), and onwards to such later show standards as “Tomorrow” (*Annie*, 1977). Thus, the manifestation of optimism through song is a well-established convention in the American musical from

1920 onwards, and it immediately overlaps the history of the reflexive song through admonitions to “lose the blues” by way of singing and dancing.

Music and Happiness

In the American musical, music is sometimes an *expression* of happiness and sometimes it is a *producer* of happiness. Admittedly, there are a few songs that blur the distinctions between these separate views of the causal relationship between happiness and song. Nevertheless, I maintain that the two concepts remain relatively distinct. The former idea is evident from the earliest sample productions. By contrast, the idea of the music matrix being a catalyst of positive emotions—such as gaiety, merriment, cheer, and hope—develops into prominence only over time; increasingly, from 1912 through 1942, it replaces the other.

The general association of music with pleasant emotions is manifested from the very start of the period under study. Singing and dancing are clearly linked to happiness in Harry B. Smith’s lyrics for the first sample production, *The Fortune Teller* (1898). In “Romany Life” Smith tells of an existence unfettered and free, ruled by a *carpe diem* philosophy, and enriched by enjoyment of the simple things, such as travel, nature, and camaraderie. All these themes will recur through the decades. Smith’s gypsy heroine and her band link all these virtues with music and dancing:

Refrain: ... Thro’ the forest, wild and free,
 Sounds our Maygar melody;
 Ever dancing, none can be
 Half so merry as are we.
 Ay, sing,
 Zigeuner, while yet we may,
 Life’s short! Let it then be gay! Ah!

The exact relationship of living in the moment, freedom, merriment, and gaiety to the “Maygar melody,” the dancing, and the singing is hard to disentangle in any logical manner. Nevertheless, it is clear that all these are inextricably bound. Smith returned to this same group of associations in his last hit song, “Play Gypsies—Dance Gypsies,”^{TT} which commands, “play while you may,” for “we only live for just one day” (from the 1926 American adaptation of a Viennese operetta, *Countess Maritza*). This joining of the music matrix to a *carpe diem* philosophy can also be seen in later reflexive examples such as “Singing a Vagabond Song”^{TT} (*Putting on the Ritz*, 1930) and “Dance, My Darlings” (in the sample production *May Wine*, 1935).

Throughout the decades, this expression of a *carpe diem* philosophy continues in production songs. A title from the sample production *Lady in the Dark* (1941) offers a succinct summary of the typical message: “One Life to Live.” This outlook continues to be intermittently linked to the music matrix through at least 1966, in songs such as “Cabaret”^{TR} (*Cabaret*) and “It’s Today” (*Mame*), which includes imperatives such as “dance your shoes off, / strike the band up.”

The idea that the music matrix is an expression of happiness flourished throughout the early years of the period under study. Ten out of eighteen productions in the sample, i.e. 56%, feature this convention during the years 1898 through 1912. Most of these usages, however, are passing and brief; and they often occur only in the subsidiary context of the introductory verses. Two ensembles of celebration, both presented on Broadway in the autumn of 1906, offer the only instances during this early period in which the dominant idea of a lyric is that singing expresses joy: Henry Blossom’s “Wedding Chorus” in *The Red Mill* and Manuel Klein’s “Finale” from

Neptune's Daughter. Nevertheless, the accumulation of more fleeting allusions is impressive. For instance, lyricist Charles Sager happily declares that “She’s Dancing Sue,” who is “smiling brightly, dancing everywhere” (*In Dahomey*, 1903). In the first act “Finale” of *The Tourists* (1906), R.H. Burnside has his Asian ensemble proclaim “let joy in Ranga-pang freely abound / Let cymbals bang and clang and trumpets sound.” Happiness in musical comedy results in music, whether linked to dancing, singing, wedding bells, or trumpet fanfares.

After 1912, the convention claiming that “happiness is a cause for music-making” continues, but it does so only with reduced prevalence. It occurs in 27% of the sample productions between 1913 and 1947—a reduction of 19% compared to the previous period. As will be discussed further, below, this change is perhaps linked to the enthusiasm for the ragtime dance fad of the 1910s, followed by that for jazz. These popular music trends start to slowly shift the rhetoric surrounding the music matrix.

Nevertheless, many songs, in many variations, continue to mention or imply that happiness makes you sing and dance; and, as in the earlier years, almost all these are brief allusions. Only at the end of the 1920s does this convention come to the fore as the dominant theme of a lyric. This timing is perhaps explained by the increased self-consciousness about singing that prevailed as sound film was established as the norm. Arthur Freed produces my survey’s earliest and still probably the most famous example in his lyric for “Singin’ in the Rain”^{TT} (introduced in *The Hollywood Revue*, 1929, and often re-used thereafter, including, of course, as the title song of the 1952 movie classic). The song’s protagonist asks in the verse, “Why do I sing?” In answer, he specifies that he is, as the verse states, “living a life full” of the beloved, and, therefore, he is, as the

refrain puts it, “ready for love.” True, the refrain flirts with the implication that it is his singing that produces the “glorious feeling.” Nevertheless, the verse has made it clear that happiness in romance is what causes the singer to feel jubilant, and the result is that he sings, even in stormy weather. He sings *because* he is lucky in love. Later examples of such exuberant and personal proclamations that happiness is naturally expressed through song and dance include “I Feel a Song Comin’ On”^{TR} (*Every Night at Eight*, 1935), “Can’t Help Singing” (the title song of 1944), and so on, past the period of my survey, through to “Look Who’s Dancing” (*A Tree Grows in Brooklyn*, 1951) and “I Could Have Danced All Night”^{TR} (*My Fair Lady*, 1956). Despite the prominence of these examples, however, the idea that happiness is expressed through music is most often found in brief, passing allusions.

None of the songs discussed so far insist on the notion that music can *create* positive emotion—an idea that has been a part of music theory in Western civilization at least since discussions of the topic by Plato and Aristotle. There are songs, however, from the earliest years of my survey that briefly include this idea. Instances as diverse as the “plantation” song “When Chloe Sing a Song” (*Whirl-I-Gig*, 1899), the “waltz” song “The Farewell Waltz” (*Fantana*, 1905), and the parody of male drinking songs “Tally Ho!!!” (*The Social Whirl*, 1906), all feature incidental implications in their verses that music can create “smiles” and “delight,” “dispelling dull care and all shadows of gloom.” All such allusions from the earliest years are similarly attenuated and brief.

The crazes for waltz and ragtime dances in the 1910s, however, create an increasingly strong linkage between the music matrix and the adoption of a positive outlook. In these songs, the depiction of pleasure and buoyancy being generated through

dancing and dance music becomes a major theme. Examples are many, and some have already been illustrated above in Chapter Two in songs such as “Waltz Me Around Again, Willie” (with its “ocean of joy,” 1906) and “Everybody Rag with Me” (which sings of the “angel strain” that “fills me full of bliss,” 1914). As illustrated previously, however, these encomiums to the happiness found in music and dance are often intermixed with descriptions of an uncontrollable nervous energy that creates a mental and physical disequilibrium—descriptions that are far from the hope and cheer of the true song of optimism.

As well, from 1914 onwards, many songs credit the attainment of cheer to a heady brew that includes not just music and dancing but also going out, drinking, socializing, and engaging in romantic or sexual flirtation. Examples from the sample of productions includes such songs as “Dancing the Blues Away” (*Dancing Around*, 1914), “A Wonderful Party” (*Lady, Be Good!*, 1924), and the aforementioned “Let’s Go Out for a Time” (*Innocent Eyes*, 1924). These, too, are not quite part of the song genre purveying optimistic philosophy; their *carpe diem* sentiments are too heavily mingled with celebrations of hedonistic pleasure.

Meanwhile, in 1917, starting with the introduction of the term “jazz” and its associated music, songs appear that concentrate *predominantly* on the idea that the music matrix alone erases care and woe. Although unpleasant emotions are variously labeled in these songs as “troubles,” “worries,” “the Devil,” “the jinx,” “the hoodoo,” and so on, the most frequent term is “the blues.” The use of this latter term deserves further comment.

By the early eighteenth century the term “the blue devils,” soon simplified to “the blues,” was being definitively applied to melancholic emotions. During that same era,

Thomas D'Urfey compiled his famous songbook, *Wit and Mirth: or, Pills to Purge Melancholy* (1719). By at least this early date, therefore, lively music and humorous song was thought to dispel melancholy and to create its opposite. The coincident appearance of these phenomena is suggestive; by the nineteenth century, the two ideas combine in the notion that music can “cure the blues.” In a history of early blues compositions, Peter Muir traces this trope of popular rhetoric as far back as 1879, when a comedy song called “Billy’s Request” was issued with the claim that the piece is “A Cure for the Blues.”²⁸

The earliest popular song that explicitly links the term “blues” to representations of African Americans is “Susie, This Coon Has Got the Blues,” introduced by Marie Dressler in *Courted into Court* (1897) at the beginning of the period under study.²⁹ About this same time, “the blues” started to be identified with the medical condition “neurasthenia.” The physician George Beard first defined this diagnosis in 1880 as “nervous exhaustion.”³⁰ Beard claimed that its primary cause was the “new functions” of “modern civilization”—“steam power, the periodical press, the telegraph, the sciences, and the mental activity of women” as well as job specialization, new ideas, buying on margin, repression of emotion, railroads, the New York elevated trains, and other conditions of industrial society.³¹ The identification of this fashionable disease with “the blues” was reinforced in 1904 when a major text on neurasthenia was called *The Blues (Splanchnic Neurasthenia): Causes and Cures*.³² The idea that African American- derived

²⁸ Peter Muir, “Before ‘Crazy Blues,’” 55-57

²⁹ This song and its seminal status is discussed by Peter Muir, “Before ‘Crazy Blues,’” 203-204.

³⁰ George Beard, *A Practical Treatise on Nervous Exhaustion (Neurasthenia)* (New York: William Wood and Company, 1880).

³¹ George Beard, *American Nervousness: It’s Causes and Consequences—A Supplement to Nervous Exhaustion (Neurasthenia)* (New York: G.P. Putnam’s Sons, 1881), 96-192, at 96. 99.

³² The author, physician Albert Abrams, writes that “an attack of the blues is naught else but an acute neurasthenia or an aperiodic exacerbation of chronic neurasthenia”; *The Blues (Splanchnic Neurasthenia): Causes and Cures* (New York: E.B. Treat, 1904), 15. Neurasthenia ceased to be a respected diagnosis in

music—ragtime and blues music, which were often indistinguishable during the first two decades of the twentieth century—could be a cure for these “blues” is manifested soon afterward. In 1908, the lively “ragtime two-step” “I Got the Blues” was issued with the note “respectfully dedicated to those with the blues.”³³ Clearly this composition was meant to cure the listeners of that complaint. Muir amply illustrates further popular rhetoric which constructs the idea that music is a “cure for the blues.” This therapeutic process is depicted as occurring in two ways: either by counteracting the blues through an expression of happiness, which Muir calls the “allopathic” definition of blues music; or by creating a healing catharsis via an expression of sadness, dubbed by Muir the “homeopathic” notion of the effect of blues music.³⁴ As Muir discusses, although our contemporary conception of blues music matches the homeopathic description, during the first decades of the twentieth century both the allopathic and homeopathic notions of the curative power of blues music were current.

Thus, at the turn of the twentieth century, there existed a nexus of associations: “neurasthenia” and “the blues” with each other and also with music—particularly vernacular popular music—depicted as a remedy for these unpleasant conditions. This is the cultural background for the many lively instrumental compositions and rhythmic or comic songs designated as “blues” in the 1910s. These include the aforementioned

most of the United States after 1930 and vanished from the official manuals after 1962. Nevertheless, its association with the processes of modernization may be the reason it is currently a common diagnostic term in China. For a helpful history of the diagnosis, see Arthur Kleinman, *Social Origins of Distress and Disease: Depression, Neurasthenia, and Pain in Modern China* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986), 14-35. The linked definitions of neurasthenia and the blues are discussed by Tom Lutz, “Curing the Blues: W.E.B. Du Bois, Fashionable Diseases, and Degraded Music,” *Black Music Research Journal* 11, no. 2 (Fall 1991): 137-156.

³³ As Peter Muir states, this is “the first known work with the term ‘blues’ in its title that also contains a twelve-bar blues sequence”; “Before ‘Crazy Blues,’” 57. For the overlapping of ragtime, jazz, and blues before 1920, see op. cit., 87, and Edward Berlin, *Ragtime*, 154-162.

³⁴ Peter Muir, “Before ‘Crazy Blues,’” 50-66.

“Dancing the Blues Away,” as well as a steady flow of such production songs revealed in the list of song titles after 1917:

Jazz All Your Troubles Away (*The Melting of Molly*, 1918)
 Shimmy All the Blues Away (*Tick-Tack-Toe*, 1920)
 Dance Off the Blues (*The Passing Show of 1921*)
 Dancing My Worries Away (*Little Nellie Kelly*, 1922)
 Strutting the Blues Away (*Go-Go*, 1923)
 Jazz Your Troubles Away (*Runnin’ Wild*, 1923)
 Shuffle Your Troubles Away (*Marjorie*, 1924)
 Steppin’ on the Blues (*Kitty’s Kisses*, 1926)
 Shaking the Blues Away (*Gay Paree*, 1926)
 Dancing the Devil Away^{TR} (*Lucky*, 1927)
 Dance Your Troubles Away (*Hello, Paris*, 1930)³⁵

All these songs are from revues or musical comedies; as discussed above, operettas of the 1920s eschewed songs about vernacular dance—possibly because the cure for the “blues” of modernization offered by 1920s operettas lay more in excursions into nostalgia or exoticism.³⁶ Among the anthologized lyricists, two are major contributors to this theme. Irving Berlin wrote “Dance Your Troubles Away” (*Music Box Revue*, 1921-1922), and, repeating a title already used on Broadway by other writers the previous year, “Shaking the Blues Away”^{TT} (*Ziegfeld Follies of 1927*). Ira Gershwin, writing with his composer brother, George, contributed even more prolifically to this trend: “I’ll Build a Stairway to Paradise,”^{TT} co-authored with Buddy DeSylva (*George White’s Scandals of 1922*), “Kickin’ the Clouds Away” (*Tell Me More!*, 1925), “Blowin’ the Blues Away” (*Americana*, 1926), and “Blue Hullabaloo” (*Funny Face*, 1927).

Of a group of seventeen songs from this period easily identified as being about losing the blues through dance, however, only three were hits. The first of these did not appear until well into the cycle, in 1922, with “I’ll Build a Stairway to Paradise,” which

³⁵ Independent pop songs using this convention can also be found, such as “Jazzin’ the Blues Away” (1918) and “Chasin’ the Blues” (1920).

³⁶ For a discussion of 1920s operettas, see William A. Everett, “Romance, Nostalgia and Nevermore: American and British Operettas in the 1920s,” *Cambridge Companion to the Musical*, 47-62.

continues from the title "... with a new step every day." Since only a small proportion of these songs were hits, their proliferation probably indicates the importance of their dramaturgical function. Pragmatically, they create an excuse for a dance number, and, thematically, they emphasize the positive emotional effect of music and dance. If neurasthenia or "the blues" were caused by the nervous strain of modern life, then the "homeopathic" remedy could be seen as being African American-derived vernacular music and dance, so often described as both primitive ("the jungle blues") and modern ("newer than new"), nerve-wracking (a "fascinating" but "crazy" rhythm) yet curative ("a rhythmic tonic for the chronic blues").³⁷

Once the movie musical joined the Broadway stage in creating production numbers, it immediately adopted the "dance and lose the blues" theme, as revealed in the titles "Kickin' the Blues Away" (*Broadway Scandals*, 1929), "Shoo the Hoodoo Away" (*Swing High*, 1930), and "Dancing the Devil Away" (*The Cuckoos*, 1930). The last bastion for these 1920s-styled song titles was in all-black Broadway musicals, with "Sing and Dance Your Troubles Away" (*Shuffle Along of 1933*) and "Shake Your Bluesies with Dancing Shoesies" (*Lew Leslie's Blackbirds of 1939*). Later movie songs with this sort of title tend to deemphasize the actual dancing and place more emphasis on the dance music. Example include: "I'm the Medicine Man for the Blues,"^{TR} introduced by singer-clarinetist-bandleader Ted Lewis (*Is Everybody Happy?*, 1929); "Swinging the Jinx Away," by Cole Porter (*Born to Dance*, 1936); and "Turn on That Red Hot Heat (And Burn Your Blues Away)"^{TR} (*Vogues of 1938*). After 1930, at the end of the era of the jazz

³⁷ My implicit allusions are to the following songs, most of which have been previously discussed above in Chapter Two: "Africa" (*Innocent Eyes*, 1924), "The Varsity Drag" (*Good News*, 1927), "Fascinating Rhythm" (*Lady, Be Good!*, 1924), "Crazy Rhythm" (*Here's Howe*, 1926), and "The Real American Folk Song (Is a Rag)" (the Gershwin brothers' first Broadway song; *Ladies First*, 1918).

dance song, with its intense physical images, the most prominent method for “losing the blues” changes from dancing to singing.

The earliest song in the corpus that claims emphatically that vocalizing helps you to be happy is “Humming”^{TT} (introduced by the Duncan Sisters in their star specialty spot in *Tip-Top*, 1920). In it, songwriters Louis Breau and Ray Henderson very clearly link making music to the adoption of an optimistic philosophy:

Verse: Mm—When ev’ryone is sad,
I am always gay.
Mm—You’ll always find me glad,
That’s the only way.
Mm—When troubles come along
Then I just hum a song.
Just follow me, don’t delay:

Refrain: Keep on humming,
Although the skies are gray.
Keep on humming,
Till trouble flies away.

Bright days are coming,
Sunshine and cheer.
Just keep on humming,
Sadness will disappear.

Keep on humming,
The world will smile at you.
Sunbeams your love dreams
Will be.

Just hum a song
As you travel along
Keep right on humming
With me.

The co-writers keep the melody within the narrow span of an octave. Although they make it wander through a few chromatic notes, they repeatedly return to the simple opening melodic theme built on the first five notes of the scale. The effect is one of childlike innocence. The lyric expresses the same mood of slightly wistful sadness surmounted by

hopefulness found in the non-reflexive “Look for the Silver Lining.”³⁸ In “Humming,” however, the endurance of gray skies, trouble, and sadness, and the taking on of a positive attitude—finding sunshine, cheer, and gladness—is inextricably linked to the act of vocalizing. In line with the general concomitance of musical modalities, there is no firm distinction enforced between humming with a closed mouth and singing words, for you can “hum a song.”

As surely as does the dancing protagonist of “The Varsity Drag,” who proclaims “see how it goes, / down on the heels, up on the toes,” the protagonist of “Humming” provides a model for the listener to imitate. In the verse, she recommends herself as a paradigm of gaiety and gladness. She then offers the audience a method to attain that positive state—not only to “keep on humming” but to “keep on humming / *with me*.” The audience in turn will become copied, for “the world will smile at you,” and thus they will initiate others into this affiliation devoted to singing and gladness.

Clearly, the idea that the very act of singing itself will make your “sadness disappear” comes to the fore in “Humming.” It is an idea that would not manifest again with this degree of prominence until the nearly simultaneous advents in 1929 of sound

³⁸ Establishing chronological precedence between “Look for the Silver Lining” and “Humming” is problematic. Reputedly, “Look for the Silver Lining” was written in late 1919 for *Zip Goes a Million*, but was dropped during rehearsals; see Gerald Bordman, *Jerome Kern: His Life and Music* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980), 193. Sheet music for the song was not issued at that time. The song finally reached Broadway as part of the score for *Sally*, which opened on 21 December, 1920. It began to rise to hit status in February, 1921. The show that introduced “Humming,” *Tip-Top*, opened in October, 1920. Unfortunately, it is difficult to know if “Humming” was in the show from the start or not, because it was used in a specialty spot and therefore was not listed on programs. It did not start to reach hit status until April, 1921. I should note that Ira Gershwin wrote a song in the same vein, the non-reflexive “Waiting for the Sun to Come Out,”^{TR} for the pre-Broadway run of *The Sweetheart Shop* in April, 1920. The song enjoyed one hit recording, charted by Joel Whitburn for late January, 1921; see his *Pop Memories, 1890-1954*, 327. Reminiscing in 1959, Gershwin claims that, by early 1920, “the musical-comedy cycle called for at least one Pollyanna song in a show”; see his *Lyrics on Several Occasions* (1959, reprint, New York: Limelight Editions, 1997), 188. My survey contradicts Gershwin’s implication that this song type was an established convention before December, 1920. As frequently happens, however, it seems that multiple songwriters of an era were developing variants on an emerging set of conventions, resulting in simultaneous songs that resemble each other.

film and the Great Depression. Still, during the years between 1920 and 1929, there are several songs from the corpus that work toward the same idea. Some draw from a closely-related convention in which a new, infectious melody is depicted as bewitching the singer and sweeping the country. This “melody craze” song genre is analogous to the “dance craze” convention. It first comes to prominence in the middle of the ragtime dance era—a time of enthusiastic claims for a purportedly new music—and then continues through four decades. At times these songs claim, as does the Gershwins’ “Tra-La-La” (*For Goodness Sake*, 1922), that under its influence “your troubles will depart.” Production examples such as “Spoony Croony Tune” (*Innocent Eyes*, 1924) were usually less popular than instances from the independent song market such as “My Croony Melody”^{TT} (1914), “Ja-Da”^{TT} (1918), “Doodle Doo Doo”^{TT} (1924), “Elmer’s Tune”^{TT} (1941), “Sam’s Song (The Happy Tune)”^{TT} (1950), and “Zing Zing—Zoom Zoom”^{TR} (1951).

The Gershwins’ “Blue Hullabaloo” (*Funny Face*, 1927) combines this “melody craze” convention with an emphatic depiction of the concomitance of modalities; for Ira Gershwin specifies that “you can dance—you can sing it.” He also includes the “lose blues” theme in claiming that the tune will “drive your troubles from you.” Similarly, in “Hang on to Me” (from the sample production *Lady, Be Good!*, 1924), Gershwin has the protagonist urge his partner to “lose the shadows,” with the advice both to “just try humming a song” and to “dance into the sunshine out of the rain.” These songs depict the concomitance of singing and dancing alongside allusions to the power of these modes to help the singer-dancer “lose the blues.”

Rousing Pseudo-Religious Songs

In the mid-1920s, even as the Gershwins—along with other writers of popular songs—were tentatively exploring the message of “sing to lose the blues,” the brothers also gave impetus to another subgenre in this same family: the pseudo-religious song that usually also praises the power of music. As is so often the case with conventions in the twentieth-century American musical, this one reflects a tradition that reaches back into the nineteenth century. From at least 1875, pseudo-spirituals were a staple item of late-nineteenth-century blackface minstrel shows. Although often musically ambitious, these were generally perceived as parodies intended for comic effect.³⁹ An example that remains familiar is “Oh, Dem Golden Slippers” (1879) by African American minstrel man James Bland, in which the protagonist proclaims that “golden slippers I’s gwine to wear / to walk de golden street.”

The style of the Broadway “religious rouser” is probably more closely foreshadowed, however, by “A Hot Time in the Old Town.” This well-remembered standard was first published in 1896 and then was sung on Broadway by Marie Dressler in *Courted into Court* (1897). It quickly became a staple of the early ragtime repertoire.⁴⁰ This blackface-dialect song already evinces the Broadway musical’s characteristic imperative to gather—here, for revival day preaching and the concomitant opportunities for socializing and flirting—and join in the musical activities:

³⁹ For a brief discussion of this song genre, see Thomas L. Riis, *Just Before Jazz*, 12-13. Sandra Graham has given a pre-publication presentation of some more extensive research on this topic at the 2004 ATHE Conference, “From Sacred to Sacrilege: Spirituals in Postbellum Blackface Minstrelsy.”

⁴⁰ The song’s status as a ragtime composition is discussed by Edward Berlin, *Ragtime*, 5, 7.

Verse: Come along, get you ready, wear your bran', bran' new gown,
 For dere's gwine to be a meeting in that good, good old town, ...
 When you hear that preaching does begin,
 Bend down low for to drive away your sin,
 And when you gets religion, you wants to shout and sing,
 There'll be a hot time in the old town tonight, my baby.

Refrain:
 When you hear dem a bells go ding, ling, ling,
 All join 'round and sweetly you must sing,
 And when the verse am through, in the chorus all join in,
 There'll be a hot time in the old town tonight.

Here, as in later songs of this type, “getting religion” is concomitant with “shouting” and “sweetly singing.” There were other such blackface dialect celebrations of revival day during this era, but only “A Hot Time in the Old Town” achieved the status of a landmark success. Despite this successful prototype, the ensuing three decades did not see any further prominent examples of this song convention. During this era, songwriters evoked African American music through allusions to ragtime music; perhaps the mock-spiritual convention, so often used as a means to depict black culture, was therefore extraneous and temporarily discarded.

Thus, the Gershwins' example, “Clap Yo' Hands”^{TT} (*Oh, Kay!*, 1926), emerged as the first in a fresh wave of popular songs with religious themes.⁴¹ These arose at a time when new stylistic overlappings were developing between the church and popular culture. Aimee Semple McPherson was bringing show business aesthetics to evangelism in live services (from 1919), religious drama (from 1922), and over the radio (from 1924). Her mysterious disappearance and later reappearance with a tale of kidnapping was top news in 1926, the year of “Clap Yo' Hands,” and only served to further her fame and the success of her mission. In another example of the overlap of religion and show

⁴¹ Ira Gershwin had previously utilized the faux-spiritual convention in the verse to “Kickin' the Clouds Away” (*Tell Me More*, 1925), but there the allusion is brief, and the refrain does not continue in that vein.

business, the “jubilee” quartet of the Four Harmony Kings was featured on Broadway in *Shuffle Along* (1921) and *Chocolate Dandies* (1924). The Johnson brothers—James Weldon and J. Rosamund, exemplars of the Harlem Renaissance and erstwhile writers of production songs for Broadway—issued their two volumes of anthologized spirituals in 1925 and 1926. Between 1928 and 1932, Thomas A. Dorsey, known during his career as a jazz pianist as “Georgia Tom,” developed a new “gospel music” by bringing the musical styles of jazz and blues into the liturgical context.

The Gershwins’ “Clap Yo’ Hands” was surely inspired by these new mixtures of evangelism and show business. The song attempts to be two things: in George Gershwin’s words, it is a “modern dance spiritual”; yet it is also, as Ira Gershwin describes it, “basically a stage tune for dancing” with “exhortatory momentum.”⁴² The song contrasts with its predecessors. “Look for the Silver Lining” has a genteel elegance—the popular song equivalent to the Sunday-school-teacher, elocutionary style of Aimee McPherson. Pop songs such as “A Smile Will Go a Long, Long Way”^{TT} (1923) are full of bouncy cheer. In a different mood, however, is “Clap Yo’ Hands—both highly rhythmic and rousing:

Verse: Come on, you children, gather around—
 You can chase the Hoodoo
 With the dance that you do. ...

Refrain: ... On the sands of time
 You are only a pebble;
 Remember, trouble must be treated
 Just like a rebel;
 Send him to the Debble!

Clap-a yo’ hand! Slap-a yo’ thigh!
 Halleluyah! Halleluyah!
 Ev’rybody come along and join the Jubilee!

⁴² George Gershwin, as quoted by Deena Rosenberg in *Fascinating Rhythm*, 142. Ira Gershwin’s comments are in his *Lyrics on Several Occasions*, 214.

In the refrain, Ira Gershwin does not create any explicit, cause-and-effect links between sending trouble to the Devil, eschewing self-importance, and dance-combined-with-body percussion—but the swift juxtaposition of these elements is suggestive. The lyricist makes the connection more clear in the verse, which proclaims that “you can chase the Hoodoo / with the dance that you do.”

The Gershwins’ song rose to popularity in March 1927. Later in that year, in August, “Hallelujah” was a hit (by Leo Robin, Clifford Grey, and Vincent Youmans, from *Hit the Deck*, 1927). By October, Irving Berlin’s “Shaking the Blues Away” (*Ziegfeld Follies of 1927*) was matching the success of those two predecessors. All these songs relate the blues-chasing power of song or dance to the religious practices of revival day, explicitly or implicitly of the South. Berlin specifies that these jubilee attendees are African American: the listener is urged to “do like the darkies do / list’ning to a preacher ‘way down South,” for “if you are blue / it’s easy to shake off your cares and troubles.” In “Hallelujah,” lyricists Robin and Grey urge the listener to “sing ‘Hallelujah’” and “you’ll shoo the blues away,” just as the protagonist did when he attended “jubilee days” during his childhood. Here the protagonist is clearly *not* black—for the verse comprises a first-person narrative which was introduced by white star Charles King, and neither verse nor refrain uses any “black” dialect. In fact, both Berlin and the team of Robin and Grey avoid the blackface dialect found in Gershwin’s lyric. Despite their differences, however, the three songs all offer a solution to the “blues” of modern life via both music and a return to a nostalgic, rural, agrarian idyll.

After “Clap Yo’ Hands,” the idea of the rhythmic pseudo-religious rouser caught hold on Broadway. Some of these songs are strongly reflexive. Some are merely

incidentally reflexive, such as with “Great Day”^{TT} (the title song of 1929), which only briefly mentions the horn of Gabriel “rooty-tootin’.” Some of these quasi-religious rousers are not reflexive at all, as with “Good News”^{TT} (the title song of the sample production of 1927). All three of these types continue through the decades, from “Blow, Gabriel, Blow”^{TR} (introduced by Ethel Merman as the nightclub singer-evangelist Reno Sweeney in *Anything Goes*, 1934) to “The Rhythm of Life” (*Sweet Charity*, 1966), and beyond. Indeed, as late as *Urinetown* (2001), the convention is still considered sufficiently familiar to be parodied in “Run Freedom Run.” This rapidly-established convention of the revival-day rouser would inflect many of the early wave of song hits that celebrate singing itself.

The Encouragement to Sing

As illustrated above, the injunction to sing in order to lose the blues developed throughout the 1920s. It flourished, however, with the coming of talking pictures and is particularly characteristic of the 1930s. Along with “Humming,” “Hallelujah,” and the examples by Ira Gershwin discussed above, Broadway offers another clear forerunner of these celebrations of singing in a lyric by Lorenz Hart—“Sing” (*Betsy*, 1926), in which Hart rather clumsily explores the nascent “sing to lose the blues” song genre:

Verse one: You don’t need a silver lining
 Or a sun that’s always shining
 When your chin is dragging on your knee. ...
 Here is something to preserve us
 From nervous despair,
 Something that will always swerve us from care.

Refrain: When you are blue, sing;
 Be sure you do sing;

I'm telling you, sing something!
 Start in to hum that dumb thing,
 "Ta-ra-ta-ra sing boom!"

Don't be a killjoy,
 While there is still joy;
 You need a li'l joy in you.
 When you begin, continue,
 "Ta-ra-ta-ra sing boom!"

Worry and doubt will pay nowhere,
 Sing all your cares away.
 Look at the birds, do they know where
 They'll get a meal today?

Sing to your mother,
 Sing to your brother,
 You have no other choice left,
 And when you have no voice left,
 "Ta-ra-ta-ra sing BUM!"

Hart overloads the song with cleverness: complex triple rhymes; a reflexive pun on the operatic onomatopoeic cliché "ta-ra ta-ra tzing boom," already memorably parodied by W.S. Gilbert; and denigrating images of the very thing he is purportedly celebrating, such as "that dumb thing" and "when you have no voice left ... sing BUM!"—i.e. badly. The penultimate thought that "you have no other choice left" conveys the suggestion that the singing is being done, as it were, on compulsion rather than joyfully. Further, Hart assigns odd words to the melodic climaxes, thereby emphasizing unimportant phrases like "something" and "in you," while the central advice to "sing" is relegated to short notes. Richard Rodgers supplies a sprightly tune, but, at the lively tempo which the melody seems to demand, the verbal messages pass by so quickly that they are almost incomprehensible: for instance, in the second line of the refrain, the listener is left

wondering what is a “doosing.”⁴³ In addition, by emphasizing “that dumb thing / ta-ra-ta-ra sing boom,” Hart borders on an already well-worn convention, discussed above—the “melody craze.” Nevertheless, most of Hart’s lyric does emphasize the efficacious power of singing *in general*. Indeed, his phrase “sing all your cares away” encapsulates the message of dozens of future production songs. The “blues” Hart alludes to in the refrain can be equated with the “nervous despair” he mentions in the verse. Thus the link of “the blues” to the “neurasthenia” of the modern condition is again implied; and, as in the dance songs, the cure for this twentieth-century malady lies in the music matrix—here, through singing.⁴⁴ Although “Sing” was not a hit song, it was immediately re-used for the British production *Lucky Lady* (1927). Still later, it was revived in the successful 1929 Broadway musical comedy *Lady Fingers*. The sentiments Hart expressed clearly filled a void, if only a dramaturgical one, creating a self-consciousness about the act of singing and linking that theme with the adoption of a positive outlook towards life.

By the end of 1929, both “Humming” and “Sing” could be seen as the harbingers of a wave of prominent songs about singing. This sudden self-consciousness about singing in 1929 and 1930 coincided with the establishment of musical “talking pictures” and the flourishing of the new “crooning” style of singing on the radio. It manifested in a flurry of successful production songs which take diverse approaches to the topic of singing, some of them previously discussed: songs about abstract or internal music (“Pagan Love Song,”^{TT} “With a Song in My Heart,”^{TT} and others discussed in Chapter

⁴³ These qualities are demonstrated by the 1927 British recording by Laddie Cliff, an original cast member of the West End musical *Lady Luck* into which the song was interpolated. The track has been reissued as part of the vinyl album *Rodgers and Hart in London*, EMI SH 183.

⁴⁴ Two other Rodgers and Hart songs in the score for *Betsy* reinforce the reflexive “cheer up” philosophy of “Sing”: “Shuffle,” ostensibly about card shuffling, but really about dance, which advises “just let your cares glide off / slide off”; and “Birds Up High,” about emulating the carefree nocturnal romancing and music-making of the birds.

Two); and expressions of a personal emotion or ethos (“Singin’ in the Rain,”^{TT} “Let Me Sing and I’m Happy,”^{TT} “Singing a Vagabond Song,”^{TT} “Singin’ in the Bathtub,”^{TT} “Singing a Song to the Stars”^{TT}).

Particularly notable, however, are a number of more generalized statements on the benefits of singing. In an early example of this trend, co-lyricists Billy Rose and Edward Eliscu, with composer Vincent Youmans, created an enduring tribute to song in “Without a Song.”^{TT} Featured in the 1929 Broadway show, *Great Day!*, the song rose to hit status in December. In fact, an African American choral ensemble introduced two such hits in the show, both in plantation settings of the old South: in the first act, the incidentally reflexive title song, “Great Day”; and, as the centerpiece of Act Three, “Without a Song.” These songs were part of a wave of anthem-like, serious ballads, some of them reflexive, that followed in the wake of “Ol’ Man River”^{TT} (from the sample production, *Show Boat*, 1927).⁴⁵ A number of these ballads are inflected in such a way as to imply, more or less, an African American protagonist—as is “Without a Song”:

Refrain: Without a song,
The day would never end;
Without a song,
The road would never bend;
When things go wrong,
A man ain’t got a friend,
Without a song.

That field of corn
Would never see a plow;
That field of corn

⁴⁵ Examples of anthem-like serious ballads following “Ol’ Man River” include: “Lonesome Road”^{TR} (1928; used in the first film version of *Show Boat*, 1929); “Lonesome Swallow” (1928); “Laugh, Clown, Laugh”^{TT} (introduced in the sample production, *Rain or Shine*, 1928, and then used as the title theme of a 1928 movie); “Waiting at the End of the Road”^{TT} (*Hallelujah*, 1929); “Black and Blue”^{TR} (*Hot Chocolates*, 1929); “Let Me Sing and I’m Happy”^{TT} (*Mammy*, 1930); “Singing a Vagabond Song”^{TT} (*Puttin’ on the Ritz*, 1930); “River, Stay ‘Way from My Door”^{TT} (1931); and “That’s Why Darkies Were Born”^{TR} (*George White’s Scandals*, 1931). Two Depression-era anthems may also belong to this list: “Brother, Can You Spare a Dime”^{TT} (*Americana*, 1932); and “Remember My Forgotten Man” (from the sample production, *Gold Diggers of 1933*).

Would be deserted now;
 A darky's born,
 But he's no good nohow,
 Without a song.

I got my trouble and woe,
 But sure as I know
 The Jordan will roll,
 I'll get along
 As long as a song
 Is strong in my soul.

I'll never know
 What makes the rain to fall;
 I'll never know
 What makes the grass grow tall;
 I only know
 There ain't no love at all,
 Without a song.

Youmans' melody is a close analogue to that by Jerome Kern for "Ol' Man River." Both composers use short phrases—groups of four, five, or six notes—to create a slow, rolling, seemingly inexorable rhythm. While Kern starts his main melody in the lower part of the register and builds up, Youmans takes the opposite tack and starts high and descends slowly to the depths. In the release, Youmans reverses direction and builds to a high climax. Youmans's melody lends ponderous weight to the lyric's poignant proclamation that song is essential to life—to the endurance of hardships, the processes of nature, and all loving relationships. The lyric foreshadows two basic traits of the 1930s reflexive song: first, the concept discussed in Chapter Two that music exists in an interior space—in "the soul"; and, second, a rather showy poetic craftsmanship—here, the use of triple rhymes and even one quadruple interior rhyme ("I'll get *along* as *long* as a *song* / is *strong* in my soul") combined with repeated sounds (here, "I" and "s"). Despite the clever technique, however, the song—even outside its original plantation context—decidedly alludes to the same nostalgic rural world of "Clap Yo' Hands" and its successors. Even

when sung with the usual substitution of “a man is born” for “a darkey’s born,” the lyricists’ almost exclusive use of words of one syllable, the colloquial “ain’t,” and the nature imagery all combine to evoke the folksy, agrarian world so often offered as a cure for the urban blues.

In February, 1930, a few months after “Without a Song” had peaked in popularity, “Sing, You Sinners”¹⁷ became a hit. In this song from the film *Honey*, lyricist Sam Coslow combined the cheery directive of Hart’s “Sing” with the faux-evangelism of Gershwin’s “Clap Yo’ Hands” and its successors. The expression and tempo markings in the printed sheet music indicate the song’s ambiguous tone:

Verse: (Slowly, quasi religioso)

Brothers and sisters,

My sermon today

Is pa-doop-poop-poop and vo-de-o-do (a tempo, hot)

And sing all your troubles away.

Brothers and sisters (Slowly, quasi religioso)

Don’t you delay

To pa-doop-poop-poop and vo-de-o-do (a tempo, hot)

And sing all your troubles away.

Amen, Amen!

Refrain: (Moderato, tempo di Fox-trot)

You sinners, drop ev’rything,

Let dat harmony ring

Up to Heaven and sing,

Sing, you sinners.

Just wave your arms all about,

Let the Lord hear you shout.

Pour dat music right out,

Sing, you sinners.

Whenever there’s music

The debil kicks,

He don’t allow music

By dat river Styx.

You’re wicked and you’re depraved,

And you’ve all misbehaved,

If you wanna be saved,

Sing, you sinners.

The small touches of blackface-type dialect (“dat,” “debil”) are explained by the refrain being rendered in the movie first by, as Richard Barrios puts it, “a powerhouse ... black choir in a revival scene.”⁴⁶ By contrast, the verse was probably used as the prelude to either the second or third renditions of the refrain, performed by child-star Mitzi Green and jazzy soubrette Lillian Roth respectively. Thus, in this verse, Coslow appropriately makes irreverent allusions to the Jazz Age nonsense syllables “vo-de-o-do” and “pa-doop-poop-poop”—a variant of baby-voiced Helen Kane’s trademark, “boo-boo-poop-doop.” By 1930, these were conventional symbols of both American youth culture and show business. The composer W. Franke Harling creates riff-like variants on the initial phrase to keep the momentum going, employing a few instances of syncopation and some flatted-third blue notes to provide the proper jazz-like feel. The main melodic strain builds to a climactic long note that accompanies the essential command of the lyric: “Sing.” The compelling melody reinforces the claims of the lyric—of the verse, that you can “sing all your troubles away,” and, of the refrain, that singing leads to spiritual redemption. The song’s mixture of playfulness (*a tempo, hot*) and fervor (*quasi religioso*) well-suited the brassy show business style of Lillian Roth—and, equally, the singers of the 1950s, when the song was revived in the films *Cruisin’ Down the River* (1953) and *I’ll Cry Tomorrow* (the biographical picture about Roth, 1956), and also on Broadway in *Mr. Wonderful* (1956), as the eleven o’clock number for the star, Sammy Davis, Jr.

The exhortation to sing need not be linked to the desire to “lose the blues”—it is frequently associated with the promotion of romance. Songwriter Herman Hupfeld has the boys and girls of *The Second Little Show* (1930) flirtatiously tell each other to “Sing

⁴⁶ Richard Barrios, *Song in the Dark*, 253.

Something Simple”^{TT}; “here’s a tune that any child can play,” certainly, but the important thing is that “they call this classic ‘I Love You.’” In *College Humor* (1933), lyricist Sam Coslow makes Bing Crosby advise his students to “Learn to Croon”^{TT} because “sweet melodies of love inspire romance.” In *Song of the Islands* (1942), Mack Gordon has Betty Grable urge a group of natives to “Sing Me a Song of the Islands”^{TT} in order to evoke for her a romantic, exotic locale “where hearts are high when the moon is low.” This is another significant inducement offered to encourage participation in the music matrix—to find romance.

As often, however, the directive to sing—particularly in movie musicals—is attached to the promise that it will cheer you up. Gus Kahn provides a quintessential example of this type in the hit title song for a highly sentimental movie starring the eight-year old singer, Bobby Breen, *Let’s Sing Again* (1936):

Refrain: Let’s sing again.
There’s music in your heart,
But you must do your part.
Let’s sing again.

I’m happy when
Somebody sings to me
A simple melody.
Let’s sing again.

Without a song to sing
What is there to cling to?
Life wouldn’t mean a thing
Without someone to sing to.

Tho now and then
The world may seem so blue,
A song will see you thru—
Let’s sing again.

Here, Kahn’s definition of singing encompasses numerous modalities: the abstract and internal “music in your heart,” so characteristic of the post-1929 reflexive song; the real

vocalizations that bond relationships, both when “somebody sings to me” and when I have “someone to sing to”; and, as in “Without a Song,” the fortitude you find when “a song will see you thru.” The emotionally transparent, non-manipulative interactions that Dyer analyzes as offered by utopia are implied in this picture, in a rhetoric that blurs the distinctions between one-to-one and communal relationships.⁴⁷

As with Berlin’s “Play a Simple Melody”^{TT} or Hupfeld’s “Sing Something Simple,” the tune of “Let’s Sing Again” itself exemplifies the “simple melody” that the lyrics request. Composer Jimmy McHugh uses simple descending scale lines as the basis for his melodic line, capturing a childlike innocence appropriate for Breen’s persona and harking back to the simplicity of such 1920s examples as “Humming” or the Gershwin brothers’ “Tra-La-La.” Once again “the blues” are alluded to, and the cure for them is found in the music matrix. Breen had a hit record with the song, although his inevitable follow-up attempts did not achieve the same prominence: “Music in My Heart” (*Make a Wish*, 1937), “Put Your Heart in a Song” (*Breaking the Ice*, 1938), and “Sell Your Cares for a Song” (*Fisherman’s Wharf*, 1938).

In addition to Breen’s repertoire, in 1938 a number of these reflexive “cheer up” songs were associated with other children or adolescents. Judy Garland exhorted “Everybody Sing” because “you can’t go wrong with a song in your heart” (*Broadway Melody of 1938*). Shirley Temple told her comrades “This Is a Happy Little Ditty” (*Just Around the Corner*). Deanna Durbin declared “I Love to Whistle”^{TT} (*Mad About Music*). Finally, the barely-nubile eponymous heroine of *Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs* introduced both “With a Smile and a Song” and “Whistle While You Work.”^{TT}

⁴⁷ Richard Dyer, “Entertainment and Utopia,” 180-181, 182-183.

The inclusion of titles such as “I Love to Whistle” amidst a discussion of singing requires some explanation. Within the genre’s depictions of concomitant musical modalities, singing, humming, and whistling are particularly closely aligned. “Whistle While You Work” implies just such an intimate association of the three techniques: the first stanza recommends whistling; and the second stanza calls for humming a “merry tune,” one that is immediately redefined as “a song.” All three are melodic forms of music-making, do not involve the use of instruments, are induced by breath, and use the body as a resonating chamber. For all these reasons, therefore, they are represented as natural, personal, and spontaneous.

Rising even higher in the hit lists than Breen’s recording of “Let’s Sing Again” or Durbin’s of “I Love to Whistle” were the renditions made of these same two tunes by the clowning jazz pianist-singer Thomas “Fats” Waller. In Waller’s rendition of “Let’s Sing Again,” he applies his popular brand of parody to the song. He not only swings the melody but also pokes fun at the lyrics. He twists his vocalizing first into basso, then speech-song, and, for the second stanza, a baby-talk rendition. Yet Waller’s satiric, anarchic performance shared the pop charts with Breen’s straightforward version—a symbol of how the conventional expressions contained in these songs could be simultaneously accepted by record-buyers both at face value and with a grain of salt.

Not just child stars, but nearly every movie musical star of the period helped to introduce a “cheer up through singing” lyric during this era: Cliff “Ukulele Ike” Edwards (“Sing a Funny Little Thing,” *Doughboys*, 1930); Maurice Chevalier (“Singing a Happy Song,”^{TR} *Folies Bergere*, 1935); Eleanor Powell (with Buddy and Velma Ebsen, “Sing Before Breakfast,” *Broadway Melody of 1936*); Dick Powell (“Sing, Brother,” *Thanks a*

Million, 1936); Alice Faye (“Sing, Baby, Sing,”^{IT} a title song of 1936); Tony Martin (“Sing and Be Happy,” a title song of 1937); Bing Crosby (“Sing a Song of Sunbeams,”^{TR} *East Side of Heaven*, 1939); Rudy Vallee (“Whistle Your Blues to a Bluebird,” *Too Many Blondes*, 1941); the King Sisters (“Sing Your Worries Away,” a title song of 1942); and the Andrews Sisters (“Sing,” *Moonlight and Cactus*, 1944). Yet, only one of the sample productions includes a “sing to lose the blues” song—*Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs*, which features two such numbers.⁴⁸ This is an instance where the inclusion in the corpus of hit songs and the list of titles helps to correct a vagary of the sample, thereby revealing a convention that was prevalent to a significant extent during the Great Depression.

The peak for these songs celebrating singing itself, both in quantity and popularity, was in 1936. Ironically, this coincided with the institutionalization of big band swing.⁴⁹ Adolescents were enraptured with instrumental music, dramatically revivifying the sales of band instruments between 1935 and 1937.⁵⁰ Consequently, the popularity of amateur singing was at a new low, but meanwhile pop song lyrics encouraged vocalizing—possibly as a kind of blatant self-promotion to try to maintain sheet music sales. There were only a few of these “lose the blues through singing” songs on Broadway, such as “Sing a Little Jingle” (*Crazy Quilt*, 1931). By far the majority were in movie musicals. By this time the studios owned most of the music publishing houses of Tin Pan Alley and thus perhaps felt they had a vested interest in promoting singing. With

⁴⁸ Arguably, there is one possible additional example of “sing to lose the blues” lyrics in the sample productions—“Song of the Dawn” (*King of Jazz*, 1930)—which will be discussed further in Chapter Six.

⁴⁹ Although Benny Goodman’s stand at the Palomar Ballroom in Los Angeles in August, 1935, is considered the landmark event in the popularization of swing, 1936 was the first full year in which the style took its place as an entrenched component of show business institutions; see Kenneth J. Bindas, *Swing, That Modern Sound*, 3-6 and passim.

⁵⁰ This boom in the youthful market for big band instruments is outlined by Kenneth J. Bindas, *Swing, That Modern Sound*, 70 and passim.

the fading of the Jazz Age, therefore, the main tradition of “lose the blues” songs shifts from dancing to singing.

Nevertheless, some lyrics do continue to prescribe dance or dance music as the cure for trouble. Lyricist Al Dubin and composer Harry Warren produced one clear example with the title song of a 1935 movie musical, “Go Into Your Dance,”^{TR} written to suit the talents of both of the film’s stars — singer Al Jolson and dancer Ruby Keeler:

Verse: If you’ve a melancholy case of the blues,
I’ve got a remedy for you.
If you’ve an ounce of rhythm down in your shoes,
I’ll change your point of view.

Refrain: If you’ve been singing a sad and blue song,
Go into your dance.

Until you learn how to sing a new song,
Go into your dance.

Why be complaining?
Learn how to smile,
And if it’s raining,
Dance in the rain awhile.

Forget your sorrow until tomorrow,
Go into your dance.
Shake your shoes and go into your dance.

In the verse, Dubin implies an equivalence of melancholia and the blues, describing this downhearted emotion as an illness, as if it were a “case” of neurasthenia. This disease does not require conventional medicine, however, for it can be cured with a “change ... of view.” The transformation of mental outlook, however, is accomplished through the very earthbound activity that occurs when rhythm fills your shoes, i.e., dancing. This seemingly paradoxical aligning of the feet, in the “shoes,” with the eyes, and their “point of view,” is an integration of opposites that prefigures the concomitances depicted in the refrain.

In the refrain, Dubin combines two attitudes: the music matrix can be used to *express* happiness, and it can *create* happiness. Here, singing can express either unhappiness in a “blue song” or happiness in a “new song.” By contrast, dancing is sure to create happiness and make you “forget your sorrow.” This contrast is not emphasized, however, for the two media are clearly concomitant; indeed, dance is what teaches you to “sing a new song.”

Dubin’s use of rainy weather to symbolize hard times draws on a convention well-established at least since 1905, with “Wait Till the Sun Shines, Nellie.” Dubin also uses devices characteristic of the 1930s dance song as discussed in Chapter Two. The lyric concentrates on general terms—“dance” is used five times—but throws in one specific verb in the phrase, “shake your shoes.” Dancing and singing are made into metaphors for life as much as—perhaps even more than—they are intended to indicate actual singing and dancing.

Most importantly, the lyric conveys the *carpe diem* philosophy that dancing helps you to live in the moment and enjoy it that links the song to “Dancing in the Dark.” Composer Harry Warren’s melody is not as brooding and chromatic as that of Arthur Schwartz’s for “Dancing in the Dark,” but it nevertheless can be described as more “impressionistic” than the equivalent “lose blues through dancing” songs of the 1920s such as “Shaking the Blues Away.” A similar claim can be made for other 1930s dance song of this type: Berlin’s “Let Yourself Go”^{TT} (“When you go into your dance you’ll forget your woe,” *Follow the Fleet*, 1936); Porter’s “Swinging the Jinx Away” (“Ev’rybody’s happy ... / ev’rybody’s buckin’-and-wingin’,” *Born to Dance*, 1936); “Turn on That Red Hot Heat (And Burn Your Blues Away)”^{TR} (“Beat your feet and put

some heat in a song,” *Vogues of 1938*); and others. An apt comparison can be made between two dance songs by the Gershwin brothers: “Clap Yo’ Hands” (1926) versus “Shall We Dance”^{TR} (the movie title song of 1937), which claims that “life is short,” and, therefore, you should “dance whenever you can.” The latter is like all the 1930s dance songs just mentioned: while staying within the stylistic limits of syncopated rhythm songs, they have more intricate “advanced” harmonies and, perhaps as a consequence, are rhythmically less pointed and percussive than their equivalents in the 1920s.

Altogether, these lyrical and musical factors give many of the “lose blues through dancing” songs of the 1930s a slightly melancholy profile. This is perhaps the key stylistic shift between the 1920s and the 1930s. Depression-era dance songs become quite distinct from the energetic 1920s dance songs about losing the blues. They can even be distinguished from the comparatively sunny songs of the 1930s about “losing the blues through singing,” which are so often associated with children and adolescents. The dance songs are more adult. They color their assertions about losing the blues with an atmosphere of quiet desperation and their *carpe diem* sentiments with a subtle fatalism—all typical of the more sophisticated popular songs of the height of the Depression.

The roughly two decades of reflexive “cheer up” songs from 1920 to 1940 seem to have exhausted the novelty of this convention. Although many reflexive songs in the American musical after 1940 continue to mention the idea that the music matrix will help you lose your worries, it is usually in an incidental manner. Very few later songs concentrate on this notion throughout a lyric. The hit title songs of both *The Sound of Music* (“My heart will be blessed / with the sound of music,” 1959) and *Cabaret* (“Start celebrating ... / life is a cabaret,” 1966) exist in a strong relationship to this tradition. By

the mid-1970s, however, even such an “old-fashioned” tunesmith as Jerry Herman can parody the convention through wild exaggeration: “When your parachute strap / is beginning to snap ... / Tap Your Troubles Away” (*Mack and Mabel*, 1974).⁵¹ Musical practices of the average American consumer in the late twentieth century were geared toward passive listening; and the music industry supported these habits. There was less potential profit in encouraging people to sing and dance. As well, in the American musical, tragic and bittersweet stories abounded, and the rhetoric surrounding the shows had shifted towards that of a serious art form. In the face of these factors, the philosophy built around losing the blues through music ceased to be espoused in the genre.

The Urban Bazaar

Al Dubin starts off the refrain of “Lullaby of Broadway”^{TT} (*Gold Diggers of 1935*) with a quintessential “come on and” gesture: “Come on along and listen to / the lullaby of Broadway.” In this kind of imagery, urban nightlife becomes a song, and a synecdoche for the city’s life and rhythm is, especially, Broadway. The isle of Manhattan becomes an emblem of modern life. Songs about New York appear in 31% of the sample of productions. Although these songs constitute only 2% of the overall corpus, they take on a disproportionate importance in the rhetoric of show business because of their use as anthems of the theatre industry. These songs about New York begin to proliferate between 1894 and 1897. This trend is revealed by the list of song titles, with an average of eight “New York” titles each Broadway season from 1897 through 1936.

⁵¹ There are some satires of the “sing and dance to lose the blues” philosophy even during the era covered by this study. Cole Porter’s “Be Like the Bluebird” (*Anything Goes*, 1934) is probably the best-remembered example of these parodies.

These “New York” songs appear against the background of a major shift in urban culture.⁵² Show business increasingly centered in New York City, as did the financial world, publishing, and the new advertising industry. Home life gave way to public life—a life on display.⁵³ Retail turned the city into a paradise for consumers, where everything was available for purchase. By 1910, Greenwich Village was the meeting ground for political and artistic bohemians from all parts of the United States, as well as from Europe.⁵⁴ By the 1920s, American culture was epitomized both by the city and by jazz, conceived of as an urban music. This link is implicit in many songs, but becomes explicit from 1928, when New York is depicted within reflexive songs as a “serenade” of technological noise and vernacular music.

From the start of the period under study, a large proportion of the New York songs in the corpus also incidentally mention the music matrix. “We will see all the girls that are dancing on the stage” in a “Trip Around Town” (*In Gay New York*, 1896). The interrogatory “Wouldn’t You Like to Know?” asks about urban girl-watchers, “if they would gaze on hose galore / why don’t they seek a Broadway shore?” (from the sample production *The Tourists*, 1906). George M. Cohan claims that if “If Washington Should Come to Life” and visit New York, he would “sing the ‘Yankee Doodle Boy’” and perhaps “laugh at Eddie Foy” (from the sample production *George Washington, Jr.*, 1906). Nevertheless, it is many decades before songwriters formulate the complete

⁵² The many aspects of this shift have been traced in various studies, including: Lewis A. Erenberg, *Steppin’ Out*; and *Inventing Times Square: Commerce and Culture at the Crossroads of the World*, ed. William R. Taylor (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1991).

⁵³ This trend is discussed by Lewis A. Erenberg, *Steppin’ Out*, 33-59.

⁵⁴ New York as the eventual stopping point for innovative artists and political activists is helpfully discussed by Christine Stansell, *American Moderns: Bohemian New York and the Creation of a New Century* (New York: Metropolitan Books, Henry Holt and Co., 2000). See also William B. Scott and Peter M. Rutkoff, *New York Modern*.

alignment between the topics of New York and the music matrix found in such well-remembered examples as “Lullaby of Broadway” and “Broadway Rhythm.” This equation only manifests in the late 1920s, when musicals more self-consciously start to incorporate themes of modernism into their generic fabric.

During the same era that New York songs began to proliferate on Broadway, seminal texts were being written on the sociology of the city.⁵⁵ In popular songs the attitudes expressed toward New York in many ways match those of the urban sociologists—at least in those sociological analyses that concentrate on the perspective of *the individual*, as the songs also do with their narratives about specific characters or personal sentiments. Peter Langer has analyzed these attitudes and shown how such sociological writers most often imagine the city from the perspective of an individual in two ways: in the positive, as a bazaar, “a place of almost infinite explorations and opportunity ... [and] a variety of experiences”; or in the negative, as a jungle, “a densely packed ... potentially dangerous place” of “competition” and “chaos.”⁵⁶ Langer also writes of an additional category that focuses on “the local neighborhood as a central structure that minimizes the danger and the uncertainty of the urban jungle.”⁵⁷ All three of these perspectives appear in production songs about New York.

Early examples of all three attitudes toward the city occur in independent popular songs. The “neighborhood” aspect of New York is celebrated in the reflexive “The

⁵⁵ For example: Georg Simmel “The Metropolis and Mental Life” (1903) and “The Web of Group-Affiliations” (1922); Max Weber, “The City” (1910-1914; published posthumously in *Economy and Society*, 1920); Robert E. Park, Ernest W. Burgess, and Roderick D. McKenzie, *The City* (1925); Louis Wirth, *The Ghetto* (1928). I draw from Peter Langer’s discussion of these works, “Sociology—Four Images of Organized Diversity: Bazaar, Jungle, Organism, and Machine,” in *Cities of the Mind*, ed. Lloyd Rodwin and Robert M. Hollister (New York: Putnam Press, 1984), 97-117.

⁵⁶ Peter Langer, “Sociology—Four Images of Organized Diversity,” 100, 102.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 116.

Sidewalks of New York” (the independent popular song hit of 1894 better known by the first lines of its refrain, “East side, / West side”). The communal aspects of New York are already presented nostalgically in this song of reminiscence: “Down in front of Casey’s old brown wooden stoop ... / we would sing and waltz”; and, indeed, even now that all of them are grown up, they “would part with all they’ve got / could they once more walk” together as they did of yore. The song’s accretions of additional layers of nostalgia over the years served well when used later in the sample productions *Sally, Irene and Mary* (1922), where the song accompanies scenes of the childhood of the three heroines, and *The Dolly Sisters* (1945), when the eponymous protagonists sing it during their triumphant final return performance in New York.

The happy image in “The Sidewalks of New York” of the city as one big friendly neighborhood is perhaps reflected in one of the most prevalent conventions of the early decades of this study: New York as home town. George M. Cohan, a notably prolific writer of New York songs, supplies the most famous example: “Give My Regards to Broadway”^{TT} (“Whisper of how I’m yearning / to mingle with the old-time throng,” *Little Johnny Jones*, 1904). The sample of productions includes two others: “Dear Old Broadway” (“I long for you, / I miss my daily walk,” *The Tourists*, 1906); and Cohan’s “Hello, Broadway” (“There’s no place like Broadway, / especially if it’s Home Sweet Home,” the title song of 1915). In such home-loving songs, New York is sometimes depicted as a symbol of the whole United States in the mind of a *dramatis persona* who is traveling abroad. Such is the case in a song from the sample production *Whoop-Dee-Do* (1903), “I Want to Go Back to the Good Old U.S.A.,” which specifies in the verse that

the place the protagonist really yearns for is New York City, as well as in Cohan's "I Have a Longing for Long Acre Square" (*The Talk of the Town*, 1907).

This early "New York as home" convention is later utilized by the anthologized songwriters in songs that are often but not always written with tongue-in-cheek. Unlike the earlier songs on this theme, almost all these are at least incidentally reflexive: Berlin's "My New York" (*Ziegfeld Follies of 1927*) and "Harlem on My Mind" (*As Thousands Cheer*, 1933); Rodgers and Hart's "Manhattan"^{TT} (*Garrick Gaieties*, 1925), "I've Got to Get Back to New York" (*Hallelujah, I'm a Bum*, 1933), and "Way Out West" ("on West End Avenue," *Babes in Arms*, 1937); and Porter's "Take Me Back to Manhattan" and "I Happen to Like New York" (both in *The New Yorkers*, 1930), as well as the New York refrain of "Ours" ("Why don't we stay in Manhattan / and play it's all ours," *Red, Hot and Blue*, 1936).

The depiction of New York as the object of a nostalgic longing is also reflected in a number of songs, and song titles, that emphasize the "old" New York—although most of these allusions to the city's history are used merely to emphasize its current modernity. The appellation "old" to New York in song titles is found as early as 1898 with "Little Old New York Is Good Enough for Me" (*Hurly-Burly*). As here, the adjective is often combined with diminutives like "little" or affectionate terms such as "dear." From 1904 to 1907, these song titles proliferate:

In Old New York (*The Yankee Consul*, 1904)
 Dear Old Manhattan Isle (*Piff! Paff!! Pouf!!*, 1904)
 Dear Old Broadway (*Paris by Night*, 1904)
 Next Summer in Dear Old New York (*Higgeldy-Piggeldy*, 1904)
 The Dear Little Wise Old Bowery (*Fritz in Tammany Hall*, 1905)
 Old Man Manhattan (*The Social Whirl*, 1906)
 Old Broadway (*The District Leader*, 1906)
 In Old New York (a.k.a. The Streets of New York) (*The Red Mill*, 1906)
 Bye-Bye, Dear Old Broadway (*Follies*, 1907)

Back to Old Broadway (*Patsy in Politics*, 1907)

This was a time of the opening of the Broadway subway line, the re-naming of Long Acre Square as Times Square, and its establishment as the entertainment capital of the city and, indeed, of the nation. Perhaps these events were perceived as marking a new era that demanded an affirmation of continuity with the old and a celebration of it. If, as William Leach suggests, “we think of this region as the quintessential brokered capitalist space,” then we can also see that an assurance of continuity with a simpler, more communal past was an antidote to anxiety over such developments.⁵⁸

After 1907 these allusions to “old New York” in song titles continue through 1932 at the rate of about one a year. The idea behind comparing “old” New York with “modern” New York is worked out in the narrative of “Old Man Manhattan” (from the sample production *The Social Whirl*, 1906). Lyricist James O’Dea tells of a Rip Van Winkle-like Native American “Manhattan” who visits his namesake. There, he experiences the alluring wonders of cocktails, skyscrapers, and modern woman in the form of a typist with a “shirtwaist peek-a-boo.” The overall effect is one of ironic humor.

“Old New York” is presented more positively in songs such as Rodgers and Hart’s “Where the Hudson River Flows” (*Dearest Enemy*, 1925) and Berlin’s “Where Is My Old New York” (*Music Box Revue*, 1924)—any potential irony in these songs is not explicit, but implicit and contextual. In the 1930s, the anthologized songwriters can get more acerbic in their views of New York, but still use comparisons with the “old New York” for comic effect: Rodgers and Hart can declare “Give It Back to the Indians” (“Old New York is new and phony,” *Too Many Girls*, 1939); and Porter can beg against so-

⁵⁸ William Leach, “Brokers and the New Corporate, Industrial Order,” *Inventing Times Square*, 99-117, at 101.

called improvements with “Please Don’t Monkey with Broadway” (“Father Knickerbocker’s face is being lifted,” *Broadway Melody of 1940*). All these songs have protagonists who sing as if they are citizens of the city. They seem to have a personal investment in its history and traditions. New York is their home town.

The depiction of the “city as jungle” can also be an occasion for comedy. Such is the case in the early musical comedy hit song, “The Bowery” (“They say such things and they do strange things ... / I’ll never go there anymore,” *A Trip to Chinatown*, 1890). It is more often associated, however, with pathos—as in “The Streets of the Crowded City,” an independent song of 1895 which tells of a “sweet little maid” who went from country to city and “fell by the wayside as others before her.” Variations of this “fallen woman” narrative lie behind many further independent popular songs, manifesting a quarter of a century later in “Broadway Rose”^{TT} (“A faded little rose / beneath the white lights’ glare,” 1920). The jungle-like hardships of the city are told the same year in “Broadway Blues”^{TR} (blues which you get “when you hang your hat / in an empty flat,” 1920). This latter tells of a conventional pop song protagonist—the weary, disillusioned city dweller who longs for his regional childhood home. These are the kinds of negative images, however, that early production songs usually avoid. If anything, shows tend to satirize these anti-urban sentiments, as in two songs by George M. Cohan that end by reversing expectations: “You Can Have Broadway” (the protagonist of which ends “back on Broadway and the life he led / and he takes back what he said,” from the sample production *George Washington Jr.*, 1906); and “I Wanted to Come to Broadway” (in which the waif-like female protagonist concludes “I’m going back to my home ... / and

bring all my family back to Broadway with me,” from the sample production *Hello, Broadway!*, 1915).

By far the most prevalent attitude in New York songs is that of the “city as bazaar.” This vision of the city as a place of pals, food, drink, fun, excitement, freedom of behavior, glamour, and modern technology—in short, a capitalist paradise—underlies a wide variety of songs and takes on many variations. Of the New York songs in the sample of productions, fully 78% incorporate this attitude towards the city.

The city as a place to find the modern—electric lights, skyscrapers, etc.—is an aspect of the “urban bazaar” that is incorporated into 44% of the New York songs.⁵⁹ An example is the earliest such song from the sample, “On Broadway in Dahomey (Bye and Bye)” (*In Dahomey*, 1903). In this song, African American lyricist Alex Rogers plays with the relationship between the “primitive” and the “modern.” The protagonist envisions the “latest” urban developments as they would be built from jungle materials: a department store of banyan trees; “rocks and hills” advertising “liver pills”; parrots singing Wagner; and so on.

These “city as bazaar” songs celebrate the acts of dressing up, going out, seeing the crowds, and putting the self on display—“mingling with the ... throng” as the native New Yorker protagonist says in “Give My Regards to Broadway.” The most oft-celebrated commodity in this urban bazaar, however, is *women*. The “available” woman appears repeatedly in these songs: the neighborhood maiden and the midtown girls—the chorus girl, the shop clerk, the typist—the girl passing by on the sidewalk. These

⁵⁹ In an article that helped inspire the present discussion, Ulf Lindberg analyzes Rodgers and Hart’s “Manhattan” as a depiction of the city as “bazaar”—as both “home and amusement park”—as part of his discussion of modernist style in popular songs; “Popular Modernism? The ‘Urban’ Style of Interwar Tin Pan Alley,” *Popular Music* 22, no. 3 (2003): 283-298; see p. 289.

“Broadway Belles” (as one song title of 1919 dubs them) appear in half the New York songs in the sample of productions. They are particularly apparent during the years before 1920, but also continue afterwards, as will be discussed below. Only occasionally is New York depicted from the viewpoint of a female protagonist who revels in the freedom of movement and behavior granted by city life, as when Rodgers and Hart have the female ensemble of *Peggy-Ann* (1926) triumphantly bid goodbye to farm life and exclaim “Howdy to Broadway.” Such examples are rare; the urban opportunities for scopophilia, flirtation, and dating are usually celebrated from a male perspective.

Nearly two-thirds of New York songs in the sample of productions are fully or incidentally reflexive. Even when they do not explicitly mention any reflexive matters, however, these songs tend to act as anthems for show business. For example, the non-reflexive “Give My Regards to Broadway” has frequently been used as a theme for the Broadway theatre industry. As with Cohan’s song, most early examples do not depend upon any reflexive allusions for their anthem-like qualities. As with “come on and” songs that do not mention the music matrix, they create the impression of reflexivity without actually containing such reflexive allusions. This is probably because New York was the national center for the show business industry. The shows are intended to play lucrative runs in New York itself—a situation that is somewhat relevant even for movie musicals—and thus the songs have an implicit contextual meaning as locus themes that goes beyond the explicit meaning of their lyric content. Manhattan is not just a synecdoche for modernity, but also for entertainment and the music matrix. In such songs, New York is assumed to be itself one big, grand, happy ruction.

A song from the early sample production *The Red Mill* (1906) can serve as exemplary for many of the traits of the early New York song: “In Old New York”^{TT} (a.k.a. “The Streets of New York”) by Henry Blossom and Victor Herbert. Herbert’s melody is a rousing “back porch” waltz very much along the lines of predecessors like “The Sidewalks of New York” or contemporaneous songs such as Cohan’s “Forty-Five Minutes from Broadway”^{TT} (the title song of 1906). The verses celebrate the women of New York—each district yields a distinctly different kind of women with their own unique characteristics—and the refrain favorably compares them with all foreign women:

Verse one: In dear old New York it’s remarkable very!
 The name on the lamppost is unnecessary!
 You merely have to see the girls to know what street you’re on!
 Fifth Avenue beauties and dear old Broadway girls!
 The tailor-made shoppers, the Avenue “A” girls,
 They’re strictly all right, but they’re different quite,
 In the diff’rent parts of town.

Refrain: In old New York! In old New York!
 The peach crop’s always fine!
 They’re sweet and fair and on the square!
 The maids of Manhattan for mine!
 You cannot see in gay Paree,
 In London or in Cork!
 The queens you’ll meet on any street
 In old New York.

In the second and third verses, Blossom depicts in more detail the girls in two of the neighborhoods of New York: Fifth Avenue and the Bowery. This tour makes the city as a whole seem like one big, homey neighborhood, appropriately labeled “old” New York as if still a rural village in colonial times. As in Dyer’s description of utopia, the city is a place of community. As well, Blossom simultaneously depicts the city as a place of endless abundance, thus manifesting another of Dyer’s feelings of utopia; the city is a

bazaar offering a cornucopia of pulchritude.⁶⁰ This attitude is further expressed through the metaphor of fruit produce for women: they all seem like desirable, ripe, sweet peaches on market display—and this appearance is not deceptive, for they are “on the square.” The characters who introduced the song, the symbolically-named Con Kidder and Kid Conner, are brash young Americans in old Amsterdam. Appropriately, Manhattan is “home” to them, and it is favorably compared to foreign lands—France, England, Ireland—thereby implying the Manhattan-centric patriotism that depicts New York as a symbol for the whole United States.

Blossom starts to move the New York song farther in the direction of the fully reflexive lyric in his third introductory verse, which has one incidental reflexive allusion telling of how “on the Bowery” they “dance and sing and talk” in all kinds of weather. “In Old New York” leads into a further discussion of reflexivity, however, due to its unpublished fourth verse.⁶¹ Having completed an itinerary of women from the residential neighborhoods, the protagonists then describe women of the theatre district:

Verse four: It’s on the Rialto for show-girls and actresses,
Swell looking make-ups and golden and black tresses!
High-heeled shoes and peek-a-boos, and lingerie from France.
They all want to star in some musical play.
They have got Fritz Scheff beat a block so they say,
They are sure they could stay all their lives on Broadway,
If but once they had the chance.

For these women, the Rialto—the New York theatre district—is an open-air audition stage, where they may meet the opportunities that will make them a star, like the operetta prima donna, Fritz Scheff. Here, Blossom hits upon several more topics that would prove to be recurring conventions. The element of quasi-theatrical costuming is occasionally

⁶⁰ Richard Dyer, “Entertainment and Utopia,” 180-181, 182-183.

⁶¹ This verse is written in pencil in the script in the New York Public Library for the Performing Arts, Research Collections and was probably intended for an encore.

found in all types of New York songs; for example, both of Berlin's versions of "Putting on the Ritz" focus on the display of fancy clothes. As well, the inclusion of these "show-girls and actresses" in the sexual marketplace of the city sounds a motif that repeats in songs about show business and New York from at least "Trip Around the Town" (*In Gay New York*, 1896). Blossom also features another intermittent theme: Broadway theatre as a rare place of opportunity for female career ambition. The whole verse concentrates on New York as theatrical center, creating an emphatic association of the city with entertainment unusual during this early period.

Among the total of fifty-two New York songs represented in the sample of productions and by the anthologized songwriters, 38% do not mention entertainment or the music matrix. The majority—the remaining 62%—do include reflexive matters in the lyric. These are often merely incidental allusions (25%), but more often the songs are fully reflexive (37%). Some early songs concentrate on theatrical or para-theatrical institutions. For instance, Irving Berlin parodies the highbrow opera house twice: "Metropolitan Nights" (*Watch Your Step*, 1914) and "Metropolitan Opening" (*Face the Music*, 1932). Cohan pays tribute to "Hippodrome Folks" (in the sample production *Hello, Broadway!*, 1915). In the sample production *Sally, Irene and Mary* (1922), an ensemble of wealthy characters parade in evening dress before curtain time at "Peacock Alley," the famous lounge-gallery at the Waldorf-Astoria.

Perhaps the earliest songs to musicalize their vision of the city—to present the city *as music*—are dance songs such as are found in the list of titles: "The Broadway Glide" (*Ziegfeld Follies of 1912*), "The 42nd Street and Broadway Strut" (*The Gingham Girl*, 1922), and "Fifth Avenue Stride" (*Keep Kool*, 1924). Once again, however, the late

1920s seem to be pivotal in the development of an important convention—here, the “New York as music” lyric. Indeed, this late-1920s trend is part of two tendencies discussed above in Chapter Two: the abstraction of music and dance in order to embody the show’s overall themes, which results in symbolic dance songs such as “The Varsity Drag” (*Good News*, 1927); and “music as place—place as music” songs such as “The Desert Song”^{TT} (the title song of 1926). As well, since modernist art tended to link jazz and urban culture in an abstract, poetic manner, the “city as song” convention is perhaps part of the genre’s increasing tendency to feature influences from modernism in a self-conscious manner. The Gershwins were part of the vanguard in this latter trend; it may not be a coincidence, therefore, that they wrote the first song in the corpus that applies these ideas to Manhattan in “New York Serenade” (*Rosalie*, 1928):

Verse: Since I came from Romanza,
I’ve heard many a serenade,
Fellows who sing a stanza
When they’re wooing a pretty maid.
But there’s one that’s better far
Than any old tune on an old guitar;
It’s the serenade you hear
When you land on a New York pier.

Refrain: Ten thousand steamboats hootin’ —
A million taxis tootin’ —
What a song! What song!
That dear old New York Serenade!

Just hear those rivets rattling —
And hear that traffic battling —
Come along, come along
And hear it played.

Ev’ry corner has bands moaning —
Jazz bands groaning all night long.
Even though your nerves they shatter with their clatter
It really doesn’t matter, matter, matter, matter, matter! matter!

So keep your peace and quiet —
Give me that good old riot!
Come along and hear

That New York Serenade!

Gershwin presents the city as a riotous bazaar of modern technology: steamboats, taxis, rivets, traffic—the same sort of noisy machinery that Beard had defined as irritants that precipitated neurasthenia. The city, however, is also *a song*—as truly musical as the serenade from any romantic, guitar-wielding swain. Alongside the music of machines is the “groaning” of the jazz band. As in “Stop That Rag” and “Fascinating Rhythm,” vernacular music is linked to “shattered nerves,” as if of the victim of neurasthenia affected by the stresses of modernization. Nevertheless, the disturbing element in this “riot” “doesn’t matter”; indeed, the protagonist asks for more of it, as if the raucous “music” will be a homeopathic remedy, i.e. one that will “cure like with like.” An intense dose of the music of modernity will cure the “blues” of modern experience; and thus it is not surprising that the protagonist invites the listener to join in her appreciation of this urban music.⁶²

Further versions of this new convention found popularity during the next several years: “Broadway Melody”^{TT} (the title song of the sample production, 1929); “Harlem Serenade” (another Gershwin song, this time collaborating with Gus Kahn; *Show Girl*, 1929); “Doing the New York”^{TR} (*Ziegfeld Follies of 1931*); and “Broadway Rhythm”^{TR} (*Broadway Melody of 1936*). The idea also seems to underlie songs about music filling the city as in “Spreading Rhythm Around”^{TT} (“Putting tempo in old Manhattan,” *King of Burlesque*, 1936) and “Bojangles of Harlem”^{TR} (“The whole town’s at your heels,” from the sample production *Swing Time*, 1936). “The city as music” can even be contained as an incidental allusion within a lyric that depicts the city as a mechanized “jungle” as in

⁶² Because it was unpublished, I have not been able to examine George Gershwin’s music for “New York Serenade.”

Berlin's "Manhattan Madness" ("I hear, in tones very clear / the sound of your restless song," *Face the Music*, 1932).

Al Dubin combines the "city as music" metaphor with a return to the preoccupation with the modern, urbanized, "available" women of New York in several songs from movie musicals: "Forty-Second Street"^{TT} (the title song of 1933), "Lullaby of Broadway"^{TT} (*Gold Diggers of 1935*), and "She's a Latin from Manhattan"^{TT} (*Go Into Your Dance*, 1935), as well as its follow-up attempt, "A Bombshell from Brooklyn" (*Stage Door Canteen*, 1943). "Forty-Second Street" provides a fine example of the linking of these two conventions. To Harry Warren's driving melody sprinkled with blue notes and syncopation, Dubin vividly musicalizes the city:

Refrain: Come and meet
Those dancing feet
On the avenue
I'm taking you to,
Forty-second Street.

Hear the beat
Of dancing feet,
It's the song I love
The melody of,
Forty-second Street.

Little "nifties"
From the Fifties,
Innocent and sweet;
Sexy ladies
From the Eighties,
Who are indiscreet.

They're side by side,
They're glorified,
Where the underworld can meet the elite,
Naughty, bawdy,
Gawdy, sporty,
Forty-second Street.

Dubin concentrates his first two stanzas on the “dancing feet” that create the “song” of the avenue—a typical mixture of allusions to the various concomitant elements of the music matrix in which they are simultaneously depicted as both concrete and abstract. It is only in the bridge, however, that Dubin clarifies the exact nature of these “dancing feet”: it is not the couples in the ballrooms to whom he refers, but the women who congregate around Times Square. This third stanza offers a concise inventory of the different kinds of women, reminiscent of Henry Blossom’s more detailed one from “In Old New York”: “innocent,” “sweet” “nifties” from the Fifties and “sexy,” “indiscreet” women of the Eighties. Dubin specifies that they are all “glorified” on Forty-Second Street, using a word that in this context clearly alludes to Florenz Ziegfeld’s motto for his long-standing series of *Follies* revues: “Glorifying the American Girl.” Thus these women are Ziegfeld girls—or, at least, the street life itself showcases these women as an erotic display in the same manner that the *Follies* features its show girls. Covering the range of sexual experience from innocence to experience, these women originate in a range of subcultures, from the “underworld” to the “elite.” They well might be the “show girls” and “ponies” of the nightclubs and musical theatre (who came from all walks of society), or the “dance hall girls,” the “kept women,” the “call girls,” and the “streetwalkers”—it matters not, all alike are on display. These women and their dancing personify the street, the theatre district, and the theatre industry. Possibly, in a “bawdy” implication, Dubin is suggesting that *they* are where the “underworld” “meet the elite”—i.e. they are mistresses of both kinds of rich men and provide a link between these usually separate social networks.⁶³

⁶³ In a 1933 recording of “Forty-Second Street,” the Boswell Sisters sing some variations on the lyric,

Similarly, in “Lullaby of Broadway,” Dubin portrays the typical Broadway patron of ballroom, restaurant, and cabaret as the “Broadway baby” who is given “this and that” by her “daddy.” She is lulled to sleep at the end of a night of partying by the same noises of modern life celebrated by Gershwin in “New York Serenade”: the subways, taxis, and jazz bands. Unlike in earlier songs about the urban woman, however, Dubin’s two lyrics invite us not so much to look at and either flirt with or pity this “Broadway baby,” but rather to listen to and enjoy the urban “music” that accompanies and symbolizes her lifestyle. Not only “come and meet those dancing feet,” i.e. come and meet these sexually-available women of the entertainment district; but, moreover, “come on along and listen to / the lullaby of Broadway,” i.e., through contemplating these women, experience *as music* the intense excitement of modern urban life.

In Broadway musicals, “New York” song titles extend in an uninterrupted stream throughout the relative decline of New York as a center for touring companies, which occurs in the late 1920s and early 1930s. This continuity lasts, indeed, until 1937, when for the first time since 1893 there are none. The “New York” song titles resume in 1938, but the relative fading in prevalence of the convention on Broadway is permanent. The break occurs after the establishment of the Popular Front in politics, but slightly anticipates the artistic shift in the late 1930s towards non-urban Americana. The year 1938 was pivotal in that latter trend, and it saw the theme manifested in many cultural forms: novels, such as *The Grapes of Wrath*; stage dramas, like *Our Town*; movies, with the surge in popularity of the Andy Hardy series; ballets, with Ballet Caravan touring *Billy the Kid*; and nostalgic revivals of older amateur traditions—such as square dancing,

perhaps of their own invention. At the end of the third stanza, instead of the phrase “who are indiscreet,” they substitute “give yourself a treat.” This makes even more clear than in the standard lyric that these women are a commodity, available in some kind of exchange of sex for money.

spearheaded by Lloyd Shaw in Colorado, and barbershop quartet singing, with O.C. Cash, of Oklahoma, creating a national organization. Possibly the stirrings of this current served to disincline Broadway songwriters from creating their exuberant celebrations of urban modernity. This is, in fact, the time of the more acerbically critical New York songs mentioned above: Rodgers and Hart's "Give It Back to the Indians" (*Too Many Girls*, 1939); and Cole Porter's "Please Don't Monkey with Broadway" (*Broadway Melody of 1940*).

Equally relevant to the Broadway musical in 1937 were events in the popular music industry. In that year, the major part of the radio broadcasting industry moved from New York to the West Coast, which may have attenuated the image of New York as the nation's major leisure center. Prior to that, in the first half of 1936, the publishing houses of the major Broadway composers unsuccessfully attempted a six-month boycott of radio. They discovered, to their chagrin, that the public did not seem to notice.⁶⁴ They emerged from the experience with their Manhattan-centric pride humbled.

According to Russell Sanjek, the radio ban mostly served a negative result, encouraging Broadway songwriters to sign Hollywood contracts.⁶⁵ Perhaps not coincidentally, the greatest quantity of "New York" titles in movie musicals is during that same year of 1937. Ten appeared in that year, including the hits "Slumming on Park Avenue"^{TT} (*On the Avenue*) and "Blossoms on Broadway"^{TT} (a title song)—as well as "Your Broadway and My Broadway," which was put across by Sophie Tucker and an all-

⁶⁴ See Russell Sanjek, *From Print to Plastic: Publishing and Promoting America's Popular Music (1900-1980)*, (Brooklyn, N.Y.: Institute for Studies in American Music, Brooklyn College, 1983), 25.

⁶⁵ Russell Sanjek, *American Popular Music and Its Business*, 154.

star cast during the finale of *Broadway Melody of 1938*.⁶⁶ To an extent, by 1937, the convention of the “New York” song had become appropriated by the movie musical. Perhaps, therefore, it was by that date too overly conventionalized for the more sophisticated style of late 1930s Broadway musicals, except when used ironically.

There is a steady continuity of “New York” titles in Hollywood scores through 1946. Even then, such titles disappear from the list for only a single year before resuming in scarcely reduced prevalence through 1955. At this point of the mid-1950s, however, the “city as jungle” image prevails in popular culture through such films as *The Blackboard Jungle* (1955). After that, musicals convey the impression that they must either self-consciously fight this image, as in *Bells Are Ringing* (1956), or incorporate it, as in *West Side Story* (1957).

The convention of the “New York” song, however, has continued within the range of choice for writers of the American musical at least through “Only in New York,” in the 2002 stage version of *Thoroughly Modern Millie*. Three examples from the 1970s display much the same range of attitudes as in earlier songs. “Another Hundred People” (*Company*, 1970) depicts the city as a mechanized “jungle.” The incidentally reflexive “N.Y.C.” (*Annie*, 1977) showcases it both as a neighborhood-like “home” and as a “bazaar.” “(Theme from) New York, New York” (*New York, New York*, 1977) refers to it as the goal of the ambitious—both “bazaar” (“The city that doesn’t sleep”) and

⁶⁶ During this period, songwriters like Irving Berlin wrote movie musical songs anywhere from three to nine months before the release of the film. For instance, Berlin wrote “Slumming on Park Avenue” for *On the Avenue*. This song, along with two others intended for the film, was copyrighted as an unpublished composition on 14 May, 1936—perhaps not coincidentally, during the radio boycott—and the film premiered in February, 1937. Another song for the film was copyrighted as an unpublished piece as late as 5 December, 1936; thus, it was written perhaps as little as two months before the movie’s premiere; *Complete Lyrics of Irving Berlin*, ed. Robert Kimball and Linda Emmet, 309-311. During these same years, Bing Crosby’s films reveal a similarly brief production process, ranging from three months to seven months between the start of filming and the release date; see Malcolm Macfarlane, *Bing Crosby: Day by Day* (Lanham, Md.: Scarecrow Press, 2001), 139-170.

“competitive jungle” (“If I can make it there, / I’ll make it anywhere”). In this last, the protagonist declares that her “little town blues” will melt away in New York—once again depicting the cure for the “neurasthenia” of modern restlessness being found through an immersion in an urbanized happy ruction described and enacted by the American musical.

Conclusion

Reflexive songs of the American musical beckon the audience to attend a happy ruction. This is an event filled with music, singing, dance, and entertainment and offering all the feelings of utopia as analyzed by Dyer: abundance, energy, intensity, transparent emotions, and community.⁶⁷ The invitation to his utopian event exists within the genre from before the earliest sample productions and continues through the final year of the period under study and beyond. At the least, the connotations of the music matrix in these songs is positive—music expresses joy, excitement, merriment, and happiness. Further—and increasingly during the period under study—this happy ruction is clarified as an event in which we, the audience, can participate. The purpose given for our participation is to help us “lose the blues.” This curative effect is often linked to modernity—sometimes it as an immersion in it through novelty (“Everybody’s doing” “the latest thing”) and urban high life (“Hear that traffic battling, / come along, come along”). At other times, the music matrix is an escape from the alienation of the twentieth century, a retreat into community (“Let’s sing again”), intimacy (“I’m happy when / somebody

⁶⁷ Richard Dyer, “Entertainment and Utopia,” 180-181, 182-183.

sings to me”), and the inner life (“There’s music in your heart”). Musicals invite the listener into utopia—and the doorway is depicted as being music, song, and dance.

Chapter Four: Self-Consciousness About Entertainment

Introduction

Reflexive songs often display a self-consciousness about their surrounding contexts. They allude to their own place within an individual show's structure as well as within the overall traditions of dramatic narrative and variety entertainment. Most critics remark upon such songs as if they were straightforward and uncomplicated anthems to show business. The scholar who most fully analyzes them—and the only one who calls them “reflexive”—is Jane Feuer. She cites songs from 1934 through 1957 and dubs them “Odes to Entertainment,” in tribute to their celebratory attitude. I argue, however, that not all the songs she mentions actually match the definition conveyed by her discussion. Indeed, I will demonstrate that the majority of songs about entertainment in American musicals are parodic or otherwise incorporate reversals of their own conventions.

I claim that such frequent use of self-parody in American musicals reveals the tendency toward irony to be a prominent characteristic of the American musical. Satire of art, parody, and irony are overlapping and interrelated phenomena.¹ In the discussion that follows, I stress the simultaneous use of these modes in the corpus. Further, as

¹ Some authors distinguish “parody” from “burlesque,” using the former term to denote satire of an individual work and the latter to mean a more generalized satire of an entire artistic genre. Because of the unique meaning of “burlesque” in American show business during the era covered by my study, to indicate variety entertainment with slapstick and stripteases, I use “parody” to denote both specific and general satire of art. For a useful summary of these varying definitions, see *New Princeton Encyclopedia of Poetry and Poetics*, s.v. “burlesque” and “parody.” Margaret Rose offers a full-length discussion in *Parody: Ancient, Modern, and Post-Modern* (Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 1993). In addition, Rose helpfully defines the differences and relationships between parody, irony, and satire; op. cit., 89-90. Linda Hutcheon also delineates the overlap of these distinctive devices, in *A Theory of Parody: The Teachings of Twentieth-Century Art Forms* (New York: Methuen, 1985), 49-68.

throughout, I maintain that such insights emerge most readily from a methodical inspection of a broad range of examples, unlocking aspects of the genre that have previously not been fully revealed.

This chapter starts to trace how the various manifestations of self-consciousness interrelate in American musicals. It thereby builds toward Chapter Five, which will examine three productions in more detail for how reflexive songs fit into the overall fabric of a show. The general trajectory of the following discussion is from small units to larger structures, from short snippets of dialogue through individual songs, to prologues, recurring interludes, and finalettos.

First, as a necessary justification of terminology, I will address the question of whether songs about entertainment should be discussed under the same rubric as those about the music matrix. Can they be defined as reflexive songs in the same way as those that allude to music? The second section considers moments of self-conscious dialogue in the sample of productions, which leads to larger generalizations about the place of such self-referential elements within a show. Third, I analyze songs that exuberantly celebrate entertainment forms and implicitly recommend theatre as a model for all of life. This examination historicizes the discussions by Feuer and other critics, illustrating both the continuity and change within this reflexive song subgenre. Songs that depict life and love as drama are explored in the fourth section.

Irony, satire, and negative images seem to reverse the tendency of reflexive songs to praise themselves. This process will be examined in section five. Then I focus on songs that reflect upon their own means of verbal expression, especially in their verses. These latter sometimes manifest a self-consciousness about that basic convention of the

musical—the shift from speech to song. In the final section, I analyze cases where larger structural means are used to create the same kind of self-reference, in specific examples of a prologue, two interludes, and a finaletto.

The overall focus of this chapter is on reflexive songs that allude to the larger frameworks that supply their context. These structures include both dramaturgical form and the surrounding practices of the entertainment industry. The self-consciousness displayed in these songs leads to implicit and explicit depictions of the place of entertainment in life, society, and history. Thus, this examination, in keeping with my overall argument, highlights other characteristic aspects of the genre.

Like the songs examined in the previous chapters, those about entertainment depict response. The theatrical life, in its most general definition, is accepted by the protagonists as something to admire and imitate. It is both a model for behavior and a philosophical metaphor for life. Entertainment becomes a symbol for the workings of society and, indeed, for the conditions of human existence.

As part of the process of making show business into a metaphor, the tension between the work ethic and entertainment is explored as a theme in a few songs. Some depict involvement with the music matrix or the show industry as being opposed to dry, hard-nosed professions. Such is the case with “Everybody Rag with Me”^{TT} (*Dancing Around*, 1914), which commands, “drop your work and play with me.” Others seek to infuse performance into labor, turning work into entertainment, advising the listener to “Whistle While You Work”^{TT} (*Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs*, 1937). A few bemoan the grind behind the glitzy surface of the performer’s life, which turns entertainment into

work, sold for “Ten Cents a Dance”^{TT} (*Simple Simon*, 1930). Thus, the dynamic is explored in various ways.

These songs also engage with the idea of the modern. They simultaneously contrast and equate the old and the new. The protagonists often indulge in nostalgic reminiscences or tributes to past traditions, but these always exist in a dynamic relationship with present reality. While Feuer discusses reflexive songs, and both she and Rick Altman comment at some length about nostalgia in the plot structures of movie musicals, the literature lacks any extensive analysis of nostalgia *within* reflexive songs. Indeed, this is a prevalent and revealing tendency—one that characterizes both the reflexive song and the genre as a whole and that helps depict a particular relationship of both kinship and contrast between the old-fashioned and the modern.

Thus, several themes recur here that have already been touched on in the previous two chapters. These include: work versus entertainment; modernity and nostalgia; and the elements of musical dramaturgy being taken as a model for life’s experiences. The reflexive songs explored in this chapter, however, display two additional phenomena that are important to the genre.

First, the self-consciousness in many of these songs implies a relationship of complicity between the artists and the audience. They highlight the presence of an authorial voice controlling the dramatic presentation. This “author” alludes to cultural landmarks in a way that suggests that he or she shares with the spectators memories, points of reference, and attitudes. The stance is sometimes nostalgic, often rapturous and exhilarated, but as frequently it is one filled with irony.

Second, although the words in these songs often create ironic distance from emotion, the accompanying melodies seem designed to engage the affective and kinetic responses of the audience. For the majority of songs analyzed in the previous two chapters, I have pointed to a concordance between their verbal and musical messages. Such unanimity of mood between melody and lyrics is also found in many of the songs covered in the present chapter. In the analyses that follow, however, I touch as frequently upon the manner in which the music qualifies the words, infusing them with an emotional appeal that contrasts with their lyrics to varying degrees. In some songs, the music colors ironic words with sentiment; in others, with propulsive exuberance. This tension between involvement and distance is one of the most interesting and characteristic traits of the genre.

The Song about Entertainment as Reflexive Song

Through various means—explicit statements, poetic or implicit associations—production songs define the larger enterprises of which they are a part: the American musical as a genre; theatre; cinema; and the entertainment industry. Strictly speaking, these should only be dubbed “reflexive songs” if they are also about the music matrix. Nevertheless, the distinction between songs about show business and those about music is to a large extent a moot one, for entertainment itself is predominantly associated with music in these reflexive songs. Of songs about entertainment in the sample of productions, a majority—70%—also mention the music matrix. Through these allusions the greater

enterprise of show business is linked to the nexus of music, song, and dance. Thus, by implication, all performance becomes musical performance.

As well, this association of entertainment with music further defines the nature of music. In part, in these songs, the music matrix becomes associated with the characteristics of larger entertainment structures. Martin Rubin states that musicals draw on two performance forms: on the one hand, dramatic narrative; on the other, variety entertainment, part of what he calls “the aggregate tradition.”² Through reflexive songs, music becomes linked to the characteristics of both components: the make believe, the imitation, and suspension of disbelief at the core of dramatic narrative; and the exhibitionism, the putting of the self on display, associated most strongly with aggregate entertainment. Irving Berlin hints at the connection of music with such overarching entertainment structures in a version of “There’s No Business Like Show Business” written for Gene Kelly to sing in *That’s Entertainment, Part 2* (1974):

Refrain: ... I discovered Singin’ in the Rain meant
An entertainment,
Not just a song. ...

Berlin asserts that “a song,” such as “Singin’ in the Rain,” is also an “entertainment.” It is so, not only as part of several larger enterprises—the routining of the song, the overall show which contains that routine, the genre to which the show belongs, and the entertainment industry that subsumes them all—but also in itself. The constituents of a song are not just words and music, but also the whole world of entertainment that a song encapsulates. It is show business wrapped up in one convenient little package—available as a commodity, for sale as sheet music or in a recording, made to interact with when dancing or to participate in while singing in the bath. Therefore my definition of

² Martin Rubin, *Showstoppers*, 14-19.

“reflexive song” in the American musical must accommodate even those few songs about entertainment that do not mention music. Reflexive songs are a synecdoche representing all of show business.

Self-Conscious Moments in the Dramaturgical Structure

Reflexive songs about entertainment display a self-consciousness about the ways and means of musical comedy production. A balanced view of the place of these songs within their productions, however, must take into account the many additional techniques used to convey such reflexive awareness. Remarkably, all the musicals in the sample of productions exhibit, through one means or another, a strong self-consciousness about their own elements—particularly about the conventions and artifice so manifest in the genre. Sometimes the narrative allows for the acknowledgement of the acts of singing and dancing by way of a structural device, such as a show-within-the-show. Such large-scale structures, however, are not required. Perhaps most commonly, brief moments of dialogue can pointedly draw attention to the presence of the music matrix.

Indeed, each show creates varied planes of self-consciousness. Some are revealed through dialogue, some through staging, lighting, and so forth; and they occur at scattered moments throughout the course of events. These different manifestations are often employed without much concern for consistent verisimilitude but, nevertheless, usually have some sort of dramaturgical justification.

The opening scene of the sample production *Oklahoma!* (1943) provides a well-known example of fluctuating self-consciousness in the American musical. Early on,

Curly and Aunt Eller establish in dialogue that the former is “a-singin’” his aubade, “Oh, What a Beautiful Mornin’.” Further, Laurey, when she enters, comments on the quality of Curly’s singing voice. When next he sings, however, for “The Surrey with the Fringe on Top,” there is no acknowledgement from any of the three characters that Curly’s verbal expression again takes the mode of song. Throughout the ensuing action, singing is not acknowledged as such until the dialogue during “The Farmer and the Cowman” at the start of the second act. Similarly, dancing is acknowledged *as dancing* during the dialogue that precedes the first choreographic sequence—in the midst of the “Kansas City” number—but the activity passes without special comment in later sequences of the same scene, such as for the ensemble reprise of “Oh, What a Beautiful Mornin’” or during “Many a New Day.” Dance remains unmentioned until the lyrics of “The Farmer and the Cowman” give verbal acknowledgement of its presence. Thus, the start of each act features a self-consciousness about singing and dancing, which is then dropped. The verbal allusions are used as a dramaturgical device. Such intermittent acknowledgements of the acts of singing and dancing *as such* throughout a show represent the most common type of self-consciousness found in the sample of productions.

These instances from *Oklahoma!* intrude only modestly on the show’s general oblivion of its own artifice; nevertheless, they do suggest an author behind the actions, granting or withholding the characters’ awareness of their own musical expression. *Oklahoma!* is also exemplary in that the most highly self-conscious moments found in the sample of productions tend to come either at beginnings, such as in prologues and opening choruses, or near conclusions, as in finalettos, finales, and eleven o’clock numbers. Part of this foregrounding of self-reference is the use of reflexive songs at the

end of shows. While reflexive songs represent 46% of songs in the sample of productions, they are incorporated into at least 56% of the finales examined for this study.³ This disproportionate prevalence is slight but significant. The end of an evening's entertainment often seems to require just such an increased self-consciousness as can well be supplied by reflexive songs.

This structure finds its parallel in other forms of narration. For example, Bordwell, Staiger, and Thompson discuss a similar pattern for all classical Hollywood cinema—including, of course, movie musicals.⁴ At the start of the movie, various cinematic techniques, such as intertitles, camera movement, images of billboards and newspapers, and so forth, create “a fairly knowledgeable and communicative narrator.”⁵ In the course of the action, “the narration becomes less self-conscious” and then “may reemerge more overtly in the later portions of the film.”⁶ This process constructs an authorial voice behind the storytelling, fluctuating in prominence at the various points. Reflexive songs are one device used in musicals to suggest an authorial voice and feature just such a relatively overt narration.

Feuer notes that songs she classifies as Odes to Entertainment are often reprised for the finales of movie musicals.⁷ This is not surprising in light of the increased self-consciousness of story endings. Feuer's generalization, however, does not hold true for the sample productions, which are mostly from an earlier era than her examples. In the

³ This figure cannot be given precisely. Some productions in the sample do not have finales in any conventional sense. In the case of some others, unfortunately, I have not been able to examine either part or all of the finale material. My distinct impression, however, is that this statistic would prove to be accurate, or perhaps even larger, if I were able to fill in the missing information.

⁴ David Bordwell, Janet Staiger, and Kristin Thompson, *Classical Hollywood Cinema*, 25-29.

⁵ Ibid, 28.

⁶ Ibid, 27, 29.

⁷ Jane Feuer, *Hollywood Musical*, 37.

sample, reflexive songs in finales tend to be about music, song, or dance; by contrast, songs that rhapsodize about entertainment as such are not usually used at the conclusion of a production. Pointing to this contrast leads to the topic of the next section: the historical shift from specific to generalized celebrations of entertainment.

Celebrating Entertainment

Irving Berlin's "There's No Business Like Show Business"^{TR} (*Annie Get Your Gun*, 1946) has become, as the songwriter himself put it, a "theme song" for the entertainment industry.⁸ By scholars, it is written about as a synecdoche for the musical genre's optimism and celebration of American self-invention. These themes are manifested in its exuberant lyrics: "That night you open and there you are, / next day on your dressing room they've hung a star."⁹ With this song, Berlin started a new cycle that flourished after the period covered in the present study. These generalized depictions of the exhilaration and rewards of theatre life can often also be read as an endorsement for theatricalizing life: Porter's "Be a Clown" (*The Pirate*, 1948), "Another Op'nin', Another Show," and "Brush Up Your Shakespeare" (both from *Kiss Me, Kate*, 1948); Freed and Brown's "Make 'Em Laugh" (from *Singin' in the Rain*, 1952), often cited as a near-plagiarism of "Be a Clown"; and two songs called "Applause, Applause," one by Ira Gershwin and Burton Lane (*Give a Girl a Break*, 1953) and the other by Lee Adams and Charles Strouse (*Applause*, 1970). Other spinoffs from "There's No Business Like Show

⁸ Irving Berlin is quoted by Robert Kimball and Linda Emmet, editors of *The Complete Lyrics of Irving Berlin*, 388.

⁹ Two scholars in particular explore this: Andrea Most, *Making Americans*, 128-131; and Carey Wall "There's No Business Like Show Business," 34-35.

Business” concentrate on describing the content of entertainment and its reception: Schwartz and Dietz’s “That’s Entertainment” (“A show that is really a show / sends you out with a kind of a glow,” *The Band Wagon*, 1953); and Stephen Sondheim’s “Comedy Tonight” (“Something appealing ... / something for everyone,” *A Funny Thing Happened on the Way to the Forum*, 1962). Both subcategories supply generalized celebrations of entertainment. These are relatively straightforward tributes to show business and are variously dubbed “hymns,” “odes,” and, most often, “anthems.”¹⁰ As this vocabulary reveals, critics interpret these songs as depicting a rapture that has a near-religious, quasi-sacred quality.

To an extent, the critical emphasis upon this small group of songs misrepresents a more inclusive corpus of reflexive songs about entertainment. First, historically, such generalized celebrations are a late development and only commence in 1946 with “There’s No Business Like Show Business.” Second, thematically, whenever earlier songs are paeanistic, their subject matter is not general, but specific. Such eulogies express nostalgic yearning for the childhood joys of fading entertainment forms, such as circuses and blackface minstrel shows and their parades. True, there do appear in the corpus a few musical toasts to current fashions, as when Irving Berlin praises motion pictures in “I Love the Movies” (from the sample production, *Stop! Look! Listen!*, 1915).

¹⁰ Jane Feuer calls these songs Odes to Entertainment; *Hollywood Musical*, 36. Gerald Mast uses the term “hymn”; *Can’t Help Singin’*, 198. Authors who use the term “anthems” in their discussions of various songs include: Timothy P. Donovan, “Annie Get Your Gun,” 535; Denny Martin Flinn, *Musical!: A Grand Tour* (New York: Schirmer Books, 1997), 389; Amy Henderson and Dwight Blocker Bowers, *Red, Hot, and Blue*, 156; Ethan Mordden, *Broadway Babies: The People Who Made the American Musical* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1983), 177, and *Beautiful Mornin’: The Broadway Musical in the 1940s* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 114; Andrea Most, *Making Americans*, 128; Carey Wall, “There’s No Business Like Show Business,” 25. Martin Gottfried does not use these terms, but nevertheless discusses “There’s No Business Like Show Business” in the same spirit, calling the song “not just a tribute, but, finally, the thing itself. ... the very spirit of the Broadway musical, perhaps of all theater”; *Broadway Musicals*, 244.

In addition, a few songs praise show girls, as in “Dames”^{TT} (the title song of 1934) and “Here’s to the Ladies” (from the sample production, *Ziegfeld Follies*, 1946). Notably, however, most such tributes appear when a branch of show business is late in its life. Only then does a genre become the fit subject for nostalgic treatment. I will offer three examples of these early celebratory songs. Two explicitly glorify memories of childhood entertainments: the circus in “Queen of the One-Ring Show” and the blackface minstrel parade of “Me and the Minstrel Ban’.” The third song, “Blow Your Horn,” alludes in a more implicit manner to circus traditions as it makes an exuberant statement of philosophy about self-promotion.

Songs about blackface minstrelsy and those about the circus both appear in Broadway shows prior to the period under study. For example, in 1891, “Song of the Circus,” a.k.a. “Houp La,” was featured in *The Lion Tamer*. Such circus songs flourished during the first three decades of the twentieth century, with thirty-one examples discernible in the combined corpus during that era—i.e., about one a year. The mid-1920s was a particularly prolific period for circus-themed productions, seeing such Broadway musicals as *Poppy* (1923), *Sunny* (1925), *The Circus Princess* (adapted from the Viennese, 1927), and the sample production *Rain or Shine* (1928), all of which featured circus-folk heroines. The brief burst of such Broadway shows occurred within five years of the decline of the American circus, as if in tribute to a faded rival.¹¹ Unlike blackface minstrelsy, however, the circus survives to the present day, albeit with diminished prominence. Not surprisingly, circus songs endure as an occasional convention for many

¹¹ According to the capsule history presented by Don B. Wilmeth, the “so-called golden age of American circus ... lasted until 1917”; *Variety Entertainment and Outdoor Amusements: A Reference Guide* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1982), 53. It is possible that the wave of circus-themed musicals may have been facilitated by a surfeit of unemployed circus artists.

decades, providing climaxes for shows such as *Jumbo* (the film version of 1962 features “Sawdust, Spangles and Dreams”) and *Barnum* (the penultimate song in this 1980 stage musical is “Join the Circus”).

The Old Town (1910) offers the earliest circus songs in the sample of productions, starting with its “Opening Chorus,” by lyricist-librettist George Ade and composer Gustav Luders. The first act of this musical farce focuses on the efforts of the two brash, impecunious young heroes to salvage their circus operation, find hidden pirate treasure, and win their childhood sweethearts against the wishes of the girls’ parvenue aunt. As with so many circuses in musical comedy, theirs is lacking in money and patronage. The show commences with an ensemble number for the circus folk. On the one hand, this opener praises the free, *carpe diem* lifestyle of the traveling entertainer: “We never look for troubles to borrow, / life is a joke.” On the other hand, these artists also bewail their lack of funds and food: “Though we’re devoted to art, you must know, / still we must eat ev’ry fortnight or so.” Thus, at the outset, the production explores the dynamic between work and entertainment. It presents an ambiguous depiction of professional performing, describing both a romanticized image of circus life and also the more realistic aspects of the business side of the venture. The ensuing scene shows these laborers about to go on strike. This crisis is only prevented by the wealthy uncle of the ingénues bestowing on them a gift of money to tide them over.

The stage clears, and the two ingénues and their chaperone, the comic Swede, Gustina, enter and soon deliver a song of fond recollection of past joys: “Queen of the One-Ring Show.” Importantly, it contrasts with the “Opening Chorus” by presenting a

straightforward celebration of the circus, covering all realistic concerns in a haze of nostalgia:

Gustina: Do you recall that blissful day
 The one-ring circus came our way,
 Tara! Oompah! Went the band
 Down the street
 Dressed so grand!
 Girls: Ta-ra—oompah—oompah—oompah!
 Went the circus band!
 Gustina: When with eager haste we went
 To the great big circus tent,
 That foolish clown with little hat,
 Each handsome spangled acrobat.
 The lady who with greatest ease
 Went flying on the high trapeze!
 I loved them all, but my delight—
 That bareback rider dressed in white.

Refrain: Mam'selle Terese!
 I never could guess
 How you stood on one toe on the top of a galloping
 Gee-gee! Gee-gee!
 While the band played soft and low.

Oh, sweet Terese,
 Your cute little dress
 It was made of lace curtains with flounces and scalloping
 You had me captured,
 My soul was enraptured,
 Oh, queen of the one-ring show!

Although the golden age of the American circus is said to have lasted up to the involvement of the United States in World War One, already the circus is presented with nostalgia in this 1910 song. The whole lyric uses the past tense and seeks to evoke a shared experience of youthful innocence. “Terese” is vaguely pan-European, combining the Spanish “Teresa” and the French “Therese”; the title “Mam'selle” hints at the latter origin. Thus, the bareback rider's moniker points to the Old World origins and international nature of this entertainment form. These connotations adhered to the circus even after it had long been an established American tradition. This venerable European

heritage adds to the nostalgic aura of the circus. The music matrix is alluded to in both verse and refrain, which specify that the band performed in the parade and during the show itself. Participation in this happy ruction consists of attendance and passive but spellbound, starstruck involvement as an audience member.

A recurring theme in songs about entertainment is the idealized persona of the star performer—whether fictional or real, whether celebrated or kidded (or both at once)—here, the eponymous “Queen of the One-Ring Show.” Although Gustina praises the clowns, acrobats, and even a lady aerialist, she was most delighted in spectatorship of another female form—the nearby yet elevated form of the bareback rider. The image of the equestrian artist is vivid and made almost intimately tactile through the details given of a costume that presumably both highlighted her femininity and defined her body in space. The song is adaptable to a rendition by a male singer, in which case this glorified image would be one of romanticized erotic appeal. Here, sung by a woman who is, presumably, recalling her own girlhood, Mam’selle Terese is depicted as a role model—a vision of both exalted womanhood and capable virtuosity.

Emulation of the performer is more explicit in “Me and the Minstrel Ban’.” Written by an African American songwriting pair, lyricist Alex Rogers and composer James Vaughn, it was part of the score for the sample production *In Dahomey*. Although the show premiered on Broadway in 1903, this song was added for its second Broadway run, in 1904. It was introduced by African American star George Walker, a sprightly, elegant performer, famous for his cakewalk. Walker did not perform in blackface, but nevertheless the lyric uses the conventionalized racial dialect of the minstrel song tradition.

Blackface minstrelsy is a topic of Broadway's reflexive songs from at least "The Minstrel Man" (*Aunt Bridget's Baby*, 1891) to "Minstrel Man" (*Lew Leslie's Blackbirds*, 1933). These songs flourished on Broadway during the period 1900 to 1930. The combined corpus indicates at least thirty-four examples. Such overt tributes also featured in a handful of movie musicals spanning a decade from "Minstrel Days" (*Hollywood Revue of 1929*) to "My Daddy Was a Minstrel Man" (*Babes in Arms*, 1939). There is one atavistic film recurrence when Irving Berlin reused "I'd Rather See a Minstrel Show," originally from the 1919 edition of the *Ziegfeld Follies*, in *White Christmas* (1954). The end of an era of acceptance of minstrelsy in both the Broadway and Hollywood musical is better represented by the "Minstrel Parade" sequence in *Love Life* (1948), in which Alan Jay Lerner and Kurt Weill apply biting satire to the convention.

In contrast to the passive spectator of "Queen of the One-Ring Show," the protagonist of "Me and the Minstrel Ban'" is able to yoke his identification with the performers to a more active participation in their activities, i.e., by marching along:

Verse one: When a boy I was crazy 'bout a brass ban',
 And de ole folks heard de news,
 For as soon as de minstrel bills went up,
 They'd hide all my good shoes.
 If I'd had ma choice of all de jobs in this United lan'
 From being the president in a bank down to running a boot-black stan',
 I'd give up any old job on earth just to be a minstrel man;
 Git a big long coat an' a high silk hat,
 Go marchin' wid de ban'
 Wid de ban', wid de ban', while marchin' wid de ban.

Refrain: Away up front march de two main guys who holds de show in han';
 Then comes a bunch of the very best performers in de lan';
 Then here I comes wid my face lit up wid a smile serene and blan';
 I'm a show man too for an hour or so,
 Me and de Minstrel Ban'.

Parades, whether based in military or show business activities, are always depicted in glorious terms in the corpus—there is scarcely a hint of criticism or shade of satire of the

phenomenon in any of these songs. The chance for the audience to march in the trail of a parade, or even alongside, blends vicarious identification and active participation. This mixture seems to be the one that American musicals most eagerly promote. The implicit message is “come and be a performer, too.”

Here, as with the circus in “Queen of the One-Ring Show,” the minstrel show is both celebrated for its immediacy and vitality and yet presented as part of the past. The glow of nostalgic reminiscence is more pertinent for blackface minstrelsy than for the circus, for the prime era of the minstrel shows had faded by 1904 when the song was presented.¹² The protagonist’s recollection of innocent childhood enthusiasm is implicitly condescended to as naïve, but nevertheless the infectious delight of the experience is transmitted. The musical nature of the entertainment is highlighted through the repeated emphasis on the band; the irresistible physical response to the music is implicit.

Further, however, lyricist Rogers also depicts a strong element of make believe and conveys the thrill of imitation. The minstrel performers are clearly role models for the protagonist’s youthful self, and he is able to take on a new identity through this identification. As “part” of the parade, he can presumably feel both the happiness of safe movement through the city’s thoroughfares and the titillating promise of self-invention offered by theatre.

The protagonist prefers the values of entertainment over those of the work ethic. The contrast between the opposing forces is made explicit in the verse: “From being president in a bank to running a boot-black stan’, / I’d give up any old job on earth just to be a minstrel man.” The baldness of this statement is matched only occasionally

¹² Don B. Wilmeth states that the peak for blackface minstrelsy in America was about 1870; *Variety Entertainment and Outdoor Amusements*, 121.

throughout the corpus. Irving Berlin, however, supplies two further instances. In both the verse and the dialogue introducing “Let Me Sing and I’m Happy”^{TR} (*Mammy*, 1930), Al Jolson declares that he prefers to be a singer over being a lawmaker or banker. Similarly, in *Follow the Fleet* (1936), Fred Astaire sings through stanza after stanza rejecting worldly attainments, such as marrying for wealth or being an industrialist or politician. He announces instead, “I’d Rather Lead a Band.”^{TT}

Altman argues that this dichotomy—the values of entertainment versus the work ethic—is a major theme in the American film musical.¹³ In the sample of productions, this dynamic is clearly expressed in 9% of the reflexive songs, and these are featured in 40% of the shows. The topic is more common than this might suggest, however, as it is frequently manifested in the larger structures of the plot and in the context created for the songs, rather than in their explicit content. In “Me an’ the Minstrel Ban’,” however, the conflict is clear: the thrills of movement, music, and make believe take priority over all other, more worldly attainments. In psychoanalytic terms, the pleasure principle supercedes the reality principle.

One thing entertainment offers business is a tradition of attention-grabbing promotion. For example, in the second act of *The Old Town*, the heroes apply their show business savvy to a political campaign. Through theatrical methods of ballyhoo, they succeed in getting the uncle of the ingénues elected as governor. Thus, the tradition of puffery attached to the circus and other entertainment forms is offered as a paradigm for social behavior.

¹³ Rick Altman, *American Film Musical*, 48-49 and passim.

Irving Berlin's song "Blow Your Horn" (from the sample production *Stop! Look! Listen!*, 1915) extols this same model, reflecting an era when "it pays to advertise" was a catch phrase and modern publicity was entering into its own. The character who introduces the song is the symbolically-named theatrical manager, the impecunious Owen Coyne. Several allusions to the music matrix appear, both literal and figurative, such as the title phrase. The touchstone of the lyric, however, is the entrepreneur P.T. Barnum. This mogul of early American show business was already a legend within his lifetime. Obituaries upon his 1891 decease acclaimed him as a "natural genius" of advertising whose "name was a proverb" for deceitful puffery and ballyhoo.¹⁴ Here, Coyne takes such methods as a model for all his conduct:

Verse one: Barnum and Bailey were wonderful showmen—
 In the theatrical world, there are no men
 Who would claim to be their equal;
 And the sequel
 Was they made the tin, packed them in ev'ry season.
 I know it well, and I'll tell you the reason:
 They were a pair of handbill throwers,
 Horn blowers—
 You must talk about yourself
 Or they'll put you on the shelf.

Refrain: Blow your horn,
 Let 'em know you're comin';
 Blow your horn,
 That'll start 'em hummin'.

Just make a whole lot of noise;
 The only way to collar ev'ry dollar
 Is to holler.

Mister Barnum said
 Ev'ry other minute
 There's another one born.

¹⁴ These quotes are from the 8 April, 1891, obituary in the *New York Times*; the latter phrase is, in turn, taken by that American newspaper from the *London Times* obituary of Barnum. My source is the New York Times On the Web Learning Center; <http://www.nytimes.com/learning/general/onthisday/bday/0705.html>.

You'll strike it
 Just like Barnum;
 Make 'em like it.
 God darn 'em—
 Yell out,
 You'll sell out
 If you'll only blow your horn.

Verse two: Some people argue against advertising;
 How they can feel as they do is surprising.
 I'm a walking eight-sheet poster—
 I'm a boaster.
 The Red, White, and Blue and its value was doubted
 Till Georgie Coh'n started singing about it;
 Now ev'ryone who was against it
 Commenced it.
 You will be a household word
 If you just make yourself heard.

Irving Berlin offers the show business ballyhoo as a paradigm for all advertising and, indeed, for all self-presentation throughout life. In Coyne's song, the business-oriented work ethic and entertainment are reconciled through two arguments. First, the exemplary promoters Barnum and Bailey made money. Altman summarizes this argument as espoused in the genre: "Good entertainment *is* good business."¹⁵ Moreover, Berlin seems to say, if you apply the methods of theatrical promotion to all of life, if you present an image of yourself as an important person, then that leads to genuine success. The make believe creates the reality. Even the noble sentiments of patriotism can be created through hyperbolic description, as George M. Cohan does with his patriotic songs—"Yankee Doodle Boy," "It's a Grand Old Flag," and so on. Cohan presents a model of patriotism, and everybody rushes to imitate. Declare that "everybody's doing it," and everybody will do it.

¹⁵ Rick Altman, *American Film Musical*, 49.

Within the context of the script for *Stop! Look! Listen!*, “Blow Your Horn” takes on yet another shading. In the dialogue that leads into the song, Coyne is trying to convince his show girls not to desert him, even though his female star has walked out:

Coyne: (Desperately) Girls! For heaven’s sake! Would you ruin me? Don’t leave me! Let the prima donnas walk out—the actors die—the authors and composers lose their memories, but leave me my ponies and my clothes-horses, and musical comedy will still go on, as long as the Press Agent will let them know we’re on earth.

This dialogue implies that the females on theatrical display—the “ponies,” i.e. dancers, and “clothes-horses,” i.e. show girls—are the main items being promoted. The chorus girl is the essential attraction for musical comedy. In advertising her presence, she becomes a commodity—another product to be sold. Lest this be seen as a degraded position, however, Coyne goes on in his song to create an implicit parallel between his own self-promotion and the publicity he gives his “girls.” He and they are equally inflated images—facades more than substance. Yet, in the song, this insubstantial puffery is offered to the listeners as the model for how to conduct oneself in life, how to invent the self. Even something as serious as nationalist sentiment is included in the nexus of image-making; perhaps even the nation is an invention. Glorify yourself and the world will follow your attitude.

This point of view is presented, however, in a tone that mixes conviction and irony. Certainly, Coyne ignores the importance of substance and content. This omission is as lighthearted a conceit, however, as his claim that no one was a patriot before Cohan created his popular nationalistic songs. “Blow Your Horn” does not have the qualities of an anthem and is clearly not a sober statement of philosophy. Yet the infectious exuberance of the lyric is momentarily convincing, and the lively tempo—marked

“moderato” for the verse but probably intended to be faster for the refrain — and the syncopated melody create a propulsive momentum that reinforces the declaration.

“Blow Your Horn,” like “Queen of the One-Ring Show,” orients towards the nineteenth-century circus; “Me and the Minstrel Ban” toward the blackface minstrel show. All three refer back to entertainment forms imbued with nostalgia. This is a strategy noted in movie musicals by both Altman and Feuer; the latter dubs it “conservative reflexivity.”¹⁶ Neither scholar, however, discusses the prevalence of such allusions in lyrics. In instances such as these, the genre’s characteristic nostalgia is concentrated within an exhilarating thirty-two bars of song.

Indeed, when examined more closely, even the later anthem-like songs are nostalgic for earlier entertainment genres, although they are cleverly designed to conceal that fact. “There’s No Business Like Show Business,” in context, celebrates the defunct genre of the Wild West show — which, loosely speaking, can be taken as a species of circus show. Amidst the two verses and four refrains of the song, however, the only allusion to the circus or Wild West Show is an implicit one in two lines of a verse: “The roustabouts ... / the sawdust and the horses and the smell.” “Be a Clown” is implicitly about the circus. “Make ‘Em Laugh” is about slapstick comedy. Both songs celebrating the immediacy of “Applause, Applause” do so in the face of the victory of those electronic media that separate the performer from the audience and render applause unnecessary. Gershwin and Lane do so in the context of a movie; the nostalgia for live performance is implicit but clear. Adams and Strouse do it in a live show and, in that context, their song makes a particularly appropriate bow reprise. *Applause*, however, is

¹⁶ Rick Altman, *American Film Musical*, 272-273, 332-333, and passim; Jane Feuer, *Hollywood Musical*, 96-106 and passim, quote from p. 102;

the stage version of a film. It opened on Broadway during the period of a particularly pronounced decrease in the importance of stage musicals.¹⁷ Further, the play depicts the early career of the protagonist through a montage of projected movie clips of her film career. The triumph of the movies is a *fait accompli* within that historical and dramaturgical context; and it is this against which “Applause, Applause” reacts. “That’s Entertainment” and “Comedy Tonight” are both compendiums of *traditional* plot elements. They spin out long lists of the clichéd tropes of dramatic narrative. Such later celebratory songs about entertainment and the theatricalized life certainly are different in their generalized nature from the earlier reflexive songs that nostalgically celebrate specific entertainments of the past. They can also be seen, however, as a continuation of that earlier tradition, with only the slight alteration of a deliberate, predominant, but nevertheless only partial, lack of specificity about the entertainment forms they are celebrating.

Life and Love as Drama

Show business as a model for the “real life” behavior of characters is also seen in a handful of songs that present romance as a play or a movie. This theme is sometimes presented explicitly in the verse to a song, but then only hinted at in a refrain that concentrates on more generalized sentiments. Such is the case with “Only in the Play” (from the sample production *The Fortune Teller*, 1898), “By the Light of the Silvery Moon”^{TT} (*Ziegfeld Follies of 1909*), “A Picture I Want to See” (first in *Miss 1917*, and

¹⁷ This decreased cultural importance after the mid-1960s has been remarked upon by numerous musical theatre historians and is strongly indicated through the cessation of Broadway songs and albums in the charts of top forty popular recordings after 1966.

then in the sample production *Oh! Lady! Lady!!*, 1918), “Make Believe”^{TT} (from the sample production *Show Boat*, 1927), and “Rain or Shine” (the title song of the sample production of 1928). The depiction of *dramatis personae* who model their romance on conventions of theatre and film is more fully worked out in the refrains of one Broadway song—Irrving Berlin’s “When the Curtain Falls” (*Going Up*, 1918)—and three Hollywood songs: “If I Had a Talking Picture of You”^{TT} (*Sunny Side Up*, 1929), “Our Big Love Scene”^{TR} (*Going Hollywood*, 1934), and “You’re Slightly Terrific” (from the sample production *Pigskin Parade*, 1936). This was never a very prevalent convention in show songs. It occurs in only 7% of the sample productions; and the examples listed here represent less than 1% of the reflexive songs in the overall corpus. Their significance, rather, is in the manner in which they lay bare a chief characteristic of the American musicals: romantic clichés and the shows’ own self-consciousness about that conventionality.

Almost all the *dramatis personae* who sing these songs are themselves performers—some amateur, some professional. The characters’ frames of reference are theatrical. Thus, the songs take their place within an overall dramaturgical structure that includes shows-within-the-show and, because of this, they take on thematic significance. This metaphor recurs as late as the 1970s, in two examples that are, again, introduced by characters who are stage folk: the disillusioned Desiree who sings “Send in the Clowns” (*A Little Night Music*, 1973); and the larger-than-life director and star who simultaneously soliloquize about “sharing the light of love, stage center” in “Our Private World” (*On the Twentieth Century*, 1978).

Most of the songs that self-consciously create a metaphorical relationship between the love affairs of the *dramatis personae* and dramatic conventions of romance are lightly playful. Irving Berlin's "When the Curtain Falls," from *Going Up* (1918), can be taken as exemplary. Subtitled "First Act, Second Act, Third Act," the song describes the standard trajectory of a New Comedy plot within its thirty-two bar refrain:

Verse one:

She: I have a cute idea for a play...

Maybe you will not like it a lot.

He: Tell me about your play.

Refrain: In the first act a girl and boy appear;

In the second act their fam'lies interfere:

A row is started, they're brokenhearted,

And soon they're parted, for one long year.

In the third act the lovers meet again,

And before they take their curtain calls,

We see them spending a happy ending

In the last act when the curtain falls.

Verse two:

She: What do you think of my little play?

He: I think it simply great...

She: I'd love to be the girl in the play.

He: I'd love to be the boy.

The plot of *Going Up* resembles the pattern described in Berlin's song: a three-act structure; the meeting; a blocking force, mostly supplied by the hero's rival, rather than by the parents specified in the song; and the final romantic resolution. The characters within that plot are depicted as longing to imitate the paradigm provided by conventional romantic fiction. Seemingly, this model of temporarily frustrated desire appeals mainly for the promise of a romanticized erotic relationship at its end. As lyricist Edward Madden puts it in the second verse to "By the Light of the Silvery Moon," the resolution of the play promises "ev'ry night the same encore"—the idealized sex act, endlessly repeated.

By taking the conventions of romantic comedy as their paradigm, these *dramatis personae* provide encouragement for the audience of *Going Up* to take this model, in general, and that of *Going Up*, in particular, as their inspiration. “I’d love to be the girl in the play / I’d love to be the boy,” they state, and thus imply that the audience, too, should aspire to recreate these fictions. This is not the whole story, however, for the song is mixed in tone and effect. Berlin keeps his overall tone playful through the conversational style of the words and the liveliness of the verse melody. By contrast, the melody of the refrain is smooth-flowing, concentrating on lyrical, step-wise writing for the initial phrases and their repetition. Although this music lends the song a wistful innocence, the lyric serves to reveal and highlight the artificiality of the ideals of romance through its blatant baring of the conventions of the surrounding show. Through this combination of techniques, Berlin manages to create both a deconstruction of and advertisement for romantic fantasies.

Parody, Irony, and Reversal

Although no previous writer has noted this generality, songs which self-consciously parody or reverse their own conventions are a major characteristic of the American musical. This is not surprising in light of the satirical tendencies that are historically important in comedy since Aristophanes and are found in the sample productions from the start of the period under study. This is the aspect of the genre that Stanley Green has called “its special knack at pricking balloons and exposing foibles.”¹⁸

¹⁸ Stanley Green, *Ring Bells! Sing Songs!*, 15.

There is a complex relationship between comedy and such related genres as satire, parody, and burlesque. Further, as mentioned above, these forms overlap with the techniques and attitudes associated with irony. For the purposes of the following discussion, I will adopt simplified definitions of two key terms. By “parody,” I refer to a poking fun at artistic modes, a satire directed at art. “Irony” indicates the presence of two meanings: one is obvious, clearly stated, and explicit; and the other is implicit and at some degree of variance with the first.

Scholars have analyzed specific instances of parody in the canon of the American musical. For instance, some focus on the genre’s satire of highbrow art forms. Thus, Feuer remarks on the penchant of movie musicals to critique opera and ballet; and Robert Lawson-Peebles looks at the parody of Shakespeare in the film version of *Kiss Me, Kate* (1953).¹⁹ Bruce Babbington comments on dances in *The Band Wagon* (1953) that are “enfolded in irony,” making fun of the conventional, idealized image of female innocence.²⁰ Gerald Mast refers to several specific examples of parody, particularly in works by the Gershwin brothers—in songs, like “Sam and Delilah” or “By Strauss,” and in whole scores, such as for *Of Thee I Sing* (1931).²¹ Despite such highly-focused analyses, no writer offers an extensive discussion of self-satire and irony as basic generic tendencies. The use of parody and irony in canonical works can only be understood within a larger context of the prevalent use of these approaches throughout a more representative corpus.

¹⁹ Jane Feuer, *American Film Musical*, 57-65; Robert Lawson-Peebles, “Brush Up Your Shakespeare.”

²⁰ Bruce Babbington, “Jumping on The Band Wagon Again: Oedipus Backstage in the Father and Mother of All Musicals,” in *Musicals: Hollywood and Beyond*, ed. Bill Marshall and Robynn Stilwell, 31-39, at 37.

²¹ Gerald Mast, *Can’t Help Singin’*, 69-70, 78-82.

The majority of the sample productions—81% of them—feature songs that make fun of or otherwise reverse the most predominant conventions of the genre—i.e., musical comedy dramaturgy (the use of the chorus, the alternation of song and speech, etc.), and the themes of idealized heterosexual romance and the music matrix. The example offered by Mast, *Of Thee I Sing*, is remarkable among the shows examined in the present study: nineteen of its twenty-four musical numbers incorporate such parody, irony, or reversal. Nevertheless, it is not alone in making this a major preoccupation and structural device. Other such examples in the sample include: *Whoop-Dee-Doo* (1903), *Hello, Broadway!* (1914), *A Night at the Opera* (1935), and *I'd Rather Be Right* (1937). Even highly conventional musicals often contain a large number of songs that can be analyzed as parodic: *Babes in Toyland* (1903) has five, as have *Fantana* (1905), *The Red Mill* (1906), *The Night Boat* (1920), and *Pigskin Parade* (1936). Eleven other sample productions have six or more. In other scores, such reversals may occur in only a single song or even merely a short section of a song. Songs of parody and irony are less numerous than those that explicitly valorize the music matrix. Nevertheless, the former feature in almost as many shows in the sample of productions as the latter.

The use of parody and irony in the American musical must be understood in relationship to the contrasting bent of the genre towards self-promotion and glorification of its own elements. In looking at how these two aspects interrelate, it is helpful to go to the ancient conceptions of boastful and humble character types. In his *Ethics*, Aristotle discusses the *alazon*, who brags about himself, and the *eirone*, the man who deprecates

himself.²² In songs about the music matrix, the American musical tends to be an *alazon*—filled with descriptions, sometimes rather hyperbolic, of the powerful effect of music. In songs that concentrate primarily on entertainment, however, the genre tends to be an *eiron*—practicing deprecation and especially self-deprecation. Further, combining this Aristotelian analysis with the current concept of the ironist leads to an additional clarification: the self-deprecation also operates ironically—i.e. to indicate its opposite—and therefore becomes a form of self-praise. As will be illustrated below, this is the technique employed in the American musical.

In reflexive songs, both boastful and ironic allusions to the traditions of musical comedy work to create a sense of community among the artists and audience members. In a study that discusses self-reference and intertextuality in the theatre, Marvin Carlson articulates how this technique of parody takes advantage of a pool of common reference points among the various spectators:

however individual uses of this device may mix such concerns as mockery and celebration or reaffirmation and subversion, parody in the theatre has in all periods functioned as a device to further reinforce the collective and ongoing nature of the theatergoing community. ... A great deal of pleasure derives from the shared recognition of the parody's references ... and also of the fact that the recognition *is* shared.²³

²² Aristotle's discussion is in his *Nicomachean Ethics*, Book II.7, 1107b-1108a. I draw more, however, from Northrup Frye's application of Aristotle's characterizations to literary analysis in *Anatomy of Criticism: Four Essays* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1957), 40.

²³ Marvin Carlson, *The Haunted Stage: The Theatre as Memory Machine* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2001), 39; italics in the original.

The intertextual aspects of parody implicate the audience, encouraging them to feel they are part of a community—a group of people with shared points of reference. Feuer and others note the propensity of Hollywood musicals to satirize highbrow forms such as concert music and ballet; and this is a recurring element in the genre. Musicals cast such a wide net for their parody, however, including a great deal of self-parody, that I would suggest that *the specific targets are less important than the very act of parodying*. The communal sense of shared cultural knowledge is more important than what constitutes the specific topic of attack.

With this in mind, it is not surprising that 70% of the songs about entertainment in the sample of productions have some element of parody or reversal of expectations. These songs contrast with the more straightforward, celebratory spirit behind “Queen of the One-Ring Show,” “Me and the Minstrel Ban’,” and their descendants such as “There’s No Business Like Show Business” and “That’s Entertainment.” The ironic songs contrast in tone even with those songs that exuberantly celebrate the comic spirit itself, such as “Be a Clown” and “Comedy Tonight.”

Two early hit production songs, both written by lyricist William Jerome and composer Jean Schwartz, illustrate the parodic tendencies of the typical reflexive song about entertainment: “When Mr. Shakespeare Comes to Town (I Don’t Like Them Minstrel Folks)”^{TT} (*The King’s Carnival* and *Hoity-Poity*, both 1901) and “Hamlet Was a Melancholy Dane”^{TT} (*Mr. Bluebeard*, 1903). In one, Jerome uses a third-person verse and a first-person refrain to tell the story of a protagonist with a typical blackface persona,

Mandy Snow.²⁴ In the other song, Jerome creates a slangy but non-dialect account, told in first-person throughout its entirety. The protagonist is caricatured on the sheet music cover as a homely, bearded, balding white male. Both songs, however, equally imply an “ideal audience” that is familiar with both variety entertainment and Shakespearian drama. An excerpt of each will convey their flavor:

Verse one: ... And Mandy said, ... “These minstrel shows ain’t got no sense ...
Only common folks go there” ...

Refrain: “... I doesn’t care for the end-men’s jokes,
I has no use for the musical mokes,
And I don’t like a circus clown ...
And I’ll promise like a lady that I’ll go along with you
When Mr. Shakespeare comes to town.”

Verse one: ... ‘Twas a dreamy, dopey, sad affair
Of a gent with disappointed hair, ...

Refrain: ... I tried to laugh a little but there wasn’t any chance,
He didn’t do a song or even do a funny dance ...
For Hamlet was a melancholy Dane.

Mandy Snow objects to minstrel shows and prefers the plays of “Mr. Shakespeare.” Her tastes are highbrow. In contrast, the protagonist of the other song is bored by Hamlet, Shakespeare’s “disappointed heir,” and longs instead for “a song or ... a funny dance.” His tastes are lowbrow. Despite their difference of opinion, both protagonists censure a specific theatrical form: “Minstrel shows are bad”; “*Hamlet* is bad.”

These disparagements, however, are modified by the songwriters’ implicit critiques of the protagonists and their limited viewpoints. Even while the protagonists make fun of minstrelsy or Shakespeare, they are themselves pictured as being fit subjects

²⁴ The back of the sheet music of “When Mr. Shakespeare Comes to Town” also features two verses that introduce a different protagonist, one without any dialect markers—a professional minstrel performer who is a keen observer of theatrical reactions. A third special material verse-refrain introduces a new topic, also conveyed without dialect, satirizing the contemporaneous fad for political “John Doe” jokes.

for ridicule. Theatre that would be praised by the likes of Mandy Snow or the uncultured attendee of *Hamlet* is implicitly deprecated by the songwriters. Thus the opposite of the explicit message is also present: “Shakespeare is bad”; “Song-and-dance is bad.”

Therefore, the complementary attitude is also implied. Theatre that is deprecated by Mandy and the Hamlet-spectator is actually being praised by the songwriters:

“Minstrel shows are good”; “*Hamlet* is good.” The denigrated form is thereby elevated.

In this way, Jerome simultaneously satirizes both lowbrow and highbrow forms, no matter which is his ostensible target.

Therefore, in both songs, the content offers a critique of the elements of popular musical theatre—in one case, explicitly, and, in the other, implicitly. In yet a further shade of meaning, however, the form and setting of both examples contradicts that deprecation; for the songs themselves are Tin Pan Alley-styled pop songs within musical comedies and thus implicitly cast a vote in favor of that genre’s conventions. Yet, which genre has the last laugh? Ultimately, it is impossible to determine which is the main butt of satire—lowbrow variety or highbrow Shakespearian drama. Timothy Scheurer claims that “in the period from 1890 to 1920 ... if [songwriters] made an allusion to high culture or serious art it was in the form of denigration.”²⁵ A closer examination of songs such as the two by Jerome and Schwartz, however, reveals a far more complicated message: through multiple layers of irony, both high and low art are simultaneously denigrated and glorified. Songs of the whole period covered by the present survey feature the co-

²⁵ Timothy E. Scheurer, “‘Thou Witty’: The Evolution and Triumph of Style in Lyric Writing, 1890-1950,” in *American Popular Music: Readings from the Popular Press, Volume I: The Nineteenth Century and Tin Pan Alley*, ed. Timothy E. Scheurer (Bowling Green, Ohio: Bowling Green State University Popular Press, 1989), 104-119, at 117.

presence of these varied messages; and these ambiguities imbue production songs with their depth and complexity.

Jerome and Schwartz's two songs are representative of early songs about entertainment. Most cast a wide net for their satire. For example, in *Fantana* (1905), two such comedy songs cover a broad range. In "That's Art," the lead comic skewers five types of performance: the gyrations of classical conductors; the alternating pretensions and trivialities of variety shows; melodramas; macaronic productions of serious drama; and weightlifting exhibitions. In "My Word," the comedienne takes potshots at both the scratchy, low fidelity recordings of great opera singers and Coney Island "couchee-couchee" dancers. Both manage to cover all bases, free-handedly ribbing the highbrow, the middlebrow, and the lowbrow.

The Social Whirl (1906) also features a pair of comedy songs about entertainment. "Just Kids" burlesques both "Bowery type" melodrama and British songwriters who attempt to imitate American ragtime songs and only end up ludicrously representing Troy, New York, as a Southern plantation home. "She Played the Calliope" makes fun of circus "freaks," as well as "society belles" who go into show business. Other production songs aim at only one target: the circus muscle man who can't contain his strength, "Signor Mons. Muldoni" (*The Fortune Teller*, 1898); or the glamorous soubrette who dangles men on a string, "Mignonette" (*The Red Mill*, 1903). One sample production, however, concentrates upon such parody throughout: *Hello, Broadway!* (1914). In it, George M. Cohan ribs co-star William Collier, Al Jolson, George Bernard Shaw, numerous other playwrights, and himself.

All these humorous critiques of entertainment convey an ironic stance. It is within the context of this pervasive irony that writers sometimes supply songs that seem to create negative connotations for entertainment and the music matrix. This tendency has already been illustrated in Chapter Two, in songs that valorize one form of music over all other types, such as “I Love a Piano,”^{TT} and in those that seemingly protest against rhythmically compelling vernacular music while simultaneously supplying it, like “Stop That Rag”^{TT} or “Fascinating Rhythm.”^{TT}

Any discussion of the lyrics of Lorenz Hart properly falls into the context of this generic tendency toward the ironic. The lyricist is particularly notable for frequently putting a negative twist into his reflexive songs. Hart is scarcely alone in purveying ambiguous attitudes toward the music matrix; indeed, examples from other songwriters will be discussed in Chapter Five. Nevertheless, for no other major writer is this trait such a hallmark of his oeuvre. It is an index of a chief characteristic of his style—a worldly and sophisticated discernment that encompasses disillusionment.

In some instances, Hart’s implicit compliment to the music matrix is easy to infer. The protagonist of “Where’s That Rainbow”^{TR} (*Peggy-Ann*, 1926) asks, “where’s that blue room they sing about?” Although vocal music is alluded to ruefully, it is clear that “they sing” because they are happy about their “blue room.” Similarly, in “Spring Is Here”^{TR} (*I Married an Angel*, 1937), the protagonist inquires, “why doesn’t my heart go dancing?” His answer: “Because nobody loves me.” If the singer had love, his heart would dance. In a song from *By Jupiter* (1942), the chorus says that “maybe there’s a place where people never sing”; but their country could never be such a rotten place—oh, no, “Jupiter Forbid.” I dub such instances “double negative” allusions, because their

critique of the music matrix is canceled out. Indeed, they function as backhanded compliments. Although Hart's lyrics are particularly rife with instances of this technique, they are found throughout the corpus. Further examples will be illustrated in the next chapter.

Hart is also the lyricist for a series of rather strained "dance fever" songs, such as the enthusiastic but frenetic and overheated "Shuffle" (*Betsy*, 1926), "I Need Some Cooling Off" (*She's My Baby*, 1928), "Red Hot Trumpet" (*Spring Is Here*, 1929), and "Make Hey! Hey!" (from the London show *One Dam Thing After Another*, 1929). In two other songs, Hart even goes beyond these. Although the attribution to jazz dance of "crazy" qualities usually conveys an implicit, ironic praise, in "Crazy Elbows" (*Present Arms*, 1929) and "Knees" (*Heads Up!*, 1929), Hart overextends this depiction and thereby attaches predominantly unpleasant connotations to the music matrix.

Hart's depiction of the entertainment world is often one of toil and frustration. Such is the case in several examples: "Allez Up," which emphasizes the hard work of circus acrobats (*Garrick Gaieties*, 1926); "My Lucky Star," a plaint about the hard life of chorus girls (*Peggy-Ann*, 1926); and "This Goes Up," which exposes the falsity behind the smile of the exhausted stage dancer (*She's My Baby*, 1928). In "Ten Cents a Dance"^{TT} (*Simple Simon*, 1930), the labor is not only exhausting but also sordid.

In Hart's world, musicians, too, can be an unpleasant lot. So they are to the hardboiled protagonists of "The Heart Is Quicker than the Eye" ("Whistler's mother is a classic / mother's whistler was not," *On Your Toes*, 1936) and "To Keep My Love Alive" ("Sir Philip played the harp / I cussed the thing," *A Connecticut Yankee*, 1943 revival). In

“Happy Hunting Horn,” music becomes merely a background for the irrepressible girl-chasing of the eponymous anti-hero of *Pal Joey* (1940).

Even Hart’s exuberant reflexive showstoppers have a negative edge. The protagonist of “Johnny One Note”^{TR} (*Babes in Arms*, 1937) is a relentless stage-hog. “Sing for Your Supper” (*The Boys from Syracuse*, 1938) urges the listener to sing like the birds—not because they are happy and carefree, but because they are “courtesans,” as the verse puts it, whose erotic siren song gains them men’s attention and thereby food and luxuries. Hart thus creates a witty, musicalized depiction of the sexual marketplace. In “I Like to Recognize the Tune” (*Too Many Girls*, 1939), swing music is depicted as destructive cacophony, for “the melody is six feet under.”

Yet, although Hart’s use of irony is probably more exaggerated and harder edged than that of any other prominent lyricist, it is still irony. Underpinning even his most thorough parodies of entertainment forms lies his enthusiasm for these modes. This fondness is revealed in his biographical details. In one story, the director of *I Married an Angel* (1938), Josh Logan, tells of the development of “At the Roxy Music Hall,” a “wild conceit” by Rodgers and Hart that parodies Radio City Music Hall and other movie palace presentations.²⁶ Hart clearly delighted in giving the show’s leading talents a chance to display their abilities in this number:

“First, we’ll have a big symphony orchestra with stages going up and down, then the Radio City male chorus behind Dennis King, a specialty for [Walter] Slezak, Vivienne [Segal] and Audrey [Christie] as Rocketttes, the ballet corps for [Vera] Zorina. ... So

²⁶ Joshua Logan, *Josh: My Up and Down, In and Out Life* (New York: Delacorte Press, 1976), 122.

Zorina can dance [a surreal ballet] and [George] Balanchine can fry Dali's ass."²⁷

Plainly, Hart judged as absurd the scale and conventionality of the Radio City shows, yet also enjoyed their extravagance. It is notable, too, that this affectionate satire is directed at all three cultural levels: highbrow forms, such as surrealism; the middlebrow operetta convention of the male choral ensemble, such as those that Dennis King himself introduced during the 1920s; and the lowbrow precision kick line. All three are treated as both glorious and ridiculous—in fact, as gloriously ridiculous. Underlying the pleasure offered by this production number is the implied complicity with the audience over these shared points of reference.

In another parodic song, “Zip” (from the sample production *Pal Joey*, 1940), Hart satirizes stripteases in general and the intellectual pretensions of burlesque star Gypsy Rose Lee in particular. As part of this parody, the lyric features a wry variation on the genre’s usual celebration of the overpowering physicality of the music matrix. The protagonists of reflexive songs usually get carried away from all intellectual rationalizations by the thrill of music, dance, and performance. By contrast, the stripper-protagonist of “Zip” divorces herself from all physical sensations during her routine. Instead, she holds an internal monologue on art, culture, and philosophy. This is a witty reversal of musical comedy conventions.

Yet, through Rodgers’ sprightly, catchy melody and Hart’s witty play of rhyme and irony, a buoyant vitality suffuses “Zip.” Thus, it pays tribute to Lee and the striptease format at the same time it ribs them. Further, a lyric added during the run further

²⁷ Ibid.

complicates the song's message. *Pal Joey* was playing during the time that the radio networks refused to pay the high fees demanded by ASCAP. Since that music licensing organization controlled the prestigious output of Broadway songwriters, the effect was a removal of all show tunes from broadcasts and the substitution of songs either by lesser-known writers or in public domain. During this 1941 radio ban, Hart made the stripper in "Zip" his spokesperson, giving her new lines that critiqued the "bad music" heard over the airwaves. Thereby, Hart considerably modifies the apparently satirical stance of the lyric, because he identifies the song's protagonist with himself and Rodgers. These cases indicate the praise that underlies every such parody in reflexive production songs. As with all writers of American musicals during this era, Hart's deprecation is itself a sign of appreciation.

Contrarily, the musical often seems to convey an air of underlying irony even in its most aggrandizing statements; its appreciation is deprecation. This reversal manifests even in movie songs that are sometimes taken as simple celebrations of show business, such as "Dames"^{TT} (the title song of 1934) and "Hooray for Hollywood" (*Hollywood Hotel*, 1938). For example, "Dames" is classified by Feuer as an Ode to Entertainment; and Scheurer analyzes it similarly. He interprets the song as affirming that "the film musical offers entertainment for entertainment's sake and in this way serves some cryptic utilitarian purpose" as an escape from life's problems.²⁸ There are, however, both textual and contextual factors that prevent the song from being a straightforward tribute to the pleasures of musical comedy.

²⁸ Timothy E. Scheurer, "The Aesthetics of Form and Convention in the Movie Musical," in *Film Genre: Theory and Criticism*, ed. Barry K. Grant (Metuchen, N.J.: Scarecrow Press, 1977), 145-160, at 146.

The verse for “Dames” starts with a mocking self-deprecation of production songs. It inquires: “Who writes the words and music” to musical comedies? The answer is ironic in light of the ease and propulsion of Al Dubin’s lyrics and Harry Warren’s music: “No one cares and no one knows.” This seeming disparagement is effected in order to elevate the chorus girl as the one and only important element for a musical. Such a specific focus belies Scheurer’s analysis of the song as being about entertainment in general. There are more aspects, however, that further complicate any interpretation of the lyric as advocating escapism. Dubin depicts the kind of personal relationship between male audience members and women of show business that is conceivable with live theatre, but in a movie can only be interpreted as a strange mix of nostalgia and irony:

Refrain: What do you go for,
 Go see a show for? ...
 Oh! Dames
 Are temporary flames
 To you.
 Dames,
 You don’t recall their names,
 Do you?
 But their caresses
 And home addresses
 Linger in your mem’ry of
 Those beautiful dames.

As he does in his New York songs such as “Forty-Second Street,” Dubin celebrates the sexual availability of female performers. Through personal and intimate rhetorical flourishes and the elision of the plural and singular “you,” Dubin makes the song’s protagonist slyly complicit with the audience’s supposed sexual promiscuity. It is not possible, however, that any significant portion of the male audience for *Dames* could have any real personal interaction with the women on display in the film’s production

numbers. Once again, a tribute to an aspect of the entertainment world occurs late in the day, when it is nearly obsolete. This context lends a comic irony to the song's message.

Johnny Mercer's lyric for "Hooray for Hollywood" is similarly suffused with irony. The songwriter repeatedly emphasizes the "screwy," "phony" nature of the movie industry and belittles its elevation to stardom of the talentless: "Where you're terrific if you're even good."²⁹ In his biography of Mercer, Philip Furia quotes the lyricist and offers his own description:

"Hollywood seemed to me like a big put-on and I just tried to make a little fun of it," he [Mercer] said, but the satire had a biting edge. ... With little attention to Mercer's sardonic lyrics, "Hooray for Hollywood" has become the anthem of filmdom, regularly performed at the annual Academy Award ceremonies.³⁰

Feuer does not cite "Hooray for Hollywood" as an example of the Ode to Entertainment—although in many ways it fits her criteria closely, including in being reprised during the film's finale. She does cite, however, an equally satirical example, Cole Porter's "Stereophonic Sound" (*Silk Stockings*, 1955). Although originally a Broadway song, in its use in the 1957 film version it becomes a manifestation of the

²⁹ "Hooray for Hollywood" does not belong in the corpus of this study, for it is not by an anthologized lyricist (at the time of this writing), is not from a sample production, and was not a hit. Indeed, Ken Bloom reports that the song "is the most famous song of the decade of which no commercial 78 rpm recording was ever made"—perhaps because of the sardonic nature of the lyrics; see Bloom's *Hollywood Song*, 411. I have included a discussion of the song in order to assist in tracing the history of this type of satiric Ode to Entertainment.

³⁰ Philip Furia, *Skylark: The Life and Times of Johnny Mercer* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2003), 96-97.

movie industry's scathing yet paradoxical self-satire, similar to that found in "Hooray for Hollywood."

Feuer counts "Stereophonic Sound" as an Ode to Entertainment; she and Scheuerer interpret "Dames" similarly; and the Academy utilizes "Hooray for Hollywood" as an "anthem of filmdom." The shared element that opens all these songs to such an interpretation is, in each case, a driving, cut-time melody supplied by its composer—respectively, Cole Porter, Harry Warren, and Richard Whiting. Deprived of the sly attitudes of their words, the melodies become denuded of any sardonicism and convey a cheerful enthusiasm. The music most readily conjures up a repeated title phrase, not an entire complexly-rhymed lyric. This effect is readily apparent when the songs are played instrumentally, but is operant even when performed in a vocal rendition. While the music works to create a momentum that will engage the kinetic and emotional responses of the listeners, involving them in a thrilling rollercoaster ride, the lyrics create distance from emotion. The exuberant music colors the ironic words.

Irving Berlin's melody for "There's No Business Like Show Business" is composed along the same momentum-building lines as those of predecessors like "Dames" and "Hooray for Hollywood"; unlike them, however, the words mostly represent a straightforward paean. Yet some parts of Berlin's generally celebratory lyric do convey an ironic stance. The clearest example lies in the second refrain, when the lyric speaks of the death of "your fav'rite uncle" and the divorce of "pa and ma," while it affirms the cliché that the show must go on. The colloquial phrasing and the improbable simultaneity of those sad events begin to hint at the irony of this portion of the lyric. Nevertheless, if the accompanying music were in minor mode and slow tempo, this

passage might easily be interpretable as depicting a lamentable event. Instead, Berlin's melody continues to speed along in a jolly mood. Here, the contrast between the potentially mournful words and the zestful music reinforces any distance from sentimentality that the former might already possess. Rather than working to counteract the irony, the music further inflects the words in that direction. Yet any emphasis on sardonicism is lost in the wake of the onrushing music. The operations are complex; for the subtle humor in this passage contributes to the song's vivacity, even as the propulsive music makes less apparent the ironic nature of this allusion to "the show must go on" cliché.

Berlin's somewhat flippant reference to the idea that the "show must go on" despite the heartaches of the performer points toward another intermittently recurring convention of the genre. This is one that Altman, as part of his analysis of film musicals, has dubbed "the sad clown."³¹ Altman outlines how this narrative trope was predominant in the subgenre that he terms the show musical from *The Singing Fool* (1928) through *Forty-Second Street* (1933). The latter film acted as a transition to the now-familiar, conventionally romantic, "happy clown" ending for backstage musicals. The "sad clown" returned in new guise in the heavy dramatics—often pseudo-biographical—that followed in the wake of the success of *Rhapsody in Blue* (1945), which told the sad story of George Gershwin's loneliness and early death. This type of "Pagliacci" image is especially strong in popular culture, however, in the late 1920s and early 1930s, from the film version of *He Who Gets Slapped* (1924) through *Bolero* (1934).³²

³¹ Rick Altman, *American Film Musical*, 210-211, 228, and passim.

³² The history of Pagliacci and the "sad clown" in general in popular culture during this decade has never been fully written. The theme, however, closely links to the image of Pierrot—the emotionally sensitive

The “sad clown” image is manifested in the sample of productions partially through scenes, usually during the Act One finale, in which ingénues desperately deny their misery and with deliberate irony demand an up-beat song. This happens to the bourgeois heroines in the sample productions *Lady, Be Good!* (“Fascinating Rhythm” reprise, 1924), *Good News* (“Lucky in Love” reprise, 1927), and *Follow Thru* (“I Want to Be Bad” reprise, 1929). More relevantly to the present discussion of reflexivity in the musical, the same situation also occurs for the performer-heroine of *Sweet Adeline* (“The Sun About to Rise” reprise, 1929).

This “smile through your tears” attitude is linked to the life of the performer in two reflexive songs from the same period. The first, “Laugh, Clown, Laugh,”^{TT} makes Pagliacci into Pollyanna, melding the optimistic philosophy song with a tragicomic image of the circus performer. This song had a complex history. It was an interpolation featured in the sample production *Rain or Shine* (1928), but only for the first two months of its ten-month Broadway run.³³ After that, the rights were bought up by Hollywood to aid in the promotion of an MGM silent film of the same title. The ensuing burst of publicity was what made the song a top hit. Within *Rain or Shine*, it was sung by the circus’ leading clown, supplying the pretext for a production number sufficiently capacious to include a dramatic monologue for the hero—a signal of his initiation into show business:

Verse one:

Life is a play and we all play a part; ...
 The clown spreads sunshine around.
 The life with a smile is the life worthwhile
 So clown till the curtain comes down.

trickster—which is explored by Martin Green and John Swan in *The Triumph of Pierrot: The Commedia dell’Arte and the Modern Imagination* (New York: Macmillan Publishing, 1986).

³³ The aforementioned link in popular culture between Pagliacci and Pierrot is implied, too, in the fact that “Laugh, Clown, Laugh” was replaced by a song called “Pierrot and Pierrette.”

Refrain: Even tho' you're only make believing,
 Laugh! Clown! Laugh!
 Even tho' something inside is grieving,
 Laugh! Clown! Laugh!

Don't let your heart grow too mellow,
 Just be a real Punchinello, fellow.

You're supposed to brighten up a place and
 Laugh! Clown! Laugh!
 Paint a lot of smiles around your face and
 Laugh Clown, don't frown.

Don't let the world know your sorrows,
 Laugh! Clown! Laugh!

The connection with Leoncavallo's one-act *verismo* opera *I Pagliacci* (1892) is found in the title phrase—the usual translation of the famous aria line, “ridi, Pagliaccio.” The connection is made even clearer in an alternate version of the penultimate line, wherein lyricists Sam Lewis and Joe Young quote the opening of *Pagliacci*'s aria precisely in its original language: “Jest in your ‘Vesti la giuba.’” Through such images the song seeks to borrow from the highbrow prestige of opera. The gentle, melancholy waltz melody by Ted Fio Rito evokes both the Italian hurdy-gurdy and the Viennese waltz, with its implied moments of suspension: “Don't let your heart grow,” pause, “too mellow.”³⁴ When Lewis and Young break the pattern of repeating the title phrase and instead command, “don't frown,” Fio Rito ascends slightly higher for a plaintive, tear-jerking effect. These factors combine to emphasize pathos rather than cheerfulness.

The figure of the sad clown lies at the intersection of the comic and the tragic, linking popular imagery to that of high art. This is an uncomfortable stretch for the popular song genre, as can be observed in the jarring contrasts in “Laugh, Clown, Laugh.” The refrain is disillusioned; it implies that “make believing” cannot mitigate

³⁴ These melodic qualities, musical suspensions and all, can be heard in the contemporaneous hit recording of this song by Ted Lewis and His Orchestra (Columbia 1346).

underlying “sorrows.” Yet the verse features the kind of Pollyanna cliché typical of pop songs—“the life with the smile is the life worthwhile”—which seems to claim that acting cheerful will actually produce happiness.

Another prominent manifestation of the “sad clown” narrative trope occurs in the sample production *Broadway Melody* (1929). At the end of this film, the heroine, Hank, must give up both her dreams of Broadway stardom and her fiancée, when the latter falls in love with her sister. In the title song, “Broadway Melody,”^{TT} lyricist Arthur Freed and composer Nacio Herb Brown create a meeting place for several conventions: the New York song, with the city depicted both as music and as an exciting modern bazaar; the “be cheerful” song of optimistic philosophy; and, particularly in context, the bittersweet “sad clown” image of the show business trouper who must hide her tears behind a painted smile:

Refrain: Don’t bring a frown to old Broadway,
 You’ve got to clown on Broadway.
 Your troubles there are out of style,
 For Broadway always wears a smile.
 A million lights they flicker there,
 A million hearts beat quicker there,
 No skies of gray on the great White Way,
 That’s the Broadway Melody.

The phrase “your troubles there are out of style” is ambiguous. On the one hand, Brown’s driving melody conveys the promise that Broadway will make you forget “your troubles.” On the other hand, the imperatives of the first two lines in Freed’s lyric seem to indicate that, troubled or not, you must force a smile to be accepted into the ethos of the entertainment district. While Irving Berlin and others can present the values of the entertainment world as a positive model for all of life in songs such as “Blow Your Horn,” “When the Curtain Falls,” or “There’s No Business Like Show Business,” the

incorporation of elements of the “sad clown” convention into reflexive songs casts a slight shadow on that rosy picture. In this convention, the singer comes close to seeming like a hypocrite, reminding us that the Greek word for actor was *hypokrites*. Acting is separated from genuine emotion, rather than being an expression of it. The adoption of a cheerful façade becomes a sign of falseness, rather than a means of achieving happiness.

This reflexive song convention of the “sad clown” disappears from the corpus with the coming of the Great Depression. *Pagliacci*-type plotlines provided a showcase for numbers such as “Laugh, Clown, Laugh” and “Broadway Melody.” With the phasing out of the former, the latter also fades away, not even to be resurrected with the emergence in the mid-1940s of new “sad clown” stories.

The Impasse of Expressing Emotion and the Transition from Speech to Song

One of the most intriguing types of irony in production songs is the pretense of not being able to find verbal expression. In rhetoric, this is called *aporia*, which Anthony Quinn defines as “talking about not being able to talk.”³⁵ In recent scholarly literature, however, *aporia* is almost universally used in its more general sense, indicating an impasse of interpretation or ethical action, caused by the overwhelming complexity of the task. This usage is at present particularly associated with Jacques Derrida and other writers of deconstructionist analysis. Consequently, in order to avoid such associations, I coin the word *dubilocution*. This I define as “a verbal communication that indicates doubt about

³⁵ Arthur Quinn, *Figures of Speech: Sixty Ways to Turn a Phrase* (Davis, Calif.: Hermagoras Press, 1993), 36.

how to speak about something.”³⁶ The doubtfulness may arise because of various factors: the indescribable nature of the topic; a lack of expressive ability on the part of the speaker; or a combination of those two.

In the corpus, there are several situations that induce dubilocution. One occurs when the protagonist is stymied by the non-verbal, ineffable nature of body movement. These songs resort to indications of physical demonstration—as in the “The Varsity Drag,” when the singer proclaims, “See how it goes!” More often, however, dubilocution results from strong emotion and its effects on three character types: the ardent hyperbolist; the shy, reticent lover; or the wisecracker who wishes to avoid romantic clichés. Generally, such dubilocutionists focus on either an exuberant fullness of romantic ardor that seems beyond expression or, in a related dilemma, the inadequacy of words in describing the virtues of the beloved.

Dubilocution is most characteristic of the era from 1922 through 1945. During that period, there are twelve instances in the sample of productions, more among the hit production songs, and still more among the canonical writers. Popular successes in this vein included “You’re the Cream in My Coffee”^{TT} (“Most men tell love tales, / and each phrase dovetails,” *Hold Everything*, 1928) and “Delishious”^{TT} (“What can I say / to sing my praises of you?” *Delicious*, 1931). This approach was a hallmark of the fashion for “smart” songs.

³⁶ I have formed this neologism from the Latin words *dubitō*, meaning “to doubt, to be uncertain,” and *loquor*, “to speak.” They combine to indicate “speaking doubtful thoughts,” which I extend to denote “speaking doubtful thoughts about speaking.” For my purposes, “dubilocution” has two advantages over “aporia.” It avoids evoking the latter’s more prevalent definition, i.e. doubt about action or interpretation, along with the deconstructionist connotations of that usage. Further, “aporia” derives from the Greek word indicating a blocked passage that seems to prevent further progress. By contrast, “dubilocution” alludes in its roots to verbal expression, which is the focus of my discussion. By analogy with “elocution” and “circumlocution,” it also leads to useful extended forms, such as “dubilocutionist” and “dubilocutory.”

Nevertheless, dubilocution is also a theme of songs in the sample of productions from as early as 1903. These obscure instances from before 1922 reveal many precedents for the later, more renowned songs. The first example in the corpus occurs in the verse of “(Maybe) The Moon Will Help You Out” (*Babes in Toyland*, 1903), by lyricist Glen MacDonough and composer Victor Herbert, which gives advice to the woman who is in love with the reticent lover:

Verse one: ... The days and the weeks,
And the years roll by
With the man, stupid man,
A victim of fear,
Who will not speak the words
You are longing to hear...

In such an impasse, MacDonough affirms, the moon “will surely put his bashfulness to rout.” The self-consciousness about emotional expression entailed in this topic implies a kind of reflexivity, in the general application of the term, and this often overlaps with the more specific definition of the reflexive song used in the present study. In 1908, MacDonough and Herbert collaborated on a similar song, one that clearly illustrates the link between dubilocution and the music matrix. In “Ask Her While the Band Is Playing”^{TT} (*Algeria*, 1908; subsequently in the revised version, *The Rose of Algeria*, 1909), the power to catalyze emotional expression is transferred from the moon to music:

Verse one: If you adore a frosty maid
And are afraid
Your love to speak,
If when you meet your ownest girl
Your senses whirl,
Your knees grow weak,
This is I think the thing for you
At once to do.
To end your doubt
Try at a ball
To tell her all,
And let the music help you out!

Refrain: Ask her while the band is playing
 Let the cornet speak for you,
 While the cello
 Sweet and mellow
 Aids the winsome maid to woo,
 What you think you'd like to tell her,
 Let the soulful oboe play.
 Ask her while the band is playing,
 She'll ne'er say you nay.

Although the tongue-tied suitor is still obliged to “ask” the girl, nevertheless in some undefined manner the cornet can “speak” for him. What he would “like to tell her,” the “soulful oboe” can play. His musical expressiveness is vicarious, by proxy. Involvement with the affective power of the music, however, is presumably aided by the couple’s active participation in its rhythms and their physical intimacy in the dance. Combined, these factors unlock an emotional intensity and freedom of expression otherwise unavailable to the participants. MacDonough here supplies an early example of this line of thought, one that is pursued in later songs, such as these examples: Jerome Kern and Anne Caldwell’s “Blue Danube Blues”^{TT} (“A kind musician ... softly starts to play ... / and quite boldly you’ll say,” *Good Morning, Dearie*, 1921); Berlin’s “Say It with Music”^{TT} (“Say it with a beautiful song,” *Music Box Revue*, 1921); and Rodgers and Hart’s “What’s the Use of Talking” (“Ev’ry move’s a message / of silent sympathy,” *Garrick Gaieties*, 1926).

Songs such as “Say It with Music” illustrate the historic background for the latter-day material analyzed by Feuer. One of her main examples is Roger Edens’ “Music Is Better than Words,” which advises “forget about words and sing her a song” (*It’s Always Fair Weather*, 1955).³⁷ Feuer’s interpretation of this song leads to her claim that the Hollywood musical “privileges ... sung words over spoken words” as well as over

³⁷ Jane Feuer, *Hollywood Musical*, 52.

instrumental music. The verse to the much earlier “Say It with Music” clearly reveals a precedent for the sentiments in Edens’ lyric and thus supports Feuer’s attribution of this concern to the genre as a whole:

Verse two: There’s a tender message down deep in my heart,
 Something you should know—but how am I to start?
 Sentimental speeches never could impart
 Just exactly what I want to tell you.

Refrain: Say it with music ...
 Say it with a beautiful song.

The refrain of “Say It with Music” has already been cited above, in Chapter Two, to illustrate how all “music”—even Chopin and Liszt—becomes redefined as “song” by the end of the refrain. The verse reveals more of the specific character of the protagonist. He is the reticent suitor, overwhelmed with the task of communicating the “tender message” he feels in his heart. Berlin implies that music goes beyond speech, however sentimental the speech may be, in expressing tenderness. Through various means, the protagonist finds relief from his self-consciousness and a way to convey his emotions. First is the act of listening to music—“assisted by a band” is how the first verse puts it—in the company of his beloved. Then, by the refrain’s end, he is singing to her—or even, perhaps, with her.

Listening and singing are not the only modes that provide a spur to intimate expressiveness: dancing is also included in songs such as “What’s the Use of Talking.” In “Say It with Music,” the dancing is left only as a possibility, but nevertheless is indicated by two factors: the use of the term “band” rather than “orchestra”; and the context of other songs in the same show, such as “They Call It Dancing.” Thus, privileging of the music matrix over speech can be extended to include dancing as well. Like Edens in his later song, Berlin sets up a dichotomy between sentimental speeches, on the one hand,

and music, on the other—and then modifies this dichotomy by implying that they can be joined as one through the medium of song.

Not only the emotionally reticent but also the ardent lover can be at a loss for words. The resulting attempt at expression tends to be of the high-flown, hyperbolic sort, as in “The Queen of My Dreams” (from the sample production *The Slim Princess*, 1911), by lyricist Henry Blossom and composer Leslie Stuart. In it, the otherwise brash American hero, Alex, rhapsodizes about the princess heroine while the male ensemble urges him on:

Verse:

Alex: Ah, how shall I ever describe what I feel
 For this marvelous creature I love and adore!
 A passion so pure that no words can reveal
 What my heart would demand
 What my soul would implore.
 We feel so much more than can ere be expressed
 And words are but weak little things at the best.
 And yet in a measure
 I may for your pleasure
 Be able to grant your request.
 Men: Just a little song,
 Just a little song,
 About the girl we're all in love with...

Refrain:

Alex: She is the Queen of all my dreaming!
 Light of my life, my soul's desire...

Although the verse is highly self-conscious about the limits of expression and description, the refrain is completely non-reflexive, albeit packed with poeticisms and hyperbole. Belying the doubts of the verse, direct expression is enabled through the refrain's combination of lyrics and music. The song's explicit reflexivity is concentrated at its opening. Nevertheless, the introduction glorifies the refrain by presenting the latter as the seemingly miraculous solution to the impasse concerning articulation depicted at the start.

Technically, introductory verses serve a special function in the American musical as a transition between speech and song. This is part of the phenomenon that Altman, in his analysis of movie musicals, has dubbed the “audio dissolve.” By this he refers to the transition between two modes: verisimilitudinous sound, such as dialogue and realistic sound effects; and “impossible” sound, i.e., the “unseen” orchestra that accompanies “unrehearsed” expression through singing and dancing.³⁸ Sometimes, as here, this transition is also used to further other projects. First, it can assist what Rick Altman terms the “personality dissolve”—the shift within a protagonist to a new personality that reveals an otherwise hidden facet or truth.³⁹ In a related discussion, Andrea Most describes this shift from speech to song as “quasi-religious,” because it allows a character transformation—a liberating freedom of self-definition, behavior, emotion, or expression.⁴⁰ Such a metamorphosis occurs in *The Slim Princess*. Throughout the show, the hero Alex acts and speaks in a cocky, breezy, bold, and headstrong manner. The moment of dubilocation in the verse of “Queen of My Dreams” is his first acknowledgement of being overwhelmed or in doubt. Suddenly, through this song, he is characterized by a hitherto unsuspected romanticism. The expression of this previously-hidden self “naturally” takes the form of the “little song” that the male ensemble has “requested.”

A number of early verses in the corpus end with some variation on the much-used conventions “and then he said” or “and then I said.” These set up the ensuing refrain as a *speech*. Examples already illustrated include “I’ve Got to Dance Till the Band Gits

³⁸ Rick Altman, *American Film Musical*, 62 ff. On the “impossible” nature of musical numbers, see also: Martin Rubin, *Showstoppers*, 36-41.

³⁹ Rick Altman, *American Film Musical*, 80 ff.

⁴⁰ Andrea Most, *Making Americans*, 10.

Through (Bill Simmons)” and “When Mr. Shakespeare Comes to Town.” Other songs from the sample of productions display the alternate set-up—“and he would sing” or “and then I’d sing” or variants thereof: “My Lady Frog” (“A little song sang he,” *In Dahomey*, 1903), “If I Were an Actress” (“And I’d sing,” *Whoop-Dee-Doo*, 1903), and “Lucia” (“I would sing this serenade,” *Neptune’s Daughter*, 1906). In this context, “say” and “sing” are often synonymous. Their interchangeability is demonstrated in a lyric written, in a rare instance, by Jerome Kern, from the sample production *Fascinating Flora* (1907): “Right Now.” For this conventional charm song about seizing the present moment for making love, Kern sets up the refrain in the first verse with “and so to you I sing” and in the second verse with “to her these words he’d say.” The use of “sing” in the first instance is so conventionalized and functionally so equivalent to “say” that it scarcely registers as even an incidental reflexive allusion.

Verses such as Blossom’s for “Queen of My Dreams” go further, however, in drawing attention to the very need to “compose” a communication—specifically, a musical one. Such self-consciousness about the protagonist’s determination to express himself usually has—intentionally or not—an element of irony. Blossom’s protagonist asserts that “no words can reveal / what my heart would demand.” The refrain’s subsequent impassioned lyricism, however, contradicts this deprecation. Two things are affirmed: the power of “words” and the ability to manipulate them of both the dramatic character and the songwriters behind him.

Even with a lyric such as “Queen of My Heart” that strives for sentiment rather than wit, this baring of the device always to some degree draws attention to the presence of the songwriter behind the character’s voice. The author’s blatant display of individual

style is often even more pronounced when the tone is playful. Such songs can draw attention to their own means of expression, even when they are not reflexive in the limited definition used in the present study. Well-known examples include Rodgers and Hart's "Thou Swell"^{TT} (*A Connecticut Yankee*, 1927), with its mixed diction and complex rhymes, and the Gershwin brothers' "'S Wonderful"^{TT} (*Funny Face*, 1927), with its incessant contractions.⁴¹ This "smart" style of lyric writing flourished between the mid-1920s and the late 1940s. Even without self-conscious verses and allusions to the music matrix, such songs have an implicit reflexivity.

As early as 1930, Isaac Goldberg recognized the trend towards such "smart songs," stating that "today with our indiscriminating cult of sophistication we have reached a stage where the lyrics are sometimes distressingly self-conscious."⁴² Goldberg laments because he sees this implicit reflexivity as weakening the affective power of song. To him, sentiment has been sacrificed in favor of wit. Dave Laing uses Goldberg as the springboard for his own discussion, where he relates this emotional distancing to the techniques of modernist drama:

In fact this self-conscious attitude was very important for Berlin, Jerome Kern, Cole Porter, Lorenz Hart and others since it provided a way of avoiding the system of sentimental phrases which was all the history of the popular ballad presented them with as examples. One feature of the typical ballad was its attempts to draw the listener into an immediate and total

⁴¹ For helpful analyses of "Thou Swell" and "'S Wonderful," see Philip Furia, *Poets of Tin Pan Alley*, 106-108, 134-135.

⁴² Isaac Goldberg, *Tin Pan Alley: A Chronicle of the American Popular Music Racket* (New York: John Day, 1930), 231.

identification with the singer. In rejecting this nirvana effect, the “self-conscious” writers used wit to get a distancing effect, which in a sense parallels the “alienation-effect” that Bertolt Brecht sought to achieve in his plays. The dramatic framework within which most of the songs were originally set was also crucial to the rejection. The filter of sophistication between sentiment and listener added to, rather than detracted from the emotional presence of the song.⁴³

The wit in these songs operates to remind the listener of the existence of the author, the creative mind, lying behind the emotional expressiveness of the song’s protagonist. In this, Laing argues, it resembles Brecht’s theatre devices designed to make the audience stop and think about the social systems affecting the characters in a play.

Laing proceeds, however, to analyze a Cole Porter song, the reflexive “Ev’rytime We Say Goodbye”^{TR} (*Seven Lively Arts*, 1944), and reveals how such a song creates both “distancing” and “nirvana” effects.⁴⁴ Self-conscious verbal devices such as internal rhymes and reflexive images, combine with musical techniques, such as rhythmic irregularity and the alternation of major and minor chords, to recreate in new terms the “nirvana effect” of the sentimental tradition. Thus, the music plays a dual role, both infusing the words with affective impact and yet receiving from the lyrics a qualification of that emotionality. Within such an aesthetic system, every song in its own way seems simultaneously to contain both reticence and deep emotion. This is exactly the juxtaposition that is explicitly alluded to in certain dubilocutory songs. Thus, songs that

⁴³ Dave Laing, *The Sound of Our Time* (Chicago, Ill.: Quadrangle Books, 1969), 54.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 54-56.

dwell upon the difficulties of emotional expression serve as a synecdoche for the poignant dynamics of a style prevalent during the second quarter of the twentieth century.

In general, the period of 1920 through 1950 was the height for self-conscious lyrics dwelling upon the difficulties involved in verbalizing emotion; and this theme manifests in both verses and refrains. It is here, perhaps, that a major difference lies between production songs and independent popular songs. Unfortunately, there are no studies of the latter that methodically look at such traits. Generally, however, independent songs tend to be direct communications of emotion, while production songs are self-conscious about their means of expression. Two songs from the mid-1920s offer an example of this difference. Berlin's non-production song, "Always"^{TT} (1925), can straightforwardly declare "I'll be loving you, always."⁴⁵ By contrast, an analogous production song of the same era, "I Love You"^{TT} (*Little Jesse James*, 1923), by Harry Archer and Harlan Thompson, puts it more self-consciously: "I love you—that's all that I can say... / the same old words I'm saying in the same old way." In his pop song, Berlin is happy to express love. By contrast, Archer and Thompson, in their production song, instead reflect on the act of—and the conventionality of—expressing love.

From at least 1903, the sample productions yield examples of self-conscious lyrics. Even a cursory glance reveals this trait in diverse songs; indeed, it is sometimes hinted at in their very titles: Robert E. Smith's "My Word" (*Fantana*, 1905); Henry Blossom's "Whistle It"^{TR} (*The Red Mill*, 1906); Otto Harbach's "De Trop" (*The Firefly*, 1912); and so forth. The communication model terminology used by Manfred Pfister in

⁴⁵ Some historians claim that Berlin at one time intended "Always" for the Broadway production of *The Cocoanuts* (1925), but that has been denied both by Berlin and by more recent scholars; see the notes of the editors, Robert Kimball and Linda Emmet, at the entry for the song in *The Complete Lyrics of Irving Berlin*, 228.

his analysis of dramatic structure is applicable to these songs. The lyrics concentrate on the *poetic function*, in that the “message refers to itself, and thus draws ... attention to its structure and component parts.”⁴⁶ Further, and especially when they feature dubilocution, they add an emphasis on the *metalingual function*, “whenever the verbal code used is explicitly or implicitly developed as a central theme.”⁴⁷ Both techniques tend to draw attention to the presence of an unseen author, who is creating the verbal expressions of the characters.

As so often, George M. Cohan supplies an early instance of musical comedy trends, in his self-conscious lyric for “Cohan’s Pet Names (That’s the Pet Name for Me),”^{TR} from the sample production *The American Idea* (1908). Here, the emphasis on the author is incorporated into the song’s very title. While less technically complex than later “smart” songs, Cohan’s example manifests the same self-referential play with lyric conventions and the means of expression:

Verse one:

She: They get names for pet names,
That are perfectly ridiculous to say;
He: These nicknames are trick names,
That the lovers call each other ev’ry day.
She: There’s Piggy and Wiggy,
And ev’ry other sort of foolish name,
They’re gushy, they’re mushy,
But the lovers seem to like them just the same.

Refrain one:

He: My Honey,
She: Don’t call me Honey, love,
Because it rhymes with money, love,
And money’s for the mercenary kind.

He: My Baby,
She: Don’t call me Baby, love,
Because it rhymes with maybe, love,

⁴⁶ Manfred Pfister, *Theory and Analysis of Drama*, 117.

⁴⁷ Ibid, 115.

And maybe, means a doubt is in your mind.

He: My Dearie,

She: Don't call me dearie, love,

Because it rhymes with weary, love,

And weary, means unhappy we will be.

He: But I must have a pet name,

She: Then rhyme a name with love.

He: Turtle dove, rhymes with love;

She: That's the pet name for me!

Throughout, the playful handling of popular song conventions is clear, even though only implicit. Cohan establishes an ironic distance from the emotions ostensibly expressed by the characters. In the verse, he emphatically draws attention to the sentimentality and cleverness of pet names. The protagonists convey their own critical distance from such tropes, including from the prevalent self-conscious wit of "trick names." This critique, however, is considerably modified by the "trick" device by which they express themselves, i.e. the closely-set internal rhymes. In the refrain, Cohan creates a strong self-consciousness about that important component of popular song, rhyming. Further, he creates reversals of expectation: "honey" does not connote "sunny" but "money"; the mention of "dearie" does not conjure up the thought of "cheery" but rather of "weary"; and so on, through two full refrains of lyrics. This kind of play with both language and sentiment became the hallmark of the era of "smart" lyrics dominated by the anthologized songwriters.

Self-conscious lyrics are often represented as being the unique hallmark of a small group of canonized lyricists of the 1920s and the following decades; but such singularity does not exist. Although explicit generalizations about precedence and uniqueness are usually avoided by critics, their writings often imply such exclusivity through choices of

omission and inclusion.⁴⁸ The prevalence of self-conscious lyrics by Cohan and other songwriters during the first thirty years covered in the present study establishes a historical context that modifies any excessive claims to originality that are ascribed by implication to the more celebrated lyricists of the 1920s and following decades.

One such writer does offer a more explicit statement that illustrates the mistakes that arise from a lack of historical contextualization. Ulf Lindberg discusses a song about dublicution, Richard Whiting and Johnny Mercer's "Too Marvelous for Words"^{TT} (*Ready, Willing and Able*, 1937), and analyzes its self-conscious approach as a form of modernism. "Language that draws attention to itself," he claims, is a "staple [Tin Pan] Alley characteristic, wit." This is a technique that "deflects passion by transforming it into intellectual games," thereby implying a "modern ... type of love relationship."⁴⁹ Nevertheless, Lindberg suggests that lyrics like "Too Marvelous for Words" that "explicitly address" conventional song formulas seem "not to have been a common practice."⁵⁰ Seen within a larger context, however, this is not true, for the topic is present within the corpus to a significant extent. Out of forty-two sample productions during the years from 1922 through 1945, there are ten shows that include songs that are self-conscious about the ability and the means needed to express emotion. Indeed, two of these productions feature a *pair* of such songs. In other words, nearly a quarter (24%) of the sample productions during that era feature songs of dublicution. The examples come

⁴⁸ I allude to the writings of several authors: Philip Furia, *Poets of Tin Pan Alley, Skylark, and Ira Gershwin: The Art of the Lyricist* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996); the introductions by Robert Kimball to the various complete lyrics of the anthologized songwriters; Dave Laing, *Sounds of Our Time*; Harold Meyerson and Ernie Harburg, *Who Put the Rainbow in the Wizard of Oz: Yip Harburg, Lyricist* (Ann Arbor, Mich.: University of Michigan Press, 1995); Timothy E. Scheurer, "'Thou Witty': The Evolution and Triumph of Style in Lyric Writing"; and so on.

⁴⁹ Ulf Lindberg, "Popular Modernism," 290.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.* Italics in the original.

not only from the expected sources of Porter, Hart, and Ira Gershwin, but also from such seldom-mentioned lyricists as Raymond Klages (“I Wonder Why,” *Sally, Irene and Mary*, 1922), Paul James (two songs from *Fine and Dandy*—“Rich or Poor” and the hit title song, 1930), Sidney D. Mitchell (“You’re Slightly Terrific,” *Pigskin Parade*, 1936), Don Raye (“I Wish You Were Here,” *Buck Privates*, 1941), and Mack Gordon (“I Can’t Begin to Tell You,”⁵¹ *The Dolly Sisters*, 1945). The phenomenon Lindberg notes is, indeed, a “common practice.”

In such songs, emotional communication is presented as a problem; and music-plus-words—that bundle of modalities—is the solution. It is within this tradition of self-consciousness that Irving Berlin wrote “Say It with Music” and Roger Edens wrote the song upon which Feuer bases her analysis, “Music Is Better Than Words.”⁵¹ As noted previously, the protagonists of both those songs conclude by advocating, as Edens’ lyric puts it, “forget about words and sing her a song.” Mercer has the protagonist of “Too Marvelous for Words” reach a similar conclusion:

Refrain: ... You’re much too much,
And just too very very!
To ever be in Webster’s Dictionary,

And so I’m borrowing a love song from the birds
To tell you that you’re marvelous,
Too marvelous for words.

The singer deprecates words and resorts to “a love song from the birds” to communicate his love. As Lindberg suggests, this “love song from the birds” is precisely the musical expression that we have been hearing all along in Richard Whiting’s sprightly tune—a melody that Alex Wilder praises, in the main strain, for contrasts of flowing curves and

⁵¹ Jane Feuer, *Hollywood Musical*, 52.

playful skips and, in the release, for its harmonic complications.⁵² Nevertheless, the protagonist's decision to depend upon music instead of words is paradoxical. It comes only after three stanzas of exuberant and clever rhymes that ironically negate the very impasse of expression about which the protagonist claims to be bewildered. The wit of this conclusion is increased by the way in which the phrase "from the birds" possibly evokes a slangy insult of the era—his song is so eccentric that it is "for the birds"—adding yet another touch of ironic self-deprecation. The protagonist's final word is a vote in favor of music rather than verbal expression; but, in practice, these distinctions are invalidated through the interplay of the two within the song's structure.

In their verses—and occasionally in their refrains—the anthologized writers became prolific exponents of this convention of dubilocution, often pairing the theme with sophisticated word play. Indeed, many writers created dubilocutory song introductions during the era from 1920 through 1950. Berlin, Hart, and Ira Gershwin each wrote a handful. They were a particular hallmark, however, of the oeuvre of Cole Porter. Between 1933 and 1950, he wrote a dozen examples, appended to both serious ballads and witty list songs. These self-conscious verses introduce some of his biggest commercial successes: "You're the Top"^{TT} (*Anything Goes*, 1934), "It's Delovely"^{TT} (*Red, Hot and Blue*, 1936), "Rosalie"^{TT} (the title song of 1937), "Do I Love You"^{TT} (*DuBarry Was a Lady*, 1939), "Ev'rything I Love"^{TT} (*Let's Face It*, 1941), "I Love You"^{TT} (*Mexican Hayride*, 1944), and "Cherry Pies Ought to Be You"^{TR} (*Out of This World*, 1950). The verse to "You're the Top" is perhaps the most famous of these and a

⁵² Ulf Lindberg, "Popular Modernism," 290; Alec Wilder, *American Popular Song*, 423-424.

fruitful example for analysis. Billy, the hero of *Anything Goes*, sings the first verse and refrain:

Verse one: At words poetic, I'm so pathetic,
That I always have found it best,
Instead of getting 'em off my chest,
To let 'em rest, unexpressed.
I hate parading my serenading
As I'll probably miss a bar.
But if this ditty is not so pretty,
At least it'll tell you how great you are.

The “words poetic” to which Billy refers are soon identified: they are not spoken poetry, but song lyrics. Here, the elision of logical connectors—between “words poetic,” i.e. expression through speech, and “serenading,” i.e. expression through singing—is key. There is a continuity—even an identity—implied between conversation and poetry and, in addition, between poetry and song.⁵³ Thereby, poetry joins the concomitant modes contained by the music matrix.⁵⁴ It is here that I take issue with Feuer: musicals do not invariably valorize song over speech and instrumental music, as she claims. Rather, as often, they seek to incorporate all these modes under one overarching concept, to reconcile their differences.

The blurring of distinctions between modes of expression—between speech and song—is exactly the function of the introductory verse to this kind of song. Porter here bares the device by referring implicitly to the introduction *as* an introduction and explicitly to the “ditty” *as* a ditty. At the same time, he also glosses over the presence of

⁵³ Admittedly, some might argue that this progression of thought implies an opposition of the factors involved—i.e. casual speech in contrast to poetry in contrast to song. As I noted in Chapter One, however, I interpret such juxtapositions as indicating association, kinship, or equivalence. In Chapter Two, my analysis of songs that imply the concomitance of the various parts of the music matrix is based upon that assumption; and I believe the examples I present in that chapter give credence to the validity of my interpretation, both for those examples and for “You’re the Top.”

⁵⁴ The idea that poetry and music are concomitant is incorporated more fully into shows about poets, such as the sample production *The Vagabond King*, 1925, and the later example of *Kismet*, 1953.

the device by means of a chain of associations: emotional words equal poetic words equal sung words. This verse discusses the shift between various modes of expression. Yet, by means of the terms with which it is described, the very existence of that transition seems to evaporate into thin air. In such instances, Porter's skill takes on the nature of a magical sleight of hand. He simultaneously emphasizes and de-emphasizes the change from speech to song.

Billy doubts that he has the skill to compose a "poetic" expression of his feelings. In addition, he also expresses anxiety about his ability to *perform* that "poetic" expression: "I'll probably miss a bar." He is afraid of not fitting in with the strict metrical and rhythmic framework of conventional music. Since he warns his listener that his song may not be "so pretty," perhaps he is also worried about not fitting in with the melodic patterns that are expected. Billy's apprehensions, however, are obviated by the form of his statement, for the verse itself is constituted of deft internal rhymes and a spryly syncopated melody.

In the "performance" of the composition, too, Billy's doubts come across as groundless. The idea that "I'll probably miss a bar" is perhaps reflected in the rhythmic device of the main strain: an initial rest, lasting five-eighths of the first measure, which almost seems to imply that the singer is mentally scrambling to think up what to say. The moment that the singer places his first note on the off-beat, however, he establishes his mastery: he is so in command of the rhythm that he can thus play with it. The original "Billy" was William Gaxton—reputedly not a great singer but nevertheless an adept musical comedy performer. He probably demonstrated, indeed, a very sure rhythmic

delivery, as do the recordings of both the actor who played Billy in the London production, Jack Whiting, and the star of the film version, Bing Crosby.⁵⁵

The well-known refrain that ensues is sprinkled with incidental reflexive allusions and only serves further to negate any reason for the protagonist's hesitations. Its witty stream of images and complex rhymes reinforces the sense of serendipitous dexterity. The singer, although ostensibly unsure of his ability to express himself in song, is revealed as abundantly qualified to "serenade" his "words poetic."

Billy's companion, the soubrette Reno Sweeney, is impressed. She replies to him in a verse and refrain of her own:

Verse two: Your words poetic are not pathetic.
On the other hand, boy, you shine,
And I can feel after ev'ry line
A thrill divine down my spine.
Now, gifted humans, like Vincent Youmans,
Might think that your song is bad,
But for a person who's just rehearsin'
Well, I gotta say this my lad: ...

Refrain: You're the top ...

Here, the songwriter is utilizing yet another variation on the well-established "and that's why I say" convention for leading from the verse into the refrain. As in Kern's "Right Now," Porter mixes modes, so that the first verse specifically introduces a "ditty," while the second implies speech via the phrase "I gotta say this." Unlike songwriters at the turn of the century, however, Porter uses the trope to explore more fully the multifaceted potential of the convention.

⁵⁵ Ethel Merman, Gaxton's partner in introducing "You're the Top" on Broadway, also recorded the song—including its first verse, which she did not sing on stage. She was, of course, a master of musical timing, and the self-deprecation of the verse is particularly ironic in her renditions. In the 1950s, Frank Sinatra played Billy opposite Merman in the television version. He, too, displays a commanding control of phrasing that makes the verse all the more ironic.

In Reno's verse, the development of her thoughts parallels those of Billy. She too commences with a discussion of "words poetic" and then redefines those poetic words as a "song." Reno also contrasts Billy's "amateur" musical expressions with the standards of "gifted" and professional artists "like Vincent Youmans," the Broadway composer. The superiority of genius-derived, professional, rehearsed expression is brought up, but only to be swept aside with a brush of the hand in favor of amateur and spontaneous expression. The topic of hierarchy of talent is introduced only to be dismissed. Porter calls attention to the theatrical device of making a transition from speech to song and intertwines it with the themes of amateur music versus professional music, pre-composed song versus improvised song, and rehearsed performance versus spontaneous expression.

There is strong and humorous irony, however, in this affirmation of the amateur and the spontaneous, because "You're the Top"—verse and refrain—is so flagrant in flaunting its own extraordinary compositional skills. The depiction of amateurism is blatantly a fiction created by professionals. As with "Cohan's Pet Names," such "smart" songs always emphasize the poetic and metalingual functions of communication, drawing attention to the presence of the authorial voice that lies behind the composition.

The Mediating Communication System and Epic Devices

The metalingual function need not point only towards the verbal codes; it can also draw attention to the "secondary codes"—the conventions of narrative texts, particularly of dramatic genres.⁵⁶ As Pfister points out, this can be done through a wide range of explicit

⁵⁶ Manfred Pfister, *Theory and Analysis of Drama*, 116.

or implicit techniques, and instances in the sample of productions cover the spectrum. Even ignoring the presence of reflexive songs and looking only at the dialogue and action portions of the shows, there are such self-conscious, metalingual elements in fifty-five of the sample productions, representing 79% of the total. These moments supply an important contextual background for the reflexive songs in those shows. The corpus is filled with dialogue that calls attention to the artifices of dramatic narrative, from the moment in *Whirl-I-Gig* (1899) when the hotel proprietor bids Fifi Coocoo to “kindly step into the plot while I explain,” to the scene in *Finian’s Rainbow* (1947) when the leprechaun, Og, recommends that he delay rescuing the heroine until the last possible minute, because “it’s more dramatic.” A few shows make this kind of speech a major structural element. Such is the case with George M. Cohan’s *The American Idea* (1908), in which portions of the action are narrated in mock-melodramatic, soliloquy-like asides by a man of mystery whose identity is revealed only at the end.

As Pfister argues, the metalingual function, as defined in this broader sense, is served by *epic* devices.⁵⁷ It is in the context of epic techniques that Pfister discusses Bertolt Brecht, claiming that the playwright “consistently” applies a “systematic use” of such devices.⁵⁸ The American musical extensively employs epic techniques from the start of the period covered in the present study. Unlike Brecht, however, these musicals use these structures with little or no system or consistency. Even the increased self-consciousness at the start and end of shows, discussed above, is neither universal nor methodically applied.

⁵⁷ Ibid, 116.

⁵⁸ Ibid, 71.

Pfister lists these epic devices, some of which have ancient historical associations and some modern. All of them are also found within the sample of productions. The chorus and the presence of non-verisimilitudinous songs and dances are found in ancient Greek drama and comedy; so are prologues and epilogues. Allegorical figures are most strongly associated with medieval drama. Asides are manifest in many genres, perhaps most notably in Shakespeare's plays and nineteenth-century melodrama. "Para-texts" of all eras supply the evidence for theatre historians; in the case of the musical, they include advertisements, programs, sheet music, recordings, and so on.

Some devices are more associated with the twentieth century. Pfister links commentator or producer figures to modern drama, but such instances are certainly preceded by the master of ceremonies of variety entertainments. Pfister also mentions the use of modern technology, such as is seen in the sample shows: projections of film (*Hello, Broadway!*, 1915); slides (*At Home Abroad*, 1935, and *Leave It to Me*, 1938); and "the exposure of theatrical machinery to the audience," as with the self-conscious use of the apron curtain in *Sally, Irene and Mary* (1922) and *Show Boat* (1927).⁵⁹ If these musical comedy techniques are thought, as Pfister claims, to be "a deviation from the normal model of dramatic presentation," then this may perhaps link their *form* to that part of their *content* that deviates from normative cultural hegemonies.⁶⁰ On the other hand, if they are considered normative for the genre of the musical, through their prevalence, then

⁵⁹ Ibid, 4, 71.

⁶⁰ Ibid, 4. For discussions of the anti-hegemonic elements in musicals, see Rick Altman, *American Film Musical*, 171-176, 334-344. A number of other recent studies also pursue these issues, notably: John M. Clum, *Something for the Boys*; D.A. Miller, *Place for Us*; Alisa Roost, "The Other Musical Theatre: Political Satire in Broadway Musicals from *Strike Up the Band* to *Anyone Can Whistle*" (Ph.D. diss., City University of New York, 2001); Donald Elgan Whittaker III, "Subversive Aspects of American Musical Theatre" (Ph.D. diss. Louisiana State University and Agricultural and Mechanical College, 2002); and Stacey Wolf, *Problem Like Maria*.

perhaps they serve to support the ideological status quo. In the latter case they may well be described by the term Feuer uses, “conservative reflexivity.”⁶¹

Most of these epic devices, whether ancient or new, are associated by Pfister with Brecht; and the critic is one of many who discuss the playwright as an exemplar of modernist techniques.⁶² Such metalingual elements are equally characteristic, however, of the American musical—a point ignored by Pfister and other writers. Modernist art and musicals share many stylistic devices, and therefore, to an extent, can be included in one category. As I state in Chapter One, however, I do not view musicals as part of modernism, for the reflexivity in the genre operates largely within its own system. The cycles of prevalence for specific conventions that I outline in the present study are part of that ever-changing tradition. The epic devices and irony manifest in the genre draw from and point towards the conventions of popular culture. While this is also *sometimes* true for modernist works, it is *always* the case with the material I have examined.⁶³ Throughout the present chapter, I offer specific illustrations to support this viewpoint. The genre’s constant orientation towards its own tradition is perhaps most clearly seen, however, in the more extended musical numbers, utilizing epic devices, such as those discussed below.

Any explicit “authorial voice” is usually absent from drama. The author’s thoughts are most often put directly into the mouths of the characters. As Pfister points

⁶¹ Jane Feuer, *Hollywood Musical*, 102.

⁶² Although at some points Pfister emphasizes the links between Brecht and older dramatic traditions, as often he implicitly depicts the playwright as a modern innovator; see Manfred Pfister, *Theory and Analysis of Drama*, 1, 28, 79-81, 96-97, 198,

⁶³ Although I disagree with Jane Feuer in some details, my view of the relationship between musicals and modernism in some respects resembles hers. She points out the resemblance between the techniques and emphases of the Hollywood musical and modernist and postmodern art. As touched on previously in the present discussion, however, her project is to demonstrate how the musical uses these techniques and themes for conservative purposes; *Hollywood Musical*, ix-x, 102, and *passim*.

out, however, epic devices reinstate such a mediating communication system and thus transmit more directly the author's didactic message to the audience.⁶⁴ In musicals, these epic techniques not only point to the conventions of the genre itself—or at least of related genres—but also engage in the kind of ironic, double-edged satire found in “When Mr. Shakespeare Comes to Town” and “Hamlet Was a Melancholy Dane.” These epic moments contrast with those of Brecht and his modernist cohorts in both content and details of style.

This ironic didactic message can be seen in prologues and epilogues—epic devices used in some of the sample productions. Most of the non-narrative revues examined in this study feature the framing device of a sung prologue, and several of these productions match that introduction to an epilogue that alludes back to the beginning.⁶⁵ Three of the narrative shows, as well, feature sung prologues—*Criss Cross* (1926), *Louisiana Purchase* (1940), *Brigadoon* (1947)—and these instances are particularly intriguing.

Criss Cross, starring that doyen of Broadway comics, Fred Stone, and his daughter Dorothy, offers an instructive example. The prologue has the characters from Stone's previous hits—Sinbad, the Fairy Queen, and so forth—broadcast a complaint to him because he will not be using their services anymore. They perform a satire of jazz age Charleston numbers in an attempt to prove their adaptability to modern trends. Then Dorothy Stone emerges as Cinderella, claiming that she, at least, is still indispensable to musical comedy: “No matter how modest and miserable I may be when the curtain

⁶⁴ Manfred Pfister, *Theory and Analysis of Drama*, 4, 71.

⁶⁵ The sample productions and the anthologized writers' shows combine to include twenty full or nearly full scores for musical revues. Of these, thirteen (65%) have sung prologues. As will be discussed further in Chapter Five, all these revue prologues serve to create a mediating communication system.

risers—when it falls, I’m happy at the center of the stage—plastered with diamonds, scintillating with happiness.” She is taken on a magic ride to the Globe Theatre—the Broadway house where *Criss Cross* opened—and, as the ingénue Dolly, awakens out of a dream of being Cinderella. At the requisite happy ending, Dolly emerges exclaiming: “Here I am—scintillating with happiness—just as I said I’d be!” In this finale, the stage figure is identified as simultaneously being Dorothy Stone, Cinderella, and Dolly.

Co-writers Anne Caldwell and Otto Harbach, with composer Jerome Kern, fashion the prologue in such a way that, alongside a medley of tunes from Stone’s hit shows of the past (including from the sample production *The Old Town*, 1910), four new songs are introduced. Thus, the function of this prelude is to link the old and the new. It connects a venerable tradition of entertainment—fairy tale extravaganzas, in general, and Fred Stone hits, in particular—to musical comedy of the mid-1920s jazz age. In doing so, Caldwell, Harbach, and Kern serve the same project that both Feuer and Altman have remarked on as being characteristic of the Hollywood musical: to show that the present entertainment has continuity with those of an idealized past.⁶⁶ Here, that genealogy is literalized and embodied in the father-daughter relationship of Fred and Dorothy Stone.

Kern had previously mined the technique of including pre-existing songs in his scores. For example, Kern introduces a medley of river songs into the sample production *The Night Boat* (1921), where it is used primarily for variety purposes. Such “found songs” would soon be utilized by him and Oscar Hammerstein for more sentimental ends in *Show Boat* (1927) and *Sweet Adeline* (1929). In the prologue to *Criss Cross*, favorite old songs are used as part of a strategy for constructing an artistic ancestry for the new

⁶⁶ Jane Feuer, *Hollywood Musical*, 87-102; Rick Altman, *American Film Musical*, 318, 332-333, 350-359 and passim.

production. This is an early example of the “quotation” and “recycling” which Feuer identifies in movie musicals of later decades.⁶⁷ These songs and the prologue as a whole imply a community—an ideal audience whose members all fondly recall the shows of the previous quarter century. *Criss Cross* thus features a precursor of the preludes for *A Funny Thing Happened on the Way to the Forum* (“Comedy Tonight,” 1962) and *A Fiddler on the Roof* (“Tradition,” 1964), which also create links between the historic past and the current entertainment.

Pfister points out that “a mediating communication system ... enables the author to guide the receiver more directly in accordance with his critical and didactic intentions.”⁶⁸ The “critical intention” of the prologue to *Criss Cross* is— through a double-edged, affectionate satire—both to contrast and connect the past and the present. Both contemporaneous “jazzy” shows and old-fashioned “family” shows are parodied. Yet both are mined for their entertainment value, and they are associated as if in a family relationship. Such epic musical numbers create a mediating communication system that expresses an ironically-intended didactic purpose.

This technique can be seen in *The Night Boat* (1920), also by Caldwell and Kern, in a matched pair of songs for a female ensemble. In the plot, Bob, a newlywed hounded by his mother-in-law, innocently flirts with another woman on the weekends. Meanwhile, he pretends to his wife that he is the captain of the night boat to Albany. At the conclusion, he is found out and shamed into mending his ways. Amidst all this action, in the middle of the first act and at the start of the third, a sextette of “ladies’ maids” takes

⁶⁷ Jane Feuer, *Hollywood Musical*, 92-93, 96.

⁶⁸ Manfred Pfister, *Theory and Analysis of Drama*, 71.

the stage and directly address the audience in two sung portions called “Plot Demonstrators”:

First act:
 For the benefit of those who came late
 We wish to state
 That this is not the sort of plot to disturb your brain,
 As we will demonstrate.
 You see:
 A chap named Bob ... cheats his little bride
 Flirting with a girl he met outside ...
 Every time the plot seems getting thin
 Nice girls like us will tumble in.
 You are so good
 We thought we would
 Come out for the benefit of those who came in late.

Third act:
 For the benefit of those who still remain—
 We’re here again, because we feel perhaps we should explain—
 There’s a moral to this play beyond a doubt—watch out ...
 We don’t wish to teach you how to lie,
 But if you should need an alibi
 When upon a river trip you go,
 You can say you saw it in our show—
 Those of you who lead a double life,
 Take some flowers and candy to your wife—
 Then confess, but should she make a fuss,
 Send the sweets and flowers back to us—
 We are sincere, you are so dear,
 We came out to give our thanks to those who still remain.

This collective of “maids” is established as a free agent, yet their implied omniscience equates them with the “authorial voice,” i.e., with Caldwell, Kern, et alia. Through the means of various explicit and implicit messages, the sextette creates guidance for the audience on how to receive the production—or at least presents a theatrical depiction of such guidance. They define the show as having the following traits. First, *The Night Boat* is innocuous and mindless, for the first “demonstrators” song explicitly characterizes the production of *The Night Boat* as one that “will not disturb your brain.” The play’s topics will not upset you—it will end happily and not severely question the status quo—and the

plot is so simple it will not create mental strain. This depiction of the show as being mindless is implicitly reinforced by the acknowledgement of the late-arriving habits of a portion of the audience—most likely the upper class attendees and the youthful “sports” who dined leisurely. Second, the sextette’s assurance of the upcoming recurring presence of “nice girls like us” is a reminder that American musicals were frequently referred to as “girlie shows,” with no slight intended; it was a label that was applied even to *Oklahoma!* when it first opened.⁶⁹ To confirm this appeal, the tone of the “demonstrators” is intimate and erotic. They flatter the audience with endearments as if to a lover.

In the second “demonstration,” Caldwell even more clearly offers an ironic authorial comment on the action. The sextette now offers a “moral” to the married men in the audience: do not run around with other women and take them on the night boat to Albany, that favorite venue for extramarital affairs; but, if you do, take flowers and candy to your wife, confess, and use the excuse that you only got the idea from the plot of *The Night Boat*. The ancient belief in the power of drama to teach morals through demonstrating the consequences of immoral or antisocial behavior is turned on its head. Instead, the American musical is offered as a model for licentious behavior. The ensuing statement implicitly confirms this message, in the third didactic point. If your wife does not accept your apology, then bring your gifts to the “demonstrators,” the source of your extra-marital ideas in the first place. They will gladly take them—and, presumably, give sexual favors in return.

⁶⁹ Burton Rascoe, reviewer for the *World-Telegram*, started his list of the positive traits of *Oklahoma!* with “a girl show with lovely tunes”; quoted in Steven Suskin, *Opening Night on Broadway: A Critical Quotebook of the Golden Era of the Musical Theatre, “Oklahoma” (1943) to “Fiddler on the Roof” (1964)* (New York: Schirmer Books, 1990), 501.

Despite the coy innocence of the sextette's pronouncements, and of the script in general, these "demonstrators" indicate that they are, indeed, the sexually available women of the entertainment world so celebrated in reputation. They are key elements in the mythos of the musical theatre of that era, which states that it is part of a sexual marketplace that trades, as Altman puts it, "beauty" for "riches."⁷⁰ The auditorium is the domain of the male; the stage is the domain of the female. The male spectator views the female actress, who symbolizes the entertainment as a whole. The relationship between the two is depicted as being filled with erotic possibilities.⁷¹ It is this relationship of female object and male consumer that is alluded to in some songs about entertainment from movie musicals, such as the aforementioned "Dames" and "Here's to the Ladies," as well as in film songs about the New York women of the entertainment district, like "Forty-Second Street"^{TT} and "Lullaby of Broadway."^{TT}

Yet, through Caldwell's ironic tone for the "Plot Demonstrators" episodes in *The Night Boat*, the erotically fraught relationship of chorus girl and male audience is treated as it were a jest. It is implicitly depicted as being fictive, just as much a false illusion as the "fourth wall" that is broken by the direct audience address of these "demonstrators." Thus, in the second episode, neither the explicit "didactic" nor the near-explicit "counter-didactic" messages are to be taken seriously. The conventional morality and the conventional immorality are alike satirized. The extramarital impulses of the audience are made fun of whether seen as being discouraged, encouraged, or merely condoned.

⁷⁰ Rick Altman, *American Film Musical*, 24-25.

⁷¹ I again refer the reader to Rick Altman's discussion of this theme as it manifests in the Hollywood musical; *American Film Musical*, 213-223. See also Lucy Fischer, "The Image of Woman as Image: The Optical Politics of *Dames*."

A few songs supply a link between the “narrational” episodes such as those in *Criss Cross* and *The Night Boat* and the witty dubilocation found in the verse for “You’re the Top.” Lyricists Ira Gershwin and E.Y. “Yip” Harburg, writing with composer Harold Arlen, supply an example from the revue *Life Begins at 8:40* (1934): “What Can You Say in a Love Song (That Hasn’t Been Said Before)?” The song supplies the basis for the *finaletto* at the conclusion of the first act. It was introduced not by the stars, but by young featured players, Josephine Houston and Bartlett Simmons, i.e., not by idiosyncratic personalities but by “types”—the “ingénue” and the “juvenile”:

Verse: Looking through the pages of the program,
We know what puts that wrinkle in your brow;
This question you are raising,
“Isn’t it amazing
There hasn’t been a love song up to now?”

It is only fair that you should have that love song,
And curiously, the writers thought so, too;
So they studied all the pages
Of music through the ages
Because they thought the best was none too good for you.

Oh, they studied all the pages
Of music through the ages,
And here’s the song of songs they wrote for you:

Refrain: Mn, mn, mn, surrender,
Mn, mn, mn, so tender,
Mn, mn, mn, forevermore—
What can you say in a love song
That hasn’t been said before?

Mn, mn, mn, so sweetly,
Mn, mn, mn, completely,
Mn, mn, mn, *je vous adore*—
What can you say in a love song
That hasn’t been said before?

You are my true love,
Old and new love,
I live for you, love,
You are my guiding star.

Lovers long before us
 Sang the same old chorus —
 If it worked in days of yore,
 Why should I say in a love song
 What hasn't been said before?

The verse creates a mediating communication similar to that of Caldwell's "Plot Demonstrators." Here, the "authors" are represented on stage not by a female sextette but by a heterosexual couple. Nevertheless, the relationship established between these authors and the audience is still quasi-erotic. After all, it is "for" the audience that the writers create this song. The verse also emphasizes how such a love song is a *conventional* part of a musical show and that fulfilling these conventions is, as it were, part of the contract between the creators and the audience. In fact this verse is so emphatic in creating a mediating communication system that it even mentions the contextual epic factor of the para-text of the program.

Thus, the refrain is explicitly pointed to by the verse as a work of self-conscious authorship. This "authorial voice" is also implicitly built into the refrain through the intense self-consciousness it displays about the means of expression. The melody by Harold Arlen is graceful but self-effacing, clearly functioning to serve the song's verbal concerns. The lyric is a dubilocution, filled with doubt concerning how to be expressive. Here, the protagonists' hesitations are caused by a desire to create new ways of saying, "I love you." The anxiety causing the dubilocution is as much about how to be witty as it is about how to convey emotion. In fact, at first glance it seems that the protagonists cannot find any novel phrases. The element of wit therefore becomes the ellipsis. Each opening phrase is omitted in order to spotlight the end of the line. This final word is implicitly presented as the one most highly charged with meaning; at the same time it is also denuded of meaning by its conventionality. This heavy reliance upon the end-rhyme thus

also points up the disadvantages of poetic schemes. Such rhyming restrictions help create the clichéd use of these words through their consequent overuse. The endearments and vows are truncated; they come to resemble the “verbal fragments” that Philip Furia identifies as being used in analogous fashion in both modern poetry and the “smart” lyrics of songwriters like E.Y. Harburg and Ira Gershwin. The song’s concern with the “new”—an explicit search for novelty and perhaps an implicit link to modernist poetry—is both modified and emphasized by its unceasing awareness of the past, of “what’s been said before.”

After the coy evasions of the first two stanzas, in the third stanza—the release—the protagonist capitulates completely to convention in a series of bald declarations that might have been taken from numerous love songs of the past. The penultimate line of the release is made more poignant by a melodic peak, and the section concludes on an unresolved, yearning note, which colors the unrhymed end-word, “star.” This seeming capitulation to high-flown romanticisms is in turn qualified, however, both by the triple rhyme employed in the stanza’s first three lines and by the context of the first half of the song. The song demonstrates the genre’s talent for having its cake and eating it too, both satirizing romantic imagery and yet mining its potency.

In the release the sense of continuity with the past—a favorite theme of Harburg’s—is manifested in the lover’s message to his beloved that “you are my ... old and new love.” As the lyric resolves, this idea comes to the fore. “Lovers long before us / sang the same old chorus,” and, thus, “if it worked in days of yore” (here the protagonist pointedly uses the archaic “yore”), then why strive for novel expressions? This embrace of the past, however, once again takes place only after the demonstration of a novel witty

effect—i.e. ellipsis—has, indeed, supplied a “new” way to say, “I love you.” Here the series of implicit and explicit contrasts and continuities between past and present are as complex as in the prologue scene in *Criss Cross*—and coming within the space of a single verse and refrain, that creates its own sense of artistic mastery lying behind the whole.

Moreover, as originally presented in *Life Begins at 8:40*, this finaletto further explored the reflexive aspect of the theme of old and new, past and present. The number’s ensuing scenes were set in theatres of the periods 1780, 1880, and 1934. Each segment featured an ensemble and two separate pair of lovers, one on stage and one seated in a box as if audience members.⁷² The continuity of heterosexual courtship, the continuity of theatrical traditions, and the mutually mimetic relationship between those onstage and those in the audience, between “conventions” of romance and “real life” romance—all these themes are first contained within the song’s lyrics and then amplified and embodied in the staging.

Conclusion

The American musical most often approaches its own conventions with ironic humor—part of its wide-cast net of satire and parody. Within this context, it is clear that the generalized anthem-like songs often cited by scholars as representing the themes and intentions of the genre are a relatively late development. Most earlier songs about entertainment are engaged in various other strategies.

⁷² These stage details are clear from the program information given by Richard C. Norton in his entry for the show; *Chronology of American Musical Theatre, Volume II*, 178.

Some songs celebrate specific popular entertainment forms that are viewed, justifiably or not, in a nostalgic light—such as blackface minstrelsy and the circus. Such songs create a dramatic construction of a tradition of variety entertainment—and glorify it—just as moments of self-conscious dialogue in these shows allude to the age-old conventions of dramatic storytelling. Thus, the characteristic trait of the American musical described by Rubin—the dynamic between aggregate and narrative traditions—becomes explicitly thematized within the texts themselves through the means of reflexive songs and lines of dialogue.

These songs implicitly create a relationship of complicity between spectator and artist. Some expound upon an erotic or quasi-erotic relationship between what is presented on the stage and the public, the audience. Many kid the conventions of art, including those of the musical itself; and these are implicitly or explicitly depicted as being cultural touchstones for everybody present. Exuberant praise of the circus parade, for example, may seem different in intention and effect to the songs of comedy and wit that create distance by ironically chiding and playing with entertainment conventions. Nevertheless, these two approaches are both oriented toward a body of supposedly common experiences, memories, and reference points. Thus, in the American musical, reflexivity constructs a tradition and a community.

Chapter Five: An Analysis of Three Shows

Introduction

In the last three chapters, I used a representative sample of material to trace the types, prevalence, and history of various reflexive song conventions. In this chapter, I seek to answer some questions that follow as a consequence of this survey. Are these kinds of reflexive songs truly typical of the average musical score? If so, in what ways are they used within specific shows? How do they interact with each other, with the other elements of the production, and, intertextually, with reflexive songs that preceded them?

Thus, in this chapter, I analyze in-depth the use of reflexive songs in three specific shows. This trio was chosen from the sample of productions through an aleatory process, in order to avoid any bias in favor of shows that are exceptionally reflexive.¹ Through this method, I demonstrate that any musical during the period covered by my study, chosen at random, will use reflexive songs in ways that express key themes of that particular property, as well as of the genre as a whole.

These analyses reveal both the typicality and the significance of reflexive songs in the American musical. The three exegeses will also cover a wide chronological range, and thus confirm the accuracy of the history of reflexive song conventions that I have previously traced. This procedure also illustrates the relevance of my chronicle to the hermeneutic process of analyzing specific texts. I delineate how the creators for each

¹ See Appendix One for details on the process of selection.

show draw from a range of paradigmatic choices to create a singular product. Thus, my method of randomly selecting my examples for analysis highlights both the conformity and singularity of each show.

The earliest of the three productions is *He Came from Milwaukee* (1910), a musical comedy that served as a star vehicle for the German dialect comedian, Sam Bernard. The movie musical revue, *King of Jazz* (1930), also hinges on the persona of its star, bandleader Paul Whiteman. As well, the film can be strongly identified as a product of John Murray Anderson, a renowned creator of Broadway revues, here exuberantly embracing the chance to explore cinema technology. Finally, the musical comedy *On the Town* (1944) was one of the first shows to follow in the wake of the new style and rhetoric of integration associated with *Oklahoma!* (1943).

These three musicals represent the seventy sample productions. They all draw upon a shared set of conventions; at the same time, each one is unique. Their creators are like many cooks who share one kitchen. They choose from a common larder, including some ingredients and omitting others. Measuring these elements in varying proportions, they each achieve a proprietary blend of their own. In the scores for these shows, love songs may be considered as the flour, the base for most recipes. To push the analogy further, reflexive songs are like the butter or oil — another essential ingredient, one that makes the result slide down easily. Such songs advertise the notion that music is important; and, by attaching further themes to that of the music matrix, they also propagate other ideological stances.

This introductory section will give an overview of the themes that I highlight in my analyses. Then, I focus on each production in turn. I present an overview of the

themes found in their reflexive songs and the import of these within the history of the American musical. For each, I will briefly give a synopsis of the dramatic structure and a discussion of the main creative personnel.

These shows contain a discourse about the music matrix; for *King of Jazz* and *On the Town*, I compare this with the rhetoric surrounding the creative personnel—Paul Whiteman, Leonard Bernstein, Betty Comden, and Adolph Green. Through this means, I demonstrate how text and context interrelate. My main focus remains, however, upon the tropes found in reflexive songs and how they reveal themes of the genre, especially when seen from the perspective of a history of such conventions.

These close readings serve multiple purposes. Primarily, they act as examples of what can be achieved by using reflexive songs as a key to unlocking meaning in musicals—especially, I wish to emphasize, when those songs are seen within a history of their conventions. Second, I illustrate how the several reflexive songs within a score interrelate to each other. Third, these shows demonstrate how reflexive songs operate in relationship to other aspects of a production. Fourth, the shows allow for the discussion of a few tropes that I have not covered previously, such as “Paris” songs, gypsy songs, and what I will define in more detail below as “extended songs.” Although not intrinsically reflexive, these types overlap in important ways with the conventions of reflexive songs. Fifth, the productions are interesting in themselves, whether viewed as socio-cultural products or as aesthetic objects. In the case of *King of Jazz* and *On the Town*, my close readings offer a fresh view of texts that have continued to receive attention in recent years.

As throughout this study, my main goal is to point to the rhetoric surrounding the music matrix in production songs. Through such musical numbers, shows adopt a pervasive reflexive attitude. Each of these productions could well be the subject of a separate full-length history and analysis. Nevertheless, I argue that a detailed examination of reflexive songs functions as a helpful starting point for surveying many of the textual and even some of the contextual concerns of these shows. Some of these themes have never previously been given any considerable scholarly analysis. Further, they are not simple and one-sided, but ambiguous and contradictory. The way in which the songs and their attitudes interact within a total production—as well as within a history of conventions—lends them depth and complexity.

The reflexive songs in the three productions analyzed in this chapter bear comparison. Separate in style, picked by chance, the shows nevertheless display shared themes and images. These random similarities supply evidence of the common pool of conventions and techniques shared diachronically by separate subgenres and media of the American musical. For instance, despite their differences, all three contain pre-existing songs. Yet, for *King of Jazz*, these are a major element, constituting twenty-three musical compositions—nine vocal and fourteen instrumental. By contrast, in *He Came from Milwaukee* and *On the Town*, they are few, brief, and fragmentary.

Looking at another parameter, *He Came from Milwaukee* and *On the Town* both have fifteen vocal numbers. Furthermore, a high proportion of these songs are concerned with the romantic-erotic nexus—thirteen of those in *Milwaukee* and all those in *On the Town*. By contrast, the quantity of love songs in *King of Jazz* is slightly below average:

eight out of twenty-one songs—or, if the pre-existing songs are omitted, six out of the twelve new songs.²

All the shows concentrate on the two most prominent themes of the American musical: heterosexual pairing and the music matrix. Each has an average quantity of fully reflexive songs: three in *He Came from Milwaukee* and four in the cases of *King of Jazz* and *On the Town*. As with 91% of the sample productions, all three scores include at least one song that discusses music alongside the topics of romance or sex. Thus, each production links these two major themes of the American musical through its reflexive songs.

The reflexive songs in these three sample productions offer examples of many of the themes discussed throughout this study. As Rick Altman argues for the movie musical, these shows structure around a “dual focus,” progressing “through a series of paired segments matching the male and [the] female.”³ With remarkable thoroughness, they link every value, topic, and convention to heterosexual pairing. Significantly, although each relies most heavily upon a sentimental vision of romance—and an idealized femininity—they also feature allusions to or depictions of the battle of the sexes and assertive women.

All three shows are made of conventions. One of their conventions, however, is the reversal of convention. One manifestation of this general leaning toward self-satire is the mixture of tones in depicting the relationship between men and women. At one moment, they will present romance—or music—as glorious; at the next, as problematic or ridiculous. As I outlined in the preceding chapter, parody, irony, and other such

² My survey only examines the English-language songs in *King of Jazz*. The film includes an additional six vocal renditions of songs in Spanish, Russian, German, and French.

³ Rick Altman, *American Film Musical*, 16, 28.

manipulations of clichés feature in the scores of 81% of the sample—in some more than others. Here, it is a readily noticeable part of the scores for all three production; and, indeed, satire of show business conventions is a major constituent in *On the Town*.

Structurally and thematically, these musicals balance the elements of narrative and variety. As Martin Rubin says of the genre as a whole, they remain “more or less in a state of unresolved suspension between the aggregative and conventional narrative impulses.”⁴ All three shows reveal their debt to both traditions. Even *King of Jazz*, which, as a revue, is structured around a series of disparate songs and sketches, continuously works to maintain unity and convey a sense of an authorially-controlled progression. *On the Town* is purposefully created to bring all the dramatic elements into unity and written to convey consistent characterization; yet, is filled with depictions of and allusions to variety formats. Indeed, as I will focus on in my analysis, this show clearly thematizes the dynamic between the aggregate and narrative traditions.

Notably, all three shows have segments about the “primitive.” This is a concept defined with great flexibility, both in critical discourse and in the sample productions. Counting allusions to prehistoric man, Africans, Native Americans, and Pacific Islanders, this theme is referred to in 29% of the sample productions. This statistic does not include, however, instances touching on the many ideas that overlap with that of the “primitive.” Among the most prominent of these are exoticism, orientalism, and rural folk culture, particularly of African Americans in the South.⁵ Charting all these topics together reveals

⁴ Martin Rubin, *Showstoppers*, 19.

⁵ The taxonomy of the “primitive” changed throughout the period covered by my study. At the end of the nineteenth century, it primarily designated what would now be called the Archaic, as well as aspects of the Oriental. By 1910, it had expanded to encompass the African, Native American, and Oceanic, and dropped any connotations of the Archaic. During the 1920s, Orientalism, too, became separated from the idea of the “primitive.” For this history, see William Rubin, “Modernist Primitivism: An Introduction,”

that thirty-six of the sample productions (i.e. 51%) at least briefly include depictions of a supposedly less-civilized “other.”

From at least the time Gauguin went to the South Seas, primitivism has been an important mode of modernist art.⁶ Nevertheless, depictions of the “primitive” in American musicals seldom draw from the kinds of material—tribal sculptures, etc.—that influenced European artists. Instead, their main points of reference are show business traditions, such as side-show freaks, Wild West shows, and so forth. In light of the genre’s utilization of popular culture images of the “savage,” it is not surprising to find many depictions of the “primitive”—for instance, in *He Came from Milwaukee*—that predate any extensive influence on American artists of the primitivism promulgated by European modernist artists.

In all three productions examined here, primitivism is treated in a fashion particularly characteristic of the American musical, one that illustrates how the genre transforms modernist concepts and practices into an element of everyday life. First, the three shows quite emphatically seek to bridge the gap between the savage and the civilized. Second, this junction is usually, although not always, created through the means of a light-hearted, parodic treatment of primitivism—one that seems to keep in mind its status *as a convention*. These shows make familiar the strange or the new; indeed, they implicitly depict these as already being familiar. Thereby, musicals become part of modernity, as defined by Kenneth Bindas—part of the process by which modernization

in “Primitivism” in *20th Century Art: Affinity of the Tribal and the Modern*, Volume I, ed. William Rubin (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1984). 1-84, at 2-3.

⁶ My discussion of primitivism draws principally from two sources: Jack Flam with Miriam Deutch, eds., *Primitivism and Twentieth-Century Art: A Documentary History* (Berkeley, Cal.: University of California Press, 2003); and William Rubin, ed., “Primitivism” in *20th Century Art*.

and modernism become quotidian.⁷ These productions construct an image of life as being comically or comfortably suffused by the modern.

If one were to create a checklist of the major dynamics outlined by scholars of the American musical, including those I have delineated, these three productions would have a tic mark next to almost every line. Each has a song depicting a participatory response to the music matrix. Through these songs and other means, each valorizes music and entertainment. They all allude to the characteristics of modernity—particularly modern technology—as well as to the contrasting topics that define the modern: the nostalgic and the primitive. They each include references to Europe and its culture; and, through these, they implicitly thematize American nationalism. Each includes characters who transform their identity through theatricalism—or, in the case of *King of Jazz*, cinematicism. They mention entertainments of past eras, viewed both nostalgically and parodically. All three have some kind of allusion—implicit or explicit—to blacks, whether African or African American.

He Came from Milwaukee presents the earliest song of American authorship in the corpus in which the concept that “love is a song” is made a dominant theme. In *King of Jazz*, “The Song of the Dawn” also uses music as a metaphor for an abstraction—the rebirth of hope as symbolized by the sunrise. *On the Town* eschews such elevated and sentimental notions, but nevertheless creates a vague, bawdy analogy between the charms of New York’s popular entertainments and the sexual charms of its heroines. For example, in “Come Up to My Place,” Hildy compares herself with the Hippodrome, declaring “I haven’t got five thousand seats, but the one I have is a honey.” For Hildy,

⁷ Kenneth J. Bindas, *Swing—That Modern Sound*, xiii.

love may not be a song—or even a play—but she does create a parallel though association and contrast between theatre and sex.

In all three shows, the concomitance of music, dance, and other performance genres is affirmed and the “come on and” gesture is present, but not prominent. The song of the urban—and usually musicalized—bazaar is highly visible in all three shows. *He Came from Milwaukee* has four songs that touch on the allures of sophistication, women, and naughty dancing in Paris. *King of Jazz* burlesques the old-fashioned New York song about the fallen country maiden. *On the Town* uses its “New York, New York” theme as a major structural element and as an anthem glorifying the excitement of the city; and its other lyrics define the city as a place of theatre, music, and dance.

The three analyzed productions do lack some of the other generic characteristics traced in previous chapters. There are no songs creating generalized celebrations of entertainment; this is in line with the claim made in Chapter Four that such songs are a late development of the genre. While the theme of sexually-available urban women is touched upon in songs about city life in all three shows, it is only connected to show business in *On the Town*. Only this latter show dwells at any considerable length on the dynamic between business and entertainment; and it does so in a parodic manner that problematizes the usual dichotomy that valorizes the music matrix at the expense of the work ethic. There are other options allowed by the genre that are lacking from all three productions: reflexive verses that become self-conscious about their status as bridges between speech and song; dubilocutory lyrics; and musical scenes that act as prologues or epilogues and thus frame the action.

None of the three productions feature lyrics that explicitly break the “fourth wall” to directly address the audience and expose the dramaturgical techniques in a seemingly incongruous manner, as do, for example, the “Plot Demonstrators” episodes in *Criss Cross* (1926). All three productions, however, use non-song devices to create such a mediating communication system. For instance, direct audience address through stance and gaze can be presumed to have been used in the actual performances of both the stage shows. It is certainly a feature of all the song performances in *King of Jazz*—but there the director, John Murray Anderson, usually supplies, besides the singer, another figure in the *mise en scene* to be the theoretical recipient of the song. In addition, *He Came from Milwaukee* includes several brief spoken asides and moments of soliloquy, including one that self-consciously introduces the act of singing. *On the Town* uses a printed “banner”—to apply the term of Manfred Pfister—in the form of a gigantic “Meet Miss Turnstiles” poster that introduces the ingénue Ivy Smith.⁸ The revue, *King of Jazz*, is entirely structured around the epic mediating communication systems that introduce each musical number: eight spoken introductions, two of them duplicated in writing in a giant “scrapbook”; ten title pages of a smaller “scrapbook”; and the shot of a sign that reads “Park” to establish the setting for “A Bench in the Park.”

Several of the spoken introductions in *King of Jazz* create very emphatic definitions of the essential nature of music. One of the most obvious is that for “The Melting Pot of Music” finale, which states that in America “the music of all nations are fused into one great, new rhythm—Jazz!” Such reflexive script elements point to the fact

⁸ Manfred Pfister, *Theory and Analysis of Drama*, 71. Photos of the original production of *On the Town* reveal other, more conventional uses of printed words, as well, in signs for Nedick’s Restaurant, the express subway, Hildy’s taxicab, and Rajah Bimmy’s “Night in a Harem” tent, as well as other attractions at Coney Island.

that songs are only one of many devices in any musical show that together create the themes of a production—themes that in all these shows, as in “The Melting Pot of Music,” create a dynamic between the conservative and the progressive. Among these many elements, however, reflexive songs still hold a privileged place, because they comment on their own media and techniques—music and lyrics. Therefore, an examination of the role they play within a musical property provides a valuable starting point for analyzing the multifarious meanings of the text.

He Came from Milwaukee

He Came from Milwaukee is highly conventional. Although all its creators were American, the show borrows copiously from the operetta tradition, both for its European setting, its traditional plot devices, and for the style of some of its music. The score offers examples of three important conventions not yet discussed, but prevalent during this early period: the “Paris” song; the gypsy song; and the moon song. The eponymous central character is the resourceful American—here, the wealthy immigrant German—who inhabits many musical comedies of the era. Overall, the list of *dramatis personae* is, as will be discussed further below, prototypical for the era. Indeed, *Milwaukee* might well be critiqued as clichéd and trite.

Nonetheless, despite—or, in a sense, because of—its reliance upon formula, *He Came from Milwaukee* reveals that the American musical, by 1910, was already a fully developed genre. Later shows—such as Jerome Kern’s Princess Theatre series of the World War One era, Jazz Age productions with scores by the Gershwins or Rodgers and

Hart, or *Show Boat* (1927)—are often said to mark the first maturity of the Broadway musical.⁹ Yet, musicals such as *Milwaukee* show that the form had achieved its characteristic style several years prior to these more highly celebrated productions.

In *He Came from Milwaukee*, the lyricist, Edward Madden, employs several conventions that proved to be enduring, here seen in a germinal state. Like Ira Gershwin or Lorenz Hart, he creates multiple and interior rhymes. In one case, “When We Are Married You and Me,” Madden yokes these techniques to a witty, flippant attitude toward married life—a combination characteristic of 1920s songs. Abstract notions about music, such as “a place is a song” and “love is a song,” appear here in “Come Back to Bohemia” and “Love Is Like a Red, Red Rose.” This latter also features verses delineating enamored lovers who are reticent and wary and therefore conceal their love, as in later shows. Further, the show extensively uses what I call “double negative” allusions—images that complicate their own valorization of the music matrix. This is a technique that appears in the corpus at about this time and continues through the end of the period under study. Thus, the show’s old-fashioned aspects coexist with more *au courant* stylistic elements. The major contribution offered by an analysis of *Milwaukee*, therefore, is an illustration of how musicals achieve individuality: they stay within the boundaries of convention, while also exploring and ever-so-slightly stretching the outer borders of these confines in specific, limited ways.

⁹ Many writers implicitly or explicitly convey this picture of the history of the Broadway musical. Instances include the following: Gerald Bordman, *American Musical Theatre*, 297-298, 388-389; Ethan Mordden, *Better Foot Forward: The History of American Musical Theatre* (New York: Grossman Publishers, Viking Press, 1976), 47-56, 73-90, 99-111; idem, *Broadway Babies*, 72-74, 81-105; Denny Martin Flinn, *Musical! A Grand Tour: The Rise, Glory, and Fall of an American Institution* (New York: Schirmer Books, 1997), 137-163; and David H. Lewis, *Broadway Musicals: A Hundred Year History* (Jefferson, N.C.: McFarland and Company, 2002), 9-23.

Thus, *He Came from Milwaukee* represents the early sample productions, in score, characters, and storyline. One major plot element of *Milwaukee* occurs frequently in these early shows: the rich American parent who wants his or her offspring to marry a European title. This convention also appears in *Whoop-Dee-Doo* (1903), *Fantana* (1905), *George Washington, Jr.* (1906), and *The American Idea* (1908), and in all these other stories the royal candidate turns out to be an impostor of some sort.¹⁰ In *Milwaukee*, however, an even more old-fashioned resolution is offered, and the hero whom the ingénue loves turns out to be the man her mother intended for her all the time—the incognito Duke of Zurack.

The character types in *He Came from Milwaukee* could be transferred to many other shows of its era. It stars a lead comic—here Sam Bernard as Herman Von Schellenwein—the eponymous man from Milwaukee. Bernard was a German dialect comedian—a “Dutch” act—such as features in several other sample productions of that era: both of the Weber and Fields shows, *Whirl-I-Gig* (1899) and *Whoop-Dee-Doo* (1903); *The American Idea* (1908); and *The Slim Princess* (1911). The prima donna with the operatic voice is here a secondary character, Leska, the gypsy queen.¹¹ The juvenile lead, Egbert, is secretly duke and heir to the throne of a mythical Ruritanian kingdom, Zurack, near Bohemia. The second juvenile part is filled by his erstwhile schoolchum, the Englishman, Bruce. The ingénue, Constance, and the soubrette, her cousin Betty, are Americans from Fort Wayne, Indiana. They are on tour through Europe with Constance’s

¹⁰ Related plotlines can be found also in *The Fortune Teller* (1898), *The Old Town* (1910), and *The Slim Princess* (1911).

¹¹ Here I define the “prima donna” as a female character of some worldly experience whose songs require classical vocal training. I have not been able to examine all the sample productions for these combined ranges of tessitura and characterization. Nevertheless, out of the first eighteen shows, at least nine (50%) and perhaps as many as fourteen (78%) feature such roles.

wealthy mother, Mrs. Harvey, who is determined to marry Constance off to a duke.

Unbeknownst to all involved, the duke for whose hand Mrs. Harvey is negotiating is Egbert. Back in England, Egbert saved Constance from a runaway horse. Although they have never been formally introduced, their brief encounter has left them enamored with each other. The secondary couple is also in the midst of wooing, for Bruce seeks the hand of Betty.

Because the villain, Ravenal, is out to assassinate this mysterious duke, Herman agrees to impersonate that royal body until the latter can safely ascend the throne. Constance is determined not to be forced to marry this duke, and therefore she (with her friends' help) arranges to enter into a marriage of convenience with Egbert, whom she knows simply as Bruce's old schoolchum. When Egbert thereafter mysteriously disappears and does not reappear until coronation day in Zurack, his unexplained absence causes some coolness between him and Constance. She realizes, however, that his love is true and confesses her own love, before his identity is finally revealed to all at the end of the show.

In 1910, Madden, the lyricist, was in the flush of success from several hit songs featured in *Ziegfeld Follies of 1909*: "My Cousin Carus",^{TT} "Up, Up, Up in My Aeroplane,"^{TT} and the well-remembered "By the Light of the Silvery Moon,"^{TT} discussed in Chapter Four. Madden had already worked with both composers, Ben M. Jerome and Louis Hirsch, and therefore it is probable that he was an agent in bringing them together to collaborate on the score for *He Came from Milwaukee*.¹² Jerome made his career

¹² At the time of the Broadway opening of *He Came from Milwaukee*, the programs and, therefore, the reviews as well, credit Melville Ellis with being a third collaborator on the musical compositions. Ellis, however, is listed neither on the printed sheet music that I have examined nor on the published piano-vocal score (which includes all of the score as it existed during the latter part of the Broadway run). This mystery

mainly in Chicago, but he was also occasionally involved in New York between 1900 and 1927 as a conductor and a composer of scores and interpolated songs. *He Came from Milwaukee* would be his greatest success as a Broadway composer. Hirsch, reportedly, was trained for a career in classical music—yet by 1907, at the age of twenty, he was writing interpolations for Broadway.¹³ After *Milwaukee* his career flourished. He produced a well-remembered song hit with “Hello, Frisco!”^{TT} (*Ziegfeld Follies of 1915*). Then, before his early death in 1924, he wrote two of the most successful shows of the era: *Going Up* (with the hit song “The Tickle Toe,”^{TT} 1917) and *Mary* (with its hit, “The Love Nest,”^{TT} 1920).

The styles in the score are also typical of the era, combining highbrow European and middlebrow Tin Pan Alley musical traits.¹⁴ This mixed tone is appropriate for the show’s depiction of Americans in Europe. In part, Jerome and Hirsch look to European music for inspiration. In the opening choruses for each act and the arietta-like songs for Leska, the songwriters borrow from the styles of well-known concert and comic opera composers, such as Verdi, Grieg, Lehar, and Sullivan. Leska’s “Come Back to Bohemia,” for instance, has the rhythmic suspensions of an art song and Puccini-like harmonic touches. Nevertheless, the musical texture stays light throughout. Some of the songs are well in line with the feel of Tin Pan Alley; such is the case with the gently rollicking “Zinga Zula Man” and the “back porch” waltz feeling of “(Merry) Wedding Bells.”^{TR}

of authorship must remain unsolved for the moment. Since, however, Ellis was also credited as the costume designer for the production, it is probable that the credit was due either to a misprint or an early contractual obligation. While uncertainties of authorship are particularly rife in the first three decades of my survey, this case is unique in its inexplicableness.

¹³ I draw from the entries for Louis Hirsch in two sources: Roger D. Kinkle, *The Complete Encyclopedia of Popular Music and Jazz, 1900-1950* (New Rochelle, N.Y.: Arlington House, 1974), 1112; and Warren W. Vachè, *The Unsung Songwriters: America’s Masters of Melody* (Lanham, Md.: Scarecrow Press, 2000), 202-203.

¹⁴ I want to thank Jan-Piet Knijff for his help with examining and analyzing the music for the three productions discussed in this chapter.

These operetta and Tin Pan Alley styles are juxtaposed not only between different songs, but also within single songs. For example, in “Love Is Like a Red, Red Rose,”^{TR} the composers emulate the delicate refinement of operetta in the main strain and the simplicity of Tin Pan Alley at the conclusion of the melody.

Many Broadway lyrics of this era feature two verses, and some have two refrains as well. There is a category of song, however, that exceeds this number and accumulates either verses or refrains—or both—to the extent of three, four, five, or more new sets of lyrics. In the discussion that follows, I dub this kind of structure “the extended song.” I will discuss such extended songs more fully below, as part of my analysis of *On the Town*, but the type is also prominent in *He Came from Milwaukee*. While slightly more than half the songs in *Milwaukee* are designed along the simple lines of one or two verse-refrain combinations, an almost equal quantity are extended songs. Three numbers—the openers for both acts and the Act One finaletto—are multi-sectioned, through-composed ensemble numbers. Four other songs are constructed melodically on the basic verse-and-refrain form, but feature up to five different lyrics for these musical repetitions. Such extended, episodic songs are found throughout the corpus, but are especially characteristic of the era prior to the first World War, being featured in 70% of the sample productions through 1914.

Of the fifteen songs written by Madden, Jerome, and Hirsch for *He Came from Milwaukee*, three are fully reflexive. This is an average number for theatre scores. As well, there are three songs with incidental reflexive allusions in the verses only; again, this represents an average number. The production also includes, however, an additional six incidentally reflexive refrains—an unusually high number. Altogether, therefore, the

remarkably large quantity of incidentally reflexive songs helps to saturate the score with reflexive allusions. These are linked to conventions that are not intrinsically reflexive, but nevertheless are often closely associated with the music matrix: Paris; gypsy culture; and the moon. The analysis of *Milwaukee* allows for a discussion of these three conventions, which have not been covered in the previous chapters.

The score is filled with an unusually large number of songs concerning the romantic or sexual relationships between men and women; only two numbers do not explicitly touch on this topic. As part of this theme, the reflexive songs all link love with the music matrix. This creates an unusually consistent and emphatic association. The reflexive songs are located at articulations of the plot. This is particularly true for the second act: a reflexive song commences the action in Zurack; and, at the conclusion, a reprise of “(Merry) Wedding Bells” caps the whole evening. Almost every song in the first act links in its images or techniques to others later in the score. These connections help unify the first and second acts. In the examination that follows, I will proceed through Act One song by song, using each in turn to analyze the Act Two songs that relate to it. The show commences with a song alluding to Paris—not a lyric about the music matrix, but one that nevertheless links to later songs in the score that are reflexive.

The “Paris” Song

The first act “Opening Chorus”—a multi-sectioned choral ensemble followed by an instrumental “galop”—establishes the location, Ostend. This Belgian city is quickly identified as a resort for those who come from, on the one side, England, and, on the

other, Paris. The number is sung by American heiresses who are hunting titles and the English lords and Parisian haut monde who reciprocate by hunting fortunes: “From Páree to Ostend,” they come, “to gather the francs we spend.” This early allusion to France is matched by three others that occur later: the second act “Opening Ensemble”; the first verse and refrain of “If You Were There with Me”; and “Tie a Red Ribbon on Me.” Therefore, my analysis of *He Came from Milwaukee* starts with a discussion of the convention of the song of France and of Paris, how it is depicted as relating to the music matrix, and how the four songs in *Milwaukee* use this trope.

Songs about Paris arise in the list of song titles during the same era as do the New York songs, and there are close parallels between the two types. The sample of productions includes half as many “Paris” songs as it does “New York” songs. This secondary prevalence is confirmed by the list of song titles: averaging over the decades, there are about three New York titles to every one Paris title. The Paris song convention, however, is nearly as persistent as that for New York songs, manifesting as late as two numbers in the stage version of *Victor/Victoria* (1995), with the romantic “Paris by Night” and the comic “Paris Makes Me Horny.” In the corpus, Paris songs never fully incorporate the “city as music” metaphor that predominates in “New York Serenade,” “Broadway Rhythm,” and so forth. Nevertheless, songwriters use both cities to symbolize the happy ruction that is a manifestation of the music matrix.

As with New York, Paris is most often depicted as a bazaar. Further, it is associated with sexually available women and, in incidental allusions, to the music matrix; these topics feature in almost a third of the Paris songs in the sample of productions. These songs almost invariably create the connotation of an idealized Old

World sophistication and eroticism. In *He Came from Milwaukee*, the Paris songs are a manifestation of the influence of the European operetta tradition.

Thus, New York and Paris are associated with a similar set of connotations. This kinship between the two cities is demonstrated in song titles such as “A Broadway in Pairee” (*The Whirl of the World*, 1914) and “Ca, C’est Sixth Avenue” (*Fools Rush In*, 1934). In the sample of productions, direct comparisons between New York and Paris, to the detriment of the latter, are made in “(I Want to Go Back to the Good Old) U.S.A.” (*Whoop-Dee-Doo*, 1903) and “In Old New York” (*The Red Mill*, 1906). Also in the sample, Yankee music is depicted as conquering Paris via “Rag-Time in Europe” (*Whoop-Dee-Doo*, 1903), “Can-Can versus Cakewalk” (*Fantana*, 1905), and “American Ragtime”^{TR} (*The American Idea*, 1908), while Parisian dance is shown as invading New York with “The Latest Thing from Paris” (*The Firefly*, 1912). Indeed, the peak prevalence of Paris songs occurs during this early era. This was a period when the popularity of *The Merry Widow* (with featured two songs about that Paris institution, Maxim’s) led to numerous European imports to the Broadway musical stage. This foreign dominance only ceased with the strife of World War One in Europe. As a result, the quantities of Paris and New York song titles are equal during the years between 1907 and 1914.

It is within this context that the four songs about Paris or France appear in *He Came from Milwaukee*. Paris is implicitly presented as if it were the compass point towards which all things European orient. Thus, in the first act “Opening Chorus,” Ostend is defined in relationship to Paris, for the latter city is where the heiresses have bought their fashions and where originate “ze chic” men who court them.

Three other songs that orient their protagonists towards Paris occur in Act Two. This theme is quickly reestablished in the second act “Opening Ensemble,” sung by the citizens of Zurack as they anticipate the coronation festivities. In the first two sections of this number, the townsfolk offer some mildly satirical comments on this political event. In the latter half of the song, however, they surrender to a celebratory mood. Madden uses his most clever rhyming patterns—involving quintuple rhymes—in this musical number in which the listener is invited to “come on and” join in a hedonistic happy ruction that is described in relationship to France:

Section three: So come along!
 With jest and song
 We'll join the merry throng
 Where we belong—
 Can that be wrong?
 In ev'ry inn
 Where wine is thin
 We'll search to find the bin
 Then raise a din—
 Is that a sin?
 With ringing rhyme
 In tones that chime
 What vocal heights we'll climb
 To pass the time—
 Is that a crime?
 And if perchance
 We do a dance
 That comes from naughty France
 To win a glance—
 'Tis but romance!

The residents of Zurack define a night of pleasure in terms that involve most of the elements of a musical comedy—jests, rhymes, singing, and dancing. In addition, their taverns parallel the bars and restaurants that function so interdependently with the Broadway theatre industry. In celebrating the coronation, they replicate the experiences of the patron of musical comedy. Vocal music and dance are closely juxtaposed in this sensual potpourri, and the music matrix is associated with merriment and eroticism.

The members of the throng encourage each other to participate. Through glance and direct audience address, they most probably directed this invitation to the theatre audience as well. Singing and dancing, they embody and enact the response they verbally recommend. The dance they valorize, and the erotic naughtiness that clings to it, is a product of France—and, implicitly, France here connotes Paris.

Later in the second act, Bruce has just been musing in soliloquy on how faithful he will be to Betty. Just then, however, a female ensemble enter and his flirtatious behavior casts some doubt upon his fidelity. Bruce and this female ensemble sing “If You Were There with Me.”¹⁵ The five refrains extol the delights of being in Paris, Berlin, Kilarney, Glasgow, and Peking—all places that could be depicted through established conventions of theatrical representation. Indeed, between the segments, the chorus girls emerge costumed for a “characteristic” dance of each different locale. Through this travelogue, the musical comedy ingredient of variety is found within the confines of a single song—a miniature, self-contained revue. There are introductory verses to only the initial two refrains, to introduce Paris and Berlin. In both of these, the singers refer to the purported straight-laced nature of the cities—a claim that is then ironically denied by the ending phrases: “Oh, you Paris! ... Oh, you Berlin!” Germany is celebrated for its beer and Scotland for its “heeland flinging” and scotch. By contrast, the appeal of Paris is depicted as the loose sexual behavior permitted there—“there’s a place you can’t embarrass”—and the women who participate in it.

The final Paris song in *He Came from Milwaukee* is the very next musical cue in the score, and it offers a reversal of Bruce’s masculine vision of Paris as an erotic

¹⁵ As will be discussed further, below, during the Broadway run “If You Were There with Me” was replaced by another song.

banquet. When Leska first flirts with the villain Ravenal, in order to prevent him from assassinating the duke, and then laughingly jilts him, he is left alone with his broken heart. “Merciful heaven,” he asks himself (and the audience), “what shall I do?” In a moment of comic self-consciousness—and a reversal of mood—he answers, “I’ll sing!” He proceeds to relate the story of a previous inequitable love affair which, like that with Leska, had left him brokenhearted. He loved “fair Lisette / down in the Quarter Latin,” but *la bohème* spurned him for a pet bulldog. The burthen of his song is a plea to be treated as kindly as is the dog: “I haven’t got a single flea, / I’ll be the pet of Paree.” Within this narrative song, Ravenal is revealed as being not a powerful active agent—the traditionally masculine role—but instead a passive, subjected dependent—the traditionally feminine role.

All four songs allude to France or Paris as a place for the exchange of sexual favors, a sexual marketplace. The male-dominated sexual politics of this exchange—which Rick Altman defines as one of “beauty” for “riches”—is not entirely negated, but nevertheless is problematized by the power granted the women.¹⁶ The American heiresses dominate their European swains through wealth; and Lisette effortlessly manipulates Ravenal’s emotions and libido. Two of these songs create links to the music matrix as well. Since the happy ruination of the city implicitly equals that of the musical comedy itself, this play with sexual politics is depicted as being a characteristic not only of Paris but of *He Came from Milwaukee* as well.

¹⁶ Rick Altman, *American Film Musical*, 24-25.

The Gypsy Song

Each act starts with a choral ensemble alluding to Paris, and the second musical numbers in both acts also parallel each other. They are both sung by Leska, the gypsy queen who helps to get the duke on the throne, and an ensemble of “Bohemian girls”: “Gypsy Land” and “Come Back to Bohemia.” As with the Paris allusions that link songs in both halves of the evening, these two gypsy songs also create a continuity between the first and second acts. They introduce into my discussion an important convention of the musical: the gypsy. In musical style and in subject matter, these gypsy songs orient *He Came from Milwaukee* towards the European operetta tradition.

Although she is a settled and wealthy citizen of Zurack and a loyal supporter of the throne, Leska herself holds some ill-defined royal status among the gypsies. As she sings at the start of the first verse of “Gypsy Land,” “there lies a land where I command / full many a wand’ring band,” and in the second verse, “each band that starts, e’re it departs, / must hail me as Queen of Hearts.” Both her songs are incidentally reflexive and link the music matrix to the gypsy life:

Verse: ... The only law in which they trust,
The lover’s kiss and dagger’s thrust,
And the sound of my serenade:

Refrain: ... Dancing eyes and faces tanned,
Fortunes told and futures planned,
While the tambourines are softly tinkling ...
In Gypsy Land.

Refrain: ... Tender dreams
Call you with the songs they sing to you,
So come back to her,
Come back to Bohemia.

The symbolic “Gypsy Land” is as much a “place” as the region of Bohemia—real but romanticized—and both are suffused with music in a manner that begins to develop the “place as song” convention that becomes a predominant theme of lyrics only after the mid-twenties. The injunction to “come back to Bohemia” comes immediately after the call in the second act “Opening Ensemble” to “come along” and “join the merry throng.” Together, these two songs create an exhortation to the listeners to be drawn into the concerns of the characters on the stage—specifically, into their involvement with the music matrix. In the command, “Come Back to Bohemia,” the word “back” is significant. This nostalgic longing to return to a home of the past, for the Old World where the action of *He Came from Milwaukee* is set, is an implicit theme of the show.

Within this Old World, the most picturesque “other” is not the African American but the gypsy. These itinerant people had numerous names that referred to their purported place of origins in Egypt (gypsies, gitano, ziguener), India (Romany, deriving from a word indicating low caste) or Bohemia (bohemians). In the 1830s, the end of slavery in Eastern Europe created an influx of gypsies into France and other areas. From that time, European artists romanticized these bohemians, using them as an “other” with which to identify.¹⁷ This association resulted in the name “bohemians” being applied to youthful artists, students, and journalists. The seemingly unencumbered lifestyles of these groups link them to two additional types of “bohemian”—the street vagabond and the wandering performer. Numerous productions in the sample feature one or several of these various types of “bohemians.”

¹⁷ My discussion of these matters is indebted to that of Marilyn R. Brown; *Gypsies and Other Bohemians: The Myth of the Artist in Nineteenth-Century France* (Ann Arbor, Mich.: UMI Research Press, 1985).

For those productions that do not allude to African American traditions of music and dance, this array of various linked bohemian types seems to offer an alternative “other.”¹⁸ Thus, through this well-established chain of associations, the Romanies in *He Came from Milwaukee* not only link to those in *The Fortune Teller* (1898) and *The Desert Song* (1926), but also to the impoverished street denizens of *The Firefly* (1912) and *The Vagabond King* (1925), and even to the bohemian artists in *Oh! Oh! Delphine* (1913) and *Oh, Lady! Lady!!* (1918). Stretching the analogy even farther leads to the traveling performers in *The Old Town* (1910), *Show Boat* (1927), *Rain or Shine* (1928), *Mammy* (1930), and *Road to Singapore* (1940), and thence to the less peripatetic theatrical folk found in numerous productions from *The Social Whirl* (1906) to *The Dolly Sisters* (1945).¹⁹ Taken altogether, the construct built around the idea of “bohemians” is an important one in the American musical and is linked to the general reflexivity of the genre. In musicals, all kinds of “bohemians”—from the gypsy to the urban artists of the romantic and modernist periods—are proponents of the values surrounding the music matrix.

The link between gypsies and theatre artists leads to a further conjecture: perhaps, in the American musical, all performing artists are a kind of “other.” Altman discusses how the work ethic is depicted as representative of the status quo, the mainstream of American society, and, in the plots of movie musicals, is often in conflict with the values

¹⁸ An interesting item of trivia seems to symbolize the thematic equivalence of gypsies and African Americans in the genre. Will Marion Cook’s song “The Little Gypsy Maid” (*The Wild Rose*, 1902) received a new lyric by Cecil Mack as “Brown-Skin Baby of Mine,” and in this form was made part of the score for the 1904 London production of *In Dahomey*; see Thomas L. Riis, *Just Before Jazz*, 95.

¹⁹ Exactly half the seventy sample productions feature professional performers among their *dramatis personae*—and an additional five shows include characters who clumsily and comically aspire to be performers.

of entertainment.²⁰ In such a construct, the artist is always the counter-cultural outsider. This ethos sets the performer apart from society, just as do the ethnic and racial markers of Romanies, Jews, African Americans, and so forth. In musicals, all these various kinds of “other” are associated with theatricality or music. Thus, the “bohemians” in *He Came from Milwaukee*, as in other sample productions, are closely associated with the music matrix, and this connection is revealed through the show’s reflexive songs.

“Double Negative” Allusions to Music

The third song in *He Came from Milwaukee* is the incidentally reflexive “When We Are Married You and Me,” sung by the secondary couple, Bruce and Betty. The brief reflexive allusions in this song introduce the topic of the show’s reversals of convention. Most often in the corpus, the music matrix is imbued with positive connotations. Of the sample productions, only twenty-six (37%) include negative images of music, starting with the earliest example, “The Serenades of All Nations,” in *The Fortune Teller* (1898). As discussed in Chapters Two and Four, most of such instances can be seen as either affectionate parodies or deprecations that, through the means of irony, actually constitute a form of bragging, as with “When Mr. Shakespeare Comes to Town”^{TT} (*King’s Carnival* and *Hoity-Poity*, both 1901).

He Came from Milwaukee is unique in the sample of productions, however, because the lyrics repeatedly use what I term “double negative” allusions. Apparently offering a critique of the music matrix, these references nevertheless ultimately serve to

²⁰ Rick Altman, *American Film Musical*, 49.

reinforce music's conventional positive associations. This trope first appears in the corpus in the shows of January 1910, in the ironic declarations that dominate Irving Berlin's "Stop That Rag" (*The Jolly Bachelors*), discussed in Chapter Two, as well as in a brief line during the first act finale of *The Old Town*: "There is no music in the [wedding] chimes / unless they symbolize a love enduring." Thus, *Milwaukee*, which opened on Broadway in September, 1910, may have been in the vanguard in exploiting this kind of double-edged allusion to the music matrix.

In *He Came from Milwaukee*, the first of these "double negative" reflexive allusions occurs in "When We Are Married You and Me." The second verse and refrain paint a conventionally idyllic picture of prospective married life. By contrast, however, the first verse and refrain offer the hypothetical situation if the wooing pair were married, but not to each other. Madden amplifies this witty reversal with triple rhymes and a "double negative" allusion to the music of wedding bells:

Refrain one:

Betty: ... The biscuits I'd bake him

Would ache him

And make him

Throw fits when he looked at me.

Both: We'd weep at the sound of wedding bells.

Bruce: I'd stay out nights.

Betty: I'd start fights. ...

Both: If I were married, you were married, married to someone else.

Clearly, "the sound of wedding bells" would connote happiness if the pair were lucky in matrimony; barring that, however, the music would make them "weep."

Similar allusions recur in several more instances in the score and even once in the dialogue. Herman bewails a lost love in the interpolated comedy song with lyrics by Irving Berlin and music by Ted Snyder, "Lena." When he thinks of this erstwhile sweetheart, the protagonist declares, "the handorgans play pretty love songs all day, / but

to me its just plain fun'ral march." He, too, implies that if he were lucky in love the music he hears would seem happy.

Betty returns to these kind of negative images in her second act duet with Bruce, "There's an Aeroplane Air about You." The song outlines that, while she is exuberant and flighty, he is plodding and dull. In the second verse, she complains, using a clever internal rhyme, that "there's the song of the mills where they make dollar bills / in your sad serenades about love." Clearly, to Betty, music is for expressing love and should be emotional and inspiring—unlike Bruce's prosy utterances.

Leska's second-act song, "Come Back to Bohemia," also offers an example of a seemingly negative, but actually positive, allusion to the music matrix. The gypsy queen declares, in the second verse, that "there are love songs in Bohemia / that can make you cry." Such a statement, however, only serves to reinforce music's affective power. Yet another example of the "double negative" reflexive allusion, in "The Zinga Zula Man," will be discussed below. Such seeming denials of the celebratory connotations of the music matrix are not subversive, for they all ultimately act to reaffirm the positivity and power of music. Nevertheless, these ambiguous passages lend *He Came from Milwaukee* an air of witty plangency that qualifies its extensive use of sentimental and nostalgic conventions and gives it a lighter, more comic tone.

Music and Love

While the first three musical numbers in *He Came from Milwaukee* only contain incidental reflexive allusions, the fourth song is fully reflexive: "Love Is Like a Red, Red

Rose”—the more successful of the show’s two hit songs.²¹ This lyric is the earliest manifestation in the corpus for a song of American origin in which the metaphor “love is a song” is used as a dominant theme. As discussed in Chapter Two, the most prominent “love is a song” lyrics in Broadway shows during the era of *He Came from Milwaukee* are translations of Viennese operetta numbers, such as the “Merry Widow Waltz” and “Love’s Roundelay.” Thus, Madden’s use of this image in *Milwaukee* takes its place with the show’s other homages to European paradigms. Yet the song also supplies an early representative of the trend towards Americanizing this depiction of music as an abstract metaphor, preceding by nine years the next major example, “A Pretty Girl Is Like a Melody” (*Ziegfeld Follies of 1919*).

In “Love Is Like a Red, Red Rose,” Madden sets up three major similes to define love, summarized at the end of the verse: “Love is like a rose, a song, / a babbling brook that flows along.” Madden borrows from the two metaphors used by Robert Burns in his poem “A Red, Red Rose”—the rose and the “melodie / that’s sweetly played in tune”—and adds the brook as well. He expands upon these similes in the refrain, rather overloading his brief song with images:

Refrain: Love is like a red, red rose,
That buds and blows in June.

Love is like a tune
That haunts you night and noon.

Love is like a brook that flows
When each heart knows ‘tis true.

²¹ Joel Whitburn charts for two weeks a record of “Love Is Like a Red, Red Rose,” peaking at position number seven, by Henry Burr and Elise Stevenson; *Pop Memories, 1890-1954*, 66. In addition, a review of the show by Sheppard Butler, from an unidentified journal, mentions “Love Is Like a Red, Red Rose” as the only song from *He Came from Milwaukee* to “have achieved popularity by way of restaurant orchestras”; *He Came from Milwaukee*, Martin Brown Scrapbook. For details about this and other materials consulted about *He Came from Milwaukee*, see the entry for that show in Appendix One.

Love's a song when two are singing,
 "I love you."

While the song is not a waltz, it does display a European influence in Jerome and Hirsch's concise sixteen-bar melody, particularly in the opening section. A chromatic pick-up phrase leads to a series of unsyncopated notes separated by rests; this creates a dainty kind of "pizzicato" effect that the sheet music indicates should be performed *graziano*—gracefully.²² This ear-catching device places emphasis on the similes of the "rose" and, with the repetition of the main strain in the third section, the "brook."

The sections that follow this main melody are more flowing and yet less striking in outline, making the second and fourth stanzas that speak of "a tune" and "a song" feel parenthetical. To counter this subsidiary position, however, Madden uses repetition. Just like the "tune" that haunts the protagonist "night and noon," the idea that love is a song also recapitulates itself, occurring again in the final lines of the refrain. No longer merely "like" a song, at the end love "is" a song, intensifying the simile not only through repetition but also by transforming it into a proper metaphor.

Madden also entwines the concrete and the abstract. The specific act of two sweethearts singing "I love you," emphasized in the song's conclusion, is preceded by the more abstract notion that the romantic relationship between the two lovers—their love and "love" itself as a reified phenomenon—"is" itself a song. Thus, as early as 1910, Madden demonstrates that American lyricists are blurring the boundaries between, on the one hand, the physical act of singing and, on the other, "song" as an ethereal yet reified

²² Perhaps a more familiar song from the corpus in much the same style and using the same "pizzicato" effect in its main melodic strain is "Love Is Like a Firefly," from a later European-influenced sample production, *The Firefly* (1912).

manifestation of “love.” As illustrated in Chapter Two, this convention would be developed with more prominence in the 1920s.

A further interesting aspect to “Love Is Like a Red, Red Rose” is found in its verses. While the refrain consists of a generalization about the nature of love, the verses are in the form of a particularized and personal dialogue between the hero and heroine, Egbert and Constance. These verses convey character and situation: two young people who are attracted to each other in a manner both seriously-minded and playful, enamored but reticent. Therefore, the verses present the same situation later more famously dramatized by Oscar Hammerstein in such songs as “Make Believe”^{TT} (from the sample production *Show Boat*, 1927), “People Will Say We’re in Love”^{TT} (from the sample production *Oklahoma!*, 1943), and “If I Loved You”^{TT} (*Carousel*, 1945). In all these, two prospective lovers must convey their attraction to the audience without quite admitting it to each other. This is a situation that relates strongly to the self-conscious dubilocutions analyzed in Chapter Four. At the end of the second verse, Constance and Egbert join in agreeing that “love is such a pretty mess, / when two can love and not confess.” Rather than “confessing,” however, they swiftly revert to the generalization contained in the refrain. Thereby, they guarantee that their romance will remain “a pretty mess” into the second act. Thus, their reticence serves an important dramaturgical function.

The next song in Act One is Herman’s comic number, the incidentally reflexive “Lena,” already discussed above. Soon after follows “(Merry) Wedding Bells”—the song that concentrates most fully upon the music matrix and the second of the show’s hits.²³ Its lyric returns to an image already touched upon in “When We Are Married You and

²³ Joel Whitburn charts for only one week a record of “(Merry) Wedding Bells,” by the Lyric Quartet; he tabulates it at position number ten; *Pop Memories, 1890-1954*, 286. Of course, both the hits—this and “Love Is Like a Red, Red Rose”—are reflexive songs about idealized love.

Me”—that of wedding bells. The corpus features a number of celebratory ensembles that focus upon or incidentally allude to the music of church bells rung for the marriage ceremony. Often the sentimentality of these musical numbers is undercut by some element of irony, parody, or cynicism. For instance, in the second act “Opening Chorus” in *The Fortune Teller* (1898), the crowd happily celebrates the upcoming nuptials and hopes the bells will “merrily chime for the bride”; but they even more happily anticipate how the groom will finally be able to settle his debts with them. The “Wedding Chorus” in *The Red Mill* (1906) acknowledges its own conventionality: “Kindly sing / the other usual ... / about the ‘wedding bells’ that ‘gladly ring.’” As in both those examples, such wedding choruses are often undercut by being sung in tribute to an impending union between the hero or heroine and the “wrong” partner—a description that also applies to the sample productions *The Old Town* (1910) and *Lady, Be Good!* (1924).

In some cases, more intimate ensembles introduce less sardonic wedding songs. In addition, these songs strive to make the functional, ceremonial nature of wedding chimes more aligned with “real” music by depicting it as the incentive for dancing. This is explicit in “When the Wedding Bells Are Ringing” (*Apple Blossoms*, 1919) and implicit in “Wedding Time” (*Sally, Irene and Mary*, 1922). “(Merry) Wedding Bells” falls into the same category as these latter two examples and has historical precedent over them. When the four young lovers have agreed upon their plan for a secret marriage of convenience between Constance and Egbert, they sing this quartet:

Refrain:
 All: Waltz me away
 To the rhyming
 And chiming
 Of merry wedding bells.

Oh, what a treasure

Of pleasure
Each measure
Of melody foretells.

When they are twanging
And clanging
And banging,
My heart with rapture swells.

Men: With you by my side,
Women: I'll be the bride,
All: To the swinging
And ringing
And ding-a-linging
Of wedding bells.

Jerome and Hirsch create a bright melody that suits the happy mood of the lyrics. Once again, Madden uses triple rhymes; here, the effect enhances the exuberance of the tune's waltz meter and evokes the back-and-forth swinging of the bells. The "come on and" gesture of the start of the refrain is of the most intimate sort—directed to a potential partner for both a dance and a lifetime of companionship. The music creates "pleasure" and "rapture" within the protagonists; this happiness is due, of course, to the symbolic nature of the bell's chiming. This ringing, however, is more than just a functional signal. It is also an incentive to dance, and the whimsical fancy that chimes are dance music is emphasized in both verses:

Verse one:
Men: ... So waltz to the altar ...
Women: We'll dance off to marry ...
All: In time to the chime of their song
Of ding-a-ling and ding-a-ling ding dong.

Verse two:
Women: ... I fear that a trousseau
Like this is amiss ...
Men: ... In a gown with a train
There's no chance for a dance to the chimes.
All: We'll sway as they play love's sweet song
They'll ting-a-ling and ding-a-ling along.

The music of the bells is a “song” to which the protagonists look forward to dancing. Song, dance, bells—all are concomitant. Thus, the ceremonial tolling of bells is firmly established as part of the happy ruption of the music matrix. Notably, as in the rest of the *He Came from Milwaukee*, the burgeoning craze for ragtime dances is ignored, despite precedents such as “American Ragtime” (from the sample production *The American Idea*, 1908), “The Cubanola Glide”^{TT} (*The Girl from Rector’s*, 1909), and “Wild Cherries Rag”^{TT} (*Ziegfeld Follies of 1910*). Instead, here, the impulse to dance is implicitly associated with the meter of the waltz, as it is in a more explicit fashion in “Waltz Me Around Again, Willie”^{TT} (*His Honor, the Mayor*, 1906) or the hit waltz from *The Merry Widow* (1907). Thus, “(Merry) Wedding Bells” demonstrates the slightly old-fashioned aesthetic of the score, influenced by both the style of turn-of-the-century Tin Pan Alley and the operetta tradition.

The refrain of this celebratory reflexive song is reprised as the evening’s finale, prefiguring the phenomenon noted by Jane Feuer in movie musicals: “The ode to entertainment almost always occupies the finale position, coming at the summit of the show, the culmination of all the narrative energy.”²⁴ While “(Merry) Wedding Bells” does not exactly fit Feuer’s description of an “ode to entertainment,” it is the one song from the score in which the theme of reflexivity fully dominates. In the most explicit and obvious terms, its celebratory energy yokes the plotline’s main theme of romantic pairing with the task of valorizing the music matrix.

²⁴ Jane Feuer, *Hollywood Musical*, 37.

Side-Show Primitivism

When *He Came from Milwaukee* opened for its Broadway run, it included a character and a musical number not given in the extant copies of either script or score. After “(Merry) Wedding Bells,” Terrifa—born a duke’s daughter but now a “circus queen”—was introduced and appeared in a “Circus Ensemble.” This *divertissement* probably corresponds to the song title, “Queen of the Jungle Show,” which is listed on the sheet music for the show but is not in the published piano-vocal score.²⁵ Terrifa was played by Amelia Summerville, a statuesque blonde praised by the reviewers, in a costume draped with leopard skins.²⁶ With domineering seductiveness, she convinces Herman to pose as a side-show “wild man,” so that he can evade those who would assassinate him because they believe him to be the real heir to the throne. Herman emerges in the guise of a generic “primitive,” combining elements of the exotic and the archaic: tan make-up; a full mane of thick, straight black hair; strings of beads covering a white, short-sleeved tunic; a kilt made of wide strips of leather; fringed calf-bands; and, in the style of an ancient

²⁵ “Queen of the Jungle Show” was not available to examine for the present study. Another song from the show that was published but not included in the piano-vocal score is worth noting—the incidentally reflexive, “There’s Nothing on the Level Any More.” Because this song is not found in script, score, or programs, it was probably used in the pre-Broadway tour but not the New York production or later tour. The song expounds a rueful philosophy akin to that found in George M. Cohan’s “Life’s a Funny Proposition After All”^{TT} (*Little Johnny Jones*, 1904) and Bert Williams’ “Nobody”^{TT} (1905). As part of its disillusioned view of life, it likens the moon to “a spotlight” and the clouds to “moving pictures passing by.” Here, as in the later and better-remembered “It’s Only a Paper Moon”^{TT} (*The Great Magoo*, 1932), by E.Y. Harburg, Billy Rose, and Harold Arlen, the superficial and hypocritical nature of show business illusionism is emphasized as a metaphor for the empty shallowness of life—a rare negative connotation for entertainment.

²⁶ My description of the deleted portion of Act One is based upon various reviews and publicity photos; *He Came from Milwaukee*, Martin Brown Scrapbook.

Viking, a wide, bejeweled belt and nail-studded collarpiece.²⁷ In this role, he performed the incidentally reflexive comedy song, “The Zinga Zula Man.” Within five weeks of opening on Broadway, however, the character of Terrifa and the related plot developments were eliminated.²⁸ The songwriters created a new first act conclusion—a more elaborate and dramatically relevant operetta-styled *finaletto*, centering on an attempt to assassinate Herman with a bomb. What is notable, however, is that the end of the first act, as originally performed, was dominated by reflexive allusions to circuses and their construction of the primitive as a side-show attraction.

“The Zinga Zula Man” was reassigned to Bruce to perform as his second act solo, replacing “If You Were There with Me.” The introductions to both Herman’s and Bruce’s versions of “The Zinga Zulu Man” mention the circus setting where this “wild man” appears. He is the same kind of side-show attraction as is described in a song from *The Social Whirl* (1906), “She Played on the Cal-li-o-pay.” In that song, a “society belle” joins the carnival and rejects, in turn, the human skeleton and the rubber-faced man. In the end, she accepts the wild man and elopes with him to Africa. This allusion to primitive man, in a show that opened on Broadway in April, 1906, precedes by several months the vogue for primitivism by artists working in France, such as Matisse and Picasso.²⁹ Instead, “She Played on the Cal-li-op-pay” draws on conventions of the “primitive” found in popular culture.

²⁷ Although the Zulu are, of course, African, popular songs of this era can be vague about such matters. For instance, in the lyric for “Diga Diga Doo”^{TR} (*Blackbirds of 1928*), lyricist Dorothy Fields locates her “Zulu man” as living in Samoa. I believe there were two connotations for the term “Zulu”—either specifically African or more generically “primitive.”

²⁸ A program that can be dated to the week of 12 December, 1910, indicates the change of song; *He Came from Milwaukee* Programme.

²⁹ See the chronology of the vogue for “primitive” art among French artists, detailed by Jack D. Flam, “Matisse and the Fauves,” in *“Primitivism” in 20th Century Art*, 211-239.

As is true of the song from *The Social Whirl*, the wild man in “The Zinga Zula Man” is in show business. In Madden’s lyric, however, this angle is not emphasized in the main portion of the song. Instead, the refrain speaks of the eponymous character as the same kind of mythical boogie man celebrated in the hit song, “The Yama Yama Man”^{TT} (*Three Twins*, 1908).³⁰

“The Zinga Zulu Man” is another comedy number that comprises within itself a mini-variety show. In all, the song includes five verses and a repeated refrain. After the second one, however, the verses drop all references to this “Zulu Man” and follow with three comic vignettes. The third verse comments on the reckless driving of urban automobiles:

Verse three: Met some friend out riding for a lark,
Eighty miles an hour in the dark,
She said, “We’re pleased to meet you,
So sorry we can’t seat you,
But we’ll run across you in Central Park.”

As with each verse, this is followed by the same refrain about the “wild” and “savage” Zinga Zula man. This juxtaposition creates an implicit equivalence between the wildness of the “primitive” and the uncontrolled energy of the modern machines of New York.

While the third verse alludes to the convention of the New York song, the fourth is more fully reflexive:

Verse four: A tenor singing, “You’ll remember me,”
For a girl at quarter after three,
His wife began to fret so,
That she hit his intermezzo
In the middle of his best high C.

³⁰ Jerome had already attempted a “wild man” song, writing his own lyric in 1904 for “The Goo-Goo Man” in *The Isle of Spice*; and Madden, the year after *He Came from Milwaukee*, had a hit in a similar vein with a “boogie man” song, “Jimmy Valentine.”^{TT}

This verse plays with an implied equivalence between singing and sex. The errant husband seeks to seduce through song. The “intermezzo” is both a musical composition sandwiched between longer pieces and, metaphorically, the middle of the tenor’s body—presumably where it hurts most to be struck. The wife effectively ends his extramarital activities by thus interrupting him during his climax. This is another in the show’s series of “double negative” allusions to the music matrix. Here, the erotic power of music is so strong that it can only be short-circuited by savage force.

In all three later verses, in fact, the uncontrollable energy of this “wildest” of savage males is implicitly paralleled to that of the wild modern female. In its original setting, this theme linked to the character of the formidable Terrifa, clad in leopard skin. Through the song, Herman slyly comments upon her domineering personality.

The song was considered sufficiently important to the score to be retained throughout the show’s several years of touring—even though it had to be given to a secondary character, Bruce.³¹ To an extent, this assignment is rather illogical, for Bruce is characterized at other points in the show as a plodding, business-oriented Englishman. As with so many characters in musicals, however, Bruce’s personality is not consistent. Played by light-footed dancer, Martin Brown, he ends “The Zinga Zula Man” by playing leap-frog with the chorines.³² Thus, thanks to a certain dramaturgical flexibility of

³¹ The souvenir program for *He Came from Milwaukee* featured excerpts of notated music and lyrics of songs in the score; see *He Came from Milwaukee*, Programme. Among these, “The Zinga Zula Man” is given pride of place in the most prominent location on the front cover; and this, despite the aforementioned greater popularity of “(Merry) Wedding Bells” and “Love Is Like a Red, Red Rose.” It should be noted, however, that just the first two verses of “The Zinga Zulu Man” are included in the printed sheet music; the rest are found only in the script.

³² This bit of staging is mentioned in an unidentified review, dated 20 December, 1910; *He Came from Milwaukee*, Martin Brown Scrapbook. Although mentioned in neither programs nor the score, reviews and feature articles also mention Brown’s specialty dance duet, “The Dance of Death.” A newspaper illustration of this dance shows Brown in a submissive deep back bend, held up by a female figure whose free hand is raised, holding a dagger as if about to stab him; *He Came from Milwaukee*, folder and Martin Brown

characterization, the song's sprightly tune and the lyrics touching on both primitivism and gender politics became fixed elements of the production.

The Moon Song

The aphrodisiac power of music is also touched on in the next reflexive song, "The Sentimental Moon," Constance's solo near the end of Act Two. Here, the connotations of the music matrix are entirely positive, part of Constance's longing for requited, idealized romance. Songs about the moon were a staple genre of the entire period under study and manifest in the sample of productions right through to the incidentally reflexive "Old Devil Moon"^{TT} (*Finian's Rainbow*, 1947). The period of 1903 to 1918, however, demonstrates the greatest number of these songs. Several clear examples are revealed by their titles: "The Moon Will Help You Out" (*Babes in Toyland*, 1903), "Paris on a Moonlight Night" (*Whoop-Dee-Do*, 1903), "When the Moon Shines" (in the 1904 run of *In Dahomey*), "Moonbeams" (*The Red Mill*, 1906), and "Moon Song" (*Oh, Lady! Lady!!*, 1919). There are also several other such songs that do not feature "moon" in the title. In later shows, the convention is accurately presented as characteristic of this earlier era, being parodied in *Goldilocks* ("Lazy Moon," 1958) and *Mame* ("The Man in the Moon," 1966).³³ As mentioned above, Madden had already hit paydirt from this vein with "By the Light of the Silvery Moon" (*Ziegfeld Follies of 1909*) and would again in 1912 with the

Scrapbook. This image links to other domineering women depicted in the show — Terrifa, Lisette, and those described in "The Zinga Zula Man" — and further complicates the gender role connotations surrounding Bruce.

³³ Indeed, the conventionality of the moon song was parodied during the era of its greatest prevalence, in songs such as George M. Cohan's "The Musical Moon" (*The Little Millionaire*, 1911) and Anne Caldwell and Jerome Kern's "Moon of Love" (*Hitchy-Koo*, 1920).

well-remembered independent pop song, “Moonlight Bay.”^{TT} In both of these, he links the romantic effect of moonlight with the music matrix. In “Sentimental Moon,” Madden also combines these two conventions, placing a reflexive allusion in the song’s third stanza: “Shine on above and bring me soon / someone I love, to sweetly croon.”

All songs associated with the romance between Constance and Egbert—“Love Is Like a Red, Red Rose,” “(Merry) Wedding Bells,” and “Sentimental Moon”—emphasize an idealized vision of romance. Their lyrics eschew the wry “double negative” allusions to the music matrix characteristic of the rest of the score. Already, in 1910, *He Came from Milwaukee* displays the same juxtapositions of sentiment and irony that characterize the sample of productions as a whole.

King of Jazz

King of Jazz came at the tail end of the brief series of movie musical revues of 1929 and 1930.³⁴ It stars Paul Whiteman, then the country’s most popular dance band leader, who was also a prominent show business talent agent and impresario. This revue is probably most famous, however, for being the first film appearance of Bing Crosby, seen and heard as one of the Rhythm Boys. This trio was one unit of the many under contract to Whiteman, several of which are featured in the film as specialty performers.

³⁴ There were six feature-length film revues in 1929 and 1930. *King of Jazz* was the fifth to be released; see Richard Barrios, *A Song in the Dark*, 161-188.

The rocky production history of *King of Jazz* is notorious.³⁵ Its development took over a year, and the budget grew out of hand. The release was unluckily timed, as public enthusiasm for film revues faded and the effects of the Depression began to deepen. Nevertheless, director John Murray Anderson was prescient in his creation of the musical numbers. Along with Crosby's increasing popularity, it was probably Anderson's brilliance with cinematic spectacle that helped the film start to recoup its investment when it was re-released in 1933, when movie musicals were again back in favor.³⁶

King of Jazz offers an example of the revue format, essentially a series of disparate songs and sketches. As with all the revues included in the corpus, however, this one creates coherence through various methods, such as visual style, stars who reappear intermittently in different settings, and other structures that will be discussed further below. Beyond such devices, revues depend upon performers—their presence, vitality, subtlety, energy, and skill—even more than other forms of the American musical. Thus, film revues, such as *King of Jazz*, become valuable documents of period performance style. As will be illustrated in the following discussion, these performers create details of glance and vocal inflection that convey important shades of meaning. These reinforce the themes of the production.

King of Jazz is notable for the manner in which it thematizes music itself. This is entirely appropriate for a film starring Paul Whiteman, the man who was credited with “making a lady out of jazz.” The bandleader was famous as a proponent of “symphonic jazz”—a style of elaborately-arranged dance music—and for his advocacy of concert

³⁵ Helpful histories of *King of Jazz* can be found in two sources: Richard Barrios, *A Song in the Dark*, 181-187; and Gary Giddens, *Bing Crosby: A Pocketful of Dreams—The Early Years, 1903-1940* (Boston, Mass.: Little, Brown and Company, 2001), 205-213.

³⁶ See Gary Giddens, *Bing Crosby: A Pocketful of Dreams*, 213.

works that mixed the popular and classical modes of composition. The landmark of Whiteman's career is his 1924 Aeolian Hall concert, designed to elevate jazz, which included the fortuitous introduction of George Gershwin's highly popular tone poem, *Rhapsody in Blue*. A rendition of this work by Whiteman and his band, with Ray Barge as piano soloist, is made the centerpiece of this film revue.

The film bases its style on Whiteman's persona. It is not surprising, therefore, that most of its reflexive songs unabashedly celebrate the power of the music matrix. Although many additional themes adhere to this topic—cultural hierarchies, primitivism, modernism, love, gender, race, and nationalism—music itself remains the overriding central concern of the movie.

In light of the history of popular songs, the most striking aspect of the score for *King of Jazz* is the presence of three songs that focus on conveying an optimistic philosophy. One, "So the Bluebirds and the Blackbirds Got Together," is a parable; a second is a personal statement, "Happy Feet"; and a third is an almost sermon-like exhortation, "The Song of the Dawn." These latter two, as their titles indicate, are reflexive songs. As well, the film features several other reflexive songs that touch on the happiness associated with the music matrix. While none of these became hits, they achieve prominence through several other means: there is an unusually large quantity of them; and they are used structurally, opening and closing the film.

These "cheer up" songs take on an added significance because of their historical context. The stock market began to fail in early October, 1929; the financial panic began on Thursday, the 24th of October; and filming for *King of Jazz* started on the 6th of November. Thus, pre-production for the movie occurred just before the Crash, and it was

shot as the Great Depression began. During this era, more than previously, the national climate seemed to demand rousing songs like “Happy Days Are Here Again”^{TT} (*Chasing Rainbows*, 1930). Thus, due to their historical context, prevalence, and structural prominence, the “cheer up” songs in *King of Jazz* are perhaps the most highly notable feature of the film. They are precursors of a decade when such optimistic songs in the American musical took on an increased significance, in the genre and in society.

The score for this revue is profuse in its use of both fragmentary and full renditions of pre-existing songs and musical compositions, from Gluck’s “Dance of the Elysian Fields” (*Orphée et Eurydice*, 1774) to the traditional nursery song, “Pop Goes the Weasel.” Of the newer songs, six are by lyricist Jack Yellen and composer Milton Ager. The team was best known for Tin Pan Alley song hits, such as two from 1927: “Ain’t She Sweet” and “Crazy Words—Crazy Tune.” One of their *King of Jazz* numbers, “My Bridal Veil,” was resuscitated from an earlier collaboration by Yellen, Ager, and Anderson—the Broadway revue and sample production, *What’s in a Name?* (1920). Another, “I Like to Do Things for You,”^{TR} was the second-most popular song in the score.³⁷ A pair of tunes are by composer Mabel Wayne, with various lyricists. One of these is the incidentally reflexive “It Happened in Monterey,”^{TT} the biggest hit song of the production.³⁸ Several additional songs are for the specialty performers. Harry Barris, with different collaborators, contributes two songs for himself and the other Rhythm

³⁷ Joel Whitburn charts a record of “I Like to Do Things for You” by Paul Whiteman, with a vocal by the Rhythm Boys; he tabulates it at position number nineteen for one week; *Pop Memories, 1890-1954*, 452.

³⁸ Edward Foote Gardiner charts “It Happened in Monterey” in the “top twenty” for eighteen weeks, peaking at position number three; *Popular Songs of the Twentieth Century*, 206. In his turn, Joel Whitburn charts four hit recordings of the song in 1930, including one by Paul Whiteman; *Pop Memories, 1890-1954*, 530.

Boys; and Jack White sings “How I’d Like to Own a Fish Store” as part of a lengthy comic monologue.

Variety and Unity in Revue

King of Jazz is one of seven revues surveyed as part of the sample of productions; and in addition I have examined nineteen revues for which the scores were predominantly written by the anthologized songwriters.³⁹ The revue as a genre is essentially an aggregate form that exploits variety. Taking that into consideration, however, all the revues covered by the corpus nevertheless display a remarkable amount of narratization or, at least, the establishment of an authorial presence, unifying the whole. This effect is achieved through a variety of techniques. Of these twenty-six revues, six of them (i.e. 23%) are in truth narrative musicals: *Watch Your Step* (1914), *Hello, Broadway!* (1914), *Innocent Eyes* (1924), *The New Yorkers* (1930), *Face the Music* (1932), and *I’d Rather Be Right* (1937). Despite the fact that they label themselves as revues on their programs, these shows feature storylines that have coherent beginnings and resolutions. As a consequence, most of these are categorized by historians as musical comedies.

Four other revues introduce characters at the beginning who return in the finale. These linked scenes create a narrative “frame” around the evening.⁴⁰ Two thematic revues use projected words to help integrate the evening together as a whole: *As Thousands Cheer* (1933) uses newspaper headlines; *At Home Abroad* (1935) uses a series of

³⁹ In addition, the corpus includes numerous further revue songs, for it encompasses the frequent hit songs that were from revues and the many songs by the anthologized lyricists that were utilized in revue scores of mixed authorship.

⁴⁰ Probably not coincidentally, three of these four “framed” revues are by Irving Berlin; it may be a hallmark of his personal style in writing revues rather than characteristic of the genre as a whole.

telegraph cable messages from Europe. As for the other revues, every single one includes a prologue or opening number that establishes at the outset a reflexivity about its own nature, implicitly or explicitly creating an “authorial voice” for the production—usually through reflexive songs but sometimes through dialogue scenes. For their conclusions, 92% of the revues—i.e. all but four of them—feature finales that use direct audience address or other self-conscious devices to reaffirm the presence of this authorial voice behind the evening’s entertainment. These mediating communication systems are a chief characteristic of the subgenre of the revue.

Reflexivity is paramount in *King of Jazz*. This priority is appropriate both for the revue format, with its concentration on mediating communication techniques, and because the movie functions as a showcase for Whiteman. In addition, the director John Murray Anderson stamps the film with a strong auteurist style. Anderson uses both cutting edge theatrical devices—mobile scenery and a revolving stage—and uniquely cinematic techniques: stop-action and drawn animation; miniature sets; trick cutting; dance doubles; split screens; superimposed images; and other optical effects. Through these innovations, he constructs an implicitly reflexive mediating communication system.

In addition to a general concern for music and what the film’s narration calls “the magic of the camera,” the revue uses several types of spoken and written words to unify the movie and convey a sense of an authorial voice. Paul Whiteman himself directly addresses the camera in three introductory passages. There is also an official “master of ceremonies”; this is Charles Irwin—a British music hall comic monologist who had success in American vaudeville and also appeared in two short-lived Broadway revues in

the late 1920s.⁴¹ Irwin introduces four sections. Also, Whiteman and Irwin have two comic dialogue scenes together, introducing one segment and one sub-segment. Most often, however, the film uses a thematic device: “Paul Whiteman’s Scrap Book”—a book that reappears sporadically either in gigantic proportions, with Irwin or Whiteman shown in full shot standing in front of it, or, in an image used ten times, as a more normal-sized volume shown in close-up, usually seen with a female hand turning the pages.⁴² Thus, despite the widely disparate separate sections, these transition techniques convey the impression that there is coherence and a unified vision behind them.

Within this schema, the film’s reflexive songs play an important role. Two dance numbers inhabit the middle portions; and two songs about music begin and conclude the film, providing a frame around the production as a whole. I start my discussion of these songs with the opening song, “Music Has Charms,” which sets the tone for much of what follows. Subsequently, my analysis will be organized thematically, focusing on the various themes the movie attaches to the topic of the music matrix: love, sex, and gender roles; modernism; primitivism; and the contrast of convention and anti-convention. I finish with the discussion of a non-reflexive song that offers a vernacular rendition of the Pygmalion myth, a metaphor for the creativity of the artist.

⁴¹ Charles Irwin’s biggest Broadway success came later, with a major character part in *Up in Central Park* (1945).

⁴² In addition to the eighteen introductions described above, there are an additional seven transitions without introductions of any sort—simply a fade up from black, usually to some sort of establishing shot.

The Opening Title Song

The opening song immediately establishes several key themes of the entire production.

“Music Has Charms,” heard over the opening credits, sung solo by Bing Crosby,

valorizes music and its affective power, links it to romance, bridges highbrow and

lowbrow, large and small, civilized and primitive—all in one swift rhetorical gesture:

Refrain: Music has charms
That nothing else has.
Music has charms,
Though it’s classic or jazz.

A symphony grand
By Schubert or Brahms,
A popular band,
Or a uke beneath the palms.

A melody in minor key
Can make the teardrops start,
And then again a glad refrain
Can cheer a lonely heart.

Sweet harmony when
There’s someone in your arms—
Oh, baby, it’s then
That music has charms.

Yellen affirms music’s affective power, evoking William Congreve’s famous statement that “music has charms to soothe a savage breast.”⁴³ This allusion implicitly introduces the theme of the “savage,” which ties to later portions of the film that dwell upon the “primitive.” Yellen then goes on to create a series of antitheses: “classic” and “jazz”; “a symphony grand” and a “uke”; “teardrops” and “cheer.”

⁴³ Congreve’s oft-quoted (and oft-misquoted) phrase is the first line of his tragedy, *The Mourning Bride* (1697). Both the published sheet music and Crosby’s performance insist colloquially that “music has charms,” even though some reference sources represent the song title as using the archaism, “music hath charms.”

The end of the first stanza and the entire second stanza create a contrast of jazz and classical music and establish an equivalent status for the two styles. This is clearly in line with Whiteman's much-publicized efforts to popularize symphonic approaches to jazz. In "Music Has Charms," such orchestral music is contrasted to the playing of the Hawaiian ukulele beneath tropical palms. The ukulele had a double connotation, pointing both to Hawaii and to American youth culture. Indeed, from the early 1920s on, Tin Pan Alley sheet music regularly indicated ukulele chords above the vocal line. With this prevalence of the instrument, the "primitive" became part of daily life. Between the large and highbrow symphony and the intimate and "primitive" ukulele is sandwiched the medium-sized and middlebrow popular band. In this way, the "primitive" Hawaiian music is depicted as being in a continuum with "civilized" classical music. Moreover, the film declares, each of these musical styles "has charms."

A major visual theme in *King of Jazz* is that of scale. For example, in the film's fourth sequence, tiny orchestra members emerge from out of a hand valise. This startling image—created as a special cinematic effect—reinforces the structural contrast found throughout the film. This play between the large and the small is continued by way of the alternation of grand-scaled and intimate moments, both between and within segments. Therefore, with "Music Has Charms," Yellen establishes another important theme at the outset, through a seemingly simple and fleeting verbal image that contrasts the large contingent of "a symphony grand" to a single "uke beneath the palms." Meanwhile, as Yellen is evoking these cultural touchstones, Ager's sprightly tune and Crosby's light delivery prevent the message from becoming ponderous.

In the song's release, Ager briefly introduces some minor harmonies, corresponding nicely to Yellen's lyric about "a melody in minor key." As Stephen Banfield puts it, "the words actually describe what the structure of the music is doing," adding a layer of implicit reflexivity to the song.⁴⁴ Also, Ager's use of minor harmonies in "Music Has Charms" introduces a musical element that he will return to in several other fully or incidentally reflexive songs in the score: "A Bench in the Park," "Happy Feet," and "The Song of the Dawn." At the same time, in the lyric, Yellen concentrates upon the idea of the affective power of music, which he depicts as entirely uncomplicated: sad music promotes "teardrops," while "a glad refrain" will "cheer a lonely heart."

In the fourth refrain, Yellen continues his discussion of the emotional effect of music. Abandoning his list of antitheses, he concentrates on the aphrodisiac power of music, introducing the slangy exclamation, "oh, baby," to emphasize this conclusion. He thereby introduces another major theme of the production: heterosexual pairing. Through the simultaneous colloquial diction and climactic melodic variation, Yellen and Ager depict the theme of love with a mixture of tender sincerity and impulsive playfulness. This amalgam signals the contrasts of idealized romance and sly sexuality that alternate throughout the movie.

⁴⁴ Stephen Banfield, "Sondheim and the Art that Has No Name," 158.

Music, Love, and Sex

The association of music with romance and sex is continued later in the movie by means of three incidentally reflexive songs. The second verse of “My Bridal Veil” tells of the “mellow chiming of the wedding bells.” As in “(Merry) Wedding Bells” and other songs discussed above, these chimes are more than merely functional—they are real music, they are a “melody.” A virginal innocence pervades this production number. Only the gigantic veil displayed at the end—which acts as a vulval symbol—hints at the sexual side of marriage.

In Billy Rose’s lyric for “It Happened in Monterey,” an American regretfully describes an erstwhile love affair with a native of Mexico. Their romance is spurred on by “stars and steel guitars.” As in “Music Has Charms,” an aphrodisiac power is ascribed to music. While the lyric only mentions this effect briefly, the staging of the number brings the erotic aspect to the fore. As the Mexicans play, sing, and dance, the American hero, John Boles, clutches and nuzzles his *senorita*. Here, Boles takes on an amorous manner, reminiscent of Rudolph Valentino in his romantic scenes in *The Son of the Sheik* (1926). Combined, these elements convey a heady sensuality.

In “A Bench in the Park,” the “little bird ... / plaintively heard serenading his love” creates a musical background for lovemaking. The bird’s call is not merely a phenomenon of nature, but actually akin to human music in its emotional appeal and potency. The staging surrounding this song mixes sweetly sentimental romance with sexual innuendo even more thoroughly than that for “It Happened in Monterey.” After a

lyrical rendition of the song by Jeanette Loff and Stanley Smith, the camera lingers over an empty park bench on which lean the cane and parasol of a couple who have, evidently, taken to the hiding of bushes for an intimacy too private for the gaze of others. Further touches—such as the amply exposed lingerie of chorines reclining on the grass and the final image of Paul Whiteman’s face within the full moon, winking at both the audience and at the couples spooning below—all these make clear the erotic nature of the scene to which the “serenade” of the “little bird” provides the romantic underscoring.

Depictions of less romantic dynamics between men and women are limited to the sketches and non-reflexive song performances. Among the film’s seven comic sketches—all very brief, along the lines of what in the theatre are called “blackouts”—the majority deal with sexual innuendo. One, “Ladies of the Press,” depicts a kind of gender reversal. In this sketch, the aggressive news editor, played by Laura LaPlante, demands faster and faster reportage from her all-female staff. The crowning accomplishment occurs when Grace Hayes dashes in and delivers the story of a woman shooting her husband. LaPlante asks, “When did it happen?” Hayes replies, “Wait!” Then a gunshot is heard.

Near the end of the film, Hayes has another glorious moment, mauling William Kent and almost completely tearing off his tuxedo, as she serenades him with “I Like to Do Things for You.” This, however, is a non-reflexive song. All three shows analyzed in this chapter problematize idealistic romance and gender roles. Both *He Came from Milwaukee* and, as will be discussed below, *On the Town* link these reversals to the music matrix—respectively, in “The Zinga Zulu Man” and “Come Up to My Place.” Such is not

the case with *King of Jazz*, where the reflexive songs concentrate on straightforwardly valorizing the link between music and love.

The Dance Song and Modernity

The major dance song of the production is Yellen and Ager's "Happy Feet." This song precisely demonstrates the 1920s dance song morphing into the style of the 1930s:

Verse: When you find
That your mind
Keeps you worried and blue,
You can always let your feet
Keep your disposition sweet.
Want to see
What makes me
Feel the way I do?
Will you kindly cast an eye
On two good reasons why?

Refrain: Happy feet,
I've got those happy feet;
Give them a low-down beat
And they begin dancing.

I've got those
Ten little tapping toes,
And when they hear a tune,
I can't control
My dancing heels
To save my soul.

Weary blues
Can't carry to my shoes
Because my shoes refuse
To ever grow weary.

I keep cheerful
On an earful
Of music sweet
'Cause I've got those hap-hap-happy feet.

Yellen presents a clear description of “losing the blues through dancing”: the blues themselves are mentioned in both verse and refrain, and its counteragent is depicted as being the act of dance. The verse presents a directive on how to maintain a cheerful disposition, implicitly instructing the listener to copy the song’s protagonist. Thus, it offers the same kind of prescription as that found in the verse for “Humming”^{TT} (*Tip-Top*, 1920), discussed in Chapter Three: “Just follow me.” Here, however, the advice is to dance, rather than sing. This emphasis on the cheer-inducing effect of dance is typical of the jazz and swing eras from 1918 through 1940. Unlike the authors of earlier dance songs, however, Yellen does not concentrate on vivid dance descriptors. Anticipating the trend of the 1930s, the verbs are minimal: two uses of “dancing” and one of “tapping.” A certain physicality is dwelled upon, however, through the enumeration of body parts: the repeated emphasis on the feet as well as the “ear,” the “shoes,” the “tapping toes,” the “dancing heels.”

As part of the list of body parts, the end of the third stanza includes a quibble—hinging on the homophones “sole” and “soul”—which draws on a convention that links sin and vernacular music. This association is seen in a few songs in the corpus. An example is “Doin’ the New Low Down”^{TT} (*Blackbirds of 1928*), by lyricist Dorothy Fields and composer Jimmy McHugh. The songwriters draw on the many connotations of “low down,” which range from an admirable earthiness to a lamentable baseness. This phrase links to the song’s hints at a sinful nature for dance, impelled by the devil: “That dancing demon has my feet in a trance ... / I got a soul that’s not for savin’ now.” During the 1920s, there is a general shift in depicting the vernacular music and dance tradition as sinful to that of depicting it as salvation. This change can be illustrated by contrasting two

Irving Berlin hits of the 1920s. The earlier one advises “Pack Up Your Sins and Go to the Devil”^{TT} (*Music Box Revue*, 1922), because “Satan is waitin’ with his jazz band.” By contrast, the later song, discussed in Chapter Three, recommends “Shaking the Blues Away”^{TT} (*Ziegfeld Follies of 1927*), as the congregation does when “list’ning to a preacher way down south.” Yellen displays these tensions within his lyric for “Happy Feet” when he emphasizes “sweetness” and “cheer” and yet also music’s irresistible power to compel a physical reaction that is somehow a fall from grace; it may cause the dancer to lose his soul. Yet, the pun on “soul” and “sole” helps to deflate the religious imagery.

Yellen also subtly explores the dynamic between, on the one hand, the values of entertainment and, on the other, the alignment of religion and the work ethic. The profligacy of entertainment makes you “lose your sole”—i.e., your shoe leather wears out in dancing. It is wasteful and, therefore, antithetical to the work ethic. As well, it is sinful—it will make you “lose your soul”—because dancing is a profane activity.

The “Happy Feet” number is one of the most modernist of the film’s segments. The lyric synthesizes the elements of the music matrix—music and dance—even as it splits the protagonist into a state of fragmentation. Mind, feet, toes, sole/soul, ears—these are depicted almost as separate entities. To an extent, this modernist fragmentation is matched by Anderson’s construction of the sequence and its visual images. The number is divided into eight disparate sections; this structure creates a fragmented aspect. The first segment superimposes seemingly-gigantic, high-heeled, animated dancing shoes with the image of an extreme long-shot of the Whiteman orchestra sidemen on their gleaming-white, bleachers-like bandshell. The surreal effect of these contrasts of scale—

and gender—is magnified by the magical dancing of the empty shoes. The second segment features the Rhythm Boys in a lively vocal treatment of the song’s verse and refrain. Here, two elements introduce further disjointedness: the three singers alternate between solo lines and group singing, while Anderson shifts frequently from full shots to close-ups.

The third segment, however, is the most startlingly modernist, focusing on a fragmentation of the body. Its first image is a close-up of the heads of the Sisters G—a European song-and-dance duo—isolated in a gleaming, abstract space. Their necks are hidden by a reflective material that also surrounds their faces on all sides. These disembodied heads sing the song, first in English, then one stanza in German, before returning to the original lyric again. There is a quick cut, then, to their feet and lower legs, doing the basic Charleston step. The upper and lower body are severed from each other, each with a separate life. This sequence connotes modernist abstraction and fragmentation of the human body. As with the vocal that alternates between English and German, the song and its staging construct a synthesis of American jazz and European-influenced modernism.

Several factors, however, qualify the shock value of the visual aesthetics: the conventional gender politics in which the female form is objectified, eroticized, and fetishized; and the up-beat, Pollyanna-like nature of the lyric’s sentiments. Further, the fragmented bodies of the Sisters G are quickly reconstituted. Another sudden cut, to a long shot, reveals the dancers in front of the Whiteman bandshell. Their various body parts are thus re-integrated, and the male and female performers are united in one frame. The modernist visual aesthetics of this third segment are modified, too, by an aspect of

the *mise en scene* that dominates almost the entire number: symmetry. No classicist could be more insistent than Anderson is here on maintaining a near-perfect, mirror-like balance of the two sides of the screen. The stability of these images counteracts the vertiginous effect of the rapidly shifting sub-segments and the modernist abstractions of the Sisters G sequence.

Ager's melody of "Happy Feet" is also both backward-looking and prescient. In the style of the 1920s, it is built around a tiny one-measure repeated fragment: a three-note syncopated pattern used eight times in all—i.e., it constitutes a full one-quarter of the thirty-two bar refrain. As in dance songs of the 1930s, however, the composer incorporates minor harmonies until the final section, where he breaks out into the sunlight with predominantly major chords.

In fact, in their melodic and harmonic outline, Ager's first six notes foreshadow those for Harry Warren's "Forty-Second Street"^{TT} (the title song of 1933). Meanwhile Yellen's lyric is echoed in Al Dubin's opening words for the later song: "Happy feet, I've got those happy feet" corresponds to "Come and meet those dancing feet." That this resemblance may be more than coincidence is perhaps indicated by certain visual echoes of Anderson's staging of "Happy Feet" in Busby Berkeley's production number for "Forty-Second Street." In one particularly astonishing shot, Anderson cuts suddenly to what seems like an aerial view of Times Square at night. Just as the eye is adjusting to this panorama, seemingly gigantic chorus girls enter, doing a syncopated gallop down the canyons of a New York that thus reveals itself to be a miniature set. In the later film, Berkeley echoes this shot, first in his own Forty-Second Street set that becomes a dancing stage for a bevy of chorines and, later, with a staircase full of dancers who turn around to

reveal cardboard cutouts of skyscrapers that transform the image into an aerial view of Broadway. Like Berkeley, Anderson, through his staging, links the irresistible physical reactions that are inspired by vernacular dance music to the modernity of the urban landscape. The dance song becomes a New York song.

The major part of the “Happy Feet” number celebrates the spontaneous participation in dance. Although most of the lyric for “Happy Feet” comprises a personal statement about the love of dance and its positive effect, the verse clearly contextualizes this personal motto as part of a message that commands in effect, “Everybody dance!” The ensuing sequences—by the Sisters G, by a solo male “rubberlegs” dancer, and by the female ensemble—reinforce this call to participation by showing everybody dancing.

An additional segment of the number, however, problematizes the song’s construction of dance as natural and spontaneous. After the female ensemble has taken a bow towards the camera, Whiteman complains to Irwin that he feels left out:

Whiteman: How do you know I can’t dance?

Irwin: You don’t mean to tell me that you’re well versed in the intricacies of terpsichore?

Whiteman: (Whistles as he does a double-take) No! But I can dance! ... Ever since I was a little fella I’ve been able to dance quite well, ever since I was so high. ...

Irwin: You really want to dance? All right! Ladies and gentlemen, Mr. Paul Whiteman will now dance—so help me, Bob!

The dialogue establishes a comic contrast between Irwin’s erudite and elevated British diction and Whiteman’s down-to-earth American style. Moreover, Whiteman states that he is a skillful amateur of dance. He implies that his ability comes naturally and does not need training or practice. This point is then “proved” as the camera records a remarkably vital, fluid, spry dance routine that incorporates tap dance, an exhibition Charleston step, hand clapping, and a climactic cartwheel. During the subsequent bows and handshake that follows, however, a figure emerges from screen right; this proves to be the real

Whiteman, who comes and tears off the false mustache of his dance-double and makes a sly sidelong glance at the camera. The illusionism possible in film, which is a major theme throughout the movie, is laid bare. The message that dance is natural is completely undercut: actually, not everyone can dance—if “dancing” is defined as a skilled, showy, professional exhibition. Thus, universal participation in dance is first implied as the norm and then ironically denied. Such an instance seems to complicate the analysis of movie musicals by Altman and Feuer.⁴⁵ The latter, summarizing this position, remarks that these films display “a remarkable emphasis on the joys of being an amateur.”⁴⁶ Here, the sequence with the Whiteman dance-double problematizes the film’s depiction of amateur participation in the music matrix.

Primitivism and Appropriation

The “Happy Feet” segment is the second scene in which Whiteman is “doubled” by members of his vast talent stable. The first occurs in the opening animated sequence, in which the violin playing of the cartoon “Whiteman” is dubbed by Joe Venuti, and his singing voice is filled in by Bing Crosby. These instances again constitute a form of fragmentation of the individual. The personal styles of the soloists are severed from their bodies and attached to an illustration of Whiteman. In “Happy Feet,” the fact that Whiteman has a doppelganger is made explicit. In the cartoon, the doppelganger aspect of the event is not emphasized; it remains hidden.

⁴⁵ See Rick Altman, *American Film Musical*, 76; Jane Feuer, *Hollywood Musical*, 13-15.

⁴⁶ Jane Feuer, *Hollywood Musical*, 14.

Both instances of Whiteman being “ghosted” supply a metaphor for the unacknowledged appropriation of African American style and talent in this film about “jazz.” Krin Gabbard has written the most analytical examination of *King of Jazz*, in which he concentrates on a deconstruction of these racial politics in the film:

A more elaborate, more thorough denial of the African American role in jazz is difficult to imagine. Nor surprisingly, the repression of blackness leaves its mark all over the film: there are constant allusions to African Americans, and much of the film explicitly evokes minstrelsy, the film’s grand predecessor in the ambivalent appropriation of blackness by whites.⁴⁷

Gabbard discusses several sequences in the film in this light, notably the revue’s first divertissement, the aforementioned cartoon, which fancifully explains how Whiteman was “crowned King of Jazz.” On an African safari, Whiteman soothes savage beasts with “his” violin music—actually Venuti swinging a half-chorus of “Music Has Charms”—before being “crowned” by being hit on the head with a coconut. This sequence naturalizes an image of “primitive” Africa by turning it into something akin to a Mickey Mouse cartoon. In his spoken introduction to the sequence, Irwin sets the scene for this mini-narrative by stating that Whiteman undertook the safari after “tiring of life in the great city.” The ambiguity of this sequence partially hinges on an unspecified relationship

⁴⁷ Krin Gabbard, *Jammin’ at the Margins: Jazz and the American Cinema* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996), 10. Gabbard’s use of the adjective “constant” amounts to an exaggeration. Out of the revue’s twenty-six segments, there are exactly five (19%) with more-or-less explicit references to Africans or African Americans and, arguably, an additional three (12%) with implied allusions via an emphasis on African American-derived musical styles, totaling 31% of the film’s sequences.

between the “modern” city—perhaps the “city as jungle” of which one “tires” in a neurasthenic fatigue—and the “primitive” jungle.

As Gabbard points out, the cartoon “portrays Whiteman as bringing music to Africa.”⁴⁸ The opposite situation, however, is outlined in Whiteman’s spoken introduction for the gaudily-staged rendition of George Gershwin’s *Rhapsody in Blue*: “The most primitive and the most modern musical elements are combined in this rhapsody, for jazz was born in the African jungle to the beating of the voodoo drum.” At the time, the *Rhapsody* was considered an exemplary model of modernist music.⁴⁹ Here, in introducing the piece, the film most decidedly borrows from the rhetoric of primitivism surrounding modernist art.

Rather than cutting directly from Whiteman’s speech to the performance of *Rhapsody in Blue*, however, Anderson inserts an additional segment. Jacques Cartier, in black body-makeup, performs a supple, skillful, albeit naively choreographed, version of a tribal dance in a striking visual setting—atop a giant drum, with a blue scrim behind showing the dancer’s huge shadow. While the earlier cartoon of “primitive” Africa draws from popular traditions, here again the allusion is to highbrow art, for the style of Cartier’s solo resembles the primitivism of serious, proto-modern concert dances, such as Ted Shawn’s *Savage Dance* (1916) or *Invocation to the Thunderbird* (1928). Only at the conclusion of Cartier’s solo does the *Rhapsody* commence, featuring formally-attired cosmopolites languishing about in modernistic visual settings.

⁴⁸ Ibid, 11.

⁴⁹ See the discussion of *Rhapsody in Blue* by Carol Oja, *Making Music Modern: New York in the 1920s* (Oxford, U.K.: Oxford University Press, 2000), 318-319.

Thus, *Rhapsody in Blue*, a hybrid popular-and-classical tone poem, together with its staging, connotes modernism. Nevertheless, yet again, the advanced nature of the composition had already been naturalized as part of the quotidian through various contextual means. First, the piece was a best-seller, both as a recording and in a printed reduction for piano.⁵⁰ Second, in 1930, the initial melody was used as the signature of Whiteman's radio program, leading some audiences of the movie to whisper, "That's the Old Gold theme song."⁵¹ Thus, to represent modernism, this musical uses something that was already part of daily life.

Convention and Reversal of Convention

These two "Africa" segments contrast the "primitive" and the "modern"—black and white, natural and urban—and they link to a brief rendition of the reflexive song "Mississippi Mud."^{TT} The song depicts black culture of the South as "primitive"—not in the sense of "savage," but rather with a pastoral connotation, as natural, rural, and unschooled. This is the only reflexive song in *King of Jazz* to acknowledge the African American roots of the vernacular music and dancing purveyed throughout much of the film. A 1927 hit song, written by Harry Barris, it is used as a theme song for the Rhythm Boys, acting as their self-introduction.⁵² During the first two shots of the sequence, the

⁵⁰ Joel Whitburn tabulates the two recordings of *Rhapsody in Blue* by Gershwin and the Whiteman Concert Band, one at position three in 1924 and the other at position seven in 1927; *Pop Memories, 1890-1954*, 172. Edward Foote Gardiner charts the combined popularity in 1924 of records and sheet music as raising the *Rhapsody* to position fourteen in the "top twenty" popular hits—a highly unusual status for a concert work; *Popular Songs of the Twentieth Century*, 349.

⁵¹ This audience response is described in the review of the film in *Variety*, as quoted by Gary Giddens, *Bing Crosby*, 212.

⁵² The Rhythm Boys were closely associated with the tune. Barris wrote it, of course, and the trio participated in two recordings of the song. The second of those, with an additional male trio and a female

pages of the “Scrap Book” are turned, then there is a cut to the elegant image of the Rhythm Boys’ silhouettes in front of a huge picture window backed by a field of blue. They lounge in formal attire amidst an art deco living room set, as they sing a truncated rendition of the refrain:

Refrain excerpt: What a dance do they do!
 Lordy, how I’m telling you!
 They don’t need no band,
 Keep time by clappin’ their hands,
 Just as happy as a cow chewin’ on its cud,
 When the darkies beat their feet on the Mississippi Mud!

These African Americans are in touch with nature in the most literal sense, for the tactile image of beating feet in the mud dominates the song. As discussed in Chapter Two, the song intermixes dancing and music-making through its description of body percussion. Appropriately, Barris, in his performance style, displays an analogously integrative approach. He intermixes singing with vocal percussion, via the cymbal-like exclamations of “hah” that punctuate his performances throughout the film.

After the partial rendition of “Mississippi Mud,” the trio has a conversation in which they explicitly remark upon the contrast between, on the one hand, a “primitive,” rural, African American aesthetic and, on the other, the streamlined modernity of their setting and the overall opulence of the movie as a whole:

Barris: Hey, Bing, this isn’t the type of number for this kind of a production.
 Crosby: What kind of production is this?
 Barris and Al Rinker: A super-super special-special production!
 Crosby: Well, I guess you’re right, we should get out of the mud and reach for the higher and the finer things of life—the silver lining and bluebird and life and love.

The dialogue makes explicit the contrast—implicit in “Happy Feet”—between the exalted “silver lining” rhetoric of the conventional song of optimistic philosophy and the

soloist, was a hit record. As well, Bing Crosby did a solo vocal on another hit record version, led by Whiteman sideman Frankie Trumbauer.

“low down” earthiness of African American-derived vernacular music and dance. Even as this dichotomy is established, however, it is deflated through a satirical attitude, conveyed by means of Crosby’s irreverently mocking inflections and tone. The ensuing song—“So the Bluebirds and the Blackbirds Got Together,” by Barris and lyricist Billy Moll—further tears apart this conventionalized opposition, for it is delivered as a parody of the optimistic song of elevated, inspiring philosophy.⁵³

Even on the surface level, “So the Bluebirds and the Blackbirds Got Together” offers a sophisticated elaboration—amounting to a reversal of sorts—on the “silver lining” school of thought. It affirms that, for life to be complete, the “sunshine” and the “bluebirds” of happiness must coexist with the “rain” and the “blackbirds” of unhappiness: “We can’t have rain or sunshine that lasts forever.” The arrangement and rendition by the Rhythm Boys magnifies any potential irony in this message. They fragment the song through diverse means: several abrupt changes of tempo; the apportioning of various segments as solos for the three singers; and the addition of two “special material” sections that prevent the refrain from being sung through to completion until the end—and even then the song’s resolution is interrupted for an elaborate extended coda. All these devices turn the lyrics into nonsense—into vocal jazz—and the only lyrical ideas conveyed are the presence of those conventionally symbolic “blackbirds” and “bluebirds” who “got together.” As Gabbard points out, the song is also potentially a parable about racial collaboration, for “blackbirds” were a symbol not only for life’s troubles but also for African Americans.⁵⁴ Under either interpretation, Moll and

⁵³ In a non-parodic vein, the same songwriting team of Barris and Moll soon created one of the most famous “cheer up” songs of the early Depression, “Wrap Your Troubles in Dreams”^{TT} (1931).

⁵⁴ See Krin Gabbard, *Jammin’ at the Margins*, 12.

Barris' song seeks to reconcile antitheses in the same manner as Yellen does in his songs for the production.

Although "So the Bluebirds and the Blackbirds Got Together" is not a reflexive song, it has an important relationship with the reflexive song that serves as the film's penultimate production number and as the concluding reprise in the finale: Yellen and Ager's "The Song of the Dawn." Bearing much the same explicit message as a simultaneous hit, also by Yellen and Ager—the sprightly, incidentally reflexive "Happy Days Are Here Again" (*Chasing Rainbows*, 1930)—"The Song of the Dawn" is nevertheless very different in mood from that more famous song. It is clearly written within the new convention of slow-tempo, anthem-like philosophy songs. This song subgenre came to the fore with "Ol' Man River"^{TT} (*Show Boat*, 1927) and was flourishing while *King of Jazz* was in production, with successes such as "Without a Song"^{TT} (*Great Day!*, 1929), discussed in Chapter Three, and "Waiting at the End of the Road"^{TT} (*Hallelujah!*, 1929). Unlike those three predecessors, however, "The Song of the Dawn" mostly avoids connoting African American culture, both in its staging and its diction:

Verse: Wake from your sleep all you weary ones,
Who are weary of the night.
Look to the East all you dreary ones,
Who are waiting for the light.

Refrain: Dawn is breaking,
And a new day is born.
The world is singing
The song of the dawn.

Birds are waking—
Hear them welcome the morn.
They're sweetly singing
The song of the dawn.

Yesterday, skies were gray—
Look! This morning they're blue.
The smiling sun tells everyone

Come and start life anew!

Sing, "Hallelujah!"
 For the dark night is gone.
 The world is singing
 The song of the dawn.

Yellen uses no rural dialect—such as “ol’” and “ain’t”—or allusions to “darkies,” and the only possible reference to the previous entries in this series of hit songs is the command to “sing ‘Hallelujah!’” This perhaps evokes the rural religion described in “Hallelujah”^{TT} (*Hit the Deck*, 1927)—but that is a revivalist scene that, as I argue in Chapter Three, is not specifically of the South or of blacks. As in most of the rest of the film, the song and its staging avoids depicting the Deep South or African American culture. Instead, here, Americana is evoked by setting the scene in a gigantic barn of the Southwest, with a male choir of cowboys backing up the heroic figure of soloist John Boles.

Ager creates a long-lined melody, supported by minor harmonies throughout much of the refrain. The first four measures feature a descending bass line that harkens back to a centuries-old tradition usually associated with operatic laments. Here, this accompaniment is oddly incongruous, underpinning, as it does, words that emphasize the approaching sunrise and the reawakening of hope. Although Ager then shifts to brighter major harmonies for the repeated title phrase, the minor passages lend a perverse air of melancholy to the optimistic message of the lyrics. This mixture of moods—also found in “Happy Feet”—would become characteristic of 1930s songs reflecting the atmosphere of the Great Depression.⁵⁵

⁵⁵ Ager and Yellen almost certainly wrote “The Song of the Dawn” before the stock market crash on 24 October, 1929. Prior to 9 November, the number was already on the shooting schedule and seems to have been filmed by 23 November. See: Gary Giddins, *Bing Crosby*, 209-210; and Malcolm Macfarlane, *Bing Crosby: Day by Day*, 58.

In his lyric, Yellen concentrates on creating a parallel between a sunrise and a song—an abstract vision of music whereby the song *is* the dawn, the dawn *is* the song. The evocation of the real music of the birds helps to depict the entire universe as making music—not just the birds, but the whole “world is singing” this song of a new beginning. Through such images, abstractions, and reifications, Yellen conveys dignity and earnestness without resorting to “poetic” inversions or archaic diction, keeping his lyrics entirely conversational.

Despite its effectiveness in context, “The Song of the Dawn” cannot be judged a complete success. The song is over-emphatic in the release—the declamatory third stanza—while the main strain is ponderous rather than stirring. The song’s stodgy quality is revealed more clearly in the Whiteman’s band’s attempt to render it in a fast-tempoed jazz rendition during the finale; it simply won’t swing. Therefore, the song’s exhortation to the listener to experience a rebirth out of “weariness” and “dreariness” through a kind of global singalong is unconvincing. This failure to rouse ultimately exposes the conventional nature of the song’s images connecting salvation and light.

In fact, “The Song of the Dawn” is exactly the kind of pretentious Pollyanna song that is mocked so thoroughly in “So the Bluebirds and the Blackbirds Got Together.” Bing Crosby was originally intended to be the soloist in “The Song of the Dawn”; John Boles was a last-minute substitute.⁵⁶ With Crosby singing both songs, the ironic contrast of “So the Bluebirds and the Blackbirds Got Together” and “The Song of the Dawn” might have tipped the latter over into ludicrousness.

⁵⁶ In a famous anecdote, Crosby was prevented from working on the day of shooting for “The Song of the Dawn” because of an arrest stemming from drunken driving and his subsequent irreverent behavior in court. This oft-told story is most coherently related by Gary Giddens, *Bing Crosby*, 208-211.

In the subsequent grand finale, a large ensemble dances to repeated instrumental reprises of “The Song of the Dawn.” At the end, the chorus, dressed in stylized cowboy costumes, presents the song vocally. Thus, in yet another paradox, the show ends with a song celebrating beginnings.

The contrast between “So the Bluebirds and the Blackbirds Got Together” and “The Song of the Dawn” symbolizes the overall mixed tone of *King of Jazz*. The film repeatedly draws on the conventions of the American musical—and one of these is the ironic reversal of those same conventions. For instance, early in the movie, the production number built around “My Bridal Veil” seeks to differentiate femininity from masculinity and depicts romance and married life in the most idyllic terms. In the rest of the film, however, the battle of the sexes is explored, male and female roles are sometimes reversed, and indications of pre- and extra-marital sex abound. More generally, Whiteman clearly seeks to imbue jazz with an elevated tone, one that Anderson also tries to create in portions of his production. Yet this classiness is undercut by low-down elements. For example, Whiteman intentionally contrasts his own American vernacular style to Irwin’s British refinement; and Anderson fills his staging of “A Bench in the Park” with bawdy sexual innuendo. Such mixed elements inflect most of the sample productions with a characteristic ambiguity.

Another mixture of convention and parody is found in the film’s treatment of New York. There are playful tensions between the happy, bazaar-like city briefly depicted in “Happy Feet” and the contrasting “city as jungle” metaphor that implicitly lies behind the safari cartoon sequence and its introduction. These city allusions culminate in Yellen and Ager’s “Has Anybody Seen Our Nellie”—a parody of the

sentimental “New York as jungle” songs about the fallen country maiden. The song is first performed by a soloist with a huge handlebar mustache. It is then reprised by a comic barbershop-style vocal quartette—including star Laura LaPlante dressed in male drag. Alongside the singers appear projected slides offering, first, illustrations of the song’s story and, subsequently, lyrics—briefly in Yiddish and then in English—as if for a singalong of the refrain. The setting of both song and staging is clearly meant to be turn-of-the-century. Yet, the brother of the lost “Nellie” spouts his tale of woe to a policeman who, anachronistically, whistles the 1929 hit, “Broadway Melody” and chastises the protagonist with the opening injunction from that song: “Don’t bring a frown to old Broadway.” Thus, there are several conventions being chided simultaneously: the decades-old sentimental tearjerker; the “cheer up” imperative of a recent hit—and, by extension, the “cheer up” philosophy of the number immediately following, “The Song of the Dawn”; and the singalong tradition. While the call to participate in the music matrix underlies the lyrics of both “Happy Feet” and “The Song of the Dawn,” it is satirized and undercut in the staging of both “Happy Feet” and “Has Anybody Seen Our Nellie.”

Make Believe and the Artist

One major theme of the film that is not addressed in its reflexive song lyrics is that of illusionism and make believe. That idea, however, is reflected in the non-reflexive song, “Ragamuffin Romeo,” by lyricist Harry Da Costa and composer Mabel Wayne.⁵⁷ In this song, the eponymous ragpicker constructs a female figure made of rags. He dreams each

⁵⁷ After a careful examination of allusions to Romeo and Juliet in the corpus, I have concluded that such references rarely intend to connect these characters to dramatic tradition. Rather, the two lovers are used as conventional archetypes along the same lines as Beau Brummell, Casanova, Jonah, Cinderella, and so forth.

night that this “Juliet” comes to life and speaks to him a vow of love. This fable is then enacted: the image of the rag doll dissolves into that of a live performer, and she and her “Romeo” perform an acrobatic “limp doll” dance duet. The tale is a version of the myth of Pygmalion and Galatea, transferred to a blue-collar setting. As in other songs in the sample productions—such as two by Oscar Hammerstein, “Make Believe”^{TT} (*Show Boat*, 1927) and “A Doll Fantasy” (*May Wine*, 1935)—the act of make believe is implicitly presented as a metaphor both of a general nature, for creativity in the arts, and specifically, for the creation of the musical show that contains the individual song.

Other than “Ragamuffin Romeo,” in *King of Jazz* it is the reflexive songs that thematically and structurally dominate the production. Reflexive songs frame the presentation, from the first solo vocal rendition of “Music Has Charms” over the opening credits to the finale choral ensemble of “The Song of the Dawn.” The reflexive songs are used to define the production’s themes: the romantic-erotic nexus; an ecumenical valorization of a wide spectrum of European and American music; the contrasts and relationships between the “old,” the “modern,” and the “primitive”; a slightly melancholy striving for an optimistic cheerfulness; and an ironic distance from all these conventions *as conventions*.

On the Town

On the Town tells of three sailors on a twenty-four hour leave in Manhattan. Gabey, the heroic rube, becomes besotted with the poster of that month’s “subway girl,” Ivy Smith. In order to find this object of romantic idealization, the three navy men separate to search

different locations. At the Natural History Museum, the enthusiastic, girl-happy Ozzie finds his match in a sexually irrepressible—although affianced—anthropologist, Claire. Later, they find privacy in her posh apartment after her “understanding” fiancée, Pitkin, exits. (In the original production of *On the Town*, Claire and Ozzie were played by the show’s librettist-lyricist team, Betty Comden and Adolph Green.) The methodical sightseer Chip gets waylaid by an amorous taxidriver, Hildy. They resort to her humble flat, kicking out her cold-ridden roommate, Lucy.

At Carnegie Hall, Gabey actually does find Ivy, who eventually responds to his advances. Nevertheless, Madame Dilly, the drunken vocal teacher, forces Ivy to break her date with the sailor. She insists that Ivy must report for her job as a hoochy-coochy dancer at Coney Island. Eventually, Gabey and his friends find Ivy—only to be separated, as the forces of the law catch up with all the errant couples. Just as the men are about to board their ship, however, a last-minute reunion of all the lovers allows each pair one final embrace.

On the Town does not use reflexive songs as basic structural components—they are not used as openers or finales—and two of the songs with reflexive elements are equally concerned with non-reflexive matters as well. The reflexive songs, however, do bring forward, albeit often in passing, implicit themes that are essential to this text and to the genre as a whole: the dynamics between convention and parody, unified narrative and variety, and highbrow and lowbrow.

Most of the songs in *On the Town* adopt a satirical approach both to conventional sentiments—such as idealized romance and emotional uplift—and, in the reflexive songs especially, to the limitations of the performing arts, whether stage dramas, operatic

standards, classical concerts, melodramatic movies, nightclub routines, or hoochy-coochy shows. By adopting this broad range for their parodies, the lyricists Betty Comden and Adolph Green thematize the tensions between the highbrow and the lowbrow. Gerald Mast is one of the earliest scholars to emphasize that the American musical “seems an aesthetic[,] economic and cultural midground.”⁵⁸ All the reflexive songs in *On the Town* implicitly declare themselves as inhabiting this middle ground, contrasting high and low culture and able to maintain an ironic perspective towards both sides. As Bruce Kirle remarks, in creating a musical comedy suffused with modern ballet, the director-choreographer Jerome Robbins and the composer, Leonard Bernstein, “combined highbrow and lowbrow in a deliberate stew.”⁵⁹ No commentators has noted, however, that Comden and Green, with equal deliberation, thematize this dynamic in the show’s reflexive lyrics.

From the perspective of the corpus examined in the present study, the reflexive songs in *On the Town* have, for their time, a surprisingly old-fashioned flavor. This musty air partly results from the presence of several extended “list” songs that, to an extent, harken back to the era of *He Came from Milwaukee*. Simultaneously, however, these songs also represent an effort to match the “integrated” style of Oscar Hammerstein’s character-specific lyrics in *Oklahoma!* (1943). Indeed, much of the score alludes to this contrast of the old and the new, a topic I will highlight in the analysis that follows.

As I will discuss further below, these songs also demonstrate the importance of the dynamic between integration and variety to this show in particular; indeed, they encapsulate these tensions within themselves. In addition, this textual discourse about

⁵⁸ Gerald Mast, *Can’t Help Singin’*, 4.

⁵⁹ Bruce Kirle, *Unfinished Show Business*, 21.

unity and variety links to the rhetoric surrounding the show and its personnel. This issue hinges on the distinction between two contrasting styles of musical theatre, aggregative entertainment versus the integrated model of musical dramaturgy.

Variety, Integration, and Irony

Even more clearly than most American musicals, *On the Town* explores what Rubin describes as a basic trait of the genre: the dynamic between the aggregate and narrative traditions of musical entertainment. This aspect of the show is particularly significant in the context of the period in which it was created. Just the previous year, *Oklahoma!* had signaled the start of an era in which the dominant critical rhetoric surrounding the Broadway musical became centered on the idea of “integration.” The creators of *On the Town* could not have avoided being influenced by this discourse.

The tug between narrative and aggregate traditions is seen in the careers of the songwriters. As mentioned above, the subgenre of the American musical in which the aggregate tradition most dominates is the revue; and Lehman Engel points out that among the major composers for the American musical theatre, “Leonard Bernstein alone had no need of revue” at either the start or during the course of his Broadway career.⁶⁰ Primarily a concert artist, Bernstein himself declared in the mid-1950s, “I am a serious composer trying to be a songwriter.”⁶¹ Bernstein’s musical theatre career was marked by the impulse to find a conjunction of the Broadway stage and an opera tradition dominated by

⁶⁰ Lehman Engel, *American Musical Theatre*, 66.

⁶¹ Leonard Bernstein, *The Joy of Music* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1959), 56-57.

the nineteenth-century ideal of the *gesamtkunstwerk*, the total artwork that unifies all its elements.

By contrast, the performer-librettist-lyricist team of Betty Comden and Adolph Green spent their early career in aggregate entertainments. They spearheaded a variety act called The Revuers, playing nightclubs, movie palaces, and on radio. The Revuers specialized in satirizing entertainment conventions. As Alice Robinson puts it, “They made fun of movies, radio, and Broadway; but, since they were in love with all three, their ridicule was affectionate.”⁶² The name of The Revuers points to the aggregate tradition; and the act’s sketches and songs focused on reflexive parodies of American popular culture.

The lyricists’ tastes, however, were broad. Green, for instance, “could sing nearly any work in the concert repertoire,” imitating the sound of each instrument as he went.⁶³ Perhaps due to this wide cultural framework, Comden and Green seem quickly to have adapted their approach to the *gesamtkunstwerk* model. In an interview from the 1980s, Comden affirms that their idols included exemplars of the integrated model, from Gilbert and Sullivan to Rodgers and Hammerstein. In the context of a discussion of their first musical comedy assignment, *On the Town*, Comden declared, “We’ve always written not just songs, but ... songs that reveal character.”⁶⁴ Their musical comedy writing for character, however, usually retains a kinship with their songwriting roots in satirical revue. Just as their lyrics often lovingly parody show business conventions, so also they

⁶² Alice M. Robinson, *Betty Comden and Adolph Green: A Bio-Bibliography* (Westport, Conn: Greenwood Press, 1994), 6.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, 2.

⁶⁴ Al Kasha and Joel Hirschhorn, *Notes on Broadway: Intimate Conversations with Broadway’s Greatest Songwriters* (New York: Simon and Schuster, Fireside, 1987), 64.

usually take an affectionately satirical view of the characters in their storylines, of these characters' Jonsonian "humours."

A number of factors have created a certain established rhetoric for the discourse surrounding *On the Town*, centering on the idea of originality: the youthful creative personnel; the unusual mixed-race ensemble; a Japanese American *danseuse* cast as the lead ingénue, in the midst of America's war with Japan; and the utilization of jazz-influenced modern ballet—and its accompanying modern ballet music—for the delineation of location, character psychology, and action. At the time of its opening, five of the leading critics labeled the Broadway production "fresh."⁶⁵ Historian Ethan Mordden has been a persistent advocate of the assessment of the show as a pivotal exponent of dance innovations—an assessment that has since been adopted by other historians such as Denny Martin Flinn and Bruce Kirle.⁶⁶ Yet, at the same time, Mordden acknowledges that the show "uses so many conventions," albeit "so unconventionally."⁶⁷

Adolph Green himself speaks of this same mix of the formulaic and the new in *On the Town*: "It was a challenge to do something fresh, based on a pattern already familiar in movies—of sailors on leave."⁶⁸ In a manner seldom emphasized by commentators, Comden and Green contribute to the musical's freshness through the nearly incessant use of parody, irony, and other reversals of convention in their lyrics. Here, these techniques, found in most of the sample productions, are given a prevalence

⁶⁵ The adjective "fresh" and its variants, "freshest" and "freshness," were used by reviewers in the *New York Times*, *Time*, *PM*, *Saturday Review*, and *The Nation*. See the quotes in Alice M. Robinson, *Betty Comden and Adolph Green*, 55.

⁶⁶ Ethan Mordden puts forward his view of the show in several histories: *Beautiful Mornin'*, 121-131; *Better Foot Forward*, 173-175, 209-210; and *Broadway Babies*, 136. Denny Martin Flinn writes similarly about *On the Town* in his *Musical! A Grand Tour*, 247. Bruce Kirle, too, hails it as a "new and interesting ... mixture of ballet and musical comedy"; *Unfinished Show Business*, 22.

⁶⁷ Ethan Mordden, *Beautiful Mornin'*, 125.

⁶⁸ Adolph Green is quoted by Al Kasha and Joel Hirschhorn, *Notes on Broadway*, 64.

matched by only a few examples, such as *Of Thee I Sing* (1932).⁶⁹ Notably, most of these highly ironic musicals remain high in critical favor, but fail in their New York revivals. Thus, Mordden details the fate of *On the Town* after its initial Broadway run, as it “faded somewhat from the revival repertory even as its reputation remained solid.”⁷⁰ The cleverness in these shows, apparent at the time and still easy to admire, seems to resist renewed popularity on Broadway.

On the Town is devoted to the delineation of consistent characterizations for its *dramatis personae* and to integrating dance and the accompanying symphonic ballet music into the fabric of the storytelling. Nevertheless, the element of variety is introduced through several means. First, the “tour” aspect of the plotline allows for a variety of settings and social circles. This structure draws from a tradition that extends from *Tom and Jerry; or, Life in London* (1823) through such sample productions as *Fifty Million Frenchmen* (which tours Paris, 1930) and *Star Spangled Rhythm* (structured around a movie studio tour, 1943). A sightseeing itinerary also organizes depictions of Manhattan in such narrative revues as *The New Yorkers* (1930) and *Face the Music* (1932).

Second, the three-couple configuration also allows for a variety of sociological contrasts and character types. This convention of the tripartite group of protagonists is found in the sample of productions from the beginning. *The Fortune Teller* (1898) features the pairings of gypsy and gypsy, long-lost heiress with hussar, and actress with

⁶⁹ Of the seventy sample productions, only ten (i.e. 14%) have six or more songs that focus on reversing conventions in these ways. These ten, with their quantity of ironic songs, are as follows: *The Slim Princess* (1910; six); *Hello, Broadway!* (1914; nine); *Stop! Look! Listen!* (1915; eight); *Lady, Be Good!* (1924; six); *Of Thee I Sing* (1932; nineteen); *At Home Abroad* (1935), *On Your Toes* (1936), *Leave It to Me* (1937), and *Pal Joey* (1940), each with seven; *Lady in the Dark* (1941; eight); *One Touch of Venus* (1943; six); *On the Town* (1944; nine); and *Finian’s Rainbow* (1947; seven).

⁷⁰ Ethan Mordden, *Beautiful Mornin’*, 131. *On the Town* has one off-Broadway and two Broadway revivals, as well as a London production, none of which have exceeded a run of eighty performances. Of the shows listed in the immediately preceding footnote, only *On Your Toes* and *Pal Joey* have enjoyed successful Broadway revivals.

hussar. The same scheme is implicit in a title such as *Sally, Irene and Mary* (the sample production of 1922).

Third, *On the Town* incorporates variety-shows-within-the-show. In the second act, the protagonists visit various nightclubs. This allows for the inclusion of the aggregate form of the floor show, as well as some implicitly reflexive parodies of the popular music clichés found in such entertainments: the chorus number, “So Long, Baby”; the torch song, “I Wish I Was Dead”; Latin dance music, “Conga Cabana”; and Dixieland jazz, “Slam Bang Blues.” All these come in for affectionate chiding. Early sample productions often place their performances in non-theatrical settings, such as the mansion parlor in *The Firefly* (1912) or the farmyard in Waikiki in *Stop! Look! Listen!* (1915). It is not until the 1920s that these fictional performances-within-the-performance are depicted as occurring on the Broadway stage, with *Sally, Irene and Mary* (1922), or the nightclub floor, as in *Innocent Eyes* (1924). By 1944, however, the inclusion of a stage-on-the-stage, or stage-in-the-film, had become a widespread practice. The nightclub parodies in the sample production *Pal Joey* (1940) supply a closely proximate precedent for those in *On the Town*.⁷¹

Extended Songs and List Songs

As well as these larger dramaturgical structures, many of the songs in *On the Town* also introduce an element of aggregate entertainment into this otherwise integrated musical

⁷¹ *Pal Joey* was certainly on the minds of Comden and Green when writing *On the Town*. As will be discussed further below, they used one of Rodgers’ melodies from that earlier show as a “dummy tune” when writing one of their own songs; see Mark Steyn, *Broadway Babies Say Goodnight: Musicals Then and Now* (New York: Routledge, 1999), 100.

comedy. As mentioned above in the discussion of *He Came from Milwaukee*, some songs feature an extended series of segments—what I dub “the extended song”—and can thus, in themselves, resemble a miniature variety show. Occasionally, early songs in the sample sandwich a monologue, skit, or dance between refrains, as is the case with “If I Were There with You” in *He Came from Milwaukee*. The sample production, *The Social Whirl* (1906), offers another example: in the sketches between the four refrains of “Just Kids,” the star trio satirizes social mores, such as subway etiquette, and also entertainment conventions, such as “kid acts,” Bowery melodrama, and British imitations of American blackface dialect songs. This last topic draws forth a separate full-length song parody, inserted between the “Just Kids” verse and refrain. In this way, a single extended song becomes a mini-revue in itself.

Some other early examples go even farther in incorporating variety into their structure and present a string of entirely separate refrains, sometimes through-composed, and at other times returning to the same verse material, creating a rondo-like effect. This is a favorite device of Victor Herbert’s, in whose hands it becomes a composer’s *tour de force*. His examples include “The Serenade of All Nations” (discussed in Chapter Two, from the sample production *The Fortune Teller*, 1898), “The Song of the Poet” (from the sample production *Babes in Toyland*, 1903), “If I Were an Actress” (which culminates in the well-remembered refrain for “Kiss Me Again,”^{TT} *Mlle. Modiste*, 1905), “In the Convent They Never Taught Me That,” and “Game of Love” (both in *Sweethearts*, 1913).

Herbert’s “If I Were an Actress” is one of several turn-of-the-century extended songs in which a female character describes her yearning for a stage career. For example, a different song of the same title is used in the sample production *Whoop-Dee-Do*

(1903), and “I Wants to Be an Actor Lady” was featured on Broadway in *Spotless Town* (1903) as well as in the 1904 London production of *In Dahomey*. These extended songs provide an opportunity for the performer to display her versatility in parodies of a wide range of theatrical conventions. Several similar songs also use a multi-sectional form to satirize the absurdities of show business. The link between these extended song structures and the aggregate tradition of entertainment is explicit in titles such as “At the Music Hall” (*An English Daisy*, 1904) and “Variety” (in the sample production *Fascinating Flora*, 1906).

Extended numbers flourish in the sample of productions through the mid-1910s; they appear in sixteen of the first twenty-one (i.e. in 76%) of these early shows. From 1920 to 1943, however, they decrease greatly in number, featuring in only eleven out of forty productions (i.e. in 28%). Even the “smart” scores of the anthologized writers often do without extended comedy songs. Some apparent examples—such as “These Charming People” (*Tell Me More*, 1925), for which Ira Gershwin was so proud to have emulated the comic trios of P.G. Wodehouse—prove on examination to have only the conventional two verse-refrain pairs.⁷² The corpus, however, does include some extended songs in the work of these anthologized songwriters, most notably in the virtuosically rhymed “list songs” of Lorenz Hart and Cole Porter.

The idea of the list song as a kaleidoscopic variety show is easily seen in examples such as those discussed in Chapter Four: “That’s Entertainment” (*The Band Wagon*, 1953) and “Comedy Tonight” (*A Funny Thing Happened on the Way to the*

⁷² Ira Gershwin relates his pride over this number in his *Lyrics on Several Occasions* (1959; reprint, New York: Limelight Editions, 1997), 120.

Forum, 1962).⁷³ They both contain a cornucopia of allusions to theatrical clichés. The same aesthetic is as operant, however, in many other types of list songs, encompassing the styles of numerous songwriters. Lorenz Hart tends to create ironically-tinged celebrations of place (“Manhattan,”^{TT} *Garrick Gaieties*, 1925) or life style (as in “The Lady Is a Tramp,”^{TR} *Babes in Arms*, 1937). Cole Porter, as Philip Furia points out, “uses the technique of cataloging ... as a device for heightening passionate intensity” with an erotically-charged “orgy of inventiveness.”⁷⁴ Porter’s lyrics especially disclose the omnibus potential of the multiple-refrain list song. Thus, in the lyrics for seven refrains of “You’re the Top”^{TT} (*Anything Goes*, 1934), Porter can encompass “a Berlin ballad,” “a dance in Bali,” comedian Jimmy Durante, singer Irene Bordoni, and Shakespeare—all in one performance showcase that is akin to a freestanding, miniature vaudeville bill.

The effectiveness of extended numbers in the sample production *Oklahoma!* (1943), such as “Oh, What a Beautiful Mornin’,”^{TT} “I Cain’t Say No,” and “The Farmer and the Cowman,” revived the prevalence of these types in musical theatre. Every subsequent Broadway sample production features multiple examples of such extended songs.⁷⁵ Even within the historical context of this newly-revived prevalence of the Broadway extended song, however, *On the Town* is exceptional in that eight of its fourteen Bernstein, Comden, and Green numbers fit into this category. Most are in the

⁷³ Stephen Banfield seems to be working towards this same analogy of the list song and the variety tradition when he analyzes Stephen Sondheim’s “Comedy Tonight” (*A Funny Thing Happened on the Way to the Forum*, 1962), as a “circuslike parade”; *Sondheim’s Broadway Musicals* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press), 97.

⁷⁴ Philip Furia, *Poets of Tin Pan Alley*, 161, 167.

⁷⁵ Although two of the four post-*Oklahoma!* Hollywood musicals in the sample of productions also feature extended songs, the revival of extended songs in Broadway musicals seems to have been more persistent and pervasive than in movie musicals. Looking at an additional corpus of thirty-one film and stage musicals from 1948 through 1966 reveals that the presence of extended songs is a factor that distinguishes stage from original film musicals during the “Golden Age” of the American musical. For information on this Extended Sample, see Appendix One.

genre of the list song—and in addition to those, the second refrain of the wistful ballad “Some Other Time” is also in the list song mode.

New York as Variety

The dominance in the score for *On the Town* of the extended list song format is quickly established with the first two numbers. First, “I Feel Like I’m Not Out of Bed Yet” offers three refrains comparing, in turn, the sun and the blanket, the air and the wife, and the eyes of wife and baby. This sleepy “aubade as list song” is quickly followed by the lively “New York, New York.”

There are few shows in which the convention of the New York song has as great an importance as for *On the Town*. The song “New York, New York” appears here at the beginning and is reprised at the show’s conclusion.⁷⁶ Its melody and an instrumental fanfare associated with the song recur throughout the score’s copious ballet music. In the sample of productions, only *Broadway Melody* (1929), with its title tune, features the New York song as a similarly pervasive and significant thematic and structural element. While “Broadway Melody”^{TT} demonstrates a full annexation of New York into the music matrix, “New York, New York” is not even incidentally reflexive. By 1944, the New York song was an established but attenuated tradition of the Broadway musical stage. In *On the Town*, however, it is utilized as an important tool of thematic and dramatic unity.

⁷⁶ *On the Town* is unusual in the sample of productions, for it yielded songs that are standards but never enjoyed hit recordings. No records of the score were ever charted by *Billboard*; and there have never been hit singles of its songs at any time. Nevertheless, “New York, New York” has become an instantly recognizable theme evoking that city. This status was consolidated by the musical’s enduringly popular film version of 1949, starring Gene Kelly and Frank Sinatra. Other songs from the show have a firm place in the cabaret repertoire and have enjoyed some recordings: “Some Other Time,” particularly, as well as “I Can Cook, Too,” “Lucky to Be Me,” and “Lonely Town.”

As a theme song for the evening, the song establishes the “city as a bazaar” idea that, as discussed in Chapter Four, is so prevalent in the American musical. Its three pairs of verses and refrains list the attractions of Manhattan as being the myriad “famous sights,” the technological modernity of the “Broadway lights,” and the sexually-available urban “Manhattan women.” Unusually, it also acknowledges, albeit in a less emphatic manner, the “city as jungle” concept as well, with its “danger” and “seven million screaming for space,” who cannot properly live “on account of the pace.”⁷⁷ These latter factors, however, merely enhance the lure of the city as “a visitor’s place.”

“New York, New York” has no reflexive allusions in its list of the city’s attractive traits. This neglect is soon corrected, however, in the third vocal number, “Come Up to My Place.” The conceit of the lyric is that Chip wants to see the attractions of the city he has heard so much about, but his ideas are all outdated, mostly due to his ancient tour book. Meanwhile, Hildy, his taxidriver, scoffingly corrects his notions about these landmarks and insists he come up to her apartment instead. In this song, the “modern” city is depicted as a place of constant change even as the “old” New York is constantly referred to nostalgically. Thus, the lyric thematizes the stylistics of the show—a mixture of conventionality and modernism, the old-fashioned and the *au courant*. The first two of the four verse-refrains are reflexive. They establish New York as a place of theatrical entertainment. First, Chip wants to see the Hippodrome:

Verse one:

Chip: My father told me, “Chip, my boy,
There’ll come a time when you leave home;
If you should ever hit New York,
Be sure to see the Hippodrome.”

⁷⁷ The “city as jungle” image returns later in the score via the torch ballad “Lonely Town,” in which Gabey bewails the fact that, in a strange city, “a million faces pass before your eye” but “there is no one waiting there for you.”

Hildy: The Hippodrome?

Chip: The Hippodrome.

Refrain one:

Hildy: Did I hear right?

Did you say the Hippodrome?

Chip: Yes, you heard right.

Yes, I said the Hip ... (*She brakes suddenly. He is shaken up.*)

Hey, what did you stop for?

Hildy: It ain't there anymore

Aida sang an "A" and blew the place away!

From 1905 to 1922, the mammoth Hippodrome was the home of spectacular musical theatre pieces, many of which were mixed presentations that included both narrative musical theatre and aggregate variety bills. Such an entertainment was the sample production *Neptune's Daughter* (1906), a triple bill of operatic fantasy, circus acts, and Western melodrama. Within the context of *On the Town*, the city is like the Hippodrome—a gargantuan place of diverse spectacle. When Hildy refers to the soprano whose high "A" ... blew the place away," she is probably not thinking of "romantic operatic extravaganzas," such as *Neptune's Daughter*, but of the popular-priced opera bookings of the Hippodrome's final decade, which ended with its demolition in 1939. Clearly, too much highbrow entertainment, such as the opera *Aida*, can close a popular theatre. This is an ironic comment for several reasons. First, the show's score seeks to evoke the city through the idiom of highbrow concert-styled ballet music. Second, Hildy later characterizes her own erotic powers by not only affirming "I Can Cook Too" but also that she can "hit a high 'C'," thereby aligning herself with the operatic Aida. That, for Hildy, there is a simultaneous parallel and contrast between entertainment and sex is affirmed by her spoken comment following the first refrain of "Come Up to My Place": "I haven't got 5,000 seats, but the one I have is a honey!"

Having failed with musical theatre, Chip then tries straight drama:

Verse two:

Chip: When I was home I saw the plays
The ladies' drama circle showed.

Now I'm here, I want to get
Some tickets for "Tobacco Road."

Hildy: "Tobacco Road?"

Chip: "Tobacco Road."

Refrain two:

Hildy: Did I dig that?

Did you say "Tobacco Road?"

Chip: Yes, you dug that.

Yes, I said "Tobac"... (*She brakes again. ...*)

Hey, what for did you stop?

Hildy: That show has closed up shop.

The actors washed their feet

And called it "Angel Street."

Chip's father recommends the Hippodrome; in contrast to this fatherly advice, the matriarchal "ladies' drama circle" encourages Chip to see the serious *Tobacco Road* (1933). In the 1930s, this intimately-scaled naturalistic tale of sex and murder in the demoralized lives of impoverished rural Southerners enjoyed a lengthy, record-breaking run. If, in the first refrain of "Come Up to My Place," Italian opera spelled the end of the popular entertainment of the Hippodrome, in the second refrain, the classy British suspense melodrama of *Angel Street* (1941) replaces *Tobacco Road*, an earthy American drama of the underclass. Thus, in both cases, the European prevails over the American. In her turn, Hildy again links these entertainments to sex: she contrasts and parallels both fictional avenues with the real-life experience of the "road to ruin" that she offers Chip.

The ensuing two verse-refrains of "Come Up to My Place" continue Chip's interest in the mammoth. First, he discusses the water, citing the huge sea animals at the Aquarium. Then his thoughts go skyward, longing to scale the "highest" skyscraper, the Woolworth Tower. The final section is an extended coda in which Chip lists a further twelve sites he would like to visit, including the Roxy movie palace and Radio City

Music Hall. Ultimately, Chip's need to experience and identify with the biggest, longest, and tallest, with its implied phallic symbolism, is frustrated. The city he longs to experience has been wiped away by the transformative speed of modernization—the same process that has produced sexually-forward modern city women like Hildy. In the end, Chip's tour of the city playground is compressed into a visit to one small city apartment. Partly though this ultimate triumph of the personal over the spectacular, this list song—this self-contained variety show—is linked to character and situation in a manner that goes beyond such famous 1930s examples as Cole Porter's "You're the Top."

The Depiction of Response

"Come Up to My Place" is soon followed by another extended reflexive list song, also rooted in character delineation: "Carried Away." In the Museum of Natural History, Ozzie meets up with Claire—an anthropologist who is fascinated by his resemblance to primitive man. Despite being engaged and having sublimated her sexual drives into scientific study, she lacks self-control. Her libidinous impulses are demonstrated when she grabs Ozzie in a passionate clinch. In the subsequent song, Comden and Green depict both high and popular art forms as producing a specific response—emotional involvement, identification with the performers, and an irresistible urge to participate. In the first half-refrain (of the song's two-and-a-half refrains), Claire tells of how she attempts to behave herself with propriety, but becomes unwillingly and uncontrollably involved in the experiences of others:

Refrain one:

Claire: ... When I sit and listen to a symphony,

Why can't I just say the music's grand?

Why must I leap upon the stage hysterically?

They're playing pizzicato,

And everything goes blotto,

I grab the maestro's stick and start in leading the band!

Claire and Ozzie (*As she conducts*): Carried away, carried away,

I get / She gets carried, carried away! ...

Although the propriety of classical music concerts demands passivity—one should just “sit and listen” and then comment politely—under the influence of a symphony Claire experiences the same irresistible impulses as do the listeners to waltzes, ragtime, and jazz in reflexive songs from 1906 through 1930. She finds herself uncontrollably on her feet and actively involved. The music calls to her to “come on and” participate, and she must obey. As with the protagonists of “Humming” or “Happy Feet,” she implicitly offers a model of enthusiastic involvement to the audience of *On the Town*. Here, however, as with the early examples of “Bill Simmons” and “Waltz Me Around Again, Willie,” the urge to participate in the performing arts is parodied as well as celebrated.

When Comden and Green wrote the first section of the lyric for “Carried Away,” they used as a “dummy tune” the melody of a Rodgers and Hart song from *Pal Joey* (1940), “You Mustn’t Kick It Around.” Rodgers’ ditty is a concise, bright, syncopated rhythm song. Nevertheless, Green explains that Bernstein, in setting the resulting lyric with new music, “realized that these were two extravagant, larger-than-life characters,” and therefore he composed “something far more operatic.”⁷⁸ Bernstein created a minor-tinged, mock-operatic arietta with an extended structure, recitative verse, contrapuntal duet sections, and shifts in dynamics, key, and tempo. Through these means, Bernstein dissociates uncontrollable reactions to music from the African American-derived ragtime

⁷⁸ This story is told—and Green is quoted—by Mark Steyn, *Broadway Babies Say Goodnight*, 100.

and jazz celebrated in songs of an earlier era such as “Stop That Rag” and “Fascinating Rhythm.” If Bernstein had followed in the earlier tradition, his melody would certainly have been more along the lines of the Rodgers melody that originally inspired Comden and Green. Instead, Bernstein links irresistible impulses to the passionate emotional expression of opera. This is so rare in the corpus as to represent a significant deviation from the conventions of the American musical.⁷⁹ Here, the zany enthusiasm propounded and parodied by the genre is attributed to the classical tradition. That musical style is valorized—but not in an effort to borrow from its highbrow prestige, as it might have been in other musicals; rather, by being depicted as a natural expression of a likable character type.

Interestingly, for the 1949 film version of *On the Town*, Comden and Green collaborated with composer Roger Edens on a song for tap dancer Ann Miller as Claire, “Prehistoric Man,” that reverses Bernstein’s characterization. Edens’ melody is in conventional popular song form and, though minor-tinged, is well within the driving rhythmic style that encompasses “Happy Feet” and “Forty-Second Street.” Thereby, the film associates Claire’s primitive urges with the vernacular tradition—a connection that Bernstein deliberately avoids.

In the stage version, Claire’s upper class background is reflected in her anecdote about symphonic concerts. Her operatic style may be considered part of that culture.

⁷⁹ The only precedents in the corpus for the association of irresistible impulses with classical music are in Irving Berlin’s “That Opera Rag” (*Getting a Polish*, 1910) and, arguably, Rodgers and Hart’s “Johnny One Note”^{TR} (*Babes in Arms*, 1937). For a helpful analysis of Berlin’s song, see Larry Hamberlin, “National Identity in Snyder and Berlin’s ‘That Opera Rag,’” *American Music* 22, no. 3 (Fall 2004): 380-406. In addition, it is notable that the sample production *Anchors Aweigh* (1945), which in many respects parallels *On the Town*, also creates an implied equivalence between operatic style and a passionate emotion found through involvement with the music matrix, via Kathryn Grayson’s coloratura rendition of “Jalousie.” Also of interest is that Comden, Green, and Bernstein, in their collaboration for *Wonderful Town* (1953) nine years after *On the Town*, depict uncontrollable impulses in relationship to three kinds of vernacular music: “Conga,” “Wrong Note Rag,” and “Swing!”

Although working class in background and tastes, Ozzie catches on to her mood and continues the refrain in the same operatic style, singing this time about the middlebrow movies:

Refrain one:

Ozzie: And when I go to see a moving picture show,
 And I'm watching actors in a scene,
 I start to think what's happening is really so.
 The girl, I must protect her.
 The villain don't respect her.
 I leap to her defense and punch a hole right through the screen!
 Both: Carried away, carried away,
 I get / He gets carried, carried away!

Ozzie's story is partly a burlesque of melodrama. Such satires are characteristic of the first thirty years of the period under study—usually effected through dialogue scenes but in a few instances found within songs. There are ten examples among these early sample productions—i.e. in 30% of them—culminating in those found in *Show Boat* (1928). Such parodies nearly disappear after that. Thus, the parody of melodrama in “Carried Away” can be seen as almost an atavism. It occurs at a time when an increasing number of the sample productions draw on melodrama rather than satirize it, with examples such as *Oklahoma!* (1943), *Meet Me in St. Louis* (1944), *The Dolly Sisters* (1945), *Ziegfeld Follies* (1946), and *Brigadoon* (1947), all featuring segments of melodramatic action.

For Ozzie, the paradigm for narrative drama is the melodramatic movie. Here, he describes a particular response to this genre. His is an intense emotional involvement, an exaggerated suspension of disbelief that leads to a confusion of make believe and reality, and a naïve desire to take action and interfere with the narrative events. Implicit in this reaction is an identification with the characters in the enacted story. The result of his uncontrolled impulse is to break through the illusionism of the dramatic presentation, just as he smashes through the projection screen. Within the context of the live stage performance of *On the Town*, too, Ozzie's anecdote presents an implicit critique of the

electronically simulated nature of the movie show, contrasted with the immediacy of the live show the audience is watching.⁸⁰

The blurring of reality and fantasy described by Ozzie is continued in the encore refrain, which is about “prehistoric” times. The introduction of this topic leads to the materialization of three cave men and three “bird girls.” The subsequent dance involves choosing partners through clubbing; and when Claire goes to club Ozzie, she shatters the precious dinosaur skeleton model—leading to her and Ozzie being chased by a museum authority throughout the remainder of the plot. Thus, the presence of the imaginary “primitive” figures instigates an action that becomes “real” within the rational cause-and-effect chain of the storyline. This is the flip-side to Ozzie’s story about interrupting the “fantasy” of the moving picture show by his “real-life” actions. Instead of reality interrupting fantasy, fantasy interrupts reality. As well, for Claire and Ozzie, the “primitive” literally becomes part of contemporary life. The blurring of real and make believe in their lives presents a decidedly comic version of the “life is a play” idea, which is more commonly manifested in romantic or charming love songs, such as those discussed in Chapter Four through examples such as “When the Curtain Falls” (*Going Up*, 1918) and “Make Believe”^{TT} (*Show Boat*, 1928).

⁸⁰ The song’s implicit critique of the movies is ironic, because *On the Town* was the first stage musical to find financing by selling the movie rights prior to the Broadway opening. See: Ethan Mordden, *Beautiful Mornin’*, 129-130; and Alice M. Robinson, *Betty Comden and Adolph Green*, 54. Comden and Green recorded the song three times, and its critique of electronic reproduction becomes inadvertently ironic when heard through the means of an audio recording.

Work, Entertainment, and Sex

“Come Up to My Place” creates a contrast and analogy between entertainment and sex; “Carried Away” satirizes and celebrates spontaneous reactions to music and drama. Conversely, the next reflexive song, “Carnegie Hall Pavane” (a.k.a. “Do-Re-Do”), depicts music as something that demands methodical, strenuous work that obviates having a love life. “Carnegie Hall Pavane” is the only musical number in *On the Town* concentrating exclusively on reflexive matters. Significantly, it offers a reversal of the usual association of singing with carefree happiness. This number is a duet between Ivy and her autocratic, alcoholic, and seemingly inept vocal teacher, Madame Dilly, followed by an ensemble in which they are joined by other vocal coaches teaching in the Carnegie Hall studios:

Ivy: Do-do-re-do.
 Madame Dilly: Do-re-mi-do.
 Mustn't be discouraged if the going is slow. ...
 Love life must go,
 If you'd be a nightingale instead of a crow.
 Sing high and low. ...
 Any voice can grow
 If you'll sing your do-re-do.
 Ivy: Onwards! ...
 Onwards! Upwards!
 Madame Dilly: Sex has to go.
 Both: Sing high and low, do-ti-la-do,
 And you soon will know
 Anyone can go
 From the lowest low
 To the very highest high
 If they will only sing their
 Do-do-re-do. ...

Throughout the corpus, music, singing, and dancing are usually depicted as being spontaneous phenomena that do not need laborious training and practice. Altman

describes this tendency in the movie musical: “Performers who might have stressed the work which separates conception from performance instead give the impression that neither time nor effort stands between an idea and its realization.”⁸¹ In the sample production *Sally, Irene and Mary* (1922), Irene summarizes this view of the profession when she self-deprecatingly gives the reason for her Broadway stardom: “Oh, I sing and act natural and the people love it.” Admittedly, Hart is notable for sometimes emphasizing the work involved in performing, as in two songs about circus life: “Allez-Up” (*Garrick Gaieties*, 1926) and “Over and Over Again” (*Jumbo*, 1935). Further, some other sequences, such as that in *King of Jazz* with Paul Whiteman’s dance double, problematize the notion of professional performing being “natural.” Nevertheless, in the sample of productions the only precedent for “Carnegie Hall Pavane” is a distant one—although suggestively similar: the “Opening Chorus” of *The Fortune Teller* (1898), discussed in Chapter Two, which also features ballet dancers in the midst of practice, while a comic taskmaster insists upon discipline.

The idea conveyed in “Carnegie Hall Pavane”—that strict adherence to the work ethic will lead to professional advancement—is certainly in agreement with the American Dream. Within the context of musical comedy traditions, however, it is problematic. For instance, it is quite different from the overnight success mythos expounded in many musicals, as summarized in “There’s No Business Like Show Business”^{TR} (*Annie Get Your Gun*, 1946): “That night you open and there you are, / next day on your dressing room they’ve hung a star.” Even in earlier philosophy songs that emphasize perseverance—such as “Follow Thru” (the title song of 1930), or the incidentally

⁸¹ Rick Altman, *American Film Musical*, 76.

reflexive examples of “Pick Yourself Up”^{TR} (*Swing Time*, 1936) and “On Your Toes”^{TR} (the title song of 1936)—the work ethic is depicted as being conducive to success in romance. As a song of philosophy, “Carnegie Hall Pavane” differs from similar exhortations to ambition because it proscribes sex and “love life.” Thus, it sets up an ethos that is antithetical to the basic generic concern of the musical comedy storyline—mating.

At the start of the scene, the Carnegie Hall studio hall is established as a place of classical performing arts. As instrumentalists complain about conductors and a ballet *danseur* scornfully rejects the idea of auditioning for Broadway, sopranos fill the air with fragments of the distinctive operatic showpieces popularly referred to as the “Call of the Valkyries” (from Wagner’s *Die Walkure*) and the incidentally reflexive “Bell Song” (from Delibes’ *Lakmé*). The duet portion of the “Carnegie Hall Pavane” is marked “tempo di pavane” in the score; and this allusion to the slow, stately sixteenth-century dance indicates that Ivy is engaged in a purportedly dignified training in classical vocal technique. The melody line is simple and straightforward, with some modal touches to the harmony underneath. Through these techniques, Bernstein creates a feeling of contained stasis. While, in “Carried Away,” operatic singing is used to connote expressive release of natural impulses, here classical technique is associated with the arduous repression of those same impulses.

Midway through, however—as Ivy sings “Onwards!”—Bernstein introduces a flatted “blue” third into her melody line, the tempo marking briefly changes to “swing,” and the accompaniment emulates the feel of boogie-woogie piano. Dilly, however, soon settles Ivy down again by stating that “sex has to go,” and the two women sing in unison

the concluding section using, as the score puts it, a “straight” style. Both the work ethic and sexual abstinence are thereby linked to the more formal style of the rest of the refrain. In contrast, Bernstein, Comden, and Green implicitly associate sexual freedom with the looser rhythmic aspects of African American-derived swing music. This connection of sex and vernacular music is also implied in a subsequent number—Hildy’s song of seduction, “I Can Cook Too,” described in the score with the adjectives “hot and fast” and “swing,” which also features a boogie-woogie style accompaniment.

The alignment of Dilly, classical music, and sexual repression, however, is not absolute; these equivalences are complicated as the number progresses. After the duet of Ivy and Dilly, other vocal teachers enter and join them. Together, they all perform an ensemble version of the “Onwards” theme, again underpinned with a boogie-woogie-styled accompaniment. These denizens of Carnegie Hall do not join together in operatic or concert style, as might have been expected. Rather, they give out, as the score directs, in “swing” rhythm, with plenty of blue notes, and the vocal lines in unison or close harmony as in pop song arrangements.

The seeming celebration of the work ethic in “Carnegie Hall Pavane” is ironic. First, Madame Dilly, who is propounding this ethos, has already been revealed as a hypocritical charlatan, and thus her didactic message is depicted parodically. Second, the notion that singing is work is negated by the rest of the show, in which singing is depicted as spontaneous and natural. This is particularly clear in Act Two, with “Ya Got Me,” in which Gabey’s four friends attempt to cheer him up by spontaneously taking over the floor show of a nightclub, substituting for the torch singer, and delivering an unrehearsed song with effortless panache.

A third layer of irony is introduced through an intertextual allusion, for the pastiche of popular singing groups in the final section of “Carnegie Hall Pavane” resembles that in Rodgers and Hart’s “Sing for Your Supper” (*The Boys from Syracuse*, 1938). As discussed in Chapter Four, Hart’s lyric, too, creates an ironic variant on the conventional attitudes towards singing. “Sing for Your Supper,” however, implicitly aligns the two topics of vocalizing and eroticism, while “Carnegie Hall Pavane” opposes them. This possible intertextual allusion adds to the layers of reversal and reflexivity in the *On the Town* number. Fourth, within “Carnegie Hall Pavane” itself, the popular style eventually replaces the formal style of the opening section. With this shift, and Dilly’s participation in it, her overt message is given an ironic twist.

Feuer emphasizes that this conflict of, on the one hand, the “classical” or “traditional,” with, on the other side, “jazz” or the “popular,” is an important characteristic of the Hollywood musical. She presents twenty-one examples—a quantity that represents 16% of her corpus.⁸² In my survey, this dynamic is apparent in sixteen of the sample productions—i.e. 23%—a higher statistic than Feuer’s instances represent for her study.⁸³ These stretch back to the “burlesque opera” used during part of the run of *Whirl-I-Gig* (1899). Nevertheless, despite the prevalence of brief allusions in the dialogue and occasional musical numbers touching on this “classical versus pop” dynamic, only two sample productions (3%) make this a major theme of the show: *Fascinating Flora* (1907) and *A Night at the Opera* (1935). Further, at least four of the sample productions (6%) allude to classical music without any parodic effect: *The Firefly* (1912), *Three*

⁸² Jane Feuer, *Hollywood Musical*, 54-65.

⁸³ This statistic may be even higher, for some of the allusions to classical music may only be apparent in the full musical scores—not all of which were available for examination—or in performance practices which are not discernible from the scripts and scores.

Smart Girls Grow Up (1937), *Anchors Aweigh* (1945), and *Ziegfeld Follies* (1946). While Feuer acknowledges the existence of such examples, neither she nor any subsequent writer discusses their significance as part of the conventions of the genre.

The tension between classical and popular art is manifest in all three of the reflexive songs discussed so far from *On the Town*—and all of them present this dynamic with a light, ironic touch that creates great ambiguity concerning which mode is being celebrated and which deprecated. This juxtaposition of the classical and popular continues in the score with incidental reflexive allusions in the verse for the encore to “I Can Cook Too.” Hildy declares that not only can does she make a “wonderful jiver” (an ambiguous term that can denote either dancing to or playing swing music), but she can also “sing a high ‘C,’” just like an operatic soprano. In this song, Hildy is implicitly bragging about her sexuality; presumably, she can achieve “a big ‘O’” as well as “a high ‘C.’” With Hildy, as with the philandering tenor in “The Zingazulu Man,” musical climax is a metaphor for orgasmic climax. Further, as with the creators of *On the Town*, such as Bernstein and Robbins, Hildy’s rhetoric is one that claims attainment in both classical and popular art. These complex and ambiguous dynamics between classical and popular styles in *On the Town* and other sample productions indicate that Feuer’s generalizations might be modified by more extensive analyses.⁸⁴

⁸⁴ The manner in which Bernstein introduces elements of popular and classical musical styles into the score for *On the Town* is too complex to be fully treated here. For example, blues-like touches are heard in “Come Up to My Place,” Pitkin’s character song, “I Understand,” is reminiscent of Gilbert and Sullivan, and contrapuntal vocal segments occur in a wide variety of contexts: “New York, New York,” “Carried Away,” and “Some Other Time.”

The Ballyhoo Song

The dignified precepts of Madame Dilly in “Carnegie Hall Pavane” are given further irony by her functioning as an agent-procurer for the hoochy-coochy show at Coney Island. It is there that Gabey finally reunites with Ivy. This musical scene, “The Real Coney Island,” concentrates on pantomime and dance; the Middle Eastern vendor is given the only verbal material. His spoken ballyhoo—“Hurry, hurry, hurry ... it’s our last red-hot, sizzling show of the evening”—is followed by a brief reflexive song. The song joins the show’s broad-ranging satirical pastiches of opera, nightclub routines, Latin tunes, and Dixieland jazz—part of the cornucopia of styles offered by the score as a whole—by offering a parody of side-show Middle Eastern music. The lyric is short and simple, containing only one idea, pounded home repeatedly:

Refrain: Rajah Bimmy’s Harum-Scarum
 Where you see the pretty girl who picks
 The handkerchief up with her teeth,
 And the girl who picks the handkerchief up ... [repeat twice]
 With her teeth.

The show business ballyhoo is perhaps the most realistic form of the “come on and” message—and the most blatantly commercial, for it specifically invites attendance and patronage of the entertainment event. Eight sample productions (i.e. 11% of the total sample) feature ballyhoos in either sung or spoken form, including two closely-proximate shows in which they occur repeatedly and mark important structural articulations: *Show Boat* (1927) and *Rain or Shine* (1928). Ballyhoos take on a similar prominence in later musicals concerned with the aggregate entertainment tradition, such as *The Pirate* (1948), *Carnival* (1961), and *Barnum* (1980). In *On the Town*, the sung ballyhoo, although

repeated twice, is not given emphasis, due to several factors. First, it is a small portion of a longer musical scene. Second, the lyric merely offers a description and statement of fact rather than a command to attend. Third, the performance of the song tends to obscure the lyrics. For example, in the 1960 recording of the score, Bernstein himself pseudonymously sings the piece, enthusiastically conveying his pastiche of Middle Eastern music, but also slurring the words in such a manner that the lyric is almost incomprehensible despite its brevity and repetitiveness.⁸⁵ While examples from *Show Boat*—such as “Captain Andy’s Ballyhoo,” “Queenie’s Ballyhoo,” and “At the Fair”—are lengthy, charming, and enspiriting, here the ballyhoo is fleeting and even perfunctory. Thus, the sung ballyhoo in *On the Town* contributes to the show’s general reversal of show business conventions.

“Rajah Bimmy’s Harum-Scarum” is intended to represent the “real” Coney Island—a locale usually presented in songs about New York City as an extension of Manhattan. The song emphasizes the display of the eroticized female body in a lowbrow form of the usual musical comedy exchange of “beauty” for “riches.”⁸⁶ At the start of the sailors’ one-day leave, Ozzie delineates the city’s sexual marketplace in glowing terms, inhabited by “Manhattan women ... dressed in silk and satin.” Here, near the conclusion, the show’s depiction of the same thing is more sordid, even ludicrous.

The initial vision of urban excitement and possibility returns, however, soon thereafter, when “New York, New York” is reprised as the show’s finale. The three heroes say goodbye to their women, having indeed found “the romance and danger” in

⁸⁵ This recording was made in 1960, with four members of the original Broadway cast; Leonard Bernstein, *On the Town*, Columbia CL 5540.

⁸⁶ As previously mentioned above, this theme is described by Rick Altman, *American Film Musical*, 24-25.

New York. Simultaneously, a fresh trio of sailors emerges, exclaiming the same theme, and then they are joined by the entire company.

The dominant characteristic of *On the Town* is its comic depiction of the conventional elements of musical comedy—an ironic point of view that links the score to the “smart” output of the Gershwins, Rodgers and Hart, and Cole Porter. Entertainment and the music matrix are satirized in all the reflexive songs—“Come Up to My Place,” “Carried Away,” “Carnegie Hall Pavane,” and “The Real Coney Island”—and also through the pastiches of musical styles, such as opera, nightclub chorus numbers, torch songs, congas, Dixieland jazz, and belly dance music. In addition, sentimental philosophies are satirized. “Carnegie Hall Pavane” undercuts the notion of an inspirational call to action by claiming that work obviates love life. Pitkin’s song, “I Understand,” depicts a repressed hypocrisy underlying the ideals of tolerance and family affection. Even more consistently and pervasively, idealized romance is debunked through an earthy, sexual view of love relations, as in “New York, New York,” “Come Up to My Place,” “Carried Away,” “Carnegie Hall Pavane,” “I Can Cook Too,” “Ya Got Me,” and “Rajah Bimmy’s Harum-Scarum.”⁸⁷ The prevalence of these reversals of convention helps create the idiosyncratic tone of *On the Town*. Nevertheless, to achieve this distinction, the creators merely included a greater portion of the elements that were already well-established in the genre—the parody and irony that are also found in *He Came from Milwaukee*, *King of Jazz*, and other sample productions.

⁸⁷ To this list of examples perhaps also belongs “So Long, Baby,” by virtue of its hardboiled attitude to the end of an affair, and the second refrain of “Some Other Time,” because of its list of prosaic—and possibly pre-marital—shared domestic activities: drying dishes, shaving, and waking without make-up.

Conclusion

The rhetoric surrounding the music matrix in these three shows is complex — generally celebratory, but often ironic as well. “Carried Away” displays this mixture clearly. While Comden, Green, and Bernstein point to the ludicrous “humors” manifested by Claire and Ozzie, they also compellingly depict the enthusiastic audience reception that musicals themselves seek to engender. Claire and Ozzie describe, in fact, the same kind of response to music and drama that D.A. Miller attributes to his own youthful self. In his discussion of the reception of musicals by baby-boomer homosexual men, Miller writes of how, in the late 1950s, he would surreptitiously listen to Broadway cast albums. His reaction to their songs was participatory, “tapping furiously ... belting out ... breaking down in sobs.”⁸⁸ Indeed, he may have been playing a record of “Carried Away,” which describes the same kind of impulses.⁸⁹ Such relationships between the rhetoric of response in the corpus and in other discourses will be the focus of the next chapter.

In the American musical, the reflexive song is a particularly prevalent device. As I have demonstrated in this chapter, these numbers offer a fertile starting point for the interpretations of specific texts. In addition, I contend that other formal devices, seen within their history, might also offer future analysts an effective launching pad. An

⁸⁸ D.A. Miller, *Place for Us*, 3.

⁸⁹ It is in the realm of possibility that the youthful Miller heard one of the three recordings Comden and Green made of the song: the mid-1940s version was reissued in 1950 on a long-playing record; the songwriters included it in their two-person Broadway show of 1958, *A Party with Comden and Green*, for which they made a cast album in 1959; and a studio recording with original cast members of *On the Town* was made in 1960, with the lyricists duplicating their original roles as Claire and Ozzie. My main point, however, is that Broadway musicals are filled with such descriptions of response, of which “Carried Away” is but one example, and Miller’s response matches the rhetoric of these songs.

obvious example is the show-within-the-show, such as the nightclub routines and the hoochy-coochy dance in *On the Town*. In the next chapter, I will glance at some of these additional, intriguing techniques.

As with all the sample productions, the three shows analyzed above are imbued with reflexivity through various devices, prominent among which are their songs. These latter make explicit the themes of the productions, such as the music matrix, romance, the battle of the sexes, nostalgia, and modernity. The particular uses each musical makes of its reflexive songs is best understood within an informed view of the history of reflexive song conventions.

Each show is notable for one distinctive thematic tension. In *He Came from Milwaukee*, the unusual, almost Hart-like use of numerous “double negative” allusions to the music matrix counterbalances the Old World nostalgia of “Come Back to Bohemia” and the upbeat sentimentality of “(Merry) Wedding Bells.” *King of Jazz* both develops and parodies the “lose the blues” convention that had recently emerged into prominence, revealing an underlying anxiety felt at the cusp between the Jazz Age and the Great Depression. *On the Town* manages to depend upon and yet also parody the classical music tradition. In *On the Town*, a preponderance of extended comedy songs harkens back to an earlier era, even as the show’s emphasis on character and situation declares it part of the mid-1940s trend towards an “integrated” model. Notably, all three shows intermix classical and popular musical styles. This is an explicit theme in the opening song of *King of Jazz*—and nearly as explicit in the comedy songs of *On the Town*.

In this chapter, I have examined only three shows, chosen in an aleatory fashion. Yet, this random sample reveals a large number of the important topics of the American

musical. These themes are best understood, however, when seen with the perspective gained from examining a larger corpus. In such a broader view, disparate texts, representing different stylistic eras, subgenres, and media, are revealed as possessing kindred traits and devices. For instance, the link between “Love Is Like a Red, Red Rose” and “The Song of the Dawn” is not apparent until both are understood as presenting an abstract, metaphorical definition of music. Similarly, both “So the Bluebirds and the Blackbirds Got Together” and “Carnegie Hall Pavane” problematize the genre’s declarations of an optimistic philosophy—such as the one found in “The Song of the Dawn.” The chronicle presented in the preceding chapters underlines these comparisons. The intertextual relationships among songs—and thus their full range of connotations—are most visible in the light of a history of their conventions. Thus, in all these productions, the reflexive songs act as keys, unlocking layers of meaning in the American musical.

Chapter Six: Concluding Thoughts

Introduction

As I have delineated in the previous chapters, reflexive songs in the American musical create a rhetoric about musical pleasure. Through these songs, musicals define, in specific ways, their own elements and the reception they seek to promote. Understanding these historically-shifting self-definitions is crucial—whether we, as consumers and critics, chose to accept or reject them. In this chapter, I discuss the parallel between the lyrics of reflexive songs and the genre’s critical literature. As throughout, I argue, first, that reflexive songs are central to the American musical, and, second, that scholars need to apply an historically-informed consideration of this device to their analysis of the genre. I conclude, therefore, with a call for further scholarship, historicizing the formal elements of the American musical.

Music, Pleasure, and the Critics

Often, the musical pleasure depicted in reflexive songs is simple in nature and readily apparent, as in the “happy refrain” sung by the protagonist of “Singin’ in the Rain.” Sometimes, it is disguised—partially hidden behind an ironic stance—such as when a character protests, “Fascinating rhythm, / won’t you stop picking on me!” Such irony, however, brings its own pleasure—that of a shared joke. It creates complicity—and,

therefore, a sense of community—between artist and audience. The history of reflexive songs brings to light this multi-faceted, ever-changing discourse about musical pleasure.

Notably, an analogous discourse about pleasure dominates much of the literature about American musicals, even that written by serious critics. Such commentators describe the experience of watching a musical as “an emotional orgasm,” one that is “intense,” “breathless,” “physicalized,” and “quasi-religious.”¹ As amply illustrated in the preceding chapters, reflexive songs describe much the same group of sensations. In these lyrics, the elements of musical comedy are said to yield “a treasure of pleasure” that “fills me full of bliss,” as “my heart responds with joyous palpitation” and “my feet won’t keep still”; meanwhile “heaven opens its portals to me.”²

This pleasure is offered by reflexive songs—and the genre as a whole—as the reason for participation in the music matrix. An imitation of performance activities is operant in the genre on two levels. The first level occurs within the fictional world of the show. The characters within the musical pattern their behavior on performers. As in “Queen of the One-Ring Show,” “Me and the Minstrel Ban’,” and “Blow Your Horn,”

¹ These phrases are quoted from, respectively: Martin Gottfried *Broadway Musicals*, 343; Bruce Babington and Peter Evans, *Blue Skies and Silver Linings*, 4; D.A. Miller, *Place for Us*, 2; Stacy Wolf, *Problem Like Maria*, 33; Andrea Most, *Making Americans*, 10. Other critics utilize a similar rhetoric of musical pleasure. John Clum states that “musicals celebrate sensual pleasure”; *Something for the Boys*, 6. As discussed above in Chapter Three, Richard Dyer analyzes how musicals convey “what utopia would feel like”; “Entertainment and Utopia,” 177. Elsewhere, Dyer writes of “the joy of the musical”; “The Colour of Entertainment,” 25. Heather Laing seeks to identify what “lies at the heart of the pleasure” of the genre; “Emotion by Numbers,” 11. Laurence Maslon tells how, at a Broadway musical, “the intensity builds” until “you ... thrill”; *Broadway: The American Musical* (New York: Bulfinch Press, 2004), 440. Kenneth MacKinnon speaks of his own “physiological reaction akin to shivers at the back of the neck”; “I Keep Wishing I Were Somewhere Else,” 41. Carey Wall hails the plot resolutions in musicals as the “triumph of good feelings”; “There’s No Business Like Show Business,” 28. It is significant that this rhetoric of pleasure is found in the critical literature for both stage musicals and movie musicals. Clum, Gottfried, Maslon Miller, and Most describe spectatorship of Broadway performances; Babington and Evans, Dyer, Laing, and MacKinnon describe reception of movie musicals; and Wall and Wolf discuss both stage and screen. Like the rhetoric of reflexive songs, the critical discourse about the genre bridges media.

² The lyric quotes are from, respectively: “(Merry) Wedding Bells”^{TR} (*He Came from Milwaukee*, 1910); “Everybody Rag with Me”^{TT} (*Dancing Around*, 1914); “Vi, Vi” (*The Social Whirl*, 1906); “Stop That Rag”^{TT} (*The Jolly Bachelors*, 1910); and “With a Song in My Heart”^{TT} (*Spring Is Here*, 1929).

these *dramatis personae* look up to show business celebrities they have seen or heard about, adopting them as role models. They long to have romances like those of stage or screen, hoping for the happy-ever-after found “When the Curtain Falls.” Alternately, they imitate others in their community. The soloist, singing and dancing, proclaims, “Everybody Sing” or “Do the Varsity Drag.” The crowd responds, obeying, participating actively in the music matrix.

The second level of imitation occurs between these on-stage or on-screen performers and the individuals in the real audience. In analogy to what is depicted in the fiction of the show, the spectators are encouraged to model their appetites on the *dramatis personae* and the stars who embody them. In many instances, as in the “Plot Demonstrators” episodes in *Criss Cross*, this relationship is both constructed and glorified, on the one hand, and deconstructed and deprecated, on the other. At other times, the artist-audience relationship is more straightforward. The crowd doing the Varsity Drag turns to the front and urges the spectators to do that dance themselves. “Everybody’s doing it”—certainly everybody on the stage is doing it—therefore, you should, too. These tropes draw the audience into a relationship of imitation: “Come on and” sing, dance, perform. Audience members are urged to *become* the performers they admire, with all the consequent release of expressive powers through song and dance. Some obey, or, at least, imagine themselves obeying. Thus, D.A. Miller describes the boy he once was, who “would utterly abandon himself” to participatory impulses when listening to Broadway cast albums.³

³ D.A. Miller, *Place for Us*, 2.

Indeed, the rhetoric of physicality and participation found in reflexive songs of the first half of the twentieth century corresponds to the active, physical impulses described by Miller and other recent critics of the genre. For instance, Stacy Wolf claims that “the pleasure of musicals” lies in the fact “that musicals invoke visceral responses and call up active engagements.”⁴ Such “performative spectatorship” has its roots in “tapping toes ... humming tunes ... [and] learning physical bits and choreography.”⁵ In her description, she might almost be adapting lyrics illustrated in my previous chapters, such as “Happy Feet,” “Humming,” or “The Varsity Drag.” As in Wolf’s portrayal of response, such songs describe—indeed, recommend—tapping toes, humming, and learning physical bits of choreography.

Other critics, too, emphasize the participatory nature of reception of musicals. Martin Gottfried says that Broadway audiences “sing and dance as they make their way up the aisles while the walkout music is being played”; and even afterwards, through such active responses, “the music goes on, and as it goes on they take the show with them.”⁶ Gottfried seems to invoke such production song lyrics as that by Arthur Freed: “Broadway Rhythm—it’s got me! / Everybody sing and dance!”

Kenneth MacKinnon, too, posits that “physiological reactions may be the very centre of pleasure in musicals, a reaction ranging from foot-tapping and recharged energy to uncontrolled weeping.”⁷ Irving Berlin seems to describe the same response as MacKinnon, in “Let Me Sing and I’m Happy.” There, the protagonist desires to get the

⁴ Stacy Wolf, *Problem Like Maria*, 33.

⁵ Ibid., 237, 33.

⁶ Martin Gottfried, *Broadway Musicals*, 343.

⁷ Kenneth MacKinnon, “I Keep Wishing I Were Somewhere Else,” 42-43. Again, a similar rhetoric about physical and participatory response is shared by writers on theatre, such as Gottfried and Most, and movie musicals, like MacKinnon—and, indeed, by Wolf, who includes live theatre, television, and film in her discussion.

audience “laughing” and “crying.” In addition, the singer tells his listeners that he wants to “lift you out of your seat” and “start you tapping your feet.” Both MacKinnon and Berlin equate kinesthetic and affective responses to musical comedy. Whether impelled by music to dance or moved by emotions to cry, the reactions are intense and physical. As detailed in the previous chapters, such vivid responses are described—sometimes even commanded—in song after song from American musicals.

The correspondence between the rhetoric of critics and the reflexive songs of yesteryear goes beyond coincidence. Such scholars are often deliberate in their invocation of the reflexive song tradition, using lines from lyrics as chapter prefaces and in the titles for their books, articles, chapters, or sub-sections of chapters. Amy Henderson and Dwight Bowers use a reflexive Broadway title song by Cole Porter in naming their history of the American musical, *Red, Hot and Blue*. With *Can’t Help Singin’*, Gerald Mast alludes to “Can’t Help Singing,” the 1945 movie title song. For *Blue Skies and Silver Linings*, Bruce Babington and Peter Evans draw from “Blue Skies,” with its “blue birds / singing a song.” In *Enchanted Evenings*, Geoffrey Block points to “Some Enchanted Evening,” with its “laughter” that “sings in your dreams.” In his elegiac title, *Broadway Babies Say Goodnight*, Mark Steyn paraphrases “Lullaby of Broadway” and its line “when a Broadway baby says goodnight.” Stacy Wolf uses a line from the song about “Maria” in *The Sound of Music*, in which the heroine is described as waltzing, whistling, and “singing in the Abbey,” for *A Problem Like Maria*. Tom Markus and Linda Sarver allude to Cole Porter’s “anthem” to show business from *Kiss Me, Kate* for

the title of their college textbook on theatre, *Another Opening, Another Show*.⁸ In *Place for Us*, D.A. Miller creates sectional headings using numerous snippets of reflexive lyrics, including “Another Op’nin’, Another Show,” “Shall We Dance,” and “Let Me Entertain You.”

It is hard to identify any other dramatic genre where the textual rhetoric has so consistently and extensively influenced the critical rhetoric. There is something almost uncanny in realizing that reflexive production songs command “everybody sing and dance,” and then go on to read the tomes of intellectually rigorous scholars who claim that spectatorship at musicals leads everybody to sing and dance. Through their reflexive rhetorical gestures, musicals inscribe the interpretation they seek into the text itself. They create a prophecy meant to be self-fulfilling—and, as the discourse of critics reveals, they are successful in this endeavor.

Reflexive songs make explicit and verbal the otherwise implicit and seemingly ineffable connotations that the genre attaches to music and performance. These songs are a site where the words draw attention to the aspects of the genre that lie beyond the verbal text. They point to the music, to the performing bodies, and to the audience and its reception of the piece. Combined with melodies, these lyrics take on even further shadings, evoking complex associations for the lively arts. Thus, through reflexive songs, musicals define their own elements—and, in doing so, the genre defines itself.

⁸ In addition, Ethan Mordden uses lines or titles of reflexive songs in naming many of his books, including the several volumes of his decade-by-decade history of Broadway musicals from the 1920s through the 1970s. To add one more example, Gerald Bordman, in *American Musical Comedy*, heads two of his chapters with quotations from reflexive songs lyrics; and these act as springboards for his discussions.

Conclusion

The chronicle of reflexive songs in the American musical throws new light on the work of analysts of the genre. As I have demonstrated in the previous chapters, the details of this history modify—in some cases even negate—previous interpretations of specific texts and even of the genre as a whole. I hope my account encourages scholars to pursue additional studies along similar methodological lines, historicizing other important conventions of the musical, such as the use of the chorus, the transformation of spatial and visual elements at the start of musical numbers, or the show-within-the-show.

At first glance, my project in this dissertation seems straightforward and rather dry—examining lyrics, tabulating data, and writing a history of the prevalence of a formal device of the American musical, the reflexive song. As I have demonstrated, however, such studies are crucial for the understanding and deeper interpretation of a genre. As part of this process, there is great value in choosing a large and representative sample of material for analysis. I became aware of the significance of many of the themes explored in this dissertation—particularly, ironic attitudes toward entertainment—because certain conventions came persistently to my attention during a slow and thorough examination of a large body of material. The hermeneutic potential in these songs is not simple and self-apparent, partly because their meaning exists within a history of conventions—techniques, tropes, topics, and themes that build a tradition of intertextual connotations. Thus, these songs are filled with subtle and complex layers of allusiveness. Therefore, I hope that future scholars will pursue similar studies of the structural

elements of the genre, so that we, as critics, can do justice to these complicated processes operating in the American musical.

Epilogue: A Personal Note

I started this project because of my own personal responses to reflexive production songs. My enthusiastic affection for them continues even now, four hundred pages of historical analysis later. I have felt the persuasive power of their rhetoric as I have tracked each topic in turn. As I wrote about the “song inside,” music seemed to surge through my being. As I wrote about “New York” songs, I felt alternately attracted to and repelled by the city, as if in relation to a magnetic force. Investigating the parodic stance of songs about entertainment, I could almost taste the acrid tartness of irony under my tongue. The responses these reflexive songs invoked in me were often as powerful—and sometimes as physical in nature—as the lyrics themselves frequently describe.

To a large extent, I choose to accept the musical’s self-definitions. When I was young and first attended musicals, I responded to the rhetoric of the musical by exuberantly embracing my urges to sing and dance—impulses that much of daily life seemed to repress. Today, several times a month, I go into nursing homes to make music with the residents, or I participate in other community concerts that use vintage production songs. I know from my own experience how easy it is to get people dancing with “The Varsity Drag” or singing with “Singin’ in the Rain” or to rivet their attention on a show when they hear “There’s No Business Like Show Business.” Although my main goal for the present project has been to contribute to the scholarly discourse, it is to

the audiences—my fellow participants—at these happy ructions that I dedicate this study. To them—and to those, like them, who have had their inner music released through participation in production songs—I extend the optimistic wishes of reflexive songs. As Tommy sings in *Brigadoon*, may “the music of life” seem to be “like a bell that is ringing” ... for us all.

Appendix One: The Sample of Productions

Description of Criteria and Selection Process

Quantity of Productions

There are seventy sample productions. For each, I have examined as much of the script and score as possible. My study covers fifty years of stage productions, from 1898 through 1947. The quantity of productions was chosen to approximate the representation of ten shows for each decade, i.e., about one show a year. The film musicals are from a nineteen-year period, beginning in 1929—the first year in which talking pictures were produced in large quantities—and extending through 1947. Therefore, the sample consists of nineteen movie musicals and, to round out the figure to an even seventy, fifty-one stage musicals.

Criteria for Selection

I include only American musicals. This primary criterion is not as straightforward as it might seem. I rejected many scripts of the early decades because they are translations or adaptations of European works. I regretfully had to exclude major re-writings from foreign originals, such as *Nobody Home* (1915), *Maytime* (1917), and *Blossom Time* (1921). Only a point-by-point comparison with the source material could guarantee that

their content did not reflect their initial European form. Although such a comparative study would be highly intriguing, it is beyond the scope of my project. Overall, trying to institute a comparison of European musicals and American musicals would expand my already unwieldy task beyond reasonable bounds.

On the other hand, I have included shows that were developed in America that include the songs of European-born songwriters. Thus, the works of adult immigrants and visitors to the United States are represented in the corpus—both lyricists, such as R.H. Burnside and P.G. Wodehouse, and composers, such as Gustave Kerker and Frederick Loewe. In addition, the inclusion of fragments of European classical music is a trait shared by many stage and film shows, from *Fascinating Flora* (1907), which has a rehearsal of Gounod's *Faust* heard intermittently in the background throughout the first act, through the burlesque of Verdi's *Il Trovatore* in *Mammy* (1930), to the dance music adapted from Tchaikovsky in *Lady in the Dark* (1941). Thus, avoiding the inclusion of European classical music would probably have made the formation of a corpus impossible. Because of this factor, I have included several Hollywood productions in which the score contains both American lyrics and foreign-language European vocal selections, presenting the two types within an entirely American framework and thus lending the pre-existing European pieces new thematic meaning. Prominent examples of these in the sample are *A Night at the Opera* (1935), *Three Smart Girls Grow Up* (1938), *Anchors Aweigh* (1945), and *Ziegfeld Follies* (1946).

My second criterion for selection was availability. I draw from the following collections: the personal collections of myself and local friends; the Westchester County Public Library System in New York state; The Shubert Archives; and the New York

Public Library for the Performing Arts, Research Collections. The films had to be available in commercially released video transfers, rather than television broadcasts that might have been edited to accommodate commercial breaks. This guaranteed that I was studying as complete a record as possible of the original movie release, containing the same songs that had been experienced by the musical's first audiences.¹

For the stage works, I required access to a fairly indicative representation of the script and score. This was an easy criterion to fulfill for the period from 1931 onward, when scripts for Broadway musicals began to be published. For the preceding period, however—particularly the first two decades of my survey—I have sometimes had to make do with partial scripts or partial scores. I filled in the blanks with educated guesses based upon plot synopses, reviews, programs, the song lists in research books, and so forth. In every case, I made sure I could look at a reasonably representative body of material: an entire set of the score's lyrics, accompanied by an incomplete but substantial portion of the script; or an entire script, accompanied by an incomplete but substantial portion of the score. There are five shows from 1906; this preponderance is due to the fact that there are very few extant American-originated scripts available from prior to that year in the two archives that supplied my material.

Third, the productions must have been fairly successful commercially. I take financial success to indicate that the public literally “bought” the message of the show—the styles, themes, attitudes, and values found within it. Further, if a production made a

¹ There is a single exception: *One Hour for You* (1931). The video copy of this film that I studied was taped from a commercial-free broadcast of the AMC cable television channel. This early top-grossing musical was needed to create a balanced and representative corpus, and, unfortunately, the earliest years of talking pictures are underrepresented in video reissues.

profit, this encouraged writers to continue to use the conventions found in the show.²

Through this process, success becomes a major factor in the prevalence of specific reflexive song tropes. Therefore, I selected all the movie musicals from the annual lists of the top-grossing films found in industry trade journals.³ For the brief but seminal period prior to the autumn of 1930, before these lists of top-grossing films were first tabulated, I chose three films that were prominent representatives of the era: *Broadway Melody* (1929), *Mammy* (1930), and *King of Jazz* (1930).

For stage shows, I took length of run as my basic criterion. Until 1910, the shows have Broadway runs of various lengths, ranging from 40 to 288. During those years, prominent and successful shows often had only a short stay in New York. After 1910, all the sample productions ran at least 100 performances in the New York theatre district; and, after 1925, they all had runs of 198 performances or more. These numbers indicate that the show was not a quick flop, because the musical found a sufficiently wide audience to keep the theatre lit for half a year.

One additional criterion applies only to the movie musicals: they must be screen originals, not adaptations of Broadway musicals. I want to demonstrate that stage and film musicals shared reflexive song conventions. Therefore, the films in the sample need to represent Hollywood's usage of the reflexive song. Further, if I included transfers of Broadway shows to the screen in the sample, it would necessitate comparison studies between the two versions that would unnecessarily clutter the interpretation of the data. On the other hand, movie musicals often use older songs. Inevitably, some of these are

² For an illuminating discussion of this process, see Rick Altman, *Film/Genre*, 30-48.

³ I relied upon the list of top-grossing films reprinted by Cobbett Steinberg, *Reel Facts*, 339 ff.

from Broadway shows, as in six of the productions in my survey—i.e. 32% of the sample films—such as *King of Jazz* (1930) and *Meet Me in St. Louis* (1944).

Selection Process

I first made a list of all the productions available for study that met the criteria outlined above. I put each title on a slip of paper, divided them into decades, and then pulled ten for each decade from a hat. This simple procedure created a preliminary list of shows for examination. This initial selection, however, had to be modified considerably in order to balance a range of factors: an evenly spread chronological coverage; a wide range of creative personnel—most importantly, a wide range of lyricists; and a variety of types of shows in terms of the subgenres defined by previous historians and analysts. For example, in the final selection, all three of Bordman's categories of musical comedy, revue, and operetta are represented, as well as each of Altman's subgenres—fairy tale musical, show musical, and folk musical. With each stage of modification, the same criteria applied as at the start: first, availability; second, the aleatory drawing of titles; third, elimination when necessary, on the basis of the over-repetition of important factors, particularly over-representation by any one lyricist. At first, Oscar Hammerstein's stage works were over-represented in the 1940s, because both *Oklahoma!* (1943) and *Carousel* (1945) landed in the preliminary list. In this one case, I did intervene in my otherwise aleatory method and made a subjective choice, excluding *Carousel* and substituting *Finian's Rainbow* (1947). The result is that E.Y. Harburg is represented in the sample, which I feel is important due to his significance in the profession. Since both *Carousel*

and *Finian's Rainbow* include a large number of incidentally reflexive songs but no single fully reflexive lyric, my interference has not unduly skewed the resulting statistics.

The three sample productions examined in detail in Chapter Five were chosen in an analogous manner. Again, all the titles were put on individual slips of paper. These slips were divided into three groups, and one slip was pulled for each group. The stage shows were divided into two groups by era, dividing the fifty-year period in half. From those of 1898 through 1923, *He Came from Milwaukee* (1910) was selected. From Broadway shows of 1924 through 1947, *On the Town* (1944) was pulled from the hat. The film musicals, *in toto*, constituted a third group, and *King of Jazz* (1930) was the chosen show.

Guide to Production Details

First, I list the sample productions alphabetically. Then, in that same sequence, details for each production are given in turn. In the top portion of each entry, I give basic information about the production. I start with the title of the show. Sometimes there exist alternative versions of a show's title. For *In Dahomey* (1903) and *Show Boat* (1927), I have adopted the later form of each show's title, rather than the original versions: *Dahomey* and *Showboat*. The 1905 triple bill at the Hippodrome was called variously by its first act, *Pioneer Days*, and its third act, *Neptune's Daughter*. Because this latter one-act opera is the portion more relevant to my study, I have used that as the main title.

For stage productions, I follow the title with the sub-generic label given on the program, as supplied by Norton or from other sources as noted. For movies, I give the

studio. There then follows the writers of music, lyrics, and script. For Broadway shows, I give the dates and length of run; and, for these theatre productions, I supply the source of the script and score that I studied. If there is a songwriter or team who wrote a major portion of the score, they are listed in this top portion. Any auxiliary songwriters are given in parentheses after the relevant song title. When verbal and musical contributions are distinguishable, the lyricists are listed first, separated from the composers by a backslash.

There then follows a list of songs. For stage productions, this includes only those songs used in the Broadway run during the show's original era. For *In Dahomey*, I have included songs from the show's return engagement of 1904. Each production's songs are grouped by category. First, I list what I term "fully reflexive songs." These have refrains in which at least a quarter of the lyrics—usually one stanza out of a four-section refrain—allude to the music matrix or entertainment. There are some songs for which this classification is difficult. In these cases, I have simply done the best I can after weighing various factors.

To illustrate my decision process in the case of borderline fully reflexive songs, I here offer two examples. In the first case, "Hang on to Me" (*Lady, Be Good!*, 1924), the lyric's denotations are ambiguous. Does the title phrase indicate a dance step or is it being used figuratively, meaning to emotionally or practically depend upon and support someone else? Since three other lines in the song allude to humming and dancing, I decided that the phrase does imply dancing—at least, sufficiently enough to include the song as reflexive. My second example, the title song of *Rain or Shine* (1928), only refers to reflexive matters in the verse of the song and in one single phrase of the refrain—the

penultimate line of the lyric. These portions state that the love affair, like the circus show, will continue “rain or shine.” Again, in this case, I categorized the song as fully reflexive, for the combination of the set-up of the verse and the conclusion at the end of the refrain colors the meaning of the song, creating an analogy between romance and show business that operates as a controlling metaphor for the lyric.

Second, I list songs with brief reflexive allusions in their refrain. These are classified as “incidentally reflexive songs.” As discussed in Chapter One, although fleeting, these references to the music matrix are important parts of any lyric. Further, together they often create a significant pattern throughout a production’s score.

Third, I list songs with verses that feature both extensive and fleeting reflexive allusions. I also include in this category those songs in which the reflexive allusions are confined to interludes, patter sections, and other verse-like structures. Reflexive allusions in verses are a secondary consideration for my study. Nevertheless, they are also important. Altogether, categories one through three make up my corpus of reflexive songs.

Fourth, I list any songs about New York or Paris that were not included as fully or incidentally reflexive. As I discuss in Chapters Three and Five, 70% of these songs allude to the music matrix at least incidentally. There are a few, however, that do not. Nevertheless, because of the strong relationship of these topics to reflexive song conventions, I use this additional category to highlight them.

Fifth, I give the titles of all non-reflexive songs in the production. Sixth, I list songs that I was not able to examine. These include some of the foreign-language songs in film musicals. Also in this category are any instrumental compositions. Non-vocal

numbers have not been considered in my survey of reflexivity. For stage productions, I have omitted overtures, entre acts, bow music, and exit music. For movies, I have omitted music for the beginning titles, end titles, and underscoring, unless these include singing. My sources for the song titles featured in the shows include: information in any scripts or videos examined; the piano-vocal score, if published and available for examination; sheet music, including the list of a show's songs on sheet music covers; the information given for these productions by Richard C. Norton, Clive Hirschhorn, and Ken Bloom; and the lists of published production songs compiled by Donald J. Stubblevine.⁴

After the entries for the individual productions, I list the shows chronologically. This chronology conveys a sense of the span covered by the examples and their historical relationships to each other. The seventy sample productions present a picture of the spectrum of American musicals during the period of 1898 through 1947.

⁴ Ken Bloom, *Hollywood Song*, 3 vols.; Clive Hirschhorn, *Hollywood Musical*; Richard C. Norton, *Chronology of American Musical Theater*, 3 vols.; and Donald J. Stubblevine, *Broadway Sheet Music: A Comprehensive Listing, 1918-1993* (Jefferson, N.C.: McFarland and Co., 1996) and *Early Broadway Sheet Music: A Comprehensive Listing of Published Music from Broadway and Other Stage Shows, 1843-1918* (Jefferson, N.C.: McFarland and Co., 2002).

The Sample of Productions in Alphabetical Order

Movie musicals are signaled by the term “film” following the title. If this is not indicated, then the production is a stage musical.

- 1) *The American Idea*, 1908
- 2) *Anchors Aweigh*, film, 1945
- 3) *Apple Blossoms*, 1919
- 4) *At Home Abroad*, 1935
- 5) *Babes in Toyland*, 1903
- 6) *The Belle of the Nineties*, film, 1934
- 7) *Brigadoon*, 1947
- 8) *Broadway Melody*, film, 1929
- 9) *Buck Privates*, film, 1941
- 10) *Criss Cross*, 1926
- 11) *Dancing Around*, 1914
- 12) *The Desert Song*, 1926
- 13) *The Dolly Sisters*, film, 1945
- 14) *Fantana*, 1905
- 15) *Fascinating Flora*, 1907
- 16) *Fifty Million Frenchmen*, 1929
- 17) *Fine and Dandy*, 1930
- 18) *Finian's Rainbow*, 1947
- 19) *The Firefly*, 1912
- 20) *Follow Thru!*, 1929
- 21) *The Fortune Teller*, 1898
- 22) *George Washington, Jr.*, 1906
- 23) *Gold Diggers of 1933*, 1933
- 24) *Good News*, 1927
- 25) *He Came from Milwaukee*, 1910
- 26) *Hello, Broadway!*, 1914
- 27) *Holiday Inn*, film, 1942
- 28) *I'd Rather Be Right*, 1937
- 29) *In Dahomey*, 1903
- 30) *Innocent Eyes*, 1924
- 31) *King of Jazz*, film, 1930
- 32) *Lady, Be Good!*, 1924
- 33) *Lady in the Dark*, 1941
- 34) *Leave It to Me*, 1938
- 35) *Louisiana Purchase*, 1940
- 36) *Mammy*, film, 1930
- 37) *May Wine*, 1935

- 38) *Meet Me in St. Louis*, film, 1944
- 39) *Neptune's Daughter*, 1906
- 40) *A Night at the Opera*, film, 1935
- 41) *The Night Boat*, 1920
- 42) *Of Thee I Sing*, 1931
- 43) *Oh, Lady! Lady!!*, 1918
- 44) *Oh! Oh! Delphine*, 1913
- 45) *Oklahoma!*, 1943
- 46) *The Old Town*, 1910
- 47) *On the Town*, 1944
- 48) *On Your Toes*, 1936
- 49) *One Hour with You*, film, 1932
- 50) *One Touch of Venus*, 1943
- 51) *Pal Joey*, 1940
- 52) *Pigskin Parade*, film, 1936
- 53) *Rain or Shine*, 1928
- 54) *The Red Mill*, 1906
- 55) *Road to Singapore*, film, 1940
- 56) *Sally, Irene and Mary*, 1922
- 57) *Show Boat*, 1927
- 58) *The Slim Princess*, 1911
- 59) *Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs*, film, 1937
- 60) *The Social Whirl*, 1906
- 61) *Star-Spangled Rhythm*, film, 1942
- 62) *Stop! Look! Listen!*, 1915
- 63) *Swing Time*, film, 1936
- 64) *Three Smart Grow Up*, film, 1938
- 65) *The Tourists*, 1906
- 66) *The Vagabond King*, 1925
- 67) *What's in a Name?*, 1920
- 68) *Whirl-I-Gig*, 1899
- 69) *Whoop-Dee-Doo*, 1903
- 70) *Ziegfeld Follies*, film, 1946

The Sample—Details of the Productions

1) *The American Idea*

A Musical Frivolity in Three Acts

Book by George M. Cohan

Music and lyrics by George M. Cohan, et alia

5 Oct., 1908 to 28 Nov., 1908

64 performances

Script and songs examined:

New York Public Library for the Performing Arts, Research Collections

Typescript. There are no lyrics in this typescript.

Call mark: NCOF+

Author: George Michael Cohan

Additional material examined:

New York Public Library for the Performing Arts, Research Collections, MC *American Idea*, song folder

Sheet music in the private collection of the author

Fully reflexive songs:

American Ragtime

Incidentally reflexive songs:

Too Long from Long Acre Square

Cohan's Pet Names (That's the Pet Name for Me)

Fully and incidentally reflexive verses:

Sullivan

F-A-M-E

They Always Follow Me (William Jerome / Jean Schwartz)

Other songs examined:

That's Some Love

The Garden That Blooms for You (William Evans / Milton Lusk)

Instrumental pieces and songs not examined:

In Gay Paree

Brothers and Sisters

Ensemble (finaletto of the first act)

We're Supposed to Be

The Bold Gendarmes

Whoop-La-La

The Gendarme's Dance

French Militaire

March Finale (Charles J. Gebest)

2) *Anchors Aweigh*

MGM

Screenwriter: Isobel Lennart

Lyrics: Sammy Cahn, et alia

Music: Jule Styne, et alia

Director: George Sidney

Released in July, 1945

Fully reflexive songs:

(All of a Sudden) My Heart Sings (Harold Rome; Jean-Marie Blanvillain / Henri Laurent Herpin)

Waltz Serenade (Earl Brent / Tchaikowsky)

Jalousie (Vera Bloom / Jacob Gade)

Other songs examined:

We Hate to Leave

I Begged Her

What Makes the Sunset

The Charm of You

I Fall in Love Too Easily

If You Knew Suzie (parody by Sammy Cahn) (Buddy DeSylva / Joseph Meyer)

The Worry Song (Ralph Freed / Sammy Fain)

Anchors Aweigh (Alfred A. Miles; George D. Lottman / Charles A. Zimmerman)

Wiegenlied (Lullaby) (unidentified lyricist / Brahms)

Largo al Factotum from *The Barber of Seville* (excerpt) (Rossini)

Instrumentals and songs not examined:

Cielito Lindo (Fernandez)

El Relajo (Leyva)

La Camparsita (G.H. Matos Rodriguez)

Hungarian Rhapsody no. 2 (Lizst)

Piano Concerto (excerpt) (Tchaikovsky)

Donkey Serenade (instrumental only) (Robert Wright; Chet Forrest / Rudolf Friml)

3) *Apple Blossoms*

An Operetta in a Prologue and Two Acts

Book and lyrics: William LeBaron

Music: Fritz Kreisler and Victor Jacobi

7 Oct., 1919 to 24 Apr., 1920

256 performances

Script examined:

New York Public Library for the Performing Arts, Research Collections

Typescript for Acts One and Two, all lyrics included. No script for the Prologue.

Call mark: NCOF+ pv 361

Author: Fritz Kreisler

Score examined:

New York Public Library for the Performing Arts, Research Collections

*ZB-353 (microfilm)

This is item number four on a reel of thirteen miscellaneous items photographed for archival purposes. It is the conductor's score, parts of which are handwritten (such as the overture) and parts of which are printed sheet music selections, heavily annotated by hand to describe how the songs were used actually in production.

Fully reflexive songs:

When the Wedding Bells Are Ringing (Jacobi)

Star of Love (Kreisler)

A Girl, a Man, a Night, a Dance (Kreisler)

The Second Violin (Kreisler)

Incidentally reflexive songs:

Opening Chorus (for the Prologue) (Kreisler)

Additional "New York" or "Paris" songs:

On the Banks of the Bronx (Jacobi)

Other songs examined:

Brothers (Jacobi)

Who Can Tell? (Kreisler)

Ensemble and Duet (finaletto for the Prologue) (Jacobi)

I'll Be True to You (replacement finaletto for the Prologue) (Jacobi)

Nancy's Farewell (additional finaletto material for the Prologue) (Kreisler)

The Marriage Knot (Kreisler)

Little Girls, Goodbye (Jacobi)

You Are Free (Jacobi)

Quintette, Phillip's Story, Ensemble (finaletto for the first act) (Kreisler, Jacobi)

I Am in Love (Kreisler)

Instrumental pieces and songs not examined:

When You Are Mine (Jacobi)

Dance (in the Prologue) (Jacobi)

Dance (for the first act)

Ensemble (opening of the second act) (Kreisler)

Dance (Tamourin Chinois) (for the second act) (Kreisler)

4) *At Home Abroad*

A Musical Holiday in Two Acts, 26 Scenes

Script title page: Musical Comedy

Lyrics: Howard Dietz

Music: Arthur Schwartz

Sketches by: Howard Dietz; Raymond Knight; also, uncredited: Marc Connelly, Dion

Titheridge, Reginald Gardner

19 Sept., 1935 to 7 Mar., 1936

198 performances

Script examined:

The Shubert Archive

At Home Abroad, Script Box 59

Typescript. This includes all the lyrics.

Fully reflexive songs:

The Lady with the Tap

O Leo!

Love Is a Dancing Thing

Incidentally reflexive songs:

Get Away from It All

Hottentot Potentate

What a Wonderful World

The Steamboat Whistle

Get Yourself a Geisha

Other "New York" or "Paris" songs:

Thief in the Night

Paree

Other songs examined:

That's Not Cricket

Farewell, My Lovely

The Toast of Vienna

You May Be Far Away from Me

Loadin' Time

Got a Bran' New Suit

Instrumental pieces and songs not examined:

Death in the Afternoon (ballet)

Pomp and Circumstance (processional)

5) *Babes in Toyland*

A Musical Extravaganza in a Prologue and Two Acts, 11 Scenes

Libretto: Glen MacDonough

Music: Victor Herbert

13 Oct., 1903 to 19 Mar., 1904

192 performances

Script and scores examined:

New York Public Library for the Performing Arts, Research Collections

Typescript. This is a revised version of the script. The allusions to Gypsy Rose Lee, Shirley Temple, and Joe Louis indicate that it dates from the late 1930s.

Call mark: NCOF+

Author: Victor Herbert

Three published piano-vocal scores, each slightly different

Call marks:

*MS (two different scores under this one call mark)

*MS Amer

Composer: Victor Herbert

Reflexive songs:

Christmas Fair Waltz (opening of the second act)

Our Castle in Spain

The Legend of the Castle

Rock-a-Bye Baby

Incidentally reflexive songs:

Slumber Deep

Other songs examined:

Floretta

Barney O'Flynn

I Can't Do the Sum

Toyland

Before and After

Jane

He Won't Be Happy 'Till He Gets It

Maybe the Moon Will Help You Out

Mignonette

Beatrice Barefacts

Instrumental pieces and songs not examined:

Don't Cry, Bo-Peep (Never Mind, Bo-Peep, We Will Find Your Sheep)

Mary Mary (Entrance of Contrary Mary)

Toy Soldiers' March and Military Ball

The Toymakers (Shop)

My Rag Doll Girl (The Rag Doll)

An Old-Fashioned Rose
With Downcast Eye
Birth of the Butterfly
Gavotte (Eccentric Dance)
Finale (for the third act)

6) *The Belle of the Nineties*

Paramount

Lyrics: Sam Coslow, et alia

Music: Arthur Johnston, et alia

Screenwriter: Mae West, et alia anonymously

Director: Leo McCarey

Released circa July, 1934

Fully reflexive songs:

Memphis Blues (George A. Norton; adapt. Sam Coslow / W.C. Handy)

Incidentally reflexive songs:

Troubled Waters (based on a spiritual of the same name; adapt. Coslow / Johnston)

Other songs examined:

My Old Flame

My American Beauty

When a St. Louis Woman Comes Down to New Orleans (lyric: Sam Coslow; Gene Austin)

Unidentified twelve-bar blues

Pom Tiddley Om Pom (Walter Passmore; adapt. Sam Coslow / R.H. Douglas)

A special material introductory section of this last number is only partially audible, but may be fully or at least incidentally reflexive.

7) *Brigadoon*

A Musical Play in Two Acts, a Prologue and 11 Scenes

Book and lyrics: Alan Jay Lerner

Music: Frederick Loewe

13 Mar., 1947 to 31 July, 1948

581 performances

Script examined:

Richards, Stanley, editor. *Great Musicals of the American Theatre*, Vol. 1. Radnor, Penn.: Chilton Book Company, 1973. This script has the complete lyrics.

Fully reflexive songs:

Almost Like Being in Love

Incidentally reflexive songs:

The Heather on the Hill

The Love of My Life

Fully or incidentally reflexive verses:

Come to Me, Bend to Me

Other songs examined:

Once in the Highlands

Brigadoon

Down on McConnachy Square

Waitin' for My Dearie

I'll Go Home with Bonnie Jean

Jeannie's Packing Up

The Chase

There But for You Go I

My Mother's Weddin' Day

From This Day On

Instrumental pieces:

The Wedding Dance

The Sword Dance

Funeral Dance

8) *Broadway Melody*

MGM

Lyrics: Arthur Freed

Music: Nacio Herb Brown

Screenwriters: Norman Houston; James Gleason; Harry Beaumont⁵

Released 1 Feb. 1929

Fully reflexive songs:

You Were Meant for Me

Truthful Parson Brown (Willard Robison)

Harmony Babies from Melody Lane

Incidentally reflexive songs:

Broadway Melody

The Wedding of the Painted Doll

Other songs examined:

Love Boat

The Boy Friend

⁵ Harry Beaumont contributed to the script, according to Richard Barrios, *Song in the Dark*, 62.

9) *Buck Privates*

Universal

Lyrics: Don Raye

Music: Hughie Prince, et alia

Screenwriters: Arthur T. Horman

Director: Arthur Lubin

Released in February, 1941

Fully reflexive songs:

Boogie Woogie Bugle Boy

Bounce Me Brother with a Solid Four

Incidentally reflexive songs:

When Private Brown Becomes a Captain

I'll Be with You in Apple Blossom Time (Albert Von Tilzer / Neville Hesson)

Other songs examined:

You're a Lucky Fellow, Mr. Smith (Don Raye / Hughie Prince; Sonny Burke)

Wish You Were Here (Don Raye / Hughie Prince; Vic Schoen)

10) *Criss Cross*

A Musical Comedy, in Two Acts and a Prologue

Book and lyrics: Otto Harbach; Anne Caldwell

Music: Jerome Kern

12 Oct., 1926 to 9 Apr., 1927

210 performances

Source of script:

New York Public Library for the Performing Arts, Research Collections

Call mark: NCOF +

Author: Jerome Kern

Typescript. This contains a majority of the lyrics.

Fully reflexive songs:

Indignation Meeting

Hydrophobia Blues

Cinderella's Ride

She's on Her Way

Raggedy Ann (Anne Caldwell / Jerome Kern) (in the Medley of Fred Stone Hits)

Incidentally reflexive songs:

Flap-a-Doodle

Leaders of the Modern Regime

In Araby with You

Travelogue

Dear Algerian Land

Rose of Delight

Fully or incidentally reflexive verses:

Cinderella Girl

Kiss a Four Leaf Clover

Other songs examined:

You Will—Won't You?

Wedding Ceremony (part of the finaletto of the first act)

Dreaming of Allah

I Love My Little Susie

Instrumental pieces and songs not examined:

Medley of Fred Stone Hits (six songs, including the cowboy song from *The Old Town*)

Criss Cross

Dance of the Sunshine Girls

The Dancers of Café Kaboul"

Dance of the Rose of Delight

Dance of the Golden Sprite

Dance of the Camel Boys

Dance of the Four Leaf Clovers
The Portrait Parade
The Ali Baba Blues

11) *Dancing Around*

A Modern Musical Spectacle in Two Acts, 12 Scenes

Book and lyrics: Harold Atteridge, et alia

Music: Sigmund Romberg; Harry Carroll, et alia

10 Oct., 1914 to 13 Feb., 1915

145 performances

Script examined:

The Shubert Archive

Dancing Around, Script Box 175

Published script: Atteridge, Harold. *Dancing Around*. London: Curtis Brown, 1914

Published lyric booklet: Atteridge, Harold. *Dancing Around: Book of Words*. London: Curtis Brown, 1914.

Also consulted: manuscript score in The Shubert Archive

Sheet music in the private collection of the author

New York Public Library for the Performing Arts, Research Collections, MC *Dancing Around*, song folder

Fully reflexive songs:

Somebody's Dancing with My Girl

I'm Seeking for Siegfried

The Dancing Maniacs (The Dancing Fad)

The Shuffling Shiverree

By the Grand Canal

Everybody Rag with Me (Gus Kahn / Grace LeBoy)

Dancing the Blues Away (Joe McCarthy; Howard Johnson / Fred Fisher)

Fully or incidentally reflexive verses:

Never Trust a Soldier Man

Other "New York" or "Paris" songs:

When an Englishman Marries a Parisian (When an Englishman Loves a Parisian)

She Used to Be the Slowest Gril in Town (Charles McCarron / Raymond Walker)

Other songs examined:

The Army Club (When You're in Military Attire)

When Tommy Atkins Smiles at All the Girls

My Rainbow Beau

I Was Born on the Isle of Man

There's Something About You

I Want to Be in Norfolk

The Call of the Colors

An Afternoon Tea (We Just Dropped in for a Little Talk)

A Fashion's Slave

Venetia

When There's Bills to Be Paid

My Ever Fading Girl
 My Lady of the Telephone (Harry Atteridge / Jean Gilbert)
 It's a Long Way to Tipperary (Harry Williams / Jack Judge)
 When Grow Up Ladies Act Like Babies (Joe Young; Edgar Leslie / Maurice Abrahams)
 Sister Susie's Sewing Shirts for Soldiers (R.P. Weston / Herman Darweski)
 I'm Glad My Wife's in Europe (Johnson; C. Goetz / Gottler)

Instrumental pieces or songs not examined:

The Army Club Foxtrot
 Dance Eccentrique (for the first act)
 The Shepherd Gavotte
 Silhouette Ballet
 Oh, You John
 Dance Conceptions (for the second act)
 Specialty (for Melville Ellis and His Eight Fashion Plates)
 The Broadway Triangle
 A Dance Study (for the second act)
 The Venetian Canal
 He Is Sweet, He Is Good
 The World's a Stage (When You're a Girl)
 Tennessee, I Hear You Calling (Jeff Godfrey / Harry Robe)
 Virginia Lee (Jeff T. Branen / Arthur Lange)
 Down in Waterloo (authorship uncertain)
 I'll Make a Man of You (authorship uncertain)
 Someone's Calling Me (authorship uncertain)

12) *The Desert Song*

A Musical Play in Two Acts, 8 Scenes

Lyrics: Otto Harbach; Oscar Hammerstein II

Music: Sigmund Romberg

Book: Otto Harbach; Oscar Hammerstein II; Frank Mandel

30 Nov., 1926 to 7 Jan., 1928

471 performances

Script examined:

Published script: Harbach, Otto, Oscar Hammerstein II, and Frank Mandel. *The Desert Song*. Acting edition, 1932. New York: Samuel French, 1927.

The production information in this script is from the London production, which opened 7 Apr., 1927. This script contains all the lyrics, except those cut during the Broadway run.

Fully reflexive songs:

The Desert Song

My Little Castagnette (Opening for the second act)

Incidentally reflexive songs:

Ho! (The Riff Song; or The Riding Song of the Riffs)

French Marching Song

Romance

Look at That Sight Boys (part of first act Trio)

Finale (for the first act)

Fully or incidentally reflexive verses:

Song of the Brass Key

One Good Man Gone Wrong

Other "New York" or "Paris" songs:

Margot (alludes to France)

Why Did We Marry Soldiers? (alludes to France)

Other songs examined:

High on a Hill (Opening for the first act)

I'll Be a Buoyant Girl

Then You Will Know (part of first act Trio)

I Want a Kiss (part of first act Trio)

It

Let Love Go (part of the second act Eastern and Western Love)

One Flower (Grows Alone in Your Garden) (part of Eastern and Western Love)

One Alone (part of Eastern and Western Love)

The Saber Song

Farewell (part of the second act, third scene Dramatic Finaletto)

All Hail to the General (Opening for the second act, fifth scene)

Instrumental pieces or songs not examined:
Opening (for the second act, third scene)
Let's Have a Love Affair
Dance (Azuri's Dance in the second act)

13) *The Dolly Sisters*

Twentieth Century-Fox

Lyrics and music: Various

Screenwriters: John Larkin; Marian Spitzer

Director: Irving Cummings

Released in September, 1945

Fully reflexive songs:

We Have Been Around (Mack Gordon / James V. Monaco)

The Vamp (Byron Gay)

The Darktown Strutter's Ball (Shelton Brooks)

The Sidewalks of New York (James W. Blake / Charles Lawlor)

Fully or incidentally reflexive verses:

Don't Be Too Old Fashioned (Old Fashioned Girl) (Mack Gordon / Charles Henderson)

Other songs examined:

I Can't Begin to Tell You (Mack Gordon / James V. Monaco)

Powder, Lipstick and Rouge (Mack Gordon / Harry Revel)

Give Me the Moonlight, Give Me the Girl (Lew Brown / Albert Von Tilzer)

Carolina in the Morning (Gus Kahn / Walter Donaldson)

I'm Always Chasing Rainbows (Joseph McCarthy / Harry Carroll, adapt. Chopin)

Smiles (J. Will Callahan / Lee S. Roberts)

Pack Up Your Troubles in Your Old Kit Bag (George Asaf / Felix Powell)

Other "New York" or "Paris" songs:

Mademoiselle from Armentieres (Hinky-Dinky Parlez-Vous) (alludes to France)

Arrah Go On, I'm Gonna Go Back to Oregon (Sam L. Lewis, Joe Young / Bert Grant)

Instrumental pieces and songs not examined, due to inaudible or extremely fragmentary renditions:

Oh! Frenchy (Sam Erlich / Con Conrad)

On the Mississippi (Buddy Fields / Harry Carroll)

Unidentified Czech melody

14) *Fantana*

A Japanese-American Musical Comedy in Three Acts

Lyrics: Robert E. Smith

Music: Raymond Hubbell

Book: Robert B. Smith; Sam S. Shubert

14 Jan., 1905 to 30 Sept., 1905

298 performances

Script and score examined:

The Shubert Archive

Fantana, Manuscript scores 264 (7)

Typescript and published scores.

Fully reflexive songs:

Can Can Versus Cake Walk (La Danse Parisienne Versus La Americaine)

My Word

That's Art

Incidentally reflexive songs:

Lantern Fete (Opening Chorus for the second act)

We'll Dine with a Millionaire

Fully or incidentally reflexive verses:

The Farewell Waltz

The Girl at the Helm

Other "New York" or "Paris" songs:

Tammany (Vincent Bryan / Gus Edwards)

Other songs examined:

North, South, East or West (Opening Chorus for the first act)

A Lesson in Etiquette

Entrance of *Fantana*

It Is the Girl, Not the Horse That Wins the Prize

Drop In on Me at Luncheon

Darby and Joan

Hail, Celestial Potentate

A Truculent Governor, I

(In) My Rickshaw of Bamboo

Hold the Lanterns High

She Can Do Little Who Can't Do This

Laughing (Little) Almond Eyes

What Would Mrs. Grundy Say?

The Secret (Gossip Song)

Song of the Pipe (Opening for the third act)

His Little Sister

Just My Style
In My Riksha of Bamboo
Where the Orange Blossom Blooms
The Coming Race

Instrumental pieces or songs not examined:
Old Kentucky Home
Heart's Dream
G.O.P. (Vincent Bryan / Gertrude Hoffman)

Other numbers not examined, listed in the script but not in the programs or the published score:

Entrance of Hawkins
Land of the Rising Sun
I Am a Gay Lothario
Song of the Kito
The Shadow Elf
The Right Girl
I Have Him Where I Want Him
Company (finaletto for the second act)
Hornpipe (for the third act)

15) *Fascinating Flora*

A Musical Comedy in Two Acts, 3 Scenes; called 3 acts in the script

Lyrics: R.H. Burnside, et alia

Music: Gustave Kerker, et alia

Book: R.H. Burnside, Joseph W. Herbert

20 May, 1907 to 7 September ,1907

113 perfs.

Fully reflexive songs:

I Am a Marvelous Musician

Variety

I'm Anxious to Sing

I'd Rather Two-Step Than Waltz, Bill (Benjamin Hapgood Burt)

Incidentally reflexive songs:

In Paris

Ensemble (finaletto for the second act, first scene)

Ballooning (Song) (Paul West / Jerome Kern)

Fully and incidentally reflexive verses:

Right Now

Other songs examined:

It's Going to Be a Pretty Wedding (Opening Chorus for the first act)

Fascinating Flora

What Will Happen Then

Nice Little Girls and Boys

Zuyder Zee (Scott / Kerry Mills)

Katie Was a Business Girl (Paul West / Jerome Kern)

Romance and Reality (Louis Harrison / A. Baldwin Sloane)

Old Yankee Land for Me (Yankee Land) (Jean Lenox / Harry O. Sutton)

Instrumental pieces and songs not examined:

Money

Entrance of American Girls (during the first act)

Off to New York (finale for the first act)

Bulls and Bears (Opening Chorus for the second act)

Dancing Specialty (Messenger Boys, during the second act)

Come Along In, the Water's Fine

Won't You Come and Splash Me (You Splash Me and I'll Splash You)

Oshkosh (John Kemble; Lester W. Keith)

The Subway Express (James O'Dea / Jerome Kern)

The Little Church Around the Corner (M.E. Rourke / Jerome Kern)

16) *Fifty Million Frenchmen*

A Musical Comedy Tour of Paris in Two Acts, a Prologue and 10 Scenes

Lyrics and music: Cole Porter

Book: Herbert Fields

27 Nov., 1929 to 5 July, 1930

254 performances

Fully reflexive songs:

My Boy Friend Back Home

Let's Step Out

Incidentally reflexive songs:

A Toast to Volstead

You've Got That Thing

Find Me a Primitive Man

Where Would You Get Your Coat?

Do You Want to See Paris

You Don't Know Paree

Other "New York" or "Paris" songs:

The (Happy) Heaven of Harlem

Paree, What Did You Do to Me?

Other songs examined:

You Do Something to Me

The American Express

At Longchamps Today

Yankee Doodle

Why Shouldn't I Have You?

Somebody's Going to Throw a Big Party

It Isn't Done

I'm in Love

The Tale of the Oyster

I'm Unlucky at Gambling

Instrumental pieces and songs not examined:

Specialty (William Gaxton and the California Collegians, during the second act)

17) *Fine and Dandy*

A Musical Comedy in Two Acts, 10 Scenes

Lyrics: Paul James

Music: Kay Swift

Book: Donald Ogden Stewart

23 Sept., 1930 to 2 May, 1931

255 performances

Script examined:

New York Public Library for the Performing Arts, Research Collections

Typescript. There are most of the lyrics in this typescript.

Call mark: NCOF+

Author: Donald Ogden Stewart

Additional source: Swift, Kay, and Paul James. *Fine and Dandy*. Sound recording and brochure. P.S. Classics PS 047.

Fully reflexive songs:

Fine and Dandy

Sing High

Jig Hop

Incidentally reflexive songs:

Chant (Machine Shop Opening, for the first act)

Fordyce

Wedding Bells

Other songs examined:

Rich or Poor

Starting at the Bottom

Can This Be Love

I'll Hit a New High

Giddyup Back

Let's Go Eat Worms in the Garden

Etiquette (Opening for the second act)

Nobody Breaks My Heart

Nature Will Provide

Instrumental pieces and songs not examined:

Wheels of Steel

Mechanical Ballet (for the first act)

Specialties (for the second act)

That Thing I Can't Seem to Forget

Waltz Ballet (for the second act)

18) *Finian's Rainbow*

A Musical (Satire) in Two Acts, 10 Scenes

Lyrics: E.Y. "Yip" Harburg

Music: Burton Lane

Book: E.Y. Harburg; Fred Saidy

10 Jan. 1947 to 2 Oct. 1948

725 performances

Script examined:

New York Public Library for the Performing Arts, Research Collections

Typescript, with lyrics pages inserted.

Call mark: NCOF+

Author: Burton Lane

Incidentally reflexive songs:

How Are Things in Glocca Morra?

Look to the Rainbow

Old Devil Moon

If This Isn't Love

Necessity

(That) Great Come and Get It Day

The Begat

Other songs examined:

This Time of the Year

Something Sort of Grandish

When the Idle Poor Become the Idle Rich

When I'm Not Near the Girl I Love

Instrumental pieces and songs not examined:

Dance of the Golden Crock

Fiddle Faddle

19) *The Firefly*

A Comedy Opera in Three Acts

Lyrics and book; Otto Harbach

Music: Rudolf Friml

2 Dec., 1912 to 15 Mar., 1913

120 performances

Script and score examined:

New York Public Library for the Performing Arts, Research Collections

Typescript. This script contains only a few lyrics. On the cover, it says "Redpath version." In this version, probably intended for touring, a secondary character has been eliminated and his songs reassigned to others.

Call mark of script: NCOF+

Author: Rudolf Friml

Call mark of score: *MS

Composer: Rudolf Friml

Fully reflexive songs:

Finale (finaletto for the first act)

Opening Chorus (Opening Waltz, for the third act)

The Latest Thing from Paris

Incidentally reflexive songs:

Tommy Atkins (on a Dress Parade) (I Want to Be a Jolly Soldier)

Kiss Me and 'Tis Day (The Dawn of Love)

Other songs examined:

A Trip to Bermuda (Opening Chorus, for the first act)

He Says Yes, She Says No!

Call Me Uncle

Love Is Like a Firefly

Something

Giannina (Giannina Mia, or Italian Street Song)

(In) Sapphire Seas

Sympathy

A Woman's Smile

De Trop

We're Going to Make a Man of You

The Beautiful Ship of Toyland

When a Maid Comes Knocking at Your Heart

Finale (finaletto, for the second act)

An American Beauty Rose

Instrumental pieces and songs not examined:

Introduction (instrumental, for opening the second act)

20) *Follow Thru!*

A Musical Slice of Country Club Life in Two Acts, 12 Scenes (in Norton)

A Musical Play (in script)

Lyrics: Buddy DeSylva; Lew Brown

Book: Buddy DeSylva; Laurence Schwab

9 Jan., 1929 to 21 Dec., 1929

401 performances

Script and songs examined:

New York Public Library for the Performing Arts, Research Collections

Typescript. This typescript has no lyrics, although the song cues are indicated, and it states that the final scene is yet to be written.

Call mark: NCOF+

Author: Laurence Schwab

Songs found in MC *Follow Thru*, song folder

Fully reflexive songs:

Then I'll Have Time for You

Incidentally reflexive songs:

I Want To Be Bad

If There Were No More You

Other songs examined:

My Lucky Star

Button Up Your Overcoat

I Could Give Up Anything But You

Follow Thru

Instrumental pieces and songs not examined:

The Daring Gibson Girl

The 1908 Life

It's a Great Sport

You Wouldn't Fool Me, Would Ya?

Specialty Dance (in the first act)

He's a Man's Man

Married Men and Single Men

Specialty Dance (Eleanor Powell, in the second act)

Finaletto

21) *The Fortune Teller*

A Comic Opera in Three Acts

Book and lyrics: Harry B. Smith

Music: Victor Herbert

26 Sept. 1898 to 29 Oct. 1898

40 performances

Scripts and score examined:

New York Public Library for the Performing Arts, Research Collections

Typescripts, "sides," and published score. Both scripts represent a condensed version of the first and second acts. The action is stated as being set in 1900. This is probably what was called a "tab show" version of the show, intended for touring.

Call marks for scripts:

NCOF+

NCOF+ pv 385

Author: Harry B. Smith

Call mark for score: *MS

Composer: Victor Herbert

Fully reflexive songs:

Introduction and Opening Ensemble (for the first act)

Romany Life

Opening Chorus (for the second act)

Signor Monsieur Moldoni

The Serenade of All Nations

Gypsy Love Song (Slumber On, My Little Gypsy Sweetheart)

Incidentally reflexive songs:

Entrance (for the gypsy band, in the first act)

Only in the Play

With Lance in Rest (part of both the second act finaletto and the third act finale)

Fully and incidentally reflexive verses:

Hungaria's Hussars

Other songs examined:

Always Do as People Say You Should

Ho! Ye Townsmen

Finale (for the first act)

Finale (for the second act)

Gypsy Jan

The Power of the Human Eye

The Lily and the Nightingale

Instrumental pieces and songs not examined:
Czardas (Dance, for the first act)
The Bold Dragoon

22) *George Washington, Jr.*

A Musical Play in Three Acts, 4 Scenes

Norton gives these labels as well: His Latest American Musical Play; His National Song Show

Book, lyrics, and music: Geroge M. Cohan

12 Feb., 1906 to 21 Apr., 1906

81 performances

Return engagement: 11 Feb., 1907 to 9 Mar., 1907; 32 performances

Script examined:

New York Public Library for the Performing Arts, Research Collections

Microfilm of typescript. "Filmed from originals in the Walter Hampden Memorial Library." This script has most, but not all, of the lyrics.

Call mark: *ZC-57, reel 1 of 3

Author: George M. Cohan

Additional song material: Collection of the author

Incidentally reflexive songs:

I'll Be There with Bells On

I've Never Been Over There

If Washington Came to Life (If Washington Should Come to Life)

Fully and incidentally reflexive verses:

The Grand Old Rag (The Grand Old Flag)

Other "New York" or "Paris" songs:

All Aboard for Broadway

You Can Have Broadway

Other songs examined:

He Was a Wonderful Man

(I Was Born in) Virginia (Ethel Levey's Virginia Song)

Wedding of the Blue and (the) Gray

Instrumental pieces and songs not examined:

Ting-a-Ling

Colonial Chorus

Dixie (instrumental)

Yankee Doodle (instrumental)

The Girl I Left Behind Me (instrumental)

23) *Gold Diggers of 1933*

Warner Brothers

Lyrics: Al Dubin

Music: Harry Warren

Screenwriters: Erwin Gelsey; James Seymour; David Boehm; Ben Markson

Released mid-summer, 1933

Fully reflexive songs:

The Shadow Waltz

I've Got to Sing a Torch Song

Other songs examined:

Gold Diggers Song (We're in the Money)

Pettin' in the Park

Remember My Forgotten Man

24) *Good News*

A Musical Comedy in Two Acts, 9 Scenes

Lyrics: Buddy DeSylva; Lew Brown

Music: Ray Henderson

Book: Buddy DeSylva; Laurence Schwab

6 Sept., 1927 to 5 Jan., 1929

557 performances

Script examined:

Published script: Schwab, Laurence, and Buddy DeSylva. *Good News*. Acting edition, 1932. New York: Samuel French, 1927.

Fully reflexive songs:

The Varsity Drag

Incidentally reflexive songs:

Opening Chorus (for the first act) (Learning, Learning)

The Best Things in Life Are Free

Girls of the Pi Beta Phi

Other songs examined:

(He's) A Ladies' Man

Flaming Youth

Just Imagine

On the Campus

Baby! What?

Lucky in Love

Special Dance (during the second act)

In the Meantime

Good News

Happy Days

Oh, Tait Is

Tait Song

Today Is the Day

25) *He Came from Milwaukee*

A Musical Comedy in Two Acts

Lyrics: Edward Madden

Music: Ben M. Jerome; Louis Hirsch

Programs also credit Melville Ellis as co-composer

Book: Mark Swan; Edgar Smith

21 Sept., 1910 to 31 Dec., 1910

117 performances

Script examined:

The Shubert Archive

Typescript, including lyrics, and published score.

He Came from Milwaukee, MS Scores—Productions Materials 506

Bundles 3, 4, 5, and 6

Bundle 3 has the published score. Bundle 6 has a script with the two acts separately bound; on the cover is written, in pen, “OK, as played, Oct. 1910,” and, in pencil, “Latest version, not to be taken from office, 6 /14 /11.”

Additional materials:

New York Public Library for the Performing Arts, Research Collections

He Came from Milwaukee, Martin Brown Scrapbook

Call mark: MWEZ+ n.c. 18,445

He Came from Milwaukee, folder of programs and clippings

Call mark: Programme

Fully reflexive songs:

Love Is Like a Red, Red Rose

(Merry) Wedding Bells

Opening Chorus (for the second act)

Incidentally reflexive songs:

In Gypsy Land

When We Are Married You and Me (If We Were Married)

Lena (Bring Back My Lena to Me) (Irving Berlin / Ted Snyder)

Come Back to Bohemia

If You Were There with Me

The Sentimental Moon

Fully and incidentally reflexive verses:

The Zinga Zulu Man

Finale (for the first act)

There's an Aeroplane Air About You

Other “New York” or “Paris” songs:

Opening Chorus (for the first act)

Tie a Red Ribbon on Me

Other songs examined:

Consequences

The Coronation

Instrumental pieces and songs not examined:

Circus Ensemble

Queen of the Jungle Show

26) *Hello, Broadway!*

A Musical Crazy Quilt in Two Acts, 13 Scenes; later in run, 16 scenes (in Norton)

A Musical Crazy Quilt, Patched and Threaded Together (in script, third page)

A Musical Revue (in script, cover page)

Toured with the title: *Hello, Broadway! or the Mystery of the Hat Box*

Book, lyrics, and music: George M. Cohan

25 Dec., 1914 to 10 Apr., 1915

123 performances

Script examined:

New York Public Library for the Performing Arts, Research Collections

Microfilm of typescript, with almost complete lyrics.

Call mark: *ZC-57

Author: George M. Cohan

Fully reflexive songs:

Entrance of Policemen (during the first act)

Pygmalion Roses

Two Dandy Darkies

Opening Chorus (for the ballroom scene, during the first act)

The Irving Berlin Melodies (Those Berlin Melodies)

Hippodrome Folks

The Barnum and Bailey Rag

Down By the Erie Canal

The Two Playhouses

Go Get a Flag

Sister Susie's Sewing Shirts for Soldiers (Hermann E. Darewski; parody lyric by George M. Cohan / R.P. Weston)

Fully and incidentally reflexive verses:

I Wanted to Come to Broadway

Other "New York" or "Paris" songs:

Hello, Broadway

Broadway Tipperary

Other songs examined:

The Strike (Opening Chorus, for the first act)

It Pays to Advertise

My Miracle Man

Look Out for Mr. Wu

Chinese Celebration

My Flag

It's a Long, Long Way to Tipperary (Jack Judge; Harry H. Williams)

Instrumental pieces and songs not examined:

Characteristic Dance (for the Chinatown scene, in the first act) (Jerome Schwartz)

Sneaky Steps

Imitations (during the second act)

Fool Dance (during the second act)

The Carriage Starters' Glide

The Jesse James Glide

Old Fashioned Cakewalk

Parodies (during the second act)

Instrumental March (during the second act)

27) *Holiday Inn*

Paramount

Lyrics and music: Irving Berlin

Screenwriter: Claude Binyon

Director: Mark Sandrich

Released 4 August, 1942

Fully reflexive songs:

I'll Capture Her Heart Singing

You're Easy to Dance With

Let's Say It with Firecrackers

Song of Freedom

Incidentally reflexive songs:

Happy Holiday

Holiday Inn

White Christmas

Other "New York" or "Paris" songs:

Easter Parade

Other songs examined:

Let's Start the New Year Right

Abraham

Be Careful, It's My Heart

I Can't Tell a Lie

Plenty to Be Thankful For

Lazy

28) *I'd Rather Be Right*

A Musical Revue in Two Acts

Lyrics: Lorenz Hart

Music: Richard Rodgers

Book: George S. Kaufman; Moss Hart

2 Nov., 1937 to 9 July, 1938

290 performances

Script examined:

Published script: Kaufman, George S., and Moss Hart. *I'd Rather Be Right*. New York: Random House, 1937.

Fully reflexive songs:

We're Going to Balance the Budget

Labor Is the Thing

Incidentally reflexive songs:

Spring in Vienna

Sweet Sixty-Five

Off the Record

Here He Is

Fully and incidentally reflexive verses:

Take and Take and Take

A Baby Bond

Other songs examined:

A Homogeneous Cabinet

Have You Met Miss Jones

A Little Bit of Constitutional Fun

I'd Rather Be Right

Instrumental pieces and songs not examined:

American Couple Ballet

29) *In Dahomey*

A Musical Farce in Three Acts, 5 Scenes

Lyrics: Various

Music: Various

Book: Jesse Shipp

18 Feb., 1903 to 4 Apr., 1903

53 performances

This show had the title of *Dahomey* during its original Broadway run.

Return engagement: 27 Aug., 1904 to 10 Sept., 1904; 17 performances

A New Version of the Musical Farce in Two Acts, a Prologue, and 4 Scenes

Script and score examined:

Published script and score: Riis, Thomas L., editor. *The Music and Scripts of "In Dahomey."* Madison, Wisc.: A-R Editions, American Musicological Society, 1996.

The two scripts used in this edition are those registered for copyright in America (Sept. 1902) and London (May, 1903). The basic source for the songs is the score published in London either in 1902 or 1903 by Keith, Prowse and Company Ltd., plus separately printed sheet music for individual songs.

* Songs used only in the 1904 Broadway run are marked with an asterisk.

Fully reflexive songs:

When Sousa Comes to Coontown (Alex Rogers / James Vaughn; Tom Lemonier)

(On) Emancipation Day (Paul Laurence Dunbar / Will Marion Cook)

Me an de Minstrel Ban' * (Alex Rogers / James Vaughn)

Incidentally reflexive songs:

Society (Paul Laurence Dunbar / Will Marion Cook; Will Accooe)

The Czar (Alex Rogers / Will Marion Cook; John H. Cook)

Swing Along (Opening Chorus, for the first act) * (Will Marion Cook)

Fully and incidentally reflexive verses:

(On) Broadway in Dahomey (Bye and Bye) (Alex Rogers / Al Johns)

(My) Dahomian Queen * (Frank B. Williams / J. Leubrie Hill)

When the Moon Shines * (Alex Rogers / James Vaughn)

(My) Dear Luzon * (Tom Lemonier)

Other songs examined:

Organ Quartette (Annie Laurie) (traditional)

Mollie Green (Molly Green) (Cecil Mack; Will Marion Cook / Will Marion Cook)

Leader of the Colored Aristocracy (James W. Johnson / Will Marion Cook)

(I'm a) Jonah Man (Alex Rogers)

Cabocceers' Choral (Cabocceers' Entrance) (Paul Laurence Dunbar / Will Marion Cook)

Why Adam Sinned * (Alex Rogers)

I May Be Crazy But I Ain't No Fool * (Alex Rogers)

A Rich Coon's Babe * (Alex Rogers; also credited to Clare Kummer)

Instrumental pieces and songs not examined:

Dat Gal of Mine (Benjamin L. Shook)

I Want to Be a Real Lady (Alex Rogers / Tom Lemonier)

Finale (for the third act, in the first Broadway engagement) (Paul Laurence Dunbar / Will Marion Cook)

Chin-Chin (authorship uncertain)

Selection (Rosa Lee Tyler, in the second act) *

A Dream of the Philippines * (authorship uncertain)

Finale (for the second act, in the return engagement) * (authorship uncertain)

30) *Innocent Eyes*

A Musical Revue in Two Acts, 16 Scenes

Lyrics: Harold Atteridge, et alia

Music: Sigmund Romberg, et alia

Book: Harold Atteridge

20 May, 1924 to 30 Aug., 1924

126 performances

Script examined:

The Shubert Archive

Innocent Eyes, script box 105

Of the two scripts available, I used the one with the acts bound together and all the lyrics grouped at the back.

Fully reflexive songs:

Let's Have a Good Time

Dear Old Moulin Rouge

Yankee Jazz

Africa (Henry Creamer / James Hanley)

Spoony Croony Tune (Tot Seymour / Jean Schwartz)

Hula Lou (Jack Yellen / Wayne King; Milton Charles)

Pianologue (Edythe Baker Specialty) (authorship uncertain)

Incidentally reflexive songs:

Our Emblem Is the Lily

Inspiration

Organdy Days (Tot Seymour / Jean Schwartz)

Society Gossip (Cecil Lean)

Other "New York" or "Paris" songs:

Su'l Boulevard (authorship uncertain)

Other songs examined:

Love Is Like a Pinwheel

Day Dreams

Damn Clever, These Chinese

(Behind) Milady's Fan

Last Night on the Back Porch (Lew Brown / Carl Schraubstader)

Garden of Love (Tot Seymour / Jean Schwartz)

Chiquette (McElbert Moore / Jean Schwartz; J. Fred Coots)

Innocent Eyes (McElbert Moore / Jean Schwartz; J. Fred Coots)

Hard-Hearted Hannah (Jack Yellen; Bob Bigelow; Charles Bates)

En Douce (authorship unknown)

Instrumental pieces and songs not examined:
Specialty Dance (in the first act, second scene)
Ballet Dance (in the first act, fourth scene)
Spanish Dance
Dance de Volstead
Peacock Strut
African Specialty
Hula Dance
Dance of Beauty (Living Tableaux)
Apache Dance
A Few Fast Steppers (Dance)
Three Songs (Specialty by Frances Williams)
Perfume Waltz
Surrounded by the Girls (Living Tableaux)
Finale (for the second act)
Hula, Hula, Sailor Man (authorship uncertain)
La Java (Tot Seymour / Maurice Yvain)

31) *King of Jazz*

Universal

Lyrics: Jack Yellen, et alia

Music: Milton Ager, et alia

Screenwriters: Edward T. Lowe; Harry Ruskin; Charles MacArthur

Director: John Murray Anderson

Released 2 May, 1930

Fully reflexive songs:

Music Hath Charms

Happy Feet

The Song of the Dawn

Mississippi Mud (Harry Barris)

Incidentally reflexive songs:

My Bridal Veil

It Happened in Monterey (Billy Rose / Mabel Wayne)

A Bench in the Park

Fully and incidentally reflexive verses:

Has Anybody Seen Our Nellie

Other songs examined:

I Like to Do Things for You

Oh, Happy Bride (authorship uncertain)

So the Bluebirds and the Blackbirds Got Together (Billy Moll / Harry Barris)

How I'd Like to Own a Fish Store (Billy Stone)

Ragamuffin Romeo (Harry DeCosta / Mabel Wayne)

The Lord Delivered Daniel (traditional)

Instrumental pieces and songs not examined:

Instrumental Medley (including: Wild Dog; Linger Awhile; etc.)

Rhapsody in Blue (George Gershwin)

Long, Long Ago (instrumental fragment) (Thomas H. Bayly)

Old Black Joe (instrumental fragment) (Stephen Foster)

La Paloma (Yradier)

Asleep in the Deep (instrumental fragment) (A.J. Lamb / H.W. Petrie)

John Peel (traditional)

Santa Lucia (traditional)

Comin' Thru the Rye (Robert Burns; melody traditional)

Die Lorelei (Silcher)

Killarney (traditional)

Ay Ay Ay (traditional)

Dark Eyes (Otchi Chorniya) (traditional)

The Three Captains (traditional)

32) *Lady, Be Good!*

A Musical Comedy in Two Acts, 6 Scenes

Lyrics: Ira Gershwin

Music: George Gershwin

Book: Guy Bolton; Fred Thompson

1 Dec., 1924 to 12 Sept., 1925

330 performances

Script examined:

New York Public Library for the Performing Arts, Research Collections

Typescript. This script includes most of the lyrics.

Call mark: NCOF+ p.v. 282

Author: George Gershwin

Other script examined: Photocopy of typescript. Collection of the author. This is for part of Act One, Scene 2 only.

Other sources: Kimball, Robert, editor. *The Complete Lyrics of Ira Gershwin*. New York: Da Capo Press, 1993.

Fully reflexive songs:

Hang on to Me

A Wonderful Party

Fascinating Rhythm

Little Jazz Bird

Incidentally reflexive songs:

Finale (finaletto for the first act)

Swiss Miss (Arthur Jackson; Ira Gershwin / George Gershwin)

Fully and incidentally reflexive verses:

So Am I (incidental reflexive allusion in the first encore refrain only)

The Half of It Dearie Blues

Other songs examined:

End of a String

We're Here Because

Oh, Lady Be Good

Weatherman

Rainy Afternoon Girls

Linger in the Lobby (Opening, for the second act)

Juanita

Insufficient Sweetie (Cliff Edwards; Gil Wells)

Who Takes Care of the Caretaker's Daughter (While the Caretaker's Taking Care?)
(Chick Endor)

Instrumental pieces and songs not examined:

Piano Specialty

Leave It to Love

It's All the Same to Me (Chick Endor)

Specialty (Barney Barnum and Bill Bailey)

Carnival Time

33) *Lady in the Dark*

A Musical Play in Two Acts, 7 Scenes

Lyrics: Ira Gershwin

Music: Kurt Weill

Book: Moss Hart

23 Jan., 1941 to 15 June, 1941; and 2 Sept., 1941 to 30 May, 1942

467 performances

Script examined:

Published script: Richards, Stanley, editor. *Great Musicals of the American Theatre*, Vol. 2. Radnor, Penn.: Chilton Book Company, 1976.

Fully reflexive songs:

The Greatest Show in Earth

Tschaikowsky

Incidentally reflexive songs:

Oh Fabulous One in Your Ivory Tower

The World's Inamorata (Huxley)

Mapleton High Chorale

The Princess of Pure Delight

Courtroom Introduction (in the second act)

This Woman at the Altar

My Ship

Fully and incidentally reflexive verses:

The Best Years of His Life

Other songs examined:

One Life to Live

Girl of the Moment

It Looks Like Liza

This Is New

The Saga of Jenny

Instrumental pieces and songs not examined:

Dance of the Tumblers (by Tchaikovsky)

34) *Leave It to Me*

A Musical Comedy in Two Acts, 14 Scenes

Lyrics and music: Cole Porter

Book: Bella Spewack; Samuel Spewack

9 Nov., 1938 to 15 July, 1939; and 4 Sept., 1939 to 16 Sept., 1939

307 performances

Script examined:

Published script: Richards, Stanley, editor. *Great Musicals of the American Theatre*, Vol. 2. Radnor, Penn.: Chilton Book Company, 1976.

Fully reflexive songs:

I'm Taking the Steps to Russia

Incidentally reflexive songs:

I Want to Go Home

Tomorrow

Far, Far Away

Fully and incidentally reflexive verses:

Get Out of Town

When It's All Said and Done

From Now On

From the U.S.A. to the U.S.S.R

Other songs examined:

How Do You Spell Ambassador?

We Drink to You, J.H. Hardy

Vite, Vite, Vite

Most Gentlemen Don't Like Love

Comrade Alonzo

My Heart Belongs to Daddy

Instrumental pieces and songs not examined:

Opening (for the second act)

35) *Louisiana Purchase*

A Musical Comedy in Two acts

Lyrics and music: Irving Berlin

Book: Morrie Ryskind

28 May, 1940 to 14 June, 1941

444 performances

Script examined:

New York Public Library for the Performing Arts, Research Collections

Typescript. This script contains some of the lyrics.

Call mark: NCOF+

Author: Morrie Ryskind

Additional source: Kimball, Robert, and Linda Emmet, editors. *The Complete Lyrics of Irving Berlin*. New York: Alfred A. Kropf, 2001.

Fully reflexive songs:

The Letter

Apologia

(Dance with Me) Tonight at the Mardis Gras

Finale (for the second act)

Incidentally reflexive songs:

Sex Marches On

Louisiana Purchase

Outside of That I Love You

Latins Know How

The Lord Done Fixed Up My Soul

Other songs examined:

Tomorrow Is a Lovely Day

You're Lonely and I'm Lonely

Finale (finaletto for the first act)

What Chance Have I (With Love)?

Fools Fall in Love

You Can't Brush Me Off

Instrumental pieces and songs not examined:

Dance (Nicodemus, during the first act)

Dance (Zorina, during the first act)

Old Man's Darling—Young Man's Slave? (Ballet)

36) *Mammy*

Warner Brothers

Lyrics and music: Irving Berlin, et alia

Screenwriters: Gordon Rigby; Joseph Jackson

Director: Michael Curtiz

Released in Mar., 1930

Fully reflexive songs:

Here We Are

Let Me Sing and I'm Happy

To My Mammy

Incidentally reflexive songs:

In the Morning

Other "New York" or "Paris" songs:

Why Do They All Take the Night Boat to Albany (Joe Young; Sam Lewis / Jean Schwartz)

Other songs examined:

(Across the Breakfast Table) Looking at You

When You and I Were Young, Maggie (J.A. Butterfield / George W. Johnson)

Yes, We Have No Bananas (Frank Silver / Irving Conn) (used as part of the following)

Opera Medley, including the melody of the "Miserere" from *Il Trovatore* (Verdi)

Asleep in the Deep (Arthur J. Lamb / H.W. Petri)

Pretty Baby (Gus Kahn / Tony Jackson; Egbert Van Alstyne)

Oh, Dem Golden Slippers (James Bland)

Swanee River (Stephen Foster)

Who Paid the Rent for Mrs. Rip Van Winkle (Alfred Bryan / Fred Fisher)

My Mammy (Joe Young; Sam Lewis / Walter Donaldson)

Are You Lonesome Tonight? (Roy Turk / Lou Handman)

37) *May Wine*

A Musical Play in Two Acts, Fifteen Scenes

Lyrics: Oscar Hammerstein II

Music: Sigmund Romberg

Book: Frank Mandel

5 Dec., 1935 to 6 June, 1936

213 performances

Script examined:

New York Public Library for the Performing Arts, Research Collections

Typescript. This script contains all the lyrics.

Call mark: NCOF+

Author: Sigmund Romberg

Fully reflexive songs:

Dance, My Darlings

Incidentally reflexive songs:

A Doll Fantasy

I Built a Dream (One Day)

Other songs examined:

Something in the Air of May

Sweet Helmina (Interlude in a Barber Shop)

A Chanson in the Prater

You Wait and Wait and Wait

Always Be a Gentleman

Somebody Ought to Be Told

Something New Is in My Heart

(Just) Once Around the Clock

Instrumental pieces and songs not examined:

Dance Interlude (Jack Cole, Alice Dudley, during the first act)

Dance Interlude (Cole, Dudley, during the second act)

38) *Meet Me in St. Louis*

Lyrics and music: Hugh Martin; Ralph Blane; et alia

Screenplay: Irving Brecher; Fred Finklehoffer

Director: Vincente Minnelli

Released 31 December, 1944

Fully reflexive songs:

Skip to My Lou (traditional, arranged by Hugh Martin and Ralph Blane)

Meet Me in St. Louis, Louis (Andrew Sterling / Kerry Mills)

Incidentally reflexive songs:

The Trolley Song

You and I (Arthur Freed / Nacio Herb Brown)

Other songs examined:

The Boy Next Door

Have Yourself a Merry Little Christmas

Under the Bamboo Tree (Bob Cole / J. Rosamund Johnson)

Over the Bannister (authorship uncertain)

I Was Drunk Last Night, Dear Mother (authorship uncertain)

39a) *Neptune's Daughter*

A Romantic Operatic Extravaganza in 3 Scenes

Lyrics and book: Manuel Klein; Edward P. Temple

Music: Manuel Klein

28 Nov., 1906 to 25 May, 1907; and 31 Aug., 1907 to 23 Nov., 1907

288 performances

Note: This one-act opera is sung-through; it has no spoken dialogue. This Hippodrome bill also included an act of variety routines, called Circus Events, and a one-act play called *Pioneer Days* (see the sub-entry, below).

Script examined:

The Shubert Archive

Neptune's Daughter, Script box 188

Fully reflexive portions:

Deep Sea Chantey (Opening Ensemble)

Lucia (My Italian Maid)

Finale (for the third act)

Incidentally reflexive portions:

Welcome Home to Pierre

Other portions examined:

With a Loving Kiss

The Angelus

Red Sky (Song of the Weather Oracle)

The Storm

Annette's Refusal to Marry Pierre

Pierre's Farewell to Earth

Annette's Appeal to Neptune

Arrival of Neptune and Attendants

Finale (finaletto for the second scene)

Chorus of Mermaids and Pierre

Meeting of Annette and Pierre

Preparation for the Wedding

Wedding Procession

Instrumental pieces and songs not examined:

Hornpipe (instrumental)

Annette's Departure (instrumental)

Entrance of Neptune and Annette (instrumental)

Under the Sea (Ballet)

39b) *Pioneer Days*

A Spectacular Drama of Western Life

Script: Carroll Fleming

Music: Manuel Klein

Source of script:

The Shubert Archive

Pioneer Days, Scripts 325

This one-act play was the opening of the evening that also included an act of variety routines, called Circus Events, and a one-act opera called *Neptune's Daughter* (see the main entry, above).

No reflexive lyrics examined.

Other songs examined:

We Won't Go Home Until Morning (traditional)

Indian War Song

Hymn to the Sun

Instrumental pieces and songs not examined:

Square Dance

Drinking songs (not identified in script)

Military march

40) *A Night at the Opera*

MGM

Lyrics and music: Various

Screenwriters: George S. Kaufman; Morrie Ryskind

Director: Sam Wood

Released in October, 1935

Fully reflexive songs:

“Evviva! il principe” and “Un grande spettacolo” (excerpts) from *I Pagliacci* (Leoncavallo)

Incidentally reflexive songs:

Così Cosa (Ned Washington / Bronislau Kaper; Walter Jurmann)

“Vedi! le fosche notturne spoglie” (Anvil Chorus) (excerpts) from *Il Trovatore* (Verdi)

Other songs examined:

Alone (Arthur Freed / Nacio Herb Brown)

Santa Lucia (traditional)

“Qual fiamma avea nel guardo” (excerpt) from *I Pagliacci* (Leoncavallo)

“Vesti la giubba” (fragment, parody) from *I Pagliacci* (Leoncavallo)

Excerpts of the following, from *Il Trovatore* (Verdi):

“All’ erta”

“Stride la vampa”

“Mal reggendo”

“Or co’ dadi” (Introduction, for the third act)

“Di quella pira”

“Miserere”

Instrumental pieces and songs not examined:

Take Me Out to the Ballgame (Albert Von Tilzer / Jack Norworth) (instrumental, inserted into the below)

Overture to *Il Trovatore* (Verdi)

41) *The Night Boat*

Lyrics and book: Anne Caldwell

Music: Jerome Kern

2 Feb., 1920 to 30 Oct., 1920

313 performances

Script examined:

New York Public Library for the Performing Arts, Research Collections

Typescript. This script includes most of the lyrics.

Call mark: NCOF+

Author: Jerome Kern

This script is also on two microfilms:

Call marks:

#ZC 598

MNN #ZZ-37978

Fully reflexive songs:

Left All Alone Again Blues

Good Night Boat

Plot Demonstrators (during the first act)

Plot Demonstrators (during the third act)

My Spanish Rose (Anne Caldwell / Josè Padilla)

Incidentally reflexive songs:

Some Fine Day

I'd Like a Lighthouse

Buffo Finale (finaletto for the first act)

I Love the Lassies (I Love Them All)

Other songs examined:

Whose Baby Are You?

I'm Forever Blowing Bubbles (James Kendis; James Brockman; Nat Vincent / John W. Kellette) (fragment)

River Song Medley (all songs presented only partially):

(By the) Saskatchewan (Charles McLellan / Ivan Caryll)

On the Banks of the Wabash (Far Away) (Paul Dresser)

Congo Love Song (Bob Cole / J. Rosamund Johnson)

The Old Folks at Home (Swanee River) (Stephen Foster)

Row, Row, Row (William Jerome / James Monaco)

Down by the Erie (George M. Cohan)

M-i-s-s-i-s-s-i-p-p-i (Bert Hanlon; Benny Ryan / Harry Tierney)

Instrumental pieces and songs not examined:

Catskills, Hello (Opening, for the second act)

Jug Band and Dance

Maid's Sextette

Don't You Want to Take Me?

Laundry Duet

A Heart for Sale

Girls Are Like Rainbows

The Quadalquiver (part of the River Song Medley; see above)

42) *Of Thee I Sing*

A Musical Comedy in Two Acts, 11 Scenes

Lyrics: Ira Gershwin

Music: George Gershwin

Book: George S. Kaufman; Morrie Ryskind

10 Oct., 1932 to 14 Jan., 1933

441 performances

Script examined:

Published script: Richards, Stanley, editor. *Great Musicals of the American Theatre*, Vol. 1. Radnor, Penn.: Chilton Book Company, 1971.

Other sources: Kimball, Robert, editor. *The Complete Lyrics of Ira Gershwin*. New York: Da Capo Press, 1993.

Fully reflexive songs:

Of Thee I Sing

Incidentally reflexive songs:

Who Is the Lucky Girl to Be?

Here's a Kiss for Cinderella

Garcon, S'il Vous Plait (part of the Finaletto for the second act, first scene)

The Roll Call

Posterity (part of the Finaletto for the second act, third scene)

Trumpeter, Blow Your Horn

Fully and incidentally reflexive verses:

Love Is Sweeping the Country

Other songs examined:

Wintergreen for President

The Dimple on the Knee

Because, Because

Finaletto (for the first act, fourth scene)

Never Was There a Girl So Fair

Some Girls Can Bake a Pie

Entrance of Supreme Court Justices

I Was the Most Beautiful Blossom

Hello, Good Morning

Who Cares?

Entrance of the French Ambassador Plait (part of Finaletto, second act, first scene)

The Illegitimate Daughter (part of Finaletto, second act, first scene)

Jilted (part of Finaletto, second act, third scene)

Who Could Ask for Anything More? (part of Finaletto, second act, third scene)

On That Matter No One Budes

43) *Oh, Lady! Lady!!*

A Musical Comedy in Two Acts, Two Scenes

Lyrics: P.G. Wodehouse

Music: Jerome Kern

Book: P.G. Wodehouse; Guy Bolton

1 Feb., 1918 to 10 Aug., 1918

219 performances

Script, score, and songs examined:

New York Public Library for the Performing Arts, Research Collections

Typescript. This script gives almost all the lyrics.

Call mark of script: NCOF+

Author: Jerome Kern

Published score:

Call mark of score: *MS

Composer: Jerome Kern

Also: *Oh, Lady! Lady!!* MC, song folder

Fully reflexive songs:

A Picture I Want to See

Incidentally reflexive songs:

Our Little Nest

Before I Met You

Fully and incidentally reflexive verses:

Not Yet

Do Look at Him!

Finaletto (for the first act)

Greenwich Village

Other songs examined:

I'm To Be Married Today

Do It Now

Oh, Lady! Lady!

You Found Me and I Found You

Moon (The Moon Song)

Waiting Around the Corner

Little Ships Come Sailing Home (When the Ships Come Home)

Wheatless Days

It's a Hard, Hard World for a Man

The Sun Starts to Shine Again

Instrumental pieces and songs not examined:

Scene Music (Wedding Day)

Dance (J. Randall Phelan and Constance Binney, during the second act)

44) *Oh! Oh! Delphine!*

A Musical Comedy in Three Acts

Lyrics and book: Charles M.S. McLellan

Music: Ivan Caryll

3 Feb., 1913 to 2 May, 1913

258 performances

Script examined:

New York Public Library for the Performing Arts, Research Collections

Typescript. This script includes some of the lyrics.

Call mark: NCOF+

Author: Ivan Caryll

Fully reflexive songs:

Oh! Oh! Delphine!

Oh, Gifted Master, Sleep! (Opening Chorus, for the second act)

Pavlova (Opening Chorus, for the third act)

The Venus Waltz

Incidentally reflexive songs:

The Quarrel

Fully and incidentally reflexive verses:

Everything's at Home Except Your Wife

Instrumental pieces and songs not examined:

If the Colonel Wasn't Coming (Opening Chorus, for the first act)

Please Turn Your Backs

Posing for Venus

Allaballa Goo-Goo

Why Shouldn't You Tell Me That?

Finale (finaletto, for the first act)

Hush! Hush! Hush!

Oh, P-p-p-poor Bouchotte

Can We E'er Forget? (Can We Forget?)

The Maxim Girl

Officers' Chorus

Then All Came Along

45) *Oklahoma!*

A Musical Comedy in Two Acts, 6 Scenes (in Norton)

A Musical Play (in published script)

Lyrics and book: Oscar Hammerstein II

Music: Richard Rodgers

31 Mar., 1943 to 29 May, 1948

2,212 performances

Script examined:

Published script: Hammerstein, Oscar II. *Oklahoma!* New York: Random House, 1943.

Fully reflexive songs:

Kansas City

Incidentally reflexive songs:

Oh, What a Beautiful Mornin'

The Surrey with the Fringe on Top

People Will Say We're in Love

Lonely Room

The Farmer and the Cowman

Other songs examined:

I Cain't Say No

Many a New Day

It's a Scandal! It's an Outrage!

Pore Jud

Out of My Dreams

All er Nuthin'

Oklahoma

Instrumental pieces and songs not examined:

Laurey Makes Up Her Mind (Ballet)

46) *The Old Town*

A Musical Play in Two Acts (in Norton)

A Musical Farce in Two Acts (in script)

Lyrics and book: George Ade

Music: Gustav Luders

10 Jan., 1910 to 4 June, 1910

166 performances

Script examined:

New York Public Library for the Performing Arts, Research Collections

Typescript. This script has full lyrics for the first act and only one lyric for the second act.

Call mark: NCOF+

Author: Gustav Luders

Fully reflexive songs:

Opening Chorus (for the first act)

Queen of the One-Ring Show

Incidentally reflexive songs:

A Sprightly Game

Finale (finaletto for the first act)

Other "New York" or "Paris" songs:

Electric Signs

Other songs examined:

The Man Who Will Not Love Back (When You're Yearning, Burning)

The Noovo Riche

When I Would Think of You

What Man Dare Say (My Truant Heart)

Weak Little Woman (Suffragette)

Instrumental pieces and songs not examined:

Keep Your Whip in Your Hand

My Japanee (The Modern Japanee)

The Militant Suffrage Song

East Versus West Ensemble

Kissing Song

Welcome Chorus

Cowboy Song (Mexican Theme)

Minnesota (Thomas T. Railey / Alfred Robyn)

A Popular Song (Thomas T. Railey / Alfred Robyn)

Travel, Travel, Little Star (Vincent Bryan / Arthur Pryor)

Goodbye, Christina Swanson (Bob Adams / Terry Sherman)

Medley of Scotch Airs

47) *On the Town*

A Musical Comedy in Two Acts, 17 scenes
 Lyrics and book: Betty Comden; Adolph Green
 Music: Leonard Bernstein
 28 Dec., 1944 to 2 Feb., 1946
 462 performances

Script examined: Comden, Betty, and Adolph Green. *The New York Musicals of Comden and Green*. New York: Applause, 1997.

Score examined: Bernstein, Leonard. *On the Town*. [New York]: Leonard Bernstein Music Publishing Company, Boosey and Hawkes, 1997.

Fully reflexive songs:
 Come Up to My Place
 Carried Away
 Carnegie Hall Pavane
 The Real Coney Island

Fully and incidentally reflexive verses:
 I Can Cook Too

Other “New York” or “Paris” songs:
 New York, New York

Other songs examined:
 I Feel Like I’m Not Out of Bed Yet
 Lonely Town
 I Understand
 Lucky to Be Me
 So Long, Baby
 I Wish I Was Dead
 Ya Got Me
 Some Other Time
 The Bell Song, from *Lakmé* (Delibes) (fragment)
 The Call of the Valkyries, from *Die Walküre* (Wagner) (fragment)

Instrumental pieces:
 Chase Music
 Presentation of Miss Turnstiles
 Times Square Ballet
 Conga Cabana
 Slam Bang Blues

Subway Ride and Imaginary Coney Island

Dream Coney Island

The Great Lover Displays Himself (part of the Dream Coney Island ballet)

Pas de Deux (part of the Dream Coney Island ballet)

48) *On Your Toes*

A Musical in Two Acts, 13 Scenes

Lyrics: Lorenz Hart

Music: Richard Rodgers

Book: Lorenz Hart; Richard Rodgers; George Abbott

11 Apr., 1936 to 23 Jan., 1937

315 performances

Script examined:

New York Public Library for the Performing Arts, Research Collections

Typescript. This script includes the lyrics.

Call mark: Restricted Materials 262

Author: George Abbott

Fully reflexive songs:

Two a Day for Keith

The Three B's

Incidentally reflexive songs:

There's a Small Hotel

There's a Small Hotel (parody version)

Fully and incidentally reflexive verses:

Too Good for the Average Man

On Your Toes

Other songs examined:

It's Got to Be Love

The Heart Is Quicker than the Eye

Quiet Night

Glad to Be Unhappy

Instrumental pieces and songs not examined:

La Princesse Zenobia (Ballet)

Slaughter on Fifth Avenue (Ballet)

49) *One Hour with You*

Paramount

Lyrics: Leo Robin

Music: Richard Whiting; Oscar Straus

Screenwriter: Samson Raphaelson

Director: Ernst Lubitsch

Assistant director: George Cukor

Released Mar., 1932

Fully reflexive songs:

One Hour with You (Richard Whiting)

Other songs examined:

Mitzi-Colette Talk Song (Oscar Straus)

What a Little Thing Like a Wedding Ring Can Do (Oscar Straus)

We Will Always Be Sweethearts (Oscar Straus)

Three Times a Day (Richard Whiting)

Oh That Mitzi (Oscar Straus)

(Now I Ask) What Would You Do? (Richard Whiting)

It Was Only a Dream (Kiss) (Oscar Straus)

Police Number (lyrics and music: John Leipold)

50) *One Touch of Venus*

A Musical Comedy in Two Acts

Lyrics: Ogden Nash

Music: Kurt Weill

Book: Ogden Nash; S.J. Pereleman

7 Oct., 1943 to 10 Feb., 1945

567 performances

Script examined:

Published script: Richards, Stanley, editor. *Great Musicals of the American Theatre*, Vol.

1. Radnor, Penn.: Chilton Book Company.

Incidentally reflexive songs:

New Art Is True Art

How Much I Love You

I'm a Stranger Here Myself

West Wind

Foolish Heart

Dr. Crippen

Very, Very, Very

That's Him

Wooden Wedding

Fully and incidentally reflexive verses:

Way Out West in New Jersey

Other "New York" or "Paris" songs:

The Trouble with Women

Other songs examined:

One Touch of Venus

Speak Low

Catch Hatch

Instrumental pieces and songs not examined:

Forty Minute's for Lunch (Ballet)

Venus in Ozone Heights (Ballet)

51) *Pal Joey*

A Musical Comedy in Two Acts, 12 Scenes

Lyrics: Lorenz Hart

Music: Richard Rodgers

Book: John O'Hara

25 Dec., 1940 to 29 Nov., 1941

374 performances

Script examined:

Published script: O'Hara, John. *Pal Joey*. New York: Random House, 1952.

Additional source: Kimball, Robert, and Dorothy Hart, editors. *The Complete Lyrics of Lorenz Hart*. Expanded edition. New York: Da Capo Press, 1995.

Fully reflexive songs:

Happy Hunting Horn

What Do I Care for a Dame

Zip

Incidentally reflexive songs:

Chicago

Take Him

Fully and incidentally reflexive verses:

Do It the Hard Way

Other songs examined:

You Mustn't Kick It Around

I Could Write a Book

That Terrific Rainbow

What Is a Man?

Bewitched (Bothered and Bewildered)

The Flower Garden of My Heart

Plant You Now, Dig You Later

In Our Little Den of Iniquity

Instrumental pieces and songs not examined:

Love Is My Friend

Joey Looks into the Future (Ballet)

52) *Pigskin Parade*

Twentieth-Century Fox

Lyrics: Sidney D. Mitchell

Music: Lew Pollack

Additional lyrics and music: The Yacht Club Boys

Screenwriters: Harry Tugend; Jack Yellen; William Conselman

Director: David Butler

Released in October, 1936

Fully reflexive songs:

Balboa

You're Slightly Terrific

Incidentally reflexive songs:

We'd Rather Be in College (The Yacht Club Boys)

Other songs examined:

The Texas Tornado

It's Love I'm After

You Do the Darnedest Things, Baby

T.S.U. Alma Mater

Woo Woo (The Yacht Club Boys)

Down with Everything (The Yacht Club Boys)

Football Song (The Yacht Club Boys)

Medley of college songs

Gaudeamus Igitur (traditional)

Instrumental pieces:

Unidentified harmonica solo

The Chase (harmonica solo)

53) *Rain or Shine*

A Musical Play in Two Acts, 12 scenes

Lyrics: Jack Yellen

Music: Milton Ager; Owen Murphy

Book: James Gleason; Maurice Marks

9 Feb., 1928 to 15 Dec., 1928

356 performances

Script examined:

New York Public Library for the Performing Arts, Research Collections

Typescript. This script includes many of the lyrics.

Call mark: NCOF +

Author: Jack Yellen

Additional source: *Rain or Shine* MC, song folder

Fully reflexive songs:

Circus Days (On Your Way to the Circus) (Opening, for the first act)

The Parade

So Would I

Add a Little Wiggle

Rain or Shine

Roustabout Song (We Follow the Trail)

Laugh, Clown, Laugh (Sam M. Lewis; Joe Young / Ted FioRito)

Incidentally reflexive songs:

Feelin' Good (Jack Yellen / Owen Murphy)

Other songs examined:

Oh, Baby

Forever and Ever

Who's Gonna Get You?

Instrumental pieces and songs not examined:

Glad Tidings

Pierrot and Pierrette

Hey Rube

Falling Star (Opening, for the second act)

Dances (during the first act)

Acrobatic Dance

Stair Dance

Dance (during the second act)

Hand Drill

Elephant Trainers

The Clown Dance

54) *The Red Mill*

A Musical Play in Two Acts

Book and lyrics: Henry Blossom

Music: Victor Herbert

24 Sept., 1906 to 29 June, 1907

318 performances

Script and score examined:

New York Public Library for the Performing Arts, Research Collections

Typescript. This script omits most lyrics; it includes only a few encore lyrics, written in by hand.

Call mark of script: NCOF +

Author: Victor Herbert

Published score.

Call mark of score: *MS

Composer: Victor Herbert

Fully reflexive songs:

Mignonette

Whistle It

In Old New York (The Streets of New York)

Wedding Bells (Entrance of the Wedding Guests; or The Wedding Song)

Incidentally reflexive songs:

When You're Pretty and the World Is Fair (contained within The Accident, below)

Fully and incidentally reflexive verses:

I Want You to Marry Me!

Other songs examined:

By the Side of the Mill (Opening Chorus, for the first act)

You Can Never Tell About a Woman

A Widow Has Ways

(In) The Isle of Our Dreams

(Always) Go While the Goin' Is Good

An Accident

Moonbeams

Gossip Song (Opening Chorus, for the second act)

(The) Legend of the Mill

Every Day Is Ladies Day with me

Because You're You!

If You Say that You Love But Me

Good-a-Bye, John (Harry Williams / Egbert Van Alstyne)

55) *Road to Singapore*

Paramount

Lyrics: Johnny Burke

Music: James Monaco; Victor Schertzinger

Screenwriters: Don Hartman; Frank Butler

Director: Victor Schertzinger

Released in February, 1940

Fully reflexive songs:

The Sweet Potato Piper (James Monaco)

Captain Custard (Victor Schertzinger)

Other songs examined:

Too Romantic (James Monaco)

The Moon and the Willow Tree (Victor Schertzinger)

Instrumental pieces and songs not examined:

Mating Ceremony (authorship uncertain)

56) *Sally, Irene and Mary*

A Musical Comedy in Two Acts, 9 Scenes

Lyrics: Raymond Klages

Music: J. Fred Coots

Book: Eddie Dowling; Cyrus Wood

4 Sept., 1922 to 2 June, 1923

313 performances

Return engagement: 23 Mar., 1925 to 4 Apr., 1925, for 16 performances

Script, score, and songs examined:

The Shubert Archive

Sally, Irene and Mary, MS Scores / Production Materials 453

Bundles 7-11, 13, 14.

Typescripts, with lyrics included. Lithographs of lyric sheets. Manuscript piano-vocal score. Published sheet music.

Fully reflexive songs:

Stage Door Johnnies

Do You Remember?

Peacock Alley (Opening Ensemble, for the second act)

The Sidewalks of New York (James W. Blake / Charles Lawlor)

Incidentally reflexive songs:

Pals

I Wonder Why

Wedding Time

Fully and incidentally reflexive verses:

How I've Missed You, Mary

(After the) Clouds Roll By

Other songs examined:

Jimmy

Time Will Tell

Right Boy Comes Along

Something in Here

Opportunity

We Are Waiting

When a Regular Boy Loves a Regular Girl

Instrumental pieces and songs not examined:

Our Home Sweet Home

Dance (Mabel Kokin, during the first act, first scene)

Dance of the Ballet (finaletto for the first act)

Until You Say Yes

57) *Show Boat*

An American Musical Play in Two Acts, 17 Scenes

Lyrics and book: Oscar Hammerstein II

Music: Jerome Kern

27 Dec., 1927 to 4 May, 1929

572 performances

Script examined:

Published script: Hammerstein, Oscar II. *Show Boat*. London: Chappell and Company, [1932].

Additional source: Jerome Kern, *Show Boat*. Phonorecord and brochure. EMI Angel Records CDS 7 49108.

Fully reflexive songs:

Cotton Blossom

Parade and (Captain Andy's) Ballyhoo

Life On the Wicked Stage

C'mon Folks (Queenie's Ballyhoo)

At the Fair (part of the Opening for the second act)

In Dahomey

After the Ball (Charles K. Harris)

Fully and incidentally reflexive verses:

Make Believe

You Are Love

Oh, Tell Me, Did You Ever (part of the finaletto for the first act)

Bill (P.G. Wodehouse; Oscar Hammerstein / Jerome Kern)

Other songs examined:

Where's the Mate for Me?

Ol' Man River

Can't Help Lovin' Dat Man

Till Good Luck Comes My Way

Misery (Theme)

I Might Fall Back on You

Happy the Day (part of the finaletto for the first act)

Dandies on Parade (part of the Opening for the second act)

Why Do I Love You? (part of the Opening for the second act)

Hey, Feller

Goodbye, My Lady Love (Joseph E. Howard)

Instrumental pieces and songs not examined:

Villain Dance (Frank, during the first act)

Adagio Dance (Sidell Sisters, during the Opening for the second act)

Service (Convent Scene)

The Washington Post (March) (John Philip Sousa)

Apache Dance (Sidell Sisters, during the second act)

Eccentric Dance (during the second act)

Tap Dance (during the second act)

58) *The Slim Princess*

A Musical Comedy in Three Acts (in script and in Norton)

A New Comic Opera in Three Acts (on piano-vocal score)

Lyrics and book: Henry Blossom, et alia

Music: Leslie Stuart, et alia

2 Jan., 1911 to 1 Apr., 1911

104 performances

Script and score examined:

New York Public Library for the Performing Arts, Research Collections

Typescript and published piano-vocal score. The script does not include the lyrics, but does give song cues using a numbering system corresponding to the published score.

Call mark for script: NCOF+

Author: Leslie Stuart

Call mark for score: *MS

Composer: Leslie Stuart

Fully reflexive songs:

Finale (finaletto for the second act)

For the Lord's Sake (Play a Waltz) (Fo' De Lawd's Sake) (Elsie Janis)

Incidentally reflexive songs:

We Will Not Live in a Bungalow

For I Love Only You (Elsie Janis / Herman Darewski)

Fully and incidentally reflexive verses:

Opening Song and Chorus (for the first act)

When the Guards Go Passing By (Patrol, or Soldiers Song)

Finale (finaletto for the first act)

O What a Chance to Take

Queen of My Dreams

Nursery Rhymes

Other "New York" or "Paris" songs:

I Like 'Em Plump

Other songs examined:

Love's Lessons

A (Little) Pot of Tea

Kalora's Entrance

My Yankee Doodle Girl (Henry Blossom / John Golden)

Opening Chorus (for the second act)

I'm Glad My Home Is in the States

The Land of the Free

Do You Belong to Anyone in Particular

A Certain Sort of Father

Instrumental pieces and songs not examined:

Opening Chorus (for the third act)

Some of the Girls I Have Loved

Bless Your Ever Loving Little Heart (Stanley Murphy / Henry I. Marshall)

Let Me Live and Stay in Dixieland (Elisabeth Brice; Charles King)

A Soldier's Life (John P. Wilson; Alfred G. Robyn)

That's Why I Never Married (John Golden; Joseph Cawthorn / John Golden)

59) *Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs*

Disney

Lyrics: Larry Morey

Music: Frank E. Churchill

Screenwriters: Ted Sears; Otto Englander; Earl Hurd; Dorothy Ann Blank; Richard Creedon; Dick Rickard; Merrill De Maris; Webb Smith

Director: David D. Hand

Released in December, 1937

Fully reflexive songs:

One Song

With a Smile and a Song

Whistle While You Work

The Silly Song (Dwarfs' Yodel Song)

Incidentally reflexive songs:

Some Day My Prince Will Come

Other songs examined:

Bluddle-Uddle-Um-Dum (Washing Song)

Heigh-Ho

I'm Wishing

We Dig, Dig, Dig

60) *The Social Whirl*

A Musical Comedy in Two Acts

Lyrics: Joseph Herbert

Music: Gustave Kerker

Book: Joseph Herbert; Charles Doty

9 Apr., 1906 to 15 Sept., 1906

195 performances

Script and score examined:

The Shubert Archive

The Social Whirl, Manuscript Scores, Box 230, bundle 4

Typescripts. Published score.

Additional source:

New York Public Library for the Performing Arts, Research Collections

The Social Whirl, MC, song folder

Fully reflexive songs:

Bill Simmons (I've Got to Dance Till the Band Gets Through) (George A. Spink)

She Played on the Cal-li-o-pay! (Love Among the Freaks)

Just Kids (Charles J. Ross)

Incidentally reflexive songs:

We'll Blow the Jolly Horn (Tally Ho!)

Fully and incidentally reflexive verses:

Vi, Vi!

A Rainy Day (One Rainy Day)

(You're) Just the One I'm Looking For (E. Ray Goetz)

Other "New York" or "Paris" songs:

Opening Number (for the first act)

Old Man Manhattan (James O'Dea / Anne Caldwell)

Other songs examined:

The Profession of a Manicure (Manicure Song)

Finale (for the first act)

Opening Number (Opening Chorus, for the second act)

Racing Scene

Kitty's Song (authorship uncertain)

Run Away (Naughty Man) (Hugh Morton / Gustave Kerker)

Instrumental pieces and songs not examined:

I Was Born in Kentucky

Can You Keep a Secret

61) *Star-Spangled Rhythm*

Paramount

Lyrics: Johnny Mercer

Music: Harold Arlen

Screenwriter: Harry Tugend

Sketches by: George S. Kaufman; Arthur Ross; Melvin Frank; Norman Panama

Director: George Marshall

Released in December, 1942

Fully reflexive songs:

On the Swing Shift

A Sweater, a Sarong and a Peekaboo Bang

Fully and incidentally reflexive verses:

Old Glory

Other songs examined:

Hit the Road to Dreamland

I'm Doin' It for Defense

That Old Black Magic

Sharp as a Tack

Sometimes I Feel Like a Motherless Child (traditional)

University Song (Heck of an Engineer) (authorship uncertain)

62) *Stop! Look! Listen!*

A Musical Comedy in Three Acts, 8 Scenes

Lyrics and music: Irving Berlin

Book: Harry B. Smith

25 Dec., 1915 to 25 Mar., 1916

105 performances

Script examined:

New York Public Library for the Performing Arts, Research Collections

Typescript. This script includes most of the lyrics.

Call mark: NCOF+

Author: Irving Berlin

Additional source: Kimball, Robert, and Linda Emmet, eds. *The Complete Lyrics of Irving Berlin*. New York: Alfred A. Kropf, 2001.

Fully reflexive songs:

Opening Chorus (for the first act)

Blow Your Horn

Give Us a Chance

I Love to Dance

And Father Wanted Me to Learn a Trade

I Love a Piano

I Love to Sit by the Fire (part of the finaletto for the first act)

I Love the Movies (part of the finaletto for the first act)

I Could Stay Away from the Movies (part of the finaletto for the first act)

The Hula Hula (That Hula Hula)

Everything in America Is Ragtime

Incidentally reflexive songs:

Opening Chorus (for the second act)

A Pair of Ordinary Coons

Oozums Little Snoozums Is Oo

My Country 'Tis of Thee (traditional)

Fully and incidentally reflexive verses:

Teach Me How to Love (incidentally reflexive in the final coda)

Ragtime Melodrama (Finale, finaletto for the second act)

When I Get Back to the U.S.A.

Other songs examined:

The Girl on the Magazine (Cover)

Until I Fell in Love with You

I Love to Spoon (part of the finaletto for the first act)

When I'm Out with You

Take Off a Little Bit

The Law Must Be Obeyed

Stop! Look! Listen!

I'll Be Coming Home with a Skate On

Instrumental pieces and songs not examined:

On the Beach at Waiki-ki (G.H. Stover / Henry Kailimai)

One-Two-Three-Four (S. Kalama / Jack Alau)

Rouge et Noir (Dance)

Violin Specialty (during the Rouge et Noir sequence)

63) *Swing Time*

RKO

Lyrics: Dorothy Fields

Music: Jerome Kern

Screenwriters: Howard Lindsay; Allan Scott

Director: George Stevens

Released 27 August, 1936

Fully reflexive songs:

Opening Theme (main melody of Waltz in Swing Time, with lyrics)

Bojangles of Harlem

Never Gonna Dance

Incidentally reflexive songs:

A Fine Romance (finale version)

Fully and incidentally reflexive verses:

Pick Yourself Up

Other songs examined:

The Way You Look Tonight

A Fine Romance

Instrumental pieces and songs not examined:

Waltz in Swing Time

It's Not in the Cards (instrumental)

64) *Three Smart Girls Grow Up*

Universal

Lyrics and music: Various

Screenwriters: Bruce Manning; Felix Jackson

Director: Henry Koster

Released near the end of the year, 1938

Additional source of information: Cue sheet for *Three Smart Girls Grow Up*, filed with the American Society for Composers, Authors, and Publishers (ASCAP)

Fully reflexive songs:

Invitation to the Dance (Charles Henderson / Carl Von Weber)

La Capinera (The Wren) (Jules Benedict; Howard Johnson)

Other songs examined:

Because (Guy d'Hartelot / Edward Teschemacher)

The Last Rose of Summer (Thomas Moore / Richard Alfred Milliken)

Instrumental pieces and songs not examined:

One Thousand and One Nights (partial) (Strauss; arr. Max Rabinowitz)

65) *The Tourists*

A Musical Comedy in Two Acts

Lyrics and book: R.H. Burnside

Music: Gustave Kerker

25 Aug., 1906 to 8 Dec., 1906

124 performances

Script examined:

The Shubert Archive

Typescript.

The Tourists, MS Music #265, Bundle 6

Score examined:

New York Public Library for the Performing Arts, Research Collections

Published score.

Call mark: *MS

Author: Gustave Kerker

Fully reflexive songs:

Ensemble (during the second act)

Incidentally reflexive songs:

Love Is a Wonderful Thing

Make Way for His Highness, the Boojam

Fully and incidentally reflexive verses:

Ensemble Entrance of Rajah and Chorus (during the first act)

We're the Gnomes

It's Nice to Have a Sweetheart

Other "New York" or "Paris" songs:

Dear Old Broadway

That's the Time

Wouldn't You Like to Know?

Other songs examined:

Opening Chorus (for the first act)

Keep on Doing Something

Here They Come

Ensemble Entrance (during the first act)

When You Take a Trip

A Game of Hearts

Which One Shall We Marry?

Natives

He's Gone

In Rangapang

They Lived to Be Loved in Vain

She Always Told the Truth

Instrumental pieces and songs not examined:

Mary's Lamb

Different Girls

66) *The Vagabond King*

A Musical Play in Four Acts (on script cover and title page)

A Musical Comedy (on script copyright notice page)

Lyrics: Brian Hooker

Music: Rudolf Friml

Book: Russell Janney; Brian Hooker; W.H. Post

21 Sept., 1925 to 4 Dec., 1926

511 performances

Script examined:

Published script; Janney, Russell, Brian Hooker, and W.H. Post. *The Vagabond King*.

Acting edition, 1956. New York: Samuel French, 1926.

The production information in this edition is from the London production of April, 1927.

Fully reflexive songs:

Serenade

Incidentally reflexive songs:

Only a Rose

Archers' Song

Other "New York" or "Paris" songs:

Song of the Vagabonds

Other songs examined:

Opening Chorus (for the first act)

Love for Sale

Drinking Song (A Flagon of Wine)

Some Day

Hunting

Tomorrow

Nocturne

Waltz Huguette (Huguette's Waltz)

Love Me Tonight

Te Deum

Instrumental pieces and songs not examined:

Fight Music (part of the finaletto for the first act)

Tarantella (Dance Ensemble, during the third act)

67) *What's in a Name?*

A Musical Revue in Two Acts, 17 scenes

Lyrics: Jack Yellen; John Murray Anderson

Music: Milton Ager

Book: John Murray Anderson; Anna Wynne O'Ryan; Jack Yellen.

19 Apr., 1920 to 26 June, 1920

115 performances

Script and songs examined:

New York Public Library for the Performing Arts, Research Collections

Typescript. This script includes most of the lyrics.

Call mark: NCOF+

Author: John Murray Anderson

Additional sources: *What's in a Name?* MC, song folder

Fully reflexive songs:

The Theatrical Blues

Strike!

The Evolution of the Finale

That Reminiscent Melody

Incidentally reflexive songs:

A Young Man's Fancy

The Valley of Dreams

How Do They Get That Way? (Grace Doro)

Fully and incidentally reflexive verses:

What's in a Name? (Love Is Always Love)

In Fair Japan

The Bridal Veil (My Bridal Veil)

In the Year Fifty-Fifty

Other songs examined:

Rap-Tap-a-Tap (Rap Tap, a Tap)

The Jewels of Pandora

Without Kissing, Love Isn't Love

Instrumental pieces and songs not examined:

Danse Planchette

The Intruders (Dance)

Specialty (Beatrice Herford)

Specialty (Williams and Wolfus)

The Chelsea Reach

68a) *Whirl-I-Gig*

A Dramatic Conundrum in Two Guesses

Lyrics: Harry B. Smith

Music: John Stromberg

Book: Edgar Smith

21 Sept., 1899 to 5 May, 1900

270 performances

Note: *Whirl-I-Gig* was a one-act musical. The second half of this bill was a series of one-act theatrical parodies. See the following sub-entries.

Script examined:

New York Public Library for the Performing Arts, Research Collections

Typescript. This script includes only two lyrics.

Call mark: NCOF+

Author: John Stromberg

Additional sources: Songs in the collection of the author and in the New York Public Library for the Performing Arts, Research Collections.

Fully reflexive songs:

Say You Love Me, Sue

When Chloe Sings a Song

Incidentally reflexive songs:

Entrance of Fifi CooCoo

Fully and incidentally reflexive verses:

Queen of Bohemia

Kiss Me, Honey, Do (Edgar Smith / John Stromberg)

Other songs examined:

Strike, Strike

Instrumental pieces and songs not examined:

Marie Antoinette

(The) Kissing Bug

Old Glory

De Sun Do Move (Instrumental)

De Cake Walk Dream

The Dancing Bear

King Gilhooley

In Paris Gay

If All the Stars Were Mine

Serenade of the Blue and the Grey

Tally Ho!

68b) *The Girl from Martin's* (parody of *The Girl from Maxim's*, by Feydeau)
21 Sept., 1899 to 25 Oct., 1899; 40 performances

Instrumental pieces and songs not examined:
Newsboys Quintette
The (Little) Brunette Soubrette
Finale

68c) *The Other Way* (from *The Only Way*, based on Dickens' *A Tale of Two Cities*)
26 Oct., 1899 to 6 Dec., 1899; 49 performances

Fully Reflexive Songs:
When Chloe Sings (a Song) (transferred to the first half, see above)

Instrumental pieces and songs not examined:
We're the Mob Erratic
Come Along
I'm a Humorist

68d) *Barbara Fidgety* (from *Barbara Freitchie*, by Clyde Fitch)
7 Dec., 1899 to 7 Mar., 1900; 107 perfs

Instrumental pieces and songs not examined:
The Colonel (For That They Made Me a Colonel)
(Serenade of) The Blue and the Grey (transferred to the first half)
Medley of War Songs

68e) *Sapolio* (from *Sappho*, by Clyde Fitch)
8 Mar., 1900 to 5 May, 1900; 68 perfs.

Instrumental pieces and songs not examined:
Prelude and Tableau
Chorus of Masqueraders
Pierrot
The Bohemian Artist
He Is My Steady

69a) *Whoop-Dee-Doo*

A Jumble of Jollities in Two Whoops, 3 Scenes

Lyrics and book: Edgar Smith

Music: William T. Francis

24 Sept., 1903 to 30 Jan., 1904

151 performances

Return engagement, 16 May, 1904, to 28 May, 1904; 14 performances

Total: 165 performances

Note: *Whoop-Dee-Doo* was a one-act musical. The second half of this bill was a series of one-act theatrical parodies. See the following sub-entries.

Script examined:

New York Public Library for the Performing Arts, Research Collections

Typescript. This script includes most of the lyrics.

Call mark: NCOF+

Author: William T. Francis

Fully reflexive songs:

Rag-Time in Europe (Pot-pourri)

If I Were an Actress

Incidentally reflexive songs:

Hoch! Hoch! Hoch! (Opening Ensemble, for the first scene)

The Flowers of Dixie Land (Edgar Smith; Bob Cole / J. Rosamund Johnson)

Fully and incidentally reflexive verses:

Paris on a Moonlight Night

On the Boulevard (Edgard Smith / Alfred Muller-Norden)

Other "New York" or "Paris" songs:

(The Good Old) U.S.A.

Other songs examined:

Papa Wouldn't Care for That

My Goo-Goo Queen

Instrumental pieces and songs not examined:

In Dreamland, in Dreamland

69b) *Looney Park* (satire of Luna Park recreation grounds)
24 Sept., 1903 to 9 Dec., 1903

Fully reflexive songs:
Looney Park

Other songs examined:
(The) *Maid of Timbuctoo* (Bob Cole / J. Rosamund Johnson)

Instrumental pieces and songs not examined:
Down by the Ocean Strand

69c) *Waffles* (parody of *Raffles*)
10 Dec., 1903 to 30 Jan., 1904

Instrumental pieces and songs not examined:
After Dinner
Finale

69d) *Catherine* (parody of *Catherine*, by Henri Lavedan)
For the return engagement of *Whoop-Dee-Doo*: 16 May, 1904 to 28 May, 1904

Other songs examined:
Maid of Timbuctoo (transferred from *Looney Park*, as given above)

Instrumental pieces and songs not examined:
Opening Chorus
Finale

70) *Ziegfeld Follies*

MGM

Lyrics: Various

Music: Various

Screenwriters: Various

Director: Vincente Minnelli, et alia

Released 15 Mar., 1946

Fully reflexive songs:

Here's to the Ladies (Arthur Freed / Roger Edens)

This Heart of Mine (Arthur Freed / Harry Warren)

A Great Lady Has an Interview (Kay Thompson; Roger Edens)

Incidentally reflexive songs:

Love (Hugh Martin; Ralph Blane)

"Libiamo" from *La Traviata* (Verdi)

Fully and incidentally reflexive verses:

Bring on the Wonderful Men (Earl Brent / Roger Edens)

Other songs examined:

There's Beauty Everywhere (Arthur Freed / Harry Warren)

The Babbitt and the Bromide (Ira Gershwin / George Gershwin)

Limehouse Blues (Philip Braham / Douglas Furber)

I'm an Indian (Lew Edwards / Blanche Merrill) (partial)

If You Knew Suzie (Buddy DeSylva / Joseph Meyer) (partial)

It's Delightful to Be Married (Anna Held / Vincent Scotto) (partial)

Knocked 'Em in the Old Kent Road (Charles Ingle / Albert Chevalier) (partial)

The Sample of Productions in Chronological Order

Movie musicals are indicated by the term “film.” Otherwise, the production is a stage musical.

The Fortune Teller, September, 1898
Whirl-I-Gig, September, 1899
In Dahomey, February, 1903; return engagement, August, 1904
Whoop-Dee-Doo, September, 1903; return engagement, May, 1904
Babes in Toyland, October, 1903
Fantana, January, 1905
George Washington, Jr., February, 1906
The Social Whirl, April, 1906
The Tourists, August, 1906
The Red Mill, September, 1906
Neptune’s Daughter, November, 1906
Fascinating Flora, May, 1907
The American Idea, October, 1908
The Old Town, January, 1910
He Came from Milwaukee, September, 1910
The Slim Princess, January, 1911
The Firefly, December, 1912
Oh! Oh! Delphine, February, 1913
Dancing Around, October, 1914
Hello, Broadway!, December, 1914
Stop! Look! Listen!, December, 1915
Oh, Lady! Lady!!, February, 1918
Apple Blossoms, October, 1919
The Night Boat, February, 1920
What’s in a Name?, April, 1920
Sally, Irene and Mary, September, 1922
Innocent Eyes, May, 1924
Lady, Be Good!, December, 1924
The Vagabond King, September, 1925
Criss Cross, October, 1926
The Desert Song, November, 1926
Good News, September, 1927
Show Boat, December, 1927
Rain or Shine, February, 1928
Follow Thru!, 1929
Broadway Melody, film, February, 1929

Fifty Million Frenchmen, November, 1929
Mammy, film, March, 1930
King of Jazz, film, May, 1930
Fine and Dandy, September, 1930
One Hour with You, film, March, 1932
Of Thee I Sing, October, 1932
Gold Diggers of 1933, May, 1933
The Belle of the Nineties, film, July, 1934
At Home Abroad, September, 1935
A Night at the Opera, film, October, 1935
May Wine, December, 1935
On Your Toes, April, 1936
Swing Time, film, August, 1936
Pigskin Parade, film, October, 1936
I'd Rather Be Right, November, 1937
Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs, film, December, 1937
Leave It to Me, November, 1938; return engagement September, 1939
Three Smart Girls Grow Up, film, December, 1938
Road to Singapore, film, February, 1940
Louisiana Purchase, May, 1940
Pal Joey, December, 1940
Lady in the Dark, January, 1941; return engagement, September, 1941
Buck Privates, film, February, 1941
Holiday Inn, film, August, 1942
Star-Spangled Rhythm, film, December, 1942
Oklahoma!, March, 1943
One Touch of Venus, October, 1943
On the Town, December, 1944
Meet Me in St. Louis, film, December, 1944
Anchors Aweigh, film, July, 1945
The Dolly Sisters, film, September, 1945
Ziegfeld Follies, film, March, 1946
Finian's Rainbow, January, 1947
Brigadoon, March, 1947

Extended Sample of Shows, 1948-1966

This is a list of thirty-one shows from 1948 through 1966, surveyed for additional data on reflexive production songs after the period covered by this study. This list is in chronological sequence. The same criteria and process for selection was used for this adjunctive sample as for the main sample used throughout the dissertation. Movie musicals are indicated by the term “film.” Otherwise, the production is a stage musical.

- 1) *Kiss Me Kate*, 1948
- 2) *Neptune's Daughter*, film, 1949
- 3) *Guys and Dolls*, 1950
- 4) *The Great Caruso*, film, 1951
- 5) *On Moonlight Bay*, film, 1951
- 6) *A Tree Grows in Brooklyn*, 1951
- 7) *I'll See You in My Dreams*, film, 1952
- 8) *Just for You*, film, 1952
- 9) *Singin' in the Rain*, film, 1952
- 10) *Kismet*, 1953
- 11) *Scared Stiff*, film, 1953
- 12) *The Glenn Miller Story*, film, 1954
- 13) *Seven Brides for Seven Brothers*, film, 1954
- 14) *A Star Is Born*, film, 1954
- 15) *Damn Yankees*, 1955
- 16) *Plain and Fancy*, 1955
- 17) *Bells Are Ringing*, 1956
- 18) *My Fair Lady*, 1956
- 19) *West Side Story*, 1957
- 20) *Gigi*, film, 1958
- 21) *The Sound of Music*, 1959
- 22) *The Unsinkable Molly Brown*, 1960
- 23) *Blue Hawaii*, film, 1961
- 24) *Carnival*, 1961
- 25) *A Funny Thing Happened on the Way to the Forum*, 1962
- 26) *Fiddler on the Roof*, 1964
- 27) *Golden Boy*, 1964
- 28) *Mary Poppins*, film, 1964
- 29) *Viva Las Vegas*, film, 1964
- 30) *Cabaret*, 1966
- 31) *Mame*, 1966

Appendix Two: Hit Songs

In the text of this dissertation, I have marked all hit songs with a superscript “TT,” to indicate a “top twenty” status, or “TR,” to indicate that they enjoyed at least one “top recording.” Although some hits are neither in the sample nor by the anthologized songwriters, I include these songs because their success was significant and therefore they achieved prominence in the culture and in the genre. Thus, hit songs fill out my corpus, supplying a crucial supplementary sub-corpus of famous songs. The list of these hit songs follows below.

“Top twenty” songs are charted by Edward Foote Gardner, in his *Popular Songs of the Twentieth Century: Volume I—Chart Detail and Encyclopedia, 1900-1949*. In calculating these lists, he uses three types of material. First, Gardner examines the columns and best-selling lists in five trade journals: *Talking Machine World*, *The Music Trades*, *Metronome*, *Variety*, and *Billboard*. These latter two periodicals also had intermittent sheet music sales charts. In addition, Gardner draws from the radio series, *Your Hit Parade*, which commenced in 1935. This weekly broadcast program presented anywhere from six to ten top popular songs, calculating the status of songs from three sources: sales in urban music stores, radio play, and reports from bandleaders of songs requested by audiences. Further, Gardner draws on his own clippings files and three retrospective accounts by popular song historians.¹ Gardner is a mathematician, and he

¹ Gardner draws on three historians, mostly to identify what songs to look for in the trade journal materials: Roger D. Kinkle, *The Complete Encyclopedia of Popular Music and Jazz*, (New Rochelle, N.Y.: Arlington House, 1974); Julius Mattfield, *Variety Music Cavalcade* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1962); and Sigmund Spaeth, *A History of Popular Music in America* (New York: Random House, 1948).

employs a complicated system of assigning and scoring points for each title in order to chart the rise and fall of popularity for each song.

“Top Recordings” are calculated by Joel Whitburn in his *Pop Memories, 1890-1954: The History of American Popular Music*. Like Gardner, Whitburn takes into account *Your Hit Parade* and draws, as well, on a range of other data as well. Some are trade journals: *Phonogram*, *Phonoscope*, *Talking Machine World*, *Variety*, and *Billboard*. He examines vintage record label catalogs, which usually list the company’s top sellers, for Columbia, Edison, Berliner, Victor, Zon-o-Phone, and regional labels. He also looks at ASCAP lists of prominent songs. Finally, he draws from the retrospective accounts by Jim Walsh in forty years of Walsh’s column for *Hobbies Magazine*. Like Gardner, Whitburn also employs a mathematical system for assigning and scoring points for each phonorecord in order to create his charts. This system allows him to compensate for the lack of thorough and systematic industry reports that cover the whole era.

I do not attempt to tabulate all the reflexive songs charted by Gardner and Whitburn. They only give song titles, and reflexive allusions are not always indicated in such titles. A song such as “Singin’ in the Rain” immediately proclaims its concern for the music matrix. Other songs barely hint at a reflexive nature, and then only for those alert to conventions of the era, such as “The Kinkajou,” “Dames,” “Too Marvelous for Words,” and so forth. For “Great Day,” only familiarity with the lyric identifies it as an incidentally reflexive song that mentions the blowing of Gabriel’s horn. For “Good Morning,” it is impossible to discern from the title that it concerns having stayed up dancing all night. Moreover, while Gardner is usually accurate in identifying which songs were production songs, Whitburn is less so. Thus, tabulating the production songs from

Gardner's lists is relatively easy—and, indeed, for my own research, I have done so—but this procedure is not feasible, within the scope of my project, for the top recordings charted by Whitburn.

The following songs are first listed in alphabetical order, by title of the song, followed, in parentheses, by the title of the show and the year of the show. Movies are indicated by the term “film” between the title and year; otherwise, the productions are Broadway stage shows. Most of the songs are “top twenty” hits charted by Gardner. The few that are charted only by Whitburn are indicated with the phrase, “top recording only.” I have examined all these songs either in the form of sheet music or through recordings or both. Some songs listed here are not mentioned in the text of the dissertation; these are indicated with the phrase “supplementary research.” Most of the songs in the following list are reflexive songs. The few that are not, such as “Look for the Silver Lining,” are indicated with the phrase “non-reflexive.” This list does not include songs—whether hits or not—for which the *titles only* have been examined and used as such in the text. My collation of these is found in the List of Reflexive Song Titles in Appendix Three.

Alphabetical List of Hit Songs

These 100 songs are included in the corpus and most are mentioned in the text.

- “Alexander’s Back in Dixieland” (*Sinbad*, 1918), supplementary research
- “April Showers” (*Bombo*, 1921)
- “Arthur Murray Taught Me Dancing in a Hurry” (*The Fleet’s In*, 1942), top recording only
- “Ask Her While the Band Is Playing” (*Algeria*, 1908; revised as *The Rose of Algeria*, 1909)
- “Bambalina” (*Wildflower*, 1923)
- “The Birth of the Blues” (*George White’s Scandals*, 1927), supplementary research
- “Black and Blue” (*Hot Chocolates*, 1929), non-reflexive, top recording only
- “Blue Danube Blues” (*Good Morning, Dearie*, 1921), supplementary research
- “Broadway Rhythm” (*Broadway Melody of 1936*), top recording only
- “Brother, Can You Spare a Dime” (*Americana*, 1932), non-reflexive
- “By the Light of the Silvery Moon” (*Ziegfeld Follies of 1909*)
- “The Carioca” (*Flying Down to Rio*, film, 1933)
- “The Continental” (*The Gay Divorcee*, film, 1934)
- “Crazy Rhythm” (*Here’s Howe*, 1928)
- “Cuban Love Song” (*The Cuban Love Song*, non-musical film, 1931)
- “The Cubanola Glide” (*The Girl from Rector’s*, 1909)
- “Dames” (*Dames*, film, 1934)
- “Dancing in the Dark” (*The Band Wagon*, 1931)
- “The Dickey-Bird Song” (*Three Daring Daughters*, film, 1947)
- “Doing the New York” (*Ziegfeld Follies of 1931*), top recording only
- “Drums in My Heart” (*Through the Years*, 1932), top recording only
- “Forty-Five Minutes from Broadway”^{TT} (*Forty-Five Minutes from Broadway*, 1906), non-reflexive
- “Forty-Second Street” (*Forty-Second Street*, film, 1933)
- “The Gaby Glide” (*Vera Violetta*, 1911)
- “Give Me a Heart to Sing To” (*Frankie and Johnny*, filmed 1934, released 1936), top recording only
- “Give My Regards to Broadway” (*Little Johnny Jones*, 1904), non-reflexive
- “Go Into Your Dance” (*Go into Your Dance*, film, 1935), top recording only
- “Going My Way” (*Going My Way*, film, 1945), non-reflexive
- “Good Morning” (*Babes in Arms*, film, 1939), supplementary research
- “Great Day” (*Great Day*, 1929)
- “Hamlet Was a Melancholy Dane” (*Mr. Bluebeard*, 1903)
- “Hiawatha’s Melody of Love” (*The Midnight Rounders*, 1920)
- “Humming” (*Tip-Top*, 1920)
- “I Feel a Song Comin’ On” (*Every Night at Eight*, film, 1935), top recording only

- “I Love You So” (a.k.a. “Merry Widow Waltz”) (*The Merry Widow*, 1907)
 “I Love You” (*Little Jesse James*, 1923), non-reflexive
 “I’ll Sing You a Thousand Love Songs” (*Cain and Mabel*, film, 1936)
 “I’m Forever Blowing Bubbles” (*The Passing Show of 1918*), non-reflexive
 “If I Had a Talking Picture of You” (*Sunny Side Up*, film, 1929)
 “If I Were on the Stage” (including “Kiss Me Again”) (*Mlle. Modiste*, 1905)
 “In the Good Old Summertime” (*The Defender*, 1902), non-reflexive
 “It’s Only a Paper Moon” (*The Great Magoo*, non-musical play, 1932; and *Take a Chance*, film, 1933)
 “The Kinkajou” (*Rio Rita*, 1927)
 “The Lambeth Walk” (from a British musical, *Me and My Girl*, 1937)
 “Learn to Croon” (*College Humor*, 1933)
 “Lonesome Road” (1928; in the first film version of *Show Boat*, 1929), non-reflexive, top recording only
 “Look for the Silver Lining” (*Sally*, 1920), non-reflexive
 “Love’s Own Sweet Song” (*Sari*, 1914), supplementary research
 “Love’s Roundelay” (*A Waltz Dream*, 1908)
 “Lullaby of Broadway” (*Gold Diggers of 1935*, film)
 “The Magic Melody” (*Nobody Home*, 1915), supplementary research
 “May I?” (*We’re Not Dressing*, film, 1934), supplementary research
 “A Melody from the Sky” (*The Trail of the Lonesome Pine*, film, 1936), supplementary research
 “My Song” (*George White’s Scandals*, 1931), supplementary research
 “Nellie Kelly, I Love You” (*Little Nellie Kelly*, 1922), supplementary research
 “Our Big Love Scene” (*Going Hollywood*, film, 1934), top recording only
 “Pack Up Your Troubles in Your Old Kit Bag (And Smile, Smile, Smile)” (published in England, 1915; then heard on Broadway in *Her Soldier Boy*, 1916)
 “Pagan Love Song” (*The Pagan*, non-musical film, 1929)
 “Play Gypsies—Dance Gypsies” (*Countess Maritza*, 1926)
 “Play That Barber Shop Chord” (*Girlies*, 1910; and *Ziegfeld Follies of 1910*)
 “Remember Me?” (*Mr. Dodd Takes the Air*, film, 1937), supplementary research
 “Rock-a-Bye Your Baby with a Dixie Melody” (*Sinbad*, 1918), supplementary research
 “Serenade in Blue” (*Orchestra Wives*, film, 1941)
 “She’s a Latin from Manhattan” (*Go Into Your Dance*, film, 1935)
 “A Shine on Your Shoes” (*Flying Colors*, 1932), supplementary research, top recording only
 “Sing a Song of Sunbeams” (*East Side of Heaven*, film, 1939), top recording only
 “Sing Me a Song of the Islands” (*Song of the Islands*, film, 1942)
 “Sing Something Simple” (*The Second Little Show*, 1930)
 “Sing, Baby, Sing” (*Sing, Baby, Sing*, film, 1936)
 “Sing, You Sinners” (*Honey*, film, 1930)
 “Singin’ in the Bathtub” (*The Show of Shows*, film, 1930)
 “Singin’ in the Rain” (*The Hollywood Revue*, film, 1929)
 “Singing a Happy Song” (*Folies Bergère*, film, 1935), top recording only
 “Singing a Song to the Stars” (*Way Out West*, non-musical film, 1930)
 “Singing a Vagabond Song” (*Putting on the Ritz*, film, 1930)

- “Song of Love” (*Blossom Time*, 1921)
- “Spreading Rhythm Around” (*King of Burlesque*, film, 1936)
- “Strange Music” (*Song of Norway*, 1944)
- “Strut, Miss Lizzie” (*Ziegfeld Follies of 1921*; and *Spice of 1922*), supplementary research
- “Sunny Side Up” (*Sunny Side Up*, film, 1929), non-reflexive
- “Sweet Music” (*Sweet Music*, film, 1935)
- “That Baboon Baby Dance” (*Hanky Panky*, 1912), supplementary research
- “That Naughty Waltz” (*Hello, Alexander*, 1919), supplementary research
- “That’s Why Darkies Were Born” (*George White’s Scandals*, 1931), top recording only
- “There Goes That Song Again” (*Carolina Blues*, 1944), supplementary research
- “Three O’Clock in the Morning” (*Greenwich Village Follies*, 1921; and *Presenting Lily Mars*, film, 1943)
- “(Everybody Ought to Know How to Do) The Tickle Toe” (*Going Up*, 1918)
- “Too Marvelous for Words” (*Ready, Willing and Able*, film, 1937)
- “Too-Ra-Loo-Ra-Loo-Ral (That’s an Irish Lullaby)” (*Shameen Dhu*, 1914), supplementary research
- “Turn on That Red Hot Heat (And Burn Your Blues Away)”^{TR} (*Vogues of 1938*, film), top recording only
- “Waiting for the Robert E. Lee” (*The Girl from Brighton*, 1912), supplementary research
- “Waltz Me Around Again, Willie” (*Miss Dolly Dollars*, 1906; and *His Honor, The Mayor*, 1906)
- “When Mr. Shakespeare Comes to Town (I Don’t Like Them Minstrel Folks)” (*The King’s Carnival and Hoity-Poity*, 1901)
- “Without a Song” (*Great Day!*, 1929)
- “The Yankee Doodle Blues” (*Spice of 1922*), supplementary research
- “Yip-I-Addy-I-Ay!” (*The Merry Widow and the Devil*, 1908; *The Midnight Sons*, 1909, and *The Yankee Girl*, 1910)
- “You and the Night and the Music” (*Revenge with Music*, 1934)
- “You Can’t Shake Your Shimmie Here” (*Ziegfeld Follies of 1919*), supplementary research
- “You’re Here and I’m Here” (*The Laughing Husband*, 1914), supplementary research
- “You’re the Cream in My Coffee” (*Hold Everything*, 1928), non-reflexive
- “Zing! Went the Strings of My Heart” (*Thumbs Up!*, 1934; and *Listen, Darling*, film, 1938), top recording only

Chronological List of Hit Songs

These 100 songs are included in the corpus and most are mentioned in the text.

1901:

“When Mr. Shakespeare Comes to Town (I Don’t Like Them Minstrel Folks)” (*The King’s Carnival* and *Hoity-Poity*, both 1901)

1902:

“In the Good Old Summertime” (*The Defender*, 1902), non-reflexive

1903:

“Hamlet Was a Melancholy Dane” (*Mr. Bluebeard*, 1903)

1904:

“Give My Regards to Broadway” (*Little Johnny Jones*, 1904), non-reflexive

1905:

“If I Were on the Stage” (including “Kiss Me Again”) (*Mlle. Modiste*, 1905)

1906:

“Forty-Five Minutes from Broadway”^{TT} (*Forty-Five Minutes from Broadway*, 1906), non-reflexive

“Waltz Me Around Again, Willie” (*Miss Dolly Dollars*, 1906; and *His Honor, The Mayor*, 1906)

1907:

“I Love You So” (a.k.a. “Merry Widow Waltz”) (*The Merry Widow*, 1907)

1908:

“Ask Her While the Band Is Playing” (*Algeria*, 1908; revised as *The Rose of Algeria*, 1909)

“Love’s Roundelay” (*A Waltz Dream*, 1908)

“Yip-I-Addy-I-Ay!” (*The Merry Widow and the Devil*, 1908; *The Midnight Sons*, 1909; and *The Yankee Girl*, 1910)

1909:

“By the Light of the Silvery Moon” (*Ziegfeld Follies of 1909*)

“The Cubanola Glide” (*The Girl from Rector’s*, 1909)

1910:

“Play That Barbershop Chord” (*Girlies*, 1910; and *Ziegfeld Follies of 1910*)

1911:

“The Gaby Glide” (*Vera Violetta*, 1911)

1912:

“That Baboon Baby Dance” (*Hanky Panky*, 1912), supplementary research

“Waiting for the Robert E. Lee” (*The Girl from Brighton*, 1912), supplementary research

1914:

“Love’s Own Sweet Song” (*Sari*, 1914), supplementary research

“Too-Ra-Loo-Ra-Loo-Ral (That’s an Irish Lullaby)” (*Shameen Dhu*, 1914),
supplementary research

“You’re Here and I’m Here” (*The Laughing Husband*, 1914), supplementary research

1915:

“The Magic Melody” (*Nobody Home*, 1915), supplementary research

1916:

“Pack Up Your Troubles in Your Old Kit Bag (And Smile, Smile, Smile)” (published in
England, 1915; then heard on Broadway in *Her Soldier Boy*, 1916)

1918:

“Alexander’s Back in Dixieland” (*Sinbad*, 1918), supplementary research

“I’m Forever Blowing Bubbles” (*The Passing Show of 1918*), non-reflexive

“Rock-a-Bye Your Baby with a Dixie Melody” (*Sinbad*, 1918), supplementary research

“That Naughty Waltz” (*Hello, Alexander*, 1919), supplementary research

“(Everybody Ought to Know How to Do) The Tickle Toe” (*Going Up*, 1918)

“You Can’t Shake Your Shimmie Here” (*Ziegfeld Follies of 1919*), supplementary
research

1920:

“Hiawatha’s Melody of Love” (*The Midnight Rounders*, 1920)

“Humming” (*Tip-Top*, 1920)

“Look for the Silver Lining” (*Sally*, 1920), non-reflexive

1921:

“April Showers” (*Bombo*, 1921)

“Blue Danube Blues” (*Good Morning, Dearie*, 1921), supplementary research

“Song of Love” (*Blossom Time*, 1921)

“Strut, Miss Lizzie” (*Ziegfeld Follies of 1921*; and *Spice of 1922*), supplementary
research

“Three O’Clock in the Morning” (*Greenwich Village Follies*, 1921; and *Presenting Lily
Mars*, film, 1943)

1922:

“Nellie Kelly, I Love You” (*Little Nellie Kelly*, 1922), supplementary research

“The Yankee Doodle Blues” (*Spice of 1922*), supplementary research

1923:

“Bambalina” (*Wildflower*, 1923)

“I Love You” (*Little Jesse James*, 1923), non-reflexive

1926:

“Play Gypsies—Dance Gypsies” (*Countess Maritza*, 1926)

1927:

“The Birth of the Blues” (*George White’s Scandals*, 1927), supplementary research

“The Kinkajou” (*Rio Rita*, 1927)

1928:

“Crazy Rhythm” (*Here’s Howe*, 1928)

“You’re the Cream in My Coffee” (*Hold Everything*, 1928), non-reflexive

1929:

“Black and Blue” (*Hot Chocolates*, 1929), non-reflexive, top recording only

“Great Day” (*Great Day*, 1929)

“If I Had a Talking Picture of You” (*Sunny Side Up*, film, 1929)

“Lonesome Road” (1928; in the first film version of *Show Boat*, 1929), non-reflexive, top recording only

“Pagan Love Song” (*The Pagan*, non-musical film, 1929)

“Singin’ in the Rain” (*The Hollywood Revue*, film, 1929)

“Without a Song” (*Great Day!*, 1929)

1930:

“Sing Something Simple” (*The Second Little Show*, 1930)

“Sing, You Sinners” (*Honey*, film, 1930)

“Singin’ in the Bathtub” (*The Show of Shows*, film, 1930)

“Singing a Song to the Stars” (*Way Out West*, non-musical film, 1930)

“Singing a Vagabond Song” (*Putting on the Ritz*, film, 1930)

“Sunny Side Up” (*Sunny Side Up*, film, 1929), non-reflexive

1931:

“Cuban Love Song” (*The Cuban Love Song*, non-musical film, 1931)

“Dancing in the Dark” (*The Band Wagon*, 1931)

“Doing the New York” (*Ziegfeld Follies of 1931*), top recording only

“My Song” (*George White’s Scandals*, 1931), supplementary research

“That’s Why Darkies Were Born” (*George White’s Scandals*, 1931), top recording only

1932:

- “Brother, Can You Spare a Dime” (*Americana*, 1932), non-reflexive
- “Drums in My Heart” (*Through the Years*, 1932), top recording only
- “It’s Only a Paper Moon” (*The Great Magoo*, non-musical play, 1932; and *Take a Chance*, film, 1933)
- “A Shine on Your Shoes” (*Flying Colors*, 1932), supplementary research, top recording only

1933:

- “Forty-Second Street” (*Forty-Second Street*, film, 1933)
- “Learn to Croon” (*College Humor*, 1933)
- “The Carioca” (*Flying Down to Rio*, film, 1933)

1934:

- “The Continental” (*The Gay Divorcee*, film, 1934)
- “Dames” (*Dames*, film, 1934)
- “Give Me a Heart to Sing To” (*Frankie and Johnny*, filmed 1934, released 1936), top recording only
- “May I?” (*We’re Not Dressing*, film, 1934), supplementary research
- “Our Big Love Scene” (*Going Hollywood*, film, 1934), top recording only
- “You and the Night and the Music” (*Revenge with Music*, 1934)
- “Zing! Went the Strings of My Heart” (*Thumbs Up!*, 1934; and *Listen, Darling*, film, 1938), top recording only

1935:

- “Go Into Your Dance” (*Go into Your Dance*, film, 1935), top recording only
- “I Feel a Song Comin’ On” (*Every Night at Eight*, film, 1935), top recording only
- “Lullaby of Broadway” (*Gold Diggers of 1935*, film)
- “She’s a Latin from Manhattan” (*Go Into Your Dance*, film, 1935)
- “Singing a Happy Song” (*Folies Bergère*, film, 1935), top recording only
- “Spreading Rhythm Around” (*King of Burlesque*, film, 1936)
- “Sweet Music” (*Sweet Music*, film, 1935)

1936:

- “Broadway Rhythm” (*Broadway Melody of 1936*, and *Presenting Lily Mars*, film, 1943), top recording only
- “I’ll Sing You a Thousand Love Songs” (*Cain and Mabel*, film, 1936)
- “A Melody from the Sky” (*The Trail of the Lonesome Pine*, film, 1936), supplementary research
- “Sing, Baby, Sing” (*Sing, Baby, Sing*, film, 1936)

1937:

- “The Lambeth Walk” (from a British musical, *Me and My Girl*, 1937)
- “Remember Me?” (*Mr. Dodd Takes the Air*, film, 1937), supplementary research
- “Too Marvelous for Words” (*Ready, Willing and Able*, film, 1937)

1938:

“Turn on That Red Hot Heat (And Burn Your Blues Away)”^{TR} (*Vogues of 1938*, film), top recording only

1939:

“Good Morning” (*Babes in Arms*, film, 1939), supplementary research

“Sing a Song of Sunbeams” (*East Side of Heaven*, film, 1939), top recording only

1941:

“Serenade in Blue” (*Orchestra Wives*, film, 1941)

1942:

“Arthur Murray Taught Me Dancing in a Hurry” (*The Fleet’s In*, 1942), top recording only

“Sing Me a Song of the Islands” (*Song of the Islands*, film, 1942)

1944:

“Strange Music” (*Song of Norway*, 1944)

“There Goes That Song Again” (*Carolina Blues*, 1944), supplementary research

1945:

“Going My Way” (*Going My Way*, film, 1945), non-reflexive

1947:

“The Dickey-Bird Song” (*Three Daring Daughters*, film, 1947)

Appendix Three: The List of Reflexive Song Titles

Introduction

This appendix presents a list of reflexive song titles, offering an overview of the trends in reflexive songs in the American musical from 1890 through 1947. To create the following list, I examined all the entries in two reference works. For Broadway shows, I drew from Richard C. Norton's *Chronology of American Musical Theatre*. Whenever Norton lists a reflexive song title, I have placed it in my charts. When a show is revived, Norton does not list the full score if the songs remained the same. In such cases, in order to keep the project within manageable bounds, I have not traced back to earlier entries for the show. For Hollywood musicals, I started with the information given by Clive Hirschhorn in *Hollywood Musical*. Whenever there was complexity or confusion, the data from Hirschhorn was supplemented by the facts concerning all the vocal music in movies compiled by Ken Bloom in *Hollywood Song*.

The list is in chronological order, each year given separately.¹ I begin with 1890, eight years prior to the start of the period covered by this study, in order to illustrate the increase in reflexive songs titles during that early era. For each entry, there is a row that commences with the name of the musical. For theatre shows, the date of the opening then follows. For sorting purposes, this date is given in the form of year, month, and day. For

¹ For two reasons, I use years rather than theatrical seasons. First, the official start of theatre seasons during this era shifted several times. Second, these seasons are not applicable to film releases. Therefore, I utilize years as the standard chronological unit.

instance, *Show Boat* opened 27 December, 1927, indicated in the chart as 1927.12.27. For movies, only the year of release is given. Next appears the reflexive song title. After that, a column follows in which I assign the song a category according to its reflexive nature—music, song, dance, entertainment, or incidental allusion. These topics are indicated by abbreviations:

M	Instrumental music or music in general
S	Singing
D	Dancing
E	Entertainment, indicating specific performance venues or genres
Allu	An incidental allusion to the music matrix is contained in the song lyric

In all cases, I have given at least one category; in some, more than one. As outlined in the main text of this dissertation, the boundaries between these topics are very permeable. These categorizations should, therefore, be taken only as very general guides.

In the final column, I have given the songwriter credits presented by Norton, Hirschhorn, or Bloom. Particularly for the early Broadway shows, the writers are not always identifiable, and, therefore, the column is often blank. I have listed the lyricist or lyricists first, followed by the composer or composers—when, indeed, such distinctions are discernible from the given information. This last column also contains special notes explaining other aspects of the song’s status, such as alternative forms of the title, whether it was added or dropped during the Broadway run, and so forth.

I have listed every song title that contained an allusion to music, song, dance, or entertainment. After consideration, I do not include every reference to a “party,” for the term can allude to a dinner party that does not involve music or entertainment. I do include, however, all references to a “ball” or a “parade,” for those words imply the presence of music. In some cases, the reflexive nature of an ambiguous title is clarified by reference to its performer or scenic context. For instance, the title “Texas” (*Padlocks*

of 1927) is revealed as being reflexive only when it is discovered that the singer was the show's star, Texas Guinan. In other cases, I am familiar with the song and aware of its reflexive nature, such as with "Waiting for the Robert E. Lee" (*The Girl from Brighton*, 1912, and subsequently in six movie musicals) or "Siboney" (used in two movie musicals—*When You're in Love*, 1937, and *Get Hep to Love*, 1941). If the song is by any of the anthologized songwriters—Berlin, Porter, Gershwin, or Hart—then, for the purposes of this list, I have given it a cursory glance and included it if I noticed any reflexive allusions.² These entries contain a note in the last column referring the interested reader to the anthologized lyrics of that songwriter, using the phrases "See Porter Lyrics," "See Hart Lyrics," and so forth.

In deciding whether or not to include a song, I have been very strict in my standards. Any title that seemed ambiguous has been omitted from this list, such as "Mission Bells" (*Lonesome Town*, 1908), "Whoop Daddy Ooden Dooden Day" (*The Yankee Girl*, 1910), or "Keep Moving" (in two shows of 1915, *A Modern Eve* and *Nobody Home*). Although these might be about music and dancing, I am unsure about their reflexive status. Some numbers, judging by title and discernible context, seem like they might be instrumental pieces, and they are omitted as well, such as "The Break-Neck Quadrille" (*The Purple Road*, 1913).³

Generally, these songs were newly written when presented in the musical production to which they are credited in the following list. For theatre productions, old

² After creating the list of reflexive song titles, I performed a more thorough examination and categorization of the complete lyrics of the anthologized songwriters. My notes for that part of the corpus, however, are partly in handwritten form and therefore are not included among these appendices. Unlike the rest of my material, however, these lyrics are readily available in the anthologies edited by Robert Kimball, to which I refer the interested reader.

³ For the purpose of my own research, I have tracked these ambiguously titled numbers elsewhere.

songs are given separately, after the main entries for each year. (This distinction is delineated for the years following 1897, when the period covered by my study commences.) For movie musicals, the last column uses the term “old” if an entry is a pre-existing song utilized in the film. The term “theatre” indicates that this old song is originally from a Broadway musical, and the term “film” signifies that the pre-existing song originates in an earlier movie musical.

After the list of reflexive song titles, I present a chart giving the quantities of these songs and the shows in which they appeared. Following this chart, I interpret the data, discussing how these numbers can be compared to the sample productions and the shows by the anthologized songwriters. By using this information, I estimate the total quantities of reflexive songs in the American musical during the period under study.

Song Titles of 1890-1899

1890

Show title	Date	Song title	Type	Songwriters and notes
The Gondoliers	1890.01.07	Chorus of Contadine (with Solos)	Allu	Gilbert, Sullivan; a.k.a. List and Learn
The Gondoliers	1890.01.07	Dance a Cachucha	D	Gilbert, Sullivan
Bluebeard, Jr.	1890.01.13	The Hebrew Fancy Ball	E	C. Greene, Eustis, Maddern, Braham; dropped after opening
My Aunt Bridget	1890.04.28	You Should Hear Her Whistling	M	
The City Directory	1890.06.21	Since Maggie Learned to Sing	S	
The Red Hussar	1890.08.05	The Glee-Maiden	S	Stephens, Solomon
The Brazilian	1890.08.13	'Tis the Sequedilla that's enchanting	D	
The Brazilian	1890.08.13	We will dance as the sprite of morn	D	
The Brazilian	1890.08.13	We'll speed on the dance ...	D	
Later On	1890.09.01	Talking Drummer	M	J. Hart; 2 nd Edition, new song
My Aunt Bridget	1890.09.08	Comedy vs. Tragedy (Travesty)	E	Revival
The Merry Monarch	1890.10.04	Gaily, gaily, let us sing	S	
Poor Jonathan	1890.10.06	Song of the Impressario	E	J. Jackson, R. Weill, Millocker; a.k.a. Yes, 'Tis the Impressario
Poor Jonathan	1890.10.06	Ah! We Hapless Prima Donnas	E	J. Jackson, R. Weill, Millocker
A Parlor Match	1890.10.25	Sing Cheerily, My Hearty (A, Yo, Heave Ho)	S	Revival from 1884; new song
Reilly and the 400	1890.12.29	Maggie Murphy's Home	S	Braham and Harrigan

1891

Show title	Date	Song title	Type	Songwriters and notes
A Straight Tip	1891.01.26	The Song that Broke My Heart	S	
The Irish Minstrel	1891.03.21	I Love Music	M	Scanlan
Aunt Bridget's Baby	1891.06.13	The Minstrel Man	E	Revival; part of medley
Aunt Bridget's Baby	1891.06.13	The Italian Band	M	Revival
La Cigale	1891.10.26	Dance and Sing!	D, S	Audran
La Cigale	1891.10.26	Dance and let all in these halls be gay	D	Audran
A Trip to Chinatown	1891.11.09	After the Ball	Allu	Part of medley; added for tour
The New City Directory	1891.12.07	Street Bands	M	
The New City Directory	1891.12.07	When de Reszke Strikes High C	S	Added during run
Wang	1891.05.04	Baby! Baby! Dance with My Darling Baby!	D	Goodwin, W. Morse
Aunt Bridget's Baby	1891.05.18	The World's Fair	E	Revival; New York edition only
Tuxedo	1891.10.05	She Married a Minstrel	E	Marble
Tuxedo	1891.10.05	Chicago's Great World's Fair	E	Marble
The Lion Tamer	1891.12.30	Song of the Circus	E	Goodwin, Stahl; a.k.a. When brooks have burst their icy chains; a.k.a. Houp la!

1892

Show title	Date	Song title	Type	Songwriters and notes
Parlor Match, A	1892.04.18	Dancing Up to Date	D	Revival from 1884
Sinbad	1892.06.27	Modern Drama	E	
The Mulligan's Guards' Ball	1892.11.30	The Skidmore Fancy Ball	E	Revival, revived song, 1879
Aunt Bridget's Baby	1892.01.25	The Italian Band	M	Revival from 1891; old song
A Parlor Match	1892.04.18	Sing Cheerily, My Heart	S	Revival from 1884, etc.; song from 1891 revival
A Parlor Match	1892.04.18	Dancing Up to Date	D	Revival from 1884, etc.; new song
A Parlor Match	1892.09.19	The World's Fair	E	Revival from 1884, etc.; new song, dropped
A Parlor Match	1892.09.19	Midway Plaisance	E	Revival from 1884, etc.; added during run
A Parlor Match	1892.09.19	The Harp That Once Thro	M	Revival from 1884, etc.; added during run
A Parlor Match	1892.09.19	The Pipes	M	Revival from 1884, etc.; added during run
The Fencing Master	1892.11.14	Singing a serenade is no light task	S	H.B. Smith, DeKoven
The Fencing Master	1892.11.14	We are very poor musicians	M	H.B. Smith, DeKoven
Superba	1892.12.26	The Christmas Ball	E	E. Warren; tour only

1893

Show title	Date	Song title	Type	Songwriters and notes
Mountebanks, The	1893.01.11	Tabor and drum	M	Cellier, Gilbert
Mountebanks, The	1893.01.11	Hope lived, and free from fear, Love sang her roundelay	S	Cellier, Gilbert
Mad Bargain, A	1893.02.27	Flirting at the Ball	E	
Cordelia's Aspirations	1893.03.20	Sam Johnson's (Colored) Cake Walk	D	Braham, Harrigan, revival, revived song, 1883
The Knickerbockers	1893.05.29	Sing Your Merriest Songs	S	DeKoven, H.B. Smith
The Knickerbockers	1893.05.29	An Overworked Trumpeter	M	DeKoven, H.B. Smith
The Rising Generation	1893.09.11	Sing Me Those Pretty Songs Again	S	
Princess Nicotine	1893.10.25	When I Sing My High Cs	S	
The Algerian	1893.11.27	Tambourine Song	M	DeKoven, MacDonough
The Algerian	1893.11.27	Sitting, the Lute A-Striking	M	DeKoven, MacDonough
Playmates	1893.11.13	Jolly Jack with Hornpipe	M	
Africa	1893.12.25	I Met Her at the Ball	E	Interpolated during tour
Erminie	1893.10.03	Joys of the Rustic Dance	D	Paulton, Jacobowski; revival; new song

1894

Show title	Date	Song title	Type	Songwriters and notes
Maid of Plymouth, The	1894.01.08	Come to me, Sing to me	S	
The Rainmakers	1894.01.29	The Whistling Dago	M	
Utopia, Limited	1894.03.26	A tenor, all singers above	S	Gilbert, Sullivan
Utopia, Limited	1894.03.26	Then I may sing and play	S, M	Gilbert, Sullivan
The Idea	1894.04.09	I Heard a Song	S	J. Hart, Winslow, Francis
The Idea	1894.04.09	Marvelous Dancing	D	J. Hart, Winslow, Francis
The Passing Show	1894.05.12	The Fellow that Played the Drum	M	
Tabasco	1894.05.14	Drum Major Jimmy	M	Barnet, Hubbard Smith
A Gaiety Girl	1894.09.18	O Sing a Welcome	S	Hall, Jones
A Trip to Chinatown	1894.09.24	Songs We Hear on the Stage	S	Bratton, Ford; revival, new song
A Milk White Flag	1894.10.08	Without Him, What's the Band?	M	Hoyt, Gaunt
Rob Roy	1894.10.29	Song of the Ballad-mongers	S	H.B Smith, DeKoven
Prince Ananias	1894.11.20	I thought it very easy to sit down and write a play	E	Neilson, Herbert
The Side Show	1894.12.17	The Side Show	E	
McFadden's Elopement	1894.12.31	The Popular Airs	S	
McFadden's Elopement	1894.12.31	I'm Going to Be a Conductor	M	
McFadden's Elopement	1894.12.31	Round the Operas	E	

1895

Show title	Date	Song title	Type	Songwriters and notes
Aladdin, Jr.	1895.04.08	Women, Wine and Song	S	Goodwin, Batchelor, Gloves, Williams
The Twentieth Century Girl	1895.05.06	The Play's the Thing	E	Englander, Rosenfeld
Thrilly	1895.06.03	Ignatius McFadden's Debut	E	
Thrilly	1895.06.03	Oh Mr. Manager tell us of the play	E	
Kismet	1895.08.12	Singing in Vain for the Moon	S	R. Carroll, Kerker; not related to later "Kismets"
Leonardo	1895.10..21	I sing of the Doffa-down dillies	S	
Leonardo	1895.10.21	There is no need for you to sing aloud	S	
Leonardo	1895.10.21	I sing no songs, but songs of thee	S	
The Shop Girl	1895.10.28	The show, the show	E	Caryll, Ross, Monckton
The Shop Girl	1895.10.28	Walk up, walk up!	E	Caryll, Ross, Monckton
The Wizard of the Nile	1895.11.04	Work Away with a Song, My Boys	S	Herbert, H.B. Smith; a.k.a. Stonecutter's Song

1896

Show title	Date	Song title	Type	Songwriters and notes
A Black Sheep	1896.01.06	Whistling Colored Boy	M	Devere
A Black Sheep	1896.01.06	La Pas Ma La	D	Hogan; added during run
Gentleman Joe, the Hansom Cabby	1896.01.30	The Moulin Rouge	E	Hood, Slaughter
The Minstrel of Clare	1896.03.02	The Minstrel Boy	M	Moore, traditional
The Sunshine of Paradise Alley	1896.05.11	Rastus on Parade	E	K. Mills
Marty Malone	1896.08.31	Pride of the London Stage	E	Harrigan, Braham
The Art of Maryland	1896.09.05	Thespian Art	E	J. Herbert, Stromberg
A Parlor Match	1896.09.21	The Harp That Once	M	Mack
Brian Boru	1896.10.19	Sing a Merry Rondelay	S	Stange, J. Edwards
Brian Boru	1896.10.19	Sing the Song of the Great Brian	S	Stange, J. Edwards
The Girl from Paris	1896.12.08	Upon the Stage, Let's Have a Fling	E	Dance, Caryl
Darkest America	1896.12.21	The Cake Walk Swell	D	
Dorcas	1896.12.28	In Waltzing There Is Pleasure	D	
Courted into Court	1896.12.26	Cake-Walk Jubilee	D	A.k.a. Grand Medley Introduction

1897

Show title	Date	Song title	Type	Songwriters and notes
Sweet Inniscarra	1897.01.25	Songs of Araby	S	J. Clay
The Serenade	1897.03.16	The Singing Lesson	S	H.B. Smith, Herbert
The Circus Girl	1897.04.23	Clowns	E	Greenbank, Ross, Monckton
The Circus Girl	1897.04.23	In the Ring	E	Greenbank, Ross, Caryll
The Circus Girl	1897.04.23	Wine, Women and Song	S	Greenbank, Ross, Caryll
The Wedding Day	1897.04.08	How I danced away	D	Stange, J. Edwards
The Good Mr. Best	1897.08.30	The Dancing Turk	D	McNally, Sayers, LeMack, Dana
A Hot Old Time	1897.09.06	Rag-Time Night on Broadway	M, E	2 nd edition; Cohan; tour only
A Hot Old Time	1897.09.06	Playing da Golden Strings	M	2 nd edition; Speck; tour only
A Stranger in New York	1897.10.13	The Broadway Beauty Show	E	Hoyt, Stahl
A Stranger in New York	1897.10.13	Walter's Dancing School	D	Hoyt, Sloane
The Belle of New York	1897.09.28	Wine, Women and Song	S	Morton, Kerker
The Belle of New York	1897.09.28	Father of the Queen of Comic Opera	E	Morton, Kerker
Courted into Court	1897.10.18	(I'm the) Daughter of the Leader of the Band	M	Alexander, S. Hecht; tour only
Courted into Court	1897.10.18	The Oompah	M	Bowyer, J. Baker; tour only
La Poupee	1897.10.21	I can sing and dance and chatter	S, D	Sturgess, Audran
The Swell Miss Fitzwell	1897.11.15	Synopated Sandy	M	
An Irish Gentleman	1897.11.29	An Irish Street Singer (or Honest John McCool)	S	LeMack, Mack
Pousse Café	1897.12.02	The Foreign Vaudevillians	E	E. Smith, L. de Lange, Stromberg; double bill
The Ballet Girl	1897.12.21	A Boom (If you want to run your show)	E	Ross, Kiefert
The Ballet Girl	1897.12.21	Dancing (Of all the gifts that grace)	D	Ross, Kiefert

The Ballet Girl	1897.12.21	At the Old Stage Door	E	E. Rice
The Ballet Girl	1897.12.21	In the Ballet	E	Ross, Kiefert
The Ballet Girl	1897.12.21	The Ballet Girl (Though I am wealthy still)	E	Ross, Kiefert
The Telephone Girl	1897.12.27	I Want to Be a Dancer	D	Morton, Kerker
Miss Philadelphia	1897.12.27	Love's Sweet Lay	S	E. Smith, Perlet, Gagel

1898

Show title	Date	Song title	Type	Songwriters and notes
The Governors	1898.01.03	Queen of the Vaudeville, a la Anna Held	E	
A Hired Girl	1898.01.22	The Rag Time Dance	D	Blaney, James
Who Is Who?	1898.02.07	The German Singing Society (Dutch Saengerfest)	S	
Who Is Who?	1898.02.07	Villains We See at the Play	E	
A Baggage Check	1898.02.19	The Gay Soubrettes	E	
Monte Carlo	1898.03.21	The Dancing Dean	D	Carlton, Talbot
The Bride-Elect	1898.04.11	Let Poets sing	S	Sousa
Cook's Tour	1898.06.06	Moulin Rouge, Gaiety's Treadmill	E	J. Herbert, Gabriel
Cook's Tour	1898.06.06	Can Can	D	J. Herbert, Gabriel
A Runaway Girl	1898.08.25	I'm Only a Poor Singing Girl	S	Hopwood, Greenbank, Caryll, Monckton
A Runaway Girl	1898.08.25	Tarentella	D	Hopwood, Greenbank, Caryll, Monckton
A Runaway Girl	1898.08.25	Oh! Listen to the Band	M	Monckton; probably added during run
Hurly-Burly	1898.09.08	A Loidy What Is Studyin' for the Stoige	E	H.B. Smith, E. Smith, Stromberg
Hurly-Burly	1898.09.08	The American Serio-Comic	E	H.B. Smith, E. Smith, Stromberg
The Little Corporal	1898.09.19	The Song of the Drum (Oh here's a song for the drum)	M, S	H.B. Smith, Englander
Wine, Women and Song	1898.09.19	Girls of the Midnight Matinee	E	Corbett, Schilling
In Gotham	1898.09.19	Rag Time Liz	M	Carle, Aarons
In Gotham	1898.09.19	The Vaudevilles	E	Carle; added for 2 nd edition
The Fortune Teller	1898.09.26	Only in the Play	E	H.B. Smith, Herbert
A Sure Cure	1898.09.26	On the Stage	E	
A Sure Cure	1898.09.26	The Charming Little Actress	E	

Show title	Date	Song title	Type	Songwriters and notes
Hotel Topsy Turvy	1898.10.03	Walk up, walk up (This is the finest show on earth)	E	Sturgess, E. Smith, Ordonneau, Monckton
The Jolly Musketeer	1898.11.14	The Dancing Lesson	D	Stange, J. Edwards
The Lady Drummer	1898.12.26	The Salesladies' Annual Ball	E	David
The Lady Drummer	1898.12.26	The Singing Models	S	David
The Lady Drummer	1898.12.26	A Terpsichorean Trifle	D	David

1899

Show title	Date	Song title	Type	Songwriters and notes
The Three Dragoons	1899.01.30	Then With a Cachuca, Fandango and Bolero	D	H.B. Smith, DeKoven
The Three Dragoons	1899.01.30	Carnival Is King Tonight	E	H.B. Smith, DeKoven
The Three Dragoons	1899.01.30	We're a Party of Gay Serenaders	S	H.B. Smith, DeKoven
By the Sad Sea Waves	1899.02.28	Operatic Most Emphatic	E	Mathews, Bulger, Luders
By the Sad Sea Waves	1899.02.28	Fiddle and I	M	Mathews, Bulger, Luders
By the Sad Sea Waves	1899.02.28	La-Par Micado (Ragtime Opera)	E	Mathews, Bulger, Luders
By the Sad Sea Waves	1899.02.28	La Pas Mas La	D	Hogan
By the Sad Sea Waves	1899.02.28	Wing Lee's Rag-Time Clock	M	Trahern
By the Sad Sea Waves	1899.02.28	Ragtime Mixes My Brain	M	Mathews, Bulger, Luders; tour only
By the Sad Sea Waves	1899.02.28	The Man Who Invented Ragtime	M	Mathews, Bulger, Luders; tour only
A Reign of Error	1899.03.02	I'm the Manager of the Show	E	McNally, Levi
A Reign of Error	1899.03.02	The Origin of the Coon Song	S	McNally, Levi
A Reign of Error	1899.03.02	You've Got to Play Rag-Time (Hoot Mon!)	M	Havez, Sloane
A Reign of Error	1899.03.02	First You Do the Rag, Then You Bombashay (Dat's How De Rag-time Dance Is Done)	D	Sterlin; H. Von Tilzer
The Man in the Moon	1899.04.24	The Bellamy Dance	D	Stange, Harrison, Englander
An Arabian Girl and 40 Thieves	1899.04.29	Operatic Mountebanks	S	Goodwin, Batchelor, et alia
Mother Goose	1899.05.01	Bag Pipe	M	E. Smith, deLange, Gagel
Mother Goose	1899.05.01	At the Vaudeville Show	E	E. Smith, deLange, Gagel

Show title	Date	Song title	Type	Songwriters and notes
The Rounders	1899.07.12	They Play Those Marches, They Play Those Waltzes	M	H.B. Smith, Englander
The Rounders	1899.07.12	Oh, Where Is Dancer	D	H.B. Smith, Englander
(The Rogers Brothers) In Wall Street	1899.09.18	An Ethiopian Mardi Gras	E	Carle, Levi
Whirl-I-Gig	1899.09.21	The Dancing Bear	D	E. Smith, Stromberg; probably a.k.a. De Cake Walk Dream
Whirl-I-Gig	1899.09.21	The (Little) Brunette Soubrette	E	E. Smith, Stromberg; part of the burlesque, The Girl from Martin's
Whirl-I-Gig	1899.09.21	When Chloe Sings (a Song)	S	E. Smith, Stromberg; at first part of burlesque, The Other Way (1899.10.26); added to main part later
(Isham's) Octoroons	1899.10.02	The Policy Players' Ball	E	Cole, Accooe; part of the "Ragtime Satire," 7-11-7
(Isham's) Octoroons	1899.10.02	Oh, Listen to the Band	M	Monckton; part of Thirty Minutes Around the Operas; also in A Runaway Girl, above
The Policy Players	1899.10.16	The Band	M	Walker, B. Williams
The Singing Girl	1899.10.23	The Siren of the Ballet	E	H.B. Smith, Herbert
The Singing Girl	1899.10.,23	Wedding Music	M	H.B. Smith, Herbert
The Singing Girl	1899.10.23	The Alpine Horn (Tyrolean Song)	M	H.B. Smith, Herbert
The Singing Girl	1899.10.23	The Singing Girl	S	H.B. Smith, Herbert
The Singing Girl	1899.10.23	To Be a Little Singing Girl	S	H.B. Smith, Herbert
Sister Mary	1899.10.27	The Cake-Walk	D	Loftus; added during run
A Greek Slave	1899.11.28	A Song of Love	S	Ross, Greenbank, Jones
The Ameer	1899.12.04	Soft to Sensuous Music Swaying	M, D	Ranken, LaShelle, Herbert
The Ameer	1899.12.04	Continuous Performances	E	Ranken, LeShelle, Herbert
Three Little Lambs	1899.12.25	Hurdy Gurdy Man	M	Barnet, Corliss

Song Titles of 1900-1909

1900

Show title	Date	Song title	Type	Songwriters and notes
Broadway to Tokyo	1900.01.23	We're a Comic Opera Company	E	DeKoven, Sloane, Harrison, Hobart
Broadway to Tokio	1900.01.23	Story of the Dance	D	DeKoven, Sloane, Harrison, Hobart
The Floor Walkers	1900.02.03	The Sousa Girl	M	Dilea
Mam'selle Hawkins	1900.02.26	You're Talking Rag-Time	M	Beaumont, Beaumont
Mam'selle Hawkins	1900.02.26	The Sousa Girl	M	Woodward, Jerome
The Casino Girl	1900.03.19	How Actresses Are Made	E	H.B. Smith, Englander
The Casino Girl	1900.03.19	The Casino Girl	E	H.B. Smith, MacConnell [at the Casino Theater]
A Hot Old Time	1900.04.02	Rag-Time Night on Broadway	M	Cohan; tour only, i.e. 2 nd edition of this revival from 1897
The Viceroy	1900.04.09	Since I Am Queen of the Carnival	E	H.B. Smith, Herbert
The Rose of Persia	1900.09.06	Dancing Sunbeam	D	Hood, Sullivan
Fiddle-Dee-Dee	1900.09.06	Comic Opera	E	E. Smith, Stromberg; W&F burlesque
The Monks of Malabar	1900.09.14	Singing and Dancing	S, D	Goodwin, Englander
The Belle of Bohemia	1900.09.24	The Serio-Comic	E	H.B. Smith, Englander
The Belle of Bohemia	1900.09.24	Matinee Girls	E	H.B. Smith, Englander
Sons of Ham	1900.10.15	Old Man's Song and Dance	S, D	B. Williams, Walker
Sons of Ham	1900.10.15	(The) Leader of the Ball	E	B. Williams, Walker
The Belle of Bridgeport	1900.10.15	Why Don't the Band Play	M	J.R. Johnson, J.W. Johnson, Cole; eight songs in the show
The Belle of Bridgeport	1900.10.15	Dance on Friday Night	D	W. Jefferson
Foxy Quller	1900.11.05	The Legend of the Tarantella	D	H.B. Smith, DeKoven

Show title	Date	Song title	Type	Songwriters and notes
Floradora	1900.11.10	When We're on the Stage	E	Boyd-Jones, Stuart; a.k.a. We're Both on the Stage
Star and Garter	1900.11.26	After the Show	E	Ford, Bratton
Star and Garter	1900.11.26	When Sousa Leads the Band	M	Ford, Bratton
Sweet Anne Page	1900.12.03	The Mad Sequedilla of Gay Seville	D	E. Smith, Niedlinger
Sweet Anne Page	1900.12.03	When Another Cherub Sings	S	E. Smith, Niedlinger
Sweet Anne Page	1900.12.03	Mummer's Art	E	E. Smith, Niedlinger
Sweet Anne Page	1900.12.03	Fairies Gaily Dancing	D	E. Smith, Niedlinger
Madge Smith, Attorney	1900.12.10	Why Don't the Band Play?	M	J.R. Johnson, J.W. Johnson, Cole; from Belle of Bridgeport
Madge Smith, Attorney	1900.12.10	Dance on Friday Night	D	Jefferson; tour only
The Giddy Throng	1900.12.24	Since Sally's in the Ballet	D, E	M. Bernard, V. Bryan
The Burgomaster	1900.12.31	The (Little) Soubrette	E	Pixley, Luders
The Burgomaster	1900.12.31	Reaching for the Cake	D	Pixley, Luders

1901

Show title	Date	Song title	Type	Songwriters and notes
Sons of Ham	1901.04.29	Blackville Strutters	D	B. Williams, Walker; second edition
The Girl from Up There	1901.01.07	When Seraphina Plays the Concertina	M	Morton, Kerker
The Night of the Fourth	1901.01.21	Fiddle and I	M	Mathews, Hoffman
My Lady	1901.02.11	Come Let Us Dance	D	Stevens
My Lady	1901.02.11	After the Fancy Ball	E	
The Governor's Son	1901.02.25	A Regular William Gillette	E	Cohan
The Governor's Son	1901.02.25	The Soldiers of the Stage	E	Cohan; tour only
The Prima Donna	1901.04.17	They're Going into Vaudeville	E	H.B. Smith, Lachaume
The Prima Donna	1901.04.17	On the Stage	E	H.B. Smith, Lachaume
Sons of Ham	1901.04.29	Blackville Strutters	D	Walker, B. Williams; in this 2 nd edition only
The King's Carnival	1901.05.13	Ragtime Will Be Mah Finish	M	Rosenfeld, Sloane
The King's Carnival	1901.05.13	When Mr. Shakespeare Comes to Town	E	Rosenfeld, Sloane; a.k.a. I Don't Like Them Minstrel Folks
The King's Carnival	1901.05.13	And the Band Began to Play	M	Hobart, Sloane
The Strollers	1901.06.24	When the Orchestra Plays	M	H.B. Smith, Englander
The Rogers Brothers in Washington	1901.09.02	An Englishman's Idea of Rag-Time	M	H.B. Smith, Levi
Hoity-Poity	1901.09.05	De Pullman Porter's Ball	E	E. Smith; Stromberg; in one-act burlesque, Depleurisy
Hoity-Poity	1901.09.05	When Mr. Shakespeare Comes to Town	E	Jerome; J. Schwartz; in one-act burlesque, DuHurry
The Messenger Boy	1901.09.16	To the Paris Exposition	E	Ross, Monckton
The Messenger Boy	1901.09.16	The Dialect Soubrette	E	Ross, Monckton; tour only
The Liberty Belles	1901.09.30	The Instrumental Man	M	Gilroy, Linton; tour only
The Liberty Belles	1901.09.30	Follow the Man That Leads the Band	M	Gilroy, Lachaume; added during run

Show title	Date	Song title	Type	Songwriters and notes
The New Yorkers	1901.10.07	And the Band Began to Play	M	Hobart, Englander
The New Yorkers	1901.10.07	(Ragtime Girl) Dat's All	M	Hobart, Englander
The Little Duchess	1901.10.14	The Man with the Tamborine	M	Jerome, DeKoven
The Little Duchess	1901.10.14	Since Sister Nell Heard Paderewski Play	M	H.B. Smith, J. Schwartz; tour only
The Supper Club	1901.12.23	When the Band Plays Ragtime	M	J.R. Johnson, Cole

1902

The Head Waiters	1902.01.25	The Martial Music of the Fife and Drum	M	Day, Chilvers, Dillea
The Head Waiters	1902.01.25	The Girl Who Leads the Band	M	A. Gillespie, Dillon
The Hall of Fame	1902.02.05	When Charlie Plays the Slide Trombone	M	Hobart, Mae Sloane
Miss Simplicity	1902.02.10	Oh What Delight to Be Dancing	D	Barnet, Hartz
Foxy Grandpa	1902.02.17	Dancing Dollies	D	J. Hart
The Show Girl	1902.05.05	I'm a Simple Author-Manager	E	Barnet, Hartz
The Show Girl	1902.05.05	Waltz Me Down the Alley, Sally	D	Barnet, Hartz, Corliss; tour only
The Show Girl	1902.05.05	I'm Crazy to Go on the Stage	E	Cobb, G. Edwards; tour only
The Wild Rose	1902.05.05	I Sing a Little Tenor	S	H.B. Smith, Hobart, Englander
King Dodo	1902.05.12	Let Music Sound	M	Pixley, Luders
King Dodo	1902.05.12	Troubadors	S	Pixley, Luders; tour only
A Chinese Honeymoon	1902.06.02	Martha Spanks the Grand Pianner	M	Dance, Talbot
The Chaperons	1902.06.05	(When I Sang) My Low C	S	Witmark
The Defender	1902.07.03	Queen of the Circus Ring	E	Lowe, Dennee; added during run
Sally in Our Alley	1902.08.29	When the Troupe Comes Back to Town	E	G.T. Smith, H. Von Tilzer
Sally in Our Alley	1902.08.29	Whistling Bill	M	Hobart, Englander
The Emerald Isle	1902.09.01	Now this is the song of the Devonshire men	S	Hood, Sullivan, German
The Emerald Isle	1902.09.01	Sing a rhyme of 'Once upon a time'	S	Hood, Sullivan, German
Twirly-Whirly	1902.09.11	In Stage Land	E	E. Smith, Francis
Twirly-Whirly	1902.09.11	The Vaudeville King	E	E. Smith, Francis
A Country Girl	1902.09.22	Take Your Pretty Partner (to the Ball)	D	Ross, Monckton
In Posterland	1902.10.20	Welcome To-night at the Ball	D	Adapted by G. Sohlke

Show title	Date	Song title	Type	Songwriters and notes
In Posterland	1902.10.20	When a Lady Leads the Band	M	Adapted by G. Sohlke
Tommy Rot	1902.10.21	There's a Strange Fascination about the Stage	E	Waters; also in revised version of show, Fad and Folly
Tommy Rot	1902.10.21	An Actress and a Lady	E	Waters
Southern Enchantment	1902.11.10	Sing a Little Tenor	S	Cassin, Hogan
Southern Enchantment	1902.11.10	Levee Jamboree	E	Cassin, Hogan
Fad and Folly	1902.11.27	Chansonettes	S	Waters, Hughes; revised version of previous show, Tommy Rot
When Johnny Comes Marching Home	1902.12.16	I Could Waltz on Forever (with You)	D	Stange, J. Edwards
When Johnny Comes Marching Home	1902.12.16	The Drums	M	Stange, J. Edwards
Alphonse and Gaston	1902.12.29	The Fifer of the Old Drum Corps	M	
The Sultan of Sulu	1902.12.29	A Song of Yesterday	S	R. Young, Heindl; tour only

1902 Revived shows with old songs

Florodora	1902.01.27	When We're on the Stage	E	Boyd-Jones, Stuart, et alia

1903

Show title	Date	Song title	Type	Songwriters and notes
Zig-Zag Alley	1903.01.24	The Italian Organ Grinder	M	
The Wizard of Oz	1903.01.20	Nicolo's Piccolo	M	Baum, Tietjens, Sloane
The Wizard of Oz	1903.01.20	When the Circus Comes to Town	E	O'Dea, B. Adams
The Wizard of Oz	1903.01.20	Spanish Bolero	D	Baum, Tietjens, Sloane
Mr. Bluebeard	1903.01.21	Hamlet Was a Melancholy Dane	E	Jerome, J. Schwartz
Mr. Bluebeard	1903.01.21	Songbird of Melody Lane	S	Bryan, G. Edwards
Mr. Bluebeard	1903.01.20	When the Colored Band Comes Marching Down the Street	M	Cole, J.R. Johnson
Spotless Town	1903.02.09	I Wants to Be an Actor Lady	E	Bryan, H. Von Tilzer
Nancy Brown	1903.02.16	What the Band Played	M	Reid
Nancy Brown	1903.02.16	The Military Band	M	Ranken, Hadley
Dahomey	1903.02.18	When Sousa Comes to Coontown	M	Rogers, Vaughn, Lemonier
The Runaways	1903.05.11	How I'd Write a Comic Opera	E	Burkhardt, Hubbell; a.k.a. How to Write a Comic Opera
The Blonde in Black	1903.06.08	(I Love) Ze American Ragtime	M	Probably H.B. Smith, Kerker
The Blonde in Black	1903.06.08	A Banjo Serenade	M, S	Probably H.B. Smith, Kerker
The Knickerbocker Girl	1903.06.15	Hear the Band	M	G.T. Smith, Aarons
Mid-Summer Night Fancies	1903.06.22	Watch Me To-night in the Torchlight Parade	E	Jerome, Lamb; part of the burlesque, The Darling of the Gallery Gods
Arrah-Na-Pogue	1903.09.07	The Joys of an Irish Dance	D	Fagan; new song for tour only of revival
Peggy from Paris	1903.09.10	Old Fashioned Songs	S	Ade, Lorraine
Under Cover	1903.09.14	A Coon Will Follow a Band	M	Harrigan, Braham
Whoop-Dee-Doo	1903.09.24	If I Were an Actress	E	E. Smith, Frances, Muller-Norden

Show title	Date	Song title	Type	Songwriters and notes
The Fisher Maiden	1903.10.05	Let the Band Play (a Pleasing Tune)	M	Lamb, H. Von Tilzer
The Office Boy	1903.11.02	When the Band Plays Ragtime	M	Cole, J.R. Johnson; added during run
Mrs. Delaney of Newport	1903.11.02	The Hobo Solo Band	M	Jerome, J. Schwartz
Mrs. Delaney of Newport	1903.11.02	Whistling Sue	M	Jerome, J. Schwartz
Babette	1903.11.16	To the Sound of the Pipe and the Roll of the Drum	M	H.B. Smith, Herbert
Babette	1903.11.16	On the Stage	E	H.B. Smith, Herbert; tour only
Mother Goose	1903.12.02	When I Do the Highland Fling	D	Heelan, Helf
Mother Goose	1903.12.02	The Evolution of Ragtime	M	Cole, J.W. Johnson, J.R. Johnson; added during run
Mother Goose	1903.12.02	Jingles, Jokes and Rhymes	M	Burt; added during run
Mother Goose	1903.12.02	I Want to Hear a Yankee Doodle Tune	M	Cohan; added during run
Mam'selle Napoleon	1903.12.08	The Stage and Fashion Hand in Hand	E	J. Herbert, Luders
Mam'selle Napoleon	1903.12.08	Hit Enormous	E	J. Herbert, Luders
Mam'selle Napoleon	1903.12.08	Queen of the Comedie Francaise	E	J. Herbert, Luders

1904

Show title	Date	Song title	Type	Songwriters and notes
An English Daisy	1904.01.18	At the Music Hall	E	E. Smith, J. Schwartz
The Tenderfoot	1904.02.22	Dancing	D	Carle, Heartz
The Awakening of Mr. Pip	1904.03.21	When the Brass Band Played	M	G.T. Smith, Grapewin
Piff! Paff!! Pouf!!	1904.04.02	Waltzing with Jane	D	Jerome, J. Schwartz; return engagement only, 1904.12.26
A Little of Everything	1904.06.06	You Won't Do Any Business If You Haven't Got a Band	M, E	Cohan
A Little of Everything	1904.06.06	I Love to Hear a Yankee Doodle Tune	M	Cohan
A Little of Everything	1904.06.06	The Evolution of Ragtime	M	Cole, J.R. Johnson; from Mother Goose, 1903
Paris by Night	1904.07.02	Waltz, Waltz, Waltz	D	Hazzard, Bloodgood
Paris by Night	1904.07.02	La Chansonette	S	Tour only
In Dahomey	1904.08.27	Me and de Minstrel Ban'	M	Rogers, Cook; new song in revival
Girls Will Be Girls	1904.08.27	The Band Played Boom-Ta-Ra	M	J. Hart
The School Girl	1904.09.01	Old English Cake Walk	D	Rubens
The Rogers Brothers in Paris	1904.09.05	The Students' Ball	E	Hobart, Gardenier, Hoffmann
The Rogers Brothers in Paris	1904.09.05	The American Minstrels in Paris	E	Hobart, Gardenier, Hoffmann
Mr. Wix of Wickham	1904.09.19	Her First Can Can	D	Wagner, Kern
Mr. Wix of Wickham	1904.09.19	The Dancing Kangaroo	D	Darnley, Kern
Higgledy-Piggledy	1904.10.20	In the Chorus	E	E. Smith, Levi
The Errand Boy	1904.10.31	You Won't Do Any Business If You Haven't Got a Band	E, M	Cohan; tour only; also previously in A Bit of Everything
The Errand Boy	1904.10.31	The Greatest Show on Earth	E	Probably G.T. Smith, et alia
The Errand Boy	1904.10.31	Isn't It Lovely to Be on the Stage	E	Probably G.T. Smith, et alia
Mrs. Black Is Back	1904.11.07	I Love to Two-Step (with My Man)	D	Cannon

Show title	Date	Song title	Type	Songwriters and notes
A China Doll	1904.12.03	If I Only Had a Theatre on Broadway	E	H.B. Smith, Aarons
A China Doll	1904.11.19	Le Café Chantant	E, S	H.B. Smith, Aarons
The Baroness Fiddlesticks	1904.11.21	Listen to the Night a-Singing	S	De Long, Bruguere
The Baroness Fiddlesticks	1904.11.21	At a Fancy Costume Ball	E	De Long, Bruguere
The Two Roses	1904.11.21	Sing Hey, Sing Ho	S	Stange, Englander
Flo-Flo	1904.11.21	Five Dollars a Seat	E	C. Davis, Whitney
It Happened in Nordland	1904.12.05	The Carnival	E	MacDonough, Herbert
It Happened in Nordland	1904.12.05	Matinee Maids	E	MacDonough, Herbert
In Newport	1904.12.26	The Newport Dip	D	Cole, J.W. Johnson, R. Johnson
In Newport	1904.12.26	The Rehearsal	E	Cole, J.W. Johnson, R. Johnson
Me, Him and I	1904.12.26	The Worst Woman on the Stage	E	Bryan, Hoffmann

1904 Revived shows with old songs

Show title	Date	Song title	Type	Songwriters and notes
The Wizard of Oz	1904.03.21	Niccolo's Piccolo	M	Baum, Tietjens, Sloane; also in run of 1904.11.07

1905

Show title	Date	Song title	Type	Songwriters and notes
Fantana	1905.01.14	La Danse Parisienne vs. La Americaine	D	Shubert, R.B. Smith, Hubbell
Sinbad	1905.02.27	Listen to the Big Brass Band	M	Fowler, Rostetter
Sergeant Brue	1905.04.24	Let Me Sing	S	
The Rollicking Girl	1905.05.05	Drink the wine and sing the song	S	
The Rollicking Girl	1905.05.05	Old Time Song and Dance	S, D	A.k.a., All the world is moving
Lifting the Lid	1905.06.05	Life on the Stage	E	Double bill with A Gilbert and Sullivan Review
When We Are Forty-One	1905.06.05	The Man that Leads the Band Leads the Army	M	
Easy Dawson	1905.08.22	The Fireman's Parade	E	Lenox, Sutton; five songs
The Ham Tree	1905.08.28	The Merry Minstrel Band	M	J. Schwartz, Hobart
Miss Dolly Dollars	1905.10.16	(American Music) 'Tis Better than Old Parsifal to Me	M	H.B. Smith, Herbert
Miss Dolly Dollars	1905.10.16	Queen of the Ring	E	H.B. Smith, Herbert
A Jolly Baron	1905.09.04	Let the Band Play a Pleasing Tune	M	H. Von Tilzer
The Beauty Doctor	1905.10.02	A Chorus Girl's Longing	E	Prior, Hacker, Hylands, Kerr; possibly tour only
Happyland	1905.10.02	Music	M	Ranken, DeKoven; tour only
The Belle of Avenue A	1905.10.09	The Hurdy Gurdy Man	M	H. Williams, Van Alstyne
The Belle of Avenue A	1905.10.09	When the Band of Rubensville Turns Out	M	H. Williams, Van Alstyne
The Sambo Girl	1905.10.16	I'm for You – Eva Tanguay	E	Collins; sung by Tanguay
The Sambo Girl	1905.10.16	(The) Banjo Serenade	M, S	H.B. Smith, Kerker
The Sambo Girl	1905.10.16	From the Circus to the Opera Is Only a Step	E	H.B. Smith, Kerker
Fritz in Tammany Hall	1905.10.16	The Tammany Ball	E	Jerome, J. Schwartz

Show title	Date	Song title	Type	Songwriters and notes
Wonderland	1905.10.24	When Perrico Plays	M	MacDonough, Herbert
Moonshine	1905.10.30	The Musical Gypsy	M	Hein, Hobart, et alia
The Earl and the Girl	1905.11.04	The Poor Little Marionette	E	
The Belle of the West	1905.11.13	The Waltz (Song)	D	H.B. Smith, Hoschna
The Mayor of Tokio	1905.12.04	La Dance Blanche et Noire	D	
A Society Circus	1905.12.13	Let the Circus Now Appear	E	Klein, Luders, Rosenfeld
The Babes and the Baron	1905.12.25	The Music of the Band	M	
Mlle. Modiste	1905.12.25	If I Were on the Stage	E	Herbert, Blossom; includes Kiss Me Again

1906

Show title	Date	Song title	Type	Songwriters and notes
Twiddle-Twaddle	1906.01.01	My Syncopated Gypsy Maid	M	E. Smith, Levi
Twiddle-Twaddle	1906.01.01	Hard Luck Stories of the Stage	E	E. Smith, Levi
The Vanderbilt Cup	1906.01.16	Wine, Women and Song	S	Peck, Bowers
Mexicana	1906.01.29	The Bolero	D	R.B. Smith, Driscoll, Hubbell
The Social Whirl	1906.04.09	I've Got to Dance Till the Band Gits Through	D	J. Herbert, Kerker; a.k.a., Bill Simmons
His Honor the Mayor	1906.05.28	Waltz Me Around Again, Willie ('Round-'Round-'Round)	D	Campbell, Skinner, J. Edwards
The Governor's Son	1906.06.04	I Want My Rag Time	M	Cohan; new song in revival
The Governor's Son	1906.06.04	(The) Soldiers of the Stage	E	Cohan; new song in revival
The Governor's Son	1906.06.04	Nothing New beneath the Sun	E	Cohan; new song in revival
Seeing New York	1906.06.05	Tell the Band to Play an Irish Tune	M	J. Hart, Crawford, Sloane
The Little Cherub	1906.08.06	Won't You Waltz	D	Hall, Caryl
Marrying Mary	1906.08.27	Gwendolyn (and Her Mandolin)	M	Burt, Hein
Marrying Mary	1906.08.27	Do, Re, Mi, Fa, Sol, La, Si, Do	S	W. Cahill, Burt; tour only
A One Horse Town	1906.08.27	Hurdy Gurdy Man	M	
About Town	1906.08.30	The Great White Way	E	J. Herbert, Ellis, Hubbell
The Man from Now	1906.09.03	The Irresistible Tune	M	Klein
The Man from Now	1906.09.03	The Dainty Music Maid	M	Klein
The Red Mill	1906.09.24	Whistle It	M	Blossom, Herbert
The Rich Mr. Hoggenheimer	1906.10.22	The Bagpipe Serenade	M	Kern
Painting the Town	1906.10.22	Dressing Room Echoes	E	Perlet
Painting the Town	1906.10.22	The One Night Stands	E	Perlet
Mamselle Sallie	1906.11.26	Whistle While You Walk Out	M	R.B. Smith, Hubbell

Show title	Date	Song title	Type	Songwriters and notes
A Parisian Model	1906.11.27	Paris Carnival	E	H.B. Smith, Hoffmann
A Parisian Model	1906.11.27	The Whistling Yankee Girl	M	Moran, Furth; tour and return engagements only
Dream City and The Magic Knight	1906.12.25	Going to the Opera	E	E. Smith, Herbert
Dream City and The Magic Knight	1906.12.25	In Vaudeville	E	E. Smith, Herbert
Dream City and The Magic Knight	1906.12.25	The Cake-Walk Duel	D	E. Smith, Herbert
The Student King	1906.12.25	(I Play on) My Old Bassoon	M	Ranken, Stange, DeKoven
The Student King	1906.12.25	Czardas	D	Ranken, Stange, DeKoven

1906 Revived shows with old songs

Show title	Date	Song title	Type	Songwriters and notes
The Ham Tree	1906.07.30	The Merry Minstrel Band	M	Jerome, J. Schwartz

1907

Show title	Date	Song title	Type	Songwriters and notes
The Girl from Broadway	1907.01.19	Oh, Joe, with Your Fiddle and Bow	M	Douglass, Hoschna
The Girl and the Governor	1907.02.04	The Musical Bullfrog	M	Brenner, J. Edwards
The Girl and the Governor	1907.02.04	The Bolero	D	Brenner, J. Edwards
The Rose of the Alhambra	1907.02.04	Love's Eternal Song	S	Cook, Hosmer
The Rose of the Alhambra	1907.02.04	The Lay of the Lute	M, S	Cook, Hosmer
The White Hen	1907.02.16	The Prima Donna	S	Penfield, West, Kerker
The Tattooed Man	1907.02.18	Hear My Song of Love	S	H.B. Smith, Herbert
The Grand Mogul	1907.03.25	The Circus Band	M, E	Pixley, Luders
The Grand Mogul	1907.03.25	My Hula-Hula Girl	D	Pixley, Luders
The Land of Nod and The Song Birds	1907.04.01	Amateur Night	E	J. Hart
The Land of Nod and The Song Birds	1907.04.01	The Devil's Cake Walk	D	F. Adams, Hough, J. Howard
The Land of Nod and The Song Birds	1907.04.01	Come On, Let's Two Step	D	F. Adams, Hough, J. Howard; tour only
The Land of Nod and The Song Birds	1907.04.01	Jingles and Jokes	M, E	F. Adams, Hough, J. Howard; tour only
The Land of Nod and The Song Birds	1907.04.01	It's Great to Be an Actor	E	F. Adams, Hough, J. Howard; tour only
Fascinating Flora	1907.05.20	I Am a Marvelous Musician	M	Burnside, Kerker
Fascinating Flora	1907.05.20	I'd Rather Two-Step than Waltz, Bill	D	Burt; added during run; also in The Hired Girl's Millions
The Honeymooners	1907.06.03	The Musical Comedy Maid	E	Cohan; revision of Running for Office
The Honeymooners	1907.06.03	In a One Night Stand	E	Cohan, revision of Running for Office
The Honeymooners	1907.06.03	Popular March	M	Cohan, revision Running for Office
Follies of 1907	1907.07.08	I Want to Be a Drummer Boy	M	Woodward, Hein

Show title	Date	Song title	Type	Songwriters and notes
Follies of 1907	1907.07.08	(Come Down) Salomy Jame	D	Bryan, Goetz
Follies of 1907	1907.07.08	Bridget Salome	D	Bryan, H. Von Tilzer; added and dropped during run; a.k.a., When Miss Patricia Salome Dances the Do-La- Palome; later added to Nearly a Hero
The Hired Girl's Millions	1907.08.12	When the Band Plays Yankee Doodle	M	
The Hired Girl's Millions	1907.08.12	I'd Rather Two- Step than Waltz	D	Burt; also in Fascinating Flora
Lola from Berlin	1907.09.16	Goodbye, Mr. Ragtime	M	Jerome, J. Schwartz; return engagement only, 1907.10.28
The Hurdy Gurdy Girl	1907.09.23	The Hurdy Gurdy Girl	M	Carle, Heartz
The Mazuma Man	1907.09.30	To Be an Actor	E	F. Kennedy, McKenna
The Girl Behind the Counter	1907.10.01	The Minstrel Show	E	Bryan, H. Von Tilzer; a.k.a. I've Got to See de Minstrel Show; added and dropped during run
The Girl Behind the Counter	1907.10.01	I Want to Be Loved Like a Leadin' Lady	E	West, Wade; added during run
The Girl Behind the Counter	1907.10.01	Just Because He Couldn't Sing 'Love Me and the World Is Mine'	S	Fitzgibbons; added during run
The Girl Behind the Counter	1907.10.01	When I Was in the Chorus at the Gaeity	E	Anderson, H. Von Tilzer; added during run
The Gay White Way	1907.10.07	Great White Way	E	Rosenfeld, Harvey, Englander
The Gay White Way	1907.10.07	The Broadway Show	E	Rosenfeld, Harvey, Englander
The Gay White Way	1907.10.07	School of Acting	E	Rosenfeld, Harvey, Englander
The Merry Widow	1907.10.21	I Love You So (The Merry Widow Waltz)	M, D	Ross, Lehar
The Merry Widow	1907.10.21	Maxim's (Girls, Girls, Girls)	E	Ross, Lehar
The Merry Widow	1907.10.21	The Girls at Maxim's	E	Ross, Lehar

Show title	Date	Song title	Type	Songwriters and notes
Tom Jones	1907.11.11	Beguile, Beguile, with Music Sweet	M	Taylor, German
The Oyster Man	1907.11.30	When Buffalo Bill and His Wild West Show First Came to Baltimore	E	Creamer, Vodery, Hogan
The Bad Boy and His Teddy Bears	1907.12.23	When the Minstrels Come to Town	E	Dupree, Coleman
Miss Hook of Holland	1907.12.31	The Violincello	M	Rubens

1907 Revived shows with old songs

Show title	Date	Song title	Type	Songwriters and notes
A Knight for a Day	1907.12.16	Whistle As You Walk Out	M	A.k.a. Whistle When/ While You Walk Out; R.B. Smith, Hubbell; revised version of Mamselle Sallie, 1903

1908

Show title	Date	Song title	Type	Songwriters and notes
Burlesque of the Merry Widow	1908.01.02	I'm a Waiter at Maxim's	E	Hobart, Lehar
Around the Clock	1908.01.11	Sound of the Rolling Drums	M	Hiller, L.O. Smith; new song in revival
Lonesome Town	1908.01.20	The Old Barn Dance	D	Brusie, Raynes
Lonesome Town	1908.01.20	Whistle When You're Lonely	M	Brusie, Raynes
A Waltz Dream	1908.01.27	Love's Roundelay	S	J. Herbert, Straus
A Waltz Dream	1908.01.27	Piccolo	M	J. Herbert, Straus
A Waltz Dream	1908.01.27	When the Song of Love Is Heard	S	J. Herbert, Straus
The Soul Kiss	1908.01.28	The Dances of the Tabarin	D	H.B. Smith, Levi
The Soul Kiss	1908.01.28	There Were Actors Then	E	H.B. Smith, Levi; a.k.a. They Were Actors Then
The Soul Kiss	1908.01.28	Meet Me at the Tabarin	E	H.B. Smith, Levi
The Soul Kiss	1908.01.28	Meet Me at the Masquerade (The Tabarin)	E	H.B. Smith, Lincke; added during run
Fifty Miles from Boston	1908.02.03	Waltz with Me	D	Cohan; six songs
Nearly a Hero	1908.02.24	Waltz and Two-Step (Minuet)	D	H.B. Smith, Furth
Nearly a Hero	1908.02.24	A Singer Sang a Song	S	Heelan, Furth
Nearly a Hero	1908.02.24	When Miss Patricia Salome Dances the Do-La-Palome	D	Bryan, H. Von Tilzer; added during run; a.k.a. Bridget Salome, earlier in Follies of 1907
Busy Izzy's Boodle	1908.04.06	That's What My Organ Plays	M	McKenna
Busy Izzy's Boodle	1908.04.16	The Circus Queen	E	McKenna
The Flower of the Ranch	1908.04.20	The Garrison Ball	E	J. Howard
The Flower of the Ranch	1908.04.20	Come On, The Music Is Fine	M	J. Howard
The Yankee Prince	1908.04.20	Villains in the Play	E	Cohan
The Merry-Go-Round	1908.04.25	When the Music Starts to Play	M	E. Smith, G. Edwards
The Merry-Go-Round	1908.04.25	(We're) The Orchids of the Opera	E	E. Smith, G. Edwards

Show title	Date	Song title	Type	Songwriters and notes
The Merry-Go-Round	1908.04.25	Gold Cure Dance	D	E. Smith, G. Edwards
The Merry-Go-Round	1908.04.25	I Want to Be Loved Like a Leading Lady	E	E. Smith, G. Edwards; tour only
The Gay Musician	1908.05.18	We Won't Do a Thing to His Opera	E	Siedle, Campbell, J. Edwards
The Gay Musician	1908.05.18	The Box Office Tells the Story	E	Siedle, Campbell, J. Edwards
The Gay Musician	1908.05.18	That Melody	M	Siedle, Campbell, J. Edwards
Follies of 1908	1908.06.15	You Will Have to Sing an Irish Song	S	Norworth, A. Von Tilzer
Follies of 1908	1908.06.15	The International Merry Widow	E	H.B. Smith, Levi
Follies of 1908	1908.06.15	Sing Me a Come-All-Ye (Like My Daddy Sang to Me)	S	Norworth, Bayes; tour only
The Mimic World	1908.07.09	When Tetrzzini Sighs High F	S	Madden, Burkhardt, Jerome, Furth
The Mimic World	1908.07.09	Rag Man, Music Man	M	Madden, Burkhardt, Hirsch; a.k.a. Ragtime Minstrel Man
Cohan and Harris Minstrels	1908.08.03	Good Bye, Mr. Ragtime	M	Cohan
Cohan and Harris Minstrels	1908.08.08	Kiss Your Minstrel Boy Good Bye	E	Cohan
Cohan and Harris Minstrels	1908.08.08	At the Barbers' Ball	E	Cohan; part of one-act musical comedy, The Belle of the Barbers' Ball
The Girl in Question	1908.08.03	Waltz with Me 'Till I'm Dreamy	D	Hough, Adams, J. Howard
The Girl in Question	1908.08.03	The Old Buck and Wing	D	Hough, Adams, J. Howard, Anderson
Algeria	1908.08.31	Ask Her While the Band Is Playing	M	MacDonough, Herbert
Algeria	1908.08.31	Twilight in Barakeesh	S	MacDonough, Herbert
Algeria	1908.08.31	Little Bird of Paradise	S	MacDonough, Herbert

Show title	Date	Song title	Type	Songwriters and notes
Sporting Days	1908.09.05	When the Circus Comes to Town	E	Klein
Fluffy Ruffles	1908.09.07	(Go and) Get Your Partner for the Barn Dance	D	Feist, Corin
Fluffy Ruffles	1908.09.07	Won't You Harmonize with Me?	S	Irwin, Francis; added during run
The American Idea	1908.10.05	American Ragtime	M	Cohan
The Golden Butterfly	1908.10.12	Great Musicians	M	H.B. Smith, DeKoven
The Golden Butterfly	1908.10.12	Wandering Musicians	M	H.B. Smith, DeKoven
The Golden Butterfly	1908.10.12	Singing Lesson	S	H.B. Smith, DeKoven
The Golden Butterfly	1908.10.12	The Queen of the Ring	E	H.B. Smith, DeKoven
Little Nemo	1908.10.20	If I Could Teach My Teddy Bear to Dance	D	H.B. Smith, Herbert
The Boys and Betty	1908.11.02	Down at the Folies Bergere	E	Hobart, Hein
Too Many Wives	1908.11.02	Ain't It Grand to Be an Actress	E	Horwitz
Too Many Wives	1908.11.02	When the Band Plays the Star-Spangled Banner	M	Horwitz
The Merry Widow and the Devil	1908.11.16	The Girls at Maxim's	E	Hobart, Lehar; old song in revival of Burlesque of the Merry Widow
The Merry Widow and the Devil	1908.11.16	Yip, I Adee, I Aye	M	Hobart, Lehar; new song in revival of Burlesque of the Merry Widow
Miss Innocence	1908.11.30	(Oh! That) Yankiana Rag	M	Goetz, Gideon
Miss Innocence	1908.11.30	I'm Crazy When the Band Begins to Play	M	W. Jerome, J. Schwartz
The Prima Donna	1908.11.30	I'll Be Married to the Music of a Military Band	M	Blossom, Herbert
The Queen of the Moulin Rouge	1908.12.07	The Kicking Polka	D	Bryan, Hall

Mr. Hamlet of Broadway	1908.12.23	Won't You Harmonize with Me	S	Madden, B. Jerome
Mr. Hamlet of Broadway	1908.12.23	The Hornpipe Rag	M	Madden, B. Jerome
Mr. Hamlet of Broadway	1908.12.23	The Dusky Salome	D	Madden, B. Jerome
Mr. Hamlet of Broadway	1908.12.23	Dancing Is So Delightful	D	Madden, B. Jerome
Mr. Hamlet of Broadway	1908.12.23	She Wanted to Be a Show Girl	E	Madden, B. Jerome; tour only

1909

Show title	Date	Song title	Type	Songwriters and notes
The Newlyweds and Their Baby	1909.03.22	An Operatic Solution	E	West, A. Brown, Ayer, Bratton
The Newlyweds and Their Baby	1909.03.22	Girls Who Want to Go Upon the Stage	E	West, A. Brown, Ayer, Bratton
The Newlyweds and Their Baby	1909.03.22	Jig Along, Mr. Jigger	D	West, A. Brown, Ayer, Bratton
The Newlyweds and Their Baby	1909.03.22	The Leader of the Band	M	West, A. Brown, Ayer, Bratton; added and dropped on tour
The Newlyweds and Their Baby	1909.03.22	Take Me to That Tango Tea	D	West, A. Brown, Ayer, Bratton; added and dropped on tour
The Newlyweds and Their Baby	1909.03.22	That Chop Stick Rag	M	West, A. Brown, Ayer, Bratton; added and dropped on tour
The Newlyweds and Their Baby	1909.03.22	Minstrels on Parade	E	West, A. Brown, Ayer, Bratton; added and dropped on tour
The Beauty Spot	1909.04.10	The Ballerino	D	J. Herbert, DeKoven
The Beauty Spot	1909.04.10	(The) Cinematograph (Song)	E	J. Herbert, DeKoven
The Beauty Spot	1909.04.10	Pretty Punchinello	E	J. Herbert, DeKoven
The Candy Shop	1909.04.27	In Vaudeville	E	Golden
The Candy Shop	1909.04.27	Help! And the Villain Goes to Jail	E	Golden
The Red Moon	1909.05.03	Red Moon To-da-lo (Two-Step)	D	Cole, J.R. Johnson
The Midnight Sons	1909.05.22	The Soubrette's Secret	E	MacDonough, Hubbell
The Midnight Sons	1909.05.22	Yip-ie-addyi-ay	M	Cobb, Flynn; added early in run; old song from The Merry Widow and the Devil, 1908
Ziegfeld Follies of 1909	1909.06.14	My Cousin Caruso	S	Madden, G. Edwards; later in revival of Miss Innocence, 1909.09.27
Ziegfeld Follies of 1909	1909.06.14	Mad Opera House	E	Norworth, Bayes
Ziegfeld Follies of 1909	1909.06.14	Play That Fandango Rag	M	Goetz, Muir; added during run

Show title	Date	Song title	Type	Songwriters and notes
Cohan and Harris Minstrels	1909.08.16	When the Minstrels Come to Town	E	
In Hayti	1909.08.30	Everybody's Rag Time Crazy	M	Jerome, J. Schwartz
In Hayti	1909.08.30	Romeo and Juliet	E	Jerome, J. Schwartz; a.k.a. Love Me Just Like Romeo Loved Miss Juliet
The Love Cure	1909.09.01	The Matinee Idol	E	Herford, Eysler
The Love Cure	1909.09.01	I Wonder What the Audience Would Say	E	Herford, Eysler
The Love Cure	1909.09.01	A Pretty Part for Me to Play	E	Herford, Eysler
The Love Cure	1909.09.01	Just a Play	E	Herford, Eysler
Miss Innocence	1909.09.27	My Cousin Caruso	S	Madden, G. Edwards; recent song in revival; previously in Follies of 1909
The Girl and the Wizard	1909.09.27	When I Sang Toreador	S	Gideon
The Girl and the Wizard	1909.09.27	Opera Comique	E	Gideon
The Rose of Algeria	1909.09.20	The Mardi Gras	E, D, S	MacDonough, Herbert; probably a new song for this revival of Algeria
The Man Who Owns Broadway	1909.10.11	A Nice Little Plot for a Play	E	Cohan
The Silver Star	1909.11.01	Dancing the Cotillion	D	H.B. Smith, Bowers
The Silver Star	1909.11.01	The Cooney Spooney Dance	D	Jerome, J. Schwartz; a.k.a. That Cooney Spooney Dance
The Silver Star	1909.11.01	Carnival	E	H.B. Smith, Bowers
The Silver Star	1909.11.01	Franco-American Ragtime	M	Jerome; J. Schwartz
The Belle of Brittany	1909.11.08	Sing to Your Dear One	S	Greenbank, Talbot, Horne

1909 Revived shows with old songs

Show title	Date	Song title	Type	Songwriters and notes
Miss Innocence	1909.09.27	(Oh! That) Yankiana Rag	M	Goetz, Gideon
Miss Innocence	1909.09.27	I'm Crazy When the Band Begins to Play	M	W. Jerome, J. Schwartz
The Rose of Algeria	1909.09.20	Ask Her While the Band Is Playing	M	MacDonough, Herbert
The Rose of Algeria	1909.09.20	Twilight in Barakeesh	S	MacDonough, Herbert
The Rose of Algeria	1909.09.20	Little Bird of Paradise	S	MacDonough, Herbert
The Rose of Algeria	1909.09.20	The Foolish Gardener	S	MacDonough, Herbert

Song Titles of 1910-1919

1910

Show title	Date	Song title	Type	Songwriters and notes
The Jolly Bachelors	1910.01.06	Stop Dat Rag	M	Berlin, Snyder; a.k.a. Stop That Rag, Keep on Playing Honey
The Jolly Bachelors	1910.01.06	Oh, That Beautiful Rag	M	Berlin, Snyder; see Berlin Lyrics
In Old Town	1910.01.10	Queen of the One-Ring Show	E	Ade, Luders
In Old Town	1910.01.10	A Popular Song	S	A. Robyn, T. Railey
The King of Cadonia	1910.01.10	(The) Blue Bulgarian Band	M	Rourke, Kern
The Young Turk	1910.01.31	(The) Parisian Glide	D	H. Williams, Hoffmann
The Young Turk	1910.01.31	I Thought I Wanted Opera (But I Changed My Mind)	E	H. Williams, Hoffmann
The Yankee Girl	1910.02.10	(The) Hypnotizing Rag	M	Hobart, Hein
Bright Eyes	1910.02.28	On with the Rehearsal	E	Harbach, Hoschna
Molly May	1910.04.08	When a Girl Leads the Band	M	Browne, Edwards
Molly May	1910.04.08	Clap Hands	E or M	Browne, Edwards
Molly May	1910.04.08	Baby Grand	M	Browne, Edwards
Molly May	1910.04.08	A Chinese Theatre	E	Browne, Edwards
A Matinee Idol	1910.04.28	The Dancing Banshee	D	Goetz, S. Brown, Hein; a.k.a. That Dancing Big Banshee
Tillie's Nightmare	1910.05.05	Shopping Glide	D	E. Smith, Sloane
Tillie's Nightmare	1910.05.05	What I Could Do Upon the Stage	E	E. Smith, Sloane
The Merry Whirl	1910.05.30	When I Waltz with You	D	Ray, L. Edwards
The Merry Whirl	1910.05.30	Strike Up a Bagpipe Tune	M	Madden, L. Edwards
The Summer Widowers	1910.06.04	We'll Go to the Minstrel Show	E	MacDonough, Sloane

Show title	Date	Song title	Type	Songwriters and notes
The Summer Widowers	1910.06.04	The Calcium Moon	E	MacDonough, Sloane
The Summer Widowers	1910.06.14	The Lady-Ushers Ball	E	MacDonough, Sloane; a.k.a. The Ladies Usher Ball
The Summer Widowers	1910.06.04	I'm All That's Left of the First Pony Ballet	E	Burton Greene, I. Franklin
Girlies	1910.06.13	(Play that) Barbershop Chord	M	MacDonald, Tracey, Muir
Girlies	1910.06.13	Honolulu Rag	M	H. Williams, Van Alstyne
Girlies	1910.06.13	Concertina	M	H. Williams, Van Alstyne
Ziegfeld Follies of 1910	1910.06.20	Nix on the Concertina, Lena	M	Macdonald, Carroll
Ziegfeld Follies of 1910	1910.06.20	(The Dance) of the Grizzly Bear	D	Berlin, Botsford; interpolation
Ziegfeld Follies of 1910	1910.06.20	The Pensacoola Mooch	D	Dabney, W. Cook
Ziegfeld Follies of 1910	1910.06.20	(Play That) Barbershop Chord	M	MacDonald, Tracey, Muir
Ziegfeld Follies of 1910	1910.06.20	The Waltzing Lieutenant	D	H.B. Smith, G. Edward
Ziegfeld Follies of 1910	1910.06.20	Yankiana Rag	M	Dabney, W. Cook; added during run
Ziegfeld Follies of 1910	1910.06.20	Temptation Rag	M	Weslyn, H. Lodge; added during run
Ziegfeld Follies of 1910	1910.06.20	Cuban Glide	D	Added during run
Ziegfeld Follies of 1910	1910.06.20	Fandango Rag	M	Goetz, Muir; added during run
Ziegfeld Follies of 1910	1910.06.20	Wild Cherry Rag	M	Berlin, Snyder; added during run
Ziegfeld Follies of 1910	1910.06.20	Franco-American Rag	M	Added during run
Up and Down Broadway	1910.07.18	Everybody Is Bagpipe Crazy	M	Jerome, J. Schwartz
Up and Down Broadway	1910.07.18	The Spanish Fandango Rag	M, D	Jerome, J. Schwartz; a.k.a. Dreamy Fandango Tune
Up and Down Broadway	1910.07.18	(Oh.) That Beautiful Rag	M	Berlin, Snyder
Up and Down Broadway	1910.07.18	The Ticket Speculators	E	Jerome, J. Schwartz

Show title	Date	Song title	Type	Songwriters and notes
Up and Down Broadway	1910.07.18	The Military Glide	D	Jerome, J. Schwartz
Up and Down Broadway	1910.07.18	(My Operatic) Samson and Delilah	E, S	Jerome, J. Schwartz
Up and Down Broadway	1910.07.18	When Sist' Tetrazin' Met Cousin Carus	S	Madden, Hirsch, Gideon
The Echo	1910.08.17	Since Jane Heard a Popular Song	S	LeBaron, D. Taylor
The Echo	1910.18.17	Song of the Songs	S	LeBaron, D. Taylor
The Echo	1910.08.17	The Newport Glide	D	Jerome, J. Schwartz
The Echo	1910.08.17	Whistle When You're Lonely	M	Rourke, Kern; interpolation
The Echo	1910.08.17	The French Fandango	D	Golden, Christine
Our Miss Gibbs	1910.08.29	Will You Sing This Glee with Me	S	W. David, G. Arthurs
Madame Sherry	1910.08.30	Aesthetic Dancing	D	Harbach, Hoschna
Madame Sherry	1910.08.30	The Dublin Rag	M	Atteridge, P. Schwartz
Madame Troubador	1910.10.10	Trou-Trou-ba-ba-Troubador	S	J. Herbert, Albini
Madame Troubador	1910.10.10	Tra-la-la, et-cetera	S	J. Herbert, Albini
Getting a Polish	1910.11.07	The Baltimore Bombashay	D	Murphy
Getting a Polish	1910.11.07	The Toledo Glide	D, M	McCarthy, Piantadosi; a.k.a. That Toledo Tune
Getting a Polish	1910.11.07	That Opera Rag	M, S, E	Berlin, Snyder
Getting a Polish	1910.11.07	Teaching McFadden to Waltz	D	M. Carey
The Bachelor Belles	1910.11.07	Give Us a Ragtime Tune	M	H.B. Smith, Hubbell
The Girl and the Kaiser	1910.11.22	Hungaria's Rhythmic Air	M	Liebling, Buchbinder, Jarno

Show title	Date	Song title	Type	Songwriters and notes
The Girl and the Kaiser	1910.11.22	Music of Viol	M	Liebling, Buchbinder, Jarno; a.k.a. When True Hearts Meet in Fond Love's Kiss
The Spring Maid	1910.12.26	Dance with Me	D	H.B. Smith, R. Smith, Reinhardt

1910 Revived songs in new shows

The Yankee Girl	1910.02.10	Yip-I-addy-I-ay	M	Cobb, Flynn; old song reprised by Ring in new show

1911

Show title	Date	Song title	Type	Songwriters and notes
Marriage a la Carte	1911.01.02	When Zim Zim Go the Cymbals	M	McLellan, Caryll
The Hen-Pecks	1911.02.04	Toddling the Todalo	D	MacDonough, Sloane
The Hen-Pecks	1911.02.04	The Dancing Fiddler	D, M	MacDonough, Sloane; added during run
The Hen-Pecks	1911.02.04	Try This on Your Pianna, Anna	M	MacDonough, Sloane (or "... Piano, Anna" or "... Pianny, Annie")
The Balkan Princess	1911.02.09	The Opera Ball	E	Wimperis, Rubens
The Happiest Night of My Life	1911.02.20	The Fiddler Must Be Paid	M, Fig	McCree, Rosenfeld, A. Von Tilzer
Everywoman (Her Pilgrimage in Quest of Love)	1911.02.27	Sing a merry song to Venus ...	S	W. Browne, Chadwick
Jumping Jupiter	1911.03.06	Possum Rag	M	Carle, Rosenfeld, Hoschna
Jumping Jupiter	1911.03.06	Angle Worm Wriggle	D	Carle, Rosenfeld, Hoschna
Jumping Jupiter	1911.03.06	Mississippi Dip	D	Probably Carle, Rosenfeld, Hoschna
The Pink Lady	1911.03.13	Parisian Two-Step	D	McClellan, Caryll
La Belle Paree	1911.03.20	That Devilng Tune	M	Madden, Kern, Tours; a.k.a. De Devilin' Rag
La Belle Paree	1911.03.20	The Edinburgh Wriggle	D	Rourke, Kern
La Belle Paree	1911.03.20	(Sing) Trovatore	S	Madden, Kern
La Belle Paree	1911.03.20	De Goblins Glide	D	Day, Kern; a.k.a. Goblins
La Belle Paree	1911.03.20	That Lovin' Traumeri	M	Stauffer, adapt Schumann
Hell/ Temptations/ Gaby	1911.04.27	Down to the Folies Bergere	E	Berlin, Snyder, Bryan; part of Gaby
The Red Rose	1911.06.22	If You Can't Sing, Dance	S, D	R. Smith, Bowers
The Red Rose	1911.06.22	The Old Ballet Days	D	R. Smith, H.B. Smith, Bowers
The Red Rose	1911.06.22	The Brass Band	M	R. Smith, H.B. Smith, Bowers
Ziegfeld Follies of 1911	1911.06.26	The Imitation Rag	M	Hobart, Levi, Hubbell
Ziegfeld Follies of 1911	1911.06.26	That's Harmony	M	B. Williams, Clarke; a.k.a. Dat's Harmony

Show title	Date	Song title	Type	Songwriters and notes
Ziegfeld Follies of 1911	1911.06.26	Turkey Gobbler's Ball	E	A. Donnelly, Havez, Blyler
Ziegfeld Follies of 1911	1911.06.26	Texas Tommy (Swing)	D	Harris, S. Brown
Ziegfeld Follies of 1911	1911.06.26	Ephraim (Played Upon the Piano)	M	Berlin, Bryan
Hello, Paris / A la Broadway	1911.08.19	That Aeroplane Rag	M	Hill, J.R. Johnson; part of Hello, Paris
Hello, Paris / A la Broadway	1911.08.19	The Siberian Whirl	D	Hill, J.R. Johnson; a.k.a., The Siberian Dip; part of Hello, Paris
Hello, Paris / A la Broadway	1911.08.19	The 'Frisco Frizz	D	C. Davis, Wayburn; part of Hello, Paris
Hello, Paris / A la Broadway	1911.08.19	The Philadelphia Drag	D	LeBaron, Collins, Orlob; part of A la Broadway
The Siren	1911.08.28	Music Caressing of Violins	M	H.B. Smith, Fall; a.k.a. Waltz Caprice
The Siren	1911.08.28	I Want to Sing in Opera	S	H.B. Smith, Fall
The Siren	1911.08.28	Oh, Do Step the Two-Step	D	Greenbank, Talbot; tour only
The Fascinating Widow	1911.09.11	The Rag Time College Girl	M	S. Lewis, Mills
The Little Millionaire	1911.09.25	The Musical Moon	E	Cohan
The Little Millionaire	1911.09.25	Barnum Had the Right Idea	E	Cohan
The Little Millionaire	1911.09.25	The Dancing Wedding	D	Cohan
The Revue of Revues	1911.09.27	Shooting Show Girls and French Chauffeurs	E	Havez, L. Donnelly, Atteridge, Hirsch, Gideon; dropped during run
The Revue of Revues	1911.09.27	The Board Walk Crawl	D	Havez, L. Donnelly, Atteridge, Hirsch, Gideon
The Revue of Revues	1911.09.27	The Minstrel Band	E, M	Havez, L. Donnelly, Atteridge, Hirsch, Gideon; dropped during run
The Revue of Revues	1911.09.27	(I Sang) Tra-La-Li	S	Havez, L. Donnelly, Atteridge, Hirsch, Gideon; dropped during run

Show title	Date	Song title	Type	Songwriters and notes
The Never Homes	1911.10.05	The Fire Ladies' Ball	E	Goetz, Sloane
The Never Homes	1911.10.05	That Spooky Tune	M	Goetz, Sloane
The Duchess	1911.10.16	The Coryphee	D	J. Herbert, H.B. Smith, V. Herbert
Gypsy Love	1911.10.17	The Melody of Love	M	H.B. Smith, R. Smith, Lehar
Gypsy Love	1911.10.17	When I'm Waltzing with You	D	H.B. Smith, R. Smith, Lehar
The Enchantress	1911.10.19	When the Right Man Sings Tra La	S	H.B. Smith, DeGresac, V. Herbert
The Enchantress	1911.10.19	I Want to Be a Prima Donna	S	H.B. Smith, DeGresac, V. Herbert; a.k.a. Art Is Calling for Me
The Enchantress	1911.10.19	That Naughty Little Song	S	H.B. Smith, DeGresac, V. Herbert
The Quaker Girl	1911.10.23	Come to the Ball	E	Ross, Greenbank, Monckton
The Quaker Girl	1911.10.23	A Dancing Lesson	D	Ross, Greenbank, Monckton; a.k.a. Take a Step
The Quaker Girl	1911.10.23	The First Dance	D	Ross, Greenbank, Monckton
The Wife Hunters	1911.11.02	Pas de Seul	D	Kempner, Friedland, Franklin
The Wife Hunters	1911.11.02	Singing with Someone	S	Kempner, Friedland, Franklin; dropped during run; may be Swinging with ...
The Wife Hunters	1911.11.02	Little Dancing Jumping Jigger	D	Kempner, Friedland, Franklin
The Red Widow	1911.11.06	Patrons of the Play	E	Pollock, Wolf
The Red Widow	1911.11.06	Never Mind the Singing – Just Dance, My Dear	S, D	Pollock, Wolf
The Three Romeos	1911.11.13	Off to the Matinee	E	Burnside, Hubbell
Vera Violetta	1911.11.20	Angelique of the Opera Comique	E	Gideon, Hirsch
Vera Violetta	1911.11.20	That Haunting Melody	M	Cohan
Vera Violetta	1911.11.20	The Gaby Glide	D	Pilcer, Hirsch
Peggy	1911.12.07	Any Old Tune	M	Bovill, Stuart

1912

Show title	Date	Song title	Type	Songwriters and notes
Modest Suzanne	1912.01.01	(The) Tangoland Tap	D	H.B. Smith, R. Smith, Gilbert
Over the River	1912.01.08	For de Lawd's Sake, Play a Waltz	M	Janis; from The Slim Princess; dropped late in run
Over the River	1912.01.08	(The) Broadway Cabaret	E	Griffin, Grant
Over the River	1912.01.08	Coontown Quartette	S	Golden, probably; added late in run
Over the River	1912.01.08	Chop Stick Rag	M	E. Clark, J. Schwartz
Over the River	1912.01.08	Lock-step, Two-step Slide	D	Golden
Over the River	1912.01.08	The Tongo Dance [sic]	D	Golden; dropped during run
The Rose of Panama	1912.01.22	How Enthralling the Music's Soulful Greeting	M	Shine, Rosenfeld, Berte; a.k.a. Love's Fond Dream (Waltz Song)
The Pearl Maiden	1912.10.22	My Old Brass Band	M	Anthony, Kales, Auracher (a.k.a. Archer)
Hokey-Pokey	1912.02.08	The Minstrel Parade	E	E. Smith, Stromberg, et alia
Hokey-Pokey	1912.02.08	The Singer and the Song	S	E. Smith, Stromberg, et alia
Hokey-Pokey	1912.02.08	On the Stage	E	E. Smith, Stromberg, et alia
Hokey-Pokey	1912.02.08	Alexander's Bagpipe Band	M	Berlin, Goetz, Sloane
Hokey-Pokey	1912.02.08	De Pullman Porter's Ball	E	E. Smith, Stromberg; from Hoity Toity
Whirl of Society	1912.03.05	Blow on Your Piccolo	M	Part of vaudeville, A Night with the Pierrots
Whirl of Society	1912.03.05	The Villain Still Pursued Her	E	Jerome, H. Von Tilzer; part of vaudeville, A Night with the Pierrots
Whirl of Society	1912.03.05	The Ragtime Sextette	M	Berlin, adapt Donizetti; also in Hanky-Panky; part of vaudeville, A Night with the Pierrots; a.k.a. Opera Burlesque
Whirl of Society	1912.03.05	The Gaby Glide	D	Pilcer, Hirsch
Whirl of Society	1912.03.05	The Cotillion	E	Pilcer, Hirsch; tour only
Whirl of Society	1912.03.05	Society Bear	D	Berlin; see Berlin Lyrics

Show title	Date	Song title	Type	Songwriters and notes
Baron Trenck	1912.03.11	With Song and Cheer	S	Schrader, Albini
A Winsome Widow	1912.04.11	(Toodle-oodle-oodle on Your) Piccolo	M	Griffin, Murtagh
A Winsome Widow	1912.04.11	Songs of Yesterday	S	Hubbell
The Wall Street Girl	1912.04.15	The Indian Rag	M	A. Brown, Ayer
The Wall Street Girl	1912.04.15	Whistle It	M	Clarke, Bryan, J. Schwartz
The Wall Street Girl	1912.04.15	The Deedle-Dum-Dee	M	Burt, Hein; a.k.a. Deedle-Dee-Dum
The Rose Maid	1912.04.22	Only One Waltz	D	R. Smith, Granichstadten; a.k.a. One Waltz
Let George Do It	1912.04.22	Waltz Me (Up) to the Altar, Walter	D	West, Ayer; Norton gives "Waiter," but it must be "Walter"
Let George Do It	1912.04.22	The Band Came Back	M	West, Ayer
Let George Do It	1912.04.22	The Dramatic Rag	E, M	West, Ayer
Two Little Birdies	1912.04.23	The Waltz Without a Kiss	D	Powers, Kerker
Mama's Baby Boy	1912.05.25	The Kitchen Cabaret	E	McCree, Linne
Mama's Baby Boy	1912.05.25	Hysterical Tune	M	McCree, Linne
The Passing Show of 1912/ The Ballet of 1830	1912.07.22	(The) Rag Time Jockey Man	M	Berlin
The Passing Show of 1912/ The Ballet of 1830	1912.07.22	The Wedding Glide	D	Hirsch
The Passing Show of 1912/ The Ballet of 1830	1912.07.22	All the World Is Madly Prancing	D	Bronson-Howard, Atteridge, Hirsch
The Passing Show of 1912/ The Ballet of 1830	1912.07.22	The Bacchanal Rag	M	Hirsch
The Passing Show of 1912/ The Ballet of 1830	1912.07.22	The Kangaroo Hop	D	Bronson-Howard, Atteridge, Hirsch
The Passing Show of 1912/ The Ballet of 1830	1912.07.22	Cohen's (Yiddisha) Band	M	Macdonald, Piantadosi

Show title	Date	Song title	Type	Songwriters and notes
The Passing Show of 1912/ The Ballet of 1830	1912.07.22	The Philadelphia Drag	D	Orlob
The Passing Show of 1912/ The Ballet of 1830	1912.07.22	Mr. Pagliacci	M	Tour only
Hanky Panky	1912.08.05	(Under) The Ragtime Flag	M	Goetz, Sloane
Hanky Panky	1912.08.05	Ragtime Opera	M	Berlin, adapt Donizetti, a.k.a. Opera Burlesque; also in Whirl of Society
Hanky Panky	1912.08.05	The Minstrel Man	E	Goetz, Sloane; a.k.a., Here Comes the Minstrel Man; dropped during run
Hanky Panky	1912.08.05	Meet Me at the Stage Door Tonight	E	Goetz, Sloane
Hanky Panky	1912.08.05	The Million Dollar Ball	E	Berlin, Goetz, Sloane
Hanky Panky	1912.08.05	The Hanky Panky Glide	D	Macdonald, H. Cooper, J. Cooper
Hanky Panky	1912.08.05	That Baboon Baby Dance	D	Oppenheim, J. Cooper; added during run
Hanky Panky	1912.08.05	Oh You Circus Day	E	Lessing, Monaco; added during run
The Girl from Brighton	1912.08.31	The Turkey Trot	D	A. Hoffmann, Botsford
The Girl from Brighton	1912.08.31	The Academy Rag	M	A. Hoffmann, Botsford; a.k.a., That Academy Rag
The Girl from Brighton	1912.08.31	The Brighton Beach Rag	M	A. Hoffmann, Botsford
The Girl from Brighton	1912.08.31	Minstrel Tune	M	A. Hoffmann, Botsford
The Girl from Brighton	1912.08.31	A Brand New Soldier Tune	M	A. Hoffmann, Botsford
The Girl from Brighton	1912.08.31	(Waiting for the) Robert E. Lee	D, M, S	A. Hoffmann, Botsford

Show title	Date	Song title	Type	Songwriters and notes
Under Many Flags	1912.08.31	Pretty Little Maidens on the Screen	E	Klein
My Best Girl	1912.09.12	(Come) Take a Dance with Me	D	Pollock, Wolf, Barratt, Crawford
My Best Girl	1912.09.12	Soft Shoes	D	Pollock, Wolf, Barratt, Crawford
My Best Girl	1912.09.12	That Syncopated Bogie Boo	D	Lewis, G. Meyer; tour only; a.k.a., The Bogie Boo
The Count of Luxembourg	1912.09.16	Carnival! Make the Most of Carnival! (Opening chorus)	E	Ross, Hood, Lehar
The Count of Luxembourg	1912.09.16	A Carnival for Life	E	Ross, Hood, Lehar
The Count of Luxembourg	1912.09.16	Are We Going to Dance?	D	Ross, Hood, Lehar
Oh! Oh! Delphine	1912.09.30	Oh! Oh! Delphine	M	McLellan, Caryll; see script
Oh! Oh! Delphine	1912.09.30	Pavlova	D	McLellan, Caryll; a.k.a. Opening Chorus (Act Three)
Oh! Oh! Delphine	1912.09.30	Oh, Gifted Master, Sleep!	S	McLellan, Caryll; see script
The Charity Girl	1912.10.02	Angel Rag	M	Peple, V. Hollander
The Charity Girl	1912.10.02	The Ghetto Glide	D	Peple, V. Hollander
The Charity Girl	1912.10.02	Those Ragtime Melodies	M	Peple, V. Hollander
The Charity Girl	1912.10.02	When Texas Tommy Did the Turkey Trot	D	Peple, V. Hollander
The Woman Haters	1912.10.07	The Dance Polka	D	Hobart, Eysler; a.k.a., Dance the Polka
Ziegfeld Follies of 1912	1912.10.21	Stage Door Number	E	H.B. Smith, Hubbell
Ziegfeld Follies of 1912	1912.10.21	The Broadway Glide	D	A. Brown, Grant
Ziegfeld Follies of 1912	1912.10.21	The Boardwalk Parade	E	H.B. Smith, Hubbell
Ziegfeld Follies of 1912	1912.10.21	Good Old Circus Band	E, M	H.B. Smith, Hubbell
The Lady of the Slipper	1912.01.28	At the Bal Masque	E	Caldwell, McCarty, Herbert
The Lady of the Slipper	1912.01.28	Punch Bowl Glide	D	Caldwell, McCarty, Herbert

Show title	Date	Song title	Type	Songwriters and notes
The Red Petticoat	1912.11.13	Sing, Sing, You Tetrzinni!	S	R. Young, West, Kern
The Red Petticoat	1912.11.13	Dance, Dance, Dance	D	R. Young, West, Kern
The Red Petticoat	1912.11.13	The Ragtime Restaurant	M	R. Young, West, Kern
The Red Petticoat	1912.11.13	The Waltz Time Girl	D	R. Young, West, Kern
The Gypsy	1912.11.14	Sing a Song of Sixpence	S	Pixley, Luders
(From) Broadway to Paris	1912.11.20	The Gertrude Hoffmann Glide	D, E	M. Hoffmann
(From) Broadway to Paris	1912.11.20	The Rag-Time Boxing Match	M	Bronson-Howard, Atteridge, M. Hoffmann
Roly Poly	1912.11.21	The Prima Donnas	S	Goetz, Sloane; Weber & Fields
Roly Poly	1912.11.21	When I'm Waltzing	D	Goetz, Sloane; Weber & Fields
Roly Poly	1912.11.21	The Burglar's Ball	E	Goetz, Sloane; Weber & Fields
The Sun Dodgers	1912.11.30	Rag Me Around	M	Goetz, Sloane
The Sun Dodgers	1912.11.30	Every Flower Has a Melody	M	Goetz, Sloane
The Sun Dodgers	1912.11.30	At the Picture Show	E	Goetz, Sloane
The Sun Dodgers	1912.11.30	Take Me to the Chicken Ball	E	B. Jones, Story; tour only
Eva	1912.12.30	Let us whirl, swirl, twirl	D	MacDonough, Lehar; a.k.a., Opening Chorus, Act Two
Eva	1912.12.30	The Up-to-Date Troubador	S	MacDonough, Lehar

1912 Revived songs in new shows

Hokey-Pokey	1912.02.08	When Chloe Sings a Song	S	H.B. Smith, Stromberg; from Whirl-I-Gig
The Passing Show of 1912/ The Ballet of 1830	1912.07.22	(That) Haunting Melody	M	Cohan; tour only; from Vera Violetta

1913

Show title	Date	Song title	Type	Songwriters and notes
The Man with Three Wives	1913.01.23	All in a Little Dance	D	Atteridge, Potter, Lehar
The Sunshine Girl	1913.02.03	You Can't Play Every Instrument in the Band	M	Wimperis, Rubens
The Sunshine Girl	1913.02.03	(The Argentine) Tango (Duet)	D	Wimperis, Rubens
The Honeymoon Express	1913.02.06	Don't Take My Baby Grand	M	Atteridge, J. Schwartz; a.k.a., The Moving Man
The Honeymoon Express	1913.02.06	Syncopatia Land	M	Atteridge, J. Schwartz
The Honeymoon Express	1913.02.06	The Rag Time Express	M	Atteridge, J. Schwartz
The Honeymoon Express	1913.02.06	A Little Cabaret at Home	E	Atteridge, J. Schwartz; a.k.a., Our Little Cabaret at Home
The Honeymoon Express	1913.02.06	My Raggydore	M	Atteridge, J. Schwartz
The Honeymoon Express	1913.02.06	When Gaby Did the Gaby Glide	D	Atteridge, J. Schwartz
The Honeymoon Express	1913.02.06	While They Were Dancing Around	D	McCarthy, Monaco
The American Maid	1913.03.03	We Chant a Song of Labor	S	Liebling, Sousa
The American Maid	1913.03.03	The Crystal Lute	M	Liebling, Sousa
My Little Friend	1913.05.19	Music Hath Charms	M	R. Smith, Straus
All Aboard	1913.06.05	Monkey Doodle	D	Berlin; a.k.a., The Monkey Doodle Doo; dropped during run
All Aboard	1913.06.05	Ragtime Yodeling Man	M, S	Goetz, Franklin
All Aboard	1913.06.05	Wiggly Rag	M	Goetz, Franklin
Ziegfeld Follies of 1913	1913.06.16	Good Bye My Tango	D	Hobart, Hubbell; a.k.a., New York, What's the Matter with You?
Ziegfeld Follies of 1913	1913.06.16	The Ragtime Suffragette	M	Hobart, Hubbell
Ziegfeld Follies of 1913	1913.06.16	Turkish Trottness	D	Hobart, Hubbell
The Passing Show of 1913	1913.07.24	Ragging the Nursery Rhymes	M	Atteridge, A. Brown
The Passing Show of 1913	1913.07.24	(That) Good Old-Fashioned Cakewalk	D	Atteridge, A. Brown, J. Schwartz

Show title	Date	Song title	Type	Songwriters and notes
The Passing Show of 1913	1913.07.24	The White House Glide	D	Atteridge, A. Brown, J. Schwartz
The Passing Show of 1913	1913.07.24	Tangle Footed Monkey Wrench Dance	D	Atteridge, A. Brown, J. Schwartz
The Passing Show of 1913	1913.07.24	Whistling Cowboy Joe	M	Atteridge, A. Brown
The Passing Show of 1913	1913.07.24	He Blew on His Bugle-E-Oo	M	Atteridge, A. Brown, J. Schwartz
The Passing Show of 1913	1913.07.24	Florodora Slide	D	Atteridge, A. Brown, J. Schwartz
The Passing Show of 1913	1913.07.24	Winter Garden Girl	M	Atteridge, A. Brown; tour only
The Passing Show of 1913	1913.07.24	Oh, You Tango	D	Atteridge, A. Brown, J. Schwartz; 2 nd edition only, 1913.09.29
When Dreams Come True	1913.08.18	O.K. Two-Step	D	Bartholomae, Hein
When Dreams Come True	1913.08.18	The Boy with the Violin	M	Bartholomae, Hein
When Dreams Come True	1913.08.18	Come Along to the Movies	E	Bartholomae, Hein
The Doll Girl	1913.08.25	When You're on the Stage	E	H.B. Smith, Fall
The Doll Girl	1913.08.25	That Ragtime Dinner Band	M	Chandler, Haines
America	1913.08.30	Ragtime in the Air	M	Klein
Sweethearts	1913.09.08	In the Convent They Never Taught Me That	S, D	R. Smith, Herbert
Sweethearts	1913.09.08	Game of Love	D	R. Smith, Herbert
The Marriage Market	1913.09.22	The Futurist Twirl	D	Rourke, Burch; probably a.k.a., The Futurist (Waltz)
Oh, I Say!	1913.10.30	The Old Clarinet	M	H.B. Smith, Gilbert
The Pleasure Seekers	1913.11.03	The Serpentine	D	Goetz
The Pleasure Seekers	1913.11.03	Love Me in a Viennese Melody	M	Goetz; a.k.a. Love Me to a Viennese Melody
The Pleasure Seekers	1913.11.03	(At That Bully) Wooly Wild West Show	E	Goetz
The Pleasure Seekers	1913.11.03	The Monte Carlo Glide	D	Goetz

Show title	Date	Song title	Type	Songwriters and notes
The Little Café	1913.11.10	Do You Call That Dancing?	D	McLellan, Caryll
High Jinks	1913.12.10	When Sammy Sang the Marseillaise	S	Harbach, Friml
The Girl on the Film	1913.12.29	Won't You Come and Waltz with Me	D	Ross, Kollo
The Girl on the Film	1913.12.29	Tommy Won't You Teach Me How to Tango	D	Ross, Kollo

1914

Show title	Date	Song title	Type	Songwriters and notes
The Whirl of the World	1914.01.10	Come On In, the Dancing's Fine	D	Atteridge, Romberg
The Whirl of the World	1914.01.10	A Dancing Romeo	D	Atteridge, Romberg
The Whirl of the World	1914.01.10	The Dance of the Fortune Wheel	D	Atteridge, Romberg
The Whirl of the World	1914.01.10	The Dolly Maxixe	D	Atteridge, Romberg
The Whirl of the World	1914.01.10	The Twentieth Century Rag	M	Atteridge, Romberg
The Whirl of the World	1914.01.10	The Ragtime Pinafore	M, E	Atteridge, Romberg
The Whirl of the World	1914.01.10	The Whirl of the Opera	E	Atteridge, Romberg
The Whirl of the World	1914.01.10	The Pavlowa Gavotte	D	Atteridge, Romberg
The Whirl of the World	1914.01.10	Ragtime Arabian Nights	M	Atteridge, Romberg
The Queen of the Movies	1914.01.12	Whistle	M	Paulton, Gilbert
The Queen of the Movies	1914.01.12	Mootching Along (at the Cotton Ball)	E, D	L. Gilbert, Muir
Sari	1914.01.13	My Faithful Stradivari	M	Cushing, Heath, Kalman
The Laughing Husband	1914.02.02	Love Is Like a Violin	M	Wimperis, Eysler
The Laughing Husband	1914.02.02	Take a Step with Me	D	H.B. Smith, Kern
The Laughing Husband	1914.02.02	Since Grandpa Learned to Tango	D	L. Williams, de Zulueta
Shameen Dhu	1914.02.02	Too Ra, Loo Ra, Loo Ra, Ly, That's an Irish Lullaby	S	Shannon
When Claudia Smiles	1914.02.02	The Flower Garden Ball	E	Caldwell, J. Schwartz
When Claudia Smiles	1914.02.02	Sweetheart, Let Us Dance the Boston	D	Spink
The Midnight Girl	1914.02.23	Come Back to the (Old) Cabaret	E	Paulton, Philipp, Briquet
The Midnight Girl	1914.02.23	The Midnight Cabaret	E	Paulton, Philipp, Briquet
The Midnight Girl	1914.02.23	Won't You Waltz with Me?	D	Paulton, Philipp, Briquet; tour only

Show title	Date	Song title	Type	Songwriters and notes
The Crinoline Girl	1914.03.16	That Tempting Tango	D	Harbach, Weinrich
Maids of Athens	1914.03.18	Waltz, ,You Siren of Melody	D	Wells, Lehar
The Belle of Bond Street	1914.03.30	The Tango Maid	D	Ross, Aveling, Caryll, Monckton; a.k.a., A Little Tango Maid
The Belle of Bond Street	1914.03.30	The Tango Dip	D	Ross, Aveling, Caryll, Monckton
The Belle of Bond Street	1914.03.30	My Turkey Trotting Boy	D	Atteridge, Carroll; a.k.a., The Turkey Trotting Boy; a.k.a. Oh! You Turkey Trotter
The Red Canary	1914.04.13	The Cabaret Siren	E	Johnstone, Orlob
The Beauty Shop	1914.04.13	I Want to Look Like Lillian Russell	E	Pollock, Wolf, Gebest
The Beauty Shop	1914.04.13	The Sunshine Maxixe	D	Pollock, West, Gebest
The Beauty Shop	1914.04.13	My Tango Queen	D	Pollock, West, Gebest
Ziegfeld Follies of 1914	1914.06.01	The Hurdy Gurdy Man	M	Hobart, Hubbell; a.k.a., Goodnight, Mr. Hurdy-Gurdy Man
Ziegfeld Follies of 1914	1914.06.01	Because I Can't Tango	D	Hobart, Hubbell
Ziegfeld Follies of 1914	1914.06.01	The Ragtime Regiment	D	A. Brown; a.k.a., When the Ragtime Army Goes Away to War
Ziegfeld Follies of 1914	1914.06.01	Nightlife in Old Manhattan	E	Hobart, Hubbell
Ziegfeld Follies of 1914	1914.06.01	The Man Who Wrote 'The Vampire' Must Have Known My Wife	D	Buck, Jones, B. Williams
Ziegfeld Follies of 1914	1914.06.01	Tangorilla	D	Hobart, Hubbell; dropped during run
Ziegfeld Follies of 1914	1914.06.01	At the Ball	E	J. Hill; added during run
The Passing Show of 1914	1914.06.10	Working for the Pictures	E	Atteridge, Romberg, Carroll
The Passing Show of 1914	1914.06.10	The Maude Adams of the Screen	E	Atteridge, Romberg, Carroll
The Passing Show of 1914	1914.06.10	The Moving Picture Glide	E, D	Atteridge, Carroll

Show title	Date	Song title	Type	Songwriters and notes
The Passing Show of 1914	1914.06.10	(That) Bohemian Rag	D	Havez, G. Edwards, Silvers
The Passing Show of 1914	1914.06.10	The Eagle Rock	D	Atteridge, Carroll
The Dancing Duchess	1914.08.19	The Tango Breakfast	D	C. Kerr, Burnside, Lusk
The Dancing Duchess	1914.08.19	On with the Dance	D	C. Kerr, Burnside, Lusk
The Dancing Duchess	1914.08.19	The Tango Contest	D	C. Kerr, Burnside, Lusk
The Dancing Duchess	1914.08.19	The Ragtime Whirl	M, D	C. Kerr, Burnside, Lusk
The Girl from Utah	1914.08.24	The Music of Love	M	Greenbank, Rubens
The Girl from Utah	1914.08.24	(At Our) Tango Tea (Last Week)	D	Lee, David
The Girl from Utah	1914.08.24	(Why Don't They Dance) The Polka (Anymore?)	D	H.B. Smith, Kern
The Girl from Utah	1914.08.24	Step This Way	D	Ross, Greenbank, Rubens, Jones; added during run or for tour
The Girl from Utah	1914.08.24	Ballin' the Jack	D	Smith
Miss Daisy	1914.09.09	Won't You Dance?	D	Bartholomae, Hein
Miss Daisy	1914.09.09	Pierrot's Ball	E	Bartholomae, Hein
Pretty Mrs. Smith	1914.09.21	Melody Lane	M	E. Carroll, James, Robyn; tour only
Dancing Around	1914.10.10	Somebody's Dancing with My Girl	D	Atteridge, Romberg, Carroll
Dancing Around	1914.10.10	The Dancing Maniacs	D	Atteridge, Romberg, Carroll
Dancing Around	1914.10.10	The Venetian Carnival	E	Atteridge, Romberg, Carroll
Dancing Around	1914.10.10	The Shuffling Shiverree	D	Atteridge, Romberg, Carroll
Dancing Around	1914.10.10	I'm Seeking for Siegfried	S	Atteridge, Romberg, Carroll
Dancing Around	1914.10.10	Everybody Rag with Me	D, M	Kahn, LeBoy

Dancing Around	1914.10.10	Bring Along Your Dancing Shoes	D	Kahn, LeBoy; tour only
Chin-Chin	1914.10.20	(Ragtime) Temple Bells	M	O'Dea, Caryll
The Lilac Domino	1914.10.28	Let the Music Play	M	R. Smith, Cuvillier
The Lilac Domino	1914.10.28	Carnival at Nice	M	R. Smith, Cuvillier
The Only Girl	1914.11.02	You Have to Have a Part to Make a Hit	E	Blossom, Herbert
The Debutante	1914.12.07	When I Played Carmen	E	R. Smith, Herbert
The Debutante	1914.12.07	The Dancing Lesson	D	R. Smith, Herbert
Watch Your Step	1914.12.08	The Minstrel Parade	E	Berlin
Watch Your Step	1914.12.08	Show Us How to Do the Fox-Trot	D	Berlin
Watch Your Step	1914.12.08	The Syncopated Walk	D	Berlin
Watch Your Step	1914.12.08	Old Operas in a New Way	S	Berlin; a.k.a. Ragtime Opera Medley
Watch Your Step	1914.12.08	Play a Simple Melody	M	Berlin; a.k.a. Simple Melody
To-Night's the Night	1914.12.24	Dancing Mad	D	Greenbank, Rubens
To-Night's the Night	1914.12.24	Play Me That Tune	M	Greenbank, Rubens; added during run
Lady Luxury	1914.12.25	When I Sing in Grand Opera	S, E	Young, Schroeder
Lady Luxury	1914.12.25	(Oh My, How He Loves) That Rag-tag Dance	D	Young, Schroeder
Hello, Broadway	1914.12.25	The Irving Berlin Melodies	M	Cohan; a.k.a. Those Berlin Melodies
Hello, Broadway	1914.12.25	The Barnum and Bailey Rag	E, M	Cohan
Hello, Broadway	1914.12.25	The Carriage Starters' Glide	D	Cohan; dropped during run
Hello, Broadway	1914.12.25	The Two Playhouses	E	Cohan
Hello, Broadway	1914.12.25	Hippodrome Folks	E	Cohan
Hello, Broadway	1914.12.25	Old-Fashioned Cakewalk	D	Cohan added during run
Hello, Broadway	1914.12.25	The Jesse James Glide	D	Cohan; added during run

1915

Show title	Date	Song title	Type	Songwriters and notes
Ninety in the Shade	1915.01.25	Whistling Dan	M	Kern, H.B. Smith
Ninety in the Shade	1915.01.25	Courtship de Dance	D	Kern, H.B. Smith
Maid in America	1915.02.18	The Typical Opening Chorus	E	Atteridge, Romberg, Carroll
Maid in America	1915.02.18	The Ragtime Dinner Order	M	Atteridge, Romberg, Carroll
Maid in America	1915.02.18	Sister Susie's Started Syncopation	M	Atteridge, Romberg, Carroll
Maid in America	1915.02.18	The Stolen Melody	M	Atteridge, Romberg, Carroll
Maid in America	1915.02.18	My Tosti, Good-Bye	S	Atteridge; Romberg, Carroll
Maid in America	1915.02.18	(At) The Fox Trot Ball	D, E	Atteridge, Romberg, Carroll
Maid in America	1915.02.18	The Olympian Glide	D	Atteridge, Romberg, Carroll; added to tour
Maid in America	1915.02.18	The Girlie from the Cabaret	E	Atteridge, Romberg, Carroll; added to tour
Maid in America	1915.02.18	Dancing Around the U.S.A.	D	Yellen, Carroll, Cobb; added during run
Peasant Girl, The	1915.03.02	The Best Waltz of All	D	
Fads and Fancies	1915.03.08	The Hunt Ball	E	Hubbell, MacDonough
Fads and Fancies	1915.03.08	Music with Meals	M	Hubbell, MacDonough,
Fads and Fancies	1915.03.08	The Yuca Tango	D	Hubell, MacDonough
Nobody Home	1915.04.20	The Magic Melody	M	Kern, Greene
Nobody Home	1915.04.20	The San Francisco Fair	E	Europe, Dabney (Kern, Greene, verse only), a.k.a. At That San Francisco Fair
Nobody Home	1915.04.20	The Chaplin Walk	E, D	Greene, Kern, Motzan; added during run
The Passing Show of 1915	1915.05.29	There's Something Missing in the Movies	E	Atteridge, L. Edwards, Peters, Hill
The Passing Show of 1915	1915.05.29	(Take Me to) The Midnight Cakewalk Ball	D	Atteridge, L. Edwards, Peters, Hill
The Passing Show of 1915	1915.05.29	My Trombone Man	M	Atteridge, L. Edwards, Peters, Hill

Show title	Date	Song title	Type	Songwriters and notes
The Passing Show of 1915	1915.05.29	The Spanish Fandango	D	Atteridge, L. Edwards, Peters, Hill
The Passing Show of 1915	1915.05.29	The Shakespearian Rag	E	Atteridge, L. Edwards, Peters, Hill; a.k.a. Billy Shakespeare
The Passing Show of 1915	1915.05.29	My Hula Maid	D	Atteridge, L. Edwards, Peters, Hill
The Passing Show of 1915	1915.05.29	Panama Pacific Drag	D	Atteridge, L. Edwards, Peters, Hill
The Passing Show of 1915	1915.05.29	Sing Me to Sleep with an Old-Fashioned Melody	S	Atteridge, L. Edwards, Peters, Hill; tour only, part of medley
The Ziegfeld Follies of 1915	1915.06.21	The Midnight Frolic Glide	D	
Hands Up	1915.07.22	Evolution of Ragtime	M	Romberg, Goetz; a.k.a. Evolution of a Rag
Hands Up	1915.07.22	(The) Pirate's Rag	M	Romberg, Goetz
Hands Up	1915.07.22	(Sing Sing) Tango Tea	D	Romberg, Goetz
The Blue Paradise	1915.08.05	Waltz of the Season	D	Eysler, E. Smith
The Blue Paradise	1915.08.05	(The Tune) They Croon in the U.S.A.	S	Eysler, E. Smith
The Girl from Utah	1915.08.09	Dance with Me	D	Eysler, E. Smith; new song in return engagement of 1914 show
The Girl Who Smiles	1915.08.30	Dance Me Good-bye	D	
The Girl Who Smiles	1915.08.30	Let Us Dance	D	A.k.a., Temptation Waltz
Cousin Lucy	1915.08.27	Everybody Do the Hula	D	Tour only; Wenrich
Two Is Company	1915.09.22	We Like to Whirl	D	
Two Is Company	1915.09.22	The Lure of the Waltz	D	
Town Topics	1915.09.23	The Keystone Glide	D	Gray, Orlob; Ned Wayburn's ...
Town Topics	1915.09.23	The Melody of the Century	M	Gray, Orlob; Ned Wayburn's ...
Town Topics	1915.09.23	The Musical Mokes	M	Ned Wayburn's ...; dropped during run

Show title	Date	Song title	Type	Songwriters and notes
Town Topics	1915.09.23	Wake Up! It's Cake Walk Day	D	Gray, Orlob; Ned Wayburn's ...; a.k.a. Cake Walk Days
Hip-Hip-Hooray	1915.09.30	The Kat Cabaret	E	Golden, Hubbell
Hip-Hip-Hooray	1915.09.30	(My) Fox Trot Wedding Day	D	Burt
Hip-Hip-Hooray	1915.09.30	The Flower Garden Ball	E	Golden, Hubbell
Hip-Hip-Hooray	1915.09.30	Everything in America Is Ragtime	M	Berlin; from concurrent Stop! Look! Listen!; added during run
Miss Information	1915.10.05	The Mix-up Rag	M	Janis, Kern
A World of Pleasure	1915.10.14	Syncopation	M	Atteridge, Romberg
A World of Pleasure	1915.10.14	The Ragtime Pipe of Pan	M	Atteridge, Romberg
A World of Pleasure	1915.10.14	The Wop Cabaret	E	Atteridge, Romberg
A World of Pleasure	1915.10.14	I Played My Concertina	M	Atteridge, Romberg
A World of Pleasure	1915.10.14	The Greatest Battle Song of All	S	Atteridge, Romberg
A World of Pleasure	1915.10.14	Ragtime Carnival	M, E	Atteridge, Romberg
World of Pleasure, A	1915.10.14	The Jigaree	D	Atteridge, Romberg
Alone at Last	1915.10.19	Waltz Entrancing	D	E. Smith, Lehar
Katinka	1915.12.23	The Walking Music Store	M	Harbach, Friml
Katinka	1915.12.23	I Want to Marry a Male Quartette	S	Harbach, Friml
Katinka	1915.12.23	I Can Tell by the Way You Dance, Dear	D	Harbach, Friml
Stop! Look! Listen!	1915.12.25	I Love to Dance	D	Berlin
Stop! Look! Listen!	1915.12.25	I Love a Piano	M	Berlin
Stop! Look! Listen!	1915.12.25	I Love the Movies	E	Berlin; parody on I Love a Piano as part of I Love to Sit by the Fire
Stop! Look! Listen!	1915.12.25	The Hula Hula	D	Berlin; a.k.a. That Hula Hula
Stop! Look! Listen!	1915.12.25	One-Two-Three- Four	D	Berlin

Show title	Date	Song title	Type	Songwriters and notes
Stop! Look! Listen!	1915.12.25	Blow Your Horn	E	Berlin
Stop! Look! Listen!	1915.12.25	Why Don't They Give Us a Chance	E	Berlin; see Berlin Lyrics
Stop! Look! Listen!	1915.12.25	Everything in America Is Ragtime	M	Berlin; also used concurrently in Hip-Hip-Hooray
Ruggles of Red Gap	1915.12.25	Sing Me a Song of Love	S	Atteridge, Romberg
Ruggles of Red Gap	1915.12.25	Everybody Hum with Me	S	Atteridge, Romberg

1916

Show title	Date	Song title	Type	Songwriters and notes
Sybil	1916.01.10	I Can Dance with Everybody but My Wife	D	Cawthorn, Golden
The Cohan Revue of 1916	1916.02.09	My Musical Comedy Maiden	E	Cohan
The Cohan Revue of 1916	1916.02.09	Running Around with the Chorus Girls	E	Cohan
The Cohan Revue of 1916	1916.02.09	The Dancing Pirates	D	Cohan
The Cohan Revue of 1916	1916.02.09	The Ziegfeld Rag	M	Cohan
The Cohan Revue of 1916	1916.02.09	The 'Frisco Melody	M	Cohan
Robinson Crusoe, Jr.	1916.02.17	When You're Starring in the Movies	E	Atteridge, E. Smith, Romberg
Robinson Crusoe, Jr.	1916.02.17	(Go Ahead and) Dance a Little More	D	Atteridge, E. Smith, Hanley
Robinson Crusoe, Jr.	1916.02.17	Hunter's Fox-Trot Ball	D, E	Atteridge, E. Smith, Romberg
Robinson Crusoe, Jr.	1916.02.17	Minstrel Days	E	Atteridge, E. Smith, P. Schwartz
Pom-Pom	1916.02.28	The Circus in the Moon	E	Caldwell, Felix
The Road to Mandalay	1916.03.01	Moonlight Gavotte	D	McKenna, Vessella
See America First	1916.03.28	Buy Her a Box at the Opera	E	Porter
See America First	1916.03.28	When I Used to Lead the Ballet	E	Porter
Come to Bohemia	1916.04.27	The Big Brass Band	M	Chappell, Murchison
Molly O'	1916.05.17	Marionettes	E	H.B. Smith, R. Smith, Woess
Ziegfeld Follies of 1916	1916.06.12	(There's) Ragtime in the Air	M	Buck, Stamper
Ziegfeld Follies of 1916	1916.06.12	Somnambulustic Melody	M	Buck, Stamper; a.k.a. Somnambulustic Tune
Ziegfeld Follies of 1916	1916.06.12	Nijinski	D	Buck, Stamper
Ziegfeld Follies of 1916	1916.06.12	The Midnight Frolic Rag	E, D	probably Buck, Stamper
The Passing Show of 1916	1916.06.22	Wine, Women and Song	S	Atteridge, Romberg, Motzan

Show title	Date	Song title	Type	Songwriters and notes
The Passing Show of 1916	1916.06.22	Ragging the Apache	M, D	Atteridge, Romberg, Motzan
The Passing Show of 1916	1916.06.22	Play My Melody	M	Atteridge, Romberg, Motzan
The Passing Show of 1916	1916.06.22	Ragtime Calisthenics	M	Atteridge, Romberg, Motzan
The Passing Show of 1916	1916.06.22	That's Called Walking the Dog	D	Brooks; a.k.a. Walking the Dog
Yvette	1916.08.10	Modern Melody	M	Herendeen; plotted
The Big Show	1916.08.31	The Hippodrome Street Parade	E	Golden, Hubbell
The Big Show	1916.08.31	Come On Down to Rag-time Town	M	Golden, Hubbell
Flora Bella	1916.09.11	Love Is a Dance	D	Waxman, Cuvillier
Flora Bella	1916.09.11	We'll Dance Till Dawn of Day	D	Waxman, Cuvillier
The Amber Empress	1916.09.19	King Carnival	E	Connelly, Parenteau
The Amber Empress	1916.09.19	Melody Will Keep You Young	M	Connelly, Parenteau
Miss Springtime	1916.09.25	The Oold-Fashioned Drama [sic]	E	Wodehouse, Reynolds, Kalman
Betty	1916.10.03	Dance with Me	D	Ross, Rubens
So Long Letty	1916.10.23	Play Me a Ukulele	M	E. Carroll
So Long Letty	1916.10.23	When Jackson Moans on His Saxophone	M	E. Carroll
So Long Letty	1916.10.23	When They Start to Yodel Ragtime Songs in Tennessee	S, M	Tour only; dropped during tour
So Long Letty	1916.10.23	Chasing the Squirrel	D	Tour only; dropped during tour
The Show of Wonders	1916.10.26	When Pavlowa Starts Bucking and Winging	D	Atteridge, Romberg
The Show of Wonders	1916.10.26	Mendelssohn and Liszt	M	Atteridge, Romberg
The Show of Wonders	1916.10.26	Slavlova	D	Atteridge, Romberg
The Show of Wonders	1916.10.26	The Zoo Step	D	Atteridge, Romberg; a.k.a. Zoo
The Show of Wonders	1916.10.26	A Bit of Opera	E, S	Atteridge, Romberg; replaced Mendelssohn

Show title	Date	Song title	Type	Songwriters and notes
The Show of Wonders	1916.10.26	The Ghost of a Ukulele	M	Atteridge, Romberg; tour only
The Century Girl	1916.11.06	The Birth of the Century Girl	E	Blossom, Herbert
The Century Girl	1916.11.06	The Century Girl	E	Blossom, Herbert
The Century Girl	1916.11.06	The Music Lesson	M	Berlin
The Century Girl	1916.11.06	He Likes Their Ukulele	M	Berlin
The Century Girl	1916.11.06	The Chicken Walk	E	Berlin; a.k.a. That Broadway Chicken Walk; revue
The Century Girl	1916.11.06	They've Got Me Doing It Too	D, M	Berlin; probably same as They've Got Me Doing It Now (1913 song)
Follow Me	1916.11.29	The Violin Song	M	R. Smith, Romberg
Follow Me	1916.11.29	Raggy Ragtime Train	M	Probably R. Smith, Romberg; tour only

1917

Show title	Date	Song title	Type	Songwriters and notes
Have a Heart	1917.01.11	Can the Cabaret	E	Probably Wodehouse, Kern; added during tour
Love o' Mike	1917.01.15	Life's a Dance	D	H.B. Smith, Kern
Love o' Mike	1917.01.15	A Lonesome Little Tune	M	H.B. Smith, Kern; a.k.a. Simple Little Tune
Dance and Grow Thin	1917.01.18	The Kirchner Girls	E	Berlin, Merrill; song named after show's costume designer
Dance and Grow Thin	1917.01.18	Dance and Grow Thin	D	Berlin, G. Meyer
Canary Cottage	1917.02.05	(That) Syncopated Harp	M	E. Carroll
The Passing Show of 1917	1917.04.26	The Passing Show	E	Atteridge, Romberg
The Passing Show of 1917	1917.04.26	Same Old Song	S	Atteridge, Romberg
The Passing Show of 1917	1917.04.26	The Dancing Family	D	Atteridge, Romberg
The Passing Show of 1917	1917.04.26	Ruth St. Denis	D, E	Atteridge, Romberg
The Passing Show of 1917	1917.04.26	(The Wail of) The Chorus Girl	E	Atteridge, Romberg
His Little Widows	1917.04.30	When You Waltz with Me	D	Young, Duncan, Schroeder
His Little Widows	1917.04.30	In Cabaret-Land	E	Young, Duncan, Schroeder
Hitchy-Koo (1917)	1917.06.07	The Baldwin Corners' Brass Band	M	MacDonough, Goetz
Hitchy-Koo (1917)	1917.06.07	The Ragtime Alphabet	M	MacDonough, Goetz
Ziegfeld Follies of 1917	1917.06.12	The Arabian Fox Trot	D	Buck, Hubbell, Stamper
Ziegfeld Follies of 1917	1917.06.12	Ziegfeld Follies Rag	M, E	Buck, Hubbell, Stamper
Ziegfeld Follies of 1917	1917.06.12	The Arabian Fox Trot	D	Buck, Hubbell, Stamper
Ziegfeld Follies of 1917	1917.06.12	Everybody's Crazy 'Bout the Doggone Blues but I'm Happy	S	Creamer, Layton
Maytime	1917.08.16	Jump Jim Crow	D	Young, Romberg
Maytime	1917.08.16	Dancing Will Keep You Young	D	Young, Romberg
Cheer Up	1917.18.23	Melody Land	M	Golden, Hubbell

Show title	Date	Song title	Type	Songwriters and notes
Leave It to Jane	1917.08.28	When the Orchestra's Playing Your Favorite Waltz	M, D	Wodehouse, Kern; a.k.a. There It Is Again
The Riviera Girl	1917.09.24	Gypsy, Bring Your Fiddle	M	Wodehouse, Kalman
Furs and Frills	1917.10.09	The Highland Kiltie Rag	M	Clark, Hein; added and dropped from tour only
Jack o' Lantern	1917.10.16	Darktown Strutter's Ball	D, M, E	Brooks
Doing Our Bit	1917.10.18	Mr. Rag and I	M	Atteridge, Romberg, Timberg
Doing Our Bit	1917.10.18	Egyptian Rag	M	Atteridge, Romberg, Timberg
Doing Our Bit	1917.10.18	Dance, Dance, Dance	D	Atteridge, Romberg, Timberg
Doing Our Bit	1917.10.18	Hello, Miss Tango	D	Atteridge, Romberg, Timberg
Chu Chin Chow	1917.10.22	I'll Sing and Dance	S, D	Asche, Norton
Miss 1917	1917.11.05	A Dancing M.D.	D	Wodehouse, Kern
Miss 1917	1917.11.05	The Land Where the Good Songs Go	S	Wodehouse, Kern
Miss 1917	1917.11.05	A Dancing Courtship	D	Wodehouse, Kern or Herbert
Kitty Darlin'	1917.11.07	The Ball of the Fifty-First	E	Harbach, Friml
Odds and Ends of 1917	1917.11.19	Give Me an Old Fashioned Melody	M	Budley, Godfrey, Byrnes; a.k.a. Give Me an Old Fashioned Girlie
Odds and Ends of 1917	1917.11.19	Sister Susie Glide	D	Budley, Godfrey, Byrnes
The Star Gazer	1917.11.26	Rhyming for a Dance	D	Woodward, Lehar
Over the Top	1917.11.28	The Justine Johnstone Rag	M	Manning, Carter, Romberg, Timberg
The Grass Widow	1917.12.03	Dance with Me	D	Pollock, Wolf, Hirsch
The Grass Widow	1917.12.03	The Whirlwind Whirl	D	Pollock, Wolf, Hirsch
The Grass Widow	1917.12.03	When the Saxophone Is Playing	M	Pollock, Wolf, Hirsch
Words and Music	1917.12.24	First Nighters	E	Goetz

Show title	Date	Song title	Type	Songwriters and notes
Words and Music	1917.12.24	They'll Be Whistling It All over Town	M	Goetz
Going Up	1917.12.25	First Act, Second Act, Third Act	E	Berlin; a.k.a., When the Curtain Falls; dropped during run
Going Up	1917.12.25	(Every Ought to Know How to Do) The Tickle Toe	D	Harbach, Hirsch
The Cohan Revue of 1918	1917.12.31	When Ziegfeld's Follies Hit the Town	E	Cohan
The Cohan Revue of 1918	1917.12.31	Our Acrobatic Melodramatic Home	E	Cohan
The Cohan Revue of 1918	1917.12.31	The Potash and Perlmutter Ball	E	Cohan
The Cohan Revue of 1918	1917.12.31	The Wedding of Words and Music	S	Berlin

1917 Revived show with old songs

Show title	Date	Song title	Type	Songwriters and notes
When Johnny Comes Marching Home	1917.05.07	I Could Waltz On Forever with You	D	Stange, Edwards
When Johnny Comes Marching Home	1917.05.07	Sing, Darkies, Sing!	S	Stange, Edwards

1918

Show title	Date	Song title	Type	Songwriters and notes
Girl o' Mine	1918.01.28	Toddler's Ball	E	Bartholomae, Tours; added during run
The Love Mill	1918.02.07	Every Flower Has a Melody	M	Carroll, Francis
Sinbad	1918.02.14	Rock-a-Bye Your Baby with a Dixie Melody	S	J. Young, S. Lewis, J. Schwartz
Follow the Girl	1918.03.02	Women, Wine and Jazz	M	Blossom, Parenteau
Oh, Look!	1918.03.07	(Wherever There's Music and) Beautiful Girls	M	McCarthy, H. Carroll
Oh, Look!	1918.03.07	Typical Topical Tunes	M	McCarthy, H. Carroll
Oh, Look!	1918.03.07	The Vamp	D, M	Gay; tour only
Toot-Toot!	1918.03.11	When You Wake Up Dancing	D	Braley, Kern
Toot-Toot!	1918.03.11	Indian Fox Trot	D	Braley, Kern
The Rainbow Girl	1918.04.01	Mister Drummer Man	M	Wolf, Hirsch
The Rainbow Girl	1918.04.01	Soon We'll All Be Seen Upon the Screen	E	Wolf, Hirsch
You Know Me Al!	1918.04.11	Bring Back That (Old) Yama Dance to Me	D	R. Brown, Hamilton
Good-Bye, Bill	1918.04.22	A Jazz Band Am the Firstest Aid for Me	M	Duggan
The Kiss Burglar	1918.05.09	I Want to Learn to Dance	D	MacDonough, Hubbell
Rock-a-Bye Baby	1918.05.22	Little Tune Go Away	M	Reynolds, Kern
Biff-Bang!	1918.05.30	That Gypsy Rag	M	Israel, Cohen, Schroeder
Biff-Bang!	1918.05.30	The Sailor's Fox Trot Wedding	D	Dunning, et alia, Schroeder
Hitchy-Koo of 1918	1918.06.06	Hitchy-Koo Girl	E	MacDonough, Goetz, Hubbell
Hitchy-Koo of 1918	1918.06.06	Resurrection Rag	M	MacDonough, Goetz, Hubbell
Hitchy-Koo of 1918	1918.06.06	Jazz-a-Muh-Jazz	M	MacDonough, Goetz, Hubbell; tour only
Hitchy-Koo of 1918	1918.06.06	Come Dance with Me	M	MacDonough, Goetz, Hubbell; tour only

Show title	Date	Song title	Type	Songwriters and notes
Ziegfeld Follies of 1918	1918.06.18	(When I Hear a) Syncopated Tune	M	Wolf, Buck, Hirsch
Ziegfeld Follies of 1918	1918.06.18	A Yankee Doodle Dance	D	Wolf, Buck, Hirsch, Stamper
Ziegfeld Follies of 1918	1918.06.18	But After the Ball Was Over (Then He Made Up for Lost Time)	E	DeSylva, Jackson
Ziegfeld Follies of 1918	1918.06.18	I Want to Learn (How) to Jazz Dance	D	Wolf, Buck, Stamper
The Passing Show of 1918	1918.07.25	I (Really) Can't Make My Feet Behave	D	Atteridge, Romberg, J. Schwartz
The Passing Show of 1918	1918.07.25	Trombone Jazz	M	Atteridge, J. Schwartz
The Passing Show of 1918	1918.07.25	(That Soothing) Serenade	M	DeCosta
The Passing Show of 1918	1918.07.25	(The) Galli Curci Rag	M, S	Atteridge, Romberg
Yip Yip Yaphank	1918.08.19	Ragtime Razor Brigade	M	Berlin
Yip Yip Yaphank	1918.08.19	Come Along, Come Along, Come Along	E	Berlin; See Berlin Lyrics
Yip Yip Yaphank	1918.08.19	Love Interest	E	Berlin
Yip Yip Yaphank	1918.08.19	Jazz Land	M	Berlin; a.k.a. Send a Lot of Jazz Bands Over There
He Didn't Want to Do It	1918.08.20	I'm Dying to Dance with Oscar	D	Broadhurst, Hein
He Didn't Want to Do It	1918.08.20	The Spirit of the Carnival	E	Broadhurst, Hein
Everything	1918.08.22	The Circus Is Coming to Town	E	Berlin
Head over Heels	1918.08.29	The Big Show	E	Woolf, Kern
Head over Heels	1918.08.29	The Moments of the Dance	D	Woolf, Kern
Head over Heels	1918.08.29	At the The Dansant	D	Woolf, Kern
Head over Heels	1918.08.29	Vordevuele	E	Woolf, Kern; i.e. Vaudeville
Head over Heels	1918.08.29	All the World Is Swaying	D	Woolf, Kern
Fiddlers Three	1918.09.03	When the Fiddler's Bow Begins to Fly	M	Duncan, Johnstone

Show title	Date	Song title	Type	Songwriters and notes
Fiddlers Three	1918.09.03	Virtuosos Great Are We	M	Duncan, Johnstone
Sometime	1918.10.14	The Tune You Can't Forget	M	Young, Friml
Ladies First	1918.10.24	(The Real) American Folk Song (Is a Rag)	M	Gershwin, Gershwin
Glorianna	1918.10.28	The Dancing Lesson	D	Chushing, Friml
The Canary	1918.11.04	Take a Chance (Little Girl and Learn to Dance)	D	H.B. Smith, Kern
The Canary	1918.11.04	That Little German Band	M	Burt, Caryll
The Canary	1918.11.04	I Wouldn't Give That for the Man Who Couldn't Dance	D	Berlin
Little Simplicity	1918.11.04	Fox Trot Military Tune	D, M	Young, Barratt
Oh, My Dear!	1918.11.27	(I Love a) Musical Comedy Show	E	Bryan, J. Schwartz
Atta Boy	1918.12.23	Ragtime Wedding	M	Sherri
Somebody's Sweetheart	1918.12.23	What Shall We Sing?	S	Price, Bafunno
Somebody's Sweetheart	1918.12.23	Gypsy Melodies	M	Price, Bafunno
The Melting of Molly	1918.12.30	Dancing School	D	Wood, Romberg
The Melting of Molly	1918.12.30	Jazz, How I Love to Hear It	M	Wood, Romberg
The Melting of Molly	1918.12.30	Jazz All Your Troubles Away	M	Wood, Romberg

1919

Show title	Date	Song title	Type	Songwriters and notes
The Velvet Lady	1919.02.03	I've Danced to Beat the Band	D	Blossom, Herbert
The Velvet Lady	1919.02.03	Dancing at the Wedding	D	Blossom, Herbert
Good Morning, Judge	1919.02.06	Midnight Cabaret	E	Ross, Greenbank, Monckton, Talbot
Good Morning, Judge	1919.02.06	Little Miss Melody	M	Greenbank, Monckton; added during run
Good Morning, Judge	1919.02.06	One Night, One Waltz, One Girl	D	Ross, Greenbank, Monckton, Talbot; tour only
Monte Cristo, Jr.	1919.02.12	Carnival Times	E	Atteridge, Romberg, J. Schwartz
The Royal Vagabond	1919.02.17	Opera, Comic Opera	E	Duncan, Goetzl
Tumble In	1919.03.24	The Trousseau Ball	E	Harbach, Friml
Take It from Me	1919.13.31	The Tanglefoot	D	Johnstone, Anderson
Come Along	1919.14.08	Big Drum, Little Drum	M	Nelson
Come Along	1919.14.08	Prohibition Ball	E	Gerber, Silver; added during run
She's a Good Fellow	1919.05.05	The Navy Foxtrot Man	D	Caldwell, Kern
Toot Sweet	1919.05.12	Charge of the Song Brigade	S	Egan, Whiting
Toot Sweet	1919.05.12	L'Enfant Skeed (Elephant Skid)	D	Egan, Whiting
The Lady in Red	1919.05.12	I'd Rather Dance Here than Hereafter	D	Caldwell, Winterberg
The Lady in Red	1919.05.12	Play Me That Tune (Ya-Da-De-Dum-Dum)	M	Caesar, Donaldson
The Lady in Red	1919.05.12	Garibaldi Band	M	Caldwell, Winterberg
La-La-Lucille!	1919.05.26	Yodel O	S	Foy; tour only
George White's Scandals of 1919	1919.06.02	Scandalous One-Step	D	Jackson, White, Whiting
Ziegfeld Follies of 1919	1919.06.16	The Follies Salad	E	Buck, Stamper
Ziegfeld Follies of 1919	1919.06.16	Shimmy Town	D	Buck, Stamper
Ziegfeld Follies of 1919	1919.06.16	I Love a Minstrel Show	E	Berlin
Ziegfeld Follies of 1919	1919.06.16	The Follies Minstrels	E	Berlin

Show title	Date	Song title	Type	Songwriters and notes
Ziegfeld Follies of 1919	1919.06.16	A Pretty Girl Is Like a Melody	M	Berlin
Ziegfeld Follies of 1919	1919.06.16	You Cannot Make Your Shimmy Shake on Tea	D	Berlin, Wolf
Ziegfeld Follies of 1919	1919.06.16	A Syncopated Cocktail	M	Berlin
Ziegfeld Follies of 1919	1919.06.16	Oh, How She Can Sing	S	Van, Schenck, Buzzell
Ziegfeld Follies of 1919	1919.06.16	My Tambourine Girl	M	Berlin
The Shubert Gaieties of 1919	1919.07.07	Rainbow Ball	E	Bryan, J. Schwartz
The Shubert Gaieties of 1919	1919.07.07	(Let Us Keep) The Shimmy	D	Bryan, J. Schwartz
The Shubert Gaieties of 1919	1919.07.07	Everybody Shimmies (Now)	D	West, Gold, Porray; tour only
The Shubert Gaieties of 1919	1919.07.07	(At the) Jazz Babies's Ball	E	Bayha, Pinkard; tour only
The Greenwich Village Follies (1919)	1919.07.15	The Stolen Melody	M	Swanstrom, Anderson, Sloane
The Greenwich Village Follies (1919)	1919.07.15	I'm the Hostess of a Bum Cabaret	E	Bartholomae, Anderson, Sloane
Oh, What a Girl!	1919.07.28	Oh, That Shimmy	D	E. Smith, Clark, Jules, Presburg
Peek-a-Boo	1919.18.11	Circus Comes to Town	E	Zelenko
Peek-a-Boo	1919.18.11	Dixie Jubilee	E	Zelenko
Peek-a-Boo	1919.18.11	(Take Me to) The Land of Jazz	E	Kalmar, Leslie, Wendling
Happy Days	1919.08.23	Jazz-time City	M	Burnside, Hubbell
See-Saw	1919.09.23	When You Dance	D	Biggers, Hirsch
See-Saw	1919.09.23	I Just Want Jazz	M	Biggers, Hirsch
Roly-Boly Eyes	1919.09.25	When Dancing's a Profession	D	Woolf, E. Brown, Gruenberg
Roly-Boly Eyes	1919.09.25	That Minstrel Man	E	Woolf, E. Brown, Gruenberg
Roly-Boly Eyes	1919.09.25	When They Do the Dippy Dooliums	D	Woolf, E. Brown, Gruenberg
Roly-Boly Eyes	1919.09.25	Minstrel Serenade	E	Woolf, E. Brown, Gruenberg
Hitchy-Koo of 1919	1919.10.06	Pagliacci	E	Porter

Show title	Date	Song title	Type	Songwriters and notes
Hitchy-Koo of 1919	1919.10.06	When Black Sallie Sings Pagliacci	S	Porter
Hitchy-Koo of 1919	1919.10.06	Hitchy's Garden of Roses	E	Porter; a.k.a. In Hitchy's Garden
Hitchy-Koo of 1919	1919.10.06	I'm an Anaesthetic Dancer	D	Porter
Hitchy-Koo of 1919	1919.10.06	Sentimental Song and Dance	S, D	
Hello, Alexander	1919.10.07	(Those) Dixie Melodies	M	Bryan, J. Schwartz
Hello, Alexander	1919.10.07	At the High Brown Baby's Ball	E	Bryan, J. Schwartz
Hello, Alexander	1919.10.07	(When Those) Mason and Dixon Minstrels (Hit Town)	M	Bryan, J. Schwartz
Hello, Alexander	1919.10.07	Swanee Glide	D	Bryan, J. Schwartz
Hello, Alexander	1919.10.07	Old Fashioned Rag	M	Bryan, J. Schwartz
Hello, Alexander	1919.10.07	That Naughty Waltz	D	Bryan, J. Schwartz; added during run
Hello, Alexander	1919.10.07	Yazoo Rag	M	Bryan, J. Schwartz; added during run
Apple Blossoms	1919.10.07	A Girl, a Man, a Night, a Dance	D	LeBaron, Kreisler
Apple Blossoms	1919.10.07	The Second Violin	D	LeBaron, Kreisler
The Little Whopper	1919.10.13	Oh, You Major Scales	M	Harbach, Friml
Nothing But Love	1919.10.14	Stop Waltz	M	Stammers, Orlob
The Passing Show of 1919	1919.10.23	Neopolitan Jazz	M	Atteridge, J. Schwartz
The Passing Show of 1919	1919.10.23	Shimmy a la Egyptian	D	Atteridge, J. Schwartz
The Passing Show of 1919	1919.10.23	(It's Always) Summertime at the Winter Garden	E	Atteridge, J. Schwartz
The Passing Show of 1919	1919.10.23	America's Popular Tune	M	Atteridge, J. Schwartz; a.k.a. America's Popular Song

Show title	Date	Song title	Type	Songwriters and notes
The Passing Show of 1919	1919.10.23	(You Can't Get into Heaven Unless You Have a) Jazz Band	M	Atteridge, J. Schwartz; tour only
Fifty-Fifty, Ltd.	1919.10.27	(I'm a) Jazz Vampire	M	Swanstrom, Morgan
Just a Minute	1919.10.27	When You Dance with a Certain Girl	D	Cort, Stoddard, Orlob tour only
The Little Blue Devil	1919.11.03	Shimmy – Shaking – Love	D	Atteridge, H. Carroll
The Little Blue Devil	1919.11.03	Dancing Shoes	D	Atteridge, H. Carroll
The Little Blue Devil	1919.11.03	Auction Rag	M	Atteridge, H. Carroll
The Little Blue Devil	1919.11.03	The Butler's Fox Trot	D	Atteridge, H. Carroll
The Magic Melody	1919.11.11	Melody of Dance	M, D	F. Kummer, Romberg
The Magic Melody	1919.11.11	Come on and Dance with Me	D	F. Kummer, Romberg; tour only
Irene	1919.11.18	The Talk of the Town	D	McCarthy, Tierney
Linger Longer Letty	1919.11.20	Strawberry Glide	D	Grossman, Goodman; a.k.a. Strawberry Festival
Linger Longer Letty	1919.11.20	Slow Town Is a Jazz Town Now	M	Grossman, Goodman
Linger Longer Letty	1919.11.20	Denishawn	D, E	Grossman, Goodman
The Rose of China	1919.11.25	The Spirit of the Drum	M	Wodehouse, Vecsey
The Rose of China	1919.11.25	The American Jazz	M	Wodehouse, Vecsey; added during run
Elsie Janis and Her Gang	1919.12.01	When I Took My Jazz Band to the Fatherland	M	Janis, Fechheimer, Kernell, Hilliam
Miss Millions	1919.12.09	The Dancing Lesson	D	Burnside, Hubbell
Monsieur Beaucaire	1919.12.11	Going to the Ball	E	Lonsdale, Messenger
Angel Face	1919.12.29	If You Can Love Like You Can Dance	D	R. Smith, Herbert

1919 Revived shows with old songs

Show title	Date	Song title	Type	Songwriters and notes
Chu Chin Chow	1919.08.08	I'll Sing and Dance	S, D	Asche, Norton

1919 Revived songs in new shows

Show title	Date	Song title	Type	Songwriters and notes
Elsie Janis and Her Gang	1919.12.01	The Darktown Strutter's Ball	D, E	1917 song; Brooks

Song Titles of 1920-1929

1920

Show title	Date	Song title	Type	Songwriters and notes
Always You	1920.01.05	Syncopated Heart	M	Hammerstein, Stothart
Always You	1920.01.05	My Pousse-café	E	Hammerstein, Stothart, a.k.a. Pousse Café
Frivolities of 1920	1920.01.08	Jazz Up Jasper	M	
Frivolities of 1920	1920.01.08	Farmer's Band	M	
Frivolities of 1920	1920.01.08	The Cuddle-Uddle	D	
Frivolities of 1920	1920.01.08	(Swiss) Echo Song	S	
As You Were	1920.01.27	(When You're Dancing in) A Nightie on the Lawn	D	Goetz
My Golden Girl	1920.02.02	The Jazzy-Jazz–Dancing Lesson	M, D	F. Kummer, Herbert
My Golden Girl	1920.02.02	A Song without (Many) Words	S	F. Kummer, Herbert
My Golden Girl	1920.02.02	Ragtime Terpshichore	D	Herbert, F. Kummer
Tick-Tack-Toe	1920.02.23	Chinese-American Rag	M	
Tick-Tack-Toe	1920.02.23	Shimmy All the Blues Away	D	
Tick-Tack-Toe	1920.02.23	Dance Mad	D	
What's in a Name?	1920.03.19	The Evolution of the Finale	E	Yellen, Ager
What's in a Name?	1920.03.19	That Reminiscent Melody	M	Yellen, Ager
What's in a Name?	1920.03.19	The Chelsea Reach	D	Yellen, Ager
What's in a Name?	1920.03.19	The Theatrical Blues	E	Yellen, Ager
The Ed Wynn Carnival	1920.04.05	Come Along (to the Carnival)	E	Wynn
Three Showers	1920.04.05	Dancing Tumble Tom	D	Creamer, Layton
Three Showers	1920.04.05	B. Is the Note	M	Creamer, Layton
Lassie	1920.04.06	Piper o' the Dundee	M	Chushing, Felix; a.k.a. The Piper of the Dundee
The Girl from Home	1920.05.03	Mirimba	M	Hein, Craven; a.k.a. Marimba

Show title	Date	Song title	Type	Songwriters and notes
Honey Girl	1920.05.03	I Love to Fox Trot	D	Fleeson, A. Von Tilzer
George White's Scandals	1920.06.07	I Love the Old Songs	S	Jackson, Gershwin; a.k.a. The Songs of Long Ago
George White's Scandals	1920.06.07	Scandal Walk	D	Jackson, Gershwin
Ziegfeld Follies of 1920	1920.06.22	Poor Florodora Girl	E	Berlin; dropped during run
Ziegfeld Follies of 1920	1920.06.22	I Was a Florodora Baby	E	MacDonald, Carroll; added during run, from the Midnight Frolics
Ziegfeld Follies of 1920	1920.06.22	The Syncopated Vamp	M	Berlin; dropped during run
Ziegfeld Follies of 1920	1920.06.22	My Midnight Frolic Girl	E	Black, Hickman; added during run. from the Midnight Frolics
Cinderella on Broadway	1920.06.24	Old Gentleman's Jazz	M	Atteridge, Grant; added during run
Cinderella on Broadway	1920.06.24	All the Little Grooms Start Dancing	D	Atteridge, Grant
Cinderella on Broadway	1920.06.24	Jazzing the Alphabet	M	Atteridge, Grant; dropped during run
Cinderella on Broadway	1920.06.24	The Last Waltz I Had with You	D	Atteridge, Grant
Cinderella on Broadway	1920.06.24	Any Little Melody	M	Atteridge, Grant
Cinderella on Broadway	1920.06.24	The Old Music Masters	M	Atteridge, Grant
Cinderella on Broadway	1920.06.24	Rolling up the Barcarolle	S	Atteridge, Grant
Buzzin' Around	1920.07.06	Poor Winter Garden Girl	E	
The Girl in the Spotlight	1920.07.12	Stage Life	E	R. Smith, Herbert; tour only
The Century Revue	1920.07.12	Millions of Tunes	M	Bryan, J. Schwartz
The Century Revue	1920.07.12	Shimmy Valentine	D	Bryan, J. Schwartz
The Midnight Rounders	1920.07.12	The Story of the Waltz	D	Bryan, J. Schwartz
The Midnight Rounders	1920.07.12	Shimmy Nods	D	Bryan, J. Schwartz' satire on Chaminade
The Midnight Rounders	1920.07.12	The Century Promenade	E	Bryan, J. Schwartz

Show title	Date	Song title	Type	Songwriters and notes
Silks and Satins	1920.07.15	(At) That Colored Jassobray	M	Freed, Wallace; a.k.a. That Colored Jazzoray
Silks and Satins	1920.07.15	I've Shaken Everything I've Got	D	Freed, Wallace
Poor Little Ritz Girl	1920.07.28	All You Need to Be a Star	E	Hart, Rodgers
Poor Little Ritz Girl	1920.07.28	The Daisy and the Lark	E	Hart, Rodgers; see Hart Lyrics
Poor Little Ritz Girl	1920.07.28	The Bombay Bombashay	D	Gerber, Romberg
Good Times	1920.08.09	The Wedding of the Dancing Doll	D	Burnside, Hubbell
Good Times	1920.08.09	Sing a Serenade	S	Burnside, Hubbell
The Greenwich Village Follies of 1920	1920.08.30	(At the) Krazy Kat's Ball	E	Swanstrom, Anderson, Sloane
The Greenwich Village Follies of 1920	1920.08.30	Marimba	M	Black, Johnson, Hess
Little Miss Charity	1920.09.02	Dance Me Around	D	
Honeydew	1920.09.06	A Fast Step Creation	D	J. Herbert, Zimbalist
Pitter Patter	1920.09.28	I Saved a Waltz for You	D	Friedlander
Pitter Patter	1920.09.28	They're Jazzing It Up in Havana	M	Friedlander
Broadway Brevities of 1920	1920.09.29	The Usual Opening Chorus	E	Traynor, Gottler
Broadway Brevities of 1920	1920.09.29	I Love to Dance	D	Traynor, Gottler
Broadway Brevities of 1920	1920.09.29	(We've Got) The Stage Door Blues	E	Kalmar, Ruby
Broadway Brevities of 1920	1920.09.29	I Want to Know Where Tosti Went	S	Smith
Broadway Brevities of 1920	1920.09.29	My Broadway Chorus Girl	E	Conrad; tour only
Broadway Brevities of 1920	1920.09.29	Drigo's Polka	D	Traynor, Gottler
Broadway Brevities of 1920	1920.09.29	I'm a Dancing Fool	D	Jackson, Gershwin
Jim Jam Jems	1920.10.04	Poor Old Floradora Girl	E	Cort, Stoddard, Hanley; dropped during run
Jim Jam Jems	1920.10.04	In a Cabaret	E	Cort, Stoddard, Hanley;

				added during run
Tip Top	1920.10.05	Humming	S	Breau, Henderson

Show title	Date	Song title	Type	Songwriters and notes
Tip Top	1920.10.05	Life Is Like a Punch and Judy Show	E	Caldwell, Burnside, Caryll
Kissing Time	1920.10.11	Keep a Fox-Trot for Me	D	Caryll, Caesar, Grey, P. Johnson
Kissing Time	1920.10.11	Mimi Jazz	M	Caryll, Caesar, Grey, P. Johnson
Mary	1920.10.18	Tom, Tom, Toddle	D	Harbach, Hirsch
Mary	1920.10.18	Flirtation Dance	D	Harbach, Hirsch
Hitchy-Koo 1920	1920.10.19	The Star of Hitchy-Koo	E	Raymond Hitchcock's ...; MacDonough, Caldwell, Kern
The Half Moon	1920.11.01	The Dancing Band	D, M	LeBaron, Jacobi
Jimmie	1920.11.17	Do, Ra, Me	S	Harbach, Hammerstein, Stothart; a.k.a. Do Re Mi; or is it about money?
Lady Billy	1920.12.14	The Futurist Rag	M	Sears, Levey
Lady Billy	1920.12.14	The Tune They Plug	S	Sears, Levey; a.k.a. The Tune They Play
Sally	1920.12.21	On with the Dance	D	Grey, Kern
Her Family Tree	1920.12.27	The Elevator Gavotte	D	Simons
The Passing Show of 1921	1920.12.29	When Caruso Comes to Town	S	Mitchell, Clare, Pollack
The Passing Show of 1921	1920.12.29	The Dancing Blues	D	Atteridge, Pollack; a.k.a. Dance Off the Blues
The Passing Show of 1921	1920.12.29	Sweetest Melody	M	Atteridge, Pollack

1921

Show title	Date	Song title	Type	Songwriters and notes
The Midnight Rounders of 1921	1921.02.07	Century Toddle	D	Bryan, J. Schwartz
Blue Eyes	1921.02.21	So Long Jazz	M	Gordon, Clemens, Kornblum
Love Birds	1921.03.15	Carnival Night	E	Macdonald, Romberg
The Right Girl	1921.03.15	Harmony	M	Peck, Wenrich
It's Up to You	1921.03.28	When I Dance with You	D	Paulton, McManus
June Love	1921.04.25	The Egyptian Dance	D	Hooker, Friml
Princess Virtue	1921.05.04	Toddling Along	D	Hilliam, Rice
Pheobe of Quality Street	1921.05.09	Waltzing Is Passing from Land to Land	D	Dunn, Kollo; a.k.a. Waltzing Is Spreading from Land to Land
The Last Waltz	1921.05.10	The Next Dance with You	D	Friedman, Goodman
The Last Waltz	1921.05.10	The Last Waltz	D	Friedman, Goodman
Shuffle Along	1921.05.23	(I'm) Simply Full of Jazz	M	Sissle, Blake
Shuffle Along	1921.05.23	Sing Me to Sleep, Dear Mammy	S	Sissle, Blake
Shuffle Along	1921.05.23	Shuffle Along	D	Sissle, Blake
Shuffle Along	1921.05.23	Syncopation Stenos	M	Sissle, Blake
Shuffle Along	1921.05.23	Baltimore Buzz	D	Sissle, Blake
Sun-Kist	1921.05.23	Breaking into the Movies	E	Fanchon, Marco
Sun-Kist	1921.05.23	A Pretty Dance Is Like a Violin	D, M	Fanchon, Marco
Sun-Kist	1921.05.23	What the Critics Said	E	Fanchon, Marco
Snapshots of 1921	1921.06.02	Every Girlie Wants to Be Sally	E	Hunter, Rodgers
Snapshots of 1921	1921.06.02	Futuristic Melody	M	Goetz, Gershwin
The Broadway Whirl	1921.06.08	Stars of Broadway	E	
The Broadway Whirl	1921.06.08	Stand Up and Sing for Your Father	S	Burr, Perkins; added during run
The Whirl of New York	1921.06.13	The Queen of Musical Comedy	E	Mitchell, Pollack
The Whirl of New York	1921.06.13	Dancing Fools	D	Probably Mitchell, Pollack
The Whirl of New York	1921.06.13	Dance, Dance, Dance	D	Probably Mitchell, Pollack

Show title	Date	Song title	Type	Songwriters and notes
The Whirl of New York	1921.06.13	Whistling It (All Over Town)	M	Probably Mitchell, Pollack
The Whirl of New York	1921.06.13	Take Me Down to Coney	E	Pollack, E. Rose, Whiting; added during run
Ziegfeld Follies of 1921	1921.06.21	Mr. Ziegfeld's Idea of Chorus Men	E	DeSylva, Friml
Ziegfeld Follies of 1921	1921.06.21	Strut Miss Lizzie	D	Creamer, Layton; also in Spice of 1922
Ziegfeld Follies of 1921	1921.06.21	Raggedy Rag	M	Buck, Stamper
Ziegfeld Follies of 1921	1921.06.21	Everytime I Hear a Band Play	M	Buck, Friml
Ziegfeld Follies of 1921	1921.06.21	My Midnight Frolic Girl	E	Buck, Stamper; tour only
The Mimic World of 1921	1921.08.17	Tennis Terpsichorean	D	Atteridge, Hussey, Murphy, J. Schwartz, Pollack
The Mimic World of 1921	1921.08.17	Jazzimova	M	Atteridge, Hussey, Murphy, J. Schwartz, Pollack
The Mimic World of 1921	1921.08.17	My Screen Maid	E	Atteridge, Hussey, Murphy, J. Schwartz, Pollack
Put & Take	1921.08.23	Strut Miss Lizzie	D	Creamer, Layton; also in Ziegfeld Follies of 1921; dropped during run
The Greenwich Village Follies (1921)	1921.08.31	Miss Dooley and Mr. Brown	E	Klages, Dowling, Coats; performed by Joe Brown and G. Dooley; added during run
The Greenwich Village Follies (1921)	1921.08.31	The Jewels of the Follies	E	Swanstrom, Anderson, C. Morgan; added during run
The Greenwich Village Follies (1921)	1921.08.31	Pavlowa Song	D	Merrill
The Greenwich Village Follies (1921)	1921.08.31	Three O'Clock in the Morning	D	Terris, Robledo
Music Box Revue (1921-1922)	1921.09.22	We'll Take the Plot to Ziegfeld	E	Berlin
Music Box Revue (1921-1922)	1921.09.22	Eight Little Notes	M, E, D	Berlin

Show title	Date	Song title	Type	Songwriters and notes
Music Box Revue (1921-1922)	1921.09.22	Dancing the Seasons Away	D	Berlin; a.k.a. Dance Your Troubles Away
Music Box Revue (1921-1922)	1921.09.22	Say It with Music	M	Berlin
Music Box Revue (1921-1922)	1921.09.22	Everybody Step	D	Berlin
Music Box Revue (1921-1922)	1921.09.22	They Call It Dancing	D	Berlin
Music Box Revue (1921-1922)	1921.09.22	An Interview with Irving Berlin	E	Berlin
Music Box Revue (1921-1922)	1921.09.22	Ladies and Gentlemen, Every Revue ...	E	Berlin
The O'Brien Girl	1921.10.03	Indian Prance	D	Mandel, Hirsch
The O'Brien Girl	1921.10.03	The Conversation Step	D	Mandel, Hirsch
The O'Brien Girl	1921.10.03	To Keep You in Your Seats	E	Mandel, Hirsch
The Love Letter	1921.10.04	To the Girl You Dance With	D	LeBaron, Jacobi
The Love Letter	1921.10.04	Cotillion	D	LeBaron, Jacobi
Bombo	1921.10.06	Jazza-da-dada	M	Atteridge, Romberg
Good Morning, Dearie	1921.11.01	The Teddy Toddle	D	Caldwell, Kern
Good Morning, Dearie	1921.11.01	Blue Danube Blues	M	Caldwell, Kern
Good Morning, Dearie	1921.11.01	Toddle Quartette	D	Caldwell, Kern

1921 Revived songs in new shows

Show title	Date	Song title	Type	Songwriters and notes
The Greenwich Village Follies (1921)	1921.08.31	The Reminiscent Melody	M	Yellen, Anderson, Ager; added during run, from What's in a Name? (03/20)
The Greenwich Village Follies (1921)	1921.08.31	A Young Man's Fancy	M	Yellen, Anderson, Ager; added during run, from What's in a Name? (03/20)

1922

Show title	Date	Song title	Type	Songwriters and notes
Up in the Clouds	1922.01.02	The Movie Lesson	E	Johnstone, Johnstone
The Blue Kitten	1922.01.13	Le Minuet Bleu	D	Harbach, Duncan, Friml
The Blue Kitten	1922.01.13	When I Waltz with You	D	Harbach, Duncan, Friml
Marjolaine	1922.01.24	Punch and Judy	E	Hooker, Felix
Marjolaine	1922.01.24	Song of a Sailor	S	Hooker, Felix
Marjolaine	1922.01.24	Music Box	M	Hooker, Felix
Marjolaine	1922.01.24	Dream Melody	M	Hooker, Felix; added during run
Pins and Needles!	1922.02.01	Slow Movies	E	Macdonald, Hazell, Caesar, Hanley, Chappelle
Pins and Needles!	1922.02.01	The Piccadily Walk	D	Macdonald, Hazell, Caesar, Hanley, Chappelle
Pins and Needles!	1922.02.01	The Sincopated [sic] Minuet	D	Macdonald, Hazell, Caesar, Hanley, Chappelle
Chauve-Souris	1922.02.04	The Parade of the Wooden Soldiers	E	Macdonald, L. Jessel
Frank Fay's Fables	1922.02.06	(That) Swanee (River Melody)	M	Fay, Gaskill
Frank Fay's Fables	1922.02.06	A Popular Song	S	Fay, Gaskill; a.k.a. It's a Pop, Pop, Popular Song
For Goodness Sake	1922.02.21	The French Pastry Walk	D	Jackson, Gershwin, Daly, Lannin
For Goodness Sake	1922.02.21	Tra-La-La	S	Gershwin, Gershwin
The Rose of Stamboul	1922.03.07	Why Do They Die at the End of a Classical Dance?	D, E	Atteridge, Fall, Romberg
Just Because	1922.03.22	(Oh, Those) Jazzing Toes	D	Woodruff, Sheppard
Just Because	1922.03.22	Pep Up Your Step	D	Woodruff, Sheppard
Letty Pepper	1922.04.10	I Love to Dance	D	Wood, Bibb, Janssen
Make It Snappy	1922.04.13	Hootch Rhythm	M	Bryan, J. Schwartz
Some Party	1922.04.15	Minstrel Days	E	Burnside, Wenrich
Some Party	1922.04.15	Burning to Sing, or Singing to Burn	S, E	Burnside, Kerker; "satire on traditional grand opera method"
Go Easy, Mabel	1922.05.08	The Unveiling of a Broadway Girl	E	George

Show title	Date	Song title	Type	Songwriters and notes
Go Easy, Mabel	1922.05.08	When You Dance with the Girl You Love	D	George
Red Pepper	1922.05.29	Strut Your Stuff	D	Rogers, Murphy, Gumble
Ziegfeld Follies of 1922	1922.06.05	Mr. Gallagher and Mr. Shean	E	Gallagher, Shean, Ball
Ziegfeld Follies of 1922	1922.06.05	Songs I Can't Forget	S	Buck, Hirsch
Ziegfeld Follies of 1922	1922.06.05	Sing a Swanee Song	S	Sanders, Breau; a.k.a. Suanee; added and dropped during run
The Grand Street Follies	1922.06.13	The Royal Damn Fango	D	A. Carroll, Hyland; a.k.a. All Change Places
Strut Miss Lizzie	1922.06.19	Crooning	S	Creamer, Layton
Strut Miss Lizzie	1922.06.19	At the Ball	E	Creamer, Layton
Strut Miss Lizzie	1922.06.19	Hoola, from Coney Isle	E	Creamer, Layton
Strut Miss Lizzie	1922.06.19	I Wanna Dance	D	Creamer, Layton
Strut Miss Lizzie	1922.06.19	Jazz Blues	M	Creamer, Layton
Spice of 1922	1922.07.06	The Swanee Sway	D	Stanley, Hanley
Spice of 1922	1922.07.06	Love Tunes	M	Hearn, Price
Spice of 1922	1922.07.06	An Old Fashioned Cakewalk	D	Stanley, Hanley
Sue, Dear	1922.07.10	That Samson and Delilah Melody	M, E	Dudley, F. Grey
Sue, Dear	1922.07.10	Dance Me, Darling, Dance Me	D	Dudley, F. Grey
Plantation Revue	1922.07.17	Minstrels on Parade	E	Turk, Robinson
George White's Scandals of 1922	1922.08.28	I Can't Tell Where They're From When They Dance	D	DeSylva, Goetz, Gershwin
George White's Scandals of 1922	1922.08.28	I'll Build a Stairway to Paradise	D	DeSylva, Gershwin, Gershwin
The Gingham Girl	1922.08.28	You Must Learn the Latest Dances	D	Fleeson, A. Von Tilzer
The Gingham Girl	1922.08.28	Tell Her While the Waltz Is Playing	M	Fleeson, A. Von Tilzer

Show title	Date	Song title	Type	Songwriters and notes
The Gingham Girl	1922.08.28	The 42 nd Street and Broadway Strut	D	Fleeson, A. Von Tilzer
Molly Darling	1922.09.01	Syncopate	M	Cook, Johnstone
Molly Darling	1922.09.01	Melody Dreams	M	Cook, Johnstone
Molly Darling	1922.09.01	Spirit of the Radio	E	Cook, Johnstone
Better Times	1922.09.02	I Dreamt that I Went to the Grand Opera Ball	E	Burnside, Hubbell
Sally, Irene and Mary	1922.09.04	Stage Door Johnnies	E	Klages, Coots
The Passing Show of 1922	1922.09.20	The Passing Show	E	Atteridge, Goodman
The Passing Show of 1922	1922.09.20	Circus Days	E	Atteridge, Goodman
The Passing Show of 1922	1922.09.20	American Jazz	M	Atteridge, Goodman
The Yankee Princess	1922.10.02	Stars of the Stage	E	DeSylva, Kalman
The Yankee Princess	1922.10.02	I'll Dance My Way into Your Heart	D	DeSylva, Kalman
The Yankee Princess	1922.10.02	The Waltz Was Made for Lovers	D	DeSylva, Kalman; added during run
The Lady in Ermine	1922.10.02	How Fiercely You Can Dance	D	Graham, Wood, Gilbert, Goodman
The Lady in Ermine	1922.10.02	Bolero (Song)	M	Graham, Wood, Gilbert, Goodman; added then dropped from tour
Queen o' Hearts	1922.10.10	Tom-Tom	M	Hammerstein, Gensler, Wilkinson
Music Box Revue (1922-1923)	1922.10.23	Dance Your Troubles Away	D	Berlin
Music Box Revue (1922-1923)	1922.10.23	Dancing Honeymoon	D	Berlin
Music Box Revue (1922-1923)	1922.10.23	Pack Up Your Sins and Go to the Devil	M	Berlin
Music Box Revue (1922-1923)	1922.10.23	Bring on the Pepper	M	Berlin; see Berlin Lyrics
Music Box Revue (1922-1923)	1922.10.23	Diamond Horseshoe	E, M, S	Berlin; see Berlin Lyrics
Little Nellie Kelly	1922.11.13	Nellie Kelly, I Love You	S	Cohan
Little Nellie Kelly	1922.11.13	Dancing My Worries Away	D	Cohan

Show title	Date	Song title	Type	Songwriters and notes
Little Nellie Kelly	1922.11.13	When You Do the Hinky Dee	D	Cohan
Little Nellie Kelly	1922.11.13	The Dancing Detective	D	Cohan
Little Nellie Kelly	1922.11.13	The Mystery Play	E	Cohan
Liza	1922.11.27	Just a Barbershop Cord [sic]	S	Pinkard
Liza	1922.11.27	The Charleston Dancy	D	Vincent, Pinkard
The Bunch and Judy	1922.11.28	Hot Dog	D	Caldwell, Kern dropped during run
Our Nell	1922.12.04	The Cooney County Fair	E	Thomas, Hooker, Gershwin
The Clinging Vine	1922.12.25	Song without Words	S	Sears, Levey
Glory	1922.12.25	(When) The Tenor Married the Soprano and the Alto Married the Bass	S	Dyrenforth, DePackh

1922 Revived songs in new shows

Show title	Date	Song title	Type	Songwriters and notes
Spice of 1922	1922.07.06	Strut Miss Lizzie	D	Creamer, Layton; re-use of 1921 song from the Ziegfeld Follies
Plantation Revue	1922.07.17	Darktown Strutter's Ball	D, E, M	Brooks

1923

Show title	Date	Song title	Type	Songwriters and notes
Lady Butterfly	1923.01.22	Waltz Time	D	Grey, Janssen
Lady Butterfly	1923.01.22	Sway with Me	D	Grey, Janssen
The Dancing Girl	1923.01.24	Play Me a Tune	M	Porter
Caroline	1923.01.31	The Old Virginia Reel	D	H.B. Smith, Dunn, Kunneke, Rideamaus
Sun Showers	1923.02.05	Terpsichore, the Goddess of the Dance	D	Delf; show retitled for tour as Happy Days
Wildflower	1923.02.07	Bambalina	M, D	Harbach, Hammerstein, Stothart, Youmans
Wildflower	1923.02.07	The Best Dance I've Had Tonight	D	Harbach, Hammerstein, Youmans
Go-Go	1923.03.12	Strutting the Blues Away	D	Rogers, Roberts
Go-Go	1923.03.12	Wonderful Dance	D	Rogers, Roberts
Go-Go	1923.03.12	Pat Your Feet	D	Rogers, Roberts
Jack and Jill	1923.03.22	Dancing in the Dark	D	Anderson, Harbach, Barratt
Elsie	1923.04.02	Everybody's Strutting Now	D	Sissle, Blake
Elsie	1923.04.02	Thunderstorm Jazz	M	Sissle, Blake
How Come?	1923.04.16	Syncopated Strain	M	Harris
How Come?	1923.04.16	Charleston Swing	M	Harris; a.k.a. The Cut-Out
How Come?	1923.04.16	Some More Dancing	D	Harris
Bombo	1923.05.14	The Glide de Luxe	D	Atteridge, Romberg; new song in return engagement of 1921 show
Dew Drop Inn	1923.05.17	The Struttingest Strutter	D	Wood, Goodman
Adrienne	1923.05.28	(The) Hindu Hop	D	A. Brown, A. Von Tilzer
Adrienne	1923.05.28	Dance with Me	D	A. Brown, A. Von Tilzer
The Passing Show of 1923	1923.06.14	Go into Your Dance	D	Atteridge, Romberg, J. Schwartz
The Passing Show of 1923	1923.06.14	The Ball Begins	E	Atteridge, Romberg
George White's Scandals (1923)	1923.06.18	Little Scandal Dolls	E	DeSylva, Gershwin
Helen of Troy, New York	1923.06.19	Nijigo Novgo Glide	D	Kalmar, Ruby

Show title	Date	Song title	Type	Songwriters and notes
Helen of Troy, New York	1923.06.19	A Little Bit o' Jazz	M	Kalmar, Ruby
Ziegfeld Follies (Summer Edition)	1923.06.25	My Melody	M	New song in revision of 1922 edition
Ziegfeld Follies (Summer Edition)	1923.06.25	(Listening on Some) Radio	E	New song in revision of 1922 edition
Earl Carroll's Vanities	1923.07.05	The Birth of a New Revue	E	E. Carroll
Earl Carroll's Vanities	1923.07.05	Girls Were Made for Dancing	D	E. Carroll
Earl Carroll's Vanities	1923.07.05	The Band Plays Home Sweet Home	M	E. Carroll
Earl Carroll's Vanities	1923.07.05	Whoa Pagliacci	E, S	E. Carroll
Earl Carroll's Vanities	1923.07.05	Jazzmania	M	E. Carroll
Earl Carroll's Vanities	1923.07.05	Mr. Wagner's Wedding March	M	E. Carroll
Earl Carroll's Vanities	1923.07.05	The Soul of the Harp	E	E. Carroll
Earl Carroll's Vanities	1923.07.05	When Love Sings a Song in Your Heart	E	E. Carroll
Fashions of 1924	1923.07.18	The Dancing Daily Dozen	D	H.B. Smith, Snyder
Fashions of 1924	1923.07.18	One Last Waltz	D	H.B. Smith, Snyder
The Newcomers	1923.08.08	(The Ultra) Peacock Strut	D	Morrissey
The Newcomers	1923.08.08	Teach Me to Dance	D	Morrissey
Little Jesse James	1923.08.15	Such Is Life in a Love Song	S	Thompson, Archer
Artists and Models (1923)	1923.08.20	Jackie Coogan	E	Atteridge, J. Schwartz
Artists and Models (1923)	1923.08.20	Say It with a Ukulele	M	Atteridge, J. Schwartz
Artists and Models (1923)	1923.08.20	Music of Love	M	Atteridge, J. Schwartz
Artists and Models (1923)	1923.08.20	Jackie Coogan	E	Atteridge, J. Schwartz
Poppy	1923.09.03	The Dancing Lesson (Opening Number, Act 2)	D	Donnelly, Egan
Greenwich Village Follies	1923.09.20	Shake a Little Hoof	D	Caesar, Anderson, Hirsch, Conrad

Show title	Date	Song title	Type	Songwriters and notes
The Greenwich Village Follies	1923.09.20	Dancing Step Child	D	Caesar, Anderson, Conrad
The Greenwich Village Follies	1923.09.20	Raisin' the Roof	D, M	Caesar, Anderson, Conrad
The Greenwich Village Follies	1923.09.20	Shake a Little Hoof	D	Caesar, Anderson, Hirsch, Conrad
Music Box Revue (1923-1924)	1923.09.22	Climbing Up the Scale	M	Berlin
Music Box Revue (1923-1924)	1923.09.22	Learn to Do the Strut	D	Berlin
Music Box Revue (1923-1924)	1923.09.22	The Waltz of Long Ago	M	Berlin
Nifties of 1923	1923.09.25	Opening Chorus	E	Kalmar, Ruby; a.k.a. Grinding Out a Revue
Nifties of 1923	1923.09.25	An Old Time Tune	M	Van, Schenck
The Magic Ring	1923.10.01	The Love Song (of Yesterday)	S	Sears, Levey
The Magic Ring	1923.10.01	When the Organ Plays	M	Sears, Levey
The Magic Ring	1923.10.01	Imaginative Opera	E	Sears, Levey
The Magic Ring	1923.10.01	The Love Song (of Today)	S	Sears, Levey
Hammerstein's Nine O'Clock Revue	1923.10.04	Simple Little Song	S	
Hammerstein's Nine O'Clock Revue	1923.10.04	That Old Tune	M	John, Keys, Darewski
(Mr.) Battling Buttler	1923.10.08	Tinkle Tune	M	Otvos, Breau
(Mr.) Battling Buttler	1923.10.08	Dancing Honeymoon	D	Furber, Braham
Ziegfeld Follies of 1923	1923.10.20	Shake Your Feet	D	Buck, Stamper; a.k.a. First Act Finale
Ziegfeld Follies of 1923	1923.10.20	Dancing Mad	D	Merrill, L. Edwards
Ziegfeld Follies of 1923	1923.10.20	I'd Love to Waltz Through Life with You	D	Buck, Herbert
Ziegfeld Follies of 1923	1923.10.20	Legend of the Drums	D	Buck, Herbert
Runnin' Wild	1923.10.29	Charleston	D	Mack, J.P. Johnson
Runnin' Wild	1923.10.29	Juba Dance	D	Mack, J.P. Johnson
Runnin' Wild	1923.10.29	Jazz Your Troubles Away	M	Mack, J.P. Johnson

Show title	Date	Song title	Type	Songwriters and notes
Runnin' Wild	1923.10.29	Banjo-Land	M	Mack, J.P. Johnson; added during run
Stepping Stones	1923.11.06	Because You Love the Singer	S	Caldwell, Kern
Stepping Stones	1923.11.06	Raggedy Ann	D, M	Caldwell, Kern
Topics of 1923	1923.11.20	American Dancers	D	Atteridge, J. Schwartz, A. Goodman
Topics of 1923	1923.11.20	Oedipus Rex a la Jazz	M	Atteridge, J. Schwartz, A. Goodman
Topics of 1923	1923.11.20	The Minuette	D	Atteridge, J. Schwartz, A. Goodman
Topics of 1923	1923.11.20	The Jazz Wedding	M	Atteridge, J. Schwartz, A. Goodman
Topics of 1923	1923.11.20	Doin' the Apache	D	Atteridge, J. Schwartz, A. Goodman
The Rise of Rosie O'Reilly	1923.12.25	The Arrival of the Plot	E	Cohan
The Rise of Rosie O'Reilly	1923.12.25	Stage Society	E	Cohan
The Rise of Rosie O'Reilly	1923.12.25	When June Comes Along with a Song	S	Cohan
The Rise of Rosie O'Reilly	1923.12.25	Two Girls from the Chorus	E	Cohan
The Rise of Rosie O'Reilly	1923.12.25	The Plot Again	E	Cohan

1923 Revived shows with old songs

Show title	Date	Song title	Type	Songwriters and notes
Balieff's Chauve-Souris	1923.09.08	The Parade of the Wooden Soldiers	E	Old song in return engagement

1924

Show title	Date	Song title	Type	Songwriters and notes
Lollipop	1924.01.21	Take a Little One-Step	D	Sears, DeLeon, Youmans
Moonlight	1924.01.30	Dancing	D	Friedlander, Conrad
Vogues of 1924	1924.03.27	When the Piper Plays	M	Thompson, Grey, Stothart
Vogues of 1924	1924.03.27	The Belle of the Ball	E	Thompson, Grey, Stothart
Vogues of 1924	1924.03.27	That's the Tune	M	Thompson, Grey, Stothart
Vogues of 1924/ Vogues and Frolics	1924.03.27	A Prehistoric Cabaret	E	Thompson, Grey, Stothart; 2 nd edition, 1924.06.25
Vogues of 1924/ Vogues and Frolics	1924.03.27	The Wedding Glide	D	Thompson, Grey, Stothart; 2 nd edition, 1924.06.25
Paradise Alley	1924.04.01	Musical Comedy	E	Johnson, Archer, Carlton, Otvos
Paradise Alley	1924.04.01	The First Nighters	E	Johnson, Archer, Carlton, Otvos
Sitting Pretty	1924.04.08	Shufflin' Sam	D	Wodehouse, Kern
Peg o' My Dreams	1924.05.05	Hunt Ball Rehearsal	E	Caldwell, Felix
Peg o' My Dreams	1924.05.05	Lily Bell Polka	D	Caldwell, Felix
Plain Jane	1924.05.12	A Playhouse Planned for You	E	Cook, Johnstone
Innocent Eyes	1924.05.20	Dear Old Moulin Rouge	E	Atteridge, Seymour, Romberg, J. Schwartz
Innocent Eyes	1924.05.20	Yankee Jazz	E	Atteridge, Seymour, Romberg, J. Schwartz
Innocent Eyes	1924.05.20	Hula, Hula, Sailor Man	D	Atteridge, Seymour, Romberg, J. Schwartz
Innocent Eyes	1924.05.20	Spoony Croony Tune	S	Atteridge, Seymour, Romberg, J. Schwartz
Keep Kool	1924.05.22	Shall I Sing It Now	S	P. Smith, Frost
Flossie	1924.06.03	Just Another New Step	D	Murphy, Lewis
Ziegfeld Follies of 1924	1924.06.24	The Old Town Band	M	McCarthy, Tierney
Ziegfeld Follies of 1924	1924.06.24	Dance Different	D	McCarthy, Tierney
Ziegfeld Follies of 1924	1924.06.24	Lonely Little Melody	M	McCarthy, Tierney
George White's Scandals (1924)	1924.06.30	Just Missed the Opening Chorus	E	DeSylva, Macdonald, Gershwin

Show title	Date	Song title	Type	Songwriters and notes
George White's Scandals (1924)	1924.06.30	Tune in to (Station) JOY	E	DeSylva, Macdonald, Gershwin
Marjorie	1924.08.11	Listening to Radio	E	Grey, Romberg
Marjorie	1924.08.11	Shuffle Your Troubles Away	D	Creamer, Hanley
No Other Girl	1924.08.13	It's the Dancer You Love	D	Kalmar, Ruby
No Other Girl	1924.08.13	I Would Rather Dance a Waltz	D	Kalmar, Ruby
The Dream Girl	1924.08.20	Dancing Round	D	R. Young, Herbert
The Dream Girl	1924.08.20	Old Songs	S	R. Young, Herbert
The Dream Girl	1924.08.20	Saxophone Man	M	R. Young, Herbert; possibly by Romberg, Jerome, J. Schwartz
Bye, Bye, Barbara	1924.08.25	Harmony	M	Carlo, Sanders
Bye, Bye, Barbara	1924.08.25	Pas Seul	D	Carlo, Sanders
Top-Hole	1924.09.01	Dance Your Way to Paradise	D	Murphy, E. Conrad, Gorney, Braine
Top-Hole	1924.09.01	Music of an Irish Song	S	Murphy, E. Conrad, Gorney, Braine; a.k.a. There Is Music in an Irish Song
The Chocolate Dandies	1924.09.01	That Charleston Dance	D	Sissle, Blake
The Chocolate Dandies	1924.09.01	Land of Dancing Pickaninnies	D	Sissle, Blake
The Chocolate Dandies	1924.09.01	Jazztime Baby	M	Sissle, Blake; added after opening
Rose-Marie	1924.09.02	Indian Love Call	S	Harbach, Hammerstein, Friml
The Passing Show of 1924	1924.09.03	Everybody Dance	D	Atteridge, Romberg, J. Schwartz
The Passing Show of 1924	1924.09.03	Mooching Along	D	Atteridge, Romberg, J. Schwartz
Be Yourself!	1924.09.03	A Good Hand-Organ and a Sidewalk	M	Kaufman, Connelly, Gensler, Schwarzwald
The Greenwich Village Follies	1924.09.16	On the Radio	E	Lopez, Murphy
The Greenwich Village Follies	1924.09.16	Happy Melody	M	Caesar, Anderson, Charig
The Greenwich Village Follies	1924.09.16	Bring Me a Radio	E	Porter

Show title	Date	Song title	Type	Songwriters and notes
The Greenwich Village Follies	1924.09.16	Syncopated Pipes of Pan	M	Porter
Hassard Short's Ritz Revue	1924.09.17	Dancing Blues	D	Harling
Hassard Short's Ritz Revue	1924.09.17	Uking the Uke	M	Harling
Hassard Short's Ritz Revue	1924.09.17	When You and I Were Dancing	D	Harling
Dear Sir	1924.09.23	Dancing Time	D	Dietz, Kern; perhaps lyric by Grossmith or Wodehouse
The Grab Bag	1924.10.06	A Chorus Girl's Song	E, S	
The Grab Bag	1924.10.06	Doodle Doo Doo	M	Kassel, Stitzel
The Grab Bag	1924.10.06	Annie Laurie Rag	E, S	Wynn, Wever, Nathan; a.k.a. What Did Annie Laurie Promise?
Artists and Models of 1924	1924.10.15	I Love to Dance When I Hear a March	D, M	Grey, Coslow, Coots
Artists and Models of 1924	1924.10.15	(The) Model Toddle	D	Grey, Coslow, Coots, Romberg
Artists and Models of 1924	1924.10.15	The Midnight Color Ball	E	Grey, Coslow, Coots, Romberg
Artists and Models of 1924	1924.10.15	I Want to Dance	D	Goodman, Rubens; tour only
Artists and Models of 1924	1924.10.15	Sing Sweet Juanita	S	Probably Grey, Coslow, Coots, Romberg; tour only
Artists and Models of 1924	1924.10.15	Promenade Walk	D	Probably Grey, Coslow, Coots, Romberg; tour only
Dixie to Broadway	1924.10.29	Jazz Time Came to the South	M	Clarke, Turk, G. Meyer, Johnston
Dixie to Broadway	1924.10.29	Trottin' to the Land of Cotton Melodies	M	Clarke, Turk, G. Meyer, Johnston
Annie Dear	1924.11.04	Radio Voices	E	Kummer
Madame Pompadour	1924.11.11	Carnival Time	E	Kummer, Schanzer, Welisch, Fall
Madame Pompadour	1924.11.11	One Two and One Two Three	D	Kummer, Schanzer, Welisch, Fall
My Girl	1924.11.24	Rainbow of Jazz	M	Thompson, Archer
My Girl	1924.11.24	A Solo on the Drum	M	Thompson, Archer

Show title	Date	Song title	Type	Songwriters and notes
The Magnolia Lady	1924.11.25	When Whiteman Starts to Play	M	Caldwell, Levey
The Magnolia Lady	1924.11.25	Phantoms of the Ballroom	D	Caldwell, Levey
Lady, Be Good!	1924.12.01	A Wonderful Party	Allu	Gershwin, Gershwin
Lady, Be Good!	1924.12.01	Fascinating Rhythm	M	Gershwin, Gershwin
Lady, Be Good!	1924.12.01	Little Jazz Bird	M	Gershwin, Gershwin
Music Box Revue (1924-1925)	1924.12.01	A Couple of Senseless Censors	E	Berlin
Music Box Revue (1924-1925)	1924.12.01	Moving Picture Baby	E	Berlin
Music Box Revue (1924-1925)	1924.12.01	I Want to Be a Ballet Dancer	D	Berlin
Music Box Revue (1924-1925)	1924.12.01	Polly from Hollywood	E	Berlin
The Student Prince in Heidelberg	1924.12.14	Sing a Little Song	S	Donnelly, Romberg
Topsy and Eva	1924.12.23	Do-Re-Mi	M	Duncan, Duncan
Topsy and Eva	1924.12.23	Ukulele Lady	M	Kahn, Whiting; tour only
Betty Lee	1924.12.25	I'm Going to Dance at Your Wedding	D	Caesar, Conrad
Yushny's Seeniaya Ptitza	1924.12.29	The Barrel Organ	M	
Yushny's Seeniaya Ptitza	1924.12.29	The Traveling Circus	E	

1925

Show title	Date	Song title	Type	Songwriters and notes
Big Boy	1925.01.07	Tap the Toe	D	Meyer, Hanley, DeSylva
Big Boy	1925.01.07	The Dance from Down Yonder	D	Meyer, Hanley, DeSylva
Big Boy	1925.01.07	Tamborina	M	Meyer, Hanley, DeSylva
The Love Song	1925.01.13	He Writes a Song	S	Offenbach, H.B. Smith
The Love Song	1925.01.13	When My Violin Is Calling	M	Offenbach, H.B. Smith
Puzzles of 1925	1925.03.16	Irish Jewish Jubilee	E	Kalmar, Ruby
Puzzles of 1925	1925.03.16	You've Got to Dance	D	Janis
Puzzles of 1925	1925.03.16	(The) Doo-Dab	D	Kalmar, Ruby
Sky High	1925.03.02	Keep on Croonin' a Tune	S	Fain, McHugh, I. Weill
Sky High	1925.03.02	The Best Songs of All	S	Rubens, Kelsey, Grey
Sky High	1925.03.02	We Make the Show	E	
Louie the 14 th	1925.03.03	Regimental Band	M	Romberg, Wimperis
Ziegfeld Follies of 1925	1925.03.10	Everyone Knows What Jazz Is	M	Janssen, Buck
Ziegfeld Follies of 1925	1925.03.10	Toddle Along	D	Janssen, Buck
Ziegfeld Follies of 1925	1925.03.10	Lonely Little Melody	M	Stamper, Buck
Ziegfeld Follies of 1925	1925.03.10	The Waltz of Love	D	
Bringing Up Father	1925.03.30	They Hope to Make a Hit	E	
Bringing Up Father	1925.03.30	Play Me a Bagpipe Tune	M	
Bringing Up Father	1925.03.30	The Gainesboro Glide	D	
Tell Me More!	1925.04.13	Kickin' the Clouds Away	D	Gershwin, Gershwin, DeSylva
Tell Me More!	1925.04.13	Ukulele Lorelei	M	Gershwin, Gershwin, DeSylva
Tell Me More!	1925.04.13	Oh, So 'La' Mi	S	Gershwin, Gershwin, DeSylva
Tell Me More!	1925.04.13	Shopgirls and Mannequins	Allu D, E	Gershwin, Gershwin, DeSylva; a.k.a. Opening, Act One; a.k.a. Opening Ensemble

Show title	Date	Song title	Type	Songwriters and notes
Mercenary Mary	1925.04.13	Charleston Mad	D	Conrad, Friedlander
The Garrick Gaieties	1925.05.17	Soliciting Subscriptions	E	Rodgers, Hart
The Garrick Gaieties	1925.05.17	Gilding the Guild	E	Rodgers, Hart
The Garrick Gaieties	1925.05.17	Stage Managers' Chorus	E	Rodgers, Hart
The Garrick Gaieties	1925.05.17	Ladies of the Box Office	E	Rodgers, Hart
The Garrick Gaieties	1925.05.17	It's Quite Enough to Make You Weep	E	Rodgers, Hart; added during run
Lucky Sambo	1925.06.06	Charley from That Charleston Dancing School	D	Grainger, F. Johnson
Lucky Sambo	1925.06.06	Legomania	D	Grainger, F. Johnson
Lucky Sambo	1925.06.06	Singing Nurses	S	Grainger, F. Johnson
Lucky Sambo	1925.06.06	Midnight Cabaret	E	Grainger, F. Johnson
Lucky Sambo	1925.06.06	Alexander's Ragtime Wedding Day	M	Grainger, F. Johnson
Kosher Kitty Kelly	1925.06.15	Dancing Time	D	
Kosher Kitty Kelly	1925.06.15	I Want to Dance with You	D	
The Grand Street Follies	1925.06.18	I Want to Be Glorified	E	A.k.a., Glory! Glory! Glory!
George White's Scandals	1925.06.22	We Want the Charleston	D	Added during run; a.k.a., Give Us the Charleston
Artists and Models	1925.06.24	Let Me Dance	D	Grey, et alia
Artists and Models	1925.06.24	Charleston	D	Grey, et alia
Ziegfeld Follies of 1925 (Summer Edition)	1925.07.06	Syncopating Baby	M	Stamper, Buck
Earl Carroll's Vanities	1925.07.06	This Is a Night Club	E	Gaskill
Earl Carroll's Vanities	1925.07.06	C-h-a-r-l-e-s-t-o-n	D	Gaskill
Earl Carroll's Vanities	1925.07.06	We Are the Leon Errol Butlers	E	Gaskill
Earl Carroll's Vanities	1925.07.06	Shake Yourself Out of Here	D	Gaskill
Earl Carroll's Vanities	1925.07.06	Rhythm of the Day	Fig.	Added during run; Murphy, Lindley
June Days	1925.08.06	Arithmetic Dancing Bee	D	Coots, Grey

Show title	Date	Song title	Type	Songwriters and notes
June Days	1925.08.06	Naughty Little Step	D	Coots, Grey
Gay Paree	1925.08.18	Baby's Baby Grand	M	Grey, et alia
Gay Paree	1925.08.18	Toddle Trot	D	Grey, et alia
Gay Paree	1925.08.18	The Opera in 1860	E	Grey, et alia
Captain Jinks	1925.09.08	At the Party	E	Gensler, Jones, DeSylva
No, No, Nanette	1925.09.16	You Can Dance with Any Girl at All	D	Youmans, Caesar
Sunny	1925.09.22	Just a Little Thing Called Rhythm	M	Kern, Hammerstein, Harbach
Merry, Merry	1925.09..24	Step, Step Sisters	D	Archer, Thompson
When You Smile	1925.10.05	Let's Dance and Make Up	D	
When You Smile	1925.10.05	Wonderful Rhythm	M	
Holka Polka	1925.10.14	Holka Polka	D	Ortmann, Kahn, Eagan
Holka Polka	1925.10.14	This Is My Dance	D	Ortmann, Kahn, Eagan
Princess Flavia	1925.11.02	Marionettes	E	Romberg, H.B. Smith
Princess Flavia	1925.11.02	Dance with Me	D	Romberg, H.B. Smith
Florida Girl	1925.11.02	Chinky China Charleston	D	
Mayflowers	1925.11.24	Play Me a New Tune	M	Coots, Rubens
Cocoanuts, The	1925.12.08	Monkey Doodle Doo	D	Berlin
Cocoanuts, The	1925.12.08	They're Blaming the Charleston	D	Berlin, dropped during run
Cocoanuts, The	1925.12.08	Everyone in the World Is Doing the Charleston	D	Berlin, added during run
Cocoanuts, The	1925.12.08	Minstrel Days	E	Berlin
Cocoanuts, The	1925.12.08	Tango Melody	D, M	Berlin
Greenwich Village Follies	1925.12.24	The Dancing Doctor	D	
Earl Carroll's Vanities	1925.12.28	This Is a Night Club	E	Gaskill
Earl Carroll's Vanities	1925.12.28	The Kinky Kids Parade	E	Donaldson, Kahn
Earl Carroll's Vanities	1925.12.28	The Hippity Hop	D	Gaskill
Earl Carroll's Vanities	1925.12.28	Rhythm of the Day	Fig.	Added during run, Murphy, Lindley

Show title	Date	Song title	Type	Songwriters and notes
Earl Carroll's Vanities	1925.12.28	Ponies on Parade	E	Gaskill
Early Carroll's Vanities	1925.12.28	Shake Yourself Out of Here	D	Gaskill; previously in the July edition
By the Way	1925.12.28	What Can They See in Dancing?	D	Ellis, John
By the Way	1925.12.28	Hum a Little Tune	S	Ellis, John

1925 Revived shows with old songs

Show title	Date	Song title	Type	Songwriters and notes
Chauve-Souris	1925.01.14	The Parade of the Wooden Soldiers	E	Old song in new edition

1926

Show title	Date	Song title	Type	Songwriters and notes
A Night in Paris	1926.01.05	Step Sister	D	Grey, Moore, Coots, Rubens
A Night in Paris	1926.01.05	The Newport Glide	D	Grey, Coots, Rubens; dropped for 2 nd edition
A Night in Paris	1926.01.05	Dance Mad	D	Grey, Moore, Coots, Rubens; dropped from 2 nd edition
A Night in Paris	1926.01.05	Dance Fever	D	Grey, Moore, Coots, Rubens; added for 2 nd edition
Sweetheart Time	1926.01.19	Cocktail Melody	M	Macdonald, Caesar, Donaldson, J. Meyer
The Matinee Girl	1926.02.01	At the Matinee	E	Moore, Dudley, F. Grey
The Matinee Girl	1926.02.01	Mash Notes	E	Moore, Dudley, F. Grey
The Matinee Girl	1926.02.01	His Spanish Guitar	M	Moore, Dudley, F. Grey
Rainbow Rose	1926.03.16	Steppin' Baby	D	Sears, Levey, Murphy
Rainbow Rose	1926.03.16	When the Hurdy Gurdy Plays	M	Sears, Levey, Murphy
The Girl Friend	1926.03.17	Hey! Hey!	M, D, E	See Hart Lyrics; Hart, Rodgers
The Girl Friend	1926.03.17	Cabarets	E	Hart, Rodgers
The Girl Friend	1926.03.17	Town Hall Tonight	E	Hart, Rodgers
The Girl Friend	1926.03.17	Creole Crooning Song	S	Hart, Rodgers
Bunk of 1926	1926.04.22	You Never Hear a Single World They're Singing (Opening Chorus)	S, E	Waxman, Lockhart
Bunk of 1926	1926.04.22	Those Mammy Singers	S, E	Waxman, Lockhart; a.k.a. Those Mammy Boys
Bunk of 1926	1926.04.22	Do You Do the Charleston?	D	Waxman, Lockhart
Bunk of 1926	1926.04.22	Love's Old Sweet Song	S	Waxman, Lockhart; dropped for Broadway run
Kitty's Kisses	1926.05.06	I Love to Dance	D	Kahn, Conrad
Kitty's Kisses	1926.05.06	Steppin' on the Blues	D	Kahn, Conrad
The Garrick Gaieties (1926)	1926.05.10	Six Little Plays	E	Hart, Rodgers
The Garrick Gaieties (1926)	1926.05.10	We Can't Be as Good as Last Year	E	Hart, Rodgers

Show title	Date	Song title	Type	Songwriters and notes
The Garrick Gaieties (1926)	1926.05.10	Keys to Heaven	M	Hart, Rodgers
The Garrick Gaieties (1926)	1926.05.10	Four Little Song Pluggers	S	Hart, Rodgers
The Garrick Gaieties (1926)	1926.05.10	What's the Use of Talking	D	Hart, Rodgers
The Garrick Gaieties (1926)	1926.05.10	I Call Upon You Gentlemen	E	Hart, Rodgers
The Garrick Gaieties (1926)	1926.05.10	Allez-Up	E	Hart, Rodgers; added during run
The Great Temptations	1926.05.18	Any Step	D	Grey, Rubens
The Great Temptations	1926.05.18	The Temptation Strut	D	Grey, Rubens, Lindsay
The Great Temptations	1926.05.18	Dancing Town	D	Grey, Rubens
The Great Temptations	1926.05.18	Goodbye Charleston	D	Grey, Rubens; tour only
The Merry World	1926.06.08	Military Charleston	D	Grey, et alia
The Merry World	1926.06.08	Dancing Jim	D	Grey, et alia
George White's Scandals (1926)	1926.06.14	Talent Is What the Public Wants	E	DeSylva, Brown, Henderson
George White's Scandals (1926)	1926.06.14	The Black Bottom	D	DeSylva, Brown, Henderson
George White's Scandals (1926)	1926.06.14	The Birth of the Blues	M	DeSylva, Brown, Henderson
George White's Scandals (1926)	1926.06.14	Are You Satisfied?	E	DeSylva, Brown, Henderson; near end, sung by whole cast
The Grand Street Follies (1926)	1926.06.15	Beatrice Lillie Ballad	E	A. Morgan, R. Thompson; revue did not feature Bea Lillie
The Grand Street Follies (1926)	1926.06.15	The Polar Bear Strut	D	Schwartz
No Foolin'	1926.06.24	When the Shaker Plays a Cocktail Tune	M	Buck, Hanley
No Foolin'	1926.06.24	Don't Do the Charleston	D	Buck, Hanley
My Magnolia	1926.07.12	Jazz Land Ball	M, E	Rogers, Roberts
My Magnolia	1926.07.12	Struttin' Time	D	Rogers, Roberts
Americana (1926)	1926.07.26	American Revue Girls	E	McEvoy, Conrad
Americana (1926)	1926.07.26	Lost Barbershop Chord	M	McEvoy, Conrad

Show title	Date	Song title	Type	Songwriters and notes
Americana (1926)	1926.07.26	Blowing the Blues Away	M	McEvoy, Conrad
Nic-Nax of 1926	1926.08.02	Syncopassion	M	P. Porter, Janssen
Earl Carroll's Vanities (1926)	1926.08.24	We Are the Show Girls	E	Henry, M. Hamilton
Earl Carroll's Vanities (1926)	1926.08.24	The Lament of Shakespeare	E	Henry, M. Hamilton
Earl Carroll's Vantiies	1926.08.24	Alabama Stomp	D	Henry, M. Hamilton
Castles in the Air	1926.09.06	Love's Refrain	S	Peck, Wenrich
Castles in the Air	1926.09.06	The Singer's Career, Ha! Ha!	S, E	Peck, Wenrich
Countess Maritza	1926.09.18	The Music Thrills Me	M	H.B. Smith, Lehar
Countess Maritza	1926.09.18	Play Gypsies	M	H.B. Smith, Lehar; a.k.a. Play Gypsies, Dance Gypsies
The Ramblers	1926.09.20	Any Little Tune	M	Kalmar, Ruby
The Ramblers	1926.09.20	The Movie Ball	E	Kalmar, Ruby
Honeymoon Lane	1926.19.20	On to Hollywood	E	Dowling, Hanley
Honeymoon Lane	1926.19.20	Chorus Picking Time on Broadway	E	Dowling, Hanley
Honeymoon Lane	1926.19.20	Jersey Walk	D	Dowling, Hanley
Honeymoon Lane	1926.19.20	The Understudy Dance Specialty	D, E	Dowling, Hanley
Happy Go Lucky	1926.09.30	Sing a Little Song	S	Evans, Denni
Happy Go Lucky	1926.09.30	Happy Melody	M	Evans, Denni
Happy Go Lucky	1926.09.30	In Vaudeville	E	Evans, Denni
Criss Cross	1926.10.12	Hydrophobia Blues	D	Caldwell, Kern; perhaps Harbach also; see script
Criss Cross	1926.10.12	She's On Her Way	E	Caldwell, Kern; perhaps Harbach also; see script
Katja	1926.10.18	Dance with You	D	Graham, Gilbert
Oh, Kay!	1926.11.08	Clap Yo' Hands	M	Gershwin, Gershwin
Oh, Kay!	1926.11.08	Fidgety Feet	D	Gershwin, Gershwin
Gay Paree (1926)	1926.11.09	No More Dancing	D	Grey, et alia
Gay Paree (1926)	1926.11.09	Bad Little Boy with Dancing Legs	D	Grey, et alia
Gay Paree (1926)	1926.11.09	The More We Dance	D	Grey, et alia
Gay Paree (1926)	1926.11.09	Broken Rhythm	M	Grey, et alia
Gay Paree (1926)	1926.11.09	Shaking the Blues Away	D	Grey, et alia

Show title	Date	Song title	Type	Songwriters and notes
Gay Paree (1926)	1926.11.09	Sing a Little Tune	S	Holiner, Nichols; in Stubblevine only
Twinkle, Twinkle	1926.11.16	Whistle	M	Archer, Thompson
The Desert Song	1926.11.30	The Desert Song	S	Harbach, Hammerstein, Romberg
Oh! Please!	1926.12.17	Snappy Show in Town	E	Harbach, Caldwell, Youmans
Mozart	1926.12.27	Comme elle danse	D	Guitry, Hahn
Peggy-Ann	1926.12.27	Where's That Rainbow	Allu	Hart, Rodgers
Betsy	1926.12.28	Sing	S	Hart, Rodgers
Betsy	1926.12.28	Bugle Blow	M	Hart, Rodgers
Betsy	1926.12.28	Birds on High	S	Hart, Rodgers, a.k.a. Birds Up High
Betsy	1926.12.28	Shuffle	D	Hart, Rodgers

1927 Theatre songs

Show title	Date	Song title	Type	Songwriters and notes
Lace Petticoat	1927.01.04	Creole Crawl	D	H. Johnson, Gerstenberger, Carlton
Lace Petticoat	1927.01.04	Carnival of Roses	E	H. Johnson, Gerstenberger, Carlton
Piggy	1927.01.11	(Let's Stroll Along and Sing a) Song of Love	S	Brown, Friend; show also called I Told You So
Bye Bye Bonnie	1927.01.13	Tampico Tap	D	Fleeson, A. Von Tilzer
Yours Truly	1927.01.25	Open Door Club	E	Caldwell, Hubbell
Rio Rita	1927.02.02	If You're in Love, You'll Waltz	D	McCarthy, Tierney
Judy	1927.02.07	Start Stompin'	D	Robin, Rosoff
Polly of Hollywood	1927.02.21	Polly of Hollywood	E	Morrissey, Joseph
Polly of Hollywood	1927.02.21	Texas Stomp	D	Morrissey, Joseph
Polly of Hollywood	1927.02.21	Doubles	E	Morrissey, Joseph
Polly of Hollywood	1927.02.21	Advice to Movie Mad Maidens	E	Morrissey, Joseph
Polly of Hollywood	1927.02.21	(A) New Kind of Rhythm	M	Morrissey, Joseph
The New Yorkers	1927.03.10	He Who Gets Slapped	E	Myers, Schwartz
The New Yorkers	1927.03.10	A Song About Love	S	Myers, Schwartz
The New Yorkers	1927.03.10	Words and Music	E	Myers, Schwab
Lucky	1927.03.22	Dancing the Devil Away	D	Kalmar, Ruby
Rufus LeMaire's Affairs	1927.03.28	Hot Steps	D	Macdonald, Broones
Rufus LeMaire's Affairs	1927.03.28	Wah-Wah	M	Macdonald, Broones
Rufus LeMaire's Affairs	1927.03.28	Dancing in the Moonlight	D	Macdonald, Broones
Rufus LeMaire's Affairs	1927.03.28	Minstrel Days	E	Macdonald, Broones
Rufus LeMaire's Affairs	1927.03.28	Mississippi Show Boat	E	Macdonald, Broones; tour only
Cherry Blossoms	1927.03.28	Feast of the Lanterns	E	H.B. Smith, Brennan, Romberg, Ortman
Lady Do	1927.04.18	Jiggle Your Feet	D	Lewis, J. Young, Baer
The Circus Princess	1927.04.25	Same Old Love Songs	S	H.B. Smith, Kalman

Show title	Date	Song title	Type	Songwriters and notes
The Seventh Heart	1927.05.02	Cinema Blues	E	Brander
Oh, Ernest!	1927.06.06	Shake a Little Shoe	D	Robin, Meyer; added during run
The Grand Street Follies (1927)	1927.05.19	Close Harmony at Detroit (A Minstrel Show)	S, E	Moran, Ewing
The Grand Street Follies (1927)	1927.05.19	Say It with Toes	D	Moran, Ewing; added during run
Merry-Go-Round	1927.05.31	Bath Room Tenor	S	Dietz, Ryskind, Souvaine, Gorney
Merry-Go-Round	1927.05.31	Swanee River Melody (Blues)	S	Dietz, Ryskind, Souvaine, Gorney; added for 2 nd edition
Talk About Girls	1927.06.14	Heel and Toe	D	Caesar, Orlob, Jones
Bottomland	1927.06.27	Dancing Girl	D	C. Williams, S. Williams
Padlocks of 1927	1927.07.05	Texas	E	Macdonald, Rose, Greer; show starred Texas Guinan
Padlocks of 1927	1927.07.05	Texas, Barnum and Cohan	E	Macdonald, Rose, Greer
Padlocks of 1927	1927.07.05	The Tap Tap	D	Macdonald, Rose, Greer
Padlocks of 1927	1927.07.05	String Along with Texas	E	Macdonald, Rose, Greer
Padlocks of 1927	1927.07.05	Hot Heels	D	Macdonald, Rose, David
Padlocks of 1927	1927.07.05	It's Tough to Be a Hostess	E	Macdonald, Rose
Padlocks of 1927	1927.07.05	(That) Stupid Melody	E	Macdonald, Rose
Padlocks of 1927	1927.07.05	Tom Tom (Days)	M	Macdonald, Rose, Greer
Padlocks of 1927	1927.07.05	Hoppin' the Buck	D	Revue
Padlocks of 1927	1927.07.05	Opened Up Again	E	Macdonald, Rose, Greer
Africana	1927.07.11	A Step a Second	D	Heywood
Africana	1927.07.11	The Original Black Bottom Dance	D	Horsley, Bradford
Africana	1927.07.11	The Old-Fashioned Cakewalk	D	Heywood
Africana	1927.07.11	The Cakewalk Strut	D	Heywood

Show title	Date	Song title	Type	Songwriters and notes
Africana	1927.07.11	Here Comes the Showboat	E	Rose, Pinkard; added during run
Africana	1927.07.11	Shake That Thing	D	Jackson
Africana	1927.07.11	African Stomp	D	Heywood
Rang Tang	1927.07.12	Rang Tang	D	Trent, Dabney
Allez-Oop!	1927.08.02	Doin' the Gorilla	D	Robin, Charig, Myers
Allez-Oop!	1927.08.02	Blow Hot and Heavy	M	Robin, Charig, Myers
Allez-Oop!	1927.08.02	Hoof! Hoof!	D	Robin, Charig, Myers
The Manhatters	1927.08.03	The Great White Way	E	Oppenheimer, Nathan
The Manhatters	1927.08.03	I Don't Want a Song at Twilight	S	Erlanger, Nathan; follows Love's Old Sweet Song
Ziegfeld Follies of 1927	1927.08.16	We Want to Be Glorified	E	Berlin
Ziegfeld Follies of 1927	1927.08.16	Shaking the Blues Away	D	Berlin
Ziegfeld Follies of 1927	1927.08.16	It's Up to the Band	M	Berlin
Ziegfeld Follies of 1927	1927.08.16	Learn to Sing a Love Song	S	Berlin
Ziegfeld Follies of 1927	1927.08.16	Tickling the Ivories	M	Berlin
Ziegfeld Follies of 1927	1927.08.16	The Jungle-Jingle	M	Berlin
Ziegfeld Follies of 1927	1927.08.16	Now We Are Glorified	E	Berlin
Footlights	1927.08.19	Footlight Walk	E, D	Denny
The Band Box Follies	1927.09.05	The Romance in a Dance	D	Gillespie, Mayfield, Hagen
The Band Box Follies	1927.09.05	Bluestep	D	Gillespie, Mayfield, Hagen
Good News	1927.09.06	The Varsity Drag	D	DeSylva, Brown, Henderson
Half a Widow	1927.09.12	Song and Dance	S, D	H.B. Smith, Dupree, Camp
Enchanted Isle	1927.09.19	Jazz	E	Chamberlain
Enchanted Isle	1927.09.19	What a Jamboree	E	Chamberlain
Manhattan Mary	1927.09.26	Five-Step	D	DeSylva, Brown, Henderson
The Merry Malones	1927.09.26	Like a Wandering Minstrel	M	Cohan
Sidewalks of New York	1927.10.03	Goldfish Glide	D	Dowling, Hanley

Show title	Date	Song title	Type	Songwriters and notes
The Five O'Clock Girl	1927.10.10	Tea Time Tap	D	Kalmar, Ruby
White Lights	1927.10.11	Tappin' the Toe	D	Dubin, Singer, Coots
White Lights	1927.10.11	White Lights	E	Dubin, Singer, Coots
White Lights	1927.10.11	We Are the Girls in the Chorus	E	Dubin, Singer, Coots
Just Fancy!	1927.10.11	Shake, Brother!	D	Robin, J. Meyer, Charig
Artists and Models (1927)	1927.11.15	The Chair Bottom Dance	D	Davis, Brennan, Akst, Rubens
Artists and Models (1927)	1927.11.15	Start the Band	M	Davis, Brennan, Akst, Rubens
Funny Face	1927.11.22	Birthday Party	M, D	Gershwin, Gershwin
Funny Face	1927.11.22	Blue Hullabaloo	D, S, M	Gershwin, Gershwin; dropped during run
Take the Air	1927.11.22	We'd Rather Dance than Eat	D	Caldwell, Buck, Stamper
Harry Delmar's Revels	1927.11.28	The Jigaboo Jig	D	Macdonald, Rose, Lee
The White Eagle	1927.12.26	Dance, Dance, Dance	D	Hooker, Post, Friml
Showboat	1927.12.27	Cotton Blossom	E	Hammerstein, Kern
Showboat	1927.12.27	Life Upon the Wicked Stage	E	Hammerstein, Kern
Showboat	1927.12.27	C'mon Folks	E	Hammerstein, Kern; a.k.a. Queenie's Ballyhoo
Showboat	1927.12.27	At the Fair	E	Hammerstein, Kern

1927 Revived songs in new theatre shows

Show title	Date	Song title	Type	Songwriters and notes
Showboat	1927.12.27	After the Ball	E	Harris

1927 Film songs

Film title	Year	Song title	Type	Songwriters/ notes
The Jazz Singer	1927	Waiting for the Robert E. Lee	D	L. Gilbert, Muir; old, theatre

1928 Theatre songs

Show title	Date	Song title	Type	Songwriters and notes
She's My Baby	1928.01.03	This Goes Up	D	Hart, Rodgers
She's My Baby	1928.01.03	When I Go on the Stage	E	Hart, Rodgers
She's My Baby	1928.01.03	Camera Shoot	E	Hart, Rodgers
She's My Baby	1928.01.03	Wasn't It Great	E	Hart, Rodgers
She's My Baby	1928.01.03	My Lucky Star	E	Hart, Rodgers
Rosalie	1928.01.10	Finale (Act I)	Allu	Gershwin, Gershwin
Rosalie	1928.01.10	New York Serenade	M	Gershwin, Gershwin
Rosalie	1928.01.10	Show Me the Town	D	Wodehouse, Gershwin, Romberg
Rosalie	1928.01.10	Follow the Drum	M	Gershwin, Gershwin
The Optimists	1928.10.30	We All Play the Grand Piano	M	Grey, Gideon, et alia
The Madcap	1928.01.31	What Has Made the Movies?	E	Grey, Rubens
Rain or Shine	1928.02.09	Circus Days	E	Yellen, Ager, Murphy
Rain or Shine	1928.02.09	Add a Little Wiggle	D	Yellen, Ager, Murphy
Rain or Shine	1928.02.09	The Parade	E	Yellen, Ager, Murphy
Rain or Shine	1928.02.09	Roustabout Song	E	Yellen, Ager, Murphy; a.k.a., We Follow the Trail
Rain or Shine	1928.02.09	Laugh, Clown, Laugh	E	Lewis, J. Young, FioRito; dropped during run
Parisiana	1928.02.09	Keep on Dancing	D	Valentini
Keep Shufflin'	1928.02.27	Labor Day Parade	E	Razaf. Todd
Keep Shufflin'	1928.02.27	How Jazz Was Born	M	Razaf, Waller
Keep Shufflin'	1928.02.27	Where Jazz Was Born	M	Tour only
Keep Shufflin'	1928.02.27	My Old Banjo	M	Tour only
Greenwich Village Follies (1928)	1928.04.09	Calypso Isle	M	Lief, Perkins
Present Arms	1928.04.26	Crazy Elbows	D	Hart, Rodgers
Here's Howe	1928.05.01	Beauty in the Movies	E	Caesar, R. Kahn, J. Meyer
Here's Howe	1928.05.01	Crazy Rhythm	M	Caesar, R. Kahn, J. Meyer
Here's Howe	1928.05.01	I'd Rather Dance Here than Hereafter	D	Caesar, R. Kahn, J. Meyer
Lew Leslie's Blackbirds of 1928	1928.05.09	Shuffle Your Feet	D	Fields, McHugh

Show title	Date	Song title	Type	Songwriters and notes
Lew Leslie's Blackbirds of 1928	1928.05.09	Diga, Diga, Do	D	Fields, McHugh
Lew Leslie's Blackbirds of 1928	1928.05.09	Doin' the New Low Down	D	Fields, McHugh
The Grand Street Follies	1928.05.28	From Tango to Taps	D	A. Morgan, Ewing, Hyland.
The Grand Street Follies	1928.05.28	Just a Little Love Song	S	A. Morgan, Ewing, Hyland.
George White's Scandals	1928.07.02	Not as Good as Last Year	E	DeSylva, L. Brown, Henderson
George White's Scandals	1928.07.02	A Real American Tune	M	DeSylva, L. Brown, Henderson
George White's Scandals	1928.07.02	Origin of the Tap Dance	D	DeSylva, L. Brown, Henderson
George White's Scandals	1928.07.02	Stars, Stars, Shining Bright (You May See Future Stars To-night)	E	DeSylva, L. Brown, Henderson
Earl Carroll's Vanities (1928)	1928.08.06	Say It with Girls	E	Henry, M. Hamilton
Earl Carroll's Vanities (1928)	1928.08.06	Vaniteaser	E	Jones, Cleary
Earl Carroll's Vanities (1928)	1928.08.06	Painting a Vanities Girl	E	Henry, Golden
Earl Carroll's Vanities (1928)	1928.08.06	The Collegiate Vaniteaser	E	Jones, Cleary
The Song Writer	1928.08.13	(Sing Me a) Song of the South	S	Silver, Price
White Lilacs	1928.09.10	The Music Call	M	H.B. Smith, Hajos adapt Chopin
White Lilacs	1928.09.10	Words, Music, Cash	S	H.B. Smith, Hajos adapt Chopin
White Lilacs	1928.09.10	Melodies within My Heart	M	H.B. Smith, Hajos adapt Chopin
Luckee Girl	1928.09.15	Wild about Music	M	Lief, Lief, Yvain
Luckee Girl	1928.09.15	Magic Melody	M	Lief, Lief, Yvain
Cross My Heart	1928.09.17	Step Up and Pep Up the Party	D	McCarthy, Tierney
The New Moon	1928.09.19	An Interrupted Love Song	S	Hammerstein, Romberg
The New Moon	1928.09.19	Try Her Out at Dancing	D	Hammerstein, Romberg
Chee-Chee	1928.09.25	Singing a Love Song	S	Hart, Rodgers
Chee-Chee	1928.09.25	Dear, Oh Dear	M	Hart, Rodgers

Show title	Date	Song title	Type	Songwriters and notes
Paris	1928.10.08	Heaven Hop	D	Porter
Just a Minute	1928.10.08	The Break-Me-Down	D	O'Keefe, Archer
Three Cheers	1928.10.15	Let's All Sing the Lard Song	S	Caldwell, Sarony
The Cocoanuts	1928.10.23	The Long Island Low-Down	D	Kalmar, Ruby
Americana (1928)	1928.10.30	The Ameri-Can-Can	D	McEvoy, Caesar, R. Kahn
Hello Yourself!!!!	1928.10.30	Jericho	M	Robin, Myers
This Year of Grace	1928.11.07	Teach Me to Dance Like Grandma	D	Coward
This Year of Grace	1928.11.07	Dance, Little Lady	D	Coward
This Year of Grace	1928.11.07	Lorelei	S	Coward
Treasure Girl	1928.11.08	Skull and Bones	E	Gershwin, Gershwin
New Americana	1928.11.29	Taking the Subway to the Roxy	E	Caesar, R. Kahn; revised version of revue
Whoopee	1928.12.04	If I Gave Up the Saxophone (Will You Come Back to Me?)	M	Kahal, Fain, Raskin
Whoopee	1928.12.04	Haloowe'en Whoopee Ball	E	Kahn, Donaldson
Hello Daddy	1928.12.26	Futuristic Rhythm	M	Fields, McHugh

1928 Revived songs in new theatre shows

Show title	Date	Song title	Type	Songwriters and notes
Sir Harry Lauder	1928.01.30	Singing Is the Thing to Make Ye Cheery	S	

1928 Film songs

Film title	Year	Song title	Type	Songwriters/ notes
My Man	1928	I Was a Florodora Baby	E	Macdonald, Carroll; old, theatre

1929 Theatre songs

Show title	Date	Song title	Type	Songwriters and notes
Deep Harlem	1929.01.07	Tappin' to the Picnic	D	Creamer, Tutt, Jordan
Deep Harlem	1929.01.07	Possum Trot	D	Creamer, Tutt, Jordan
Polly	1929.01.08	Sing a Song in the Rain	S	Caesar, Stothart, Charig
Polly	1929.01.08	Heel and Toe	D	Caesar, Stothart, Charig
Ned Wayburn's Gambols	1929.01.15	Sweet Old-Fashioned Waltz	D	Ryskind, Samuels
Ned Wayburn's Gambols	1929.01.15	Savannah Stomp	D	Ryskind, Samuels
Ned Wayburn's Gambols	1929.01.15	The Palm Beach Walk	D	Ryskind, Samuels
Ned Wayburn's Gambols	1929.01.15	The Shades of Minstrelsy	E	Ryskind, Samuels
Balieff's Chauve-Souris	1929.01.22	The Doorman at Maxim's	E	Guillome, Spoliansky
Boom-Boom	1929.01.28	Shake High, Shake Low	D	Holiner, Brennan, Janssen
Boom-Boom	1929.01.28	Put 'Em Up and Lay 'Em Down	D	Holiner, Brennan, Janssen
Lady Fingers	1929.01.31	Sing Boom	S	Eliscu, J. Meyer
Pleasure Bound	1929.02.18	Park Avenue Strut	D	Jaffe, Atteridge, Baker, Rubens
Pleasure Bound	1929.02.18	My Melody Man	M	C. Tobias, Clare, DeRose
Spring Is Here	1929.03.11	Opening, Act One	E	Hart, Rodgers; a.k.a. There's Magic in the Cup
Spring Is Here	1929.03.11	(With a) Song in My Heart	S	Hart, Rodgers
Spring Is Here	1929.03.11	Baby's Awake Now	D, M	Hart, Rodgers
Spring Is Here	1929.03.11	Opening, Act Two	E	Hart, Rodgers; a.k.a. This Is Not Long Island
Spring Is Here	1929.03.11	Red-Hot Trumpet	M, D	Hart, Rodgers
Spring Is Here	1929.03.11	Rich Man! Poor Man!	D, E	Hart, Rodgers; second chorus only
Ta Bouche	1929.03.14	Trio des Cancans	D	Willemetz, Yvain
Un Bon Garcon	1929.03.18	Pour danser le Charleston	D	Barde, Yvain
Messin' Around	1929.04.22	Circus Time	E	Bradford, J.P. Johnson
Messin' Around	1929.04.22	Tapcopation	D, M	Bradford, J.P. Johnson
The Little Show	1929.04.30	Stick to Your Dancing, Mabel	D	Kent

Show title	Date	Song title	Type	Songwriters and notes
Pansy	1929.05.14	Break'n th' Rhythm	M	Pinkard
Pansy	1929.05.14	Shake a Leg	D	Pinkard
Connie's Hot Chocolates	1929.06.20	Say It with Your Feet	D	Razaf, Brooks, Waller
Connie's Hot Chocolates	1929.06.20	Jungle Jamboree	E	Razaf, Brooks, Waller
Connie's Hot Chocolates	1929.06.20	That Rhythm Man	M	Razaf, Brooks, Waller
Connie's Hot Chocolates	1929.06.20	Off -Time	D	Razaf, Brooks, Waller
Keep It Clean	1929.06.24	(Doin' the) Hot-Cha-Cha	D	Lee
Bomboola	1929.06.26	The Way to Do Bomboola	D	Marcus, Maltin
Bomboola	1929.06.26	Tampico Tune	M	Marcus, Maltin
Earl Carroll's Sketch Book (1929)	1929.07.01	Song of the Moonbeams	S	C. Tobias, H. Tobias, Rose
Earl Carroll's Sketch Book (1929)	1929.07.01	Tip-Toe Tip-Tap	D	Hubert, Actman
Show Girl	1929.07.02	I Must Be Home by Twelve O'Clock	D, M	Gershwin, Kahn, Gershwin
Show Girl	1929.07.02	Harlem Serenade	M	Gershwin, Kahn, Gershwin
Show Girl	1929.07.02	Follow the Minstrel Band	E, M	Gershwin, Kahn, Gershwin; dropped after opening
Broadway Nights	1929.07.15	Johann Strauss, Who Made the World Dance	D	Jaffe, Timberg, David, Rubens; a.k.a. The Strauss Fantasy
Broadway Nights	1929.07.15	Lobster Crawl	D	Jaffe, Timberg, David, Rubens
Broadway Nights	1929.07.15	Broadway Nights from the Roof Garden	E	Jaffe, Timberg, David, Rubens
Murray Anderson's Almanac (1880-1930)	1929.08.14	Educate Your Feet	D	Yellen, Ager
Murray Anderson's Almanac (1880-1930)	1929.08.14	Getting into the Talkies	E	Fleeson

Show title	Date	Song title	Type	Songwriters and notes
Murray Anderson's Almanac (1880-1930)	1929.08.14	Tiller, Foster, Hoffman, Hale and Albertina Rasch	D	H. Myers, H. Sullivan
Great Day	1929.10.17	Great Day	M	Eliscu, Rose, Youmans
Great Day	1929.10.17	Without a Song	S	Eliscu, Rose, Youmans
Bittersweet	1929.11.05	That Wonderful Melody	M	Coward
Bittersweet	1929.11.05	One Last Dance	D	Coward
Bittersweet	1929.11.05	Zigeuner	M	Coward
Heads Up!	1929.11.11	Ongsay and Anceday	E	Hart, Rodgers
Heads Up!	1929.11.11	Knees	D	Hart, Rodgers
Sons o' Guns	1929.11.26	Red Hot and Blue Rhythm	M	Swanstron, Davis, Coots
Fifty Million Frenchmen	1929.11.27	The Boy Friend Back Home	E	Porter; added and dropped during run
Fifty Million Frenchmen	1929.11.27	Let's Step Out	D	Porter; a.k.a. Stepping Out; added during run
The Silver Swan	1929.11.27	Shoe-Clap-Platter	D	Brady, Jacquet
Top Speed	1929.12.25	Try Dancing	D	Kalmar, Ruby
Top Speed	1929.12.25	Dizzy Feet	D	Kalmar, Ruby
Woof, Woof	1929.12.25	Tree Top Toddle	D	Brandt, Pola
Woof, Woof	1929.12.25	Satanic Strut	D	Brandt, Pola
Wake Up and Dream	1929.12.30	Operatic Pills	E, S	Porter
Wake Up and Dream	1929.12.30	The Banjo That Man Joe Plays	M	Porter
Ginger Snaps	1929.12.31	Crazy Walk	D	Tutt, Morris, Heywood
Ginger Snaps	1929.12.31	Spread Your Knees	D	Tutt, Morris, Heywood

1929 Film songs

Film title	Year	Song title	Type	Songwriters/ notes
The Broadway Melody	1929	The Broadway Melody	M,	Freed, N. Brown
Syncopation	1929	Jericho	M	Robin, Myers; old, theatre
The Desert Song	1929	Desert Song	S	Hammerstein, Romberg; old, theatre
The Cocoanuts	1929	Monkey-Doodle-Do	D	Berlin; old, theatre
Fox Movietone Follies of 1929	1929	Breakaway	D	Gottler, Conrad
Broadway	1929	Hot Footin' It	D	Gottler, Mitchell, Conrad

Film title	Year	Song title	Type	Songwriters/ notes
Broadway	1929	Sing a Little Love Song	S	Gottler, Mitchell, Conrad
Broadway Babies	1929	Jig Jigaloo	D	Clarke, Akst
The Time, the Place and the Girl	1929	Doin' the Raccoon	D	Magidson, Klages, Coots; old
Street Girl	1929	Broken Up Tune	M	Clare, Levant
Dance of Life	1929	King of Jazzmania	M	Robin, Coslow, Whiting
Show Boat	1929	Here Comes the Show Boat	E	Rose, Pinkard; old, theatre
Show Boat	1929	Love Sings a Song in My Heart	S	C. Marks, Cherniavsky
The Hollywood Revue of 1929	1929	Singin' in the Rain	S	Freed, N. Brown
The Hollywood Revue of 1929	1929	Bones and Tambourines	M, E	Freed, N. Brown
The Hollywood Revue of 1929	1929	Strike Up the Band	M	Freed, N. Brown
The Hollywood Revue of 1929	1929	Minstrel Days	E	Freed, N. Brown
The Hollywood Revue of 1929	1929	Marie, Polly and Bess	E	Freed, N. Brown; performed by the eponymous stars
Broadway Scandals	1929	Rhythm of the Tambourine	M	Franklin
Broadway Scandals	1929	Kickin' the Blues	D	Franklin
The Great Gabbo	1929	The New Step	D	Cowan, Titsworth
Hallelujah	1929	Swanee Shuffle	D	Berlin
Married in Hollywood	1929	Dance Away the Night	D	Thompson, Straus
Sunnyside Up	1929	If I Had a Talking Picture of You	E	DeSylva, Brown, Henderson
Sunnyside Up	1929	Turn on the Heat	D	DeSylva, Brown, Henderson
The Battle of Paris	1929	Here Comes the Bandwagon	M	Porter
Rio Rita	1929	If You're in Love You'll Waltz	D	McCarthy, Tierney; old, theatre
The Show of Shows	1929	What's Become of the Florodora Boys?	E	Perkins
The Show of Shows	1929	The Only Song I Know	S	Brennan, Perkins
The Show of Shows	1929	Singing in the Bathtub	S	Magidson, Washington, Cleary
The Show of Shows	1929	Motion Picture Pirates	E	Jerome

Film title	Year	Song title	Type	Songwriters/ notes
Sweetie	1929	The Prep Step	D	Marion, Whiting
Is Everybody Happy?	1929	In the Land of Jazz	M	Clarke, Akst
Is Everybody Happy?	1929	Start Up the Band	M	T. Lewis
On with the Show	1929	On with the Show	E	Clarke, Askt
The Vagabond Lover	1929	Piccolo Pete	M	Baxter
Hot for Paris	1929	Sing Your Little Folk Song	S	Leslie, Donaldson

Song Titles of 1930-1939

1930 Theatre songs

Show title	Date	Song title	Type	Songwriters and notes
Strike Up the Band	1930.01.14	Fletcher's American Chocolate Choral Society	S	Gershwin, Gershwin
Strike Up the Band	1930.01.14	Strike Up the Band	M	Gershwin, Gershwin
Strike Up the Band	1930.01.14	Military Dancing Drill	D	Gershwin, Gershwin
Ripples	1930.02.11	Talk With My Heel and Toe	D	Caesar, Levant
Nine Fifteen Revue	1930.02.11	Toddling Along	Allu	Ruth Selwyn's ...; Gershwin, Gershwin
Simple Simon	1930.02.18	Coney Island	E	Hart, Rodgers
Simple Simon	1930.02.18	Magic Music	M	Hart, Rodgers
Simple Simon	1930.02.18	Ten Cents a Dance	D	Hart, Rodgers
Lew Leslie's International Revue	1930.02.25	International Rhythm	M	Fields, McHugh
Lew Leslie's International Revue	1930.02.25	That's Why We're Dancing	D	Fields, McHugh
An Evening with Maurice Chevalier	1930.03.30	Sweet Jazz o' Mine	M	A.k.a. Jas O' Mine
An Evening with Maurice Chevalier	1930.0.30	You Brought a New Kind of Love to Me	Allu	Kahal, Fain, Norman
Jonica	1930.04.07	Tie Your Cares to a Melody	M	Moll, J. Meyer
Three Little Girls	1930.04.14	Whistle While You Work, Boys	M	H.B. Smith, Kollo
Three Little Girls	1930.04.14	Waltz with Me	D	H.B. Smith, Kollo
The Garrick Gaieties	1930.06.04	Shavian Shivers	E	Harburg, Duke
The Garrick Gaieties	1930.06.04	When the Sun Meets the Moon in Finale-Land	E	Myers, Schwab
Change Your Luck	1930.06.06	Low Down Dance	D	J.C. Johnson
Change Your Luck	1930.06.06	Rhythm Feet	D	J.C. Johnson
Change Your Luck	1930.06.06	Rat Row Drag	D	J.C. Johnson; added during run
Artists and Models	1930.06.10	Parisian Tango	D	

Show title	Date	Song title	Type	Songwriters and notes
Artists and Models	1930.06.10	The Rumba	D	
Artists and Models	1930.06.10	Dance, Dance, Dance	D	
Artists and Models	1930.06.10	Feminine Rhythm	M	
Earl Carroll Vantiies	1930.07.01	La Rumba	D	Unger, J.P. Johnson
Hot Rhythm	1930.09.29	Rector Rhythm	M	Heywood, Grainger
Hot Rhythm	1930.09.29	Florodora Sextette (a la Harlem)	E	Heywood, Grainger
Hot Rhythm	1930.09.29	Hot Rhythm	M	Heywood, Grainger
Hot Rhythm	1930.09.29	Steppin' On It	D	Heywood, Grainger
The Second Little Show	1930.09.02	Sing Something Simple	S	Hupfeld
Luana	1930.09.17	Drums of Kane	M	Brennan, Friml
Fine and Dandy	1930.09.23	Jig Hop	D	James, Swift
Brown Buddies	1930.10.07	My Blue Melody	M	Oppenheim, Silver; a.k.a. I Hate Myself for Falling in Love with You
Brown Buddies	1930.10.07	Taps	D	Thomas, Jordan; performed by Bill Robinson and Girls
Girl Crazy	1930.10.14	Barbary Coast	M	Gershwin, Gershwin
Girl Crazy	1930.10.14	I Got Rhythm	M	Gershwin, Gershwin
Girl Crazy	1930.10.14	Land of the Gay Caballero	M, D	Gershwin, Gershwin
Girl Crazy	1930.10.14	But Not for Me	Allu	Gershwin, Gershwin
Girl Crazy	1930.10.14	(When It's) Cactus Time in Arizona	Allu	Gershwin, Gershwin
Three's a Crowd	1930.10.15	Talkative Toes	D	Dietz, Duke
The Garrick Gaieties	1930.10.16	Opening Number	E	Harburg, Rodgers
Blackbirds of 1930	1930.10.22	Blackbirds on Parade	E	Razaf, Blake
Blackbirds of 1930	1930.10.22	(That) Lindy Hop	D	Razaf, Blake; tour only
Hello, Paris	1930.11.15	Dance Your Troubles Away	D	Locke, Bannister, Tarbox, Rubens
Sweet and Low	1930.11.17	Mr. Jessel	E	Rose, Dixon, Irwin
Sweet and Low	1930.11.17	Dancing with Tears in My Eyes	D	Rose, Dixon, Irwin
Sweet and Low	1930.11.17	Cheerful Little Earful	Allu	Rose, Gershwin, Warren

Show title	Date	Song title	Type	Songwriters and notes
Smiles	1930.11.18	Something to Sing About	S	Grey, Adamson, Youmans
Smiles	1930.11.18	Dancing Wedding	D	Grey, Adamson, Youmans
The New Yorkers	1930.12.08	Go Into Your Dance	D	Porter
The New Yorkers	1930.12.08	Sing Sing for Sing Sing	S	Porter

1930 Revived theatre shows with old songs

The Serenade	1930.03.04	The Singing Lesson	S	H.B. Smith, Herbert

1930 Film songs

Film title	Year	Song title	Type	Songwriters/ notes
Glorifying the American Girl	1930	Sam, the Old Accordion Man	M	Donaldson; old
No, No, Nanette	1930	Dance of the Wooden Shoes	D	Washington, Magidson, Cleary
No, No, Nanette	1930	Dancing to Heaven	D	Bryan, Ward
Puttin' on the Ritz	1930	I'll Travel Along (Singing a Vagabond Song)	S	Messenheimer, Richman, Burton
Happy Days	1930	Snake Hips	D	Mitchell, Gottler, Conrad
Happy Days	1930	Crazy Feet	D	Mitchell, Gottler, Conrad
Chasing Rainbows	1930	Everybody Tap	D	Yellen, Ager
Honey	1930	Sing, You Sinners	S	Coslow, Harling
Be Yourself	1930	Kicking a Hole in the Sky	D	Rose, Macdonald, Greer
Song o' My Heart	1930	Song o' My Heart	S	Glover, Kernell, Hanley
High Society Blues	1930	The Song I Sing in My Dreams	S	McCarthy, Hanley
The Cuckoos	1930	Dancing the Devil Away	D	Kalmar, Harbach, Ruby
Free and Easy	1930	Free and Easy	D	Turk, Ahlert
Paramount on Parade	1930	Dancing to Save Your Sole	D	L. Gilbert, Baer
Spring Is Here	1930	With a Song in My Heart	S	Hart, Rodgers; old, theatre
Fox Movietone Follies of 1930	1930	I Wanna Be a Talking Picture Queen	E	McCarthy, Hanley, Brockman
Fox Movietone Follies of 1930	1930	Doin' the Derby	D	Meskill, Conrad

Film title	Year	Song title	Type	Songwriters/ notes
Hold Everything	1930	Sing a Little Theme Song	S	Dubin, Joe Burke
King of Jazz	1930	Happy Feet	D	Yellen, Ager
King of Jazz	1930	Song of the Dawn	S	Yellen, Ager
King of Jazz	1930	Mississippi Mud	D	Barris, Cavanaugh; old
Let's Go Native	1930	Joe Jazz	M	Marion, Whiting
Swing High	1930	With My Guitar and You	M	Gordon, A. Silver, Snyder
Mammy	1930	Let Me Sing and I'm Happy	S	Berlin
Good News	1930	The Varsity Drag	D	DeSylva, Brown, Henderson; old, theatre
Love in the Rough	1930	One More Waltz	D	Fields, McHugh
Madame Satan	1930	The Cat Walk	D	Grey, Stothart
Madame Satan	1930	Low Down	M	Janis, King
Kiss Me Again	1930	If I Were on the Stage	E	Blossom, Herbert; old, theatre
Just Imagine	1930	I am the Words, You Are the Melody	S	DeSylva, L. Brown, Henderson
What a Widow	1930	Love Is Like a Song	S	Waggner, Robinson, Youmans
The Prodigal	1930	Without a Song	S	Eliscu, Rose, Youmans; old, theatre
Doughboys	1930	Sing (A Funny Little Thing)	S	Johnson, J. Meyer
Viennese Nights	1930	I Bring a Love Song	S	Hammerstein, Romberg

1931 Theatre songs

Show title	Date	Song title	Type	Songwriters and notes
You Said It	1931.01.19	Learn to Croon	S	Yellen, Arlen
You Said It	1931.01.19	Sweet and Hot	M	Yellen, Arlen
America's Sweetheart	1931.02.10	Mr. Dolan Is Passing Through	E	Hart, Rodgers; Mr. Dolan is studio head; see Hart Lyrics
America's Sweetheart	1931.02.10	Innocent Chorus Girls of Yesterday	E	Hart, Rodgers
America's Sweetheart	1931.02.10	In Californ-i-a	E	Hart, Rodgers; see Hart Lyrics
America's Sweetheart	1931.02.10	Sweet Geraldine	E	Hart, Rodgers
America's Sweetheart	1931.02.10	Mr. Dolan Is Busy Now	E	Hart, Rodgers
America's Sweetheart	1931.02.10	Hello Folks! Goodbye Folks!	E	Hart, Rodgers
The Wonder Bar	1931.03.17	The Dance We Do for Al	D, E	Caesar, Katscher
Rhapsody in Black	1931.05.04	Dance Hall Hostess	D	Holiner, Nichols
Rhapsody in Black	1931.05.04	Harlem Rhumbola	D	Holiner, Nichols
Rhapsody in Black	1931.05.04	The Three Guitars	M	Holiner, Nichols
Billy Rose's Crazy Quilt	1931.05.19	Sing a Little Jingle	S	Dixon, Warren
Billy Rose's Crazy Quilt	1931.05.19	I Want to Do a Number with the Boys	E	Wever, Sherwin
The Third Little Show	1931.06.01	Cinema Lorelei	E	Eliscu, Lehac
The Band Wagon	1931.06.01	Sweet Music	M	Dietz, Schwartz
The Band Wagon	1931.06.01	Dancing in the Dark	D	Dietz, Schwartz
The Band Wagon	1931.06.01	New Sun in the Sky	Allu	Dietz, Schwartz
The Band Wagon	1931.06.01	White Heat	M	Dietz, Schwartz
Ziegfeld Follies of 1931	1931.07.01	Bring on the Follies Girls	E	Buck, Stamper
Ziegfeld Follies of 1931	1931.07.01	Doing the New York	E	Murray, Trivers, Oakland
Ziegfeld Follies of 1931	1931.07.01	Victim of the Talkies	E	Murray, Trivers, Oakland
Shoot the Works!	1931.07.21	My Heart's a Banjo	M	Harburg, Gorney

Show title	Date	Song title	Type	Songwriters and notes
The Singing Rabbi	1931.09.10	Playing the Harpsichord	M	L. Gilbert, Lubin, Rumshinsky
George White's Scandals (1931)	1931.09.14	That's Why Darkies Were Born	Allu	L. Brown, Henderson
George White's Scandals (1931)	1931.09.14	Back from Hollywood	E	L. Brown, Henderson
George White's Scandals (1931)	1931.09.14	My Song	S	L. Brown, Henderson
George White's Scandals (1931)	1931.09.14	Hummin' to Myself	S	Magidson, Siegel, Fain; added during run
Fast and Furious	1931.09.15	Rubatism	D	Gordon, Revel
Fast and Furious	1931.09.15	Doing the Dumb-bell	D	Gordon, Revel
Fast and Furious	1931.09.15	Hot Feet	D	Gordon, Revel
Singin' the Blues	1931.09.16	Singin' the Blues	S	Fields, McHugh
Singin' the Blues	1931.09.16	Crazy Strut	D	Adamson, Lane
Nikki	1931.09.29	Screwy Little Tune	M	Dyrenforth, Charig
Nikki	1931.09.29	The Ghost of Little Egypt	D, E	Dyrenforth, Charig
Everybody's Welcome	1931.10.13	Is Rhythm Necessary?	M	Kahal, Fain
The Laugh Parade	1931.11.02	Punch and Judy Man	E	Dixon, J. Young, Warren
The Laugh Parade	1931.11.02	Excuse for a Song and Dance	S, D	Dixon, J. Young, Warren
Here Goes the Bride	1931.11.03	Music in My Fingers	M	Heyman, Myers
Jack and the Beanstalk	1931.12.21	Grasshopper, sing me a tune I can shimmy to	S, D	Erskine, Gruenberg
Jack and the Beanstalk	1931.12.21	It has a fine voice too (Scene)	S	Erskine, Gruenberg
Sugar Hill	1931.12.25	Hot Rhythm	M	Trent, J.P. Johnson
Sugar Hill	1931.12.25	Rumbola	D	Trent, J.P. Johnson
Of Thee I Sing	1931.12.26	Of Thee I Sing	S	Gershwin, Gershwin

1931 Revived songs in new theatre shows

Show title	Date	Song title	Type	Songwriters and notes
Green Grow the Lilacs	1931.01.26	Sing Down, Hidery Down	S	Traditional
Green Grow the Lilacs	1931.01.26	Skip to My Lou	D	Traditional
The Third Little Show	1931.06.01	The Man on the Flying Trapeze	E	Lee, Leybourne

1931 Film songs

Film title	Year	Song title	Type	Songwriters/ notes
The Smiling Lieutenant	1931	While Hearts Are Singing	S	Grey, Straus
The Cuban Love Song	1931	Cuban Love Song	M	Fields, McHugh
Flying High	1931	Dance Till Dawn	D	Fields, McHugh

1932 Theatre songs

Show title	Date	Song title	Type	Songwriters and notes
The Little Racketeer	1932.01.18	Night Club Nights	E	Eliscu, H. Brown
The Little Racketeer	1932.01.18	Blow, Gabriel	M	Eliscu, H. Brown
The Little Racketeer	1932.01.18	When That Band Plays	M	Eliscu, H. Brown
Through the Years	1932.01.28	Drums in My Heart	M	Heyman, Youmans
Face the Music	1932.02.17	Soft Lights and Sweet Music	M	Berlin
Face the Music	1932.02.17	Reisman's Doing a Show	E	Berlin; a.k.a., Reisman's Putting It On
Face the Music	1932.02.17	Torch Song	S	Berlin
Face the Music	1932.02.17	You Must Be Born with It	M, D	Berlin
Face the Music	1932.02.17	Opening [Act Two]	E	Berlin; a.k.a. Well, Of All the Rotten Shows
Face the Music	1932.02.17	Investigation (After Scene in One)	E	Berlin; see Berlin Lyrics
Blackberries of 1932	1932.04.04	Those Good Old Minstrel Days	E	Heywood, Peluso
There You Are	1932.05.16	The Sound of the Drum	M	Connell, Heagney
Yeah Man	1932.05.26	Dancing Fool	D	Wilson, Weinberg, Macomber
Yeah Man	1932.05.26	It's Modernistic	D	Wilson, Weinberg, Macomber
Hey Nonny Nonny!	1932.06.06	Minsky's Metropolitan Grand Opera	E	Lief, Lief, Cleary
Chamberlain Brown's Scrap Book	1932.08.01	Come to the Fair	E	E. Martin, Taylor
Chamberlain Brown's Scrap Book	1932.08.01	Lullaby of the Leaves	S	J. Young, Petkere
Chamberlain Brown's Scrap Book	1932.08.01	The Irish Rag	E	
Smiling Faces	1932.08.30	Shakin' the Shakespeare	D, E	Gordon, Revel
Flying Colors	1932.09.15	Mein Kleine Acrobat	E	Dietz, Schwartz
Earl Carroll's Vanities (1932)	1932.09.27	Rockin' in Rhythm	M	Koehler, Arlen

Show title	Date	Song title	Type	Songwriters and notes
Manhattan Varieties	1932.10.21	Do the Swank	D	
Manhattan Varieties	1932.10.21	Dance of Death	D	
Manhattan Varieties	1932.10.21	Radio	E	
Manhattan Varieties	1932.10.21	Dance Africana	D	
J.P. McEvoy's New Americana	1932.10.05	Whistling for a Kiss	M	Harburg, Mercer, Myers
Tell Her the Truth	1932.10.28	Sing, Brothers	S	Weston, Lee, Waller, Tunbridge
Music in the Air	1932.11.08	Melodies of May	M	Hammerstein, Kern
Music in the Air	1932.11.08	One More Dance	D	Hammerstein, Kern
Music in the Air	1932.11.08	The Song Is You	S	Hammerstein, Kern
The DuBarry	1932.11.22	On the Stage	E	R. Leigh, Millocker
The DuBarry	1932.11.22	Dance for the Gentlemen	D	R. Leigh, Millocker
George White's Music Hall Varieties	1932.11.22	The Waltz that Brought You Back to Me	D	Caesar, Lombardo
George White's Music Hall Varieties	1932.11.22	Two Feet in Two-Four Time	D	Caesar, Arlen
Take a Chance	1932.11.26	Should I Be Sweet	S	DeSylva, Youmans
Walk a Little Faster	1932.12.07	Can Can	D	Harburg, Duke
Shuffle Along of 1933	1932.12.26	Labor Day Parade	E	Sissle, Blake
Shuffle Along of 1933	1932.12.26	Sing and Dance Your Troubles Away	S, D	Sissle, Blake

1932 Film songs

Film title	Year	Song title	Type	Songwriters/ notes
Blondie of the Follies	1932	Tell Me While We're Dancing	D	Link, N. Kenny
The Phantom President	1932	The Medicine Show	E	Hart, Rodgers
Manhattan Parade	1932	I Love a Parade	E	Koehler, Arlen; old
Girl Crazy	1932	I Got Rhythm	M	Gershwin, Gershwin; old, theatre
Love Me Tonight	1932	That's the Song of Pree	S	Hart, Rodgers
Love Me Tonight	1932	Isn't It Romantic	M	Hart, Rodgers

1933 Theatre songs

Show title	Date	Song title	Type	Songwriters and notes
Pardon My English	1933.01.20	In Three Quarter Time	M	Gershwin, Gershwin
Pardon My English	1933.01.20	The Lorelei	S	Gershwin, Gershwin
Pardon My English	1933.01.20	Dancing in the Streets	D, M	Gershwin, Gershwin
Pardon My English	1933.01.20	My Cousin in Milwaukee	S	Gershwin, Gershwin
Pardon My English	1933.01.20	I've Got to Be There	M, D	Gershwin, Gershwin
Melody	1933.02.14	I'd Write a Song	S	Caesar, Romberg
Melody	1933.02.14	I Am the Singer, You Are the Song	S	Caesar, Romberg
Strike Me Pink	1933.04.04	An Old Hollywood Custom	E	L. Brown, Henderson
Strike Me Pink	1933.04.04	Love and Rhythm	M	L. Brown, Henderson
Hummin' Sam	1933.04.18	How the First Song Was Born	S	Hill
Hummin' Sam	1933.04.18	Stompin' 'Em Down	D	Hill
Hummin' Sam	1933.04.18	Aintcha Glad You Got Music	M	Hill
Hummin' Sam	1933.04.18	Dancing, and I Mean Dancing	D	Hill
Tattle Tales	1933.06.01	Breaking Up a Rhythm	M	Waggoner, Ward
Tattle Tales	1933.06.01	Jig Saw Jamboree	E	Walsh, Byrnbriar
Tattle Tales	1933.06.01	Sing American Tunes	S	Fay, Walsh, Ward
Shady Lady	1933.07.05	Swingy Little Thingy	M	Green, Adams, Stept, Greer
Shady Lady	1933.07.05	Get Hot Foot	D	Green, Adams, Stept, Greer
Murder at the Vanities	1933.09.12	We're Going to Be Dramatic	E	Heyman, Myers
Hold Your Horses	1933.09.25	Singing to You	S	Simon, Millham, Oakland
As Thousands Cheer	1933.09.30	Metropolitan Opening	E	Berlin
As Thousands Cheer	1933.09.30	Heat Wave	D	Berlin

Show title	Date	Song title	Type	Songwriters and notes
Champagne Sec	1933.10.14	Come Along to the Ball	E	Simon, Strauss
Champagne Sec	1933.10.14	I Ought to Be on the Stage	E	Simon, Strauss
Roberta	1933.11.18	Don't Ask Me Not to Sing (Travesty)	S	Harbach, Kern
Lew Leslie's Blackbirds (1933-1934)	1933.12.02	Victim of the Voodoo Drums	M	J. Young, Washington, V. Young
Lew Leslie's Blackbirds (1933-1934)	1933.12.02	Minstrel Man	E	J. Young, Washington, V. Young
Lew Leslie's Blackbirds (1933-1934)	1933.12.02	Doin' the Shim Sham	D	Holiner, Nichols

1933 Film songs

Film title	Year	Song title	Type	Songwriters/ notes
Hello Everybody	1933	Moon Song	S	Coslow, Johnston
Hello Everybody	1933	My Queen of Lullaby Land	S	Coslow, Johnston
Broadway Bad	1933	Forbidden Melody	M	Mitchell, Akst
Forty-Second Street	1933	Forty-Second Street	D, N	Dubin, Warren
College Humor	1933	Learn to Croon	S	Coslow, Johnston
Too Much Harmony	1933	Cradle me with a Ha-Cha Lullaby	S	Coslow, Johnston
Broadway through a Keyhole	1933	Doing the Uptown Lowdown	D	Gordon, Revel
Broadway through a Keyhole	1933	I Love You Prince Pizzicato	M	Gordon, Revel
Torch Singer	1933	The Torch Singer	S	Robin, Rainger
Moonlight and Pretzels	1933	There's a Little Bit of You in Every Love Song	S	Harburg, Fain
Gold Diggers of 1933	1933	The Shadow Waltz	S	Dubin, Warren
Gold Diggers of 1933	1933	I've Got to Sing a Torch Song	S	Dubin, Warren
Take a Chance	1933	New Deal Rhythm	M	Harburg, Edens
Take a Chance	1933	Should I Be Sweet?	M	DeSylva, Youmans; old, theatre
Flying Down to Rio	1933	Music Makes Me	M	Kahn, Eliscu, Youmans
Flying Down to Rio	1933	The Carioca	D	Kahn, Eliscu, Youmans

Film title	Year	Song title	Type	Songwriters/ notes
My Lips Betray	1933	The Band Is Gaily Playing	M	Kernell
Going Hollywood	1933	Our Big Love Scene	E	Freed, N. Brown
Dancing Lady	1933	That's the Rhythm of the Day	M	Hart, Rodgers
Dancing Lady	1933	My Dancing Lady	D	Fields, McHugh
Sitting Pretty	1933	And Then We Wrote	E	Gordon, Revel
Sitting Pretty	1933	Lights, Action, Camera, Love	E	Gordon, Revel

1934 Theatre songs

Show title	Date	Song title	Type	Songwriters and notes
Ziegfeld Follies of 1933-1934	1934.01.04	Before the Black Cure Curtain	E	Harburg, Duke
Ziegfeld Follies of 1933-1934	1934.01.04	This Is Not a Song	S	Harburg, Hartman, Duke
Ziegfeld Follies of 1933-1934	1934.01.04	Suddenly	Allu	Harburg, Rose, Duke
Ziegfeld Follies of 1933-1934	1934.01.04	You Oughta Be in Pictures	E	Heyman, Suesse; added during run
All the King's Horses	1934.01.30	I Found a Song	S	Herendeen, Horan
New Faces (1934)	1934.03.15	Music in My Heart	M	Sillman, Guilbert
New Faces (1934)	1934.03.15	Emperor Jones	E	Shore, Sillman, Guilbert
New Faces (1934)	1934.03.15	Smoky Rhythm	M	Hickman
Gypsy Blonde	1934.06.25	Dance, Gypsy	D	Gabrielson, Girlando
Keep Moving	1934.08.23	Springtime and a Love Song	S	Scholl, Rich
Keep Moving	1934.08.23	The Torch Singer	S	Scholl, Rich
Life Begins at Eight-Forty	1934.08.27	Life Begins (At Eight-Forty or Thereabouts)	E	Harburg, Gershwin, Arlen
Life Begins at Eight-Forty	1934.08.27	My Paramount-Publix-Roxy Rose	E	Harburg, Gershwin, Arlen
Life Begins at Eight-Forty	1934.08.27	Shoein' the Mare	D	Harburg, Gershwin, Arlen
Life Begins at Eight-Forty	1934.08.27	Life Begins at City Hall	S	Harburg, Gershwin, Arlen
Life Begins at Eight-Forty	1934.08.27	What Can You Say in a Love Song (That Hasn't Been Said Before)?	S	Harburg, Gershwin, Arlen
Life Begins at Eight-Forty	1934.08.27	I'm Not Myself	Allu S	Harburg, Gershwin, Arlen
Saluta	1934.08.28	I'll Produce for You	E	Morrissey, Berle, D'Armond
Saluta	1934.08.28	Tarantella Rhythm	D, M	Morrissey, Berle, D'Armond
Saluta	1934.08.28	Mi! Mi!	S	Morrissey, Berle, D'Armond
The Great Waltz	1934.09.22	You Are My Songs	S	Carter, Strauss
Continental Varieties	1934.10.03	Two Guitars	M	

Show title	Date	Song title	Type	Songwriters and notes
Continental Varieties	1934.10.03	Viens danser quand-meme	M	Jamblan, Delettre; a.k.a. Dancing with My Darling; a.k.a. Come Dance Anyway
Continental Varieties (Second Edition)	1934.11.14	Is It the Singer or Is It the Song?	M	A. Mills
Anything Goes	1934.11.21	You're the Top	Allu	Porter
Anything Goes	1934.11.21	Anything Goes	Allu	Porter
Anything Goes	1934.11.21	Blow, Gabriel, Blow	M	Porter
Anything Goes	1934.11.21	Be Like the Bluebird	S	Porter
Anything Goes	1934.11.21	The Gypsy in Me	Allu	Porter
Africana	1934.11.26	Stop Beating Those Drums	M	Heywood
Revenge with Music	1934.11.28	Never Marry a Dancer	D	Dietz, Schwartz
Revenge with Music	1934.11.28	You and the Night and the Music	M	Dietz, Schwartz
Calling All Stars	1934.12.13	He Just Beats a Tom Tom	M	L. Brown, Akst
Fools Rush In	1934.12.25	I Want to Dance	D	Zeno, Irwin
Fools Rush In	1934.12.25	Rhythm in My Hair	M	Zeno, Irwin
The O'Flynn	1934.12.27	Song of My Heart	S	Hooker, Hauser
Thumbs Up!	1934.12.27	Zing! Went the Strings of My Heart	M	Hanley
Thumbs Up!	1934.12.27	Words without Music	M	Gershwin, Duke
Thumbs Up!	1934.12.27	The Torch Singer	S	Crooker, H. Sullivan; a.k.a. What Do You Think My Heart Is Made Of?
Thumbs Up!	1934.12.27	Merrily We Waltz Along	D	Crooker, H. Sullivan

1934 Film songs

Film title	Year	Song title	Type	Songwriters/ notes
The Cat and the Fiddle	1934	Don't Tell Us Not to Sing	S	Harbach, Kern; old, theatre
Palooka	1934	Inka Dinka Doo	S	Durante, Ryan

Film title	Year	Song title	Type	Songwriters/ notes
We're Not Dressing	1934	I'll Sing about the Birds and Bees	S	Gordon, Revel
Melody in Spring	1934	Melody in Spring	M	Thompson, Gensler
Twenty Million Sweethearts	1934	The Man on the Flying Trapeze	E	O'Keefe; old
Hollywood Party	1934	Hollywood Party	E	Hart, Rodgers
Many Happy Returns	1934	The Sweetest Music This Side of Heaven	M	Lombardo, Friend; old
Strictly Dynamite	1934	Swing It Sister	M	Adamson, Lane
Murder at the Vanities	1934	Where Do They Come from Now?	E	Coslow, Johnston
Shoot the Works	1934	Take a Lesson from the Larks	S	Robin, Rainger
Dames	1934	Dames	E	Dubin, Warren
Gift of Gab	1934	Don't Let This Waltz Mean Goodbye	D	Meskill, A. von Tilzer
Student Tour	1934	I Just Say It with Music	M	Durante
The Merry Widow	1934	Merry Widow Waltz	M	Hart, Lehar
The Merry Widow	1934	Maxims	E	Hart, Lehar
The Merry Widow	1934	Melody of Laughter	M	Hart, Lehar
She Loves Me Not	1934	I'm Hummin' (I'm Whistlin', I'm Singin')	S	Gordon, Revel
She Loves Me Not	1934	Put a Little Rhythm in Everything You Do	M	Gordon, Revel
The Gay Divorcee	1934	The Continental	D, S	Magidson, Conrad
The Gay Divorcee	1934	Let's K-nock K-nees	D	Gordon, Revel
Music in the Air	1934	One More Dance	D	Hammerstein, Kern; old, theatre
Music in the Air	1934	The Song Is You	S	Hammerstein, Kern; old, theatre
Kid Millions	1934	An Earful of Music	M	Kahn, Donaldson
Kid Millions	1934	I Want to Be a Minstrel Man	E	Adamson, Lane
College Rhythm	1934	College Rhythm	M	Gordon, Revel

1935 Theatre songs

Show title	Date	Song title	Type	Songwriters and notes
Parade	1935.05.20	On Parade	E	Peters, Sklar, Moross
Parade	1935.05.20	Parade	E	Peters, Sklar, Moross
Earl Carroll's Sketch Book	1935.06.04	Through These Portals Pass the Most Beautiful Girls in the World	E	C. Tobias, C. Newman, Mencher
Earl Carroll's Sketch Book	1935.06.04	Let's Swing It	M	C. Tobias, C. Newman, Mencher
Earl Carroll's Sketch Book	1935.06.04	There's Music in a Kiss	M	A. Lewis, A. Sherman, A. Silver
Earl Carroll's Sketch Book	1935.06.04	Mardi Gras Day in New Orleans	E	Zeno, Irwin
Smile at Me	1935.08.23	Dancing Moe	D	Lambert, Dolin
Smile at Me	1935.08.23	I'm Dreaming While We're Dancing	D	Lambert, Dolin
Smile at Me	1935.08..23	Doing the Truck	D	Lambert, Dolin
At Home Abroad	1935.09.19	The Lady with the Tap	D	Dietz, Schwartz
At Home Abroad	1935.09.19	Love Is a Dancing Thing	D	Dietz, Schwartz
Porgy and Bess	1935.10.10	They Pass By Singing	S	Heyward, Gershwin
Jubilee	1935.10.12	Begin the Beguine	M, D	Porter
Jubilee	1935.10.12	Swing that Swing	M	Porter
Jubilee	1935.10.12	Entrance of Eric	E	Porter
Jubilee	1935.10.12	My Most Intimate Friend	E	Porter
Jubilee	1935.10.12	A Picture of me without You	E	Porter
Jubilee	1935.10.12	Mr. And Mrs. Smith	E	Porter
Jumbo	1935.11.16	Over and Over	E	Hart, Rodgers
Jumbo	1935.11.16	The Circus Is on Parade	E	Hart, Rodgers
Jumbo	1935.11.16	Women	E	Hart, Rodgers
Jumbo	1935.11.16	Memories of Madison Square Garden	E	Hart, Rodgers; a.k.a. When the Circus Played the Garden
Jumbo	1935.11.16	Diavolo	E	Hart, Rodgers
May Wine	1935.12.05	A Chanson on the Prater	D	Hammerstein, Romberg
May Wine	1935.12.05	Dance, My Darlings	D	Hammerstein, Romberg

Show title	Date	Song title	Type	Songwriters and notes
George White's Scandals	1935.12.25	Truckin' in My Tails	D	Yellen, Henderson
Continental Varieties of 1936	1935.12.26	Dancing with My Dream	D	Bayle-Silverman, Delettre; a.k.a. En se regardant
Continental Varieties of 1936	1935.12.26	Dancing with My Darling	D	Jamblan, Parish, Delettre; a.k.a. Viens danser quand meme

1935 Revived songs in new theatre shows

George White's Scandals	1935.12.25	The (Daring Young) Man on the Flying Trapeze	E	O'Keefe; old song

1935 Film songs

Film title	Year	Song title	Type	Songwriters/ notes
Rumba	1935	The Rhythm of the Rumba	M	Robin, Rainger
Sweet Music	1935	Sweet Music	M	Dubin, Warren
Sweet Adeline	1935	Play Us a Polka Dot	M, D	Hammerstein, Kern; old, theatre
Sweet Adeline	1935	Lonely Feet	D	Hammerstein, Kern; old, theatre
Roberta	1935	I Won't Dance	D	Fields, Hammerstein, Kern; old, theatre
Folies Bergère	1935	Singing a Happy Song	S	Meskill, Stern
All the King's Horses	1935	Dancing the Viennese	D	Coslow
Gold Diggers of 1935	1935	The Words Are in My Heart	M	Dubin, Warren
Naughty Marietta	1935	Italian Street Song	S	R. Johnson, Herbert; old, theatre
Naughty Marietta	1935	Chansonette	S	Kahn, Stothart
Love in Bloom	1935	Let Me Sing You to Sleep with a Love Song	S	Gordon, Revel
Go into Your Dance	1935	Go into Your Dance	D	Dubin, Warren
Go into Your Dance	1935	Mammy, I'll Sing about You	S	Dubin, Warren
Go into Your Dance	1935	She's a Latin from Manhattan	D, M	Dubin, Warren

Film title	Year	Song title	Type	Songwriters/ notes
Every Night at Eight	1935	I Feel a Song Comin' On	S	Fields, Oppenheimer, McHugh
Top Hat	1935	The Piccolino	D	Berlin
Top Hat	1935	Cheek to Cheek	D	Berlin
The Big Broadcast of 1936	1935	Crooner's Lullaby	S	Coslow, Johnston
Broadway Melody of 1936	1935	Sing Before Breakfast	S	Freed, N. Brown
Broadway Melody of 1936	1935	Broadway Rhythm	D	Freed, N. Brown
Thanks a Million	1935	Sing Brother	S	Kahn, Johnston
I Dream Too Much	1935	I'm the Echo, You're the Song	S	Fields, Kern
Here Comes the Band	1935	The Army Band	M	Adamson, Lane
Music Is Magic	1935	Music Is Magic	M	Clare, Johnston
Old Man Rhythm	1935	Old Man Rhythm	M	Mercer, Gensler

1936 Theatre songs

Show title	Date	Song title	Type	Songwriters and notes
The Illustrator's Show	1936.01.22	A Waltz Was Born in Vienna	M	Crooker, Loewe
The Illustrator's Show	1936.01.22	I Love the Polka So	D	Randall, Kazounoff
The Illustrator's Show	1936.01.22	Give Me the Wild Trumpets	M	Crooker, Loewe
The Illustrator's Show	1936.01.22	Wherefore Art Thou Juliet	E	Crooker, Loewe
Ziegfeld Follies (1936)	1936.01.30	Time Marches On!	E	Gershwin, Duke
Ziegfeld Follies (1936)	1936.01.30	Words without Music	M	Gershwin, Duke
Ziegfeld Follies (1936)	1936.01.30	Fancy! Fancy!	E	Gershwin, Duke
Ziegfeld Follies (1936)	1936.01.30	Trailer for the 1936 Broadway Gold Melody Diggers	E	See Gershwin Lyrics; Gershwin, Duke
Ziegfeld Follies (1936)	1936.01.30	The Gazooka	D	Gershwin, Duke
Ziegfeld Follies (1936)	1936.01.30	Modernistic Moe	D	Gershwin, Duke
Ziegfeld Follies (1936)	1936.01.30	Dancing to Our Score	D, S	Gershwin, Duke; a.k.a. Dancing to the Score
On Your Toes	1936.04.11	Two a Day for Keith	E	Hart, Rodgers
On Your Toes	1936.04.11	The Three B's	M	Hart, Rodgers
Gus Edwards' Broadway Show-Window	1936.04.12	The Vandal of Music	M	G. Edwards
Summer Wives	1936.04.13	Play Me an Old-Time Two Step	D, M	Singer, Morrison
Summer Wives	1936.04.13	I Wrote a Song for You	S	Singer, Morrison
New Faces of 1936	1936.05.19	Love Is a Dancer	D	Southern, Pollac
New Faces of 1936	1936.05.19	Give Me a Song I Can Whistle	S, M	Sillman, Fogarty
Ziegfeld Follies (1936-1937)	1936.09.14	Harlem Waltz	M	Kent, R. Jerome
Ziegfeld Follies (1936-1937)	1936.09.14	The Fine Art of Strip Teasing	E	E. Gilbert
White Horse Inn	1936.10.01	The Waltz of Love	D	Caesar, Fall
Red, Hot and Blue	1936.10.29	Red, Hot and Blue	S	Porter

Show title	Date	Song title	Type	Songwriters and notes
Forbidden Melody	1936.11.02	Moonlight and Violins	M	Harbach, Romberg
Forbidden Melody	1936.11.02	Hear the Gypsies Playing	M	Harbach, Romberg
Johnny Johnson	1936.11.19	Listen to My Song	S	P. Green, Weill; a.k.a., Johnny's Song
Tonight at Eight-Thirty	1936.11.24	We Were Dancing	D	Coward; part of We Were Dancing
Tonight at Eight-Thirty	1936.11.24	Play, Orchestra, Play!	M	Coward; part of Shadow Play
Black Rhythm	1936.12.19	Truckers' Ball	D, E	Heywood
Black Rhythm	1936.12.19	Black Rhythm	M	Heywood
Black Rhythm	1936.12.19	Doin' the Toledo	D	Heywood
The Show Is On	1936.12.25	The Show Is On	E	Fetter, Carmichael
The Show Is On	1936.12.25	(There's) Rhythm (in That Heart of Mine)	M	Hart, Rodgers
The Show Is On	1936.12.25	Parade Night	E	Zeno, Irwin
The Show Is On	1936.12.25	Cakewalk	D	Zeno, Irwin
The Show Is On	1936.12.25	By Strauss	M	Gershwin, Gershwin

1936 Film songs

Film title	Year	Song title	Type	Songwriters/ notes
Collegiate	1936	Rhythmic	M	Gordon, Revel
Strike Me Pink	1936	The Lady Dances	D	L. Brown, Arlen
Strike Me Pink	1936	Shake It Off with Rhythm	M, D	L. Brown, Arlen
King of Burlesque	1936	Spreading Rhythm Around	M	Koehler, McHugh
Colleen	1936	You've Gotta Know How to Dance	D	Dubin, Warren
Song and Dance Man	1936	Dancing in the Open	D	Clare, Pollack
Follow the Fleet	1936	Let Yourself Go	D, M	Berlin
Follow the Fleet	1936	I'd Rather Lead a Band	M	Berlin
Follow the Fleet	1936	Let's Face the Music and Dance	D, M	Berlin
Born to Dance	1936	Swingin' the Jinx Away	M, S, D	Porter
Born to Dance	1936	Rap Tap on Wood	D	Porter
Paddy O'Day	1936	I Like a Balalaika	M	Eliscu, Clare
The Music Goes Round	1936	The Music Goes Round and Round	M	Farley, Riley, Hodgson; old
Captain January	1936	At the Codfish Ball	E	Mitchell, Pollack
Let's Sing Again	1936	Let's Sing Again	S	Kahn, McHugh
Dancing Feet	1936	Dancing Feet	D	Mitchell, Stept
The Singing Kid	1936	I Love to Sing-a	S	Harburg, Arlen

Film title	Year	Song title	Type	Songwriters/ notes
The Dancing Pirate	1936	When You're Dancing the Waltz	D	Hart, Rodgers
The Great Ziegfeld	1936	A Pretty Girl Is Like a Melody	M	Berlin; old, theatre
The Great Ziegfeld	1936	Yiddle on Your Fiddle	M	Berlin; old
The Great Ziegfeld	1936	She's a Ziegfeld Follies Girl	E	Adamson, Donaldson
The Great Ziegfeld	1936	A Circus Must Be Different in a Ziegfeld Show	E	Magidson, Conrad
The Great Ziegfeld	1936	You	S	Adamson, Donaldson
Show Boat	1936	Cap'n Andy's Ballyhoo	E	Hammerstein, Kern; old, theatre
Rhythm on the Range	1936	Mr. Paganini	M	Coslow
Rhythm on the Range	1936	Rhythm on the Range	M	Bullock, Whiting
Walking on Air	1936	My Heart Wants to Dance	D	Kalmar, Ruby
Stage Struck	1936	The New Parade	E	Harburg, Arlen
Sing, Baby, Sing	1936	Sing, Baby, Sing	S	Yellen, Pollack
Sing, Baby, Sing	1936	The Music Goes 'Round and Around	M	Farley, Riley, Hodgson; old
Sing, Baby, Sing	1936	Singing a Vagabond Song	S	Messenheimer, Burton, Richman; old, film
Swing Time	1936	Waltz in Swing Time	M	Fields, Kern
Swing Time	1936	Bojangles of Harlem	D	Fields, Kern
Swing Time	1936	Never Gonna Dance	D	Fields, Kern
Give Us This Night	1936	Sweet Melody of Night	M	Hammerstein, Korngold
Give Us This Night	1936	Music in the Night	M	Hammerstein, Korngold
Frankie and Johnny	1936	Give Me a Heart to Sing To	S	Washington, Young
Frankie and Johnny	1936	Get Rhythm in Your Feet	D	Robinson, Livingstone
Pigskin Parade	1936	Balboa	D	Mitchell, Pollack

1937

Show title	Date	Song title	Type	Songwriters and notes
Naughty Naught 'OO	1937.01.23	Coney-by-the-Sea	E	Fetter, Lewine; a.k.a. Olio
Babes in Arms	1937.04.14	All Dark People	D	Hart, Rodgers; a.k.a., All Dark People Are Light on Their Feet
Babes in Arms	1937.04.14	Johnny One-Note	S	Hart, Rodgers
Orchids Preferred	1937.05.11	Selling a Song	S	Herendeen, Stamper
Orchids Preferred	1937.05.11	Minsky	E	Herendeen, Stamper
Orchids Preferred	1937.05.11	The Echo of a Song	S	Herendeen, Stamper
Swing It	1937.07.22	Old Time Swing	M	Mack, Reddie, Blake
Swing It	1937.07.22	Huggin' an' Muggin'	D	Mack, Reddie, Blake
Swing It	1937.07.22	Spirit of Rhythm	M	Mack, Reddie, Blake
Swing It	1937.07.22	Jungle Swing	M	Mack, Reddie, Blake
Virginia	1937.09.02	We Had to Rehearse	E	Stillman, Schwartz
Virginia	1937.09.02	My Heart Is Dancing	D	Stillman, Schwartz
Virginia	1937.09.02	Meet Me at the Fair	E	Stillman, Schwartz
A Hero Is Born	1937.10.01	Music in the Air	M	A. Morgan, Engel
A Hero Is Born	1937.10.01	The Best Dance of All	D	A. Morgan, Engel
The Fireman's Flame	1937.10.09	Doin' the Waltz	D	Fetter, Lewine
I'd Rather Be Right	1937.11.02	We're Going to Balance the Budget	M	Hart, Rodgers; see Hart Lyrics
I'd Rather Be Right	1937.11.02	Labor Is the Thing	S	Hart, Rodgers; see Hart Lyrics
Pins and Needles	1937.11.27	Why Sing of Skies Above	S	Rome; a.k.a., Sing Me a Song of Social Significance
Pins and Needles	1937.11.27	Slumming Party	D	Rome; a.k.a., Doing the Reactionary
Pins and Needles	1937.11.27	The Great White Way Turns Pink	E	Rome; added during run of first edition
Hooray for What!	1937.12.01	Life's a Dance	D	Harburg, Arlen
Hooray for What!	1937.12.01	The Night of the Embassy Ball	E	Harburg, Arlen
Hooray for What!	1937.12.01	I'm Against Rhythm	M	Harburg, Arlen
Three Waltzes	1937.12.25	I'll Can-Can All Day	D	Kummer, Strauss

Show title	Date	Song title	Type	Songwriters and notes
Three Waltzes	1937.12.25	Our Last Waltz Together	D	Kummer, Straus

1937 Film songs

Film title	Year	Song title	Type	Songwriters/ notes
This Way Please	1937	I'm the Sound Effects Man	E	Gray, Jock
Hideaway Girl	1937	Beethoven, Mendelssohn and Liszt	M	Coslow
Hideaway Girl	1937	You're Dancing into My Heart	D	R. Freed, Lane
On the Avenue	1937	He Ain't Got Rhythm	M	Berlin
The Holy Terror	1937	Don't Sing	S	Clare, Akst
The Holy Terror	1937	Everybody Swing	M	Clare, Akst
Champagne Waltz	1937	Champagne Waltz	D	Drake, Oakland, Conrad
Champagne Waltz	1937	Paradise in Waltz Time	D	Coslow, Hollander
Maytime	1937	Vive l'Opera	E	Wright, Forrest, adapt traditional
When You're in Love	1937	Our Song	S	Fields, Kern
When You're in Love	1937	The Whistling Boy	M	Fields, Kern
When You're in Love	1937	Siboney	M	Morse, Lecuona; old
Swing While You're Able	1937	I'm Gonna Swing While I'm Able	M	Parks, Lee
Swing While You're Able	1937	Swing, Brother, Swing	M	Heath, LeRoux
Turn Off the Moon	1937	Jammin'	M	Coslow
Sing and Be Happy	1937	Sing and Be Happy	S	Clare, Akst
Nobody's Baby	1937	All Dressed Up in Rhythm	M	Bullock, Hatley
A Day at the Races	1937	All God's Chillun Got Rhythm	M	Kahn, Jurmann, Kaper
The Hit Parade	1937	The Lady Wants to Dance	D	Hirsch, Handman
The Hit Parade	1937	I've Got to Be a Rug Cutter	D	Ellington
New Faces of 1937	1937	It Goes to Your Feet	D	L. Brown, Fain
New Faces of 1937	1937	Peckin'	D	Pollack, James
Melody for Two	1937	An Excuse for Dancing	D	Jerome, Scholl
Melody for Two	1937	Dangerous Rhythm	M	Jerome, Scholl
Mountain Music	1937	Mama Don't 'Low No Bull Fiddle Playin' in Heah	M	Coslow
Mountain Music	1937	I Put My Heart in a Song	S	Coslow

Film title	Year	Song title	Type	Songwriters/ notes
Mountain Music	1937	Can't You Hear That Mountain Music?	M	Coslow
Something to Sing About	1937	Something to Sing About	S	Schertzing
Shall We Dance	1937	Slap That Bass	M	Gershwin, Gershwin
Shall We Dance	1937	Shall We Dance	D	Gershwin, Gershwin
Artists and Models	1937	Public Melody Number One	M	Harburg, Arlen
Double or Nothing	1937	All You Want to Do Is Dance	D	Johnston, Johnny Burke
Double or Nothing	1937	It's On, It's Off	E	Coslow, Siegel
You Can't Have Everything	1937	Rhythm on the Radio	M	Prima
Broadway Melody of 1938	1937	Follow in My Footsteps	D	Freed, N. Brown
Broadway Melody of 1938	1937	Everybody Sing	S	Freed, N. Brown
Broadway Melody of 1938	1937	Broadway Melody	M	Freed, N. Brown; old, film
Broadway Melody of 1938	1937	Dear Mr. Gable	E	Edens
Vogues of 1938	1937	Turn on the Red Hot Heat (Burn the Blues Away)	M	Webster, Alter
Vogues of 1938	1937	King of Jam	M	Alter
The Firefly	1937	The Donkey Serenade	S	Wright, Forrest, Friml
Make a Wish	1937	Music in My Heart	M	Webster, Straus, Alter
The Life of the Party	1937	Yankee Doodle Band	M	Magidson, Wrubel
The Life of the Party	1937	So You Won't Sing	S, D	Magidson, Wrubel
The Life of the Party	1937	Chirp a Little Ditty	M	Magidson, Wrubel
Talent Scout	1937	In the Silent Picture Days	E	Jerome, Scholl
Talent Scout	1937	I Am the Singer, You Are the Song	S	Jerome, Scholl
Varsity Show	1937	Love Is on the Air Tonight	E	Mercer, Whiting
Varsity Show	1937	On with the Dance	D	Mercer, Whiting
Varsity Show	1937	Old King Cole	M	Mercer, Whiting
Music for Madame	1937	Music for Madame	M	Magidson, Wrubel
Ali Baba Goes to Town	1937	Swing Is Here to Stay	M	Gordon, Revel
Life Begins in College	1937	Big Chief Swing It	M	Mitchell, Pollack

Film title	Year	Song title	Type	Songwriters/ notes
Life Begins in College	1937	The Rhumba Goes Collegiate	M	Mitchell, Pollack
Fifty-Second Street	1937	Let Down Your Hair and Sing	S	Bullock, Spina
Ready, Willing and Able	1937	Handy with Your Feet	D	Mercer, Whiting
A Damsel in Distress	1937	I Can't Be Bothered Now	D	Gershwin, Gershwin
A Damsel in Distress	1937	Sing of Spring	S	Gershwin, Gershwin
Manhattan Merry-Go-Round	1937	Mamma, I Wanna Make Rhythm	M	J. Jerome, Byron, Kent
Swing It Professor	1937	An Old Fashioned Melody	M	Heath, Lee, LeRoux
Thrill of a Lifetime	1937	Keeno, Screeno and You	E	Coslow, Hollander
Thrill of a Lifetime	1937	Paris in Swing	M, N	Coslow, Hollander
Hitting a New High	1937	You're Like a Song	S	Adamson, McHugh
Rosalie	1937	I've a Strange New Rhythm in My Heart	M, D	Porter
Rhythm in the Clouds	1937	Two Hearts Are Dancing	D	Handman, Hirsch

1938

Show title	Date	Song title	Type	Songwriters and notes
Right This Way	1938.01.05	He Can Dance	D	Kahal, Fain
Right This Way	1938.01.05	Song in the Night	S	Kahal, Fain
Who's Who	1938.03.01	I Dance Alone	D	Shelton
Who's Who	1938.03.01	I Must Waltz	D	Graham, Bergersen
I Married an Angel	1938.05.11	At the Roxy Music Hall	E	Hart, Rodgers
I Married an Angel	1938.05.11	Spring Is Here	Allu	Hart, Rodgers; see Hart Lyrics
I Married an Angel	1938.05.11	Angel without Wings	Allu	Hart, Rodgers; see Hart Lyrics
The Two Banquets	1938.05.31	She Did the Fandango	D	Farjeon, Farjeon, adapt. various
You Never Know	1938.09.21	You Never Know	Allu	Porter; see Porter Lyrics
You Never Know	1938.09.21	What Is That Tune?	S	Porter
You Never Know	1938.09.21	Let's Put It to Music	S	E. Gilbert, Fogarty
Hellzapoppin'	1938.11.28	Fuddle dee Duddle	M	C. Tobias, Fain; a.k.a., Funny Little Tune
Sing Out the News	1938.09.24	We've Got the Song	S	Rome
Leave It to Me	1938.11.09	I'm Taking the Steps to Russia	D	Porter
The Boys for Syracuse	1938.11.23	Sing for Your Supper	S	Hart, Rodgers
Great Lady	1938.12.01	There Had to Be the Waltz	D	Crooker, Brentano, Loewe
Policy Kings	1938.12.30	Harlem Woogie	M	Ashwood, J.P. Johnson

1938 Film songs

Film title	Year	Song title	Type	Songwriters/ notes
Swing Your Lady	1938	Mountain Swingaroo	M	Jerome, Scholl
Swing Your Lady	1938	Swing Your Lady	M	Jerome, Scholl
Happy Landing	1938	Yonny and His Oompah	M	Yellen, Pokrass
Happy Landing	1938	You Are the Music to the Words in My Heart	M	Yellen, Pokrass
Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs	1938	Whistle While You Work	M	Churchill, Morey
Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs	1938	With a Smile and a Song	S	Churchill, Morey
Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs	1938	Isn't This a Silly Song?	S	Churchill, Morey
Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs	1938	Our Song	S	Churchill, Morey

Film title	Year	Song title	Type	Songwriters/ notes
Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs	1938	Music in Your Soup	M	Churchill, Morey
Rascals	1938	Song of the Gypsy Band	S, M	Clare, Akst
The Big Broadcast of 1938	1938	The Waltz Lives On	D, M	Robin, Rainger
Hollywood Hotel	1938	Sing You Son of a Gun	S	Mercer, Whiting
Hollywood Hotel	1938	Hollywood Hotel	E	Mercer, Whiting
Sally, Irene and Mary	1938	Got My Mind on Music	M	Gordon, Revel
Sally, Irene and Mary	1938	Sweet as a Song	S	Gordon, Revel
Everybody Sing	1938	Swing, Mr. Mendelssohn, Swing	M	Kahn, Kaper, Jurmann
Everybody Sing	1938	Down on Melody Farm	M	Kahn, Kaper, Jurmann
Everybody Sing	1938	The Show Must Go On	E	Kahn, Kaper, Jurmann
Everybody Sing	1938	I Wanna Swing	M	Kahn, Kaper, Jurmann
Doctor Rhythm	1938	Doctor Rhythm	M	Burke, Monaco
Doctor Rhythm	1938	My Heart Is Taking Lessons	S	Burke, Monaco
Doctor Rhythm	1938	Trumpet Player's Lament	M	Burke, Monaco
Kentucky Moonshine	1938	Sing a Song of Harvest	S	Mitchell, Pollack
Kentucky Moonshine	1938	I've Been Swingin'	M	Mitchell, Pollack
College Swing	1938	What a Rumba Does to Romance	D	Loesser, Sherwin
College Swing	1938	College Swing	M	Loesser, Carmichael
Cowboy from Brooklyn	1938	I've a Heartful of Music	M	Mercer, Warren
Mad About Music	1938	I Love to Whistle	M	Adamson, McHugh
Mad About Music	1938	Serenade to the Stars	S	Adamson, McHugh
Alexander's Ragtime Band	1938	Alexander's Ragtime Band	M	Berlin; old
Alexander's Ragtime Band	1938	A Pretty Girl Is Like a Melody	M, S	Berlin; old, theatre
Alexander's Ragtime Band	1938	Say It with Music	M, S	Berlin; old, theatre
Alexander's Ragtime Band	1938	Ragtime Violin	M	Berlin; old
Alexander's Ragtime Band	1938	Everybody's Doing It Now	D	Berlin; old
Alexander's Ragtime Band	1938	Pack Up Yours Sins and Go to the Devil	M	Berlin; old, theatre

Film title	Year	Song title	Type	Songwriters/ notes
Alexander's Ragtime Band	1938	International Rag	M	Berlin; old
Alexander's Ragtime Band	1938	Heat Wave	D	Berlin; old, theatre
Listen, Darling	1938	Zing Went the Strings of My Heart	M	Hanley; old, theatre
Freshman Year	1938	Swing That Cheer	M	McCarthy, Barris
Carefree	1938	The Yam	D	Berlin
Carefree	1938	Change Partners	D	Berlin
Artists and Models Abroad	1938	Do the Buckaroo	D	Robin, Rainger
Breaking the Ice	1938	Put Your Heart in a Song	S	Webster, Churchill
My Lucky Star	1938	The All-American Swing	M	Gordon, Revel
Just Around the Corner	1938	This Is a Happy Little Ditty	S	Bullock, Spina
Fisherman's Wharf	1938	Sell Your Cares for a Song	S	Newman, V. Young
Swing, Sister, Swing	1938	Baltimore Bubble	D	Skinner
Three Smart Girls Grow Up	1938	Invitation to the Dance	D	C. Henderson, Von Weber, adapt
St. Louis Blues	1938	The Song in My Heart Is a Rhumba	S, M	Loesser, Lane
Paris Honeymoon	1938	Funny Old Hills	M	Robin, Rainger
Paris Honeymoon	1938	Joobalai	D	Robin, Rainger

1939 Theatre songs

Show title	Date	Song title	Type	Songwriters and notes
Set to Music	1939.01.18	Midnight Matinee	E	Coward
One for the Money	1939.02.04	Rhapsody	M	Hamilton, Lewis
Lew Leslie's Blackbirds of 1939	1939.02.11	Swing Struck	M	Taylor, Mizzy
Lew Leslie's Blackbirds of 1939	1939.02.11	Shake Your Bluesies with Dancing Shoesies	D	Sachs, Haber
Sing for Your Supper	1939.04.24	Sing for Your Supper	S	Sour, Lehac
Sing for Your Supper	1939.04.24	Opening Night	E	Sour, Lehac
Sing for Your Supper	1939.04.24	Young Man with a Horn	M	Sour, Wainer
The Streets of Paris	1939.06.19	Doin' the Chamberlain	D	Dubin, McHugh
The Streets of Paris	1939.06.19	Reading, Writing and a Little Bit of Rhythm	M	Dubin, McHugh
From Vienna	1939.06.20	Musical Day	M	Michel, Weigel, Drix
From Vienna	1939.06.20	Salzburg Puppet Show	M	Michel, Franklin, Andreas
From Vienna	1939.06.20	Musical Day	M	Michel, Weigel, Drix
Yokel Boy	1939.06.06	(Time for) Jukin'	D	L. Brown, C. Tobias, Kent
Yokel Boy	1939.06.06	Hollywood and Vine	E	L. Brown, C. Tobias, Stept
Yokel Boy	1939.06.06	Beer Barrel Polka	S	L. Brown, Vejvoda
George White's Scandals (1939)	1939.08.28	The Mexiconga	D	Yellen, Fain
George White's Scandals (1939)	1939.08.28	The Song's for Free	S	Yellen, Fain
Too Many Girls	1939.10.18	'Cause We Got Cake	D	Hart, Rodgers
Too Many Girls	1939.10.18	I Like to Recognize the Tune	M	Hart, Rodgers
Too Many Girls	1939.10.18	She Could Shake Her Maracas	M	Hart, Rodgers
Very Warm for May	1939.11.17	All the Things You Are	Allu	Hammerstein, Kern
Very Warm for May	1939.11.17	Harlem Boogie Woogie	M	Hammerstein, Kern
Very Warm for May	1939.11.17	Heaven in My Arms	D	Hammerstein, Kern

Show title	Date	Song title	Type	Songwriters and notes
Pins and Needles 1939 (2 nd Edition)	1937.11.27	We Sing America	S	Rome
Swingin' the Dream	1939.11.29	Swingin' a Dream	M	De Lange, Van Heusen
Du Barry Was a Lady	1939.12.06	When Love Beckoned	Allu	Porter; see Porter Lyrics
Du Barry Was a Lady	1939.12.06	Come On In	E	Porter; see Porter Lyrics

1939 Revived songs in new theatre shows

Show title	Date	Song title	Type	Songwriters and notes
The Swing Mikado	1939.03.01	A Wandering Minstrel	S	Gilbert, Sullivan
The Hot Mikado	1939.03.23	A Wandering Minstrel	S	Gilbert, Sullivan
Susanna, Don't You Cry	1939.05.22	Ring de Banjo	M	Foster
Swingin' the Dream	1939.11.29	The Flat Foot Floogie	D	Gaillard, Stewart, B. Green

1939 Film songs

Film title	Year	Song title	Type	Songwriters/ notes
Broadway Serenade	1939	Broadway Serenade for Every Lonely Heart	S, N	Kahn, Tchaikovsky, adapt
Second Fiddle	1939	I Poured My Heart into a Song	S	Berlin
Second Fiddle	1939	Back to Back	D	Berlin
Second Fiddle	1939	An Old-Fashioned Tune Is Always New	M	Berlin
Second Fiddle	1939	The Song of the Metronome	M	Berlin
East Side of Heaven	1939	Sing a Song of Sunbeams	S	Johnny Burke, Monaco
The Story of Vernon and Irene Castle	1939	The Darktown Strutter's Ball	D, M	Brooks; old, theatre
Some Like It Hot	1939	Some Like It Hot	M	Loesser, Krupa, Biondi
Rose of Washington Square	1939	Rock-a-bye Your Baby with a Dixie Melody	S	Lewis, J. Young, J. Schwartz; old, theatre
Rose of Washington Square	1939	Ja Da	M	Carleton; old
Naughty But Nice	1939	Corn Pickin'	D	Mercer, Warren

Film title	Year	Song title	Type	Songwriters/ notes
Hawaiian Nights	1939	Hawaii Sang Me to Sleep	S	Loesser, Malneck
Hawaiian Nights	1939	Then I Wrote the Minuet in G	M	Loesser, Malneck, adapt Beethoven
Honolulu	1939	The Leader Doesn't Like Music	M	Kahn, Warren
The Great Victor Herbert	1939	Ask Her While the Band Is Playing	M	Macdonough, Herbert; old, theatre
The Great Victor Herbert	1939	If I Were on the Stage	E	Blossom, Herbert; old, theatre
Swanee River	1939	Ring Ring de Banjo	M	Foster; old, theatre
At the Circus	1939	Lydia the Tattooed Lady	E	Harburg, Arlen
At the Circus	1939	Swingali	M	Harburg, Arlen
Balalaika	1939	At the Balalaika	E, M	Posford, Wright, Forrest, Maschwitz; old, theatre
Babes in Arms	1939	Broadway Rhythm	D, N	Freed, N. Brown; old, film
Babes in Arms	1939	Ja Da	M	Carleton; old
Babes in Arms	1939	Darktown Strutter's Ball	D, M	Brooks; old, theatre
Babes in Arms	1939	I Like Opera, I Like Swing	M	Edens
Babes in Arms	1939	My Daddy Was a Minstrel Man	E	Edens
Babes in Arms	1939	Good Morning	D	Freed, N. Brown
Laugh It Off	1939	Doin' the 1940	D	S. Lerner, Oakland

Song Titles of 1940-1947

1940 Theatre songs

Show title	Date	Song title	Type	Songwriters and notes
John Henry	1940.01.10	I'm Singing about a Man	S	R. Bradford, J. Wolfe
Earl Carroll's Vanities	1940.01.13	Can the Can-Can	D	Cochran, Rosoff
Two for the Show	1940.02.08	Calypso Joe	M	Hamilton, M. Lewis
Two for the Show	1940.02.08	That Terrible Tune	M	Hamilton, M. Lewis
Two for the Show	1940.02.08	How High the Moon	Allu	Hamilton, M. Lewis
Two for the Show	1940.02.08	The All-Girl Band	M	Hamilton, M. Lewis
Reunion in New York	1940.02.21	A Character in Search of a Character	E	Greggory, Kazounoff
Reunion in New York	1940.02.21	I'm Going Crazy over Strauss	M	Barry, Michel
Higher and Higher	1940.04.04	Morning's at Seven	D	Hart, Rodgers
Keep Off the Grass	1940.05.23	I'll Applaud (You) with My Feet	D	Dubin, McHugh
Keep Off the Grass	1940.05.23	A Latin Tune, A Manhattan Moon, and You	M	Dubin, McHugh
Keep Off the Grass	1940.05.23	(I'm an) Old Jitterbug	D	Dubin, McHugh
Keep Off the Grass	1940.05.23	Toscanini, Stokowski and Me	M	
Louisiana Purchase	1940.05.28	Apologia	E	Berlin; a.k.a. The Letter; and It's News to Us (Opening); see Berlin Lyrics
Louisiana Purchase	1940.05.28	Louisiana Purchase	Allu	Berlin; see Berlin Lyrics
Louisiana Purchase	1940.05.28	(Dance with Me) Tonight at the Mardi Gras	D, E	Berlin
Walk with Music	1940.06.04	I Walk with Music	M	Mercer, Carmichael
Walk with Music	1940.05.04	The Rhumba Jumps	D	Mercer, Carmichael
Boys and Girls Together	1940.10.01	Tschaikowski	M	Yellen, Kahal, Fain; not same as Weill song

Show title	Date	Song title	Type	Songwriters and notes
It Happens on Ice	1940.10.10	The Waltz of Memory	D	Burger, Norman; 1941 2 nd edition only
It Happens on Ice	1940.10.10	The Waiter and the Porter and the Upstairs Maid	D, M	Mercer; 1941 2 nd edition only; from 1941 film
'Tis of Thee	1940.10.26	You've Got Something to Sing About	S	Hayes, Moss
'Tis of Thee	1940.10.26	The Rhythm Is Red an' White an' Blue	M	Greggory, Moss
Panama Hattie	1940.10.30	Join It Right Away	D	Porter; see Porter Lyrics
Panama Hattie	1940.10.30	I've Still Got My Health	Allu	Porter; see Porter Lyrics
Panama Hattie	1940.10.30	I'm Throwing a Ball Tonight	E	Porter
Panama Hattie	1940.10.30	I Detest a Fiesta	E	Porter
Meet the People	1940.12.25	Hurdy Gurdy Verdi	M	Myers, adapt Verdi
Meet the People	1940.12.25	Let's Steal a Tune from Offenbach	M	Myers, adapt Offenbach
Meet the People	1940.12.23	Mr. Capra Goes to Town	E	Myers, Gorney; added for tour or during run
Meet the People	1940.12.23	The Old Waltz	D	Myers, Gorney; added for tour or during run
Pal Joey	1940.12.25	Happy Hunting Horn	M	Hart, Rodgers
Pal Joey	1940.12.25	What Do I Care for a Dame?	E	Hart, Rodgers; see Hart Lyrics; a.k.a. Pal Joey
Pal Joey	1940.12.25	Zip	E	Hart, Rodgers
All in Fun	1940.12.25	Macumba	D	J. Sillman, Bergersen

1940 Film songs

Film title	Year	Song title	Type	Songwriters/ notes
Pinocchio	1940	Hi-Diddle-Dee-Dee (An Actor's Life for Me)	E	Washington, Harline
Road to Singapore	1940	Sweet Potato Piper	M	Johnny Burke, Monaco
It's a Date	1940	Rhythm of the Islands	M	Cherkose, Belasco, Press
Oh Johnny, How Can You Love?	1940	Swing Chariot Swing	M	Smith, Skinner
Music in My Heart	1940	(I've Got) Music in My Heart	M	Wright, Forrest

Film title	Year	Song title	Type	Songwriters/ notes
Music in My Heart	1940	Punchinello	E	Wright, Forrest
Two Girls on Broadway	1940	My Wonderful One, Let's Dance	D	Freed, N. Brown, Edens
If I Had My Way	1940	April Played the Fiddle	M	Johnny Burke, Monaco
Lillian Russell	1940	Waltz Is King	D	C. Henderson, Newman
Lillian Russell	1940	The Band Played On	D, M	Palmer, Ward; old
The Boys from Syracuse	1940	Sing for Your Supper	S	Hart, Rodgers; old, theatre
Rhythm on the River	1940	Rhythm on the River	M	Johnny Burke, Monaco
Rhythm on the River	1940	When the Moon Comes Over Madison Square	E, N	Johnny Burke, Monaco
Rhythm on the River	1940	What Would Shakespeare Have Said?	E	Johnny Burke, Monaco
Young People	1940	Tra-la-la	S	Gordon, Warren
Argentine Nights	1940	Rhumboogie	M	Raye, Prince
Argentine Nights	1940	Brooklynonga	D, N	Raye, Prince
Melody and Moonlight	1940	Melody and Moonlight	M	S. Meyer, G. Brown, Styne
Dance, Girl, Dance	1940	Jitterbug Bite	D	Ward, Wright, Forrest
Strike Up the Band	1940	Drummer Boy	M	Edens
Strike Up the Band	1940	Do the Conga	D	Edens
Strike Up the Band	1940	Strike Up the Band	M	Gershwin, Gershwin; old, theatre
Down Argentina Way	1940	Sing to Your Senorita	S	Gordon, Warren
Spring Parade	1940	Waltzing in the Clouds	D	Kahn, Stolz
Spring Parade	1940	When April Sings	S	Kahn, Stolz
Dancing on a Dime	1940	I Hear a Music	M	Loesser, Lane
Dancing on a Dime	1940	Dancing on a Dime	D	Loesser, Lane
Little Nellie Kelly	1940	Singin' in the Rain	S	Freed, N. Brown; old, film
Bitter Sweet	1940	Zigeuner	E	Coward
Barnyard Follies	1940	Mama Don't Allow It	M	Davenport; old
Too Many Girls	1940	'Cause We Got Cake	D	Hart, Rodgers; old, film
Hit Parade of 1941	1940	Swing Low Sweet Rhythm	M	Bullock, Styne

Film title	Year	Song title	Type	Songwriters/ notes
Melody Ranch	1940	Stake Your Dreams on Melody Ranch	M	Cherkose, Styne
A Night at Earl Carroll's	1940	Cali-Con-Ga	D	Carroll, Cochran, Menendez

1941 Theatre songs

Show title	Date	Song title	Type	Songwriters and notes
No for an Answer	1941.01.05	Secret Singing	S	Blitzstein
Night of Love	1941.01.07	Serenade for You	S	R. Leigh, Stolz
Crazy with the Heat	1941.01.14	(You Should Be) Set to Music	M, S	I. Graham
Crazy with the Heat	1941.01.14	Interpretation in C Minor	M, S	
Lady in the Dark	1941.01.23	The Greatest Show on Earth	E	Gershwin, Weill
Lady in the Dark	1941.01.23	Tschaikowsky	M	Gershwin, Weill
Best Foot Forward	1941.10.01	That's How I Love the Blues	M	Blane, Martin
Best Foot Forward	1941.10.01	The Three B's	M	Blane, Martin
Best Foot Forward	1941.10.01	Just a Little Joint with a Juke Box	M	Blane, Martin
Viva O'Brien	1941.10.09	Our Song	S	Leveen, Grever
Let's Face It	1941.10.29	A Little Rhumba Numba	M	Porter
High Kickers	1941.10.31	Time to Sing	S	Kalmar, Ruby
High Kickers	1941.10.31	Waltzing in the Moonlight	D	Kalmar, Ruby
Sons o' Fun	1941.12.01	Hi-Ho, the Hoe-Down Way	D	Kahal, Fain
Sons o' Fun	1941.12.01	Let's Say Goodnight with a Dance	D	Yellen, Fain
Sunny River	1941.12.04	Can You Sing?	S	Hammerstein, Romberg
Banjo Eyes	1941.12.25	Who Started the Rhumba?	D	Latouche, Duke
Banjo Eyes	1941.12.25	It Could Only Happen in the Movies	E	Adamson, Duke
Banjo Eyes	1941.12.25	Make with the Feet	D	Adamson, Duke

1941 Film songs

Film title	Year	Song title	Type	Songwriters/ notes
Buck Privates	1941	Boogie Woogie Bugle Boy (Of Company B)	M	Raye, Prince
Buck Privates	1941	Bounce Me Brother with a Solid Four	M	Raye, Prince
Six Lessons from Madame La Zonga	1941	Six Lessons from Madame La Zonga	D	C. Newman, Monaco; old
Blondie Goes Latin	1941	You Don't Play a Drum (You Beat It)	M	Wright, Forrest

Film title	Year	Song title	Type	Songwriters/ notes
Blondie Goes Latin	1941	I Hate Music Lessons	M	Wright, Forrest
Blondie Goes Latin	1941	Castillian Cotillion	D	Wright, Forrest
That Night in Rio	1941	Chica Chica Boom Chic	M	Gordon, Warren
That Night in Rio	1941	They Met in Rio	S, D	Gordon, Warren
Where Did You Get That Girl?	1941	Sergeant Swing	M	Rosen, Carter
Where Did You Get That Girl?	1941	Rug-Cuttin' Romeo	D	Rosen, Carter
Road Show	1941	Calliope Jane	M	Adams, Carmichael
Pot o' Gold	1941	A Knife, a Fork and a Spoon	M	Franklin
Pot o' Gold	1941	When Johnny Toots His Horn	M	F. Rose, Heath
Pot o' Gold	1941	Pete the Piper	M	Forbes, H. Sullivan
Ziegfeld Girl	1941	Mr. Gallagher and Mr. Shean	E	Gallagher, Shean; old, theatre
Too Many Blondes	1941	Whistle Your Blues to a Bluebird	M	Carter, Rosen
Too Many Blondes	1941	The Man on the Flying Trapeze	E	Old; O'Keefe, adapt Leybourne, Lee
They Met in Argentina	1941	Never Go to Argentina	D, M	Hart, Rodgers
Sweetheart of the Campus	1941	When the Glee Club Swings the Alma Mater	S	C. Newman, Samuels
Sweetheart of the Campus	1941	Tap Happy	D	Cherkose, Press
The Great American Broadcast	1941	The Great American Broadcast	E	Gordon, Warren
In the Navy	1941	Hula Ba Lua	E	Raye, De Paul
Second Chorus	1941	(I Ain't Hep to That Step) But I'll Dig It	D	Mercer, Borne
Second Chorus	1941	Poor Mister Chisholm	M	Mercer, Hanighen
San Antonio Rose	1941	Mexican Jumping Beat	M	Raye, De Paul
San Antonio Rose	1941	Bugle Woogie Boy	M	Russell
The Big Store	1941	Sing While You Sell	S	Kuller, Finberg, Borne
Melody Lane	1941	Swing-A-Bye My Baby	M	Brooks, Berens
Melody Lane	1941	Since the Farmer in the Dell Learned to Swing	M	Brooks, Berens
Swing It, Soldier	1941	Rug-Cuttin' Romeo	D	Cherkose, Press
Swing It, Soldier	1941	I'm Gonna Swing My Way to Heaven	D	Cherkose, Press

Film title	Year	Song title	Type	Songwriters/ notes
Time Out for Rhythm	1941	Boogie Woogie Man	M	Cahn, Chaplin
Time Out for Rhythm	1941	Time Out for Rhythm	M	Cahn, Chaplin
Time Out for Rhythm	1941	Obviously the Gentleman Prefers to Dance	D	Cahn, Chaplin
Kiss the Boys Goodbye	1941	Find Yourself a Melody	M	Loesser, Schertzinger
Sing Another Chorus	1941	Boogie Woogie Boogie Man	M	Carter, Rosen
Sing Another Chorus	1941	Dancing on Air	D	Carter, Rosen
Sing Another Chorus	1941	We Too Can Sing	S	Carter, Rosen
Hold That Ghost	1941	Sleepy Serenade	S	Greene, Singer
Sun Valley Serenade	1941	The Kiss Polka	D	Gordon, Warren
Lady, Be Good	1941	Your Words and My Music	S	Freed, Edens
Lady, Be Good	1941	Fascinating Rhythm	M, D	Gershwin, Gershwin; old, theatre
Four Jacks and a Jill	1941	Boogie Woogie Conga	M	Greene, Revel
Go West, Young Lady	1941	I Wish I Could Be a Singing Cowboy	S, E	Cahn, Chaplin
You'll Never Get Rich	1941	Wedding Cake Walk	D, M	Porter
Birth of the Blues	1941	Birth of the Blues	M	DeSylva, L. Brown, Henderson; old, theatre
Weekend in Havana	1941	Romance and Rhumba	D	Gordon, Monaco
Hellzapoppin	1941	Congeroo	D	Raye, De Paul
Hellzapoppin	1941	Conga Beso	D	Raye, De Paul
Hellzapoppin	1941	Waiting for the Robert E. Lee	D, M, S	L. Gilbert, Muir; old, theatre
Get Hep to Love	1941	Siboney	M, D	Morse, Lecuona; old

1942 Theatre songs

Show title	Date	Song title	Type	Songwriters and notes
The Lady Comes Across	1942.01.09	Tango	D	Latouche, Duke
The Lady Comes Across	1942.01.09	The Queen of Opera	E	Latouche, Duke
Of V We Sing	1942.02.11	Don't Sing Solo	S	Harvey, Kleinsinger
Of V We Sing	1942.02.11	Victory Conga	D	Tolkin
Of V We Sing	1942.02.11	You've Got to Appease with a Strip Tease	E	Allan, Sacher
Of V We Sing	1942.02.11	Of V We Sing	S	Harvey, Kleinsinger
Priorities of 1942	1942.03.12	Vaudeville Is Back	E	Fielding, Barnes
Priorities of 1942	1942.03.12	I Waltzed with a Major	D	Fielding, Barnes
Harlem Cavalcade	1942.05.01	Melody in Sepia	M	Sissle, Blake
By Jupiter	1942.06.03	Careless Rhapsody	M	Hart, Rodgers
Star and Garter	1942.06.24	Star and Garter Girls	E	Seelen, Lee
Star and Garter	1942.06.24	Clap Your Hands	E or M	
Star and Garter	1942.06.24	Les Sylphides avec la Bumpe	D	Gordon, Roberts, Brainin
Star and Garter	1942.06.24	I Can't Strip to Brahms	M	Lee
Stars on Ice	1942.07.02	Stars on Ice	E	Stillman, McGrane, Van Loan
Stars on Ice	1942.07.02	Juke Box Saturday Night	M	Stillman, McGrane
This Is the Army	1942.07.04	Opening, Act One	E	Berlin; a.k.a. A Military Minstrel Show; a.k.a. The Army and the Shuberts Depend on You
This Is the Army	1942.07.04	Opening Chorus, Act One	E	Berlin; a.k.a. Some Dough Boys for the Army Relief
This Is the Army	1942.07.04	Ladies of the Chorus	E	Berlin
This Is the Army	1942.07.04	Opening, Act Two	E	Berlin; a.k.a. Jane Cowl Number; see Berlin Lyrics
This Is the Army	1942.07.04	This Time (Closing)	E	Berlin; see Berlin Lyrics
Show Time	1942.09.16	Strip Polka	E, M	Mercer

Show title	Date	Song title	Type	Songwriters and notes
Wine Women and Song	1942.09.28	This Is Not a Play by Saroyan	E	I. Graham
Let Freedom Ring	1942.10.05	Ring Up the Curtain	E	Rome
Beat the Band	1942.10.14	America Loves a Band	M	Marion, Green
The Time, the Place and the Girl	1942.10.21	Ocarina	M	Friedlander, Howard; new song in revival
New Faces of 1943	1942.12.22	Radio City, I Love You	E	J. Carroll, Wainer
You'll See Stars	1942.12.29	Dancing on a Rainbow	D	Timberg, G. Edwards
You'll See Stars	1942.12.29	Swinging the Bhumba [sic]	D, M	Timberg, G. Edwards
You'll See Stars	1942.12.29	Readin', Writin' and 'Rhythmic	M	Timberg, G. Edwards

1942 Revived songs in new theatre shows

Show title	Date	Song title	Type	Songwriters and notes
Priorities of 1942	1942.03.12	Blues in the Night	S	Mercer, Arlen; from Blues in the Night, film
Johnny 2 x 4	1942.03.16	Blue Prelude	S	Bishop, Jenkins
Top-Notchers	1942.05.29	The Sweetest Song in the World	S	Parr-Davies
Top-Notchers	1942.05.29	Kerry Dances	D	Molloy
Star and Garter	1942.06.24	Blues in the Night	S	Mercer, Arlen; from Blues in the Night, film
New Priorities of 1942	1942.09.15	I Love a Parade	E	Koehler, Arlen; from The Cotton Club Parade
Show Time	1942.09.16	I'll Take the High Note	S	Adamson, Green; from Hi Ya, Gentlemen
Let Freedom Ring	1942.10.05	Of the People Stomp	D	Rome; from The Little Dog Laughed

1942 Film songs

Film title	Year	Song title	Type	Songwriters/ notes
Louisiana Purchase	1942	Take a Letter to Paramount Pictures	E	Berlin; old, theatre
Louisiana Purchase	1942	Before the Picture Starts	E	Berlin; old, theatre
Babes on Broadway	1942	How About You	E, M	R. Freed, Lane
Babes on Broadway	1942	Babes on Broadway	E	R. Freed, Lane

Film title	Year	Song title	Type	Songwriters/ notes
Babes on Broadway	1942	Waiting for the Robert E. Lee	D, M, S	L. Gilbert, Muir; old, theatre
Babes on Broadway	1942	Hoe Down	E	R. Freed, Edens
Juke Box Jenny	1942	Swing It Mother Goose	M	Carter, Rosen
Ride 'Em Cowboy	1942	Rockin' 'n' Reelin'	M	Raye, De Paul
Born to Sing	1942	I Hate the Conga	D	Brent
Springtime in the Rockies	1942	Pan American Jubilee	M	Gordon, Warren
Sing Your Worries Away	1942	Sing Your Worries Away	S	Greene, Revel
The Fleet's In	1942	Arthur Murray Taught Me Dancing in a Hurry	D	Mercer, Schertzinger
Sleepytime Gal	1942	Barrelhouse Bessie	M	Magidson, Styne
Syncopation	1942	Chicago Ragtime	M	Stevens
Almost Married	1942	The Rhumba	D	Cherkose, Press
True to the Army	1942	Jitterbug's Lullaby	D, M	Loesser, Spina
Holiday Inn	1942	You're Easy to Dance With	D	Berlin
Holiday Inn	1942	I'll Capture Your Heart Singing	S, D	Berlin
Holiday Inn	1942	Song of Freedom	S	Berlin
Broadway	1942	The Darktown Strutters Ball	D, M	Brooks; old, theatre
Bambi	1942	Love Is a Song	S	Morey, Churchill
Bambi	1942	Let's Sing a Gay Little Spring Song	S	Morey, Churchill
Give Out Sisters	1942	Pennsylvania Polka	D	Lee, Manners
Youth on Parade	1942	I've Heard That Song Before	S	Cahn, Styne
Orchestra Wives	1942	Serenade in Blue	M, D	Gordon, Warren
Iceland	1942	I Like a Military Tune	M	Gordon, Warren
For Me and My Gal	1942	Ballin' the Jack	D	Carleton; old
Panama Hattie	1942	The Sping	M	Le Gon, Moore
Seven Sweethearts	1942	You and the Waltz and I	D	Webster, Jurmann
Moonlight in Havana	1942	Got Music	M	Franklin
Moonlight in Havana	1942	Rhythm of the Tropics	M	Franklin
Strictly in the Groove	1942	Elmer's Tune	M	Albrecht, Gallop; old
Strictly in the Groove	1942	Dancin' on Air	D	Carter, Rosen; old
Cairo	1942	The Waltz Is Over	D	Harburg, Schwartz
Cairo	1942	Waiting for the Robert E. Lee	D, M, S	L. Gilbert, Muir; old, theatre

Film title	Year	Song title	Type	Songwriters/ notes
Star-Spangled Rhythm	1942	A Sweater, a Sarong and a Peek-a-boo Bang	E	Mercer, Arlen
You Were Never Lovelier	1942	Shorty George	D	Mercer, Kern

1943 Theatre songs

Show title	Date	Song title	Type	Songwriters and notes
Something for the Boys	1943.01.07	Could It Be You?	Allu	Porter; see Porter Lyrics
Something for the Boys	1943.01.07	The Leader of a Big Time Band	M	Porter
Oklahoma!	1943.03.31	People Will Say We're in Love	Allu	Hammerstein, Rodgers
Oklahoma!	1943.03.31	Kansas City	Allu	Hammerstein, Rodgers
Ziegfeld Follies (of 1943)	1943.04.01	Love Songs Are Made in the Night	S	Yellen, Henderson
Ziegfeld Follies (of 1943)	1943.04.01	Swing Your Lady, Mr. Hemingway	D	Yellen, Henderson
Early to Bed	1943.06.17	The Ladies Who Sing with the Band	S, M	Marion, Waller
Early to Bed	1943.06.17	Long Time No Song	S	Marion, Waller
Chauve-Souris 1943	1943.08.12	Victory Parade	E	Florman, et alia
Chauve-Souris 1943	1943.08.12	Song of the Chauve-Souris 1943	E	Florman, et alia
Chauve-Souris 1943	1943.08.12	Balalaikas	M	Florman, D[o]una[e[y]vsky
My Dear Public	1943.09.09	(This Is) Our Private Love Song	S	Caesar, S. Lerner, Marks
My Dear Public	1943.09.09	May All Our Children Have Rhythm	M	Caesar, S. Lerner, Marks
My Dear Public	1943.09.09	Rhumba Jake	D	Caesar, S. Lerner, Marks
My Dear Public	1943.09.09	I Love to Sing the Words	S	Caesar, S. Lerner, Marks
Bright Lights of 1944	1943.09.16	You'd Better Dance	D	David, Livingston
Bright Lights of 1944	1943.09.16	Back Bay Beat	M	David, Livingston
Bright Lights of 1944	1943.09.16	A Lick, a Riff, and a Slow Bounce	M	Zeno, Scofield
Hairpin Harmony	1943.10.01	Hairpin Harmony	M	Orlob
Artists and Models (of 1943)	1943.11.05	Parade of Models	E	Shapiro, Pascal, Charig
Artists and Models (of 1943)	1943.11.05	What Does the Public Want	E	Shapiro, Pascal, Charig

Show title	Date	Song title	Type	Songwriters and notes
A Connecticut Yankee	1943.11.03	Ye Lunchtime Follies	E	Hart, Rodgers; new song in revival
Artists and Models (of 1943)	1943.11.05	Every Show Has One (Finale)	E	Shapiro, Pascal, Charig
What's Up	1943.11.11	The Ill-Tempered Clavichord	M	Lerner, Loewe
Carmen Jones	1943.12.02	Beat Out Dat Rhythm with a Drum	M	Hammerstein, adapt Bizet

1943 Revived theatre shows with old songs

Show title	Date	Song title	Type	Songwriters and notes
The Merry Widow	1943.08.04	Maxim's	E	Ross, Gilbert, Lehar
The Merry Widow	1943.08.04	I Love You So (The Merry Widow Waltz)	M, D	Ross, Gilbert, Lehar
The Merry Widow	1943.08.04	The Girls at Maxim's	E	Ross, Gilbert, Lehar
Chauve-Souris 1943	1943.08.12	The Parade of the Wooden Soldiers	E	L. Jessel, Soudeikine, adapt Barbout

1943 Revived Songs in new theatre shows

Show title	Date	Song title	Type	Songwriters and notes
Winged Victory	1943.11.20	Pennsylvania Polka	D	Lee, Manners
Winged Victory	1943.11.20	Chica Chica Boom Chic	M	Gordon, Warren; from That Night in Rio, film

1943 Film songs

Film title	Year	Song title	Type	Songwriters/ notes
Silver Skates	1943	Love Is a Beautiful Song	S	Oppenheim, Ingraham
Silver Skates	1943	Dancing on Top of the World	D	Oppenheim, Ingraham
Silver Skates	1943	Sing a Song of the Sea	S	Oppenheim, Gottler
Hello, Frisco, Hello	1943	Ragtime Cowboy Joe	M	Clarke, Abrahams, Muir; old
Hello, Frisco, Hello	1943	The Grizzly Bear	D	Berlin, Botsford; old, theatre
The Powers Girl	1943	A Pretty Girl Is Like a Melody	M	Berlin; old, theatre
When Johnny Comes Marching Home	1943	Say It with Dancing	D	Raye, De Paul

Film title	Year	Song title	Type	Songwriters/ notes
Rhythm of the Islands	1943	Chant of the Tom Tom	M	James, Pepper
Cowboy in Manhattan	1943	Whistle Your Blues to a Bluebird	M	Carter, Rosen; old, film
Happy Go Lucky	1943	Sing a Tropical Song	S	Loesser, McHugh
Hit Parade of 1943	1943	That's How to Write a Song	S	Adamson, Styne
Follow the Band	1943	Swingin' the Blues	M	Carter, Rosen
Presenting Lily Mars	1943	Where There's Music	M	Edens
Presenting Lily Mars	1943	Broadway Rhythm	D	Freed, N. Brown; old, film
Presenting Lily Mars	1943	Tom, Tom, the Piper's Son	M	Harburg, Lane
Something to Shout About	1943	Something to Shout About	E	Porter
Stage Door Canteen	1943	A Rookie and His Rhythm	M	Dubin, Monaco
Stage Door Canteen	1943	She's a Bombshell from Brooklyn	M, N	Lesser, Dubin, Monaco
Stormy Weather	1943	Diga Diga Doo	D	Fields, McHugh; old, theatre
Hit the Ice	1943	I'd Like to Set You to Music	M	Webster, Revel
Hit the Ice	1943	Slap Polka	D	Webster, Revel
Campus Rhythm	1943	Swing Your Way Through College	M	Long, Herscher
Harvest Melody	1943	Let's Drive Out to a Drive-In	E	Davis, Akst
Coney Island	1943	There's Danger in a Dance	D	Robin, Rainger
Coney Island	1943	Darktown Strutter's Ball	D, M	Brooks
Best Foot Forward	1943	The Three B's	M	Blane, Martin; old, theatre
Best Foot Forward	1943	Alive and Kicking	D	Blane, Martin
Thumbs Up	1943	Zing, Went the Strings of My Heart	M	Hanley; old, theatre
What's Buzzin', Cousin?	1943	Knocked Out Nocturne	M	Press
Hers to Hold	1943	Begin the Beguine	M	Porter; old, theatre
Nobody's Darling	1943	Blow, Gabriel, Blow	M	Porter
Dubarry Was a Lady	1943	No Matter How You Slice It, It's Still Salome	D	Edens
Swing Your Partner	1943	Swing Your Partner	D	C. Henderson
Follies Girl	1943	Shall We Gather at the Rhythm?	M	N. Kenny, S. Burke, Murphy

Film title	Year	Song title	Type	Songwriters/ notes
Larceny with Music	1943	Do You Hear Music	M	Raye, De Paul
Wintertime	1943	Dancing in the Dawn	D	Robin, N. Brown
As Thousands Cheer	1943	The Joint Is Really Jumpin' Down at Carnegie Hall	M	Blane, Martin, Edens
As Thousands Cheer	1943	Let There Be Music	M	Harburg, Brent
This Is the Army	1943	Ladies of the Chorus	E	Berlin; old, theatre
Around the World	1943	Roodle-Ee-Doo	M	Adamson, McHugh
Swingtime Johnny	1943	Boogie Woogie Choo Choo	M	Murphy, Jordan
I Dood It	1943	Jericho	M	Robin, Myers; old, theatre
Sweet Rosie O'Grady	1943	The Wishing Waltz	D	Gordon, Warren
Doughboys in Ireland	1943	McNamara's Band	M	O'Connor, Stanford; old
Crazy House	1943	There Goes That Song Again	S	Wrubel
Crazy House	1943	My Song Without Words	S	Latouche, Duke
Crazy House	1943	My Rainbow Song	S	Parish, Malneck, Signorelli
Crazy House	1943	I Ought to Dance	D	Cahn, Chaplin
Crazy House	1943	Donkey Serenade	S	Wright, Forrest, Friml; old, film
Crazy House	1943	Moonlight Serenade	S	Parish, Miller; old
Girl Crazy	1943	I Got Rhythm	M	Gershwin, Gershwin; old, theatre
The Heat's On	1943	The White Keys and the Black Keys	M	Eliscu, Myers
The Heat's On	1943	There Goes That Guitar	M	Eliscu, Myers
The Desert Song	1943	Desert Song	S	Hammerstein, Harbach, Romberg; old, theatre
Riding High	1943	Whistling in the Dark	M	Robin, Rainger

1944 Theatre songs

Show title	Date	Song title	Type	Songwriters and notes
Jackpot	1944.01.13	Grist for De Mille	E	Dietz, Duke
Mexican Hayride	1944.01.28	Sing to Me, Guitar	M	Porter
Mexican Hayride	1944.01.28	The Good-Will Movement	D	Porter
Mexican Hayride	1944.01.28	I Love You	Allu	Porter
Follow the Girls	1944.06.12	At the Spotlight Canteen	E	Shapiro, Pascal, Charig
Follow the Girls	1944.06.12	You Don't Dance	D	Shapiro, Pascal, Charig
Follow the Girls	1944.06.12	Strip Flips Hip	E	Shapiro, Pascal, Charig; dropped during run
Allah Be Praised	1944.04.20	Secret Song	S	Marion, Walker, Bergersen
Dream with Music	1944.05.18	I'll Take the Solo	D	Eager, Warnick adapt various
Dream with Music	1944.05.18	The Ballet	D, E	Eager, Warnick adapt various
Take a Bow	1944.06.15	Take a Bow	E	Davis, Murray
Song of Norway	1944.08.21	Freddy and His Fiddle	M	Wright, Forrest adapt Grieg
Song of Norway	1944.08.21	Strange Music	M	Wright, Forrest adapt Grieg
Sadie Thompson	1944.11.16	Dancing Lesson	D	Dietz, Duke
Rhapsody	1944.11.22	My Rhapsody	M	Latouche, Kreisler
Rhapsody	1944.11.22	Scherzo	M	Latouche, Kreisler
Seven Lively Arts	1944.12.07	Big Town	E	Porter
Seven Lively Arts	1944.12.07	Frahnggee-Pahnee	D	Porter
Seven Lively Arts	1944.12.07	Dancin' to a Jungle Drum	D, M	Porter; a.k.a. Let's End the Beguine
Seven Lively Arts	1944.12.07	The Band Started Swinging a Song	M, S	Porter
Seven Lively Arts	1944.12.07	The Big Parade	E	Not sure if used
Seven Lively Arts	1944.12.07	Yours for a Song	S	Rose, Fetter, Suesse; not sure if used
Laffing Room Only	1944.12.23	Stop That Dancing	D	Lane
On the Town	1944.12.28	Do, Re, Do	S	Comden, Green, Bernstein

1944 Revived songs in new theatre shows

Show title	Date	Song title	Type	Songwriters and notes
Sing Out, Sweet Land!	1944.12.27	Oh Susannah	Allu	Foster
Sing Out, Sweet Land!	1944.12.27	Camptown Races	Allu	Foster
Sing Out, Sweet Land!	1944.12.27	Polly Wolly Doodle	S	Bland
Sing Out, Sweet Land!	1944.12.27	Maxixe	D	Tracey, Walker
Sing Out, Sweet Land!	1944.12.27	Temptation Rag	M	Weslyn, Lodge
Sing Out, Sweet Land!	1944.12.27	I Got Rhythm	M	Gershwin, Gershwin
Sing Out, Sweet Land!	1944.12.27	The Charleston	D	Mack, J.P. Johnson

1944 Film songs

Film title	Year	Song title	Type	Songwriters/ notes
Sing a Jingle	1944	Sing a Jingle	S	Mitchell, James
Sing a Jingle	1944	Love, You Are My Music	M	Twohig, Klemm
Lady, Let's Dance	1944	Lady, Let's Dance	D	Oppenheim, Grouya
Higher and Higher	1944	The Music Stopped	M	Adamson, McHugh
Higher and Higher	1944	Minuet in Boogie	M	Adamson, McHugh
Casanova in Burlesque	1944	Willie the Shake	E	Kent, Gammon
Casanova in Burlesque	1944	Five-a-Day Fatima	D, E	Kent, Gammon
Career Girl	1944	That's How the Rhumba Began	D	Neuman, M. Brown
Beautiful But Broke	1944	Mama, I Wanna Make Rhythm	M	Kent, Byron, Jerome; old, film
Chip Off the Old Block	1944	I Gotta Give My Feet a Break	D	James, Miller
Chip Off the Old Block	1944	Love Is Like Music	M	Schwarzwald
Chip Off the Old Block	1944	My Song	S	L. Brown, Henderson; old, stage
Cover Girl	1944	The Show Must Go On	E	Gershwin, Kern
Pardon My Rhythm	1944	Drummer Boy	M	Torme
Pardon My Rhythm	1944	You've Got to Hand It to the Band	M	James, Miller

Film title	Year	Song title	Type	Songwriters/ notes
Meet the People	1944	I Like to Recognize the Tune	M	Hart, Rodgers; old, theatre
Two Girls and a Sailor	1944	Young Man with a Horn	M	R. Freed, Stoll
Knickerbocker Holiday	1944	Sing Out	S	F. Brown, Steininger
This Is the Life	1944	With a Song in My Heart	S	Hart, Rodgers; old, theatre
Four Jills in a Jeep	1944	Mr. Paganini	M	Coslow; old, film
Trocadero	1944	The Music Goes 'Round and Around	M	Hodgson, Farley, Riley; old
Trocadero	1944	The King Was Doing the Rhumba	D	Chernis, L. Porter
The Singing Sheriff	1944	When a Cowboy Sings	S	Franklin
Slightly Terrific	1944	Me and My Whistle	M	Carter, Rosen
Slightly Terrific	1944	Rhythm's What You Need	M	Carter, Rosen
Slightly Terrific	1944	The Happy Polka	D	Carter, Rosen
Slightly Terrific	1944	Stars and Violins	M	Carter, Rosen
Seven Days Ashore	1944	Jive Samba	M	Greene, Pollack
Jam Session	1944	Victory Polka	D	Cahn, Styne
Stars on Parade	1944	Jumpin' at the Jubilee	M	Carter, Marshall
Broadway Rhythm	1944	Brazilian Boogie	M	Blane, Martin
Broadway Rhythm	1944	I Love Corny Music	M	Raye, De Paul
Bathing Beauty	1944	I'll Take the High Note	M, S	Adamson, Green; old, theatre
Follow the Boys	1944	I Feel a Song Coming On	S	Fields, McHugh, Oppenheimer; old, film
Step Lively	1944	As Long as There's Music	M	Cahn, Styne
Step Lively	1944	Why Must There Be an Opening Song?	E	Cahn, Styne
Swing Hostess	1944	Music to My Ears	M	Evans, Livingston, Bellin
Swing Hostess	1944	Highway Polka	D	Evans, Livingston, Bellin
Going My Way	1944	Too-ra-loo-ra-loo-ra	S	Shannon; old, theatre
Greenwich Village	1944	It Goes to Your Toes	D	Robin, N. Brown
Greenwich Village	1944	Give Me a Band and a Bandana	M	Robin, N. Brown
Atlantic City	1944	Darktown Strutter's Ball	D, M	Brooks
Atlantic City	1944	Mr. Gallagher and Mr. Shean	E	Gallagher, Shean
Music in Manhattan	1944	I Like a Man Who Makes Music	M	Magidson, Pollack

Film title	Year	Song title	Type	Songwriters/ notes
Rainbow Island	1944	The Boogie Woogie Man Will Get You If You Don't Watch Out	M	Koehler, Lane
Up in Arms	1944	Manic-Depressive Pictures Presents	E	Fine; a.k.a. Lobby Number
Twilight on the Prairie	1944	Texas Polka	D	Haldeman, Knight, L. Porter
Kansas City Kitty	1944	Nothing Boogie from Nowhere	M	Chaplin
The Merry Monahans	1944	Rock-a-bye Your Baby with a Dixie Melody	S	J. Schwartz, Lewis, J. Young; old, theatre
Meet Me in St. Louis	1944	Meet Me in St. Louis, Louis	E, D	Mills, Sterling; old
Meet Me in St. Louis	1944	Skip to My Lou	D	Old; Blane, Martin, adapt traditional
Carolina Blues	1944	There Goes That Song Again	S	Cahn, Styne
Something for the Boys	1944	Samba Boogie	M	Adamson, McHugh
The Climax	1944	The Magic Voice	S	Wagner, Ward
Irish Eyes Are Smiling	1944	Strut Miss Lizzie	D	Creamer, Layton; old, theatre
Bowery to Broadway	1944	Yip-I-Addy-I-Ay	M	Cobb, Flynn; old
Bowery to Broadway	1944	My Song of Romance	S	George, Franklin
Hollywood Canteen	1944	Hollywood Canteen	E	Koehler, M. Jerome, Heindorf
Can't Help Singing	1944	Can't Help Singing	S	Harburg, Kern
Can't Help Singing	1944	Swing Your Sweetheart	D	Harburg, Kern
Babes on Swing Street	1944	Musical Chairs	M	James, Miller
Babes on Swing Street	1944	Music and You	M	James, Miller
Babes on Swing Street	1944	Hotcha Sonja	M	James, Miller
Music for Millions	1944	Toscanini, Iturbi and Me	M	Bullock, Spina
Lake Placid Serenade	1944	Waiting for the Robert E. Lee	D, M, S	L. Gilbert, Muir; old, theatre
Moonlight and Cactus	1944	Sing	S	Mooney, Prince

1945 Theatre songs

Show title	Date	Song title	Type	Songwriters and notes
The Firebrand of Florence	1945.03.22	Sing Me Not a Ballad	S	Gershwin, Weill
The Firebrand of Florence	1945.03.22	The Nighttime Is No Time for Thinking	D	Gershwin, Weill
The Firebrand of Florence	1945.03.22	When the Duchess Is Away	Allu S	Gershwin, Weill
Memphis Bound	1945.05.24	Stand Around the Band	M	Walker, Warnick
Memphis Bound	1945.05.24	The Gilbert and Sullivan Blues	E	Walker, Warnick
Hollywood Pinafore	1945.05.31	Simple Movie Folk	E	Kaufman adapt Gilbert, Sullivan
Hollywood Pinafore	1945.05.31	An Agent's Lot Is Not a Happy One	E	Kaufman, adapt Gilbert, Sullivan
Hollywood Pinafore	1945.05.31	I'm a Big Director at Pinafore	E	Kaufman, adapt Gilbert, Sullivan
Hollywood Pinafore	1945.05.31	Hollywood's Funny Place	E	Kaufman, adapt Gilbert, Sullivan
Hollywood Pinafore	1945.05.31	To Go Upon the Stage	E	Kaufman, adapt Gilbert, Sullivan
Hollywood Pinafore	1945.05.31	He Is a Movie Man	E	Kaufman, adapt Gilbert, Sullivan
Marinka	1945.07.18	If I Never Waltz Again	D	Marion, Kalman
Marinka	1945.07.18	One Last Love Song	S	Marion, Kalman
Marinka	1945.07.18	Czardas	D	Marion, Kalman
Marinka	1945.07.18	Treat a Woman Like a Drum	M	Marion, Kalman
Mr. Strauss Goes to Boston	1945.09.06	Mr. Strauss Goes to Boston	M	Sour, Stolz
Polonaise	1945.10.06	Polonaise	M	LaTouche, Kaper, adapt Chopin
Billion Dollar Baby	1945.12.21	Charleston	D	Comden, A. Green, Gould; not sure if song is the famous one
Billion Dollar Baby	1945.12.21	The Marathoners	D	Comden, A. Green, Gould
Billion Dollar Baby	1945.12.21	The Marathon Dance	D	Comden, A. Green, Gould

1945 Revived theatre shows with old songs

Show title	Date	Song title	Type	Songwriters and notes
The Red Mill	1945.10.16	Whistle It	M	Blossom, Herbert, F. Brown

1945 Film songs

Film title	Year	Song title	Type	Songwriters/ notes
Dixie Jamboree	1945	Dixie Show Boat	E	Breen, Neuman
Blonde Ransom	1945	Musical Wedding	M	J. Brooks, Berens
Let's Go Steady	1945	Baby Boogie	M	Torme
Her Lucky Night	1945	Dance with a Dolly with a Hole in Her Stocking	D	Old; Shand, Leader, Eaton, adapt traditional
Her Lucky Night	1945	Sing a Tropical Song	S	Loesser, McHugh; old, film
Her Lucky Night	1945	The Polka Polka	D	Manners
Song of the Sarong	1945	Pied Pipers of Swingtown	M	J. Brooks
Pan-Americana	1945	Rhumba Matumba	M	Greene, Ruiz
Patrick the Great	1945	Song of Love	S	C. Previn
I'll Tell the World	1945	Slap Polka	D	Webster, Revel
Swing Out Sister	1945	All I Want to Do Is Swing	M	J. Brooks, Berens
Swing Out Sister	1945	Swing It, Mr. Chumbly	M	J. Brooks, Berens
Earl Carroll Vanities	1945	Rockabye Boogie	M	Gannon, Kent
Billy Rose's Diamond Horseshoe	1945	Welcome to the Diamond Horseshoe	E	Gordon, Warren
Billy Rose's Diamond Horseshoe	1945	Play Me an Old-Fashioned Melody	M	Gordon, Warren
Billy Rose's Diamond Horseshoe	1945	A Nickel's Worth of Jive	M	Gordon, Warren
Billy Rose's Diamond Horseshoe	1945	Cooking Up a Show	E	Gordon, Warren
See My Lawyer	1945	It's Circus Time	E	Carter, Rosen
See My Lawyer	1945	Man on the Little White Keys	M	J. Greene, Cole
That's the Spirit	1945	Fellow with a Flute	M	James, Miller
That's the Spirit	1945	Ja Da	M	Carleton; old
Wonder Man	1945	Opera Number	M, E	Fine
Wonder Man	1945	Bali Boogie	M	Fine
Delightfully Dangerous	1945	Once Upon a Song	S	Loeb, R. Evans

Film title	Year	Song title	Type	Songwriters/ notes
Rhapsody in Blue	1945	Fascinating Rhythm	M, D	Gershwin, Gershwin; old, theatre
Rhapsody in Blue	1945	Clap Yo' Hands	M, D	Gershwin, Gershwin; old, theatre
Rhapsody in Blue	1945	I'll Build a Stairway to Paradise	D	DeSylva, Gershwin, Gershwin; old, theatre
Rhapsody in Blue	1945	I Got Rhythm	M	Gershwin, Gershwin; old, theatre
Where Do We Go from Here?	1945	Dancing with Lucilla	D	Gershwin, Weill
Out of This World	1945	The Ghost of Mr. Chopin	M	Coslow
Out of This World	1945	All I Do Is Beat That Golden Drum	M	Coslow
Anchors Aweigh	1945	The Worry Song	S	R. Freed, Fain
Anchors Aweigh	1945	All of a Sudden My Heart Sings	S	Rome, Herpin; old
On Stage Everybody	1945	What Do I Have to Do to Be a Star?	E	Kroll, Carter
On Stage Everybody	1945	Dance with a Dolly with a Hole in Her Stocking	D	Traditional, adapt. Shand, Eaton, Leader; old
Incendiary Blonde	1945	Ragtime Cowboy Joe	M	Clarke, Abrahams, Muir; old
Incendiary Blonde	1945	Darktown Strutter's Ball	D, M	Brooks; old
State Fair	1945	It's a Grand Night for Singing	S	Hammerstein, Rodgers
Radio Stars on Parade	1945	I'm the Sound Effects Man	E	Gray, Jock; old film
George White's Scandals of 1945	1945	Bolero in the Jungle	M	Peterson, Krupa
George White's Scandals of 1945	1945	I Want to Be a Drummer	M	Yellen, Fain
George White's Scandals of 1945	1945	Who Killed Vaudeville?	E	Yellen, Fain
The Dolly Sisters	1945	Darktown Strutter's Ball	D, M	Brooks; old
Sunbonnet Sue	1945	Yip-I-Addy-I-Ay	M	Cobb, Flynn; old

1946 Theatre songs

Show title	Date	Song title	Type	Songwriters and notes
Nellie Bly	1946.01.21	L'Exposition Universalle	E	Burke, Van Heusen
Nellie Bly	1946.01.21	Start Dancing	D	Burke, Van Heusen
Nellie Bly	1946.01.21	L'Exposition Universalle	E	Burke, Van Heusen
Three to Make Ready	1946.03.07	The Old Soft Shoe	D	Hamilton, M. Lewis
St. Louis Woman	1946.03.30	Cakewalk Walk Your Lady	D	Mercer, Arlen
Call Me Mister	1946.04.18	South America, Take It Away	D	Rome
Annie Get Your Gun	1946.05.16	Buffalo Bill	E	Berlin
Annie Get Your Gun	1946.05.16	(There's No Business Like) Show Business	E	Berlin
Annie Get Your Gun	1946.05.16	I'll Share It All with You	Allu	Berlin; see Berlin Lyrics
Annie Get Your Gun	1946.05.16	Moonshine Lullaby	Allu S	Berlin
Annie Get Your Gun	1946.05.16	Anything You Can Do	S	Berlin; see Berlin Lyrics
Around the World in Eighty Days	1946.05.31	Look What I Found	S	Porter
Tidbits of 1946	1946.07.08	I'm the Belle of the Ballet	D, E	
Tidbits of 1946	1946.07.08	Step This Way	D	
Yours Is My Heart	1946.09.05	Paris Sings Again	S	Cobb, Farkas, Lehar
Gypsy Lady	1946.09.17	The Facts of Life Backstage	E	Wright, Forrest, Herbert
Gypsy Lady	1946.09.17	My First Waltz	D	Wright, Forrest, Herbert
Park Avenue	1946.11.04	My Son-in-Law	Allu D, E	Gershwin, Schwartz; see Gershwin Lyrics
Park Avenue	1946.11.04	Remind Me Not to Leave the Town	Allu S	Gershwin, Schwartz; see Gershwin Lyrics
If the Shoe Fits	1946.12.05	Come and Bring Your Instruments	M	J. Carroll, Raksin

1946 Revived theatre shows with old songs

Show title	Date	Song title	Type	Songwriters and notes
Showboat	1946.01.05	Cotton Blossom	E	Hammerstein, Kern
Showboat	1946.01.05	Life Upon the Wicked Stage	E	Hammerstein, Kern
Showboat	1946.01.05	Ballyhoo	E	Hammerstein, Kern

Show title	Date	Song title	Type	Songwriters and notes
Showboat	1946.01.05	At the Fair	E	Hammerstein, Kern
The Desert Song	1946.01.08	Desert Song	S	Hammerstein, Harbach, Romberg
The Desert Song	1946.01.08	Morocco Dance of Marriage	D	Hammerstein, Harbach, Romberg

1946 Revived songs in new theatre shows

Show title	Date	Song title	Type	Songwriters and notes
Bal Negre	1946.11.07	Ragtime Cowboy Joe	M	Clarke, Muir, Abrahams
Bal Negre	1946.11.07	Alexander's Ragtime Band	M	Berlin

1946 Film songs

Film title	Year	Song title	Type	Songwriters/ notes
The Harvey Girls	1946	Swing Your Partner Round and Round	D	Mercer, Warren
The Harvey Girls	1946	Swing Your Partner Round and Round	D	Mercer, Warren
Junior Prom	1946	Keep the Beat	M	S. Robin
Junior Prom	1946	My Heart Sings	S	Rome, Jamblan; old
People Are Funny	1946	The Old Square Dance Is Back Again	D	Reid, H. Tobias
The Kid from Brooklyn	1946	Pavlova	D	Fine, Liebman; old
The Kid from Brooklyn	1946	I Love an Old-Fashioned Song	S	Cahn, Styne
Two Sisters from Boston	1946	After the Show	E	R. Freed, Fain
Night and Day	1946	Begin the Beguine	M	Porter; old, theatre
Cuban Pete	1946	Rhumba Matumba	M	Collaza
Easy to Wed	1946	Continental Polka	D	Blane, Green
If I'm Lucky	1946	Follow the Band	M	De Lange, Myrow
The Thrill of Brazil	1946	My Sleepy Guitar	M	Roberts, D. Fisher
Make Mine Music	1946	Make Mine Music	M	Darby, Eliot
The Jolson Story	1946	Rock-a-bye Your Baby with a Dixie Melody	M	Lewis, J. Young, J. Schwartz; old, theatre
The Jolson Story	1946	Waiting for the Robert E. Lee	D, M	Creamer, Layton; old, theatre
The Jolson Story	1946	The Anniversary Song	D	Chaplin, Jolson, Ivanovici

Film title	Year	Song title	Type	Songwriters/ notes
The Jolson Story	1946	Let Me Sing and I'm Happy	S	Berlin; old, film
It's Great to Be Young	1946	Frankie Boogie	M	Roberts, D. Fisher
It's Great to Be Young	1946	Bumble Boogie	M	Fina, adapt Rimsky-Korsakov
Blue Skies	1946	A Pretty Girl Is Like a Melody	M	Berlin; old
Blue Skies	1946	A Couple of Song and Dance Men	S, D	Berlin
Blue Skies	1946	You Keep Coming Back Like a Song	S	Berlin
Blue Skies	1946	Everybody Step	D	Berlin; old, theatre
Till the Clouds Roll By	1946	Cotton Blossom	E	Hammerstein, Kern; old, theatre
Till the Clouds Roll By	1946	Life Upon the Wicked Stage	E	Hammerstein, Kern; old, theatre
Till the Clouds Roll By	1946	I Won't Dance	D	Field, Hammerstein, Kern; old, theatre
Till the Clouds Roll By	1946	One More Dance	D	Hammerstein, Kern; old, theatre
Till the Clouds Roll By	1946	The Land Where the Good Songs Go	S	Wodehouse, Kern; old, theatre
The Shocking Miss Pilgrim	1946	One, Two, Three	D	Gershwin, Gershwin

1947 Theatre songs

Show title	Date	Song title	Type	Songwriters and notes
Finian's Rainbow	1947.01.10	How Are Things in Glocca Mora?	Allu	Harburg, Lane
Barefoot Boy with Cheek	1947.04.03	Alice in Boogieland	M	Dee, Lippman
Louisiana Lady	1947.06.02	It's Mardis Gras	E	Carlo, Sanders
Music in My Heart	1947.10.02	While There's a Song to Sing	S	Miller, Steininger adapt Tchaikovsky
Music in My Heart	1947.10.02	The Balalaika Serenade	M	Miller, Steininger adapt Tchaikovsky
Music in My Heart	1947.10.02	The Ballerina's Story	D, E	Miller, Steininger adapt Tchaikovsky
Music in My Heart	1947.10.02	Song of the Claque	E	Miller, Steininger adapt Tchaikovsky
High Button Shoes	1947.10.09	Papa, Won't You Dance with Me?	D	Cahn, Styne
Allegro	1947.10.10	Allegro	M	Hammerstein, Rodgers
Caribbean Carnival	1947.12.05	Anything Goes When You Sing Calypso	S	Manning, Thenstead
Caribbean Carnival	1947.12.05	Don't Stop the Carnival	E	Manning, Thenstead
Angel in the Wings	1947.12.11	Tambourine	M	Hilliard, Sigman
Angel in the Wings	1947.12.11	The Big Brass Band from Brazil	M	Hilliard, Sigman

1947 Revived songs in new theatre shows

Show title	Date	Song title	Type	Songwriters and notes
Maurice Chevalier	1947.03.10	You Brought a New Kind of Love to Me	Allu	Kahal, Norman, Fain
Edith Piaf	1947.10.30	L'accordeoniste	M	Emer
Edith Piaf	1947.10.30	J'ai danse avec l'amour	D	Willemetz, Charles, Yvain

1947 Film songs

Film title	Year	Song title	Type	Songwriters/ notes
Calendar Girl	1947	At the Fireman's Ball	E	Adamson, McHugh
Cigarette Girl	1947	They Won't Let Me Sing	S	Roberts, D. Fisher
Carnival in Costa Rica	1947	Rhumba Bomba	M	Ruby, Lecuona
Carnival in Costa Rica	1947	Maracas	M	Ruby, Lecuona

Film title	Year	Song title	Type	Songwriters/ notes
It Happened in Brooklyn	1947	The Song's Gotta Come from the Heart	S	Cahn, Styne
That's My Gal	1947	The Music in My Heart Is You	M	Elliott
Something in the Wind	1947	Turntable Song	M	Robin, Green
Copacabana	1947	Let's Do the Copacabana	D, E	Coslow
Copacabana	1947	We've Come to the Copa	E	Coslow
Copacabana	1947	My Heart Was Doing a Bolero	D, M	Coslow
The Perils of Pauline	1947	Rumble Rumble Rumble	M	Loesser
New Orleans	1947	Where the Blues Were Born in New Orleans	M	Carleton, C. Dixon
Down to Earth	1947	The Nine Muses	M	Roberts, D. Fisher
Welcome Stranger	1947	Country Style	D	Johnny Burke, Van Heusen
Mother Wore Tights	1947	There's Nothing Like a Song	S	Gordon, Myrow
Mother Wore Tights	1947	Tra-La-La	S	Gordon, Warren
Mother Wore Tights	1947	Stumbling	D	Confrey
Variety Girl	1947	He Can Waltz	D	Loesser
This Time for Keeps	1947	Inka Dinka Doo	M	Ryan, Durante
This Time for Keeps	1947	Ten Per Cent Off	E	R. Freed, Fain
This Time for Keeps	1947	The Man Who Found the Lost Chord	M	Brent, Durante
This Time for Keeps	1947	Why Don't They Let Me Sing a Love Song	S	Davis, Akst
Two Blondes and a Redhead	1947	Boogie Woogie from Nowhere	M	Chaplin
Good News	1947	The Varsity Drag	D	DeSylva, L. Brown, Henderson; old, theatre

Chart of Data from the List of Reflexive Song Titles

Years Preceding the Survey Period

Year	# of B'way songs charted	Total shows in Norton	# of shows charted
1890	16	34	11
1891	14	37	9
1892	13	28	7
1893	13	26	10
1894	15	38	13
1895	11	32	7
1896	14	34	12
1897	26	40	16

Years Covered by the Survey Period

Year	# of B'way songs charted	Total shows in Norton	# of shows charted
1898	26	37	17
1899	37	31	16
1900	31	33	19
1901	26	23	16
1902	33	37	22
1903	33	38	10
1904	33	54	22
1905	28	48	23
1906	30	48	20
1907	42	61	22
1908	63	43	29
1909	41	31	15
1910	61	36	22
1911	61	42	26
1912	93	42	30
1913	46	31	18
1914	83	33	27
1915	67	25	21
1916	52	26	20
1917	53	37	25
1918	56	41	30
1919	85	43	39
1920	79	47	37
1921	59	39	23
1922	77	48	32
1923	83	42	34
1924	81	46	38
1925	74	44	33
1926	83	40	32

Year	# of B'way songs charted	Total shows in Norton	# of shows charted	# of H'd songs charted	Total films in H'horn	# of films charted
1927	89	61	41	1	1	1
1928	65	44	32	1	2	1
1929	64	46	30	37	55	25
1930	52	39	26	34	78	28
1931	47	30	21	3	11	3
1932	38	28	20	6	10	5
1933	28	16	12	22	34	15
1934	40	22	17	25	44	19
1935	29	12	10	25	52	19
1936	35	15	14	39	56	24
1937	26	17	11	65	57	40
1938	17	18	11	51	57	26
1939	31	22	17	27	27	14
1940	35	19	13	34	43	25
1941	19	13	11	51	56	30
1942	38	25	16	37	52	27
1943	31	20	15	55	75	40
1944	31	19	13	66	75	46
1945	21	17	8	44	53	26
1946	28	21	13	30	43	16
1947	16	18	10	24	38	17
Totals	2,306	1,704	1,092	677	919	416

Total number of reflexive song titles, from both stage and screen: 2,983

Total number of stage and screen musicals examined for reflexive song titles: 2,623

Total number of musicals not containing reflexive song titles: 1,115

Total number of musicals containing reflexive song titles: 1,508

Interpretation of Data from the List of Reflexive Song Titles

The list of song titles displays the general prevalence of reflexive songs in the American musical. This list of titles illustrates two phenomena: the sheer quantity of reflexive songs and the proportion of total shows in which reflexive songs were featured. During the period of 1890 through 1896, the number of reflexive song titles in Broadway shows stays below twenty. After 1897, the quantity of reflexive titles ascends above 25 and stays there until 1938, by which time Broadway's output of stage shows had decreased considerably. The largest numbers of reflexive song titles on Broadway are during the 1910s and 1920s, peaking at 93 in 1912, when the influence of Irving Berlin's reflexive pop hit, "Alexander's Ragtime Band," was at its height.

The decrease in reflexive Broadway titles in the 1930s is counterbalanced by the presence of reflexive titles in the new medium of talking pictures. Movie musicals flourished during 1929 and 1930, decreased in quantity in 1931 and 1932, and then increased again after 1933. Reflexive song titles in Hollywood musicals reached two peaks: one in 1937, perhaps reflecting the influence of the new vogue for swing bands; and one in 1944, when Hollywood produced musicals in large quantities to provide escapism for wartime audiences.

Norton has entries for 1,960 Broadway musical theatre productions of 1898 through 1947. He lists the musical numbers for 1,704 of these shows.⁴ For movie musicals, I looked at the 919 films listed by Hirschhorn during this era. The total of

⁴ As stated previously, Norton sometimes does not give information about the musical numbers in a production, especially for revivals in which the score remains the same as previously. Therefore, the number of shows for which Norton gives a listing of musical numbers is only 1,704, i.e. 87% of the total.

Broadway and Hollywood musical productions during this era is 2,879; and I examined lists of the musical numbers for 2,623 shows—i.e. 91% of the total.

How many of these shows are included in the list of song titles? The data extracted from the list of reflexive song titles cannot precisely measure the prevalence of reflexive songs during this era, but they do offer an approximate picture. Comparing information from the list of song titles to both the sample productions and the shows by the anthologized songwriters reveals an even clearer picture of the place of reflexive songs in American musicals. Of the 70 sample productions, 52 are represented in the list of song titles—in other words, 74% of the 70 sample productions. In contrast, I have entered songs into the title list from 1,508 shows—in other words, 57% of the 2,623 productions for which information is given by Norton or Hirschhorn. Thus, these figures reveal a seeming discrepancy. The list of titles covers 74% of the sample productions but only 57% of the total productions of the era. If the seventy sample productions truly represent the total corpus, one would expect the two proportions to be the same.

This discrepancy is explained by two related factors. First, I am extremely conservative in including a song title in the reflexive song title list. I adhere so strictly to my criteria that relatively few songs—and, therefore, relatively few shows—are charted. Second, about 40% of the sample of productions can be considered canonical; therefore, my familiarity with their scores allows me to represent them more accurately on the reflexive song title list.

How many American musicals of this era featured some sort of reflexive lyric—whether a refrain or a verse that is fully or incidentally reflexive? The productions that I was not familiar with prior to my examination of the sample give a better idea of the

accuracy of the list of reflexive song titles. Of the 18 sample productions that are not represented on the reflexive song title list, all in actuality do, indeed, feature reflexive songs. *From this, I infer that all the musicals of the period covered by my study feature some sort of reflexive song.* This estimate is supported by the evidence of the 130 shows for which the anthologized songwriters contributed full scores, because every one of those productions includes some sort of reflexive song.

How many of these musicals include a *fully* reflexive song? Again, comparing the less familiar sample shows to the list of reflexive song titles offers some data that answers this question. Of the 18 sample productions not represented in the song title list, 16 (i.e. 89%) have fully reflexive songs in them. Therefore, of the 1,115 American musicals that are not represented on the title list, I infer that about 992 (i.e. 89%) probably feature fully reflexive songs. This would indicate that, of the 2,879 American musicals of this era, about 2,500 (87%) have fully reflexive songs. Once again, the shows with full scores by the anthologized songwriters support the general accuracy of this estimated statistic. Of the 130 shows by the anthologized songwriters, 114 (i.e. 88%) have fully reflexive songs. This proportion is clearly comparable to my estimate for the total shows of 84%.

Therefore, judging by the data I have collected, about 87% of the American musicals during this era include a fully reflexive song. This is within a reasonable range of the 96% of the sample productions that feature fully reflexive songs. Certainly, there is a slight difference, of about 9%, between these two proportions, which allows some room for uncertainty about the typical prevalence of fully reflexive songs in the American musical. Since the sample draws from successful shows for which much information has

survived, it is possible that musicals with fully reflexive songs had a slightly greater chance for success and, therefore, a greater chance to survive in a sufficiently extant form for posterity to examine.

How many reflexive songs in total are there in American musicals during this era? In the sample of 70 productions, counting all fully and incidentally reflexive refrains and verses, there are 458 reflexive songs. In the list of song titles, however, I credit those same 70 productions with only 116 reflexive songs—i.e., only 25% of what there are in actuality. Therefore, I infer that the 2,983 items on the list of reflexive titles represents about 25% of all the reflexive songs in American musicals during this era. *Thus, there are probably about 12,000 reflexive songs in Broadway and Hollywood musicals of the era 1898 through 1947.* According to this estimation, the 1,098 reflexive songs that I have examined in detail represent about 9% of the total reflexive production songs of the era.

Throughout this dissertation, I use the list of song titles to gauge general trends in the conventions of reflexive songs. In addition, by using the sample of productions as typical examples of the musical scores of the American musical, further implications can be extracted from the list of titles. By adding information from the shows by anthologized songwriters, a vivid picture is obtained of the significant prevalence of reflexive songs in the American musical during the first half of the twentieth century.

Appendix Four: Summary of Statistics

The Corpus

The corpus of production songs, 1898 through 1947:

Quantified sub-corpus:

Songs from 70 sample productions

Complete works of Irving Berlin, Cole Porter, Ira Gershwin, Lorenz Hart

Partially quantified sub-corpus:

List of reflexive songs titles from 2,623 stage and screen musicals

Hit songs, 1900-1947

Quantified Sub-Corpus

70 sample productions, 1898 to 1947:

51 Broadway musicals, 19 Hollywood musicals

About 40% can be considered canonical

Total of 1,001 songs in sample productions

827 (82%) are not by the anthologized songwriters

174 (18%) are by the anthologized songwriters

Anthologized songwriters—Berlin, Porter, Gershwin, Hart

1,471 songs, performed in American musicals between 1909 and 1947

From 192 productions

130 of these have full scores by the anthologized writers

General Statistics for Reflexive Songs

100% of sample productions have reflexive songs

96% of sample productions have *fully* reflexive songs

100% of shows by the anthologized songwriters' have reflexive songs

88% of shows by the anthologized songwriters' have *fully* reflexive songs

Total quantified songs: 2,298

45% are reflexive songs, breaking down as follows:

21% have fully reflexive refrains

18% have incidentally reflexive refrains

6% have reflexive verses, but not refrains

61% of the reflexive songs are about "love"

56% (and possible more) of the finales in sample productions incorporate reflexive songs

Hit Songs in the Corpus

100 hit production songs examined in full—not fully quantified

88 are reflexive; 12 are non-reflexive

78 hit songs are discussed in the main text—66 reflexive and 12 non-reflexive

22 contribute to my supplementary research and are not mentioned in the main text

General Information on Hit Songs

3,522 “top twenty” hits listed by Gardner for 1900 through 1947

11% are easily identifiable as reflexive songs

46% of these reflexive titles are from musicals

In other words, 5% of all “top twenty” hits are easily identifiable as reflexive production songs, making an average of 3.5 a year

Peak year: 1912, when 33% of Gardner’s “top twenty” are easily identifiable as reflexive, probably spurred by the 1911 success of Irving Berlin’s “Alexander’s Ragtime Band”

Broadway:

1903 to 1933, an average of 25% of each year’s “top twenty” hits are from Broadway

1934 to 1947, an average of 6% of each year’s “top twenty” hits are from Broadway

Hollywood:

1929 to 1947, an average of 32% of each year’s “top twenty” hits are from Hollywood

Peak year of production songs: 1929, when the “top twenty” were 20% Broadway and 39% Hollywood, totaling 59%

List of Reflexive Song Titles

The list of song titles is drawn from:

Information given by Richard C. Norton—

Norton gives entries for 1,960 Broadway productions with musical numbers, 1898-1947

1,704 of these entries (i.e. 87%) give details about the musical numbers

1,092 shows with reflexive song titles charted for the present study

2,306 reflexive song titles charted for the present study

Information given by Clive Hirschhorn, supplemented by Ken Bloom—

919 Hollywood musical productions

416 shows with reflexive song titles charted for the present study

677 reflexive song titles charted for the present study

Broadway and Hollywood combined:

2,879 total Broadway and Hollywood musical productions, 1898 through 1947

2,623 total Broadway and Hollywood productions with song lists examined

1,508 shows with reflexive song titles charted

2,982 reflexive song titles charted

Estimated Total Quantity of Reflexive Production Songs

These figures are based on a comparison of two quantified corpuses: (1) the combined proportionate prevalence of reflexive songs in the sample of productions and the shows by anthologized songwriters; and (2) the proportionate prevalence of reflexive song titles in the list of song titles.

Estimated proportions for all Broadway and Hollywood musicals, 1898 through 1947:

Shows containing reflexive songs: 100%

Shows containing *fully* reflexive songs: 86%

Estimated quantities of reflexive songs in all Broadway and Hollywood musicals, 1898 through 1947:

Quantity of reflexive songs: 11,912

Quantity of *fully* reflexive songs: 5,559

Love and Music

Total quantified lyrics: 2,298

69% of all songs are about “love,” i.e. heterosexual pairing

39% of the love songs are reflexive

91% of sample productions have songs that link music and love

Music as metaphor for love, the beloved, or the romance:

52% of sample productions feature this group of images

11% of the sample’s reflexive songs feature this group of images

5% of all the sample’s songs feature this group of images

90% of the uses of this group of images are only incidental allusions

Theatre, Drama, Movies, and Entertainment as a metaphor for love or the love affair:

7% of sample productions feature these images in their reflexive songs

Representing less than 1% of songs in the sample productions

Dance Songs

In sample productions:

1898-1910: 47% of sample productions have dance songs

1910-1929: 67% of sample productions have dance songs; or—

Peak era: 1911-1928: 79% of sample productions have dance songs

Peak decade, 1911-1920: 90% of sample productions have dance songs

1930-1947: 52% of sample productions have dance songs; or—

1929-1938: 55% of sample productions have dance songs

1939-1947: 44% of sample productions have dance songs; or—

Nadir decade, 1938-1947: 27% of sample productions have dance songs

In list of song titles:

1897-1909: 19% of titles imply dance as a main topic

1910-1919: 37% of titles imply dance as a main topic

1910-1929: 40% of titles imply dance as a main topic

Peak years:

1914: 56% of titles imply dance as a main topic

1923: 55% of titles imply dance as a main topic

1929: 57% of titles imply dance as a main topic

1930-1947: 27% of titles imply dance as a main topic

“Primitivism”

29% of sample productions feature songs about “primitive” others, i.e., Africans, Native Americans, Pacific Islanders, or prehistoric man.

39% of sample productions feature songs about “exotic” others, i.e., gypsies, Asians, Middle Easterners, or Mexicans.

6% of sample productions feature songs about African Americans of the rural South.

Altogether, these three topics are touched on in songs in 51% of sample productions.

Happiness and Optimism

Songs of optimistic philosophy:

In no sample productions, 1898 through 1920

In 58% of sample productions, 1921 through 1947

This convention becomes prevalent after “Look for the Silver Lining” (*Sally*, 1920).

Songs with the idea that music expresses happiness:

In 56% of sample productions, 1898 through 1912

In 27% of sample productions, 1913 through 1947

Songs with the idea that the music matrix creates happiness:

In 33% of sample productions, 1898 through 1947

Only 6% have examples where the idea dominates the lyric, all 1930-1940

The rest of the corpus reveals this notion is increasingly frequent, 1917 through 1928, and is most prevalent, 1929 through 1940.

Peak year of idea that singing creates happiness: 1936

“New York” Songs

In list of song titles:

“New York” song burgeon in list of song titles beginning 1894 through 1897

1937: First year there are no such titles in list of titles

1938, onwards: “New York” songs resume in list of titles in reduced quantities

In sample productions:

52 “New York” songs represent 2% of sample production songs plus anthologized songs

78% present the idea of “the city as bazaar”

62% mention music or entertainment, breaking down as:

37% fully reflexive

25% incidentally reflexive

“New York” songs feature in 31% of sample productions

66% of those in sample productions refer to music or entertainment

50% of those in sample productions refer to the “available” urban woman

“Paris” Songs

In list of song titles:

“Paris” songs burgeon in list of song titles beginning 1894 through 1897

Peak: 1907 through 1914, influenced by the popularity of *The Merry Widow* (1907) and other European imports. During these years, the list of song titles has almost as many “Paris” titles as “New York” titles.

Overall, for 1898 through 1947: The list of song titles has one “Paris” title for every three “New York” titles

In sample productions:

“Paris” songs feature in 17% of sample productions

Of 16 “Paris” songs in sample productions:

75% present the idea of “the city as bazaar”

31% mention music

31% feature the idea of the “available” urban woman

Songs About Entertainment

70% of songs about entertainment in sample productions mention music

70% in sample productions have elements of parody, irony, or reversal of expectations

30% are of a more straightforward, celebratory nature

11% of sample productions feature ballyhoos, either spoken or sung

Unifying Devices in Revues

7 revues in sample of productions

19 revues for which the score was predominantly written by the anthologized songwriters

Total: 26 revues

All either establish an authorial voice unifying the whole or use other narrative techniques.

6 (23%) are in truth narrative musicals, from *Watch Your Step* (1914) through *I'd Rather Be Right* (1937)

Of the remaining 20 revues:

16 (94%) have self-conscious finales, most of which use direct audience address

14 (70%) include a reflexive prologue or opening number establishing an authorial voice

13 (65%) of these openers are sung or include singing

4 (20%) introduce characters at the beginning who return in the finale

2 (10%) use thematic devices (newspaper headlines, telegraph cables) to unify evening

General Statistics for the Sample of Productions

81% feature songs that make fun of or otherwise reverse the most predominant conventions of the genre: musical dramaturgy, idealized romance, and the valorization of music.

14% feature six or more songs that focus on such reversals, from *The Slim Princess* (1911) through *Finian's Rainbow* (1947).

1898 through 1928: parodies of melodrama feature in 30% of sample productions.

79% feature dialogue or action sequences that create self-conscious, metalingual episodes.

50% feature *dramatis personae* who are professional performers.

An additional 7% have *dramatis personae* who comically aspire to be performers.

1898 through 1914: “prima donna” roles feature in from 50% to 78% of sample productions.

39% of movie musicals in the sample of productions use pre-existing songs from Broadway shows.

Classical/traditional music versus jazz/popular music:

Featured incidentally in 20% of sample productions

A major theme in 3% of sample productions

Classical music used without parodic effect: 6% of sample productions

Miscellaneous Statistics

Idea of concomitance of instrumental music, song, and dance, in sample productions:

In 74% of sample productions

In 45% of fully reflexive songs

75% of dance songs explicitly mention music as part of the dance experience

“Come on and” gesture:

In 81% of sample productions

In 18% of reflexive songs in sample

In 2% of non-reflexive songs in sample

Dynamic between work and entertainment:

In 40% of sample productions

In 9% of reflexive songs in sample

The idea that the sounds of nature are music appears in 39% of sample productions.

Dubilocation:

1922 through 1945: 24% of sample productions feature one or more dubilocutory song

Negative allusions to music:

In 37% of sample productions, from *The Fortune Teller* (1898) through *On the Town* (1944)

“Double negative” allusions to music:

Commence in the corpus in January, 1910, and continue through *Ziegfeld Follies* (1946)

Extended Songs

1898-1915: in 76% of sample productions

1916-1947: in 29% of sample productions, breaking down as:

1916-1942: in 24% of Broadway sample productions

1943-1947: in 100% of Broadway sample productions

Bibliography

- Abrams, Albert. *The Blues (Splanchnic Neurasthenia): Causes and Cures*. New York: E.B. Treat, 1904.
- Altman, Rick. *The American Film Musical*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1987.
- — —. *Film/Genre*. London: British Film Institute, 1999.
- Altman, Rick, editor. *Genre: The Musical—A Reader*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, British Film Institute, 1981.
- Alpert, Hollis. *Broadway! 125 Years of Musical Theatre*. New York: Little Brown, Museum of the City of New York, 1991.
- Babbington, Bruce. "Jumping on The Band Wagon Again: Oedipus Backstage in the Father and Mother of All Musicals." In *Musicals: Hollywood and Beyond*, edited by Bill Marshall and Robynn Stilwell, 31-39. Exeter: Intellect Books, 2000.
- Babington, Bruce, and Peter William Evans. *Blue Skies and Silver Linings: Aspects of the American Musical*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1985.
- Banfield, Stephen. "Sondheim and the Art That Has No Name." In *Approaches to the American Musical*, edited by Robert Lawson-Peebles, 137-160. Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1996.
- — —. *Sondheim's Broadway Musicals*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1993.
- Barrios, Richard. *A Song in the Dark: The Birth of the Musical Film*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1995.
- Beard, George. *American Nervousness: It's Causes and Consequences—A Supplement to Nervous Exhaustion (Neurasthenia)*. New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1881.
- — —. *A Practical Treatise on Nervous Exhaustion (Neurasthenia)*. New York: William Wood and Company, 1880.
- Bergreen, Lawrence. *As Thousands Cheer: The Life of Irving Berlin*. New York: Penguin Books, 1990.
- Berlant, Lauren. "Pax Americana: The Case of *Show Boat*." In *Cultural Institutions of the Novel*, edited by Deidre Lynch and William B. Warner, 399-422. Durham: Duke University Press, 1996.

- Berlin, Edward. *Ragtime: A Musical and Cultural History*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980.
- Berman, Marshall. *All That Is Solid Melts into Air: The Experience of Modernity*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1982.
- Bernstein, Leonard. *The Joy of Music*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1959.
- — —. *On the Town*. [New York]: Leonard Bernstein Music Publishing Company, Boosey and Hawkes, 1997.
- — —. *On the Town*. Columbia CL 5540.
- Bindas, Kenneth J. *Swing, That Modern Sound*. Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2001.
- Block, Geoffrey. "The Broadway Canon from *Show Boat* to *West Side Story* and the European Operatic Ideal." *The Journal of Musicology* 11, no. 4 (Fall 1993): 525-544.
- — —. *Enchanted Evenings: The Broadway Musical from "Show Boat" to Sondheim*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997.
- Bloom, Ken. *Hollywood Song: The Complete Film and Musical Companion*. 3 vols. New York: Facts on File, 1995.
- Bordman, Gerald. *American Musical Comedy: From "Adonis" to "Dreamgirls"*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1982.
- — —. *American Musical Revue: From "The Passing Show" to "Sugar Babies"*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1985.
- — —. *American Musical Theatre*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1978.
- — —. *American Operetta: From "H.M.S. Pinafore" to "Sweeney Todd"*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1981.
- — —. *Jerome Kern: His Life and Music*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1980.
- Bordwell, David, Janet Staiger, and Kristin Thompson. *The Classical Hollywood Cinema: Film Style and Mode of Production to 1960*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1985.
- Bourget, Jean-Loup. "Social Implications in the Hollywood Genres." In *Film Genre: Theory and Criticism*, edited by Barry K. Grant, 62-72. Metuchen, N.J.: Scarecrow Press, 1977.

- Bradbury, Malcolm, and James McFarlane. "The Name and Nature of Modernism." In *Modernism, 1890-1930*, edited by Malcolm Bradbury and James McFarlane, 19-56. Harrocks, England: Harvester Press, 1978.
- Breon, Robin. "'Show Boat': The Revival, the Racism." *The Drama Review* 39, no. 2 (Summer 1995): 86-105.
- Brown, Marilyn R. *Gypsies and Other Bohemians: The Myth of the Artist in Nineteenth-Century France*. Ann Arbor, Mich.: UMI Research Press, 1985.
- Calinescu, Matei. *Five Faces of Modernity: Modernism, Avant-Garde, Decadence, Kitsch, Postmodernism*. Durham: Duke University Press, 1987.
- James T. Carey, "Changing Courtship Patterns in the Popular Song." *The American Journal of Sociology* 74, no. 6 (May 1969): 720-731.
- Carlson, Marvin. *The Haunted Stage: The Theatre as Memory Machine*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2001.
- Citron, Stephen. *Noel and Cole: The Sophisticates*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1993.
- Clum, John M. *Something for the Boys: Musical Theater and Gay Culture*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1999.
- Cobbett, Steinberg. *Reel Facts: The Movie Book of Records*. New York: Random House, 1978.
- Custen, George F. *Bio/Pics: How Hollywood Constructed Public History*. New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1992.
- Delameter, Joseph. *Dance in the Hollywood Musical*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Research Press, 1981.
- Diamond, John. *Life Energy: Using the Meridians to Unlock the Hidden Power of Your Emotions*. New York: Paragon House, 1985.
- — —. *Singing and Movement: Essential Concomitants*. Audiotape. South Salem, N.Y.: The Diamond Center, 1991.
- Donovan, Timothy P. "Annie Get Your Gun: A Last Celebration of Nationalism." *Journal of Popular Culture* 12, no. 3 (1978): 531-539.
- — —. "Oh, What a Beautiful Mornin': The Musical, *Oklahoma!* and the Popular Mind in 1943." *Journal of Popular Culture*, 8, no. 3 (1974): 477-488.

- Durbin, Teresa E. "The Function of the Chorus in Musical Theatre: 1970-1990." Master's thesis, Bowling Green State University, 1991.
- Dyer, Richard. "The Colour of Entertainment." In *Musicals: Hollywood and Beyond*, edited by Bill Marshall and Robynn Stilwell, 23-30. Exeter: Intellect Books, 2000.
- — —. "Entertainment and Utopia." In *Genre: The Musical—A Reader*, edited by Rick Altman, 175-189. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, British Film Institute, 1981.
- Engel, Lehman. *The American Musical Theater: A Consideration*. New York: CBS Legacy Collection, Macmillan, 1967.
- — —. *The Making of a Musical*. New York: Macmillan, 1977.
- — —. *Words with Music*. New York: Macmillan, 1972.
- Erenberg, Lewis A. *Steppin' Out: New York Nightlife and the Transformation of American Culture, 1890-1930*. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1981.
- Everett, William A. "Romance, Nostalgia and Nevermore: American and British Operettas in the 1920s." In *Cambridge Companion to the Musical*, edited by William A. Everett and Paul R. Laird, 47-62. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002.
- Everett, William A., and Paul R. Laird, eds. *The Cambridge Companion to the Musical*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002.
- Feuer, Jane. *The Hollywood Musical*. Second edition. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1993.
- Filmer, Paul, Val Rimmer, and Dave Walsh. "Oklahoma!: Ideology and Politics in the Vernacular Tradition of the American Musical." *Popular Music* 18, no. 3 (October 1999): 381-397.
- Finson, Jon W. *The Voices that Are Gone: Themes in 19th-Century American Popular Song*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1994.
- Fischer, Lucy. "The Image of Woman as Image: The Optical Politics of Dames." In *Genre: The Musical—A Reader*, edited by Rick Altman, 70-84. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, British Film Institute, 1981.
- Flam, Jack D. "Matisse and the Fauves." In "*Primitivism*" in *20th Century Art: Affinity of the Tribal and the Modern*, edited by William Rubin, 211-239. Vol. I. New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1984.

- Flam, Jack, with Miriam Deutch, eds. *Primitivism and Twentieth-Century Art: A Documentary History*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2003.
- Flinn, Denny Martin. *Musical! A Grand Tour: The Rise, Glory, and Fall of an American Institution*. New York: Schirmer Books, 1997.
- Forte, Allen. *The American Popular Ballad of the Golden Era: 1924-1950*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995.
- — —. *Listening to Classic American Popular Songs*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995.
- Friedwald, Will. *Jazz Singing: America's Great Voices from Bessie Smith to Bebop and Beyond*. 1990. Reprint, New York: Da Capo Press, 1996.
- — —. *Stardust Memories: A Biography of Twelve of America's Most Popular Songs*. New York: Pantheon Books, 2002.
- Frith, Simon. *Music for Pleasure: Essays in the Sociology of Pop*. New York: Routledge, 1988.
- — —. *Performing Rites: On the Value of Popular Music*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996.
- Frye, Northrop. *Anatomy of Criticism: Four Essays*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1957.
- Furia, Philip. *Ira Gershwin: The Art of the Lyricist*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1996.
- — —. *The Poets of Tin Pan Alley: A History of America's Great Lyricists*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1990.
- — —. *Skylark: The Life and Times of Johnny Mercer*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 2003.
- Gabbard, Krin. *Jammin' at the Margins: Jazz and the American Cinema*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996.
- Gardner, Edward Foote. *Popular Songs of the Twentieth Century: Volume I—Chart Details and Encyclopedia, 1900-1949*. St. Paul: Paragon House, 2000.
- Gershwin, Ira. *Lyrics on Several Occasions*. 1959. Reprint, New York: Limelight Editions, 1997.

- Giddins, Gary. *Bing Crosby: A Pocketful of Dreams—The Early Years, 1903-1940*. Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 2001.
- — —. “Irving Berlin.” *Stereo Review* 53, no. 2 (Feb., 1988): 77-82.
- Gilbert, Steven E. *The Music of Gershwin*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995.
- The Girl from Rector’s*. Programme 1909. Scrapbook. New York Public Library for the Performing Arts, Research Collections.
- Goldberg, Isaac. *Tin Pan Alley: A Chronicle of the American Popular Music Racket*. New York: John Day, 1930.
- Gottfried, Martin. *Broadway Musicals*. New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1979.
- Graham, Sandra. “From Sacred to Sacrilege: Spirituals in Postbellum Blackface Minstrelsy.” Paper presented at the annual conference of the Association for Theatre in Higher Education, August 2004.
- Grant, Barry K., editor. *Film Genre: Theory and Criticism*. Metuchen, N.J.: Scarecrow Press, 1977.
- Graves, James B. “The American Musical Comedy: A Theoretical Discussion.” *Journal of Popular Culture* 19, no. 4 (1986): 17-26.
- Green, Martin, and John Swan. *The Triumph of Pierrot: The Commedia dell’Arte and the Modern Imagination*. New York: Macmillan Publishing, 1986.
- Green, Stanley. *Ring Bells! Sing Songs! Broadway Musicals of the 1930s*. New York: Galahad Books, 1971.
- — —. *The World of Musical Comedy*. New York: Grosset and Dunlap, 1960.
- Griffin, Sean. “The Gang’s All Here: Generic versus Racial Integration in the 1940s Musical.” *Cinema Journal* 42, no. 1 (2002): 21-25.
- Guilbaut, Serge. “The Relevance of Modernism.” In *Modernism and Modernity: The Vancouver Conference Papers*, edited by Benjamin H.D. Buchloh, Serge Guilbaut, and David Solkin, ix-xv. Halifax: The Press of the Nova Scotia College of Art and Design, 1983.
- Hamberlin, Larry. “National Identity in Snyder and Berlin’s ‘That Opera Rag.’” *American Music* 22, no. 3 (fall 2004): 380-406.
- Hamm, Charles. *Irving Berlin: Songs from the Melting Pot—The Formative Years, 1907-1914*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1997.

- — —. *Yesterdays: Popular Song in America*. New York: W.W. Norton, 1979.
- Hammerstein, Oscar II. *Lyrics*. 1949. Reprint, Milwaukee: Hal Leonard Books, 1985.
- Hasbany, Richard. "Bromidic Parables: The American Musical Theatre During the Second World War." *Journal of Popular Culture* 6, no. 4 (spring 1973): 642-665.
- He Came from Milwaukee*. Programme. New York Public Library for the Performing Arts, Research Collections.
- He Came from Milwaukee*. Martin Brown Scrapbook. New York Public Library for the Performing Arts, Research Collections.
- Helldobler, Richard J. "An Analysis of the Dramatic Structures of Traditional and Concept Musicals Based on the Theories of John Howard Lawson." PhD diss., Bowling Green State University, 1991.
- Henderson, Amy, and Dwight Blocker Bowers. *Red, Hot and Blue: A Smithsonian Salute to the American Musical*. Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1996.
- Hirschhorn, Clive. *The Hollywood Musical*. New York: Crown Publishing, 1981.
- Hornby, Richard. *Drama, Metadrama, and Perception*. Cranbury, N.J.: Bucknell University Press, 1986.
- Horowitz, David A. "The Perils of Commodity Fetishism: Tin Pan Alley's Portrait of the Romantic Marketplace, 1920-1942." *Popular Music and Society* (summer 1985): 37-53.
- Horton, Donald. "The Dialogue of Courtship in Popular Songs." In *Popular Music: Critical Concepts in Media and Cultural Studies*, edited by Simon Frith, 173-185. London: Routledge, 2004.
- Hutcheon, Linda. *A Theory of Parody: The Teachings of Twentieth-Century Art Forms*. New York: Methuen, 1985.
- Huyssen, Andreas. *After the Great Divide: Modernism, Mass Culture, Postmodernism*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1986.
- Jenkins, Henry. *What Made Pistachio Nuts? Early Sound Comedy and the Vaudeville Aesthetic*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1992.
- Jones, John Bush. *Our Musicals, Ourselves: A Social History of the American Musical Theatre*. Hanover, N.H.: Brandeis University Press, 2003.

- Kasha, Al, and Joel Hirschhorn. *Notes on Broadway: Intimate Conversations with Broadway's Greatest Songwriters*. New York: Simon and Schuster, Fireside, 1987.
- Kimball, Robert, editor. *The Complete Lyrics of Cole Porter*. New York: Da Capo Press, 1983.
- . *The Complete Lyrics of Ira Gershwin*. New York: Da Capo Press, 1993.
- Kimball, Robert, and Linda Emmet, eds. *The Complete Lyrics of Irving Berlin*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2001.
- Kimball, Robert, and Dorothy Hart, eds. *The Complete Lyrics of Lorenz Hart*. Expanded edition. New York: Da Capo Press, 1995.
- Kinkle, Roger D. *The Complete Encyclopedia of Popular Music and Jazz, 1900-1950*. 4 vols. New Rochelle, N.Y.: Arlington House, 1974.
- Kirle, Bruce. *Unfinished Show Business: Broadway Musicals as Works-in-Process*. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 2005.
- . "Reconciliation, Resolution, and the Political Role of *Oklahoma!* in American Consciousness." *Theatre Journal* 55, no. 2 (May 2003): 251-274.
- Kleinman, Arthur. *Social Origins of Distress and Disease: Depression, Neurasthenia, and Pain in Modern China*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986.
- Raymond Knapp, *The American Musical and the Formation of National Identity*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005.
- Knight, Arthur. *Disintegrating the Musical: Black Performance and American Musical Film*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2002.
- Kreuger, Miles. *Show Boat: The Story of a Classic American Musical*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1977.
- Laing, Dave. *The Sound of Our Time*. Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1969.
- Laing, Heather. "Emotion by Numbers—Music, Song and the Musical." In *Musicals: Hollywood and Beyond*, edited by Bill Marshall and Robynn Stilwell, 5-13. Exeter: Intellect Books, 2000.
- Laird, Paul R. "'If You Asked Me I Could Write a Book': An Approach to a Broadway Musical Theater Canon." *Bulletin of the Society for American Music* 27, no. 1 (spring 2001): 6.

- Langer, Peter. "Sociology — Four Images of Organized Diversity: Bazaar, Jungle, Organism, and Machine." In *Cities of the Mind: Images and Themes of the City in the Social Sciences*, edited by Lloyd Rodwin and Robert M. Hollister, 97-117. New York: Putnam Press, 1984.
- Laredo, Sandra. "The Musicals of Fred Astaire and Ginger Rogers." Paper presented as visiting scholar to New York University, 26 November 1996.
- Laufe, Abe. *Broadway's Greatest Musicals*. Revised edition. New York: Funk and Wagnalls, 1977.
- Lawson-Peebles, Robert. "Brush Up Your Shakespeare: The Case of *Kiss Me, Kate*." In *Approaches to the American Musical*, ed. Robert Lawson-Peebles, 89-108. Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1996.
- Lawson-Peebles, Robert, ed. *Approaches to the American Musical*. Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1996.
- Leach, William. "Brokers and the New Corporate, Industrial Order." In *Inventing Times Square*, edited by William R. Taylor, 99-117. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1991.
- Lewis, David H. *Broadway Musicals: A Hundred Year History*. Jefferson, N.C.: McFarland and Company, 2002.
- Levine, Lawrence W. *Highbrow/Lowbrow: The Emergence of Cultural Hierarchy in America*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1988.
- Lindberg, Ulf. "Popular Modernism? The 'Urban' Style of Interwar Tin Pan Alley." *Popular Music* 22, no. 3 (2003): 283-298.
- Logan, Josh. *Josh: My Up and Down, In and Out Life*. New York: Delacorte Press, 1976.
- Loranger, Dennis Harry. "Useful Morals and Fleeting Moments: Class and Popular Music in the United States, 1890-1910." PhD diss., University of Colorado, Boulder, 1997.
- Lunn, Eugene. *Marxism and Modernism: An Historical Study of Lukàcs, Brecht, Benjamin, and Adorno*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1982.
- Lutz, Tom. "Curing the Blues: W.E.B. Du Bois, Fashionable Diseases, and Degraded Music." *Black Music Research Journal* 11, no. 2 (fall 1991): 137-156.
- Macfarlane, Malcolm. *Bing Crosby: Day by Day* (Lanham, Md.: Scarecrow Press, 2001), 58.

- MacKinnon, Kenneth. "‘I Keep Wishing I Were Somewhere Else’: Space and Fantasies of Freedom in the Hollywood Musical." In *Musicals: Hollywood and Beyond*, edited by Bill Marshall and Robynn Stilwell, 40-46. Exeter: Intellect Books, 2000.
- Markus, Tom, and Linda Sarver. *Another Opening, Another Show: A Lively Introduction to Theatre*. Second edition. Boston, Mass.: McGraw-Hill, 2005.
- Marshall, Bill, and Robynn Stilwell, eds. *Musicals: Hollywood and Beyond*. Exeter: Intellect Books, 2000.
- Maslon, Laurence. *Broadway: The American Musical*. Based on the documentary film by Michael Kantor. New York: Bulfinch Press, 2004.
- Mast, Gerald. *Can’t Help Singin’: The American Musical on Stage and Screen*. Woodstock, N.Y.: Overlook Press, 1987.
- Mattfield, Julius. *Variety Music Calvacade* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1962)
- McGlinn, John. "Notes on *Show Boat*." Brochure notes for Jerome Kern, *Show Boat*. EMI Angel Records CDS 7 49108.
- McMillan, Scott. "Paul Robeson, Will Vodery’s ‘Jubilee Singers,’ and the Earliest Script of the Kern-Hammerstein *Show Boat*." *Theatre Survey* 41, no. 2 (November 2000): 51-70.
- Melnick, Jeffrey. *A Right to Sing the Blues: African Americans, Jews, and American Popular Song*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1999.
- Meyerson, Harold, and Ernie Harburg, *Who Put the Rainbow in the Wizard of Oz: Yip Harburg, Lyricist*. Ann Arbor, Mich.: University of Michigan Press, 1995.
- Middleton, Richard. *Studying Popular Music*. Milton Keynes: Open University Press, 1990.
- Miller, D.A. *Place for Us: Essay on the Broadway Musical*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1998.
- Mordden, Ethan. *Beautiful Mornin’: The Broadway Musical in the 1940s*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1999.
- — —. *Better Foot Forward: The History of American Musical Theatre*. New York: Grossman Publishers, Viking Press, 1976.
- — —. *Broadway Babies: The People Who Made the American Musical*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1983.

- Most, Andrea. *Making Americans: Jews and the Broadway Musical*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2004.
- Muir, Peter. "Before 'Crazy Blues': Commercial Blues in America, 1850-1920." Ph.D. diss., City University of New York, 2004.
- Nolan, Frederick. *Lorenz Hart: A Poet on Broadway*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1994.
- Norton, Richard C. *A Chronology of American Musical Theater*. 3 vols. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002.
- Oja, Carol. *Making Music Modern: New York in the 1920s*. Oxford, U.K.: Oxford University Press, 2000.
- Panowski, James A. "A Critical Analysis of the Librettos and Musical Elements of Selected Musical Failures on the Broadway Stage: 1964/65-1968/69." Ph.D. diss., Bowling Green State University, 1974.
- Pater, Walter. *The Renaissance: Studies in Art and Poetry*. Expanded edition of *Studies in the History of the Renaissance*. 1873. London: Macmillan, 1904.
- Peatman, John. "Radio and Popular Music." In *Radio Research: 1942-1943*, edited by Paul F. Lazarfeld and Frank N. Stanton, 335-393. [New York]: Essential Books, 1944.
- Pessen, Edward. "The Great Songwriters of Tin Pan Alley's Golden Age: A Social, Occupational, and Aesthetic Inquiry." *American Music* 2, no. 2 (summer 1985): 180-197.
- Peterson, Richard A., and David G. Berger. "Three Eras in the Manufacture of Popular Music Lyrics." In *The Sounds of Social Change: Studies in Popular Culture*, edited by R. Serge Denisoff and Richard A. Peterson, 282-303. Chicago: Rand McNally, 1972.
- Pfister, Manfred. *The Theory and Analysis of Drama*. Translated by John Halliday. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988.
- Quinn, Arthur. *Figures of Speech: Sixty Ways to Turn a Phrase*. Davis, Calif.: Hermagoras Press, 1993.
- Rees, Nigel. *Why Do We Say ...?* London: Blandford Press, 1987.
- Richards, Stanley, ed. *Great Musicals of the American Theatre*. 2 vols. Radnor, Penn.: Chilton Book Co., 1973-76.

- Riis, Thomas L. *Just Before Jazz: Black Musical Theatre in New York, 1890-1915*. Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1989.
- — —. *More Than Just Minstrel Shows: The Rise of Black Musical Theatre at the Turn of the Century*. Brooklyn: Institute for Studies in American Music, 1992.
- Rimler, Walter. *A Gershwin Companion: A Critical Inventory and Discography, 1916-1984*. Ann Arbor, Mich.: Popular Ink, 1991.
- Robinson, Alice M. *Betty Comden and Adolph Green: A Bio-Bibliography*. Westport, Conn: Greenwood Press, 1994.
- Rodgers, Richard. *Rodgers and Hart in London*. EMI SH 183.
- Rogin, Michael. *Blackface, White Noise: Jewish Immigrants in the Hollywood Melting Pot*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1996.
- Roost, Alisa. "The Other Musical Theatre: Political Satire in Broadway Musicals from *Strike Up the Band* to *Anyone Can Whistle*." Ph.D. diss., City University of New York, 2001.
- Rose, Margaret. *Parody: Ancient, Modern, and Post-Modern*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993.
- Roth, Mark. "Some Warners Musicals and the Spirit of the New Deal." In *Genre: The Musical—A Reader*, ed. Rick Altman, 41-56. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, British Film Institute, 1981.
- Rosenberg, Deena. *Fascinating Rhythm: The Collaboration of George and Ira Gershwin*. New York: Penguin Books, 1993.
- Rubin, Martin. *Showstoppers: Busby Berkeley and the Tradition of Spectacle*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1993.
- Rubin, William. "Modernist Primitivism: An Introduction." In "*Primitivism*" in *20th Century Art: Affinity of the Tribal and the Modern*, edited by William Rubin, 1-84. Vol. 1. New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1984.
- Rubin, William, ed., "*Primitivism*" in *20th Century Art: Affinity of the Tribal and the Modern*. Vol. I. New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1984.
- Salt, Barry. "The Early Development of Film Form." *Film Form* 1, no. 1 (1976): 91-106.
- Sanjek, Russell. *American Popular Music and Its Business: The First Four Hundred Years, Volume III, From 1900 to 1984*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1988.

- — —. *From Print to Plastic: Publishing and Promoting America's Popular Music (1900-1980)*. I.S.A.M. Monographs, no. 20. Brooklyn: Institute for Studies in American Music, Brooklyn College, City University of New York, 1983.
- Savran, David. *A Queer Sort of Materialism: Recontextualizing American Theater*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2003.
- — —. "Toward a Historiography of the Popular." *Theatre Survey* 45, no. 2 (November 2004), 211-217.
- Schatz, Thomas H. *Hollywood Genres: Formula, Film Making, and the Studio System*. New York: Random House, 1981.
- Scheurer, Timothy E. "The Aesthetics of Form and Convention in the Movie Musical." In *Film Genre: Theory and Criticism*, edited by Barry K. Grant, 145-160. Metuchen, N.J.: Scarecrow Press, 1977.
- — —. "'Thou Witty': The Evolution and Triumph of Style in Lyric Writing, 1890-1950." In *American Popular Music: Readings from the Popular Press, Volume I: The Nineteenth Century and Tin Pan Alley*, edited by Timothy E. Scheurer, 104-119. Bowling Green, Ohio: Bowling Green State University Popular Press, 1989.
- Scott, William B., and Peter M. Rutkoff. *New York Modern: The Arts and the City*. Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1999.
- Sennett, Ted. *Hollywood Musicals*. New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1981.
- Singal, Daniel Joseph. "Towards a Definition of American Modernism." *American Quarterly* 39, no. 1 (spring 1987): 7-26.
- Spaeth, Sigmund. *A History of Popular Music in America*. New York: Random House, 1948.
- Stanfield, Peter. *Body and Soul: Jazz and Blues in American Films, 1927-63*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2005.
- Stansell, Christine. *American Moderns: Bohemian New York and the Creation of a New Century*. New York: Metropolitan Books, Henry Holt and Company, 2000.
- Stearns, Marshall, and Jean Stearns. *Jazz Dance: The Story of American Vernacular Dance*. 1964. Reprint, New York: Schirmer Books, 1968.
- Stempl, Larry. "Broadway's Mozartean Moment, or An Amadeus in Amber." In *Sennetts and Tuckets: A Bernstein Celebration*, edited by Steven Ledbetter, 39-56. Boston: David R. Godine, Boston Symphony, 1988.

— — —. "The Musical Play Expands." *American Music* (summer 1992): 136-169.

Steyn, Mark. *Broadway Babies Say Goodnight: Musicals Then and Now*. New York: Routledge, 1999.

Stubblevine, Donald J. *Broadway Sheet Music: A Comprehensive Listing, 1918-1993*. Jefferson, N.C.: McFarland and Company, 1996.

— — —. *Early Broadway Sheet Music: A Comprehensive Listing of Published Music from Broadway and Other Stage Shows, 1843-1918*. Jefferson, N.C.: McFarland and Co., 2002.

Suskin, Steven. *Opening Night on Broadway: A Critical Quotebook of the Golden Era of the Musical Theatre, "Oklahoma" (1943) to "Fiddler on the Roof" (1964)*. New York: Schirmer Books, 1990.

Swain, Joseph. *The Broadway Musical: A Critical and Musical Survey*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991.

Tawa, Nicholas. *The Way to Tin Pan Alley: American Popular Song, 1866-1910*. New York: Schirmer Books, 1990.

Taylor, William R., editor. *Inventing Times Square: Commerce and Culture at the Crossroads of the World*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1991.

Titon, Jeff Todd. *Early Downhome Blues: A Musical and Cultural Analysis*. Second edition. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1994.

Vachè, Warren W. *The Unsung Songwriters: America's Masters of Melody*. Lanham, Md.: Scarecrow Press, 2000.

van der Merwe, Peter. *Origins of the Popular Style: The Antecedents of Twentieth-Century Popular Music*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989.

Wall, Carey. "There's No Business Like Show Business: A Speculative Reading of the Broadway Musical." In *Approaches to the American Musical*, edited by Robert Lawson-Peebles, 24-43. Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1996.

Walsh, David and Len Platt. *Musical Theater and American Culture*. Westport, Conn.: Praeger, 2003.

Whittaker, Donald Elgan III. "Subversive Aspects of American Musical Theatre." Ph.D. diss., Louisiana State University and Agricultural and Mechanical College, 2002.

- Whitburn, Joel. *Pop Memories, 1890-1954: The History of American Popular Music*. Menomonee Falls, Wisc.: Record Research, 1986.
- Wilder, Alec. *American Popular Song: The Great Innovators, 1900-1950*. London: Oxford University Press, 1972.
- Willett, Ralph. "From Gold Diggers to Bar Girls: A Selective History of the American Movie Musical." In *Approaches to the American Musical*, edited by Robert Lawson-Peebles, 44-54. Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1996.
- Wilmeth, Don B. *Variety Entertainment and Outdoor Amusements: A Reference Guide*. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1982.
- Wolf, Stacy. *A Problem Like Maria: Gender and Sexuality in the American Musical*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2002.
- Woll, Allen L. *Black Musical Theatre: From "Coontown" to "Dreamgirls."* Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1989.
- Wood, Graham. "Distant Cousin or Fraternal Twin? Analytical Approaches to the Film Musical." In *The Cambridge Companion to the Musical*, edited by William A. Everett and Paul R. Laird, 212-230. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002.
- Wood, Robin. "Art and Ideology: Notes on Silk Stockings." In *Genre: The Musical—A Reader*, edited by Rick Altman, 57-69. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, British Film Institute, 1981.
- Wright, Will. *Sixguns and Society: A Structural Study of the Western*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994.