

A Cole Porter Companion

**Edited by
DON M. RANDEL,
MATTHEW SHAFTEL, and
SUSAN FORSCHER WEISS**

**UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS PRESS
Urbana, Chicago, and Springfield**

8

From “Young Bears” to “Three-Letter Words”

“Anything Goes,” 1934–1962

JAMES HEPOKOSKI

Submitting popular songs from the Cole Porter era to musical and cultural analysis is no self-evident matter. This is especially the case with works that lingered in the repertory as popular standards. In the entertainment world and that of its commercial circulation, to perform or listen to a piece widely familiar as “that song” presents few if any difficulties. We recognize it to “be” that song, we enjoy it, and that’s that. But what is it that we recognize? The question of identifying the more stable elements within a longer, much-varied tradition of individual song performances seems readily answered on superficial levels: reproducing or remembering the contours of a refrain-melody (“Yes! *That* song!”) along with memorable aspects, perhaps, of a culturally settled text or some telling harmonic or rhythmic quirk or established performance mannerism. But the question becomes more difficult when we subject any such song to a deeper scrutiny, particularly when no early performance of it has come to be regarded as the touchstone of what it “is,” its culturally classic version or foundational reference point.¹

The challenge for scholars confronting these songs is to establish what it is that we claim to be studying. The philosophical problem of the ontology of the artwork—already a vexed issue in the analysis of art music (where does the

"real" work reside?)—is multiplied many times over in this more fluid, unstable repertory. For all of the attractions that the seeming fixity of the notated scores or sheet music of the era might have to those trained in the study of Western "classical music," they are by no means definitive texts for these songs. Rather, they are mass-produced, commercialized arrangements kept at a limited level of generic standardization and performance challenge in order to maximize their attractiveness as items for sale. Even when a composer wrote down the music, or an early, skeletal, or preedited version of it, it was usually with this degree of standardization in mind, thinking always of the salable product down the road. There is little reason to claim that any autograph copy has more authority in defining the work than do initial (or later?) performances of it, recorded or otherwise. In this repertory it was understood by all parties that no performer was under an imperative to execute the score as printed; indeed, to do so would miss the point. At best, the printed representation of the song was only a rough-and-ready scaffolding or illustrative script (usually a collaborative product) to be rendered, arranged, or stylized as desired by the performers.

When reflecting, for instance, on Cole Porter's song "Anything Goes" (for which the composer's autograph materials, nonbinding in any case, seem now lost—or perhaps may never have existed at all), what is the "real" object for study? Is it the sheet music first printed by Harms in 1934—the commercial product of both Porter and a house editor bent on regularizing the musical text and modifying the original lyrics? Is it the first recording of the song, by Paul Whiteman and Ramona Davies on 26 October 1934 (perhaps recorded, as we shall see, with Porter present)? Is it the recording made by the composer himself a month later, on 27 November 1934? Is it the original arrangement for the Broadway stage concocted, it seems, by Robert Russell Bennett and Hans Spialek, among others, in 1934—or the piano reduction (conductor's score) and set of parts made of it and circulated for rental from 1935 onward? All of these differ from each other, as do many of the song's later recordings, printings, and arrangements. Yet all of them stake a claim to being genre-appropriate, marketplace realizations, perhaps equally legitimate realizations, of that song, with the sense that something relatively stable, though not literally producible, dwells behind the score or performance.

More important than any presumed deep-background stability of music and verbal text is the song's *raison d'être*: the intention of putting something generously reinterpretable into the fluidities of commercial circulation for

whatever treatment it might get and profit it might gain. Under such conditions the supposed object under our eyes and ears blurs, becomes something mutable, a generous set of suggested options, even while some aspects of it are to remain the same. What such a song "is" is both what it originally was intended to be—in terms of its initial compositional production network (already a complex question)—and also what it became in its dissemination throughout the culture in multiple guises and performances, arrangements, datings, and modifications. A song, qua an imagined, limited object, rapidly inflates to become the history of that song within the culture.

This is particularly true of certain Porter songs from the 1920s and 1930s that were to become standards by the 1940s and 1950s and then, from the 1960s onward, admired but reworked nostalgia curios. Even apart from questions about the music proper, Porter had originally fitted out some of these songs with clever lyrics that seemed to invite modifications in later, differing contexts. In some cases they sported local or insider-group references to celebrities or wealthy socialites of the day, including those in Porter's high-society circle (Lady Mendl, Elsa Maxwell, Monty Woolley, and others). In others the first-proposed lyrics contained slang for ethnic or national groups soon to be judged as over the line or unacceptable. (The touchstone case is found in the original opening lines of the refrain of the 1928 "Let's Do It, Let's Fall in Love": "And that's why Chinks do it, Japs do it, / Up in Lapland, little Lapps do it, / Let's do it, let's fall in love." The initial two lines were much later altered—abandoning the consistent, national-tour aspects of the first refrain—to "And that's why birds do it, bees do it, / Even educated fleas do it.")² In still others individual lines of Porter's original lyrics were assessed by some to be unacceptably sexual or too racy in their gleefully naughty double entendres. From this perspective, such lines needed scaling back or softening for a broader public.

As a result, the lyrics of some of Porter's most celebrated songs underwent a double process of *generalization* (away from the specifically local references) and *neutralization* (bowdlerization) as they made their way into the larger culture. This essay illustrates that process by looking at "Anything Goes" (from the 1934 musical of the same name) as an exemplary case study, tracing its path into broader consumption spheres from its sexually and socially mischievous original version through a series of differing, Porter-sanctioned alternatives in late 1934 and 1935 to its comfortable assimilation, by the 1950s, as an anodyne standard in the Great American Songbook to be interpreted

by leading recording artists. To follow one important trail of this song is to recount a labyrinthine tale of texts. Reconstructing this complicated sequence of events tells us something significant about popular-song production and commercial distribution in the 1930s and subsequent decades. While at this stage of research the general outlines of the story seem clear, many details remain hidden. Much background documentary information is widely scattered or perhaps lost; more precise supplementary information, or even correction, may well turn up in subsequent years. What follows is grounded in work with the manuscripts in the Cole Porter Collection in the Irving S. Gilmore Library of Yale University; with materials from the New York Public Library; with currently published information concerning the 1934 show, *Anything Goes*; and with the evidence provided in the numerous recordings of the song.

The Suppressed Original Version (Early October 1934)

The earliest indication of the existence of the song "Anything Goes" stems from the period immediately running up to and including the (somewhat chaotic) rehearsals for the show. These began on 8 October 1934, less than a month before its 5 November Boston tryout run and about a month and a half before its 21 November Broadway premiere at the Alvin Theater in New York.³ In May, June, and July of the preceding spring, as the shipboard comedy was being initially sketched out (under the auspices of Vinton Freedley) in England and France by Guy Bolton and P. G. Wodehouse (through at least one scenario and two early scripts), the enthusiastic Porter had proposed five possible (new) songs for the show, whose working title at the time varied from *Bon Voyage* to *Hard to Get*. "Anything Goes" was not one of the five songs.⁴ While one cannot rule it out, no evidence suggests that "Anything Goes" had been written by even early or mid-September 1934.

In August and September Bolton and Wodehouse's second script was being substantially rewritten in or around New York by Howard Lindsay (the director of the show) and Russel Crouse, apparently still under the provisional but vulnerable title *Hard to Get*. But on 1 October the *New York Times* reported that it had been "made known yesterday" that Porter's forthcoming show, with the title *Anything Goes*, had been booked for the Alvin Theater for "sometime next month."⁵ This title change must have occurred in mid- or late September, while Lindsay and Crouse's script was only half-baked at best. The two words

"anything goes" have been variously attributed to an early (September?), casual remark of William Gaxton (contracted to play the role of Billy Crocker and willing to accommodate himself to a still-changing script; upon hearing the words, Porter is said to have replied, "Title!") or to Gaxton's doorman upon hearing that the show's title had not yet been decided.⁶ However they initially surfaced, the two words stuck, and one might imagine that once the show's title had been determined, Porter must have set to work composing the related song.

One might therefore propose a provisional date for Porter's original version(s) of the song and its text around late September or early October 1934. The earliest mention of the song comes from a draft of Lindsay and Crouse's script for the show that is available in the New York Public Library for the Performing Arts.⁷ This working script, which includes numerous deletions and alterations, probably dates from the late September–October period. It places the song, by title only (not including its text), in its proper spot (for Ethel Merman as Reno Sweeney, saucy nightclub singer and former evangelist), shortly before the closing curtain of act 1. An obvious interpolation, the song-and-dance Merman vehicle has little to do with the plot of the show at this point. It is artificially triggered as the brassy Reno explains why it is possible to imagine that the hypereffete English lord, Sir Evelyn Oakleigh, might actually marry her ("Don't worry, in this day and age, anything can happen").⁸

Porter's initial task was to produce a sketch-outline of this new song, which at this point necessitated a verse ("Times have changed . . .") and at least one refrain ("In olden days . . ."). Whatever Porter jotted down (now lost)—or perhaps dictated—may have been fleshed out by his loyal editor (Albert Sirmay) and then copied by another, more professional hand into a piano-vocal score—a master document of sorts that was probably also conceived as a model to be sent out (or recopied) at some later point for sheet-music printing. One such cleanly prepared ink copy of "Anything Goes" is housed in Yale's Cole Porter Collection.⁹ It consists of the verse (unprepared by a piano introduction) and a single refrain, subjected to a first ending (which features a turnaround probably composed by Sirmay, not Porter) and subsequent repeat—which was, of course, how the song was to be printed for sale, not sung in the show. This six-page manuscript (preceded by a title page) presents the song, marked *Moderato*, with a B-flat minor verse that leads to a B-flat major refrain. Apart from its key and lack of an introduction, the music of this manuscript version is essentially that found in all editions and printings of the song. What differs from later versions is a portion of the refrain text.

From the beginning—and in all subsequent versions of the text—the two complementary (contrasting) quatrains of the verse text were invariant, never subjected to revision. The Yale ink score provides them as follows (and here I have regularized the punctuation, separated the quatrains, and supplied a bracketed addition to emend either a copyist error or a slightly differing, early version of the text):

Times have changed,
 And we[ve] often rewind the clock
 Since the Puritans got a shock,
 When they landed on Plymouth Rock.

If today
 Any shock they should try to stem,
 'Stead of landing on Plymouth Rock,
 Plymouth Rock would land on them.

Playing on the topic of reversals and dissimilar eras, these lines introduce the image of an American-puritanical tradition of tight-laced decorum now shattered and overturned in modern times. (One might note en passant that it was the Pilgrims, not the Puritans, who “landed on Plymouth Rock.”) The rhythmically emphasized “clock/shock/Rock” end rhymes convey an abrupt bluntness (ship against rock), just as the shifting of the repeated “Plymouth Rock” to the initial position of the final line also reinforces the idea of modern reversals. Because neither Porter nor anyone else altered this verse in any subsequent version, we shall leave it behind here, noting only that Porter’s musical setting (two minor-mode, complementary phrases, each four lines long, ending in a half-cadence) colors these words to amusing effect: the initial, time-marches-on bass impulses; the bluesily smeared, nightclubbish opening declaration (“Times have changed”); the bass-triplet jolts into lines 3 and 4; the clock-winding Neapolitan harmony (“Since the Puritans got a shock”); the pseudo-parallel-major complement launching the second quatrain (“If today,” functioning now as V^7 of iv and thus still in the tonic minor); the similarity of the final taunting figure, “on them,” to the first line’s “Times have changed” and the second quatrain’s “If today.”

It is once the song’s AABA’ refrain space is entered, however, that the textual history of the song becomes problematic. The music sets four lines of text for each A section and seven for the contrasting B section. The Yale ink-copy score from early October contains seven B-section lines (“If saying your pr’yers you like”) that Porter, by the last week of that month, would alter. This earlier text

reads (presented here, again, with editorial regularizations and formatted spacing to make the AABA' structure clear):

In olden days a glimpse of stocking
 Was looked on as something shocking,
 But now, God knows,
 Anything goes.

Good authors too who once knew better words,
 Now only pick [*sic*] four-letter words
 For their prose,
 Anything goes.

If saying your pr'yers you like,
 If green pears you like,
 If old chairs you like,
 If backstairs you like,
 If love affairs you like
 With young bears [you] like,
 Why, nobody will oppose.

And ev'ry night the set that's smart is
 Indulging in nudist parties
 In studios,
 Anything goes.¹⁰

Triggered by the verse's final-line taunt (and set-up dominant chord), the refrain, initiated by the mock-antique "in olden days," seeks an even more droll irony, a witty posture of faux amazement addressed to sophisticates in the know. It unreels a list of much that is supposedly now legitimized beyond reproach in urban-modern times, and especially in Porter's fantasy worlds of entertainment, wealth, and high society—brazenly secular, irreverent, and sexually unrepressed. The poetic tone unfolds in the ultraclever, Porterian style of *vers de société*, "crisp and sparkling," "playfully malicious," "elegantly naughty"—lines that sport an air of "insouciance" or "bemused sophistication."¹¹

The refrain's progressively heightened imagery begins with back references to the verse ("olden days" and the echo of "shocking" with the verse's "shock"—the key image behind the entire song) and casually sweeps away lingering residues of the puritanical value system with the flippantly profane "But now, God knows" in order to hammer out the first appearance of its subrefrain, "Anything goes." From this initial quatrain the refrain branches

out in progressively eroticized ways, from the mockingly demure “glimpse of stocking” to the next quatrain’s “four-letter words” (upping the profanity ante from “But now, God knows”) to the B section’s “backstairs” assignations to “love affairs with young bears” to the climactic image in the final A section, the smart set’s “indulging in nudist parties”—the striptease other to the initial “glimpse of stocking.”

In the energetically accumulative B section, though—an intensifying series of “shocks”—Porter’s original text may have crossed the line. It seems possible that “love affairs . . . with young bears” referred to gay-male sex, an allusion slipped into the rapidly mounting text that uses what might have been part of the urban-underground slang of the time. But was this its connotation? To claim that securely requires one to recover features of American gay slang of the 1920s and 1930s, but the problem is that the word “bears” to characterize certain categories of gay men surfaced more publicly only in the post-Stonewall era in the 1970s and 1980s and is difficult to document before that time.¹² Yet it was precisely this line of the B section, taking the preceding five lines with it (since their rhyming purpose—“pr’yers,” “pears,” “chairs,” “backstairs,” “affairs”—was to drive to the climactic “bears” image), that would be suppressed in the original text of Porter’s song. Somebody must have objected to it; otherwise, why revise it?¹³

Moreover, we also know that another Porter song originally slated for *Anything Goes* and with a passing same-sex reference—this time a lesbian one—was dropped during the October rehearsals for that reason. That song was “Kate the Great”:

Catherine of Russia, that potentate,
 Knew that her job was to fascinate . . .
 And think of the history she made.
 Why, she made the Congress,
 She made the Premier,
 She made the clergy . . .
 She made the butler,
 She made the groom,
 She made the maid who made the room.

Merman is reported to have feared that “she couldn’t sing such a line in front of her mother on opening night.”¹⁴ In the role of Reno Sweeney she was also the one assigned to sing “Anything Goes”—which was doubtless written for her—and it is conceivable that the presumed objections to “love affairs with

young bears" could initially have been hers. Apparently, the double entendres of "You're the Top" and "Blow, Gabriel, Blow" passed muster, and Porter's immediate rewriting of the B-section lyrics of "Anything Goes" to feature (as we shall see) an even more explicitly randy heterosexuality prompted no similar protestation (not to mention the "even one sniff" of cocaine sung in her "I Get a Kick Out of You").

While the AABA' refrain music of "Anything Goes" is not difficult to characterize, one should notice its idiosyncratic framework of registral, rhythmic, accentual, and intensification-and-release patterns. This is an individualized schema capable of being synchronized only with poetic patterns devised to match its anticly jagged contours. As with "Let's Do It," "You're the Top," and several other Porter songs, one might imagine the song as an invitation to a refrain game of generating new, witty lyrics to match the music's quirks—which in fact is what was soon to happen with this melody. Its A and A' sections (music heard thrice, though with an emphatic, concluding variant at the end of A') are confined to the melodically pentatonic, in this context an "American pentatonic" readily synchronizable with the minstrel-show, parlor-song, and vaudeville strains of American music.¹⁵ Much of its appeal lies in its playfully infectious, prancing rhythm, carving out individual words of text. The dance syncopations that rhythmically twist the end of line 1 ("glimpse of stocking") are immediately multiplied in the spring-loaded, pirouetting syncopations of the second ("Was looked on as something shocking"). In turn, these vault the vocal line upward into the melodic apex ($\hat{1}\hat{6}$) to set in high relief the irreverent "God [knows]." The sudden vocal prolongation of "knows" over a bar and a half both sets up the decisive end rhyme ("knows"/"goes") and, like a held breath, rhythmically prepares the declaratively accented, rat-a-tat-tat pronouncement finally released with a parodic, quasi-plagal cadence in the fourth line: "Anything goes." With different words, the same succession recurs in the second A and final A' sections.

By way of contrast, the seven-line B section leaps at once onto the bright major mediant (III, "If saying your pr'yers you like," a fast-fading residue of lingering puritanism) to begin a chain of compressed, rapid-fire reiterations (more illustrative shocks) that hammer the vocal line chromatically upward to the apex pitch once again, on the second syllable of the crucial word "af-fairs." At that (taboo?) apex point, the major mediant darkens into the minor (iii, "af-fairs you like"), and the melodic line plunges downward into the lower shadows ("With young bears *you like*"), only to end by producing a jack-in-the-box

dominant seventh of the original tonic at the end (“[op-]pose,” which also reactivates the song-anchoring “-ose” rhyme), harmonically interrupted, to set up the return of the pentatonic A'.¹⁶ No wasted gestures. In “Anything Goes” everything counts.

The First Revision: Finalizing the 1934 Theatrical Text (Mid-October 1934)

By mid-October 1934 Porter had decided—or had been advised—to change the words to the (first) refrain’s B section. The “young bears” text would hibernate for the next four or five decades, when it would be discovered and printed as an “original,” supplementary text in Robert Kimball’s *The Complete Lyrics of Cole Porter* (1983).¹⁷ Four years after this publication this B-section text was interpolated into the end of the “Anything Goes” sequence in the 1987 Lincoln Center revival of the show, as well as into the 1989 London production of the musical and all Broadway and London productions thereafter. Whatever Porter’s original intention might have been, in its revived, 1987 context, “bears” could be construed more unmistakably as gay slang.¹⁸

In October 1934, as Porter mapped out a revised text for “Anything Goes,” he also wrote (or had written) lyrics for a second and third refrain. This was the multiple-refrain text destined for the Broadway stage: an initial verse and three game-like “list” choruses (a complement to “You’re the Top”). It is the verse-and-three-refrain version that Cole Porter himself recorded on 27 November 1934—a promotional recording made six days after the New York premiere of the show—and it is the version that would appear (with some inadvertent errors and accidental omissions) in the 1934–35 Tams-Witmark promptbook (libretto) prepared for rental purposes.¹⁹ This is surely the text that Merman sang onstage toward the end of act 1, and it is the one reproduced in Robert Kimball’s *The Complete Lyrics of Cole Porter* and performed on John McGlinn’s 1988–89 restoration of the 1934 musical.²⁰ We shall refer to it as the 1934 Theatrical Text. Before considering the evidence for its mid-October dating, let us consider its three refrains (which follow the invariant verse, “Times have changed”). I furnish them here as they are found, primarily, in the 1934–35 Tams-Witmark promptbook.²¹ Footnotes within the text indicate the variants heard in Porter’s 27 November recording. Once again I have regularized punctuation, capitalization, and line lengths and interpolated separations to indicate the AABA’ structure.

REFRAIN 1

In olden days, a glimpse of stocking
 Was looked on as something shocking,
 But now, God knows,
 Anything goes.

[Good authors too who once knew better words
 Now only use four-letter words
 Writing prose,
 Anything goes.]

If driving fast cars you like,
 If low bars you like,
 [If old hymns you like,]
 If bare limbs you like
 If Mae West you like
 Or me, undressed, you like
 Why, nobody will oppose.

When ev'ry night the set that's smart is in-
 Dulging²² in nudist parties in
 Studios,
 Anything goes.

REFRAIN 2

When Missus Ned McClean [*sic*] (God bless her)
 Can get Russian Reds to "yes" her
 Then I suppose
 Anything goes.

When Rockefeller still can hoard en-
 Ough money to let Max Gordon
 Produce his shows,
 Anything goes.

The world has gone mad today
 The good's bad today
 And black's white today
 And day's night today
 And that gent today
 You gave a cent today
 Once had several châteaux.

When folks who still can ride in jitneys
 Find out Vanderbilts and Whitneys

Lack baby-clo's
Anything goes.

REFRAIN 3

If²³ Sam Goldwyn can with great conviction
Instruct Anna Sten in diction
Then Anna shows
Anything goes.

When you hear that Lady Mendl, standing up
Now turns²⁴ a handspring landing up-
On her toes,
Anything goes.²⁵

Just think of what²⁶ shocks you've got
And what knocks you've got
And what blues you've got
From that news you've got
And what pains you've got
(If any brains you've got)
From those little radios.

So Missus R,²⁷ with all her trimmins
Can broadcast a bed from Simmons
'Cause Franklin knows
Anything goes.

Each of the three "list-song" refrains pursues a different strategy of allusions. The first capitalizes on the currency of profanity and sex; the second on 1934 gossip of the American superwealthy; the third, mostly, on similarly recent chatter about media and political celebrities. In the first refrain, it is the newly written (and, for 1934, audacious) B section that catches our attention. With the decision to delete "love affairs with young bears" came a set of new lines that, while more explicitly titillating, are more normatively housed within the realm of heterosexuality. Moreover, Porter took care to ensure that the new, rapid-fire B-section lines were equally coordinated with the musical drive to that section's melodic high point, which also sets off its roguish collapse of major III into minor iii and its concomitant plunge downward. Thus the revised text loses none of the original words/music synchronization. Instead of peaking on "young *bears*," the apex pitch and modal shift now occur with the image of the bawdy and bosomy "Mae West." (With this B-section alteration we have yet another connection to Merman and Gaxton's "You're the Top," which includes the line "You're the moon over Mae West's shoulder.") This leads

directly to (Reno/Merman's) descending line "Or me, un-dressed, you like," whose exuberantly risqué new words provide a conceptual, more appropriate bridge-link to the climactic "nudist parties in studios" of the final A'. In this revised first refrain, the mischievous sparkle of Porter's new B-section text continued to push the limit of what was acceptable at the time.

The second and third refrains are equally well matched with the musical schema.²⁸ In them Porter produced abundant strings of references to 1934 celebrities and high society, a feature anticipated by the mention of "Mae West" in the revised first refrain. These were temporally localized lines that potentially bore a built-in expiration date with regard to their relevance or comprehensibility. These references have been clarified a number of times (most conveniently by Miles Kreuger) and are easily enhanced by simple Internet searches.²⁹ The wealthy Mrs. Ned McLean, owner of the Hope Diamond (once owned by Catherine the Great), had just returned from a bejeweled, flamboyant, and controversial trip to the Soviet Union. Max Gordon had just converted Rockefeller's "mammoth movie palace," Radio City, "into a mammoth legitimate theatre." The Vanderbilts and Whitneys, it appears, had been grousing about financial losses during the Depression. Anna Sten was a Ukrainian actress known in German films now trying to break into American productions under the aegis of the Polish-born Sam[uel] Goldwyn. Lady Mendl (Elsie de Wolfe, "adventuress, interior decorator, and international hostess") had been part of the Cole and Linda Porter circle for some time—and was known for eccentric behavior, which included (at age sixty-eight in 1934) such vigorous exercises as headstands, walking upside down on her hands, and yoga.³⁰

But it was of course the final quatrain of refrain 3, the reference to "Missus R," Eleanor Roosevelt, that provided the caper to the whole song, a caper elegantly prepared by the third refrain's B-section allusions to the brain-draining "shocks" provided "from those little radios." In early 1934 the ever-colorful and enterprising first lady had resumed her radio broadcasts. At least five of them, it seems, were sponsored by Simmons Mattresses.³¹ Needless to say, in the free-wheeling context of "Anything Goes," the eye-winking charge lay in the association of "Missus R" (and Franklin) with the bedroom, all delivered with good cheer via Porter's sporty music.

The new, three-refrain text had been available since mid-October 1934, the period of the rehearsals. How do we know this? On 26 October, about a week and a half before the Boston tryout for the show, Porter agreed to record two of his own songs at the Victor Studio. This was the first time that Porter's voice and piano styling were to be captured on disc, and for this occasion (Victor 24766) he recorded one song from the upcoming *Anything Goes*, "You're the Top," along

with a dyspeptically mordant song not included in the show, "Thank You So Much, Mrs. Lowsborough-Goodby."³² In the same studio and on the same day, Paul Whiteman recorded dance-band arrangements of four Porter songs from the forthcoming *Anything Goes*, destined for two 78 rpm discs. It is not unreasonable to suppose that Porter was present for these Whiteman recordings. (At the very least he must have approved of them as part of the initial or advance promotion for the musical.) Whiteman's first 78 rpm pairing on that day was "I Get a Kick Out of You" and "You're the Top"; this was immediately followed by "All through the Night" and "Anything Goes," destined for a second disc.³³

Whiteman's 26 October "Anything Goes" is a fox-trot arrangement that, midway through, features Ramona (Davies) as the vocalist.³⁴ Ramona's lyrics are those of the revised first refrain, complete (thus including the B section that leads to "Mae West" and "me undressed"), albeit with a softening of the third line of refrain 1 ("But now, God knows" becomes "But now, Lord knows"—surely with the composer's knowledge), followed by (after a return to an instrumental AA) refrain 2's full B section ("The world has gone mad today") and concluding A' quatrain (delivered here as "Folks who can still ride in jitneys"). Since refrains 1 and 2 are in evidence, Porter must have revised the text sometime before 26 October—enough beforehand for Whiteman's arranger to have pulled together a score and set of parts for the recording session. Since refrain 2 had been devised by this time, refrain 3 is likely to have been as well, even though it is not heard on Whiteman's recording.

The Harms Sheet-Music Text (1934)

As the October rehearsals were proceeding, the production team's thoughts were turning toward the various ways in which the musical's songs would be made commercially available for sale to a broader public. One of these was the production of the sheet music of individual songs from the show, contracted with Harms, Inc., of New York. This process must have begun in time for the songs to be ready for sale by the time of the premiere, if not earlier. Harms's primary models for publication would probably have been the neatly prepared ink copies of the individual songs for the rehearsals, most of which still exist in Yale's Cole Porter Collection. The resulting sheet music would be the first printed version of each of the songs. By at least mid-November, if not earlier, Harms had printed eight selections from *Anything Goes*: the title song, "Anything Goes," along with "Buddie [*sic*] Beware," "You're the Top," "All through the Night," "I Get a Kick Out of You," "Blow, Gabriel, Blow," "The Gypsy in Me,"

and "Waltz down the Aisle." That the last of these was a song cut before the 5 November Boston premiere suggests that Harms had been preparing this music in late October or very early November. Each song was published with identical front-cover illustrations of the smiling stars of the musical, William Gaxton, Ethel Merman, and Victor Moore.

The 1934 Harms version of "Anything Goes" transposed the B-flat minor-major of the rehearsal ink copy into C minor-major. It was also furnished with a new four-bar introduction (probably by Albert Sirmay). What follows is the C minor verse (the invariant "Times have changed") and, as was the sheet-music norm (and as is found on the earlier ink copy), a single refrain marked with first and second endings and a repeat sign, with the notational implication that one was to sing the same refrain twice. The sheet-music repeat norm, though, meant little. It was surely nonbinding. For the 1934 Harms version, it was decided to print only one refrain text that conflated aspects of refrains 1 and 3. The AA sections were furnished with the opening foundational text from refrain 1: "In olden days" (including "But now, God knows") along with "Good authors too" and their "four-letter words." Instead of moving into the remainder of refrain 1, however (steering clear of "Mae West," "me undressed," and the "nudist parties"), it was deemed more prudent to shift into the BA' sections of refrain 3 with its timely reference to Eleanor Roosevelt: "Just think of those shocks you've got,"³⁵ "those little radios," and "So Missus R with all her trimmins." Harms's telescoped version of the text was used by the Dorsey Brothers in their recording from 27 November 1934, the same day, coincidentally, as Porter's own recording of the song. The Dorseys' only deviation from the Harms text was their modification of "But now, God knows" to "But now, Lord knows" (as in Whiteman's October recording).³⁶

As we shall see, the 1934 Harms sheet-music text remained available for only about a year, if even that long. By late 1935 or early 1936, the company would outfit new printings of their single-refrain sheet music with a different text for the end of the B section and all of the concluding A' section. This differing, "neutralized" text would have the longest life of them all.

The Neutralized Text: "Finale Ultimo," Act 2 (1934)

In the song's reprise at the end of act 2, where it recurs as the final section of the "Finale Ultimo," there is an exuberant *lieto fine*, in which, to bring down the curtain, the entire company and chorus sing in celebratory fashion the first refrain of "You're the Top" followed by a single refrain of "Anything Goes."

What were the lyrics sung in the latter song's reprise? The earliest evidence of which I am aware is the 1935 Tams-Witmark conductor's score for rental, to be discussed below. For the present we need only observe that in that score (and also in John McGlinn's 1987 recording of the show's restoration, which may have been grounded in even earlier materials),³⁷ we find a revised refrain 1 text that retained only its first half: the BA' portions of the AABA' structure are now fitted out with new words. It seems likely that this new text, with its revised lyrics, had also been sung in New York performances in 1934–35.

But why was a revised text called for at all? By November 1934, quite apart from the "Finale Ultimo" question, it may already have become clear that the song "Anything Goes" could have considerable lasting power as a single song extracted from the context of the show. The Harms text's awkward condensation was hardly optimal for this purpose: with its inclusion of the reference to "Missus R" and the "bed from Simmons," that text was likely to become dated, losing its original, mischievous punch. Pursuing such thoughts, it must have occurred to Porter or the larger production team that it would be prudent to devise a more neutralized version of refrain 1 to give the song a longer shelf life as a detached, single-refrain number. (He had learned, perhaps, from his experience with the radio-censored "Love for Sale" from 1930—discussed in Buchler's chapter in the present volume—that in the world of practical commerce it was not the case that "anything goes.")

The vulnerabilities of the Theatrical Text of refrain 1 for a broader American audience were twofold: the profane single line "But now, God knows" in the first quatrain, which Whiteman and Ramona had already softened to "Now, Lord knows" in their 26 October recording, and, more broadly, the erotic bite of refrain 1's second half (BA': "Mae West," "me undressed," "nudist parties"), which text Harms had already replaced with refrain 3 extracts—hardly an elegant solution. In part to suit the purposes of a more widespread distribution, Porter must have agreed at some point to tone down "But now, God knows" to "Now, Heaven knows" and also to craft a new, milder BA' text for refrain 1, one that also avoided the temporally circumscribed reference to "Missus R's" radio broadcasts. From this perspective, the logic of this BA' revision seems clear. Once the "Missus R" quatrain was marked for replacement, the end of the B section also had to be rewritten, since the whole point of the Theatrical Text's clause "And what pains you've got / (If any brains you've got) / From those little radios," was to set up Missus R.

Toward that end Porter crafted what I call refrain 1's 1934 Neutralized Text. He wrote it at some point before 23 November 1934 (two days after the New

York premiere of the musical), for it was sung in a recording made on that day by the Leo Reisman Orchestra with Sally Singer as the vocalist (Brunswick 7332).³⁸ Identifiable as such by "Now, Heaven knows" in the first A section and its new B section and final A' quatrain, this text, or ad hoc, negligible variants of it, would appear in a number of later manuscripts, printed editions, and recordings. As such it is a crucial text in the reception history of "Anything Goes." I present here the version of the Neutralized Text of refrain 1 as it appears in the "Finale Ultimo" of the 1935 Tams-Witmark conductor's score. (Sally Singer's version, in F major, tweaks two words of what must have been provided to her, and I have relegated those two small deviations to the endnotes.)

In olden days a glimpse of stocking
Was looked on as something shocking,
Now, Heaven knows,
Anything goes.

Good authors too who once knew better words
Now only use four-letter words,
Writing prose,
Anything goes.

The world has gone mad today,
And good's bad today,
And black's white today,
And day's night today,
When most guys today,
That women prize today,
Are just silly gigolos.³⁹

So though I'm not a great romancer
I know that you're (I'm) bound to answer
When I (you) propose,
Anything goes.⁴⁰

Whatever other ("Finale Ultimo") factors might have lain behind it, Porter must have devised this text also for toned-down, primarily single-refrain performances of the song, perhaps even as an emended alternative to the first printing of the Harms sheet music. Obviously, these lyrics could not be followed by the Theatrical Text's refrain 2, for this new B section's first four lines ("The world has gone mad today") import those of that second refrain, and to hear them again en bloc immediately afterward would be inelegantly

redundant. The Neutralized Text's last three B-section lines are new, beginning with "When most guys today," cleverly attaining the apex pitch and fleeting shift to the minor mode on the word "guys." While effective as a text setting on its own terms, these new lines retain only a faded memory ("silly gigolos") of the formerly naughty tone. The original B-section's tang, whose raciness was a central aspect of the song as first conceived, is now served up as less spicy fare.

Still, it may be the new final quatrain that most captures our attention ("So though I'm not a great romancer"). Here the newly written lines white-wash over the Theatrical Text's "nudist parties in studios," a slippage into the self-deprecatingly coy to cover over the original Porterian zingers. The poetic principle in all earlier versions of each refrain had been to intensify from their openings to their most playfully outrageous images in the final quatrain. But this new stanza is deflationary. The subrefrain "anything goes" had been consistently produced to register the "shock" of once-unthinkable practices now considered acceptable, even regarded as modern norms, now that "times have changed." Not here. In this context the last four lines are given over to a domesticated sentiment that undercuts—or perhaps only mildly sustains—the consistent impertinence that the song had originally delighted in conveying. And yet Porter might have regarded the creation of the November 1934 Neutralized Text as a prudent commercial move.

Such considerations need not have been the only ones in play. This returns us to the question of the text used for the reprise in the show's "Finale Ultimo," where it follows an unaltered stanza of "You're the Top." As mentioned above, the 1935 rental score provides the Neutralized Text at this point. That this text begins with the two foundational quatrains of refrain 1 ("In olden days"; "Good authors, too") makes sense: those incipit lyrics are the ones most associated with the song. But it is easy to imagine that Porter (and others) might not have wished to ring down the curtain with the image of "nudist parties in studios." This would have ended the show on a licentious note at precisely the point at which the comedy's denouement had led to reconciliation and a promise of marriage ("you're bound to answer / When I propose"). It may be, then, that in or around early November (but after Harms's first printing of the sheet music) Porter might have decided that a more generously good-hearted text, relocated within a more conventional morality that the earlier portions of the show had been devoted to tweaking, would be more appropriate at the show's end and would also be a text that would solve the problem of the song's single-refrain dissemination into the larger culture.

"Anything Goes": Differing Tracks of Dissemination (1934-1935)

By the evening of the musical's gala premiere in New York, 21 November 1934, Porter had sanctioned three different texts for "Anything Goes" (not counting the original, suppressed text with "young bears"): the impertinent, three-refrain Theatrical Text; the single-refrain, somewhat clumsy Harms Sheet Music Text (soon to be discarded); and the apparently single-refrain (or "Finale Ultimo") Neutralized Text. As we have seen, on 23 and 27 November, two and six days after the premiere, three recordings were made of this song, and all three versions of the lyrics were represented in them: Leo Reisman and Sally Singer's 23 November recording (the Neutralized Text)—the second ever made of this song; Cole Porter's 27 November recording (paired with "Two Little Babes in the Woods"); and, on the same day, the Dorsey Brothers recording (the 1934 Harms text).

So far as current evidence tells us, we have reached the end of the refrain variants of the lyrics written by Porter himself, but we are by no means at the end of our story. What has emerged thus far, though, is central to our understanding of what the earliest conceptions of this song were. This brings us back to one of the ramifications of the issues posed at the opening of this essay: the question of where the "real work" resides or, in this case, the question of what the "real lyrics" for this song are. But these are the wrong questions, reductive in how they are posed and in any presumed conclusive answer that they might expect. As was (and would continue to be) the case with other Porter songs as well, "Anything Goes" was splitting its identity to follow at least two early, separate tracks of American dissemination and reception, neither of which can be discounted. On the one hand, there was the higher-voltage, theater-oriented song with its three refrains but obviously short shelf life because of its specifically localized references. On the other hand, Porter and others were also envisioning a more compact, durable, and standardized single-refrain version detached from the show and suitable for commercial distribution or private performance. By November 1934 "Anything Goes" was on its way to becoming two different things, existing under at least two different, equally authorized conceptions.

As for the words of the Theatrical Text, they were less permanently fixed than they were grounded in a cluster of text-construction rules, of which Porter's three refrains served as the classic, composer-authorized exemplars. Anchored in its American high-society, late 1934 world, the Theatrical Text

established the underlying *idea* fueling the song's lyrics.⁴¹ On this multiple-refrain track the song's idea (a schema, a set of guidelines, a verbal challenge) was to follow a proclamatory, invariant verse ("Times have changed") with a string of witty refrains, a feature characteristic of the theatrical Porter. The successive refrains were to be constructed as participants within a flexibly construed refrain game. They were to move from a risqué initial refrain (that attention grabber) to ones whose impishly wrought barbs were locally relevant to the performance's time and place, dishing out a snappy contemporaneity that capitalized on current contexts or celebrities' quirks and foibles.

The "Anything Goes" game had a number of additional, implicit rules. The opening two quatrains of the first refrain ("In olden days" and "Good authors, too") were the requisite entry ticket for any otherwise altered performance of the song—they had to launch it—and any non-Porter version was obliged to include the invariant, punch-line pop-ups of the subrefrain, "Anything goes," to end each A or A' section. Newly written stanzas not only had to feature the properly slotted "ose" rhymes ("knows," "prose," "studios," "suppose," "shows," and so on) to underscore the jabbing repetitions of "Anything goes" but also had to coordinate any new text with the idiosyncrasies of Porter's music in terms of rhythm and accentual emphasis, along with its musical drives to apex pitches, temporary tonicizations, modal switches, and approaches to cadence.

Another essential part of the game was that of reveling in the delight of textual "shock" and hyperclever unconventionality pushed to the limit of sophisticated taste. In order to remain true to the song's spirit or underlying idea, any new, non-Porterian lyrics should strive to match the originals in terms of cheeky audacity. Porter's 1934 words were not only an exemplary realization of the game but also the lyrics closest to the composer's original concept of the song. Still, as we shall see, there is little reason to think that he actively discouraged other combinations and realizations within the context of the show.

The Neutralized Text—the second, all-purpose dissemination track—proved to be more long-lasting, especially after Harms, probably in 1935, replaced the earlier-printed conflation text with it. Although it is a softened revision of the Theatrical Text's refrain 1—and in this respect tones down the foundational "shock" principle of that text—it may be considered Porter's fourth, socially compromised exemplar of the "Anything Goes" game, initially to be used, it seems, for the song's single-refrain reprise in the show's "Finale Ultimo"

and thereafter in various other, broader contexts as the occasion demanded. Nonetheless, even as its initial *raison d'être* appears to have been to provide a verse and single refrain for stand-alone performance, it would at times be used (as in the Reisman-Singer recording) as the first refrain followed by some or all of a second—or perhaps even a third. Before long, after memories of the Broadway show and its more involved text faded, purchasers of the sheet music or later Porter song anthologies would naturally assume that they owned the single-refrain, finally authorized text for the song. And in this second-track sense, they did. By and large, this was the way that the song would filter into the larger marketplace, displacing the more localized 1934 Theatrical Text until its more complete recovery in the 1980s. But of course things are not that simple. While the Theatrical and Neutralized Texts persist as two early, essential nodes in this tale of texts, new refrain mixtures, seeming accidents, and still other non-Porter texts would follow.

Mix and Match: The Tams-Witmark Rental Score (1935)

After opening on 21 November 1934, *Anything Goes* closed a year later, on 16 November 1935, having presented 420 performances. By this point Tams-Witmark was ready to make it available for rental to American theater companies outside of New York. Their rental materials consisted of a promptbook (libretto), a conductor's score,⁴² and a set of parts. Curiously, when the song is introduced in act 1, the texts of the promptbook and the conductor's score differ. The promptbook provides the verse and three refrains of the 1934 Theatrical Text—the wittier, more pointed lyrics also heard on Porter's recording. While the 1935 rental score also provides three refrains (separated by dance interludes, as in the show itself), it reproduces the 1934 Neutralized Text for the first of them (B-section "gigolos"; A'-section "great romancer"), albeit reinstating "But now God knows" in the first A section. In other words, the conductor's score not only presents a softened text for refrain 1 but also wades directly into the redundancy problem, for the first four lines of the B section of refrain 1 ("The world has gone mad today") are now identical to those also prescribed for the same spot in refrain 2. Is this the result of a copyist's blunder—mistakenly importing the text from the one that would be sung in the "Finale Ultimo," even though the promptbook provides the differing Theatrical Text—or was it an intentional mollification of the refrain 1 text for non-New York performances? It's difficult to know. Nor is this the end of our

tale of textual volatility. By late 1935 yet another factor had entered into the mix: the transferal of the show over to London.

The London Production (1935)

On 28 November 1934, only seven days into the New York run of the show, the *New York Times* reported that plans were under way for "G. B. Cochran's London production of 'Anything Goes' in full flower here at the Alvin."⁴³ This was to be a reworking of the New York show in which characteristically American gags in the promptbook were to be refashioned into English ones and new, British-appropriate lines were to be written for the two refrain-game songs, "You're the Top" and "Anything Goes." P. G. Wodehouse, who had had a hand in the original, rejected script, was entrusted to this task. After some delays the London version of *Anything Goes* opened at the Palace Theatre on 14 June 1935. Its cast, of course, had changed, and the Merman role of Reno Sweeney was given to the French-born Jeanne Aubert. The English "Anything Goes" combined some of Porter's lines with many more by Wodehouse, who apparently had Porter's blessing to devise new words for later refrains of the song. Confusing the matter further is that we currently have two printed sources for these texts. The earlier one is a shorter, typescript version with only two refrains found in the London promptbook—or at least the rental version of it for "representation by amateurs . . . in the British Empire (excepting Canada)," marked "Copyright 1936 by Harms, Incorporated / New York / Copyright 1936, by Samuel French, Ltd."⁴⁴ A longer version has been recently published (presumably on the basis of an authoritative but uncited Wodehouse document) in a 2004 anthology edited by Barry Day, *The Complete Lyrics of P. G. Wodehouse*.⁴⁵

Let's first consider the longer version printed in the Day anthology, which sports four refrains—one more than those in the 1934 New York text and two more than those in the London promptbook. (Day, at least, reports that Wodehouse's "revisions . . . were done 'with Porter's enthusiastic approval.'")⁴⁶ Here the lyrics start with Porter's verse and first refrain ("In olden days," proceeding through the 1934 theatrical version, with "Mae West," "undressed," and "nudist parties").⁴⁷ Following refrain 1 the text veers off into new, London-oriented lyrics. Refrain 2 seems to have been written entirely by Wodehouse. Perhaps reflecting his burdensome tax complications of the time, it takes a pointedly political turn with a concluding poke at the Conservative Party figure Neville Chamberlain, then chancellor of the exchequer:⁴⁸

When maiden aunts can freely chuckle
 At tales much too near the knuckle
 The facts disclose
 Anything goes.

When in the House our Legislators
 Are calling each other, "Traitors"
 And "So and So's"
 Anything goes.

The world's in a state today
 Like Billingsgate today
 We are each today
 For free speech today
 Nothing's blue today
 Or taboo today
 Or meets with scandalous "Oh's"

But while we hope for days more sunny,
 The Government gets our money
 'Cause Neville knows
 Anything goes.

The third refrain—which was the second and final one printed in the rental promptbook—was also apparently mostly Wodehouse. It is possible, however, that Porter might have had a hand in it or at least approved it for at least two reasons: it retains four lines from the B section of Porter's 1934 New York refrain 2 (italicized here); and this is the only new London refrain that included lines destined to make it into some subsequent American performances (including the 1936 Harms vocal score—discussed below—and the 1962 and 1987 revisions of the show). In this version I have changed one word from Day's 2004 anthology to match the racially charged one, "coons," found in the 1936 London promptbook:

When Grandmamma, whose age is eighty
 In night clubs is getting matey
 With gigolos
 Anything goes.

When mothers pack and leave poor father
 Because they decide they'd rather
 Be tennis pros
 Anything goes.

The world has gone mad to-day
And good's bad to-day
And black's white to-day
And day's night to-day,
 In Colney Hatch to-day⁴⁹
 We ought to snatch to-day
 A little rest and repose.
 When ladies fair who seek affection
 Prefer coons⁵⁰ of dark complexion
 As Romeos
 Anything goes.

Day's printing of Wodehouse's fourth, final refrain turns once again toward political questions of money, the economy, and the rich. Its unimaginative opening leads to unexpectedly tendentious lines that can strike one as out of place in this game-like text:

The dogs chase fleas, the bees chase honey
 And we all are chasing money
 And when it shows
 Anything goes.
 The Duke who owns a moated castle
 Takes lodgers and makes a parcel
 Because he knows
 Anything goes.
 It's grab and smash today
 We want cash today
 Get rich quick today
 That's the trick today
 And the Great today
 Don't hesitate today
 But keep right on their toes
 And lend their names, if paid to do it
 To anyone's soap or suet
 Or baby clo's
 Anything goes.⁵¹

But what was the text sung on the London stage in 1935? This is unclear. The two refrains given in the British promptbook indicate that the text of refrain 1 was the Neutralized Text ("silly gigolos"; "great romancer"), while that of the second was that of Wodehouse's "third" refrain cited above: "When Grand-mammas [*sic*] whose age is eighty / In Night Clubs are getting matey / With

gigolos." By any standard this is a clumsy solution. Not only do we get the redundancy of the repeated four B-section lines in each stanza (beginning "The world has gone mad today") but the word "gigolos" also appears in both refrains. Additionally, of course, that refrain climaxes with the regrettable juxtaposition of "ladies fair" with "coons of dark complexion."

It seems unlikely that London's Reno, Jeanne Aubert, led off with the promptbook's Neutralized Text. Sometime in 1935, but probably after the London premiere, while the musical was still holding the London stage, Aubert made a recording that began with "I Get a Kick Out of You" and concluded with "Anything Goes" (Aubert and the Four Admirals, with Francis Collinson conducting the Palace Theater Orchestra).⁵² The medley is vocal throughout (it is not a separate, dance-band arrangement) and gives every indication of being a recorded document of the 1935 version being then presented at London's Palace Theatre.

For "Anything Goes," Aubert's version of refrain 1 is essentially identical with the 1934-35 New York Theatrical Text (and not the version printed in the London promptbook) with two alterations: Aubert softens Porter's "But now, God knows" to "But now, Lord knows" (but not as softened as the London script's "Now Heaven knows"); and "Good authors" is sung as "Good writers." This may well be what she was singing in London in 1935—which version includes the New York B- and A'-section lines beginning with "If driving fast cars you like" and proceeding to "Mae West," "me undressed," and "nudist parties in studios," all of which are heard in her recording. Aubert's refrain 2, though, matches most of the text printed in the 1936 British-rental promptbook ("When Grandmamas whose age is eighty"). What does not appear in the Aubert recording, though, is its racially objectionable final quatrain ("When ladies fair who seek affection / Prefer coons of dark complexion"). Instead, Aubert sings the final quatrain of what Day later printed as Wodehouse's second refrain: "And while we hope for days more sunny / The government gets our money / 'Cause Neville knows / Anything goes." As was the case in America, the evidence that remains from the London production suggests that the text of the song was continuing to be unstable, with numerous versions available to be assembled in different, personalized combinations. In all of this, little was at stake besides the demands of immediate entertainment and a hoped-for marketing success.

The Harms Vocal Score (1936)

By early 1936, following the closings of the New York and London productions of the show and the shift into rental productions beyond those cities, the song

"Anything Goes" had acquired no fewer than eight authorized refrains (again, disregarding the early "young bears" refrain), ranging from the racy to the political to the bland. Following the invariant verse ("Times have changed"), the only constant in all of this seems to have been the principle that, however the initial (or perhaps only) refrain was to continue, it was to begin with its two foundational quatrains to anchor the song: "In olden days" and "Good authors too." In that year, hoping to capitalize on the show's success, Harms published a 108-page vocal score of it that claimed to include all of the music, including the overture, various sets of incidental music, and music for scene changes, reprises, and so on.

For our purposes, it need only be observed that for "Anything Goes," toward the end of act 1, Harms replaced what had actually been sung on the New York stage and what was available in the rental score (three refrains with interpolated dances) with what is surely Harms's final (re)printing and revision of the three-page sheet music for it (on pp. 53–55). Its key, for instance, is the same C minor-major as the 1934 first printing of the sheet music, and it features the telltale, sheet-music-style first and second endings following a single refrain, inappropriate in an actual stage performance. The text printed here, though, is no longer what one had found in the earlier, 1934 Harms printing (whose last half had jumped to "Just think of those shocks you've got," "those silly radios," and "Missus R"). By 1936 the refrain text, following its two invariant quatrains (albeit here with "Now, Heaven knows"), had now been altered into the Neutralized Text ("The world has gone mad today"; "silly gigolos"; "So though I'm not a great romancer"). This synchronized it with the first refrain of the Tams-Witmark rental score while, at the same time, omitting the latter's second and third refrains along with their interpolated dances. Obviously, by 1936 Harms's 1934 sheet music for the song had been silently corrected to incorporate this new text. Airbrushing away much of the song's original bite, the Neutralized Text would now become the song's most generally available published lyrics. As a result, Harms's 1936 printing—now found in both the sheet music and the vocal score—was destined to become the song's normative text when it resurfaced as a standard in the 1950s.

Harms's 1936 vocal score, however, did provide a different text for what immediately followed on the succeeding pages, now under the indication "ENCORE.—Reno and QUARTETTE. Anything Goes." (No such "encore" is found in the Tams-Witmark rental score.) As if to complicate textual matters further, the text for that printed encore (and the most curious feature of this score, pp. 56–59) is that of Wodehouse's (?) refrain 3 from the London

production, only slightly emended: "When grandmamas, Whose age is eighty in nightclubs are getting matey with gigolos," "When mothers pack and leave poor fathers," "The world has gone mad today," "Colney Hatch," and "coons of dark complexion"—a text not available in the single-refrain sheet music. In short, any purchaser of the 1936 vocal score would have found only two refrains for the song (New York Neutralized and London refrain 3) and assumed that they were its two authoritative texts. And what about the reprise of the song at the end of the show ("Finale" [Ultimo])? Here the 1936 Harms score agrees with the rental Tams-Witmark score, rounding out the musical by bringing back the Neutralized Text.

The Hollywood Film (1936)

In 1936 Paramount Studios brought out a much-altered film adaptation of *Anything Goes*—under that title—starring Ethel Merman and Bing Crosby.⁵³ Notwithstanding its substantial alteration of the plot, coupled with the suppression and replacement of many of the show's songs, this film sought to ride the wave of the musical's success. Since the title of the film is that of the musical—and the song—one might have expected that Merman would provide a more or less complete performance of it (as she does with "I Get a Kick Out of You" and a textually altered "You're the Top"). But that is not the case. Paramount must have decided that *any* texted version of this song—even the Neutralized Text—was too spicy for Hays Code-regulated American cinema. And yet the song had to be presented in some way to match the film's title. The solution was to have Merman present only a fragment of the song at the very opening. Following the initial announcement, "Adolph Zukor Presents," the screen dissolves to Ethel Merman on a stage with Hollywood-style background dancers. Merman is allowed to sing only three lines: "In olden days a glimpse of stocking / Was looked on as something shocking / Now, Heaven knows." And at this point, now unsung, the title appears on the screen, *Anything Goes*—and the music immediately shifts into an instrumental version of "All through the Night." Apart from its refrain's initial three lines, "Anything Goes" was censored out of the 1936 film, *Anything Goes*.

Becoming a Standard (1950–1959)

Following its initial flurry of 1934–36 popularity, the song "Anything Goes," along with several others from the show, entered a fourteen-year fallow period

in which few, if any, notable recordings of it were made. Its vital moment had come and gone. Broadway—and American culture (not to mention Porter himself)—had moved on. By 1949—the full calendar year of the *Kiss Me, Kate* run, along with the premiere of Rodgers and Hammerstein's *South Pacific*—a show like *Anything Goes* would have been remembered, if at all, as a smart, once-loved relic of an earlier theatrical and political era.

This was now the age of the emerging 45 rpm disc and LP and that of recording “original cast” albums of major Broadway musicals. This endeavor was spearheaded by Goddard Lieberson of Columbia Records. By 1949 Lieberson had hit upon the idea of producing “studio cast” (not “original cast”) Columbia Masterworks recordings of newly scored (hence updated) shows from earlier decades, among them selections from *Anything Goes* and Arthur Schwartz and Howard Dietz's *The Band Wagon* (1931).⁵⁴ For *Anything Goes* Lieberson managed to sign Mary Martin to perform the Reno Sweeney songs. (At that time Martin was enormously successful as Nurse Nellie Forbush in *South Pacific*.) The recording was made in late August or early September 1950, and Columbia released it in two formats: a box of four 45 rpm discs and a ten-inch LP.⁵⁵ Rather than re-creating the 1934 *Anything Goes*, the album offered an array of new arrangements (by Ted Royal) of individual numbers selected from the musical, and the whole was conducted by Lehman Engel. The liner notes on the back of the LP proudly crowed, “Here are the wonderful songs . . . sung precisely as they should be with relish and fine romantic feeling and intimacy by America's greatest comedy star, Mary Martin.” As a cultural document of its time this album tells us a great deal, both in its packaging and in the recorded performances that it conveyed. The 1950s reentry of the song “Anything Goes” was one into a much-changed world, a world of retrospective memory and Broadway commemoration (“Columbia Masterworks”) that invited listeners to frame the song and its text in new ways.

Sweet, smooth, homogenized (in the style of “Nellie Forbush”), and underpinned by an equally processed orchestration, Mary Martin's two-minute-plus recording is leagues away both from what must have been Merman's original delivery of it and from the flippant wit that had characterized the song some sixteen years earlier.⁵⁶ Martin's version tracks dutifully through what was printed in the 1935–36 Harms version, that is, the now-standardized Neutralized Text (with “Now, Heaven knows,” “silly gigolos,” and “great romancer”), even to the point of taking the notated repeat and singing through the same lyrics twice (a solution completely at odds with the 1934–35 practice of multiple, differing refrains). But in Lieberson's, Royal's, and Engel's hands (or

perhaps Martin's?) even that Neutralized Text, in 1950, was thought to carry a problematic line. It is at this point that the phrase "four-letter words" gets replaced with the prim "three-letter words" ("Good authors too who once knew better words / Now only use three-letter words")—which seems to be nonsense ("God"?) in just about any context that one might imagine. This was less the song as a now-recovered representative from the 1934 musical than it was a pleasant, slow-paced Mary Martin vehicle. In this respect, the song was no longer a saucily clever social intervention but rather a musical object notationally preserved in the generically formatted Harms sheet-music script, now to be regarded as the starting point for subsequent reworkings. In short, it was becoming a neutralized, nostalgic curio or classic oldie made publicly available for relaxed consumption: a "masterwork" on its way to becoming an honored fixture in the Great American Songbook.

While one or two more bracing recordings of the song also appeared in the early 1950s (notably that of *Pal Joey* Broadway star Helen Gallagher in 1953),⁵⁷ its lyrics' dilution into inoffensive pabulum reached its furthest point with Mitzi Gaynor's rendition of it in Paramount's 1955–56 song-and-dance film, *Anything Goes* (whose plot bears no resemblance to the 1934 musical). This was the Hollywood transformation of the song into winsome cuteness. What the film offered was a big-screen production number—Gaynor, chorus, and dancers—built around a presumably now-familiar American standard—"Anything Goes" as the backdrop source of nightclub arrangements, Las Vegas reviews, and Hollywood films. Martin's "three-letter words" resurfaces here, as does most of the Neutralized Text.⁵⁸ The verse is gone altogether, though, and after a half-minute of Hollywood-glamour lead-in, Gaynor launches into the "three-letter words" refrain, though the Neutralized Text's final quatrain ("So though I'm not a great romancer") is replaced with what those in control must have regarded as harmless, further-sanitized, and button-bright final lines:

So if romance is what you're cravin'
 Don't sit on your hands behavin'
 Like Eskimos,
 Anything goes.

The strangely out-of-place "Eskimos" quatrain (not to mention its unsettling, happy-talk assumptions undergirding the proffered image of freezing, immobile Inuits) functions here as a New World *Aufforderung zum Tanze* directed to all listeners, and with it the music turns to a glitzy celebration of

Hollywood dancing. When the time comes to begin a second refrain, we hear refashioned, 1950s-appropriate words delivered intermittently, its sections separated by more dancing:

When wrestlers go to drama classes
 To learn how to please the masses
 On T.V. shows,
 Anything goes.

.....

And when the craze for dancin's spreadin'
 Until even Grandpa's treadin'
 On Grandma's toes,
 Anything goes.

.....

Consider those books we've got,
 The new looks we've got,
 The fool fads we've got,
 The mad ads we've got,
 The crazy games we've got,
 The ladies' names we've got
 For each hurricane that blows.

And the song's concluding lines—when they finally do appear—leave behind Porter's A' music, now pushed to the sidelines, replacing it with a grandly climactic close, new music and new words cloaked in a jazzy, minstrel-show affectation:

Hey all you Jills 'n' you Joes,
 Get yo'self off o' yo' toes,
 'Cause I propose,
 You know anything goes!

By the mid- and later 1950s, now marketable as a fondly remembered Cole Porter classic from an earlier era of Broadway, "Anything Goes" had reentered the popular-music world as a comfortably defused standard. The "shocks" of its originally mischievous lines having long since dissipated, the song had ossified into a repertory number for star-singer personalization and "easy-listening" processing, offered up as a suave, adult alternative to the ever-swelling tidal wave of teenage rock 'n' roll and Brill Building culture. This was the case with the major-studio recordings of the song at that time by four big-name vocalists:

Ella Fitzgerald (on the 1956 Verve album, *Ella Fitzgerald Sings the Cole Porter Songbook*, a two-disc set of LPs with orchestrations by Buddy Bregman); Frank Sinatra (on the 1956 Capitol LP, *Songs for Swingin' Lovers*, with Nelson Riddle orchestrations); Jo Stafford (on the 1958 Columbia LP, *Swingin' Down Broadway*, with arrangements and orchestrations by her husband, Paul Weston); and Tony Bennett with Count Basie (on the 1959 Roulette album, *Basie Swings, Bennett Sings*, also released as *Strike Up the Band*).

All four recordings projected the song at a relaxed, casual-swing tempo, backed up by high-style orchestrations; each of the singers delivered only the Neutralized Text, including "Now, Heaven knows"; and each of them restored the Martin-and-Gaynor suppressed letter and sang the relevant line as "four-letter words." Fitzgerald's recording was the only one to include the verse ("Times have changed"): at least on disc, the song was more often pared down to its refrain. All four recordings featured what amounted to two runs through the Neutralized Text, as had Mary Martin's in 1950. On three of them—Fitzgerald's, Stafford's, and Bennett's recordings—the problem of textual redundancy was partially alleviated by following the first round of the Neutralized Text by an instrumental sounding of the first two sections of the refrain, AA, after which the singer reenters to restate the texts of B and A: "The world has gone mad today" and "So though I'm not a great romancer." Only Sinatra resorted to two complete, back-to-back statements of the same words, although the second run-through was pitched a half-step higher, up from A-flat major to A major. Sinatra also concluded the song with a personally texted extension to the refrain, "May I say before this record spins to a close, I want you to know, anything goes."

The Television Production: Ethel Merman Returns (1954)

Somewhat exceptional to all of this—and yet essentially similar to it—was NBC's 27 February 1954, fifty-two-minute television production (by Jule Styne for *The Colgate Comedy Hour*) of what was billed as *Anything Goes*. The show starred Ethel Merman, reprising several of her songs from 1934, Frank Sinatra, and Bert Lahr.⁵⁹ Its plot was altered and slashed back to become the flimsiest of frames for the main items of interest: celebrity renditions of seven songs from the musical, newly orchestrated by Buddy Bregman and Nelson Riddle, along with accompanying chorus and dancers. As one of the few available recordings of Merman singing "Anything Goes"—some two decades after she had introduced it in New York—this is a significant document,

and Merman's high-energy performance of the song is typically effusive and Broadway-brassy.⁶⁰

"Anything Goes" appears three times in this production, but the third is only a postshow encore in which Merman, on Sinatra's request ("seeing as we have a little time"), reprises her initial delivery of it.⁶¹ In these two performances Merman sings the verse ("Times have changed") and the AAB portions of the now-standard Neutralized Text (including "Now, Heaven knows" and "four-letter words"). Its rollicking final A', however, is given a new, ad hoc text that is even blander than the neutralized one—"So even out in high society / You can't forget propriety, / Goodness knows / Anything goes." (Does this mean *anything* in the context of this song?) And instead of closing cadentially, this substitute quatrain leads to a newly written, non-Porterian epilogue ("The world is topsy-turvy, nonconventional, Technicolor, hypertensional . . . Love, love, love is here to stay . . . and anything . . . anything . . . anything . . . goes"). For the middle performance, now without verse, Merman and the chorus again deliver the Neutralized Text's AAB, but then, leaving Porter's music and words behind, Merman veers elsewhere, replacing Porter's final A' music (and text) and merging instead into a recomposed ending to the song.⁶² While it is of interest to see Merman singing this and other songs from the musical, as an ephemeral, one-off special event, the television production did nothing to advance the question of the lyrics and had little impact on the main recording history of the song in the 1950s.

The Revision of "Anything Goes": Mix and Match as Creative Nostalgia (1962)

Our tale of altered texts and performances of "Anything Goes" through the late 1950s—its standardization and neutralization—has come to an end, although we might conclude with a few words about the substantial overhauling and re-presentation of the whole musical that appeared as an off-Broadway revival at the Orpheum Theater on 15 May 1962. While yet later, textually bolder revisions would appear in 1987 and, slightly altered again, in 2011, it is the 1962 version that has commonly been the basis of most local or amateur productions since that time.⁶³

The thorough revision of the script was undertaken by the now-seventy-eight-year-old Guy Bolton, who had had a major hand in the earliest 1934 plans for the musical. For updated changes in the lyrics of "You're the Top," he initially solicited, by mid-October 1961, new lines from his old colleague P. G. Wodehouse (who on 28 October wrote to Bolton that "I have always disliked

[the show] *Anything Goes* heartily" and was only too eager to detail the reasons why).⁶⁴ Whether Wodehouse had any influence on the selections of lines for the New York 1962 version of "Anything Goes" is currently unknown. In any case, "Anything Goes" called for little by way of freshly created lyrics. It is clear, though, that by late October 1961, on Bolton's request, he was fashioning at least some new lines for the song, most likely for the projected London adaptation of the 1962 show.⁶⁵ (So far as we know, the ailing Porter was uninvolved with any of this.) For the 1962 revival Bolton dropped several of the original songs from the 1934 musical and inserted into it several other Porter hits, including, among other songs, "It's De-Lovely," "Heaven Hop," "Friendship," and "Let's Misbehave." As for "Anything Goes," it was now shifted forward to become the concluding number of act 1. Bolton knew that he had to retain the idea of multiple stanzas for the refrain (separated by dances), as befitted a nostalgia-oriented, period-piece revival. His problem was, which lines were to be chosen among the variously available texts for the song? Clearly, he wished to restore touches of the original spicy Porterian lyrics ("me undressed" and "nudist parties" were now to make a comeback), and yet he must have assessed most of the 1934 references to notable individuals to be too obscure or dated to revive.

Bolton's solution was a curious one. Following the verse, we are given two full refrains (expanded with dances) and, following a full close and applause (noted in the promptbook and score), an "encore," of the second half only, BA', of a third. Refrain 1 is our now-familiar Neutralized Text (including the softened "Heaven knows"), the lyrics that had become the standardized text in all major recordings from 1950 to 1962. Bolton then refashioned refrain 2 into a composite of two different texts. The first two sections, AA, relied not on Porter at all but restored the first eight lines of Wodehouse's 1935 London text (doubtless prompted in this respect by the 1936 Harms vocal score): "When grandmamma whose age is eighty" and "When mothers pack and leave poor father."⁶⁶ But Bolton was not about to lead those lines to their original conclusion, which featured the (to Americans) cryptic reference to "Colney Hatch" and the impossible-to-restore reference to "coons of dark complexion." Instead, for the B and A' sections of refrain 2, the 1962 script switches to the "naughty" lyrics of the 1934 Theatrical Text's refrain 1: "If driving fast cars you like," "Mae West," "me undressed," and "nudist parties in studios." With this cobbled-together refrain 2, the song proper ends. Following the applause, a brief encore brings down the curtain to act 1. This begins with the music of a single A section played by the orchestra. The chorus then enters with the B section from refrain 3 of the 1934 Theatrical Text: "Just think of what shocks you've got." This of course led to the evoking of "those little radios," which

in turn had originally been the trigger for the 1934 concluding reference to "Missus R" and the "bed from Simmons." Apparently the reviser(s) judged that Roosevelt reference to be too arcane for 1962 audiences, even in an explicit period piece. Audiences would have to wait until 1987 to hear that reference (and several others) restored, and instead we find a new (and astonishingly lame) plot-referring quatrain to end the song:

They think he's Gangster Number One,
So they've made him their favorite son
And that goes to show,
Anything goes.⁶⁷

The year 1962—two years before the death of Cole Porter—marked a major moment with regard to the fortunes of "Anything Goes" and the musical itself. On the one hand, from this point onward the song, or at least one version of it, became reattached to theatrical practice. The 1962 version of the show *Anything Goes* went on to become a staple of amateur, college, and high-school productions. On the other hand, as one of many standards being rapidly eclipsed by the rock, youth, and folk cultures of the 1960s, the song "Anything Goes" was relegated to the "easy listening" shelves, to nightclub acts, or to campy or nostalgic re-creations by new generations of singers hoping to keep the old torch alive through creative reinterpretation. As for the original 1934 show, it was now erased from memory—only to be rediscovered and restored to documentary life in 1987 (albeit with a generous glaze of 1980s performance style) by John McGlinn's recording of 1987, with original texts and orchestrations. Broadway, meanwhile, was moving elsewhere, with new stylizations and updated, high-tech rethinkings of the musical in the 1987 and 2011 revisions of *Anything Goes*. But all this is far removed from the crackle and flavor of 1934 Broadway. Very far removed indeed. That era had passed—forever.

Notes

1. As is the case, arguably, with Judy Garland's performance of Harold Arlen and E. Y. Harburg's "Over the Rainbow" in the 1939 film *The Wizard of Oz*. It may be that most subsequent performances were delivered and heard with Garland's classic performance as the central reference point. The sonic and visual image of the Garland performance is more the "real song" for later generations than the mute, sterile sheet music produced for home consumption, among whose tasks it was to call to mind Garland's realization.

2. Several recordings from 1928 well into the 1940s contain the original text—from Irving Aaronson's (with Phil Saxe), *The Georgians*, Rudy Vallee's, and Paul Whiteman's recordings (1928) through at least those of Mary Martin (1940), Rudy Vallee once again (1940), Benny Goodman (with Peggy Lee [1941]), and Billie Holiday (1941). Recordings

from the 1950s generally substitute the altered text, suggesting that the original lines had become problematic in the post-World War II years.

3. The onset of rehearsals "under the direction of Howard Lindsay" was noted in the *New York Times*, 8 October 1934, 15.

4. See Lee Davis, *Bolton and Wodehouse and Kern: The Men Who Made Musical Comedy* (New York: James H. Heineman, 1993), 329–36; and George Bells, *Cole Porter: The Life That Late He Led* (New York: Putnam's, 1967), 118–20. A copy of Bolton and Wodehouse's early scenario (unknown to Davis) is available in the Howard Lindsay and Russel Crouse Papers, 1909–1980, Wisconsin Historical Society Archives, Wisconsin Center for Film & Theater Research, Theater Collection, Madison.

5. *New York Times*, 1 October 1934, 14.

6. Bells, *Cole Porter*, 124.

7. RM 7446, Billy Rose Theater Division, New York Public Library for the Performing Arts.

8. NYPL script RM 7446, act 1, p. 14. (Reno's trigger words were only slightly changed in the 1934/35 script, 1 June 1978.)

9. Folder 196, box 26, MSS 82, Cole Porter Collection, Irving S. Gilmore Music Library, Yale University. It may be that an earlier ink copy was prepared during the rehearsal period, although that would have been an unusual procedure. Robert Kimball reports that "the lyric for an earlier version of the first refrain was found in a copyist ink score at Warner Brothers Music warehouse, Secaucus, New Jersey, [in] February 1982" (*The Complete Lyrics of Cole Porter* [New York: Knopf, 1983; reprint, New York: Da Capo Press, 1992], 171). The Secaucus Cole Porter material, however, is reported to have been given to Yale's Cole Porter Collection in November 1984 (Richard Warren, Curator of Historical Sound Recordings, to Florence Leeds, 20 November and 7 December 1984, acknowledgment receipt). It is unclear whether the copy that Kimball saw a year or two before this is the same "Secaucus" one currently available at Yale and discussed in the text above: Kimball's transcription of its text differs slightly from the Yale version. See note 10.

10. Kimball, *Complete Lyrics*, 172, prints slightly different lyrics attributed to the Secaucus-warehouse version of the ink copy that he consulted before 1983 (see note 9). In Kimball's transcription, the text of the final BA' section—the central aspect of the textual question considered here—is identical to that of the Yale copy. Kimball does transmit, however, a different version of the initial AA section, which, if accurately transcribed, would obviously precede the version found in the Yale copy:

In former times a glimpse of stocking
Was looked on as something shocking,
But now God knows—
Anything goes.

Novelists who once knew better words
Now only use four letter words for their prose—
Anything Goes.

"In former times" would have been altered definitively to "In olden days"; "novelists" does not suit the rhythm of the eventual melody well; and so on.

11. On *vers de société* as a model for popular-song lyrics of the day, see Philip Furia, *The Poets of Tin Pan Alley: A History of America's Great Lyricists* (New York: Oxford, 1990), 6–7 (“crisp and sparking,” “playfully malicious,” a discussion drawn from an anthology of such verse by Carolyn Wells). “Elegantly naughty,” “insouciance,” and “bemused sophistication” are taken from Furia’s treatment of Porter (160, 153, 169).

12. On the possibly unstable meanings of this term and its more public surfacing from the mid-1960s onward, see Les Wright, “Introduction: Theoretical Bears” and “A Concise History of Self-Identifying Bears,” in *The Bear Book: Readings in the History and Evolution of a Gay Male Subculture*, ed. Les K. Wright (New York: Haworth Press, 1997), 1–39. Wright notes that the earliest documentable mention of “bears” in this context stems from Los Angeles “bear club” minutes from 1966 (21) but also observes, more generally (in the early post-Stonewall years), that “an idea of bears was clearly circulating in the gay communities (whether urban enclaves, private network of friends, or organized social clubs) at the same time” (22). The question of whether a similar sense of the word was in circulation in Porter’s world of the 1920s and 1930s may at this point be impossible to confirm. With regard to gay-slang imagery referring to animals, George Chauncey, *Gay New York: Gender, Urban Culture, and the Making of the Gay Male World, 1890–1940* (New York: Basic Books, 1994), cites the earlier twentieth-century prevalence of the term “wolf” for a sexually aggressive gay man (e.g., 65, 67, 86, 88, 90, and many other places) and “lamb” (or “kid” or “punk”) for more passive types (90, 397)—though the term “bears” does not appear in his book. (In a personal communication Chauncey has indicated that, while not ruling out the possibility of the Porterian “bear” double entendre, he has been unable to uncover unambiguous instances of that term’s usage in the 1920s and 1930s—and could only speculate that if it carried any such connotation at the time, it could have been used as a substitute for “lamb” or “kid.”)

13. If the line is construed to mean the love affairs of women with men, there would have been no reason to censor the text. Porter’s erotic wit, when interpretable heterosexually, typically (at least within his shows) survived the censor’s pen. Porterian bears have a history. In “Let’s Do It” from 1927–28, the concluding lines of the final refrain, refrain 5, are “The world admits bears in pits do it, / Even pekineses in the Ritz, do it, / Let’s do it, let’s fall in love.” Innocent enough, one might conclude, within a list-song trotting out, seriatim, numerous types of zoological species. But when that song was dropped from *Paris*, the bear image found its way into its replacement, “Let’s Misbehave,” whose concluding lines, in the published text, read:

They say that bears
Have love affairs
And even camels;
We’re merely mammals,
Let’s misbehave.

Curiously, those lines were not included in Irene Bordoni’s 1928 recording of the song. Were they suppressed? One of Bordoni’s replacements, also echoing “Let’s Do It,” seems naughtier:

I always squeeze
 My pekinese
 Whenever he's good;
 Your pedigree's good,
 Let's misbehave.

Proceeding onward, it is fairly easy to draw imagery connections between "Let's Do It," "Let's Misbehave," and "Anything Goes"—as if each were a substitute for or overwriting of the other, with fleeting allusions to what it had replaced. "Let's Misbehave" disappeared from view after 1928 (why?) only to resurface in the 1962 revision of the show *Anything Goes*, where it is to be foppishly sung, perhaps with gay connotations, by Sir Evelyn Oakleigh. In the 2004 biopic of Porter, *De-Lovely*, Elvis Costello's campy performance of the song altered the final quatrain in a way that might have meant to underscore its same-sex implications:

They say that bears
 Have love affairs
 And even camels;
 We're men and mammals,
 Let's misbehave.

14. McGlenn, "The Original 'Anything Goes'—a Classic Restored," program booklet accompanying the McGlenn recording of the original orchestration and lyrics of the 1934 *Anything Goes* (EMI Compact Disc 7 49848 2, 1989), 33. Bells had hinted at much the same thing, citing "[Porter's] willingness to submit the score of his show for [Merman's] father's and mother's approval. And when they vetoed two numbers, he discarded them without protest" (*Cole Porter*, 122). Merman's *An Autobiography* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1978), written in collaboration with George Bells, mentions nothing about these incidents. Cf. Raymond Knapp's view of the gay subtexts of *Anything Goes* (and "Kate the Great") in *The American Musical and the Formation of National Identity* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2005), 88–97.

15. In this respect, cf. the similarly pentatonic Reno Sweeney's (Merman's) "Blow, Gabriel, Blow."

16. The I–III (iii)–V arpeggiation through the AAB portion of the song is too obvious to require extended comment.

17. See notes 9 and 10 above.

18. I call this newly cobbled-together version (which goes out of its way to interpolate the "young bears" B section as a final add-on) the 1987 Theatrical Text. It may be heard on compact disc, sung by Patti LuPone, on the recording *Anything Goes: The New Broadway Cast Recording* (RCA Victor 88697 90254 2, 1988) or sung by Elaine Paige on *Anything Goes: London 1989 Cast Recording* (First Night Records, OCRCD 6038). A 1990 video of the song in this latter production—with Elaine Paige and accompanying dancers—may be seen on YouTube at <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ZCFJyJao1xI>. The 1987 Theatrical Text also appears, with only small alterations, sung by Sutton Foster in the 2011 Broadway production, *Anything Goes: New Broadway Cast Recording* (Ghostlight

Records, 8-4452, 2011). See note 67 below for an outline of the 1987 Theatrical Text (which also includes lines from the 1935 London production).

19. The 27 November 1934 recording is Victor 24825, mx BS 86065-1. Unless otherwise specified, the dates of the many early recordings cited in this essay can be verified on the Online Discographical Project, <http://www.78discography.com>. Additional confirmation may often also be found at <http://www.sondheimguide.com/porter/cole.html>. The promptbook consulted here is that found in box 26 of the Cole Porter Collection (the box containing the *Anything Goes* materials) in Yale University's Irving S. Gilmore Library. Other copies may be found elsewhere.

20. For the documentation of McGlenn's compact disc, see note 14 above.

21. See note 20 above. Since the various sources differ in small details, the text is not a stable one. Moreover, the promptbook of 1 June 1978-79 inadvertently omits the first-refrain quatrain, "Good authors too," and its B-section line "If old hymns you like," lines that I have restored here in brackets.

22. Porter's 27 November 1934 recording (Victor 24825), variant: "Intruding" (introducing a subrhyme with "nūdist"), which is also the version printed in Kimball, *Complete Lyrics*, 171.

23. Porter recording: "When."

24. Porter recording: "does."

25. In the promptbook these last two lines were printed as a single line.

26. Porter's recording of refrain 3 substitutes the word "those" for "what" in the first line and in the second word of the next four lines:

And those knocks you've got
 And those blues you've got
 From those news you've got
 And those pains you've got.

Kimball transcribes Porter's sung lyrics, not those of the promptbook, but alters the awkward "those news" to "that news" (*Complete Lyrics*, 172). As will be seen, the 1934 Harms sheet music includes all of Porter's "those" variants.

27. The line is misprinted [?] in the promptbook as "So Missur . . . with all her trimmins."

28. One might note the apex pitch in the B sections of refrains 2 and 3, setting, respectively, "that *gent* today" and "what [or those] *pains* you've got."

29. Kreuger, "The Annotated 'Anything Goes,'" in the program booklet for the John McGlenn 1988-89 recording of the show (68-69)—one source of the information in this paragraph and the source of the immediately quoted material.

30. Elsie de Wolfe called attention to the value of her exercise routines in her autobiography from 1935, *After All* (London: William Heinemann), 233-35. A photograph facing page 234 identifies "Elsie de Wolfe [standing] on her head at Maxine Elliot's villa at Golfe Juan." Another image of de Wolfe's exercises may be found at <http://habituallychic.blogspot.com/2011/01/lets-get-physical.html>.

31. Maurine H. Beasley, *Eleanor Roosevelt and the Media: A Public Quest for Self-Fulfillment* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1987), 72-73. In addition, an Internet

image search ("Eleanor Roosevelt Simmons") readily turns up two of her printed-advertisement endorsements for Simmons (a company that marketed itself as a merchant in upscale luxury): "Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt says, 'I've never known such comfort'"; and "In my opinion the PERFECT GIFT is one that fills a real place—Luxuriously."

32. The Online [78 rpm] Discographical Project (note 20 above) at <http://www.78discography.com/vic24500.html>. "Thank You So Much" bears the earlier matrix number (BS 84900-1 as opposed to BS 84901-1) and was thus recorded first. Robert Kimball comments, "Published December 1934. A typescript of the lyric was found among the unused lyrics of *Anything Goes*, indicating that Porter might have contemplated using it in the show" (*Complete Lyrics*, 274).

33. One notices the closeness of the Victor-disc numbers for the Porter and Whiteman recordings (Victor 24766, 24769, and 24770). The two 78 rpm numbers in between (24667-8) were unrelated recordings made the day before by Enrique Madrigera & His Orchestra. Hence the next available numbers, after Porter's, were Whiteman's two 78s, four songs. This suggests that Whiteman recorded his songs immediately after Porter had completed his own.

34. The Whiteman recording may be heard on YouTube at <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zrWrKmvspGw>.

35. The 1934 Harms sheet-music text differs from the Tams-Witmark promptbook text in printing the word "those" in this and succeeding lines where the promptbook reads "what." "Those" corresponds also to the lyrics that Porter sings on his 27 November 1934 recording. See note 26 above.

36. The Dorsey Brothers recording, whose vocalists included Bob Crosby, may be heard both on Spotify and on YouTube at <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=MCjhFru6m7g>. Once again, my source for the recording date is the Online [78 rpm] Discographical Project, in this instance at <http://www.78discography.com/Dec100.htm>.

37. McGlinn notes that his reconstruction of the "Finale Ultimo" was "rebuilt from parts and [orchestrationally] restored [in the 1980s] by Spialek" ("The Original 'Anything Goes'—a Classic Restored," 33).

38. This recording may be heard on YouTube at <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ZwJguktauaE>. Again, my source for the recording date is the Online [78 rpm] Discographical Project, in this case at <http://www.78discography.com/BRN7300.htm>. The 1934 Neutralized Text was also sung in the 1935 British recording by Ambrose and His Orchestra (Decca ACL-1186).

39. Singer omits the word "just."

40. Singer adds the word "Cause," rendering the final line as "Cause anything goes."

41. One might add that the piano-vocal Harms version of the music was likewise only one scripted realization of that music's idea—or schema—that played into an implicit, genre-specific set of guidelines for how it might be subsequently recast. It was understood that later arrangers would reconceive central aspects of its layout, harmony, style, and tone. The point behind all of these realizations was to present the schema directly and recognizably, colored by a personalized stylization by the arranger or performer, who was then considered to be the immediate bearer or carrier of the musical schema—or game.

42. A cardboard-bound ozalid print of a manuscript copy for piano and voice; one such copy, identified as “*Anything Goes Orig.*,” is available in Yale’s Cole Porter Collection. While its cover proclaims it to be a conductor’s score for the “original” version, the Yale copy of “*Anything Goes Orig.*” does not bear a date. It is clearly a rental score, not the score used in the first 1934 performances of the show: so much can be told from its various inclusions and omissions. (It also contains a number of copying errors throughout.) Still, it probably represents the state of the show by the time of the initial availability of the off-Broadway rentals in late 1935.

43. *New York Times*, 28 November 1934, 25.

44. Samuel French was the London rental outlet for the production of musicals. The company’s name and address, along with its claim of “the rights of representation . . . in the British Empire (excepting Canada),” appear on the verso of the title page. I am grateful to Geoffrey Block for providing me with a photocopy of this script.

45. Barry Day, ed., *The Complete Lyrics of P. G. Wodehouse* (Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, 2004), 408–15.

46. *Ibid.*, 409.

47. The London promptbook, however, substitutes “Now, Heaven knows” for Porter’s “But now, God knows.”

48. This refrain also appears in Robert McCrum, *Wodehouse: A Life* (London: Viking; New York: Norton, 2004), 228–29. McCrum also devotes much attention to Wodehouse’s tax problems.

49. “Colney Hatch” refers to the Colney Hatch Lunatic Asylum, by that time a generalized reference for madhouses within England. The term may have been one of the sources for the more recent, general slang words “booby hatch.” See the collection of etymological references summarized at <http://www.wordwizard.com/phpbb3/viewtopic.php?f=5&t=4458>.

50. Day, *Complete Lyrics*, 410, perhaps censoring out the offending, racist word, reads “Prefer gents of dark complexion.” Day’s system of italics and nonitalics suggests that this line, along with a few others, might have been Porter’s, although until one is presented with the evidence, one should remain skeptical.

51. In Day, *Complete Lyrics*, two lines of this refrain are nonitalicized, suggesting that they could be of Porterian derivation: “The Duke who owns a moated castle” and “And the Great today.” As was the case in refrain 3, it is unlikely that Porter parachuted in for these two internal lines. It is more likely that they were Wodehouse’s. All four refrains (probably taken from Day’s anthology), though without “coons,” may be heard in the 2000–2001 recording by Hal Cazalet and Sylvia McNair, *The Land Where the Good Songs Go: The Lyrics of P. G. Wodehouse* (Harbinger Compact Disc, HCD 1901). (The track is also available on Spotify.)

52. Columbia DX 697. This recording, along with its companion, “I Get a Kick Out of You,” may be heard on YouTube at <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QJXBJvL51pQ>. Also available is “You’re the Top,” sung by Jack Whiting and Jeanne Aubert (with its curious inclusion of a reference to “Mussolini”): http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=x6S-7Bd5k_I.

53. A second release of the film was retitled *Tops Is the Limit*—suggesting that even the title, *Anything Goes*, was eventually assessed to be excessively provocative.

54. The account in this paragraph is drawn from two online sources. The first is found at <http://www.allmusic.com/album/anything-goes-mw0000988945>: "At the time of its release [1950], this album was the only collection of music from *Anything Goes* available, which made it particularly valuable." The second is <http://www.sondheimguide.com/porter/anythingrec.html>. The still-uncataloged Goddard Lieberman Papers in the Irving S. Gilmore Library (MSS 69) contain Lehman Engel's enthusiastic plans (beginning 28 April 1950) for the *Anything Goes* and *Band Wagon* projects. Mary Martin was on board by June or July 1950. The Engel-Lieberman correspondence indicates that the album was apparently recorded in late August and early September 1950.

55. The ten-inch LP was released as Columbia CL 2159. Paired with arrangements from *The Band Wagon*, it is now available on compact disc, DRG B000060PC6.

56. The Mary Martin / Ted Royal / Lehman Engel recording of the song may be heard on Spotify.

57. This was released on an RCA ten-inch EP, LPM-3157, with Broadway conductor Milton Rosenstock leading the orchestra. Here we find the invariant verse ("Times have changed") followed, first, by the complete Neutralized Text (with "Now, Heaven knows" and "four-letter words") at a bouncy, upbeat tempo. The orchestra continues with a nontexted arrangement of the first half of the next refrain, AA, whereupon Gallagher reenters at a radically scaled-back tempo to underscore the now-lurid return of the "original" refrain 1 B-section text, "If driving fast cars you like," and so on. Most notably—at hyperslow tempo and delivered with unalloyed sexual suggestion—she alters the reference to "Mae West" to sing, "Or the *best* you like / Or me *undressed* you like / . . . Well . . . Heaven only knows." For the final A' quatrain the "nudist parties" are banished. The up-tempo returns for Gallagher to conclude the song with one of Wodehouse's quatrains, "When mothers pack and leave poor fathers."

58. The 1955–56 Paramount film led to the Decca soundtrack LP, 8318. The film is available on DVD (Paramount 05513), and its soundtrack may be heard on compact disc (Decca B-0001933-02). Gaynor's film performance of "Anything Goes" is also viewable on YouTube at http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Hqo_OgAANgM. The soundtrack recording is clearly a different performance from that seen in the film. Gaynor, it seems, rerecorded the song for the LP over the original orchestral track. On the soundtrack recording, Gaynor's "stocking" and "shocking" are delivered as "stockin'" and "shockin'." Cf. the dropping of the g's in the final quatrain of both the film and the soundtrack version. In addition, some of the lines assigned to the chorus in the film are sung by Gaynor alone on the soundtrack.

59. This production is viewable on YouTube at <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QKkPb8uhPZo> and is also available as a DVD from Entertainment One.

60. There also exists a clip of a 1979 (!) performance of the song by a seventy-one-year-old Ethel Merman on the television special *Musical Comedy Tonight*. This includes the complete Neutralized Text and, at the end, the 1934 refrain 1 B section ("If driving fast cars you like," "Mae West," "me undressed") but provides a new text

entirely for the final A quatrain. It is viewable on YouTube at <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4zJ3vqkXqRU>.

61. On YouTube this occurs at 4:52, 12:05, and (for the encore) 48:16. The encore is preceded by a very brief “finale” presenting only a fragment of the song.

62. For the second quatrain, A (“Good authors too”), the chorus may be altering the text to “two-letter words” (!).

63. See the Tams-Witmark web page at <http://www.tamswitmark.com/musicals/anything62.html>. On some aspects of the 1987 and 2011 versions, see notes 18 above and 68 below.

64. The litany of complaints alluded to here appears in Wodehouse’s first letter (of two) to Bolton on 28 October 1961, which also enclosed his proposal for “the revised ‘You’re the Top’ lyric,” apparently for New York. Apart from disparaging Porter’s original text for “You’re the Top” (“The poor devil got very exhausted after doing five refrains”), Wodehouse faulted the show’s overly heavy reliance on Reno/Merman (“The wrongness of the balance offends my artistic soul”) along with its music (“The score is so thin. Apart from the three song hits we have almost nothing”). This letter is printed in Sophie Ratcliffe, ed., *P. G. Wodehouse: A Life in Letters* (London: Hutchinson, 2011), 504–5. See also note 66 below.

65. Wodehouse’s advisory role, if any, in the New York 1962 version of the song “Anything Goes” remains unclear. In a second 28 October 1961 letter to Bolton, Wodehouse boasted of having created a “masterly couplet” for (the London version of?) “Anything Goes”: “When the courts decide, as they did latterly, / We could read *Lady Chatterley* / If we chose, / Anything Goes”—and followed it up with more self-praise: (“Darned sight better than anything old King Cole ever wrote”) (Ratcliffe, *P. G. Wodehouse*, 505).

66. Again, this claim presumes that Porter had no hand in the production of these lines for the 1935 London production.

67. We are now at the moment when it is possible also to summarize what I call the New 1987 Theatrical Text—the standard text in revised major productions of *Anything Goes* from the 1987 Lincoln Center version onward. This is the text that, among other things, restores the originally suppressed line about “young bears” (see note 18 above). The first two refrains are essentially taken over from those in the show’s 1962 revision. In brief, the sequence of events in this highly composite 1987 text is verse; first refrain (Neutralized Text); dance; composite second refrain (AA sections, London refrain 3, “When grandmamma,” “When mothers pack”—followed by BA’ of the 1934 Theatrical Text’s refrain 1, “If driving fast cars,” “Mae West,” “me undressed,” “nudist parties”); longer dance, preparing the entrance of two versions of BA’ only (chorus sings BA’) of the Neutralized Text—thus heard now for the second time—followed by Reno alone singing the suppressed, original B section, “If saying your pr’yers you like,” “if love affairs with young bears you like,” followed by yet another, third statement of the Neutralized Text’s final A’ section (“And though I’m not a great romancer”).