# *Guys & Dolls* as a Fluid Text

by

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**Dedication**

For Margaret and Oscar

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**Abstract**

This dissertation, draws from concepts found in editorial and adaptation theories in order to perform a close reading of the musical *Guys & Dolls* (1950), based on a story and characters by Damon Runyon. The musical exists as both a stage musical and its motion picture adaptation (1955), and tensions between Damon Runyon's adapted text, Cy Feuer and Ernest Martin's stage musical text—directed by George S. Kaufman with music and lyrics by Frank Loesser and a book by Jo Swerling and Abe Burrows—and Joseph L. Mankiewicz and Ben Hecht's motion picture adaptation provide fertile ground for comparative readings.

Under the umbrella of John Bryant's (2002, 2013) concept of the fluid text, this dissertation proposes a non-hierarchical reading of *Guys & Dolls* that treats adaptation as an editorial issue and edition as an authorial issue. This reading of adaptor *cum* editor *cum* author decenters any single author and, instead, creates a network of distributed authorship, opening paths to analysis that allow one text to speak to another within the broader work.

By engaging primary sources ranging from show programs, script drafts and song manuscripts, the published libretto and vocal score, and biographies, as well as secondary sources, this dissertation performs close, comparative readings between multiple versions in order to develop insights into how the show evolved, how songs and characters changed from version to version, and how those changes, in turn, effect changes in other characters and in the show itself.

The dissertation concludes by offering opportunities for further development and employment of this method.

## Introduction

> "You say you are working on 'AN American musical' called Guys and Dolls, but in my family Guys and Dolls may very well be THE American Musical, so your subject is most welcome. I can only imagine that any work that goes from several stories to musical to film to remake has got to be one hell of an FT [fluid text], and your succinct (and probably highly truncated) synopsis of the versions is fascinating, perhaps daunting. I pretty much imagine that no one has done the kind of thing you are proposing, which is both appropriately ambitious and promising."[1]

### Overview

Since its Broadway premiere in 1950, *Guys & Dolls* has been a staple of American Musicals. The initial incarnation garnered multiple Tony Awards—Best Musical, Best Performance by a Leading Actor (Robert Alda as Sky Masterson), Best Performance by a Featured Actress in a Musical (Isabel Bigley as Sarah Brown), Best Choreography (Michael Kidd), and Best Direction of a Musical (George S. Kaufman)—and its subsequent remounts and revivals have also received multiple nominations and awards, including Academy Awards for Best Cinematography, Best Production Design, Best Costume Design, and Best Original Musical in 1956.

Why might *Guys & Dolls* be "THE American musical"? Raymond Knapp writes that the show "brings a version of America's mythologized West to the heart of the American City—indeed, to its heart of hearts, for the setting is New York City's Times Square—at the same time

[1] John Bryant in correspondence with the author.

that it brings America's West-based literary tradition to the Broadway stage."[2] The mythologized nature of the tale even finds expression in the show's subtitle: "A Musical Fable of Broadway." Broadway (read: New York City) is a place "where opposites of whatever kind rub against each other freely, creating inevitable frictions but leaving no real trace on the capacity of each differentiated group [missionaries and gamblers] to muddle through without undue interference from the other."[3] The gamblers and gangsters who populate this place, "folk heroes," like Bonnie and Clyde, whose status "grew alongside prohibition in the 1920s and continued apace in the depressed 1930s as a facet of dissatisfaction with the official power structure in America," resemble an "all-American male hero: the 'maverick,' making do by his wits as best he can on the fringes of society."[4] *Guys & Dolls*, then, is THE American musical, because it is set in THE American city and populated by THE American folk hero: the maverick. Of course, no Western is complete without the "lawless, mostly male society…civilized through religion and marriage and other 'feminine' contributions."[5] This "folk" characterization is not exclusive to Knapp, as Rick Altman suggests that *Guys & Dolls* is a "folk musical."[6]

If *Guys & Dolls* is indeed THE American musical—an American folk musical set in the heart of America's city, populated by saints and sinners—how does one begin to explore this fable that achieved critical success on both the stage and screen? I initially conceived this dissertation as a project that would offer comparative musical analyses of the stage and film

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[2] Raymond Knapp, *The American Musical and the Formation of National Identity* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004), 134–35.
[3] Ibid., 139.
[4] Knapp, *The American Musical,* 138.
[5] Ibid.
[6] Rick Altman, *The American Film Musical* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1987), cited in Kim Kowalke, "Theorizing the Golden Age Musical: Genre, Structure, Syntax," *Gamut* 6, no. 2 (2013): 156. Though "folk musical" suits my purposes here, I should note that Kowalke calls Altman's application of the term to *Guys & Dolls* "problematic."

versions of the musical in forms that might resemble readings of song cycles by Berthold Hoekner, Patrick McCreless, David Neumeyer, and Lauri Surrpää.[7] My early research, as well as my experience as a musical director and composer of musicals, however, suggested that sticking solely to musical analyses, or, more specifically, cleaving closely to a view that privileges a composer-centric view of a musical is antithetical to the collaborative nature of the production process of American musical theatre. Writings that include Benjamin Sears and Bradford Conner's "Reconstructing Lost Musicals," David Farneth's "Sources Required to Make a Critical Edition of an American Musical," and an excerpt from a 1987 conference report by Kim Kowalke entitled "Publishing a National Series of Scholarly Editions of American Music" offer a similar view, proposing that the musical is a form whose geneses are often a web of collaborative activities between producers, directors, librettists, arrangers, composers, choreographers, and more.[8]

Inspiration from these authors' endeavors, which primarily focus on assembling sources and creating critical editions of musicals, led to my exploration of scholarly editing and critical

[7] Berthold Hoeckner, "Paths through *Dichterliebe*," *19th-Century Music* 30, no. 1 (2006): 65–80. Patrick McCrelless, "Song Order in the Song Cycle: Schumann's *Liederkreis*, Op. 39," *Music Analysis* 5, no. 1 (1986): 5–28. David Neumeyer, "Organic Structure and the Song Cycle: Another Look at Schumann's *Dichterliebe*," *Music Theory Spectrum* 14 (1982): 92–105. Lauri Suurpää, *Death in Winterreise: Musico-poetic Associations in Schubert's Song Cycle* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2014).

[8] Benjamin Sears and Bradford Conner, "Reconstructing Lost Musicals," *Music Reference Services Quarterly* 10, nos. 3–4: 67–77. David Farneth, "Sources Required to Make a Critical Edition of an American Musical: A Report of Work Underway by American Scholars and the Editorial Board of a New Kurt Weill Edition," *Revisita de Muiscología* 16, no. 2, Del XV Congreso de la Sociedad Internacional de Musicología: Culturas Musicales Del Mediterráneo y sus Ramificaciones: Vol. 2 (1993): 1053–62. Kim Kowalke, "Theorizing the Golden Age Musical: Genre, Structure, Syntax," *Gamut* 6, no. 2 (2013): 134–84. Kim Kowalke, "Publishing a National Series of Scholarly Editions of American Music," conference report, American Musicological Society, Committee on the Publications of American Music (COPAM), September 25–26, 1987, Dartmouth College, cited in Farneth, "Sources," 1061.

editions, even though it was not my intention to assemble a critical edition of *Guys & Dolls*.[9] Discourse revolving around areas of authorship, versioning, and revision, to name a few, in a field marked by its own internal debates eventually led me to John Bryant's concept of the *fluid text*—itself aimed at developing a framework for creating critical editions. The concept of the fluid text not only affords space for multiple versions of a work; it also relies on that space. In undertaking a close study of *Guys & Dolls*, this space seemed necessary, given the musical's iterations as both a stage and a film musical, as well as its origins in a collection of short stories by Damon Runyon. The concept of the fluid text seems best suited for discussing a work with such messy provenance.

One important benefit of studying a musical that was written in the 1950s, later adapted for film, and is now more than seventy years old is the wealth of primary and secondary materials that surround its genesis and different versions. Biographies and autobiographies of producer Cy Feuer, composer Frank Loesser, and librettist Abe Burrows, as well as scholarly examinations of both the show and the cultural and historical contexts in which the show was created and exists are readily available. Moreover, archival materials from the composer and the librettist can be accessed with a bit of effort. For example, the New York Public Library of the Performing Arts at Lincoln Center houses sketches, drafts, and publishers' proofs of Frank Loesser's songs, as well as Abe Burrows's production correspondence, legal correspondence, and annotated drafts of early versions of the libretto. There are also cast recordings from the original 1950 production and other performances—1976, 1982, and 1992, to name a few.

[9] To date, there is no critical edition of *Guys & Dolls*.

**Method**

This dissertation forgoes examining *Guys & Dolls* as a closed work with a series of musical analyses, opting to study it instead as a fluid text. An analysis of large-scale tonal connections in the stage musical version, for example, can be undermined when comparing it to a similarly inclined analysis of a cast recording or to a film soundtrack. In hypothetical parallel/complimentary tonal analyses of the stage and film versions of *Guys & Dolls*, "Hollywood" could alter the score by reordering it, dropping songs, or transposing numbers into other keys, with a greater concern for box office considerations and "the studio's, or the star's image,"[10] than for any musical unity. A simple, smaller scale example comes in the form of a comparison of the first two songs in the show, "Fugue for Tinhorns," and "Follow the Fold," sung by gamblers and missionaries, respectively. In the stage version of the musical, the songs are sung in D-flat major and C major, respectively, whereas in the film version, they are both sung in B-flat major. If we were to make any inferences as to the relationship between the two groups *vis à vis* their keys, those readings and any "intended" connections within the original score would be rendered moot relative to the film version, when the only difference between them is their medium.[11] A fluid text analysis of *Guys & Dolls* can be—and, in this case, is—more concerned with broad changes—song inclusion, placement, substitution, and script alterations—made to the musical than with changes made to a song's key within the musical. This is not to say that a fluid text analysis is forbidden from including comparative analyses of

[10] Kowalke, "Golden Age," 156.
[11] Kowalke argues, in "Golden Age," 157, that "scholars working on "The Musical" have too often conflated [stage and film] and presumed incorrectly that a Broadway musical can be studied from its film adaptation." I concede that Kowalke is correct that studying a film adaptation is not a substitute for studying the "original," but I contend that acknowledging critical differences between an adapted musical (the source) and its adaptation can lead to nuanced understandings of both.

key relationships between a source musical and its adaptation. That simply is not the aim of this fluid text analysis, of this dissertation.

In exploring *Guys & Dolls* as a fluid text, then, this dissertation draws from concepts found in editorial and adaptation theories under the umbrella of Bryant's concept of the *fluid text* and proposes a reading of *Guys & Dolls* that treats adaptation as an editorial issue, and edition as an authorial issue, decentering any single member of a collaborative team and creating a network of distributed authorship that opens paths to analysis and allows one text to speak to another within the broader work.

In chapter one, I take Farneth's model as a starting point—particularly his assertion that "the editor must first reconstruct the history of the work to determine the genesis and function of each of the extant sources"[12]—and adapt it to suit my purposes, constructing a narrative of the development of *Guys & Dolls* that draws from primary, secondary, and tertiary sources. My discussion engages in comparative readings that explore tensions between conflicting accounts of the show's development.

In chapter two, I appropriate concepts from Bryant and other scholars in the field of editorial theory, including Linda Hutcheon's work in adaptation theory and Norman Perrin's redaction theory, in order to create a non-hierarchical space in which to view multiple versions of *Guys & Dolls*. This space decenters any single contributor in the collaborative process—like the collaborative process found in American musical theatre—and creates a mechanism by which adaptorial, editorial, and authorial roles are considered as three facets of one process. I also introduce a concept developed from ideas found in editorial theory and redaction criticism: *redactive adaptation*, a type of adaptation wherein characters, situations, and so on are taken

[12] Farneth, "Sources," 1055.

from multiple sources—for our purposes, either different stories by the same author or different versions of the same story by multiple authors—and then gathered and assembled in a new story.

In chapter three, I synthesize Farneth and Bryant's concepts, especially Bryant's notion that "Versions are Revisions," and I engage readings with multiple sources suggested by Farneth's model and included in Bryant's "Modes of Production of the Version." From draft scripts, playbills, the published score, and the motion picture soundtrack, I chart an evolution that illustrates why songs were variously added, moved, removed, replaced, or recast. Through a comparative reading of draft scripts, script fragments—which were obtained during a week of archival work at the New York Public Library of the Performing Arts at Lincoln Center—the published libretto, and transcriptions of the motion picture script, I demonstrate how changing the dramatic context alters a song's meaning within the show. By comparing how the inclusion or the removal of a song can affect our perception of the characters in the stage and film versions of *Guys & Dolls*, and by examining several songs that had been cut by the time the show opened on Broadway and the implications of their hypothetical exclusion, I demonstrate how the mere presence and location of a song can offer us analytic insights beyond the "music itself." I also discuss two unpublished songs, "Shango" and "Nathan's Problem," which were intended for the show, but ultimately cut. My transcriptions of these two songs ae included in the Appendices.

In chapter four, I engage in a close reading of the two romantic couples—Sky Masterson and Sarah Brown as individuals, and Nathan Detroit and Miss Adelaide as a co-constituent pair—with an eye toward comparing their iterations in the short stories of Damon Runyon, their developmental iterations found in the draft scripts and fragments, and their manifestation on the stage and screen.

I conclude by offering paths for future scholarship. These paths include proposals of several properties rife with the potential for fluid text analysis and proposals of ways in which digital-humanities applications may serve as force multipliers for fluid text analyses.

**Contributions**

This research is significant in several respects. Whereas previous studies of musicals have offered histories or analyses of one musical (or composer or creative team), examined individual songs or songwriting elements (themes, motives, lyrics, etc.), explored character development, or theorized a musical's general structure, this dissertation gleans insights about the creative process and grants us glimpses into the work by examining the development of a musical as a stage by stage—if not step by step—process, and investigates the work that goes into the Work. As the first research study to apply Bryant's fluid text to a non-literary genre, this dissertation flattens the author-editor-adaptor hierarchy as a means to examine the intersections between the different components of the show, such as the libretto and score, as but one example. It also superimposes Farneth's and Bryant's concepts onto one another and creates a mapping between the two, yielding what I think of as a "box" and an "inventory," respectively.[13] The box gathers the materials that consist of the collected ephemera connected to the history of a work as represented in documents—musings, correspondence, press, drafts, recordings, recollections and accounts (firsthand or otherwise, and even rumors/myths), and so forth—that are associated with particular phases of production. The inventory organizes these ephemera into a chronological,

[13] As we will see, although there is significant overlap between the conceptual spaces forged by Farneth's and Bryant's study of critical editions, their principle aims differ: whereas Farneth is concerned with assembling the materials for a critical edition, Bryant is concerned with how those materials are used. Moreover, whereas Farneth is interested in critical editions of musicals, Bryant is interested in critical editions of works of literature.

comparative framework where, for example, recollections and accounts—as represented by biographies, autobiographies, histories, and interviews, and so forth—can be compared with one another for evidence of inconsistencies between them, or drafts and revisions can be compared with each other and with published texts. In short, the box-inventory model provides a narrative space in which to construct the development of the musical. What emerges from these collective efforts in not a mere recounting of the history of a musical, but rather a critical analysis of the music's historical genesis. The fluid text analysis undertaken here provides close, comparative readings of several iterations of *Guys & Dolls*—including hypothetical versions comprised of rejected or cut materials—and offers pathways for further exploration of fluid text readings of adaptations.

My contributions to prior discussions of *Guys & Dolls* might best be broken down into two categories: mechanical and musical. In the first category, mechanical, I suggest that my conflation of author, editor, and adaptor under the umbrella of Bryant's *fluid text* affords a conceptual space for discussing a collaborative enterprise that privileges the *collaboration* (work) over the *collaborators* (text). Such a conflation is advantageous because it obscures the distinctions between these roles. This is not to suggest that we should pretend that authors, editors, and adaptors do not each serve an important purpose in a collaborative work. Rather, the conflation is intended to forestall discussions of whose contributions are most important. We may catch a glimpse of such a spirit in Kowalke's observation, which aims to address the potentially contentious hierarchy between composer and librettist: "If its musical sequences make a musical memorable, the book makes it possible, for it draws together the individual collaborative contributions of many artists and shapes them into a unified work."[14] In light of

[14] Kowalke, "Golden Age," 168.

Bryant's fluid text, we might reword Kowalke's statement so that it reads: "If an adaptation brings a story to a wider audience, it is the source material that makes it possible, for the source creates the individual narrative elements that are then unified under the adaptor's umbrella." To this point, I also suggest that my concept *redactive adaptation* could be employed as an analytic lens for other musicals (or plays, or films) that draw together, assemble, and unify multiple narratives and characters from various sources under an inclusive narrative umbrella within a singular literary universe.

To the second category, musical, I see the development of this musical as a development that continually advanced the Guy at the expense of the Doll.[15] Lyric changes to the titular song "Guys and Dolls" remove the Dolls' roll entirely. The substitution of the nominal duet "A Woman in Love" for the duet "My Time of Day/I've Never Been in Love Before" serves to replace vulnerability and a shared declaration of love with a song that essentially says, "You think I'm terrific." And replacing "A Bushel and a Peck" with "Pet Me Poppa" in the film version only serves Poppa. Furthermore, between Sky Masterson and Miss Sarah Brown's first appearance in "The Idyll of Miss Sarah Brown" and their later appearances in the Broadway and film versions of *Guys & Dolls*, their statuses have radically shifted. Intermediate renderings show a transformation of Sky Masterson, from overtly libertine with a Cuban love nest to only inferentially licentious. His character begins as a gambler who falls for—and then loses—a mission worker, only to be saved by her. Through the process of adaptation, he then becomes a

[15] It could be said that *Guys & Dolls* is merely a product of its time that reflects contemporaneous patriarchal social views—including those of the composer, librettists, director, and producers—of the relationships between men and women and the importance of marriage and organized religion. Such a facile response, however, would fail to address how the actual changes made to the show during its development foreground, normalize, and perpetuate these views. Though a full accounting of these phenomena through the lens of Feminist theories is beyond the scope of the dissertation, I would be remiss if I did not mention their possibility.

predator who eventually serves as the hero of the story. Conversely, Sarah Brown is transformed from a confident, if unsuccessful, missionary willing to fight her own battles into a bumbling, hypocritical mark. Her professional vulnerability is exploited, her morale cracks when unsuspectingly plied with liquor, and she requires saving.

**Notes for the Reader**

In this work, readers may notice that *Guys & Dolls* is also written as "Guys and Dolls." For clarity, *Guys & Dolls*—italicized and with an ampersand in place of "and"—is used to mean the stage musical, the film musical, and the broader work. "Guys and Dolls"—unitalicized and *sans* the ampersand (and variously capitalized)—is used when referencing the show's titular song or when preserving the exact spelling and roman text in the sources and archival materials associated with the work—sheet music, for example. *Guys and Dolls*—italicized and *sans* the ampersand—refers to a collection of short stories by Damon Runyon.

## Chapter 1– Assembling the Sources

*Guys & Dolls* opened November 24, 1950, the product of nearly two years' work. As in the case of many—if not most—musicals, the product exhibited on the stage was the result of countless drafts and revisions. Revisions were made to the libretto, the songs, and the placement of the songs within the show. As such, the development of the show presented multiple iterations of a similar product with various changes made during the production process, which theoretically ended on Opening Night. Tracking and comparing these revisions affords us a glimpse at the show's developmental process, offering a window into the show's inner workings, and provides an insight into a show's story and characters.

As part of his 1993 article, "Sources Required to Make a Critical Edition of an American Musical: A Report of Work Underway by American Scholars and the Editorial Board of a New Kurt Weill Edition," David Farneth outlines a path of development for a typical American musical and segments this path into discrete stages.[16] When dealing with the various stages, notes Farneth, "the editor must first reconstruct the history of the work to determine the genesis and function of each of the extant sources."[17] As context for his study, Farneth assumes that a

[16] David Farneth, "Sources Required to Make a Critical Edition of an American Musical: A Report of Work Underway by American Scholars and the Editorial Board of a New Kurt Weill Edition," *Revisita de Muiscología* 16, no. 2, Del XV Congreso de la Sociedad Internacional de Musicología: Culturas Musicales Del Mediterráneo y sus Ramificaciones: Vol. 2 (1993): 1053–62. Farneth's project focuses on the corpus of American musicals produced from 1935–70 that roughly coincides with the so-called "Golden Age" of the American musical.
[17] Ibid. 1055.

musical is a commercial enterprise with established collaborators and the financial support of a producer.[18] Questions asked by Farneth, but left unanswered, also include: Which version should serve as the basis for a critical edition? Which sources are relevant? Whose opinion matters when weighting the opinions of multiple authors?

While Farneth's article deals primarily with the identification of sources, my interest in his model lies in the path and the stages of development that he outlines, and the *place* of those sources *on* that path and *within* those stages. These stages are shown in **Table 1**. It is within and between each of these stages that one source may be compared with another.

I propose using Farneth's model as a scaffold upon which to affix the narrative of *Guys & Dolls* show's development. Doing so affords us an opportunity to compare multiple versions of both the entire show *and* its constituent parts—scenes, songs, and so forth—both in the context of primary sources—sketches, drafts, markups, correspondence, autobiographies—and secondary or tertiary sources, such as biographies and reference materials.

**Table 1: Farneth's Stages (amended)**

*Evolution of the Creation and Presentation of An American Musical Theatre Piece*
[Pre-Conception, Sources]
1. Conception
2. Creation
3. Design, Workshops, Fund Raising, Auditions
4. Rehearsal, Orchestration
5. Out-of-Town Tryouts / Broadway Previews
6. Opening Night
7. Cast Recording
8. National Tour
9. Stock and Amateur Licensing
[Adaptation]

[18] Farneth, "Sources," 1056.

Two issues arise with respect to the stages outlined by Farneth, and I offer two suggestions. First, some portion of the initial stages—Conception through Auditions, for example—might not be as neatly delineated as Farneth's model suggests. Second, additional stages or sub-stages can, and should, be inserted into or appended onto the continuum, given the production history of a specific show. In the case of *Guys & Dolls*, to the first point, between producers Cy Feuer and Ernest Martin's conception and the raising of monies to fund the enterprise, a handful of songs for the production were written, and only a single act of what became a two-act show was generated. To the second point, beyond the Cast Recording and Stock and Amateur Licensing (stages 7–9), *Guys & Dolls* was the subject of two notable revivals (1976 and 1992), both of which were accompanied by new cast recordings, and a motion picture adaptation (1955), which *omitted* some songs from the 1950 version and *added* new material. Corollary concerns can be identified in the 1976 production, wherein orchestrations, accompaniments, and styles were contemporized, as evidenced in the cast recording. These departures from Farneth's functionally normative model suggest that the Pre-Conception, Sources, and Adaptation stages might facilitate narrating a show's development.

Though the present project does not aim to generate a critical edition of *Guys & Dolls*, this chapter will nonetheless address Farneth's unanswered questions regarding which version should serve as the basis for a critical edition (or, whether a critical edition, as such, is necessary), which sources are relevant (or, in which way are sources relevant), and whose opinion matters (and how much and why) with many collaborators by affording space for all versions and reframing the critical edition not as a *text* but, instead, as a *work*. Consideration of materials from each stage outlined by Farneth will then prove useful in highlighting the textual change *between* and *among* the various stages. As an example, Feuer and Martin knew that they

wanted to produce a show based on the works of Damon Runyon (Conception). They hired Frank Loesser to write a few songs to help sell the show (Creation) and presented those prospective songs to a handful of backers (Fund Raising) while having neither decided upon a single property to pursue, nor a completed libretto. Further complicating the matter of provenance is that *two* different writers, Joseph (Jo) Swerling and Abe Burrows wrote separate libretti for the production; Burrows replaced Swerling later in the production process, and the true scope of Swerling's involvement in the creative process can be described as contentious at best.[19]

Another example includes a decision made during the Audition stage, or in this case, the *Casting* stage of the production. Sam Levene was precast in the role of Nathan Detroit, but despite the best efforts of all involved proved too unskilled a singer to perform the songs written for him. This resulted in the cutting of all but one of his songs and his being hidden within group numbers. In the Adaptation stage, the character of Nathan Detroit is played by Frank Sinatra, who presents no such performance difficulties—in fact, the film adaptation includes a new number, "Adelaide," which features Sinatra as a solo performer.

During the Out-of-Town Tryouts and Broadway Previews stages, several songs were added or removed. Similarly, per Farneth's model, the Opening Night and Cast Recording stages of *Guys & Dolls* also conform to Farneth's model. Of comparatively little concern to the present project are the National Tour and Stock and Amateur Licensing stages, mainly because the text for the show has stabilized before it reaches these stages—though, as we will see in chapter 2, unauthorized changes to the text might serve as part of a critical construct, thereby expanding the work.

[19] As we will see, multiple parties dispute the depth and breadth of Swerling's contributions.

Nevertheless, Farneth's model provides a useful structure upon which one may lay the unfolding of a creative process. This structure, as outlined above (and with some modifications), will provide the skeleton for most of the chapter. When conflicting accounts of this process exist, each will be given along with critical commentary. Finally, despite the linear nature of the push toward a "final" product, several extant versions of the show will be laid bare and considered within a constellation of extant texts, with the final product at the center by virtue of nothing more than its notoriety. This final product is largely represented by the text presented in stage 6 of Farneth's model, Opening Night. As we will see the matter of finality is complicated by the introduction of additional texts beyond this stage, particularly Cast Recording(s) and Adaptations.

To be clear, the focus of this chapter is not intended as a critique of the validity of Farneth's model. Rather, it takes Farneth's model as a point of departure, uses it to inform readers of the stages of a musical's development, and uses it as a scaffold to set up and support arguments in later chapters. These arguments include, but are not limited to, questions of authorship, the roles of revision and adaptation, and inter- and intratextual understanding of characters and stories across versions.

**Utilizing Farneth's Model**

The following section maps specific occurrences from the development(s) and production(s) of *Guys & Dolls* onto Farneth's model. Even with room allowed for its alteration and expansion, the model, as shown in **Table 1** above, provides a convenient roadmap for examining the myriad stages of production. Since this model articulates the particulars of each stage of production so concisely, each subsection will be preceded by a heading that quotes Farneth's model. The

subsection that follows each heading will then elaborate the details of each stage with dates, locations, personnel, and/or some combination thereof in the development of *Guys & Dolls*.[20]

*Conception*[21]

*"Two or more creators discuss an idea and investigate a collaboration. They are often an established "team" who have worked together previously. Librettos (i.e., "books") are often based on existing books or plays."*[22]

When they began producing *Guys & Dolls*, Cy Feuer and Ernest "Ernie" Martin were two relatively inexperienced Broadway producers who were riding the heels of a financially successful, but critically unfavorable show, *Where's Charley?*, an adaptation of the British farce, *Charley's Aunt*. Feuer's account is that Martin telephoned him from California and said that Martin's wife, Nancy, was "in bed reading an anthology of Damon Runyon Stories called *Guys & Dolls*," and Feuer suggested that a Runyon property be their next project.[23] Another account by the Damon Runyon biographer, Jimmy Breslin, places a date of 1948 on this discovery and suggests that it was Nancy who suggested the material to Ernie.[24] Keith Garebian, however,

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[20] I would like to be clear from the outset that the development of *Guys & Dolls* does not conform exactly to the model outlined by Farneth. This, however, should not be read as a deficiency of that model. Rather, it should be taken to illustrate that the development of *Guys & Dolls,* like the development of any other show, is unique and that the model is a guide that illustrates the general location of occurrences during the development and production of a show.

[21] Though our amended model begins with Pre-Conception, Sources, our examination of *Guys & Dolls* begins at the Conception stage. As will become clear, although two creators discussed a collaboration, their choice of material, the material itself, and the alterations made to that material might make creating a libretto based on an existing book somewhat more complicated than picking a book from a shelf.

[22] Farneth, "Sources," 1056.

[23] Cy Feuer and Ken Gross, *I Got the Show Right Here: The Amazing, True Story of How an Obscure Brooklyn Horn Player Became the Last Great Broadway Showman* (New York: Applause Theater & Cinema Books, 2003), 112.

[24] Jeffery Winn Combe, "The Aesthetics of Collaboration: Adaptation and Creation in the Musical and Film *Guys and Dolls,*" PhD diss. (University of California, Riverside, 1998). Combe notes that it is unlikely that Nancy Martin was reading *Guys and Dolls*, because the book was no longer available in a single volume in 1948. He speculates that she read *The Damon Runyon Omnibus* or *Runyon a la Carte*. (It is possible that she was reading an older copy.)

writes: "One April afternoon in 1949, the partners [Feuer and Martin] were lolling about in the living room of an elegant, four-storey townhouse on East 64th Street in Manhattan. Puffing away on Cubana cigars, Martin was thumbing through a copy of Damon Runyon's stories, particularly a piece called 'The Idyll of Miss Sarah Brown,' when he suddenly exclaimed: 'Gee! This stuff could be musicalized.'"[25]

As can be seen, the conception of the show is given at least three accounts and places the idea's origin either in California or in Manhattan—either of which are certainly plausible. An examination of the sources alluded to by Combe, however, introduces a few complications into the Pre-Conception and Sources stages proposed earlier.

*Pre-Conception and Sources*

*If a work is an adaptation—as is the case with any work based on an existing property, whether book, play, movie, video game, etc.—the production/publication history and inter-/ intra-textual concerns surrounding that property may require consideration. This is particularly important if the adapted work is part of a larger collection of works, a larger narrative universe, or a short story adaptation, the last of which often have to "expand their source material considerably." Further, intellectual property rights may restrict the use of some parts of a property but not restrict other parts.*[26]

When an adaptation is based on a short story, there may not be enough story material to accommodate that adaptation, and this might require the expansion and augmentation of the material. In the case of *Guys & Dolls*, Feuer and Martin returned several times to the well of Damon Runyon. Jeffery Combe proposes:

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[25] Keith Garebian, *The Making of Guys and Dolls* (Ontario: Mosaic Press, 2002), 9. "The Idyll of Miss Sarah Brown" was first published as a standalone story in the pages of the January 28, 1933, issue of *Collier's*.

[26] Linda Hutcheon, *A Theory of Adaptation* (New York: Routledge, 2006), 19. Hutcheon notes that adaptations from long novels frequently require subtraction or contraction of the adapted material. She notes that the 1984 film adaptation of Angela Carter's "The Company of Wolves" drew "details from two other related tales in Carter's *The Bloody Chamber* (1979): 'The Werewolf' and 'Wolf-Alice.'"

> The title page of the musical *Guys and Dolls* says that it is based on "a story and characters by Damon Runyon." The "story" is "The Idyll of Miss Sarah Brown," published in *Collier's* magazine in 1933. The title page may more accurately read that the musical is based upon "*four* stories and characters" because plot elements were actually taken from the stories "Blood Pressure," "Pick the Winner," and "It Comes Up Mud," in addition to "The Idyll of Miss Sarah Brown."[27]

Feuer writes that when they approached Robbie Lantz, the man who handled Runyon's estate, for rights to the show, they were not able to name a specific property, because there was no single story called "Guys & Dolls."[28] Feuer and Martin wanted to "pick a story later," an "unencumbered story, that is, a story not sold to the movies."[29] Feuer writes that his solution was to "[d]raw up a contract committing us to produce a Broadway musical based upon '*X*,' '*X*' to be filled in later."[30] Feuer notes that they eventually settled on "The Idyll of Miss Sarah Brown" "sometime in the spring of 1949."[31] According to Garebian, the rights to the Runyon stories were held by Paramount, and Paramount had plans to adapt further Runyon stories to film, as they had already done with *Little Miss Marker*, starring Shirley Temple. A deal was reached, however, whereby Paramount released the property in return for first refusal of screen rights to the stage production and twenty percent of film revenues.[32]

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[27] Combe, "Aesthetics," 43. Garebian, *Guys and Dolls*, Raymond Knapp, *The American Musical and the Formation of National Identity* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004), and Ron Byrnside, "Guys and Dolls: A Musical Fable of Broadway," *Journal of American Culture* 19, no. 2 (Summer 1996): 25–33 share similar assessments of the source materials.
[28] Feuer, *I Got the Show*, 111.
[29] Ibid. The rights to a single property could be sold to multiple entities in different media: radio, film, stage, etc.
[30] Ibid.
[31] Ibid., 112. According to Jo Swerling Jr., however, "It was Jo Swerling who selected 'The Idyll of Miss Sarah Brown' as the main story. If you read the Runyon short story, it's easy to see there's not enough material in it to make a full length [sic] Broadway show…. [The rest of the show] came from other Runyon material." Jo Swerling Jr. in correspondence with the author.
[32] Garebian, *Making*, 9.

A wrinkle appears among these conflicting accounts in correspondence between Abe Burrows (a writer enlisted during a later stage, who replaced Swerling) and the law firm of Gang, Kopp & Tyre, in anticipation of the 1955 film adaptation of *Guys & Dolls*.[33] In a letter dated April 20, 1954, Martin Gang writes:

> One of the problems that has proved somewhat troublesome is in ascertaining the source material from which "Guys and Dolls" was created. In other words, we have been informed through Mr. Colton[34] that it was derived substantially from "The Idyll of Miss Sarah Brown", but that either the names of certain characters or perhaps even certain characterizations are derived from other Damon Runyon material. Do you have any information on this point? It is particularly important in connection with the warranties which are being made to Goldwyn as part of the agreement.

In a response dated April 23, 1954, Burrows writes:

> I am sure the rights given to us stated quite expressly in the original contracts that Reinheimer drew up between the Runyan [sic] Estate and Feuer and Martin.
>
> The way I worked was as follows: I was shown a list of stories, including "The Idyll of Miss Sarah Brown." "The Idyll of Miss Sarah Brown" was owned by Paramount and, of course, was cleared with them. The rest of the stories were stories which were owned by the Runyan Estate and had not been sold to any picture company. I was allowed to use any characters who were dramatically involved, no matter how slightly, in any of these stories and I had the right to lift them out of the individual Runyan locales and put them into our own "The Idyll of Miss Sarah Brown"-"Guys and Dolls" locale. I was quite careful about all this.
>
> Of course, it would take an enormous amount of research for me to go back now and spot each name character and where he came from. I hope we don't have to do that. I think you can make any warranties you want to on the strength of what I am telling you. (Famous last words.)

[33] T-Mss 2000-006 Series III, Box 20, folder 13, Abe Burrows Papers, Billy Rose Theatre Division, The New York Public Library for the Performing Arts.
[34] Eddie Colton was an entertainment lawyer.

In a letter dated May 25, 1954, Burrows refines his story:

> …my understanding was that we had the right to use any character in "The Idyll of Miss Sarah Brown," providing this character was in any way dramatically involved in the story. In "The Idyll of Miss Sarah Brown," Nathan Detroit runs the floating crap game in which Sky Masterson rolls people for their souls. In this part of the story (I can't find my copy of the original or I'd give you the exact page and wording), Nathan Detroit is referred to as getting very annoyed with what Sky Masterson is doing. It was Irving Cohen, of Reinheimer and Cohen, who informed our producers that this constituted dramatic involvement of Nathan Detroit in the story. As a matter of fact, I think that is how the idea first came up of having a relationship between Nathan Detroit and Sky Masterson.
>
> The name of Adelaide was, to the best of my knowledge, made up. I don't know if the name Adelaide appears in ant [sic] Runyan story bit [sic] it was just chosen for our play because of the sort of elegant sound of the name Adelaide in a mugg setting and it was kind of cute to have Nathan Detroit have a girl friend called Miss Adelaide. The relationship of Nathan and Adelaide was not taken from any Runyan story to my knowledge. It's a quite typical one of a girl pursuing a man for years. I have written many such things and so has everyone. Actually it was a sort of cliché except for the treatment. I know it was invented by the people working on the show before I took over.
>
> My involvement in this was a unique one. Jo Swerling wrote a first act called GUYS AND DOLLS and Frank Loesser did about nine or ten songs. Then when Swerling ceased to work on the show and he and Feuer and Martin agreed to end his creative participation, I was handed a skeleton structure, consisting of a gambler and a mission doll and the owner of a floating crap game and his girl and proceeded to write an entirely new book using the songs that Frank Loesser had written and giving him ideas of gimmicks from the Runyan story and made up a lot of other gimmicks, such as the fellows betting about the girl and the pressure of the gangster from Chicago and various other thing [sic].[35] There was never any collaboration between Swerling and myself. We wrote two different things on the same general line and mine was the one that was put on. However, it was Swerling who was involved in the early exploratory work and all the stuff about rights, etc.

[35] Feuer, *I Got the Show*, 114. In a conflicting account, Cy Feuer insists it was *he*, not Burrows, who came up with the idea of a bet.

Early on, relative to the film adaptation, Gang, et al. were interested in tracing the *exact* sources of the story of *Guys & Dolls*, and Burrows's accounts of the show's genesis soften slightly between his April 23 account and his May 25 account. Of particular note is his April account that he was "allowed to use any characters who were dramatically involved, no matter how slightly, in any of these stories and I had the right to lift them out of the individual Runyan locales and put them into our own 'The Idyll of Miss Sarah Brown,'" which later changes in his May 25 account to "We had the right to use any character in 'The Idyll of Miss Sarah Brown,' providing this character was in any way dramatically involved in the story. In 'The Idyll of Miss Sarah Brown,' Nathan Detroit runs the floating crap game in which Sky Masterson rolls people for their souls…. It was Irving Cohen, of Reinheimer and Cohen, who informed our producers that this constituted dramatic involvement of Nathan Detroit in the story." The former contrasts quite strongly with the latter account and suggests that Burrows's thinking—or, at least, his discussion of it—evolved somewhat in the space of the month that separates the letters. This correspondence coincides with the adaptation of the stage musical into a motion picture that was on track to be released in 1955, and that Samuel Goldwyn's representatives needed to be assured that all rights to *whichever* stories were used were covered. Burrows's deferral to Reinheimer and Cohen's legal advice, and his subtle abdication of responsibility to his predecessor, Swerling, on matters of source material and his involvement in "the early exploratory work and *all the stuff about rights, etc.*" (italics mine] is also noteworthy.

Recall that Combe recognized "*four* stories and characters" from Runyon's work, and not just "The Idyll of Miss Sarah Brown." Sourcing "The Idyll of Miss Sarah Brown" as the original intellectual property becomes complicated when considered in the context of a December 1950 *Boston Post* review of *Guys & Dolls* by Elliot Norton which reads: "The particular fable from

which 'Guys and Dolls' derives deals with a blonde doll [Miss Adelaide] who has been engaged for 14 years to Nathan Detroit….There is also a brunette doll…[who] works for a rescue mission…when the slick Sky Masterson falls in love with her."[36] If a professional theatre critic focusses on a non-"Idyll" storyline as the source, there might also be a problem with the clarity of the sourcing.

These observations are in no way intended to rehash legal matters surrounding copyrights of the original material. Nor are they meant to cast aspersions upon the original creative team. Rather, they are intended to illustrate the complex relationships between intellectual properties and their subsequent uses, and to show how the Conception stage of this musical's development is not so straightforward. The creators, Feuer and Martin, certainly discussed an idea and investigated a collaboration, and their libretto—or the idea for it—was based on an existing book, or, more specifically, a collection of short stories and the characters within them. As noted above, however, "Blood Pressure," "Pick the Winner," and "It Comes Up Mud," in addition to "The Idyll of Miss Sarah Brown," were not available in a single volume, at least in print. The place these stories *were* together was in a syndicated radio program *The Damon Runyon Theatre*, whose first episode aired on January 2, 1949.

Two of the four stories cited by Combe aired before the "late April afternoon in 1949" date cited by Garebian. "The Idyll of Miss Sarah Brown" and "Pick the Winner"' both aired before this date on February 6, 1949, and March 20, 1949, respectively. "Blood Pressure" aired on April 10, 1949. "It Comes Up Mud" aired on July 31, 1949.[37] It's plausible that Feuer or

[36] Playbill from a 1976 production, T-Mss 2000-006, Box 22, folder 6, Abe Burrows Papers, Billy Rose Theatre Division, The New York Public Library for the Performing Arts.
[37] Though included on Combe's list, "It Comes Up Mud" is the least related to any of the plots or characters found in *Guys & Dolls*.

Ernie Martin (or Nancy) heard a broadcast of the radio program early in 1949 and thought that the characters and locales would prove appealing if adapted for theatre. The major sources, "The Idyll of Miss Sarah Brown," which contains the Sky-Sarah pairing, and "Pick A Winner," which provides the model for the Nathan-Adelaide pairing, aired within the first three months, with "Blood Pressure," from which a second-act crap game scenario is taken, coming only a few weeks later. If Runyon was enough of a draw to secure airtime, certainly his name would lure people to the theatre. The radio program also theoretically provided a bit of free advertisement for a hypothetical Runyon musical. Regardless of whether Nancy Martin or Feuer found inspiration when they encountered Runyon's works in a book, or whether they found it when they heard the tales on the radio during *The Damon Runyon Theatre*; regardless of whether Joe Swerling selected "The Idyll of Miss Sarah Brown," and regardless of who selected the other sources, Feuer and Ernie Martin were well into their conception of a show based on an existing book.[38]

*Creation*

*"Most shows have three collaborators: composer, lyricist, and bookwriter. (Often the lyricist and bookwriter are the same person.) They usually produce a number of versions before deciding on a final "rehearsal" version. More recent shows have informal readings and workshops to test and refine the rehearsal version."*[39]

[38] http://www.digitaldeliftp.com/DigitalDeliToo/dd2jb-Damon-Runyon-Theatre.html
Circulating logs for *The Damon Runyon Theatre* cite KFI, Los Angeles as the first station to broadcast the program; the dates listed, however, correspond to the airdates of the program on radio station KSL [CBS] in Salt Lake City. *The Damon Runyon Theatre* was a syndicated radio program that was recorded *just* for syndication and sale to individual stations. Although the shows were numbered from 1 to 52, individual stations were under no obligation to broadcast the shows in that order and could program them in whichever order they wanted. The show did not air in New York City until mid-August 1949 on WOR [MBS]. Dave Goldin, in correspondence with the author.

[39] Farneth, "Sources," 1056.

*Guys & Dolls* certainly did not follow the model outlined by Farneth's Conception stage (including the amended Pre-Conception stage), nor does it follow his Creation stage. A facet of the following stage, Fund Raising, usually reserved for later in the Creation stage, was enacted quite early in the process, yet accounts of how late in the writing process vary from telling to telling.

A *New York Times* article dated May 12, 1949, announced composer Frank Loesser's commitment to the budding enterprise.[40] According to Feuer, it only took one word, "Runyon," to secure Loesser's agreement to participate in the project, having recently collaborated with Feuer and Martin on *Where's Charley?*

Several attempts were made to secure a bookwriter (librettist). According to Feuer, Paddy Chayefsky was the first to try his hand, but his demands to write the book *and* the music were nonnegotiable and the collaboration fizzled.[41] Robert Carson was also brought in by Martin in late May 1949, again to no avail.[42] Finally, Feuer and Martin agreed to hire Joseph (Jo) Swerling, a Hollywood screenwriter.[43] According to Feuer, Swerling's involvement "lent weight to the project."[44]

This weight, along with a few songs by Loesser, allowed Feuer and Martin to attract investors *on spec*. Accounts as to the degree of speculation exercised by the investors vary. Feuer writes that investors were brought on to a show that had "only one or two of Frank's songs, and a title." By comparison, Thomas Riis writes that Loesser "worked up "Luck Be a Lady Tonight,"

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[40] Garebian, *Making*, 9.
[41] Feuer, *I Got the Show*, 113.
[42] Garebian, *Making*, 10.
[43] Louis Calta, "SWERLING TO WRITE BOOK FOR MUSICAL: Signed for 'Guys and Dolls,' Based on Stories by Runyon—Loesser Doing Songs," *New York Times* (1923–Current File), July 9, 1949, ProQuest.
[44] Feuer, *I Got the Show*, 113.

"Sit Down You're Rockin' the Boat," and a handful of other numbers to convince potential financial backers."[45] In contrast to Feuer's and Riis's accounts, Swerling Jr. writes: "Frank Loesser wrote the entire score and all the songs except 'Bushel and a Peck.' Also, based on my father's [Jo Swerling's] draft, all the money was raised, the show was cast, and the director hired."[46] Burrows's account supports Swerling Jr.'s, stating that Feuer and Martin "had already raised a good deal of money from their backers on the strength of fourteen songs Frank Loesser had finished and Jo Swerling's draft of a first act."[47] The financial backers were brought on board and remained, until artistic differences arose between Swerling and the team of Feuer and Martin, prompting Swerling's exodus from the project.

Garebian's account proffers the story of a break that was less than clean. He writes of a situation where "Swerling was sticking slavishly to Runyon without inventing fresh material to make the transition from page to stage seem effortless."[48] Swerling had written a "music drama" per the original conception, but Feuer and Martin had changed their minds and wanted more of a comedy.[49] According to Susan Loesser, Swerling's script "wasn't funny [and]…didn't have the

[45] Thomas Laurence Riis, *Frank Loesser* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008), 77. According to Riis, "A Bushel and a Peck" and "More I Cannot Wish You" were already written; as Riis puts it, the songs were "in his trunk."
[46] Jo Swerling Jr. in personal correspondence with the author dated February 14, 2017. The story of Jo Swerling's role in the development of *Guys & Dolls* is contentious. While most sources acknowledge Swerling's role in the initial phases of development, almost all downplay it significantly.
[47] Abe Burrows, "The Making of 'Guys and Dolls,'" *The Atlantic Monthly (1971–1981)* (January 1980): 40–41. Garebian, *Making*, 45, writes, "It was only after Loesser had handed the first four songs to Feuer and Martin that the producers knew that they could have a viable show."
[48] Garebian, *Making*, 21.
[49] Ibid., 10. According to Garebian, Swerling completed his first act in "late 1949: it was well-written and very much in the style Feuer and Martin had originally conceived for the show. The problem was that Feuer and Martin were having several changes of mind about the style."

right Runyonesque flavor."[50] Further, while acknowledging that there were artistic differences between Feuer/Martin and Swerling, Garebian writes that the producers "recruited Peter Lyon and Abe Burrows to *collaborate with* Swerling. It was becoming increasingly clear to all concerned that Runyon was a difficult source to adapt, although it hadn't seemed that way at first."[51] However clean or immediate the break, Swerling ultimately left the project. At this point, backers were allowed, by contract, to also leave the project. Only one did: Billy Rose.[52]

By late 1949, *Guys & Dolls* consisted of Swerling's first act and up to fourteen of Loesser's songs while Feuer and Martin searched for another writer. By Riis' account, they approached "at least a half-dozen" writers.[53] By Feuer's account they immediately knew they wanted Abe Burrows.[54]

Burrows, a classmate of Feuer's at New Utrecht High School, was the head writer for a popular radio show *Duffy's Tavern* from 1941 to 1945, and demonstrated talents for adapting Runyon, whose particular argot included writing in a continuous present tense and a lack of contractions—"do not," "will not," and "can not" instead of "don't", "won't", and "can't."[55]

Burrows's involvement during this "Creation" stage also presents the intrusion of another element from a later stage, "Out-of-Town Tryouts/Broadway Previews," specifically in his performing the role of a *show doctor*.[56] Swerling Jr. corroborates this account to an extent, noting

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[50] Susan Loesser, *A Most Remarkable Fella: Frank Loesser and the Guys and Dolls in His Life: A Portrait by His Daughter* (New York: D.I. Fine, 1993), 101.
[51] Garebian, *Making*, 11 (emphasis mine). See also, Hutcheon, *Adaption*, 19, on the challenges of adapting short stories.
[52] Loesser, *Remarkable Fella*, 102. Susan Loesser claims that the show was still seeking "potential backers all summer long in 1950."
[53] Riis, *Frank Loesser*, 77.
[54] Feuer, *I Got the Show*, 117.
[55] Ibid., 117–19.
[56] Farneth, "Sources," 1057. Farneth describes a show doctor as someone brought in "if the show is not well-received." I contend that though the show was still in the "Creation" stage, Feuer and

that "The producers asked Jo Swerling's permission (required by the Dramatist's Guild) to bring Abe Burrows onto the project *during rehearsals* to punch up the comedy."[57] Swerling Jr. shares a similar account in a letter to the editor of *The New York Times* published May 3, 1992, in which he writes that Burrows was brought in to "snap up the dialogue, and he did just that. He did what in my end of the business would be defined as a polish. A damned good one, but just a polish."[58]

Swerling Jr.'s account lends credence to framing Burrows's work as that of a show doctor, but also complicates the accounts of Burrows's involvement mentioned above, particularly as it relates to writing credit for the show. Susan Loesser writes that "Feuer and Martin threw out Jo Swerling's script—not a word remains—and Abe wrote a new one."[59] Feuer similarly writes that "not one word of [Swerling's] words ever appeared in the show."[60] Burrows contends that he "started from scratch."[61] Swerling Jr. also acknowledges disagreement between his father and the producers over the tone of the book. Feuer and Martin saw *Guys & Dolls* as "more of a comedy," and his father's script was "more of a love story."[62] He contends, however, that his father both selected "The Idyll of Miss Sarah Brown" as the basis for the musical and

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Martin were an audience to Swerling's work, and that their dissatisfaction with Swerling's efforts constitutes such a poor reception.

[57] Swerling Jr., correspondence. Emphasis mine.

[58] "'GUYS AND DOLLS'; Abe Burrows: Undue Credit?: [Letter]," *The New York Times,* May 3, 1992, Late Edition (East Coast), ProQuest. Anne Kaufman Schneider writes, "Jo Swerling Jr. is mistaken about Abe Burrows's entrance into 'Guys and Dolls.' During the Summer of 1950—long before rehearsals began—Burrows stayed with us at our house in Bucks County, PA., and worked on the script with my father, George S. Kaufman, who was to direct it," in "'GUYS AND DOLLS'; Many Hands Honed the Show: Letter," *The New York Times*, May 31, 1992, ProQuest.

[59] Loesser, *Remarkable Fella,* 101–2.

[60] Feuer, *I Got the Show*, 115.

[61] Burrows, "The Making of," 41.

[62] Swerling Jr., correspondence.

also proposed a scene wherein the couple, Sky Masterson and Sarah Brown, travel to Havana, a scene not found in the short story.

Feuer and Loesser contend Swerling's "words" are not used in the show, but Swerling Jr. insists that his father helped formulate the story. By Burrows's own account, he "was handed a skeleton structure, consisting of a gambler and a mission doll and the owner of a floating crap game and his girl," but later adds, Swerling and I "wrote two different things on the same general line." One might be inclined to reject Swerling's insistence on receiving credit as based in ill will, but Swerling Jr.'s personal correspondence with me includes the following excerpt:

> My dad was back in LA while Burrows was working on the show, and he started getting phone calls from Ernie Martin. He said that Abe was doing much more work than they originally expected and asked for a credit on the book…. Out of the goodness of his generous heart, [my father] said yes. The next call was to request that my dad split the royalty with [Burrows.] My dad said he'd give him ¼ of his royalty if the producers would match it. They agreed to that. When they called to ask for first credit, my mother threatened to kill my dad if he gave another inch, so he drew the line. This angered Feuer and Martin who weren't used to be [sic] told no. This started their negative publicity campaign against my dad which went on for years, the falsehoods appearing in many reviews and most history books. The simple truth is that although Abe Burrows (who was well known as a credit-grabber) did an outstanding job on what he was hired for, he did not ever nearly write "every word" in the book as he and the producers claimed.[63]

Swerling Jr.'s correspondence with me cleaves fairly closely to his—and Burrows's—correspondence with *The New York Times*, particularly with regard to Swerling's role in assembling the sources. Though, admittedly, Swerling Jr.'s telling is peppered with many subjective statements—"the goodness of his generous heart," "negative publicity campaign against my dad," "well known as a credit-grabber," —his inclusion of the fact that Swerling gave

[63] Swerling Jr., personal correspondence with the author.

"¼ of his royalty" is corroborated by Burrows's correspondence with Gang, Kopp & Tyre when Burrows notes that his "share in the subsidiary rights is one-third of Swerling's." That is, if Swerling gave away one-quarter of his royalties, he would have three-quarters of a royalty to Burrows's one-quarter, or a ratio of 3:1; this makes Burrows's royalty "one-third of Swerling's." While it is not possible to fully corroborate Swerling Jr.'s position, it does enable his father's voice a chance to be heard via his son."[64]

To summarize the development of *Guy & Dolls* thus far: Feuer and Martin decided to write a musical based on a Damon Runyon story. Loesser agreed to write the music. Swerling and Burrows each agreed to write scripts, Burrows eventually replacing Swerling. The producing team raised funds for production, and the script was at least partially finished before Burrows signed on. This much takes us through Farneth's Conception stage and through (most of the) Creation stage, with some overlap and borrowing from other stages (e.g., Burrows's contested role as author *and* script doctor). The script for the show, at this point, was *still* unfinished as production moved on to the next stages, per Farneth's model.

*Design, Workshops, Fund Raising, Auditions*

*"Concurrent with the latter part of the creation phase, the producer and collaborators hire a director, who, in turn, collaborates on the selection of a set designer, costume designer, and choreographer. The rehearsal version is reviewed by all and changes recommended. The director (and sometimes the producer) usually has a great deal of influence on the final version of the show. The authors or a workshop cast usually present a number of backers' auditions to raise money to produce the show."*[65]

[64] Swerling Jr. acknowledges that he neither possesses nor has access to any of his father's drafts of *Guys & Dolls*. Further, he writes that Burrows and Loesser were college roommates, while it was actually Burrows and Feuer who were *high school* classmates. For college, Burrows attended NYU and Loesser attended The City College of New York.
[65] Farneth, "Sources," 1056.

As has been shown, multiple components of the Design, Workshops, Fund Raising, and Auditions stage appeared in earlier stages. The majority, if not the entirety, of the fundraising was completed early in the Creation stage and, as noted, was done through a combination of Feuer and Martin's track record, some of Loesser's songs, and Swerling's draft of act 1. Much of this stage, however, still conforms to Farneth's model. Feuer and Martin hired Joseph "Jo" Mielziner as the set designer, Michael Kidd as the choreographer, and Alvin Colt as the costume designer.[66] The show, however, was still without a director.

The accounts of hiring George Kaufman to direct are nearly as varied as the accounts of the writing of the libretto. Garebian writes that Kaufman was hired to direct without having read the script.[67] According to Feuer, however, Kaufman only agreed to direct after having read the first four scenes.[68] Susan Loesser states that Kaufman, upon the recommendation of Max Gordon, flew to New York from his honeymoon in France to "hear the score and read the book."[69] On the other hand, Riis claims that Kaufman agreed to direct the show, sight unseen, upon the recommendation of producer Max Gordon.[70] Whichever account—or combination of

[66] Garebian, *Making*, 63–66. In addition to designing, Mielziner was also originally appointed "to be in charge of the direction…render consultation and supervisory services and make available [his] 'know-how'…in the overall production and presentation of the play, including but not limited to script preparation, casting and other pre-rehearsal matters;" his participation was announced on December 14, 1949, and he signed his contract on February 7, 1950. Though his responsibilities were to include directing, "the pressure of time forced him to withdraw from the directorial task." Jerome Robbins was announced as choreographer on December 26, 1949 but had to decline due to scheduling difficulties; Kidd joined in April 1950. Irene Sharaff was expected to do the costuming, but also had to decline due to other commitments.
[67] Garebian, *Making*, 82.
[68] Feuer, *I Got the Show*, 122.
[69] Loesser, *Remarkable Fella*, 103.
[70] Riis, *Frank Loesser*, 82.

accounts—is the case, Kaufman (who had some experience as a "play doctor" in addition to his directing experience) was signed in July 1950.[71]

Here, again, the choices for set designer, costume designer, and choreographer of *Guys & Dolls* departs from Farneth's model, because they were made in advance of the choice of director. Further, by most accounts the director was hired to direct a show that consisted of a few scenes and a plot outline, though one wonders whether the plot outline was the last vestige of Swerling's involvement—the artifact that allows the other collaborators to assert that "not a word" of his libretto remains. This "rehearsal version" of the show was still in its infancy and would take Burrows at least until September 11, 1950, to complete.[72]

*Rehearsal, Orchestration*

*"The authors make additional changes during rehearsals: songs are rewritten or transposed to accommodate cast capabilities; scenes are revised or rewritten; a team of orchestrators make a full score (the size of the orchestra is usually dictated by "house minimums" set by the musician's union) and, at the end, compile an overture; sometimes a special dance arranger is hired to make the dance music. During this stage, the authors begin to lose control of their property; the text of the show becomes subject to the influences of cast members, producer, director, choreographer, designers, music director, conductor, etc. Compromises must be made 'for the good of the show.'"*[73]

The Rehearsal, Orchestration stage of *Guys & Dolls* was no less eventful than the previous stages. According to Feuer, rehearsals began on October 2, 1950.[74] As mentioned above, there

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[71] Garebian, *Making*, 78–82.

[72] Two different scripts with identical cover pages bear the date September 11, 1950. The folders containing each script are labelled "'Guys and Dolls'-Script-Draft [September 11, 1950]" and "'Guys and Dolls'-Script Draft (Kaufman's Notes?)-No Finale [September 11, 1950]," respectively, and are also accompanied by a script excerpt labelled "Drafts of Act I, Scenes vi—ix."

[73] Farneth, "Sources," 1057.

[74] Feuer, *I Got the Show*, 142. According to Feuer, this date was the first day of New York rehearsals. Feuer, *I Got the Show*, 14, however, also states that it was "late October of 1950" when the show was booked for a four-week run at the Shubert Theater. Susan Loesser, *Remarkable Fella*, 106, writes that the show was rehearsing in "September 1950." Given that

are at least two extant scripts from the time immediately preceding the start of rehearsal, one by Burrows and the other speculated to be by Kaufman.[75] Placement of the songs within the two libretti varies between drafts, as does the inclusion of some songs.[76] Some sketches are written in different keys than are shown in the conductor's score, and some publication copies are written in other keys altogether.[77]

Orchestral arrangements were created by George Bassman and Ted Royal. Bassman is also credited with writing "original themes" for scene 8, "Havana," an extended dance sequence with metered dialogue. In a situation similar to the development of the libretto, Bassman, the original orchestrator, was fired during the development of the show for allegedly demanding kickbacks from the musicians. He was replaced by Royal, who subsequently revisited and altered many of Bassman's arrangements.[78]

Billy Kyle, who served as the pianist during *Guys & Dolls*'s Broadway run, is credited with preparing the rehearsal scores for extended dance sequences in "Opening Street Scene [2]," "Havana [14]," and "Crapshooters Ballet [24A]." Many of the arrangements, such as the overture and various "travelers," "utility" music, "bridges," the entr'acte, and the finale—musical segues between scenes or acts—are uncredited.

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show programs from the Philadelphia tryouts are dated as beginning the week of October 9, 1950, Feuer's claim of the *exact* date when rehearsals began is uncertain.

[75] A full discussion of these scripts will be reserved for chapter 3.

[76] Many versions are written in a copyist's hand and are dated from August 1951 after the show opened; some of these drafts are labelled "publication copy." Other drafts are undated and consist of song fragments or sketches of songs abandoned during the development of the show.

[77] There are numerous differences between several sketches, the conductor's score, the piano-vocal score, and vocal-lead sheets, including changes of lyrics, transpositions of melodies, changes of meter, and changes of harmonies.

[78] Steven Suskin, *The Sound of Broadway Music: A Book of Orchestrators and Orchestrations* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 411–12. A "kickback" is a payment made to someone who has facilitated a transaction or appointment, especially illicitly.

*Out-of-Town Tryouts / Broadway Previews*

*"The show finally is performed before a live audience, usually in New Haven, CT, Philadelphia, Boston, or Washington D.C. Authors rewrite sections that fail to elicite* [sic] *audience response. Some music is cut; other music is added. Critics write reviews. If the show is not well-received, often a "show doctor" (a well-known writer or director) is consulted to suggest changes. Additional changes are made to accommodate pacing, set changes, costume changes, choreography, and local stage restrictions. Sometimes new orchestrations are commissioned. Markings in the orchestra parts begin to reflect the composer's revisions. The production moves back to New York to play up to a month of previews; no critics are invited."*[79]

Out-of-Town Tryouts began in Philadelphia the week of October 9, 1950, with a performance on October 14, 1950.[80] An engagement at the Shubert Theater (Oct. 9–28) was followed by another engagement at the Erlanger Theater (Oct. 31–Nov. 18). Critical response was fantastic, *The Billboard* noting that the show had received "raves from the three papers."[81] During this period, per Farneth's model, songs were moved around, cut and added, and, in at least one case, recast. For example, the titular number, "Guys and Dolls," was originally near the beginning of the first act (third song), then moved to the middle of the act (fifth song), and ultimately became the seventh song (out of ten) in act 1. "Travelin' Light" was cut from the show due to actor Sam Levene's (Nathan Detroit) inability to perform it.[82] "The Oldest Established" was written during the Philadelphia tryouts "to attack a void in the first act that cried out for a defining moment, something that would tell the audience what it was that made this particular band of desperate gamblers so appealing."[83]

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[79] Farneth, "Sources," 1057.
[80] *The Billboard*, November 18, 1950: 45.
[81] Ibid., 45. Which three papers are not identified.
[82] Feuer, *I Got the Show*, 143 and 150, and Loesser, *Remarkable Fella*, 106, both insist that Feuer cut the song during New York previews. Loesser does not specify a date, but Feuer insists he cut it immediately before the show on Opening Night. Despite these stories, show programs from the Philadelphia tryouts do not include "Travelin' Light" from October 28 onward.
[83] Feuer, *I Got the Show*, 146.

"If I Were a Bell" was recast, cut, and recast again; Isabel Bigley (Sarah Brown), who was originally intended to sing it, was "just too dignified and high-minded to bring it off" and was replaced by Vivian Blaine (Miss Adelaide).[84] The November 18, 1950, issue of *The Billboard* reports, however, that as of November 11, 1950, "If I Were a Bell" was returned to the show following a two-week absence, per the lede, "Popularity Forces Tune Into 'Guys,'" noting "radio and juke-boxes banging away most assiduously, and some eight recordings already entered for this sprightly ditty, *Bell* was returned to the show this week after being out for two weeks."[85] Extant recordings from this time exhibit both minor differences, such as lyric changes to the penultimate line "Or if I were a season, I'd surely be spring," instead of the published "Ask me how to describe this whole beautiful thing," and the arrangement of the tune as a duet sung by Bing Crosby and Patty Andrews, with instrumental solos inserted.

The preceding examples are by no means the only changes made to the show. Changes in costuming and choreography also accompanied the addition or subtraction of numbers, most notably in the case of Alvin Colt's "breakaway" costume pieces used in the song "Take Back Your Mink," which was also added late in the Philadelphia run. [86]

As noted above, the employment of a "show doctor" was already ostensibly underway—and had been since the "Creation" stage—with Burrows's participation now guided by Kaufman.

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[84] Feuer, *I Got the Show*, 146.
[85] *The Billboard*: 12.
[86] Burrows, "The Making of," 52. Burrows says that Loesser "dug up a song he used to sing at parties called 'Take Back Your Mink,'"—which complicates matters of whether the song was, in fact, written *for* the show—and that the song was only performed once in Philadelphia, on this last night. Feuer, *I Got the Show*, 148, recalls that "we only had three performances to test them out: Friday night, Saturday matinee, and Saturday night. After that it was Broadway." Loesser, *Remarkable Fella*, 114–15, claims that it was put "into the Wednesday matinee as the second act opener.

Also, as noted above, the orchestrations, by now under the hand of Ted Royal, had undergone some revisions.

With five weeks of "Out-of-Town Tryouts" behind it, *Guys & Dolls* returned to New York for two Broadway previews on November 22–23, 1950. Twenty-four hours later came its "Opening Night."[87]

*Opening Night*

*"The show, in theory, becomes "fixed" on opening night; in practice, even more revisions are made to accommodate cast changes or to improve audience response, especially if opening night reviews are negative. The press wields great power over the future of a show; negative reviews can close a show after opening night or during the first week of scheduled performances. In this case, the sponsors lose their investment. During the run, reviews, press notices, and programs document cast changes and song or scene changes. The orchestra for opening night and the first couple weeks of performances often had an expanded string section."*[88]

Although *Guys & Dolls* opened on November 24, 1950, at the Forty-sixth Street Theatre to near universal acclaim, director George Kaufman still insisted on some script changes. For example, he had Burrows rewrite six jokes.[89] Additionally, in act 2, the pair of "Luck Be a Lady" and "The Crap Game Dance" was initially presented in that order, but a program dated December 10, 1951, shows that their order was swapped to a disposition reflected in the vocal score and in the conductor's score.

*Cast Recording[s]*

*"After the early 1940s, if the show was a success, a cast recording of music excerpts from the show was usually made at the end of the first week, using the expanded orchestra. (The timing of making the cast recording began to vary widely in the 1970s.) Cuts were made in the score to accommodate the time limitations of the recording (cut verses, shortened numbers and ballet music, etc.). Sometimes lyric changes were made to satisfy standards of public taste for broadcasting. Often the orchestra and chorus were enlarged just for the recording."*[90]

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[87] Burrows, "The Making of," 52.
[88] Farneth, "Sources," 1057.
[89] Burrows, "The Making of," 47. Burrows does not specify which jokes he changed.
[90] Farneth, "Sources," 1058.

Adhering relatively closely to the timeframe given in Farneth's model, the cast recording for *Guys & Dolls* was recorded on December 3, 1950—ten days after opening night—and released by Decca on January 8, 1951.[91] Per Farneth's model, several selections, including the dance music for "Havana" and "The Crapshooters' Dance," brief reprises of "Adelaide's Lament" and "I'll Know," and the quodlibet "Adelaide Meets Sarah" were dropped from the recording; the music for the Michael Kidd-choreographed opening scene "Runyonland" is presented in an abbreviated version.

Several songs appear on the cast recording in different keys than indicated in the conductor's score or vocal score, though it is unclear whether this is just a consequence of recording technology, or whether these changes were made to preserve the singers' voices. For example, "Bushel and a Peck " [G], "If I Were a Bell" [E-flat], "My Time of Day" [F], "I've Never Been in Love Before " [B-flat], "Luck Be a Lady" [D-flat], and "Marry the Man Today" [C-minor] are transposed down a half-step to, G-flat, D, E, C, and A, respectively. "I'll Know" is transposed twice; Brown's verse is transposed down a whole-step from A to G, and Masterson's verse is transposed down a half-step to E-flat major; neither of these changes conforms to the down-by-a-half-step transpositions seen in the previously mentioned songs, and, further, the key relationship between the two verses is changed from tonic–dominant relationship to a tonic–lowered-submediant, which impacts the tonal plan. "Adelaide's Lament [G-flat]" is transposed a half-step down to F and omits an upward modulation by half-step that appears in the vocal score at m. 29 on the lyric "And furthermore, just from stalling." Michael Buchler observed this lack of modulation in the conductor's score and speculated that it—the conductor's score—"might

[91] Frank Loesser, *Guys & Dolls Original Cast Album*, (New York: Decca Broadway, 2000).

have been used during *Guys and Dolls'* trail [sic] run in Philadelphia," but the lack of a key change in a recording made only ten days after the show opened suggests that the modulation may have been added between the show's opening and publication of the vocal score.[92] Dance breaks and the key changes that accompanied them are removed from "Bushel and a Peck" and "Take Back Your Mink" as well.[93]

*National Tour*

*"After the show has played a substantial run in New York, any number of national touring companies are formed to play in the country's major cities. When the first circuit is completed, touring companies usually travelled to a group of "second class" cities. Revisions to the show include transpositions and revisions, usually reductions, to orchestrations. The orchestra does not tour; it is hired in each city."*[94]

The Broadway run of *Guys & Dolls* ended on November 28, 1953—with a layoff between June 27 and August 24, 1953—after nearly 1,200 performances. Meanwhile, a production that would run for 555 performances was mounted at the London Coliseum on May 28, 1953. This version omitted a "Bronx cheer"—"a raspberry" —from the script due to a decision by British censors.[95]

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[92] Michael Buchler, "Modulation as a Dramatic Agent in Frank Loesser's Broadway Songs," *Music Theory Spectrum* 30 (2008): 38. Bucher's observations do not take the recording into account, but his conclusion that the modulation that eventually made its way into the score "conveys Adelaide's increased anxiety" is well founded.

[93] These changes are considered relative to both the vocal score, published September 3, 1953, and Irving Actman's conductor's score, n.d., except for "Adelaide's Lament," wherein the Cast Recording and Actman's conductor's score correspond to one another.

[94] Farneth, "Sources," 1058.

[95] Letter from (Sgd.) N.W. Gwatkin, Assistant Comptroller, Lord Chamberlain's Office to F.C Marshall, 2nd December 1952. LCP Corr 1952/4831, The British Library, St Pancras, London. Letter from (Sgd.) N.W. Gwatkin, Assistant Comptroller, Lord Chamberlain's Office to F.C Marshall, 19th December 1952. LCP Corr 1952/4831, The British Library, St Pancras, London. Cited in Chris Bell, "*Guys and Dolls* (1953)," Loesser in London, WordPress, July 30, 2015, accessed April 27, 2021, https://loesserinlondon.wordpress.com/guys-and-dolls-1953/.

A touring version of "Follow the Fold," revised February 27, 1952, omits the references to alcohol consumption and poker playing in exchange for more generally "religious" lyrics (**Table 2**).[96]

**Table 2: Broadway Version vs. Touring Version Lyrics of "Follow the Fold"**

| **Broadway Version** | **Touring Version** |
|---|---|
| Follow the fold and stray no more, | Follow the fold and stray no more, |
| Stray no more, stray no more. | Stray no more, stray no more. |
| Put down the bottle and we'll say no more; | ***Live by the gospel and we'll say no more;*** |
| Follow, follow the fold. | Follow, follow the fold. |
| Before you take another swallow. | ***And fill your heart that once was hollow.*** |
| Follow the fold and stray no more, | Follow the fold and stray no more, |
| Stray no more, stray no more. | Stray no more, stray no more. |
| Tear up the poker deck and play no more; | ***Walk in your aimless godless way no more;*** |
| Follow, follow the fold. | Follow, follow the fold. |
| To the meadows where the sun shines, | To the meadows where the sun shines, |
| Out of the darkness and the cold. | Out of the darkness and the cold. |
| And the sin and shame in which you wallow. | And the sin and shame in which you wallow. |
| Follow the fold and stray no more, | Follow the fold and stray no more, |
| Stray no more, stray no more. | Stray no more, stray no more. |
| If you're a sinner and you pray no more, | If you're a sinner and you pray no more, |
| Follow, follow the fold. | Follow, follow the fold. |

*Stock and Amateur Licensing*

*"Once the show has exhausted its commercial value in the road tours, the authors permit it to be licensed by other producing organizations. These include professional regional theaters, amateur theaters, and educational institutions. A new set of performing materials is made (orchestra parts, script, chorus parts, vocal books, etc.), usually based on the Broadway materials. Some book and lyric changes may be made to suit regional moral values. After stock and amateur materials have been used and replaced over a long period of time, they tend to reflect changes made for local productions as permanent changes. As a result, these materials are unreliable as sources for a critical edition. The full score is usually never made available for stock and amateur performances; instead, conductors use a special form of "short score," usually called a piano-conductor score."*[97]

[96] Frank Loesser, Robert Kimball, and Steve Nelson, *The Complete Lyrics of Frank Loesser* (New York: Knopf, 2003), 156–68.
[97] Farneth, "Sources," 1058.

Music Theatre International offers a *Guys & Dolls JR.*, an abridged version of *Guys & Dolls* presented as a single act. Notable song cuts include "My Time of Day," "Take Back Your Mink," "More I Cannot Wish You" and the "Havana" and "Crapshooters'" Dances. Many songs are presented in abridged versions. For example, "Guys and Dolls" lacks the verse of the stage version, and "I'll Know" is pared down to just two refrains. "Adelaide's Lament" still lacks a modulation near the end. The keys for these songs are mostly the "easier" keys of up to two accidentals, but interestingly "If I Were a Bell" and "Marry the Man Today" are both presented in their "original" keys of E-flat and C minor, respectively.[98]

*[End of model]*

In addition to describing the developmental stages of a Broadway musical, Farneth's model also includes a collection of sources that can be used to help make a critical edition. It prioritizes the following:

- Rehearsal score (usually piano-vocal) and revisions
- Pianist's rehearsal score
- Director's rehearsal score
- All full scores made for original production
- Original orchestra parts, with markings
- Cut numbers and their orchestrations, scene-change music, etc.
- Complete set of scripts: working drafts, "final," and stock and amateur
- Choreographer's notes

[98] "Guys and Dolls JR.," MTI Shows, accessed July 5, 2021, https://www.mtishows.com/guys-and-dolls-jr.

Though *Guys & Dolls JR.* is explicitly referred to as "an adaptation of the show considered by many to be the perfect musical comedy," and, therefore, may conform more closely to the description of Adaptation/Modification shown below, its use by educational institutions, its employment of a piano vocal score and reduced instrumental forces, and its use of a "performance accompaniment CD" suggest that this falls somewhere between the stated "adaptation" and Stock and Amateur Licensing.

- Complete set of programs, from tryouts through the Broadway run
- Published piano-vocal score
- Original cast recording
- Reviews, especially tryout and Broadway run.

In the case of *Guys & Dolls*, some of these sources—correspondence, preliminary outlines, source material, sketches, early drafts, programs from tryouts and Broadway, newspaper reports, reviews, the published piano-vocal score, and the original cast recording—are available. Other sources have proven elusive or nonexistent.[99]

Keeping in mind that Farneth's model is descriptive, rather than prescriptive, and that it suggests materials that may be helpful in the enterprise of assembling a critical edition, we will do well to remember that assembling a critical edition is not the aim of the present undertaking. Rather, the present project aims to disentangle various strands of the show's development with an eye toward a comparative reading of iterations.

**Beyond Farneth's Model**

While Farneth's model provides a convenient roadmap for tracing the development of a broadly defined "Broadway musical," the case of *Guys & Dolls* presents unique modifications and addenda to this model. First, there are several cast recordings available from "revivals" that have been mounted in the seventy years since its initial production. Notable are the 1976 "All Black" version,[100] whose arrangement exhibits several Disco stylistic features; the 1992 revival;[101] and a

[99] Rehearsal scores, full scores, original orchestra parts, and choreographer's notes, have proven difficult to obtain.
[100] Frank Loesser, *Guys and Dolls* (Los Angeles: Motown Records, 1976).
[101] Frank Loesser, *Guys and Dolls: The New Broadway Cast Recording* (New York, NY: RCA Victor, 1992).

"First Complete Recording,"[102] which restores all songs from the original cast recording *plus* the complete "Overture" and "Runyonland," the "Havana" dance; "The Crapshooter's Dance"; and versions of "Bushel and a Peck" and "Take Back Your Mink" with the dance breaks—removed in the 1950 cast recording—restored. If these revivals were included in Farneth's model, they might be well placed between—or adjacent to—the Cast Recording and National Tour stages, as they are both cast recordings and presentations of the songs by performers other than those who "originated" the roles.

Next, there are a number of recordings of "Bushel and a Peck," "Guys and Dolls," and "If I Were a Bell" that were released prior to the Philadelphia tryouts by artists such as Bing Crosby (as mentioned above), the Andrews Sisters, and Connie Haines, among others. These recordings exhibit all manner of differences from the 1950 Broadway version, from lyric changes—ranging from the change of a single line in "If I Were a Bell" to the omission of an entire refrain in "Guys and Dolls" to changes in form—the change of an introduction to "Guys and Dolls"—to the change of arrangement, such as "Bushel and a Peck" and "If I Were a Bell," which were originally arranged and recorded as male/female duets. These commercial enterprises, which preceded the opening of the show, ought not be discounted. In fact, if a member of the audience present at the opening of *Guys & Dolls* had heard any of these arrangements prior to attending the show, the "final" form of the song in the show would be taken *in comparison to* the version with which they were familiar. I will entitle this stage "Extra-production marketing."

Finally, and most importantly, is the film adaptation of *Guys & Dolls* produced by Samuel Goldwyn and released in 1955 by MGM.[103] This adaptation cuts several songs from the

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[102] Frank Loesser, *Guys and Dolls: First Complete Recording* (London, UK: Jay Records, 1995).
[103] *Guys & Dolls*, directed by Joseph L. Mankiewicz (1955; Santa Monica, CA: MGM Home Entertainment, 2000. DVD.

published show—"Bushel and a Peck," "My Time of Day," "I've Never Been in Love Before," "More I Cannot Wish You," "Adelaide Meets Sarah," "Marry the Man Today," and "Adelaide's Second Lament"—and replaces them or inserts them between others; it replaces "Pet Me Poppa" for "Bushel and a Peck," "A Woman in Love" for "My Time of Day/I've Never Been in Love Before," and inserts "Adelaide" after "Guys and Dolls." I propose that this stage is an addendum to Farneth's model, and, especially because of the complications introduced with the addition and removal of song materials, be considered Adaptation/Modification.[104]

**Conclusion**

As we have seen, the development of *Guys & Dolls*, articulated by following Farneth's model—with a few deviations—involved many revisions. In the Conception and Creation stages, with their corollary Pre-Conception, Sources stage, we see how Damon Runyon's source materials are adapted into a framework upon which the rough idea of a musical is laid. In the Design, Workshop, Fundraising, and Auditions stage, we see that, with some overlap into the Creation stage, the show lost one author, Jo Swerling, and gained a new one, Abe Burrows (who might also be considered a "script doctor" in a later stage), as well as a director, choreographer, set designer, and costume designer. In the Rehearsal, Orchestration stage, we see revisions of both the libretto and music as well as the creation of dance music. The Out-of-Town Tryouts stage demonstrates numerous orderings and re-orderings along with additions and subtractions of songs and dance numbers and makes implied changes to the libretto. The addition of extra-textual marketing introduces songs into the public forum prior to Opening Night, though even

[104] Several Adaptation/Modifications have made their entry into the public realm with the addition/omission of material, as in the cases of the screen-to-stage *The Lion King* and the stage-to-screen *Into the Woods* (itself an adaptation of Grimm's fairy tales).

Opening Night itself affords the authors some latitude with script "fixedness." The Cast Recording, considered relative to the published piano-vocal score and conductor's score, also presents a destabilization, with transpositions, interpolations of key changes, and omission of dance music that may otherwise impact a more global interpretation of form. Revivals and their accompanying Cast Recordings further destabilize our reference to the "original" texts. Finally, the stage-to-screen Adaptation—with additions by Loesser—offers us another version of *Guys & Dolls* that we may compare with the Broadway version.

This multiplicity of texts, with the "Broadway version" as the exemplar, may be taken in constellation with one another. That is, all versions may be given equal critical weight simultaneously: the "source" materials (Runyon's short stories) may be read against the drafts and final version of the libretto; the ordering of songs (and the inclusion or exclusion of individual songs) within the tryout stage, the Broadway version, and motion-picture versions may be compared with one another; and one version of a character from an early draft may be compared to their appearance in the sources or in later versions. Character renditions, from source to final disposition and all stages in between, may be considered in the aggregate and examined, rendering a richer reading of any given character than a single, "stable" libretto may offer.

Our examination of *Guys & Dolls* through the lens offered by Farneth's model has offered us an array of sources as well as a framework upon which one may craft a narrative of the origins of those sources, and within which to explore the tensions between accountings of those origins. It has also shown us that at least two versions of *Guys & Dolls*—the stage-musical and the film-musical—exist. The next chapter will explore editorial, adaptation, and redaction

theories as a means of creating a space in which *all* versions of *Guys & Dolls* may be taken in tandem with one another.

## Chapter 2– Versions are Revisions

Chapter 1 showed that the path to *Guys & Dolls* from Damon Runyon to conception to the stage and screen is anything but straight and narrow. Runyon's path, at the very least, ran into the path of producers Cy Feuer and Ernest Martin. From there it bifurcated into the paths of music and story in the hands of Frank Loesser and Jo Swerling, respectively. Swerling's contribution effectively led to a dead end and was picked up by Abe Burrows.[105] This team of Feuer, Martin, Loesser, and Burrows was then consolidated under the leadership of director George Kaufman, and this five-person team worked its way toward Broadway.[106] After the show's success on Broadway, it was passed among many more hands. Samuel Goldwyn, as film producer, received the property, Joseph L. Mankiewicz and Ben Hecht adapted the stage work for the screen, Frank Loesser wrote some new songs, and Mankiewicz directed.[107]

Whose work were audiences seeing, both on stage and on screen? Could two people who had each only seen the stage or screen versions share a common experience? What about an avid reader of Runyon? Would they recognize any of the tales recalled by someone who had seen both the stage and screen versions? How might we bridge an apparent divide between a

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[105] As noted in chapter 1, several authors were brought in before Swerling.
[106] Recall that George Bassman and Ted Royal contributed orchestral arrangements of Loesser's songs, and Billy Kyle created "extended dance sequences."
[107] Kim Kowalke, "Theorizing the Golden Age Musical: Genre, Structure, Syntax," *Gamut* 6, no. 2 (2013): 134. *Guys & Dolls*, like so many so-called Golden Age musicals, expanded its creative forces to include "not only book-writer, lyricist, and composer but also producer, director, choreographer, and designers." The present discussion, however, will forgo the inclusion of choreography and costume as textual elements.

collection of people whose experiences of "Runyon's" work takes so many forms? What can this bridge tell us about the material itself, and what can we learn about this bridge?

This chapter uses concepts drawn from the fields of editorial theory and adaptation theory to disentangle the creative threads of the above-mentioned contributors. Since *Guys & Dolls* is an amalgamation of several Runyon stories and characters, an effective disentangling allows us to explore the evolution of the stories and characters from the points of their initial appearances, through the revision processes, and to their "final" stage and screen versions.[108] First, it examines the move of "The Idyll of Miss Sarah Brown" from the pages of *Collier's*, where it initially appeared, to the pages of a collection of Damon Runyon's works, where Feuer and Martin (Ernie or Nancy, depending on the account) discovered it, and the changes made to the text—removing captions and illustrations—while exploring those changes in the context of adaptation theory. Next, by appropriating concepts and terminology from the field of editorial theory, it crafts a framework for further discussing adaptation, and then deploys and develops that framework while discussing the radio adaptation of "The Idyll of Miss Sarah Brown" that aired on *The Damon Runyon Theatre*. Next, using the concept of *redaction*, it examines the incorporation of other Runyon stories, scenarios, and characters from outside "The Idyll of Miss Sarah Brown" into *Guys & Dolls*—a concept that I dub *redactive adaptation*. Finally, having developed our lexicon in the preceding sections, it considers *Guys & Dolls*—both the stage- and film-musicals, one after the other—as proper adaptations whose respective developments can best be understood through the previously developed lenses.

[108] As we will see in this chapter, there is a certain irony in referring to either the stage or screen version as the "final" version.

**Edition, Adaptation, and *The Fluid Text***

Although I plan on drawing from the fields of editorial and adaptation theories, my approach to the forthcoming work does not see these fields as separate but as linked in their examinations of textual change. Editorial theory tracks, rationalizes, and catalogues textual changes in the compilation of critical editions, and adaptation theory compares textual changes between two forms of media—since the field initially examined moves from page to screen. Their shared examination of textual change, however, is addressed by John Bryant in his own treatment of editorial and adaptation theories through his concept of the *fluid text*.[109]

"Simply put," writes Bryant, "a fluid text is any literary work that exists in more than one version.[110] It is 'fluid' because the versions flow from one to another…. Not only is this fluidity the inherent condition of any written document; it is inherent in the phenomenon of writing itself." For Bryant, a *work* transcends the boundaries of its published *text*. "A work," according to Bryant, "is the set of intentions, desires, and visions existing in the author's mind that together constitute the author's conception of the literary work of art. As such, a work has no tangible presence, but this is not to say that it is not real, nor that it is, according to some detractors, some sort of Platonic ideal."[111] We might say, then, that editorial theory and adaptation theory both examine the way in which a *work* changes as evidenced by changes in its *text*, with adaptation

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[109] John Bryant, *The Fluid Text: A Theory of Revision and Editing for Book and Screen* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2002). Though I will sometimes refer to the *theory* of the fluid text, I would be remiss in not acknowledging Bryant's insistence that, "The fluid text is a fact, not a theory."

[110] Bryant, *Fluid Text*, 1. Much as with Farneth's methodology outlined in his "Sources" article, Bryant's exegesis on the fluid text is aimed at an audience concerned with crafting a critical edition. As, again, the concerns of this dissertation do not involve crafting a critical edition, my employment of Bryant's ideology, as my employment of Farneth's methodology, are more concerned with the materials and sources related to *Guys & Dolls*, and less concerned with aggregating a definitive edition.

[111] Bryant, *Fluid Text,* 31.

often evidencing textual changes via a change of medium. Performances and stagings of texts might also be, themselves, considered as texts.[112]

A work, however, is also something more than the aforementioned "set of desires." It is that set of desires *plus* its manifestation in *documents*, such as "a single manuscript, a set of proofs, or a copy of a first or subsequent edition; it is any material form in which the text of a work appears."[113] These documents include evidence of *revision* made manifest in *versions*.[114]

**Versions and Revisions**

As Bryant suggests, versions are the "materialization[s] of authorial and cultural pressures," and versions are "the primary focus of fluid-text analysis"[115] They have eight determinants:

1. *Versions are physical but not always available.* A single document may constitute a single version, evidence of multiple versions, fragmentary or full, [and] can be found in a single document.
2. *No version is entire of itself.* A version exists in relation to another version. The versions are *linked*.
3. *Versions are revisions.* Versions are the result of textual alteration by an author or editor.

[112] Hutcheon, Adaptation, 39. Hutcheon writes: "In a very real sense, every live staging of a printed play could theoretically be considered an adaptation in its performance. The text of a play does not necessarily tell an actor about such matters as the gestures, expressions, and the tones of voice to use…and it is up to the director and actors to actualize the text and to interpret and then recreate it…. In a musical drama, the score too has to be brought to life for the audience and 'shown' in actual embodied sound; it cannot remain inert as lifeless black notes on a page. A visual and aural world is physically shown on stage—be it in a play, a musical, an opera, or any other performance piece—created from verbal and notational signs on the page." Though Hutcheon is writing about adaptation in the preceding quote, we will see that adaptations fall under Bryant's category of cultural revision—also known as adaptive revision—and, as such, are but another stage in the revision of a text within a broader work.
[113] Bryant, *Fluid Text*, 32.
[114] Ibid., 88.
[115] Ibid.

4. *Versions are not [necessarily] authorizations.* Not all versions are made or even sanctioned, by authors. Versions, whether authorized or not, are equally valid and have relative significance depending upon the critical ends for which they may be used.
5. *Versions are different.* While it is true that all revision has meaning, a version's revision results in substantial differences in the nature and impact of a text. *Macroscopic* revision, creating substantial rearrangements or substitutions of text may suggest a version, whereas *microscopic* revision or fine-tuning of a text may not.
6. *A version must be more than the sum of its variants.* Versions are defined not only by the *degree* of revision (or difference) but also by the *direction* of the revisions.
7. *Versions have audiences.* One version distinguishes itself by its attempt to manipulate a readership differently; a version has a definable *rhetorical impact*.
8. *Versions are critical constructs.* A version's presence is established through historical and editorial, hence critical, construction. [116]

For Bryant, each of the eight criteria for a version is located throughout three *modes of production*: creation, publication, and adaptation.[117] The creation mode includes journals and letters, notes and rehearsals, working drafts, circulating drafts, and fair copies or typescripts. The publication mode includes manuscript publication and print publication. Though Bryant's adaptation *mode* includes transforming a work into a different format or genre, it is not to be confused with the previously mentioned adaptation *theory*, which is a separate enterprise.[118]

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[116] Bryant, *Fluid Text,* 88–90. While Bryant uses the terms *macroscopic* and *microscopic* when describing the degree and direction of revisions in determinants 5 and 6, I prefer G. Thomas Tanselle's terms *vertical* and *horizontal* as alternates for each of these, respectively. See: G. Thomas Tanselle, "The Editorial Problem of Final Authorial Intention," *Studies in Bibliography*, 20 (1976): 193.

[117] As we will see in the next chapter, these modes of production can—and will—be mapped onto the stages found in Farneth's "Sources."

[118] Hutcheon, *Adaptation*, 95. Though Hutcheon sees some of her work on adaptation as an adaptation of Bryant's work, this field of adaptation theory is distinct from editorial theory.

Providing a point-of-contact between editorial and adaptation theories, the notion of *cultural revision*, Bryant's term for adaptation, offers provisions for contextualizing textual change from one medium to another. "These acts of *cultural revision* are extensions of the creative processes initiated by the writer but generally performed without any authorial participation."[119]

Bryant's fluid text, then, is something of an umbrella that encompasses authorial, editorial, and adaptive concerns. Authorial and editorial concerns are encompassed by the creation and publication modes of production, and adaptive concerns, as the name suggests, are covered by the adaptation mode which, as we shall see, contains its own embedded authorial and editorial concerns. Understanding *these* concerns within a fluid text is a necessary step in understanding both the concept of a fluid text and its machinations.

**Adaptation as an Editorial Concern: Bryant's Third Determinant**

My interest in adaptation as an editorial issue is entwined with Bryant's third determinant: Versions are revisions. If versions are the result of textual alteration by an author or editor, then an adaptation can be viewed as just another revision, whether authorized or not. Altering (revising) a story during the process of adaptation is akin to the work an editor or amanuensis performs in the preparation of drafts, fair copies, print proofs, or abridged versions. Certainly, some of that work consists of the correction of accidentals, word choice, and so forth, which aims at "intensifying, refining, or improving [a] work," but does not aim at *substantive* change. In other cases, however, editors (especially) "alter the purpose, direction, or character of a work,

[119] Bryant, *Fluid Text,* 93 (italics mine). Bryant has since revised his terminology, favoring the term *adaptive revision* when discussing a move from one medium to another. See John Bryant, "Textual Identity and Adaptive Revision: Editing Adaptation as a Fluid Text," in Jørgen Bruhn, Anne Gjelsvik, and Eirik Frisvold Hanssen, *Adaptation Studies: New Challenges, New Directions* (London; New York: Bloomsbury Academic, 2013): 47–68.

in an attempt to make a different sort of work out of it."[120] My concern regarding adaptation as a type of edition is primarily with the latter.

During the process of adaptation, the adaptor, too, alters the purpose, direction, or character of a work, in an attempt to make a different work out of it. This distinction I am drawing between editing and adapting is one, I believe, of degree rather than kind. Whether the adaptor is a screenwriter, composer, librettist, painter, or programmer, this adaptation/edition of the text transcends any single author's mandate and de-centers the author. Instead of appealing to an Ur-edition for authority, this adaptation-edition exists on a hypo-textual/hyper-textual continuum, or in a constellation of texts whose hierarchical implications are ad hoc.

Part of my concern involves the valuation of each stage of a text—from first draft to adaptation—and the primacy of any given text. Rather than seeing an adaptation (or abridgment) as something less-than an adapted text, I'm inclined to see it as different-than. Rather than reading an adaptation against the adapted text (the source)—as is typical—an adapted text could just as easily be read against its adaptation.[121] While having a clear idea of which text is adapted and which is the adaptation provides a footing for discussing how a text has changed, this successive orientation is unnecessary for discussing the differences between adapted texts and adaptations.

In short, I see adaptation(s) as the product of editorial decisions that de-center both author and text. By affording the adaptor *cum* editor an authorial voice, we diminish the authority of the

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[120] Tanselle, "Authorial Intention," 193.

[121] Hutcheon, *Adaptation*, 120–21. Hutcheon states, "To experience [adaptation] *as an adaptation*… we need to recognize it as such and to know its [source] text, thus allowing the latter to oscillate in our memories with what we are experiencing." In email correspondence with the author, Hutcheon states, "Think of it from the reader/spectator's point of view: if I see the adaptation first, it becomes the core (or Ur) text; when I then read the adapted text, IT in turn becomes the so-called 'secondary' one."

adapted text and create both a constellation of *versions* that exist coequally, and a constellation of authors whose renderings of a work constitute something of a meta-work whose parts overlap.

Within the above-outlined framework, we will now make our way from Runyon to Mankiewicz, through a radio adaptation and the work of Feuer and Martin et al., from a short story in *Collier's* to *Guys & Dolls* adapted for the silver screen. As we proceed, we will do well to remember Bryant's third determinant, that versions are revisions, and as such each revision of the text is a re-vision of the work, whose parts are held in constellation with one another.

**Runyon: From *Collier's* to Collections**

Damon Runyon is the author of numerous short stories, known collectively as the "Broadway Stories," many of which were first published in *Cosmopolitan*, *Collier's*, and *The Saturday Evening Post* magazines. Many of these stories were later assembled into collections, *Guys and Dolls* (1932), *Damon Runyon's Blue Plate Special* (1934), *More Than Somewhat* (1937), *Furthermore* (1938), and *Take It Easy* (1938); the latter three were later assembled into *The Damon Runyon Omnibus* (1944). Several other collections of Runyon were also published, including *Runyon First to Last* (1949), *Runyon on Broadway* (1950) [including stories not included in *Runyon First to Last*], and *More Guys and Dolls* (1950).

An editor (or editors) would have had some say both in the matter of which of Runyon's material would have been included in magazines and which titles would have been included in the collections, and format and layout concerns that accompany many of Runyon's titles in *Collier's*, as well illustrations and advertisements that accompany the stories. The first page of

"The Idyll of Miss Sarah Brown," for example, contains an illustration by Wallace Morgan (see **Image 1**) at the top half and Runyon's text at the bottom half of the *recto* page.[122]

**Image 1: Page 7 of *Collier's* (January 28, 1933)**

Collier's — The National Weekly for January 28, 1933

# The Idyll of Miss Sarah Brown

By Damon Runyon

*A Broadway romance that is by no means an ordinary proposition, although some citizens will tell you that life is frequently like this. And, for all we know, they may be right*

A full-page advertisement for the Philco Lazy-X radio remote control console appears on the *verso* page; the magazine layout displays a similarly formatted image and text on p. 8. The story

[122] Damon Runyon, "The Idyll of Miss Sarah Brown," *Collier's*, January 28, 1933. *Collier's* editorial staff included William L. Chenery (editor), Thomas H. Beck (editorial director), and Charles Colebaugh (managing editor).

then continues on pp. 41 and 42—this time as nearly full pages of text unaccompanied by illustrations—with strips of advertisements along the outside margins. None of the collected works contain any of the original illustrations.

One might be inclined to dismiss the illustrations that accompany Runyon's story in *Collier's* as decoration, and not necessary to Runyon's storytelling. Runyon's story and his wording are preserved, after all, without the illustrations in *Runyon First to Last*. One might argue that an editor or an art director at *Collier's* chose to add the illustrations, because that was part of an in-house style, or one might argue that the publisher of *Runyon First to Last* chose to omit the illustrations because including them could have been cost prohibitive, either in licensing the artwork or in the expense of typesetting and engraving. While it is unclear whether Runyon had any say in the matter, his story, as it appears in the *Collier's* issue and in the collection *Runyon First to Last*, are nonetheless two different *texts*: one with pictures, and one without.

The illustration does some of the work for the reader. Of Brown, Runyon writes, "She is tall, and thin, and has a first-class shape, and her hair is light brown, going on blond, and her eyes are like I do not know what, except that they are one-hundred-per-cent eyes in every respect."[123] As a readers, we can easily imagine someone who is "tall, and thin," with hair that is "light brown, going on blond," though terms like "first-class shape" or "one-hundred-per-cent eyes" might be a bit more subjective. Wallace Morgan's illustration, however, delimits for us just exactly how tall and how thin Sarah Brown is. Furthermore, his illustration can tell us how her clothes are tailored and how well they fit, aiding Runyon's assertion of her "first-class shape," despite 1930s Salvation Army uniforms being anything but form-fitting as illustrated.

[123] *Collier's*, 41.

Nevertheless, the illustrator's work exists as a second-degree text based on a scene from Runyon's short story.[124]

An extended excerpt from the same passage further reveals Morgan's re-creation of the scene:

> There are only four of these mission workers, and two of them are old guys, and one is an old doll, while the other is a young doll who is tootling on a cornet. And after a couple of ganders at this young doll, The Sky is a goner, for this is one of the most beautiful young dolls anybody ever sees on Broadway, and especially as a mission worker. Her name is Miss Sarah Brown.
>
> She is tall, and thin, and has a first-class shape, and her hair is a light brown, going on blonde, and her eyes are like I do not know what, except that they are one-hundred-per-cent eyes in every respect. Furthermore, she is not a bad cornet player, if you like cornet players, although at this spot on Broadway she has to play against a scat band in a chop-suey joint near by [sic], and this is tough competition, although at that many citizens believe Miss Sarah Brown will win by a large score if she only gets a little more support from one of the old guys with her who has a big bass drum, but does not pound it hearty enough.

In comparing Runyon's text with Morgan's, we can see that there are four people: two women and two men. One of the women, playing a cornet, appears considerably younger than the other woman, who slumps, has a bit of a paunch and a neck wattle, whose face looks more worn, and who is holding a tambourine. The two men are certainly older, if not *old*; one slouches and appears wrinkled and gaunt, and the other, who holds the bass drum, looks older by virtue of his thick and long beard. While there is nothing in the image that overtly suggests that the quartet is comprised of mission workers, let alone Salvation Army workers, there is a certain uniformity to their paramilitary appearance; the women's dresses have similar hemlines (although the older

[124] Gérard Genette, *Palimpsestes: La littérature au second degré* (Paris : Seuil, 1982), 5, quoted in Hutcheon, *Adaptation*, 6.

woman's hemline and waistline are somewhat lower than the younger's), and both wear berets (in contrast to a bonnet worn by women in the Salvation Army), collared blouses, and neckties underneath waist-length jackets. The men wear similarly cut jackets and collared shirts, although one wears a fedora and the other, the drummer, wears a military-style peaked cap; the drummer's slacks are uncuffed and a bit too short. Obviously, there is much more information in the illustration, from the passerby who casts a sidelong glance at the quartet, as if to suggest a passing curiosity, and the spectator, whose face appears between the fedora-wearing old man's head and the cornet-player's, and whose eyes are cast down and away from the quartet as if to suggest avoidance, to the solitary figure standing (above) on a curb, who views the band that stands (below) in the gutter, which suggests that he is looking down on the group both figuratively and literally.

A detail that might be overlooked is the caption for the illustration, drawn from the excerpted portion above: "After a couple of ganders at this young doll, The Sky is a goner." Now we may presume that the solitary figure looking at the band is "The Sky." Given the tilt of his head and the direction of his gaze, we may gather that the young woman playing cornet is the "doll." This intratextual polysemy is *anchored* by the caption.[125] That is, the text of the caption provides *context* for the illustration. Removed from the contexts of *Collier's* and even Runyon's story, an illustration titled "After a Couple of Ganders at This Young Doll, The Sky is a Goner," could well suffice as a self-contained story, one about a man who stops to watch a young woman playing cornet and becomes smitten with her. In fact, he becomes a "goner," one whose case is hopeless.

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[125] Roland Barthes, *Image, Music, Text*, trans. Stephen Heath (New York: Hill and Wang, 1977), 38–40. Strictly speaking, Barthes was not talking about Runyon, let alone *Guys & Dolls*. The caption text both *anchors* and *relays* the message.

This detour into the relationship between the story as told by the writer, Damon Runyon, and the story as told by the illustrator, Wallace Morgan, begins to shed light on the problems and questions faced in this chapter. In particular: How might we say that *Guys & Dolls* (the musical) is "Based on a story and characters by Damon Runyon"? Could Morgan's illustration share a similar subtitle? Is a Runyon story incomplete (or *less* complete) when republished without the illustration(s) that accompanied its initial publication? If so, what is lost in the process? At the other end of the spectrum, what happens when a Runyon story is augmented by the addition of music? What happens when the story moves from the page to the stage? What is gained or lost in the process, and how might we compare the products of these processes? To answer these questions, we will do well to look at the field of adaptation theory.

**Referencing Runyon**

Continuing with the above examinations of the relationship between an illustration that depicts a scene from a short story that it accompanies and the story itself, we will be wise to lay out a working (albeit incomplete) definition of *adaptation*. Bryant, citing the field of editorial theory's view of adaptation writes, "Adaptation is creativity's stepchild, always vying for validation, never catching up to its originating source. But this view depends upon an exclusionary and inadequate notion of the written 'work' and the writing process in general."[126] Linda Hutcheon suggests that adaptations are viewed as "secondary, derivative, 'belated, middlebrow, or culturally inferior,' (as noted by Naremore 2002b: 6)… and are described with "decidedly moralistic" words such as 'tampering,' 'interference,' 'violation,' (listed in McFarlane 1996: 12), 'betrayal,' 'deformation,' [or] 'perversion.'…(found by Stam 2000: 54)."[127] According to

[126] John Bryant, "Adaptive Revision," 47.
[127] Hutcheon, *Adaptation*, 2–3, citing James Naremore, "Film and the Reign of Adaptation," in *Film Adaptation*, ed. James Naremore (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2000), 6,

Hutcheon, however, *adaptation* is both a process *and* its product. A text—frequently referred to as the "source text" or "the original" —is an adaptation when it is "an extended, deliberate, announced revisitation of a particular work of art [while] short intertextual allusions to other works or bits of sampled music" are not.[128]

With Hutcheon's criteria in mind, our comparison of the illustration with its adapted text of Runyon's short story seems not to fulfill Hutcheon's criteria of the work *as an adaptation*. The illustration presents only a short intertextual allusion to another work, and as it depicts but a single scene, it is not particularly extended.[129] Then, if we consider Morgan's illustration as a less-than-extended intertextual allusion, does it become part of a larger adaptation if it is included alongside his other illustration for the story—found on p. 8 of *Collier's*—which depicts the scene of "The Idyll of Miss Sarah Brown," wherein Brown confronts Masterson at the climactic crap game? Accompanied by the caption, "'I know something about gambling,' Miss Sarah Brown says, 'especially about crap games. If you wish to gamble for souls, Mister Sky, gamble for your own soul.'" The illustration depicts Brown facing a group of nine men, including Masterson, who are crowded around a crap table and looking at Brown. Both illustrations and their captions, found on pp. 7 and 8, respectively, precede Runyon's introduction of Brown as a character, which happens on p. 41.[130] As parts of a narrative, these

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Brian McFarlane, *Novel to Film: An Introduction to the Theory of Adaptation* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), 12, and Robert Stam, "The Dialogics of Adaptation," in *Film Adaptation*, ed. James Naremore (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2000), 54.

[128] Hutcheon, *Adaptation*, 170. Hutcheon prefers the term "adapted text" rather than source text.

[129] Hutcheon, *Adaptation*, 15. Hutcheon suggests that Aubrey Beardsley's sixteen illustrations that accompany Oscar Wilde's play *Salomé* are a possible adaptation. As Beardsley's illustrations accompany an English-language translation and span the arc of the play, they are extended and deliberate visual revisitations of Wilde's text.

[130] The mission band, as a group, is introduced at the bottom of p. 8, but Brown, individually, is not. One might suggest, however, that Sarah Brown is introduced in the title of the story.

illustrations only provide a beginning and a middle; boy meets girl, and girl confronts boy, respectively. We, the viewers, have no idea of the outcome of the confrontation. We need to read the rest of the story to find out what follows. Both illustrations, then, serve as inter- and intratextual allusions to Runyon's text, and are not adaptations in Hutcheon's sense.

Why devote attention to parsing the independence of either text, the illustrations, or the short story? Doing so demonstrates the ability of Runyon's text to stand on its own without the need of pictures to tell the story. Even if, as is the case, Runyon's story is included in a collection of his other stories, the narrative is left unblemished. There is a beginning, a middle, and an end. The *context* of Runyon's story changes from a single story in a weekly magazine to part of a collection of works by a single author, but the *content* remains unchanged; that is, absent the captioned illustrations and the context of *Collier's* magazine, the *words* of Runyon's story remain unchanged.[131]

**Toward Adapting Runyon**

This is not the case with a radio adaptation of "The Idyll of Miss Sarah Brown," which aired on *The Damon Runyon Theatre* on February 6, 1949, and shifts Runyon's narrative mode from a telling mode, which Hutcheon locates in Bryant's "manuscripts, revisions, and editions" to a hybrid showing and telling mode, where "we find those different productions of a play or a musical."[132] Recalling that an adaptation is an "extended, deliberate, announced revisitation of a particular work of art," we can see that this version of "The Idyll of Miss Sarah Brown" is

[131] Hutcheon, *Adaptation*, 10, citing André Gaudreault and Phillpe Marion, "Transécriture et médiatique narrative: L'enjeu de 'lintermédialité," in *La transécriture: Pour une théorie de l'adaptation*, ed. Thierry Groensteen (Quebec: Editions Nota Bene, 1998).
[132] Hutcheon, *Adaptation,* 171. While dialogue in the radio play is delivered in the showing mode, some of the scene setting is delivered in both show and telling modes. For example, instead of a narrator delivering background details on a character, that character tells their own background as dialogue.

certainly extended, coming in at nearly thirty minutes; it is both deliberate and announced in that it retains the title and is presented in the context of a radio program named after the story's author. Accordingly, we can conclude that it is an adaptation.

These modes of engagement afford us different experiences with the same story. In narrative literature, such as "The Idyll of Miss Sarah Brown," our engagement is unconstrained by visual or aural limits; words may guide our imaginations, but our imaginations are liberated from these visual and aural limits.[133] As examined above, absent the captioned illustration, the reader is free to decide what "tall," "thin," "first-class shape," and "hundred-per-cent eyes" mean. The reader is also free to imagine how a Broadway street scene looks and to add detail. Furthermore, "The Idyll of Miss Sarah Brown" is told from the first- and third-person perspectives, with limited omniscience. An unnamed narrator relays the tale of Sky Masterson using both "I," "we," "he," and "she" pronouns, yet does not reveal characters' thoughts.

**Shifting Intentions and the Direction of Revision**[134]

Before continuing, I would like to revisit the notion of adaptation as a branch of editorial theory, in order to appropriate terminology that will facilitate further discussion. Many of the problems faced in the field of editorial theory—and a problem faced by editors of scholarly editions in particular—deals with the notion of *authorial intention*. As we saw, Runyon's story, "The Idyll of Miss Sarah Brown," is a text that operates outside of the context of *Collier's* and without the

[133] Hutcheon, *Adaptation*, 23

[134] Sara Miglietti, "Meaning in a Changing Context: Towards an Interdisciplinary Approach to Authorial Revision," *History of European Ideas* 40, no. 4 (2014): 474–94. The uses of the references in this section were largely inspired by Miglietti's article which, in part, offers comparative readings of Tanselle, Hancher, West, and Greg. Though Miglietti's reading reveals disciplinary disputes between the authors I cite and their critics, my goal in appropriating these authors' terminology is to develop our understanding of the authorial enterprise, whether undertaken by author, editor, or adaptor.

aid of Wallace's illustration as a second-degree text. "The Idyll of Miss Sarah Brown was authored by Damon Runyon.

Hutcheon's own work on adaptation incorporates Bryant's notion of the fluid text and what she sees as Bryant's views of "the material evidence of *shifting* intentions."[135] The goal of scholarly editors, according to G. Thomas Tanselle, is to "discover exactly what an author wrote and to determine what form of his work he wished the public to have."[136] As sources vary in form—manuscripts, typescripts, and fair copies—and availability (sometimes the oldest available source is a first edition printing), determining what an author intended is no easy task.[137]

There is a problem identifying the *type* of intention held by an author. Intention might be considered as the "design or plan in the author's mind."[138] Michael Hancher has argued that there are at least three kinds of intention: *programmatic intention*, *active intention*, and *final intention*. *Programmatic intention* is simply an author's intention to make something and is approximate and generic; it may be general, such as intending to write a sonnet or limerick, or more specific, an ode to a breakfast cereal that acts as a commentary upon contemporary politics.[139] These intentions may fail, but they are, nevertheless, programmatic intentions. *Active intentions* are the actions that authors believe they perform in the text.[140] Whether the reader understands the author's written meaning or not is immaterial. It is what the author *meant* that governs how we

[135] Bryant, *The Fluid Text*, 9 (italics his), in Hutcheon, *Adaptation*, 95.
[136] Tanselle, "Authorial Intention," 167.
[137] G. Thomas Tanselle, "Textual Instability and Editorial Idealism," *Studies in Bibliography* 49 (1996): 1–60. Tanselle examines the issues of authorship and multiple authorship, such as the type of collaborative authorship practiced by editors.
[138] Michael Hancher, "Three Kinds of Intention," *Modern Language Notes* 87, no. 7 (1972): 828.
[139] Ibid., 829
[140] Ibid., 830.

might evaluate the success of the author's active intention. *Final intention* may be split into two sub-categories: those that pertain to the reader of the work, and those that pertain to the author. In terms of the reader, the author may seek to change a reader's knowledge or belief about some matter, or cause a reader to laugh or cry, or undergo a catharsis of pity or fear. An author's final intention for themself may be to earn money or fame, or to simply complete the work, whether for pleasure or as a kind of psychotherapy.[141]

We might imagine Runyon's text framed by the three preceding intentions. For example, let us imagine that Runyon's programmatic intention was to write a short story. Let us imagine that his active intention is to demonstrate that gamblers are "moral" characters. Finally, let us imagine that his final intention was to write a story in which a gambler (Masterson) tricks a mission worker (Brown) into saving his soul, and, further, to convince the reader that gambling is an honest endeavor (change of knowledge). Let us imagine that Runyon's second-branch intention was to make money from the publication, an imagining that might be supported by Runyon's publication history with *Collier's* and by subsequent republications in collections.[142] If we revisit our imagined intentions for Runyon at some point during his active-intention stage, we may find ourselves privy to a set of texts produced by Runyon during this stage. Some of the texts we might see could include handwritten manuscripts, typescripts, or even a fair copy of the typescript. This fair copy, for Runyon, might presumably represent a copy of the text to which Runyon had applied the finishing touches.[143] As Runyon was well into his career as an author at

[141] Hancher, "Intention," 835.
[142] Runyon's drafts of "The Idyll of Miss Sarah Brown," *Collier's* editorial markups (if extant), and any correspondence between *Collier's* and Wallace Morgan are either not extant or unavailable for consultation. The premises surrounding Runyon's authorial intentions, however, are consistent with the framework of authorial intentions outlined by Hancher.
[143] James L. West III, "Fair Copy, Authorial Intention, and 'Versioning,'" *Text* 6 (1994): 81.

this point, there exists the chance that an editor might receive this fair copy and send it to the compositor to have the text prepared for printing. If not, the editor may choose to revise, emend, or otherwise alter the text that Runyon has submitted.[144]

Suppose an editor had chosen to exercise their office by engaging in the acts of revision, emendation, or other alterations. How might we understand these changes relative to Runyon's active intentions? Further, how might we describe the nature of these changes? How much have these changes deflected Runyon's intention(s)? We might consider an editor's changes to a text side-by-side with Runyon's submitted text as *versions* of the same text. No synthesis is made in this comparative reading, and no ideal text is aimed for; each version is considered to possess some authority, and the reading of the entire work exists as "a kind of continuum" and possesses a collective final authority.[145]

Our comparative reading of the texts might show us that Runyon's and the editor's intentions are largely sympathetic with one another, and that the revisions made to the text are *horizontal revisions*: changes that aim to intensify, refine, or improve the work. On the other hand, Runyon and the editor may have conflicting active intentions, and the editor may engage in *vertical revisions*: revisions which aim at altering the purpose, direction, or character of a work, and attempt to make a different sort of work out of it.[146]

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[144] In the cases of some authors, a fair copy of the text may not exist. Fragments or sketches are submitted to a publisher (or others) with the thought that the publisher will organize the work as they see fit. For a more thorough discussion of this see: James L. West III, "Editorial Theory and the Act or Submission," *The Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America* 83, no. 2 (June 1989): 169–185.

[145] West, "Versioning," 86–87. West notes that lack of sufficient interest (and an implied barrier presented by then-contemporaneous technologies) would have made compilations, which included more than one version, prohibitive.

[146] Tanselle, "Authorial Intention," 193. Tanselle notes that while both vertical and horizontal revisions affect the active intention, vertical revisions fulfill an altered programmatic intention.

For our purposes, let us suppose that *Collier's* printed the text Runyon submitted with minimal revisions. Changes may have been confined to the *accidentals*—spelling, punctuation, and word-division—of the text, but would have excluded *substantive* changes, such as those that would have impacted his intended meaning, whatever that meaning was.[147] We can see that revising the accidentals might fall under the category of horizontal revision, while any substantive changes would necessarily fall under the heading of vertical revision. In the context of our understanding of vertical and horizontal revisions, I would like to return to the radio adaptation of "The Idyll of Miss Sarah Brown."

**The Tensions of Intentions**

Let us frame our return to the radio adaptation in the context of the previously discussed three types of authorial intention and types of revision. Russell Hughes, the adapter of the story for radio, would face a similar set of problems as Runyon, yet in a different medium. His programmatic intention could be to produce a script for a radio play; his active intention could be to produce a script based on an adaptation of the Damon Runyon story "The Idyll of Miss Sarah Brown." His final intention could be financial remuneration.

Hughes's revisions may include both horizontal and vertical revision types. Since *The Damon Runyon Theater* aired in thirty-minute segments, the maximum length of any script could be thirty minutes and this would include absolutely no time allowed for commercial sponsorship slots. As a commercial enterprise, radio plays were a vehicle for not only entertainment, but also for product placement. This means that there would have to be some breaks to allow for advertising. The recording length of "The Idyll of Miss Sarah Brown" is 26m 43 sec, with commercials added locally. We might imagine horizontal revisions to include the removal of

[147] W. W. Greg, "The Rationale of the Copy-Text," *Studies in Bibliography* 3 (1950): 21.

small sections of text to make room for commercial time. These horizontal revisions would only apply to the text of the script produced by Hughes. When considered in relation to Runyon's work of the same title, these revisions may still be of the horizontal variety, substituting, in some cases, the limited-omniscient nature of Runyon's prose in the *telling mode* for a dialogue-driven, mixed-person *showing mode*.[148] The plot, at this point, would remain largely intact: Masterson falls for Brown; Masterson loses Brown; Masterson wins Brown (or, rather, Brown wins Masterson).

The vertical revisions made to the story, however, would cross the boundary between Runyon's text and Hughes's adaptation. That is, in the act of adapting Runyon's text, Hughes makes several revisions to Runyon's presumed active intentions regarding plot, theme, and characters. Seemingly small changes made to Runyon's story, whether they be changes in a character's name or added bits of dialogue, can have far-reaching implications for our reading of the text. Indeed, even the changes of narrative voice and narrative mode affect our understanding of Runyon's original intent.

An example of such a seemingly small change can be found in the characters of Big Nig and Brandy Bottle Bates. In Runyon's short story, Masterson's first appearance "around this town"[149] occurs at the Polo Grounds after a baseball game. During this appearance, Masterson

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[148] Runyon's narrator sometimes refers to themself, and seemingly has access to events from Sky Masterson's past. In recalling events from Masterson's past, the narrator tells the story as if a witness; other times they state facts about Masterson as if they had been told the story by Masterson. Occasionally, the narrator interjects in the first-person to vouch for Masterson's honor.

[149] Runyon, "Idyll," 8. Big Nig may refer to Nathan (Nate) Raymond, the real-life dishonest poker player nicknamed "N****r Nate" who was involved in the 1919 Black Sox Scandal. Thanks to Walter Everett for this observation. "Around this town" means the general narrative world of Runyon's "Broadway" stories. The Polo Grounds was a sports stadium in Upper Manhattan.

makes and wins a bet with the character Big Nig through less-than-honest means. Later in the story at the climactic crap game, Brandy Bottle Bates beats Masterson through less-than-honest means, resulting in Masterson's desire to murder him. In Hughes's radio adaptation, it is Bates who is defrauded by Masterson at the Polo Grounds, and it is also Bates who beats Masterson through less-than-honest means at the crap game.

In the case of Runyon's story, Masterson's comeuppance is meted out by someone (Bates) other than one cheated by Masterson (Big Nig), whereas in Hughes's adaptation Masterson's cheating is simply returned in kind, in what we might understand as an example of revenge, or "turnabout is fair play." This simple conflation of two characters, Big Nig and Brandy Bottle Bates, has a significant impact on the context of Masterson's loss at the crap game. The vertical revision to Runyon's story re-contextualizes Masterson's loss at the crap game—originally a business-as-usual, impersonal loss in a world occupied by gamblers—to a tit-for-tat swindling between two gamblers. In both, Masterson is poised to exact mortal revenge. It is only in the second case, however, that Masterson is not prepared to have done unto him as he has done unto Bates.

Is the preceding an example of vertical revision, however? Does it alter the purpose, direction, or character of the "The Idyll of Miss Sarah Brown"? Let us assume that that purpose and direction are not changed, but that the character is changed. How, then, has the character changed? Does the addition of a turn-about element affect the character? To answer this question, it will be helpful to examine other changes made to the Runyon story, this time through the examination of narrative mode.

In Runyon's and Hughes's versions of the story, bets are won through less-than-honest means. In both versions, Masterson wins his bet by throwing a lead-weighted peanut from

second base to home plate at the Polo Grounds, and he loses his bet to a player who is rolling "phony" dice—that is, dice that have been altered in some way as to grant the roller an unfair advantage. There are differences, however, in how these less-than-honest means are revealed. In the Runyon story, the narrator reveals Masterson's cheating through the phrase "afterwards it comes out that The Sky throws a peanut loaded with lead." Similarly, the narrator reveals that "the dice with which [Brown] wins The Sky's soul, and which are the same dice with which Brandy bottle Bates wins all his [money], are strictly phony." In Hughes's adaptation, Masterson reveals to Broadway—the narrator of the radio play—that the peanut was loaded; further, Masterson offers his mark (Bates) an opportunity, which Bates refuses, to inspect the peanut before the throw, affording Masterson the opportunity to claim, as he does, that since he offered an inspection, what he did was not cheating. In the radio adaptation, Masterson reveals that he knew that the dice were loaded; this revelation affords Masterson the justification of wanting to kill Bates for cheating, and it shows that Masterson, through insider knowledge, was in control of the outcome of Brown's roll.

Runyon employment of passive language such as "it comes out that," when describing the peanut-bet, obscures the source of this revelation. Presumably, Masterson would have been the only person who knew he used a loaded peanut, unless, somehow, the man in the stands in whose lap the peanut landed told the story to someone else and they told someone about it. If Masterson made the revelation, as he does in the radio play, it would show that he knowingly employed less-than-honest means to win a bet, and, furthermore, was proud enough about it to tell someone. By having the narrator reveal that the dice at the crap game were loaded, Runyon indemnifies Masterson from actively cheating to help Brown win his soul; there is a possibility that Masterson acted against Bates, as he did, out of anger or frustration, believing that he was

simply having bad luck; Brown's roll of the dice and subsequent winning of Masterson's soul can, contrastingly, be seen as good luck. By having Masterson know that the dice were loaded, Hughes effectively has Masterson commit the same kind of fraud against Brown as he does against Bates; he uses fraudulent or altered means to achieve a known outcome. By having Brown roll loaded dice, Masterson secures the outcome he wishes, and that is her winning his soul.

Runyon's text—where Masterson could plausibly have been defrauded by Bates and then unknowingly defrauded Brown—and Hughes's adaptation—where Masterson knowingly defrauds Brown as Bates defrauded him—show the possibility of a vertical revision in Masterson's character. Runyon's Masterson is afforded the possibility of winning—or being won by—Brown as a matter of chance—or a matter of choice, respectively. Hughes's Masterson, by virtue of his knowledge of Bates's loaded dice, is in relative control of the outcome of Brown's roll, and his own fate. The implications involved in the revelation of this knowledge are highlighted near the end of Hughes's adaptation when Masterson tells Broadway, the narrator, "Mrs. Sky [née Sarah Brown] thinks she beat me at my own game for my soul. I wouldn't like her to think anything else." This line by itself is innocuous, yet when taken in tandem with a line from an earlier scene where Masterson was concealing the fact from Brown that he was a gambler, he threatens Broadway with the words, "If by any chance it should slip from your lips about what, or who, I am, I'd be very angry and take steps. Do you understand?" We can assume, given his previous threat against Broadway for revealing his identity as a gambler, that Masterson would be similarly willing to "take steps" should Broadway reveal that Brown used fraudulent dice to beat Masterson.

While it is true that the two texts, or versions, would be more properly related under the umbrella of editorial theory if both texts were prepared or approved by Runyon and his authorial intentions had changed (but they remained *his*), we can nonetheless consider the scope and scale of the "edits" he made to Runyon's text in both the vertical and horizontal domains, if we consider Hughes's relationship to Runyon's text as that of an editor, rather than adaptor. While Hughes's adaptation of Runyon's story is governed by its own set of authorial intentions and subject to its own revisions, it is not, however, an edited version of Runyon's story but rather an adaptation. This adaptation is but one version of "The Idyll of Miss Sarah Brown," and versions are revisions. Here we may begin to see Hutcheon's realization that there is a "need to adopt a form of historical analysis that can accommodate 'creative process and the forces that drive textual fluidity.'"[150]

So far, our discussion of *Guys & Dolls* has focused on "The Idyll of Miss Sarah Brown" and its adaptation, primarily through the lenses appropriated from editorial theory. By employing concepts such as vertical and horizontal revision, and authorial intention, we have examined the degrees and kinds of changes made to Runyon's story and characters. We have not, however, examined the work as an *adaptation* per se, much less as a *musical* adaptation. To continue forward, it seems best to develop a notion of adaptation through Bryant's *fluid text*.

Recall that Bryant locates adaptation—*adaptive revision*, as he calls it—as the third of his three *modes of production*: creation, publication, and adaptation. As we have seen, the creation and publication of Runyon's stories are covered by the first two modes. These stories, first published in various magazines, presumably went through the versioning process before their publications and were definitely amended with artwork (at least in *Collier's*) during their

[150] Hutcheon, *Adaptation*, 95, quoting Bryant, *Fluid Text,* 11.

publications. Assembling the stories into collections for their re-publication saw the removal of the accompanying artwork. An initial adaptation of "The Idyll of Miss Sarah Brown" into a radio play saw accompanying horizontal and vertical revisions to the story in the conflation of the characters of Brandy Bottle Bates and Big Nig into the singular Bates, and the potential removal of Masterson's indemnification, for example. This is the mechanism by which conflation of characters into the singular Brandy Bottle Bates occurs, and the means by which we have discussed it.

**Based on a Story and Characters by Damon Runyon**

Playbills from as early as October 1950, when *Guys & Dolls* was still in tryouts in Philadelphia, read: *Guys and Dolls: A Musical Fable of Broadway: Based on a Story and Characters by Damon Runyon*. If we assume that the story on which *Guys & Dolls* is based is "The Idyll of Miss Sarah Brown," a contemporaneous report on the show in the form of a review written by Elliot Norton for the *Boston Post* in December 1950 may help undermine our confidence in such an assumption. Norton writes: "The particular fable from which 'Guys and Dolls' derives deals with a blonde doll who has been engaged for 14 years to Nathan Detroit, proprietor of 'the oldest permanent floating crap game' in New York." This "blonde doll," Miss Adelaide, does not appear in "The Idyll of Miss Sarah Brown," much less as Nathan Detroit's fiancée.[151] Adelaide and Nathan certainly do have a romance in *Guys & Dolls*, but it exists as a parallel love story to the Masterson-Brown story. What began in "the Idyll of Miss Sarah Brown" as a story about a gambler trying to win the affections of a mission worker at a crap game was then developed into *two* narratives in *Guys & Dolls*: the gambler/missionary *and* the crap-game-proprietor/showgirl.

[151] Nathan Detroit and Miss Adelaide's path into *Guys & Dolls* will be thoroughly addressed in chapter 4.

Vertical revisions by Swerling and Burrows, et al., have expanded Runyon's "The Idyll of Miss Sarah Brown"—through, as Combe and others suggest, the use of elements from "Pick the Winner," "Blood Pressure," or "It Comes Up Mud,"—beyond its initial scope, and into something more closely resembling the framework of *Guys & Dolls*. Whatever Runyon's active authorial intentions for any of these stories, they have been radically revised by the writers, producers, and director of the show.

Feuer and Martin's [et al.] approach to adapting "The Idyll of Miss Sarah Brown" and other titles for *Guys & Dolls* might best be described as a process of *redaction*. Although redaction (also called "redaction criticism," or "composition criticism") is "concerned with studying the theological motivation of an author as this is revealed in the *collection, arrangement, editing, and modification* of traditional material, and in the composition of new material or the creation of new forms within the traditions of early Christianity," we can disentangle it from its "traditional" biblical applications and, instead, look at the "collection, arrangement, editing, and modification" of Runyon's adapted text.[152] If we take each of these practices in turn, we will find that Feuer and Martin, et al., employ each of these redaction practices. (The conflation of Big Nig and Brandy Bottle Bates into a singular Bates that happens in the radio adaptation of "The Idyll of Miss Sarah Brown" might be considered as such a form of redaction.[153]) To begin, let us take a look at the characters and locations found in *Guys & Dolls* (the adaptation) and their origins in the texts of Damon Runyon (the adapted texts).

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[152] Norman Perrin, *What Is Redaction Criticism?* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1969): 1 (emphasis mine).

[153] There is a paucity of terminology in the study of adaptation theory, however. Correspondence with Linda Hutcheon has shown that there is a need for a lexicon of adaptive "hows." I suggest that this is *redactive adaptation.*

Feuer and Martin, et al., *collect* several Runyon characters—Nicely-Nicely Johnson, Benny Southstreet, Rusty Charlie, Harry the Horse, Lt. Brannigan, Angie the Ox, and Big Jule, in addition to Sarah Brown, Sky Masterson, and Nathan Detroit—from several Runyon stories and relocate them in the world of *Guys & Dolls*. Although some of these characters retain their distinguishing characteristics in *Guys & Dolls*, they are largely employed as Runyonesque names. For example, Nicely-Nicely Johnson and Benny Southstreet appear in "Lonely Heart" and "A Piece of Pie," and "Hold 'em Yale!" and "A Nice Price," respectively, though neither is mentioned as an associate of Nathan Detroit. In the adapted material, Johnson—originally named Quentin "Nicely-Nicely" Jones—is a horse bettor with a tremendous appetite. Benny Southstreet—originally South Street—is a small-time hustler and ticket-scalper. In *Guys & Dolls*, they fulfill roles as the "guys walking up and down, and around and about, telling the public [the address of the crap game], and giving out the password for the evening."[154] They also appear with Rusty Charlie, who appears in "Blood Pressure." The case of Rusty Charley, respelled Rusty Charlie in *Guys & Dolls*, is a peculiar one.[155] In "Blood Pressure," he goes to one of Nathan Detroit's crap games, conceals the roll of his dice inside an inverted hat, and calls out the result of each roll to the other players without letting them see the roll. In *Guys & Dolls*, the character Big Jule performs a similar role, but instead of rolling dice into a hat, he rolls "invisible" dice, dice whose spots were removed. In both cases, he uses his size and aggressive

[154] Damon Runyon, "Blood Pressure," in *Guys and Dolls and Other Writings* (New York: Penguin Books, 2008), 81.
[155] Garebian, *Making*, 113–14. According to Burrows, the actor playing Rusty Charlie, who sang "Fugue for Tinhorns" with Nicely-Nicely Johnson and Benny Southstreet, "didn't have any dialogue in the book" and was only listed as "a horseplayer."

demeanor to intimidate the other players into similarly giving up their money, despite his obvious use of deception.[156]

The rest of the denizens of *Guys & Dolls* appear in other Runyon tales, though their appearances in *Guys & Dolls* are largely nominal. To return to the character Big Jule, he appears in the Runyon title "The Hottest Guy in the World," though he is not a crap player; he is a criminal wanted for payroll robbery, robbing a mail truck, and bank robbery. In *Guys & Dolls*, he fulfills the aforementioned role performed originally by Rusty Charley in "Blood Pressure." Arvide Abernathy appears in "The Idyll of Miss Sarah Brown" as Sarah's grandfather and runs the Save-a-Soul mission, "but Miss Sarah Brown seems to do most of the work"; he does not speak in the story.[157] In *Guys & Dolls*, he works in the mission and serves as Sarah's conscience and confidante.[158] The Mission Band as such does not expressly appear in the short story, though one member "has a big bass drum, but does not pound it hearty enough" and another played "a fair sort of trombone, [until he took] it on the lam one night with the trombone."[159] In *Guys & Dolls*, this group is not named either, but they appear onstage several times. The stage directions state that Sarah has a tambourine, Arvide has a bass drum and cymbals, a female member is playing the trombone, a male member is playing the cornet, and a female member is carrying a small box.[160] Harry the Horse appears in several Runyon tales, including "Breach of Promise,"

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[156] The similarity between the names Big Jule and Big Nig should not be overlooked.
[157] *Collier's*, 41.
[158] In the motion picture adaptation, he is presented as Sarah's uncle.
[159] *Collier's*, 41. As it reads, Sarah and the old guy with the drum are the only two who are explicitly shown to have instruments. Taken in tandem with the line about the former member who stole the trombone, it might be inferred that the other two members of the mission group are part of a band and also have instruments.
[160] An early playbill from the Philadelphia tryouts, dated October 28, 1950 (matinee), provides names for these characters. The actor Paul Migan is named Calvin and plays the cornet; the actresses Margery Oldroyd and Christine Matsios play the characters Agatha and Priscilla; Agatha plays trombone. While early playbills refer to Agatha, the libretto calls her Martha.

"The Snatching of Bookie Bob," and "Butch Minds the Baby," in addition to "Blood Pressure," where he is a gambler at Nathan Detroit's crap game. In *Guys & Dolls*, he is a gambler trying to find Nathan Detroit's crap game. Lieutenant Brannigan is a plain clothes cop who appears in "The Old Doll's House," "The Snatching of Bookie Bob," "Earthquake," "Madame La Gimp," and "Princess O'Hara." In *Guys & Dolls*, Brannigan is trying to break up Nathan Detroit's crap game.[161] Angie the Ox is an importer and extortionist who appears in "The Old Doll's House" and "Tobias the Terrible." In *Guys & Dolls*, he is looking to gamble at Nathan Detroit's crap game. Other characters from Runyon stories are named in *Guys & Dolls*, but do not speak. Society Max appears in "A Nice Price," and Liver Lips Louie appears in "A Nice Price," and "Hold 'em Yale."[162]

Locales from Runyon tales appear in *Guys & Dolls* as well, most especially "Broadway," Mindy's restaurant, and The Hot Box, a nightclub. Broadway and Mindy's restaurant are both mentioned in "The Idyll of Miss Sarah Brown," as well as in several other Runyon stories. The Hot Box is also mentioned in several Runyon stories, although it is absent from "Idyll." The Biltmore Garage is mentioned as a potential site for Nathan Detroit's crap game in *Guys & Dolls*, though it is not explicitly a scene location. In "Blood Pressure" and "The Idyll of Miss Sarah Brown," Detroit holds crap games "over a garage on Fifty-second Street" though it is not explicitly named the Biltmore Garage in either instance. The Save-a-Soul Mission is mentioned in "The Idyll of Miss Sarah Brown" but not in any other stories.

[161] Brannigan never appears in a story with Nathan Detroit.
[162] Liver Lips Louis seems to be a conflation of the characters (old) Liverlips and Lone Louie or Jew Louie.

### *Guys & Dolls,* the Adaptation

If we now return to the subtitle of *Guy & Dolls*, *A Musical Fable of Broadway, Based on a Story and Characters by Damon Runyon*, we might begin to view the Broadway of *Guys & Dolls* as a congregating place for characters by Damon Runyon. That is, the boundaries of the Runyon tales, formerly demarcated by their publications as separate stories on separate occasions, become porous, or disappear entirely. It is, in essence, a crossover of different characters from within the Runyon Literary Universe (RLU).[163] While Runyon's use of these characters within his own work may be considered as an example of inter- or intra-textuality, Feuer and Martin, et al., use them as a means of populating the larger Runyonland *on stage*.

In all, Feuer and Martin, et al., have compiled a world in which two distinct narratives, the Masterson-Brown and Nathan-Adelaide tales, have been allowed to run parallel to one another. Each of these narratives is a singular adaptation held in tandem with the other by supporting characters. The collection, arrangement, editing, and modification of existing material is, on the one hand, an adaptation of Runyon material for the stage, and, on the other hand, a versioning of "The Idyll of Miss Sarah Brown." *Guys & Dolls*, then, is a musical adaptation of a redaction of several Damon Runyon stories, primarily "The Idyll of Miss Sarah Brown." This redaction is a repository of Runyon characters, and interconnects with other stories, whether explicitly or implicitly. As shown, some characters, like Nicely-Nicely Johnson, retain their physical characteristics and demeanors yet perform different roles. Other characters, like Big Jule, perform actions from other Runyon tales within the world of "The Idyll of Miss Sarah Brown," aka "Runyonland."

[163] Several authors, most notably Stephen King and Kurt Vonnegut, have used character crossovers within their works, and across several titles.

This Runyonland is exposed in the opening number of the musical, and is titled, fittingly enough: "Runyonland."[164] In this opening number, the world of Runyonland is populated; the stage is filled, in turn, with bobby soxers, sightseers, a police officer, a street vendor, a sidewalk photographer, an actress, a paper-doll vendor and his assistant, a heavyweight boxer, streetwalkers, a blind man who is not so blind, and a pickpocket—colorful, larger than life characters who set the hustle and bustle of Broadway. Added to this eclectic mix of characters are Benny Southstreet and Rusty Charlie, who join Nicely-Nicely Johnson for the opening number.

We are now fully immersed in the musical adaptation of the tales of Damon Runyon and engaged at the level of *adaptive revision* discussed by John Bryant. The hands of Jo Swerling and Abe Burrows have, through the redaction process, culled and reassembled characters and locales from the pages of Runyon, the pen of Frank Loesser has composed music to accompany these tales, and the direction of George Kaufman has shaped this work. Cy Feuer and Ernie Martin have worked to assemble a cast of actors and actresses to bring the characters to life, and have enlisted costumers, designers, and choreographers to give the world color, shape, and movement.

The text, formerly rendered in black and white on the pages of *Collier's*, other publications, or in collections, has moved from the telling mode to the showing mode. No longer is the reader required to decide what a character or location looks or sounds like—the casting and costuming has done that for them. Further, unlike its printed predecessors, *Guys & Dolls* has sounds beyond those of the environments found in the short stories. This world has *music*, and

[164] The libretto calls this section Music No. 1–Opening Number– "Runyonland" (Broadway Atmosphere Routine); the vocal score calls it Opening– "Runyonland," as well. Irving Actman's conductor's score, however, refers to it as "Opening Street Scene."

the music becomes yet another character (or characters) within the larger world of Runyonland, sometimes foreshadowing, sometimes commenting, sometimes recounting, sometimes in the background, and at others in the foreground, yet as nearly omnipresent as the paper upon which Runyon's words were printed.

As a character, or characters, the music assumes a narrative role in the larger text of *Guys & Dolls* just as do the characters of Damon Runyon. Rather than having names like Nicely-Nicely Johnson, Sky Masterson, or Sarah Brown, however, these songs have names like "The Oldest Established," "Follow the Fold," and "Luck Be a Lady." As is customary, strains of many of the songs are introduced throughout the Overture and Opening. The order of appearances in the Overture is: "I've Never Been in Love Before" (as a fanfare), "Sue Me," "Guys and Dolls," "Sue Me," "Bushel and a Peck," "I've Never Been in Love Before" (as a fuller excerpt), and "If I Were a Bell." This then transitions into the Opening which includes, in order of appearance: "Guys and Dolls" (fanfare/newsreel presentation), "Luck Be a Lady," "Fugue for Tinhorns," "Luck Be a Lady," and "Fugue for Tinhorns."

Despite the relatively everyday occurrence of an overture preceding a musical, the appearance of the overture in *Guys & Dolls* foreshadows another type of adaptation on top of an adaptation. Overtures have certainly been written to precede plays before and since. In fact, it is not until specific moments during *Guys & Dolls* that songs heard during the Overture and Opening become semi-autonomous entities. That is, as characters, the song-fragments are merely set dressing until their proper appearance in the narrative of the musical.

The shift to a showing mode from a telling mode that has accompanied the adaptation to the stage from the printed page finds a commensurate shift in sung language from spoken language. The songs perform a variety of functions within the show, lending a quality known as

*integration*. Some songs are completely irrelevant to the plot, while others contribute to the spirit or theme. Moreover, some songs—but not content—are relevant to the plot, while others enrich the plot but do not advance it. Finally, some songs advance the plot but not by their content, and others advance the plot by their content.[165]

This integration of music and plot might be viewed as a mechanism of the adaptive process. Since the plot is largely provided by the libretto, the songs (or *numbers*) within the play largely serve to amplify the narrative of the play. Read another way, the libretto, which is itself an adapted revision, serves as a through-line to which individual songs are appended, making the musical a further stage in the adaptive process and an entirely different version.

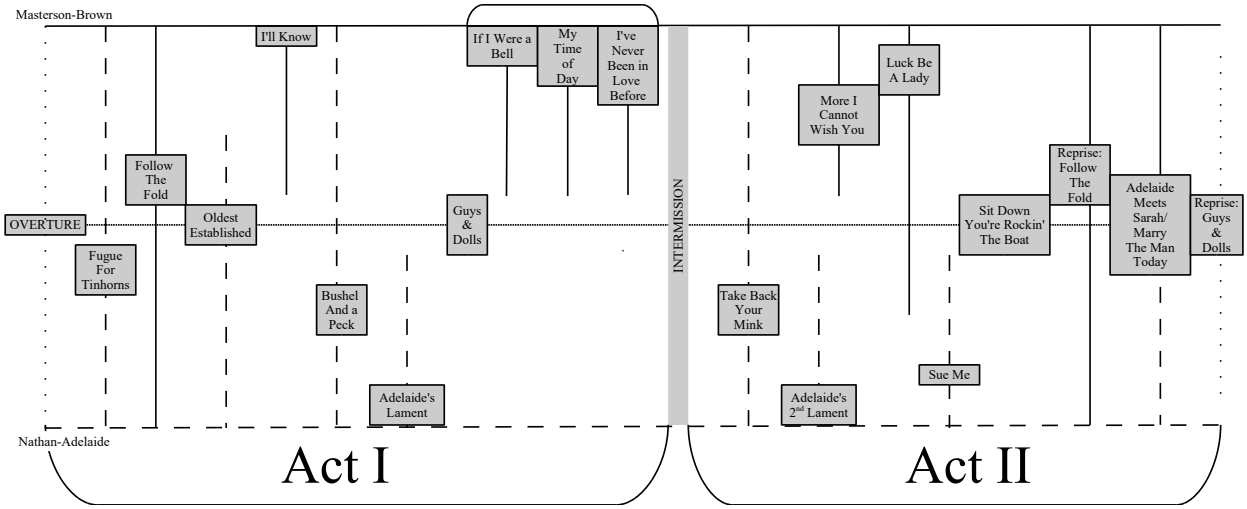
The Overture and Opening foreground the musical nature of the show. As noted previously, overtures have preceded plays and ballets, and neither of those is automatically made into a musical by virtue of the presence of an overture. Rather, it is the repeated employment of songs within the larger narrative form that produce the musical artifact. In the case of *Guys & Dolls*, the overture and opening are immediately followed by two songs performed back-to-back—"Fugue for Tinhorns" and "Follow the Fold." Each of these songs contributes to the spirits and themes of the show and, as a pair, illuminate a larger theme of the show: sin (gambling) in opposition to salvation (religion).

Recall from chapter 1 that several of Frank Loesser's songs were composed prior to his involvement with *Guys & Dolls*. Although a thorough account of how these songs are integrated into the overall musical will provide a broader opportunity to discuss the fluid text that is *Guys & Dolls*, let us, for now, operate with the assumption that all songs for the musical were composed

[165] John Mueller, "Fred Astaire and the Integrated Musical," *Cinema Journal* 23, no. 1 (Autumn, 1984): 28–30.

with the express purpose of contributing to the musical, and only the musical. Drawing on our previous examination of the amalgamation of the Masterson-Brown and Nathan-Adelaide stories, as well as the insertion of other Runyon characters in the musical, affords us an opportunity to examine how these stories interact with and interpenetrate one another.

**Figure 1: Distribution of songs through *Guys & Dolls* [Stage]**




In **Figure 1**, the horizontal lines represent the running order of the show and the two main storylines. The vertical lines represent reachings-down (solid line) and reachings-up (dashed line) and indicate the degree to which a particular number reaches into the world of the other story line. The upper line of the chart represents the Masterson-Brown story, and the bottom line of the chart represents the Nathan-Adelaide story. The more closely a song-title-box appears to one line indicates how relevant the song is to that particular story. For example, the songs "I'll Know," "If I Were a Bell," and "My Time of Day" cleave closely to the Masterson-Brown line, because they are integral to that storyline and that storyline alone. "Adelaide's Lament," "Adelaide's Second Lament," and "Sue Me" cleave closely to the bottom line, because they deal with the Nathan-Adelaide storyline; neither of the reachings-down nor the reachings-up

associated with those songs breaks the middle plane of the chart, indicating their relative isolation from each other.

The songs that occupy the middle of the field are numbers that serve as binding agents between the two worlds. The Overture/Opening serves as the midpoint between the two worlds; numbers such as "Fugue for Tinhorns" and "Follow the Fold" deal with Nathan Detroit's associates and the mission workers, and favor the bottom or top half of the field, respectively; the former reaches up from the gamblers' world into the mission world, and the latter reaches down from the mission world into the gamblers' world—each calls to the world of the other from their own world. The solid and dashed lines that connect the upper and lower storylines illustrate how both numbers exist in a shared world, the dashed line showing a song's emanation from the world of Nathan Detroit, and the solid line showing a song's emanation from the world of Sarah Brown.

Similarly, "Adelaide Meets Sarah" and "Marry the Man Today" not only occupy a place in the middle of the field, but they also emanate from both worlds. The titular "Guys and Dolls," though sung about Nathan Detroit, emanates from the world of the gambler but crosses the middle boundary and stretches into the world of the mission worker; this is because the song deals more generally with love and relationships. "Luck Be a Lady" also crosses the middle boundary but emanates from the world of the mission worker; the game is central to Masterson and Brown's storyline but involves characters from the world of the gambler.

Rendered as such, it is easy to see how the individual storylines are disentangled from one another. The Masterson-Brown and Nathan-Adelaide storylines and songs operate on their own discrete planes, while the remainder of the songs occupy a middle area and serve in a world-building capacity. Additionally, it is easy to see how the "filler" characters of Nicely-Nicely

Johnson and Benny Southstreet, associates of Nathan Detroit, serve as binding characters. Recall that neither is directly associated with Nathan Detroit in the adapted materials; they are merely denizens of Runyonland. In all, they are participants in "The Oldest Established," "Guys and Dolls," and "Sit Down You're Rockin' the Boat."

Of the remaining songs, "Bushel and a Peck," "Take Back Your Mink," and "More I Cannot Wish You," the first two tie the worlds together by virtue of their performance in a nightclub in the larger world of Runyonland, while the latter is a song sung to Sarah Brown in the private world of the mission. The former two might be considered as commentaries on Adelaide's feelings for Nathan (or bellwethers of both romantic storylines), while the latter is permission for Sarah to leave the mission.

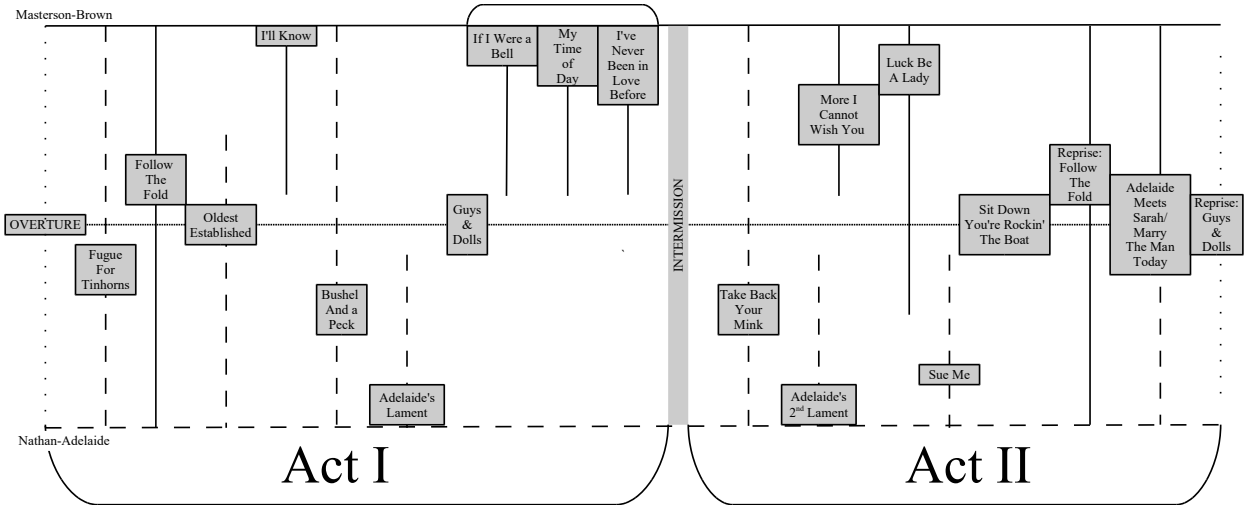
Not shown in the illustration is the distribution of song fragments used in the Entr'acte, or as scene-change music. Excerpts of "Follow the Fold," "I'll Know," "Fugue for Tinhorns," "I've Never Been in Love Before," "Luck Be a Lady," and "Sue Me" variously appear to act as a button on a previous number, or to serve to establish the cast of characters for the following scene. This incidental music performs the customary role of such music in opera, ballet, melodrama.

**Revising the Revision: Adapting an Adaptation (*Guys & Dolls*: From Stage to Screen)**

1955 saw a film adaptation of the stage musical, and with that adaptation came further revisions to both the stories and the songs. Several songs were replaced or removed (**Figure 2: Distribution of Songs Through *Guys & Dolls* [Screen]**). "Bushel and a Peck" was replaced by "Pet Me Poppa." "My Time of Day," "I've Never Been in Love Before," "More I Cannot Wish You," and "Adelaide Meets Sarah," and "Marry the Man Today" were removed; "My Time" and "I've Never Been in Love Before," as a pair, were replaced with "A Woman in Love."

"Adelaide" was inserted into the "first act" of the film between "Guys and Dolls" and "If I Were a Bell." Additionally, due to the nature of the medium, many of the runners and incidental music that accompanied scene changes in the play were removed or altered. An interesting byproduct of these changes is that some of the music from the stage musical was repurposed for the film adaptation. For example, although "My Time of Day" was removed from the motion picture, an instrumental version of it can be heard between Masterson and Brown's trip to Havana and their arrival at the mission, right before "A Woman in Love."

**Figure 2: Distribution of Songs Through *Guys & Dolls* [Screen]**




The removal, substitution, or addition of songs between the stage and film musicals brings us back to Bryant's notion of version. Certainly, the stage and film musicals are different from one another, and the revisions made to the song list alone would constitute vertical revisions, while sundry changes made to the libretto would constitute myriad horizontal revisions. Additionally, and more importantly, the two versions, represented by the stage and film musicals, have decidedly different audiences; though its Broadway run, national tour, and international presentation in London's West End had presented the stage musical in different theatrical contexts, the Samuel Goldwyn motion picture allowed for a broader mass distribution.

The change in medium, from stage to screen, is the crux of what casts the latter's production as an additional matter of adaptation. We can, however, also see this change in medium as yet another example of Bryant's adaptive revision. Whichever we choose to call it, the film *Guys & Dolls* is an adaptation of the stage-musical *Guys & Dolls*, which is a *redactive adaptation* of Damon Runyon's "The Idyll of Miss Sarah Brown" and elements of other Runyon stories. Each stage of the adaptation process connects not only to its immediate predecessor or successor, but to their predecessors and successors as well. Further, this adaptation process transcends linear succession from stage to stage. "The Idyll of Miss Sarah Brown" is certainly a central element of both the stage and film versions of *Guys & Dolls* and may even be seen as a progenitor of a sequence of adaptations that lead to the film version of *Guys & Dolls*, yet the radio adaptation of "The Idyll of Miss Sarah Brown" is also a version of that story.

Beyond the 1933 *Collier's* publication of "The Idyll of Miss Sarah Brown" and perhaps various publications of his collected works, Damon Runyon's involvement as an author of "The Idyll of Miss Sarah Brown" ceased with his death in 1946. Recall, however, that Bryant's notion of versions as "materialization[s] of authorial and cultural pressures" alleviates any requirement that Runyon's hand hold any sway beyond his initial efforts. A similar alleviation of "authorial" pressure might be seen on the parts of Feuer, Martin, Swerling, Burrows, and Kaufman during the adaptive revision of the stage musical into a film musical.[166] This collaborative authorship decenters any single author in favor of a broader, more abstract authority wherein the individual contributions of individual authors are subsumed under a more inclusive *authorial effort*. While individual contributions may be identified as coming from a single author (or group of authors), the origins and motivations for such contributions do not have to be clear. What is paramount,

[166] Frank Loesser was engaged to write songs during this adaptation as well.

rather, is the *trace* left by the contributions; these are manifest in the documents that constitute the product.

In chapter 3 we will examine the traces left in various versions, in order to build a hypothetical narrative for the production of the Work. In so doing, we will engage in a comparative reading of these versions and the documents that constitute—however completely—each one. Such a comparative reading will afford us the opportunity to examine not only the palimpsestic nature of the versions, but also allow us to project the artifacts of the revision and adaptation processes through each version and onto previous and subsequent versions.

## Chapter 3– Farneth and Bryant

As we saw in chapters 1 and 2, the paths from Runyon's short story (or stories) through Feuer and Martin's musical, and on to Samuel Goldwyn's motion picture adaptation are littered with versions and revisions. Some versions, such as those that appear in magazines and then anthologies, change very little—removing, perhaps, an illustration, but leaving the remaining text largely intact. Others, such as radio adaptations, change media, adjust their narrative mode from telling to showing, and, perhaps, change plot points. Others still, such as stage and screen adaptations, expand or add content, with the most notable expansions and additions being the redactive adaptation of the stories within the stage musical and addition of music to the stage musical.

This chapter revisits concepts introduced in chapters 1 and 2 in an effort to synthesize materials drawn from the developmental stages of *Guys & Dolls* with mechanisms drawn from the Fluid Text. This synthesis seeks to highlight both large- and small-scale changes made to the libretto and score—vertical and horizontal revisions, respectively. Vertical revisions might include the addition or removal of a number or a scene, changing the placement of a number within the show, or changing the casting of a number. Horizontal revisions might include the change of a lyric, the change of a song's key to accommodate a singer's range, or the change of a bit of dialogue to accommodate a joke, for example.

Recall that Farneth's model, discussed in chapter 1, assumes "a number of versions before deciding on a final 'rehearsal' version,"[167] and that Bryant's fluid text, discussed in chapter 2, located versions throughout all three modes of production—creation, publication, and adaptation—with *Guys & Dolls* as but one adaptation of Runyon's "The Idyll of Miss Sarah Brown," among others, and the motion picture adaptation as yet another adaptation of that.

Before proceeding, I would like to recalibrate our assessment of Bryant's modes of production back to zero, so to speak, with the creation of *Guys & Dolls.* That is, I would like for us to consider Feuer and Martin's [et al.] endeavor as having its own modes—perhaps considered as a subset, or something of the sort. Affording this resetting, or sub-setting, grants us the luxury of examining *Guys & Dolls* as its own entity while still acknowledging its derivation from the work of Damon Runyon. Resetting means returning to Farneth's model and synthesizing it with Bryant's modes of production as shown in **Table 3**. While not an exact one-to-one mapping, Farneth's Conception, Creation, and Out-of-Town Tryout stages are roughly equivalent to Bryant's creation phase—that is, everything that happens *before* it is officially revealed to the public. Farneth's Opening Night is analogous to Bryant's publication mode.

**Table 3: Mapping Farneth and Bryant**

| **Farneth** | **Bryant** |
|---|---|
| Conception<br>Creation<br>Out-of-Town Tryouts | Creation |
| Opening Night | Publication |
| [Adaptation/Modification] | Adaptation |

[167] Farneth, "Sources," 1056.

## Table 4: Song Lists from *Guys & Dolls*, from Drafts through the Motion Picture

| **Draft dated September 11, 1950 (Burrows)** | **Draft dated September 11, 1950 (Kaufman)** | **Shubert Theatre: October 9, 1950** | **Shubert Theatre: October 16, 1950** | **Shubert Theatre: October 23, 1950** | **Shubert Theatre: October 1950** | **Shubert Theatre: October 28, 1950** | **Erlanger Threatre: November 6, 1950** | **Erlanger Threatre: November 7(?) & 11(?), 1950** | **Erlanger Threatre: November 11(?), 1950** | **Forty-Sixth Street Theatre: November 24, 1950: Opening Night** | **Forty-Sixth Street Theatre: December 10, 1951** | **Piano-Vocal Score (1953)** | **Film (1955)** | **Guys & Dolls JR.** |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Act One** | **Act One** | **Act One** | **Act One** | **Act One** | **Act One** | **Act One** | **Act One** | **Act One** | **Act One** | **Act One** | **Act One** | **Act One** | **[Act One]** | **Act One** |
| | | Opening | Opening | Opening | Opening | Opening | Opening | Opening | Opening | Opening | Opening | Opening | Opening | |
| Fugue for Tin Horns (CAN DO) | Fugue for Tin Horns (CAN DO) | Fugue for Three Tinhorns | Fugue for Three Tinhorns | Fugue for Tinhorns | Fugue for Tinhorns | Fugue for Tinhorns | Fugue for Tinhorns | Fugue for Tinhorns | Fugue for Tinhorns | Fugue for Tinhorns | Fugue for Tinhorns | Fugue for Tinhorns | Fugue for Tinhorns | Fugue for Tinhorns |
| [Follow the Fold] | Follow the Fold | Follow the Fold | Follow the Fold | Follow the Fold | Follow the Fold | Follow the Fold | Follow the Fold | Follow the Fold | Follow the Fold | Follow the Fold | Follow the Fold | Follow the Fold | Follow the Fold | Follow the Fold |
| Guys and Dolls [Men and Women] | | Guys and Dolls [Men and Women] | Guys and Dolls [Men and Women] | Travelin' Light | Travelin' Light | Action | Action | Action | Action | The Oldest Established | The Oldest Established | The Oldest Established | The Oldest Established | The Oldest Established |
| Travelin' Light | Travelin' Light | Travelin' Light | Travelin' Light | | | | | | | | | | | |
| I'll Know | | I'll Know | I'll Know | I'll Know | I'll Know | I'll Know | I'll Know | I'll Know | I'll Know | I'll Know | I'll Know | I'll Know | I'll Know | I'll Know |
| | | Getting Dressed [Hot Box Girls (Dance?)] | Getting Dressed [Hot Box Girls (Dance?)] | | | Guys and Dolls [Men] | Guys and Dolls [Men] | Guys and Dolls [Men] | Guys and Dolls [Men] | A Bushel and a Peck | A Bushel and a Peck | A Bushel and a Peck | Pet Me, Poppa | A Bushel and a Peck |
| Adelaide's Lament | Adelaide's Lament | Adelaide's Lament | Adelaide's Lament | Adelaide's Lament | Adelaide's Lament | Adelaide's Lament | Adelaide's Lament | Adelaide's Lament | Adelaide's Lament | Adelaide's Lament | Adelaide's Lament | Adelaide's Lament | Adelaide's Lament | Adelaide's Lament |
| Three-Cornered Tune (Waltz) | Three-Cornered Tune (Waltz) | Fugue Waltz | Fugue Waltz | Three Cornered Tune | Three Cornered Tune | Three Cornered Tune | Three Cornered Tune | Three Cornered Tune | Three Cornered Tune | | | | | |
| | Guys and Dolls [Men and Women] | | | Guys and Dolls [Men and Women] | Guys and Dolls [Men and Women] | | | | | Guys and Dolls [Nicely and Benny] | Guys and Dolls [Nicely and Benny] | Guys and Dolls [Nicely and Benny]] | Guys and Dolls [Nicely, Benny, Nathan] | Guys and Dolls [Nicely and Benny] |
| | | | | | | | | | | Guy and Doll (Dance) | Guy and Doll (Dance) | | | |
| | | | | | | | | | | | | | Adelaide | |
| | | Havana (Dance) | Havana (Dance) | Havana (Dance) | Havana (Dance) | Havana (Dance) | Havana (Dance) | Havana (Dance) | Havana (Dance) | Havana (Dance) | Havana (Dance) | Havana (Dance) | [La Luz del Amor] | |
| If I Were a Bell | If I Were a Bell | If I Were a Bell | If I Were a Bell | | | | | | | If I Were a Bell | If I Were a Bell | If I Were a Bell | If I Were a Bell | If I Were a Bell |
| My Time of Day | My Time of Day | My Time of Day | My Time of Day | My Time of Day | My Time of Day | My Time of Day | My Time of Day | My Time of Day | My Time of Day | My Time of Day | My Time of Day | My Time of Day | | |
| I've Never Been in Love Before | I've Never Been in Love Before | I've Never Been in Love Before | I've Never Been in Love Before | I've Never Been in Love Before | I've Never Been in Love Before | I've Never Been in Love Before | I've Never Been in Love Before | I've Never Been in Love Before | I've Never Been in Love Before | I've Never Been in Love Before | I've Never Been in Love Before | I've Never Been in Love Before | A Woman in Love | I've Never Been in Love Before |
| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| **Act Two** | **Act Two** | **Act Two** | **Act Two** | **Act Two** | **Act Two** | **Act Two** | **Act Two** | **Act Two** | **Act Two** | **Act Two** | **Act Two** | **Act Two** | **[Act Two]** | **[Act Two]** |
| A Bushel and a Peck | A Bushel and a Peck | A Bushel and a Peck | A Bushel and a Peck | A Bushel and a Peck | A Bushel and a Peck | A Bushel and a Peck | A Bushel and a Peck | A Bushel and a Peck | A Bushel and a Peck | Take Back Your Mink | Take Back Your Mink | Take Back Your Mink | Take Back Your Mink | |
| | | | | | | | | | | Reprise: Adelaide's Lament | Reprise: Adelaide's Lament | Adelaide's Second Lament | | Adelaide's Second Lament |
| More I Cannot Wish You | More I Cannot Wish You | More I Cannot Wish You | More I Cannot Wish You | More I Cannot Wish You | More I Cannot Wish You | More I Cannot Wish You | More I Cannot Wish You | More I Cannot Wish You | More I Cannot Wish You | More I Cannot Wish You | More I Cannot Wish You | More I Cannot Wish You | | |
| Luck Be a Lady | Luck Be a Lady | Luck Be a Lady | Luck Be a Lady | Luck Be a Lady | Luck Be a Lady | Luck Be a Lady | Luck Be a Lady | Luck Be a Lady | Luck Be a Lady | Luck Be a Lady | The Crap Game Dance | [The Crapshooters' Dance] | The Crap Game Dance | |
| | | | | | | | | | | The Crap Game Dance | Luck Be a Lady | Luck Be a Lady | Luck Be a Lady | Luck Be a Lady |
| Sue Me | Sue Me | Sue Me | Sue Me | Sue Me | Sue Me | Sue Me | Sue Me | Sue Me | Sue Me | Sue Me | Sue Me | Sue Me | Sue Me | |
| Sit Down You're Rockin' the Boat | Sit Down You're Rockin' the Boat | Sit Down You're Rockin' the Boat | Sit Down You're Rockin' the Boat | Sit Down You're Rockin' the Boat | Sit Down You're Rockin' the Boat | Sit Down You're Rockin' the Boat | Sit Down You're Rockin' the Boat | Sit Down You're Rockin' the Boat | Sit Down You're Rockin' the Boat | Sit Down You're Rockin' the Boat | Sit Down You're Rockin' the Boat | Sit Down You're Rockin' the Boat | Sit Down You're Rockin' the Boat | Sit Down You're Rockin' the Boat |
| | | | | Reprise: Follow the Fold | Reprise: Follow the Fold | Reprise: Follow the Fold | Reprise: Follow the Fold | Reprise: Follow the Fold | Reprise: Follow the Fold | Reprise: Follow the Fold | Reprise: Follow the Fold | [The Guys Follow the Fold] | Reprise: Follow the Fold | [The Guys Follow the Fold] |
| | | | | | | | | | | | | [Adelaide Meets Sarah] | | |
| "Number" [Marry the Man Today?] | "Number" [Marry the Man Today?] | Marry the Man Today | Marry the Man Today | Marry the Man Today | Marry the Man Today | Marry the Man Today | Marry the Man Today | Marry the Man Today | Marry the Man Today | Marry the Man Today | Marry the Man Today | Marry the Man Today | | Marry the Man Today |
| Guys and Dolls (Reprise) | Guys and Dolls (Reprise) | Guys and Dolls (Reprise) {Cast} | Guys and Dolls (Reprise) {Cast} | Reprise: Guys and Dolls | Reprise: Guys and Dolls | Reprise: Guys and Dolls | Reprise: Guys and Dolls | Reprise: Guys and Dolls | Reprise: Guys and Dolls | Reprise: Guys and Dolls | Reprise: Guys and Dolls | Guys and Dolls (All of them) | Reprise: Guys and Dolls | Guys and Dolls (All of them) |

Finally, extending Farneth's model to include adaptation under the new label "Adaptation/Modification" pairs with Bryant's adaptation mode.[168] This resetting is not intended to disregard Runyon's contributions. To the contrary, it allows us to hold Runyon's versions in stasis while interrogating their revisions in the hands of Feuer and Martin, et al., in their own right. In fact, we will eventually find ourselves traversing the fluid space between Runyon's world and the world of Feuer and Martin, et al., as a means to develop comparative readings that demonstrate how story and character changes throughout the adaptation processes effected vertical revisions within versions.

Our exploration of the synthesis of Farneth's and Bryant's models will take several tacks, and each approach will examine the materials with a progressively finer granularity. Our first approach will compare the multiple versions of the show performed in Out-of-Town Tryouts, the

[168] These versions and revisions traverse several of the stages that were explored in chapter 1 and include: Creation; Design, Workshops, Fund Raising, Auditions; Rehearsal, Orchestration; Out-of-Town Tryouts / Broadway Previews; Opening Night; and Cast Recording[s]. Our adaptation of Farneth's model goes beyond the Cast Recording stage and appends the model with an Adaptation/Modification stage.

"official" Broadway version, and the Motion Picture version. Our second approach will examine songs that either were cut from the show or underwent significant textual changes, in an effort both to understand how these changes would have affected the "official" show, and to identify the particular ways in which each change was made (for a summary of the song lists, from the drafts to the motion picture, see **Table 4**). Our third approach will compare the Broadway version of the show with the Hollywood version, taking into account the degrees and types of revision seen in the previous few examinations. Our final approach will examine versions that ended up on the cutting room floor. Again, each approach will examine the materials in increasing granularity.

As the sources that support some of these proposed readings are of mixed provenance, our readings will be, necessarily, provisional. For example, though playbills for the Out-of-Town Tryout stage include information about which songs are included in the show and who performs those songs, scripts from each corresponding performance are not available for analysis. Similarly, a few scripts and script fragments are dated or published, or dated confusingly (or erroneously), while others are not dated at all; examining these can only engender a best-guess scenario. Additionally, conflicting stories from different sources about some of this material only contribute to the uncertainty. This does not mean that we should abandon any hope for meaningful insight, however. Rather, it means that we can meet the spirit of the fluid text where it lives: within and between versions.

**Overture: An Inventory of Songs**

Before addressing the inclusion and ordering of any material, we will begin by cataloguing all of the songs that appeared in any version of the show, from before the Out-of-Town Tryouts through to the Motion Picture adaptation, or which appear in any versions of the libretto, or are

associated with—or mentioned in association with—*Guys & Dolls* (**Table 5: All Songs from Any Version of *Guys & Dolls***).

**Table 6: Song Placements** repeats the information shown on **Table 5** but includes information regarding a song's placement in a script, which version it appeared in (stage or film), and a description of the type and use of a song. Act and scene numbers from the film are numbered according to their analog from the stage musical. For example, although the film is presented without an intermission, the song "Take Back Your Mink" will be considered as act 2, scene 1, of the film musical because it is act 2, scene 1, of the stage musical.[169]

**Table 5: All Songs from Any Version of *Guys & Dolls***

| **Included in the Show** | **Cut/Rejected from the Show** |
|---|---|
| Fugue for Tinhorns<br>Follow the Fold<br>The Oldest Established<br>I'll Know<br>A Bushel and a Peck<br>Adelaide's Lament<br>Guys and Dolls<br>If I Were a Bell<br>My Time of Day<br>I've Never Been in Love Before<br>Take Back Your Mink<br>Reprise: Adelaide's Lament<br>More I Cannot Wish You<br>Luck Be a Lady<br>Sue Me<br>Sit Down You're Rockin' the Boat<br>[Adelaide Meets Sarah]<br>Marry the Man Today<br>Reprise: Guys and Dolls | Shango<br>Traveling Light<br>Nathan's Problem<br>It Feels Like Forever<br>I Come A-Running<br>Three-Cornered Tune* |
| | **Added to the Film** |
| | Pet Me, Poppa<br>Adelaide<br>[La Luz del Amor]<br>A Woman in Love |
| | **Included in the Show but not the Film** |
| | A Bushel and a Peck<br>My Time of Day<br>I've Never Been in Love Before<br>Reprise: Adelaide's Lament<br>More I Cannot Wish You<br>[Adelaide Meets Sarah]<br>Marry the Man Today |

[169] Frank Loesser, Robert Kimball, and Stephen Nelson, *The Complete Lyrics of Frank Loesser* (New York: Knopf, 2003), 156–68. Kimball and Nelson present the songs in the order in which they appear in the published show.

As we can see from **Table 6**, some songs used in the stage musical were not used in the motion picture, some songs were used only in the motion picture, some songs were cut from the show after they were tried, some were written but not tried, some were sketched, and some exist only as rumors.

**Table 6: Song Placements**

| Title | Placement | Use | Notes[170] |
|---|---|---|---|
| Fugue for Tinhorns | Act 1, Scene 1 | Stage and Film | Trio. A canon (not a true fugue) performed at the unison. Introduces the world of the gamblers, where propositions and the odds are ever-changing. |
| Follow the Fold | Act 1, Scene 1 | Stage and Film | A chorale-style hymn performed by the Mission Group. It serves as a foil to the "Fugue." |
| The Oldest Established | Act 1, Scene 1 | Stage and Film | Concerted number that introduces Nathan, his floating crap game, the problem of finding a spot for the game. |
| I'll Know | Act 1, Scene 2 | Stage and Film | Ballad. A duet featuring Sarah and Sky. Establishes Sarah's and Sky's contrasting views of romance. |
| A Bushel and a Peck | Act 1, Scene 4 | Stage | A Dance, Song and Chorus featuring Miss Adelaide and the Hot-Box Dolls. Establishes Adelaide's romantic bellwether. |
| Adelaide's Lament | Act 1, Scene 4 | Stage and Film | Contrasts sections of jargon-laden symptoms from a textbook with sections of vernacular translations of those symptoms. |
| Guys and Dolls | Act 1, Scene 5 | Stage and Film | Patter song. Duet that lists ways in which a "Guy" alters |

[170] Ron Byrnside, "Guys and Dolls: A Musical Fable of Broadway," *Journal of American Culture* 19, no. 2 (Summer 1996): 25–33. Many of the song types used in this table conform to or follow a typology suggested by Byrnside.

| Title | Placement | Use | Notes[170] |
|---|---|---|---|
| | | | self-centered behaviors in the interest of doing things for a "Doll." |
| Havana [Dance] | Act 1, Scene 8 | Stage | Sky and Sarah move from scenelet to scenelet, "sightseeing" in Havana, Cuba. Dialogue, jokes, and punchlines are rhythmically notated in time to the music. |
| If I Were a Bell | Act 1, Scene 9 | Stage and Film | Ballad. Sarah lists the ways in which she'll behave, now that her guard is down. |
| My Time of Day | Act 1, Scene 10 | Stage | Ballad. Sky lets his down his guard. Leads into… |
| I've Never Been in Love Before | Act 1, Scene 10 | Stage | Ballad. Second Duet between Sarah and Sky. Their verses are exact lyrical and musical matches. |
| Take Back Your Mink | Act 2, Scene 1 | Stage and Film | Serves both as a commentary on the breakup of Sky and Sarah and foreshadows Nathan and Adelaide's troubles in Act 2. |
| Reprise: Adelaide's Lament | Act 2, Scene 1 | Stage | Reprises and expands the chorus of "Adelaide's Lament." |
| More I Cannot Wish You | Act 2, Scene 2 | Stage | Arvide sings this to comfort Sarah after her falling out with Sky. |
| The Crap Game Dance [Dance] | Act 2, Scene 3 | Stage and Film | Choreographed crap game. Uses "Luck Be a Lady" music. |
| Luck Be a Lady | Act 2, Scene 3 | Stage and Film | Ballad. Sky and Crapshooters sing this homage to Lady Luck. |
| Sue Me | Act 2, Scene 4 | Stage and Film | Duet. Nathan and Adelaide fight. |
| Sit Down, You're Rockin' the Boat | Act 2, Scene 5 | Stage and Film | Concerted number. Nicely and the Ensemble testify before General Cartwright. |
| Reprise: Follow the Fold | Act 2, Scene 5 | Stage and Film | The gamblers follow the fold. |
| [Adelaide Meets Sarah] | Act 2, Scene 6 | Stage | Duet. A quodlibet. Adelaide's Third Lament meets Sarah's |

| Title | Placement | Use | Notes[170] |
|---|---|---|---|
| | | | reprisal of I've Never Been in Love Before. Serves as a prelude to… |
| Marry the Man Today | Act 2, Scene 6 | Stage | Duet. Adelaide and Sarah liken themselves to clothes and fruit, and they conspire to trap (and then change) their men. |
| Reprise: Guys and Dolls | Act 2, Scene 7 | Stage and Film | Cast reprises the entire first verse of Guys and Dolls. |
| Pet Me, Poppa | Act 1, Scene 4 | Film | Replaces "Bushel and a Peck" |
| Adelaide | Act 1, Scene 7 | Film | Ballad. Nathan announces his engagement to Adelaide. |
| [La Luz del Amor] | Act 1, Scene 8 | Film | Ballad. Untitled and uncredited diegetic song performed by four different ensembles across four scenelets. |
| A Woman in Love | Act 1, Scene 10 | Film | Ballad. Duet. Ostensibly replaces "My Time of Day" and "I've Never Been in Love Before." |
| Travelin' Light | Act 1, Scene 1 | Cut from Stage | Ballad. Sky jibes Nathan and sings about the glories of bachelorhood. |
| Three-Cornered Tune | Act 1, Scene 5 | Cut from Stage | Canon. Also known as "Fugue Waltz." Tune of "Fugue for Tinhorns" rewritten in triple meter. |
| Shango | Act 1, Scene 8 | Unused for Stage | Ballad. Sung by an unnamed/unidentified (female?) character, possibly a prostitute. |
| Nathan's Problem | Unknown | Unfinished | Ballad. Unfinished. Could be subtitled 'I Wanted to Be a Cop.' Contrasts Nathan's childhood desire to be a cop with his family's involvement in criminal enterprises. |
| It Feels Like Forever | None | | Not included or alluded to in any script. |
| I Come A-Running | None | | Not included or alluded to in any script. |

**First Approach: Two Scripts**

The documents that comprise the multiple versions of *Guys & Dolls* are myriad and include two different, annotated typescripts of the libretto dated September 11, 1950—one associated with librettist Abe Burrows[171] and the other associated with director George Kaufman,[172] a published libretto, several show programs dated between October 9 and November 11, 1950, from the Philadelphia tryouts, and the Opening Night program from NYC. Additional documents also include drafts and revisions of individual songs. These will be examined in a later stage.

Although a fluid text operates in the aggregate and is non-hierarchal, we must still find some way to work through the versions that comprise it. To this end, we'll begin with some of the earliest available iterations of *Guys & Dolls*, the two annotated typescripts, and then work through subsequent versions chronologically, drawing here and there from other documents. Taken in tandem with Bryant's eight determinants for what constitutes a version—particularly the fifth, that a "version's revision results in *substantial* differences in the nature and impact of the text" (emphasis mine)—we will examine the degrees to which the two typescripts differ.

Though both typescripts have identical cover pages, their contents are quite different from one another, and they exhibit vertical (as well as horizontal) revisions between them.[173]

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[171] Typescript of a draft of *Guys and Dolls* by Jo Swerling and Abe Burrows, September 11, 1950, T-Mss 2000-006, Box 20, folder 1, Abe Burrows Papers, Billy Rose Theatre Division, The New York Public Library for the Performing Arts. A handwritten note on the folder reads: "'Guys and Dolls'-Script-Draft." This will henceforth be referenced as the "Burrows draft."

[172] Typescript of a draft of *Guys and Dolls* by Jo Swerling and Abe Burrows, September 11, 1950, T-Mss 2000-006, Box 20, folder 2, Abe Burrows Papers, Billy Rose Theatre Division, The New York Public Library for the Performing Arts. A handwritten note on the folder reads: "'Guys and Dolls'-Script Draft (Kaufman's Notes?)." This will henceforth be referenced as the "Kaufman draft."

[173] Having identical cover pages but different contents creates a problematic provenance for either script. As we will see, however, the disposition of the Kaufman draft more closely resembles that of the published show, suggesting that it postdates the Burrows draft.

## Table 7: Burrows Draft vs. Kaufman Draft

| **Burrows: September 11, 1950** | **Kaufman: September 11, 1950** |
|---|---|
| **Act 1** | **Act 1** |
| **Scene 1. Broadway Exterior – Street "B"** | **Scene 1. Broadway Exterior – Street "B"** |
| "Number" (Fugue for Tinhorns (Can Do)) | Can Do (Fugue for Tinhorns) |
| Follow the Fold* | Follow the Fold |
| Guys and Dolls [Men and Women] | Travelin' Light |
| Travelin' Light | |
| **Scene 2. Interior of the Save-A-Soul Mission** | **Scene 2. [Outside the Mission]** |
| I'll Know | |
| **Scene 3. Wall Telephone – Coin Box – Inset** | **Scene 3. Wall Telephone – Coin Box – Inset** |
| **Scene 4. The Hot Box, Nightclub** | **Scene 4. The Girls' Dressing Room at the Hot Box** |
| "Number" [Adelaide's Lament] [?] | "Number" [Adelaide's Lament] [?] |
| **Scene 5. Interior Mission – Early Next Morning** | **Scene 5. Interior Mission – Early Next Morning** |
| "CAN DO" [Three Cornered Tune] [Fugue Waltz] | "CAN DO" [Three Cornered Tune] [Fugue Waltz] |
| **Scene 6. Nathan Again on the Phone to Joey Biltmore** | **Scene 6. Nathan Again on the Phone to Joey Biltmore** |
| **Scene 7. Havana** | **(No Scene 7 Included)** |
| | Guys and Dolls [Men and Women] |
| **Scene 8. Havana Exterior** | **Scene 8. Havana Exterior** |
| If I Were a Bell | If I Were a Bell |
| **Scene 9. Night Street Exterior** | **Scene 9. Night Street Exterior** |
| **Scene 10. Mission Exterior** | **Scene 10. Mission Exterior** |
| My Time of Day | My Time of Day |
| I've Never Been in Love Before | I've Never Been in Love Before |
| **Act 2** | **Act 2** |
| **Scene 1. The Hot Box, Nightclub** | **Scene 1. The Hot Box, Nightclub** |
| Bushel and a Peck | Bushel and a Peck |
| [Adelaide's Second Lament] [fragment] | [Adelaide's Second Lament] [fragment] |
| **Scene 2. Street Exterior** | **Scene 2. Street Exterior** |
| More I Cannot Wish You | More I Cannot Wish You |
| **Scene 3. Crap Game in the Sewer** | **Scene 3. Crap Game in the Sewer** |
| DANCE (Dance) | DANCE (Dance) |
| Luck Be a Lady Tonight | Luck Be a Lady Tonight |
| **Scene 4. Street Scene** | **Scene 4. Street Scene** |
| "Number" (Sue Me) | "Number" (Sue Me) |
| **Scene 5. Interior of Mission** | **Scene 5. Interior of Mission** |
| Sit Down, You're Rockin' the Boat | Sit Down, You're Rockin' the Boat |
| Reprise: Follow the Fold | Reprise: Follow the Fold |
| **Scene 6. Street Scene** | **Scene 6. Street Scene** |
| "Number" (Marry the Man Today) [?] | "Number" (Marry the Man Today) [?] |
| **Scene 7. Broadway.** | **Scene 7. Broadway.** |
| Reprise of Guys and Dolls | Reprise of Guys and Dolls |

Using the song lists drawn from lyric sheets found within these libretti as a starting point, a few differences (and similarities) between the two versions can be immediately observed (**Table 7: Burrows Draft vs. Kaufman Draft**).[174] To begin, the first and the last three songs of act 1, as well as all of the songs in act 2, are the same in both versions. Note, however, that "Follow the Fold" is followed by an asterisk in the Burrows draft. This is because the Kaufman draft places "Fugue for Tinhorns (Can Do)," and "Follow the Fold" back-to-back before any scene work. In comparison, the Burrows draft opens with a scene that leads into "Fugue for Tinhorns," and then does not include a performance of "Follow the Fold." This scenic opening found in the Burrows draft affords an introduction of the gamblers before they sing and is followed by an entrance of Sky Masterson, which initiates a cockroach race that is accompanied by a "race gallop paraphrase of FUGUE FOR THREE TIN HORNS."[175]

While lyric sheets for both "Fugue" and "Follow" are found in the Burrows draft of the script, there is no direction given for how or where "Follow" is to be introduced in the scene. Mission workers enter during this cockroach race carrying an assortment of instruments, but stage direction explicitly states that they are *not* playing. The stage direction for the mission workers' exits states "MUSIC OUT," but it is not described as a "Number" as are the songs previously discussed; it is unclear when or whether "Follow the Fold" is heard or played. The

[174] Table 7 includes various asterisks, brackets, and parentheses. When "Number" is followed by a parenthetical song title, it means that the lyrics for the song are included within a few pages of the reference—as a stapled-together packet inserted into the script. When a "Number" is followed by a bracketed song title, it means that no lyric packet is included and that it is the author's best guess of which song is placed there, given either the distribution of songs in the published libretto, or other references to the song within the draft. The asterisk following "Follow the Fold" in the Burrows draft indicates that a stapled lyric packet is included in the draft, but there is no indication in the libretto where the song is to be performed.

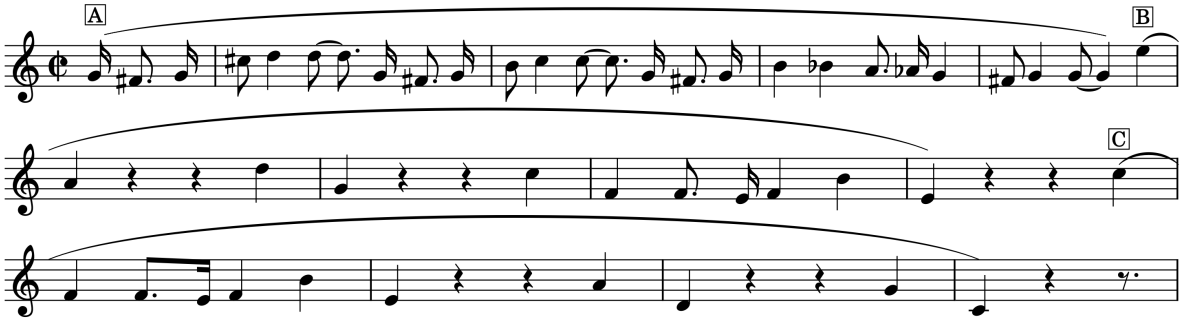
[175] Though the cockroach race is ultimately cut from the published libretto, a vestigial reference might still be found on p. 12 of the libretto when Detroit, referencing Masterson, says, "I once saw [Sky] bet five thousand dollars on a caterpillar race."

cold open and the back-to-back contrast of "Fugue for Tinhorns" and "Follow the Fold" of the Kaufman draft affords musical introductions to the competing forces of Runyonland, the gamblers and mission workers, at the expense of Masterson's introduction.

No lyrics or title are provided in either version for the "Number," which, based on the scene that precedes this label, implies that the number is "Adelaide's Lament." Similarly, the "Number" at the bottom of act 2, a scene between Sarah and Adelaide, is likely "Marry the Man Today," whose lyric sheets are found at the end of both typescripts.

The title "CAN DO," which is found in both libretti, is annotated "Fugue Waltz" in the Kaufman draft. The melody of the tune is a triple-meter version of the melody found in "Fugue for Tinhorns." Though both versions contain the text "SARAH improvising a few words," other materials suggest that this song became much more fleshed out as production proceeded. For example, in programs from the Philadelphia tryouts dated from the weeks of October 9 and October 16, 1950, the song that followed "Adelaide's Lament" was titled "Fugue Waltz," and performed by the characters Arvide, Sarah, Messenger Boy, Agatha, and Calvin, while the song listed in an undated playbill and another dated (by hand) October 28, 1950, was titled "Three Cornered Tune" and was performed by Arvide, Sarah, Agatha, and Calvin, with the Messenger Boy removed. A draft copy and a publisher's copy of a tune titled "Three Cornered Tune (Almost from *Guys and Dolls*)" is among a number of sketches, drafts, lyric sheets, and arrangements of a song also variously titled "Rounding The Square," "Fugue For Three Tin-Horns," "Fugue For Tin Horns," and "Fugue for Tinhorns" (see **Example 1: "Fugue for Tinhorns" Melody**).

**Example 1: "Fugue for Tinhorns" Melody**




Regardless of the titling, all of the above are written in cut time, with the exception of "Three Cornered Tune," which is notated in three quarter, or waltz, time (see **Example 2: "Three Cornered Tune" Melody**), and "Rounding The Square" (see **Image 2: "Rounding The Square" Sketch Fragment**), which lacks a time signature. "Fugue for Tinhorns" and "Three Cornered Tune" will be discussed later in this chapter.

**Example 2: Three Cornered Tune" Melody**

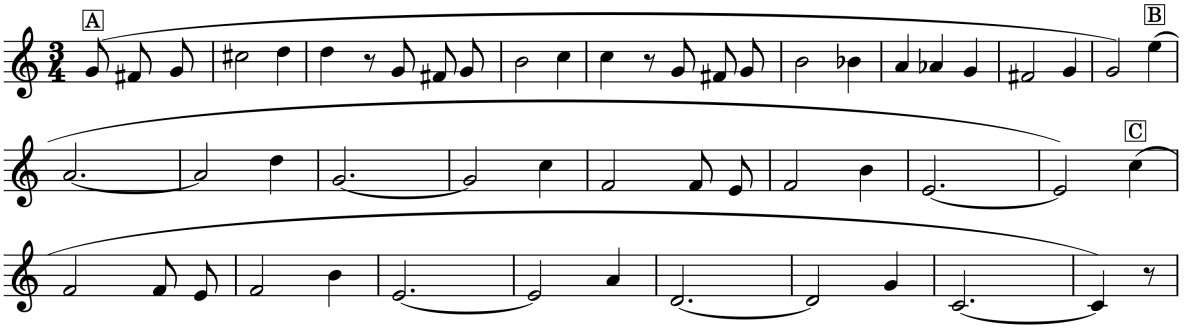
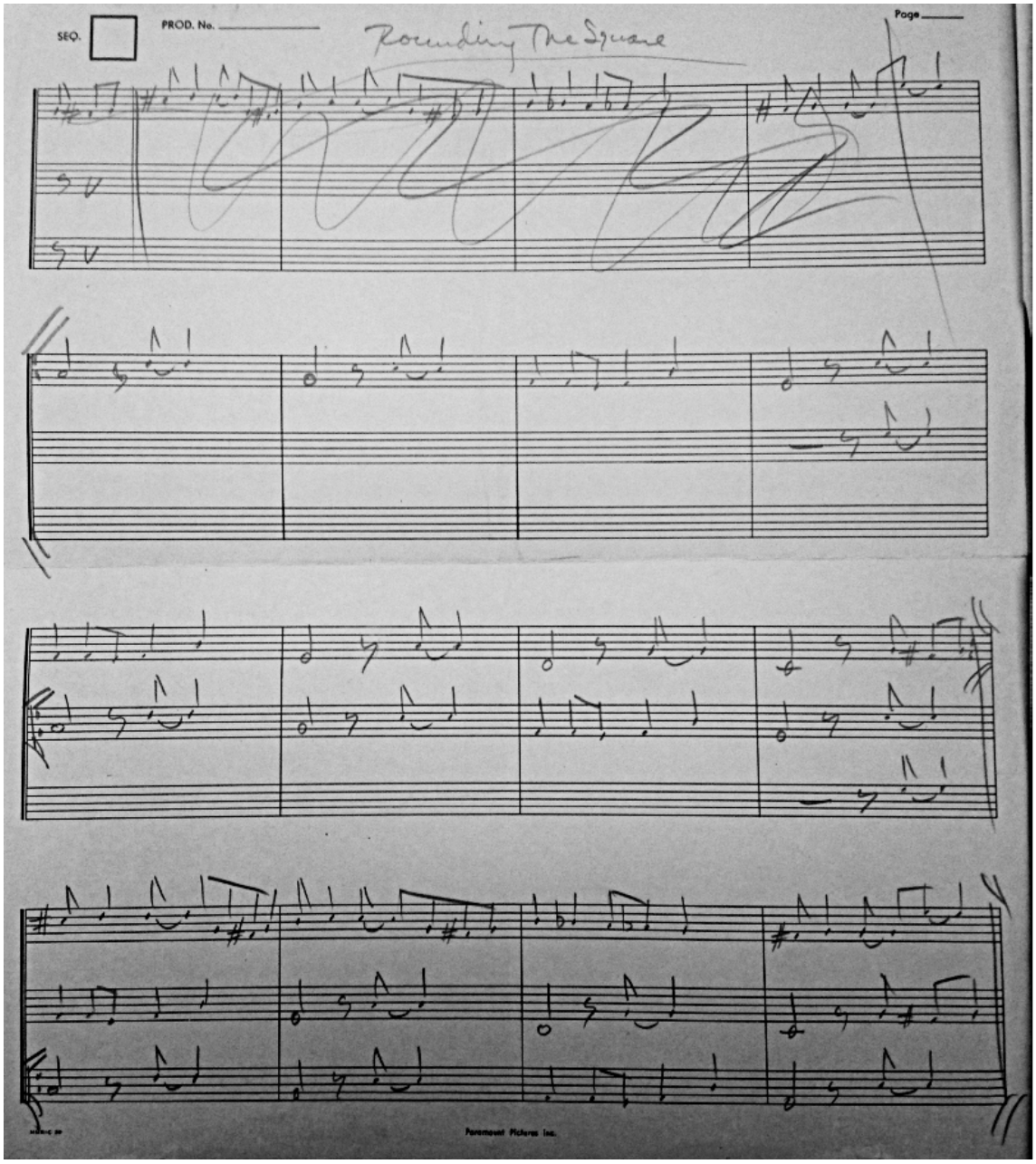


**Image 2: "Rounding The Square" Sketch Fragment**




Finally, per the song list, lyrics for the titular “Guys and Dolls” are found in both the Burrows and Kaufman drafts. In the Burrows draft, it is located earlier in act 1 (act 1, scene 1), while it is either absent altogether or located later in act 1 (after act 1, scene 6) in the Kaufman draft—a placement that more closely approximates the eventual “final” placement of the song in

act 1, scene 5.[176] Whereas the versions of "Guys and Dolls" found in both September 11 typescripts are written as a back-and-forth Battles of the Sexes between Guys and Dolls, however, the published show version is only written to be sung by men and contains only the Guys' lyrics. This change will be discussed shortly. So far, we have only taken a cursory look at the contents of the typescripts, favoring an approach guided by song lists. A closer examination of both typescripts, however, reveals more differences that not only inform the introduction of musical numbers, but also facilitate the introduction of characters. For reference, the typescripts' pagination follows the format "Act-Scene-Page," and each act follows a its own discrete pagination; that is, the pagination of each act begins at p. 1.

In act 1, scenes 3–6 and 8–10 are identical in both the Burrows and Kaufman drafts, aside from assorted horizontal revisions. Scene 7 is not included in the Kaufman draft, but a space for it is afforded in the numbering and pagination—the numbering goes from p. 1-6-47 to p. 1-8-56. Horizontal revisions notwithstanding, both versions of act 2 are identical.[177] With this in mind, we can examine act 1, scene 1, more closely.

The Burrows draft of act 1 runs from p. 1-1-0 through p. 1-1-17, while the Kaufman draft runs from p. 1-1-1 through p. 1-1-14. Neither includes page numbers for the lyric sheets, which

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[176] The Kaufman draft does not include a scene 7. Further, the lyric sheet to "Guys and Dolls" is inserted between the end of scene 6—marked with the text "BLACKOUT," Wipe #1 Traveler……," indicating a scene change—and scene 8, which is set in Havana.

[177] Draft pages, partial script, n.d., T-Mss 2000-006, Box 20, folder 1, Abe Burrows Papers, Billy Rose Theatre Division, The New York Public Library for the Performing Arts. This will henceforth be referred to as the "undated draft fragment." A draft of labeled "Draft papers of Act I, Scenes vii–ix, vi (synopsis) [;] Act I, Sc 1, pp. 18, 18A [N.D.]" [capitalization employed following source]. Scene 8 of this draft is nearly identical to scene 9 of both the Burrows and Kaufman drafts; scene 9 of this draft shares a similar setting as scene 10 of both the Burrows and Kaufman drafts, "Mission Exterior"; both scenes are the final scene of the act, and both scenes provide the scenic setup for "My Time of Day" and "I've Never Been in Love Before." Scene 9 of the draft, however, unfolds differently and creates a different context for the relationship between Masterson and Brown.

are treated as unpaginated inserts.[178] In the Burrows draft, "Fugue for Tinhorns" is not performed until near the bottom of p. 1-1-1. Sky Masterson enters at the top of p. 1-1-1A. Sarah Brown and the Mission Band enter on p. 1-1-3 and, after interacting with Masterson, leave on p. 1-1-5. Though what would be pp. 6–8 are not paginated, Sky exits at the top of p. 1-1-6 and Nathan enters at the bottom. Adelaide enters on p. 1-1-10. "Guys and Dolls" is performed on p. 1-1-13. Masterson re-enters on p. 1-1-13A (meanwhile, Adelaide has apparently exited), and "Travelin' Light" is performed on p. 1-1-16. Sarah Brown and the Mission Band enter, and the scene ends on p. 1-1-17.

In the Kaufman draft, "Fugue for Tinhorns" and "Follow the Fold" are both performed prior to p. 1-1-1. Sarah Brown and the Mission Band are on stage at the beginning of the scene and make their exit in the middle of p. 1-1-1. Nathan Detroit enters at the bottom of p. 1-1-3, Adelaide enters at the bottom of p. 1-1-6,[179] Sky Masterson enters on p. 1-1-9, and Adelaide exits on p. 1-1-10. "Number" (Travelin' Light) is performed on p. 1-1-11. Sarah Brown and the Mission Band re-enter at the top of p. 1-1-14, and the scene ends near the bottom of p. 1-1-14. In the Kaufman draft, Masterson and Brown have no interactions during act 1, scene 1.

A comparison between act 1, scene 2, of both versions is troublesome. The Burrows draft is paginated pp. 1–2 and pp.18–27 and contains the song "I'll Know." The Kaufman draft consists of a single page, paginated 1-2-14/17. The pagination of scene 3 in the Kaufman draft, in addition to identical scenes 5, suggest that pp. 18–27 would have remained largely the same in

[178] The first page of both scripts is actually unnumbered. The Burrows draft, however, goes from an unnumbered first page to p. 1-1-1, and the Kaufman draft goes from an unnumbered first page to page p. 1-2-1.

[179] In the Kaufman draft, the pagination moves from p. 1-1-4 directly to p. 1-1-6. The 1-1-6, however, is crossed out and replaced with a handwritten "8" beside it. The next page in the script, however, is p. 1-1-7.

the Kaufman draft as it was in the Burrows draft. Though the absence of the lyrics of "I'll Know" from the Kaufman draft is puzzling, the lack of an interior scene provides a plausible explanation for its absence. In the Burrows draft, Masterson's introduction is predicated on his correcting of Brown's scripture quotation on p. 1-1-4. Without any prior interaction, Masterson's visit to the mission is predicated solely on meeting Brown as part of a bet.

Despite the fact that a majority of both typescripts is identical, we can—and should—still consider the Burrows and Kaufman drafts as different versions. That is, based on the degree of the difference and, hence, the direction of the revisions in scene 1 alone, each revision instantiates quite different sets of circumstances for the version that follows, assuming that most of the Burrows and Kaufman drafts follow the same trajectory, despite the differences in how the versions of act 1, scene 2, begin.

The context created by act 1, scene 1, shapes the reading of the material that follows. In the Burrows draft, Masterson interacts with Brown once, before he (enthusiastically) agrees to take her to Cuba, while in the Kaufman draft, he does not meet her until act 1, scene 2. In the Burrows draft, Masterson and Brown approach each other onstage at the end of the scene, and Brown turns and exits, intentionally avoiding Masterson. In the Kaufman draft, we can infer that, based on Masterson's reaction at the end of scene 1, p. 1-1-14, his attitude toward the meeting is considerably more trepidatious. This helps to deepen the contrast between the two versions: in the Burrows draft, Masterson knows that Brown is avoiding him but pursues her anyhow; in the Kaufman draft, Masterson reluctantly, albeit behind a layer of subterfuge, introduces himself to Brown in a complementary dynamic that casts him as sinner and her as savior—a wolf in a penitent wolf's clothing. The contrasting contexts created by both versions effectively send two

different Mastersons to convince two different Browns to accompany them to Cuba. These facets of Masterson revealed in the fluid text will be examined in greater detail in chapter 4.

Our work of comparing the typescript drafts of the libretti created by Burrows and Kaufman showed both that changes made to just a single scene could resonate throughout an entire act, and that identifying two versions of a show when comparing two different scripts is relatively straightforward. In that task, paginations facilitated our observations of the differences and similarities. In cases where lyric sheets were included without any explicit scenic lead-in to those songs—for "Follow the Fold" in the Burrows draft or "Guys and Dolls" in the Kaufman draft—I found context clues in the published libretto.

This is not to suggest that this method is not without its share of complications. For example, since both typescripts have identical cover pages with identical dates and, as previously mentioned, identical act 1, scenes 3–6 and 8–10, it is difficult (if not impossible) to ascertain which version is the authoritative version and which is the derivative version, if either. Further, it is similarly difficult to tell whether lyric sheets for songs such as "Follow the Fold" and "Guys and Dolls" were inserted into their locations in the Burrows and Kaufman drafts prior to or after the shape of act 1 had been worked out. The placement of the song "Guys and Dolls" in the Kaufman draft more closely resembles the placement in the published version of the show, but as mentioned previously, lacks the scenic setup to the song that the Burrows draft provides. Regardless of its placement within the show, though, even this song is replaced with a new version that has a completely different rhetorical aim than the version it supplants. Accordingly, we can begin to see what insights even imperfectly provenanced documents might provide for our analysis.

**Second Approach: Several Shows**

**Table 4**, introduced near the beginning of this chapter, shows song lists drawn (from Left to Right) from the Burrows and Kaufman drafts, pamphlets and programs from the Philadelphia tryouts, the Opening Night pamphlet, the published piano-vocal score, and the motion picture adaptation. Though our first approach also looked at song lists, that examination was performed in conjunction with—and in the context of—two versions of the libretto, as a means of demonstrating how revisions to scripts could reflect changes in song inclusion and ordering, and how those changes produced far-ranging effects on the story. These song lists, supplemented by synopses of scenes, help tell stories of how the show changed from week to week and from version to version. As we proceed, we will configure our comparisons in several ways. First, however, we will compare the first week of tryouts, beginning October 9, 1950, with Opening Night, November 24, 1950 (**Table 8: First Tryout Song List vs. Opening Night Song List**).

Between these two versions, we can observe several prominent differences. “Travelin’ Light,” “Getting Dressed,” and “Fugue Waltz” are removed from act 1 and from the show entirely. “A Bushel and a Peck” was moved from the top of act 2 to the middle of act 1, just before “Adelaide’s Lament,” and had its top-of-act-2 slot taken by “Take Back Your Mink,” which now precedes “Reprise: Adelaide’s Lament,” which appears as a fragment in the Burrows and Kaufman drafts. “The Oldest Established” is added to act 1, “The Crap Game Dance” is added after “Luck Be a Lady,” and “Reprise: Follow the Fold,” which was formerly only alluded to in the Burrows and Kaufman drafts, is added after “Sit Down, You’re Rockin’ the Boat.” Finally, and perhaps most significantly, “Guys and Dolls” is both moved from act 1, scene 1, to act 1, scene 5—a revision observed in the Kaufman draft—and, more importantly, changed from a song sung by men and women to a song sung only by men.

**Table 8: First Tryout Song List vs. Opening Night Song List**

| **First Philadelphia Tryout: October 14, 1950** | **Opening Night: November 24, 1950** |
|---|---|
| **Act One** | **Act One** |
| Opening | Opening |
| Fugue for Three Tinhorns | Fugue for Tinhorns |
| Follow the Fold | Follow the Fold |
| Guys and Dolls [Men and Women] | ***The Oldest Established*** |
| Travelin' Light | |
| I'll Know | I'll Know |
| Getting Dressed [Hot Box Girls] [Dance?] | ***A Bushel and a Peck*** |
| Adelaide's Lament | Adelaide's Lament |
| Fugue Waltz | |
| | ***Guys and Dolls [Nicely and Benny]*** |
| | ***Guy and Doll [Dance]*** |
| Havana (Dance) | Havana (Dance) |
| If I Were a Bell [Sky and Sarah] | If I Were a Bell [Sarah] |
| My Time of Day | My Time of Day |
| I've Never Been in Love Before [Sky and Sarah] | I've Never Been in Love Before |
| **Act Two** | **Act Two** |
| Bushel and a Peck | ***Take Back Your Mink*** |
| | ***Reprise: Adelaide's Lament*** |
| More I Cannot Wish You [Arvide and Sarah] | More I Cannot Wish You [Arvide] |
| | ***The Crap Game Dance*** |
| Luck Be a Lady | Luck Be a Lady |
| Sue Me | Sue Me |
| Rockin' the Boat | Sit Down, You're Rockin' the Boat |
| | ***Reprise: Follow the Fold*** |
| Marry the Man Today | ***[Adelaide Meets Sarah]*** |
| Reprise: Guys and Dolls [Entire Company] | Marry the Man Today |
| | Reprise: Guys and Dolls [Entire Company] |

Some of these changes, such as the addition of "Reprise: Adelaide's Lament" and "Reprise: Follow the Fold," are nominal changes; they were already included in the drafts of the libretto even if not listed in the song list and are merely horizontal revisions. One could also argue that the two dance numbers "Getting Dressed" and "Crapshooters' Dance" have similarly negligible impacts on the plot and are also horizontal revisions.

A handful of changes skirt the line between vertical and horizontal revisions. For example, moving "Bushel and a Peck" to act 1 and replacing it in act 2 with "Take Back Your Mink" have little actual impact on the plot, but do strengthen the "Where" of The Hot Box by having a number performed each time the action moves there. The two songs serve as a type of musical bellwether; in act 1, Nathan and Adelaide are engaged, and Sky and Sarah are on their way to falling in love, while in act 2, Sky and Sarah are "no good," and Nathan and Adelaide are about to break up. Similarly, the removal of "Fugue Waltz" from not only act 1, but also from the entire show eliminates any cues or foreshadowing of Brown's attraction to Masterson. Considered in isolation, this might be considered a horizontal revision, as it simply hints at the potential of romance to come. Considered in tandem with the removal of "Travelin' Light," however, it helps to paint a different picture.[180] "Travelin' Light" serves to show Masterson's aversion toward "traditional," committed, domestic relationships, and he sings it to Detroit after learning that Detroit is engaged to be married. In the Burrows draft, Masterson's philosophy can be summed up in his dialogue with Detroit: "Sooner or later guys have to stand by any commitments they make to dolls…. Always remember that pleasant as a doll's company may be, she must always take second place to aces back-to-back."[181] This flippant side of Masterson contrasts with a (marginally) more earnest Masterson seen in "I'll Know," and this contrast presents a Masterson engaged in subterfuge on his visit to the mission. Brown's reminiscence of "Fugue for Tinhorns" in the tune of "Fugue Waltz" serves as a touchstone to

[180] Since neither of the extant typescripts specifies that "Three Cornered Tune" is sung during the "Fugue Waltz," we will have to operate, as before, on conjecture that this is the case. Recall the earlier discussion of the song's provenance, and the clues found in the Kaufman draft.
[181] Burrows draft, p. 1-1-16. On p. 22 of the published libretto, Masterson says, "I like to *travel light*, but if I wish to take a doll to Havana there is a large assortment available" (emphasis mine).

Masterson's world of the gamblers and signals her openness to accepting him. When paired with Masterson's subterfuge, Brown's absent-minded recollection of the gamblers' tune exposes Brown's unconscious vulnerability and reduces her to the status of a mark. In the published version, she is not emotionally invested in him and simply goes to Havana with Masterson so that he will bring people to the mission. Likewise, Masterson simply has to take her to Havana in order to win a bet, and his betrayal of her is entirely accidental.

The change of the titular "Guys and Dolls" from a number for men and women to a number for men only is perhaps the greatest change between the two shows, and a change whose impact on the plot is less pronounced, but whose impact on the theme or atmosphere of the show is the most dramatic. In the lyrics found in the Kaufman draft, the men sing an introductory verse, the men and women then each sing a refrain back and forth, the men sing another refrain, and then the women and men alternate stanzas in a final refrain.[182] In the published version, the men sing an introductory verse and three refrains. Since the refrains of all versions consist of friendly jabs at one sex's changes in behavior for the benefit of the other sex—women pointing out the changes that women make for men, and men pointing out the changes that men make for women—any version presents a self-deprecating look at the lengths to which someone will go to curry favor with the opposite sex, and the self-deprecating nature of these observations is key to keeping the tone amicable. Removing one voice, namely the women's voice, from the song, changes the perspective from one of a shared experience—the things men *and* women will do for love—to one of an exclusively men's experience. This changed perspective flattens, eliminates, and silences the women's contributions as coequal members in the "Guys and Dolls" dynamic,

[182] The Kaufman draft consists of four numbered pages. The Burrows draft consists of three numbered pages but is missing its second page.

and the men are presented as "victims" who "sacrifice everything" for "some doll." This changed dynamic has predecessors in the larger fluid text that is *Guys & Dolls*, but we will reserve discussion of these until chapter 4.

In between the first Philadelphia tryout and Opening night, several other changes were gradually made to the show, and close readings of the Burrows and the Kaufman drafts, scene synopses, and song lists can provide context and insight for how these changes were implemented, and the ramifications of those changes. The first of these changes occurs during the week of October 23 (**Table 9: Comparison Between Kaufman Draft and October 23 Tryout**).

Beginning at the top of the show and working our way through, the first change we encounter is that "Guys and Dolls" has been moved from act 1, scene 1, to around scene 6 or 7.[183] This change resembles an arrangement seen in the Kaufman draft of the September 11 typescript, even though, as mentioned previously, the Kaufman draft lacked a scenic setup to the song.

Recall that the Kaufman draft of the typescript included a gap in act 1, scene 2, and inserted a scene set outside the mission with the pagination 1-2-14/17. The "interior" scene of the Burrows draft, which introduces "I'll Know" and establishes the relationship between Masterson and Brown, is nowhere to be found in the Kaufman draft. Similarly, the synopsis of scenes found in the program for the week of October 23 includes a scene 2 entitled "Exterior of the Save-A-Soul Mission," and the list of songs in the same program also includes "I'll Know." Scene 5 of the Kaufman draft includes a reference to a suggestion made by Masterson in both act 1, scene 2,

[183] This is a best guess, because there is no extant libretto to compare the scene synopses and list of musical numbers.

of the Burrows draft and act 1, scene 2, of the published libretto, implying the existence of such a dramatic action despite a lack of text, which explicitly states it. Both scenes 2 contain the introduction of "I'll Know."

**Table 9: Comparison Between Kaufman Draft and October 23 Tryout**

| Kaufman: September 11, 1950 | Shubert: October 23, 1950 |
|---|---|
| **Act I** | **Act I** |
| **Scene 1. Broadway Exterior - Street "B"** | **Scene 1. Broadway.** |
| Can Do (Fugue for Tinhorns) | Fugue for Tinhorns |
| Follow the Fold | Follow the Fold |
| Travelin' Light | Traveling Light |
| **Scene 2. [Outside the Mission]** | **Scene 2. Exterior of the Save-A-Soul Mission.** |
| | **Scene 3. Mission Interior.** |
| | I'll Know |
| **Scene 3. Wall Telephone - Coin Box - Inset** | **Scene 4. A Cigar Store.** |
| **Scene 4. The Girls' Dressing Room at the Hot Box** | **Scene 5. Dressing Room at the "Hot Box."** |
| Number [Adelaide's Lament] [?] | Adelaide's Lament |
| **Scene 5. Interior Mission - Early Next Morning** | **Scene 6. Interior of the Mission - Early the Next Morning.** |
| "CAN DO" [Three Cornered Tune] (Fugue Waltz) | Three Cornered Tune |
| **Scene 6. Nathan Again on the Phone to Joey Biltmore** | **Scene 7. A Cigar Store.** |
| Guys and Dolls [Men and Women] | Guys and Dolls [Men and Women] |
| **(No Scene 7 Included)** | **Scene 8. Havana, Cuba.** |
| **Scene 8. Havana Exterior** | **Scene 9. A Havana Street. Immediately following.** |
| "Number" [If I Were a Bell] | |
| **Scene 9. Night Street Exterior** | |
| **Scene 10. Mission Exterior** | **Scene 10. Exterior of the Mission** |
| My Time of Day | My Time of Day |
| I've Never Been in Love Before | I've Never Been in Love Before |
| **Act II** | **Act II** |
| **Scene 1. The Hot Box, Nightclub.** | **Scene 1. The Hot Box.** |
| Bushel and a Peck | Bushel and a Peck |
| [Adelaide's Lament] (fragment) | |
| **Scene 2. Street Exterior** | **Scene 2. A New York Street.** |
| More I Cannot Wish You* | More I Cannot Wish You |
| **Scene 3. Crap Game in the Sewer.** | **Scene 3. The Crap Game.** |
| DANCE | |
| Luck Be a Lady Tonight | Luck Be a Lady Tonight |
| **Scene 4. Street Scene** | **Scene 4. A New York Street.** |
| "Number" (Sue Me) | Sue Me |
| **Scene 5. Interior of Mission.** | **Scene 5. Interior of the Save-A-Sould Mission.** |
| Sit Down, You're Rockin' the Boat | Sit Down, You're Rockin' the Boat |
| Reprise: Follow the Fold | Reprise: Follow the Fold |
| **Scene 6. Street Scene** | **Scene 6. A New York Street.** |
| "Number" [Marry the Man Today] [?]* | Marry the Man Today |
| **Scene 7. Broadway.** | **Scene 7. Broadway.** |
| Reprise of Guys and Dolls | Reprise: Guys and Dolls |

Finally, both the Burrows and Kaufman drafts resume a shared pagination at act 1, scene 3. This suggests that although the synopses of scenes 2 and 3 in the October 23 program imply separate scenes, they may, in fact, be a split scene that begins outside of the mission (as in the Kaufman draft) and then resumes inside (as in the Burrows draft and published libretto). Regardless, the October 23 program is the only published document that shows traces of what

the Kaufman draft does in the form of both the scene outside the mission and the relocated "Guys and Dolls." An additional change that is readily apparent in the October 23 program is the absence of "If I Were a Bell." Though both the Burrows and Kaufman drafts contain the lyric sheet and the scene, act 1, scene 7, in which the song is performed, a couple accounts suggest that the song has been removed from the show.[184] Additional accounts include recasting the song for Miss Adelaide.[185]

The removal or recasting of "If I Were a Bell" is doubtless a vertical revision. "If I Were a Bell," "My Time of Day," and "I've Never Been in Love Before" form a triptych of sorts that progress from Brown expressing her individual vulnerability and Masterson expressing his individual vulnerability to both of them expressing their shared vulnerability. By removing Brown's contribution to this triptych, this revision reduces Brown's agency in her own story.

Act 2 saw the aforementioned move of "Bushel and a Peck" to act 1, scene 4, and its replacement in act 2, scene 1, with "Take Back Your Mink." It saw the renaming of "Rockin' the Boat" to "Sit Down, You're Rockin' the Boat," and a nominal change to the song list in the addition of "Reprise: Follow the Fold." Recall that both the Kaufman and Burrows drafts allude to the reprise, yet neither of the weeks of October 9 or 16 includes it in their song lists. (This was

[184] *The Billboard*: 12, November 18, 1950. Reporting an event from November 11, 1950: "*Bell* was returned to the show this week after being out for two weeks."
[185] Feuer, *I Got the Show*, 146. According to Cy Feuer, "Isabel Bigley [(Sarah Brown)] was just too dignified to bring off 'If I Were a Bell,' and at some point, Frank [Loesser] gave it to Vivian Blaine [(Miss Adelaide)]." Loesser, *Remarkable Fella*, 108. According to Loesser, "[Bigley] couldn't get it right. Over and over, she couldn't get it right…. They tried all sorts of things with the song, including having Vivian Blaine [Adelaide] do it 'down-in-one' during a set change…. The lyrics are appropriate to a young lady with 'a quiet upbringing' who suddenly finds herself uninhibited and joyfully in love. Not a song for a well-worn chorus girl." An undated, typed playbill insert included in T-Mss 2000-006 Box 22, folder 6, is the only extant evidence that Adelaide ever performed the song.

mentioned previously in a comparison of the first tryout and opening night, but this is the week when this change actually occurred.)

The matinee performance of October 28, 1950, saw the enactment of three major changes that would last through opening night and the publication of the show.[186] The first two include the removal of "Travelin' Light" and its replacement with "Action." The third includes the previously discussed move and the recasting of "Guys and Dolls" (from a song for men and women to a song for only men) from act 1, scene 7, to act 1, scene 5.

Thomas Riis contends that "Action" was cut, and that "Oldest Established" was a "relatively late substitution to replace a song and dance for the two male leads called 'Action.'"[187] Feuer also insists that "Action" was cut, because "it was bland."[188] Burrows characterizes it as a song that "was to be sung by a lot of gamblers who were looking for a crap game."[189] Dan Dietz writes:

> It would seem that "Action" is an early title for "The Oldest Established" (the lyric for the latter includes the lines "If you're looking for action" and "Where's the action?"). "The Oldest Established' isn't listed in either the Shubert of Erlanger programs and "Action" isn't listed in the Shubert program. But "Action" is listed in the Erlanger program where it's sung by Sky Masterson (Robert Alda) and the ensemble in the spot between "Follow the Fold" and "I'll Know." For the New York opening night and subsequent programs throughout the Broadway run, "The Oldest

[186] A nominal exception to this is "Action," which will be discussed shortly. To clarify, I distinguish between the show performed on opening night and the published show, because the orderings of their musical numbers vary slightly, but significantly. The opening night program shows "The Crap Game Dance" was performed before "Luck Be a Lady," whereas a version less than a year after that date (and all subsequent versions) reverse that ordering. It is possible, however, that this is a typo in the program, given that the music in the Conductor's Score is numbered 24, 24A, and 25 for the numbers "After Manhole," "Crapshooters [sic] Ballet," and "Luck Be a Lady," respectively.
[187] Thomas Laurence Riis, *Frank Loesser* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008), 88–89.
[188] Feuer, *I Got the Show*, 146.
[189] Abe Burrows, *Honest Abe: Is There Really No Business Like Show Business?* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1980), 203.

> Established" also falls between "Follow the Fold" and "I'll Know." And for New York, the song was performed not by Sky and the ensemble but by Nathan Detroit (Sam Levene), Nicely-Nicely Johnson (Stubby Kaye), Benny Southstreet (Johnny Silver), and the ensemble.[190]

It is unclear whether to believe Riis, Feuer, and Burrows, whose accounts vary between "a song and dance number for two male leads," "bland," or "to be sung by a lot of gamblers who were looking for a crap game," or Dietz, whose observations of the lyrical connection between "where's the action" and lyrics of "The Oldest Established." Riis's description seems more like a description of "Travelin' Light." Of the remaining three, I think the truth lies somewhere between Burrows's recollection and Dietz postulation—"The Oldest Established" is a song "sung by a lot of gamblers" who exclaim "Where's the action? Where's the game?," and the placement of "Action" conforms to the eventual placement of "The Oldest Established."

The show remained in this form until around November 11, 1950, when "If I Were a Bell" was reinserted. Though a report in the November 18 issue of *Billboard* states that "*Bell* was returned to the show this week after being out for two weeks," a hand-dated program from that date (November 11) does not include it in the list of musical numbers.

Somewhere between the combination of the November 11 hand-dated program and the *Billboard* report and Opening Night, there were several more changes made to the song list. "The Oldest Established" replaced "Action"; "Guys and Dolls" was moved back to its act 1, scene 7 location; "A Bushel and a Peck" was moved from act 2, scene 1, to act 1, scene 4, where it then preceded "Adelaide's Lament"; "Take Back Your Mink" replaced "Bushel and a Peck" in act 2,

[190] Dan Dietz, *The Complete Book of 2000s Broadway Musicals* (Landham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2017), 376. This change is also referred to in Dan Dietz, *The Complete Book of 1950s Broadway Musicals* (Blue Ridge Summit: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2014), 41.

scene 1; “Three Cornered Tune” was removed; and “Reprise: Adelaide’s Lament” was finally listed in the list of musical numbers.

At first glance, these changes seem to be the same changes made between the first tryout and Opening night, and in many respects they are. Relocating “Guys and Dolls” after “Adelaide’s Lament,” however, allows the former to function as a type of commentary upon Detroit and Masterson’s respective romantic pursuits, rather than as a song that sets the tenor for them.

Even after the show opened, there remained work to be done. Burrows recalls that Kaufman called a rehearsal six weeks after the show opened. In addition to getting the performers to clean up their performances, which had gotten a bit sloppy, Kaufman also asked Burrows to write a handful of funny lines to replace lines that weren’t “funny enough.”[191]

As discussed previously, many of the changes made to the show between the first tryout and Opening Night definitely constitute vertical revisions and, as such, constitute new versions. The removal of “If I Were a Bell” from act 1—a vertical revision that effectively erased Brown’s agency—during a two-week period beginning October 23, certainly constitutes a new version. Likewise, the removal of “Travelin’ Light” some time before October 28 silences or suppresses an aspect of Masterson, namely his overtly libertine nature, and affects the rhetorical charge of his later actions. Finally, the addition of “Action”—presuming that, as suggested by Dietz, it eventually became “The Oldest Established”—affords an amplification of Nathan Detroit’s role in the story. Prior to the addition of “Action” / “The Oldest Established,” Nathan Detroit’s role was subsidiary to that of Masterson; the crap game existed to facilitate Masterson’s storyline.

[191] Abe Burrows, “The Making of,” 47.

With the song's addition, however, the status of Detroit and his game are elevated to central figures in the Broadway milieu. This change in Detroit's status was mentioned previously and will be discussed in greater detail in chapter 4.

**Second (and a half) Approach: From Stage to Screen**

The motion picture adaptation of *Guys & Dolls* saw several songs removed and a few songs added (**Table 10: From Stage to Screen**). "More I Cannot Wish You," "A Bushel and a Peck," "Marry the Man Today," "My Time of Day," and "I've Never Been in Love Before" were omitted, and "Pet Me, Poppa," "Adelaide," and "A Woman in Love" were added.[192] Some songs that were removed were still used in part as components of the motion picture soundtrack as scenic scoring.

Of the removals, "More I Cannot Wish You" and "A Bushel and a Peck" are the least disturbing. "More I Cannot Wish You," a song sung by Brown's grandfather to comfort her after her breakup with Masterson, has little impact on the narrative and is a horizontal revision. Adding or removing "A Bushel and a Peck," however, skirts the line between vertical and horizontal revision. Though the song mainly serves as a means of establishing the "Where" of The Hot Box nightclub, and this job is performed in its stead by "Pet Me, Poppa," an argument might be made that "A Bushel and a Peck" serves a different rhetorical role than "Pet Me, Poppa"; while the former is overtly faithful and effusive with its affection, the latter casually threatens disengagement from the relationship if "Poppa" isn't "nice."

[192] Three of these songs are used as background music in the film. "A Bushel and a Peck" plays in the background while Nathan Detroit is on the telephone in Adelaide's dressing room at The Hot Box in scene 3, near the point in time where it would have been sung. "I've Never Been in Love Before" also plays during this scene. "My Time of Day" plays as background music in act 1, scene 10, where it would have been sung. It is possible that audiences would recognize the instrumental versions of these tunes since the cast recording from the stage musical had been available for several years at this point.

Since act 2, scene 6, and "Marry the Man Today" mark the point when Adelaide and Sarah declare their intentions to reunite with their respective romantic partners, deciding whether

**Table 10: From Stage to Screen**

| Published Libretto (1951) | Motion Picture (1955) |
|---|---|
| **Act I** | **[Act I]** |
| **Scene 1. Broadway.** | **Scene 1. Broadway.** |
| Fugue for Tinhorns | Fugue for Tinhorns |
| Follow the Fold | Follow the Fold |
| The Oldest Established | The Oldest Established |
| **Scene 2. Interior of the Save-A-Soul Mission.** | **Scene 2. Interior of the Save-A-Soul Mission.** |
| I'll Know | I'll Know |
| **Scene 3. A Phone Booth.** | **Scene 3. A Phone Booth.** |
| **Scene 4. The Hot Box, Nightclub.** | **Scene 4. The Hot Box, Nightclub.** |
| A Bushel and a Peck | Pet Me, Poppa |
| Adelaide's Lament | Adelaide's Lament {Adelaide] |
| **Scene 5. A Street off Broadway.** | **Scene 5. A Street off Broadway. (58:21)** |
| Guys and Dolls [Men] | Guys and Dolls [Men] |
| | Adelaide |
| **Scene 6. Exterior of the Mission, Noon, the next day.** | **Scene 6. Exterior/Interior of the Mission, Noon, the next day.** |
| **Scene 7. A Street off-Broadway** | **Scene 7. A Restaurant** |
| | Adelaide |
| **Scene 8. Havana, Cuba—El Café Cubano.** | **Scene 8. Havana, Cuba—El Café Cubano.** |
| Havana (Dance) | La Luz del Amor (x4) |
| **Scene 9. Outside El Café Cubano. Immediately following.** | **Scene 9. Outside El Café Cubano. Immediately following. (1:30:25)** |
| If I Were a Bell | If I Were a Bell |
| **Scene 10. Exterior of The Mission.** | **Scene 10. Exterior of The Mission. (1:35:20)** |
| My Time of Day | A Woman in Love |
| I've Never Been in Love Before | |
| **Act II** | **[Act II]** |
| **Scene 1. The Hot Box, Nightclub.** | **Scene 1. The Hot Box, Nightclub. (1:44:05)** |
| Take Back Your Mink | Take Back Your Mink |
| Adelaide's Second Lament | |
| **Scene 2. Forty Eighth Street.** | **Scene 2. Interior of the Save-A-Soul Mission.** |
| More I Cannot Wish You | |
| **Scene 3. Crap Game in the Sewer.** | **Scene 3. Street Scene / Crap Game in the Sewer. (1:53:09)** |
| The Crapshooters' Dance (Dance) | The Crapshooters' Dance (Dance) |
| Luck Be a Lady | Luck Be a Lady |
| **Scene 4. A Street off Broadway.** | **Scene 4. A Restaurant** |
| Sue Me | Sue Me |
| **Scene 5. Interior of the Save-A-Soul Mission.** | **Scene 5. Interior of the Save-A-Soul Mission. (2:08:36)** |
| Sit Down, You're Rockin' the Boat | Sit Down, You're Rockin' the Boat |
| **Scene 6. Near Times Square.** | |
| Adelaide Meets Sarah | |
| Marry the Man Today | |
| **Scene 7. Broadway.** | **Scene 6. Broadway.** |
| Guys and Dolls (All of Them) | Guys and Dolls (Reprise) |

the removal of "Marry the Man Today" constitutes a vertical or a horizontal revision is

problematic. Though cutting the song erases Adelaide and Sarah's declaration to reunite with Detroit and Masterson, respectively, it does not eliminate their motivations to reunite. More accurately, because of differences between the scripts of the stage musical and film musical, the song does not remove Brown's motivation to reunite with Masterson since Masterson is exonerated in the post-crap-game mission scene in both the stage and film musicals, when Brown learns that he said he never took her to Havana. For Brown, this removal would constitute a horizontal revision. Adelaide's motivation to reunite with Nathan, originally found in act 2, scene 6 (Near Times Square), when she learns that he did not lie about having to attend the prayer meeting, however, is removed from the film musical.[193] If Adelaide lacks motivation to reunite with Nathan, she effectively goes from breaking their engagement at the end of "Sue Me" to marrying him two scenes later without any reconciliation. The Nathan Detroit of the stage musical operates a newspaper stand on Broadway, suggesting a renunciation of his floating crap game, whereas the Nathan Detroit of the film musical arrives in the back of a Mindy's delivery truck, ready for the nuptials, with no indication that he has changed occupations. Thus, though the rhetorical impact of removing "Marry the Man Today" may be negligible because the song merely announces Adelaide's intention to reunite with Nathan, the removal of the scene that accompanies it removes Adelaide's motivation to marry the man and leaves her—and her

[193] Immediately before they sing "Sue Me," Nathan tells Adelaide in act 2, scene 4, that he needs to attend a prayer meeting that occurs in act 2, scene 5. Adelaide does not believe him. His attendance at this prayer meeting, however, is confirmed by Brown in act 2, scene 6, immediately before they sing "Marry the Man Today." Scott McMillin writes: "'Marry the Man Today' near the end of *Guys and Dolls*, makes the two heroines aware of the solution to their romantic problems. Remove the song and the play will need some new dialogue." As shown, when the song is removed in the film version, no new dialogue is added.
Scott McMillin, *The Musical as Drama* (Princeton; Oxford: Princeton University Press (2006), 19.

relationship with Detroit—no different than in Act 1, a significant change to the rhetorical impact of the scene cum song, and, hence, a vertical revision.[194]

The removal of "My Time of Day" and "I've Never Been in Love Before," individually and especially as a pair, have a deep rhetorical impact and constitute major vertical revisions. Both songs are part of the aforementioned triptych consisting of "If I Were a Bell," "My Time of Day," and "I've Never Been in Love Before," though our previous discussion of this triptych focused on the erasure of Brown's agency through the removal of "If I Were a Bell." The removal of "My Time of Day" and "I've Never Been in Love Before" both removes Masterson's expression of his individual vulnerability and abbreviates his shared vulnerability, respectively. The substitution, as it were, of "A Woman in Love" for "I've Never Been in Love Before" serves to amplify Brown's panel of the triptych, so to speak, by focusing on her as "a woman in love" (**Table 11**: **Comparison of "I've Never Been in Love Before" and "A Woman in Love"**).[195] Even though Brown sings, "Your eyes are the eyes of a man who's in love," and Masterson agrees, "That same flame deep within made them shine," Masterson's dialogue that introduces the song is "It's got words, you know?... It's about you; about you right now."

Masterson's introduction doesn't come out of nowhere, however. By the time Masterson sings "A Woman in Love" in act 1, scene 9, the song has been presented in four different iterations. Whereas act 1, scene 8, of the stage musical saw Masterson and Brown moving from location to location during a "dance" number consisting of Samba, Rhumba, Shango, and Tango,

[194] We will see in chapter 4 that Masterson's presence at the wedding in the film musical comes with its own attendant complications.
[195] Though "I've Never Been in Love Before" and "A Woman in Love" share similar structures, the voice of the song in "A Woman in Love" is that of the second person ("Your eyes") as opposed to the first-person voice of "*I've* Never Been in Love Before."

act 1, scene 8, of the motion picture moves from location to location, accompanied by changes in the source of diegetic music.

**Table 11: Comparison of "I've Never Been in Love Before" and "A Woman in Love"**

| **I've Never Been in Love Before** | **A Woman in Love** |
|---|---|
| SKY: I've never been in love before;<br>Now all at once it's you,<br>It's you forevermore.<br>I've never been in love before.<br>I thought my heart was safe.<br>I thought I knew the score. | SKY: Your eyes are the eyes of a woman in love,<br>And ho, how they give you away!<br>Why try to deny you're a woman in love<br>When I know very well what I say? |
| But this is wine<br>That's all too strange and strong.<br>I'm full of foolish song<br>And out my song must pour. | I say no moon in the say ever lent such a glow;<br>Some flame deep within made them shine.<br>Those eyes are the eyes of a woman in love,<br>And may they gaze evermore into mine,<br>Tenderly gaze evermore into mine. |
| So please forgive<br>This helpless haze I'm in;<br>I've really never been<br>In love before. | SARAH: And what about you?<br>It's got you too. |
| SARAH: I've never been in love before;<br>Now all at once it's you,<br>It's you forevermore.<br>I've never been in love before.<br>I thought my heart was safe.<br>I thought I knew the score. | Your eyes are the eyes of a man's who in love.<br><br>SKY: That same flame deep within made them shine. |
| But this is wine<br>That's all too strange and strong.<br>I'm full of foolish song<br>And out my song must pour. | SARAH: Those eyes are the eyes of a man who's in love—<br><br>SKY: Woman in love— |
| BOTH: So please forgive<br>This helpless haze I'm in;<br>I've really never been<br>In love before. | BOTH: And may they gaze evermore into mine,<br>Lazily gaze evermore into mine. |

The first source is a solo (male) singer accompanying himself on guitar in a courtyard (1:16:43 [hour: minute: second]); the next is a guitar trio [*trova*] singing harmonies and accompanying themselves on guitars in a restaurant (1:18:30); the third is an instrumental version played by a

trio of guitar, flute, and conga at a different restaurant (1:21:48); this trio is interrupted by a non-diegetic, orchestral verse (1:23:24) before being interrupted itself and returned to the diegetic version (1:25:25); the final iteration is performed by an octet—bass, piano, bongos, conga, timbales, trumpet, clarinet/saxophone, and vocals (female) in yet another restaurant (1:25:39).[196]

In yet another fluid text moment, the song that Masterson performs is not quite the song performed by the musicians in Havana. The song they performed might be more aptly title "La Luz del Amor" ("The Light of Love") (**Table 12: "La Luz del Amor" Transcribed Spanish Lyrics and English Translation** and **Table 13: Lyric Comparison of "La Luz del Amor" and "A Woman in Love"**). Masterson's performance of "A Woman in Love" and his translation of it, then, give *his* voice to the feelings Brown has had in *her* heart. Says Brown, "A melody can have the same notes, but suddenly it's a different song…. That song. Before it was just romantic, just silly slush. But now it's playing inside of me all true and honest, as if my heart were beating the drum…. It keeps running through my heart…. Something about 'amor, amor,' I'll bet."

**Table 12: "La Luz del Amor" Transcribed Spanish Lyrics and English Translation**

| | |
|---|---|
| Allí en tu mirar, cierta luz del amor,<br>La luz que quieres apagar,<br>Yo sé, bien yo sé, es la luz del amor,<br>Cuando alumbra cual sol tu mirar.<br><br>¿Por qué, por qué ignorar este amor sin igual?<br>¿Por qué este amor ocultas?<br>Allí, en tu mirar, cierta luz del amor<br>Y brillará para mí tu mirar.<br>Y brillará para mí tu mirar. | There, in your look, a certain light of love,<br>The light you want to turn off,<br>I know, well I know, it is the light of love,<br>When your look shines like the sun<br><br>Why, why ignore this unequaled love?<br>Why are you hiding this love?<br>There, in your look, a certain light of love<br>And your look will shine for me.<br>And your look will shine for me. |

[196] The translation of the lyrics was begun here: https://mudcat.org/thread.cfm?threadid=77093, and refined by ear. Many thanks to Carlos Alberto Perez Tabares for his assistance in proofreading the transcription and translation, and for his thoughtful edits and clarifications.

**Table 13: Lyric Comparison of "La Luz del Amor" and "A Woman in Love"**

| La Luz del Amor (translation) | A Woman in Love |
|---|---|
| There, in your look, a certain light of love,<br>The light you want to turn off,<br>I know, well I know, it is the light of love,<br>When your look shines like the sun<br><br>Why, why ignore this unequaled love?<br>Why are you hiding this love?<br>There, in your look, a certain light of love<br>And your look will shine for me.<br>And your look will shine for me. | Your eyes are the eyes of a woman in love,<br>And ho, how they give you away!<br>Why try to deny you're a woman in love<br>When I know very well what I say?<br><br>I say no moon in the say ever lent such a glow;<br>Some flame deep within made them shine.<br>Those eyes are the eyes of a woman in love,<br>And may they gaze evermore into mine,<br>Tenderly gaze evermore into mine. |

"A Woman in Love" is not sung solely by Masterson. Brown sings a second verse, just as she does in "I've Never Been in Love Before," though Masterson interjects the second line of lyrics, echoes the lyrics of the third line, and sings along on the fourth line. Again, despite Brown's participation in "A Woman in Love," the song effectively strips her of her agency. Masterson declares what Brown's look means and Brown is put into a position of either disagreeing with him—and, as a result, initiating an entirely different type of song—or allowing him to tell her how she feels—for the sake of not upsetting the applecart. Of course, Masterson could be right, and Brown's eyes could be the eyes of a woman in love; she has just recently sung "If I Were a Bell," after all. But taken in tandem with the elimination of Masterson's declaratory number "My Time of Day" and the aforementioned shift of first-person to second-person narrative voice ("*I've* never been in love" versus "*Your* eyes are the eyes"), all eyes shift to Brown through a piece of rhetorical legerdemain.[197]

[197] Michael Buchler, "Making Sky Masterson More Marlon Brando." Paper presented at the American Musicological Society, Rochester, NY, November 2017. (Shared with author.) Buchler remarks, "Sky's not telling Sarah that he's in love with her; he's telling her that she's in love with him."

This broader shift in the statuses of Masterson and Brown in the motion picture adaption of *Guys & Dolls* is part of a larger trend in their exchange of status across the larger fluid text that is instantiated with "The Idyll of Miss Sarah Brown," and it will become a focus of chapter 4. Before moving on, however, it is worth examining some drafts and copies of those songs which either were not included in the musical, or those songs which were included, but included as a much different version.

**Third Approach: Cutting Room Floor**

Much as "My Time of Day," "I've Never Been in Love Before," and other songs were removed and/or replaced in the transmediation from stage to screen, some songs or versions of songs were removed from the show prior to Opening Night. Among this number are songs that exist only as sketches or fragments and perhaps were never even in the show, songs that exist as fair copies but have no place in the script or were never included in a tryout, songs that were included in a tryout but were not included in the Opening Night performance, and songs that were included in tryouts and in the Opening Night performance after undergoing substantial changes.

The first three types can be found in **Table 5** under the heading "Cut/Rejected from Show." Songs that were "cut" were included in either a script draft or tryout, and songs that were "rejected" are merely sketches, a fair copy with no place in an extant script, or scantly mentioned in relation to the show. "Three-Cornered-Tune" and "Travelin' Light" are examples of cut songs, because they each had a place in a tryout and a script draft—though either could still be considered cut if it had only appeared in a tryout *or* a script draft. A cut song that exists as a fair copy but is not mentioned in either a script draft or a tryout is "Shango."[198] "Shango" is also

[198] "Shango" exists as a lyric sheet and a fair copy of piano accompaniment with a textless third-staff melody whose rhythm matches the syllabic rhythm of the accompanying lyric sheet.

listed on a "Songs from the Score" list found on the front of several pieces of sheet music published before the show was released.[199]

Three rejected songs, "It Feels Like Forever," "Nathan's Problem," and "I Come A-Running," exist in varying stages of completion.[200] Like "Shango," "It Feels Like Forever" is included on the "Songs from the Score" list." Unlike "Shango" and "It Feels Like Forever," "I Come A-Runnin'," and "Nathan's Problem" are not mentioned in any published materials or drafts. "I Come A-Runnin'," however, is included on a recording entitled *Frank Sings Loesser*.[201]

The following section will examine a handful of these songs, each as an example of a different type of textual fluidity: "Three-Cornered Tune," "Shango," and "Nathan's Problem." "Three-Cornered Tune" is examined both as an example of a song that was cut from the show and as a touchstone for "Fugue for Tinhorns," which itself received numerous revisions. "Shango" is examined because its exclusion factors prominently in the character Sky Masterson's development. "Nathan's Problem" is examined as part of broader exploration of how Nathan Detroit's character was created.

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[199] Various sheet music publications contemporaneous with the release of *Guys & Dolls* contain variations of this information on the cover page: Published by Susan Publications, Inc. and distributed by Edwin H. Morris and Company, Inc., New York: New York; Published by Frank Music Corp. and distributed by Frank Distributing Corp.

[200] Loesser and Kimball, and Nelson, *Complete Lyrics*: 167–68. Kimball and Nelson state "'It Feels Like Forever' exists as an undated typescript, 'I Come A-Running' [sic] exists as an undated piano-vocal sheet, and list "Nathan's Problem" as "Unfinished lyric…. No music known to exist."

[201] Frank Loesser, Schuman, William, *Frank Sings Loesser: Rare and Unreleased Performances* (New York: Koch International Classics, 1995).

*"Fugue for Tinhorns" and "Three Cornered Tune"*

"Fugue for Tinhorns" proper exists in at least three versions. There is the published version that is performed in the show. Next there is the published sheet music version. Finally, there is a draft form that includes an additional verse for each singer. Based on their unique structures, each version might be said to perform a different role. In contrast to the other two versions, the show version, for example, includes a statement of the entire first verse by the first singer, before being joined by the second singer (**Table 15: Entrances in Show Version of "Fugue for Tinhorns"**). This is possibly because it would be preferable to have the audience hear each of the three melodies—A, B, and C—once in order to be able to track the lyrics in the subsequent entrances. The sheet music version is largely identical to the show version, with the exception that it omits the "once through in the clear" exposition heard in the show version and offers, instead, entrances that are staggered every eight bars. The draft version that includes an extra verse for each singer demonstrates a textual fluidity unlike that found in the other two versions.

If we consider "Fugue for Tinhorns" as a musical depiction of a horse race—*fugere* meaning "to flee" and *fugare* meaning "to chase"—we might hear each entrance as an exchange of leaders in the race. The differences found between the draft version and the other two versions do, indeed, offer a substantial change in the nature and impact of the text. In the show and sheet music versions, Nicely-Nicely, Benny, and Rusty Charlie sing about Paul Revere, Valentine, and Epitaph, respectively, with each entrance of Melody A serving as a musical depiction of that particular horse taking the lead in the three-horse race. In each verse, the singers have their own set of lyrics for their respective verses, arguing the merits of a particular horse that they favor. Each singer sings three verses of an 8 + 8 + 8 structure, with Singers 2 and 3 only singing Melodies A + B, and Melody A, respectively. In contrast to the show and sheet music versions,

the draft version introduces two more horses, Galant Fight and Happy Lunch. Nicely-Nicely and Benny switch horses in their third verses to Galant Fight and Happy Lunch, respectively, before returning to their original horses, Paul Revere and Epitaph, respectively. Rusty Charlie is the only one who sticks with his horse, Epitaph, so to speak, and it is Epitaph whose name is the first one heard at the end of the "race." In this version, the entrances among the horses change to Paul Revere, Valentine, Epitaph, Paul Revere, Valentine, Epitaph, Galant Fight, Happy Lunch, Epitaph, Paul Revere, Valentine, and Epitaph.

In addition to these three versions, there are a pencil fair copy titled "Fugue for Three Tin-Horns" prepared by an engraver; an engraved copy, titled "Fugue for Three Tin-Horns" and appended with a parenthetical "First Draft" in its upper-left corner, and with the name "Finkelstein" used in place of "Valentine"; and the aforementioned pencil-sketch of "Rounding the Square," a conductor's score (which matches the show version), and a pencil copy dated 8-2-51, perhaps prepared in anticipation of a piano-vocal book. We can examine whether any of these examples are "versions" of one another by using Bryant's fifth criterion, that a version's revision results in substantial differences in the nature and impact of the text. In comparison of the show version with the sheet music version, it could be argued, on one hand, that Benny's entrance with Melody 1 still coincides with Nicely-Nicely's Melody 2, rendering little difference in the text. On the other hand, it could be argued that allowing all three melodies to be heard in the clear once affects the listener's ability to perceive subsequent entries of the melodies, and the lyrics that accompany them, rendering a higher-resolution reading.

"Three-Cornered Tune" shares many features with "Fugue for Tinhorns." A handwritten copy includes the subtitle "Almost from—Guys and Doll*s*—" and published sheet music of the piece includes the supertitle "Based on 'Fugue for Tinhorns' from GUYS and DOLLS." Like

“Fugue for Tinhorns,” “Three Cornered Tune” is a canon at the unison for three singers. Unlike “Fugue for Tinhorns,” “Three Cornered Tune” does not introduce new lyrics with the entrance of each new singer (**Table 14: Entrances in Sheet Music for “Three Cornered Tune” and “Fugue for Tinhorns”**). The song consists of three verses, each twenty-four measures long, broken up into an 8 + 8 + 8 structure—Melody A + Melody B + Melody C—with the exception of the final verse, which is only sung completely by Singer 1, with Singers 2 and 3 only singing Melody A + Melody B, and Melody A, respectively.

**Table 14: Entrances in Sheet Music for "Three Cornered Tune" and "Fugue for Tinhorns"**

| | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Singer 1 | Intro | A | B | C | A | B | C | A | B | C | Tag (Fugue only) |
| Singer 2 | | | A | B | C | A | B | C | A | B | |
| Singer 3 | | | | A | B | C | A | B | C | A | |

**Table 15: Entrances in Show Version of "Fugue for Tinhorns"**

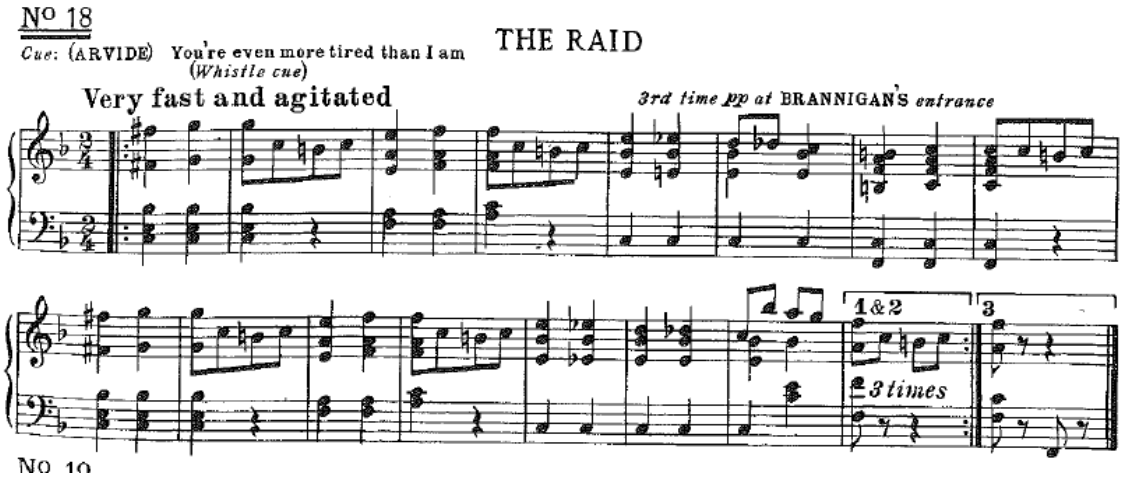
| | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Nicely-Nicely | Intro | A | B | C | B | C | A | B | Etc. |
| Benny | | | | | A | B | C | A | |
| Rusty Charlie | | | | | | A | B | C | |

There are some discrepancies between the published “Three Cornered Tune” and the allusions made to it in the script drafts, which have Sarah “improvising a few words,” “Arvide [jigging] the next phrase,” and a messenger boy joining the scene and singing the lyrics “I got a telegram, In case you give a dam [sic]...[interrupted].” In fact, there is nothing in any script, draft of otherwise, which suggests that the published lyrics of “Three Cornered Tune” were those that were intended for use in the show. Yet the mere presence of the song listed, as it is, in the show program during tryouts suggests, at the very least, that it served some purpose to the story.

The melody of “Three Cornered Tune,” or forms of it, is also used several times as transition music between scenes, or as scoring. One such bit of scoring occurs during act 1, scene

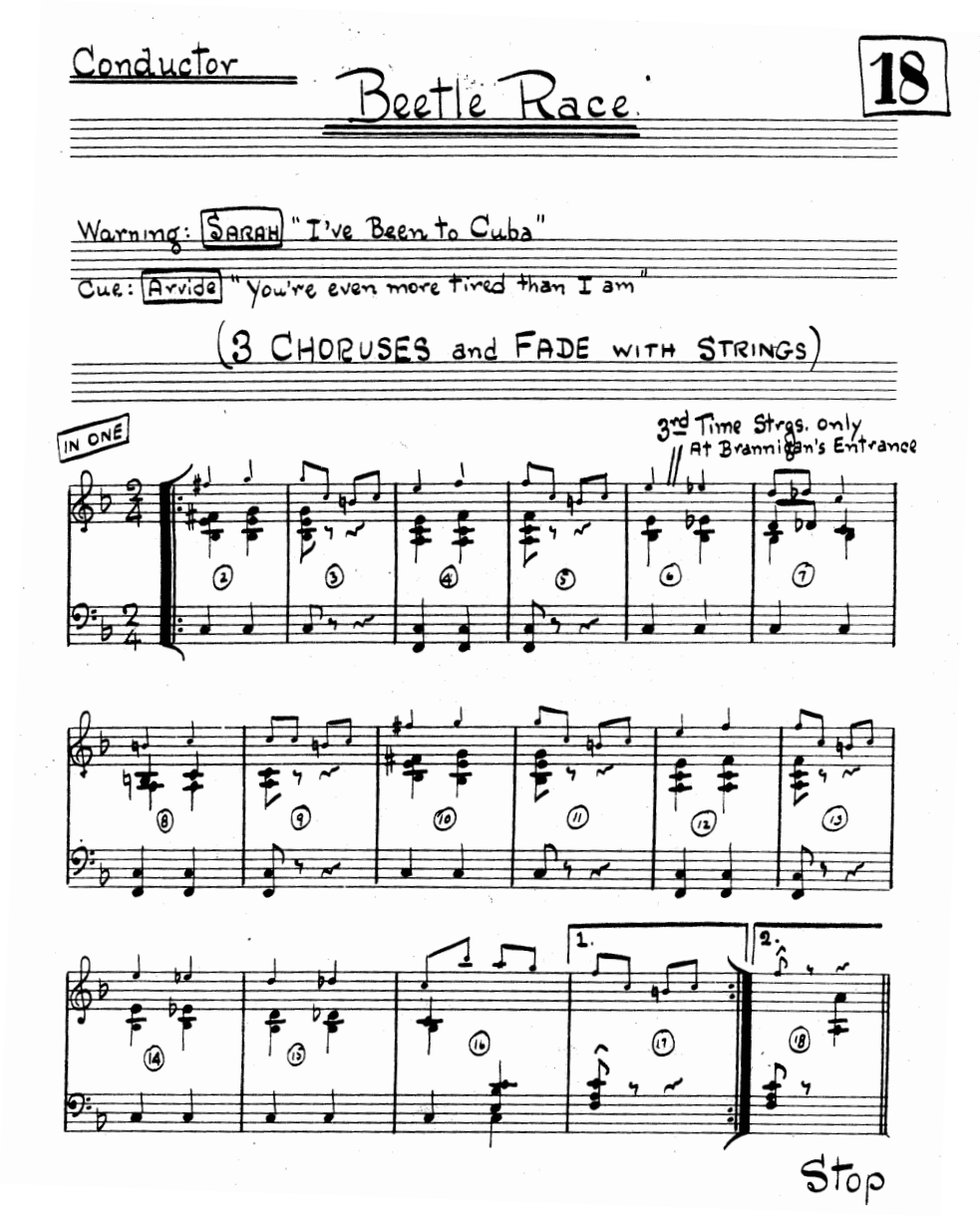
1 (Exterior of Mission) when Masterson and Brown return to the mission after their Havana trip, only to find the crapshooters rushing out and being pursued by the police. In the vocal score of "The Raid" (**Example 3: "The Raid," Piano Score**), the tempo is given as "Very fast and agitated." In the conductor's score, where the song is titled "Beetle Race" **(Example 4: "Beetle Race," Conductor's Score**), the meter is marked "In one."

**Example 3: "The Raid," Piano Score**




Both songs are numbered #18, written in simple-duple time, and marked with one flat in the key signature. They also have the same cue line delivered by Arvide Abernathy, "You're even more tired than I am." Both songs accompany the exit of the crapshooters as they race from the mission, hoping to escape the police raid. The discrepancy between the names of the two scores—"The Raid" and "Beetle Race"—may have to do with their initial placement in the musical: the music that is used for "The Raid" may have originally been intended for use in act 1, scene 1, of the Burrows draft and referred to as the previously mentioned "race gallop paraphrase of FUGUE FOR THREE TIN HORNS" when Masterson, Johnson, and Southstreet are watching a cockroach race:

**Example 4: "Beetle Race," Conductor's Score**

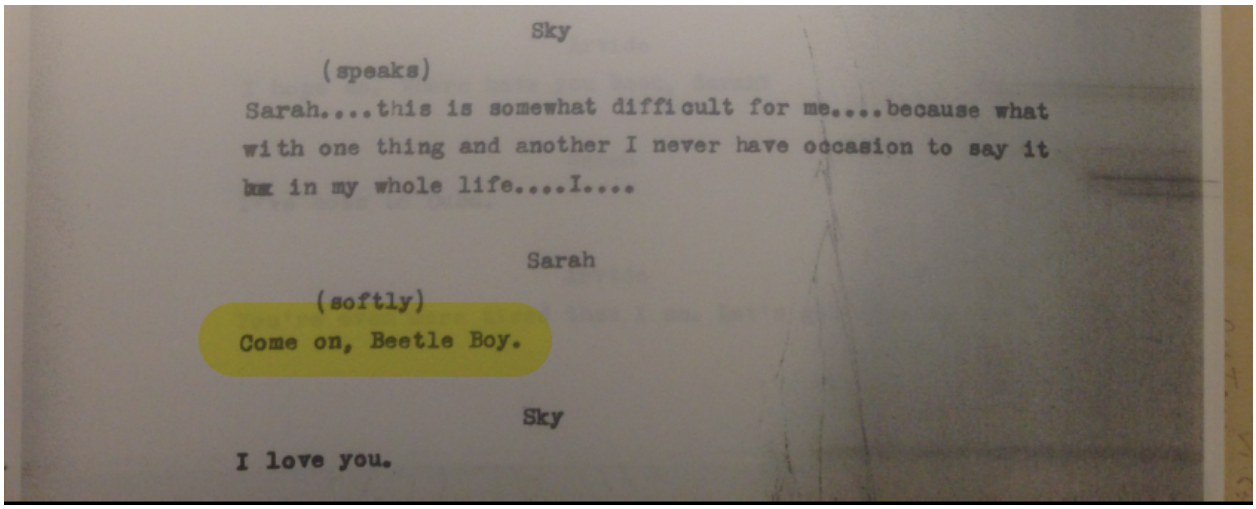



(Music underscores the following action with a race gallop paraphrase of "FUGUE FOR THREE TIN HORNS". As the race starts SKY, NICELY, and BENNY follow the beetle, all bent over watching intently. A few passersby stop, then curiously follow, all in the same position. Sky says: "Come on, Beetle boy." During this enter SARAH BROWN, and the other members of the Save-A-Soul mission Band. SARAH tambourine; ARVIDE ABERNATHY, her grandfather, bass drum; CALVIN, tall and dour, cornet; and

> AGATHA, trombone. THEY are not playing as they enter, right. THEY cross to center and set up for a street pitch. AGATHA sets up a home-made sign which reads: "RESIST THE DEVIL AND HE WILL FLEE". CALVIN places a small box for SERGEANT SARAH to stand upon and the others form a semi-circle behind her. THEY are all dressed in quasi-military (Salvation Armyish) garb)

During an exchange from act 1, scene 9, found in the undated draft fragment (**Image 3: Sarah calls back Sky's line from the Burrows draft act 1, scene 1**), immediately after Masterson sings "I've Never Been in Love Before," Brown refers back to a line from act 1, scene 1, of the Burrows draft that Masterson called out during a pause in her preaching: "Come on, Beetle Boy! Look at him go."[202] Brown's reminiscence makes a few fluid text connections. First, it both shows that she knows that it was Masterson who said it, and by repeating it back in a romantic context that she has forgiven the interruption. Second, it suggests that the fragment may be connected to the Burrows draft. Finally, it musically connects Masterson to the world of the gamblers.

**Image 3: Sarah calls back Sky's line from the Burrows draft act 1, scene 1**


Sky

(speaks)

Sarah....this is somewhat difficult for me....because what with one thing and another I never have occasion to say it ~~hm~~ in my whole life....I....

Sarah

(softly)

Come on, Beetle Boy.

Sky

I love you.

[202] Thank you to Walter Everett for suggesting that Beetle Boy may be a reference to "Beetlebaum," a horse mentioned in the "William Tell Overture," (1948) as arranged by Spike Jones and Doodles Weaver and performed by Spike Jones and his City Slickers with narration by Doodles Weaver. "William Tell Overture," YouTube video, Spike Jones and His City Slickers – Topic, 3:14, December 25, 2014, https://youtu.be/BKEfnHya85o.

Are "Fugue for Tinhorns" and "Three Cornered Tune" two different songs? Are they two versions of the same song? Is there an *Ur-Song* that we might view as the progenitor of the two? As derivations go, the supertitle "Based on 'Fugue for Tinhorns' from *Guys & Dolls*" is a pretty clear indicator that "Fugue for Tinhorns" supersedes "Three Cornered Tune." The structural similarities notwithstanding, "Fugue for Tinhorns" and "Three Cornered Tune" each perform different rhetorical roles. "Fugue for Tinhorns" is the first number heard during the show. Dan Dietz writes that, "For both the Shubert and Erlanger programs, 'Three-Cornered Tune' is sung about midway through the first act, following the scene where Miss Adelaide sings her lament; the song is performed by Arvide Abernathy (Pat Rooney, Sr.), Sarah Brown (Isabel Bigley), Agatha (Margery Oldroyd), and Calvin (Paul Migan)."[203] Publication history aside, the fact that "Fugue for Tinhorns" precedes "Three Cornered Tune" in early script drafts, necessarily makes "Three Cornered Tune" a recollection-type number. Yet exactly what is being remembered is uncertain; the Mission Band makes its entrance after the song ends in the Burrows and Kaufman drafts, and in the published libretto. Considering "Three Cornered Tune" as a reminiscence of Brown's interaction with Masterson only makes sense within the context of the Burrows draft where they actually interact before their meeting in the mission. Brown's recollection may also be a device that illustrates the persuasive power of "sin," since "Three Cornered Tune" has been associated with gamblers. This memory may also be a foreshadowing element. Of these options, considering the song as a reminiscence motive of Brown's interaction with Masterson is the most appealing read. Since the substance of this interaction is Masterson's correction of Brown's bible citation, it serves a similar purpose as their interaction in act 1, scene 2. Dietz concludes,

[203] Dietz, *2000s*, 377.

"Perhaps the use of the same music for both songs is also a sly, subtle comment by Loesser that both the Broadway and the mission types have more in common than meets the eye."[204]

*Shango*[205]

"Shango" is mentioned in neither the Burrows nor Kaufman drafts. The Kaufman and Burrows drafts are dated September 11, 1950, and the extant draft of "Shango" is dated from late-April of 1950, some four and a half months prior. Unlike "Three Cornered Tune," which was both included in the show but subsequently removed and still published, "Shango" never appeared in a tryout and was never published. As mentioned previously, it was included on a list "Songs from the Score" on the front cover of sheet music sold by Edwin H. Morris and Company, Inc., though no published form of this music is known to exist. "Three Cornered Tune" is not included on this sheet music but is included on sheet music sold by Frank Distributing Corp. "Shango" does, however, exist as a set of typed lyrics[206] and a pencil draft for melody and piano accompaniment; it is labeled "First Basic" and "(Guys and Dolls)", and is labeled at the bottom of the page: "Dolin -4-26-50."[207] (For a transcription of the draft with added lyrics, see **Appendix 1: "Shango"**.) Aside from the supertitle "(Guys and Dolls)," which gives some

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[204] Dietz, *2000s*, 377.

[205] The title "Shango" appears on promotional material for the show. The undated draft fragment includes the markings act 1, scene 7, and contains an entrance by Dolores Arribacho, or Dark Dolores, who is a madam "with a strong hold on her girls." This scene makes no direct reference to the song, nor does the song make any direct reference to the scene. Dark Dolores appears in the Runyon story "Dark Dolores."

[206] There are actually two identical sets of typed lyrics. One set is on plain typing paper and subtitled "(Incomplete)." The other set is typed on Frank Loesser's letterhead; it is subtitled "(incomplete)," but the "(incomplete)" is scratched out in pencil.

[207] Dominic McHugh, "I'll Never Know Who Did Exactly What: Broadway Composers as Musical Collaborators," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 68, no. 3 (2015): 626. The "Dolin" is likely Gerry Dolin, a vocal music arranger who worked with Loesser on "Where's Charley?"

indication that it was to be included in *Guys & Dolls*, the lyric "I go dance in Havana" helps place the song within the confines of the scene(s) in Havana, and other lyrics give some indication of its subject matter (**Example 3: "Shango," Lyrics**).

**Example 5: "Shango," Lyrics**

Anybody 'roun' here wanna Shango?
Anybody 'roun' here wanna Shango?
Gimme six bits mister, we go crazy all night.
Anybody 'roun' here wanna Shango?

No more money for whiskey
No more money for rum
I buy lottery number
God Dam Number don't come

Anybody 'roun' here wanna Shango?
Anybody 'roun' here wanna Shango?
Gimmie six bits mister, dance, get drunk, have good time
Anybody 'roun' here wanna Shango?

I go dance in Havana
I get put in the jail
Then I swear Judge your Honor
No more Shango for sale

Anybody 'roun' here wanna Shango?
Ev'ry body sometime gotta Shango

So, we have a prostitute in Havana singing a song about the state of affairs, but no clear way to place the singer or the circumstances. Kaufman's draft only includes an exterior scene in Havana where Sarah sings "If I Were a Bell." Burrows's draft includes an interior scene before the exterior scene found in the Kaufman draft. In this scene, a dancing girl enters, forces Masterson to dance with her, sits in his lap, and then kisses him, all of which draws Sarah's jealousy and causes her to hit the dancer and get into a fight. (This fight is what precedes and

causes her rough shape at the top of the following scene.) A similar bar fight occurs in the published musical, but with a ballet and metered dialogue substituted for the scene.

At the outset, it is unclear what "Shango" *is*, whether it is an activity—perhaps a dance—or an item; "wanna" might mean "want to" or "want a." There is no indication of who this song is supposed to be sung by, nor is there any indication that it is intended to be sung by a man or a woman. The Burrows draft only identifies the dancer as "the dancer," nothing more, and even though the published libretto refers to the dancer as a "sexy Cuban dancing girl" followed by "Cuban dancing men," a Cuban dancer who dances with and kisses Masterson is a far cry from a prostitute. Given societal norms at the time, however, it seems safe to assume that the singer of the song is a woman, given the appeal to a "mister." It is also likely that the singer of the song is a prostitute, given the lyrics, "Gimme six bits mister, we go crazy all night," and "Gimme six bits mister, dance, get drunk, have good time." These lyrics suggest that "six bits" (seventy-five cents) are for sex or companionship, particularly given the final chorus, which ends with the singer going to jail and having "No more Shango for sale." The lyrics also suggests that the singer does not speak English as their primary language, given the absence of the indefinite article "a" in "we have [a] good time."

In the undated draft fragment consisting of act 1, scenes 7–9—plus a couple of pages from scene 1—we see a scene unfold that is quite different than either the Burrows draft or the published libretto. This excerpt skips "If I Were a Bell" and moves from Havana directly to the "Night Street Exterior" scene (scene 8), and then to "Mission Exterior" (scene 9).

Act 1, scene 7, is set at the Café Gallo in Havana. The script runs from pp. 1-7-[1] through 1-7-15B.[208] Though the implications of this scene will be discussed in chapter 4, our present discussion of "Shango" can benefit from an examination of pp. 14-15B, particularly as they pertain to the entrance of Dolores Arribacho, also known as Dark Dolores:

> Enter Dark Dolores, followed by her troupe of Cuban Dolls, who immediately go to work on the men. Dolores is a Cuban hussy, a hustler for voodoo peep-shows. She's obviously the Madam with a strong hold over her girls. The men give her a noisy welcome. She pauses a moment to look the place over, sees Sky's crowded table and starts toward it. They make way for her and she goes directly to Sky. She stands looking at him for a moment then notices one of the girls just standing watching her…. Before he can stop her, she has given him a resounding kiss of greeting. Sarah looks very annoyed…. As Sky releases himself from Dolores' embrace, Sarah comes over [to] her, spins her around and clops her on the chops. An alternate suggestion is that Sarah crosses to them after the kiss, pulls Dolores away from Sky. They both look at her with surprise. Sarah then hauls off and belts Sky.[209]

In this scene excerpt, we see an analogue to the dancers who kiss Sky and rouse Sarah's ire, fomenting a bar fight as a result in the published and draft versions. Yet Dolores is no dancer. Her work as a madam more firmly ensconces her in the camp of the prostitute, and, as such, increases the likelihood that she, or a character like her, is the singer of "Shango" than not. There is nary a cue for, nor mention of, "Shango" in this scene. The closest connection that we have between this scene and "Shango" is the presence of a madam and her "girls" in a place in Havana.

This connection is tenuous—certainly, more tenuous than the connections between "Three Cornered Tune," "Fugue for Tinhorns," and early drafts or performances of the show.

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[208] The first page of the scene is unnumbered, and the last page is a variant of p. 15 (also included in the script excerpt).
[209] The scene continues and devolves into a stage fight as in the published libretto.

There is no direct mention of "Shango" in any extant script. Yet "Shango" and the cut scene offer a glimpse at what we might consider a grittier version of *Guys & Dolls* than audiences received either in the published form, or in any of the tryouts. Granted, Dolores's work as "a hustler for voodoo peep-shows" or as a "Madam with a strong hold over her girls" is not explicitly revealed to the audience through dialogue, and—especially to the second point—could only be implied through staging. Perhaps the alteration of the scene and the removal of the song were part of a greater move toward "softening" the impact of the scene. That is, though the scene and the song may only be thematically adjacent to one another, the changes that their alteration, removal, or exclusion affect might be viewed both as vertical revisions, and as an example of Bryant's fifth criterion, which result in substantial differences in the nature and impact of the text.

*Nathan's Problem*

Of the cut or rejected songs that we have discussed so far, we have an example of a song ("Three Cornered Tune") and scene pairing that was in the show in a tryout but was cut before opening night. We also have an example of a song ("Shango") and scene pairing that was cut before tryouts. Our final type of song is a song fragment that has no discernable place in any version of the show.

"Nathan's Problem" is an incomplete sixty-four-bar sketch containing a melody, lyrics, and some counterpoint and chord changes. (For a transcription of the sketch, see **Appendix 2: "Nathan's Problem"**.) The form is in three-quarter time and is roughly two sixteen-bar verses, and a thirty-two-bar modulating bridge. Unlike "Three Cornered Tune" and "Shango," which were complete or were relatively so, "Nathan's Problem" is quite obviously incomplete both musically and lyrically. (**Example 4: "Nathan's Problem," Lyrics**). There are only sixty-four

bars of music across four sixteen-bar pages, and the lyrics peter out in the middle of the bridge on the words “And to.”

In addition to being a fragment, “Nathan’s Problem” is also a song without a scene. Recall that “Three Cornered Tune” is mentioned in the Burrows and Kaufman drafts and in the tryout programs. We were also able to forge a connection, facilitated by the presence of Dark Dolores and her girls, between “Shango” and the undated draft fragment of scene 7. There is no such support for a placement of “Nathan’s Problem” to be found anywhere, and its subject matter makes placing the song that much more difficult. In short, “Nathan’s Problem” is that, in contrast to his current occupation of running an illegal crap game, Nathan Detroit wanted, at one time, to be a police officer.

**Example 6: "Nathan's Problem," Lyrics**

I wanted to be a cop
When I was a boy of nine
I shudder and shrink
Whenever I think
Of that childhood perversion of mine.

I wanted to be a cop
An ugly abnormal streak
When father found out
He gave me a clout
And said, “No cigarettes for a week”

I come from a fam’ly of artists
Regard their illustrious lives
My Grampa was Max the Engraver
Such beautiful singles and fives

My Aunt was a fashion designer
Her name was on ev’ryones lips
This woman invented the falsies
The brassiere stuffed with policy slips
And to […]

This incongruity between Detroit's current occupation and his childhood desires primarily exists only in the song draft. In act 1, acene 1, of both the published libretto and the Kaufman draft, when struggling to secure a location for his crap game, Detroit alludes to a criminal adolescence, saying, "Why, I have been running the crap game ever since I was a juvenile delinquent."[210] The tension between these elements of Detroit's biography is but part of a larger problem created by the formation of Detroit's character. This larger problem will be addressed in chapter 4.

**Conclusion**

This chapter has shown several approaches to examining revisions made to *Guys & Dolls*—each with its own focus—and has variously demonstrated applications of Bryant's eight determinants of versions, bringing into relief musico-dramatic interconnections that shape our understanding of both the show and how it developed. Our initial overview (Overture) broadly lists how songs were, at a bare minimum, added and removed between the stage and film renditions, thereby creating at least two distinct versions.

Our first approach, comparing the Burrows and Kaufman drafts, demonstrated that the circumstances created for Brown and Masterson's introduction to one another affects the context in which they meet; it is only in the Kaufman draft that Masterson, as a stranger, meets and then treats Brown as a mark, fostering a duplicitousness on his part. This is largely a demonstration of Bryant's fifth determinant, that versions are different. In this case, act 1, scene 1 of both versions

[210] Libretto, p. 11. Kaufman draft p. 1-1-4. Detroit's line does not exist in the Burrows draft, but the segments of dialogue that frame it in the other scripts fall somewhere between p. 1-1-5 and p. 1-1-10. Since the pages are unnumbered, a guess shows that the line likely occurs around p. 1-1-7 or p. 1-1-8.

differed substantially enough from one another that the contexts created in each fostered different outcomes for the rest of the act, and, as we will see, for the rest of the show.

Our second approach, comparing the song lists of several shows, drew primarily from Bryant's first determinant, that versions are physical but not always available and "may be both *physical* and *inferred*."[211] In our comparison of song lists, we were able to note that the placement (and sometimes the casting) of songs throughout the Philadelphia tryouts changed from week to week. The only evidence that these versions exist are the various dated (sometimes by hand and/or accompanied by a ticket stub) handbills, programs, and playbills from performances beginning the week of October 9, 1950, and running through Opening Night on November 24, 1950. Though these changes, evidenced in song inclusions and orderings, only imply changes in the scripts, we can nevertheless trace the unfolding of one version into the next—largely under the auspices of Bryant's second determinant—that no version is entire of itself, and that each version is linked to a predecessor or successor.

Our next approach examined how variations between the stage and film versions reflect a muting/subduing of Adelaide's and Brown's agencies via omissions dialogue and songs, and an elimination of character change and growth on the parts of Detroit and Masterson. It demonstrated how Adelaide's story in the film version omits a reconciliation found in the stage version that affords her the space to marry Nathan, and it also demonstrated how Brown's role in the film version is chosen for her by Masterson, as opposed to her choosing her own role as an equal in the stage version. The approach also illustrated a lack of commensurate change on the parts of Detroit and Masterson. In contrast with the stage version, Detroit gives no indication that he changed occupations in the film musical, and Masterson of the film version chooses to tell

[211] Bryant, *Fluid Text,* 88.

Brown who *she* is in "A Woman in Love," rather than telling her who *he* is, as he does in the stage version in "My Time of Day" and "I've Never Been in Love Before." This approach seems best guided by Bryant's fourth determinant, that versions are not authorizations; that is, though Swerling and Burrows wrote the libretto for the stage version, Mankiewicz and Hecht's film adaptation required neither Swerling's nor Burrows's authorization to make changes to the story of characters. (Looking further back, Damon Runyon made no authorization for any of the previously discussed adapted texts in *Guys & Dolls*. These were decisions made by his estate.)

Our final approach—consideration of tunes variously cut or rejected from the show—revealed connections between draft and published iterations of the both the libretto and the score. In the cases of "Fugue for Tinhorns" and "Three Cornered Tune," we see how a melody connected to a gamblers' song is redeployed as a piece of scenic scoring. The title "Beetle Race"—later renamed "The Raid"—recalls rejected fragments of dialogue from at least two versions of the libretto and leaves traces of history in the present. In the case of "Shango," we see how a song connected to the seedier side of Havana fosters a plausible connection between the hypothetical singer of the song and Masterson, transferring a bit of the "dirt," so to speak, onto him. In the case of "Nathan's Problem," we see a hint of Detroit's biography that stands in contrast to his published persona.

Each of the above cases are examples of versions created through revision. Whether the revision is to dialogue, plot points, song ordering, inclusion, or substitution, or intersectional connections between scripts and scores, we are left with a view of *Guys & Dolls* that transcends the bonds of stage or screen—a view from which we can trace a character's history, whether it appears in the script or score, or an earlier version. Chapter 4 will examine this trace beyond the

stage and screen versions of *Guys & Dolls* allowing us to thoroughly examine Sky Masterson, Sarah Brown, Nathan Detroit, and Miss Adelaide as fluid text entities.

## Chapter 4– Characters

Since chapter 1, we have traced the development of *Guys & Dolls* from its origins in Damon Runyon's "The Idyll of Miss Sarah Brow" found in *Collier's* through the processes of *cultural revision*—as it was first adapted as a radio play, then into a stage musical, and later into a film musical. During this process we have observed multiple revisions of the libretto and score that showed scenes and songs variously moved, removed, replaced, and returned, and we have seen characters' motivations and intentions shift with those revisions. Every night during its Philadelphia tryouts—during which the show changed from week to week—and then through its Broadway run, audience members took their tickets and went to see *Guys & Dolls: A Musical Fable of Broadway* [Based on a Story and Characters by Damon Runyon]. Even after its film adaptation, audiences still paid for tickets to *Guys & Dolls*, even though there were significant changes to the libretto and score. We have used John Bryant's concept of the *fluid text*, and sundry concepts drawn from the worlds of editorial, adaptation, and redaction theories, to trace and describe the trajectory of the story from page to stage to screen and compared and contrasted the variegated versions which emerged from these editorial and adaptation processes. It has always been *Guys & Dolls*, except when it wasn't—when it was still just "The Idyll of Miss Sarah Brown."

This chapter examines the migration of the "story and characters by Damon Runyon" from their appearances on the pages of *Collier's* (and other places) to their appearances on the silver screen. The discussion pays particular attention to the ways in which four characters—

Sarah Brown, Sky Masterson, Nathan Detroit, and Miss Adelaide—are presented within and across those versions. It begins with members of the primary romantic pairing, Sky Masterson and Sarah Brown, and, in a further examination of redactive adaptation, concludes with the secondary romantic pairing in Nathan Detroit and Miss Adelaide. As these characters are defined in part by their interactions with other characters, there will be some overlaps and foreshadowing in our discussion of each character. For example, Masterson's interactions with Brown will necessarily involve her reactions, and those reactions will define her character and be worthy of discussion. These discussions of individual characters will remain, for the most part, separate from one another.

**Obadiah "Sky" Masterson[212]**

Of the four characters to be discussed in this chapter, Obadiah "Sky" Masterson is the character whose story receives the most vertical revisions. These revisions are mostly attached to the creation of plot points between "Idyll" and *Guys & Dolls*, though there are also some significant revisions between the staged and filmed musicals. While Masterson retains some characteristics as he moves from "The Idyll of Miss Sarah Brown" through radio adaptations, draft scripts, tryouts, a Broadway opening, and a motion picture adaptation, other characteristics change by being variously minimized, amplified, eliminated, or borrowed. Through each revision, Masterson becomes an increasingly less blemished character, on the one hand, and an increasingly more contemptible character on the other. For example, he begins his journey in "The Idyll of Miss Sarah Brown" as a hustler and cheat—though he is never called as much—who cheats on *proposition* bets, bets wherein a gambler makes a proposal that something or other

[212] Masterson's given name is spelled Obadiah in "The Idyll of Miss Sarah Brown" and Obediah in the script for *Guys & Dolls*.

will happen.[213] His actions linked to that behavior are minimized in their stage adaptation; he still has a reputation for making proposition bets but is not shown to cheat on them.[214]

In the draft scripts, which we have discussed to some extent (and which will be discussed further), Masterson is variously flawed, depending on which version of the draft we read. But each revision acts to further minimize these flaws until, in his stage- and film-musical iterations, his only flaw is that he is a gambler.[215] Certainly, his being a gambler presents itself as a problem in all versions but, as we shall see, his other flaws are foregrounded in "The Idyll of Miss Sarah Brown" and then gradually subdued through each subsequent iteration.

This section of the chapter will look at the differences between the various iterations of Masterson, both published and unpublished, as well as those elements that remain consistent throughout all versions. Presented in order of their appearance in "The Idyll of Miss Sarah Brown" (and retained in the stage- and film-musical): There is a gambler named Sky Masterson who receives advice from his father against ever betting on a sure thing. Masterson can quote from the Bible due to having read Gideon's Bible on many occasions during his many stays in hotel rooms. Masterson enjoys gambling—cards, dice, and horse racing—and also bets on propositions. There is a Save-A-Soul Mission, struggling in its mission, that is run by one Miss Sarah Brown, who plays with the mission band and preaches on the streets of Broadway. Masterson attempts to get gamblers to attend the Save-A-Soul Mission by gambling against them at Nathan Detroit's crap game. Eventually, he marries Miss Sarah Brown.

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[213] Runyon, "Idyll," 8. "Many citizens prefer betting on propositions to anything you can think of, because they figure a proposition gives them a chance to out-smart somebody."
[214] As we'll see below, there is perhaps a minor exception to this example.
[215] Though Masterson exhibits problematic behaviors aside from his being a gambler, our main discussion will focus on how these behaviors are justified within the context of the musical.

*A Father's Advice*

The short story, the stage musical, and the film musical (along with the Burrows and Kaufman drafts) all include a tale shared with Masterson by his father, which goes as follows:

> Son, you are now going out into the wide, wide world to make your own way, and it is a very good thing to do, as there are no more opportunities for you in this burg. I am only sorry that I am not able to bank-roll you to a very large start, but not having any potatoes [i.e., money] to give you, I am now going to stake you to some very valuable advice, which I personally collect in my years of experience around and about, and I hope and trust you will always bear this advice in mind. Someday, somewhere, a guy is going to come to you and show you a nice brand-new deck of cards on which the seal is never broken, and this guy is going to offer to bet you that the jack of spades will jump out of this deck and squirt cider in your ear. But, son, do not bet him, for as sure as you do you are going to get an ear full of cider.

Though the exact verbiage of the tale is slightly different in each version we can account for these differences as horizontal revisions. That is, the old man cautions his son against betting on what seems like a sure thing.

*"Idyll" Masterson*

Masterson is called "The Sky" because he is a "high player…[and] The Sky is the highest…because he goes so high when it comes to betting on any proposition whatever. He will bet all he has, and nobody can bet any more than this."[216]

"Idyll" Masterson has read Gideon's Bible having lived exclusively in hotels for years. Though the number of times Masterson read the Bible is unspecified, "he reads many items of great interest in these Gideon Bibles, and furthermore The Sky says that several times these Gideon Bibles keep him from getting out of line." One passage, Ecclesiastes 5:5, has particular importance to Masterson: "Better is it that thou shouldest not vow, than that thou shouldest vow

[216] *Collier's*, 7.

and not pay."[217] Masterson interprets this to mean "a guy shall not welsh [on bets] …and from that day to this, The Sky never thinks of welshing."[218]

"Idyll" Masterson enjoys gambling—card-playing, crap-shooting, horse-racing, or betting on baseball games—and enjoys making and betting on propositions (proposals). These propositions could be strictly mathematical, like the odds of someone "getting aces back-to-back, or how often a pair of deuces will win a hand in stud," or "it may be some very daffy proposition."[219] The propositions provide a window into both Masterson's character and the narrator's description of it. That is, the narrator's conclusions about events often run contrary to the narrator's description of the same events.

"Idyll" Masterson's arrival in Runyonland (in and around Broadway) [220] coincides with his first proposition bet wherein he bets that he can throw a peanut a distance that he should not reasonably be expected to throw a peanut. He succeeds and wins $400 from the gambler Big Nig in the process. The narrator notes, "afterwards it comes out that The Sky [threw] a peanut loaded with lead"; that is, the lead in the peanut allowed for it to be thrown a greater distance than one might throw an unadulterated peanut.[221] "[Only] a few nights after [that]" Masterson loses a

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[217] Ecclesiastes 5:5. "Idyll," 271. Bible: King James Bible, American Standard Version, English Revised Version.
[218] *Collier's*, 7.
[219] Ibid., 8.
[220] Though Broadway Street runs the length of Manhattan, across the Harem River Ship Canal, and through The Bronx, this bit of Runyonland is the stretch of Broadway around the Theatre District and Hell's Kitchen. The Burrows draft, p. 1-1-4, provides the address of the Save-A-Soul Mission as 544 West 49th Street; the libretto, p. 9, lists it as 409 West 49th Street.
[221] Kevin Cook, *Titanic Thompson: The Man Who Bet Everything*, New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 83 and 219.

Masterson's lead-filled peanut proposition resembles propositions attributed to the gambler Alvin Clarence Thomas, aka "Titanic" Thompson, a gambler known by Damon Runyon. In one case, Thompson threw a "walnut from the porch of the Arlington Hotel to the roof of a five-story building across the street" and, in another case, a peanut "over four trolley tracks and five lanes of traffic" across Times Square.

proposition in which he bet that he could catch a rat in the cellar of Mindy's restaurant with his bare hands. Masterson lost because Mindy knew that Masterson had placed a tame rat in the cellar in advance of the proposition and only accepted because he knew the tame rat had already been killed by an employee, leading Masterson to chase an untamed rat instead.[222] Rather than describing Masterson's actions as those of a cheater, the narrator says that they are "telling you all this to show you what a smart guy The Sky is," following with, "It is well-known to one and all that he is very honest in every respect, and that he hates and despises cheaters at cards, or dice."[223]

It is apparent that Masterson's propositions depend on him having an insider's knowledge of the outcome of those propositions.[224] "Idyll" Masterson being "very honest in every respect" is an inaccurate description, and this inaccuracy is indicative of an *unreliable narrator*, and such an unreliable narrator can convolute the reading of the narrative even beyond the two aforementioned propositions.[225]

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[222] *Collier's*, 8.
[223] Ibid.
[224] An echo of this sentiment appears in a section from the Burrows draft, p. 1-2-18 wherein Arvide Abernathy observes about Masterson: "But I also know that young men like that one do not expose their necks without holding a strong hand."
[225] James Phelan, "Reliable, Unreliable, and Deficient Narration: A Rhetorical Account," *Narrative Culture* 4, no. 1 (Spring 2017): 89–103. I use the term *unreliable narrator*, first used by Wayne C. Booth in *The Rhetoric of Fiction* in 1961, here as a broad description of the narrator of "The Idyll of Miss Sarah Brown." On a spectrum of narrative reliability, *deficient* is leftmost while *reliable* is rightmost, with *unreliable* sharing elements of the two; deficient narration can also "involve reporting, interpreting, and/or evaluating." A more contemporary take might describe this narrator (or narration) as *deficient*, and, more specifically, *intratextual deficient evaluating/interpreting*. That is, within the narrative world of "The Idyll of Miss Sarah Brown," the narrator misevaluates or misinterprets Sky Masterson's actions/motivations vis-à-vis cheating versus outsmarting, and leaves gaps of information (e.g., who informs Sarah Brown that Masterson is gambling on her behalf).

"Idyll" Masterson becomes enamored of the mission worker Sarah Brown, whom he sees out and around on Broadway, and he takes to watching her and other mission workers as they conduct their soul-saving on the streets. He also takes to joining the mission workers at their headquarters and "drops many a large coarse note in the collection box while looking at Miss Sarah Brown."[226] Masterson becomes sociable with Brown, but she rejects him after she learns that he is a professional gambler. She informs him that she will not accept his donations anymore because his fortune comes from "ill-gotten gains."[227] Masterson tries winning back Brown's favor by winning souls who will attend her mission by attempting to beat people at a crap game (i.e., he bets his money against their word that they will attend religious meetings at the Save-A-Soul Mission, should they lose). He is unsuccessful, loses all of his money, finds himself on the verge of committing murder—because he suspects an opposing player of cheating him—and is ultimately saved by Brown who arrives at the crap game and rolls dice to save *his* soul.[228] They marry and he joins the mission. In an epilogue of sorts, the narrator recalls seeing, "The Sky the other night at Forty-ninth Street and Broadway, and he is with quite a raft of mission workers, including Mrs. Sky, for it seems that the soul-saving business picks up wonderfully, and The Sky is giving a big bass drum such a first-class whacking…. The Sky is hollering between whacks…[and] gets a gander at me, and right away he begins hollering: 'I see before me a sinner

[226] *Collier's*, 41.
[227] Ibid.
[228] In an ironic turn, Masterson was about to murder a fellow player, Brandy Bottle Bates, for using what he suspected were "loaded" dice and, consequently, cheating. When Brown arrived to confront Masterson, Masterson handed her the same dice and had her roll them to win his (Masterson's) soul. Whether Masterson knew that the dice were loaded is unclear. The narrator acknowledges that the dice are "phony" in the last sentence of the short story, but does not indicate whether Masterson knew this, or was merely taking a chance by having Brown roll.

of the deepest dye…. Oh, sinner, repent before it is too late…. Join with us, sinner…, and let us save your soul.'"[229]

Guys & Dolls *Masterson(s)*

The Mastersons of the stage- and film-musicals—herein referred to as the unitary "Musical" Masterson"—are still high-stakes, high-status gamblers, "the highest of them all… Higher than anybody. Why do you think they call him Sky? That's how high he bets."[230] "Musical" Masterson, like his "Idyll" counterpart, has read the Gideon Bible "ten or twelve" and "at least a dozen" times—in the stage and film versions, respectively—and will quote or paraphrase scripture, though does *not* quote Ecclesiastes 5:5. (The function of this Bible verse, providing a sort of gamblers' morality, still exists in the world of *Guys & Dolls*, but it takes the form of the soon-to-be-discussed *marker*.) In contrast to "Idyll" Masterson, "Musical" Masterson is a gambler whose practically only flaw is being a gambler. He is known for, and still makes, proposition bets—which are not called propositions in *Guys & Dolls*—yet these propositions lack the insider's angle (and commensurate cheating) that "Idyll" Masterson plays. As it happens, however, "Idyll" Masterson's method of creating and then exploiting an inside angle on a proposition is entirely co-opted by Nathan Detroit in *Guys & Dolls*, and then used against him.

In looking to win money to run his own crap game, Nathan Detroit attempts to use "Idyll" Masterson's means to further his (Detroit's) own ends, and he spells out his own understanding of what he is doing quite explicitly. "I ain't scared," Detroit says. "I am perfectly willing to take the risk, providing I can figure out a bet on which I know I cannot lose. [Masterson] likes crazy bets, like which lump of sugar a fly will land on; or how far can you kick

[229] *Collier's*, 42.
[230] Librettto, 12.

a piece of cheesecake." Perfectly willing to take a risk, provided there is no way he can lose, is a quite apt description of "Idyll" Masterson's proposition betting. Detroit bets that Masterson cannot convince—an, as of yet, unidentified—Brown to travel to Havana with him (Masterson). Here Detroit's insider knowledge of Brown's occupation gives him a bet that he knows he cannot lose: that a gambler cannot get a mission worker to travel to Havana with him. Masterson, characteristically for *Guys & Dolls* though uncharacteristic for "Idyll," accepts a "crazy" bet that he cannot take "any doll" to Havana.[231]

At this point, the unitary "Musical" Masterson diverges from "Idyll" Masterson. Whereas "Idyll" Masterson was smitten with Miss Sarah Brown and approached her of his own volition, "Musical" Masterson approaches Brown on the premise of a bet that he can convince her to travel to Havana with him.[232]

"Musical" Masterson convinces Brown to travel with him on the promise that he will deliver "one dozen genuine sinners" to a prayer meeting at the Save-A-Soul Mission and that "they will sit still and listen to" Brown.[233] He seduces her, apparently betrays her, attends a crap game in the sewer where he bets each gambler one-thousand dollars against their souls that they will have to attend one prayer meeting, wins the crap game, delivers the gamblers to the meeting, and marries Brown.

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[231] Libretto, 12. Another of Masterson's reputed bets, not explicitly called a proposition, involved refusing treatment while sick "on account he had bet ten G's that his temperature would go to 104." Though this might be characterized as having insiders' knowledge, Nathan Detroit's appropriation of Masterson's characteristic more closely resembles the propositions of "Idyll" Masterson. "Once, with my own eyes, I saw him bet five thousand bucks that one raindrop would beat another raindrop down the window." Film, 17:40.

[232] Recall that the Burrows draft contains a street encounter between Masterson and Brown before he visits the mission under the premise of a bet.

[233] Libretto, 18. Brown accepts Masterson's invitation to Cuba under professional duress and the threat of her supervisor, General Cartwright, closing the struggling Save-A-Soul Mission. He leverages her insecurity in order to get her to travel with him.

In a striking contrast between the two versions of Masterson who comprise the "Musical" Masterson, "Stage" Masterson has joined the mission band and appears at the onstage wedding of Nathan Detroit and Miss Adelaide, dressed in a mission uniform. The stage directions read, in part, "He is ripping out 'Follow the Fold' with the rest of them, swinging this big drum stick lustily."[234] "Screen" Masterson, on the other hand, wears a suit and tie and awaits Brown at the altar with Detroit, the other groom in a double wedding.[235] This contrast cannot be understated; "Stage" Masterson has already joined the mission. In the film musical, though we witness the nuptials and "I do"-s of both couples, "Screen" Masterson's outward appearance is unchanged; he has, it appears, not joined the mission. As we can see, "Idyll" Masterson and "Stage" Masterson—having followed the fold—have more in common with one another than either one does with "Screen" Masterson.

*Away from "Idyll" and Back*

"Idyll" Masterson and "Musical" Masterson are high rollers who have read Gideon's Bible, who are into making proposition bets, and who marry Miss Sarah Brown. Their path(s) from page to stage and screen diverge when "Musical" Mastersons meets Miss Sarah Brown—both in circumstance and function—and their ultimate (re)unification(s) (and weddings) are predicated under different circumstances. These divergences offer glimpses of several fluid text elements that intersect one another. These include Masterson's proclivity toward using biblical quotation across the three versions, Masterson and Brown's trip to Havana, Masterson's behavior in

[234] Libretto, 69.
[235] Masterson and Brown are wed offstage in the stage-musical between act 2, scenes 6 and 7, and the film-musical is a double wedding between Masterson and Brown, and Nathan and Adelaide.

Havana, Masterson's return from Havana, and Masterson's actions at Detroit's crap game. As these are fluid text moments, there is textual "bleed" between some versions and elements.

For example, there are three specific biblical references in "The Idyll of Miss Sarah Brown," and Masterson's character is developed in the context of one of these references; yet none of these references are used in *Guys & Dolls*. The spirit of one reference is used, and several more distinct references are made in the stage- and film-musical, but none of the explicit references found in "Idyll" are used.

The auspices under which Masterson attempts to get gamblers to attend the Save-A-Soul Mission differ between "Idyll" and *Guys & Dolls*. These auspices are interrelated to both Masterson and Brown's trip to Havana, Cuba (which does not happen in "Idyll"), the manner in which Masterson meets Brown in either "Idyll" or *Guys & Dolls*, and Nathan Detroit's crap game. "Idyll" Masterson tries to get gamblers to attend the mission in order to make amends with Brown who has previously rejected him for being a gambler, in contrast to "Musical" Masterson who offers to exchange the attendance of one dozen gamblers at a prayer meeting for (unbeknownst to her) Brown's help with him winning a bet. Both scenarios end at a crap game but only one passes through Havana. The trip to Havana itself differs between the stage- and film-musical and the Mastersons who return from Havana differ between these versions as well. That is, "Stage" Masterson and "Screen" Masterson differ from one another.

We will begin the next section by examining the end of the divergences between "Idyll" and *Guys & Dolls* and then we will work back toward the beginning. The end of the divergence comes at Nathan Detroit's crap game and the beginning comes with Masterson's Marker.

*Nathan Detroit's Crap Game*

A critical departure of *Guys & Dolls* from "The Idyll of Miss Sarah Brown" is "Musical" Masterson's proposition to Brown that he can get one dozen sinners to attend one of her prayer meetings. "Idyll" Masterson merely seizes an opportunity that presents itself at Nathan Detroit's crap game when he bets Brandy Bottle Bates one thousand dollars against Bates' soul that the roller, Big Nig, will make his point—a bet that Bates accepts and wins, keeping his soul and gaining one thousand dollars in the process; "Idyll" Masterson continues to bet not only Bates but other gamblers as well for their souls that they should attend the Save-A-Soul Mission. As mentioned above, he loses all of his money, finds himself on the verge of committing murder—because he suspects an opposing player of cheating him—and, ultimately, is saved by Brown who arrives at the crap game and rolls dice against him to save *his* soul.

In contrast, "Musical" Masterson is up front with Brown about his intentions to bring "sinners" to her mission. After singing "Luck Be a Lady," he wins the sinners' souls and sends them to the mission. This contrast can't be understated. Whereas "Idyll" Brown comes to the crap game and saves "Idyll" Masterson from his own actions, "Musical" Masterson is not only victorious in his attempt to win souls at a crap game, but his victory at the crap game ostensibly saves the Save-a-Soul Mission and, by extension, Brown. "Musical" Masterson's victory at the crap game and his resultant making good on his marker is the closest *Guys & Dolls* comes to demonstrating "Better is it that thou shouldest not vow, than that thou shouldest vow and not pay."

*Masterson's Marker*

"Idyll" Masterson's use of Ecclesiastes 5:5, "Better is it that thou shouldest not vow, than that thou shouldest vow and not pay," provides a gambler with a moral/ethical sheen by dint of

associating his debt-paying with a biblical verse. This is a conceit, that he is virtuous in *all*-things-gambling because he is virtuous in *one*-thing-gambling (even if he is willing to cheat when he can set the terms and rules or leave the terms and rules ambiguous).[236] Such an ethic finds a parallel in *Guys & Dolls* in the use of a *marker*. Unlike "Idyll" Masterson's personal use of Ecclesiastes 5:5, however, this "Ethic of the Marker" serves as a sort of universal ethic amongst gamblers. For example, in the stage musical, Nathan Detroit laments that Joey Biltmore will not take his marker, a marker which Detroit characterizes as "as good as cash," and he takes offense when Benny Southstreet asks, "Your marker's no good, huh?"[237] Both the stage- and film-musical versions have Detroit saying, "After all, a marker's not just a piece of paper saying, 'I-O-U one thousand, signed, Nathan Detroit.' A marker is the one pledge which a guy cannot welsh on. Never. It's like not saluting the flag." [At this point, the other characters in the scene remove their hats and place them over their hearts, in reverence.][238] Masterson's aforementioned "guarantee to fill that meeting with one dozen genuine sinners" is presented to Brown on a piece of cardboard and described as follows: "That's Sky Masterson's marker for twelve sinners. If you don't think it's good, ask anybody in town. I.O.U.—one dozen sinners."[239]

Here we see that although all versions of Masterson shoot crap at Nathan Detroit's crap game, it is only the "Musical" Masterson who wins at crap and consequently who lives the spirit of Ecclesiastes 5:5. When "Idyll" Masterson loses at the crap game and is saved by Brown, he

[236] He is, however, willing to kill someone whom he suspects of cheating in a situation that has clearly defined rules.
[237] Libretto, 10. The excerpt "marker's not a piece of paper"-excerpt is not included in one of two libretti consulted. (An updated version of the script for the stage-musical includes a version of this speech as well.)
[238] In two different versions of the libretto, one includes the portion beginning with "After all," the other does not. The bracketed portion indicates given stage direction.
[239] Libretto, 18.

follows her out of the game, and Brown calls him a fool. Citing 1 Corinthians, he says, "Paul says, 'If any man among you seemeth to be wise in this world, let him become a fool, that he may be wise.'"[240] Brown retorts with a reference to the second verse of the Song of Solomon.[241]

*By "The" Book*

These specific Bible-citing exchanges—Ecclesiastes, 1 Corinthians, and the Song of Solomon—are not included in *Guys & Dolls*. Ecclesiastes 5:5, as discussed, effectively becomes Masterson's Marker and neither of the other two verses are mentioned. Draft scripts, the published libretto, and the motion picture, however, all make marked uses of biblical references and these become points of contention between Masterson and Brown in *Guys & Dolls* as opposed to the points of communion they formed in "Idyll."

"Stage" Masterson and Brown debate the provenance of the Bible quote, "No peace unto the wicked," found on a sign in the Save-A-Soul Mission, and Masterson alleges, correctly, that the quote comes from Isaiah 57:21, while Brown, incorrectly, asserts that it is from Proverbs. A similar exchange occurs in the motion picture around 32:30, though "Screen" Masterson affords himself a broadened range to allow for "verse 20 or 21."

In the Burrows draft p. 1-1-4, "Burrows" Masterson and Brown meet on the street while Brown is preaching and similarly spar over the provenance of the quote, "There is no peace unto the wicked," which Brown incorrectly cites as Proverbs 23:9, and Masterson correctly cites as Isaiah 48:22. In this case, the passage cited by Brown actually reads, "Speak not in the ears of a

[240] *Collier's*, 42. KJV Citing 1 Corinthians 3:18. "Let no one deceive himself. If any man among you seemeth to be wise in this world, let him become a fool, that he may be wise."
[241] *Collier's*, 42. Song of Solomon 1:2: "Let him kiss me with the kisses of his mouth: for thy love *is* better than wine."

fool: for he will despise the wisdom of thy words," while the passage cited by Masterson—the correct one—actually reads, "'There is no peace,' says the LORD, 'unto the wicked.'"[242]

Upon her return to the Mission, in the following scene found on pp. 1-2-18–19, Brown checks the quote:

> (Sarah heads straight for the Bible stand and starts to thumb through the Book)
>
> Arvide (His back to her): If you are checking on that young man's Bible knowledge, I'd turn to Isaiah. I think you will find our young friend was right.
>
> Sarah: I am seldom in error on the Scripture.
>
> Arvide: I am aware of that. But I also know that young men like that one do not expose their necks without holding a strong hand.
>
> > (Sarah runs a finger down the page; stops and reads. Reacts and closes the book; helps Arvide with his drum)
>
> [Arvide]: Isaiah?[243]
>
> Sarah: Isaiah. (Arvide gives the drum a light tap. Watches Sarah as she goes about her work) [After a half-page section which is crossed out and concludes with the following line] The Devil often cites Scripture for his purpose.
>
> Arvide: He contributed twenty dollars, which is the largest donation we've received since we've been here.
>
> Sarah: Gambler's money.[244]

Later, when "Burrows" Masterson appears at the mission and makes another large donation, Brown, now chastened by her grandfather, responds, "Thank you. Fifty dollars is a

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[242] Burrows draft p.1-4-4. One wonders whether Brown's citation is an inside joke. Having already quoted the passage, "There is no peace unto the wicked," Brown hasn't any real reason to cite the passage, and her citation of Proverbs 23:9 could be a reference to how frustrated she has become in her lack of success as a missionary.

[243] Arvide's characterization of Masterson, "Young men like that one do not expose their necks without holding a strong hand," sounds similar to "Idyll" Masterson who bets on propositions: "they figure a proposition gives them a chance to out-smart somebody." This is awfully close to betting on a sure thing.

[244] Burrows draft, 1-2-18–19. This reference to gambler's money echoes "Idyll" Brown's previously mentioned rejection of "Idyll" Masterson's contributions as "ill-gotten gains."

good deal of money… regardless of how it was earned." Masterson responds, paraphrasing 2 Chronicles 6:36, saying, "There is no man which sinneth not."[245]

While "Idyll" Masterson uses Ecclesiastes 5:5 for a moral sheen and finds communion with Brown through their shared scriptural references and "Stage" and "Burrows" Mastersons find contention, "Screen" Masterson earns credentials in scriptural reference. When Arvide Abernathy welcomes Masterson to the mission, he exclaims, "'Blessed are they which do hunger after righteousness.' Is that it?" "Screen" Masterson replies, "'Hunger and thirst after righteousness.' Yes, sir. That's it," correcting Abernathy. Here, "Screen" Masterson asserts his scriptural knowledge as a way of credentialling himself and ingratiating himself to the mission workers.[246]

"Musical" Masterson's use of scripture goes beyond the three references found in "Idyll" and his use of scripture also serves different purposes than it does in "Idyll." "Musical" Masterson utilizes scripture more aggressively than the "Idyll" Masterson—with "Screen" Masterson using it more aggressively still than "Stage" Masterson. It is not just in credentialing himself or sparring with Brown in the mission that "Musical" Masterson invokes scripture. He employs biblical references during their trip to Havana. In the following section, we will examine just how far "Musical" Masterson departs from "Idyll" Masterson.

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[245] KJV 2 Chronicles 6:36 "If they sin against thee, (for *there is* no man which sinneth not,) and thou be angry with them, and deliver them over before *their* enemies, and they carry them away captives unto a land far off or near;" Here, Masterson delivers the quote out of context, though the larger quote from 2 Chronicles 6: 36-39 deals with forgiving the penitent.

[246] Film 30:30. Matthew 5:6. In the stage-musical, without correcting Abernathy, Masterson preemptively cites the second half of Matthew 7:7, "Ask and it shall be given you; seek and ye shall find," as his reason for entering the mission.

*Pre-Mission Masterson*

At the outset, I would like to acknowledge that "Musical" Masterson is no saint, and that his actions and attitudes are sexist, misogynist, and borderline (if not overtly) predatory. One could cast off such observations as "the way things were back then," but even if that were the case, the way things were back then would be sexist, misogynist, and predatory.

"Musical" Masterson's attitude toward women, when talking with Detroit, can be summed up as follows: "[W]e got to remember that pleasant as a doll's company may be, she must always take second place to aces back-to-back…. I am not putting the rap on dolls. I just say a guy should have them around when he wants them, and they are easy to find…. Nathan, figuring weight for age, all dolls are the same."[247]

Carrying the objectification further, "Screen" Masterson continues the above scene with Detroit:

> Masterson: If I wish to take a doll to Havana, the supply is more than Woolworth's has got beads.
>
> Detroit: Not high-class dolls.
>
> Masterson: There's only one class. Indivisible and interchangeable. A doll is a doll. All dolls. Any doll. You name her.

To "Musical" Masterson, women are like cough drops or beads—utilitarian, for when they come in handy, and interchangeable, like mass-produced industrial parts.

"Draft" Masterson—the collective name for the individual Mastersons found in the "Burrows," "Kaufman," and "Fragment" script drafts—further complicates our understanding of this character. When asked about marriage, "Kaufman" Masterson replies, "Marriage is a

[247] Libretto 14–15. In the film, Masterson says, "I am not putting the knock on dolls. It's just that they are something to have around only when they come in handy, like cough drops."

wonderful thing, except for those people who are already single. Sooner or later guys have to stand by any commitments they make to dolls…. Your mistake is getting engaged to her."[248] He likes Detroit's fiancé, Adelaide, well enough but still considers her a liability for Detroit.

*Masterson's Proposition*

Masterson's countenance toward Brown, in contrast to the *entre nous* sexism he shared with Detroit, is only inferentially licentious. That is, aside from admitting that he's a gambler, Masterson gives no reason for Brown to think he is a cad or womanizer.

As evidenced by draft scripts, the published libretto, and motion picture dialogue, the Mastersons who ask Sarah Brown to Havana are acting more than somewhat deceptively. Each of them first presents himself at the mission as a sinner—with some versions feigning a desire to reform. "Burrows" Masterson presents himself as a sinner seeking refuge as "a sincere sinner."[249] "Stage" Masterson presents himself as possessing a heart "heavy with sin," confessing, "I have wasted my life in gambling and evil betting. But now I suddenly realize the terrible things that betting can lead to."[250] "Screen" Masterson simply stands in the doorway of the mission and asks, "Do you take sinners here?" answering—when prompted about his reasons for visiting—that what he is unhappy about is "gambling."[251]

These Mastersons present themselves as sinners, but each presents his story with a different shade of regret. "Burrows" Masterson, the sincere sinner, uses sincerity to modify his willingness to sin, and not his willingness to repent. "Stage" Masterson realizes with "a side glance at Sarah" that having to take a mission worker to Havana is one of "the terrible things that

[248] Kaufman draft, 1-1-10
[249] Burrows draft, 1-2-22
[250] Libretto, 16.
[251] Film, 17:40.

betting can lead to,"—that is, his bet with Nathan Detroit. Though "Screen" Masterson asks whether the mission takes sinners, he never articulates any whiff of regret or penitence. Instead, he spends his time interrogating the mission's theology, using double speak and turning Brown's questions against her. Each of these Mastersons are variously rebuffed by Brown who, in the published libretto and motion picture, overtly calls these Mastersons liars regarding their desire to repent, correctly suspecting that they are only coming on to her.[252] In all of these cases, Masterson's reaction to Brown's dismissal is deeply problematic. He sexually harasses her, and inversely correlates Brown's ministerial acumen with her rejections of his advances and then uses this as a motivation to interrogate her about her romantic partners.

"Burrows" Masterson and "Stage" Masterson take (feigns) offense to Brown and characterize her disbelief of him as a personal rejection, though she correctly recognizes that his reasons for coming to the mission are not as he declares. When she calls him on it, he mocks her mission work by saying, "Come to the Mission one and all, except Guys. I hate Guys!"[253] "Screen" Masterson abandons his pretense of piety and chides Brown, saying, "I don't want you to walk out of this room thinking you're upset because some black-hearted sinner made advances to a virtuous lady with a white soul. Any sinful thoughts present in this room at this time come out of you, doll, not me."

As her defense upon being pressed about her ideal romantic partner, Brown sings "I'll Know." Yet even during Brown's song, "Musical" Masterson interrupts her and criticizes her

[252] Though Brown doubts Masterson's sincerity in the Burrows draft, her suspicion is only revealed as acting direction in a parenthetical "(Getting onto him)."
[253] Libretto, 18 and the Burrows draft, 1-2-24 which has a change in capitalization and punctuation.

choices, singing, "You have wished yourself a Scarsdale Galahad, a breakfast-eating Brooks Brothers type."[254] At the end of "I'll Know," the stage direction reads:

> Sarah is standing with her hands at her sides, she has been moved by Sky's lyric and is really fascinated by his cobra. Sky senses that he has made a dent in her defences. He puts his arms around her and kisses her tenderly. She submits to this but doesn't respond. He releases her and picks up his hat…and crosses up L., by door. She stands, seemingly entranced. He stands watching her. She has been staring off into space. She turns to him. He looks at her in anticipation. She walks towards him, floating on air. He stands confidently anticipating another clinch. She reaches him and hauls off and belts him one across the chops . . . but really!

Masterson responds, "I'll drop in again in case you want to take a crack at the other cheek."[255]

Recall from chapter 3 that Masterson sings "Traveling Light" in the Burrows draft and in at least the first two weeks of Philadelphia tryouts for *Guys & Dolls*. Taking "I'll Know" in the context of the first few weeks of tryouts of a show that also included "Traveling Light"—which preceded "I'll Know" in all extant versions—we get the picture of a Masterson who speaks of women as if they are accessories, gets angry at a woman when she refuses to be an accessory, and yet, still needs a woman to go to Havana with him. This presents us with yet another Masterson.

In all versions of *Guys & Dolls*, the Save-A-Soul Mission—and, consequently, Brown's attendant livelihood—is under threat of closure because of underperformance. In the Burrows and Kaufman drafts Brown imagines this threat, which is presented in the guise of an imminent

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[254] Libretto. Film-musical Masterson sings, "You have wished yourself a small-town Galahad, a breakfast-eating four-button type." Masterson from the 1976 Motown version sings, "You have wished yourself a real dumb character, a square-thinking, pencil-pushing type."

[255] Libretto, 19–20. This is also a biblical reference to Matthew 25: 38–40: "Ye have heard that it hath been said, An eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth: But I say unto you, That ye resist not evil: but whosoever shall smite thee on thy right cheek, turn to him the other also. And if any man will sue thee at the law, and take away thy coat, let him have thy cloak also."

visit from General Matilda B. Cartwright, Regional Director of the Save-A-Soul Mission and Sarah's supervisor. In the Burrows and Kaufman drafts, Brown telephones Masterson to accept his offer of getting sinners to attend the mission in exchange for her traveling to Havana with him, putting the onus squarely on her. [256]

In both the stage- and film-musicals, however, General Cartwright arrives early and unexpectedly—act 1, scene 6—and informs Brown that the Mission is closing. "Musical" Masterson arrives at the Mission when Cartwright is there and introduces himself as a "former sinner" and takes his marker—either placed in the trash or in a desk drawer by Brown earlier—and subtly shows it to Brown, who then promises to Cartwright what Masterson had promised to her: At least one dozen sinners will be at the prayer meeting on Thursday night, two nights from then. That Masterson inserts himself in the situation to assist Brown should not be valorized too much—he still has a bet to win, after all. "Musical" Masterson has leveraged a very real threat to Brown in order to pressure her, under professional duress, into accepting his offer to get gamblers to attend the prayer meeting. Brown accepts a viable, if unsavory, option for remediating that threat and keeping the Mission open.[257]

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[256] Burrows and Kaufman drafts pp. 1-5-37–39. Brown believes that Cartwright will arrive to an empty Mission. In the Burrows and Kaufman drafts, the General's visit is prompted by letters sent to her by Arvide Abernathy, extolling the virtues of Brown's handling of Mission affairs. Brown acceptance of Masterson's offer is predicated on her (justified) belief that Cartwright will arrive to an empty Mission unless she accepts his offer to provide attendees for a prayer meeting. This is itself another fluid text moment because a variant page, marked 1-5-38A, is inserted in both drafts after p. 1-5-38. On p. 1-5-38, Abernathy admits that he was the one who sent the letters. On p. 1-5-38A, Abernathy offers reassurances to Brown that Cartwright will understand. In both drafts, he catches Brown off guard when he asks her, "What about Brother Masterson's idea?" which Brown (mistakenly) believes is an inquiry about Masterson's offer to take her to Havana in exchange for getting gamblers to attend her meeting, rather than his suggestion of going out and getting sinners late at night, when the sinners are actually out sinning.

[257] According to dialogue between the mission workers, "Stage" Masterson has been following Brown and the Mission band all morning. "Screen" Masterson is waiting in a back room of the

*Havana: A World Outside of "Idyll"*

Masterson and Brown's trip to Havana exists in at least four different forms: the Burrows draft, an undated draft fragment, the published libretto, and the motion picture—recall that the Kaufman draft moves from act 1, scene 6 (Nathan Again on the Phone with Joey Biltmore), to act 1, scene 8 (Havana Exterior), with no scene 7 (Havana). Each of these presents a version of Masterson different from the next, though they share many similarities as well. Two versions present a Masterson who is evasive about his romantic past, three present a Havana in multiple locations, and all four present a gambler who plies his unwitting missionary guest with alcoholic drinks.

That "Musical" Masterson goes to Havana at all is a departure from the "Idyll" Masterson, as no such travel is included in "Idyll" let alone as a destination for a trip with Brown.[258] The Havana trip presents a Masterson who lives beyond the pages of "The Idyll of Miss Sarah Brown." This Havana trip is both a vertical revision between "Idyll" and *Guys & Dolls*, and another vertical revision between the stage musical and film musical. It is, in fact, multiple vertical revisions when we count the revisions made between drafts, published libretto, and the film adaptation. In the stage musical, the Havana scene is presented as a choreographed scene where the dialogue is delivered in time to the music and the scene moves from location to location through a series of strikes and light cues.[259] The Havana scene in the film musical, like

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Mission. In the 1950s, this might have been admired as persistence, but behavior like this today might cause one to be on the receiving end of a restraining order.

[258] Jo Swerling Jr. writes: "The sequence where, on a bet, Sky takes Sarah to Havana, a major set piece in the show, was wholly the creation of my father and wasn't in any of the Runyon material." Jo Swerling Jr., in correspondence with the author.

[259] The Havana scene is properly scenes 8 and 9. Scene 8, called *Havana, Cuba—El Café Cubano*, contains, variously, The Hotel Nacionale, a street café, a tourist spot, and a dive bar. Scene 9 is called *Outside El Café Cubano. Immediately Following*.

the stage musical, moves variously from location to location, though these scenes are driven by dialogue instead of dance. The Mastersons who take Brown to Havana are different from their "Idyll" predecessor, and while Masterson and Brown travel to Havana in both the stage and film musicals, the Masterson who returns in either version is quite different from the other.

Our exploration of the Havana trip is a confluence of a few factors: an examination of the "Musical" Masterson who asks Brown to take the trip, Brown's reaction to that character and invitation, and the trip itself. We will examine each of these in turn. At first, in the script drafts, Masterson is overtly libertine, but in both the stage and film musicals, he is merely rendered as inferentially licentious through a series of vertical revisions. This tempering of Masterson's ego (and libido) through revision not only serves to preemptively rehabilitate his character, but it also serves the collateral role of villainizing Brown in the process, a phenomenon that we will discuss further in the Brown section.

*Dulce de Leche*[260]

In each version we will look at, Masterson serves alcoholic beverages to an unwitting Brown. "Stage Masterson" orders Dulce de Leche when Brown requests a milkshake, but he tells her it contains milk, sugar, and a "kind of native flavoring [Bacardi]." When Brown asks whether Bacardi has alcohol in it and he tells her, "Only enough to act as a preservative," she responds,

[260] Eric Felten, "How's Your Drink? Guys and Dolls and Sweet Cuban Treats," *Wall Street Journal*. March 7, 2009: W6. Felten contends that Dulce de Leche, made with milk, sugar, and Bacardi, is a fictional drink conjured for *Guys & Dolls*, and he speculates that an appropriate, milkshake-like drink might be the *Doncellita*, a popular, pre-Castro Cuban drink made with crème de cacao and heavy cream.

"[*A little tipsy*]. You know; this would be a wonderful way to get children to drink milk." Brown loudly orders the next round.[261]

"Screen Brown" twice attempts to order milk and "Screen" Masterson rebuffs her twice, first with, "Now don't make a spectacle of yourself," and next with, "You are a United States citizen in a foreign country. Have you no pride in what the rest of the world thinks about America?" When she emphatically insists on milk the third, and final, time, he orders two Dulce de Leches and justifies the Bacardi as a means of keeping the milk from spoiling. When Brown enjoys her drink and says, "That Bacardi flavoring certainly makes a difference," Masterson slyly responds, "Oh yeah, nine times out of ten."

"Draft" Masterson orders Dulce de Leches, does not correct Brown when she calls them "milkshakes," equivocates and calls rum a "native flavoring," and lets Brown believe that Bacardi is simply the name of the flavoring and not a brand of rum. When confronted with Brown's abstinence from alcohol, "Draft" Masterson cites scripture in order both to relieve himself of the culpability of serving her and to manipulate her. This revision deflects the responsibility away from Masterson and onto Brown. In other words, he doesn't get her any more drunk than she allows.

*The Evasive Masterson*

"Burrows" Masterson and "Fragment" Masterson—"Draft" Masterson, taken in tandem—are Mastersons with pasts, unlike "Musical Masterson." "Draft" Masterson seems to embody sentiments shared by the *entre nous* Masterson who figures "weight for age, all dolls are the same"—the same Masterson whom Brown regards suspiciously.

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[261] Libretto, 37. By the time Brown learns that there is alcohol in her drink, stage directions indicate that she and Masterson "have had several drinks." The Burrows draft contains roughly the same distribution of alcohol, by volume.

The Havana trip in the Burrows draft occurs across several vignettes depicting several locations (in order) as split scenes: The Hotel Nacionale, a sightseeing walk (presented as several discreet sites), a street café, and a dive bar—the point of focus, and the ultimate destination of the trajectory of the series of vignettes. "Burrows" Masterson refers to the dive bar, saying, "There's one place I know—very interesting—the authentic native music and the quaint folk dances..." When he does so, the stage direction reads: "(At this point the other side of the stage lights up, revealing a low-down dive. A girl is doing a wriggly dance to the same music we have been hearing, how differently orchestrated, a little dirtier)"[262] As the scene progresses, lights repeatedly come up and go down on a dive bar that is located stage left, with the music and dancing girls at the dive bar intensifying with each light change, at one time described as, "The girls in the dive dance more furiously." Altogether the scene plays: Hotel, dive bar, sightseeing, dive bar, and so forth in a crescendo.

When they arrive at the street café, Brown inquires:

Sarah: You seem to know Havana very well. Do you come here often?

Sky: Once in a while.

Sarah: Do you generally — bring someone with you?

Sky: Why do you want to know?

Sarah: Oh, I don't really. It's just that — well, a missionary is always interested in people, and —

Sky: Miss Sarah, let's put it this way. This trip down here has made me forget all the other trips.

Sarah: Oh, well, you don't have to tell me.

[262] There is no indication of what music is playing, only that it is getting "dirtier," signifying, perhaps, the effects of the alcohol, and sexual atmosphere.

> When Brown and Masterson finally arrive at dive bar whose music and action have been gradually intensifying through the entire scene:
>
> (Blackout, as the lights come up even more brightly on the dive. The dancing in the dive is now reaching a height.)
>
> Sarah: Did you ever bring any other girls here?
>
> Sky: Miss Sarah, you're wonderful.
>
> (The music comes up, and the main dancing event begins. In the course of this the dancer grabs Sky and makes him dance with her, as Sarah watches in annoyed jealousness. When the dance finishes the girl plunks herself down in Sky's lap and kisses him soundly, much to the delight of the rest of the crowd, which applauds. Sarah, at this, advances and hits the girl. The girl hits back. Sky tries to separate the girls, but another fellow jumps on him. There is something of a free-for-all, in the course of which Sky fights his way to Sarah's side, picks her up and carries her out of the place.)

Masterson's intent, near the beginning of the scene (after dinner) is to get Brown to go to the dive bar with "authentic native music" and "quaint folk dances." The "dirtier" music, the girl doing the wriggly dance, the crescendo, and the drinks Brown's consumed—four by this time—all converge into a hyper-sexualized atmosphere. Masterson's coyness in answering Brown's questions serve to deflect attention away from his actions, and to render his history beyond reproach. The audience is meant to infer that Masterson has a past, and that Brown is merely another in a string of conquests. This Masterson lies near the inferentially licentious end of the Masterson spectrum, where his reticence to answer her questions may provide plausible deniability.

*Café Gallo*

In contrast to the inferentially licentious "Burrows" Masterson, "Fragment" Masterson, whose past is corroborated by another character, is overtly libertine. In contrast to "Burrows," "Stage," and "Screen" Mastersons, "Fragment" Masterson takes Brown to a singular location, yet like each of those Mastersons, he plies his date with unsolicited alcoholic drinks. Further, when

Brown and this Masterson arrive at Café Gallo, “a bawdy and colorful dive,” and Brown expresses her unease at being there, this Masterson plays at the destination being her idea:

> Brown: Maybe we should have gone straight to the Airport after dinner.
>
> Masterson: Well, you suggested seeing some of the native points of interest.
>
> Brown: Well, it wasn’t really my suggestion…it was yours.
>
> Masterson (Innocently): It was?
>
> Brown: Yes, at the Hotel Nacionale…after dinner you said we had plenty of time…and would I like to see one of the most interesting places here…and I did not want to appear rude…
>
> Masterson (Gently shutting her up, takes her arm.) … (He guides her across toward the table. She goes reluctantly.) … (To Gomez [the proprietor]): Two Dulce de Leche.
> (Gomez gives the drink order to the waiter who is waiting near by [sic]. [Brown] pays no attention to them.)
>
> Gomez: The view from upstairs is as beautiful as ever. I know in a little while you will want to show it to the Senorita. I will have everything made ready so that you can be by yourselves and enjoy ---
>
> Sky: (In Spanish) Not now, Gomez, please not now!
>
> Gomez: (In Spanish) But you always want to use the upstairs patio when you bring a girl here and I was only trying to anticipate your wishes as always ---
>
> Sky: I know, Gomez, and I appreciate it, but I have to be a little careful with this one here … this must be handled a little delicately.
>
> Gomez: Oh, I understand … but you do want me to prepare the place upstairs, do you not? (He points up.)
>
> Sky: Ofcourse, ofcourse [sic]
>
> Gomez: (Smiles and gestures with his thumb and forefinger together.) Si, Senor, si.
>
> (He leaves)
>
> Sarah: What was that all about?

Sky: That Gomez --- (He chuckles.)

Sarah: What is it?

Sky: This is really ridiculous. Gomez thinks that you and I are in love. (He laughs and continues to laugh during the next speech.) Get that… you and I…

(Sarah is both startled by the information and annoyed with him for laughing.)

Sarah: (Weakly) Well… well… why would he think anything like that…?

Sky: Cubans are all romantic and Gomez is a very romantic Cuban indeed. He thinks you and I might want to go upstairs.

Sarah: Upstairs! What's up there?

Sky: There's a little closed patio that Gomez reserves for any guy that may wish to be alone with a doll. You know, it is not a bad looking place at that… as a matter of fact it's kind of beautiful… a pint sized[sic] patio but all covered with flowers… where two people in love can be all by themselves… away from the world… the air is kind of soft and the moon is kind of bright on the sea… you forget everything but each other and… (Abruptly.) I told him no!

(During the above speech, Sarah, in spite of herself, seems to be captivated by Sky's romantic words. 'I told him no.', brings her back to earth. The waiter arrives with the drinks. They are milk punches and look like malted milks. He sets the drinks in front of them. Sarah absently stirs the drink with the straw. Sky sips his drink and Sarah automatically sips hers.)

Sarah: (Frowning) I still can't understand how that man could think that you and I… are…

Sky: After all, Miss Sarah, you are beautiful ---

(Sarah, to escape his eye, takes another sip.)

Sky: And we are out together. To anyone who does not know how really bad I am and how really good you are, we probably look like an ideal couple.

Sarah: (Smiling) That's the trouble with black hearted sinners like you – you don't <u>look</u> bad.

(Sky laughs and holds two fingers up to the waiter who immediately dashes for the bar.)

Sky: Tell me something, Miss Sarah. Are you glad you came?

Sarah: (Girding her courage.) Mr. Masterson, I feel that I would be quite deceitful were I not to tell you that I have enjoyed myself very much this evening.

Sky: Thank you, Miss Sarah – that pleases me very much indeed. I'm glad you're having a good time.

Sarah: I am… I guess I've never had so much fun in my whole life. The wonderful flight in the airplane… the clouds over the ocean… Havana… even this place. It's all been…

(She takes a long sip of the drink. The waiter arrives with two more drinks and sets them on the table.)

Sarah: (Seeing new drink.) Another milk shake… you shouldn't have.[263]

After a few pages, Brown is sipping her drink, when she stops suddenly and looks at it.

Sarah: What did you say this drink was flavored with?[264]

Sky: Bacardi.

Sarah: Doesn't Bacardi have alcohol in it?

Sky: Only enough to act as a preservative.

Sarah: I'm sorry, Mr. Masterson, I do not drink anything that has alcohol in it.[265]

(Sky gets up.)

Sky: Just a little, Miss Sarah. After all the Bible says: "Wine drunken with moderation is the joy of the soul and the heart." Ecclesiasticus [sic], 31, 36.[266]

Sarah: I would like to call your attention to Proverbs, chapter 20, verse 1. "Wine is a mocker, strong drink is raging: and whosoever is deceived thereby is not wise."[267] (She puts her glass down on the table.) I have been deceived by this milk shake.

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[263] Though Brown is softening to his advances, Masterson and Gomez are conspiring to prepare a place "upstairs" for Masterson to bring Brown. It is also apparent that he is plying her with drinks.
[264] An original, struck-through line read: "What did you say was in this drink?"
[265] This is followed by the struck-through line: "You should have told me." Brown asserts that she has been given alcohol involuntarily.
[266] Ecclesiasticus 31:36. This book is not included in the King James Version.
[267] KJV

> Sky: (Close to her.) Song of Solomon, chapter 5, verse 1: "I have drunk my wine with my milk; drink, yes, drink abundantly O beloved."[268]
>
> [Their biblical one-upping is interrupted by the entrance of a couple locals.]

"Fragment" Masterson brings an unsuspecting Brown to his Cuban love nest. Gomez's remark that Masterson "always" wants to use the upstairs patio when he has a girl there, his agreement that wants Gomez to prepare it, and his knowledge of what's upstairs, clearly indicate that "Fragment" Masterson has been to Café Gallo before. Based on any version of the script that we have encountered, it is likely that Brown understood his intentions when he (likely) approached her in the Mission to ask her to Havana.[269] Their biblical sparring is reminiscent of the Burrows draft, the published script, and the (five years in the future) motion picture and shows a Masterson bent on justifying his actions to Brown in her language. This scene ends with the arrival of Dolores Arribacho (Dark Dolores), a Cuban madam, along with her troupe of Cuban Dolls. Dolores and "Fragment" Masterson are familiar with one another, and Dolores greets him with "a resounding kiss of greeting." She says to him, "You bad boy to stay away so long. Dolores and her girls… we miss you more than somewhat."[270]

"Draft" Masterson—in the aggregate—has something of a past—though one's past is more explicitly spelled out than the others. "Burrows" Masterson never explicitly says whether he has brought any girls to any locale that he and Brown visit, but he does not explicitly say he hasn't either. "Fragment" Masterson, on the other hand, not only brings Brown to a spot where

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[268] KJV "I have come to my garden, my sister, *my* spouse; I have gathered my myrrh with my spice; I have eaten my honeycomb with my honey; I have drunk my wine with my milk. Eat, O friends! Drink, yes, drink deeply, O beloved ones."

[269] This is conjecture on my part because this fragment does not include act 1, scene 2, the scene where Masterson asks Brown to go to Havana.

[270] Undated draft fragment, 1-7-14–15B. This scene ends as it does in all versions, with a brawl.

he has seduced women in the past, but he tries to convince her that it was her idea to go there, serves her alcohol without her knowledge, and then attempts to theologize his way out of taking responsibility for it. "Fragment" Masterson's past in Café Gallo even comes and kisses him on the lips and tells him she misses him.

*Stage and Screen*

Unlike "Burrows" and "Fragment" Masterson, "Stage" and "Screen" Mastersons are unencumbered by pasts. Not once in either version does Brown inquire about their pasts, nor do they volunteer any information.

The published libretto for the Havana scene consists mostly of stage direction and prompts along with some dialogue. The dialogue occupies but a small fraction of the pages' space and it presents a series of vignettes just as did the Burrows draft, which itself consists primarily of dialogue. The scene itself is called a ballet and it moves from location to location to location, in the same order as the Burrows draft: The Hotel Nacionale, a sightseeing tour, a street café, and a dive bar. The dialogue, greatly pared down, is presented in musical time and consists primarily of the sightseeing dialogue and the Dulce de Leche exchanges found in the Burrows draft, with no talk of Masterson or past trips to Havana whatsoever.

*The Film Musical*

The film musical, like the Burrows draft and stage musical, moves from location to location to location in a series of vignettes, and are presented (in order): Sightseeing, Café, Dive Bar, Hotel.[271] As this scene is not presented as a ballet, as the stage musical is, the dialogue is more

[271] These locations are not explicitly identified and labeled as I have identified and labeled them. With the exception of the sightseeing portion, each section appears in a generic location with individual seating and tables and, in one instance, waitstaff. Nevertheless, of the three locations presented beyond the sightseeing tour, the middle location is the shabbiest location (dive) and the

expanded and more closely resembles the dialogue found in the Burrows draft, with the notable exception that they do not discuss Masterson's past trips to Havana. Further, in contrast to the Burrows draft and the stage musical, Brown's dialogue is considerably expanded. As in all of these Havana trips—the Burrows draft, the undated draft fragment, and the stage musical—this Havana trip culminates with a barfight that has Brown fighting with a woman who has come on to Masterson, and has Masterson carrying Brown away from said fight.

*Leaving Havana and Coming Clean*

When Masterson and Brown leave the barfight, they wind up in one of two locations. The "Burrows," "Stage," and "Screen" Mastersons and their respective Browns end up outside in Havana with a still-tipsy Brown who sings "If I Were a Bell." "Fragment" Masterson earns no song from Brown and the two of them wind up outside the Save-A-Soul Mission, presumably having traveled home during the scene change.

All of these Mastersons confess the nature of their invitation of Brown to travel to Havana with them—that the invitation was made under the auspices of making a bet—though each does it in a somewhat different manner and context. "Stage" Masterson confesses to Brown only after she kisses him, sings "If I Were a Bell," falls into his arms, and suggests they spend the night (and even a few days) in Havana. "Screen" Masterson confesses to Brown after she sings "If I Were a Bell" and he kisses her (and she then kisses him back), but after she suggests that they stay, he in turn proposes that they should leave. "Burrows" and "Fragment" Masterson confess after they have returned to New York, though "Burrows" Masterson confesses to Brown whom he has forcibly carried to the airport after she had kissed him at the end of "If I Were a

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final location has the characters eating dinner (hotel), leaving street café as a logical choice for the first of these three.

Bell" and told him that she wanted to stay. "Fragment" Masterson, after he and Brown "are strained and polite to each other," confesses just as he drops her off at the Mission. Each of these Mastersons comes clean regarding their motivations for asking Brown to Havana—"Burrows" and "Stage" Masterson after being kissed and asked to stay the night by Brown, "Screen" Masterson after he kisses Brown and finds his outward affections reciprocated, and "Fragment" Masterson after carrying an inebriated Brown out of a barfight (and a presumably long and awkward flight home, given that she doesn't sing to him). All of these Mastersons soon discover—along with Brown—that Detroit held a crap game in the Save-A-Soul Mission which was left vacant, after Brown traveled to Havana with Masterson, and while the rest of the mission workers were out recruiting new members at night per Masterson's suggestion.

*Stage and Screen Diverge*

In addition to having different Havana scenes, the stage and film musicals differ from one another in their use of music in the scene following Masterson and Brown's return from Havana. "Stage" Masterson sings "My Time of Day," which then segues into "I've Never Been in Love Before," a duet with Brown, presenting an open and vulnerable Masterson.[272] As Michael Buchler suggests, "Stage" Masterson "undergoes a transformation of character. He's not the unemotional, high-stakes gambler we meet in the show's exposition. He has frailties, he is emotional, he is deeply connected with his environment … and both songs ["My Time of Day" and "I've Never Been in Love Before"] and the connecting dialogue between them reflect Sky moving outside of himself and letting go of his egotistical persona."[273]

[272] In dialogue between the two songs, Masterson both reveals to Brown that his real name is Obediah and reveals that she is the first person that he has told.
[273] Michael Buchler, "Making Sky Masterson More Marlon Brando." Paper presented at the American Musicological Society, Rochester, NY, November 2017. (Shared with author.)

Here, "Stage" Masterson stands in contrast to the "Screen" Masterson. Michael Buchler writes that "Film" Masterson is "a much more Brando-esque Sky Masterson. Brando didn't enact Robert Alda's stage version of Sky Masterson; he—along with the film's creative team—created a Sky Masterson in his own image."[274] The Masterson who sings "A Woman in Love" is "self-assured and worldly."[275] A few fluid text moments present themselves in this transformation. First, the substitution of "A Woman in Love" for "My Time of Day" / "I've Never Been in Love Before" strips both Masterson's frailties and Brown's agency. Second, this substitution was prompted by Marlon Brando's (lack of) singing ability.[276] Finally, a bridge section was removed from "A Woman in Love." As Buchler notes, this bridge, if included, "calls Sky's certainty and Sarah's love into question":[277]

> Or is my love for you on trial?
> Must I plead my case in vain?
> From your lips come the proud little words of denial,
> And your hand makes the gesture of disdain!
> Ah, but [your eyes are the eyes of a Woman in Love…]

"Screen" Masterson's lack of certainty is not only apparent in the rejected bridge of "A Woman in Love"; it is also present in a rejected section of a transition that connects "My Time of Day" and "I've Never Been in Love Before." The nature of this uncertainty is different between the two, and drafts of lyrics found in both the Burrows and Kaufman drafts include lyrics that demonstrate this. To avoid the possibility of Masterson falling in love, the bridge for "My Time

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[274] Buchler, "Making Sky Masterson."
[275] Ibid.
[276] Buchler speculates as much. Though Buchler doesn't discuss it, in the stage musical it was Nathan Detroit's song-load that was lightened to account for actor Sam Levene's (lack of) singing ability. In the film version, Sky Masterson's song-load was lightened to account for actor Marlon Brandon's (lack of) singing ability, while Nathan Detroit's song-load was given a commensurate boost owing to the singing ability of singer-actor Frank Sinatra.
[277] Buchler, "Making Sky Masterson."

of Day" / "I've Never Been in Love Before" was rejected. While "Screen" Masterson is poised to sing of his fear that Brown doubts his sincerity and, consequently, will not reciprocate his affections, "Burrows"/"Kaufman" Masterson is poised to catch himself in the act of confessing, declaring, or recognizing his love and he actively works to distance himself from it, not just once, but three times:

> [That's my time of day
> My time of day
> You're the only doll I've ever wanted to share it with me]
>
> I guess I've never been in love before
> Now all at once…… (interrupting himself)
> Did you happen to hear what I said?
> Someone ought to examine my head
> I've never been in love before (ala Henry Aldrich)
> My routines were so clever and bright
> Now it's suddenly amateur night
> I've never been in love before (ala Pinza, laughing at himself)
> Guess I sound like a song writer pouring it on,
> About miracles out of the blue
> But the terrible, wonderful thing is
> That it's true
> I've never been in love before
> Now all at once it's you,
> It's you forevermore….[278]

After "Burrows"/"Kaufman" Masterson sings a chorus of "I've Never Been in Love Before," followed a chorus sung by Brown, Brown initiates a coda which reprises "My Time of Day," and expresses her own doubts about their budding relationship, singing:

> Brown:
> Your time of day can never be mine.
> We're wrong for each other.
>
> Masterson:

[278] Henry Aldrich was an awkward teenage character from a radio sitcom, *The Aldrich Family*. Pinza is likely Ezio Pinza, an Italian opera singer who originated the role of Emile de Becque in Rogers and Hammerstein's *South Pacific*. An undated excerpt manuscript contains nearly identical lyrics without the intertextual references.

My time of day,
My time of day,
And you're the only doll I've ever wanted to share it with me.[279]

"Fragment" Masterson does not sing a duet with Brown. After singing "My Time of Day" and the same transition as found in the "Burrows" and "Kaufman" drafts, "Fragment" Masterson sings only a single chorus that ends with him declaring his love for Brown. Shortly thereafter, Lt. Brannigan and the police break up the mission crap game, and Brown leaves Masterson alone outside the mission. The draft fragment reads:

Sky

(sings)
And you're the only doll
I ever wanted to share it with me.

(The music increases in volume to a finish.)

CURTAIN

In his journey from "Idyll" through the film version of *Guys & Dolls,* Masterson has undergone several transformations. In short, "Idyll "Masterson, a guy who was smitten with a mission worker and willing to wager his soul to prove it, transforms into a hustler who treats women as interchangeable and disposable in *Guys & Dolls*. As in "Idyll," the Mastersons of the Broadway and film versions of *Guys & Dolls* still know scripture and maintain an ethical stance against welshing on bets. Yet these Mastersons forgo framing their anti-welshing stance as scripturally derived, and instead quote scripture to credential themselves and call Brown's competence into question. The Mastersons who take Brown to Havana in *Guys & Dolls* and who ply her with alcoholic drinks and, depending on the version, seduce her, are absent in the "Idyll" version as well. Moreover, a Masterson who wins at the climactic crap game is similarly

[279] There is no available document that uncontestably confirms that this reprise also includes a reprise of the music.

fabricated. Finally, the Mastersons of *Guys & Dolls* do not require saving as "Idyll" Masterson does, much less by Sarah Brown. With each revision, Masterson shifts more in status from redeemed to redeemer.

**Miss Sarah Brown**

The eponymous character of "Idyll," Miss Sarah Brown is a mission worker. "She is tall, and thin, and has a first-class shape, and her hair is a light brown, going on blonde, and her eyes are…one-hundred-percent in every respect. Furthermore, she is not a bad cornet player."[280] She "puts the blast on sin very good, and boosts religion quite some."[281] She does most of the work at the largely unsuccessful Save-a-Soul Mission, run by her grandfather Arvide Abernathy, and she spends time "visiting poor people around and about," and is frustrated with her lack of success in saving souls. [282] She rejects Masterson when she learns that he is a professional gambler. When she confronts him at Nathan Detroit's game, she says, "I know something about gambling, especially about crap games. I ought to. It ruins my poor papa and my brother Joe."[283] At Detroit's crap game, she bets two dollars, all she has, against Masterson's soul, and wins. Afterward, when Masterson confesses his love for her, she references the second verse of the Song of Solomon: "Let him kiss me with the kisses of his mouth: for thy love is better than wine."[284]

[280] *Collier's*, 41.
[281] Ibid.
[282] Ibid.
[283] Ibid, 42.
[284] *Collier's*, 42.

*Sarah, the Doll*

The "Musical" Brown shares some similarities with her "Idyll" counterpart. The "Musical" Brown has "one hundred per cent eyes," according to Benny Southstreet,[285] works at the struggling Save-A-Soul Mission with her grandfather, Arvide Abernathy, putting the blast on sin—though it would seem that she has received a promotion and is in charge, with Abernathy as her assistant.[286] Though she initially rejects Masterson, she ends up marrying him.

There are, however, distinct differences between "Idyll" Brown and "Musical" Brown. One, which manifests in a few different ways, is her faulty knowledge of scripture, which Masterson exploits. Others stem from the pending closure—or Brown's fear of the pending closure—of the Mission; Brown's trip to Havana, predicated on traveling with Masterson in exchange for him bringing gamblers to the Mission, and anything beyond that—drinking, falling for, and then marrying, Masterson—are departures from "Idyll" Brown.[287] One difference that should not be overlooked between "Idyll" Brown and all other versions of Brown—drafts, stage and screen—is that "Idyll" Brown does her own soul winning.

*"He Will Not Be a Gambler."*

"Idyll" Brown and "Musical" Brown both reject Masterson. In "Idyll," this comes "because somebody weighs in the sacks on him by telling her he is nothing but a professional gambler, and that he is a very undesirable character, and that his only interest in hanging around the mission is because she is a good-looking doll."[288] "Musical" Brown is suspicious of Masterson from the

[285] Libretto, 9.
[286] Arvide Abernathy is Sarah Brown's grandfather in "The Idyll of Miss Sarah Brown," all of the script drafts, and the published libretto, but he is Sarah's uncle in the motion picture.
[287] I argue that the Brown who marries Masterson in *Guys & Dolls* is a distinctly different Brown from the one who marries him in "Idyll."
[288] *Collier's*, 41.

outset, and when Masterson asks her to dinner after telling her he has "wasted [his] life in gambling and evil betting," she declines his invitation. When Masterson harangues her about what type of guy would "appeal" to her, she emphatically tells him, "He will *not* be a gambler." While this reasoning may appear to be a *post hoc* rationalization given Masterson's advances, "Musical" Brown's rejection of Masterson in *Guys & Dolls* comports to "Idyll" Brown's rejection—as the adult child and sibling of two gamblers, her papa and brother, respectively—of Masterson *and* a version of Brown who lives in the Burrows draft:

> Arvide: But we should not scorn any sinner.
>
> Sarah (A change of heart): Of course, you're right, Grandfather… You know why I feel this way. The daughter of a gambler…
>
> Arvide: But just because you were the daughter of a gambler, you should understand them.
>
> Sarah: Gambling killed my father, and it killed my mother… that's all I know.[289]

Though "Idyll" Brown lost her father and brother to gambling, and "Burrows" Brown lost her father and mother, the trace of this history is still present in the Musical. The rhetorical impact of changing "brother" to "mother" might be considered minimal, but that the reference is removed altogether carries a more substantial rhetorical impact. That is, "Idyll" and "Burrows" Brown who refuse Masterson because he is a gambler of whom they are suspicious because of their personal history are justified in their rejection of him, and this rejection contextualizes his advances as harassment. Conversely, "Musical" Brown, who refuses Masterson only because he is a gambler, is portrayed as merely a prude who is not dedicated to her missionary work.

[289] Burrows draft, 1-2-19.

*"I Have Been Weighed and Found Wanting"*

In contrast with "Idyll" Brown who only cites scripture once and is contextually accurate in her citation of the Song of Solomon, "Musical" and "Draft" Browns are presented as inept, vain, and naive in their deployment of biblical verse.[290] This ineptitude both weakens her position as a missionary proper and weakens her position relative to Masterson. When Masterson informs her that she erred in her identification of a biblical verse, she reacts angrily. "Stage" Brown looks up the verse and then slams the bible shut when she learns that she has erred, while "Screen" Brown yells at Masterson, accusing him of blasphemy.[291]

Even when Brown gets a passage right, it is done in the context of highlighting her inability to be a successful missionary. For example, during the Havana scene, "Screen" Brown cites Daniel 5:27, "I was weighed in the balance and found wanting," though it is actually Masterson who does the work of identifying the passage, leaving her own spiritual self-knowledge in *his* capable hands. This "Kaufman" Brown is presented overtly as a bumbling missionary when a bum, telling Masterson about the Mission, says, "The coffee ain't bad, and the old guy's all right, but the dame—she just ain't got it. Green. They shouldn't send a youngster like that to Broadway. They ought to break her in first with some cannibals."[292] It would seem, then, that "Musical" Brown who struggles with scripture is in need of saving and that that saving can only happen at the hands of someone who has read Gideon's Bible at least a dozen times.

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[290] "Fragment" Brown is contextually accurate in her scriptural citations.
[291] As mentioned previously, in the Burrows draft, Brown cites Proverbs 23:9 which is: "Speak not in the ears of a fool: for he will despise the wisdom of thy words," and is corrected by Masterson.
[292] Kaufman draft, 1-2-14/17

*"Let Me Speak to Mr. Sky Masterson, Please"*

While "Idyll" Brown serves a struggling mission, "Musical" Brown serves a struggling mission that is under the threat—whether imminent or imagined—of closure. This threat and the attendant professional duress, place Brown in a compromised position *vis-à-vis* her successfully securing attendees for a late-night prayer meeting that her supervisor, General Cartwright, is scheduled to attend. How this pressure manifests itself differs from version to version.

"Burrows" Brown receives a telegram informing her of the General's pending visit. The General simply arrives at the Mission to tell "Musical" Brown that it is closing, when Masterson presents himself and his Marker, and reminds "Musical" Brown that he will get people to attend her meeting if she accompanies him to Havana. While all versions result in Brown accompanying Masterson to Havana, it is "Burrows" Brown who seeks her own path. "Musical" Brown is faced with the immediate closure of the Mission and guarantees the General, as Masterson guaranteed her, one dozen genuine sinners, but it is "Burrows" who tells Arvide Abernathy, "I want to try something else…. I want to try on my own." This Brown, Masterson *in absentia*, finds Masterson's Marker, lifts the receiver, dials, and says, "Let me speak to Mr. Sky Masterson, please."

*"Two Dulce de Leche"*

Brown's journeys to Havana with Masterson are each problematic in their own ways, though this is largely because of Masterson. As discussed, there is no extant scenario, draft or otherwise, in which Brown is not served alcohol without her knowledge, and her behaviors should be read through that context. Even when Brown and Masterson arrive at their final destination and Brown orders two Dulce de Leche herself it is after she has already been served several.

Consequently, the culminating bar fight, written into all cited versions, is a fight that results from a combination made possible by alcohol.[293]

Brown's intoxication results in her singing "If I Were a Bell" in all versions except for the undated draft fragment. Thomas Riis writes that "If I Were a Bell" "reveals unsuspected spunk in the normally restrained [Brown,] and it underlines that she now fully comprehends the idea of sexual 'chemistry,' which she had pointedly scoffed at."[294]

Alcohol presents a Brown uninhibited by her missionary values. "Musical" Brown is straightlaced and only expresses herself after having consumed alcohol. Indeed, "Screen" Brown expresses this sentiment after Masterson tells her, "Any sinful thoughts present in this room at this time come out of you, doll, not me," to which she responds overtly, if sarcastically, "You're quite right. I'm nothing but a repressed, neurotic girl—I've read two whole books on the subject—who is abnormally attracted to sin and therefore abnormally afraid of it. And you're not the first man to try that approach, Mr. Masterson."[295]

A tipsy "Screen" Brown implores Masterson, while they are in the dive bar (in the third of four vignettes), "Tell me about life…. How to live. Doing what you want, having what you want, saying what you want. *Being* what you want." This Brown, who now kisses Masterson, averts her eyes downward, and asks Masterson, "Please, say something. I've got to know what you're thinking." This Brown was foreshadowed and described by Masterson during their first meeting at the Mission, "I don't want you to walk out of this room thinking you're upset because some black-hearted sinner made advances to a virtuous lady with a shining white soul."

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[293] Libretto, 38.
[294] Riis, *Frank Loesser*, 98.
[295] One wonders whether "Screen" Brown has been reading the same books as Adelaide.

"Screen" Brown—unlike "Stage" Brown whose choreographed dialogue functions as part of the Havana Ballet—is a Brown with real dialogue, and this dialogue presents a problem. "Stage" Brown is shielded, as it were, from her own drunkenness by her lack of dialogue—though we see her get drunk, we do not have to listen to it. "Screen" Brown simultaneously gains confidence and loses it. She tells Masterson she'll give him personal attention— "day and night, night and day." "Musical" Brown is in a bar fight by the time she sings "If I Were a Bell," and, demonstrating impaired judgement, asks to stay in Havana with Masterson. "Musical" Brown kisses Masterson *before* she sings to him.[296] "If I Were a Bell," it seems, *depends on* a boozy Brown.

Recall that "If I Were a Bell" was removed from Philadelphia tryouts between Oct. 23-Nov. 11 because, according to Cy Feuer, Isabel Bigley was "too dignified" (like Sarah Brown?) to perform it properly. The vocal score (published in 1953) indicates that the song is meant to be performed "Very free and slightly tipsy" yet the sheet music for "If I Were a Bell," published contemporaneously to the show, simply indicates that it is to be performed as a "Medium Bounce." While it is understandable that "Musical" Brown would be intoxicated during that scene, an article in *Billboard* contemporaneous with the song's return to the show makes Frank Loesser's authorial intentions somewhat apparent: "If I Were a Bell" was characterized as "the top hit potential" from *Guys & Dolls*, "with radio and juke-boxes banging away most assiduously, and some eight recordings already entered for the sprightly ditty."[297] A *Billboard*

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[296] "Stage" Brown kisses Masterson immediately before singing, after the fourth of four vignettes. "Screen" Brown kisses Masterson during the third vignette, has an awkward dinner with Masterson, gets in a bar fight in the fourth vignette, and then sings in the following scene.

[297] *The Billboard*, 12. *The Billboard*, 23 shows that Frankie Laine's version of "If I Were a Bell" had just entered the *Billboard* charts of Record Most Played by Disk Jockeys (Nov. 8–10) at #30.

Additionally, Bing Crosby and Patty Andrews recorded a duet version on September 7, 1950 (released October 1950 with "I've Never Been in Love Before" as the B-Side), where they

article states that, according to Frank Loesser, "the song wasn't exactly scratched [but that] the show version didn't entirely suit him and was withdrawn for word and music polishing."[298] If the song did not work in the context of the show—whether sung by Brown or "down in one" by Adelaide—that could mean that it would get cut and mean fewer recordings and fewer sales of sheet music. But is the song necessary?

A briefly glimpsed "Fragment" Brown—who was unsuspectingly plied with unwanted liquor, and who cited scripture in defense of her abstinence—demonstrates that the song *can* be removed without affecting the plot. Like each of her adapted counterparts, this Brown is capable of jealousy over Masterson and gets into a bar fight. Like each of her adapted counterparts too, she feels the sting of betrayal when the police raid the Save-A-Soul Mission—left empty this night because Masterson suggested that she travel to Havana and that the rest of the mission workers go out and conduct an all-night crusade against the devil. As it stands, it seems that "If I Were a Bell" is only included because it is a good song—which it most certainly is—and because "Drunk" Sarah has to let her guard down to give Masterson opportunities to not take advantage of her and to own up to making her the subject of a bet.

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alternated verses. Doris Day recorded a version on September 28, 1950 (as the B-Side to "A Bushel and a Peck"). The Miles Davis Quintet subsequently recorded "If I Were a Bell" and released it on the 1956 album *Relaxin' With The Miles Davis Quintet.*

This issue of *The Billboard* also contains multiple examples of the commercial success of "Bushel and a Peck" as a duet in the hands of Margaret Whiting and Jimmy Wakely, and Betty Hutton and Perry Como.

[298] The extent of the lyric polishing, it seems, consists of changing the penultimate line from "If I were a season, I'd surely be spring," to "Ask me who to describe this whole beautiful thing." Despite Loesser's story to the press, we have read accounts that the song was removed for additional reasons.

*Luck Be a Lady*

"Idyll" Brown is legitimately an object of Masterson's affections, but rejects his companionship and his donations because he is a gambler and his donations are taken from ill-gotten gains, and "Adapted" Brown—comprised of all Browns *except* "Idyll" Brown—is a mark for Masterson—and she recognizes herself as such—yet necessity, or fear, compel her to join him on a trip to Cuba. "Idyll" Brown stands in starkest contrast with "Adapted" Brown by virtue of her role in the climactic crap game. "Idyll" Brown arrives at Nathan Detroit's crap game just as Masterson, who has been trying to win bets to have gamblers attend the Save-A-Soul Mission, has lost all his money and is about to murder Brandy Bottle Bates. Brown rolls dice in a wager of two dollars, all of the money that she has, against Masterson's soul, and wins. "Musical" Brown is both unaware of a crap game and resigned to the foregone conclusion of the mission's pending closure. The contrast between these two Browns is representative of larger shifts in both Brown's—and, commensurately, Masterson's—characters as adaptations.

"Idyll" Brown is confident in her decision to reject Masterson's affections and money, and brave enough to confront gamblers in their own territory—a Daniel in the lion's den. "Idyll" Masterson is a cheating gambler, given a pious sheen because his refusal to welsh on a bet is cloaked in a biblical passage. "Idyll" Brown saves Masterson from himself by doing unto him as he has done unto others—betting her money against his soul. "Adapted" Brown supplicates herself to a Masterson who treats her as a mark—taking her to Havana and getting her loaded. "Adapted" Brown is betrayed by a Masterson who has created the conditions for an empty Save-A-Soul mission to be used by Nathan Detroit for his crap game. "Adapted" Brown—and the Save-A-Soul Mission—are *saved by* Masterson.

In Brown's journey from "Idyll" to *Guys & Dolls*, she has been divested of all of her strength. She began as a missionary with a strong knowledge of scripture and a willingness to enter the proverbial lion's den, demonstrated when she attends "Idyll"'s climactic crap game. She also avoids taking the fruits of the gambling enterprise, a worldview affected by the loss of her family to gambling. But among the versions of *Guys & Dolls*, she gradually morphs into a bumbling greenhorn who doubts herself, lacks scriptural knowledge, and needs someone to save both her and the mission. With each iteration, we lose more and more of the Sarah Brown whose idyll we read.

**Nathan Detroit and Miss Adelaide**

Chapter 1 discussed Burrows's conflicting accounts of the permissions that he was afforded when using Runyon characters in *Guys & Dolls*. To summarize, Burrows asserts that, on the one hand, he was "allowed to use any characters who were dramatically involved, no matter how slightly, in any of these [Runyon] stories and I had the right to lift them out of the individual Runyan [sic] locales and put them into our own 'The Idyll of Miss Sarah Brown'," but Burrows also states, on the other hand, that "We had the right to use any character in 'The Idyll of Miss Sarah Brown,' providing the character was in any way dramatically involved in the story." As noted, one statement asserts the rights to use characters from the entire Runyon pantheon, and the other statement asserts that the characters were limited to those appearing in "The Idyll of Miss Sarah Brown." The stories most commonly cited by scholars as sources for *Guys & Dolls* include "The Idyll of Miss Sarah Brown," "Blood Pressure," "Pick the Winner," and "It Comes

Up Mud."[299] In chapter two, we saw how *Guys & Dolls* became a congregating place for characters drawn from still other Damon Runyon stories—"Lonely Heart," "A Piece of Pie," "Hold 'em Yale!," "A Nice Price," "The Hottest Guy in the World," "Breach of Promise," "The Snatching of Bookie Bob," "Butch Minds the Baby," "The Old Doll's House,"' "Earthquake," "Madame La Gimp," "Princess O'Hara," and "Tobias the Terrible"—through the process of *redactive adaptation*. We also saw how a December 1950 reviewer of *Guys & Dolls* wrote about traces of a redactive adaptation, without knowing or identifying it as such. Eliot Norton writes: "The particular fable from which 'Guys and Dolls' derives deals with a blonde doll who has been engaged for 14 years to Nathan Detroit, proprietor of 'the oldest permanent floating crap game' in New York." While the Nathan-Adelaide story is a parallel love story to the Masterson-Brown love story, it is *not*, as has been demonstrated, "the particular fable from which 'Guys and Dolls' derives."

Nathan Detroit originated as a one-dimensional character in Runyon's short stories and then became an amalgamation of several Runyon characters drawn from multiple stories, most notably, Hot Horse Herbie, a perennially affianced horse-bettor in "Pick the Winner." In *Guys & Dolls*, Detroit is the proprietor of "the oldest established, permanent, floating crap game in New York," where gamblers bet against each other rather than against the house, and Detroit takes his cut off of the top. He is engaged—and has been for fourteen years—to Miss Adelaide, a dancer at The Hot Box. Detroit appears in three short stories of Runyon, *always* as the proprietor of a crap game. In "Broadway Complex," he is introduced, simply, as "Nathan Detroit, who runs the crap game"; in "Blood Pressure," he is introduced immediately preceding the introduction of the

[299] See Combe, "Aesthetics"; Garebian, *Making*; Knapp, *Identity*; and Byrnside, "Fable."

crap game: “Let us go to Nathan Detroit’s crap game and win some money”; in “The Idyll of Miss Sarah Brown,” he is introduced immediately after the introduction of the crap game: “Of course the crap games that are going on at this time are nothing much, because practically everybody in the world is broke, but there is a head-to-head game run by Nathan Detroit over a garage on Fifty-second Street where there is occasionally some action.” The crap game in “Blood Pressure” is also “over a garage on Fifty-second Street this particular night, though sometimes it is over a restaurant on Forty-seventh Street, or in back of a cigar store on Forty-fourth Street. In fact, Nathan Detroit’s crap game is apt to be anywhere, because it moves around every night, as there is no sense in a crap game staying on one spot until the coppers find out where it is.”

In none of these stories does Nathan Detroit have a fiancée. Combe suggests that Nathan’s fiancée in *Guys and Dolls*, Miss Adelaide, is based on two Runyon characters: Miss Cutie Singleton from “Pick the Winner” and Miss Beulah Beauregard from “It Comes Up Mud.” Cutie Singleton has been engaged to horse-bettor Hot Horse Herbie for ten tears, though they have never had an engagement ring because he keeps postponing their nuptials until he has enough money. Miss Beulah Beauregard from “It Comes Up Mud” is a chorus girl who becomes engaged to Little Alfie for “four or five years,” but, unlike Miss Cutie Singleton, actually has an engagement ring, which Little Alfie later “borrows” to finance a horse bet. Taken in tandem, we have the character of a showgirl involved in a protracted engagement to a horse bettor.

How, then, do these changes relate to “The Idyll of Miss Sarah Brown,” and how may we understand them in the context of *Guys & Dolls*? The following discussion will suggest two points. First, in Nathan Detroit’s appearance in the writings of Damon Runyon, he is a “flat,” empty character who functions less as a character and more as a location. Second, to compensate

for the flatness of his character in Runyon's stories, Detroit adopts the characteristics of Hot Horse Herbie and Little Alfie and is paired with a fiancée in *Guys and Dolls.* My discussion will conclude by briefly showing how this reading offers a rich context for engaging with three excerpts from *Guys and Dolls*.

In Runyon's writings, Nathan Detroit functions more as a location and less as a character. The difference between these two concerns IS versus DOES, concepts adapted from Seymour Chatman's description of a narrative structure that consists of stasis statements (IS) and process statements (DOES). Stasis statements simply refer to things that EXIST, whereas process statements are things that DO or HAPPEN.[300] In order to illuminate these functions more clearly, it will prove helpful to interrogate Detroit's function as a location first (IS), and then compare it to his function as a character (DOES).

As a location, Detroit is introduced simply as "Nathan Detroit, who runs the crap game" in "Broadway Complex," as mentioned earlier. In "Blood Pressure," his name precedes his place, as in, "Let us go to Nathan Detroit's crap game and win some money." In "The Idyll of Miss Sarah Brown," Detroit's place precedes his name, as in, "Of course the crap games that are going on at this time are nothing much, because practically everybody in the world is broke, but there is a head-and-head game run by Nathan Detroit." In every instance, Detroit's name is linked with a place—a crap game.

As a character who carries out an action, Detroit *does* several things in "Broadway Complex." He "reaches out and picks up an order for ham and eggs, Southern style, that Charley, the waiter, just puts in front of Upstate Red, and taps Cecil on the onion with same," (that is, he

[300] Seymour Benjamin Chatman, *Story and Discourse: Narrative Structure in Fiction and Film* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1978), 28–29.

hits someone on the head with a plate of food) and "apologizes to Cecil, and also to the chef in Mindy's for treating an order of ham and eggs, Southern style, so disrespectfully." Stated more abstractly, Detroit picks up an object, hits Cecil with the object, apologizes to Cecil, and apologizes to the maker of the object. That Detroit *runs the crap game* is immaterial, however, to both his show of violence and his subsequent apologies; running the crap game is not an action he performs in the scene. Rather, it is a quality that Detroit possesses apart from his actions. In fact, the actions performed by Detroit in this scene *could have been* performed by any of the other named characters in attendance.

In comparing the Nathan Detroit who IS with the Nathan Detroit who DOES, we will examine whether he is either what Chatman refers to as a *minor character*, or a *walk-on* who is "merely an element of the setting."[301] Chatman lists three possible criteria for *characterization*, none of which is adequate in itself: (1) biology, (2) identity (that is nomination), (3) importance (to the plot).[302] Detroit fills both Criteria 1 and 2. Criterion 3 is minimal, meaning he is a *minor character*, at best. Indeed, in "Broadway Complex," Detroit is neither a primary nor secondary character, and his presence could be omitted from the story entirely without altering the plot. Similarly, his presence could be eliminated from the other two stories, "The Idyll of Miss Sarah Brown" and "Blood Pressure," without changing the plot(s), so long as the crap game is retained. This quality, then, serves to highlight Detroit's function as a *walk-on*, an element of the *setting* or *location* in both this and other Runyon's short stories. Detroit is what E.M. Forster refers to as a "flat" character; endowed with only a single trait—or very few; he operates the crap game.[303]

[301] Chatman, *Narrative*, 139.
[302] Ibid.
[303] Ibid., 132.

If Detroit functions as a location in Runyon's short stories, merely existing so that the crap game may exist, how does his flatness of character become three dimensional in *Guys and Dolls*? The short answer is Adelaide. Adelaide of *Guys & Dolls*, who appears to be a conflation of Cutie Singleton and Beulah Beauregard, is a perennially engaged showgirl. Both Singleton and Beauregard are engaged to perpetually unlucky bettors, yet neither woman appears in "Idyll," let alone anywhere with Nathan Detroit. Detroit would have to be a horse bettor for this to make sense. Here I suggest that the flat, empty character of Nathan Detroit is filled, as it were, with the characteristics of Hot Horse Herbie and Little Alfie, and that their marriage engagement is appended to Detroit in the person of Miss Adelaide. Nathan and Miss Adelaide share a protracted engagement, like Hot Horse Herbie and Cutie Singleton, or Little Alfie and Miss Beulah Beauregard.

Nathan Detroit and his fiancée, Miss Adelaide, are a "collection, arrangement, and modification" of existing materials, individually and in tandem. Detroit is the empty vessel of a crap game proprietor who is imbued with the social trappings of a long-engaged horse bettor. Adelaide is an amalgam of two perennially engaged fiancées, each of whom are engaged to a horse bettor. Nathan and Adelaide's engagement serves as an essential quality of their arrangement. By recognizing their origins in multiple Runyon stories, a fluid text reading of Nathan and Adelaide offers us a rich context for engaging with a number of passages in *Guys & Dolls*. We will examine three excerpts.

The musical opens with the number "Fugue for Tinhorns," a song about horse betting. The song begins with a paraphrase of "First Call," a bugle tune also referred to as "Call to the Post," which signals the beginning of the post parade, when horses walk from the paddock to the starting gate. After this introductory call, Nicely-Nicely Johnson, Benny, and Rusty Charlie sing

a vocal fugue littered with horse betting jargon such as "can do," "has chance," "big threat," "likes mud," "needs race," and "shows class." A song about horse racing at the beginning of a show that culminates in a crap game may seem a bit odd at first.[304] Cy Feuer agrees:

> We still had to find a spot for the horseplayers. We were unable to find a comfortable home for 'The Fugue for Tinhorns,'[sic] that amazing contrapuntal ode to horseplayers.
>
> Someone argued that it had no business being in the show since *Guys & Dolls* was a musical about crapshooters, and 'Fugue for Tinhorns' was about the ponies. On the other hand, there was that magnificent song.
>
> No one in his right mind would give that away. We jammed it into the second act, we plugged it back into the first act, but no matter where we put it, it stuck out.

Feuer relates that Ernie Martin suggested that they open the show with "Fugue"; since nobody would know whether the show was about horseplayers or crapshooters, they could think that it was just about gamblers. He concludes:

> [No] one has ever questioned this fundamental logical inconsistency—a show that opens with a song about horseplayers, then drops the idea and spends the rest of the performance playing craps.[305]

While it is possible that Feuer's account is accurate, and "Fugue for Tinhorns" appears coincidentally in proximity to Nathan Detroit, a fluid text reading reveals further intertextual connections between Detroit and Hot Horse Herbie, the horse-bettor from Runyon's "Pick the

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[304] Feuer, *I Got the Show*, 111. Feuer writes that Loesser wrote "Fugue for Tinhorns" "without knowing a thing about the show, the story…anything…. Frank called it 'A Fugue for Tinhorns,' but it would later come to be titled, 'Can Do.'" Feuer saying that "Fugue for Tinhorns" later came to be titled "Can Do" strains his credibility. It's possible that the production team colloquially called it that, as evidenced by Kaufman's notes regarding "Three Cornered Tune." The song was never published or advertised—to this author's knowledge—as "Can Do."
[305] Feuer, *I Got the Show*, 145-146.

Winner," since in Runyon's other three stories—"Broadway Complex," "The Idyll of Miss Sarah Brown," and "Blood Pressure"—Detroit merely runs a crap game.

The second excerpt(s) that connect Nathan Detroit and Hot Horse Herbie do so through a shared narrative of their fiancée's desires for a stability that they are unwilling (or unable) to provide. From "Pick the Winner":

> It seems that the past couple of years Miss Cutie Singleton is taking to looking longingly at the little houses in towns they pass through going from one track to another, and especially at the little white houses with green shutters and yards and vines all around and about, and saying it must be nice to be able to live in such places instead of out of a suitcase.

In act 2, scene 4, of *Guys & Dolls*, after an argument, Nathan implores, "Adelaide, baby! Don't ever do that again! I can't stand it. We'll get married. We'll have a home, a little white house with a green fence—just like the Whitney colors."

A final excerpt is drawn from "Adelaide's Lament," which explores the psychosomatic symptoms Adelaide experiences resulting from being an "unmarried female." Considering Adelaide's protracted engagement to Nathan as a *redactive adaptation* of the engagement of Cutie Singleton and Hot Horse Herbie, we find a richer context for lyrics in verse 2 which, after "stalling and stalling and stalling the wedding trip," find the would-be bride's hopes of a wedding dashed at—of all places—a racetrack.

> When she gets on the train to Niagara, and she can hear church bells chime
> The compartment is air-conditioned, and the mood sublime
> Then they get off at Saratoga, for the fourteenth time
> A person… can develop La grippe,
> La grippe,
> La post nasal drip…
> With the wheezes, and the sneezes.
> And a sinus that's really a pip
> From a lack of community property and a feeling she's getting too old

A person… can develop a bad, bad *cold*.

What began as an examination of intellectual property has taken us through a handful of characters and characterizations from multiple Runyon stories. These characterizations have migrated into the empty vessel of the "flat" character of Nathan Detroit, whose previous iterations were one-dimensional and served "merely as an element of setting." Since a key component of Nathan Detroit's characterization in *Guys & Dolls* includes his fiancé, Miss Adelaide, we have also seen a comigration of characteristics from other Runyon properties into her *Guys & Dolls* characterization. This "collection, arrangement, and modification" of existing Runyon materials employs the mechanism of redactive adaptation. Reading multiple versions of Runyon's properties against *Guys & Dolls* assists us in identifying fluid text moments that then help us recognize horse racing references in a story about dice players.

# Conclusion

## Closing

We began our path through *Guys & Dolls* by gathering primary sources and firsthand testimonies, and then assembling them into a narrative that described the show's development—from its earliest sources in the short stories of Damon Runyon and adaptation and transformation into *Guys & Dolls* the Broadway musical, to its subsequent adaptation as a motion picture. Rather than examining *Guys & Dolls* as a closed work through a series of musical analyses (harmonic, motivic, etc.), we examined broad changes such as song inclusion, placement, and substitution, and script alterations. In exchange for forgoing these musical analyses, we have instead explored the relationships among the source materials and versions of *Guys & Dolls*, affording what Linda Hutcheon describes as "[an] enriching, palimpsestic doubleness," and thereby experiencing an adaptation *as* an adaptation, even though our adaptations are editions.[306]

We saw that the authorial process is not an author's enterprise alone. Adapting affords a different author an opportunity to shape, and thereby edit, a previous author's work. In this process we saw Damon Runyon's storyworld expanded by the participation of other authors. As each wrote their text, the work—something bigger than any singular text—took shape. In the constellation of texts that form the work *Guys & Dolls*, there are the short stories of Runyon—even those stories whose contributions were nominal—Feuer and Martin et al.'s musical, its

[306] Hutcheon, *Adaptation*, 120.

motion picture adaptation, and countless drafts and revisions. The constellation of *Guys & Dolls*, however, may include more than just those sources we have discussed. For example, countless revivals of *Guys & Dolls*, and Michael Kidd's choreography, which was retained in the motion picture version, may become part of this constellation, as might Alvin Colt's costumes and Jo Mielziner's set.[307]

We saw the world of *Guys & Dolls* built through the process of *redactive adaptation*—the denizens of Runyonland brought from far and wide, and set into the pages of Feuer and Martin's musical. Through a close, comparative reading of source materials against one another, we witnessed the assembly of Nathan Detroit and Miss Adelaide from pieces discovered in the pages of Runyon—Nathan Detroit brought into being outside the walls of the crap game by virtue of Adelaide's presence. We also witnessed a bible-quoting gambler's transformation, from a guy who was smitten with a mission worker and willing to wager his soul to prove it, to a lothario who treats women as interchangeable. Along similar lines, we explored the transformation of a mission worker, from a crusader with strong knowledge of scripture and a willingness to enter the proverbial lion's den, to someone meek, inept, and unsure of herself, who needs someone to save her. With these transformations in mind, one might wonder how *Guys & Dolls* would have unfolded if it had cleaved more closely to "The Idyll of Miss Sarah Brown." Perhaps Sky Masterson, for instance, could have sung "Luck Be a Lady" at the crap game and lost, and Sarah Brown could have saved <u>him</u>.

[307] Though I have argued that the choreography, costumes, and sets are beyond the purview of the present project, there is no reason that they might not be included under a broader fluid text umbrella. For example, a costumer might read the textual history of the costumes used in *Guys & Dolls*.

**Future Prospects**

Our use of the fluid text and its attendant connections to editorial and adaptation theories leaves open many opportunities for future projects, not the least of which is further exploration of *Guys & Dolls*. A 1976 Motown production with a Disco and R&B style could certainly be incorporated within the fluid text constellation, as would a comparative reading of history's Adelaides—though Vivian Blaine is such a tough act to follow—with each version of Adelaide being a revision.

Ready prospects for consideration outside the world of Runyonland include nearly any musical adaptation. Some adaptations, however, carry a special appeal, particularly those that have been transmediated. Disney's *Lion King* began as an animated feature film (1994) before it was adapted for the stage (1997) and then readapted as a computer-animated feature film(2019) with songs variously added and removed. *Into the Woods*, based on the Grimm Brothers' fairy tales, was written as a stage musical (1985) and later adapted as a feature film (2014). Most intriguing is Puccini's *La bohème* (1896), which is based on Henri Murger's *Scènes de la vie de bohème* (1851). Murger's work was originally published as a series of more than twenty short stories in *La Corsaire*, a literary magazine, and then successfully adapted for the stage by Théodore Barrière (a playwright) and Murger as co-authors. The stories were then collected, appended with two additional chapters, and published as a novel (early 1851, with an additional story added in a subsequent edition later that year), before being adapted by Puccini. *La bohème* was later adapted by Jonathan Larson for the Broadway musical *Rent* (1996), which was then adapted into a motion picture (2005).[308] One wonders: Is *Rent* solely an adaptation of *La*

[308] Ian Nisbet, "Transposition in Jonathan Larson's *Rent*," *Studies in Musical Theatre* 5, no. 3 (2011): 225–44. Nisbet argues that while Larson claims to have only cited Murger's text and

*bohème*, or are *La bohème* and *Rent* both fluid text iterations of *Scènes de la vie de bohème*? If the latter, is the iteration of *Scènes de la vie de bohème* the novel or the stage adaptation? Where is the center of *this* constellation?

**The Form of the Fluid Text**

While I clarified early on that this dissertation does not aim to produce a critical edition of *Guys & Dolls*, but instead view the work as a fluid text, such a reading can offer more. The fluid text can, and, indeed, does point the way toward a critical edition. This critical edition, however, would not be a codex-based critical edition that one might find on a university music library's shelf. Rather, it would be a fluid-text edition based on the guidelines offered by John Bryant. Bryant writes that each fluid text is unique, and that "[e]ach literary work will necessarily dictate the peculiar features of its fluid-text edition."[309] As Bryant sees it, "[f]luid-text editions are a synergy of book and screen [and] can best be realized, perhaps *only* realized, through the extraordinary hypertextual features of the electronic medium… Fluid-text editions should attempt to create a dynamic coupling of book and computer screen."[310]

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Puccini's libretto (but not his music) while writing *Rent*, "the setting, storyline, characters, and issues are almost identical."

[309] Bryant, *Fluid Text*, 143.

[310] Ibid., 145. Examples of fluid-text editions in scholarship can be found at the Melville Electronic Library–A Critical Archive: https://melville.electroniclibrary.org. To date, the site offers three model fluid-text editions—*Moby Dick*, *Billy Budd*, and *Battle-Pieces*. Aside from the fluid-text edition of *Moby Dick*, the site also includes portions of Ray Bradbury's screenplay and Stephen B. Grimes's storyboards for the 1956 John C. Huston motion-picture adaptation (adaptive revision) of the story, under the "Projects" button. Though the *Moby Dick* project currently focuses on the John Huston version, it intends to cite the collaborative efforts of "screenwriters, directors, and producers; studio officials, distributors, and censors; art and costume designers; lighting, camera, and sound crews, and cast [, and references materials such as] editions of the novel annotated by the production crew, sequential, sometimes daily requires and versions of the screenplay, storyboards, internal memos, marketing releases, posters, contracts, and so on." Here one might further suggest that several other adaptive revisions (and their attendant texts) could be examined in tandem with the Melville and Huston texts.

As this dynamic coupling of book and computer screen is still in its nascent stages, and since fluid-text studies have heretofore been primarily concerned with literary works in the print medium (with a notable exception being the film adaptation of *Moby Dick*), the mechanism, interface, and the aesthetics for how a fluid-text edition of *Guys & Dolls*, any of the above-mentioned works, or any other musical work for stage (including opera) is largely to be determined. *Guys & Dolls*, for example, might present video recordings of a performance of the stage version (including archive recordings of complete performances or fragments, and any of the numerous revivals) that run in parallel with hypertextually-linked copies of the libretto and musical score (piano-vocal and/or orchestral). The libretto and score may likewise be hypertextually linked to script drafts and song sketches, as well as publicity materials and other ephemera. Likewise, absent archival recordings, numbers from various revivals' cast recordings could also be hyperlinked at the appropriate places. The film version and its attendant hypertextual links could run parallel to the stage version with a hypertextually-linked copy of the screenplay, storyboards (if they exist), and motion-picture score, including both diegetic and non-diegetic music. Of course, all of these texts would be tied to the short stories of Runyon, perhaps themselves hyperlinked to digital scans of their origins in the pages of *Collier's*, *Harper's*, and the like.

As Bryant proposes, "[t]he fluid text is a fact, not a theory [and] a fluid text is any [work] that exists in more than one version."[311] *Guy & Dolls* exists in at least two versions (stage and film), and whether we re-see or re-engage either or both, the fluid text experience opens up, alters the context of, and enriches our engagement with that version.

[311] Bryant, *Fluid Text*, 1.

# Appendices

## Appendix 1: "Shango"

The materials for "Shango" were consulted at the New York Public Library for the Performing Arts at Lincoln Center in June 2017 under call number JPB 84-3, folder 9. A contents list found inside the JPB 84-3 container refers to the pencil draft of the notated sheet music as an "arranger's (?) manuscript" (question mark in the original). This work was registered for copyright as an unpublished song on August 14, 1950.[312]

"Shango" exists as two copies of the same typed lyrics—one on plain typing paper with "(Incomplete)" typed below the title, and another on Frank Loesser's personal stationery with "(Incomplete)" scratched out in pencil—and a pencil draft of notated sheet music, *sans* lyrics, in the hand of Gerry Dolin. The sheet music is labeled "FIRST BASIC" in the upper-left corner, "Dolin – 4-26-50" in the lower-right corner, and the bottom-center of the first page is labeled "Copyright- Susan Publications -Inc."

The following transcription replicates—as closely as possible—the information included on the pencil draft, including staff and system layout (with the exception of the transcription and copyist's credits). The original pagination has been removed and measure numbers have been added. All score information—rests, ties, stemming, simile marks, etc.—have been retained. Lyrics from the lyric sheet(s) have been added to the melody found on the upper staff of the draft following a best-guess practice, even though it seems likely that the lyrics that accompany mm. 69–76 should accompany the melody in mm. 85–96.

[312] Frank Loesser, Robert Kimball, and Steve Nelson, *The Complete Lyrics of Frank Loesser* (New York: Knopf, 2003), 166.

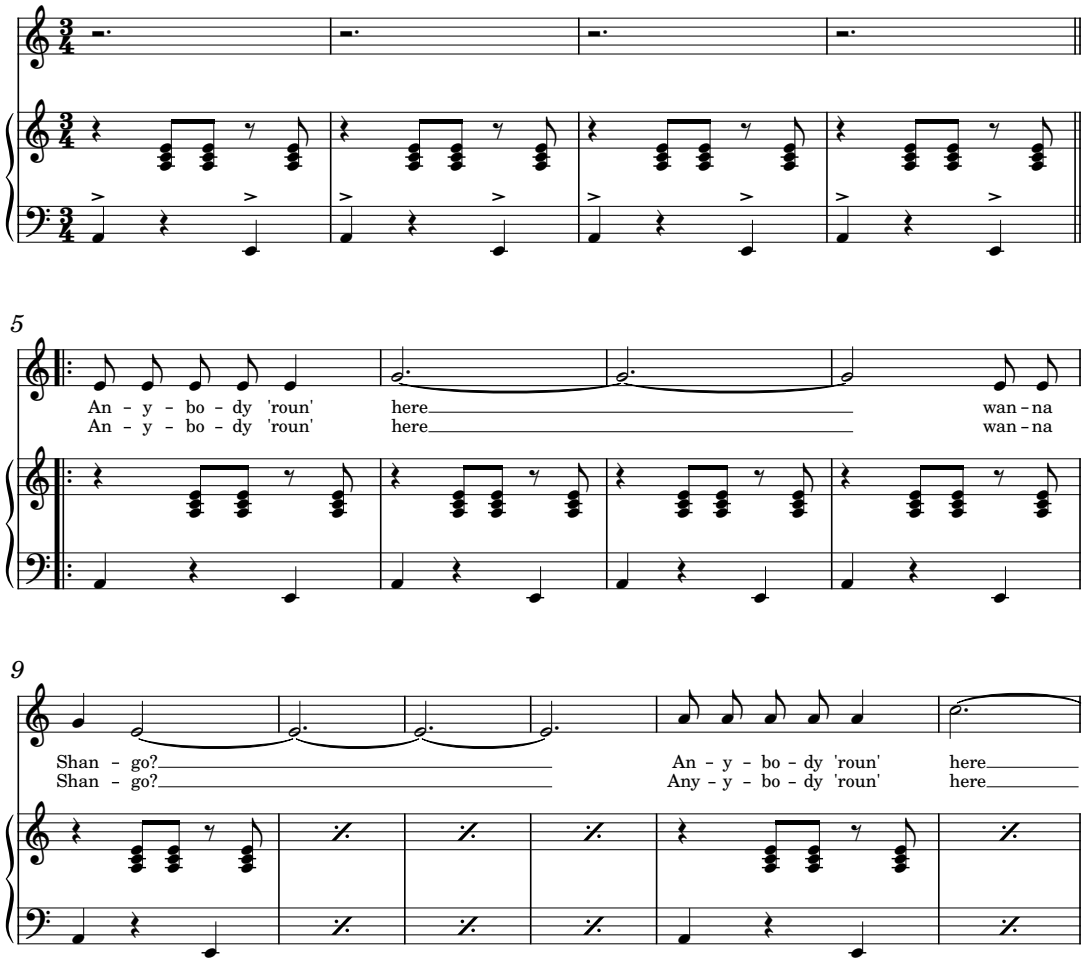
FIRST BASIC

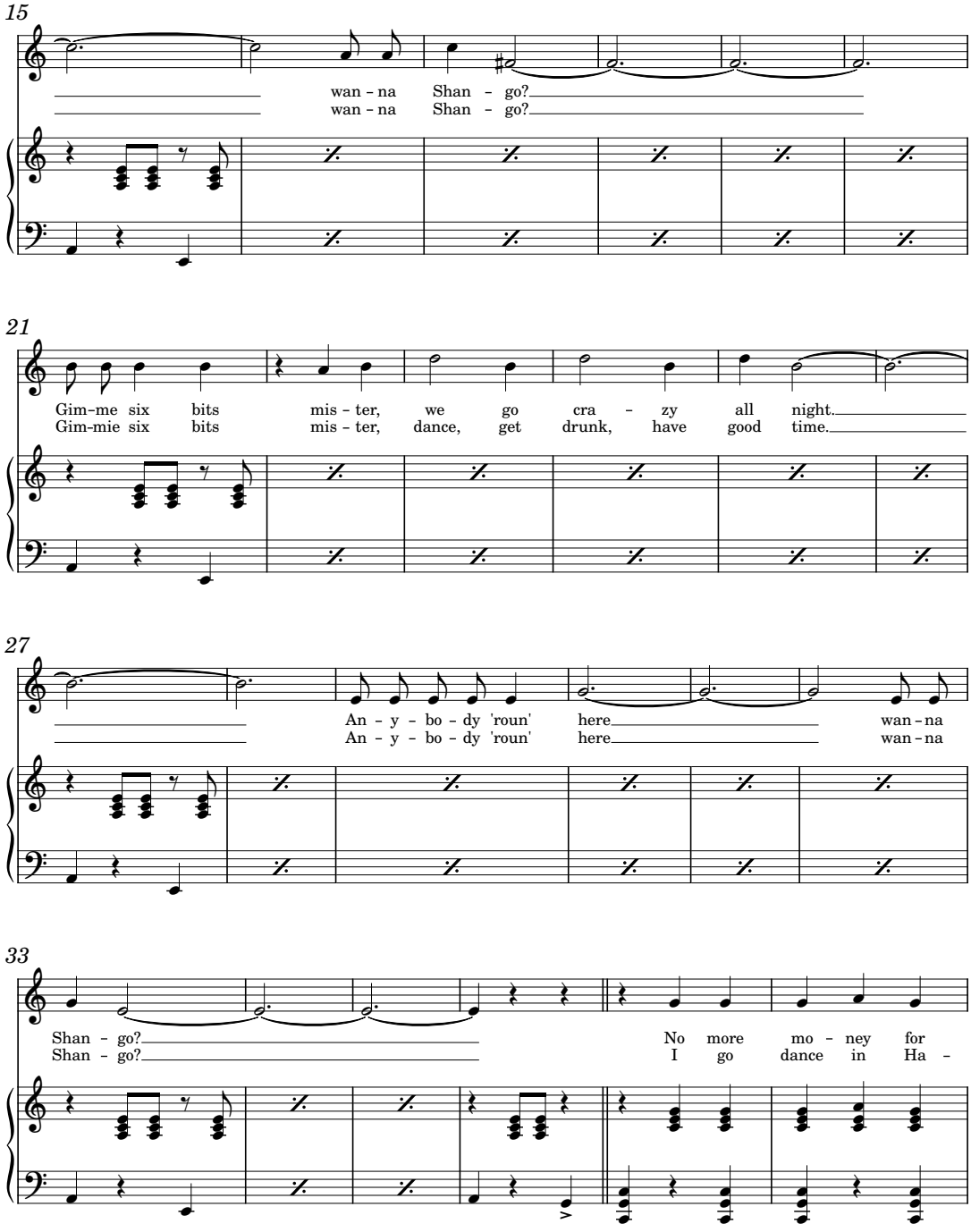
# Shango

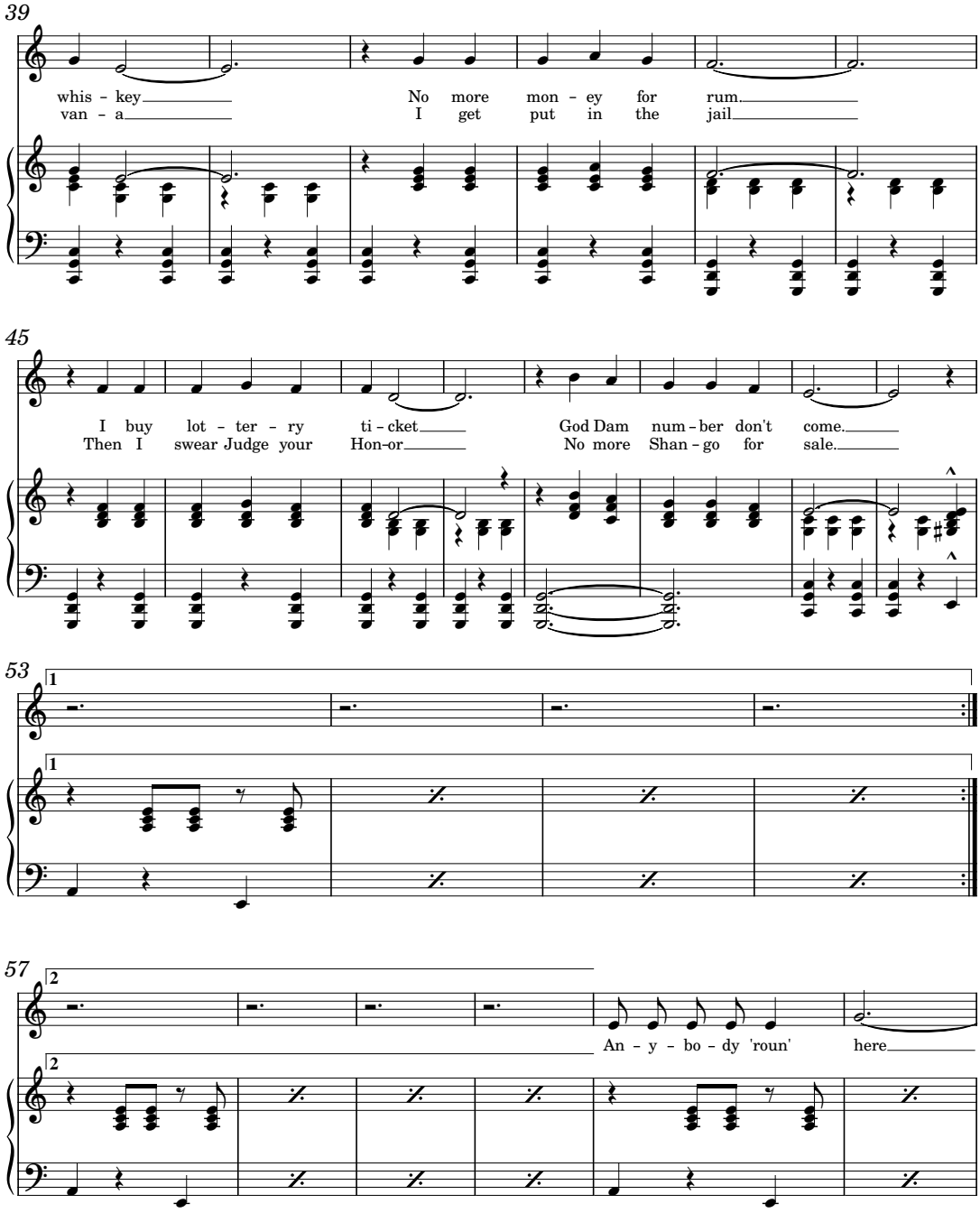
## (Guys and Dolls)

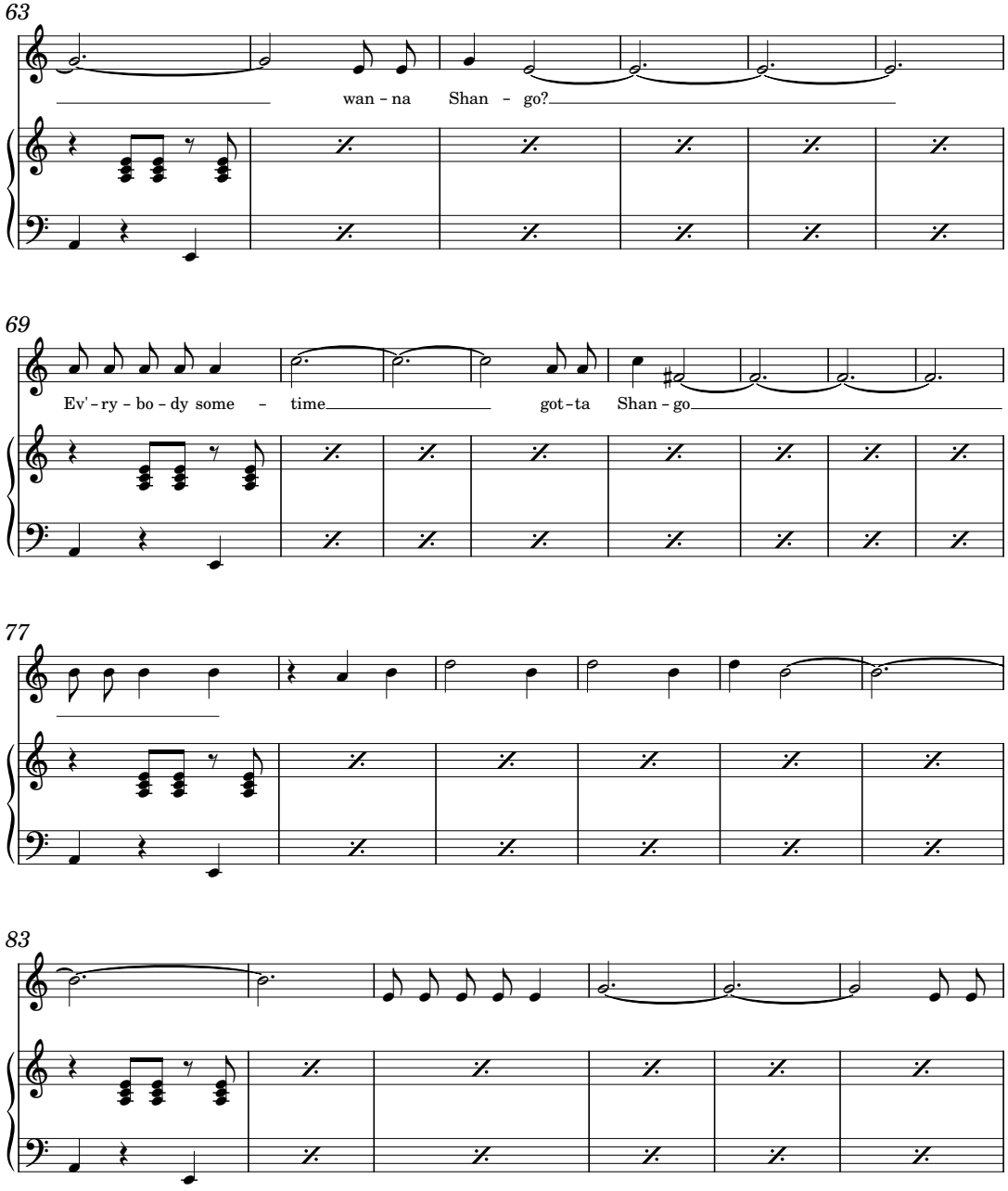
Transcribed, with lyrics added, by
John Edwartowski (from a fair copy
prepared by Gerry Dolin on April 26, 1950,
and a lyric sheet by Frank Loesser)

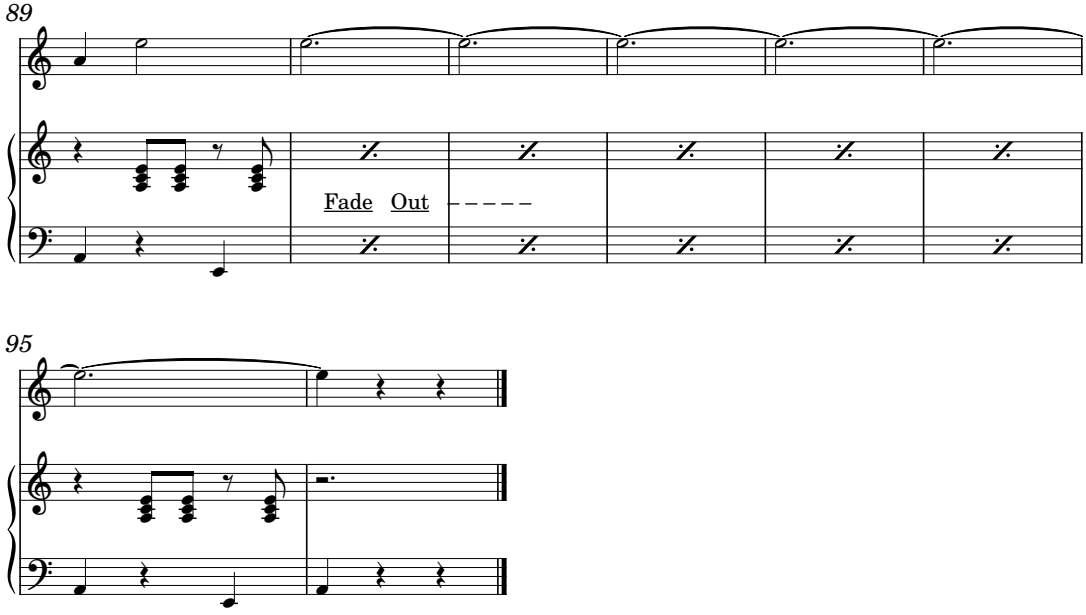
By Frank Loesser




15
wan - na Shan - go?
wan - na Shan - go?
21
Gim-me six bits mis - ter, we go cra - zy all night.
Gim-mie six bits mis - ter, dance, get drunk, have good time.
27
An - y - bo - dy 'roun' here wan - na
An - y - bo - dy 'roun' here wan - na
33
Shan - go?
Shan - go?
No more mo - ney for
I go dance in Ha -


39
whis - key
van - a
No more mon - ey for rum.
I get put in the jail
45
I buy lot - ter - ry ti - cket
Then I swear Judge your Hon-or
God Dam num - ber don't come.
No more Shan - go for sale.
53
1
1
57
2
2
An - y - bo - dy 'roun' here


63
wan - na Shan - go?
69
Ev' - ry - bo - dy some - time got - ta Shan - go
77
83


89
Fade Out


95

## Appendix 2: "Nathan's Problem"

The materials for "Nathan's Problem" were consulted at the New York Public Library for the Performing Arts at Lincoln Center in June 2017 under call number JPB 84-3, folder 6. A contents list found inside the JPB 84-3 container refers to it as a "pencil draft of [the] vocal line." Kimball and Nelson describe it as follows: "Unfinished lyric. Intended for Nathan Detroit. No music known to exist."[313]

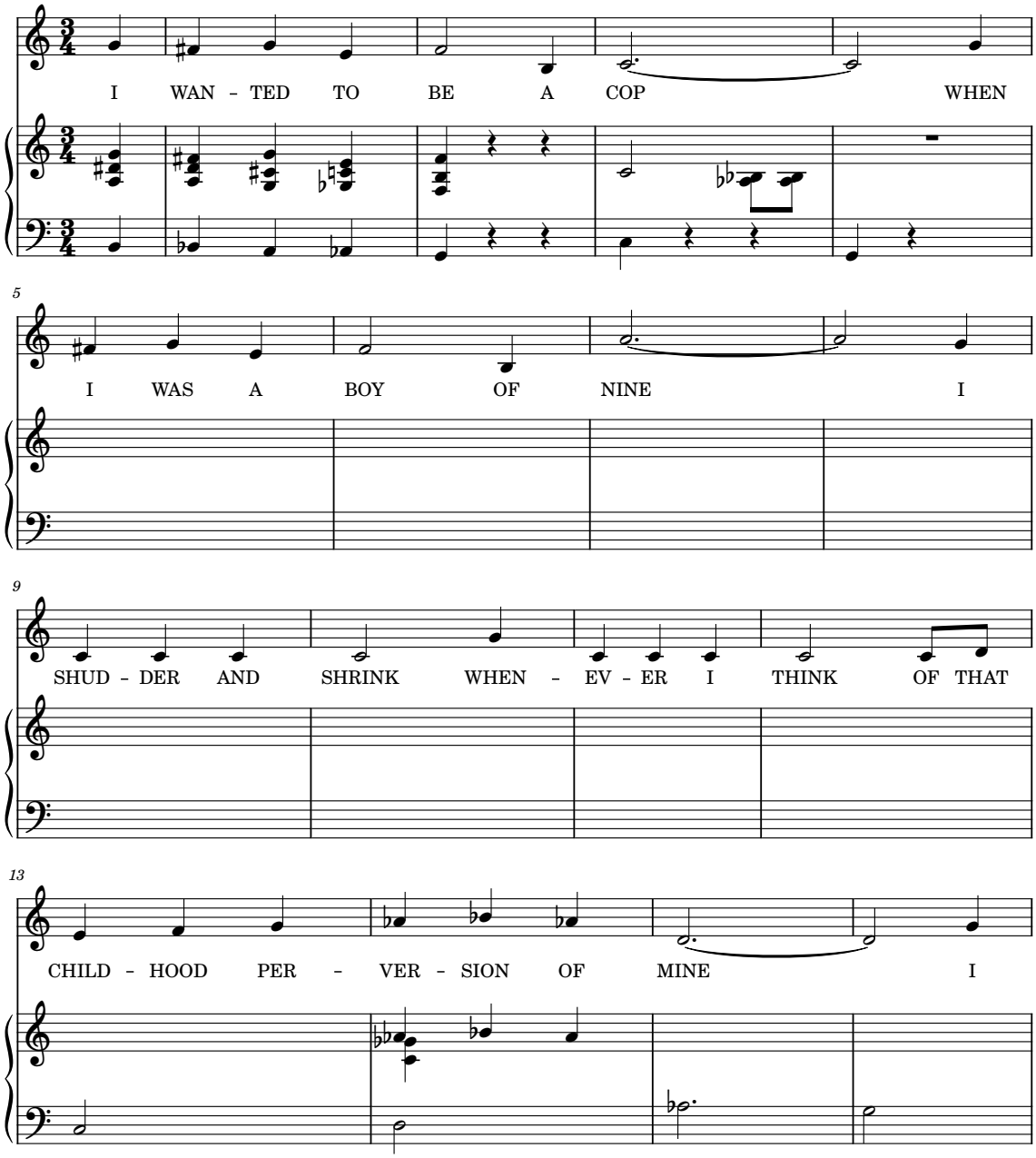
The following transcription replicates—as closely as possible—the information included on the pencil draft including staff and system layout. Transcription, source, and music and lyric credits have been added above the first system, and the title, which was the only material located on the first page—at the top center—has been centered above the first system. The original pagination has been removed and measure numbers have been added. All score information—rests, ties, stemming, chord symbols, empty measures, etc.—have been retained. Lyrics have been included in all caps, as in the sketch.

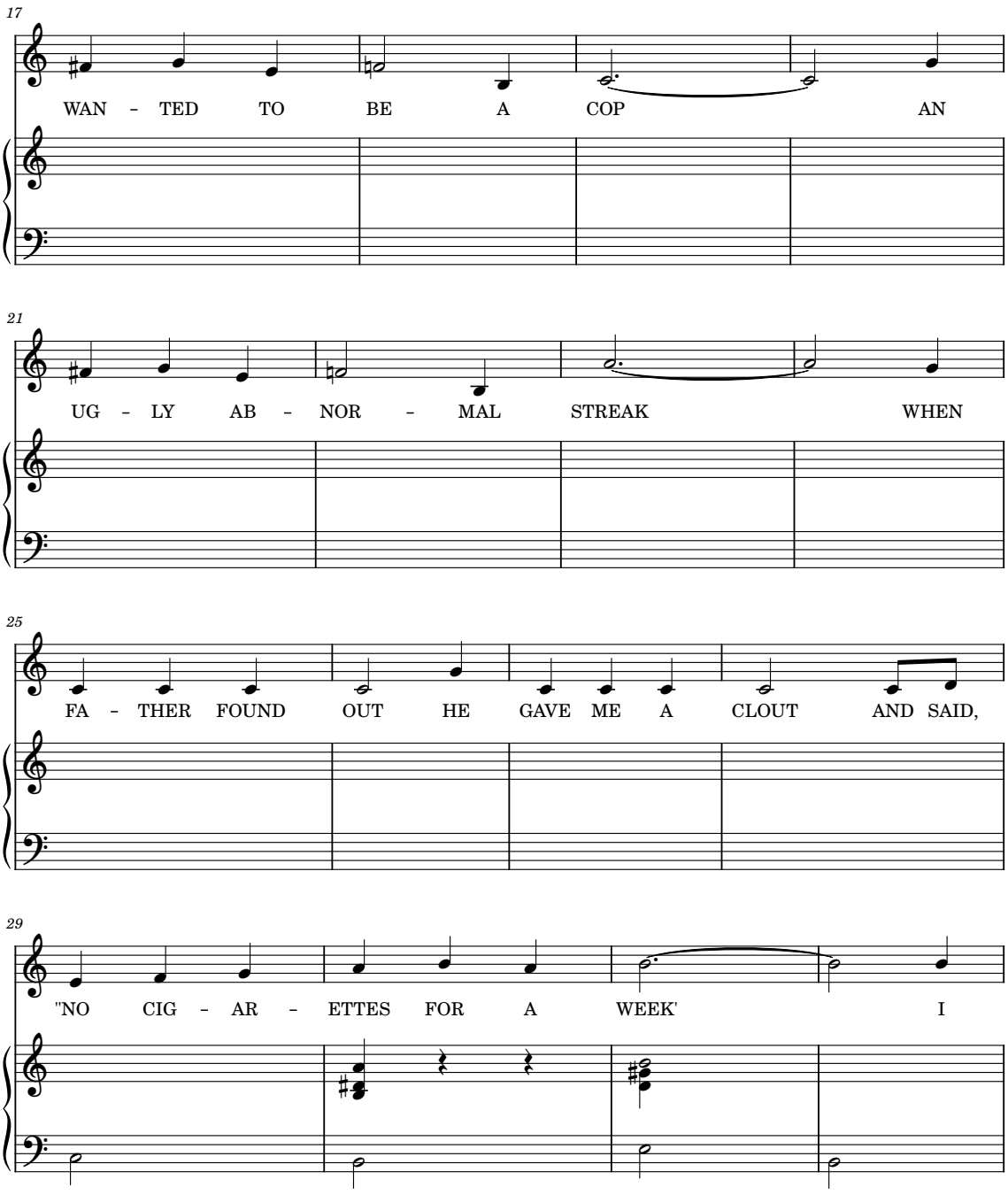
[313] Frank Loesser, Robert Kimball, and Steve Nelson, *The Complete Lyrics of Frank Loesser* (New York: Knopf, 2003), 167.

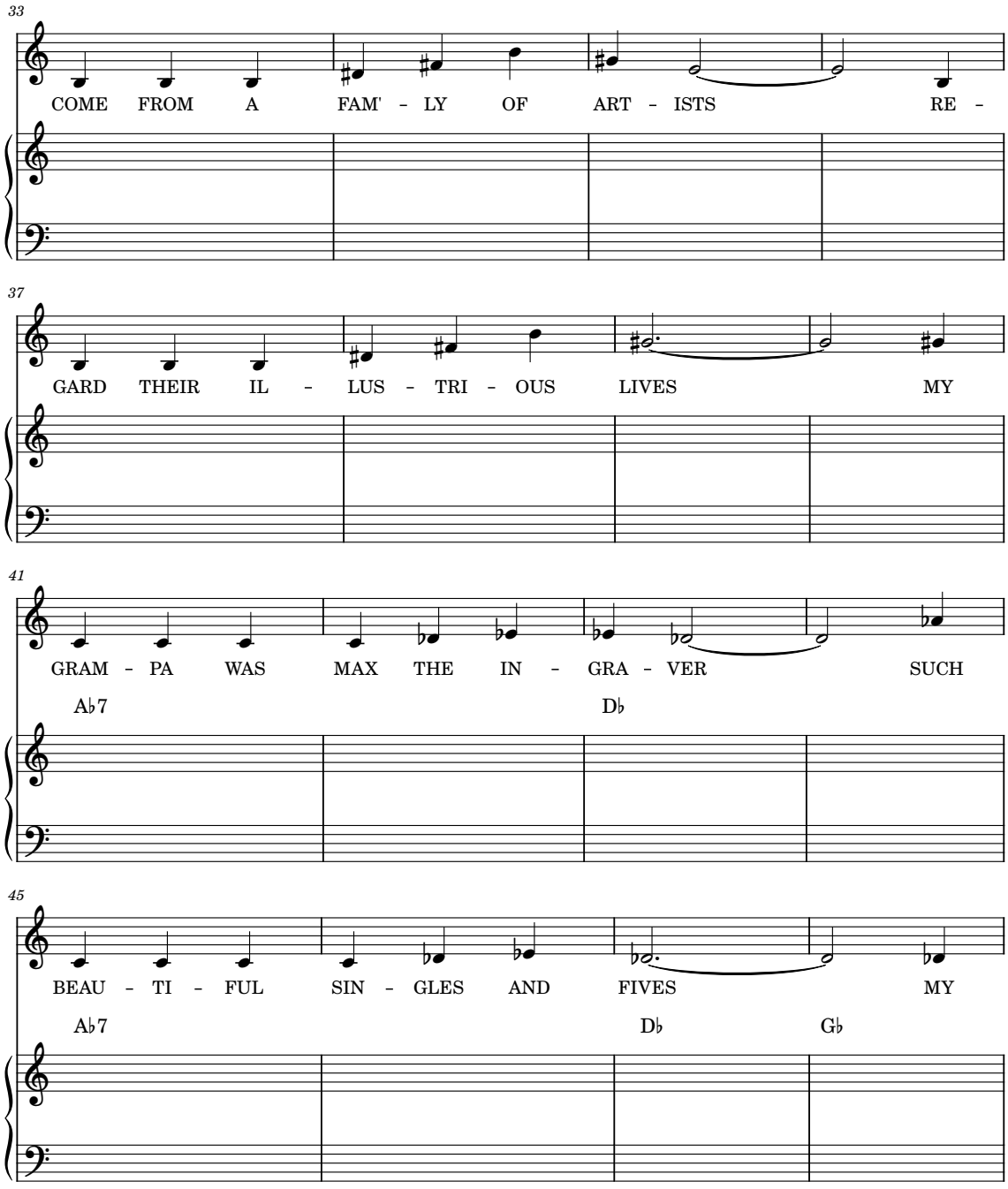
Transcribed by
John Edwartowski
from a handwritten
sketch by Frank Loesser

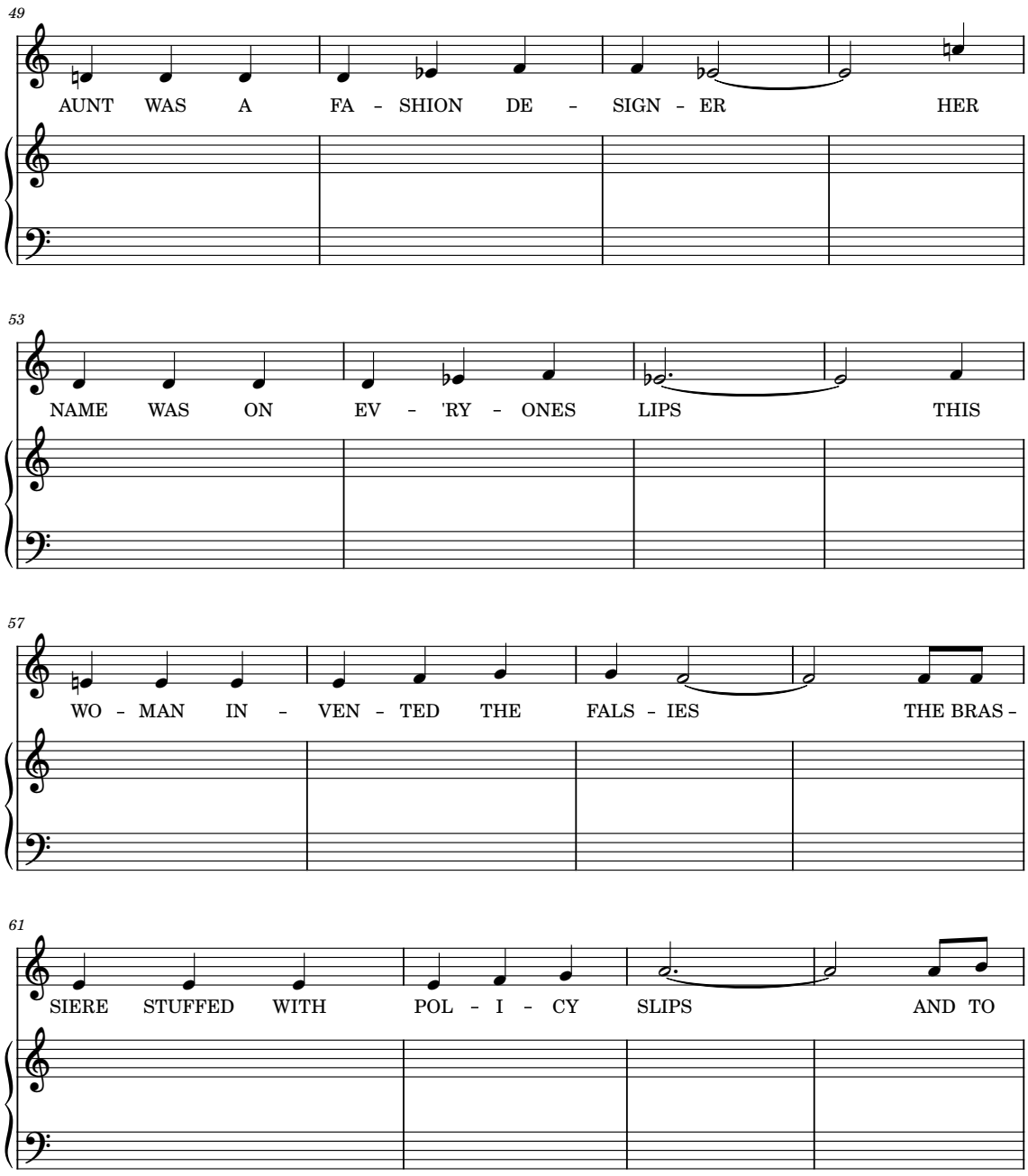
# Nathan's Problem

Music and Lyrics by
Frank Loesser




17
WAN - TED TO BE A COP AN
21
UG - LY AB - NOR - MAL STREAK WHEN
25
FA - THER FOUND OUT HE GAVE ME A CLOUT AND SAID,
29
"NO CIG - AR - ETTES FOR A WEEK' I


33
COME FROM A FAM' - LY OF ART - ISTS RE -
37
GARD THEIR IL - LUS - TRI - OUS LIVES MY
41
GRAM - PA WAS MAX THE IN - GRA - VER SUCH
A♭7
D♭
45
BEAU - TI - FUL SIN - GLES AND FIVES MY
A♭7
D♭
G♭


49
AUNT WAS A FA - SHION DE - SIGN - ER HER
53
NAME WAS ON EV - 'RY - ONES LIPS THIS
57
WO - MAN IN - VEN - TED THE FALS - IES THE BRAS -
61
SIERE STUFFED WITH POL - I - CY SLIPS AND TO

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