

1 Introduction

In the 2015 Broadway musical *Something Rotten!* the protagonist, Nick Bottom, desperately seeks to know what the future of Western theater will be so that he can beat his rival, William Shakespeare, in creating the next theatrical success in London of the 1590s. Bottom looks to Thomas Nostradamus, supposed nephew of the legendary sixteenth-century seer, who informs him that theater history will go through extraordinary transformations with the creation of musicals. Nostradamus explains that musicals “appear to be a play where the dialogue stops, and the plot is conveyed through songs.”¹ Among his predictions, he foresees that some musicals will be sung from beginning to end and explains how these musicals will work: “There’s no talking and they often stay on one note for a very long time so that when they change to a different note, you notice. And it’s supposed to create a dramatic effect. But mostly you just sit there asking yourself, ‘why aren’t they talking?’”² Laughter ensues as Nostradamus himself changes the note of the patter when he sings about the audience noticing the change.

In the American musical theater, the most typical form of structuring musicals has been the book musical, in which songs interrupt spoken dialogue and provide additional means to depict the characters and dramatic situations. The book musical started achieving supremacy in the 1940s, especially in the works of Rodgers and Hammerstein, Lerner and Loewe, and Kurt Weill. Other forms of musical theater were still popular in that decade, such as revues and operettas, but such emphasis on enhancing the book of musical comedies, as Kim Kowalke writes, “nurtured a new generation of talent who ‘integrated’ in their own versatile performances the particular combination of acting, dancing, and singing that made the American musical theater so distinctive from other forms of lyric drama.”³ Between the 1940s and the 1970s, creators of book musicals devised different ways to explore the partnership and tensions between narrative and musical performances, such as the musical play and the concept musical, while simultaneously renovating, or perhaps reinventing, musical comedy.⁴ In any case,

¹ Wayne Kirkpatrick, Karey Kirkpatrick, John O’Farrell, Brian d’Arcy James, John Cariani, Heidi Blickenstaff, Brad Oscar, Kate Reinders, Brooks Ashmanskas, Peter Bartlett, and Christian Borle, *Something Rotten!: A Very New Musical; Original Broadway Cast Recording*, 1 audio disc (59:11): digital (New York: Ghostlight Records, 2015), 10.

² Kirkpatrick et al., *Something Rotten!* 10.

³ Kim H. Kowalke, “Theorizing the Golden Age Musical: Genre, Structure, Syntax,” in *A Music-Theoretical Matrix: Essays in Honor of Allen Forte (Part V)*, ed. David Carson Berry, *Gamut* 6, no. 2 (2013): 137.

⁴ Larry Stempel explains how some musicals after 1940 can be categorized as musical plays (such as *Oklahoma!* and *My Fair Lady*), while others prolonged the life of musical comedy (such as *Finian’s Rainbow* and *The Pajama Game*). Stempel also argues for the 1940s as a watershed decade in the development of the American musical (Larry Stempel, *Showtime: A History of the*

the book musical has always presented a conspicuous alternation of songs and spoken dialogue. As composer Jerry Herman once put it, “It is this rollercoaster between dialogue and song, this homogenization of the spoken and the sung word, that makes a career in the theater so fascinating.”⁵

In the last quarter of the twentieth century, another form of structuring musicals – the one that is sung from beginning to end – came to prominence, especially with the arrival of several examples from London such as *Evita* (1979), *Cats* (1983), and *Miss Saigon* (1991).⁶ Sung-through musicals distance themselves from the book musical by changing the balance between talking and singing, creating musicals in which the entire script – including monologues, conversations, turning points, and asides – is sung. This does not mean that sung-through musicals lack a book. They do feature a dramatic arc that shows how, where, and when a character goes from one situation to another. The difference lies in the structure of the book: instead of alternating between spoken dialogue and song, the book of a sung-through musical depends on a sequence of songs and continuous music that creates and develops dramatic action.

Starting in the 1970s and 1980s, the sung-through format started being used in musicals with a variety of techniques that challenged the conventions of the book musical. Creative teams (composers, lyricists, and book writers) employed specific procedures and compositional techniques through which music establishes characterization and expression when very little or nothing is spoken. Some sung-through musicals use songs alone to create and organize dramaturgy; others unevenly alternate between sung dialogue and a few spoken passages with underscoring, which erase the boundaries of dialogue and song and assign particular functions to the few spoken passages. These latter ones weave the music into the script in a way that, as critic Ben Brantley described in his review of *Fun Home*, “You’ll find yourself hard pressed to recall what exactly was said and what was sung.”⁷ Scholarship on British sung-through musicals has demonstrated how some works fit the aesthetics of rock musicals (*Jesus Christ Superstar* [1971]), others the megamusical (*The Phantom of the Opera* [1986]) and *Les*

Broadway Musical Theater [New York: W. W. Norton, 2010], 293–311 and 419–58). Kim Kowalke discusses the differences among “subtypes of the book musical” after 1940 (Kim H. Kowalke, “Theorizing the Golden Age Musical,” 159–67). For a definition of the concept musical, see Bruce McClung, *Lady in the Dark: Biography of a Musical* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 154–66.

⁵ Jerry Herman, “The American Musical: Still Glowin’, Stil Crowin’, Still Goin’ Strong,” in *Playwrights, Lyricists, Composers on Theater*, ed. Otis L. Guernsey, Jr. (New York: Dodd, Mead & Co., 1974), 129.

⁶ These years refer to these musicals’ Broadway openings.

⁷ Ben Brantley, “‘Fun Home’ at the Circle in the Square Theater,” *New York Times*, April 19, 2015.

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Misérables [1987]), while some others do not fit any particular subcategory (*Aspects of Love* [1990]), revealing this as a diverse group of musicals that were created using different compositional devices and dramaturgical structures.⁸ Creators of musicals, audiences, and scholars like to create genres (or subgenres) based on common elements (e.g., musical comedy, revue, rock musical, jukebox musical) in an effort to discern a huge number of approaches that fall under the category “musical theatre.” While the works we have placed in these categories share many features, they also differ from each other in significant ways. A Gershwin musical comedy differs from one by Cole Porter or Rodgers and Hart. This Element shows that this is also the case with the sung-through musical, a form of structuring music and lyrics to which different creators add variations and nuances that invite audiences to experience musical theater in innovative ways.

Such variety reveals that there is no single aesthetic for this form of musical theater but rather the sung-through musical embraces a range of structures that question the limits between singing and speaking. Not only did these structural alterations blur the differences between what is spoken and what is sung, but they also effaced the lines between song lyrics and the book of a musical, since these two can now be equaled. This Element is about American musicals that have little or no speech, and it explores some of the structures and processes through which they were created, thus demonstrating such variety within the sung-through musical. The selected musicals discussed here have been developed through devised or collaborative processes and small-scale early productions since the 1980s. Identifying their compositional methods and how the creators constructed the dramaturgy of their sung-through scores reveals how musical theater developed and reinvented itself toward and into the twenty-first century, challenging and repurposing some of its own conventions.

The methodology in this Element mirrors such diversity. Arguments, observations, and conclusions are drawn from musical and dramatic analyses of the selected musicals and information on the creative collaborative processes and reception. My research revealed manifold approaches to constructing and structuring sung-through musicals, and consequently, the varying levels of musicological and dramaturgical analysis in the sections are conspicuous. Some sections are more analytical with detailed information about the recurrence of musical themes, while others will focus more on creative process and collaboration. Such

⁸ These years refer to these musicals' Broadway openings. For more on British sung-through musicals, see John Snelson, *Andrew Lloyd Webber* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004), Jessica Sternfeld, *The Megamusical* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2006), and Bradley Rogers, *The Song Is You: Musical Theatre and the Politics of Bursting into Song and Dance* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 2020), 180–99.

focus on analysis, process, or both offers different models for investigating this repertoire. As new musicals and approaches to the sung-through format are introduced, each section functions as a song in a song cycle, and when considered together, they expose the larger fabric in which they exist.⁹

Thus, each section explores a different dimension and particular elements of sung-through musicals from 1980 to the late 2010s. This Element is a study on aesthetics, not a historical survey of the sung-through musical, which explains why some works from that time period are not included. However, the musicals discussed here produce what Scott McMillin calls “a historical trajectory underpinning the argument,” a “historical silhouette”¹⁰ that evinces the sung-through musical’s place in late twentieth-century and early twenty-first-century musical theater, as they played on and off Broadway concurrently with many book musicals, including subcategories thereof, such as revivals and jukebox musicals.

More than an aesthetic change, the sung-through musical became emblematic and marked the musical theater experience of a generation. In a 2020 interview, Neil Patrick Harris was asked about the moment when he realized that he wanted to be an actor, singer, and dancer. He answered with the story of when he saw *Les Misérables* for the first time.¹¹ If Rodgers and Hammerstein, Lerner and Lowe, Jerome Robbins, Bob Fosse, Stephen Sondheim, and Michael Bennett introduced many young fans and performers to the world of musical theater in previous decades, sung-through musicals after 1980, such as *Les Misérables*, *Evita*, *Falsettos*, *Fun Home*, and *Hamilton*, to name a few, had an impact on the creation and formation of new musical theater audiences and performers. Sondheim confirmed this shift in a 2011 interview: “If you’re talking about the musical in which there’s speech and song, speech and song, it didn’t die so much as become subsumed by the success of the sung-through musicals, mainly stemming from Britain. And audiences now are very used to the sung-through musical.”¹²

Predecessors to the Sung-Through Structure

Some American musicals from before 1980 challenged the balance between singing and speaking established by the book musical and paved the way for the

⁹ This Element does not consider revues from after 1980, which are sung-through plotless musicals whose songs either pertain to the same topic or are grouped in the same musical because they are by the same composer. Examples include *Marry Me a Little* (1981), *Songs for a New World* (1995), *Smokey Joe’s Café* (1995), and *Bring in ’da Noise, Bring in ’da Funk* (1995). It also does not consider sung-through musicals composed for regional theaters throughout the United States or those composed in New York City’s Off-Off-Broadway circuit, such as *Charlotte Sweet* (1982).

¹⁰ Scott McMillin, *The Musical as Drama* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006), xi.

¹¹ Michael Paulson, “Offstage: How I Miss Broadway,” live stream, *New York Times*, October 1, 2020.

¹² Quoted in Richard Eyre, “Talking Theatre with Stephen Sondheim,” *Play Ground*, July 22, 2011, https://nickhernbooksblog.com/2011/07/22/talkingtheatre_stephensondheim.

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works considered here. Predecessors in this respect include the three satirical operettas by George and Ira Gershwin from the early 1930s: *Strike Up the Band* (1927; 1930 Broadway), *Of Thee I Sing* (1931), and *Let 'em Eat Cake* (1933). These three works helped innovate musical theater by combining typical musical numbers of operetta (such as the sung-through finaletto) with elements of musical comedy. Ira explained that in *Of Thee I Sing*:

There are no verse-and-chorus songs; there is a sort of recitative running along, and lots of finales and finalletos. . . . It is hard to sit down and stretch out some single song for thirty-two measures. That is what you do with the usual song. In this show you develop ideas, condensing pages of possible dialogue into a few lines of song.¹³

Operettas of the 1910s and 1920s alternated between spoken dialogue and musical numbers and included extended sung-through finales. American operettas on Broadway and the dramaturgical and musical structures of their sung-through finales paved the way for much of the developments in musical theater in the 1940s.¹⁴ In addition, Larry Stempel has shown that in the middle decades of the twentieth century, Broadway saw works that merged operatic forms and conventions with “adopt[ed] vernacular musical idioms and closed musical forms [and] the use of spoken dialogue at times.”¹⁵ Among these “Broadway Operas,” he discusses the form and content of the Gershwin brothers and DuBose Heyward’s *Porgy and Bess* (1935) and Kurt Weill’s *Street Scene* (1947). Weill himself defended and wrote about the practice of combining operatic traditions with the Broadway musical.¹⁶

In the early 1950s, while musicals like *Guys and Dolls*, *The King and I*, and *Wonderful Town* were proving (or at least testing) the legacy of how “integrated” the elements of musical theater could be, Jerome Moross and John Latouche’s *The Golden Apple* (1954) revealed a new and unique form of integration. This musical dramatized an American adaptation of Homer’s epic poems the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* with only songs and no spoken dialogue. As critic Richard Watts Jr. astutely noted, “It is a play in music, rather than a play with music.”¹⁷ Moross came up with the idea of making the musical entirely sung. He stated, “Our approach to the lyrical theatre was to use the best in musical comedy, opera, and ballet forms with gay abandon, and we were

¹³ Quoted in Philip Furia, *Ira Gershwin: The Art of the Lyricist* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), 91.

¹⁴ William A. Everett, “Golden Days in Old Heidelberg: The First-Act Finale of Sigmund Romberg’s *The Student Prince*,” *American Music* 12, no. 3 (1994): 255–82.

¹⁵ Stempel, *Showtime*, 371.

¹⁶ Stephen Hinton, *Weill’s Musical Theater: Stages of Reform* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012). For more on Broadway Opera, see Stempel, *Showtime*, 369–97.

¹⁷ Richard Watts, Jr., “Review of *The Golden Apple*,” *New York Post*, March 12, 1954.

convinced that the resulting mixture would allow us both to entertain and say what we had to say.”¹⁸ Latouche went further, arguing that:

The result is completely different from such forms as opera and ballet. It develops out of musical comedy, consisting of what can be called a series of interlocking production numbers. The sung dialogue, instead of the artificial recitative of opera, is rendered in short songs whose separate melodies become part of the major production number. . . . The absence of a spoken text allows . . . moments to find their proper adjustments, even allows breaking all the rules when necessary, to achieve a definite result.¹⁹

Moross and Latouche’s ambitious work can thus be considered as the main precursor of the sung-through format.

Another sung-through musical that deserves attention is *The Umbrellas of Cherbourg*, an adaptation of the 1964 French-German film in which composer Michel Legrand set every line of dialogue to music. Director Andrei Serban and lyricist Sheldon Harnick created the stage version, which played Off-Broadway from February 1 to March 4, 1979. The production found favor with critics and audiences, and rumor had it throughout the rest of the 1978–1979 season that it would move to Broadway, but it never did.²⁰ Although this sung-through musical never entered the standard American musical repertoire, it has found audiences in regional theaters in the United States as well as in London.

These works not only challenged the supremacy of the book musical but also proved that reshaping of the musical theatre form could succeed as popular entertainment. The post-1980 American musicals considered in this Element continued and expanded these works’ innovations and demonstrate that dissolving the differences between singing and speaking, and book and lyrics, has become an important element of musical theater.

2 Opera or Broadway Musical: *The Human Comedy*

On October 20, 1983, a memo from The New York Shakespeare Festival Public Theater to its department heads invited them “to an open reading of *The Human Comedy*, an opera-musical composed by Galt MacDermot [1928–2018], with a libretto by William Dumasq [1930–1998] based on William Saroyan’s novel,” that took place the following day.²¹ Perhaps more noticeable than the

¹⁸ Jerome Moross and John Latouche, *The Golden Apple: A Musical in Two Acts* (New York: Random House, 1954), xix.

¹⁹ Moross and Latouche, *The Golden Apple*, xv–xvi and xiii.

²⁰ Dan Dietz, *Off-Broadway Musicals, 1910–2007: Casts, Credits, Songs, Critical Reception and Performance Data of More than 1800 Shows* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2010), 471.

²¹ Memo from Gail Merrifield to Department Heads, The New York Shakespeare Festival Records, New York Public Library for the Performing Arts, Billy Rose Theatre Division.

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fact that this was a new work by the composer of the legendary musical *Hair* is the moniker used to describe it: opera-musical. Uncertain what to call or which genre to label this sung-through musical, the author of the memo decided on an agglutination of terms that does not exactly inform the reader what the work is. As *The Human Comedy* developed and premiered at The Public Theater and eventually moved to Broadway, journalists and critics used several other terms to refer to it, including musical, folk opera, pop opera, pop-folk opera, cantata, pop cantata, and oratorio.

Based on Saroyan's 1943 eponymous film and subsequent novel, *The Human Comedy* is the story of Homer Macaulay, a young boy who works as a telegram messenger in the fictitious town of Ithaca, California, in the early days of World War II. He lives with his widowed mother and two siblings, his sister Bess and his brother Ulysses, the youngest of the Macaulays. Homer's older brother, Marcus, is fighting in Europe. Homer starts working at Spangler's telegraph office after school to help his mother with the family income. Spangler and Mr. Grogan (an elderly alcoholic man) receive the telegraphs, and Homer delivers them to their recipients all over town. The messages bring images and impacts of the war to the small town and affect its everyday activities. The job helps Homer mature and understand the hardships of life. His little brother, Ulysses, too young to understand the war, innocently explores his hometown and is always asking questions about the meaning of everything around him.

The Human Comedy straddles the boundary between opera and the Broadway musical. MacDermot himself referred to the work as an opera, and for that reason, it had to be sung from beginning to end.²² The composer's preferred label stems from the fact that the project started as an opera commission from the Banff Centre for Arts and Creativity in Banff, Alberta, Canada. (MacDermot was born in Canada.) He spent three years deciding on a story and first came across Saroyan's novel in Christmas 1981 when his brother-in-law had each of the family's children read an excerpt from a literary work, and MacDermot's son was assigned an excerpt from *The Human Comedy*. MacDermot read the novel afterward and settled on its story for his opera.²³

MacDermot believed that not only was the sung-through format appropriate for an opera, but it was also the best musical means to advance the suspension of disbelief that infuses Saroyan's narrative. MacDermot explained:

In most plays, people talk like they talk, but in this one they don't say normal things. [In the scene] [w]hen the thief comes in and the guy [Spangler] tells

²² Galt MacDermot, interview by author, New York, June 16, 2015.

²³ Leslie Bennetts, “Holiday Party Inspired ‘Human Comedy’ Opera,” *New York Times*, January 2, 1984.

him to take the money, the guy is almost happy about it. The things people say to each other in *The Human Comedy* are totally unlike things people say; they're in another realm. I think that's good for a musical, because music isn't a real thing, people don't really sing to each other. So when you're singing, other rules of behavior and common-sense reality are suspended. I found that Saroyan had suspended it already in the novel.²⁴

In his review of the Off-Broadway production, Frank Rich observed that Saroyan's book introduced a suspension of reality also by being set in a fictional town “where even the poor give to charity, where thieves are disarmed by kindness, and where ethnic and racial differences are a cause for celebration.”²⁵ It seems that Saroyan's plot and characters naturally lent themselves to a sung-through score in which lines like “how do you do?” and “I like nothing better than coconut cream pie” can be sung without disrupting theatrical illusion. To support the suspension of disbelief, the original production had nominal scenery (some chairs and a few props) and minimal period costumes, and both the cast and the orchestra remained present on stage the entire time, watching the action when not part of it.

Shortly after receiving the commission from the Banff Centre, MacDermot invited Dumaresq to write the book and lyrics for *The Human Comedy*. They had worked together on previous projects, including a 1970 London musical titled *Isabel's a Jezebel* and the 1975 contemporary mass setting, *Take This Bread: A Mass in Our Time*. They had also performed as the folk duo Angus and Fergus MacRoy.²⁶ Dumaresq penned the script first, and probably because of the prospect of an opera, he metered every line of dialogue, which feature internal and end rhymes. MacDermot musicalized the entire script in two months and later orchestrated it for the original production.²⁷ He segmented his opera into songs, recitatives, and interludes that flow uninterruptedly and acquire the operatic functions of arias, ariosos, duets, trios, and choral numbers. Dumaresq wrote what was going to be sung dialogue, monologue, ensembles, or comment on the action by the chorus, but MacDermot took the liberty of adapting the choral passages for soloists and vice versa. In several instances the chorus provides musical accompaniment to the soloists. MacDermot made many of these changes during the workshops that took place at The Public Theater in 1983, for when he realized that he was working with very fine singers, he knew he would be able to create variety through his handling of the voices.²⁸

²⁴ Bennetts, “Holiday Party Inspired ‘Human Comedy’ Opera.”

²⁵ Frank Rich, “Saroyan Set to Music,” *New York Times*, December 29, 1983.

²⁶ MacDermot, interview by author, June 16, 2015.

²⁷ MacDermot, interview by author, June 16, 2015.

²⁸ MacDermot, interview by author, June 16, 2015.

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After MacDermot and Dumaresq had started working on *The Human Comedy*, the Canadian commissioner expressed disapproval over funding an opera based on an American novel and requested that they change the locale from California to Canada. MacDermot refused, canceled the commission, and invited Dumaresq to look for potential producers in the United States.²⁹ In spring 1983, after some unsuccessful auditions, MacDermot reached out to producer Joseph Papp (1921–1991) of The Public Theater, who had already produced MacDermot’s two most successful musicals, *Hair* (1967) and *The Two Gentlemen of Verona* (1971). The Public Theater had recently begun presenting opera with its 1980 production of Gilbert and Sullivan’s *The Pirates of Penzance* at Central Park’s Delacorte Theater, which later transferred to Broadway (when it won the Tony Award for best revival in 1981) and became the basis for the 1983 film version. Papp was impressed with what he saw of MacDermot and Dumaresq’s opera and brought two names from the production of *Penzance* to develop it: director Wilford Leach and actor Rex Smith, who played Frederic in *Penzance* (in both the stage and film versions) and would create the role of Spangler in *The Human Comedy*.

MacDermot believed that Papp was the only producer in New York at that time who would agree to produce a piece of theater that was entirely sung.³⁰ He stated, “Joe Papp . . . was very open to everything . . . He loved that show, the story . . . and only Joe Papp would do such a thing.”³¹ Papp himself became involved with the production, not only because of its unconventional structure but also because it tapped into memories of his own childhood and young adulthood. The producer went on to make several radio and television commercials for *The Human Comedy*, and his photograph was featured on posters for the production throughout the city as well as the playbill.³² *The Human Comedy* had a mildly successful run of seventy-nine performances at The Public Theater (from December 28, 1983, to March 4, 1984). Positive reviews prompted Papp to take it to Broadway in a partnership with the Shubert Organization. *The Human Comedy* opened at the Royale Theatre (the Bernard B. Jacobs Theatre in 2022) on April 5, 1984, where it ran for nineteen previews and only thirteen performances, closing on April 15. During its stay at the Royale, Papp’s face moved beyond printed materials to also appear on the theater’s marquee.³³

²⁹ Galt MacDermot, interview by Kenneth Turan, March 26, 1987, Joseph Papp Oral History Interviews, New York Public Library for the Performing Arts, New York.

³⁰ MacDermot, interview by author, June 16, 2015.

³¹ MacDermot, interview by author, June 16, 2015.

³² Samuel G. Freedman, “‘Human Comedy’ Moves to Broadway,” *New York Times*, April 5, 1984.

³³ Freedman, “‘Human Comedy’ Moves to Broadway.” Among the reasons why the show flopped on Broadway was that very little was changed in Leach’s staging when *The Human Comedy* moved to Broadway, and the small setting that worked well at the Anspacher Theater (at the

Neither sketches of Dumaresq's script nor MacDermot's score³⁴ include a segmentation of *The Human Comedy* into songs. Rather, they indicate that both creators saw the work as continuous dramatic action with continuous music. The program for the Off-Broadway run did not include any song titles, just the locales in which each scene takes place (“at home,” “at school,” “telegraph office,” “train crossing,” “war front,” etc.).³⁵ The playbill for the Broadway production, however, listed some, though not all, song titles, suggesting that the production team may have been concerned about how audiences would react to its operatic continuity. The dramatic action includes the same locales as in the Off-Broadway playbill along with forty-five songs: twenty-four in the first act and twenty-one in the second.³⁶ Short passages, such as sung dialogues (“Mama,” “What Do I Sing?” and “Come On, Toby”) and those in which the chorus narrates or comments on the action (“Mary Arena,” “As the Poet Said,” and “Slowly the Reality”), do not appear in the playbill.³⁷ Thus, the songs that do appear become units of the dramatic action that communicate to the audience changes in character and scenery configurations, as a song list traditionally does in a book musical.³⁸

Throughout the centuries, operas have employed multiple musical styles in their scores. MacDermot followed suit with a score that relies on various genres and styles of popular music and which strengthens connections to music from outside the theater. Jazz musicians (especially Duke Ellington) fascinated MacDermot from an early age and inspired him to follow a career in music. He studied composition in Cape Town, South Africa, where he was exposed to many musical genres, and he later worked as a church organist in

Public, with 275 seats) felt out of place in a Broadway house with 1,078 seats. It also faced fierce competition in the 1983–1984 season, including *La Cage aux Folles*, *Sunday in the Park with George*, *Baby*, *The Tap Dance Kid*, and *The Rink*.

³⁴ Both are extant in the Joseph Papp papers at the New York Public Library for the Performing Arts.

³⁵ Showbill, New York Shakespeare Festival Public Theater, Anspacher Theater, *The Human Comedy* (January 1984): 17.

³⁶ *The Human Comedy*, Royale Theatre, *Playbill*, 2, no. 6 (March 1984): 41–42.

³⁷ This same division of the action into locales and forty-five songs appears in the first pages of the published libretto. William Dumaresq and Galt MacDermot, *The Human Comedy* (New York: Samuel French, 1985), 8–9.

³⁸ The original cast recording contains the entire show and breaks MacDermot's score into eighty-six songs, whose titles are all provided. The original cast recorded the musical in 1984, and a US \$138,000 donation by Ivan Boesky – as a former trustee of the New York Shakespeare Festival – funded the album (a letter from Papp to the Southern District Court of New York, dated October 6, 1987, confirming the donation and the use of the money, survives in the New York Shakespeare Festival Records, New York Public Library for the Performing Arts, Billy Rose Theatre Division). It is not entirely clear why, but the recording was not made commercially available after the Broadway run, although the fact that the musical flopped on Broadway may explain Papp's decision. The album was released as a two-CD set in 1997 by Kilmarnock Records.