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Early 20th-Century Operetta from the German Stage: A Cosmopolitan Genre

Derek B. Scott

In the first four decades of the twentieth century, new operettas from the German stage enjoyed great success with audiences not only in cities in Europe and North America but elsewhere around the world.[1] The transfer of operetta and musical theatre across countries and continents may be viewed as cosmopolitanism in action. The production and reception of these operettas relates to many of the themes that have emerged in recent years concerning the meaning and character of cultural cosmopolitanism, such as the development of non-national affiliations. Cosmopolitan theorizing has become an important means of addressing the new challenges that sociology faces in the twenty-first century, when, as John Brewer puts it, "the very notion of society and 'the social' is under challenge from globalization and fluid mobilities and networks of exchange that render the idea of social structure irrelevant."[2] In fact, fluid mobilities and networks of exchange can be found emerging in the previous century, through the cultural transfer of operetta. In the twenty-first century, it is jazz, pop music, and film that tend to feature in accounts of cosmopolitanism and cosmopolitan taste, but operetta was a forerunner. Once it was evident that the stage works of Jacques Offenbach were attracting international attention, operetta became part of the new transcultural entertainment industry that developed in the nineteenth century. This industry was broadened and consolidated in the next century. Operetta, like jazz, appealed to people from differing cultural backgrounds, offering them opportunities for participation as both listeners and creative artists. Max Schönherr, a conductor who was engaged at the Theater an der Wien and the Wiener Stadttheater in the 1920s, recalled that, while new productions of operettas were "not always met with critical acclaim," they were nevertheless adored by people from a diverse array of ethnic and social backgrounds.[3]

This article examines operetta from the perspective of both the social and the aesthetic. It explores the social conditions that allowed operetta to flourish and cultural networks to be constructed, but also has some words to say about the stage works themselves, seeking to explain what is cosmopolitan is their musical style and dramatic content. The focus is on London and New York, cities that hosted dozens of adaptations of operetta from the German stage between 1907 and 1938.

Operetta's character as a cosmopolitan genre became ever more pronounced in the first decades of the twentieth century, and this raises important questions about cultural transfer and exchange. My use of the term "cosmopolitan genre," is intended to indicate that it established itself as an artistic form that was particularly accessible to people of differing cultural backgrounds. To be cosmopolitan does not rule out a local dimension: a cosmopolitan genre includes an identity that relates to place, but its identity is not constrained by place. The Viennese waltz retains an element of Vienna, just as reggae includes an element of Trenchtown, Jamaica, but, at the same time,

[1] This article forms part of the the research findings of a research project on the transnational reception of operetta from the German stage funded by the European Research Council.

[2] John D. Brewer, review of Steve Fuller, *The New Sociological Imagination* (London: Sage, 2006) in *European Journal of Social Theory*, 10/1 (2007): 173–76, at 173.

[3] Quoted in Kirstie Hewlett, "Heinrich Schenker and the Radio" (PhD diss. University of Southampton, 2014), 224. citing Andrew Lamb, *Light Music from Austria: Reminiscences and Writings of Max Schönherr* (New York: Peter Lang, 1992), 136–39.

these genres belong to the world. Long before jazz and syncopated dance music became cosmopolitan pleasures, the waltz and polka had found their way around the globe, and the cosmopolitan consumer found nothing odd about a Cockney song or an African-American song in waltz time. To give a couple of examples among many, there are Cockney waltz songs such as "Pretty Polly Perkins of Paddington Green," and African-American waltz songs such as "Goodnight, Irene."[4] An example of a Cockney polka is "Immenseikoff," and an African polka can be found in *Dobson's Universal Banjo Instructor* of 1882.[5]

The cosmopolitan person recognizes a common humanity in the products of the world's diverse cultural artifacts. It is certain, however, that some artifacts lend themselves more readily to cosmopolitanism; but, even if a genre may be suited to cosmopolitan consumption, it does not necessarily follow that every single example of that genre has cosmopolitan appeal. That is because cosmopolitanism does not reside solely in generic structures, but also in content and style. In arguing that operetta is a cosmopolitan genre, I do not mean to imply that every operetta travels as well as another. Leo Fall's *Der fidele Bauer* (1907) will probably never achieve the success it has enjoyed in Austria, because its local elements, embedded in both text and music, are unusually strong. In contrast, Fall's operetta *Die Dollaprinzessin* reaches effortlessly across national borders.

Not all musical forms exhibit the mixture of local and cosmopolitan found in the waltz and the polka. The Ländler, for example, carries a firm identity as an Austrian genre, just as the Scottish identity of Strathspey remains fixed. Both of them can, of course, give pleasure to the cosmopolitan consumer, but they are not cosmopolitan genres. When uprooted and planted elsewhere they remain strongly marked by place, just as a dirndl bears a stronger reference to place than a Viennese ball gown. A local cultural artifact must be accessible to change if it is to become part of a cosmopolitan culture. A cosmopolitan genre is one that is open to international musical influences, as European operetta showed when responding to jazz and dance band music.

It is not coincidental that social dancing and stage entertainment developed a cosmopolitan character in the Austro-Hungarian Empire, where to be patriotic was to be supranational—to feel commitments extending beyond the national—rather than nationalist. Vienna became the cultural centre of the Habsburg Empire. and that meant a transcultural and intercultural city, where there was cross fertilization of cultures as well as interaction between cultures. It is undeniable that nationalist sentiment gained ground in the later nineteenth century, but there still remained plenty of politicians with an international outlook in the first two decades of the succeeding century.[6] What is more, those involved in creating operetta for the German stage represented a broad range of countries that included the Czech lands, Hungary, Poland, Serbia and Slovakia.

Transcultural Networks

[4] "Pretty Polly Perkins of Paddington Green," words and music by Harry Clifton, arranged J. Candy, 1863; "Goodnight Irene," recorded by Huddie Ledbetter ("Lead Belly") in 1933, but of much earlier date.

[5] "Immenseikoff, or The Shoreditch Toff," words and music by Arthur Lloyd, 1873; the "African Polka" is in *Dobson's Universal Banjo Instructor* (Boston: Oliver Ditson, 1882), 36.

[6] The Austrian Social Democratic Workers' Party, with its international outlook, was by no means a negligible force after the 1907 elections, and dominated the parliament of 1911.

German operetta of the early twentieth century became part of a transcultural entertainment industry that built upon the international success in the 1890s and 1900s of musical comedies transferring from London's West End to Continental Europe and North America, as well as to countries with various ties to the British Empire, such as Australia, Canada, Singapore, and South Africa.[7] Operetta's status as a cosmopolitan art world is evident in the transnational networks it created, and in the border-crossing lifestyles and mixed nationalities to be found among its orchestral musicians, star performers, composers, book and lyric writers, translators and adapters, stage directors and music directors, music publishers, scenic and costumer designers, technicians and carpenters, theatre managers, entrepreneurs and producers, agents, photographers, and, of course, record companies.[8] As an illustration of this transnational art world, we might glance at the list of those involved in the London production in of Leo Fall's *The Girl in the Train* (*Die geschiedene Frau*) of 1910, a Viennese operetta set in Amsterdam. Its producer was born of Irish parents, its composer was Austrian Jewish, its librettist Polish Jewish, and its translator and adapter English; in addition, it involved Italian and English costume designers, and French hat designers.

A diasporic cosmopolitanism forms another dimension of the art world of operetta. A diaspora may make great efforts to retain cultural traditions, but can also assimilate other cultural knowledge and practices. Operetta involved a considerable number of Jews working in all aspects of its production. A Jewish artist may form multiple attachments: to a country of birth, to other countries where friends and relations perhaps once lived, and to friends and relations who are not Jewish. To imagine that German Jews did not think themselves German and were all strictly committed to Orthodox Judaism, for example, was to fall prey to Third Reich propaganda. The term "embedded cosmopolitanism" has been used to describe those who have a strong attachment to a community but readily interact with others and demonstrate cultural openness.[9] The 1930s was a decade of social upheaval and migration, in which displaced persons (many though not all of them Jewish) began to affect the course of European culture. Two of the preeminent stars of operetta, Fritzi Massary (Jewish, but Protestant by religion) and Richard Tauber (Jewish, but Roman Catholic by religion) both found it necessary to flee Germany.[10]

Added to the frictions between those who felt multiple attachments and those immersed in blood and soil ideology was the increasing international presence of Americans. What ethnicity were the many Americans born of immigrant families to identify with? From the middle of the nineteenth century to the turn of the twentieth century, New York held the largest German speaking population of any city other

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[7] After the Imperial Conference of 1907, the British Government no longer referred to colonies, but to dominions.

[8] I am drawing upon Howard Becker's concept of an art world as a cooperative activity, rather than a structure; see *Art Worlds* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982), 35.

[9] Toni Erskine, "Embedded Cosmopolitanism and the Case of War: Restraint, Discrimination and Overlapping Communities," *Global Society*, 14/4 (2000): 569–90.

[10] Emigrants often travelled to the UK, and then the USA. Stephen Hinton lists more than twenty well-known musicians who made the UK their home in the 1930s, in "Großbritannien aus Exilland," in Horst Weber, ed., *Musik in der Emigration 1933–1945* (Stuttgart: J.B. Metzler, 1994), 213–27, at 214–15. See also Erik Levi, "Musik und Musiker im englischen Exil," in the same collection of essays, 192–212.

than Berlin and Vienna.[11] Then there was the question of whether or not America possessed a national music. The music that characterized America for audiences in Europe was marked by African American stylistic features, and this had so since the popularity of blackface minstrelsy in the nineteenth century. The threat of such music for European national musical styles surfaces in Emmerich Kálmán's *Die Herzogin von Chicago* (1928), in the cultural clash between the csárdás and the Charleston. Moreover, in the early twentieth century, Yiddish culture was thriving in New York, and was, for many Jews, a form of high culture (its decline can be dated to the outbreak of the Second World War).[12] Finally, there was the political challenge of American republicanism. The threat that wealthy American industrialists posed to an impoverished European aristocracy is satirized in Leo Fall's *Die Dollarprinzessin* (1907).

Before the outbreak of the First World War, operettas for the German stage were being created with an ambition to achieve success not only on the wider European stage, but also stages around the globe. That ambition returned as soon as war ended, and, in order to achieve it, an English version was important. Naturally, one reason international success was sought was for the immense profits that ensued; but, be that as it may, the social and cultural consequences were seen in the transnational affiliations formed between composers, performers, and producers. These affiliations are what make the national narratives of traditional music historiography ill suited to twentieth-century operetta. Berlin was often an intermediary between Vienna and London: Len Platt and Tobias Becker remark that "success in what many saw as the definitive modern metropolis was often a prerequisite for transfer to London and/or Paris."[13] The networks that facilitated these transfers indicate for Platt and Becker the existence of "a cosmopolitan culture crossing traditional national boundaries."[14] George Edwardes, the manager of Daly's Theatre in London's West End, was, in the words of one of his contemporaries, "as well known on the Continent as in London," travelling there frequently "in search of new musical plays."[15]

Operetta, as a transnational genre, required widespread copyright protection for business to flourish. The Berne Convention for the Protection of Literary and Artistic Works (1886, with later revisions) had an important role to play in stimulating the European entertainment business and building the confidence of transnational financial institutions.[16] Berlin's Metropol-Theater, for example, was registered as a joint-stock company at the London stock exchange in 1912.[17] Performances of

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[11] Edwin G. Burrows and Mike Wallace, *Gotham: A History of New York City to 1898* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 745. Leo Fall's *Der fidele Bauer* enjoyed two weeks in its original German at the Garden Theatre, New York, in February 1911.

[12] Leon Botstein, "The National, the Cosmopolitan, and the Jewish," *The Musical Quarterly*, 97/2 (2014): 133–39, at 134–35.

[13] Len Platt and Tobias Becker, "Berlin/London: London/Berlin – Cultural Transfer, Musical Theatre and the 'Cosmopolitan', 1890–1914," *Nineteenth Century Theatre and Film*, 40/1 (2013): 1–14, at 3.

[14] Platt and Becker, "Berlin/London: London/Berlin," 3.

[15] James Jupp, *The Gaiety Stage Door: Thirty Years of Reminiscences of the Theatre* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1923), 154, quoted in Platt and Becker, "Berlin/London: London/Berlin," 5.

[16] It should be noted, however, that the UK ignored large parts of the Berne Convention until the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act of 1988, and that the USA did not ratify the treaty until March 1989.

[17] Platt and Becker, "Berlin/London: London/Berlin," 7.

operetta in England, France and the USA brought in the biggest royalties.[18] Those involved in the business of music aimed at a global market. This had been true of nineteenth-century music publishers and it was equally true of the burgeoning record companies of the twentieth century. A mixture of the transnational and the local is evident in marketing strategy. Martin Stokes remarks that in the twentieth century record companies "became the dominant institutional site of global musical exchange,"[19] but well before this the larger urban theatres had played a major role in cultural transfer and exchange.

Modern Urban Culture

Prominent among the social conditions underpinning the development of operetta as a cosmopolitan genre was the flourishing market for cultural goods in the modern metropolis. The cosmopolitan and the metropolitan share similarities: the German adjective *weltstädtisch* can, for instance, be translated as either metropolitan or cosmopolitan. Operetta carried an image of glamour, sophistication and modernity that appealed to urban sensibilities. The sense of spatial difference between city dwellers in one country and those of another had been diminishing rapidly in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. As the social experience of cities, especially of metropolises, grew more and more similar from nation to nation, urban recreational activities could be disseminated from one city to another with ease. The theatres contributed to the construction of what it was to be urban, fashionable, and cosmopolitan; they were not simply catering to urban style. A cosmopolitan culture must, of necessity, possess transnational qualities, an ability to adapt flexibly to modification as it crosses borders. I have argued that, in the nineteenth century, the metropolis became the site of cultural transfer and exchange on a scale previously unknown.[20] A musical consequence of this transfer of cultural goods was that a new concept arose of popular music as a cultural commodity serving a pan-European and American market rather than music that sprang from a nation's soil, was intended for local ears, and circulated in the blood of a particular ethnic group.

During the process of modernity, sociocultural features developed that were recognizable and often very familiar to residents of most large cities. Because of this, urban dwellers in different countries found that they experienced a material environment in their own city that had much in common with that in another city. In the early twentieth century, they experienced new forms of social relations that gave rise to two coexisting forms of cosmopolitanism: one was shaped by the presence of immigrants whose cultures and languages were unfamiliar to existing residents, and the other was characterized by what Richard Sennett calls the "dynamic of difference," which was embodied in the bureaucratic mechanisms of capitalism, especially the

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[18] Ernst Klein, "Aus der Wiener Operettenwerkstatt," *Berlin Lokal-Anzeiger*, 29 Apr. 1912, cited in Stefan Frey, "How a Sweet Viennese Girl Became a Fair International Lady: Transfer, Performance, Modernity – Acts in the Making of a Cosmopolitan Culture," in Len Platt, Tobias Becker and David Linton, eds, *Popular Musical Theatre in London and Berlin 1890 to 1939* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 102–117, at 113.

[19] Martin Stokes, "On Musical Cosmopolitanism," *The Macalester International Roundtable 2007*, paper 3 <http://digitalcommons.macalester.edu/intlrdtable/3>, 2.

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

division of labour.[21] Georg Simmel argued that the metropolis gave rise to distinct forms of mental life, and it is to be noted that his focus is on big cities in the plural (*Grossstädte*) and not on the role a metropolis might play as a national capital city.[22] His critical analysis of the social and cultural life of cities offers an alternative to arguments focusing on the development of a national culture. It might be noted, too, that there is nothing nationalist about the sinful city of Mahagonny in *Aufstieg und Fall der Stadt Mahagonny* by Bertolt Brecht and Kurt Weill.[23] Mahagonny demands nothing more of its citizens than the possession of sufficient money to buy the pleasures it sells.

In tandem with these new material conditions, a new kind of cultural environment arose, encouraging the development of a cosmopolitan disposition that was open to a variety of cultural experience, rather than an appetite for cultural uniformity (or, for that matter, conformity). One manifestation of this disposition was what might be called "cosmopolitan eating." Italian restaurants had already opened in the nineteenth century, and Richard D'Oyly Carte engaged the celebrated French chef Auguste Escoffier at the Savoy Hotel (where he created *pêche Melba* for the diva Nellie Melba in 1893). Menus from around the globe became increasingly available in early twentieth-century London. The West End's first Chinese restaurant, Maxim's, opened in 1908, after Chung Koon, who had worked as chef on the Red Funnel Line, married an English woman.[24] London's first Indian restaurant, the Salut e Hind, opened in Holborn in 1911. Perhaps, it is appropriate at this point to cite the reception of an operetta that features a scene in a metropolitan restaurant. The *Stage Yearbook* of 1914 commented of Gilbert's *Die keusche Susanne*, "this class of piece seems to suit the taste of the 'big', city public."[25] It is an observation that recognizes commonalities in metropolitan cultures. The cosmopolitan appetite for food extended to other areas of consumption. In this respect, modern department stores proved influential: Selfridges, which opened on Oxford Street in 1909, had reception rooms for French, German and overseas customers, and prided itself on the cosmopolitan range of goods it made available; and, indeed, it also sometimes acted as supplier to operetta productions.[26] It is not coincidental that Theodor Adorno, with his typical mixture of insight and waspishness, explained that the massive appeal of *Die lustige Witwe* throughout Europe could be compared to the success of the first department stores.[27]

The clash of national and metropolitan desires is present in *Die lustige Witwe*, the stage work that sparked the twentieth-century operetta craze and launched the "Silver

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[21] See Richard Sennett, "Cosmopolitanism and the Social Experience of Cities," in Steven Vertovec and Robin Cohen, eds, *Conceiving Cosmopolitanism: Theory, Context, and Practice* (New York: Oxford Universty Press, 2002), 42–47, at 43–44.

[22] Georg Simmel, "The Metropolis and Mental Life," in Kurt H. Wolff, trans. and ed., *The Sociology of Georg Simmel* (New York: The Free Press [Macmillan], 1950), 409–24. Simmel's essay was originally published as "Die Grossstädte und das Geistesleben" in *Die Grossstädte: Vorträge und Aufsätze*, 9 (1902–3), 185–206.

[23] First performed at the Neues Theater, Leipzig, 9 Mar. 1930.

[24] Dean Mahomed, "The History of the 'Ethnic' Restaurant in Britain," <http://www.menumagazine.co.uk/book/restauranthistory.html>.

[25] Frank E. Washburn Freund, "The Theatrical Year in Germany," *The Stage Yearbook 1914* (London, 1914), 81–96, at 90, quoted in Platt and Becker, "Berlin/London: London/Berlin," 3.

[26] For example, several of the hats worn in the London production of *The Girl in the Train* were provided by Selfridges.

[27] "der Jubel, mit dem das Bürgertum Lehár's Operette begrüßte, ist dem Erfolg der ersten Warenhäuser zu vergleichen." "Zur gesellschaftlichen Lage der Musik" [1932], *Gesammelte Schriften*, 18, Musikalische Schriften 5. Frankfurt: Suhrkamp, 1984. 729–77, at 772.

Age" of operetta. The hero, Danilo has abandoned his homeland for the pleasures of Paris. Moreover, it is romantic love, not patriotism, that provides his motivation for marrying the wealthy widow and, thereby, saving his country's national bank from economic collapse. The cosmopolitan character of operetta appealed to many Jewish creative artists who had sought opportunities in the city, and their contribution to this genre is substantial. The production and consumption of operetta defies any adequate explication in nationalist terms, and is better conceived of as a historically important example of the shaping of a cosmopolitan disposition, both social and aesthetic. Its study, therefore, provides an alternative to the methodological nationalism that has dominated so much musical historiography. Ulrich Beck and Natan Sznaider have criticized such methodology for subsuming society under the nation-state and have called, instead, for a methodological cosmopolitanism that investigates border crossings and other transnational phenomena.[28] In the early twentieth century nothing was crossing borders with the same speed as the music of operetta. Stefan Frey cites the experience of a captain of the Belgian army in 1909, who, entering a traditional-looking restaurant in Beijing was surprised to hear the resident musicians strike up the *Merry Widow* Waltz.[29]

Cultural Transfer: Translation, Adaptation, and Transformation

In examining the adaptation of operettas and musicals as they move from one national context, with its particular traditions and perspectives, to another, it is necessary to scrutinize international organizations, entrepreneurs, agents, cultural institutions, and communications media. Such research requires the development of an appropriate methodology for a transnational history of music, one that avoids the rigid top-down thinking that often accompanies accounts of globalization. Martin Stokes advises that focusing on musical cosmopolitanism, rather than musical globalization, "invites us to think about how people in specific places and at specific times have embraced the music of others."[30] He notes that it has the advantage of restoring "human agencies and creativities to the scene of analysis," because music becomes part of process "in the making of 'worlds', rather than a passive reaction to global 'systems'."[31] It turns our attention to the many knowing and deliberate acts of cultural transfer and exchange.

The most common historiographical discourse about nineteenth-century Europe is one of increasing nationalism and nationalist movements, but there is an alternative, if neglected, story to be told, that of increasing cosmopolitanism, especially in the appetite for cultural goods. The Viennese waltz, for example, swept around the world in the 1830s. Despite growing nationalist sentiment in Germany in that century, cosmopolitan attitudes (as connoted by the adjectives *weltläufig* or *weltoffen*) could

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[28] Ulrich Beck and Natan Sznaider, "Unpacking Cosmopolitanism for the Social Sciences: A Research Agenda," *The British Journal of Sociology*, 57/1 (2006): 1–23, at 1. Beck coined the term "methodological nationalism" in his essay "The terrorist Threat: World Risk Society Revisited," *Theory, Culture & Society*, 19/4 (2002): 39–55. Beck and Szaider accept that cosmopolitanism is a contentious term with no uniform interpretation, and its redefinition needs to be part of a transdisciplinary undertaking ("Unpacking Cosmopolitanism," 2).
[29] Stefan Frey, "How a Sweet Viennese Girl Became a Fair International Lady, 114.
[30] Martin Stokes, "On Musical Cosmopolitanism," *The Macalester International Roundtable 2007*, paper 3 http://digitalcommons.macalester.edu/intlrdtable/3, 6.
[31] Stokes, "On Musical Cosmopolitanism," 6.

still be viewed as positive qualities. Nevertheless, cosmopolitanism in the nineteenth century was often likely to be seen as sophisticated worldliness rather than open-mindedness to other cultures. This may, or may not, be the kind of cosmopolitanism of which the aristocratic Lady Babby's boasts in *Gipsy Love*. Her song "Cosmopolitan" was an interpolated number (4a) composed by Franz Lehár to lyrics by Adrian Ross for the London production of 1912.[32] The refrain runs as follows:

> All the men are glad to look at Lady Babby,
> And they look again!
> The French say, "Oh, la, la!"
> Italians cry "Brava!"
> The Germans bow and softly murmur "Wunderschön!"
> From Cairo donkey boy to London Taxi cabby,
> Ev'ry mortal man
> Would like to have me stay;
> Some day I may – I *am* so cosmopolitan!

The noun *Weltläufigkeit* might indicate a sophisticated, urbane type of cosmopolitanism, but *Weltbürgetum* was a term bearing positive even idealistic connotations. Furthermore, during the German Enlightenment, cosmopolitanism had been the subject of important and influential texts, for example, Christoph Martin Wieland's *Das Geheimnis des Kosmopolitenordens* (1788), and Immanuel Kant's essay *Zum ewigen Frieden* (1795), in which he advanced a political argument for a universal civil society comprised of states in a pacific federation under the rule of international law.[33]

There were, however, negative views of cosmopolitanism, and these tended to be held by nationalists, who condemned it for eroding national traditions. Yet, increasing numbers of composers born late in the nineteenth century found that their family lineage or place of birth gave them no direct or clear-cut cultural identifications, and who, in consequence, enjoyed a youthful experience of different cultural choices. It equipped them with an ability to move flexibly among cultural options—Hungarian or Austrian in Lehár's case, for instance. Many of these individuals were Jewish artists, who sometimes found themselves described negatively as "rootless cosmopolitans."[34] The charge of rootlessness is, of course, linked to nationalist discourse, and this is what I wish to cast aside in order to narrate a different type of history, one that places cosmopolitanism in a positive light. Nicolas Bourriaud offers an alternative to the negative image of the "rootless cosmopolitan" with his idea of the radicant—"an organism that grows its roots and adds new ones as it advances" (an example being ivy).[35]

Cosmopolitans do not necessarily relinquish their original or local identity; and, in any case, social identity, unlike personal subjectivity, is largely in the hands of those who do the identifying (which is why identity and subjectivity may sometimes be at odds with one another). Moreover, it is unlikely that cosmopolitan consumers would

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[32] It does not feature in the American version.

[33] Immanuel Kant, *Political Writings*, ed. H.R. Reiss, trans. H.B. Nisbet (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 93–115.

[34] See Botstein, "The National, the Cosmopolitan, and the Jewish," 133.

[35] Nicolas Bourriaud, *The Radicant*, trans. James Gussen and Lili Porten (New York: Lukas and Sternberg, 2009; orig. pub. as *Radicant : pour une esthétique de la globalisation*, Paris: Denoël, 2009), 22.

take a keen interest in the culture of others if they possessed little interest in their own culture. There may have been no general desire for the local to dominate radio broadcasting even in its early days, but that did not suppress the wish to hear something of local affairs. At the same time, it was evident that radio was an example of those modern technological innovations that eroded a sense of local belonging. Heidegger found that the radio he acquired in 1919 transformed his village life into something cosmopolitan.[36] Cosmopolitanism combines a sense of the global alongside the local and this produces a complex mixture of ideas. Cosmopolitanism can even link to nationalist aspirations—for example winning prestige for one's country internationally—but it also presents a serious problem for nationalists in appearing to dilute the home culture. A simple link between the national and the cosmopolitan can be found in the "traditional English cup of tea," with its leaves from the Asian Subcontinent, its sugar from the Caribbean, and its milk from home.

There are two other negative perceptions of cosmopolitanism, both of which see it as linked to imperialism. From one point of view, it embodies a Western self-interest that masquerades as a universal human interest and "opens the way for imperialist interventions into vulnerable nations."[37] The second perspective sees precious culture from the colonial periphery being sucked into and distorted by the metropolitan centre. Operetta, however, did not transfer from the periphery but, rather, from one urban centre to another. When it comes to the transfer of operetta, we are talking about competing urban cultural power rather than a dominant metropole and a periphery. In 1912, Ernst Klein wrote in the *Berlin Lokal-Anseiger* (gazette) that the cosmopolitanism of Viennese operetta was motivated by business interests,[38] which sought the large royalties that were to be earned in the UK, the USA and France.

The revisions that took place after these transfers took place could sometimes be extensive. The purchase of English rights was necessary before adaptations could begin, but, as Platt and Becker observe, "once the protocols of buying copyright and playright had been observed, an absolute right to appropriate, assimilate and hybridise appeared to come into force."[39] These activities enhance our understanding of cultural transfer and exchange. It was rarely a case of merely translating the German book and lyrics; it was sometimes necessary to translate the cultural meaning of the original into something that would be recognized in a new context. This might include exchanging a particular scene for somewhere geographically local: Berlin becomes Notting Hill in the London version of Paul Lincke's *Frau Luna*. Sometimes the change of location may, at first, be puzzling: Budapest and Vienna are discarded in favour of Monte Carlo in *The Riviera Girl*, the New York version of Emmerich Kálmán's *Die Csárdásfürstin*. However, given that the production took place in September 1917, just five months after America had entered the First World War, cosmopolitan Monte Carlo appears a wise choice, one that ensured factious issues of nation and politics were kept at a distance.

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[36] See Paddy Scannell, *Radio, Television and Modern Life* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1996), 161, quoted in Szerszynski and Urry, "Cultures of Cosmopolitanism," 463.

[37] Robert Fine and Vivienne Boon, "Cosmopolitanism: Between Past and Future," *European Journal of Social Theory*, 10/1 (2007): 5–16, at 8. Fine and Boon cite this view but argue that it misrepresents the concept of cosmopolitanism.

[38] "Die Operette, ursprünglich ein Wiener Kind … wächst sich auf einmal in eine Kosmopolitin aus—aus Geschäfteinteresse." "Aus der Wiener Operettenwerkstatt," *Berliner Lokal-Anseiger*, 29 Apr. 1912, quoted in Frey, *"Unter Tränen lachen": Emmerich Kálmán—Eine Operettenbiografie* (Berlin: Henschel Verlag, 2003), 67.

[39] Platt and Becker, "Berlin/London: London/Berlin," 8.

In some cases, operettas are set in cosmopolitan spaces that need no alteration. Examples are the metropolitan hotels in *The Cinema Star* and *Ball at the Savoy* (the latter being the Savoy in Nice rather than London), the up-market restaurant (*The Girl in the Taxi*), and the border-crossing train (*The Girl in the Train*).[40] George Grossmith, Jr. refers to the Orient Express as the "quintessence of Cosmopolitanism," where you are likely to meet fellow travelers of ten different nations—and where the attendants can speak all languages fluently."[41] Even if a scene presents no problems of familiarity, an adapter might be motivated by the desire to cater to local theatrical taste—for instance, a preference for two acts and one interval, rather than three acts and two intervals. In many cases, the work of adapters often amounts to translation in the sense in which Bourriaud has written of cross-cultural translation, an activity that requires creative artists to translate the meaning of a cultural artifact for the outsider. Sometimes, however, a new version departs so radically from its German stage version, that there is clearly more in the way of transformation than cross-translation going on.

Nevertheless, the fact that such adaptations usually affected only scenes and dialogue indicates the lack of any strong sense of foreignness in musical style and its connotations. Basil Hood may have claimed that he made almost a new play out of *The Count of Luxembourg*,[42] but the music was still that of Lehár. The existing music was rarely altered to suit any new location, or modified in any significant way, although it was often supplemented with additional numbers. It was not just the presence of syncopated songs and tangos that indicated a transcultural musical dimension to German operetta—we have already noted that its waltzes and polkas had long been transcultural genres. The mixture of transcultural modern styles in Eduard Künneke's *Der Vetter aus Dingsda* (valse boston, tango, ragtime two-step, foxtrot) does not function as any specific referent for the setting, which is the Netherlands. Indeed, the New York version shifts continents for an American Civil War setting. The various musical style-types function as codes that signify an emotion or mood in different ways, ways that relate to the sociocultural context in which those styles developed. The Viennese waltz was a well-established style for signifying love and romance, but a romantic or erotic mood could also be achieved via the newer style of the American syncopated ballad, or the Argentine tango. The presence of this variety of signifying practices is why operetta can be called cosmopolitan in a musical sense, in addition to the cosmopolitan attributes it displays in subject matter and reception.

Ethnic identity is rarely presented as exclusive. It may have been the strong rustic character to much of *The Merry Peasant*, the London version of *Der fidele Bauer*, that caused a critic to described it as "somewhat old fashioned according to the present lines of musical plays."[43] It opens with a song containing yodels, and is marked with traditional Austrian music features elsewhere. However, when Austria becomes spectacle—as in Benatzky's *White Horse Inn*—it is fine to open with yodels (just as it was acceptable for Rodgers and Hammerstein to include a yodeling song in *The Sound of Music*). However, there is no glib contrast to be made between the

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[40] Operetta star George Grossmith, Jr., described the Orient Express (on which he travelled to Vienna) as the "quintessence of Cosmopolitanism, where you are likely to meet fellow-travellers of ten different nations—and where the attendants can all speak all languages fluently." *The Play Pictorial*, Vol. 11, No. 69 (1908), 126.

[41] *The Play Pictorial*, 11/69 (May 1908), 126.

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

[43] B.W. Findon, "Plays of the Month," *The Play Pictorial*, 15/88 (1909): 16.

experience of the reality of the Salzkammergut and the stage representation. Certainly people went to Wolfgangsee in droves after watching *White Horse Inn* (*Im weißen Rössl*), but most placed themselves in the care of businesses who were selling tourism as a form of leisure-time consumption. Thus, the sublime became intermingled with the banal, for, as Guy Debord remarked, "[t]he economic organization of visits to different places is already in itself a guarantee of their equivalence."[44]

The operetta stage was certainly geographically diverse. W. Macqueen-Pope asks, apropos of Lehár: "Is there any composer of musical plays who has drawn his subjects from so many lands and cities? Vienna, Paris, Alsace, Hungary, Russia, the Balkans, the Alps, Italy, Spain, Tangiers, the Far East …"[45] What is more, it is not unusual for a country to change during the course of an operetta (Belgium to France in *Eva*, Spain to France in *Frasquita*, Austria to China in *Das Land des Lächelns*). This complicates the simple binarism of Self and Other (or Us and Them) that is found in Orientalist works. In the early twentieth century is that there is a multiplicity of Others rather than a simple East/West binarism. The Other may be the Dutch girl, or the American tycoon, and the environment of the Other might be the French Riviera or the Austrian Salzkammergut. Then, there is the incorporation of "jazz" styles that may connote place but do not necessarily connote a nation. By the end of the 1920s, African-American styles were regarded in Berlin as belonging to "an international musical vocabulary."[46] This is also the reason why jazzy elements are not found out of place among the Alpine scenery of *Im weißen Rössl*. The lack of anti-Semitism in operetta may be owing to the number of Jews involved in its creation, from composer and librettists to performers and impresarios (for example the Shubert brothers in the USA), although Len Platt suggests another explanation could be the lack of a consensus position around anti-Semitism.[47]

To shed light on the process of adaptation, a comparison may be made between the means used by the foreign princess to win the affection of her husband, the lieutenant, in Oscar Straus's *Ein Walzertraum* (1907) and the tactics the same character employs in the American film adaptation *The Smiling Lieutenant* (1931).[48] In the Austrian original, Franzi, the violinist to whom the lieutenant is attracted, has to instruct the princess in what makes Viennese women so alluring: it is their lively temperament, she informs her. She also encourages her to cater for her husband's delight in other Viennese pleasures, such as fine food. In the film, however, Franzi teaches her, instead, to play ragtime piano, and offers advice on attire in an interpolated song, "Jazz up your lingerie." The next time we see the princess she is playing syncopated music at the piano with a cigarette dangling from her lips. It is clear that her behaviour signifies the vivacious emancipated American woman rather illustrating the

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[44] Guy Debord, *Society of the Spectacle* (Detroit: Black & Red, 1983), §168 [no pagination]. Orig. pub. as *La Société du spectacle* (Paris: Editions Buchet-Chastel, 1967).

[45] W. Macqueen-Pope and D.L. Murray, *Fortune's Favourite: The Life and Times of Franz Lehár* (London: Hutchinson, 1953), 226. Hungary features as a setting just once in Lehár's output, in *Wo die Lerche singt* (1918)—and this operetta was originally set in Russia, but had to be changed because of the war. *Zigeunerliebe* (1910) is set in Romania.

[46] Carolin Stahrenberg and Nils Grosch, "The Transculturality of Stage, Song and Other Media: Intermediality in Popular Musical Theatre," in Len Platt, Tobias Becker, and David Linton, eds, *Popular Musical Theatre in London and Berlin, 1890–1939* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 187–200, at 192.

[47] Len Platt, *Musical Comedy on the West End Stage, 1890-1939* (Palgrave MacMillan, 2004), 80.

[48] Directed by Ernst Lubitsch, Paramount Pictures.

fiery temperament of the Viennese woman. However, as Lieutenant Niki discovers his wife's change in behaviour, the film's underscore is of the trio "Temp'rament, wie die höll' ein jeder brennt" from Act 2 of the original operetta. Two differing cultural traits are conflated here, and yet there is a similarity to be recognized in how they are used to achieve the same end, that of domesticating Niki. The film concludes with Niki singing to camera, "I've found at home my rata-tatata-tata." That is how operetta cosmopolitanism works: an audience recognizes itself in the imported operetta, aided by appropriate parallels in its adaptation.

Reception and Subject Position

The aesthetic pleasure of operetta was linked to a particular cosmopolitan appetite that arose with modernity. Indeed, the rise of a cosmopolitan appetite can be related to capitalist enterprise in the nineteenth century. As early as 1848, Karl Marx was announcing, "the bourgeoisie has through its exploitation of the world market given a cosmopolitan character to production and consumption in every country … The individual creations of individual nations become common property."[49] In the rise of operetta as a cosmopolitan genre there is a mixture of social and economic factors in which the political economics of consumption play an important role. Motti Regev acknowledges that "the emergence and consolidation of aesthetic cosmopolitanism is closely associated with the rise and expansion of middle- and upper-middle-class fractions." The rise of a middle-class with disposable income that could be spent on leisure pursuits was crucial to the success of operetta. What is more, the increased facility of communication and travel of the early twentieth century was beginning to erode partisan feelings of locality, even before the later effects of globalization, migration, nomadic citizenship worked to change the way people conceptualized their relationship to others.

The consequence of a loss of partisan attachment to the local is not that culture becomes used and consumed in the same way in different countries, and this is evident in the various adaptations made during cultural transfer and exchange. The local plays as much a part in cosmopolitanism as in globalization. Aesthetic cosmopolitanism involves a taste for cultural products of other countries and requires a disposition of openness towards new cultural experience,[50] but is also calls for the sense of recognition of the Self in the Other. I am not convinced that the uncritical or non-reflexive consumption of food, drink, or music should be so readily dismissed by Ulrich Beck and Edgar Grande as "banal cosmopolitanism."[51] I am more drawn to Ryan Minor's phrase "everyday cosmopolitanism," and his suggestion that cosmopolitanism can sometimes be interesting precisely for being an unmarked

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[49] Karl Marx and F. Engels *The Manifesto of the Communist Party* [1848] (Moscow: Foreign Languages, 1952), 46–47. Cited in Bronislaw Szerszynski and John Urry, "Cultures of Cosmopolitanism," *The Sociological Review* 50/4 (2002): 461–81, at 461.

[50] See Bronislaw Szerszynski and John Urry, "Cultures of Cosmopolitanism," *The Sociological Review* 50/4 (2002): 461–81, at 468.

[51] Ulrich Beck and Edgar Grande, "Cosmopolitanism: Europe's Way out of Crisis," *European Journal of Social Theory*, 10/1 (2007): 67–85, at 72. It is significant that, after food and drink, it is music, with its emotional and non-cognitive associations, that is next to spring to mind (rather than literature or the visual arts).

category.[52] The English diner who loves Indian curry because it is delicious, and not because it is exotic is, in effect, consuming the *foreign* as the *same*, and this represents something more remarkable than a banal act. The next step is to adapt the imported culture to local preferences. Remaining in the world of curry, an example is the addition of masala sauce to the Indian dish chicken tikka in order to satisfy a Western taste conditioned by eating meat with gravy. It is a similar process that I argue can be found in the adaptations of German operetta for the West End and Broadway, and also in the readiness with which German operetta assimilated American features in the 1920s.

Lest we become unduly optimistic about the cosmopolitan tendencies of operetta consumption, there are some critical questions that need answers. Is operetta's reception in London and New York more akin to aesthetic tourism than aesthetic cosmopolitanism? Are audiences actually recognizing themselves in the products of another culture, or merely taking pleasure in spectacle? Operettas often employ signifiers of "national style" as colour—for instance, Lehár provides a "Russian" score for *Der Zarewitsch*, and a "Chinese" score for *Das Land des Lächelns* (even setting Mandarin Chinese lyrics in one chorus). National colour in an operetta is the aural equivalent of the transformation of a country's scenery into spectacle, and this is helped along by the displays of national costume (as in Act 2 of *Die lustige Witwe*). This becomes part of an argument about inauthenticity, or emotional spuriousness, surrounding cosmopolitan cultural consumption. Nature, itself, is transformed into cosmopolitan spectacle in operettas like *White Horse Inn* and *Whirled into Happiness* (Stolz's *Der Tanz ins Glück*). It is a case of "knowing about" another country's mountains and lakes rather than knowing from experience. Yet, spectacle encouraged a desire to travel and experience an environment for oneself.

We are now left to ask how much cosmopolitanism there was in the creation of the operettas, and how much lay in the consumption. Production and consumption have to be considered as separate entities. Operetta composers could be open to cosmopolitanism to varied degrees, and audiences could also vary in their cosmopolitan dispositions. It would be naïve to deny that an operetta such as Leo Fall's *Die Rose von Stambul* indulges to some extent in cultural Othering, as well as in cultural identification with the Self, but it differs in significant respects from exoticism and Orientalism in its representation of the cultural Other. This is where reception needs to be examined in combination with the subject positioning of operetta. Those involved in its production made a variety of assumptions about the audience to whom they were catering. To satisfy the kind of aesthetic cosmopolitanism already evident in the audience's appetite for English adaptations of German operetta, cultural traditions needed to be explained and shared and not become barriers that separate. Thus, we find something closer to what Bourriaud calls a "translation of singularities,"[53] rather than cultural misrepresentation. In contrast, a characteristic trait of Orientalism is its focus on representation over imitation, by which I mean that the Other may be represented by material that bears little or no relationship to the culture of that Other.[54] Exotic and Orientalist representation

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[52] Ryan Minor, "Beyond Heroism: Music, Ethics, and Everyday Cosmopolitanism," in Dan Gooley, "Colloquy: Cosmopolitanism in the Age of Nationalism, 1848–1914," *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 66/2 (2013): 523–49, at 529–34.

[53] Bourriaud, *The Radicant*, 39.

[54] I discuss this at length in "Orientalism and Musical Style," in my book *From the Erotic to the Demonic: On Critical Musicology* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), 155–78, 235–39.

techniques serve the function of emphasizing *difference* or strangeness: they work to produce recognition of the Self as *different* to the Other, and not to stimulate recognition of the Self *in* the Other—that is, *sameness*. If we reach back to *The Mikado*, we find perhaps the most pronounced example of an "Eastern" operetta in which the English audience recognized itself—even if the eponymous character enters to a Japanese tune.

In some cases the Other can simply be absorbed as Self. This is evident in the confusion that is often found over interpolated numbers in operettas. A critic is likely to mistake the local for the original—as an American critic pointed out in a review of Leo Fall's *Lieber Augustin*.[55] Indeed, a London critic claiming to be familiar with Viennese light opera failed to realize that the music he praised as delightful in Act 3 of the Daly's Theatre revival of Oscar Straus's *Ein Walzertraum* was actually the work of Scottish composer Hamish MacCunn.[56] It raises the question of how far we can regard the countries of Europe as standing in Self *vs.* Other relationships to one another. Rabindranath Tagore, in his study of nationalism published in 1917, quipped that Europe was actually "one country made into many."[57] There is usually a need for semiotic competence in understanding the meanings of other cultures, but operetta falls within a broad Western musical and theatrical culture, some of the elements of which had become familiar globally in the previous century. Bronislaw Szerszynski and John Urry describe cultural cosmopolitanism as a disposition that delights in "contrasts between societies."[58] However, there is often a feeling of "this is the same" in operetta, especially if it is an operetta concerned with the experience of modernity. It is felt most strikingly when modern technology features in the scenes on stage (for example, the typewriter and car in Leo Fall's *The Dollar Princess*. In Thomas Mann's novel *Der Zauberberg* (1924), set in the period before the First World War, it is technology that the humanist Ludovico Settembrini praises for creating increased understanding between people of different countries and destroying prejudice.[59]

The character Mustafa Bei in Paul Abraham's *Ball im Savoy* (1932) excuses his free lifestyle and liberal attitude to women and relationships by stressing that his home city of Istanbul is cosmopolitan. His six divorced wives—from Vienna, Prague, Rome, Madrid, Berlin, and Budapest—all appear in the operetta. Certainly, this character would be offensive to some Turkish people now in a way that he would not have been regarded at the time the operetta was written. It was produced after the period of reforms in Turkey, 1926–30, during which Mustafa Kemal Ataturk secularized the Turkish state, closed Islamic courts, adopted a variant of the Swiss Civil Code (stressing gender equality), adapted the Latin alphabet for the Turkish language, and, not least, was prepared to be seen drinking alcohol in public places. The representation of Mustafa Bei is a striking move away from Orientalist thinking: the impression of Istanbul an audience gleans from *Ball im Savoy* is not that of *Die Rose von Stambul*. When a musical sign of cultural difference is present in Abraham's representation of Bei (such as the augmented second) it serves only as a reminder of

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[55] "'Lieber Augustin' Delights at Casino," *New York Times*, 7 Sep. 1913, 13.
[56] "Daily's Theatre," *Times*, 9 Jan. 1911, 10.
[57] Rabindranath Tagore, *Nationalism* (London: Macmillan, 1917), 114.
[58] Szerszynski and Urry, "Cultures of Cosmopolitanism," 468.
[59] Technology, especially in its contribution to improved transport and communication, was bringing people closer together, "ihre gegenseitige Bekanntshaft zu fördern, menschlichen Ausgleich zwischen ihnen anzubahnen, ihre Vorurteile zu zerstören und endlich ihre allgemeine Vereinigung herbeizuführen." *Der Zauberberg* [1924] (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer Verlag, 2002), 238.

the local in the cosmopolitan. Stereotyping it may still be called, but no more so than the use of a snap rhythm to indicate that a character is Scottish.

The theoretical premise of transculturalism, from Fernando Ortiz's seminal thoughts of the 1940s onwards,[60] is that identity is not restricted to definitions of the Self, but opens up to recognize the relationship one shares with others. The ability to recognize oneself in the other is what distinguishes a transcultural outlook from a Self that is defined *against* an Other, as in Orientalist discourse. Moreover, in contrast to multiculturalism, which has so often resulted in the parceling up of cultural differences into detached units that encourage no recognition of shared commonalities, transculturalism is about cultural mixing. Operetta in the twentieth century was part of an entertainment industry that prompted the cross-fertilization of cultures (for example, Hungarian, Viennese, African-American, and Argentine musical styles) with none of the embedded anxiety suggested by theories of cultural hybridization. It was cosmopolitan in its embrace of culture beyond regional or national boundaries; anything that appealed to the urban theatregoer—from the czárdás to the fox trot—was incorporated without hesitation. A mixture of musical style was the norm.

Cosmopolitanism is sometimes criticized for being too closely aligned with the opportunities available to men (especially, affluent men). Yet, the cosmopolitan appeal of fashion in operetta was directed primarily at the feminine gaze. Many advertisements appearing in the periodical *The Play Pictorial* testify to the interest of women in finding retailers for the clothes they had seen on the operetta stage. All the same, cultural cosmopolitanism in the early decades of the twentieth century remains vulnerable to the accusation that it represents a bourgeois and/or elitist taste, despite the fact that operetta has never been viewed as a high cultural form, and many operettas were marketed simply as Broadway or West End entertainment. Platt and Becker argue that early twentieth-century musical theatre presented a challenge to ideas of "highbrow" cosmopolitanism and its "privileged cultural products and social elites."[61] Operetta from the German stage was produced in commercial theatres that were taking advantage of a growing urban population made increasing mobile by improvements in public transport. Some of the venues producing operetta were variety and vaudeville theatres (for example, the Hippodrome and Vaudeville Theatres in London, or the Palace Theatre in New York). Its reception in theatres of differing social status eats away at the idea that its cosmopolitan character was elitist to any pronounced degree, even if Amanda Anderson is right to point to the frequent tension that exists between egalitarianism and elitism in cosmopolitanism.[62] Certainly, there must have been a part of the audience that regarded a visit to an operetta performance as a posh night out. A charge of elitism, however, could be directed more persuasively at upper-class cosmopolitanism of the early decades of the eighteenth century (one thinks, for example, of the aristocratic enthusiasm for Italian opera). William Weber argues that Italian opera played "a central role in shaping cosmopolitan identity for the nobility and upper-middle class" in London.[63] Katherine Preston adds that this was understood by wealthy Americans, who "used their own patronage of Italian opera to imitate the British nobility and to demonstrate their own

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[60] Fernando Ortiz, *Cuban Counterpoint: Tobacco and Sugar* [1947], trans. Harriet de Onís (Durham: Duke University Press, 1995), 97–102.
[61] Platt and Becker, "Berlin/London: London/Berlin," 3.
[62] Amanda Anderson, *The Way We Argue Now: A Study in the Cultures of Theory* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2006), 73.
[63] William Weber, *The Great Transformation of Musical Taste: Concert Programming from Haydn to Brahms* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 21? 112?

connection with a cosmopolitan world beyond North America."[64] Italian vocal music carried with it what Weber describes as a "cosmopolitan authority."[65] In the second half of the nineteenth century, the concept of "classical music" carried the same kind of authority, and was a reason why British composers felt little urge to develop a national style—although, of course, that became a concern towards the end of the century, when Britain's imperialist policies began to gain increased momentum.

Prior to operetta (defined broadly to include *opéras-bouffes* and the comic operas of Gilbert and Sullivan), the musical-theatrical genre with the broadest cosmopolitan appeal was *opéra comique*. The international success of André Grétry's *Richard Coeur-de-lion* (1784) was considerable, François-Adrien Boieldieu's *Le Calife de Bagdad* (1800) more so. After the Napoleonic Wars, Boieldieu enjoyed his greatest success on the international stage with *La Dame blanche* (1825), and Daniel Auber, Adophe Adam, and Ferdinand Hérold experienced similar triumphs in the 1830s. Nevertheless, the cultural transfer of *opéra comique* lacked the global networks of exchange that developed later in the century.

To return to Weber's notion of "cosmopolitan authority," there is not much of a case to be made for the ability of operetta to exert this kind of cultural power. Operetta's main rival was musical comedy, which Charles Kassell Harris, in 1906, claimed had helped to increase the sale of popular songs because it was "made up almost entirely of popular music."[66] Although many critics drew a contrast between operettas from the German stage and what they regarded as vapid Anglo-American musical comedy, this did not mean that operetta was part of an elite cosmopolitan package of culturally authoritative artworks for refined and educated sensibilities.[67] It represented a wider artistic vision of cosmopolitanism in which popular entertainment plays a significant role. In this regard, the translations and adaptations are significant, because the art *versus* entertainment struggle of the second half of the nineteenth century ensured that high-art operas could not be subjected to such "degrading" treatment.[68] Nevertheless, the years of the First World War provided a severe test to those who devoured English versions of operettas from the German stage with a cosmopolitan appetite. The difficulty was felt to a greater degree in London than in New York, partly because the American city was home to many citizens of German descent, and partly because the USA was late to enter the conflict. Jean Gilbert's *The Cinema Star* (*Die Kino-Königin*) was playing to full houses in London just before

[64] Katherine K. Preston, "Opera Is Elite / Opera Is Nationalist: Cosmopolitan Views of Opera Reception in the United States, 1870–90," contribution to Dana Gooley, "Colloquy: Cosmopolitanism in the Age of Nationalism, 1848–1914," *JAMS*, 66/2 (2013): 523–49, 535–39, at 536.

[65] William Weber, "Cosmopolitan, National, and Regional Identities in Eighteenth-Century European Musical Life," in Jane Fulcher, ed., *The Oxford Handbook of the New Cultural History of Music*, 209–226, at 224.

[66] Charles Kassell Harris, *How To Write a Popular Song* (Chicago: published by the author, 1906), 7.

[67] In 1930, when Frank A. Beach strove to encourage operatic productions in Schools, he found it necessary to devote a chapter to the question, "Is the Operetta Worth While?" *Preparation and Presentation of the Operetta* (Boston: Oliver Ditson, 1930), 7–12.

[68] See Lawrence Levine, *Highbrow/Lowbrow: The Emergence of Cultural Hierarchy in America* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1988), and Scott, *Sounds of the Metropolis*, 85–113, 241–48.

Britain declared war on Germany (4 August 1914), but it was soon withdrawn.[69] It is an illustration of the flaw in Kwame A. Appiah's argument that patriotic attachments can exist without friction as part of a liberal cosmopolitanism.[70] Appiah developed the idea of "patriotic cosmopolitanism" as part of a critique of Martha Nussbaum's cosmopolitanism *sans frontières* (a world citizenship unrestrained by a particular cultural, political or religious affiliation).[71]

The flexibility of the term "cosmopolitan" is what makes it—at one and the same time—both attractive and contentious. Attempts to find modifiers that can be placed before it are an indication that the term in isolation is found too vague for many social theorists. Its conflicted meanings—some of them are historical, while others emanate from the recent vogue for cosmopolitan ideas—have yet to be resolved. Homi Bhabha attempts to account for the day-to-day cosmopolitanism bound up in the everyday existence of displaced individuals with his concept of "vernacular cosmopolitanism."[72] Brigid Cohen uses the term "migrant cosmopolitanism" to describe the transnational and disparate cultural affiliations found in the work of Stefan Wolpe and Yoko Ono.[73] Many of the modified versions of cosmopolitanism are driven by the desire to link together the ties of a particular social membership with the universalist aspirations of cosmopolitanism. An example is Mitchell Cohen's "rooted cosmopolitanism."[74] Still, it is to be wondered if clarity is to be gained by an ever-proliferating number of cosmopolitan variants.

A counter-argument to the kind of cosmopolitan appreciation that I am advancing here is usually based on the idea that the cultural conditioning a person acquires from being part of a nation, a community, or a social milieu, means that this individual will create or perform artworks in a way that an outsider never can do. This conviction can lead to more rigid beliefs, for example, that the ability to play a Dvořák symphony is in the blood of Czech orchestral musicians, or that an understanding of Elgar is in the blood of English musicians.[75] However, this conviction fails to account for the

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[69] Some regional theatres were less ready to cancel German operetta. The Grand Theatre, Leeds, for example, produced two of Jean Gilbert's Berlin operettas in 1915: *The Cinema Star* [*Die Kino-Königin*] in April, and *The Girl in the Taxi* [*Die keusche Susanne*] in August.

[70] Kwame Anthony Appiah, "Cosmopolitan Patriots," *Critical Inquiry*, 23/3 (Spring, 1997): 617–39.

[71] Martha C. Nussbaum, "Patriotism and Cosmopolitanism," *Boston Review*, 19/5 (Nov. 1994): 3–16; reprinted in Martha C. Nussbaum and J. Cohen, eds, *For Love of Country: Debating the Limits of Patriotism* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1996), 2–20. It should be noted, however, that Nussbaum has not attacked diversity as such; her target is specifically the hierarchical ordering of diversity; see "Reply," in Nussbaum and Cohen, *For Love of Country*, 131–44, at 138.

[72] Homi Bhabha, "Unsatisfied: Notes on Vernacular Cosmopolitanism," in Peter C. Pfeiffer and Laura Garcia-Moreno, eds, *Text and Nation* (Columbia: Camden House, 1996), 191–207.

[73] Brigid Cohen, "Limits of National History: Yoko Ono, Stefan Wolpe, and Dilemmas of Cosmopolitanism," *The Musical Quarterly*, 97/2 (2014): 181–237, at 215.

[74] Mitchell Cohen, "Rooted Cosmopolitanism," *Dissent* (Fall, 1992): 478–83.

[75] I have have criticized this idea that music is in the genes in my article "In Search of Genetically Modified Music," *Nineteenth-Century Music Review*, 3/1 (2006): 3–23. It is still around: "The Royal Liverpudlians have this music in their blood," writes Hugh Canning of a new recording of Elgar's First Symphony. "On Record," *The Sunday Times, Culture* supplement, 8 Mar. 2015, 23. Conductor Antonio Pappano says that the Saint Cecilia Orchestra, Rome, has Italian music "in their DNA, even if they haven't played it. They naturally somehow know what it requires." Interview by Hugo Shirley, "'A miracle!' Aida returns to the studio," *Gramophone* (Sep. 2015): 18–20, at 20.

numbers of Chinese musicians who appear to be such expert and sensitive interpreters of Western concert music. Bourriaud does not regard tradition or local cultures as inevitable adversaries of an ability to immerse oneself in another culture; they become such only when they act as constraining cultural schemata, and roots become part of a "rhetoric of identity."[76] In its engagement with culture across borders of all kinds, aesthetic cosmopolitanism challenges ideas of Self and Other. It does not disregard local culture, but makes that culture available to others, and is open to the culture of others, too. The local, in any case, is often just a part of something that is bigger than the local. Jazz is not perceived as a type of "local" music, but there are local flavours such as those that developed in New Orleans, Chicago, and New York.

I conclude by acknowledging that attempts to study cosmopolitanism are as frustrating as attempts to examine socialism. The investigation is inevitably hampered by the fact that the research can only be conducted in particular historical contexts in societies that are neither unequivocally socialist nor cosmopolitan. For that matter, there is as yet no global society, although this does not rule out the possibility of its existing one day. Dana Gooley, having accepted the difficulty of identifying a "location or site" when studying cosmopolitanism, suggests that cosmopolitanism should perhaps "be traced at the level of practices—behaviors, social performances, patterns of travel, [and] networks of communication."[77] That has been precisely my intention in this essay.

[76] Bourriaud, *The Radicant*, 56.
[77] Dana Gooley, "Colloquy: Cosmopolitanism in the Age of Nationalism, 1848–1914," *JAMS*, 66/2 (2013): 523–49, at 525.

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