Notes and Variants
THE VISIONS OF SIMONE MACHARD

Texts by Brecht

Little Simone Machard works for the hostellerie at a small town called Saint-Martin in central France. She is there to help out, primarily in connection with the hotel petrol pump; the hotel also runs a transport business. It is June 1940; the Nazis have taken Paris; streams of refugees are pouring across central France and passing through Saint-Martin.

Simone's seventeen-year-old brother is at the front; she loves him dearly and is sure that he is involved in the fighting. Meanwhile in the village and in the hotel she finds that at this point, in the middle of a great national disaster, high and low alike can think of nothing but themselves. It is now that she reads a book given her by her teacher, which contains the story of the Maid of Orleans, greatest of all French patriots.

During those feverish nights, with the leading Germans already up to the Loire, she is moved by the course of events to dream that she is herself Saint Joan. An angel appears to her from the garage roof and tells her that she has been chosen to save France. He has the features of her soldier brother André. In her dream the legend of the book mingles with the reality of the little hotel. The hotel's patron is suddenly a constable of the royal court; the hotel staff, the drivers and the old night porter, wear armour and form a little unit of feudal soldiery who escort her to the king; while in the king himself she recognizes the spineless local mayor.

Thereafter Simone at the hostellerie undergoes a miniature version of the terrible and uplifting fate of Joan of Arc, and again and again in her dreams she turns into the saint.

She dreams that the angel gives her an invisible drum. He tells her that this drum is the soil of France, and that in an
emergency the soil of France—her drum—will resound, summoning the people to resist France’s enemies. In her role as a great popular leader, she then in her dream goes to the king, holds confidential talks with the king-mayor and warns him not to spend his time playing cards with his nobles, the patron-connétable and the other luminaries of Saint-Martin, but instead to attend to the arming and feeding of the people. The people, for their part, are called on to fight wholeheartedly. In this way she manages to unite king, people and nobles and to crown the king-mayor in Rheims.

In the real world of the hotel, when the patron and his drivers simply wish to run away from the Germans, she fetches the mayor and has the hotel forced to hand over its stocks of food to the municipality rather than remove them to the interior, while the drivers and their lorries are made to evacuate the refugees who are blocking the French army from using the roads.

(The patron allows the child to have her way because at least this stops his hostellerie from being looted, and the drivers help her because they sympathize with her anxiety for her brother at the front.)

But when she calls for the hostellerie’s secret stocks of petrol to be destroyed to prevent them from falling into enemy hands she is going too far, and the patron’s mother dismisses her.

That night she dreams the chapter in her book in which the Maid, following her initial victories, encounters the first problems in her own ranks. Although Paris is still in enemy hands she is not given command of a fresh army. The king-mayor and the patron-connétable ennoble her, admittedly, but they take away her sword. Once more the angel appears on the garage roof and she has to tell him that she has been dismissed. Severely the angel recommends her to stick to her course and not, for instance, to let the petrol fall into the hands of the Germans, or else their murderous tanks will be able to keep on thrusting ahead.

A few days later the Germans enter Saint-Martin. The
patron has fled. His mother and old Captain Beleire, a Laval supporter and vineyard owner, wish to come to terms with the victorious Germans at any price. To prove that they mean to collaborate they tell the German commandant that the petrol is hidden in the brickworks. But the brickworks is already ablaze when the Germans get there. Simone has set fire to it. This act of sabotage threatens the new and promising Franco-German collaboration. Wanted: the incendiary.

In a disturbing dream Simone once again encounters the heroic Joan of the legend, now deserted by her own side, because the Queen Mother Isabeau and the Duke of Burgundy have asserted themselves at Court and are trying to arrange an armistice with the enemy. The Queen Mother looks just like the mother of the patron, while the Duke of Burgundy is like the connétable. Only Simone, now wide awake, cannot believe this dream. And when on the patron’s return he feels sorry for her, and he and the drivers want to take her away, she insists on staying. How is her brother to find her if and when he returns? So she is denounced to the Germans and arrested.

In a final vision Simone dreams that she, Joan, has been taken captive and handed over by the enemy to an ecclesiastical court which has to decide whether the voices which she heard summoning her to resist the enemy came in fact from God or from the devil. She is tragically shocked to find that the noble judges who condemn her to the stake for having spoken with the devil’s voice only are all people whom she knows: the mayor, the Captain, the patron, with the patron’s mother putting the case for the prosecution.

Simone dreams this last dream in prison, and the following morning the Germans hand her back to the French. Her friends among the hotel staff are hopeful for her. They feel that a French official inquiry into the fire must be bound to admit the patriotic nature of her motives. But there are good reasons why the German attitude should be so generous. The Germans think it undesirable that there should have been an act of sabotage which might act as a precedent for others.
And shooting a child would jeopardize the collaboration they so badly need. So they have agreed with their French friends that the case should be sidetracked.

Simone has to hear the patron and his mother, her employers, giving evidence against her, while the mayor leaves her to her fate. Numb with shock, she learns that a French court finds that her action was not undertaken for patriotic reasons, but that she caused the fire for purely personal motives, as a mischievous act of revenge for her dismissal. She is sent for corrective training.

The people, however, are not fooled. When the patron returns to the hostellerie he finds that his staff have left. And as Simone is being led away after the verdict Saint-Martin is shaken by a bombing attack. English planes are carrying on the struggle.

For Simone these explosions have a special meaning. Did her dream angel not tell her that the soil of France was her invisible drum, whose sound would bring the sons of France hurrying to defend it? And here is French soil reverberating. It is the angel, her brother André, who has sent her the planes. (n.b.: Interwoven with the play is the delicate story of little Simone’s relations with a wounded soldier, one of her brother’s friends.)

[GW Schriften zum Theater 3, pp. 1181–5. This plan for the play, which may have been conceived as a film treatment, differs from our text, particularly in its ending, which is unlike that in any other version. Nowhere else is the Captain specifically described as being old, while the identification of the drum with the soil of France is also unusually clearly made. Note that there is no mention of the refugees in the gymnasium.]

WORKING PLAN

1. The Germans invade France. At the hostellerie ‘au relais’ it is business as usual, but Simone Machard is reading a book of legends.
Working Plan 245

(a) two drivers see bombs, an old man mends tyres, a soldier licks his wounds, a child reads a book.
(b) the colonel does not wish to be greeted.
(c) conversation about the treachery of the top people, about visions, hordes of refugees, headaches, teachers and wine.
(d) soldiers get their dixie half-filled with lentils. simone’s brother is unknown.
(e) the patron defends his stocks and tells simone to give the colonel his bill.
(f) the hotel has a star, the staff remain cool.
(g) the mayor is bawled out by the colonel because the roads are blocked.
(h) the mayor wants lorries for the refugees, the patron has no petrol, the staff confirm it, the captain needs the lorries for his barrels of wine, the war is lost.
(i) only a miracle can save france, in the mayor’s view; the staff say ‘simone thinks one will take place’.

2. joan of arc, summoned by divine voices, crowns the king in rheims and unites all frenchmen against the hereditary foe.
(a) the angel calls joan and gives her the task.
(b) she gets helmet and bayonet.
(c) the ajaxes escort her, and battles are won.
(d) she recognizes the king.
(e) her argument with the king.
(f) she crowns him.

3. simone gets a bearing for the mayor, and the hotel is saved.
(a) the germans have crossed the loire, the staff has breakfast, the patron has certain wishes, the staff has breakfast, simone disappears.
(b) the patron is horrified to find that he is not liked. simone is looked for by her parents.
(c) the mayor arrives with soldiers, having been fetched by simone. the lorries are requisitioned but the mayor weakens.
(d) simone supports him and arranges everything, aided by
madame mère. the soldiers are given wine, and leave
for the front. the village is given the food stocks, and
simone’s parents are the first.
(e) the wave of patriotism infects the patron. handshake and
toast. the petrol must be saved, as simone said.
(f) the patron has departed. madame mère fires simone. the
mayor admires the tip.

4. Joan, rewarded by the court but dismissed in her native village, is
encouraged by her voices to continue the struggle.
(a) although the enemy is still in her country, joan can get
no more troops.
(b) instead she is thanked for her services. she is knighted
with her own sword.
(c) but her sword is not returned to her; the king gives it
to the connétable as a mark of gratitude.
(d) the angel appears and tells her to carry on the struggle.

5. the Germans occupy the village. simone sets fire to the petrol.
(a) madame mère receives the german commandant. ‘he’s
human like the rest of us’.
(b) the captain harangues the staff. in future discipline will
prevail.
(c) simone hears the captain warning the mayor not to
conceal the existence of the petrol in the brickworks.
(d) simone tells the mayor of her plan to set fire to the
brickworks. he seems to approve.
(e) the opponents also get on at a low level. the com-
mandant’s batman talks with the wounded soldier.
(f) the gentry enter the yard to inspect the brickworks. a
good understanding prevails.
(g) the brickworks are ablaze.

6. simone is surrendered by the top people.
(a) simone’s parents come to thank her: as a result of her
generous action her father has got the job with the
council.
(b) the *patron* returns. He is embarrassed by the parents’ tributes: ‘your hotel is France in miniature’. père gustave accompanies him inside.

daydream

(a) the maid’s messenger is kept from the king. Why?
(b) because the English are within, and what is being talked about?
(c) the maid, and what else?
(d) the fact that she is to blame for the war.
(e) so she isn’t relieved, but her troops are thrown in again, and so she is captured.
(f) but the angel appears once more and assures her that everything she did was right, and warns her to stick to her mission.

6. *Simone is surrendered by the top people*, continued.

(c) the drivers urge Simone to flee. She stands by her faith in the *patron*.

(d) then the *patron* comes out too and urges her to flee.

(e) Simone is seized by panic, and does flee.

(f) the German commandant and the French gentry enter the yard and a search is made for Simone. She is not there. The commandant is angry and goes back indoors.

(g) sigh of relief from the gentry. Simone is standing in the yard. She has come back. They implore her. She refuses to flee. The commandant arrives. Simone: it’s me.

7. *the English hand Joan over to an ecclesiastical court consisting of Frenchmen, which interrogates her about the angel*.

(a) the English bring Joan before the ecclesiastical court. They ask for a report as to whether the voices come from God or from the devil.

(b) the connétable, the Burgundian and the renegade colonel don their ecclesiastical robes.

(c) the ecclesiastical court discusses the voices’ origin with Joan and finds them devilish.
8. trial of simone machard by the authorities of her village. she is found not guilty of the crime of sabotage but is sent to the pious sisters' corrective institution on the grounds of incendiarism and vindictiveness.

(a) the germans hand simone back.
(b) the commission goes out of its way to whitewash her of any accusation of sabotaging the germans.
(c) the staff welcome this attitude on the court's part and hope for her release.
(d) the remainder of the hearing is devoted to simone's attitude to her employers, particularly on the day of the great panic.
(e) questioned about her motives for incendiarism she continues to insist that she did it for france's sake.
(f) she is forced however to admit that she really wanted to save the petrol from its owners.
(g) she is therefore handed over to the pious sisters of sainte-madeline for correction.
(h) while she says good-bye in the yard to the staff and to her parents the commission goes off to report to the german commandant.

[BBA 1204/1–3. This is one of the most elaborately worked out of all Brecht's characteristic structural plans. It is mounted on card, with scenes 1–8 (and their sub-headings) forming eight parallel columns. There are pencilled figures by Brecht giving (apparently) the estimated duration of each sub-scene, and it seems altogether probable that the collaborators used it as a basis for their first script.]

THE DREAMS

The dreams in which Simone relives the St Joan legend can be made intelligible to audiences unaware of the legend by the large-scale projection of individual pages from the book, possibly including woodcut illustrations.

For the first dream: 'Summoned by an angel to save France,
Joan units the French by crowning Charles VII king in the city of Rheims.

For the second dream: ‘Following some brilliant victories, Joan is ennobled. However, she has powerful enemies at court who would like to see an armistice.’

For the third dream: ‘Betrayed into enemy hands, Joan is handed over to an ecclesiastical court which condemns her to death.’

[GW Schriften zum Theater 3, p. 1185. These captions can be compared with those in the plans quoted in the Editorial Note, below. Illustrations reproduced from old illuminated manuscripts are gummed into one or two of Brecht’s typescripts of the play.]

**FIRST DREAM OF SIMONE MACHARD (DURING THE NIGHT OF 14/15 JUNE)**

I was addressed from the garage roof in a loud voice as ‘Joan!’, went immediately out into the yard and saw the angel on the roof of the garage. He waved to me in friendly fashion and told me that I had been called to defeat France’s enemies. He ordered me to go straightway to Châlons and crown the king, as I had read in the book. After the angel had disappeared once more the soldier came out of the garage towards me and handed me sword and helmet. The former looked like a bayonet. I asked whether I should clean it for him but he answered that it was against the enemies of France. Thereupon I felt as if I were standing in green countryside. A strong wind was blowing and the sky was like it is between four and five in the morning when you go to mass. Then I saw how the earth, together with all the meadows and poplars upon it, curved as if it were a ball, and how the enemy loomed up in a mighty procession without end. In front rode the drummer with a voice like a wolf and his drum was stretched with a Jew’s skin; a vulture perched on his shoulder with the features of Farouche the banker from Lyons. Close behind
him came the Marshal Incendiary. He went on foot, a fat clown, in seven uniforms and in none of them did he look human. Above these two devils was a canopy of newsprint, so it was easy for me to recognize them. Behind them rode the remaining executioners and marshals, with countenances for the most part like the backsides of plucked chickens, and behind them drove an endless procession of guns and tanks and railway trains, also automobiles on which were altars or torture chambers, for everything was on wheels.

[BBA 118-19. More than anything else, this draft of the first dream, part of which was taken into the play (p. 20), links the ‘Visions’ of the play’s title with the series of poetic ‘Visions’ written by Brecht from 1938 on. See the notes to Poems 1913–1936 (hardback edition) pp. 510–11. The drummer is Hitler, the marshal Hermann Goering, whom the Communists held responsible for the Reichstag fire of 1933.]

TWO CHARACTERS

Scene 1

SIMONE

All this being ordered hither and thither remains characteristic of the little maid-of-all-work so long as the hither and the thither are still undefined, and the hither and thither is not contrasted with something else. This would be the case were she, for instance, to be rent apart between the wishes of those above her and the needs of those below—for she is exploited from on top and from underneath—and if, to form the contrast, there were something at some particularly rending moment to be observed about tanks that was of special worry and concern to her.

Scene 6
[our scene 3b]

THE PATRON

The patron can only develop into a character if he acquires an
evolution of his own in this scene. His confrontation with the staff becomes manly as a result of the invasion. The invasion offers him the opportunity to score a 'victory', but he shouldn't be too eager to pick up this particular laurel wreath. It is essential that he should fall into a rage on hearing that his brickworks has been destroyed; this is not the kind of war he wants to wage. Waging it in such way destroys the point of war. Patriotic feelings raise their head later, as inhibitions. How is it going to look if he hands a French citizen over to the Germans? That would be setting a bad example.

[BBA 1190/50. For the renumbering of scenes, see the Editorial Note.]
Editorial Note

I. GENERAL

When Brecht and Feuchtwanger discussed collaborating on a play at the end of October 1942 they considered various possibilities before settling on a St Joan story:

A confused person has dreams in which the characters of the patriotic legend take on features of her superiors, and she learns how and why those superiors are waging their war, and how long for.

Thus the note in Brecht’s journal, which calls the project Saint Joan of Vitry (The Voices). According to Feuchtwanger’s recollection many years later the heroine was originally to be called Odette, but in what must be one of the earliest plans she is Jeanne Gotard. This was for a play of eleven scenes, starting:

1. the germans attack france. jeanne gotard is given an old book with the story of jeanne d’arc.
2. joan of arc calls on the king.
3. jeanne gotard hides the petrol stocks from the advancing german tanks.

—and finishing:

7. incendiarism of jeanne gotard.
8. respectable frenchmen talk to respectable englishmen.
9. arrest of jeanne gotard.
10. initiation of proceedings against joan of arc.
11. condemnation of jeanne gotard by a french court.

What seems like the beginning of a treatment in Brecht’s typing is headed Saint Joan of Vitry and goes as follows:

In Vitry, a small town in Champagne, during the German invasion of 1940, a young girl by the name of Jeanne Gotard dreamt a strange dream lasting five consecutive nights. By day she worked her father’s petrol pump, he being a soldier serving in the Maginot Line. The schoolmaster across the way had lent her an old book with the illustrated story of Joan of Arc, and so at night she dreamt she was Joan. In her dreams however the historical events reported in the book were intermingled with memories of certain incidents at the petrol station, so that the
story of the saint displayed strange variations which not only made a profound impression on those listeners to whom she recounted her nightly experiences but would also certainly have interested an historian, if such a person had been present. In her dreams she appeared armed with bayonet and steel helmet, but the rest of her clothes were those that she wore every day, while the historical personalities with whom she had to deal—king, marshals, cardinals and ordinary people—bore the faces of familiar personalities of the town of Vitry, such as visited the petrol station in the daytime. Coulonje the banker merely wore a plumed hat, the mayor of the town simply a flowing cloak over his grey suit . . .

A nine-scene version of the plan eliminates the missing scenes 4–6 of the scheme given above, and renames the heroine Michèle. Thus:

1. the Germans attack France. Michèle Gotard reads a patriotic legend.
2. Joan of Arc, summoned by divine voices, crowns the king in Rheims and unites all Frenchmen against the hereditary foe.
3. Michèle saves stocks from the advancing German tanks.
4. Joan of Arc, rewarded by the mighty and dismissed in her native village, is moved by the divine voices to continue the struggle.
5. Michèle’s incendiaryism.
6. Highly-placed French men talk to highly-placed Englishmen.
7. Michèle is betrayed and is arrested by the Germans; however, certain circles arrange for her to come before a French court.
8. Joan is perturbed by the angel’s failure to appear, the high court meets and questions her about the voices.

With the much more elaborately worked out plan given above on pp. 444–8 Michèle Gotard finally became Simone Machard, but the English decision to hand Joan of Arc over for trial by her own people—which Feuchtwanger saw as the pivotal point of the play—got swallowed in the next scene. None the less this eight-scene version seems to have served as the basis for the actual writing of the play.

Brecht’s first typescript is in eight scenes, bearing the dates 28.12.42 at scene 5 and Jan 43 near the end; a note in his handwriting calls it ‘first script, written in California’. An almost en-
tirely rewritten script follows, which is not in Brecht’s typing and bears corrections by his and other hands; it was among his collaborator Ruth Berlau’s papers and is headed ‘a play in two acts by Bertolt Brecht and Lion Feuchtwanger’ with three suggested English titles: *Simone Hears Voices*, *St Joan in Vichy* and *The Nights of St Joan*. Feuchtwanger seems to have used a copy of this, lacking Brecht’s last revisions, for a third, slightly modified version which he headed ‘a play in eight scenes by Bertolt Brecht and Lion Feuchtwanger’ and sent to Elisabeth Hauptmann in Berlin a year before Brecht’s death; it bears no marks by Brecht. The fourth and final script derives likewise from the rewritten version; it dates from 1946 and contains none of Feuchtwanger’s modifications, but is heavily corrected by Brecht, who at some points went back to the first version. This is the script which was used for the German collected edition and accordingly is the basis of our own text. We shall refer to them respectively as the first version, the Berlau script, the Feuchtwanger script and the 1946 or final version.

For Brecht there were two principal points of uncertainty in the writing of it. The first was the question of Simone’s age; he found himself wanting to make her younger and younger (‘mainly because I cannot give a motive for her patriotism’, he noted in his journal), yet by doing so he destroyed her interest as a character. ‘The difficulty is’, he noted on 8 December 1942 of his struggle with the ‘Handshake’ scene,

i’m writing the scene with no picture of the principal part, simone. originally i saw her as a somewhat ungainly, mentally retarded and inhibited person; then it seemed more practical to use a child, so i’m left with the bare functions and nothing to offset them with in the way of individuality.

The other problem was the ending, which is unresolved in the first script and may well have been left in some confusion when Brecht went off to New York on 8 February. As will be seen from the detailed analysis that follows, he envisaged two alternative solutions, arguing (in the journal entry for 5 January) that

the correct version is unperformable. in reality of course the wendells [i.e. the De Wendels of the Schneider arms firm] and pétains made use of the defeat and the foreign occupation to do down their social opponents. simone accordingly would need to be released by the germans (following false evidence by the staff
of the hostellerie) then handed over to the corrective institution by madame mère and captain fétain for subversive activities. In the performable version this would have to be blurred over; condemning simone for incendiarism due to her hatred of the patron means at the same time saving her from execution by the germans.

It was only in the final version that he seems to have settled for the less blurred alternative.

But besides these a number of other important variables can be observed in the scripts, though Brecht himself had nothing to say about them. They are:

(a) The identification of the angel with Simone's brother. At the beginning of the first version it is the Archangel Michael, while there is also a note saying 'the angel's voice is [? the voice] of the people'.

(b) The characters of Maurice and Robert, who in the first version are brothers. There they are shown shirking the call-up, and Maurice has evidently refused to help move the refugees (as is made explicit in the Berlau script). However at the end of the Berlau (ii) and Feuchtwanger scripts they turn against the Patron. Not so in the final script.

(c) The character of Père Gustave. He seems much more unpleasant in the earlier versions, bootlicking the Patron and giving evidence against Simone.

(d) The role of the mayor, who compromises at a different stage in each version. Thus in the Feuchtwanger and Berlau (ii) versions of the Fourth Dream (i.e. our scene 4a) he is still defending Simone, whereas in the final text he is one of her judges.

(e) The Patron's journey with the two truck drivers. In our version it is not explained how they came back, nor why they brought back the china and not the wines (initially the Captain's) nor what happened to such refugees as they found room for. In the other texts the party runs into the Germans and/or breaks down, but again it is far from clear what is really supposed to have happened.

(f) The role of the refugees is heavily stressed in the final text, which brings in the notion of their being a 'mob' quartered in the village hall.

(g) Simone's escape is exclusive to the last version, though she half-tries in the Berlau and Feuchtwanger scripts.
(b) The placing of the Daydream varies. This was the section of the play which Feuchtwanger in a letter of 27 March 1943 told Brecht had displeased all with whom he had discussed it (William Dieterle, Hanns Eisler, Oskar Homolka and Berthold Viertel) and should therefore be cut.

Such points reflect a good deal of uncertainty in the authors’ minds, and the effect is visible even in the final version, where the definition of the characters is further smudged by the occasional reallocation of lines. Besides this there is not only the altering of names—thus in the first script the mayor was Phillip [sic] Duclos, the Patron Henri Champon, his mother ‘Madame Mère’ and the captain Captain Bellair—but a basic insecurity about places and dates. In the earlier scripts the scope of the action embraced Saint-Nazaire, Tours and Lyons—places several hundred kilometres apart and all of them far from the Champagne country where the previous scheme of the play was laid. Again, where the final text puts Simone’s village on one of the main roads from Paris to the South, the Berlau script puts it on the Paris–Bordeaux road. The cumulative effect of all these hesitations and improbabilities helps to weaken the play.

2. SCENE-BY-SCENE ACCOUNT

The following is a scene-by-scene account of the main changes. It uses the numbering of the final text with, in brackets, the numbers and titles of the corresponding eight-scene arrangement. It is followed by a short account of Feuchtwanger’s novel Simone, which was a product of the play but, so far as we know, involved no collaboration by Brecht.

1. The Book (1)
The first version had Simone on stage from the start, reading her book; her present moves and business come from the Berlau script, which also changes the provenance of the book from ‘the nuns’ (first version) to ‘the schoolmistress’ and then, in Brecht’s hand, to ‘the Patron’, as now. The soldier Georges’s dialogue with Simone about the beauties of France was reworked more than once, and is altogether missing in the Feuchtwanger script. An addition to the Berlau script reads, in lieu of the lines from ‘Is that what it says in the book?’ to ‘Do you have to go down to the village hall again . . .’:
Simone nods

Georges: Perhaps they mean the cafés with their orange awnings or the Hôtes in the early morning, full of meat and vegetables.

Simone: What do you like best?

Georges: They say one's own fish, white bread and wine are best.

Simone: What's the most beautiful thing you've seen?

Georges: I don't know. In Saint-Malo, for instance, I saw the launching of the Intrépide, a big blue box for catching cod. We went to a bistro and drank so much framboise that my cousin Jean fell out of his swing-boat.

Simone: Was he hurt?

Georges: No, he fell on the fat proprietress. What do you like best?

Simone: When they give us milk rolls at school.

Georges: Yes, that's something that could stay the way it is. Same with playing bowls in the shade outside the mairie, wouldn't you say? And the women would be all right, particularly the girls in Lyons or Arles, say, pleasant ways they've got, but then you're not interested in that. Yes, there's quite a lot one could put up with.

Simone: And our hostellerie?

Georges: Just like France. Certain people spoil the whole picture so to speak.

The reference to the sappers which follows (with the mention of Simone's brother) derives from the same script, as does the dialogue between Père Gustave and the Patron (up to his exit on p. 8) and most of the ensuing detail about 'the gentleman with the trout' and his meal. Only part of this is in the Feuchtwanger script, while the first script goes almost straight from Georges's attempt to take away Simone's book to the sappers' actual entry on p. 8 (though it does make the point that Simone is holding down her brother's job while he is at the front). The fact that the brother is Saint-Martin's only volunteer comes from the Berlau script; the phrase 'And the people are the enemy' (p. 9) is from an addition to the 1946 version. Virtually everything from the Colonel's exit (p. 11) to the Mayor's entry (p. 12) is new in the Berlau script; in the first version the Mayor arrives before the Colonel leaves, and is bawled out for permitting the confusion on the roads; the Colonel threatening to report him to the Préfecture at Lyons.
Thereafter the first version moves straight from the Mayor's request for the lorries to his formal requisitioning of them (p. 13). It is at this point that the Patron states his prior obligation to the Captain and his wines, provoking the Mayor to speak of his duty to France.

**PATRON:** Don't talk about France. You're just using an opportunity to score off the Captain because he cut your wife at the Préfet's ball in return for your taking Simone out of his service so she might go to school...

This leads quickly into the Mayor's demand for the petrol too. From there down to Maurice's statement (p. 14) that they know nothing about the petrol the first version is like a draft of the final text. Thereafter:

**MAYOR:** So that's your answer? I see. Only a miracle can save France; it's rotten from top to bottom. **To Simone:** You've got a brother at the front; in the south, isn't he? Do you imagine he'll have any petrol for his tank? Jammed in the endless stream of refugees, he's no doubt waiting for a mortal attack by enemy dive-bombers. But I don't suppose you're any more likely than the others to tell me where I can get him some petrol, eh, Simone?

*Simone stands motionless, then gives a dry sob and rushes away.*

*Sighing, the Mayor turns and leaves.*

Neither the Berlau nor the Feuchtwanger script has any mention of the petrol in this scene or the Dream which follows. The former has the final text from the Mayor's entry to the Patron's 'We must talk in private' (p. 13); whereupon the Mayor replies:

No, Henri, we will no longer talk in private. I may be a bad mayor, I suppose, and have done wrong to shut an eye so often. But unless I can organize those twenty lorries for the refugees I don't know how I'll be able to look my son in the face when he gets back from the front. *He notices Simone.*

Sending some of your food parcels to the village hall? You only filled the soldiers' dixie half full. I ought to have confiscated your stocks long ago.

**PATRON** threateningly: Try it and see.

**MAYOR:** How can the refugees get anywhere if they're robbed of their last sou all along the line?
PATRON: This is a restaurant, not a charitable institution. You can go, Simone.
Simone starts to go.
MAYOR stops her. Calmly: Any news from your brother?
Simone shakes her head.
MAYOR: I've not heard from my son either. Quietly and bitterly to the others: At this moment her brother can see the German tanks advancing towards him, Stukas above him, blocked roads behind him so that no reinforcements can get through to him; and here she is being expected to help exploit Frenchmen who are in trouble.

The Patron claims that this is undermining her respect for her employer, to which the Mayor replies 'I see', and so on to the end as in the final version.

First Dream of Simone Machard (2)
The Angel's opening speech in verse is in the first version, but not the brief dialogue between him and Simone which follows and identifies him with her brother André; a preliminary version of this is in the Berlau script. Simone's song, which had Saint-Nazaire in the first version, had Saint-Omer in the Berlau script and Rocamadour in both the Feuchtwanger and the final scripts till Brecht restored Saint-Nazaire once again on the latter. Three of the four 'dream language' phrases on pp. 16, 18 and 21 are pen additions by Brecht to the final script, which already contained 'Ökler greischtl Burlapp' (p. 21). Two other nonsense remarks referred to in the stage directions were spelt out in the Berlau script; thus Simone's unintelligible reply on p. 18 is ('Allekiwist, Maurice') and Robert's remark (below) is ('Wihilirichi'). In the first version the whole scene is shorter. Thus after Simone's offer to clean Père Gustave's guns for him the Patron enters and Simone almost instantly beats her drum to summon the king with a version of her long speech on pp. 20-21. He thereupon enters, asks after her brother, confiscates the lorries and inquires about the petrol (which is not mentioned in the Berlau script). Why are the drivers lying, he asks.

SIMONE: They have to lie, or else they'll be called up, see?
because the Patron will give up certifying that they're essential workers.

Then the sappers appear as on p. 21 and beat their dixies like bells, and the scene ends much as in the final text.
2. The Handshake (3)
There is some characteristic geographical confusion in the first version, where the Patron’s wines and china were to go to Saint-Nazaire and the refugees to Lyons (several hundred kilometres apart); then Lyons was changed to ‘Vermillon’, a place apparently invented by Brecht. The Mayor arrives in this version not with the town police but with the Sergeant from scene 1 and his two soldiers. Simone’s ensuing explanation (to her mother and the Patron) is not included; it was worked out on the Berlau script. Then from where the Mayor weakens (p. 25) to the entry of Madame Soupeau everything is different, the drivers in particular being more uncooperative and the refugees not making an appearance:

**Mayor** weaker: Monsieur Champon, I’m only doing my duty.
All I asked was for you to put your lorries at my disposal.

**Patron** yells: What do you want my lorries for?

**Mayor:** I told you. I’m going to shift the refugees.

**Simone:** The old people and children anyhow, so as to clear Route 74 for the troops in Lyons to move up.

**Patron** stares at her, *then to the Mayor, nastily*: Have you got the drivers? I’m told my men won’t drive.

**Mayor** to the drivers: Are you really refusing to evacuate the refugees?

**Simone:** No, they’ll drive them. Maurice, Robert, will you drive?

**Maurice** ironically: If Monsieur le Maire orders . . .

**Patron:** Certain officials seem to be using this disastrous war as a pretext for laying down the law to the business community. But very well, then, I bow to force. My drivers can take the refugees to Vermillon.

**Mayor:** Not to Vermillon; that would mean using Route 74. First to Saint-Nazaire.

**Patron:** What can I have my lorries do in Saint-Nazaire? But very well, you’re sheltering behind your orders and the army. I’m asking the army to do something for me in return: pack up my wine reserves and the china, because that must go too.

**Mayor:** Why can’t your men do that?

**Patron:** Because my men are on strike. I’d be within my rights if I put them up against the wall for refusing to remove French property to safety in face of the enemy. But there’s no discipline left.
MAYOR to the SERGEANT: Is that something you can put to your men, do you think? I’ve nothing against giving Monsieur Champon a hand to save his property.

MADAME MACHARD sees that her daughter wants to say something:
Quiet, Simone.

SIMONE: But aren’t the soldiers supposed to be bringing up the equipment for blowing the bridges?

MAURICE: No. [illegible]

SIMONE: To hold up the tanks till reinforcements come; you know. They ought to go right away.

SERGEANT: We’d have been there by now if we hadn’t had to wait for the cookers on account of their not giving us a meal. I don’t see why I should fall over myself to help this gentleman and his hotel; he’s the one refused to feed us.

SIMONE: You’ll get fed, won’t he, Monsieur Henri? There’ll be no room for provisions on the trucks if you’re to be able to carry a proper number of refugees, will there, Maurice?
I’ll just get the key of the cellar.

MADAME MACHARD: Simone!

PATRON: What’s got into you, Simone? I was amazed to see you bring in the Mayor against me. Go indoors at once and wash your neck, you shameless ungrateful creature.

MADAME MACHARD: Please excuse our daughter, Monsieur Champon; she has lost her head.

The Patron’s mother, here called Madame Mère, then enters and gives Simone the key, telling her to get wine for the soldiers. There is no mention of feeding the refugees or of the danger of looting, and it is the soldiers who then help themselves to the provisions. Simone returns with the bottles and persuades Maurice and Robert to load up. German planes dive, prompting the Patron to say that he must get away, as on p. 27, but his mother is also on stage and she replies contemptuously that she is staying:

Thanks to Simone’s very sensible arrangements you will get to Saint-Nazaire as planned, and Maurice and Robert will take the china and the refugees south to Lyons. Is that right, Simone?

She proposes to give the town such food stocks as cannot be moved, saying (in a line later given to the Mayor) ‘This is a time for sacrifices, Henri. It’s a matter of showing good will’ (p. 30). Then they all drink (p. 31) and the Patron makes his conciliatory
speech (p. 31). The drivers are told to load up with Monsieur Machard, and leave. It is then the Patron himself who asks about the petrol in the brickworks, saying:

The Germans mustn’t get it. Georges, Gustave, run down to the brickworks. Smash the pump and seal up the tank, right?

Mayor: Better set fire to it, Henri. There’s an army order says all stocks of petrol have got to be burnt. The Germans must not find a single canful in any village.

Patron: Burn it? Rubbish. We’ll need it. How are our forces to replenish their tanks when they attack? Simone, tell the Mayor that France isn’t lost yet.

Simone: That’s a fact, Monsieur le Maire.

Mayor: But so many people are in the know, Simone.

Patron: No Frenchman could give away the secret. If I didn’t realize that before I do now. Georges, Gustave, get moving.

Simone to Gustave: I cleaned the garage out for you, Père Gustave.

Père Gustave: Right. Patriotism seems to have become all the fashion around here.

Then the Patron says good bye to his mother (p. 32), and kisses her and Simone. The radio is heard saying that the French will counter-attack and not a foot of ground is to be given up. There is no more reference to the petrol, and Madame says that she is closing the hotel. Simone is not specifically dismissed, but the last exchange between her and the Mayor is as in the final text, and she picks up the Patron’s suitcases and slowly leaves with lowered head.

The Berlau script is approximately the same as the final version as far as the appearance of the representatives of the refugees (p. 26). Then, from the Mayor’s “What is it?”:

One of the Refugees excitedly: Monsieur le Maire, we’ve heard the hotel is selling off its lorries. We insist you do something about it.

Woman: There are sick people in the village hall. We can’t take our children to Bordeaux on foot.

The Mayor replies ‘Madame, Messieurs’ etc. as in the final text, and is answered by the Woman. Then this script cuts straight to the long stage direction on p. 27, with the difference that the main
crowd of refugees does not appear. In the simultaneous dialogue which follows, the left-hand column is that of the final version. In the right-hand column however when Simone asks Robert and Maurice to take the refugees, Maurice refuses, saying ‘I’m not a nurse’ and telling Robert ‘You’ve got no influence at the mairie. The Mayor and the Patron are birds of a feather; it’s always us who pay the bill in the end...’. The argument is interrupted by the announcement that the German tanks are nearly at Tours, causing the Patron to complain ‘And my Sèvres and my vintage wines haven’t yet been loaded’. An approximate version of the dialogue from ‘SIMONE angrily’ to ‘VOICES from outside’, then follows (in the final version it comes earlier, on p. 27), with the difference that Simone’s anger is initially against Maurice for wanting to clear out and abandon the refugees. Here Madame enters and gives Simone the key (p. 29), and the ensuing dialogue down to her ‘Is anybody going to load it for us?’ (below) is more or less that of the final text. Thereafter:

SIMONE: Of course, Madame. Right, Maurice?
MAURICE: Go to hell. Pack china, with the Germans arriving?
    High time we were off.
MADAME MÈRE sharply: Nobody but the children seems to
    realize that French property cannot be allowed to fall into
    the hands of the Germans.
MAURICE to Robert: All right, we can help carry out the cases.
    Exit with Robert to the store room.

It continues approximately as in the final text from ‘ONE OF THE
REFUGEES’ (p. 30) to the general dispersal (p. 31, bottom). Here
Maurice, Robert and Georges also leave; Maurice poses the ques-
tion about the brickworks as he goes, after which the dialogue is
a blend of the first and final versions until the Patron takes his
leave. Asked yet again about the petrol (this time by the Mayor)
he says to ask his mother. In the Feuchtwanger script Simone then
suggests getting Georges and Père Gustave and blowing it up, but
in the Berlau script this is changed to a mere inquiry what should
be done.

MADAME MÈRE: Didn’t you hear what the Patron said? He
asked us not to do anything precipitate. We can leave the
problem of whether to destroy the petrol till the last minute.
After all, it’s still my son’s property we’re dealing with.
SIMONE: But it would be terrible if the Germans used our petrol to fill up, like they did in Abbeville. Wouldn’t it, Monsieur le Maire?

MAYOR: It hasn’t come to that yet by a long chalk.
The rest of the scene is virtually as in the final text.

Second Dream of Simone Machard (4)
The first version and the Berlau script both have Père Gustave in lieu of the soldier Georges as a member of Simone’s bodyguard; neither establishes the identification of the Patron’s mother as Queen Isabeau. When Simone calls on the angel (p. 36) both versions have her sitting on the ground and beating her drum, crying ‘Come here, you Frenchmen, the enemy has arrived’. In the Berlau script there is no reaction; she calls Georges and drums harder, then calls on the Angel. The first version makes the Angel St Michael. Also it has no mention of the Mayor’s dream language (p. 34). The Angel’s song ‘After the Conqueror’ (p. 36) is slightly different in the first version, which omits the previous recitative (‘Maid, hear me’ etc.) and the dialogue with Simone after that.

3. The Fire
In the first version subscene (a) bears this title and is scene 5, while subscene (b) is scene 6, The Betrayal, and is followed by the Daydream of Simone Machard. In the Berlau and Feuchtwanger scripts the Daydream is incorporated in the second of these two scenes (instead of, as now, in the first).

(a) (5. The Fire)
At the beginning of the scene the exchange where Georges suspects that Simone has been fired, the mention by Père Gustave of the ‘mob from the hall’ (p. 38) and Simone’s wondering if seeing a person in a dream means that he is dead (p. 39) are none of them in the first version, while the actual entry of the refugees (p. 39) occurs only in the final script. Thereafter there are extensive differences. In the first script the Captain enters at this point, saying that the Mayor will come. ‘And another thing. I’ve been told there were cases of looting and blackmail in these parts yesterday. Order and discipline are herewith re-established: you get me, my friends?’ He is followed instantly by Père Gustave. The Captain thereupon delivers a version of the speech which now comes just before the Daydream:
CAPTAIN: Ah, Monsieur le Maire, I trust your wife is in good health. I just wanted to tell you, Duclos, that France’s one hope of avoiding total disaster is to collaborate as honourably as she can with the gentlemen of the German General Staff. Paris is overrun with Communists, and here too all kinds of things occurred yesterday without the authorities lifting a finger. To put it in a nutshell, the Commandant is fully aware of this hotel’s connection with a certain brickworks. You might like to take action accordingly, Duclos. Wait a moment before you follow me out, or it’ll look as if I had to have you dragged down here. Goes in.

This is much the same in the Berlau script. Then Simone and the Mayor conduct their dialogue about the brickworks, from his (present) entry (p. 41) to his exit, which in the final version becomes ‘He is about to go in’ (p. 42), allowing the Captain to re-enter with his speech roughly as above. All the present dialogue from Madame Soupeau’s entry (p. 39) to the entry of the Mayor is an addition to the final script.

In the earlier versions the dialogue with Georges and Père Gustave which now follows the Daydream runs straight on from the Mayor’s exit, with slight differences. Thereafter from the entry of the German soldier to the end of (a) everything else is the same except that the German captain (or commandant in the first version) says nothing. The Berlau script however inserts the following dialogue before ‘So neither of you . . .’ (p. 44):

SOLDIER [i.e. GEORGES]: What are you after? Oh, the petrol, is it? Don’t you touch it. You keep out.

SIMONE: But the Patron said it was up to us.

SOLDIER: The Patron’s gone, but you’re here. They’ll shoot you down like a mad dog. He draws her downstage. Urgently: Simone, promise me you’ll be sensible.

SIMONE: But you said yourself that they’re bringing up whole new regiments. They broke through against the 132nd, you said.

SOLDIER: But not against the 7th [her brother’s unit, in this version].

SIMONE quietly: That’s not true, Monsieur Georges.

PÈRE GUSTAVE: Don’t you get mixed up with the Germans. Sabotage can cost you your neck.

SOLDIER: It all comes from that damned book of yours. You’ve
been reading it all day again, then you go and imagine you’re
God knows who, isn’t that it?

Apart from the first sentence this is not in the Feuchtwanger
script. But from then on to the end of (a) both are practically
identical with the final text.

(b) (6. The Betrayal)
The first version specifies that this occurs three days after (a). In
all three of the early scripts the scene starts with Georges reading
the paper as the German captain saunters across the stage and into
the hotel. Simone brings a hot-water bottle for the Patron’s
mother, who is unwell. Then Simone wonders about the signifi-
cance of seeing a person in a dream (the passage now near the
beginning of (a)) and her parents enter, delighted that M. Machard
has got the council job. It appears that the Patron has returned;
the Berlau and Feuchtwanger scripts add that he and Maurice were
held up by German tanks. In all three versions he comes in with
Robert, looking pale and sleepless. All this is prior to the begin-
ing of the present subscene (b), but from then on the dialogue con-
tinues much as in the final text up to where Simone says that she
will confess to the Germans to save the Patron (p. 47). The main
differences are (1) that the Machard parents are present up to the
firing of Georges; (2) that there is no mention of the refugees in
the village hall; (3) that in lieu of Père Gustave’s remark about the
hotel’s sudden popularity (p. 47) Robert tells Simone that the
Peugeot has been stolen, that one of the lorries has broken down
and that Maurice is bringing back the other. Thereafter however
the scene ends differently.

In the first version it ends quickly, with the Patron assuring
Simone that since she no doubt meant well he will stand by her,
then going into the hotel without saying whether she is really
fired or not. Robert asks if he will betray her, and Georges says
‘He can’t do that. After all he is a Frenchman’. The Mayor and
the Captain walk across the stage into the hotel; Simone bows to the
Mayor, who pays no attention. That is the end of the scene, and the
Daydream follows.

Daydream of Simone Machard

In the first version there is no game of cards. The Patron is present,
and the Captain enters later, bringing the German captain as an
'unknown knight' with whom the French are invited to collaborate. He offers the Mayor a cigar, but the drumming starts again and the Mayor refuses. There are no references to 'the mob'; Madame boxes the Patron's ears, not the Mayor's, and the dream ends with the German captain saying 'Of course the Maid must be got rid of'.

In the Berlau and Feuchtwanger scripts, after Simone has said that she will confess to the Germans (as above) Madame Machard reappears to say that the Mayor has given the council job to 'old Frossart' instead of to her husband, who has been 'dropped like a hot potato'. 'The Mayor', comments Georges, 'is scared of his own courage'. This leads straight into the Daydream. Mayor, captain and Patron sit playing cards, and neither Madame nor the German Captain appears. After 'if I am to sell my wine' (p. 43) the Patron says 'Have you really decided to support her, King Charles the Seventh? And given her father the council job?' The Mayor announces his determination much as in the final version, then sits down. The dream ends with the Captain pointing this out to the Patron and saying 'There you are, Henri; France doesn't support her any more'.

A quite different concluding section follows in both these scripts. After the dream Simone says she must leave, then Maurice arrives, having heard about the explosion:

MAURICE: Are you crazy, Simone? How could you?
SIMONE: He won't give me away.
MAURICE: Put your things on at once, you must get out of here. I'll drive you. Pack up whatever she needs most, Madame Machard.
MADE MON MANCHARD: I don't understand you people. You aren't expecting her to throw up her job?
GEORGES to MAURICE: You really think he might . . . ?
MAURICE shrugs his shoulders: If he cares about saving his wretched hotel he'll have to. They might have used the petrol as a way of showing how ready they are to collaborate. She's put a spoke in that. There's only one thing left for them to do: turn her in. With emphasis: At this moment she's got no more vindictive enemies in the world than Madame Mère and her respected son.
ROBERT: You're exaggerating. After all, they are French.
MAURICE: Didn't you get what they were saying on the radio?
GEORGES: Wasn't listening. What was it?
MAURICE: The Marshal has dissolved the government and
taken over all its powers. That means open collaboration.
    Meantime she's still at war.
ROBERT: The Patron said he'd stand by her.
MAURICE: He hadn't been told about the radio announcement.
    Get your things on, Simone.
SIMONE still absent-mindedly: I can't leave, Maurice.
GEORGES: Ten minutes back you were saying you must.
SIMONE: That was only because I was imagining things. But
    the Patron won't give me away.
MADAME MACHARD: But, Messieurs, don't give the girl
crazy ideas. She can't possibly give up her job now, when the
rent's due. What with our André being away as well.
PATRON comes out of the hotel, very excited: Simone! You've got
to disappear! At once! Maurice, get her out of here! Doesn't
matter where. Got that?
MAURICE: Yes sir.
PATRON: It's a matter of minutes. Goes back into the hotel.
ROBERT: So he isn't going to give you away.
MAURICE: He's given her away already. Did you see how he'd
been sweating? Get a move on, Simone!
SIMONE: No, no, no. I don't want to leave. He's not going to
touch me. He only came out to help me.
MAURICE: He's got a bad conscience, that's all.
    Simone obstinately stays put.
GEORGES: What have you got against leaving?
SIMONE: I can't. Suppose my brother comes back. I promised
him I'd be here and keep his job for him.
MAURICE: That's enough. He seizes her, picks her up over his
shoulder and carries her struggling into the garage. Go outside the
hotel, Georges, and whistle if the coast is clear. Exit with
Simone.
    Georges goes out into the road. During what follows he is heard
whistling.
MADAME MACHARD: I knew it would come to this. Her
brother's to blame, and all that book-reading.
SIMONE's VOICE from outside: I'm not going. I can't. You don't
understand.
MADAME MACHARD: What have I done to deserve it?
ROBERT: Oh, do shut up. Don't you realize that she'll be shot
if they catch her?
MADAME MACHARD: Simone? Holy mother of God! Sits distraught at the foot of the petrol pump.
Exit Robert into the garage.
Enter from the hotel the Patron and the Captain.
PATRON: Simone! Père Gustave! To the Captain: Actually she was discharged some days ago. But went on hanging around my yard, so I've been told.
CAPTAIN notices Madame Machard: Isn't that her mother?
PATRON embarrassed: Ah, Madame Machard. Have you by any chance seen Simone?
MADAME MACHARD: No, Monsieur Henri, I'm looking for her myself. That girl's always doing errands for the hotel, Monsieur le Capitaine.
Père Gustave enters from the store room.
PATRON: Oh, there you are, Père Gustave. Go and get Simone, would you?
Père Gustave goes obediently up the road. The whistling stops.
PATRON to the Captain: I just can't imagine what put the idea in her head.
CAPTAIN: It's not as hard as all that, Monsieur Soupault. But it'll all be sorted out.
PÈRE GUSTAVE coming back, as Georges's whistling is heard once more: I can't find her, Monsieur Henri. Georges says she left half an hour ago.
CAPTAIN sceptically: Too bad that you people 'can't find her', Monsieur Soupault. Turns and goes into the hotel.
PATRON mopping his perspiration: Thank God for that.
MADAME MACHARD: In the nick of time. The things we have to go through for our children!
Maurice appears at the garage door.
PATRON: Why are you still here, Maurice? Shouldn't you be...
MAURICE: Did she come out this way? She broke away from me.
Simone comes in from the street, with Georges behind her.
PATRON: Are you out of your mind? Quick, quick . . .
SIMON: You aren't going to give me away, are you, Monsieur Henri?
PATRON: I told you to disappear. And now—Furious gesture of helplessness. First you set fire to my brickworks. I don't say a word, though it's I who have to take the can with the Germans. And now you're being pigheaded just so as to make
things harder for me. They can shoot you for all I care; I wash my hands of it.

*The German captain comes out of the hotel in helmet and greatcoat, with the Captain behind him.*

**CAPTAIN:** But we’ll do everything we can, sir. Give us two hours.

*Simone has instinctively tried to hide behind the Patron. He steps to one side so that she is seen.*

**CAPTAIN:** Why, here she is. Here’s our arsonist, sir.

**THE GERMAN CAPTAIN:** A child like that?

*Pause.*

**PATRON:** Simone, this is a pretty kettle of fish.

All this is omitted from the final version, where the dialogue about the German poster (‘It all depends whether she’ p. 48 to Père Gustave’s ‘I told you nothing of the sort’ below) has been brought forward from the beginning of scene 8 in the earlier versions, and the rest is new.

4. *The Trial*

(a) *Fourth Dream of Simone Machard (7)*

In the first version this takes place ‘during the night of 18–19 June’ (i.e. three days earlier than in the final text). All three earlier scripts specify that the confused music is to ‘continue the motifs of the Third Dream’. In the first version there is only one soldier with the German captain.

Down to the entry of the judges all three are more or less the same as the final text, and the first version continues so as far as the point where they put their heads together (p. 52). In the Berlau and Feuchtwanger scripts however there are at first only three judges, the Mayor suddenly appearing beside them ‘in the capacity of a defence counsel’; nor does Simone identify them one by one as they come in but all at once when they uncover their faces. Otherwise these two scripts continue close to the final version down to the end of the scene, the main later additions being the reference to the refugees in the village hall and Madame Soupeau’s concluding line. In the first version a number of the lines were differently allotted, though their wording remains the same: thus Père Gustave’s call for accusers from the public (p. 52) and his challenge to the Angel (p. 55) were given to Simone’s father, while it was the Mayor who ‘called for a chair for Queen Isabeau and asked Simone ‘Where does God dwell? . . .’ (p. 54).
(b) (8. The Trial)
The first version gives two alternative scenes, one of them incomplete and each differing widely from the other. The Berlau script also gives two texts, the first of which peters out in a series of shorthand notes, while the second is identical with that of the Feuchtwanger script. Altogether, therefore, there are four main variants of this scene: the first version (i) and (ii), the Feuchtwanger version (which seems to have been worked out from Berlau (i) and possibly copied in Berlau (ii)), and the final 1946 text.

In the first version (i) there is no flag visible, and the Mayor, Patron, his mother and the Captain are on stage at the start, as well as the four of the final version. A German soldier marches Simone in, hands the Mayor a document, salutes and leaves. The document gives the responsibility of dealing with Simone to the local authorities.

**Captain:** The tone of the document is severe, but the contents are very decent. The Commandant is leaving it to the local authority to interrogate the incendiaryist. Monsieur le Maire, do your duty by the commune of Saint-Martin.

**Mayor:** Simone, the Germans have handed you back to your own authorities. You are strongly suspected of sabotage, a crime for which one can be shot. However the authorities have been able to raise some doubt as to the deliberateness of your intention to commit sabotage. Do you understand the purpose of this inquiry?

**Simone:** Yes, Monsieur le Maire.

**Mayor:** Luckily the question is easily settled. Now listen carefully. If you caused the fire before the Germans put up their poster forbidding the destruction of essential stocks then it was not sabotage. Suppose you had done it after the poster, it would have been sabotage and we wouldn't save you. Do you understand that? Did you see the poster?

The dialogue follows as on p. 48 (which is where it was shifted to in the final text), except that there it is the Patron, not the Mayor who asks the questions. After Père Gustave's 'I told you nothing of the sort' (p. 48) it goes on:

**Mayor:** Père Gustave, you have offered to give evidence to the effect that Simone set fire to the brickworks. But you insist that she did it before the German order?
père gustave avoiding Simone’s eye: Yes.

robert: Oh, you’ve volunteered to give evidence, have you?
madame mère: Quiet, Robert.
mayor: It’s all perfectly clear. To Simone: Will you show us where the red poster was displayed? Come along, it’ll still be there.
simone: But I saw it before that, Monsieur le Maire.
mayor: Don’t be difficult. This is official.

Mayor, Patron and Captain leave with Simone through the gateway.
père gustave: I had to, because of what I let out when the Patron drove off.
maurice: Shut up.
georges: The Mayor’s a decent man. He’s whitewashing her to the Germans, and they’ll let her off.
maurice: They’re a lot of crooks. All they’re doing is white-wash Saint-Martin against any suspicion that there might be Frenchmen here [cf. p. 61 in our text]. They’re set on collaborating with the Germans. Simone’s right. It’s as though she knew what tune they were going to play.
robert: We won’t have heard the last of it. You wait.

Then the party returns with Simone, and the Mayor says he thinks the Germans will agree that it was not sabotage. The Captain differs, and the Patron’s mother says ‘It was a base act of revenge against my son and myself’.

mayor: Revenge? What for?
madame mère: Because we dismissed her. It’s quite simple.
mayor: Henri, do you believe that?
patron forcefully: I refuse to stand up for this creature any longer. I offered her a chance to get away; she insisted on staying. I’m through with her. I’ve had enough to worry about.

Then Madame sends Maurice, Robert, Père Gustave and Georges back to their work, and they leave. She starts cross-examining Simone, approximately as from where she speaks To Simone (p. 58) to Simone’s ‘I did it because of the enemy’ (p. 60). Then she tells Thérèse to ‘fetch the sister’ and delivers a speech that is partly the Captain’s ‘The least our guests can expect . . . ’ (p. 60) and partly her own ‘The child is insubordinate’ etc. (p. 62) of the final text. Thérèse returns with an Ursuline nun.
MADAME MÈRE: Sister Michèle is being so good as to take this unfortunate child into the educational establishment run by the strict sisters of St Ursula.

SIMONE TREMBLING: No, no! Not to St Ursula’s! I did it because of the Germans. I want to stay.

_The sister takes her arm and leads her to the gateway._

SIMONE: André! André!

There it breaks off at the foot of a page.

The first version (ii), headed in Brecht’s hand ‘Second version, January 43’, likewise breaks off at the foot of a page, this time towards the end of Madame’s interrogation of Simone. It starts with Maurice, Robert, Georges and Père Gustave on stage, as in the final version, but with two German sentries. They are discussing Simone’s examination by the Mayor, which has taken place offstage and in the German captain’s presence, but evidently went much as in (i). Georges says ‘I don’t see why he doesn’t do the interrogating himself, Maurice’.

MAURICE: Well, you saw how angry it made him yesterday when he heard it was a child. Shooting children doesn’t go all that well with their policy of dishing out soup on the square in front of the mairie. The Captain had supper with him last night. I can tell you exactly how the conversation will have gone._He mimics the German captain and the French captain in turn._ ‘Bad show. I’ll have to shoot her’.—‘That’ll put the kybosh on peaceful collaboration for the next couple of years, sir.’—‘What’s the answer?’ ‘Collaboration, my dear captain. Leave the case to us.’—‘Then tomorrow pop goes the water tower, eh, Monsieur? Here’s our radio announcing every hour that the French population is receiving us with open arms, wants nothing but peace.’—‘My dear captain, but whoever says the person responsible was acting against the Germans?’—‘Aha . . . I see. You mean you can prove that she did it before . . .’ So that now she did it _before_ the proclamation, d’you see?

Then the Patron enters and tells Père Gustave that his evidence won’t be needed: ‘A child: what do you expect?’ etc. (p. 56). Georges’s ensuing remarks finish with him saying that someone betrayed her.

PATRON: You dare to say that to me after I’ve stood here and told her she must get away?
He seizes the wounded Georges by the arm, and there is a struggle in which Robert joins till it is interrupted by the entry of the German captain. The captain tells the two sentries to follow him and leaves.

Père Gustave: He's taking his men away. Does that mean that Simone's been let free?
Maurice: I'd be extremely surprised.
Georges: Anyhow that boche with the monocle realizes that Captain Bellaire isn't the only person around here. Monsieur le Capitaine has had his innings. They couldn't conceal the fact that there are still some Frenchmen in France. Ow! Even kids of thirteen can show them, eh, Maurice?

But the Mayor's two policemen appear at the gate, then Madame leads in Simone from the hotel, with the Mayor and the Captain following, and they all go into the store room. Maurice makes his remark about whitewashing Saint-Martin, and the Patron angrily orders the policemen to clear the yard.

Maurice: Let's go. There's nothing we can do here for the moment. They've got their police and they've got the Germans. Draw Robert and Georges away. Poor Simone. Too many enemies.
Georges hoarsely: Look out, Monsieur Henri, other times are coming. And when they come we'll be asking you about Simone. Execunt all three.

The party then emerges from the store room, and Madame conducts her interrogation of Simone on lines rather closer to the final text, including a mention of 'the mob from the village hall'. This version breaks off with Madame's 'How did you know the Germans would discover . . .' (p. 59).

Finally the Feuchtwanger script (identical with Berlau (ii)) starts with much the same stage direction as our text, but without Georges and with the addition of the two German sentries. It opens with Maurice's remark about the Marshal; Simone however has not got away but is being interrogated as in the first version (ii). Georges, who has been giving evidence, comes out of the hotel to report that they are all behaving very decently, even Madame and the Captain. The German captain has said 'that these are tragic days and he has no desire to hurt Frenchmen's feelings'. He is allowing the others to establish Simone's ignorance of the poster because, as Maurice puts it, 'I don't imagine they want to
start off their armistice and their formal collaboration by shooting our children'.

**Georges scratching his head:** Do you think nothing’s going to happen to her?
**Maurice:** That’s another question.
**Robert:** If they do anything to Simone I’m coming to Algiers with you, Maurice. **To Georges:** The radio says the old government’s going to carry on the fight from there.
**Georges moving his arm thoughtfully:** That’s what one ought to do.
**Père Gustave:** They talk a lot on the radio.

Then the **Patron** enters as in the first version (ii), leading on to the struggle and a version of the ensuing dialogue as far as Madame Soupeau’s entry with Simone (but no policemen) and disappearance into the store room.

**Patron complainingly, as he dusts down his suit:** I gave her an opportunity to disappear. She insisted on staying. She’s caused me nothing but trouble from the very first. A hundred thousand francs, she’s cost me. As for the cost to my nerves, I can’t count it. And now she’s causing bad blood between me and my old employees. That’s what comes of trying to protect her. Well, the time for sentimentality is over. I shan’t interfere any more. Not that I bear you people a grudge. She upset all of us. Back to work, Maurice and Robert!
**Maurice and Robert stay put.**
**Patron:** Didn’t you hear me?
**Maurice:** Robert and I will just wait and see what’s happening to Simone.

The party leaves the store room, and this time Madame’s interrogation of Simone is witnessed and occasionally interrupted by Robert, Maurice and Georges. It is longer than in the final version, though largely coinciding with it, and ends with an admission by Simone that she was acting on her own, not on the Mayor’s orders.

**Mme Soupeau:** To settle a score with the hotel.
**Patron:** And to think Maman told lies to the Germans to make them set you free!

The two policemen enter, and thereafter the script stays close to the final text, except that there are no nuns and the institution is
the ‘House of Correction at Tours’; (an addition to the Berlau (ii) script in Brecht’s hand introduced the ‘brutal looking lady’ and the comments indicating that this was a place for the mentally handicapped). However, instead of fetching her things from the store room, as in the final text, she says good-bye to Georges, Maurice and Robert until she is dragged off calling ‘André! André!’ There is no appearance of the Angel, and after the Patron’s order to resume work the ending is different.

MAURICE: What, us? You’ll find it difficult to get anyone in Saint-Martin to work for you after this. Come on.

Maurice, Robert and Georges turn to leave.

PATRON running after them: But Maurice! I haven’t done anything to you, have I?—Five years we’ve been together—it was for the hotel’s sake—it was for the sake of your jobs, for that matter—Maurice! Robert!

GEORGES at the gateway, turns round, hoarsely: You look out.

Other times are coming. When they come we’ll be asking you about Simone. Curtain.

In the 1946 script, which our text follows, the date is given as ‘Morning of June 19th’. The Mayor’s order to M. Machard to clear the village hall is a typed addition. The nuns are mainly handwritten amendments (as in Berlau (ii)); the ‘brutal-looking lady’ remains in one stage direction (the published text makes her plural) but elsewhere is amended to ‘the nuns’ or ‘one of the nuns’. The House of Correction is struck out, together with all references but one to Tours (the Mayor offers to give evidence there). References to St Ursula come from the first version, those to the mentally handicapped from the additions to the Berlau script, reinforced by Simone’s new comment ‘They chain them up!’ (p. 62).

3. FEUCHTWANGER’S NOVEL

Simone, a novel by Lion Feuchtwanger, was published in 1944 by the Viking Press in a translation by G. A. Herrmann. It is less ‘the book of the play’ than an independent reworking of the ideas discussed in the course of the author’s collaboration with Brecht, and it differs in various important respects. Thus out of twenty-one chapters only two contain Visions (as against the much more even alternation in the play) though there are three others where Simone is shown reading the books (plural) which she has been given by an old bookbinder friend. The town where the story is
set is a fair-sized place, a Burgundian chef-lieu d'arrondissement (i.e. of the importance, say, of Châlons-sur-Saône) where the step-uncle who corresponds to the Patron runs a largish transport business, not a hotel. The refugees are in the Palais de Justice; the sous-préfet corresponds to the Mayor, and the local Marquis de Saint-Brisson to the Captain who wants his wines evacuated. Simone Planchard is 'a tall, lanky fifteen-year-old':

Her bony, tanned face framed with dark blond [sic] hair was tense; her dark, deep-set eyes under a low but broad and well-shaped forehead eagerly absorbed all that moved before her.... She could scarcely be called beautiful, but her intelligent, thoughtful, somewhat stubborn face with its strong chin and prominent Burgundian nose was good to look at.

Moreover her father had been a local left-wing hero who had died in the Congo two years previously while investigating native working conditions. Madame, who corresponds to the Patron's mother (and like her appears as Queen Isabeau) was evidently the father's step-mother. Thanks to her, Simone's role in the household (the Villa Monrepos) is that of an unpaid servant.

This Simone has no brother. She has a confidant in the secretary of the sous-préfecture and two friends of her own age—her schoolmate Henriette and Henriette's brother Étienne—though neither figures very largely in the story. Of her uncle's employees in the loading yard Maurice (there is no Robert, and Georges is a nonentity) is at first cruelly and gratuitously offensive to her; it looks as if he is meant to stand for the French Communists, sceptical of the bourgeoisie and their war, and uninvolved until after the German victory. In the dream episodes he figures as the monstrous Gilles de Rais. From the first Simone seems attracted to him, and once she has set fire to the yard (lorries, petrol and all) —which occurs about half-way through the book, as against two-thirds of the way through the play—he starts behaving more amicably, though still in a rather condescending way. He offers to get her away on his motor-cycle; but by the time she decides to accept his offer it is too late and he has already gone. She escapes by herself, but is arrested in Nevers and brought back.

Though Madame and the other villains (such as the lawyer Maître Levautour) seem heavily caricatured, the step-uncle's actions are generally credible and within the bounds of reason. For much of the story he even behaves kindly. 'Don't you understand', he asks her, 'that I can't live without my business? I am
a business man. I can’t help that’. And again, in explanation of his actions, ‘Some people are born to be artists, others to be engineers; I was born to be a business man, a promoter.’ To save his business and at the same time prevent the Germans from punishing the entire town he arranges with the French authorities that Simone shall confess to having caused the fire for personal reasons. This she formally does on the understanding that no proceedings will be taken against her. However, the Marquis and Madame see to it that she is sent away to the Grey House, the reformatory at ‘Francheville’, the departmental capital, and ‘an uncouth woman’ escorts her away. As she is driven off the crowd in the street makes signs to her—

Arms were raised waving to her, women and girls wept, the gendarme had come to attention, shouts sounded in her direction: ‘Good-bye, Simone—good-bye, Simone Planchard—take care of yourself, Simone—so long, Simone—we won’t forget you, Simone Planchard—we’ll come and get you, Simone.’

And she rides away confident ‘that she would survive the Grey House’.