The Performance and Politics of Concurrent Temporalities in George C. Wolfe’s *Shuffle Along*

The above exchange took place during a rehearsal for director and librettist George C. Wolfe’s 2016 backstage musical *Shuffle Along, or, The Making of the Musical Sensation of 1921 and All That Followed*. The much anticipated but surprisingly short-lived show starred a nearly all-black cast to tell the story of the landmark 1921 musical comedy *Shuffle Along*. As Langston Hughes described the Jazz Age hit, “*Shuffle Along* was a honey of a show. Swift, bright, funny, rollicking, and gay, with a dozen danceable, singable tunes.”1 The 1921 musical was created by four black vaudevillians and starred performers without major name recognition when, after an arduous road tour aimed at proving its appeal to white audiences, it arrived in a theater tangential to Times Square. Yet, it became a smash success, running for over...
a year, forming two touring companies, and inspiring Broadway’s all-black revues of the 1920s. Hughes famously credited Shuffle Along with kicking off the 1920s’ Negro vogue, and the show fueled the careers of African American performance icons Josephine Baker, Florence Mills, and Paul Robeson. Yet, mainstream Broadway performance historiography has largely forgotten Shuffle Along.

Through metacommentary on the original production and the biographical explication of its key players, Wolfe’s Shuffle Along . . . and All That Followed aimed to reclaim the lost time of neglected history. It invited audiences to parse the historical record while taking in Jazz Age razzle dazzle. The production disrupted typical temporal relationships that assume a static past, educating audiences by activating the transporting energies of tap choreography, fostering intergenerational knowledge transmission among the cast, and addressing Broadway as a majoritarian institution. The show was an act of writing history in order to redress neglect, a way of celebrating and explaining the significance of the original Shuffle Along to the Broadway community, audiences and performers alike.

The 2016 reimagining/reinvention was propelled by the combustible energy of Savion Glover’s tap choreography and featured Broadway’s most lauded African American performers from three generations, including six-time Tony Award winner Audra McDonald. In the epigraph, McDonald presses Wolfe for dramaturgical spatiotemporal specificity in her effort to understand Wolfe’s framing device of historical characters directly addressing the audience about their careers and, eventually, deaths. McDonald’s inquiry highlights Wolfe’s use of time as a dramaturgical tool. In his libretto, Wolfe’s atemporal framing device contrasts with the otherwise linear narrative of Shuffle Along and the lives of its creators and performers. The different temporal logics of the frame and the main story create a metatemporal libretto that brings, as Brian Richardson defines dramatic metatemporality, “incompatible time schemes into collision.” This collision created tension for McDonald as a performer attempting to ground her process. In place of the spatiotemporal specificity McDonald sought, Wolfe’s reply declared a reclamation of the Broadway stage via the return of “real people,” revealing a transtemporal logic to the live performance in which the characters of the show exist across or through time by intermingling their historical moment with the immediacy of stage time. This transtemporality occurs via the living presence of the actors. That is, McDonald and her fellow performers mediated temporal tension (or incompatibility, per Richardson) via their bodies as they spoke, sang,
and tapped to syncopated rhythms. The “we” of Wolfe’s response underscores the political imperative of reclaiming and reframing the popular commercial stage to manifest a mostly forgotten Jazz Age musical comedy created by an all-black creative team during the Jim Crow era.

The story of *Shuffle Along, or, The Making of the Musical Sensation of 1921 and All That Followed* is the story of time reclaimed and snatched back. Just as time was Wolfe and Glover’s foundational dramaturgical and choreographic tool in the tap metamusical, timing was the over-determining factor in *Shuffle Along . . . and All That Followed* becoming a Broadway flop. Megaproducer Scott Rudin, who is white, closed the show three months after its official opening. Rather than acknowledging that *Shuffle Along . . . and All That Followed* won none of the ten Tony Awards for which it was nominated, Rudin blamed his decision on McDonald’s perimenopausal pregnancy and her resultant leave of absence. In doing so, Rudin situated McDonald’s gestational temporality as binary to Broadway’s capitalist temporal demands. While pregnancy requires waiting, Broadway requires the immediacy of strong weekly grosses and securing advance sales. While the show was about looking back in time and seeing unexamined value, Rudin’s decision was about looking to the future and not seeing secure profit. The compressed calendar time of the pre– and post–Tony Awards season ultimately determined the musical’s longevity. These gestational and capitalist calendar temporalities, which were external to the show itself, existed concurrently with the show’s transtemporal performance mode, and compounded the complexities of *Shuffle Along . . . and All That Followed*’s relationship with time.

The conflict between the external and internal concurrent temporalities exhibited a power imbalance between black artists and white producers that negatively connected *Shuffle Along . . . and All That Followed* to the 1921 *Shuffle Along*. Despite the professional stature and Broadway celebrity status of Wolfe, Glover, McDonald, and many of her fellow cast members, the show’s abrupt closing can be read as an example of Broadway’s “racial time.” Political theorist Michael Hanchard characterizes racial time as “the inequalities of temporality that result from power relations between racially dominant and subordinate groups. Unequal relationships . . . produce unequal temporal access to institutions, goods, services, resources, power, and knowledge, which members of both groups recognize.” Hanchard’s formula invites scrutiny of how Broadway’s temporal politics are shaped by economic power and race. One could argue that, in the commercial context of Broadway, the power of producers over the creative team, cast, and crew is consistent across races.
because it is always up to the producers to fund and continue a show, no matter the show. However, Broadway has a history of usurping control over the means of production for black musicals so that, for many American musicals that tell black stories, including *Show Boat*, *Porgy and Bess*, and *Dreamgirls*, the creative team behind the story was white. This dynamic put black performers in the position of *waiting for the time* when white creative teams were interested in producing a show with black characters. By resuscitating a musical by an all-black creative team, Wolfe, Glover, and the cast were actively dismantling Broadway's history of racial time, only to have it reassert itself.

Wolfe and Glover’s 2016 metatheatrical musical became an inversion of the original by starting with star power but ending so much earlier than expected. Yet, as its external temporal pressures evince, it was susceptible to the same dominant power structures of the Jazz Age/Jim Crow era. During the summer of 2016, there was yet another concurrent temporality that connected *Shuffle Along . . . and All That Followed* to the original show’s historical time period. The Tulsa Race Massacre and burning of “Black Wall Street” took place in Tulsa, Oklahoma, one week after *Shuffle Along* opened in 1921. The days of violence left three hundred black people dead and ten thousand homeless. In the twenty-first century, vigilante and state violence against black Americans has not ended, only transformed into a post–civil rights era of digital documentation. With the July 2016 murders of Alton Sterling and Philando Castile, state and vigilante violence against black Americans dominated headlines and displayed the apparent intractability of local police acting as agents of state racism without consequences. The murders inspired several young *Shuffle Along . . . and All That Followed* cast and crew members to organize “Broadway for Black Lives Matter” (#BW4BLM). Emerging as an afterlife of the Broadway show, the event connected the triumphs of the original 1921 production to the 2016 show’s active reclamation of history as politically salient performance. The vulnerability of the cast to the decisions of white producers, and the continued vulnerability of black Americans to state violence, instigated a temporally recursive logic of capitalism and white supremacy. The transtemporal performance mode of the show itself, the compressed temporality of the Tony Awards season, and the #BW4BLM effort to disrupt the seemingly cyclical temporality of extrajudicial violence against black Americans represent three concurrent temporalities of performance and politics associated with *Shuffle Along . . . and All That Followed*. Delineating these concurrent temporalities reveals the cultural significance of the short-lived
show, emphatically distinguishing it from the many other “failed” shows of Broadway and allowing us to see how time marks power on and beyond the Broadway stage.

George C. Wolfe’s theatrical practice is often transtemporal; the then and the now sway, tap, and collapse into each other. His prominence in US theater has spanned decades, including writing and directing the play *The Colored Museum* (1986), serving as artistic director of the Public Theater, and directing works by Tony Kushner, Suzan-Lori Parks, and Anna Deavere Smith. Among his accomplishments are Wolfe’s book and direction of *Jelly’s Last Jam* (1992), in which tap virtuoso Gregory Hines starred as ragtime piano player Jelly Roll Morton facing death, and a very young Savion Glover played Morton’s younger self. Wolfe and Glover again collaborated on *Bring in ’da Noise, Bring in ’da Funk* (1996). Billed as “a dance musical telling the story, through tap, of black history from slavery to the present,” *Noise/Funk* was extremely successful and ran for nearly three years and over a thousand performances on Broadway. These collaborations uniquely anchor Wolfe and Glover’s artistic vision in informing (Broadway) theater audiences about black American (performance) history via tap. Indeed, *Shuffle Along . . . and All That Followed* can be considered the third installment in their trilogy of tap pedagogy Broadway musicals.

For a reimagining of the original *Shuffle Along*, emphasizing tap was essential. As dance scholar Constance Valis Hill writes, “Jazz tap dancing was the driving engine of *Shuffle Along*, the source of its visual, visceral, and aural excitement that propelled the musical forward.” Wolfe and Savion Glover used tap’s “propulsive” energies to interrogate power imbalances and teach the audience. Describing the intense and intentional pedagogy of *Shuffle Along . . . and All That Followed*, Glover explains, “I don’t think anyone has a choice to walk out of that theatre . . . not knowing something that they didn’t come in with. There’s so much information in the show, something we call ‘edutainment.’ It’s not just about putting on a show.” This information was largely transmitted to the audience via direct address and dialogue. However, Act 2 of *Shuffle Along . . . and All That Followed* began with a music and dance lesson, informing the audience that the jazz score of the original *Shuffle Along* introduced syncopation to Broadway and that, with syncopation, “You dance around the one!” The tuxedo-clad chorus repeated the phrase “Around the one!” several times while demonstrating the vitality of syncopated tap as they incorporated maxifords, perididdles, draw backs, bombershays, and variations on the Charleston into the act’s opening number. This scene allowed
the 2016 audience to appreciate how *Shuffle Along* changed Broadway dancing and influenced the Jazz Age with its syncopated rhythms. Crucially, tap marks time with aural theatricality unmatched in other dance forms, activating the inner ear as a center of both balance and sound. Thus, the song mobilized the rhythmic sound vibrations of tap to reverberate knowledge.

**SHUFFLE ALONG, 1921**

The original *Shuffle Along* opened in New York City on May 23, 1921, after a series of out-of-town performances in Baltimore; Washington, DC; and across Pennsylvania. The show had a book by Flournoy E. Miller and Aubrey Lyles, who had been performing the vaudeville playlet, *The Mayor of Jimtown*, since 1909. Composer Eubie Blake and lyricist Noble Sissle transformed Miller and Lyles's vaudevillian plot into a revelatory opportunity for jazz dance and song. It was the first successful all-black musical to be produced in New York City since the groundbreaking comedy duo Bert Williams and George Walker staged *Bandanna Land* in 1908. *Shuffle Along*’s book featured a secondary “blocked lovers” plot plopped within a farcical tale of a mayoral race among three men in Jimtown, a small southern town of black residents. In its manifestation of a modern, all-black municipality, *Shuffle Along* staged a temporary utopia with no dialogic references to larger structures of Jim Crow racism. The jokes lightly parodied topical issues such as Prohibition and suffrage. Comical situations and characters’ foibles spurred the action. Miller played Steve Jenkins and Lyles played small and scrappy Sam Peck, a “henpecked” husband to a status-conscious suffragette. Jenkins and Peck regularly dip into the till of the general store they run together and get caught in absurd scenarios of deception. In keeping with the tension between spectacle and narrative so common in vaudeville, the first scene of Act 2 culminates in a twenty-minute “comic ballet” boxing match between Miller and Lyles that showcased their physicality, timing, and the expert intimacy of performing together for over a decade.

*Shuffle Along* combined progressive and regressive elements. Early in Act 1, the romance between the third mayoral candidate, Harry Walton, and the ingénue Jessie Williams staged a revolutionary new form of physical intimacy for the popular stage: a kiss between a black couple in love (figure 2.1). Yet, Harry also sang the wistful “Sing Me to Sleep, Dear Mammy (With a Hush-a-Bye-Pickaninny Tune)” in a downstage area referred to as “Possum Lane.”
The “pick lullaby” was a subgenre of the “coon song” and perpetuated minstrelsy stereotypes of nurturing plantation mammies. *Shuffle Along*’s chorus, in particular, embodied the contradictions between the show’s emergent and residual elements. The dancers’ physical exuberance was a formal innovation as the women “didn’t just promenade like so, oh no! They stomped, shimmed, and shuffled like never before!” The dancers’ enthralling movement made them more than interchangeable decorative bodies, which was commonly how chorus members in white revues such as the Ziegfeld Follies were presented. At the same time, colorism was evident in the selection of chorus members, who ranged from very light to medium-toned brown complexions. Still, even the reality of colorism is not the whole picture. Performance historian and theorist Jayna Brown asserts that “it was the dancing chorus that

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**FIGURE 2.1** The ingénue, Jessie Williams (Lottie Gee), and her suitor, Harry Walton (Roger Matthews), made history as a romantic black couple in the 1921 production of *Shuffle Along*. Billy Rose Theatre Division, New York Public Library. “Scene (suitor and gentlemen chorus) stage production *Shuffle Along*.” Courtesy of New York Public Library Digital Collections, http://digitalcollections.nypl.org/items/7b75ef40-b77e-0131-5ae5-58d385a78bd01.
articulated the new urban moment” represented by *Shuffle Along*, not only because of the women’s jazz movement *on* stage, but because they brought vernacular dance from social gatherings and clubs to Broadway. On stage and off, they “embodied the pleasurable mobilities of the modern age.” In addition, the landmark show led to many new opportunities for the chorus dancers to travel and perform throughout the 1920s and into the 1930s.

Theater historians agree *Shuffle Along* not only established a romance plot between two sympathetic and virtuous black characters but also introduced syncopated jazz to Broadway and partially desegregated audiences because the creative team insisted that a section of the orchestra be reserved for black customers who would otherwise be limited to the balcony. However, in addition to some of the songs, the book also contained performance conventions derived from minstrelsy. Several male characters spoke in dialect, mispronounced words, and used malapropisms. For example, Onions, the grocery store porter, is a standard “shuffling darky” type who avoids work and engages in comic “eccentric dusting.” As the comic stars of the show, Miller and Lyles wore blackface makeup to play Steve Jenkins and Sam Peck. According to historian Allen Woll, the comedy duo performed in blackface because, early in their careers, they “discovered that jobs were easier to get if the theatre managers and the audiences assumed they were white men wearing burnt cork makeup. This early adaptation to the demands of the audience became their trademark . . . and they retained their comic masks throughout the 1920s.” In this, Miller and Lyles were similar to Bert Williams, who also wore blackface on the Broadway stage, while his partner George Walker did not. Both comedy duos negotiated the profound contradictions of asserting black subjectivity within a white supremacist and capitalist performance context (figure 2.2).

For Wolfe the original *Shuffle Along* was a portal to prominent performers such as Florence Mills and Eubie Blake, as well as to little-known figures from African American performance history, such as the actress and singer Lottie Gee, who originated the role of the ingénue Jessie Williams. Wolfe has identified the dismaying yet productive space between the significance of the original production and its somewhat meager historical record: “I was just intrigued how something could go from being so significant to ending up as someone’s footnote, and then that gap . . . seemed to me a musical.” It is not that *Shuffle Along* was utterly evacuated from the archive. For instance, Woll dedicates a chapter to the show in his 1989 book *Black Musical Theatre: From “Coontown” to “Dreamgirls.”* The PBS miniseries *Broadway: The American Musical*, first broadcast in 2004, features Wolfe discussing the uptown/downtown
FIGURE 2.2 The African American comedy team Flournoy E. Miller (kneeling) and Aubrey Lyles (standing) wearing blackface makeup in the 1921 production of *Shuffle Along*. Billy Rose Theatre Division, New York Public Library. “Scene from the stage production *Shuffle Along*” courtesy of New York Public Library Digital Collections, http://digitalcollections.nypl.org/items/fd8eade0-7598-0131-a70a-58d385a78928.
cultural exchange that *Shuffle Along* instigated. Nevertheless, the show and its creative team have not become a cultural reference point for musicals of the era such as Kern and Hammerstein’s *Show Boat*. Nor has it become readily associated with the famous performers involved. When *Shuffle Along* was known to black Broadway performers, it represented a past to jettison.

Broadway star Billy Porter attended performing arts programs for high school and college during the 1980s and played Lyles in *Shuffle Along . . . and All That Followed*. He cites the songs of *Shuffle Along* as the clearest signal that the show triggered shame: “You know, to be truthfully honest with you, just from reading the song titles on the album cover, me and my black friends, in our naiveté, sort of rejected this show . . . songs like ‘Pickaninny Shoes’ and ‘Bandana Land.’ And we heard that there was blackface. And, you know, without context, without historical context to sort of look at it through that lens, we immediately rejected it.” In Porter’s formulation Wolfe’s call to reengage with and ultimately celebrate *Shuffle Along* fostered previously unavailable access to the fraught material. Porter describes *Shuffle Along . . . and All That Followed* as an emollient and an epiphany, calling the show “an amazing journey” that provided him the opportunity to comprehend the significance and complexities of the Jazz Age *Shuffle*. McDonald, who is close in age to Porter, described her own introduction to the material, “I was so intrigued because I didn’t know any of this history. And this history, you know, that’s a direct line to me as a performer. And the fact that I knew nothing about it, immediately I was just like tell me more, tell me more, tell me more.”

Younger members of the cast, who were born in the late 1980s and early 1990s, were equally compelled to connect their personal trajectories to the original *Shuffle Along*. Yet, as with Porter, *Shuffle Along* triggered shame. However, it was a shame for not knowing about it. Cast member Adrienne Warren acknowledged, “I didn’t know anything about it until I started talking to George about it. And then I felt horrible that I didn’t know this history because it’s *my* history, it’s all our history.” Amber Iman admitted, “It was crazy how stupid we all felt.” The cast and creative team’s urge to correct the historical record became an almost evangelical motivation for staging *Shuffle Along . . . and All That Followed*. As Iman observed, “That’s why it felt so important and so heavy. Because of the amount of material we covered, because we felt like we were doing this for those whose shoulders we stood on. You know, you wanted to make them proud, you wanted to do it justice.” Being in the show was not only an opportunity to access an unfamiliar history of black performance. It was also a chance to work with illustrious performers who inspired...
their own career choices. For Iman, working with McDonald became a life-altering experience: “She’s the Goddess. She’s the queen of Broadway . . . for so many little brown girls she is the epitome of inspiration and goals. To get to work with her and to get to know her . . . I will never forget [it] in my life.”

Thus, as much as Shuffle Along . . . and All That Followed was aimed at educating Broadway audiences, it also educated its cast, connecting many of them to a performance history that had seemed too far in the past to be accessible.

**SHUFFLE ALONG, OR, THE MAKING OF THE MUSICAL SENSATION OF 1921 AND ALL THAT FOLLOWED**

*Shuffle Along, or, The Making of the Musical Sensation of 1921 and All That Followed* opened April 28, 2016, and closed a few months later on July 24, logging one hundred performances after thirty-eight previews. The show intersperses Sissle and Blake’s songs within a book that depicts Shuffle Along’s unlikely success and the post-Shuffle struggles of its creative team. Act 1 encompassed Sissle and Blake meeting Miller and Lyles, securing funding from a white producer, barely scraping by on the road, renovating an inadequate and dilapidated theater in New York City, and finally triumphing. Moving through time and geographical location, supertitles above the proscenium arch informed the audience when and where the action was taking place. Although almost none of the original Shuffle Along was staged, Wolfe closed the first act with the show’s most recognized hit, “I’m Just Wild about Harry,” on a set that replicated the original Shuffle Along’s southern setting. Act 2 followed the different trajectories of the creative team and the show’s key performers, from the competitive battles that Miller and Lyles fought with Sissle and Blake to Aubrey Lyles’s Garveyism and Lottie Gee’s perpetual search for an opportunity as sensational as Shuffle Along. Returning to his atemporal framing device, a direct address coda from each major character explained their basic biography until the year of their deaths.

Wolfe worked with the original Shuffle Along to establish boundaries around the Jazz Age modes of representation the contemporary production would bring to the stage. To emphasize the innovation of the original, Wolfe included the musically innovative numbers from Shuffle Along and skipped the minstrelsy-style songs. The operetta ballad “Love Will Find a Way” comes early in the first act of the 1921 show and was sung by the young lovers, Harry Walton and Jessie Williams, that established Shuffle Along’s most remarkable plot and character innovation. Setting the scene at the Colonial Theatre in...
Baltimore, Wolfe staged the debut of “Love Will Find a Way” as prefaced by a heated debate among Shuffle Along's creative team and cast members about the immediate physical danger of presenting a sincere “love song between a colored man and woman” during the 1920s. Miller, played by Brian Stokes Mitchell, served as a grounding force throughout the production. During the debate, he noted, “As you all know, there’s tons of songs celebrating our love of watermelon, Virginnny, Dixie, but none celebrating our love of each other.” After relaying historical occurrences of mob violence against black performers, Miss Mattie Wilks, played by Amber Iman, observed, “Anything that makes us hopeful and heartfelt instead of beastly and buffoonish is forbidden.”

As Lottie Gee playing the role of Jessie Williams, McDonald conveyed deep apprehension about the song. Brandon Victor Dixon was cast as Eubie Blake. As a native of Baltimore, Blake suggested to his collaborators that they wait for New York to include the song. The dangers of the innovation were not only due to the lyric’s romantic sentiments, but to the radical decision that the romantic characters would kiss. Physical intimacy was an affront to white audiences’ expectations for black characters. As the critic Lester A. Walton put it, when it came to black characters, audiences “thought they have no business being ardent lovers.” Wolfe gave the decision of whether to include the song to Miller, who proclaimed, “History is calling! The song goes in tonight!”

Wolfe offered multiple frames for the audience's reception of “Love Will Find a Way.” The audience watched Shuffle Along's creative team watching from the wings, thus emphasizing the anxiety of the historical moment. Not only did the audience watch them watching, but other cast members narrated every move McDonald as Lottie Gee as Jessie Williams made: “She’s reaching out! She’s . . . touching his hand! He’s touching hers.” Another character noted with glad surprise, “The audience, they’re listening!” Wolfe's frames triangulate the event. The audience heard the romantic ballad but saw a comic counterpoint in Lottie Gee and her scene partner’s wary expressions as they keep an active lookout for an escape route even as they perform smitten dedication. Simultaneously, the anxiety of the stage-right characters dissecting the scene moment by moment located the high-stakes reality of the original. Through dialogue and staging, Wolfe and the performers created a transtemporal interrogation of the song and its embodied performance. Rather than simply a triumphant affirmation of black Americans’ right to romantic love, the scene is transformed by the weight of historic, symbolic, and actual violence, forcing audiences to grapple with that reality in tandem with the pleasure and immediacy of McDonald’s vocal range and comic capabilities.

GEORGE C. WOLFE’S SHUFFLE ALONG 57
In addition to “Sing Me to Sleep, Dear Mammy (With a Hush-a-Bye-Pickaninny Tune),” Wolfe omitted “Pickaninny Shoes.” The omission of the songs is significant because of their connection to the contemporary production’s scenic design by Santo Loquasto. In an apparent visual reference to the grocery store set of the original *Shuffle Along*, Loquasto dotted the walls of Sissle and Blake’s imagined rehearsal room with faded print advertisements for soap. In doing so, he activated the ghosts of commercial representation of blackness. Late Victorian and early twentieth-century soap advertisements celebrated whiteness as a hygienic ideal and often objectified black children as dirty creatures verging on the inhuman. Among the rehearsal room ads, the Fairbank Company’s iconic Gold Dust Twins appeared. As a proprietor of lard and then soap, the Fairbank Company depicted pickaninnies to sell its popular Fairy Soap and Gold Dust Washing Powder. Fairbank’s Gold Dust Twins were black imps, nude from the waist up, who cavorted while they cleaned. Advertising copy invited consumers to “Let the Gold Dust Twins Do Your Work” and asked beleaguered women, “Are you a slave to housework? Gold Dust has done more than anything else to emancipate women from the back-breaking burdens of the household.” In that case, the history of chattel slavery translated to ad copy humor directed at white women. In 1921, of course, slavery was not a distant legacy but a firm memory for many black Americans.

The rehearsal room was important for Wolfe’s staging of other *Shuffle Along* numbers including “I’m Just Simply Full of Jazz” and “Honeysuckle Time,” which Wolfe intertwined with the initial flirtation between Lottie Gee and Eubie Blake. Gee let down her guard and learned her moves, Blake tickled out a new tune, and they were surrounded by the specter of casual consumption of dehumanized, commodified blackness. Painted as faded rectangles that blur into the temporary architecture of the rehearsal room walls, the historically significant advertisements may very well have gone unnoticed (or unseen for those in the balcony) by the majority of audience members. Yet, they were an important example of the many instances of historical knowledge layered into the live moment of performance in Wolfe’s musical. By locating the advertisements in the rehearsal room, the scenic design emphasized the ways identity is rehearsed in interior architectural space for an external presentation, as well as the way racist ideologies were rehearsed and performed through the consumption of consumer goods. In a contemporary moment framed by history, McDonald and Dixon perform Gee and Blake’s human connection within this context of commodification.
The rehearsal scene’s representation of commodification took place in the inherently commercial context of Broadway. As David Savran notes, “the musical is first and foremost a product of the marketplace in which the aesthetic is always—and unpredictably—overdetermined by economic relations and interests.” Broadway audiences have household incomes far above the national average and are 75 percent white. That makes its audiences whiter than the demographics of the nation and much whiter than the population of New York City. While Broadway audiences are technically a minority in that their wealth and whiteness represent a small percentage of the nation’s demographics, they are majoritarian in how their purchasing power determines what succeeds on the Great White Way.

_Shuffle Along . . . and All That Followed_ addressed the overdetermining structure of the original _Shuffle Along_’s need to please white audiences in order to be a financial hit while actively referring to the contemporary audience demographics. Wolfe extended the past into the present, utilizing the words and gesture of a white character to point out that his show also depended on a white audience to fill the seats of the Music Box Theatre. _Shuffle Along . . . and All That Followed_ implicated the contemporary audience’s connection with the 1920s performance context via a light tone. A telegram tap-danced and spoken by Sam, the white liaison between _Shuffle Along_’s creative team and white producer John Cort, notes: “Hearing great things about _Shuffle_. STOP. Now to see how the show plays in front of all audiences, i.e. . . .” After uttering “i.e.,” Sam Ashmanskas, who played the character Sam, gestured to the house and knowing laughter rippled through the audience. The fact of the 1921 majority white audience did not need to be named because the 2016 audience, myself included, provided the same information with our bodies in our seats. Although this transtemporal collapsing had a real politics to it, the moment went over easily.

Later in the show, Wolfe induced audience wincing by addressing the fact that celebrating black talent can be very much in line with white supremacy. The thirteen-member chorus dramatized the original _Shuffle Along_’s three-week tour through Pennsylvania in choreography that echoed the rhythms of the railroad in a piece _New York Times_ critic-at-large Wesley Morris described as having “the most erotic, insane, violent, crazy energy.” As the dancers travel their “graveyard tour” of Pennsylvania, the president of the railway, as a huge fan of _Shuffle Along_, offered the cast and crew their own private car. He exclaimed, “I say, I’ve seen a nigger show or two before in my day, but this one’s one of the best!” Miller and Lyles process the politics of accepting such
an offer (Lyles notes the private car “wasn’t free” to which Miller responds, “Nothing is”). In this moment, Wolfe was careful not to implicate the contemporary audience, relegating a spoken racial slur to a fleeting caricature of ignorant whiteness and containing it as one of many moral compromises the production faced on the road.

While the notion of an all-purpose white antagonist might seem facile, Ashmanskas’s multiple roles point to the consistent and unyielding structures of white dominance that *Shuffle Along* faced. In addition, whereas the lack of white characters in previous works by Wolfe, such as *Noise/Funk*, can arguably make the behavior of the black characters read as individual pathologies, playing a producer, train engineer, and journalist, Ashmanskas’s multiple permutations of racism and menace forced the audience to have several confrontations with whiteness. Wolfe returned to the specter of the majority white audience with a haunting by the controversial white Harlem Renaissance enthusiast Carl Van Vechten. He appeared as a character in Act 2 and seemed to curse the creative team with the condemnation “They won’t remember you!”

As *Shuffle Along . . . and All That Followed* got closer to its closing date, this scene took on an increasingly grotesque quality that collapsed past into present in a mode quite opposite Wolfe’s recuperative transtemporal strategy.

**GESTATIONAL TEMPORALITY AND CAPITALIST CALENDAR TEMPORALITY**

For a show that took up temporality as a dramatic material with which to work, *Shuffle Along . . . and All That Followed* experienced a harsh and immediate temporal pivot due to the 2016 Tony Awards. The awards have a major impact on the financial stability and longevity of shows on Broadway, as research shows that, not surprisingly, “winning nominations have a stronger effect than losing nominations” on post-awards success. Therefore, the timeframe from the weeks just before nominations (announced in May) to the evening of the awards in June exists in a compressed capitalist temporality during which information and maneuvering for beneficial positions occurs at an accelerated pace. In late April 2016, producer Scott Rudin argued that *Shuffle Along . . . and All That Followed* should be categorized as a revival rather than a new musical because the songs were by Sissle and Blake. However, citing Wolfe’s new book, the Tony Awards committee ruled that the show was a new musical and would therefore be in the same Best New Musical category as the phenom-
enally famous hip-hop musical *Hamilton*, which received a record-breaking sixteen nominations.

Each day seemed to bring an update in the midst of the high-stakes Tony Awards season. On May 10 McDonald announced her surprise pregnancy via a tweet that read: “Who knew that tap dancing during perimenopause could lead to pregnancy?”" Interestingly, McDonald chose to foreground her stage of life cycle. At age forty-five, she was ten years older than what obstetricians consider “advanced maternal age.” The surprise was twofold. There was the surprise that it had happened when it did, as well as that the pregnancy had happened at all. The news caused scheduling changes, including a delay in McDonald’s engagement in London, for which she had already planned to temporarily leave *Shuffle Along . . . and All That Followed*. However, the switch kept McDonald in the show for a longer period of time in the short term, which benefited the show. Although the performers’ union Actors’ Equity Association has no parental leave policy, McDonald was able to arrange for a leave from the show because of the power of her fame and name recognition. She continued to deliver her characterization of Lottie Gee with piquant humor, growing belly and all, and audiences knew she would temporarily leave the show in late July.

The cast of *Shuffle Along . . . and All That Followed* performed on the Tony Award broadcast, including McDonald in a royal blue velvet dress kicking high while pregnant. However, the show did not take home any awards. Less than two weeks later came the surprise news that the show would close in one month. Despite the fact that the show had been grossing over $900,000 a week to houses filled to 99 percent capacity or higher, the producers decided to shutter the $12-million production, presumably because advance sales were low for the dates after McDonald’s departure, even though there were plans to create a feature dance with Glover and replace McDonald with Grammy-winner Rhiannon Giddens. Iman describes the shock of the one-month timeframe: “I was standing next to my friend Christian and I remember distinctly grabbing his arm and I don’t know if I held my breath or I didn’t have any breath in my body but it was like ‘what is going on here?’” The announcement intensified the urgency of the cast and crew’s pedagogical mission as they realized, “we have this important story to tell and a limited amount of time in which to do it.”

Megaproducer Scott Rudin used McDonald’s star status to substantiate his claim that her pregnancy necessitated the show’s closing. His press release stated, “Audra McDonald is the biggest star on Broadway, and audiences have
been clamoring to see her in this role since the first preview of *Shuffle Along* in March of this year. . . . It has, however, become clear that the need for Audra to take a prolonged and unexpected hiatus from the show has determined the unfortunate inevitability of our running at a loss for significantly longer than the show can responsibly absorb. Rudin’s scapegoating of McDonald’s pregnancy framed two temporalities as existing in utter opposition: that of gestation versus investment recuperation. Rudin’s rhetorical move underscores how the calendar capitalism of Broadway’s temporal regime regulates all performers, but particularly women who might or do become pregnant. As the sociologist Barbara Adam notes, “birthing, feeding and caring—all key features of maternal times—have to be given whatever amount of time they need. Such times, therefore, are constituted outside the commodified, rationalized clock time of employment relations.” Because of this opposition, Rudin was able to present McDonald’s pregnancy as impossible to work around. His binary temporal thesis neglected to mention the costs of bankrolling a show with a twenty-four-member chorus and top industry talent, the challenge of recouping producers’ investments with the Music Box Theatre’s comparatively small number of seats, and the fact that the show won none of its ten Tony Award nominations.

The debate over whether McDonald’s pregnancy actually prompted the closing depends on whether one views *Shuffle Along . . . and All That Followed* as a star vehicle for McDonald or an ensemble piece. On the one hand, it is difficult to argue that anything with McDonald in it is not a star vehicle since many consider the six-time Tony winner to be “Broadway’s greatest star singer, possibly ever.” On the other hand, it is perhaps equally difficult to argue that a show with Mitchell, Porter, Dixon, and Joshua Henry is fundamentally dependent on another performer. Although it seems clear that McDonald’s temporary leave was consequential, it was not the only factor. As I have argued elsewhere:

> The protrusion of pregnancy on the professional stage makes it an easy target but imagine a scenario where the density of factors that lead a show to close were honestly accounted for. What if the press release said, “Unfortunately, this is a hugely expensive show to run. It has a lot of stars and a large chorus and the staging is complex. It didn’t win the awards we hoped it would win. The producers are nervous about advance sales.” Imagine a world where a host of complex capitalist decisions didn’t come down on one woman’s body.
Rudin further negotiated McDonald’s womb as a capitalist territory by suing the show’s insurer, Lloyd’s of London, for not recouping the show’s losses, contending McDonald’s pregnancy caused her to “abandon” the show due to the “accident” of perimenopausal conception. Lloyd’s investigated McDonald and accused her of knowing about her pregnancy in February, before the policy was written in March. Thus, their application of exacting calendar time to McDonald’s gestational temporality was deployed as a capitalist strategy to recoup losses. Rudin’s abrupt decision suggested a devastating circular temporality to the show in which Wolfe and Glover’s affirming and energizing trans-temporal musical wound up restaging the power dynamics of a century past.

**BROADWAY FOR BLACK LIVES MATTER**

You hear people blasting “What’s Going On” by Marvin Gaye and it’s 20-whatever year that was. . . . At the moment I was like, “What year is it that I’m walking through the streets and it feels like this?”

AMBER IMAN

A third concurrent temporality is crucial to understanding the temporal politics of *Shuffle Along . . . and All That Followed*. This section’s epigraph comes from an April 2017 interview I conducted with cast member Amber Iman. She describes the bewildering temporal suspension that seemed to envelop Harlem on July 13, 2013, when it was announced that George Zimmerman was acquitted of all charges for shooting seventeen-year-old Trayvon Martin the previous year in Sanford, Florida. In Iman’s perception of time, a day in the second decade of the new millennium conjured the atmosphere and aurality of civil rights–era strife. Not only did Iman question the verdict’s place in calendar time but, in her recollection, the specific year of the Zimmerman verdict escaped her because of the annual, monthly, or even daily distress of racist violence. That is, collective trauma collapsed forty years and befogged four years. Iman experienced asphyxia and psychological paralysis: “I felt like the breath got taken from me, my chest was incredibly tight and it was this feeling of powerlessness, complete powerlessness. I felt ‘I am black in America and I can do absolutely nothing about what’s happening and we’re all walking around with targets on our backs.’” With Iman’s acute sense of vulnerability, the verdict also provoked temporal consternation regarding black Americans’
future. Iman saw “people walk around hopeless and confused and lost and
dazed and wondering, ‘what happens next?’”57

Trayvon Martin’s murder and Zimmerman’s acquittal are frequently identified as the instigating traumas provoking the social justice movement #BlackLivesMatter. In her book From #BlackLivesMatter to Black Liberation, African American studies scholar Keeanga-Yamahtta Taylor charts the United States’ “culture of racism” through different historical eras, tying the nation’s contemporary crisis of antiblack violence directly to the failed promise of the end of the Civil War. Focusing on the 2015 death of Freddie Gray in Baltimore, Maryland, Taylor observes that 150 years has not managed to deliver citizenship in the form of legal justice and physical autonomy to black Americans: “The distance from the end of the Civil War, with the birth of Black citizenship and civil rights, to the state-sanctioned beating and torture of Freddie Gray constitutes the gap between formal equality before the law and the self-determination and self-possession inherent in actual freedom—the right to be free from oppression, the right to make determinations about your life free from duress, coercion, or threat of harm.”58 Here we see racial time once again being expressed in spatial terms: gaps in justice, gaps in theater archives, gaps in collective memories.

From 2014 to 2016, consecutive summers were indelibly marked by national headlines about antiblack violence as digital cell phone footage of murders circulated and news coverage proliferated.59 For three years, Iman’s activist urge incubated as her career accelerated, stalled, and accelerated again when she was cast in Shuffle Along . . . and All That Followed. In early July 2016, less than two weeks after the show’s closing announcement, Alton Sterling and Philando Castile were killed by police officers in Louisiana and Minnesota, respectively. Castile’s girlfriend, Diamond Reynolds, utilized Facebook Live to show the world what was happening in that moment. This included Officer Jeronimo Yanez swearing with his gun drawn, Castile bleeding out, and Reynolds’s measured response to Yanez’s directives while giving the plaintive commentary, “Oh my God, please don’t tell me he’s dead. Please don’t tell me my boyfriend just went like that.”60 Footage of Castile’s death, Reynolds’s real-time response, and the knowledge that Reynolds was arrested and her four-year-old daughter witnessed everything, spurred national despondence and fresh rage at the familiarity of escalating police violence leading to a black civilian’s murder. The names Philando Castile and Alton Sterling replaced the names Sandra Bland and Samuel DuBose from summer 2015, replacing the names Eric Garner and Michael Brown from summer 2014. A feeling of per-
petual crisis pervaded, a feeling that the nation was caught in a temporal loop, re-playing scene after scene of extrajudicial antiblack violence.

In the aftermath of Castile’s and Sterling’s murders, Iman found being part of the black cast of *Shuffle Along . . . and All That Followed* to be personally and politically transformative: “To work on a show like *Shuffle Along* and be surrounded by veterans, an older generation of folks. . . . We sat at their feet and asked them what to do. I remember distinctly sitting in Billy Porter’s dressing room and he just shaking his head and looking at me and me shaking my head . . . trying to figure out what to do.”61 This intergenerational reciprocity was comforting and motivating. Iman converted her feeling of powerlessness into action. She used social media to mobilize, posting a call on Facebook for fellow performers to somehow address the crisis of violence against black Americans by asking “Where is Broadway for Black Lives Matter?”62 In tandem with intergenerational connection and political crisis, Iman identifies a temporally situated personal motivation for her turn to activism in the summer of 2016: “I think I spent maybe the last ten or so years of my life being obsessed with working. ‘What show am I going to be in and how am I going to pay my bills?’ The older I got—as if I’m fifty!—but the older I got I was like, ‘Is this it? Like, is this all my life is going to be? Just waiting for the next script, waiting for the next show?’ And I wanted to find a way to kind of take control of my life. And I just started looking for a purpose, a real purpose in my life.”63 The political context intertwined with Iman’s own lifecycle and the process of maturing from a young, struggling performer to a sense of self that included connecting with and acting beyond the immediacy of professional theater demands.

From Iman’s initial expression of frustration came a collective push to organize a free concert and conversation event. Broadway for Black Lives Matter took place August 1, 2016, at Columbia University in New York City, one week after the closing of *Shuffle Along . . . and All That Followed*. The night included an astounding array of activists and performers sharing perspectives, suggesting strategies for social justice, and creating community. Audra McDonald and Brian Stokes Mitchell took the podium at the beginning of the evening, explaining the direct connection between the original *Shuffle Along*, *Shuffle Along . . . and All That Followed* and Black Lives Matter:

This evening is a result of activism—of a desire to do something. For the past many months, we have been involved in a show called *Shuffle Along*. A group of African-American artists in 1921 got together and created something that was bigger than the sum of its parts, a show that changed Broadway...
and the world, by being one of the forces that paved the way for the Harlem Renaissance, and while we were doing this show, we were witness to the many disturbing acts that were happening in our present-day world. Acts that have continued to demonstrate the need and amplify the voice of the Black Lives Matter movement.64

McDonald and Mitchell connected the original *Shuffle Along* to its Jazz Age era and named the show’s culturally transformative impact, identifying that transformation as part of the motivation for the *Shuffle Along . . . and All That Followed* cast and crew members organizing Broadway for Black Lives Matter. Connecting the original show to contemporary activism was significant because the original *Shuffle Along* was long remembered, if it was remembered at all, as a jazzy dance comedy that retained too many remnants of minstrelsy to be something to celebrate. Iman and her colleagues’ work can be seen as part of the “third-wave women of color feminist-scholars’ and artists’ signature practice of recuperation and restoration” that Soyica Colbert, Douglas A. Jones Jr., and Shane Vogel use to describe the site-specific work of conceptual artist Simone Leigh. As an event that both comforted and coalesced, Broadway for Black Lives Matter was that very “mending—of what has been forgotten, overlooked, misremembered, suppressed, or denied” of which Colbert, Jones, and Vogel write. It was “time as a manner of attention.”65

**BROADWAY ADVOCACY COALITION**

The response to Broadway for Black Lives Matter showed Iman and her colleagues that, as artists, there was a place for them in activism but they “needed to figure out how to use [their] voices.”66 After such a stirring and successful evening, the organizers were faced with the question of futurity. As swing performer Britton Smith notes, “We felt like it was time to solidify what was next.”67 The group of six organizers, all black and all millennials, asked themselves how they could go forward in time and build on the evening’s profound energy and enthusiasm. They asked themselves, their peers, and fellow artists what they saw as missing in their communities, neighborhoods, and society.

In response, Iman and her co-organizers decided to shift from a social justice platform to an emphasis on community engagement. To signal this more expansive approach, Broadway for Black Lives Matter transformed into the Broadway Advocacy Coalition (bac), originally taking up the idea of con-
necting artistry and activism into #artivism. Iman notes that the decision to change the name was based on emphasizing inclusivity, as they discovered that Black Lives Matter was seen by some as exclusionary. Although this could be interpreted as a step back from a decisive political agenda, it was also a self-protective move in that, as Iman puts it, “we didn’t want to have to spend most of our time making other people feel comfortable.” The BAC tried to initiate the Invitation, “a monthly event series blending performances and discussions rooted in history, advocacy, and policy to build fundamental change.” For instance, the April 2017 gathering addressed “incarceration and the social justice system—how people directly affected by the criminal legal system collaborate to decarcerate prisons and rebuild communities.” The BAC is an ambiguous afterlife of both Shuffle Along . . . and All That Followed and the Broadway for Black Lives Matter event. The group’s effort to balance digital connectivity and event-driven social justice work was difficult to sustain due to the geographical dispersion and diverse professional commitments of the organizers. Its timeline of events has been sporadic and, in its most recent transformation, race and social justice are not overt topics. As of fall 2018, the BAC works with the mission of “Building the capacity of advocates, students, artists, organizations and communities to use the arts as an integral part of their social change work. We believe that placing Artistry at the center of solving today’s most pressing issues will create a new type of dialogue and impact.” With slated classes for artist engagement at Columbia University, the BAC’s life and afterlife are uncharted. Broadway for Black Lives Matter and the BAC can be viewed as an intergenerational response among black performers that extends the transtemporal modes of Shuffle Along . . . and All That Followed in continuing the pedagogical motivations of the short-lived but significant show, prompting audiences to think about how much has and has not changed in nearly one hundred years of political and performance history.

Shuffle Along should not be forgotten twice. George C. Wolfe and Savion Glover’s Shuffle Along, or, The Making of the Musical Sensation of 1921 and All That Followed deployed a transtemporal mode of performance that used tap pedagogy to educate cast members and audiences about a landmark production little known to those outside of scholars who study the Harlem Renaissance and/or musical theater history, staging the professional success and personal costs of working within Broadway’s racial time, that is, the racist and exploitive majoritarian structures of commercial Broadway and Jim Crow. Foregrounding the concurrent temporalities concentrically circling Wolfe’s work opens it to an expansive analysis, emphatically showing that Shuffle
Along . . . and All That Followed cannot be considered just another Broadway failure. In fact, its brief run compounded the contemporary show’s temporal connections with the original as it came to increasingly comment on contemporary economic and racial dynamics within and beyond the show itself.

NOTES

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1 L. Hughes, Big Sea, 223.
2 See chapters 5–7 in Woll, Black Musical Theatre.
3 Woll, Black Musical Theatre, 60.
4 Richardson, “‘Time Is Out of Joint,’” 308. Richardson tracks four types of “analytical foci”: story time, text time, stage time, and the metatemporal.
5 Walsh describes the significance of the actor’s body in history plays: “It is the animated body of the player who represents an absent being; in history plays, this means the actor who is a present-tense, living and breathing stand-in for a missing historical personage.” See Walsh, “Theatrical Temporality,” 66.
6 See C. Young, “Don’t Blame Pregnancy.”
8 Krasner connects the significance of the Tulsa Race Massacre to Shuffle Along. See Krasner, A Beautiful Pageant, 242–43. This long-neglected part of the nation’s history has recently received increased attention. See D. Brown, “They Was Killing Black People,” and D. Brown, “Olivia Hooker.”
9 See Hartman on afterlife not being “an antiquarian obsession with bygone days or the burden of a too-long memory, but because black lives are still imperiled and devalued by a racial calculus and a political arithmetic that were entrenched centuries ago.” Hartman, Lose Your Mother, 6. Also discussed in the introduction to this volume.
10 “Bring in ’da Noise, Bring in ’da Funk.”
11 Hill, Tap Dancing America, 70.
12 Hill also describes the dancing of Shuffle Along as “the aural and corporal synergy of black rhythm, more swift, subtle, and propulsive than what had previously been heard.” Hill, Tap Dancing America, 70.
13 “Remixing Shuffle Along.”
14 Specific steps identified by Emily Clark, email correspondence.
Tap historian Brian Seibert refers to “the kinesthetics of hearing: the way that hearing is a kind of touch, blasts of air knocking against the eardrum.” See Seibert, What the Eye Hears, 5.

Krasner, Resistance, Parody, and Double Consciousness, 151.

Krasner, A Beautiful Pageant, 249.

Miller et al., Shuffle Along libretto, 44.

R. Williams, Marxism and Literature, 121–27.

Shuffle Along . . . and All That Followed, performance.

J. Brown, Babylon Girls, 198.

J. Brown, Babylon Girls, 190.

See Woll, Black Musical Theatre, and Krasner, A Beautiful Pageant.

Miller, et al., Shuffle Along libretto, 22.

Woll, Black Musical Theatre, 60.

For analysis of how Williams and Walker negotiated the complexities of presenting their comedy on commercial Broadway and appealing to white audiences, see D. Brooks, Bodies in Dissent, and Krasner, Resistance, Parody, and Double Consciousness.

“Audra McDonald and George C. Wolfe Interview.”

“Remixing Shuffle Along.” The Shuffle Along song is titled “Bandana Days.”

“Remixing Shuffle Along.”

“Shuffle Along,” Theater Talk.

Iman, interview.

Iman, interview.

Iman, interview.

Shuffle Along . . . and All That Followed, performance.

Shuffle Along . . . and All That Followed, performance.

Shuffle Along . . . and All That Followed, performance.


Shuffle Along . . . and All That Followed, performance.

Shuffle Along . . . and All That Followed, performance.

See McClintock, Imperial Leather, and Amato, “The White Elephant in London.”

Undated advertisement.

Savran, “Toward a Historiography,” 213.

“One quarter of all tickets were purchased by non-Caucasian theatregoers. Of theatregoers age 25 or older, 81% had completed college and 41% had earned a graduate degree. The average annual household income of the Broadway theatregoer was $222,120.” Demographics of the Broadway Audience.

“Audra McDonald and George C. Wolfe Interview.”

For instance, Terry-Morgan critiques the “Street Corner Symphony” in Noise/ Funk: “‘Street Corner Symphony’ tells the downside of the story, but does not
reveal the beauty making and durability of these Black folks, as it did in act one. Against drug infestation, municipal neglect, White gentrification, and economic strangulation, Black Harlemites are still fighting the Great Battle. The cosmic power of 'Da Beat needs to be reinforced in this section so that the audience is not left thinking these Black folks are solely responsible for their demoralized condition.” Terry-Morgan, “Noise/Funk,” 683.

47 McDonald, Twitter post.
48 Iman, interview.
49 Iman, interview.
50 “Shuffle Along Sets Sudden Broadway Closing.”
51 Adam, Timewatch, 95.
52 Green, “Anxiety and Ecstasy.”
53 C. Young, “Don’t Blame Pregnancy.”
54 Hershberg, “Audra McDonald Stars in New Law Suit.”
55 Hershberg, “New Claims in Audra McDonald Case.”
56 Iman, interview.
57 Iman, interview.
59 State and vigilante violence certainly happens at any time of year and many high-profile cases have not happened in the summer. My point is that during the summers 2013–2016, antiblack violence became consistent topics of national conversation and crisis. In particular, August 2014 saw a month of clashes between protesters and the Ferguson, Missouri, police after Officer Darren Wilson shot eighteen-year-old Michael Brown and Brown’s body was left in the street for hours on August 9. For more on the meaning and impact of the unrest in Ferguson, see Taylor, From #BlackLivesMatter.
60 Reynolds, Facebook Live Video.
61 Iman, interview.
62 “How Amber Iman Created Broadway for Black Lives Matter.”
63 “How Amber Iman Created Broadway for Black Lives Matter.”
65 See the introduction to this volume.
66 Iman, interview.
67 Broadway Advocacy Coalition. In 2020, the BAC updated its mission and staff; many of the founding members remain on the board of directors and board of advisors.
68 Iman, interview.
69 Iman, interview.
70 Broadway Advocacy Coalition.
71 Broadway Advocacy Coalition.
72 Broadway Advocacy Coalition.