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Introduction

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Framing and reframing: existing ways of looking

In an art gallery, a painting hangs on a wall. I stop, my eye called to the painting by the wooden rectangle that separates out the bit of the wall that is 'the art' from the rest. The frame does the work of telling me 'look *here*, not there, look at *this bit*. This is the bit that is art'. Even the paintings without frames are framed by the blank wall around them, so that the wall becomes its own kind of frame: 'here is art and there is not-art'. Frames make a transition between two spaces, and shape the way we look at the art in the middle. The musical, while plainly another kind of art to a painting, has been framed in various ways that shape how it is 'seen' and understood. These frames may be what we bring with us, our personal histories of encounters with musicals, perhaps what we might have performed in or listened to before. Popular histories may shape how we put musicals in order, or categorise them: glossy coffee table books and TV histories illustrated with beautiful pictures of the so-called Golden Age era of musical. We may share cultural references to the musicals 'that were always on the telly when we were growing up'. But just as significantly, critical theories and academic approaches to the musical do this work too. They shape the way the musical is taught in colleges and universities, and ripple out of academia more broadly, impacting how the form is seen and understood in public discourse.

This collection is called *Reframing the Musical: Race, Culture and Identity*, because it sets out to re-consider the musical through new critical frames and approaches, or approaches which have been drawn from outside musical theatre studies. It begs the question – what is the problem with existing frames, with existing ways of looking? Each chapter of this book responds to limitations in how the musical has been understood; whether in the way in which existing approaches have framed issues of race, culture and identity, or in the way in which the history of the musical has been shaped (the musical's historiography). The problem with the existing 'frame' then is that some people, places and events have been privileged as more important, more worth remembering and paying attention to than others: public discourse around the musical has minimised, ignored and erased the contributions and presence of many marginalized people. And as musical theatre studies as a discipline has developed, the repeating of this historiography repeats what Sara Ahmed has called '*these techniques of selection*, ways of making certain bodies and thematics core to the discipline and others not even part' (emphasis in original, Ahmed, 2013). What we think happened in the past (and what we think *did not*) shapes how we understand the present, and what we can imagine as possible in the future.

The historiography of the musical (the writing of the musical's history) is my focus here. Histories that revolve around Thomas Carlyle's much criticised argument that 'the history of the world is but the biography of great men' (1840) seem products of another age, but stories of the musical's development tend to reinforce this generation-to-generation way of understanding the form. The story of the musical tends to rely on individuals and the contribution of certain kinds of practitioners being prioritised over others; primarily composers, librettists and lyricists, and perhaps directors and choreographers, occasionally 'star' performers may be recorded. The contribution of some of figures to the musical is seen as so artistically significant that they are not paid purely a wage but also royalties for their artistic and creative copyright. The work of these figures shapes the 'history' of the musical, romanticised through popular histories of the musical's development before and after the so-called Golden Age. One of its earliest iterations is in Leonard Bernstein's 1956 TV documentary on the American musical, where he notes the connection between the musical and proper European art forms, reassuring any viewers that the musical was 'steadily moving in the direction of opera' (in Bernstein, 1969, p. 183). In this narrative the serious musical can be seen in a proto form in *Show Boat* (1927) and then evolves fully with *Oklahoma!* (1943) – the Golden Age of musical theatre begins. One major popular historian of the musical, David Ewen, writes that *Oklahoma!* saw lyricist Oscar Hammerstein II 'transcend[ing] the techniques and skills of his trade to arrive at the higher purposes [...] of a true poet' (1968, p. 162).

The Golden Age brings about dramatic integration, unity, and artistry to a form previously dedicated to entertainment – and instigates a period in which the musical can be considered a proper art form. The problematic performance practices of vaudeville and of other earlier precursors to the musical like minstrel shows were *fixed* by the arrival of high(er) art and the dramaturgically integrated musical. The emphasis on dramaturgical integration as part of a strategy to value the musical as a serious art form places specific emphasis and value on Broadway and West End theatre, and on the Hollywood musical. As a result, the complex variety of kinds of musical theatre production become overlooked in making a better, more dramaturgically pleasing, story. Todd Decker notes that Bernstein's TV documentary omits 'black-cast musicals and black performers entirely' in framing a historiography of the Broadway musical (2009, p. 12). The historiography of the musical has crafted a version of a history where the achievements of one generation of musical theatre writers gets 'developed' and progressed by the next. The bid to make the musical culturally serious has had serious consequences on what kinds of musicals and what kinds of people the story has included.

This story of the musical has clearly lasted, since sixty years after Leonard Bernstein, it still dominates the reception of the musical as a form. In the widespread news interest about *Hamilton* (2015): here, one British newspaper critic writes that Lin-Manuel Miranda's Pulitzer Prize winning musical is part of the 'ancestral' revolutionary thinking of the musical as a form:

> Jerome Kern and Oscar Hammerstein's *Show Boat* (1927), George and Ira Gershwin's *Porgy and Bess* (1935), and *South Pacific* (1949) – by Hammerstein and Richard Rodgers – all explored racial prejudice – and gave opportunities to non-white performers – at a level that American spoken theatre took decades to match. (Lawson, 2017)

The (white) men in this story are giving the opportunity to be seen to non-white performers that they would otherwise supposedly not have had access to (the more complex issues of Jewish American identities, particularly during the 1920s and 30s, are usually ignored). This is echoed in contemporary histories of the musical, which still place people of colour as the recipient of white generosity. In reference to the first African American performer to appear in a traditionally 'all-white' revue, historian Ethan Mordden writes 'it was [Florenz] Ziegfeld who integrated Broadway, when he hired Bert Williams for *Follies of 1910*' (2013, p. 101). Bert Williams is reduced from a highly skilled performer and practitioner who could command audiences to a mute beneficiary of Ziegfeld's business acumen and progressive politics. Not only does this undermine Williams, but Monica White Ndounou's work suggests it is entirely factually inaccurate, since she establishes he had already appeared in Victor Herbert's *The Gold Bug* (1898) with his performing partner Bert Walker (2012, p. 60).

Michel-Rolph Trouillot, in his work on power and the production of history, destabilises what gets to be history (to use the vocabulary I have been using so far here, what is framed as history) by examining power structures which shape the writing of that history. He argues:

> […] history reveals itself only through the production of specific narratives. What matters most are the process and conditions of production of such narratives. […] Only through that overlap can we discover the differential exercise of power that makes some narratives possible and silences others. (Trouillot, 1995: 25)

As a whole this collection reframes what narratives are possible within the story of the musical as a form, and crucially, within its future. In this introduction I want to respond to Trouillot by considering one of the most lasting narratives in musical theatre historiography, perhaps slightly less Great Man than what we could usefully call the Cool White Guy narrative. This is a story of the musical where benevolent white men get to extend their spaces and be heroes for doing so, where it is white men who get to do almost all the cool, important, revolutionary stuff.

The 'Cool White Guy' narrative in the history of musical theatre

In order to explore the relationship between legitimizing the musical and the way in which it has instilled racialized hierarchies in whose story gets told, I need to first declare my own position and record my own naivety in seeing the consequences of this story of the musical. For many years I tried to work out one how and why musical theatre studies, and those professionally involved with the form, had spent so long trying to culturally legitimise the musical. During my PhD I paid attention to how the cultural value of the musical as 'less than' opera required a kind of cultural 'acting up' – of

suggesting that some musicals were as good as operas, perhaps because of a genius composer, a visionary lyricist or epic scale. I spent considerable time unpicking how this value based history had worked in sorting out *better* or *worse* musicals as a primary approach to the musical (so Andrew Lloyd Webber is less like opera than Stephen Sondheim, so his musicals are 'worse' than Sondheim's). Yet for me to spend so long pursuing this narrative without seeing how tangled up musical theatre studies is in race and identity reveals my own white privilege: I failed to see that as a consequence to its bid for cultural serious, unintended or not, the 'possible narrative' of the musical requires 'a differential exercise of power' in what it is prepared to allow non-White people to do, and what it is prepared to acknowledge they have done in its history.

To call back to Trouillot, this 'possible narrative' of the history of the musical relies on white supremacist thinking, because it excludes the more complex reality that: the musical as a form exists because of Black performance practice and the work of African-American and performers, creatives and collaborators racialized as Black. This may seem shocking to white people since white supremacism tends to conjure up images of neo-Nazis or the Ku Klux Klan, but Critical Race Theory positions this as the way society is structured to benefit white people. White supremacism is not only what Frances Ansley calls the 'self-conscious racism of white supremacist hate groups', but also what she lays out as a structural reality:

> […] a political, economic and cultural system in which whites overwhelmingly control power and material resources, conscious and unconscious ideas of white superiority and entitlement are widespread, and relations of white dominance and non-white subordination are daily reenacted across a broad array of institutions. White supremacy produces material and psychological benefits for whites, while extracting a heavy material and psychological price from blacks. (Ansley, 1997, p. 592)

This understanding of white supremacy is perhaps uncomfortable for white people, who may be prepared to acknowledge that white privilege exists – but less so the specific costs and consequences of this privilege. Donatella Galella notes that white people's fear of being called out as racist betrays 'a liberal understanding of white supremacy rooted in individuals rather than in racial capitalism in which we are all complicit' (2016). As a white person it is more comfortable to think about racism as an individual choice rather than system embedded into daily life which explicitly benefits white people at the cost of people who are racialized as non-White. Kimberlé Crenshaw recounts that at the beginning of Black Studies as a discipline, 'interrogating racial power from the inside out – was to some a discordant, uncomfortable and even shocking experience' (2011, p. 1290). Unpicking the way in which a dominant culture maintains its power is uncomfortable, but interrogating the ways in which 'racial capitalism' has shaped our understanding of one of the most popular forms of Western popular culture is vital. In his work interrogating whiteness in Hollywood movies, Daniel Bernardi writes that representations of race in films have a 'real impact in real people's lives'; and that 'to question cinema […] is to resist ideology' (2007, p. xvi). The musical has

a very real impact on real people's lives; it continues to shape national and personal ideologies, so too the arguments and ideas that frame it as a form.

Understanding the way in which default whiteness, and other kinds of normativity, have been at the heart of the musical and its historiography, is a key part of assessing what and who has been missed. Who gets represented in glossy histories and contemporary TV documentaries on the history of the musical has real consequences on the people reading or watching those accounts. Seeing Bert Williams as the recipient of Ziegfeld's good intentions misses the far more complex reality of understanding Williams' negotiation of racist structures and expectations in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. It overlooks the considerable work of theorists such as Camille Forbes who have addressed Williams' performance practice, arguing that he refused expected 'representations of the black man as primitive, and dared the audience to look at their biases, to recognize their prejudicial notions regarding the black man' (2004, p. 623). In order to successfully operate, the Golden Age historiography of musical theatre studies (which is essentially the same thing as the Cool White Guy Narrative) requires a number of uncritical assumptions to work. Perhaps the most crucial of these is that Broadway and the West End must be the main destination for musical theatre shows and practitioners: what happens there counts, what happens elsewhere is only important if it is a precursor to the 'main event'. As a result, musicals that explicitly challenge white dominant voices are an exceptional event, because the boundaries for success have been so tightly framed. Vaudeville that leads to Broadway is important, but the T.O.B.A circuit (Theatre Owners Booking Association), historically known as the Chitlin circuit, is not.

Much of this is highlighted in the way Noble Sissle and Eubie Blake's *Shuffle Along* (1921), has been historicised as a one-off blip in the narrative of the musical. In his overview of American musical theatre, John Kenrick writes that after *Shuffle Along* closed 'the renaissance of Black musical theatre quickly subsided and the genre would not appear with any frequency until another half a century had past' (2010, p. 191). This immediately reveals problems in what counts as 'Black musical theatre' on Broadway, presumably not all-Black casts as *Porgy and Bess* (1935) and the wave of musicals which came after it could not be included here. If Kenrick is referring to a lack of Black composers and theatre creatives, then there are numerous examples which would disprove this, not least composer/performers Eddie Hunter and Fats Waller in the late 1920s and '30s, lyricist Andy Razaf also in the 1920s-30s, poet Langston Hughes' work in the 1930s and Duke Ellington's work in the 1940s. Many Black practitioners and performers moved beyond Broadway to networks of touring circuits (T.O.B.A.) and regional centres of performance such as Chicago and into the film industry (for a detailed history of this period see Robinson, 2007, p. 167–179).

Traditional histories of the musical have struggled to deal with how what appear to be racist performance practices can be at the same time sites of resistance. In describing *Shuffle Along*, Kenrick

writes '[it] was still burdened by hateful conventions. Most of the black skinned cast still felt it necessary to black their faces.' (2010, p. 190) While blackface was used by white performers to reproduce racist tropes through exaggerated caricatures in minstrel shows, Cedric J Robinson argues that in contrast to white performers putting on blackface, 'Black minstrels represented the anguish, the privations, and the pain of plantation life and the singular achievement of Black religion in providing an escape' (2007, p. 147). Considering blackface as solely a 'hateful' tradition allows a narrative where visible moments of racism can be seen in the context of imagined (and false) racial progress: it is reassuring for white people to think well, things were bad *then* but we would not accept that *now*. But crucially, it also diminishes the agency of performers, who were operating from inside racist and racialized performance practice, as Stephanie Batiste, in her work uncovering Black performance practice in Depression-era musical theatre notes:

> To assume that African Americans are unable to imagine and enact themselves as empowered subjects promotes a naive view of power. It denies African Americans a full spectrum of social and cultural agency. It is also quite simply historically inaccurate. (2011, p. 3)

David Savran has subsequently been at the forefront of considering the juxtaposition of cultural values around music, theatre, and race, unpicking the stratification of cultural values and musical theatre in the 1920s. This decade he notes saw 'theater professionals intent on the elevation of the legitimate theater were made distinctly anxious by the ubiquity of a low-class music that emerged from African Americans, eastern European Jews, and other immigrant groups' (2009, p. 4–5). He addresses the way in which *Shuffle Along* 'modernized musical comedy' by making jazz and tap dancing 'obligatory on Broadway' (Savran, 2009, p. 76) in a wider survey which considers the intersection of racial and class identity. More recent approaches to writing histories of American musical theatre have covered *Shuffle Along* in serious depth, but still in terms of its relationship to the Golden Age/integration narrative: '[it] was hardly a giant step in the direction toward the integrated musical' (Wollman, 2017, p. 67). Wollman argues that ultimately the success of this musical, which she notes led to all-Black revues, frequently produced by Lew Leslie, meant that 'denied performers their agency and thus tamped the possibility of a black theatre truly by, about, and for, black spectators' (2017, p. 69). Yet in his essay on the Chitlin circuit and the kinds of Black theatre it produced during the 1920s and 30s, Henry Louis Gates Jr. suggests that the circuit produced theatre 'for, by, and about'(2001) Black people. Musical theatre's tight focus on the real estate of Broadway is problematic.

The significant historical and performance analysis that has taken place on musical theatre practitioners within African American and Black diaspora studies has not always been reflected or responded to in musical theatre scholarship. There is a need to include the work of scholars from other disciplines, particularly from Critical Race Theory, and critical whiteness studies. Indeed, race and identity studies in musical theatre have tended to be relegated to sections of whole collections rather

than as the centre of the discussion. Such separation has been repeated in other kinds of identity studies – especially in terms of LGBTQ identities – and unsurprisingly has limited work around intersectional identities. In the context of exploring contemporary musical theatre as an industry, composer and Michael R. Jackson argues that 'Casting should be part of a larger project that aims to decenter whiteness as the primary reference point in the stories non-white bodies populate', he goes on to call for new musicals which will 'upend our expectations of default whiteness in musical theatre' (2015). Without a complex unpicking of the minimising of Black performance practice, whiteness continues to be the primary reference point of both the musical theatre industry and the field of scholarship around it. To borrow this term from Jackson, challenging expectations of default whiteness (and the correlated other dominant settings which assume straightness, able-bodied-ness, binary-gendered-ness and so on), mean that established stories about the history of the musical start to fall apart.

Recognising Jewish and LGBTQ+ identities within this narrative

One result of attempting to emphasise the quality of musical theatre in comparison to opera has been the focus on text-based archival traces, as a way of asserting the artistic integrity of the musical – one benefit of this is the inclusion of the important work of Jewish composers and lyricists in the development of the form. The remarkable work of scholars and in particular Andrea Most (2004) in understanding the complex ways in which the musical can be considered as a site of the construction of Jewish American identities. As these stories testify to, the musical does have a complex heritage: clearly alongside episodes of hateful anti-Semitism and homophobia, the industry has been used by people who identify as part of marginalized groups in order to gain representation and to construct complex identities (for example the Jewish American transition of). People who identify within the LGBTQ+ community have found ways to work within the heteronormative musical, subverting it with songs of unrequited yearning (as in Nöel Coward's work) or radically re-envisioning what the musical can do (in the case of Stephen Sondheim). The contribution that many marginalized groups have made to the musical has been the recipient of what Eric Lott (1993) calls 'love and theft' by the dominant culture of white heteronormativity; that is to say, their work has been interpolated, misappropriated, fetishized, or ignored. This is not a one way process, and performance practices have passed backwards and forwards between cultures - albeit with likely monetary discrepancies in who got paid more for them. But the extent to which black performance practice has been minimised and erased from the musical's historiography is astonishing: and it has largely been done through an overt emphasis on written text (words and music) and a minimising of performance as a practice which allows for any personal agency and creativity.

Challenging established ways of knowing

Performance theorist Susan Melrose raises the question 'what might be the implications […] of the premise that *established ways of knowing condemn us to inadequate ideas*?' (emphasis in original, 2007). I would argue that established ways of knowing and re-telling the history of the musical are inadequate to deal with the complex reality of the musical in all its guises, beyond Broadway as a location, beyond the contributions of the Cool White Guys. This is what this collection then is aiming to do in its reframing. The transnational depth and breadth of the scholarly work contained in this volume, and of its contributors with their breadth of lived experience and approaches, testifies to the urgency behind this collection. There are many more stories to be told, and there are other ways of looking which can help uncover and address these missing stories. How does musical theatre studies negotiate and respond to interventions from other related areas of research such as popular culture studies, film studies, disability studies, Critical Race Theory and Critical Whiteness Theory, and LGBTQ+ studies?

Existing approaches to reframing the musical

This collection joins a growing number of texts that address how Black and other marginalised and suppressed groups have appeared, and how their identities have been represented and constructed through popular performance and the musical. While this is not a comprehensive list, it sets out the current moves towards reframing and recovering performance practice. Daphne Brooks' vital positioning of Black performers as enacting resistance often considers the relationship between white composer and Black performance as an occupation (see Brooks, 2006; and Brooks and Muñoz, 2014). This kind of repositioning is a key part of the wider field of Black studies, which as Darlene Clark Hine notes explicitly sets out to recover resistance which appears 'veiled or dissembled'; the field works to 'unravel and reveal the myriad rituals and cultural creations that nurture and sustain oppositional consciousness while appearing to signal acquiescence, accommodation, and adaptation' (Clark Hine 2014: 14). Some approaches have been in specific historical case studies: James Wilson offers an extensive unpicking of the work of performers such as Florence Mills and Ethel Waters, noting how these two women in particularly managed to play expected racist stereotypes while often subverting them (Wilson, 2011, p. 153). David Krasner's work on Aida Overton Walker (1996) is similar, while he also gives a clear overview of Black performance practice during the Harlem Renaissance (2002). Stephanie Batiste's work on depression-era performance and practices of resistance and agency is extremely important in reconceptualising musical theatre from this period (2011).

This is continued in work which approaches race with a focus on contemporary performance practice, such as Patrick E. Johnson's significant work on Black and Queer bodies (2003), and his collaborative work with Ramon Rivera-Severa (2016). Other work which makes important interventions into performance and racial identity includes: Angela Chia-yi Pao's work on race and

ethnicity in American theatre (2010); Anna Cheng's work on *Racial Melancholia* (2002); Brian Herrera's work about constructions of Latin(x) identity in performance (2015); Carol Oja's work on *West Side Story* and Bernstein's explores these issues at length (2014, 2009); so too does Josephine Lee's work on the imagined Japan of *The Mikado* (2010). Elizabeth Craft's important work on *In the Heights* (2011) is particularly useful in framing *Hamilton*'s subsequent relationship with an audience who mostly have not seen the actual show. Work on the film musical has and in the case where such a musical has been adapted to the stage: on *The Jungle Book* see (Clark et al., 2017). Warren Hoffmann considers the performance and construction of race, as well as drawing on Critical Whiteness Studies in considering the assumption of white identities within Broadway musicals. Within hip hop studies, Nicole Persley Hedges's work provides a vital historiography of musicals in both the UK and in the U.S. that draw on rap and hip-hop (2015). Many of the chapters in this collection respond to and build on this work: and these sources may well be important for you as a reader when you set about your own responses to other musicals.

This book and its structure

In order to reframe the musical and to challenge existing power structures, the stories we as academics and students need to tell must shift, just as what we demand better representation from the musicals we go and see on stage. Part of this shift in reframing is a call to do better by being deliberatively inclusive in edited collections such as these, and actively redistributing resources and attention both in who and what we work on, and how we work. In editing this book, I deliberately invited scholars and practitioners with minoritized identities to approach this task of reframing the musical, and also approached junior scholars whose work tended towards interdisciplinary approaches. As a result, the book brings together an exciting collection of academics, with a diverse range of critical approaches and methodologies. It is by no means a complete approach, and there are necessarily gaps – particularly around representations of disability and mental health and well-being in the musical. As these conversations continue there is also a need to think further about intersectional identities, to address aspects of other identities that are not written about here. This book is the next step in a series of conversations about the musical. Queer feminist critical theorist Sara Ahmed has called for radical shifts in the way we approach our scholarship:

> We need feminist and anti-racist critique because we need to understand how it is that the world takes shape by restricting the forms in which we gather. We need this now; the time for this is now. We need this critique now, if we are to learn how not to reproduce what we inherit. (Ahmed, 2013)

In order to establish such a critique in reframing the musical then this book is split into three sections: and is not split purely into a chronological approach but rather makes connections between methodologies and critical approaches.

In the first section **Reframing Identity/Identities**, Donatella Galella, Broderick Chow and Brian Granger's chapters explore and reposition how musicals build and perform identities, and how audiences receive and interpret what is offered to them. In Chapter 1, Galella offers an urgent unpicking of the complex relationship between white storytellers and Black lives by focusing on the musical *The Fortress of Solitude* (2014), written by the late composer-lyricist Michael Friedman. Galella argues that the musical, which originated at the Public Theatre in New York, 'offers glimpses of interracial possibility'. She makes the powerful argument that the musical demonstrates 'alternate ways of listening, telling stories, and flying above structural racism' in its willingness 'to stage white privilege'. She draws out of the musical a potential model for how scholars might achieve similar work: 'To tell the stories of the United States and of musical theatre history, scholars must also tell the stories of black Americans'.

In Chapter 2, Broderick Chow responds to the production of *Here Lies Love* he saw in 2014 at the National Theatre, London. The musical, based around the life of Imelda Marcos, also emerged out of New York's Public Theatre, written by David Bryne and Fatboy Slim. Chow draws on his own identity 'as a 'Pinoy', albeit a half-Chinese Pinoy who grew up in Canada and now lives in London, England' to establish the critical position of '*seeing as a Filipino*', a term he defines as articulating 'a specific position that I, as a diasporic subject, find myself compelled to take up when confronted with a history that has haunted my life since the beginning'. Chow notes that scholarly and critical approaches to this musical reveal the 'colonial gaze'; not least in the musical's historiography, something he argues has not been 'expansive enough to admit non-Western or hybridised forms'. The chapter offers a powerful reading of *Here Lies Love* and its use of theatricality, which he argues 'troubled and tore apart a neocolonial narrative of third-world dictatorship and first-world democracy that so often characterizes representations of Asia'.

Finally in this section, Brian Granger's urgent discussion of *The Lion King* (1997) in Chapter 3 begins with his sharing of his own powerful experience of being an African American audience member in the theatre of the Broadway musical. He contrasts existing responses to the musical which focus on the problematic representations of Africa in the animated film by drawing our focus to 'the complex pleasures and powers of live theatre'. He considers how the pleasure of the live theatrical encounter is mediated through the 'sensory – and in some aspects consumable – pleasure of the black body'. Drawing on Stephanie Batiste's critical methodology and conceptualizing of the 'real and unreal' black body, Granger sets out to be 'both celebratory and critical' of the musical as a whole. He asks 'What is meaningful about this peculiar performance, appearing near the end of the twentieth century and yet remaining, more than two decades later, so entwined in contemporary discourses of race, culture, and identity?' Ultimately, Granger argues that 'Disney's *The Lion King* on Broadway is a vital sign for understanding civic and racialized presence in the early twenty-first century'.

In the second section **Challenging historiographies**, Maya Cantu, Arianne Johnson Quinn, Sean Mayes and Alejandro Postigo address and restore missing histories of musical theatre: each author takes a different approach to case study missing stories or perhaps different ways of looking at known material. In Chapter 4, Cantu recovers the work of Ada 'Bricktop' Smith (1894 – 1984) the little-known performer and practitioner, by challenging problematic and limiting concepts of the practitioner's most important contribution as that of Cole Porter's muse. She argues Bricktop's career was 'defined by acts of racial, cultural, and national border-crossing', yet Bricktop remains 'an overlooked presence in histories of musical theater, to which made significant contributions as a maker, mentor, and agent of artistic inspiration'. By carefully establishing an accurate historiography for the kinds of labour Bricktop carried out, Cantu powerfully reinstates Bricktop into the narrative of musical theatre development in the 1920s. Ultimately Cantu re-asserts the need to incorporate performance practice within the history of musical theatre: and in understanding the role of locations outside of Broadway and the West End as places where musical theatre is further developed.

In Chapter 5, Arianne Johnson Quinn's adjusts concepts of perhaps *the* most well-known creative practitioner in the existing history of the musical, Oscar Hammerstein II. She focuses on his work and reception in the UK as a way to consider his global influence, and explores how *South Pacific*'s British premiere in 1951 demonstrates 'postwar American progressive ideologies and the idea of the white savior'. She moves forward 40 years to consider the British premiere of *Carmen Jones* in 1991, directed by Simon Callow, drawing heavily on an interview with Callow. Johnson Quinn suggests that 'the very issues of race and equality that Hammerstein attempted to tackle in both of these librettos unintentionally reified attitudes of race and difference through the mythos of progressive theater'. The chapter is particularly useful in the context of the wider collection, since in turning back to a key figure within the established historiography of the musical, Johnson Quinn considers how established parts of the musical's narrative can be reframed.

Professional music director Sean Mayes carries out an urgent and complex restoration of this role in Broadway theatre, asking 'why has the contribution and the significance of the music director gone unrecognized?' Mayes writes from his own experience, noting that he wants to 'as a Black practitioner, shed distinct light on how this has particularly afflicted practitioners of colour whilst also acknowledging the problems that all minority practitioners experience.' He explores the way in which what he calls the music director's lost labours 'the evidence of their creation and maintenance have been predominantly all but lost'. The chapter considers the 'duality of facing discrimination both via role and via race', and Mayes draws on Critical Race Theory to explore the 'duality of facing discrimination both via role and via race'. Mayes points to the huge number of practitioners whose

contributions are yet to be explored, while urgently calling for better documentation of the work contemporary music directors carry out.

In his chapter, Alejandro Postigo carries out a rigorous historical positioning of the intercultural development of musical theatre in Spain in the 20th and 21st centuries. Postigo's work models a potential responses to Chow's call for more 'expansive historiographies' of the musical, and as a result, his chapter works as a case study for the way other kinds of musical theatre histories and locations are a necessary part of reframing the musical. Postigo considers the *zarzuela* and its relationship with global touring Broadway productions; the *zarzuela*, originally a 'popular response to the monarchic impositions of foreign genres', is 'a lyric-dramatic genre that has married music and theatre in Spain for over 365 years'. Postigo notes that while American musicals did appear in Spain, the form remained connected to folk and local traditions, with European influences from Italy and France. It was only after the collapse of the Franco regime and the rise of pop music, that musical theatre shifted in Spain, when Spanish producers turned to the American musical: 'Spain's youth demanded new styles of music and theatre coming from abroad, effectively wanting to forget about anything related to the long years of the dictatorship'. In the 21st century, Postigo notes that 'the international influence of Anglophone culture facilitates the exportation of musicals everywhere by somehow collapsing and replacing other cultural systems.'

Finally, in this section, Phoebe Rumsey focuses on Savion Glover's choreography for *Shuffle Along - Or The Making Of The Musical Sensation of 1921 And All That Followed* (2016) in Chapter 8. Rumsey explores how the production, a short-lived Broadway musical, stages and disrupt the historiography of the American musical by emphasizing how the work of Black performers and creatives has been minimized in official accounts. She notes that the performers on stage 'culturally and politically present the archive of the show', as orchestrated by Glover and director George C. Wolfe, who she notes 'shatters previous assumptions about the chronology of U.S. musical theatre history by presenting an alternate historiography which engages with the labour of African-American creative practitioners.' She argues that 'Glover's choreography has both an embodied sense of the past and boldness to it that directly re-declares the African American ownership of tap in musical theatre'. This chapter fits into one of the key themes of the collection in considering how recognising embodied performance reframes the whole, and ultimately reveals the limitation of existing historiographies. Just as in Mayes's chapter – it points to the range of work which is waiting to be done to transform the stories we tell about the musical.

Musical structures: identity and social change

In this section, chapters bring a range of critical methodologies to exploring constructions of identity in key musicals. Two of the chapters in this section respond to Lisa Kron and Jeanine Tesori's *Fun Home* (2016) but with different methodologies and focuses; this allows the reader to see how

different critical frames highlight different aspects of the same musical – in effect confirming the value of reframing as a flexible and repeatable concept rather than a finished product. Composer Jeanine Tesori's 'significant output', has, as Rebecca Applin Warner notes in Chapter 9, 'received little in the way of serious critical musicological responses'. In her chapter, Applin Warner argues that 'the richness of musical language which is found in Tesori's work demonstrates the sophistication of craft which places a dramaturgical approach at the heart of the compositional process'. To explore this musical-dramaturgical, Applin Warner carries out close readings of musical motifs, to establish how Tesori creates 'a musical relationship between Alison and her family that supports Alison's quest for an understanding of her own identity, and her lived experience as a lesbian within her family unit'.

In Chapter 10, Sarah Browne positions *Hair* (1967) as a musical which has been often overlooked in the way 'history, culture and power collide to produce powerful commentaries on racial and gender inequality in the US'. Her work unpicks the complex representations of identity of African American masculinity in the musical, she suggests that this is an overlooked area in existing scholarship on *Hair* which has tended to focus on the white male roles. She uses musicological and cultural studies to read 'Colored Spade' as a protest song, arguing that it encapsulates the Civil Rights Movement of the 1960s: the 'shift from integration to highlighting and reinforcing difference'. She argues that these representations of African American masculinity in *Hair* presents its audience with 'a complex set of signs that perhaps speak loudly of the potential dangers the civil rights movement posed to the dominant, white mainstream culture.' Browne makes several calls to action, one of which is to invite 'scholars of musical theatre to develop and adopt analytical approaches which stem from other disciplines': ultimately her work highlights the value of investigating 'the social and artistic structures which have dictated the ways in which we understand identity and its associated performance.'

The musical is often (as part of celebrations over its 'diversity') assumed to be some kind of gay art form: to pick one of potentially thousands of examples of this, an interview with Hugh Jackman in *The Times* in 2017, which explained to the reader that Jackman's 'considerable experience of musical theatre on Broadway has won him Tonys, and inspired some of the more persistent "secretly gay" rumours any straight actor ever endured' (Vernon, 2017). In Chapter 11, in response to these kinds of deeply problematic assumptions about the musical, Lovelock invites us to ask whether 'the supposed 'queerness' of the musical theatre genre has been utilised as an excuse to maintain an impoverished queer heritage within a genre that is uniquely positioned to externalise the idiosyncrasies of queerness'. He considers productions which have brought the lived experience of LGBTQ+ people to the foreground: *The Color Purple* (2005), *Yank!* (2017), *Fun Home* (2015), and *Everybody's Talking About Jamie* (2017). He uses these musicals to make a powerful call for musical theatre studies to move away from limited binaries in discussing sexuality and gender 'and begin to consider bisexual, asexual, transgender and genderfluid identities.'

In Chapter 12, Wind Dell Woods's important consideration of *Hamilton* (2015) explicitly addresses racial identity in considering how the musical avoids staging Black revolt, and avoids doing the kind of antiracist work Galella calls for at the beginning of this chapter. Since the public discourse around *Hamilton* wants to make it as revolutionary as *Oklahoma!*, Johnson Quinn's earlier unpicking of Hammerstein is particularly illuminating in providing a context for the work that Dell Woods carries out. While there are an ever-growing number of critical responses to this hugely popular number, this chapter makes for particularly challenging reading for fans of the musical, since in it, Dell Woods argues that the musical conflates 'immigrant(ness)' with 'slave(ness)'. He draws our attention to the unlovely features of this musical, by fearlessly laying out its revolutionary limitations. Dell Woods calls for 'a deeper interrogation, not necessary of what the play does *with* the past, but what it does *for* the present'. Ultimately, he argues that 'Miranda's dramaturgical forgetting' offers 'a romanticized notion of American (neo) liberal multicultural progress centered on the figure of the non-Black immigrant'. Dell Woods notes that 'the erasure of the Black captive and indigenous population is the condition of possibility for the American immigrant narrative to emerge'.

Dell Wood's powerful unpicking of how *Hamilton* constructs identity while forgetting African American identity connects with one of the key themes of this collection: how some stories are remembered and retold, and others are not. Writing new musicals and reframing existing ones is not finished, and this one collection is not enough, clearly no single text can cohesively address the losses by individuals and marginalized or suppressed groups. There are many more gaps in scholarship that need to be urgently addressed and many more musicals that need to be unpicked. Each chapter in the book equips you with potential models and case studies that you can use in your own recoveries and reframing work – inviting *you* to tell the other stories of the musical.

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Note on terms used

This collection brings together the work of academics from a variety of disciplines with a range of voices and different lived experiences. The collection of practitioners and researchers reflects methodological approaches from different practices. While the book uses consistent spellings and conventions across each of the chapters for the sake of the reader, individual terms or descriptors that describe racial and cultural identities have remained (as have individual preferences about capitalisation of experience and identity). This can sometimes cause confusion, for example for British students the term 'people of colour' is unusual as BAME (Black and Asian Minority Ethnic) has become the preferred term in the UK. The contributor's terms have been used in each chapter: they often draw on individual choice; expertise; and cultural lived experience and preferences about individual identities.