

## Beards and Broadway: Shakespeare as Unacknowledged Agent

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While a beard can signal masculine identity, that clear signal fades both in slang usage and in theatrical practice. The word “beard” may become a slang synecdoche for an identity as a man, but it may also be used as slang for female pubic hair and serve as a synecdoche for an identity as a woman. This complication--that a beard is a claim about gender identity, but we cannot be quite sure what the nature of that claim is--helps account for Banquo’s remark about the witches in *Macbeth*<sup>1</sup>:

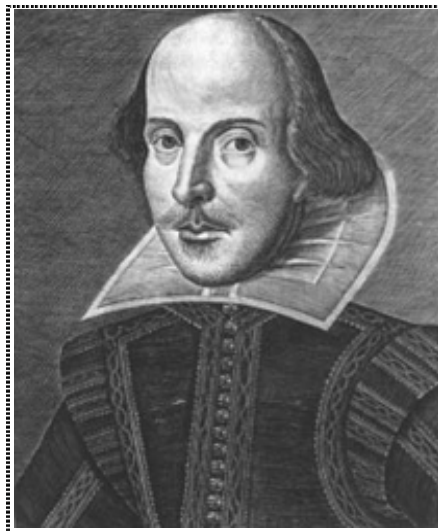
You should be women,  
And yet your beards forbid me to interpret  
That you are so. (1.3.45-7)

The original actors playing the witches were men, but were understood to represent women; their masculine beards rendered their sexual identity as women uncertain, uncanny. A beard means differently in *Much Ado about Nothing*. When the character Benedick decides to be in love with Beatrice, he shaves, or rather the actor playing Benedick removes a false beard, so that the actors playing Don Pedro and Claudio may comment on his changed appearance:

**D. Pedro.** Hath any man seen him at the barber’s?

**Claud.** No, but the barber's man hath been seen with  
him, and the old ornament of his cheek hath already  
stuff'd tennis-balls. (3.2.43-47)

In this instance, the character's move away from the homosocial soldier's world and into a heterosexual relationship is signaled by the actor's removal of part of his costume, a false beard. Thus the early modern drama enacts the mixture of meaning found in late modern slang usage. In Shakespeare's theater and in today's world, a beard may serve not only to establish one sort of identity, but also to disguise or complicate identity.<sup>2</sup> Before turning to twentieth-century appropriations of Shakespeare in American book musicals, I shall briefly explore the complications that the term "beard" provides in Shakespeare's case and then turn to an instance when Shakespeare serves as a beard for other playwrights.



In the two portraits of Shakespeare that have some claim to authenticity--  
the Droeshout engraving in the First Folio and the memorial bust in Holy Trinity

Church--we see Shakespeare as a working character actor and as a retired man of letters respectively. The Droeshout portrait of Shakespeare (1623) is accompanied by a verse, almost certainly by Ben Jonson, declaring, "This Figure, that thou here seest put, / It was for gentle Shakespeare cut; / Wherein the Grauer had a strife / with Nature, to out-doo the life. . . ." In this portrait, we see Shakespeare in his middle years, a time when he was a working actor and sharer in the King's Men. The costume he wears is traditionally said to be that of Edward Knowell in Ben Jonson's 1598 play *Every Man in His Humor*, a role Shakespeare probably played.<sup>3</sup> The subject has some facial hair, a moustache and a little fuzz on the lower lip, but the chin is clean-shaven.



By contrast, the tomb bust (ca. 1614) that represents Shakespeare in retirement has a goatee as well as a moustache. The subject of the bust is older than that of the engraving, but they look quite a lot alike. The beard is one difference: in the bust it suggests a man of substance, a leading citizen virile enough to have a beard and able to keep it trimmed. In the engraving, the actor wears no beard.

It makes sense that a working actor would prefer not to wear a beard because he has to change his appearance to fit various roles, especially if he is in a repertory company as Shakespeare was. After an actor has left the stage with its demand for multiple identities, he might well prefer to grow a beard since he no longer needs to shave in order to play a clean-shaven character or one who shaves in mid-action, like the actor playing Benedick who must remove a false beard in *Much Ado about Nothing*. Beards are not simply facial decoration in the playhouse; they are part of an actor's costume choice. That Shakespeare knew as much is clear from Bottom's speech in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, when he prepares for his role as Pyramus:

**Bot.** . . . What beard were I best to play it in?

**Quin.** Why, what you will.

**Bot.** I will discharge it in either your straw-color beard, your orange-tawny beard, your purple-in-grain beard, or your French-crown-color beard, your perfit yellow. (1.2.90-96)

Even so unsophisticated a character as Bottom knows that different beards allow the actor a choice about how to present a role. Once again early modern theatrical practice, the beard as part of an actor's kit, can be seen in late modern

slang usage. *The American Thesaurus of Slang* (1953) defines a “crossover beard” as “a beard used by an actor to double in a secondary part, or to cross the stage for an entrance on the other side.” The beard disguises the performer long enough to let him move through the on-stage action with one identity and then return in another identity.

The “crossover beard” usage may well be related to another slang usage, for a beard is “an unacknowledged agent.” J. E. Lighter records this sense both in the context of gambling:

I played horses, using men as betting commissioners,  
or “beards” as they were called at the race track  
(Lighter, 115)

and in the context of sexuality, i.e., “an escort or companion of the opposite sex whose presence is intended to conceal a person’s homosexuality.” (I have also heard this term used in reference to a heterosexual relationship. When a woman with an unwitting husband attended a party to which her male lover had also been invited, the lover brought a date to “beard” for him.) The beard serves as a screen for someone who wants to engage in an activity, but cannot do so directly. The beard screens the proscribed activity from public view, giving the impression of respectability.

I would agree with cultural critic David Miller that “Long before its kind was manifestly endangered, the Broadway musical took on a protective coloration,”<sup>4</sup> and add that a musical’s protective coloration is not limited to sexual preference. In musical comedies, Shakespeare can also serve as a beard for transgressive

desires about race or female independence. If Miller is also correct in seeing “the Broadway musical [as] the unique genre of mass culture to be elaborated in the name of the mother” (Miller 83), what is one to make of Shakespearean musicals, invoking the literary father? Whatever else happens in a Shakespearean musical, he does not become a fabulous diva or a peculiar presence; he remains what he has always been in American theater, a mainstay of the legit stage. In musicals, Shakespeare plays his role as a beard, an unacknowledged agent, for other playwrights. Yet musical theater, especially musical comedy, is from the outset a culturally queer form. For example, if one considers a hallmark of post-modernism to be the way in which it collapses elite and popular, high and low cultures, what is one to do with musical comedies, which perform that collapse throughout the modernist period, only to go slack and lose power during the post-modernist period?<sup>5</sup>

The use of Shakespeare in musical comedy should signal to us that something unusual is happening. When a team writing a musical comedy wishes to push convention in some way, they may invoke Shakespeare as a cultural icon. I’ll give a handful of examples quickly, but I’ll be happy to talk about these in the question session after this talk. Under the cover of Shakespeare’s beard, a show can safely explore bawdy heterosexual humor as in *The Boys from Syracuse* (1938), which is sometimes said to be the first Shakespeare musical comedy.

The same process occurs when a musical employs a mixed-race case (*Swingin’ the Dream* 1939), casts doubt on conventional ideas about marriage

(*Kiss Me, Kate* 1948), plays with politics (*West Side Story* 1957), toys with homosexuality (*Your Own Thing* 1968), or examines sexual and political freedom (*Two Gents* 1971). I shall not consider the Shakespearean musicals that flopped: *As You Like It* (1964); *Babes in the Woods* (MND), 1964; *Love and Let Love* (TN), 1968, *Sensations* (Rom), 1970, *Music Is* (TN), 1976, *Pop* (Lr), 1974, *Rockabye Hamlet*, 1976, *Dreamstuff* (Tmp), 1976, and *Oh Brother* (Err) 1981.<sup>6</sup> Of late, the Shakespearean musicals that succeed are those that are substantially distanced from Shakespeare (*The Lion King* or *Play On!* for example) or those that return to the nineteenth-century's burlesque tradition (*The Bombitty of Errors*, 1999).

Alternatively, one might argue that once Shakespeare has been invoked in a musical comedy, the creative team finds it much easier to take risks. My concern is not so much with the order that the process takes for a musical comedy, i.e., whether invoking Shakespeare leads to unconventionality or desire for unconventionality leads to invoking Shakespeare, but rather with the effect. What occurs when Shakespeare is a beard?

If Shakespeare is the quintessential figure of English theater, then musical comedy is the quintessential form of American theater. Of course musical theater is found world-wide, often with national inflections. Whether one considers satyr play, opera, zarzuela, or Broadway show, the work is clearly musical theater. The book musical is the kind of musical theater most strongly associated with Broadway, and the most powerful theatrical form (and export) in America's theatrical history. In a recent column, Terry Teachout observes:

. . . no other genre remains so central to American theatrical life. Of the twenty 'top Broadway shows' listed in the April 23 Wall Street Journal/Zagat Theater Survey, a weekly poll of New York theatergoers, sixteen were musicals. Among movies, Chicago (2002), the most recent film version of a Broadway musical, won six Oscars, including Best Picture. Most of the best musicals of the 20th century continue to be revived regularly, on Broadway and elsewhere, just as their songs continue to be sung and recorded. (*Commentary*, June 2004, 47)

Certainly if one asks a friend to name a "Broadway show," the friend is apt to produce the name of a musical rather than a play by Lillian Hellman, Tennessee Williams, or August Wilson. Tourism commercials for New York City feature chorus lines of current musicals, while the export of such musicals (both on national and international tours) generates millions of dollars each year. Yet musicals are not limited to elite tastes, for although the price to the Broadway audience can make them a luxury item, the standard musical shows are also the mainstay of innumerable high school, college, and community theater companies.

What I'd like to do now is turn my attention to two musicals: one that is fairly recent, and one that is almost forgotten. Both are unabashedly American, celebrating American music and dance, incorporating American concerns about race and gender, and referencing moments in America's cultural history. Yet these two musicals, sixty years apart, both depend on Shakespeare's cultural

cachet to make their claims. One reason to appropriate Shakespeare, after all, is to appropriate his power, his authority. I'd suggest, however, that in both cases the appropriation sprang from love for Shakespeare's work and a double yearning: to be like him and to make him like us.

*Play On!* was a great hit at San Diego's Old Globe Theatre in 1997, but a tepid non-hit on Broadway in 1997, although it enjoyed regional success and one regional production was included in the prestigious Public Broadcasting Service series *Great Performances* (2000). The show is a derivative of Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night*, re-setting the plot to the Harlem Renaissance and dropping Shakespeare's language, while adding the music of Duke Ellington. The show's creators use twenty-one songs by Duke Ellington throughout the show, but in this plot summary I shall mention only a few. A young woman named Vi comes to New York from the country, arriving on "The 'A' Train" determined to make it as a song-writer by learning from the Duke, Harlem's finest song composer. Her uncle Jester tells her she cannot succeed as a woman, so she cross-dresses to gain employment with the Duke, who is having a dry spell. All the Duke can think about is the beautiful night-club singer, Lady Liv, so he laments, "I've Got It Bad and That Ain't Good." The Duke sends Vi-man to woo Lady Liv, and--after managing to get past Liv's club manager, the Rev--Vi-man tries to persuade Liv to care. Liv falls for Vi-man, who has fallen for the Duke, while the respectable Rev yearns for Lady Liv.

By himself, the Rev sings "Don't You Know I Care." Jester and his friends overhear him and tell him that he needs to loosen up because "It Don't Mean a

Thing, If It Ain't Got That Swing." Dressed in a yellow zoot suit, Rev sings and dances up a storm with Lady Liv in "I'm Beginning to See the Light." When she rejects him, Rev is heart-broken and returns to his navy-blue manager's suit. Liv pursues Vi-man until the untimely entrance of the Duke. Duke renounces both Liv and Vi-man, Vi rejects Liv, and everyone is unhappy. The show ends with Vi's revealing her female identity to the Duke by asking him to help her complete "Prelude to a Kiss." Meanwhile Rev and Liv fall in love in a duet, "I Want Something to Live For." Everyone lives happily ever after.

The alterations that the show makes to Shakespeare's play are similar to those made by other Shakespearean musicals, since they streamline the plot, providing more room in the production for musical numbers. But these changes have other effects worthy of note. One major plot change, for example, is the elimination of Viola's twin brother Sebastian and his loving rescuer Antonio. Cutting those characters reduces the size of the company, but it also brings a consequent reduction of homoeroticism in the show's subtext. Another change is that Sir Toby and Feste are combined in the person of Jester, who is given a familial connection to the Viola figure rather than to Olivia/Lady Liv. That shift reduces the danger that Vi-man runs, since her secret is known early on by the benevolent Jester, but isolates Olivia more thoroughly than in Shakespeare's play. The sweet country girl has family on whom she can draw; while the sultry singer must stand alone. That alteration affects what may be the most significant change: the Rev, serving as the Malvolio figure, ends up with Lady Liv, rather than as the object of humiliation.

Such changes make sense in terms of African-American culture. The resistance to homosexuality, after all, has been called “the greatest taboo” among African Americans.<sup>7</sup> Thus, reducing such homoerotic elements as Antonio’s declared passion for Sebastian neatly trims the production budget and eliminates social discomfort. The image of the isolated Lady Liv recalls the “tragic mulatto” stereotype, yet reclaims it: this woman has agency and concludes with love as well as her career. As for Malvolio/Rev, surely the idea that a black servant becomes a partner and wins his love is, within this cultural context, more bearable than that a black servant is mocked, humiliated, imprisoned, and finally driven away.

Although the idea for the show came from Sheldon Epps, and the joyful choreography from Duke Ellington’s granddaughter, Mercedes Ellington, the writer of the book was Cheryl West, a noted African-American playwright whose dramas *Jar the Floor* and *Before It Hits Home* have enjoyed success and won awards. Her concern clearly was to privilege African-American culture both in her emphasis on the Harlem Renaissance and in her refusal to let a black man be humiliated.

But while the alterations make political sense, does the history that West fictionalizes seem at all likely? Does the show in any way resemble what went on in the Harlem Renaissance or in Duke Ellington’s life? Reviews of the New York production pointed to the fantasy feeling of the show. In the *New York Times*, Ben Brantley called *Play On!* a “romantic fable,” asking “why not substitute a bygone Harlem, nostalgically remembered as a stylishly self-contained cradle for

dazzling musical talent, for the fantastical dukedom of Illyria?” Brantley considered West’s manipulation of the Lady Liv-Rev relationship clumsily handled, and complained that “This awkwardness wouldn’t matter as much if the show could create, as it obviously means to, a fluid, fairy-tale sense of Harlem as a hip Brigadoon.” Some critics were skeptical about Vi’s cross-dressing. Jack Kroll called the device “silly fun,” and the show “a cartoon” (*Newsweek*), while Mark Steyn, more irascible, dismissed Vi as a “budding lady Songwriter” and the show as “necrophilic” (*New Criterion*). In *Variety*, Greg Evans complained, “‘Play On!’ maintains (loosely) the Bard’s storyline and characters, but replaces complexity with sketch-comedy mechanics,” adding that “A chance to visit the famed Harlem nightclub [Ellington’s Cotton Club] remains, like most of ‘Play On!,’ a missed opportunity.” Clearly the critics thought that the show’s events were unlikely. I want to argue that considering what actually happened in Harlem, the events in *Play On!* are plausible. The “cartoon” or “fantasy” comments are directed, I think, at the plot device of a woman’s cross-dressing to participate fully in the world of music and at the idea that the Harlem Renaissance has anything to do with William Shakespeare. Such skepticism, I shall argue, is not only unwarranted, but also condescending and ignorant.

Harlem in the 1930s and 1940s was not simply the source of the hot swing music from Duke Ellington, Dizzie Gillespie, Count Basie, and Louis Armstrong that was fast replacing the sweet jazz played by such popular bands as Guy Lombardo and his Canadians. The Harlem Renaissance had been in full swing since 1919. African Americans came to New York from across the nation for its

opportunities in education, business, and the arts. Many understood an interest in Shakespeare's works to be a indicator of their privileged status as members of the talented tenth. Thus Langston Hughes published a collection of poems, *Shakespeare in Harlem*, while the late Erroll Hill has written of important African-American Shakespearean productions in the Harlem Renaissance.<sup>8</sup> That Shakespearean interest was included in the world of swing, most notably in the interest and affection that Ellington and his collaborator Billy Strayhorn felt for Shakespeare. But Ellington and Strayhorn were not the only swing musicians to care about Shakespeare.

In 1939, a musical comedy version of *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, entitled *Swingin' the Dream* re-set the action to Louisiana around 1900, with white performers playing Theseus' court (Theseus becomes governor of Louisiana) and African-American performers playing the mechanicals (New Orleans firemen) and fairies. The production of *Swingin' the Dream* employed an impressive group of musical artists: Louis Armstrong, the Bud Freeman band, the Benny Goodman sextet, with Don Voorhees conducting.<sup>9</sup> Unfortunately, no script for the show survives, although four surviving pages will be published in the new journal *Borrowers and Lenders*.

But music was not all the show offered. Agnes de Mille choreographed the production for such notable dancers as the Rhythmettes and Bill Bailey. Louis Armstrong played Bottom, Bill Bailey played Cupid, the Dandridge sisters were attendant fairies, Juan Hernandez played Oberon, Moms Mabley played Quince, Dorothy McGuire played Helena, Butterfly McQueen played Puck, Maxine

Sullivan played Titania. These are important performers, either in the African-American theatrical tradition (Moms Mabley never really broke through with a white audience, for example, but was enormously influential in African-American clubs, performing until the 1970s), or in the broadest popular spectrum (Louis Armstrong and Butterfly McQueen are obvious examples).

The show was preceded with talk about how important it would be. Donald Bogle notes that “During rehearsals, word spread among jazz aficionados and fans that *Swingin’ the Dream* was a progressive production that made excellent use of its often underemployed Negro talents.”<sup>10</sup> Special effects were plentiful:

The huge Center Theatre’s stage was exploited for various trick and interesting effects, with sets and costumes modelled after Walt Disney’s cartoons. Titania made an entrance in a World’s Fair “World of Tomorrow” electric wheelchair, a Murphy bed emerged from a tree in the forest; microphones (to help audibility in the cavernous playhouse) sprang up in the shape of caterpillars and snails; and there was a noteworthy scene of plantation life on the lawn of the governor’s . . . mansion, with a cast of jitter-bugging celebrants.<sup>11</sup>

In a column he wrote for the Washington, D. C., newspaper, *The Afro-American*, Lionel Hampton wrote with excitement about the upcoming show and his high hopes for it (4 November 1939, 20). He also commented that “It’s in “*Swingin’ the Dream*” that the sextette really puts over to you how much wider a scope and opportunity for each man for better playing we now have” (2 December 1939,

24). The leader of the show's other swing band, Bud Freeman talks about the show's promise:

We were at Nick [Condon]'s for about six or seven weeks when we got an offer to do a Broadway show called "Swingin' the Dream." The show was produced by Eric Charell, who had tremendous success in Europe with a show called "White Horse Inn." He came to American with enormous financial backing to create a revue mixing *Midsummer Night's Dream* with black vaudeville. He had just about the finest talent you could get. Just about everyone in the show became world-renowned. He had Louis Armstrong, Nicodemus, Troy Brown, Oscar Polk, Butterfly McQueen, Bill Bailey, Dorothy Maguire, and Maxine Sullivan. If Charell had known the greatness of the black people he could have had a revue that would still be running.

There was some excellent music in the show. Jimmy Van Heusen wrote a number of pieces for it, and one of them, "Darn That Dream," has become a classic.<sup>12</sup>

If prominent names and promising talk were all that a play needed to succeed, *Swingin' the Dream* would have had a long and happy run. It failed. The production closed in less than two weeks. *The Afro-American* reported that the total loss was over \$80,000 (23 December 1939); Bogle says the total lost was over \$100,000.

Historian Louis Erenberg has demonstrated that swing was an agent of remarkable social change in America, especially in precipitating racial integration.<sup>13</sup> There was popular recognition that the best music and the best dancing in America was African-American, leading to white customers visiting Harlem's clubs (most notably Ellington's Cotton Club) and to the success of New York's first integrated club, Café Society. But if addressing racial inequity was part of the swing movement, and Erenberg makes a compelling case that it was, gender inequity was ignored. In *Play On!* Viola/Vi-man's fictional case mirrors what actually occurred to women who tried to succeed as musicians.

When Anita O'Day wanted to be recognized as a musician instead of simply the vocalist, she asked if she could wear a jacket like the men in the band. "She wanted audiences to 'listen to me, not look at me. I want to be treated like another musician,' not a trinket 'to decorate the bandstands.' Soon, however, rumors circulated 'that I preferred ladies to men!'" so O'Day went back to glamour gowns (Erenberg, 200). "Girl" vocalists were not recognized as musicians, nor were women instrumentalists welcomed.

Indeed to get jobs as a pianist, Dorothy Tipton began passing as a man in the 1930s, and did so successfully until after her death in 1989, when the coroner informed her startled third wife and three (adopted) sons that Billy Tipton was in fact a woman. Diane Middlebrooks' recent biography of Tipton, *Suits Me*, makes it clear that women were not easily admitted into the world of swing, although Tipton's case is complicated by personal desires.<sup>14</sup> In *Play On!* when Vi turns

herself into Vi-man, the show is not simply imitating Shakespeare: it's imitating life.

*Play On!* with its evocation of the Harlem Renaissance suggests a nostalgic fantasy to most reviewers, not a reconstruction of history. I've tried to suggest that the show is, in fact, closer to the historical record than its creators probably realized. But in this version of history, Duke Ellington and William Shakespeare are recognized as equals, and swing is a triumphant force in America's culture. And that finally is the fantasy, more's the pity.

## Notes

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- 1 All quotation from Shakespeare's plays are taken from the Riverside edition, ed. G. Blakemore Evans, et al. (Boston : Houghton Mifflin, 1974).
- 2 A full discussion of Renaissance practice vis a vis stage beards can be found in Will Fisher's essay, "Staging the Beard: Masculinity in Early Modern English Culture," in *Staged Properties in Early Modern English Drama*, eds. Jonathan Gil Harris and Natasha Korda (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002). The slang meanings for beard are given in either *The American Thesaurus of Slang*, eds. Lester V. Berrey and Melvin Van den Bark, 2nd edn. (New York: Crowell, 1953) or J. E. Lighter, *Random House Historical Dictionary of American Slang* (New York: Random House, 1994).
- 3 Samuel Schoenbaum, *Shakespeare's Lives* (N.Y.: Oxford, 1970), 13.
- 4 D. A. Miller, *A Place for Us: Essay on the Broadway Musical* (Cambridge, Mass. and London: Harvard University Press, 1998), 1.
- 5 For this feature of post-modernism, see Andrew Milner, *Literature, Culture, and Society* (New York: New York University Press, 1996), 56, or *The Columbia Dictionary of Modern Literary and Cultural Criticism*, ed. Joseph Childers and Gary Hentzi (New York: Columbia U P, 1995), s.v. "Postmodernism." Shakespeare's central position in the legitimate theater is underscored by the OED's definition of "legit" as "the legitimate drama: the body of plays, Shakespearian or other, that have a recognized theatrical and literary merit . . . Also in other collocations. So as sb., an actor of legitimate drama." The first instance the OED offers is from the late eighteenth century.
- 6 There are others that I do not discuss, because they were regional productions (such as the innumerable musical *Hamlets* or *Shrew*) or straightforward burlesques like Anna Russell's *Hamletto* (1956) or George Greanias's *Hello Hamlet!* (1969 and regularly revived at Rice University). Other musicals include the rock musical film *Catch My Soul*, also known as *Santa Fe Satan* (*Othello*, 1973), and Bob Carlton's UK burlesque *Return to the Forbidden Planet*. Carlton has also done a musical version of *Macbeth* entitled *From a Jack to a King*, but I have not found details on it.
- In *American Musical Theatre: A Chronicle*, Bordman mentions the shows I've named as well as such other works as an 1877 operetta, *Marjolaine* (based on *Cymbeline*), an 1895 burlesque, *Hamlet II*, and various revues ( ranging from sketches in *The Passing Show of 1915* to *Shakespeare's Caberet* in 1981).
- 7 I take the epithet from Delroy Constantine-Simms and his anthology, *The*

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*Greatest Taboo: Homosexuality in Black Communities*, published in 2001, with contributions from bell hooks, Henry Louis Gates, and *Rolling Stone's* Touré.

8 Hughes, *Shakespeare in Harlem* (New York: Knopf, 1942) and Hill, *Shakespeare in Sable: A History of Black Shakespearean Actors* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1984).

9 Accounts of the show's music are confusing. Jimmy van Heusen composed some of the music, Goodman did much of the arranging, and Eddie De Lange wrote the lyrics. One finds the occasional claim that Jimmy van Heusen created all the music, basing his compositions on Mendelssohn's music for *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, but I cannot find support for that. According to Ross Firestone, *Swing, Swing, Swing: The Life and Times of Benny Goodman* (New York and London: W. W. Norton, 1993), Jimmy van Heusen wrote only half a dozen songs, one of which, "Darn that Dream," has become a standard. Gerald Bordman's *American Musical Theatre: A Chronicle*, 3rd edition (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001) credits van Heusen and Goodman with "Spring Song," Alec Wilder and van Heusen with "Love's a Riddle," and lists "Peace Brother," "There's Gotta Be a Wedding," "Moonland," "Comedy Dance," "Dream Dance," and "Darn That Dream" as being by van Heusen.

10 Donald Bogle, *Dorothy Dandridge, a Biography* (New York: Amistad, 1997), 72.

11 Samuel Leiter, *Encyclopedia of the New York Stage 1930-40* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1989), 502.

12 Bud Freeman and Robert Wolf, *Crazeology, the Autobiography of a Chicago Jazzman* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1989), 49-50.

13 Lewis A. Erenberg, *Swingin' the Dream: Big Band Jazz and the Rebirth of American Culture* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998).

14 Diane Middlebrooks, *Suits Me: The Double Life of Billy Tipton* (New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1998).