



Williams, J. (2018). "We Get the Job Done": Immigrant Discourse and Mixtape Authenticity in The Hamilton Mixtape. *American Music*, 36(4), 487-506. <https://doi.org/10.5406/americanmusic.36.4.0487>,
<https://doi.org/10.5406/americanmusic.36.4.0487>

Peer reviewed version

Link to published version (if available):
[10.5406/americanmusic.36.4.0487](https://doi.org/10.5406/americanmusic.36.4.0487)
[10.5406/americanmusic.36.4.0487](https://doi.org/10.5406/americanmusic.36.4.0487)

[Link to publication record in Explore Bristol Research](#)
PDF-document

This is the author accepted manuscript (AAM). The final published version (version of record) is available online via University of Illinois Press at <https://doi.org/10.5406/americanmusic.36.4.0487>. Please refer to any applicable terms of use of the publisher.

University of Bristol - Explore Bristol Research

General rights

This document is made available in accordance with publisher policies. Please cite only the published version using the reference above. Full terms of use are available: <http://www.bristol.ac.uk/red/research-policy/pure/user-guides/ebr-terms/>

“We Get the Job Done”: Immigrant Discourse and Mixtape Authenticity in *The Hamilton Mixtape*

Dr. Justin A. Williams (University of Bristol)
[Accepted 15 August 2017; final submission to press 16 January 2018]
[To be published in *American Music* Vol. 36, no. 4 (2018)]

According to Lin-Manuel Miranda, the smash hit Broadway musical *Hamilton: An American Musical* was initially conceived as a “hip hop concept album” to be called *The Hamilton Mixtape*.¹ The idea never left his mind, and after hinting at its creation multiple times on social media, Miranda announced the completion of a mixtape with a track listing on Twitter (November 3, 2016). The album was released December 2, 2016 and debuted at number one on *Billboard*’s top 200 albums.² Miranda used social media to generate interest in the album, including a surprise live concert on Dec. 1, 2016 at the Richard Rodgers Theater featuring the mixtape and its artists as part of his #Ham4Ham shows.³ The album’s commercial success shows that the *Mixtape* is, in fact, very much part of a mainstream popular music landscape. However, what I will show here is that Miranda uses strategies from an earlier Broadway era and features associated with the hip hop mixtape to demonstrate a knowledge of what non-mainstream hip hop fan communities value. The two features work together as an album with distinctive song functions, while also producing unique meaning at the level of individual tracks.⁴

This article engages with *The Hamilton Mixtape* as a generically hybrid and overtly political space, bolstered by the cultural capital of hip hop guest artists, sonic tropes of hip hop authenticity, and the genre’s ability to voice marginality across the globe. After looking at an overview of the *Mixtape* as album, I focus in on its central track: “Immigrants (We Get The Job Done)” which features four rappers from ethnic minority backgrounds (K’naan, Snow tha Product, Riz MC, and Residente), all of whom are either immigrants themselves or are children of immigrants. The track is at the heart of the mixtape’s engagement with

“offstage politics,” to adopt Craft’s terminology in this issue, strongly invoking hip hop’s ability to voice marginal difference. I engage with a close reading of “Immigrants” and its transformation from musical number to mixtape track. This includes a thematic overview of lyrical content and its bilingualism as a form of linguistic border crossing. I examine features of mixtape authenticity through sampling and other forms of intertextuality, harmonic synergy and discord, and rhythmic borrowing from Latin musics. Miranda and his collaborators use the mixtape’s function as an experimental hip hop space to perform diversity, navigate the politics of marginality, and critique contemporary immigration policy, social inequality, and racial prejudice.

The Mixtape in Context

The hip hop mixtape is reflective of many of the paradoxes and contradictions that define the genre’s indices of authenticity.⁵ As Anthony Kwame Harrison reminds us, while vinyl is the fetishized object in hip hop culture, much of the music was initially spread in the 1970s through bootleg cassette tapes of live shows.⁶ After commercial recordings of hip hop began in 1979, “unofficial” (not record label-affiliated) mixtapes were further inscribed with connotations of subcultural capital while official recordings entered into the popular music mainstream. Mixtapes often include emerging unsigned artists, seen as closer to “real” hip hop, unmediated by label pressures, allowing rappers to demonstrate their skills and virtuosity to their limits.

While a “mixtape” refers most generally to a homemade compilation of already-existing songs on cassette tape (and later CD and other digital formats), the term mixtape in hip hop culture refers to independently released albums which are often given free of charge for purposes of publicity.⁷ Mixtapes became an industry in parallel to the standard record industry--in the 1980s DJs like Kid Capri and Lovebug Starski would produce “beat and

blend tapes” and in the 1990s, DJ Clue and DJ Doo Wop used mixtapes to promote new talent with previously unavailable tracks and freestyles.⁸ It was this fertile period in mixtape history (when physical mixtapes were at their zenith in New York City, e.g. mixtapes by DJ Kay Slay, DJ Green Lantern, Funkmaster Flex, DJ Whoo Kid) from which Miranda draws inspiration for his mixtape, while also borrowing from mainstream rappers of the same location and era for *Hamilton* (e.g. Nas, Jay-Z, Notorious B.I.G., and Big Pun) in terms of rap styles and lyrical references.

This notion of mixtape authenticity defines itself against more mainstream hip hop/R&B/pop, and numerous signifiers can be used to signal such an “underground” ethos—any combination of record scratching, cypher-like variety of rappers,⁹ overt sampling, mixing/blending to transition between tracks, and DJs talking over tracks, often stating their name with echo and reverb. Lyrically, in content and delivery, rappers adopt styles associated with “freestyle” rap, sounding more improvisatory than planned, and less rhythmically aligned to the beat. There may be disjuncture in accompanying sonic material, and fewer harmonic and/or instrumental features so that rappers can demonstrate their flow without the “catchiness” of a pop-infused soundscape, and such “rough” sounding beats will be representative of Do-It-Yourself rather than professional studio recording aesthetics.¹⁰ In light of this, how does someone coming off the success of a multi-million dollar selling Broadway musical and original soundtrack paradoxically create a commercial product still inscribed with notions of hip hop authenticity?

Within the musical, *Hamilton* at times mirrors the genre’s preoccupation with the hip hop vs. pop divide (however fictitious)—the most obvious example is the villainous character of King George III, whose contrasting music was intended to sound like “British invasion” pop of the 60s, in particular, the Beatles.¹¹ While *Hamilton* and its original cast recording has hybridized hip hop stylistic content with a Broadway musical format to unprecedented levels

of success,¹² hip hop's concern with an authenticity that avoids association with the mainstream means that *The Hamilton Mixtape* could utilize the mixtape format and attached connotations of "underground" or "authentic" hip hop in order to explore or expand on such content through remix.¹³

From the Bronx to Broadway to "Bootleg"

Like Alexander Hamilton (b. Nevis) and Lin-Manuel Miranda's parents (b. Puerto Rico), the originator of hip hop music, DJ Kool Herc, was an immigrant from the Caribbean. From its inception in the Bronx, hip hop has provided a voice for lower-class racial minorities, a space for expression (dancing, rapping, and DJing) in light of bleak socio-economic conditions.¹⁴ These associations are largely maintained globally, as J. Griffith Rollefson notes that European hip hop "Gives voice to the ideal of equality through anti-assimilationist expressions of minority difference."¹⁵ Rollefson also notes that while being a multi-billion-dollar industry, hip hop has been the vernacular used globally to express marginality and to speak for those less enmeshed in the world's dominant discourses, a paradox which also aligns with the success of the *Hamilton* phenomenon.¹⁶ Spivak famously asked "Can the subaltern speak?" in what has become a guiding principle in postcolonial studies. In hip hop, artists often become the ambassadors of the subaltern, often through personal experience one way or another or by adhering to a notion of a responsibility to do so. In other words, those who identify with the subaltern often choose to rap rather than simply to speak. Given Miranda's own minority/marginal status as Latino-American and his professed love of hip hop, it makes sense, then, that he uses hip hop to discuss Hamilton as the one "founding father" marginalized by history ("Every other founding father's story gets told," Angelica Schuyler sings in the musical).

As Craft notes in this issue, hip hop provides a “cultural citizenship” where other forms of belonging have seemed unavailable, often providing an outlet for many youth to express themselves: these alternative voices, while varied and multifaceted, reflect a crucial musical and political voice in US and abroad.¹⁷ Craft continues, “Miranda and *Hamilton*, I contend, have deftly navigated the contemporary political landscape as they claim cultural citizenship for the nation’s immigrants and minorities.”¹⁸ *The Hamilton Mixtape*, and “Immigrants (We Get The Job Done)” in particular, take this argument further by commenting directly on the current status of immigrants in the US (and UK) through a transnational group of rappers. While hip hop’s intertextual ethos already allows for such “conversations” and border crossings (of people and eras), the mixtape as a form and ideology allows for such border crossing to occur on an even greater scale.

***The Hamilton Mixtape* as Album: Song Function and the Broadway Cover**

It is worth noting that *The Hamilton Mixtape* differs significantly from the *Hamilton* original cast recording. The latter attempts to recreate the numbers from the two-act musical in the order that they occur, with one disc per act for CD listeners. The *Mixtape* reworks pieces from the musical in different ways with new performers and without an adherence to the musical’s plot or narrative. It is in alignment with mixtape authenticity’s key feature of variety, in terms of artist participants, producers, and their styles. *The Hamilton Mixtape* could be seen as a paratextual product, an object that exists outside the primary text(s), in this case the musical and its original cast recording. Such a product exists with many others in the Hamilton industry including clothing, wall calendars, #Ham4Ham shows, and the book *Hamilton: The Revolution* (nicknamed the “Hamiltome”). The *Mixtape*, however, could also be seen in the tradition of major-label recordings that feature artists who cover Broadway

“showtunes” as part of their repertoire, a mutually beneficial relationship for those artists, their record label, and the music publishers.

The mixtape songs function in various ways in relation to their source material, primarily as covers and remixes (See Table 1). The album also includes instrumental DJ interludes and previously unreleased material: songs cut from the off-Broadway production and earlier demos. Cultural capital is drawn from pop stars, R&B singers, and hip hop notables from the present and past. The presence of interludes (less than a minute in duration) that chop and scratch pre-existing soundtrack material infuse hip hop codes of authenticity onto the mixtape. Demo and unreleased material, while satisfying fans of the musical who want anything related to its development, also give the mixtape a “raw” element, items that would not otherwise appear on a fully-mastered commercially mainstream release.

The album’s largest number of tracks are cover versions from the musical. In a sense, these covers are aligned with the pre-“original cast recording” (pre-1943) Broadway practices, when stars of the day would record songs popularized on the stage.¹⁹ These covers engage with the mixtape tradition of rapping over previously released songs by other artists and are part of an early-to-mid 20th century tradition of “versioning,” a practice involving multiple performances of the same song by different artists, fueled by the music publishing industry and boosted by the star system of singers.²⁰ The variety of singers adds an air of inclusivity and universality, the idea that *anyone* can perform these songs, and that perhaps the songs have already become “standards” or classic in some way. These covers also go to disprove Marilyn Stasio’s *Variety* review of *Hamilton* that states that “the old, reliable Broadway showtune may be a thing of the past.”²¹ While it is unclear if she was referring here to musical style specifically (i.e. hip hop as “coverable” vis-à-vis Tin Pan Alley songs), the *Mixtape* and its popularity demonstrate that Miranda’s musical functions within a still-

popular Broadway ecosystem, including its ability to produce hit showtunes and produce covers of those songs regardless of style.

Lastly, there are fully remixed versions of Hamilton tracks with beats more associated with hip hop, of which “Immigrants (We Get The Job Done)” belongs. Kajikawa’s article in this issue speaks to the importance of remix and other forms of intertextuality within hip hop culture, and how these tracks take familiar material from the musical and do something different with them is at the heart of hip hop culture. While Kajikawa showed how Miranda remixed the founders’ story, what follows is one example of how the *Mixtape* remixes the musical itself to express counter-narratives of marginality and migration, praising the contributions of immigrant communities to wider society.

Song Title	Featured Artists	Function	Length
1. "No John Trumbull"	The Roots	Unreleased material (and introduction to mixtape)	00:46
2. "My Shot" (Rise up Remix)	The Roots, Busta Rhymes, Joell Ortiz, Nate Ruess	Remix	04:31
3. "Wrote My Way Out"	Nas, Dave East, Lin- Manuel Miranda, Aloe Blacc	Remix	04:21
4. "Wait for It"	Usher	Cover	03:28
5. "An Open Letter (Interlude)"	Watsky featuring Shockwave	Unreleased material	01:08
6. "Satisfied"	Sia, Miguel and Queen Latifah	Cover	05:18
7. "Dear Theodosia"	Regina Spektor and Ben Folds	Cover	02:25
8. "Valley Forge" (demo)	Lin-Manuel Miranda	Demo	02:46
9. "It's Quiet Uptown"	Kelly Clarkson	Cover	04:37
10. "That Would Be Enough" ²²	Alicia Keys	Cover	04:04
11. "Immigrants (We Get the Job Done)"	K'naan, Snow Tha Product, Riz MC and Residente	Remix	04:41
12. "You'll Be Back"	Jimmy Fallon and The Roots	Cover	04:10
13. "Helpless"	Ashanti and Ja Rule	Cover	03:35
14. " Take a Break (Interlude)"	!llmind	Instrumental Interlude	00:48
15. "Say Yes to This"	Jill Scott	Cover	03:50
16. "Congratulations"	Dessa	Unreleased material	02:11
17. "Burn"	Andra Day	Cover	03:39
18. "Stay Alive (Interlude)"	J. Period and Stro Elliot	Instrumental Interlude	00:33
19. "Cabinet Battle 3" (demo)	Lin-Manuel Miranda	Demo	02:49
20. "Washingtons by Your Side"	Wiz Khalifa	Remix	02:55
21. "History has Its Eyes on You"	John Legend	Cover	03:16
22. "Who Tells Your Story"	The Roots featuring Common and Ingrid Michaelson	Remix	04:13
23. "Dear Theodosia (Reprise)"	Chance the Rapper & Francis and the Lights	Bonus track (remix)	03:39

Table 1. Track listing on *The Hamilton Mixtape*

“Immigrants (We Get The Job Done)” : Language, Marginality, Migration

At track 11 on the *Mixtape* (of 23 total), “Immigrants (We Get The Job Done)” functions as centerpiece of the album, not least for its ever-increasing political relevancy. While a sufficient outline of the omni-present discussions of immigration in the US, UK, and the rest of Europe is beyond the scope of this article, it is safe to say that in Trump’s America and Brexit Britain, the debate is more divisive than ever.²³ Miranda, the son of Puerto Rican migrants to NYC,²⁴ uses the contemporary upsurge in anti-immigrant and right-wing discourse to put into focus these important debates through this track.

Produced by Honduras-born Los Angeles-based Jeffrey “Trooko” Penalva, “Immigrants (We Get The Job Done)” samples the title line from the musical’s “The Battle of Yorktown,” jointly stated by Hamilton and French ally Marquis de Lafayette while high fiving each other. As Craft notes in her article, it is one of the most popular moments in the show, and Miranda had to add space in the song to accommodate the laughing and applause audiences gave it.²⁵ The popularity of the line, and its re-appropriation, reflects the current relevance of immigration discourse.²⁶ Miranda writes on the lyric annotation site genius.com, “This election cycle [2016, i.e. Trump’s presidential campaign, his comments on Mexicans as criminals and rapists, and promise to build a US-Mexico border wall] has brought xenophobia and vilification of immigrants back to the forefront of US politics. This is a musical counterweight.”²⁷ The track samples this aforementioned moment (0:18-0:19, labeled sample B) for the chorus, and another after the battle ([Mulligan:] “And just like that it’s over....,” 2:49-2:59, labeled sample A) for the track’s opening musical phrase and overall harmonic underpinning, transforming and expanding the original material into a verse-chorus-bridge rap song format.

Song Section	Voice(s) and (measures)	Timings (and sample source)
Introduction	News commentary (8)	0:00-19
"Yorktown" sample (sample A)	Mulligan, Laurens, George Washington (4)	:20-:29 (sampled from 2:49-2:59 of "Battle of Yorktown")
Verse 1	K'naan (8+8 inc. hook)	:30-1:09
<u>Chorus</u>	Hamilton and Lafayette (4+4)	01:10-1:29
--Chorus Part 1	"Look How Far I've Come" (x3), "We get the Job Done"	1:10-1:21
--Chorus part 2/ Hook (Sample B)	"Look How Far I've Come" (x3), + SAMPLE B/HOOK: "Immigrants, We get the Job Done"	1:22- 1:29 (hook 1:27-1:29 from 0:18-:19 of "Battle of Yorktown")
Verse 2	Snow Tha Product (8+8 inc. hook)	1:29-2:08
Chorus	(4+4)	2:09-2:29
Bridge	Samples verse 2 (4+4)	2:30-2:48
Verse 3	Riz MC (8+8 inc. hook)	2:49-3:28
Verse 4	Residente (8+ inc. hook)	3:29-4:06
Extended chorus	(4+4+4)	4:07-4:37
"Not Yet"	George Washington	4:37-4:38

Table 2. "Immigrants (We Get the Job Done)" song form.

Common for political hip hop tracks (exemplary of groups like Public Enemy), "Immigrants (We Get The Job Done)" opens with news-style commentary, stating in regard to border security, "it's astonishing that in a country founded by immigrants, 'immigrant' has somehow become a bad word." Each of the four verses ruminates on immigration and immigrants from varying yet overlapping perspectives.

While verse one discusses dangers and risks of migration (from Somali-Canadian K'naan who moved to New York City after the Somali Civil War),²⁸ verse 2 performs a linguistic border crossing through the oscillation between Spanish and English languages. Born in San Jose, California, to undocumented Mexican immigrant parents, Snow Tha Product's (Claudia Alexandra Feliciano) verse points to the objects of stereotypical Mexican labor ("pitchforks," "picked" [peppers]), and that immigrants are doing "rich chores by people that get ignored." Her rapid oscillation between the two languages are seen in lines

such as “ya se armó/Ya se despertaron/It’s a whole awakening/La alarma ya sonó hace rato” (And it started/And they awoke.../The alarm went off a while ago”). The relative speed of her flow, and the steady-ness of her pace, amplify the intensity of her bilingual delivery.

As hip hop practitioners often demonstrate their cultural knowledge through intertextual reference,²⁹ the line “Peter Piper claimed he picked them, he just underpaid Pablo” references the Run-D.M.C. song “Peter Piper” as well as the nursery rhyme while commenting on the invisible labor of agricultural work. Her line, “we’re America’s ghostwriters, the credit’s only borrowed,” in addition to the double meaning alluding to economics, provides an important hip hop metaphor: to ghostwrite for another rapper, or to be accused of having one, is a potent insult within the culture.³⁰ The line is used subsequently as a bridge, chopped and repeated as the song transitions to the third verse. The bridge, like the instrumental interludes on the mixtape, provides a perceivably authentic hip hop aesthetic, showing the deliberate cracks in hip hop production by displaying its disunity and disjuncture. Listeners will immediately recognize the source of the sample, as it comes from the track itself. Like the instrumental interludes on the *Mixtape*, the sample manipulation and record scratching on the bridge, in addition to vocal dexterity, use of different languages, accents and voices, are sonic signifiers of “undergroundness” in the mixtape. In terms of early hip hop authenticity, such art-commerce binaries are often gendered: while mainstream (gangsta) rap is often male-dominated, misogynist and objectifies women in music videos, early NYC hip hop scenes included a number of important female rap groups, breakdancers and graffiti artists. “True” hip hop, therefore, is seen as a space that respects and includes women, and Snow tha Product’s presence forms an intersectional performance of female gender and non-white marginality.³¹

The next verse moves across the Atlantic, performed by British actor Riz MC whose parents are of Pakistani descent.³² His British accent is another striking shift in difference

between verses. He opens with “Ay yo aye, immigrants we don’t like that/ Na they don’t play British Empire Strikes Back,” both in reference to postcolonial perspectives and his role in *Star Wars: Rogue One* (2016). The idea that the British Empire helped to carve much of the middle east and subcontinent, and have contributed in bombing them, yet they refuse to accept their asylum seekers is not lost on other British rappers (sentiments espoused effectively by rappers such as the Iraqi-British Lowkey and British-Palestinian Shadia Mansour). The line “They flee war zones, but the problem ain’t ours, even if our bombs landed on them like the Mayflower” best reflects this sentiment of hypocrisy.³³

The line “immigrants we don’t like that,” touches ironically on current sentiments in the United Kingdom, not least by parties such as the BNP (British National Party) and UKIP (UK Independence party, then led by staunch Brexit supporter Nigel Farage) that seek to restrict immigration drastically. Such sentiments could be seen as a product of what Paul Gilroy calls “postcolonial melancholia”: a psychological condition mourning the loss of Empire in an unhealthy manner.³⁴ For many, rather than looking at the current state of affairs, WWII becomes an idealized focal point, highlighting past victories fueled by a heritage industry focused on that era and its perceived whiteness.

Within postcolonial melancholia, the immigrant reminds xenophobic Britain of its Imperial past, a reminder of past atrocities. The symbolic figure of the “immigrant” as an ethnic minority (either from within or outside Britain), according to Gilroy, lends a sense of discomfort which is dealt with through racism, binge drinking and neurotic repetition of the past. Gilroy writes, “Indeed, the incomers may be unwanted and feared precisely because they are the unwitting bearers of the imperial and colonial past...The immigrant is now here because Britain, Europe, was once out there.”³⁵ One can no doubt find parallels with the ethnonationalist undertones in the cultural amnesia underpinning the “Make America Great Again” slogan for Trump’s 2016 presidential campaign.

The quasi-implicit racial argument here reflects what Modood and Salt call the “tacit whiteness” of national identity in Britain.³⁶ In other words, British-born Riz MC is made to feel not a part of Britain due to this tacit whiteness, and much of his other recorded work addresses these sentiments (for example, his 2016 *Englistan EP*). The irony of his “immigrants we don’t like that” comment goes on to point out migrants who have historically contributed to the nation’s greatness--“Who these fugees what did they do for me but contribute new dreams, taxes and tools, swagger and food to eat?”

Lastly, the “blood of his ancestors” building “Buckingham Palace and Capitol Hill” is another reference to the hidden labor of workers, slave or otherwise, that have contributed to the wealth of the two nations. It contains echoes of Michelle Obama’s comment at the 2016 Democratic National Convention (July 25, 2016) that “I wake up every morning in a house that was built by slaves,” which received criticism from many in the right-wing media. By focusing on hidden labor worldwide, the rappers construct a “family of resemblances,” to cite Lipsitz’s work on Hispanic musicians in Los Angeles. Given that hip hop fans and practitioners have also been theorized as such a family (often referred to as a “global hip hop nation”),³⁷ the track provides a convergence of hip hop and the often race- and class-based marginality of immigrant labor. Riz MC and others in UK hip hop that most overtly live the consequences of Empire are also those who express them most vociferously, and hip hop provides these counter-narratives to more dominant ideologies in the political economy such as postcolonial melancholia.

The final verse of “Immigrants” suggests an urgency greater than what has preceded it, rapped entirely in Spanish by Residente. Puerto Rico’s most successful rapper, Residente forms part of the duo Calle 13, which has won 21 Latin Grammys as of this writing. At the end of verse 3, instead of another full chorus, we hear the one-measure hook “Immigrants, we get the job done” immediately followed by verse 4. Also adding to the urgency in the fourth

verse's arrival, he opens with an eighth note upbeat before the first beat of his verse ("por" followed by "tierra" on the downbeat). He comments that "Somos como las plantas que crecen sin agua" ("we are like plants that grow without water") and that "Nosotros Les Sembramos el arbol y ellos se comen la fruta" ("we [immigrants] plant the tree while they reap the fruit"). Willing to "jump over walls or float on rafts... we packed our entire house in one suitcase." ("Brincamos muros o flotamos en balsas...Metimos la casa complete en una maleta"). One of the important points amongst the descriptions of crossing and migration is that half of "gringolandia" (white America) is really Mexican terrain ("terrano Mexicano")--linguistically matched by the all-Spanish verse and symbolizing the Mexican terrain found in mainstream (white) America. In other words, we are already here. We've always been here.

With regards to verse 2 and 4 in particular, it is rare to find such bilingualism in US mainstream hip hop beyond its use as sample exoticism, a bilingualism that Miranda has spoken of regarding his upbringing.³⁸ Perhaps here we could make a parallel to Miranda's ability to fuse the stylistic bilingualism of hip hop and the Broadway musical. More specifically with regards to multi-accentuality, we could compare Snow's Mexican Spanish vs. Residente's Puerto Rican accent, and K'naan's North American English with Riz MC's British English (and more specifically, multicultural London English).

For now, however, let's consider reductively English vs. Spanish as we could consider this in the context of mainstream American (English) markets vs. the important Spanish-language market for goods in the US regions with a large number of Hispanic populations. Like the "black music" market in US recorded popular music history, the "Latino" market has existed with moments of crossover into the top 40 mainstream (e.g. the "mambo craze" of the 1940s, Latin pop boom of the late 1990s).³⁹ These racialized markets, categorizations and demographics are often taken in consideration for the creation and marketing of products within the music and other industries.⁴⁰ For the *Mixtape* in particular, it

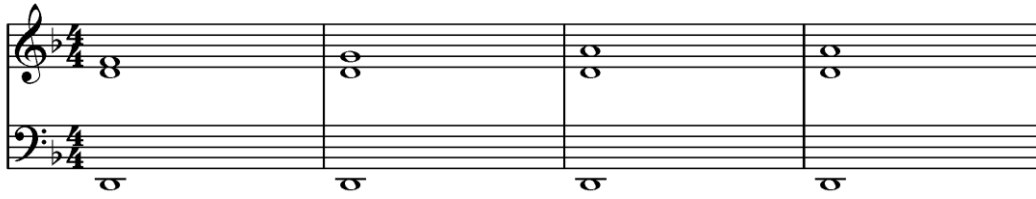
becomes the unapologetic performance of both marginality and border crossing, speaking to those who rarely hear their language in such a mainstream space.

“Immigrants”: Remixing the Musical

On the level of the musical accompaniment (often referred to as the “beat”), looking at exactly how producer Trooko transformed “Yorktown” into “Immigrants” shows how lyrical and musical themes work together, and how the remix allows for a musical “openness” to lyrical development. As stated earlier, the harmonic material is drawn from two samples of the original track: Sample A (Mulligan: “And just like that it’s over...”) and Sample B (Hamilton and Lafayette: “Immigrants, we get the job done”). Sample A opens the musical track, comprising a i-iv-i progression with d pedal (melody F-G-A) before a measure break of no accompaniment while Washington says, “Not Yet” (in answer to Laurens’ “Black and white soliders wonder alike if this really means freedom”) (example 1). In the verse material on “Immigrants,” the F-G-A melody is retained (example 2), but the third measure is now repeated into the fourth so the d minor is extended by one measure.⁴¹ The i-iv axis doesn’t suggest as much stability as, for example, the “Hamilton” progression of i-III-vi-VI-V (as in the progression most associated with Alexander Hamilton),⁴² but allows both the rhythmic and lyrical aspects of the track to stand out. Each verse has a slightly different rhythmic and timbral configuration but follows this d minor pattern.



Example 1. Sample A from “Battle of Yorktown” in “Immigrants” (:20-:29), mm. 9-12.



Example 2. Harmonic structure of basic beat in “Immigrants”

The aspirational-sounding eight-measure chorus repeats the line “Look how far I’ve come” three times (rising a perfect fifth⁴³ on “come,” see example 3),⁴⁴ followed by “we get the job done.” The second four measures repeats “Look how far I’ve come” three times again followed by the full “Immigrants, we get the job done” hook (Sample B) in the last measure. The more harmonic openness both generally and in comparison with its source track, allow the rappers space for not only their politics, but also for their freestyle cypher-like performance, reflecting what Nicole Hodges Persley notes as the “inherently theatrical” nature of hip hop.⁴⁵



Example 3. Second half of first chorus in “Immigrants” (1:22-1:29), mm.33-36

While the chorus continues to outline the d minor harmonic underpinning from the verse, the “Immigrants” hook in the last measure of the chorus falls under a G major chord. In d minor it is literally an immigrant chord, and doesn’t belong “naturally” in the key. It feels out of place, and adds to the sense of textually signaling that the material comes from a sample, and just doesn’t feel quite “right” in a Western classical harmonic context. In its original form in “Yorktown,” the origins of the G major chord makes more sense

harmonically as part of the overall harmonic motive of d minor-C-G (melody a-c-b natural) with the C almost acting as a pivot. The double plagal cadence (i-VII-IV) is the same motive that underpins “Hurricane” in Act II. As a hook, and as it existed in “Yorktown,” the G chord is roughly a quarter note in duration, allowing for three beats of instrumental break before the soundtrack returns. Intentionally or unintentionally, matching an “out of place” chord with the word “Immigrants” works extremely well as word painting and of the sonic disjunctures and breaks that signify less-mainstream hip hop.

Rhythmically, by the bridge, it becomes clear that there is an underpinning son clave rhythm (see example 4a) on a d minor chord accompanying the “we’re America’s ghostwriters” line. The eight-measure bridge consists of a two-measure phrase repeated four times (see example 4b): the first measure comprises the first half of the son clave rhythm while the second measure includes the entire son clave rhythm. The rhythm is perhaps a nod to the “terrano Mexicano” of the track as well as the “Latin tinge” influence throughout American popular music history more generally. In fact, the rhythm of the spoken line “Immigrants, we get the job done” slots into the son clave rhythm if one were to overlap the two. The track performs what it preaches, the diversity of America (and Britain) that has contributed to their respective societies.



Example 4a. Son clave rhythm



Example 4b. Bridge section in “Immigrants,” (x4, 2:30-2:48), mm. 69-76

Despite the varying range of backgrounds of the rappers, a number of themes are shared between them: the use of metaphor (“lapdance” from lady liberty, “bombs landed on

them [the refugees] like the Mayflower”), citing objects of labor (pitchforks, picking fruit, “with a pick and a shovel, and a rake, we built you a castle”), metaphors of crossing, travel and migration (across the water, across borders, *somos lo que cruzaron*=we are the ones who cross, “we jump over walls or float on rafts,” “by land or by water”) and linguistic crossing from English to Spanish by the end of the track (code switching). In addition to the idea of crossing is the fact that these “immigrants” have really been here all along, to build Capitol Hill and Buckingham Palace, to pick fruit, and in terms of identity, form a much larger part of their surroundings than the white ethnic “universal” mainstream would suggest.⁴⁶

“Immigrants,” as the central track of the *Mixtape*, demonstrates the epitome of hip hop’s ability to be a mouthpiece for the marginal. While much of the mixtape includes a majority of cover versions in a tradition of versioning Broadway songs, the remixed versions in particular become vehicles to amplify ideas only alluded to in the musical. The form of the mixtape therefore allows for such political work to be done more overtly. It allows more semantically open or abstract themes from the musical to become more specific and pointed,⁴⁷ and a political release valve for Miranda and others who are concerned with Trump era sentiments and policies. It is a form of artistic reception, and in the tradition of reworking past materials that hip hop and Broadway engage with, albeit often executed in different ways. Though called a mixtape, it still works within frameworks of Broadway and the music industry (the album is with Atlantic Records) and utilizes signifiers of mixtape authenticity. As hip hop often negotiates the mainstream-underground divide, “Immigrants” is able to capture a particular spirit often used to describe 90s hip hop, a global cypher representative of the overtly collaborative spirit heard on earlier mixtapes. It provides an anthem for those workers who feel marginalized by their societies, utilizing a musical style that has become all-too-familiar for providing the soundtrack to such political and social themes.

“Not. Yet.”

George Washington’s answer to “Black and white soldiers wonder alike if this means freedom” at the end of the “Battle of Yorktown” becomes the final line of “Immigrants (We Get The Job Done).” Unaccompanied by any beat, the line “Not. Yet.” leaves the track open ended, and feels an abrupt ending to something so rhythmically propulsive otherwise. It very much signifies an unfinished piece of political work. Lin-Manuel Miranda annotates these lines on genius.com: “Have we achieved full freedom as a society? Nope. We’ve a ways to go. It was true in 1781 and it’s true now.”⁴⁸

The success of the musical and its recordings does have real political consequences: Miranda has spearheaded fundraising efforts for the We Get the Job Done Coalition, part of the Hispanic Federation 501 (c) (3) which is comprised of 12 organizations and the nation’s premier Hispanic non-profit organization. According to the website it provides “services to immigrants, refugees, and asylees including legal representation, advocacy, and awareness campaigns.”⁴⁹ He has used social media and networking tools, often reserved for promoting his musical and related products, to these ends which show that hip hop not only helps marginal voices be heard but also can help voice a rallying cry for action and change.⁵⁰

As a product of its time, *The Hamilton Mixtape* utilizes the subcultural capital of the hip hop mixtape, the authenticity of the polyvocal, multi-accentual rap freestyle as well as the cultural capital of numerous pop stars. The centerpiece of the album, “Immigrants (We Get The Job Done),” reflects social and political discourses of immigration rife in the United States, United Kingdom, and elsewhere. As Trump’s border wall promises helped his rise to presidential popularity, and as Farage’s “Breaking Point” poster helped secure the vote for Brexit, “Immigrants” takes one of the most popular moments in the musical and expands it into a global cypher that demands listeners take note. Instated early in his presidency, Trump’s Executive Order 13769, popularly known as the “Muslim ban,” also placed these

issues into sharper focus, giving the track's lyrics an even greater sense of urgency.⁵¹ "Immigrants" emphasizes Latinx voices in particular, the forgotten brown element in a supposed black and white America, and it questions the "national confluents of race and citizenship" that Riz MC and other European hip hop artists often (en)counter.⁵² This performance of diversity (in terms of styles, rappers and sonic signifiers), in resistance to the mainstream, is at heart of hip hop's (and the mixtape's) claims to authenticity.

"Immigrants" and *Hamilton: An American Musical* are arguably two different ways of expressing critiques of immigration discourse. Both deal with labor as the heart of immigration debates (e.g. Hamilton's compulsive writing is shown in "Non-stop," "I Wrote My Way Out," and other numbers), and both use the power of hip hop as a (popular) cultural citizenship for belonging and resistance. One questions the racial and ethnic bases of national citizenship, both for Residente's terrano mexicano and Riz MC's British Empire striking back, and the other does so through the voices of a multicultural Broadway cast. They both locate the human source behind the factors of production, and just as the musical celebrated Alexander Hamilton and his immigrant status, "Immigrants" celebrates these seemingly marginal figures through the "inherently theatrical" style of hip hop performance. While "Immigrants" can be read as a critique of the labor system and right-wing attitudes to migration, it is also a celebration of those figures who migrate in order to transform themselves and their social situation. In this sense, perhaps the American musical, and the ideologically attached idealism of the "American dream," is not that different from the "something from nothing" of both left-leaning immigration and hip hop authenticity discourses. Let us not forget the track that catapulted Jay-Z to mainstream superstardom in 1998 was a successful fusion of these two musical styles and the thematic link of marginality: "Hard Knock Life (Ghetto Anthem)" which sampled from the soundtrack to the 1982 Broadway musical *Annie*.

While there is both symbolic and physical crossing of borders, Residente reminds us most forcefully that “terreno Mexicano” was here all along, alongside Riz MC’s ancestors who built edifices associated with the white mainstream, Snow Tha Product’s depiction of an underpaid “Pablo” picking the nation’s agriculture, and K’naan’s account of having risked his life for a better one in the US, working multiple jobs and sharing a studio apartment with five roommates. Hip hop becomes an important form to say “we are here.” This gets to the heart of the double bind that Rollefson writes about vis-a-vis European hip hop: hip hop as both resistance *and* belonging— to claim a place at the table— “having its cake...and eat it too if you aren’t beholden to the notion that there is only one true cake at the table.”⁵³

Globally, hip hop music and culture often acts as a mouthpiece for disenfranchised and marginalized groups. It engages in politics and culture in multifaceted and powerful ways, often responding to conditions of difference and is a powerful space for critique, commentary and celebration. A hybrid African-American based form pioneered by an immigrant, and now a global phenomenon, hip hop lends cultural citizenship to those who feel outside other definitions of citizenship, providing counter-narratives that resist more visible and hegemonic structures. K’naan, Snow Tha Product, Riz MC, and others make visible (and make audible) the hidden labor and faces of national economies, using hip hop to show a more accurate picture of these nations than those shown by more mainstream political and cultural narratives.

¹ In his 2009 White House Poetry Jam performance, Miranda states he is working on a hip hop concept album, and in subsequent interviews has stated how he wanted to make a concept album like Andrew Lloyd Webber did with *Jesus Christ Superstar*. See Isabella Biedenharn, “Making *The Hamilton Mixtape*: Lin-Manuel Miranda explains the stories behind the songs.” *Entertainment Weekly*, November 30, 2016, <http://ew.com/music/2016/11/30/hamilton-mixtape-lin-manuel-miranda-songs/> (accessed August 6, 2017). See also Lin-Manuel Miranda and Jeremy McCarter, *Hamilton: The Revolution* (Boston: Little, Brown 2016): 10.

² Keith Caulfield, “‘The Hamilton Mixtape’ Debuts at No. 1 on Billboard 200 Albums Chart,” *Billboard* December 11, 2016, <http://www.billboard.com/articles/columns/chart-beat/7617662/the-hamilton-mixtape-debuts-at-no-1-on-billboard-200-albums-chart> (accessed July 14, 2017).

³ #Ham4Ham began as a five-minute live performance by Miranda and cast members and friends to reward those waiting in line for the lottery day tickets to the musical. Due to crowd control issues, the lottery went online as did the #Ham4Ham shows. See Ashley Lee, “‘Hamilton’: Lin-Manuel Miranda Repeatedly Rewards Lottery Hopefuls With Unique Pre-Shows,” *The Hollywood Reporter*, July 28, 2015,

<https://www.hollywoodreporter.com/news/hamilton-lottery-lin-manuel-miranda-811467> (accessed November 24, 2017).

⁴ As Gentry notes in his *Hamilton* review article, the musical does not provide a fixed text for analysis and, in fact, that more people have experienced the musical through the cast recording than through the stage play. He advocates for acknowledging the variety of experiences people will have with *Hamilton*'s texts. See Philip Gentry, "Hamilton's Ghosts," *American Music* 31/2 (2017): 271-280. In the case of the *Mixtape*, the tracks provide meaning as standalone units of individual songs as well as on the larger-scale level of album, and more work could be done on this dual-level interplay with "concept album" rap artists such as Kendrick Lamar.

⁵ While authenticity is an overused and often-contested term in popular music studies, in the context of the mixtape, the term proves a productive lens given Miranda's desire to engage with the hip hop community. The Broadway musical is aimed toward a more general, mainstream Broadway audience and the mixtape becomes a more flexible space to demonstrate hip hop knowledge and virtuosity beyond simply intertextual references. Authenticity as it is used here refers to staying true (or "keeping it real") to the valued tenets of the genre and culture, giving the impression of a commercially unmediated product focused on artistry, knowledge (said to be the "fifth element" of hip hop after DJing, MCing, graffiti, and breakdancing) and, in some cases, to engage closely with politics. Given the history of (white) appropriation and ownership of "black musics," the preoccupation with what is considered authentic has been a concern since at least blues recordings, but has arguably intensified with the hip hop genre. See Kembrew McLeod, "Authenticity Within Hip hop and Other Cultures Threatened with Assimilation," *Journal of Communication* 49/4 (1999): 134-150.

⁶ Anthony Kwame Harrison, "'Cheaper than a CD, plus we really mean it': Bay Area underground hip hop tapes as subcultural artefacts," *Popular Music* 25 (2006): 287. Kajikawa's analysis of Grandmaster Flash and The Furious Five's pre-commercial recording live shows are drawn from bootleg cassette recordings at the time. See Loren Kajikawa, *Sounding Race in Rap Songs* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2015).

⁷ Thurston Moore ed., *Mix Tape: The Art of Cassette Culture* (New York: Universe Publishing, 2006).

⁸ 50 Cent and Chance the Rapper are the most recognized artists to emerge from mixtape scenes, but many key rappers (e.g. T.I., Young Jeezy, Lil Wayne) took part in the multi-million dollar "shadow economy" of the mixtape which shifted to the internet around the mid-2000s. The line between free promotional mixtape and albums called "mixtapes" for sale on Apple Music and other streaming services are now blurred, yet the term still carries with it an air of anti-commercialism. Dan Rys, "Mixtapes & Money: Inside the Mainstreaming of Hip hop's Shadow Economy," *Rolling Stone*, January 26, 2017, <http://www.billboard.com/articles/columns/hip-hop/7669109/mixtapes-money-hip-hop-shadow-economy-mainstream> (accessed June 17, 2017).

⁹ A "cypher" (or "cipher") in hip hop is related to freestyle rapping, often informally in a circle with other participants. It is considered improvisatory and often has a more relaxed flow in terms of rhythm and meter. It is most likely drawn from the Five-Percent Nation's supreme mathematics and the cypher as 0, referring to the ring of participants in the freestyle. See Felicia M. Miyakawa, *Five Percenter Rap: God Hop's Music, Message, and Black Muslim Mission* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2005).

¹⁰ Busta Rhymes's verse on "My Shot" (track 2 of *The Hamilton Mixtape*) is a particularly representative example of the type of flow one would find on a 1990s mixtape, a theatricality and urgency via rapping quickly across beats and measures.

¹¹ Adam Green, "Lin-Manuel Miranda's Groundbreaking Hip hop Musical, *Hamilton*, Hits Broadway," *Vogue*, June 24, 2015, <http://www.vogue.com/article/hamilton-hip-hop-musical-broadway> (accessed July 14, 2017). "British invasion" pop and the harpsichord accompaniment thus becomes the "white" ethnic Other to the musical's hip hop/R&B soundworld, solidifying racial associations with such genres alongside the King's feminized and campy performance which also provides an additional intersectional Othering compared to the non-white homosocial hyper-masculinity of hip hop and the musical's protagonists.

¹² In contrast to previous attempts to bring together Top Forty pop and Broadway by either having pop artists write musicals (e.g. Billy Elliot) or re-use previous material for so-called jukebox musicals (e.g. Mamma Mia), Herrera notes that Miranda does something different: "Miranda's work does not import pop to Broadway, or vice versa, but innovates an inventive hybrid musical and theatrical sensibility that remains fundamentally rooted in both." Brian Eugenio Herrera, "Miranda's Manifesto," *Theater* 47/2 (2017): 27.

¹³ In this article, my distinction between mainstream and non-mainstream has little to do with chart success, but is more concerned with the sonic construction of such binaries and the strategies by which producers and rappers create them.

¹⁴ For accounts of early hip hop, see Tricia Rose, *Black Noise* (Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 1994), David Toop, *The Rap Attack* (London: Serpent's Tail, 1984) and Mark Katz, *Groove Music: The Art and Culture of the Hip hop DJ* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012).

-
- ¹⁵ J. Griffith Rollefson, *Flip the Script: European Hip Hop and the Politics of Postcoloniality* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2017), 3.
- ¹⁶ For more on hip hop expressing the marginal globally, see Rollefson, 7-9 and Tony Mitchell, *Global Noise: Rap and Hip hop Outside the U.S.A.* (Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 2001).
- ¹⁷ Craft, *American Music* (this issue)
- ¹⁸ Ibid.
- ¹⁹ The first original cast recording is credited to the 1943 Decca recording of Rodgers and Hammerstein's *Oklahoma!* See George Reddick, "The Evolution of the Original Cast Album," in *The Oxford Handbook of the American Musical*, eds. Raymond Knapp, Mitchell Morris and Stacy Wolf (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 179-198.
- ²⁰ Two of the covers, Queen Latifah's version of "Satisfied" and Ja Rule and Ashanti performing "Helpless," are self-referential in that their styles may have inspired some of the songs in the musical. For "Helpless" in particular, Miranda adopts a gravel-like timbre at the end of the cast recording version as a direct reference to Ja Rule's timbre. My thanks to Loren Kajikawa for pointing this out to me.
- ²¹ Marilyn Stasio, "Broadway Review: 'Hamilton,'" *Variety*, August 6, 2015, <http://variety.com/2015/legit/reviews/hamilton-review-broadway-1201557679/> (accessed July 16, 2017).
- ²² Some covers take artistic liberties such as lyrical variations and extended sections. However, while the line between cover and remix may be blurred in some cases, if the overall form and structure has stayed intact, it forms a cover, and if it is manipulated through digital sampling and changed in form and structure, I have categorized it as a remix.
- ²³ For more on these contexts, see Thomas Greven, *The Rise of Right-wing Populism in Europe and the United States A Comparative Perspective* (Berlin: Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, 2016) and Ronald F. Inglehart and Pippa Norris, "Trump, Brexit, and the Rise of Populism: Economic Have-Not and Cultural Backlash" (Cambridge: Harvard Kennedy School Working Paper Series, 2016). "Brexit" is the informal term for the UK's decision (via referendum June 23, 2016) to leave the European Union (the result was a close 52% in favour). Pro-leave supporters like UK Independence Party leader Nigel Farage used increasing EU migration to the UK (especially from Eastern Europe) as a scare tactic to encourage a tightening of UK borders.
- ²⁴ Puerto Rico is a U.S. territory (rather than state) where its residents are natural-born citizens of the United States, but do not have voting representation in Congress nor are allowed to vote at the federal level. A large wave of Puerto Ricans emigrated to the North-eastern US and Florida after WWII for greater economic opportunity. The territory's status vis-à-vis the United States came to the forefront in the responses to Hurricane Maria (Sept 2017) which devastated Puerto Rico and Hurricane Harvey which affected Houston a month earlier. While President Trump's response was limited for Puerto Rico, reminding its Mayor and people of their financial debt to the US, his federal aid response to the mainland was more robust.
- ²⁵ Chris Hayes, "Billboard Cover: 'Hamilton' Creator Lin-Manuel Miranda, Questlove and Black Thought on the Runaway Broadway Hit, Its Political Relevance and Super-Fan Barack Obama," *Rolling Stone*, July 30, 2015, <http://www.billboard.com/articles/news/magazine-feature/6648455/hamilton-lin-manuel-miranda-questlove-black-thought-the-roots-chris-hayes-interview> (accessed June 6, 2017).
- ²⁶ Further evidence of the line's popularity is shown through another Hamilton product available online and at performances: a t-shirt with the "Immigrants, we get the job done" line on the front, an item that my mother bought me when she attended the San Francisco production in May 2017.
- ²⁷ Lin-Manuel Miranda, "Immigrants, We Get The Job Done," genius.com, <https://genius.com/Knaan-immigrants-we-get-the-job-done-lyrics> (accessed July 17, 2017).
- ²⁸ He raps, "Man, I was brave, sailing on graves, don't think I didn't notice those tombstones disguised as waves," echoing media imagery at the time of Syrian refugees escaping to Europe by boat, many drowning in the process.
- ²⁹ See genius.com for an extensive annotation of the track's intertextual references.
- ³⁰ The ghostwriter, so crucial a signifier of (in)authentic hip hop, becomes a metaphor for the unseen labor of migrant workers. As Kendrick Lamar raps in "King Kunta" (2015), "I can dig rappin, but a rapper with a ghostwriter, what the fuck happened?"
- ³¹ Nancy Guevara, "Women Writin, Rappin, Breakin," in *Droppin Science: Critical Essays on Rap Music and Hip hop Culture*, ed. William Eric Perkins (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1996): 49-63. For more on the "historical authenticity" drawn from early hip hop, see Justin A. Williams, *Rhymin and Stealin* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2013), 29-46.
- ³² Some of Ahmed's television and film credits include *Four Lions* (2010), *Girls* (2017), *Nightcrawler* (2014), *Jason Bourne* (2016), and *Rogue One* (2016). He won an Emmy in 2017 for his role in *The Night Of*.

³³ A more subtle meaning within the Mayflower reference is a reminder that Americans were once migrants of British colonies, thus adding further hypocrisy to anti-immigrant sentiments in the US.

³⁴ Paul Gilroy, *After Empire* (London: Routledge, 2004).

³⁵ Gilroy, *After Empire*, 110.

³⁶ Tariq Modood and John Salt, eds. *Global Migration, Ethnicity and Britishness* (London: Palgrave, 2011), 10.

³⁷ Sarah Hill discusses the hip hop nation as a family of resemblance, writing with respect to Welsh rap. *'Blerwytirhwng?' The Place of Welsh Pop Music* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), 165-188.

³⁸ Miranda states in one interview, "The corner that I lived on [in New York City] was like this little Latin American country. It's one which the nanny who lived with us and raised us, who also raised my father in Puerto Rico, never needed to learn English. All of the business owners in and around our block all spoke Spanish, and yet I'd go to school and I'd be at my friends' houses on the Upper East Side and Upper West Side and I'd be the one translating to the nanny who spoke Spanish. So it's interesting to become a Latino cultural ambassador when you're 7." "Lin-Manuel Miranda On Disney, Mixtapes and Why He Won't Try to Top Hamilton," *Fresh Air*, NPR, January 3, 2017, <http://www.npr.org/2017/01/03/507470975/lin-manuel-miranda-on-disney-mixtapes-and-why-he-wont-try-to-top-hamilton> (accessed August 6, 2017).

³⁹ There was substantial late-1990s Latin-pop crossover with artists like Ricky Martin, Jennifer Lopez, Christina Aguilera, and Marc Antony who all had Spanish and English versions of their albums. Ricky Martin's 1999 Grammy Award performance of "The Cup of Life" ("La Copa de Vida") was the first instance that Spanish was performed on the 41-year history of the show (he began the performance in English and then switched language mid-song). See the PBS series *Latin Music USA* about the late 1990s pop boom and Martin's culturally important Grammy awards performance.

⁴⁰ Though Miranda's first musical *In The Heights* (2008), and his Spanish translations for the 2009 *West Side Story* revival, engaged with bilingualism and Hispanic cultures, the mainstream (white) Broadway audience was still the primary consideration for the marketing campaign of the two shows. See Elizabeth Titrington Craft, "Is this what it takes just to make it to Broadway?!", *Studies in Musical Theatre* 5 (2011): 49-69. Brian Eugenio Herrea, "Compiling West Side Story's Parahistories, 1949-2009," *Theatre Journal* 64 (2012): 231-247.

⁴¹ The Bb in the g minor chord is no longer present for the verse, but one could argue that the memory of it from the introduction still suggests a i-iv-i-i chord progression on the song's verses.

⁴² Howard Ho, "The Musical (Non-Lyrical) Brilliance of Hamilton's Hip hop Vernacular," *howlround.com*, July 16, 2017, <http://howlround.com/the-musical-non-lyrical-brilliance-of-hamiltons-hip-hop-vernacular> (accessed July 19, 2017).

⁴³ The rising perfect fifth interval is also used for the words "rise up" when it is first sung in "My Shot" in the musical.

⁴⁴ It is worth noting that each version of the chorus, while the vocals remain the same, contain slightly different rhythmic, harmonic, melodic and timbral details. Likewise in the verses, it follows the same i-iv-i-i pattern but with different layering for each verse.

⁴⁵ Nicole Hodges Persley, "Hip hop Theatre and Performance," in *The Cambridge Companion to Hip hop*, ed. Justin A. Williams (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 85-98. Harbert's article in this issue addresses the balance between dramatic realism and theatricality in the history musical, and this element of theatricality is one that should remain at the forefront when studying musical theater, hip hop and other performative arts.

⁴⁶ While beyond the scope of this article, a music video for "Immigrants" was released on June 28, 2017 on the YouTube channel "Hamilton: An American Musical." Through featuring the rappers alongside migrant laborers, with imagery of trains and subway commuters, the video's settings and camerawork mirror the themes of migration, movement and crossing we hear in the music and lyrics, making even more visible the track's subjects and the above themes.

⁴⁷ See Craft's article in this issue for examples of how the political openness of the musical allows for politicians on both sides of the political divide to appropriate its themes and ideas. This cross-party adoption would arguably be more difficult to do for a mixtape track such as "Immigrants."

⁴⁸ Lin-Manuel Miranda, "Immigrants, We Get The Job Done," *genius.com*.

⁴⁹ Miranda's campaign, and explanation of the We Get the Job Done Coalition can be found at https://www.prizeo.com/campaigns/lin-manuel-miranda/ham-4-all?utm_campaign=hamforall&utm_content=hamilton and <http://hispanicfederation.org/getthejobdone/> (accessed August 6, 2017).

⁵⁰ More recently, Miranda gathered Latinx stars such as Jennifer Lopez, Fat Joe, Camila Cabello, John Leguizamo, Rubén Blades, Marc Anthony, and Gloria Estefan for a charity single entitled "Almost Like Praying" in October 2017 in response to Hurricane Maria's devastating effects on Puerto Rico in September 2017, with

proceeds going to the Hispanic Federation. Miranda has been highly active on Twitter and elsewhere, regularly providing links and information with how to donate to the Federation.

⁵¹ Executive Order 13769 was titled “Protecting the Nation from Foreign Terrorist Entry into the United States” and targeted seven Middle Eastern countries, six of which are Muslim majority, to be denied entry in the US for 90 days. The ban initially lasted January 27 to March 16, 2017 before the Order was eventually blocked by various courts. It was then reinstated by the Supreme Court on December 4, 2017 while the legal battles continued in lower courts.

⁵² Rollefson, *Flip the Script*, 3

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 227.