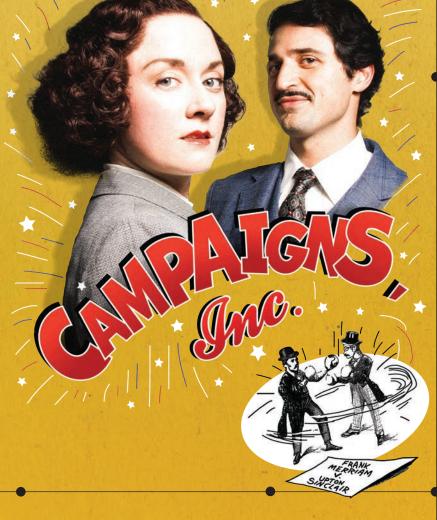
WORLD PREMIERE



WRITTEN BY ALLAN DIRECTED BY NICK BOWLING

Theatre Company

BACKSTORY YOUR GUIDE TO TIMELINE PRODUCTIONS



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FROM ARTISTIC DIRECTOR PJ POWERS

Welcome to TimeLine's 26th season and the world premiere of the political comedy Campaigns, Inc. by TimeLine Company Member Will Allan.

Conceived and developed over the past five years through TimeLine's Playwrights Collective, Will's play was nurtured alongside fellow Company Member Tyla Abercrumbie's Relentless, which enjoyed two heralded runs earlier this year, including a transfer to Goodman Theatre.

Like Relentless, Campaigns, Inc. was first slated to premiere in 2020, timed to inject some much-needed laughter into that anxious time and presidential election. Now we share its wit amidst a different, but equally critical and sure-to-be-contentious, election season. The play's humor, bite, and insight have only become more acute in the ensuing years-try as we might, we just can't seem to shake the phrase or notion of "fake news."

Inspired by a true story, the play takes its title from the first U.S. company to label itself a political consulting firm. While the art of campaign strategy (and deceit) was not new in 1934, Campaigns, Inc. elevated duplicitous scheming to new heights during a legendary California gubernatorial race, laying the groundwork for what has become an all-too-common playbook for today's politics.

It was launched and led by Leone Baxter-a pioneering woman within the male-dominated political arena. She joined with Clem Whitaker-first as business partners and later in marriage-to chart a new course using oppositional research and media exploitation to advance their client, Republican Frank Merriam. Rather than promoting Merriam's attributes, they focused on smearing his opponent, famed author and progressive Upton Sinclair, by using any means necessary—including a limited relationship with truth.

In that day, no Democrat held elected state office in California. Sinclair had an opportunity to leverage his notoriety and the popularity of Roosevelt's New Deal to turn the tide in a state that had yet to become reliably blue. He wasn't prepared, however, for Baxter and Whitaker. He later would refer to them as the Lie Factory, given the many deceptions they orchestrated on an unsuspecting populace through their political work for decades to come.

In an article about their impact, Will found inspiration for this play, which illuminates today's maddening political narratives through the lens of the past and the art of comedy.

He's also back together with Associate Artistic Director Nick Bowling, who directed Will in our renowned production of The History Boys more than 13 years ago. Theirs is an ideal partnership for this creation, with its 1930s Hollywood screwball comedy style replete with zaniness, panache, and a cast of colorful real-life characters.

We're delighted to welcome you back to our longtime home on Wellington Avenue, as plans to build TimeLine's new home in Uptown charge forward. Thank you for helping us kick off a season that explores the intersection of politics, race, and entertainment through plays set in the 1930s, '40s, and '50s. Still to come are Alice Childress' landmark classic Trouble in Mind and the world premiere of LaDarrion Williams' Boulevard of Bold Dreamseach brimming with humor, poignancy, and empowering insight about our culture today.

We're so glad to be back in the theatre with you! It's thrilling to share these stories, and we look forward to the conversations they will ignite.



Though Leone Baxter and Clem Whitaker's political consulting firm Campaigns. Inc. modernized and mobilized smear tactics and false claims at a whole new scale, there is a long history of using each new form of media to spread misinformation.

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SMEAR CAMPAIGNS AND FAKE NEWS

In ancient Rome, Octavian launched a campaign against Mark Anthony, printing slogans on coins claiming that Anthony didn't have Roman values. Octavian became Emperor.

With the advent of the printing press, written work was easier to produce. Almost immediately, written misinformation would be printed. In 1835, The New York Sun printed a series reportedly from a scientist claiming to find life on the moon. They described bat-like humanoids and unicorns. It may have been intended as satire, but audiences believed it. A group of Yale scientists was fooled, until the paper admitted it was fake. At a penny price, the newspaper needed every purchase-and a sensational story sold.



on the moon. During the 1856 presidential campaign. Col. John C. Fremont was accused of being a Catholic. He published a pamphlet refuting this charge, but the damage

Lithograph printed

by The Sun on

August 18, 1835.

Part of "The Great

Moon Hoax," as it

would be called, this

image depicted life

Similarly, the advent of photography brought manipulated photos. Modern experts believe that Civil War battlefield photographer Alexander Gardner moved the bodies of dead soldiers after the 1862 Battle of Antietam to create a more dramatic photo.

had been done, and he lost the election.

Our own recent history is filled with social media posts. click bait, troll farms, and the new threat of deep fakes.

Even the term "fake news" is fraught. A paper published in Digital Journalism in 2017 defined six types of fake news: news satire (e.g. The Daily Show); news parody (e.g. The Onion); state propaganda; manipulation of photos and videos; material designed by PR teams to look like it comes from news outlets; and news fabrication, which is entirely fictitious and circulates without being tied to a source. Further muddving the waters, the term has been co-opted

by politicians to dismiss any good faith reporting with which they disagree.

THE TIMELINE: **NOTABLE EVENTS OF 1934**

The U.S. unemployment rate for 1934 is calculated at 21.7%.

Unemployment in California is calculated at 29%.

January 1 Alcatraz opens as a federal prison.

Nazi Germany passes the Law for the Prevention of Genetically Diseased Offspring, which ensures the compulsory sterilization of anyone who is believed to have a supposed genetic disorder. As a result, more than 400,000 people will be sterilized against their will.

January 15 The Dillinger Gang steals \$20,000 from First National Bank in East Chicago, Indiana.

January 30 The Gold Reserve Act transfers all monetary gold in the U.S. to the Federal Reserve as part of Roosevelt's controversial gold program.

February 12 General Strike is called in France.

February 22 The film It Happened One Night opens at Radio City Music Hall. It will win five Academy Awards.



Clark Gable and Claudette Colbert in the film classic It Happened One Night

April 7 Mahatma Gandhi suspends his campaign of civil disobedience in India.

April 19 Actress Shirlev Temple appears in her first feature-length film, Stand Up and Cheer!

April 21 A photo taken by London doctor Robert Kenneth Wilson. purporting to be of the Loch Ness Monster, appears in the Daily Mail.

"One of the necessary accompaniments of capitalism in a democracy is political corruption." - Upton Sinclair, The Jungle

In August 1934, writer Upton Sinclair shocked Democrats and much of the nation by winning the Democratic primary for governor of California. He received 436,000 more votes than all the other Democratic candidates combined, and 25,000 more votes than the Republican incumbent, Frank Merriam, received in his primary.

This was shocking because California was solidly Republican. At the time, not a single Democrat held elected state office. Additionally. Sinclair had run for office twice before as a Socialist, and lost. The nation waited to see how this election would turn out.

What had changed in California and the country was the effect of the Great Depression. The unemployment rate in California was 29%. The citizens of California were also concerned about migration from the Plains states, as farm workers moved in search of jobs after losing their farms to the drought and storms of the Dust Bowl. It was within this environment that muckraker and novelist Upton Sinclair introduced his plan to End Poverty in California (EPIC).

The EPIC plan called for the state of California to take over foreclosed factories and farms and put unemployed people to work running them cooperatively. They would have "production for use not for profit." Goods produced in government farms and factories would be bartered.

Sinclair also proposed guaranteed pensions for the elderly, disabled, and widows. The plan also called for the first income tax in California, a progressive tax that would tax the wealthiest citizens at 30%, and a 4% inheritance tax on stock transfers.

How had the Pulitzer Prize-winning Socialist better known for his novels like The Jungle become a Democratic political standout? In part, it was because of grassroots organizing. Sinclair spread the word with his pamphlets, EPIC Times newsletter, and EPIC clubs that met in homes across the state. They worked to add 350,000

new Democrats to the voter rolls. By November, the state had more registered Democrats than registered Republicans. Multiple candidates in California were running on the EPIC platform, and EPIC clubs were popping up in other states.

Nationally, Franklin D, Roosevelt had just been elected in 1932 with his own set of proposals to pull the nation out of the Great Depression. Roosevelt was still early in his term and working hard to get Washington Democrats to support his New Deal. For Republicans, the thought of losing California was intolerable, and so they would deploy dirty tactics on a scale that had not yet been seen.

Newspapers, many owned by William Randolph Hearst, printed anti-Sinclair materials. The thenconservative Los Angeles Times was particularly vitriolic, writing about Sinclair on the cover every day. When visiting New York Times reporter Turner Catledge asked its political editor Kyle Palmer where the listing for an Upton Sinclair rally was, Palmer said, "Forget it, we don't go in for that kind of crap that you have back in New York-of being obliged to print both sides."

Political cartoons depicted Dust Bowl migrants coming to the state seeking a handout because of Sinclair's liberal policies, stoking fears that these outsiders would steal Californians' jobs.

In addition to using the newspapers, Republicans hired Campaigns, Inc., a political consulting company run by Leone Baxter and Clem Whita-



Pictured (left): Upton Sinclair's End Poverty in California (EPIC) Pamphlet Cover; (right) A political cartoon stokes Californians fears about Dust Bowl migration.

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OUTSIDERS TO MOVE IN

ON YOUR JOB?

ker. The two would create the blueprint for modern political consulting, controlling advertising, speech writing, and press releases. They exploited the newest media techniques-billboards across the state, direct-mail marketing on a massive scale-and vastly outspent their competition. And they pushed misinformation by using quotes from Sinclair's novels to smear the candidate and create confusion about his true political beliefs.

"Sure, those quotations were irrelevant, but we had one objective: to keep him (Sinclair) from becoming Governor."

The final blow came from Hollywood studio heads, who were jittery about unionization. The Screen Writers Guild had organized in 1933, and Sinclair was pro-union. MGM's Louis B. Mayer took money from employee paychecks to fund a series of newsreels in which actors were hired to comment on the candidates. In one newsreel, playing on Californians' fears about Dust Bowl migrants, actors depicted vagrants getting off freight trains and asking where the jobs were. These aired before films, and audiences thought they were genuine news.

While Sinclair did not win the election, candidates running on the EPIC platform did win state elections. The 1938 governor's race would go to Democratic State Senator Culbert Olson, who had been a supporter of the EPIC plan. Additionally, parts of the EPIC plan would influence the New Deal.

April 28 President Franklin D. Roosevelt signs the Homeowners Refinancing Act, which aims to help those in danger of losing their homes during the Great Depression.

May 12 Jazz musician and composer Duke Ellington's song "Cocktails for Two" hits number one.

May 23 Bonnie and Clyde are shot and killed in an ambush by officers near Sailes, Louisiana.

May 10 A massive dust storm hits Texas, Oklahoma, Arkansas, Kansas, and Colorado, blowing away an estimated 300 million tons of topsoilan event that will lead to Dust Bowl migration to California.



Heavy black clouds of dust rising over the Texas Panhandle. (Arthur Rothstein, 1936, Library of Congress)

May 11 A massive dust cloud two miles high travels from the Great Plains states and storms 2,000 miles to the East Coast, blotting out monuments such as the Statue of Liberty and the U.S. Capitol.

June 2 Governor James Rolph is pronounced dead of heart failure and Lt. Governor Frank Merriam is sworn in as governor of California.

June 6 Roosevelt signs the Securities and Exchange Act, enacting the first regulation of financial markets.

June 9 Donald Duck first appears in The Wise Little Hen.

June 30 "Night of the Long Knives" begins, during which Adolf Hitler orders a series of at least 85 political executions, removing opponents and consolidating power. German courts and Cabinet support him.

THE CANDIDATES

Longtime Republican **Frank Merriam** became governor of California on June 2, 1934, upon the death of Gov. James Rolph. After defeating Upton Sinclair, he served as Governor until 1939, losing to Culbert Olson.

George Hatfield was a U.S. Attorney before running as the Republican candidate for Lt. Governor alongside Merriam in 1934. He later served as a California State Senator.

Best known as a muckraker, novelist, and activist, **Upton Sinclair** ran for California office twice as a Socialist. In 1934 he won the Democratic primary for governor by a surprise landslide. His End Poverty in California (EPIC) plan called for many progressive measures, winning him working class voters and attracting new registered Democrats, while alarming Republicans and mainstream Democrats.

Before running for Lt. Governor of California alongside Sinclair, **Sheridan Downey** was a lawyer. He was moderate but supported the EPIC plan. They would run as "Uppie and Downey" with a popular theme song.

THE CONSULTANTS

Leone Baxter worked as a journalist and carnival promoter before she worked on a referendum campaign for Sheridan Downey, where she met Clem Whitaker. The two formed Campaigns, Inc. and worked as political consultants on some of the biggest Republican races and causes, including Richard Nixon's Senate race and the defeat of proposals for national health insurance. She and Baxter married in 1938. She died in 2001, age 95.



Leone Baxter and Clem Whitaker, photographed together in the early 1960s. (George Skadding, Time Life Pictures)

Clem Whitaker worked in newspapers and advertising before joining the referendum campaign for family friend Sheridan Downey where he met Baxter. In addition to their company Campaigns, Inc., Clem had a separate company that distributed articles to local newspapers. He'd often circulate articles that directly supported the campaigns on which he worked. He divorced his first wife to marry Baxter and the two ran Campaigns, Inc. together until his death in 1961.

THE STARS

In 1934, **Charlie Chaplin** was one of the most famous people in the world due to his success in silent films, particularly those featuring his character, "The Little Tramp." Though he was one of the best paid actors in Hollywood, he was an ardent socialist.



Charlie Chaplin, Mary Pickford, and Douglas Fairbanks.

Mary Pickford was one of the earliest film stars. By the 1910s and 1920s she was known as "America's Sweetheart" based on the ingenues and spunky adolescents she portrayed. An unusually powerful woman in Hollywood, in 1919 she founded United Artists with her husband Douglas Fairbanks, Charlie Chaplin, and D.W. Griffiths. **Douglas Fairbanks** was an early silent film star, director, and producer. He is known for his romantic leading roles in pictures like *The Thief of Baghdad*, *Robin Hood* and *The Mark of Zorro*. He and Pickford were Hollywood royalty, holding lavish parties at their home known as "Pickfair." They would later separate amid rumors of affairs on both sides.

THE FIRST COUPLE



Franklin and Eleanor Roosevelt.

Franklin Delano Roosevelt was the 32nd president of the United States, winning a record four elections and serving 1933-1945. He is remembered for his progressive

measures known as the New Deal, which helped

bring the U.S. out of the Great Depression, and for his leadership during World War II.

Roosevelt's wife **Eleanor Roosevelt** reshaped the role of the First Lady, giving many speeches and working toward her own causes. She was the first person to invite Black Americans to the White House such as singer Marian Anderson, and would serve on the U.N. Commission on Human Rights.

THE POWER BROKERS

Louis B. Mayer was the powerful co-founder of the movie studio Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer. Vehemently anti-union, he was concerned when Sinclair won the primary. He took money from his employees' paychecks to fund newsreels that featured actors



Louis B. Mayer

pretending to be people on the street saying they didn't trust Sinclair.

In 1934, **Kyle Palmer** was the political editor of the deeply conservative *Los Angeles Times*. Considered a political kingmaker, he was known as the "Little Governor." He featured out of context quotes from Sinclair on the front page and was also moonlighting as a speechwriter for the Merriam campaign.

July 1 The Brookfield Zoo opens in Chicago, Illinois.

July 4 Nobel Prize winner Marie Curie, the Polish-French scientist who discovered radium, dies at age 66.

July 5 On what will become known as "Bloody Thursday," many are injured and two striking longshoremen are killed by police when employers try to open the port of San Francisco. Governor Merriam calls out the National Guard to stop striking workers.



Frank Merriam, 28th Governor of California. (Los Angeles Times, OpenUCLA Collections)

July 22 John Dillinger is shot by FBI agents as he leaves the Biograph Theater in Chicago, Illinois.

August 19 Adolf Hitler abolishes the presidency and declares himself the Führer of Germany.

August 28 Upton Sinclair wins the California Democratic primary for governor in a landslide.

September 4 Sinclair meets with President Roosevelt in Hyde Park. Although only scheduled to speak for one hour, they talk for two.

September 24 Babe Ruth bids farewell to the New York Yankees.

October 8 Bruno Hauptmann is indicted for the 1932 murder of aviator Charles Lindbergh's son.

October 16 During the Chinese Civil War, the Long March—a military retreat by the Chinese Red Army begins. It will last more than a year and lead to the rise of Mao Zedong.

November 6 Frank Merriam defeats Upton Sinclair with 48% of the vote vs. Sinclair's 37%. Raymond Haight of the Commonwealth-Progressive party receives 13%.



The week before rehearsals got started, dramaturg Maren Robinson (MR) sat down with playwright Will Allan (WA) to talk about *Campaigns, Inc.*

(MR) Chicago audiences were first introduced to you 13 years ago as Scripps in TimeLine's production of *The History Boys*. A lot has happened since then! When did you get interested in playwriting?

(WA) I've always had an interest in the writing of things. People will tell you I'm a script-first actor. Script analysis has always been my favorite part of doing plays—that first week of rehearsal is my candy. Studying in Moscow, where they live and die by the script, also got me into it.

There's something really cool about how solitary it is. I like being alone, in my own world. But I also love how it becomes a very inclusive process with other creators.

Ultimately, that's what made me decide that I'd like to keep doing this. Getting to live in my own world, and then getting to share that world with other people and hearing these really beautiful and clever and creative ideas from other artists that's what really made me fall in love with it.

(**MR**) Specifically with *Campaigns, Inc.*, what inspired you to write this play?

(WA) Around 2012, a good friend of mine, Greg Kennedy, sent me this article from *The New Yorker* called "The Lie Factory" with a little note that said, "This could be a cool idea for a play."

One thing I get excited about—and this is probably from being a TimeLine baby—is historical people we don't know much about, but who drastically changed the landscape of history. There's not a ton of people in that category, but there's also a lot more than people think.

When we did a first public reading at TimeLine, we asked if anyone had heard of Leone Baxter and Clem Whitaker, and one person in the entire audience knew who they were.

So whether you agree with what the company Campaigns, Inc. did, or not—which I do not—I have an unending amount of respect for Leone, as well as Clem. I think they changed politics forever, but we don't know their names. That is what made me want to write *Campaigns, Inc.*

(MR) Yes, your respect for Leone is very palpable in the play. Could you talk about how you imagine audiences will respond to this fascinating woman who you sort of want to root for, but also....

(WA) Yeah, it's been fascinating to see how people respond to Leone, because she broke through one of the hardest ceilings to break through—male-dominated politics in 1934. Dominated is actually too gentle a word, because women were just not really allowed to play ball. I mean, voting rights were given to women in 1920—only 14 years before the start of this play.

Alex Weisman (from left), Will Allan, and Joel Gross in a publicity photo for TimeLine's The History Boys, 2009.



"They changed politics forever, but we don't know their names."

So what she did is so unbelievably remarkable that you can't help but love her brilliance and her creativity, until you get to the point where your own feelings about what she's doing start coming in.

I want audiences to leave very conflicted about these main characters. It should not be one where you get to the end and say, "they're bad." It should not be one where you get to the end and say, "wow, they're good." It should be one where you get to the end and say, "I don't know how to feel about them."

(MR) This play was originally scheduled to be performed before the pandemic and you've had this weird time—this blank time—to revise it before starting rehearsal. Have you made changes in response to the pandemic, or do you feel like things just resonate in a different way now?

(WA) Honestly, the pandemic made me want to make it even funnier. Because these years have been so strange and uncertain and often terrible an insurrection, the "big lie"—I wanted to make sure that when people come back to the theatre, they're going to laugh and they're going to be able to release a little bit of tension.

Even though the play doesn't necessarily joke about things that shouldn't be funny, it does help to heighten it a bit, to get people laughing and then to get them questioning by the end of the night if they should have been laughing. That's the goal.

(MR) I love you bringing up the "big lie." Fake news is in the parlance right now, and it's not going away anytime soon. What surprised you most about discovering that these same tactics were used back in 1934? Are there lessons for our current moment?

(WA) Absolutely. What's so impressive about Campaigns, Inc., the company, is the magnitude of the smear campaign that they created. There had been prior smear campaigns, of course, but nothing on the scale they did it. That is so tied into what we deal with today with social media, not knowing



Upton Sinclair stands before a crowd during the 1934 campaign.

November 20 Lillian Hellman's play *The Children's Hour* premieres.

November 21 Cole Porter's musical *Anything Goes* premieres in New York City; it will run for 420 performances.

November 27 "Baby Face" Nelson, a famed bank robber and associate of Dillinger, dies in a shoot-out with the FBI in Barrington, Illinois.

December 1 First Secretary of Leningrad Sergei Kirov is assassinated, an event that will give Soviet General Secretary Joseph Stalin a pretext to begin the Great Purge in 1936.

BACKSTORY: THE CREDITS

Dramaturgy & Research by Maren Robinson with contributions by Katie Jacobsen

Written by Maren Robinson *with contributions by* PJ Powers *and* Lara Goetsch

Editing and Graphic Design by Lara Goetsch

Campaigns, Inc. promotional image design by Michal Janicki, featuring photography by Joe Mazza / brave lux inc.

Backstory is published to accompany each production

Our Mission: TimeLine Theatre presents stories inspired by history that connect with today's social and political issues.

Our collaborative organization produces provocative theatre and educational programs that engage, entertain and enlighten. who's telling the truth, just believing whatever gets to your eyes.

There are algorithms that are destroying this country. People get on Facebook and post things that are 100% not true, but they can get them in front of 100 million eyes. Then people start believing it because it's that onslaught of false information that sways people.

Basically, Leone and Clem invented the first political campaigning algorithms. They said, "If we get something in front of every face in California, they're going to believe it." So they did the biggest direct mail campaign in history, the biggest billboard campaign in history. They got into the reels that played before movies. They decided, we're going to do that, but we're going to lie.

The thing I was shocked by most is how much of their style and how many of their tactics are still used. They legitimately paved the road for what we see on social media today.

(MR) Would you talk a little bit about what inspired the style of this play?

(WA) I've always been fascinated by old Hollywood and old movies, and the more I read about this campaign, the more absolutely iconic American and Hollywood names popped up.

William Randolph Hearst. Charlie Chaplin. Douglas Fairbanks. Mary Pickford. Will Rogers. Really, anybody who was anybody started to have something to say about this election. That's a very star-studded scenario, so it made sense to bring the golden age of movies to politics for this California story.

I've always been a huge fan of the screwball comedy style—*It*



Playwright Will Allan (foreground) seated next to director Nick Bowling, with cast and production team around the table at the first rehearsal of Campaigns, Inc. in July.

Happened One Night is one of my favorite films. It's heightened. It's not going to sound like a Chicagostyle kitchen sink drama, it's going to sound like those films.

That was always the dream, to give the play that zip and that flash that comes along with old Hollywood.

(MR) What does it mean to have this play come to the stage in Chicago after such a long wait?

(WA) Obviously, Chicago holds a huge part of my heart—my entire career is owed to Chicago and specifically, to TimeLine.

I honestly never knew this play would ever be done anywhere, but the fact that it's going to be done at TimeLine is number one. Honestly, if people said, "Hey, this play can go straight to New York or it can go to TimeLine," I'm going to choose TimeLine.

If you had told me as I stepped out on stage in my little prep student's suit in 2009, with my mediocre northern English accent, that I would have my own play premiering here, I would have told you, "You're bloody bonkers." Because TimeLine is really what made me fall in love with history and history plays.

There was that point in 2020 when we were all sitting around thinking theatre is never going to happen. So it's a dream. I'm sure it won't hit me until I get in the room and I'm going to have a ton of anxiety, but it's going to be the good kind.

(MR) Do you have other projects in the works that we should know about?

(WA) Yes, I do—but for now I'll leave it up to the imagination on what that could be. But also know that I'm not so booked that you can't call and inquire.

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Even a pandemic can't deter TimeLine's progress toward establishing the first home of our own. Located at 5035 N. Broadway Avenue (near the corner of Broadway and Argyle) in Chicago's Uptown neighborhood, we're creating a space to grow and innovate. It's time to uplift everything that you love about TimeLine while supporting new artistic possibilities. Read more about our new home in the *Campaigns, Inc.* program book or via the webpage below!

To learn more about ways you can support, please contact Chelsea Smith, Director of Major Gifts, at *chelsea@timelinetheatre.com* or 773.281.8463 x16.

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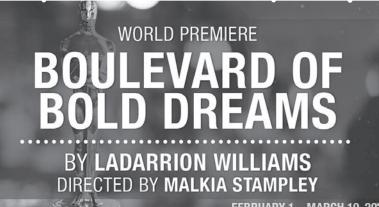
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A groundbreaking backstage satire of egos and attitudes that explores the complex and often emotional way people talk about race.

This landmark play—a "masterpiece of astonishing power" (*New York Magazine*)—recently enjoyed an acclaimed Broadway production nominated for four 2022 Tony Awards, including Best Revival of a Play.



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Set on the night in 1940 that Hattie McDaniel made history at the Oscars, a story of dreamers striving to overcome obstacles in Hollywood.

TimeLine presents the world premiere of this exciting play about race, class, gender, and the ever-changing landscape of the entertainment industry, from a Los Angeles-based playwright new to Chicago.

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