



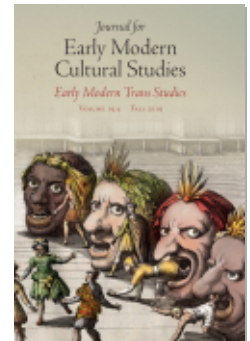
PROJECT MUSE®

Queer Residue: Boy Actors' Adult Careers in Early Modern England

Simone Chess

Journal for Early Modern Cultural Studies, Volume 19, Number 4, Fall 2019,
pp. 242-264 (Article)

Published by University of Pennsylvania Press



➔ For additional information about this article

<https://muse.jhu.edu/article/765325>

Queer Residue:

Boy Actors' Adult Careers in Early Modern England

SIMONE CHESS

ABSTRACT

Queerness, especially in performance, can be covert, unwritten, ephemeral. And yet it is legible to certain audiences and readers, some of the time. Drawing on the concepts of the ephemera and residue of queer and camp performance articulated by José Muñoz, this essay argues that certain boy actors who performed important female roles on the early modern stage later carried a “queer residue” with them into their adult careers, often performing trans feminine, androgynous, or otherwise queer “men’s” roles that carried their gendered performance history into new plays. Young boy actors have long been at the center of discussions about male-male attraction and androgyny, but evidence from adult casting shows that some boy actors in early modern England were especially nonbinary, and that they did not always grow out of these trans genders. Using the careers of Richard Sharpe, Richard Robinson, and Edward Kynaston as case studies, this essay finds evidence that their on- and off-stage personas informed the queer performances they staged throughout their careers. More than just claiming any particular individuals as trans ancestors, these case studies offer a method for reading theater history with a deeper recognition of the lingering ephemeral residue of queer personas, performances, and pleasures that inform that history.



In his 1996 essay “Ephemera as Evidence: Introductory Notes to Queer Acts,” José Esteban Muñoz argues:

Queerness is often transmitted covertly. This has everything to do with the fact that leaving too much of a trace has often meant that the queer subject has left herself open for attack. Instead of being clearly available as visible evidence, queerness has instead existed as innuendo, gossip, fleeting

moments, and performances that are meant to be interacted with by those within its epistemological sphere—while evaporating at the touch of those who would eliminate queer possibility. (6)

Muñoz further claims that this ephemeral evidence of queerness is “linked to alternate modes of textuality and narrativity like memory and performance: it is all of those things that remain after a performance, a kind of evidence of what has transpired but certainly not the thing itself. It does not rest on epistemological foundations but is instead interested in following traces, glimmers, residues, and specks of things” (10). Subcultures do not always leave archives, and the affects and coded ways of being that produce queer feelings (you know them when you see them) are rarely documented.

So, how can we locate and identify these residues of queer and trans performances in texts, on stage or in historical lives? As the essays in this collection show, work in early modern trans studies has begun to recognize and name trans and nonbinary residues in the history of science and across literary and dramatic representations. My own contribution is a hypothesis about another place we might look to find the glimmers of trans history, particularly the history of trans feminine lives: in the careers and reputations of certain boy actors—the best ones—who made their reputations playing women but then continued to be cast in queer and gender-variant ways well after they transitioned to playing adult male roles.¹ To this end, I offer three test cases: the careers of actors Richard Sharpe, Richard Robinson, and Edward Kynaston.² In each case—with varying degrees of subtlety—historical ephemera preserve the faint (and not so faint) residue of queer lives lived and nonbinary genders staged and carried beyond the stage.³

In identifying trans residues in the lives of these historical figures, the methods and intentions in these pages are less in the mode of direct recovery—what Andrea Long Chu and Emmett Harsin Drager call the “long-standing intellectual move in which the trans person, just through the act of existing, becomes a kind of living incubator for *other people’s* theories of gender” (110)—and more toward the model that Blake Gutt calls “transgender anamorphosis,” the action of reading premodern texts from trans perspectives, identities, and experiences that can “uncover productive resonances with modern experience” (189). In other words, while it can be meaningful and important to seek ancestors in the archives, we cannot know, and this essay will not prove, that Richard Sharpe, Richard Robinson, and Edward Kynaston were, or even could

have been trans. We cannot “recover” them through the fragments of evidence about their gendered lives. Instead, the residue of their lives, acting roles, and reputations is valuable less because it might add these humans to our emerging canon of historical trans people and more because it sparks in us the pleasure of recognition, identification, and empathy across time, pleasures that are specific to our own historical place and our own identifications, orientations, and desires. As Roberta Barker puts it, “The contemporary afterlife of the boy-actress may have more to teach us about the pressures and desires of our own era than about the realities of the Shakespearean stage” (“Not One Thing Exactly” 461).

How Residue Works

In some exceptionally rare instances, the literal residue of queer and trans lives makes it into the archive. Take, for example, a piece of blotting paper stained by rouge, collected by the police in 1938 as official evidence of apparent homosexuality, and now preserved at the UK National Archive.⁴ This blotted makeup was collected by force from the powdered face of a forty-four-year-old waiter named William Knox, who was arrested for soliciting men and sentenced to two years imprisonment based upon this slight trace of evidence. The arresting officers saw Knox’s “highly colored” face and “his lips red” as proof of queer activities and proclivities. According to Carianne Witworth, “As it was difficult to witness or obtain evidence to prove importuning or soliciting, or prosecute a venue under the ‘Disorderly Houses Act,’ officers looked for things they felt signified the likelihood to undertake same-sex sexual acts: particular gestures, comments, items of clothing or products.” The physical residue of Knox’s made-up face captures so much about Knox’s gender, historical moment, context, *geist*. Imagine these officers, resorting to a face blot to produce tangible proof of the unprovable feeling that Knox just seems too queer, too feminine, too gender transgressive to be legally allowed to stand in Piccadilly. Recognize the violence and humiliation conveyed by these streaks of powder, how it must have felt for Knox when they were collected and filed. But also recognize the queer *femme* pride and resilience recorded in this residue and similar ephemera, residue of a whole community of rouged trans feminine folks caught made up and dancing, powdered and disorderly.

For most historical moments of queerness, and especially for moments that we might categorize as trans or gender nonbinary, though, we do not have

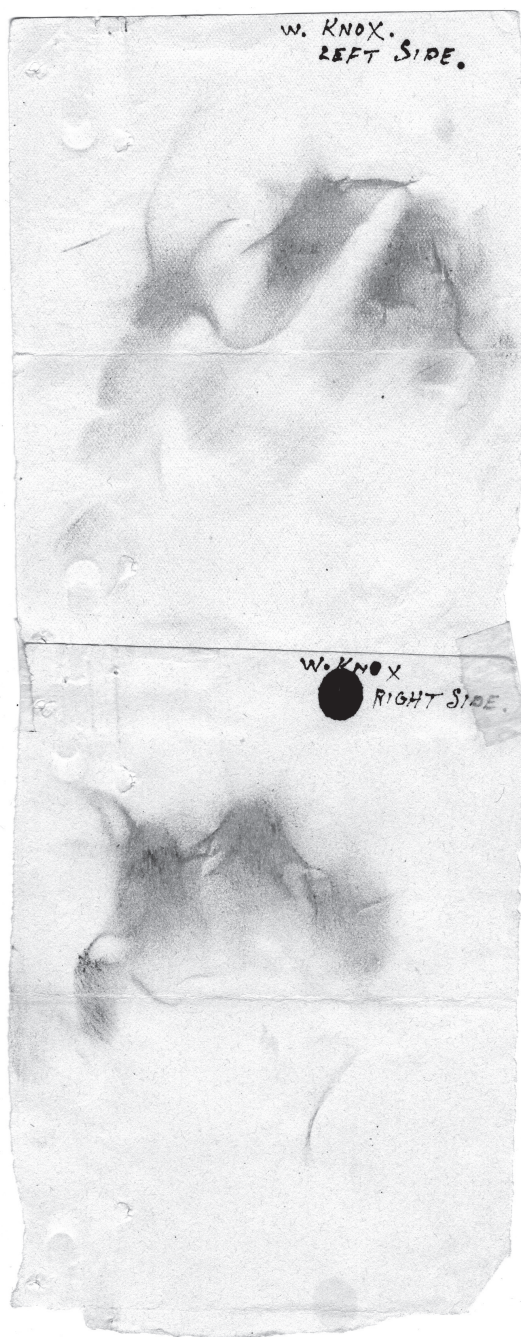


Fig. 1: Make-up traces collected by police, 1938 (CRIM 1/1041). By permission of the UK National Archive.

anything quite so tangible. We lack material evidence of boy actors' makeup and clothes, and, more broadly, of most of their biographies. But while we do not have any direct physical evidence of the queer adult lives of boy actors, as we do of William Knox's painted face, there is nevertheless other residual evidence that might situate them in trans history. In *Cruising Utopia*, Muñoz situates queer residue not in material effects like Knox's blotted make-up but in performative affects, describing how performer Kevin Aviance uses "fabulous and strange gestures" to connote both "the worlds of queer suffering" and "the pleasures of being swish and queeny" (79). Muñoz concludes:

For queers, the gesture and its aftermath, the ephemeral trace, matter more than many traditional modes of evidencing lives and politics. The hermeneutics of residue on which I have called are calibrated to read Aviance's gestures and know these moves as vast storehouses of queer history and futurity. We also must understand that after the gesture expires, its materiality has transformed into ephemera that are utterly necessary. (81)

This is how it was for early modern boy actors, even once they were adults, I think. The queerly gendered aspects of their performances were not necessarily recorded in plays' dialogue, but coded in the actors' gestures, voices, and bearing, and documented, if at all, in ephemera like cast lists and stage directions and performance reviews—elements of theatrical history that have rarely been put to queer use. When we calibrate our attention toward these ephemera, we allow for queer and trans sparks of recognition and familiarity. Clues in the residue show that there was just something queer about the affects of these actors, in the ways they moved their bodies, used their voices, wore their clothes. This type of queerness, more about gender than about desire or sexual practice, allows us to view them from specifically trans perspectives, such that the residue of boys' acting careers changes the ways we think about their adult careers and, more broadly, their gendered ways of being.

That boy actors played female roles on the early modern stage is perhaps one of the best-known facts about Renaissance theater; and the fact of these boy actors (although not necessarily the study of any individual actor) has been at the center of academic discourses of early modern gender and sexuality. From a literary-historical perspective, information that we have about which roles were played by boy actors, and when they switched to adult roles, has been helpful in dating plays and performances. As Michael Shapiro and others

show, apprenticeships for boy actors were coveted, especially “After the mid-1590s, when the more successful troupes found permanent venues in London, [when] apprenticeships might have become readily available, more stable, and perhaps more attractive, with [a] concomitant rise in the quality of female impersonation” (33). We know that these actors trained for at least seven or more years, with some not moving on to adult roles until as late as nineteen; this time for training and potential for maturing on the job meant that many boy actors were highly skilled at playing female roles in a serious way. But attention is rarely paid to what happened when those boy actors grew up, completed their apprenticeships, and became adult members of “men’s” companies who were assigned male roles.

It is generally assumed that boy actors had queer affects primarily because they were boys, and boyhood was understood as inherently androgynous and gender fluid—Will Fisher argues that boy actors playing adult men would “have been as much ‘in drag’” (89) (using prosthetic beards, artificial postures and movements, and strategic costuming) as those playing adult women, and Lucy Munro emphasizes the ways in which “writing for actors at the verge of puberty often seems to have encouraged dramatists to explore issues relating to gender identity,” whereas if the same roles were played by adult companies the queer/trans characters would “take on a different tone—perhaps more comic, perhaps more bleak—in the context of a theatrical culture in which adult men rarely, if ever, performed female roles” (217–18). According to this logic, all boy actors would grow out of their androgyny when they took on adult roles. But queer instinct tells us that even though the formal record shows that boy actors grew up to play men, when we look closely at some of the most famous boy actors who originated important female roles, it is clear that at least some of them carried a queer residue into their adult roles, implicitly or explicitly performing feminine, androgynous, or otherwise queer roles that carried the actors’ personal and performance history into new plays. Indeed, it is possible that the very best boy actors were never boys in the sense of being cis-male, and that they therefore never grew up into normative adult manhood.⁵

Richard Sharpe

My first case study is of the actor Richard Sharpe, a member of the King’s Men who, as a boy actor, played hefty and significant roles like the Duchess in

John Webster's *The Duchess of Malfi*. According to a 1623 cast list, Sharpe originated the role in 1614 at twelve years of age, though this detail has been debated; they certainly played the Duchess at nineteen, in 1621.⁶ Sharpe also played the princess Quisara in John Fletcher's *The Island Princess*, which was performed around that same time. These two roles, only a portion of those that Sharpe played, required maturity, gravitas, and—for the success of the plays—believability in the boy's performance of complicated femininity. These are some of the best roles in early modern drama, not just some of the best female roles. In their cross-race, cross-religion, cross-gender performance as "the fair and great Quisara," Sharpe had to be convincing as a woman worth giving up Christianity for, and then they had to perform the princess's own passionate conversion, with crowd-pleasing, quotable lines that drew attention to their feminized, virgin-female body: "Keep on your way; a virgin will assist ye,/ A virgin won by your fair constancy,/ And glorying that she is won so, will die by ye"(5.2). The Quisara role especially called upon its actor to be skilled in performing nuanced femininities, as the character's gender is informed by her race, with her "fairness" contingent upon (and constitutive of) her appeal to her white European suitor. In *The Duchess of Malfi*, Sharpe may have been the first actor to perform the powerful line "I am Duchess of Malfi still" (4.2.134) in a role that would also have required them to play not only alluring widowhood but also pregnancy and insanity.

These two roles alone would have made Richard Sharpe's reputation and set expectations about the kind of actor they might be when they became a sharer in the company in about 1624. But, while it is true that Sharpe successfully transitioned into adult roles, especially age-appropriate ones as young (often tragic) lovers, they did not become a typical leading man and instead frequently played roles in which heteronormative marriage and sex plots are frustrated or misdirected. In Philip Massinger's *The Roman Actor*, they played the freed slave Parthenius, who woos a married woman, Domita. But it is later revealed that Parthenius has seduced her on behalf of another man, his former master Domitian. In Lodowick Carlell's *The Deserving Favorite*, around 1629, Sharpe played Lysander, a lover who spends a majority of the play pining and fighting for Clarinda, whom he is forbidden to marry. At the end of the play, rather than a traditional romance ending where he might overcome the barriers preventing his love and marry Clarinda, Lysander learns that Clarinda is actually his sister. In addition to this subversion of the heterosexual

marriage plot, the play features strong homoerotic bonds between the sister-love, Clarinda, and the woman Lysander marries instead, Cleonara.⁷

Finally, in John Clavell's *The Soddered Citizen*, Sharpe played Wittipol, a male character who struggles to achieve, and is ultimately driven to insanity by, heterosexual romantic goals. Wittworth is described as a "prettie fellowe," who, after being tricked into thinking that his love, Modestina, will not have him, becomes overwrought with passion (2.1.38). The doctor explains to her that Wittworth is so lovesick that

Hee knows not that hee lives, his feeble sence
 Remayninge (that scarce shewes it) is misled,
 And soe imperiously, that hee believes,
 Hee dyed longe since. (3.10.45–8)

In the end, Modestina and the doctor attempt to cure Wittipol by tricking him into believing that he is dead and that they are characters in hell. But even with this dramatic effort toward a cure that enables him to play the male romantic lead in a heterosexual marriage at the play's conclusion, Sharpe's character sleeps through the conclusion. When Modestina, at long last, concedes to marry Wittipol, he remains in a drugged stupor; his doctor consents to the marriage on his behalf, announcing, "His sylence gives consent, nowe hee seemes dead" (4.6.100). Thus, the actor who, as a woman, was cast as noble and powerful (even, as the Duchess, speaking beyond death through an echo), is cast as a man in unconsummated romantic roles, ones in which—for a variety of reasons—a conclusion by way of marital reproductive heterosexuality is disrupted.

There is enough in a career like Sharpe's to argue, based on the parts they played alone, that Richard Sharpe, the person and the performer, had a non-binary affect that prevented them from making a full transition from a woman to a typical leading man. It seems possible that the queer residue of their extreme success as a woman means that their male parts are typified by effeminacy, romantic mismanagement, and nonnormative sexuality.⁸ On the other hand, this method of reconstructing an actor's queer reputation through a narrative of their known roles leaves many gaps—indeed, Renaissance drama has plenty of androgynous characters, and plenty of romances do not end in reproductive marriage, so these particular roles might not have been specific

to Sharpe and Sharpe's gender; and there are plenty of roles that Sharpe may have played for which we have no record, perhaps in part because they were unremarkable and not particularly queer. Such exceptions are inherent to the method of trying to prove a queer feeling through ephemeral evidence, but they need not undermine the project. The faint and spotty evidence is enough to allow for the possibility a queer gender sparking recognition across time, even if that gender (like all genders) evades formal record-keeping and classification. Still, even as I want to defend a method of not-always-substantiated queer knowledge,⁹ I want to showcase two additional cases in which the residue of queer and trans performance is more tangible and better documented, as it was in the records of Richard Robinson and Edward Kynaston.

Richard Robinson

In 1616, the actor Richard Robinson, a long-time member of the King's Men, made a self-referential cameo appearance in the Blackfriars' debut of Ben Jonson's *The Devil is an Ass*. In the play, Jonson creates a circumstance in which a male character, Wittipol, must crossdress to play the role of an enticing Spanish Lady. Jonson wrote the crossdressing role—and really, the crossdressing plot—specifically for Robinson, an actor known for their female roles as a boy who was then transitioning into adult male performance.¹⁰ When, in the play, the schemer Merecraft is in need of a man to crossdress, the character Engine recommends real-life Richard Robinson, the actor, for the role. Tellingly, instead of describing how well Robinson had played female roles in the theater, Engine describes a more recent event in which real-life adult Robinson was crossdressing off stage. He shares that he has knowledge of “Dick Robinson/ A very pretty Fellow,” who “comes often/ To a gentleman's chamber, a friend's of mine.” Engine depicts a dinner party, the “merriest supper” where “Dick Robinson/ Dressed like a lawyer's wife,” and praises his crossgender dinner antics:

to see him behave it;
And lay the law, and carve, and drink unto 'em;
And then talk bawdy, and send frolicks! O!
It would have burst your buttons, or not left you
A seam. (2.8.64–74)

Clearly, though Robinson is no longer a boy actor, and they are playing a male role in the very play that is describing them, their personal and professional “brand” remains queer. Merecraft calls them an “ingenius youth,” and Merecraft adds that Robinson “dresses himself, the best! Beyond/ Forty o’your very Ladies.” In this scene, Jonson indulges in pure staged *gossip* about Robinson, emphasizing that, rather than being costumed or scripted, Robinson’s out-in-the-world, better-than-the-cis-ladies, gender is of his own ingenious invention and self-styling.¹¹

Having set the stage by describing the veracity of the adult actor Robinson’s cross-gender performances in real life, Jonson completes the joke by having the actor’s male character, Wittipol, now “undertake’t himself” by stepping in to play the Spanish Lady in Robinson’s place. In the moment you see here, where Wittipol and Engine are convincing Merecraft that Wittipol is up for the job of dressing as the Spanish Lady in a manner reminiscent of the real Robinson, the scene’s humor relies upon the audience understanding that they are watching Robinson playing the role, so that when Merecraft thinks Wittipol is too tall to pass for female, Engine can say, “And Robinson’s as tall as he [...] every jot” (3.4.14–15).¹² Robinson’s famous audacity as a nonbinary trans feminine character in life animates the scene in which their character assumes a gender transgressive role on stage. If aspects of Robinson’s maleness, like their height or even their age, might be perceived as barriers to their femininity in life, the play vouches for their wit and fashion, which can apparently more than compensate for their assigned gender.

Well before Robinson was making queer or trans cameos as an adult actor, we have evidence that they were exceptional among boy actors as a performer of femininity.¹³ *The Second Maiden’s Tragedy*, staged by the King’s Men in 1611, offered a triumphant role for Robinson as a boy actor, requiring them to play both the lady in life, the lady’s body in death, and the lady’s ghost. The manuscript stage directions for the play alert us to Robinson’s role with a note “Enter Ladye Rich Robinson.”

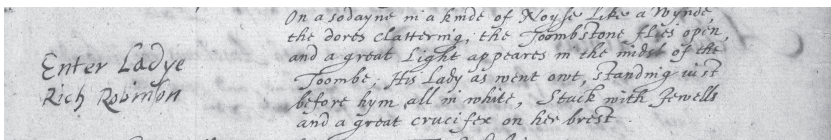


Fig. 2: “Enter Ladye Rich Robinson” notation. Lansdowne MS 807. By permission of the British Library.

While the stage direction is meant to clarify some trickiness in the scene—Robinson is to play the lady's ghost even as the lady's body remains, possibly as a dummy, separately on stage—the direction also demonstrates that, as early as 1611, Robinson was already developing their reputation as a lady. Because the Lady has no name of her own in the play, the writer of this direction elides the player with the part, making them "the Lady Rich Robinson," so that the note complicates Robinson's gender even as it attempts to clarify the situation on stage. In fact, the Lady's first line in the play refers to her clothing and appearance. She says, "I am not to be altered. I have a mind/ That must be shifted ere I cast off these" (1.1.123–24). Though the line refers to the fact that the Lady is dressed in black against the wishes of her suitor the Tyrant, the sentiment would have been powerful coming from the Lady Rich Robinson, whose mind, it seems, had not shifted to casting off women's clothes.

The role of the Lady is a rich part from the beginning of the play, with lush speeches celebrating female virtue and chastity. At the climax of the play, in the third act, she begs her true love, Govianus, to kill her so that she will not be raped by the Tyrant, calling herself "that treasure/ dangerous to him that keeps it" (3.1.76–7) and finally stabbing herself, telling her sword that it is in the "service of a resolute lady" (3.1.159). But the role called on the actor's skill even more specifically in the play's falling action, when the villain, Tyrant, disinters the lady's body and, propping it up on stage, admires it, speaks to it, dresses and paints it, and prepares to have sex with it. Though it is unclear at which parts of the play Robinson played the body, it is likely that their body was, at least for a while, staged and blazoned as an objectified female corpse.¹⁴ As Carol Thomas Neely puts it, "Theatre audience and reader alike are amazed by the rare appearance of a female ghost, especially one so recently a corpse. They are encouraged to attend to the skill of the boy actor who plays a Lady in black, then her corpse in white, then her identical Spirit in quick succession" (310). The necrophiliac Tyrant calls her a "blessed object," and describes her as "only pale, the colour of the court,/ And most attractive; mistresses most strive for't/ And their lascivious servants best affect it" (4.3.59–66). Later, even the stage directions indulge in detailed descriptions of the lady's (and thus Robinson's) feminine corpse:

They bring her body in a chair, dressed up in black velvet which sets out the paleness of her hands and face, and a fair chain of pearl 'cross her

breast, and the crucifix above it He [the Tyrant] stands silent awhile, letting the music play, beckoning the Solidiers that bring her in to make obeisance to her, and he himself makes a low honor to the body and kisses the hand. (5.2, 244)¹⁵

This grotesque scene warrants quoting at length because it cements Robinson's capacity and ability at playing female roles: while descriptions of boy actors' strategies for playing women frequently focus on their voices and movements, Robinson uses neither to play the Lady after death. Instead, the performance depends upon Robinson's queer body, conveying female beauty even as it is motionless and exposed on the stage. From one short stage direction, we have the residue of a trans logic: Robinson is a lady, then Robinson's body is a lady's body, full stop. The combined evidence of Robinson's real-life feminine presentation and staged feminine presentation is enough for us to count Robinson as a woman—albeit one with boy-actor experience.

At the same time, following readings of boy actor's performances as a kind of drag, an additional way to interpret the ephemeral fact of Richard Robinson playing the Lady's body is through drag discourses.¹⁶ Robinson's role is in conversation with drag culture subcategories of "realness" or being a "body queen" (a category Ru-Paul calls "Body-ody-ody"). In other words, there is a special category of femme-gender performance that depends on the performer's will and ability to convey femininity not through gesture or voice or movement, but through costume, makeup, and the body itself—in this case, still but admired on the stage.¹⁷ In the instance of Richard Robinson playing the Lady, drag makeup—the tool of transition—is weaponized, with the lover Govianus disguising himself as a face painter who paints the Lady's lips with a poison that kills the Tyrant when he kisses her corpse.¹⁸ In the end, the Lady Richard Robinson is a literal "body queen" when Govianus, now king after the Tyrant's death, places her corpse on the throne and crowns it, reinterring the body as the "queen of silence" (5.2.205).

From the moment Robinson plays the Lady and her body, it is only five years until the self-referential scene in *The Devil is an Ass*. Building on the reputation they made as a lady and a queen, Robinson continued their queer way of being on and off the stage. Further, it is possible that, having played the body queen as a boy, Robinson could have taken on a different role from drag culture as an adult—that of drag mother, training a new generation of boy ladies even while continuing to play queer adult roles himself. In this way, the

trans or nonbinary affects that made Robinson famous might have been transmitted to younger actors through mentorship and gestures of association. For example, about twenty years after *The Second Maiden's Tragedy*, in 1632, Robinson played a different kind of queerly gendered (and queerly named) character, La Castre, in a revival of Fletcher's *The Wild Goose Chase*. Robinson-as-La Castre performed alongside up-and-coming boy actor Stephen Hammerton, who played the Lady Oriana in that same play. While we cannot know with certainty that Robinson played La Castre queerly, or that Hammerton's Oriana might have been modeled on Robinson's way of being a lady, we do know that Hammerton succeeded Robinson as a famously successful leading lady. In his 1699 *Historia Histronica: An Historical Account of the English Stage*, James Wright mentions Hammerton's transition to male roles, marked by his performance as Amintor in a revival of Beaumont and Fletcher's *The Maid's Tragedy*: "Amyntor was played by Stephen Hammerton (who was at first a most noted and beautiful woman- actor, but afterwards he acted with equal grace and applause a young lover's part)" (5). Wright praises Hammerton's capacity in both his male and female roles, but does so by framing of Hammerton as a noted woman-actor. Like Robinson before them, then, Hammerton's reputation as a lady informs his career as a leading man.

Edward Kynaston

It seems fitting to end my discussion with a turn to the figure credited as being the last male leading lady of the Renaissance stage, an actor who played women's roles right up until the post-Restoration moment, when those roles were cast with cisgender female actors, and whose gender on and off the stage was at every turn flexible and evolving. Edward Kynaston was born in 1640, but they were still playing female roles in their early twenties, at the time of the Restoration. In fact, Kynaston spent this period of their career playing both male and female roles: in 1660, they played the female role of Arthiope in the Fletcher/Massinger/Jonson/Chapman co-authored play *The Bloody Brother*, but then played a male role, Otto, in the same play only a few weeks later.¹⁹ Given the close timing of these two performances and the fact that Kynaston was so well-known for his ability to transform for their roles, it seems likely that this casting was meant to attract an audience who wanted to see Kynaston code-switch between female and male performances, and to evaluate how

well they performed not only in comparison to emerging cisgender female actors but also in comparison to their own female performances.

In August 1660, only months after the reopening of the theaters, Samuel Pepys saw Kynaston in the role of the Duke's sister in Fletcher's *The Loyal Subject*. In his diary, Pepys notes that "one Kinaston, a boy, made the loveliest lady that ever I saw in my life, only her voice not very good" (Pepys, "Saturday, 18 August, 1660"). The entry is a trove of queer ephemera: in one sentence, Pepys calls Kynaston a boy and the loveliest lady he has ever seen, and criticizes Kynaston's voice for being too masculine even as he uses feminine pronouns to assign that voice.²⁰ Pepys's entry also records a bit about Kynaston's offstage life, in that Kynaston and another drinker joined Pepys for drinks after the show.²¹ Pepys does not record what Kynaston wore when they went out for drinks after the show, but it is very possible that the actor still wore stage makeup or even costume. According to eighteenth-century actor, theater historian, and gossip Colley Cibber,²² "In a word, Kynaston, at that time was so beautiful a youth, that the Ladies of Quality prided themselves in taking him with them in their Coaches, to Hyde-Park, in his Theatrical Habit, after the Play; which in those Days they might have sufficient time to do, because Plays then, were us'd to begin at four a-Clock"(91). Like Richard Robinson two theatrical generations before him, Kynaston seems to have entertained as a woman, even as they were transitioning out of playing female roles on the stage both because of their age and because of the novelty of cisgender female actors. Another anecdote Cibber records about Kynaston from this same period shimmers with queer residue:

Tho' as I have before observ'd, Women were not admitted to the Stage 'till the return of King Charles, yet it could not be so suddenly supply'd with them, but that there was still a Necessity, for some time, to put the handsomest young men into Petticoats; which *Kynaston* was then said to have worn, with Success; particularly in the Part of *Evadne* in the *Maid's Tragedy*, which I have heard him speak of, and which calls to my Mind a ridiculous Distress that arose from these sort of Shifts, which the Stage was then put to--- The King coming a little before his usual time to a Tragedy, found the Actors not ready to begin, when his Majesty not chusing to have as much Patience as his good Subjects, sent to them, to know the Meaning of it; upon which the Master of the Company came to the Box, and rightly judging that the best Excuse for their Default would be

the true one, fairly told his Majesty that the Queen was not *shav'd* yet:
 The King, whose good Humour lov'd to laugh at a Jest, as well as to make
 one, accepted the Excuse, which serv'd to divert him, till the male Queen
 cou'd be effeminate. (90)

Though the punchline of the joke is that Kynaston is a “male Queen,” the entire anecdote records Kynastin’s success in petticoats; despite being in need of a shave, Kynaston was every bit a queen even before the start of the play.

Probably the best example of how Kynaston was cast to emphasize, celebrate, and commodify their nonbinary celebrity, on and off stage, was their performance in the title role of *Epicoene*, in a revival of the play in January 1661. The character Epicoene is perhaps the most famous gender reveal role in early modern theater; in the play, in order to secure his inheritance from his uncle, Morose, Dauphine hires “Epicoene” to play the part of the silent woman. The silent wife character, never given a name besides the grammatically queer “Epicoene,” appears on the stage in three phases: first, as an obediently passive and silent woman: when Morose sees her, he lewdly examines her and remarks, “She is exceeding fair, and of a special good favor; a sweet composition, or harmony of limbs; her temper of beauty has the full height of my blood. The knave [Dauphine] hath exceedingly well fitted me without; I will now try her within” (2.5). After Morose has been tricked into marrying her, Epicoene becomes a strident and challenging wife: in Act 3, she mocks her astounded husband, saying “Why, did you think you had married a statue, or a motion only? One of the French puppets, with the eyes turned with a wire? Or some innocent out of the hospital, that would stand with her hands thus and a laice-mouth, and look upon you?” (3.4). And finally, in the big reveal moment, Epicoene is de-wigged and, in that gesture, shown to be a boy (Dauphine announces “You have married a boy, a gentlemen’s son” [5.4]) who has been disguised for the whole play, fooling Morose but also whichever members of the audience did not see it coming. Pepys was in the audience for Kynaston’s debut in the role, and reported on these transformations: “Kinas-ton, the boy; had the good turn to appear in three shapes: first, as a poor woman in ordinary clothes to please Morose; then in fine clothes, as a gallant, and in them was clearly the prettiest woman in the whole house, and lastly, as a man; and then likewise did appear the handsomest man in the house.” Pepys’s review of Kynaston’s performance centers on his impression of Kynaston’s gender flexibility—what Thomas King calls “the mobility of Kynaston’s

pederastic appeal” and related to what K. Riley Snorton calls fungibility²³—Kynaston’s ability to play all of Epicoene’s many genders, each with expertise, for an audience who was likely there specifically for the queer pleasure of seeing him do it.

Two years later, in 1663, Pepys saw Kynaston perform in *Epicoene* again, but this time he was there to see the actress Elizabeth Knepp undertake the queer role, with Kynaston taking the role of Dauphine, the nephew character who masterminds the crossdressing episode. The character Dauphine, as Mario DiGangi suggests, is itself a potentially queer role, with the nephew “keeping” Epicoene for several months.²⁴ Here, like Robinson playing a mentor to Hammerton, Kynaston passes the baton not to the next boy actor, but to a cisgender female one who will attempt to take over the tradition. As Dauphine trains and presents Epicoene, Kynaston—in overseeing the next Epicoene—does the same for Knepp. But ceding the lady roles to a cis-lady did not end the queerness of Kynaston’s work or reputation.

Kynaston went on to have a successful career in male roles, most famously playing Shakespeare’s Henry IV. But their most lasting legacy, reaching far beyond their death, was the memory of their remarkable nonbinary gender. In 1740, Colley Cibber recalled not just Kynaston’s beauty in their prime, but also the fact that their feminine qualities sustained that beauty as they aged. Cibber visited Kynaston in their “advanc’d age” and reported, “indeed, to the last of him, his handsomeness was very little abated; ev’n at past sixty, his Teeth were all sound, white, and even, as one would wish to see, in a reigning Toast of Twenty. He has something of a formal Gravity in his Mien, which was attributed to the stately Step he had been so early confin’d to, in a female Decency” (91). According to the *OED*, a toast (as in a reigning Toast of Twenty) is “A lady who is named as the person to whom a company is requested to drink; often one who is the reigning belle of the season.” The term was used to describe women of the town at the turn of the eighteenth century when Cibber was writing. So, even after half a career in male roles, even after the rise of cisgender female actresses, Kynaston remained a stately beauty, a toast of the town.

The residue of Kynaston’s queer legacy extends beyond eighteenth-century theater reviews. In his 1708 historical review of the stage, John Downes writes,

Mr. Kynaston Acted Arthiope, in the *Unfortunate Lovers*; The Princess in the *Mad Lover*; Aglaura; Ismenia, in the *Maid in the Mill*; and several

other Womens Parts; he being then very Young made a Compleat Female Stage Beauty, performing his Parts so well, especially Arthiope and Aglaura, being Parts greatly moving Compassion and Pity; that it has since been Disputable among the Judicious, whether any Woman that succeeded him so Sensibly touch'd the Audience as he. (19)

In the end, then, Kynaston's legacy is as a woman, a beauty who performed women's parts better than any (cis) women who succeeded him. And Kynaston's queer legacy continues: based on Dowe's review and Kynaston's larger biography and reputation, Kynaston became the subject of a play, *Compleat Female Stage Beauty*, a film adaptation of that play, *Stage Beauty*, and a main character in the 2015 play *Nell Gwynn*.²⁵ The legacy of this last great boy actor, then, is that they remain a queer muse, generating nonbinary and crossdressing roles in the twenty first century.

Conclusion

In *Shakespeare in Parts*, Simon Palfrey and Tiffany Stern describe aspects of early modern "type" casting in terms of body and humoral type:

The fat and exuberant had fat and exuberant parts written for them, while the lean and melancholy had lean and melancholic types to perform. This is not quite the same as modern typecasting, where an actor has a *character* he is to play all the time: in the early modern theatre a lean melancholy player might be good or bad, villain or hero; his parts were not the same, but his type—his body and his mood—always shaped them. (44)

In other words, we know that playwrights "specifically created and designated parts suited to the particular range and talents of individual actors" (41). To their argument about physical types, something along the lines of Mario DiGangi's "sexual types" may be added as a way of recognizing a class of actors who might be identified through a combination of their physical appearance (what we might call androgyny, male femininity, or trans/nonbinary affects), apprenticeship training (perhaps longer stints at this career stage), famous roles (achieving celebrity by playing women), and queer gender performances on or off stage (like Robinson and Kynaston's dinner party crossdressing).

As trans studies develops, it remains a field looking for its own history, straining to find the best methods and models for recognizing queer genders and gender practices across time. Richard Robinson, Richard Sharpe, and Edward Kynaston were all early modern celebrities: the fact that they are each recorded in multiple extant cast lists and theater histories—especially ones printed years after their deaths—indicates their fame and name recognition. As this essay seeks to show, these archival details demonstrate not only that the actors were famous, but also that their genders were famous, and that something about them was understood to be inherently queer. None of this historical evidence is new, but it is new to read it in a trans-informed way. The residue of these actor's careers and lives (and, likely, the careers and lives of other actors like them) is a tool for locating the ephemera of coded queerness and for mapping another avenue for trans history making. The residue—faint though it may be—sparks queer and trans identifications across time.

NOTES

Thanks to Will Fisher, whose generous engagement with my work over the course of many years helped me to imagine it as part of early modern trans studies, and to Colby Gordon, whose vision has shaped my understanding of what the futures of this field can look like. Thanks also to Valerie Traub and her students at the University of Michigan for their generative feedback on an early version of this project; to my co-panelists on the "Early Modern Transgender Theory" Plenary at the 2019 Shakespeare Association of America; and to each of brilliant the participants in the #EmoTrans conference at Bryn Mawr.

1. I strongly considered using the phrase "boy-actress," a term coined by Harley Granville Barker in 1946 and compellingly put to use by Barker and others. While I love the trans implications of "boy-actress," I am ultimately using the more common term "boy-actor" in hopes that the more gender neutral "actor" (today commonly used by performers of all genders) will better capture the fungibility of gender across these individuals' lives and careers. See Barker's discussion of the utility of "boy-actress" as a category in "Not One Thing Exactly" and throughout "Acting Against The Rules" as well as the work of Kelly and McLuskie. In contrast, Rackin and Shapiro famously opted for "boy heroine" in their foundational work on the subject; Jardine, Stallybrass, and Sedinger, among others, all opt for "boy actor." For a detailed list of all actors known to have played a female role for an adult company before 1642, see Kathman.

2. Because we know that these actors were nonnormative in their genders, and because I am arguing that their careers evidence a trans or nonbinary history, I will use singular they pronouns in discussing Sharpe, Robinson, and Kynaston. When I refer to them as "boy actors," I use the term in its queerest context, with the implication that one might be a boy actor without being a boy.

3. Barker suggests this line of inquiry at the end of "Not One Thing Exactly": "These traces of individual careers . . . have not received as much contemporary attention as they deserve. What have they to tell us about the capabilities and specializations (if any) of

particular boy-actresses? What can we learn about the career trajectories of successful players of female roles who went on to become well-known adult actors? Can we extrapolate from these references to hypothesize further about these youths' repertoires or the passions they stirred in their audiences?" (475).

4. For a larger discussion of this record and its context, see Witworth. For a broader discussion of the policing of powderpuffs and cosmetics, see Houlbrook. Thanks to Colby Gordon for bringing this image to my attention through social media.

5. See Shepard for a broader discussion of early modern manhood and masculinity, especially the distinction between normative/patriarchal masculinity and other available forms and practices of manhood.

6. The 1623 cast list from which this information about Sharpe's performances as the Duchess is drawn is apparently the first known list of its type in print, showing how very ephemeral information like casting can be, and making evident how much information of this kind is lost to us. Sharpe makes a compelling case study in part because their career is further itemized in the extensive cast lists included in 1679 second folio of Beaumont and Fletcher's work, which credits them with roles in thirteen plays performed by the King's Men.

7. Walen includes *The Deserving Favorite* in her discussion of female homoeroticism. DiGangi uses the play to demonstrate how "intimacies between brothers and sisters might have more to tell us about the history of (hetero) sexuality, and particularly about the contested and uneven emergence during the seventeenth century of what we would later come to recognize as the norm of heterosexual conjugality" (322). While DiGangi compellingly argues that sibling romance in the play can represent mutual love between men and women, when the lover Lysander is played by Sharpe it is also possible that the character's attraction to a sibling (especially a sibling so connected to another woman) signals atypical sexuality.

8. One possible reading of Wittipol's aversion to marriage in *The Soddered Citizen* is as an iteration of asexuality; see my "Asexuality, Queer Chastity, and Adolescence." I suspect that many roles featuring nonnormative masculinities are also sites rich for representations of asexuality.

9. Here I am thinking of Ahmed's claim in the introduction of *Queer Phenomenology* that queer methods might not always be "proper," and that, in fact, queer methods "might rather enjoy this failure to be proper" (i).

10. Munro, "Robinson, Richard (c.1595–1648)."

11. Elsewhere, I have discussed this scene alongside the story of Moll Firth making a cameo at a performance of *The Roaring Girl*, a similar moment in indicating that audiences were familiar with queerly gendered celebrities and wanted to see those people, not just actors representing them, on the stage. See "Introduction: Passing Relations" in *Male-to-Female Crossdressing in Early Modern Literature* 17–19.

12. It is possible, too, that Robinson's being "too tall," is a reference to his age; perhaps this is a reference to Robinson's adult height, which is a bit tall for a "Spanish Lady."

13. Barker speculates that Robinson may have had some of their training by observing and imitating noble ladies at court, if they were cast as cupid in Jonson's masque *Love Restored* and played that role alongside lady masquers; she conducts a "thought experiment" about whether acting roles in masques as well as plays could have honed Robinson's skills ("Play-Boy" 89–90).

14. The issue of when Robinson would have played the corpse, and when the ghost, is unresolved. In the introduction to *Thomas Middleton*, Taylor suggests that the body of the

actor was replaced by “another actor, or, as seems more probable, by a dummy which could also have been used for her abduction from the tomb at 4.3.81.1” (837). Still, before the scenes in acts 4 and 5 where the body and the ghost appear, confusingly, on stage at the same time, it is likely that Robinson did play the corpse for at least some period of time, especially directly following the death scene. While other actors played dead women on stage, the Lady’s corpse is perhaps the most lavishly described and erotically staged.

15. Note the fetishization of whiteness that is imbricated in ideals of femininity: the Lady’s body achieves its ultimate desirability through the pallor of death; in embodying the Lady, Robinson must become more beautiful and also more white than any living cis-gender woman. In embodying extreme, unattainable beauty, Robinson’s portrayal of the Lady demonstrates the extremes of gender and race when their ideals are taken to their furthest conclusions. On the role of cosmetics in whitening early modern women in life and on the stage, see Karim-Cooper and Poitevin.

16. In addition to Fisher’s line about boy actors being “in drag” when they performed women *and* men, there are many other instances where the work of early modern boy actors has been compared to drag (see, for instance, Cressy, Drouin, Miller, among others). In turning to drag here, I do not want to imply that any trans feminine person, including Richard Robinson, is performing drag. I acknowledge the historical tensions between some drag and some trans communities; some drag culture has been transmisogynistic and trans-exclusionary. Still, the language and theories of drag can be useful tools in articulating aspects of gender performance, and this performance by Robinson is best served, I think, when it is read in terms of its fullest range of queer possibilities.

17. A brilliant anonymous reader of this piece referred to the “rival presentisms” of referring to Robinson as at once existing within a trans logic as a lady and within a drag discourse as a femme body queen. I see the two categories as overlapping and mutually constitutive, though, where Robinson can be trans and a drag queen (as many people are; consider the useful repurposing of the term “faux queen,” which used to refer to ciswomen who performed as drag queens, but has since been expanded to include both cis and trans women whose drag personas are femme queens), or where the strategic presentism of seeing them as both and neither of these categories opens up these and other readings without foreclosing additional possibilities.

18. In describing this moment, Taylor refers to Middleton’s “use of the Lady’s body as the agent of destruction” (838).

19. See Howe, *First English Actresses* 25.

20. As an anonymous reader of this essay points out, “her voice not very good” might not necessarily mean that Kynaston’s voice was too masculine. It is true that there are many ways for actors’ voices to be not good or pleasing to their audiences. Still, given that Pepys is in the same sentence referring to Kynaston as a boy lady, and that Pepys was so curious about Kynaston’s gender on and off stage, it seems likely that gender was a core component in his evaluation of Kynaston’s voice. Further, if Pepys was speaking of Kynaston’s voice as masculine and in contrast with their feminine presentation, that assessment has familiar resonances with many trans women’s experiences being mis-gendered due to voice; see, for example, the proliferation of vocal therapies and trainings marketed to trans women. On voice, especially changing voices at adolescence, and masculinity in the early modern period, see Bloom.

21. King argues that this public outing with Kynaston was arranged as a “conspicuous sign of Pepys’s upward mobility,” as “boy players had been aligned with courtly pederasty.”

22. On the concept of a methodology of “history as hot gossip” for queer and trans archival work, see Page 135–46. Cibbey is definitely working in the register of hot gossip here.

23. King, *Gendering of Men* 92; Snorton, *Black on Both Sides*, especially chapter 2, where Snorton uses fungibility as a concept to discuss the intersections of race and gender in fugitive slave narratives.

24. See DiGangi, *Homoerotics* 73–80.

25. *A Compleat Stage Beauty* was written by Jeffrey Hatcher, and first staged in 1999. *Stage Beauty* (2004) was written by Hatcher and directed by Richard Eyre, with Billy Crudup as Kynaston. *Nell Gwynn* was written by Jessica Swales and premiered at Shakespeare’s Globe in 2015. Neither of these performance positions Kynaston as queerly as I would like to see, but their choice to include them as a character of significance speaks to Kynaston’s lasting fame and legacy of queenliness across time.

WORKS CITED

- Ahmed, Sarah. *Queer Phenomenology: Objects, Orientations, Others*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2006.
- Barker, Harley Granville. *Prefaces to Shakespeare*. Vol. 1. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1946.
- Barker, Roberta. “Acting Against the Rules: Remembering the Eroticism of the Shakespearean Boy Actress.” *Shakespeare Redressed*. Ed. James C. Bulman. Madison: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 2008. 57–78.
- . “‘Not One Thing Exactly’: Gender, Performance and Critical Debates over the Early Modern Boy-Actress.” *Literature Compass*, vol. 6, no. 2 (2009): 460–81.
- . “‘The ‘Play-Boy,’ The Female Performer, and the Art of Portraying a Lady.” *Shakespeare Bulletin*, vol. 33, no. 1 (2015): 83–97.
- Bloom, Gina. *Voice in Motion: Staging Gender, Shaping Sound in Early Modern England*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007.
- Chess, Simone. “Asexuality, Queer Chastity, and Adolescence.” *Queering Childhood in Early Modern English Drama and Culture*. Ed. Jennifer Higginbotham and Mark Albert Johnston. New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2018. 31–55.
- . *Male-to-Female Crossdressing in Early Modern English Literature: Gender, Performance, and Queer Relations*. New York: Routledge, 2016.
- Cibber, Colley. *An Apology for the Life of Colley Cibber, With a Historical View of the Stage During his Own Time*. 4th ed. London: Printed for R. and J. Dodsley, 1756.
- Clavell, John. *The Soddered Citizen*. Oxford: University Press, 1936.
- Cressy, David. “Gender Trouble and Cross-Dressing in Early Modern England.” *Journal of British Studies*, vol. 35, no. 4 (1996): 438–65.
- DiGangi, Mario. *The Homoerotics of Early Modern Drama*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997.
- . “Sibling Affection and Domestic Heterosexuality in Lodovick Carlell’s *The Deserving Favorite*.” *English Literary Renaissance*, vol. 47, no. 2 (2017): 301–23.
- Downes, John. *Roscius Anglicanus*. London: H. Playford, 1708.
- Drouin, Jennifer. “Cross-Dressing, Drag, and Passing: Slippages in Shakespearean Comedy.” *Shakespeare Redressed*. Ed. James C. Bulman. Madison: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 2008. 23–53.

- Fisher, Will. *Materializing Gender in Early Modern English Literature and Culture*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006.
- Gutt, Blake. "Medieval Lives in Anamorphosis: Looking Back and Seeing Differently (Pregnant Men and Backward Birth)." *Medieval Feminist Forum: A Journal of Gender and Sexuality*, vol. 55, no. 1 (2019): 174–206.
- Higginbotham, Jennifer, and Mark Albert Johnston, eds. *Queering Childhood in Early Modern English Drama and Culture*. New York: Palgrave, 2018.
- Houlbrook, Matt. "The Man with the Powderpuff in Interwar London." *The Historical Journal*, vol. 50, no. 1 (2007): 145–47.
- Howe, Elizabeth. *The First English Actresses: Women and Drama, 1660–1700*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992.
- Jardine, Lisa. "Boy Actors, Female Roles, and Elizabethan Eroticism." *Staging the Renaissance: Reinterpretations of Elizabethan and Jacobean Drama*. Ed. David Scott Kastan and Peter Stallybrass. New York: Routledge, 1991. 57–67.
- Jonson, Ben. *The Devil is an Ass*, in *The Revels Plays*, ed. Peter Happé. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1996.
- Karim-Cooper, Farah. *Cosmetics in Shakespearean and Renaissance Drama*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007.
- Kathman, David. "How Old Were Shakespeare's Boy Actors?" *Shakespeare Survey*. Ed. Peter Holland. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005. 220–46.
- Kelly, Katherine E. "The Queen's Two Bodies: Shakespeare's Boy Actress in Breeches." *Theatre Journal*, vol. 42, no. 1 (1990): 81–93.
- King, Thomas A. *The Gendering of Men, 1600–1750*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2004.
- Long Chu, Andrea, and Emmett Harsin Drager. "After Trans Studies" *TSQ: Transgender Studies Quarterly*, vol. 6, no. 1 (2019): 103–16.
- McLuskie, Kathleen. "The Act, the Role, and the Actor: Boy Actresses on the Elizabethan Stage." *New Theatre Quarterly* 3 (1987): 120–30.
- Miller, Gemma. "Cross-Gender Casting as Feminist Intervention in the Staging of Early Modern Plays." *Journal of International Women's Studies*, vol. 16, no. 1 (November 2014): 4–17.
- Muñoz, José Esteban. *Cruising Utopia: The Then and There of Queer Futurity*. New York: New York University Press, 2009.
- . "Ephemera as Evidence: Introductory Notes to Queer Acts." *Women & Performance: A Journal of Feminist Theory*, vol. 8, no. 2 (1996): 5–16.
- Munro, Lucy. "Queering Gender, Age, and Status in Early Modern Children's Drama." *Queering Childhood in Early Modern English Drama and Culture*. Ed. Jennifer Higginbotham and Mark Albert Johnston. New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2018. 215–37.
- . "Robinson, Richard (c.1595–1648)." *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography Online*. Oxford University Press. 2007. Web. 22 February 2019.
- Neely, Carol. "'Distracted Measures': Madness and Theatricality in Middleton." *Thomas Middleton in Context*. Ed. Suzanne Gossett. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011. 306–13.
- Page, Morgan M. "One from the Vaults: Gossip, Access, and Trans History Telling." *Trap Door: Trans Cultural Production and the Politics of Visibility*. Cambridge: The MIT Press, 2017.
- Palfrey, Simon, and Tiffany Stern. *Shakespeare in Parts*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007.

- Pepys, Samuel. "Saturday, 18 August, 1660." *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*. Web. 1 March 2019.
- Poitevin, Kimberly. "Inventing Whiteness: Cosmetics, Race, and Women in Early Modern England." *Journal for Early Modern Cultural Studies* vol. 11, no. 1 (2011): 59–89.
- Rackin, Phyllis. "Androgyny, Mimesis, and the Marriage of the Boy Heroine on the English Renaissance Stage." *PMLA*, vol. 102, no. 1 (1987): 29–41.
- Sedinger, Tracey. "'If Sight and Shape be True': The Epistemology of Crossdressing on the London Stage." *Shakespeare Quarterly*, vol. 48, no. 1 (1997): 63–79.
- Shapiro, Michael. *Gender in Play on the Shakespearean Stage: Boy Heroines and Female Pages* Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1996.
- Shepard, Alexandra. *Meanings of Manhood in Early Modern England*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003.
- Snorton, C. Riley. *Black on Both Sides: A Racial History of Trans Identity*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2017.
- Stallybrass, Peter. "Transvestism and the 'Body Beneath': Speculating on the Boy Actor." *Erotic Politics: Desire on the Renaissance Stage*. Ed. Susan Zimmerman. New York: Routledge, 1992. 64–83.
- Taylor, Gary, and Jon Lavagnino, eds. *Thomas Middleton: The Collected Works*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007.
- "Toast, n.2." *Oxford English Dictionary Online*. Oxford University Press, 2018. Web. 2 March 2019.
- Walen, Denise A. *Constructions of Female Homoeroticism in Early Modern Drama*. New York: Palgrave, 2005.
- Witworth, Carianne. "Policing the Powder Puff in 1930s London." *The National Archives Blog*. 3 April 2018. Web. 4 October 2019.
- Wright, James. *Historia Histrionica: An historical account of the English stage shewing the ancient use, improvement, and perfection of dramattick representations in this nation*. London: Printed by G. Groom for William Haws, 1699.